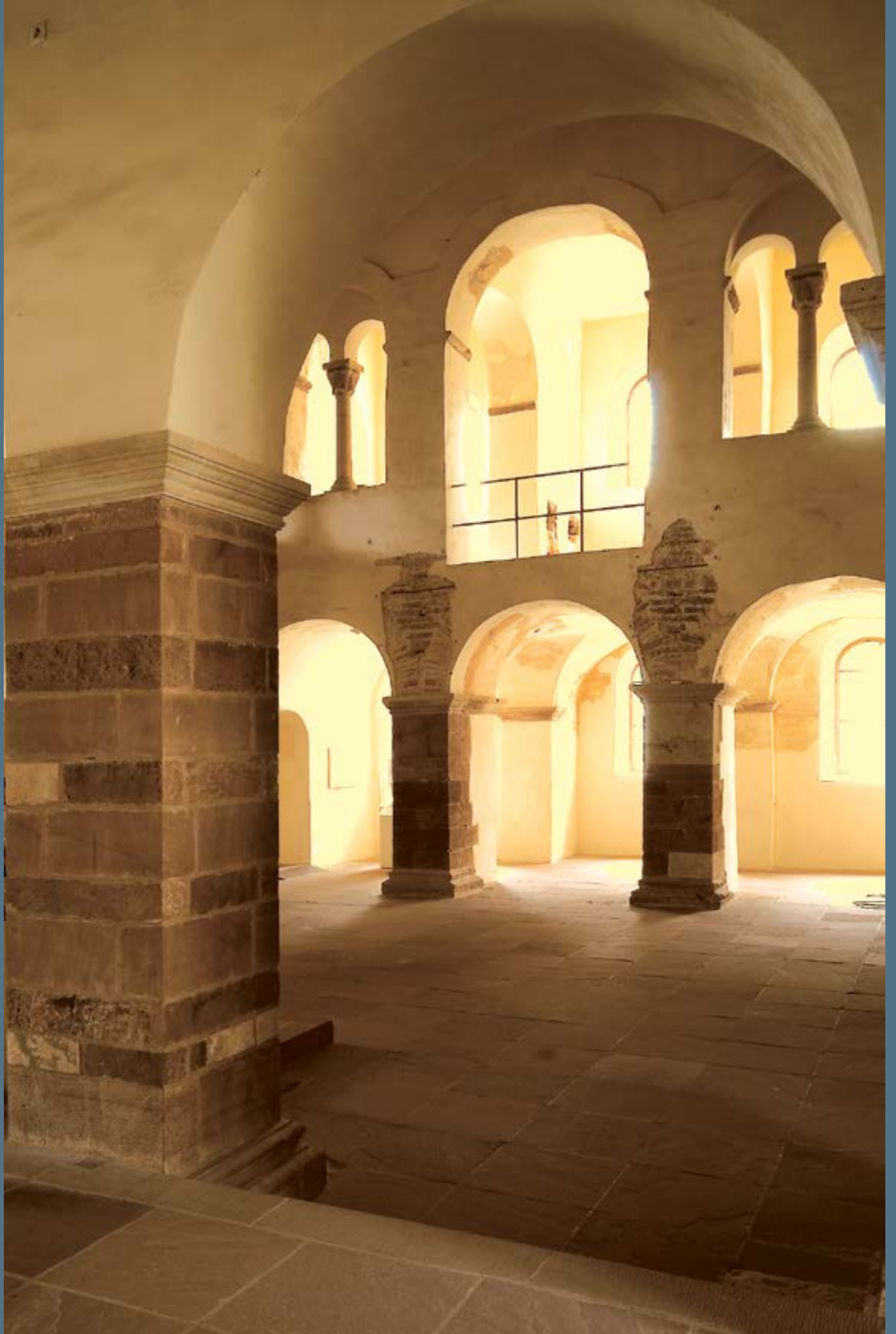


EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

INSCRIPTION ON THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE LIST



Country / State	Federal Republic of Germany
State, Province and Region	North Rhine-Westphalia, Detmold administrative region
Name of Property	Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey
Geographical Coordinates to the Nearest Second	<p>Property: Centre point longitude 9°24'36,9"E, latitude 51°46'41,8"E Western boundary 9°24'25,1"E Eastern boundary 9°24'48,7"E Southern boundary 51°46'35,9"N Northern boundary 51°46'47,7"N</p> <p>Buffer zone: Centre point longitude 9°24'18,3"E latitude 51°46'36,2"N Western boundary 9°23'45,4"E Eastern boundary 9°24'51,1"E Southern boundary 51°46'19,6"N Northern boundary 51°46'52,6"N</p>
Textual Description of the Boundaries of the Nominated Property	<p>The boundaries of the nominated World Heritage Site are defined by the limits of the Carolingian monastery complex, the extent of which has been determined by means of excavations and archaeological surveys. According to current knowledge it largely corresponds to the enclosing boundaries of the existing development of the monastery area formed by ditches. The boundaries of the monastery complex and the World Heritage Site are clearly perceivable along the course of the ditch in the west and the south. The boundary between the monastery walls and the banks of the River Weser runs along the east side and includes the excavated wall remnants and presumed ditches. The northern demarcation on the outside of the ditch which was refilled in part and is described partly as a water ditch and partly as a green area in front of the castle building runs between the wall in the east and the ditch in the west. The abbot's garden on the north side, which was created in 1706, with the Orangery (teahouse) dated 1741, a more recent extension of the monastery complex, is part of the buffer zone.</p>
Map of the Nominated Property, showing Boundaries and Buffer Zone	see last page
Justification Statement of Outstanding Universal Value	<p>The Westwork of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the few Carolingian structures of which the main parts have been preserved. Furthermore it is the only preserved example of a Westwork building from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models at a high level. As a building type it has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars on the ground floor as well as the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor make Corvey one of the most striking examples of the "Carolingian Renaissance". This applies especially to the documented original artistic decoration of the elements which still exist on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, including life-size stucco figures and mythological friezes representing the only known example of wall paintings of ancient mythology with Christian interpretation in Carolingian times. The structure and the decoration refer forcefully to the world of ideas of Carolingian times which has become essential to western history. Corvey is linked with cultural centres in Europe through historical tradition as well as through the preserved building design and the archaeological evidence also beyond the former Carolingian Empire.</p> <p>Corvey was one of the most influential monasteries of the Frankish Empire. Its missionary task was highly important with regard to the politico-religious processes in many parts of Europe. An inscription tablet originating from the time of the foundation names the Civitas Corvey which can be identified with the area of the monastery by means of archaeological findings. With its important scriptorium and an outstanding library, the monastery was a cultural and a religious centre. The Corvey abbey as imperial abbey had not only had intellectual and religious functions with regard to the conversion of Saxony and adjacent areas but was also of political and economic importance as an outpost of the Frankish Empire on the edge of the Christian world at that time. The deserted town close to the Westwork and monastic precinct preserves archaeological evidence of quite an important settlement of the Early and the Late Middle Ages.</p>

Criteria under which Property is nominated	
Nominated properties shall:	
<p>Criterion (ii): ... exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;</p>	<p>Corvey possesses the only almost completely preserved Carolingian Westwork. The central main room on the upper floor, which is encircled on three sides by galleries, is based on ancient models for its form and its original artistic decoration for secular rooms of representation; the arch in the entrance hall also takes up ancient construction techniques. All in all, the Westwork forms the basis of further technical and architectural developments.</p>
<p>Criterion (iii): ... bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;</p>	<p>The main room on the upper floor served liturgical purposes and high-status uses. The wider area around the monastic precinct itself, which was fortified at the latest in 940, with school and library and which served as a religious, cultural and economic centre, was already established during Carolingian times and included a pilgrim hospice, dwellings for guests and servants, working quarters and workshops. The political and cultural revival under the Carolingians on the edge of the Frankish Empire manifested itself in this complex of buildings.</p>
<p>Criterion (iv): ... be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;</p>	<p>The Westwork of Corvey Abbey is an outstanding testimony to Carolingian building and monastic culture, which has never been an expression of religious content and clerical goals alone but also an instrument to secure sovereignty and to develop the country. The formerly fortified monastic compound and the medieval town growing from the Carolingian centre of settlement as archaeological monuments are outstanding documents of political, cultural and scientific life in the Middle Ages.</p>
<p>Criterion (vi): ... be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)</p>	<p>With the library and a school for future clerics and aristocratic sons who were destined for a religious career, Corvey was the politico-religious centre of Frankish rule in the east of the empire. In addition to transcripts of the works of ancient authors, literary works were produced in the scriptorium. These include the „History of the Saxons“ by the monk Widukind von Corvey as one of the most important works of western historiography of the 10th century. The technical term „Westwerk“ (westwork) has become a common term in the history of architecture and art due to the scientific analysis of Corvey's Carolingian architecture.</p>
<p>Name and Contact Information of Official Local Institution</p>	<p>Claudia Konrad Dr. phil. Schloss Corvey 37671 Hörter Federal Republic Germany North Rhine-Westphalia Tel.: +49 (0)5271 694010 Fax: +49 (0)5271 694400 E-Mail: empfang@schloss-corvey.de</p>

PROPOSED STATEMENT OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

a) Brief synthesis

The Westwork of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the few Carolingian structures, the main parts of which have been preserved. Furthermore it is the only preserved example of a Westwork building from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models at a high level. As a building type it has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars on the ground floor as well as the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor make Corvey one of the most striking examples of the „Carolingian Renaissance“. This especially applies to the documented original artistic decoration of the elements which still exist on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, including life-size stucco figures and mythological friezes presenting the only known example of wall paintings of ancient mythology with Christian interpretation in Carolingian times. The structure and the decoration forcefully refer to the world of ideas of Carolingian times which has become essential to western history. Corvey is linked with cultural centres in Europe through historical tradition as well as through the preserved building design and the archaeological evidence also beyond the former Carolingian empire.

Corvey was one of the most influential monasteries of the Frankish Empire. Its missionary task was highly important with regard to politico-religious processes in many parts of Europe. An inscription tablet originating from the the time of foundation of the monastery names the Civitas Corvey which can be identified with the area of the monastery through archaeological evidence. With its important scriptorium and one of the outstanding libraries of that time, the monastery was a cultural and a religious centre. Corvey abbey as imperial abbey not only had intellectual and religious functions with regard to the conversion of Saxony and adjacent areas but was also of political and economic importance as an outpost of the Frankish Empire on the edge of the

Christian world at that time. The deserted town close to the Westwork and the monastic compound preserves archaeological evidence of a quite important settlement of the Early and the Late Middle Ages.

b) Justification for Criteria

Criterion (ii): *Corvey possesses the only almost completely preserved Carolingian Westwork. The central main room on the upper floor which is encircled on three sides by galleries is based on ancient patterns in its form and its original artistic decoration for secular rooms of representation; the arch in the entrance hall also takes up ancient construction techniques. All in all, the Westwork formed the basis for further technical and architectural developments.*

Criterion (iii): *The main room on the upper floor served liturgical purposes and high-status uses. The wider monastic area around the monastery itself, which was fortified in 940 at the latest, with school and library and which served as a religious, cultural and economic centre was already established during Carolingian times and included a pilgrim hospice, dwellings for guests and servants, working quarters and workshops. The political and cultural revival under the Carolingians on the edge of the Frankish Empire manifested itself in this complex.*

Criterion (iv): *The Westwork of Corvey abbey is an outstanding testimony to Carolingian building and monastic culture, which was not solely an expression of religious content and clerical goals but also an instrument to secure sovereignty and to develop the country. The former fortified monastic compound and the medieval town growing from the Carolingian centres of settlement around it as archaeological monuments are outstanding documents of political, cultural and economic life in The Middle Ages.*

Criterion (vi): *With the library and a school for future clerics and aristocratic sons who were destined for a religious career, Corvey was the politico-religious centre of Frankish rule in the east of the empire. In addition to transcripts of the works of an-*

cient authors, literary works were produced in the scriptorium. These include the „History of the Saxons” by the monk Widukind von Corvey as one of the most important works of western historiography of the 10th century. The technical term „Westwerk“ (Westwork) has become a common term in the history of architecture and art as a result of scientific analysis of Corvey’s Carolingian architecture.

c) Statement of Integrity

The architecturally preserved Westwork and the formerly fortified monastery district which is a protected archaeological monument are comprehensible in terms of location and in the general context. The monastery complex has been preserved in the original size and its integration in the natural environment is undisturbed.

d) Statement of authenticity

The Westwork of Corvey abbey on the River Weser is one of the very rare preserved structures with Carolingian substance right up to the roof and probably the only structure – through the towering front in its outward appearance – through which the lordly pretensions of Carolingian culture still become directly vivid today. The form and the design of the Carolingian Westwork are largely preserved in its original substance and material. Its wall paintings are the only known example of integrated elements of profane ancient iconography in the picture programmes of Carolingian sacred rooms. Corvey offers the only reliably analyzed source of knowledge about the paintings of flat and vaulted plaster ceilings in Carolingian times. Sinopias, preparatory background drawings with red ochre pigment, and stucco fragments of the Westwork are the most important evidence of large-scale sculptures from Carolingian times north of the Alps and at that time the most convincing evidence for the close conceptual and manual synthesis of wall painting and ornamental sculpturing in the decoration system of this epoch. The ground of the former fortified monastery district is of particular value as an archaeological monu-

ment because here findings and finds from an obviously systematically built large Carolingian monastery with pertaining dwelling and work areas, graveyards and chapel buildings have been largely preserved unaffected by later destruction. The same applies to the remnants of the settlement preserved in the grounds in front of the monastery’s gates which was deserted in the Late Middle Ages and grew to become a town in the 12th century in which an early urban development without major destruction caused by new settlement activity can be archaeologically traced.

e) Requirements for protection and management

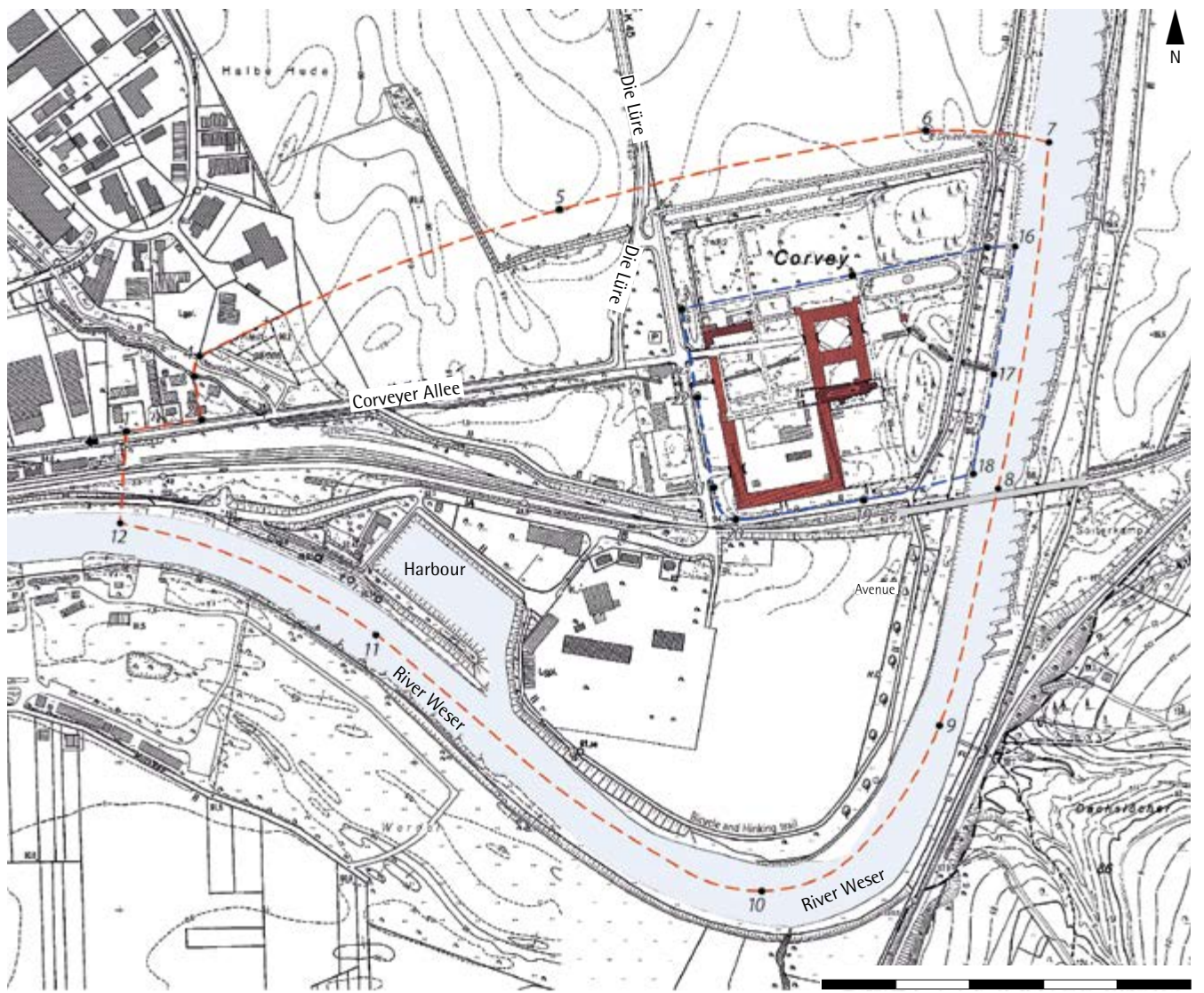
The former St Stephanus und Vitus abbey church and the former monastery complex have been inscribed in the monument register of the Town of Höxter as an architectural monument since 1 June 1986 and the archaeological findings (Civitas) as an underground monument since 3 September 1990. Changes and building measures on monuments and in areas of archaeological findings are subject to authorization according to paragraph 9 DSchG NW. Building activities in the buffer zone and in the perspectives are governed by land development plans, building development plans, statutes with regard to renovation and preservation.

The Westwork and the former abbey are in the possession of the St Stephanus und Vitus parish of Höxter, the former monastery complex is owned by Viktor Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. With regard to the management of the museum as well as cultural and educational programmes, the Höxter District, the Town of Höxter and the Duke founded the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH. Restoration and renovation works on the buildings as well as archaeological measures are carried out by the owners in close cooperation with the church and government authorities in charge.



Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the sea creature frieze on the upper floor of the west room





0 100 200 300 400 500

Coordinates in WGS84 (EPSG:4326)					
Points	North	East	Points	North	East
1	51°46'39,85	9°23'45,86	12	51°46'35,84	9°23'45,42
2	51°46'40,37	9°23'51,16	13	51°46'45,10	9°24'25,17
3	51°46'42,23	9°23'50,70	14	51°46'46,52	9°24'37,21
4	51°46'43,15	9°23'51,11	15	51°46'47,70	9°24'46,78
5	51°46'49,47	9°24'16,55	16	51°46'47,75	9°24'48,75
6	51°46'52,83	9°24'42,53	17	51°46'42,15	9°24'47,20
7	51°46'52,32	9°24'51,16	18	51°46'37,80	9°24'45,69
8	51°46'37,13	9°24'47,45	19	51°46'36,69	9°24'37,92
9	51°46'26,79	9°24'43,25	20	51°46'35,86	9°24'28,86
10	51°46'19,57	9°24'30,60	21	51°46'37,24	9°24'27,31
11	51°46'30,93	9°24'03,44	22	51°46'41,20	9°24'26,20

Scale/Maßstab 1:7.500
 Source Plan/Kartengrundlage: Abstract of the Cadastral Land Register

Borders of the nominated World Heritage Site and buffer zone

	Nominated property	12 ha
	Buffer zone	69 ha
	Total	81 ha

Source: LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen. Copyright Kreis Höxter, Topographical Basis: 1:5000

Nomination for Inscription on the
UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List

THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK AND THE CIVITAS CORVEY



Nomination for Inscription on the
UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List

THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK AND THE CIVITAS CORVEY

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1. IDENTIFICATION OF THE PROPERTY





1. Identification of the property

1.a Country

Federal Republic of Germany

1.b State, Province or Region

North Rhine-Westphalia, Detmold administrative region

1.c Name of Property

Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey

1.d Geographical coordinates to the nearest second

Property

Centre point longitude 9°24'36,9"E, latitude 51°46'41,8"E

Western boundary 9°24'25,1"E

Eastern boundary 9°24'48,7"E

Southern boundary 51°46'35,9"N

Northern boundary 51°46'47,7"N

Buffer zone

Centre point longitude 9°24'18,3"E, latitude 51°46'36,2"N

Western boundary 9°23'45,4"E

Eastern boundary 9°24'51,1"E

Southern boundary 51°46'19,6"N

Northern boundary 51°46'52,6"N

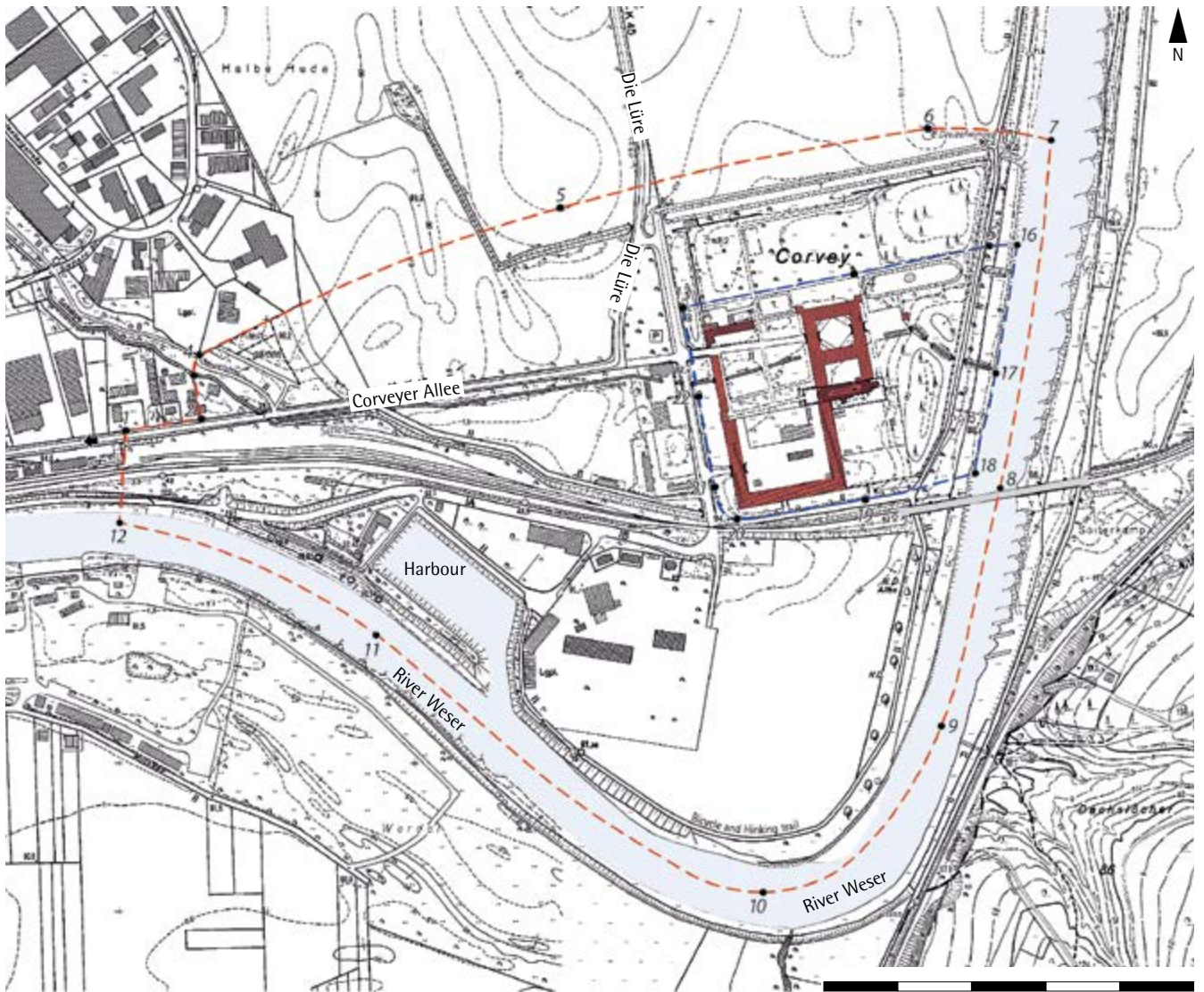
1.e Maps and plans, showing the boundaries of the nominated property and buffer zone

1.f Area of nominated property (ha.) and proposed buffer zone (ha)

Area of nominated property: 12 ha

Buffer zone: 69 ha

Total: 81 ha



Coordinates in WGS84 (EPSG:4326)					
Points	North	East	Points	North	East
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0 100 200 300 400 500

Scale/Maßstab 1:7.500
 Source Plan/Kartengrundlage: Abstract of the Cadastral Land Register

Borders of the nominated World Heritage Site and buffer zone

- Nominated property 12 ha
- Buffer zone 69 ha
- Total 81 ha**

Source: LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen. Copyright Kreis Höxter, Topographical Basis: 1:5000



2.a DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY

The monastery of Corvey, one of the most outstanding monastic complexes of the Carolingian period, was built between 822 and 885 in the northeastern part of the Frankish Empire on the west bank of the River Weser. The unique Westwork of this very important monastic foundation from Carolingian times has been preserved. **1** Church, monastic buildings and the surrounding area of the monastery have been scientifically researched and archaeologically verified.

■ Carolingian Westwork

The annals of Corvey report that the foundation stone was laid in 873 and that it was consecrated in 885. Essential parts of this outstanding structure have been preserved in their original substance and design until today. Today's appearance however was completed by changes to the building in the 12th century and also later around 1600. The large middle tower was removed during the Romanesque changes, the corner towers were elevated and joined by an additional crossing storey. The pinnacles of the corner towers were installed under Abbot Dietrich von Beringhausen (1585–1616). The demolition of the medieval church and the subsequent new building of a Baroque hall church (1667–1671) which followed the previous Carolingian structure in terms of length and width involved further changes. Later changes made to the interior of the Westwork were reversed in part by means of restoration measures between 1939 and 1965, resulting in the Carolingian appearance being restored to the greatest possible extent.

Exterior and inscription tablet

Seen from the west, the structure has the appearance of a two-tower front. In contrast, the original Carolingian structure had a group of three towers. Lateral towers and a mighty middle tower which was set back rose above the preserved, mighty Westwork from the Carolingian period, still dominating the outer appearance. Instead of today's bare stone walls, the structure possessed a smooth plaster coat which evened out uneven surfaces and was undoubtedly also painted in colour like the plaster inside. The individual forms demonstrate exact knowledge of the ancient canon of forms. The coherence of the structure is broken up by the porch on the western façade, the three arches of the entrance hall and the windows arranged in two storeys.

The inscription tablet with its formely bright golden letters was an extraordinary ornament. It was mounted on the porch, was removed for reasons of conservation and replaced by a copy in the original location in 1985. The tablet together with its framework parts was inserted during the building of the Westwork between 873 and 885. In the course of this work at least some parts of the framework were used for the second time. Epigraphic and archaeological findings argue for the fact that the inscription tablet had already been set in an older building in Corvey.

The drawing of the letters in *Capitalis quadrata* is of a very rare quality even for ancient inscriptions. The flatly carved letters used to be filled with non-ferrous metal and their face was gilded. Early medieval examples of this inscription technique have so far only been known through fragments from Lombard territories in southern Italy (Salerno, San Vin-

„Take care of this city my Lord and let your angels be the guardians of its walls.”



2

CIVITATEM ISTAM
TV CIRCVMDA D(omi)NE ET
ANGELI TVI CVSTO
DIANT MVROS EIVS



3



4

cenzo al Volturno). To date, Corvey is the only evidence that this technique was certainly used on sophisticated monuments in the core Frankish Empire. ² The text reads as follows:

CIVITATEM ISTAM
TV CIRCVM DA D(omi)NE ET
ANGELI TVI CVSTO
DIANT MVROS EIVS

„Take care of this city my Lord
and let your angels
be the guardians of its walls.“

This text passage originates from the Liturgy of the Hours. Here, the tradition which goes back to early Christian times is tangible, identifying the city of God with the monastery in general and the church in particular. This primary sense in the symbolism of church and monastery buildings, expressed in the perceptible shape of the building and which is verified in literature and especially expressed in the liturgy of church consecration, is documented on the inscription tablet. It is not only a unique evidence of monumental Carolingian calligraphy taking up the effect of the imperial monumental inscriptions of ancient times but also an important liturgical theological document which proves the self-understanding of the monastery as a city of God.

In addition, the Carolingian inscription tablet of the Westwork of Corvey provides a justification of why the archaeologically provable evidence of the Carolingian church and the entire area of the Carolingian monastery can be designated as Civitas Corvey.

Interior

From the vestibule which can be accessed through the central opening of three round arches, the largely preserved Carolingian main portal of the church leads directly to the central room of the Westwork's ground floor. In this room four central columns ³ crowned by Corinthian capitals and profiled impostas as well as the pillars and protrusions of the outer walls support a groined vault comprising three barrel-shaped vaults each expanding length- and crosswise. The outer walls of the middle room are broken up in three arcades each to the north, the east and the south where the barrel-shaped vaults are continued and are supported in the corners by cross-shaped otherwise square pillars. In the north and the south, aisles are attached to it which originally – as has been reconstructed in the south – did not have vaulted but flat ceilings. The cross-rectangular east room attached to the middle room towards the church was originally not only not vaulted but its middle part rose shaft-like up to the upper floor of the Westwork and opened into a wide curve to the central aisle.

Via the comparatively spacious, bended flight of stairs in the western corners one reaches the first floor of the Westwork whose high main room is surrounded by side chambers on two floors in the north, the south and the west. ⁴ It is separated from the shaft of the east room by a two floor arcade wall, the original of which was lost but then reconstructed in 1951. On the ground level of the middle room which has been known as *St John's choir* since the late Middle Ages, the vaulted side aisles, today only in the west, originally also in the north and the south, open into simple triple arcades on pillars towards the centre. The galleries over-



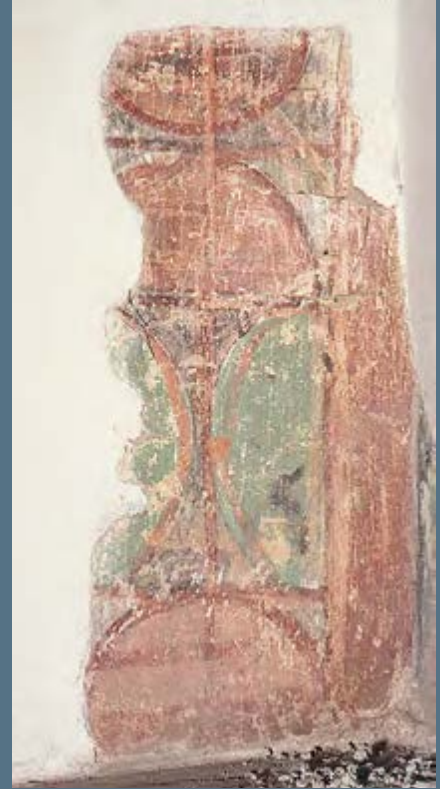
Reconstruction of the Carolingian upper floor towards the northwest.
Drawing by Buchholz





Soffit arches with remnants of the frieze on the north side of the middle western arcade.

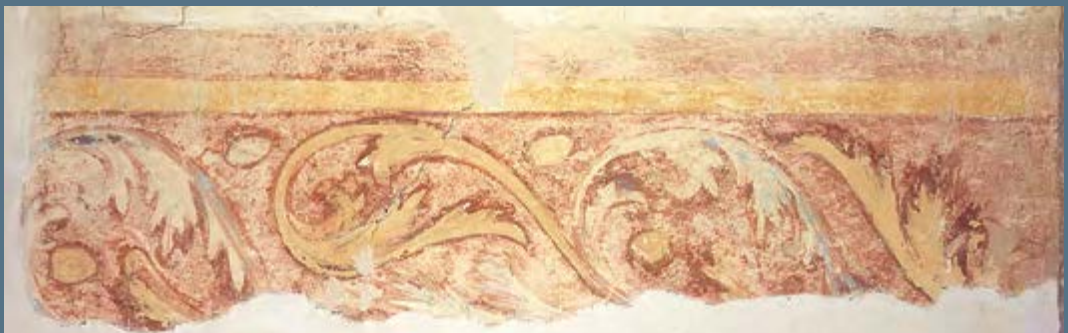
Best find of the frieze with adorsed semi-circles, west side of the eastern arcade, northern gallery



Soffit arch of the middle western arcade, upper floor



View in detail





Ulysses in the fight against Scylla. Drawing with dotted additions
Drawing by Großheim

looking this in the north and south have three large openings each which, restored according to investigations, are divided by renovated intermediate support columns. The west gallery is higher than the side galleries which used to be enclosed by quite low positioned shed roofs and it is additionally characterized by large windows and the gate vestibule extending over several floors. It is connected with the central room by a central opening with round-curved arch which stretches down to the ground between two lateral openings divided in two parts by a column and commencing higher up. The original end of the middle room was higher than today's ceiling which was installed in 1600. Lateral windows between the galleries and the original ceiling can be assumed.

Paintings and stucco figures

The importance of the Westwork is not only based on its architectural design but also on its decorations in the form of paintings and figures from Carolingian times. The interior paintings, fragmentary in many places and in part only faintly noticeable, are preserved in surprisingly fresh colours in the walled-up parts. A significant impression of the painting system per se and the strong original colourfulness, which is extraordinary by today's standards, result from the multitude of finds. The preserved decorative painting with its colourful friezes and the painted architectural elements did not only accentuate the built architecture but continued the architecture further in part by means of painting. ⁵

Figurative painting has been preserved mainly in the west room of the upper floor. The vault on the north wall shows a male figure in a short gown stabbing a mythic monster with a spear. The serpentine creature with a female head and torso is girded in the middle by the heads of dogs and its right arm clenches a small human body. ⁶ The setting is not unknown from ancient pictures, its corresponding identification is, however, surprising in the interior of a church: Ulysses fighting against Scylla. ⁷ The picture is completed by other motifs related to the sea. On the right of Scylla and turning away from her a siren is playing the harp, this is followed by a sea goat which is hardly discernable in the right corner of the picture. In another location in the west room there are sailing boats and dolphins on one of which rides a figure in the form of a putto. Thus, the Ulysses scene is part of a sea creature frieze. The explanation, why this theme, which was quite common in ancient art, made its way into an abbey church is to be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church of the 4th and 5th centuries. In order to complete their educational texts with pictures, they reverted to ancient mythology which was commonly known to their contemporaries and chose "the bad sea" as a parable for the temptations and dangers to which Jesus Christ was exposed in his life. "Only the ships of the church sail safely over the ocean", said Augustinus in his comment on Psalm 103.





Figure sketch below the frieze



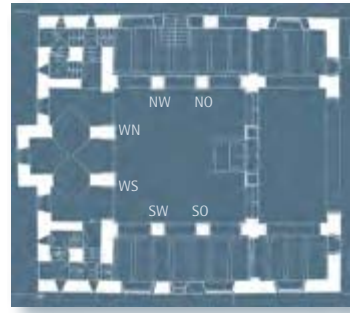
Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the frieze in the upper floor, west space



20



8



Upper floor, reconstruction of the Carolingian state with local data of the sinopias



Furthermore, the middle room had a special artistic programme. In 1992, during investigations carried out on the wall surfaces of the main room on the upper floor, four sinopias of male figures and two of female figures were detected. ⁸ The sinopias, preparatory background drawings on the red Weser sandstone, are full-size (1.70 m) and made in an oxide red line drawing.

The sinopias of the four male figures are located on the wall surfaces above the intermediate support pillars of the northern and southern arcades, ⁹ the sinopias of the two female figures are in the same position on the west side. ¹⁰ The male pictures stand on a pedestal and are clad in tunic and chlamys. Their legs are visible shortly below the knees, a headgear or halo is not discernable.

Unlike their male equivalents, the female figures are not presented from a frontal view but in a third-quarter profile facing each other. They too stand on a pedestal.

They are clad in full-length undergowns and pursed, slightly shorter robes as well as a scarf-like kerchief over a hood. Whether there had also been figures on the east wall which was demolished and not restored before 1951 can no longer be determined.

Wooden wedges and traces found in situ in the walls corresponding to imprints of joints and wedges of five stucco fragments suggest that these are sinopias for stucco figures. From a total of 35 stucco fragments found in the course of investigations in 1960 below the floor of the main room, some could in the meantime be clearly identified and classified on the basis of drapery and imprints of wedges. Colour remains on the fragments document the different coloured painting of the stucco figures.

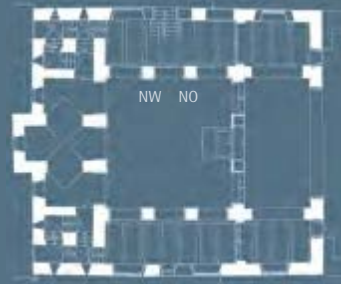
The interpretation of the figures, either as figures of donors or saints, is controversial and subject to further investigations.

⁹ + ¹⁰ the following sides

North wall

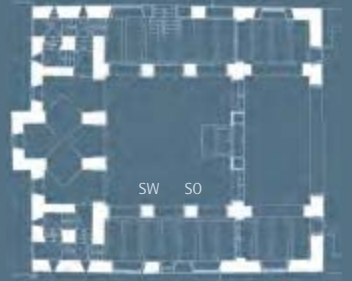
North wall of the upper floor, western and eastern sinopias

Drawings by:
Frohnert (floor plans)
Schneider (sinopias)



South wall

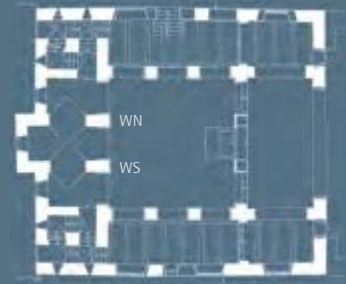
South wall of the upper floor, western and eastern sinopias



West wall

West wall of the upper floor, southern and northern sinopias

Drawing by:
Frohnert (floor plan)
Schneider (sinopias)



Description and function

The German term „Westwerk” was introduced to the history of art and architecture by Wilhelm Effmann in 1899. It defines the tower complex with its two lateral stair towers framing a central middle tower as well as the axial access in the west and the square main room in the interior which is accompanied on three sides by two-storey side-chambers as essential features which characterize the outer appearance, thus identifying the Westwerk as the central structure. The German term *Westwerk* is partly a foreign word and partly a translation which was adopted by other languages, for example as *westwork* in English. Among the French descriptions for the respective structures - *église-porche*, *avant-corps* and *massif occidental* - the latter comes closest to the German term.

The question about the features, the derivation from architectural history and especially the function of westworks has repeatedly been the subject of research. It has produced many different assumptions but still has not led to a final result. The reason for this is due to the lack of appropriate historical sources with regard to all structures in question. Effmann himself was of the opinion that the westwork had a parochial function, especially with a view to baptism, and further assumed that the Episcopal Synodal Court was held there. In addition, the assumption first made by Alois Fuchs and then also by other researchers that the westwork was a kind of imperial cathedral where the sovereign during his stay was able to attend the church service in an elevated and shielded location gained importance. Acting on this assumption, the French researcher Carol Heitz saw a deliberate relationship between the combination of cen-

tral structure and nave and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and interpreted the westwork as a site where the resurrection was celebrated at Easter, was used for the adoration of the Saviour and the intercession for the secular sovereign and, at the same time, served the latter as reserved domicile during his visits.

In the absence of sources the disposition and use of the Westwerk in Corvey in the 9th century could not be determined so far. Its later function as a liturgical centre at the west is, however, undoubtedly identified through the designation *chorus sanct Joannis* used in late medieval sources. This clear attribution of function and the diverging assumptions in terms of constructional typology, also with regard to comparative examples, has led researchers in recent years to discard the term *Westbau* (western building) and to prefer the term Westchor (west choir), referring to Corvey and other comparative examples. Without evaluating the individual opinions, the common designation „Westwerk” referring to Corvey, which has been used for more than one hundred years and is used in standard handbooks and encyclopaedias of architectural history, is however maintained here. It emphasizes the outstanding position of the Westwerk of Corvey in terms of architectural history as the best-preserved example of those complex structured western buildings of Carolingian times which are otherwise only known from excavations.



■ Carolingian abbey church

The importance of Corvey as an imperial abbey since Carolingian times is also reflected in the Early Medieval church which was replaced by the existing new baroque building in 1667, the floor plan of which is, however, only documented in plans from 1596 and 1663. It can be reconstructed with all essential features according to the excavations made in 1974/75 and the traces of construction preserved at the Westwork. ¹¹ It was a three-aisled basilica with an originally simple rectangular choir and a shaft-like tunnel crypt for the mortal remains of St Vitus, which were transferred from Saint-Denis near Paris in 836. The church, the building of started in 822 and consecrated in 844, existed without any major changes to the structure – apart from an extension of the choir in about 870 – until 1665.

Floor plan and outline

The nave was 29.25 metres long with a central aisle measuring 9.85 metres in width, approximately 12.45 metres in height and side aisles which were only 2.45 metres wide. The walls of the central aisle were not thicker than 0.56 metres and even only 0.49 metres in the clerestory. The Carolingian choir was developed in two construction phases. ¹²

The first choir had a simple rectangular, almost square, layout the width of which corresponded to that of the central aisle. It must have been markedly separated from the nave by means of division walls. A passageway crypt – the lateral passages of which were accessible from the west – ran along the interior perimeter walls of the choir. Since the passages were only

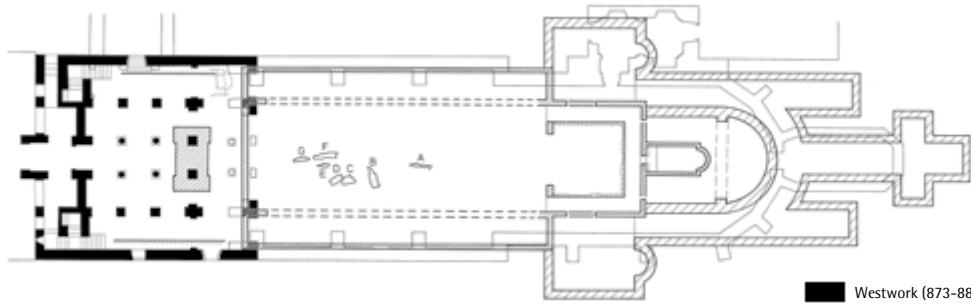
flatly embedded in the floor of the nave but must have been covered by the floor of the choir, a considerable difference in level of at least 2 metres can be reconstructed between nave and choir.

The crypt which was built right at the beginning of the construction became the resting place of the mortal remains of St Vitus in 836. According to many verified parallel statements the site of the preservation and reverence of the main relic was located in a relic tomb which must itself have stretched from the centre of the eastern cross-passage of the crypt to the west.

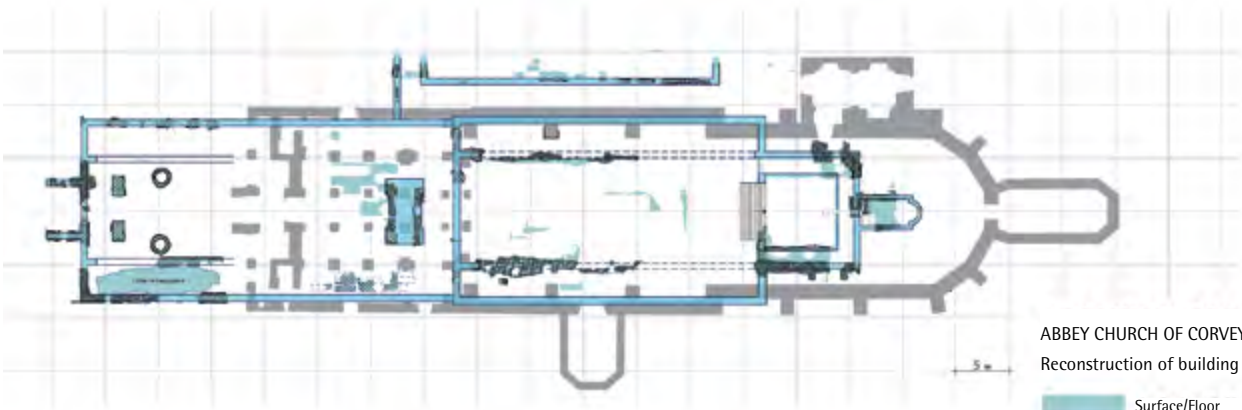
In the centre of the eastern passage there was a gateway towards the east leading to a small external crypt. It was 6 metres long, a good 2.30 metres wide with a semi-circular apse in the east. The floor was 0.65 metres lower than that of the tunnel crypt below the choir. Many painted stucco fragments found here belonged to two ceilings. The lower ceiling was flat and painted with a pure lime mortar, the upper one was barrel-vaulted and polished off with gypsum mortar. That means that this part of the structure had two storeys, the upper one must have been accessible from the elevated choir level.

About 870, still prior to the beginning of the construction of the Westwork, the choir was considerably enlarged by adding a choir bay and an apse towards the east. The previous choir was also extended by two lateral annexes which probably did not reach the height of the central aisle but were markedly lower. These annexes, which looked like transept arms in the floor plan, did not open towards the full width of the central aisle.

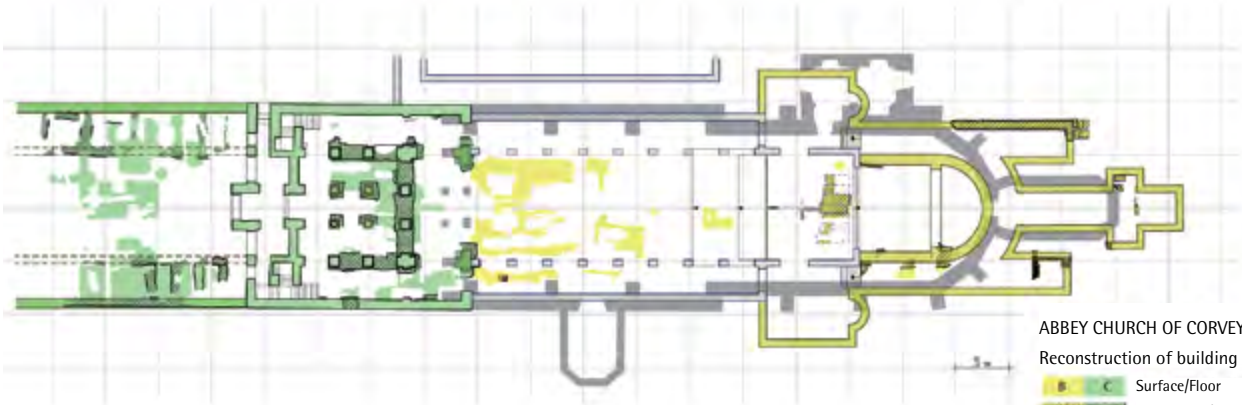
Reconstruction of the Carolingian abbey church in the state of the 2nd half of the 9th century
 Model construction: Hanne-
 mann 1999



- Westwork (873-885), existing
- Carolingian I (822-844), excavated
- Carolingian II (after 870), excavated
- Baroque (1667-1671, 1717/18), existing

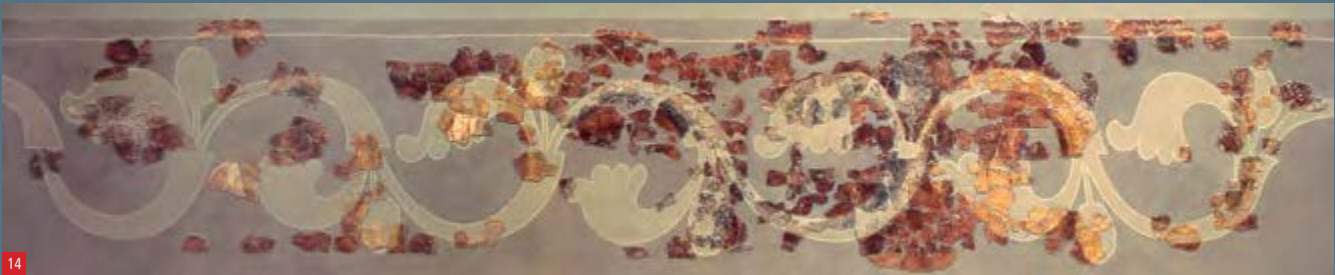


- ABBAY CHURCH OF CORVEY**
 Reconstruction of building phase A
- Surface/Floor
 - Foundation/Foundation edge
 - Excavation pit
 - Grave
 - Reconstructed wall
 - Steps
 - Building stock



- ABBAY CHURCH OF CORVEY**
 Reconstruction of building phase BC
- Surface/Floor
 - Foundation/Foundation edge
 - Excavation pit with limit of findings
 - Grave with limit of findings
 - Reconstructed wall
 - Continuation of phase A
 - Steps
 - Building stock

Outer crypt, painted plaster at the lintel position from the north



Outer crypt, arranged fragments of the wave tendril ornament



Detail of the tendril with wave decoration, grapes (left), circular blossom (right)





Sprout of tendril (left) and fragments of the marginal strip (right)

The previous narrow crypt was abandoned and a broad hallway leading around the choir was installed instead. In the apex of the curve, the opening to a relic tomb probably lies in a westerly direction. Two smaller lateral chapels with a long rectangular outline and a larger middle chapel with a cross-shaped outline were added to the external crypt.

In the western part in front of the church there was an exceptionally large atrium with a front building comprising several parts and galleries on the sides. The existence of such an atrium emphasizes the rank and the claim of the foundation of this Carolingian monastery.

Paintings, wall and ceiling decoration

The decorations of the abbey church which are archaeologically tangible also belong to the most varied and high-quality evidence of Carolingian interior decoration despite their fragmentary tradition.

Special attention has to be given to the plaster fragments found during the excavations in 1974/75 which originate from the collapsed beam ceiling of the external crypt which used to be covered with plastered wattle. ¹³ This is part of a frieze which obviously served as a circumferential margin of the ceiling. Four curves of undulating branches with turned-in half-palmettes and grapes in front of a red background as well as a banded marginal strip are noticeable. ¹⁴ Colours include ochre yellow, blue-grey, light red and white. The remaining areas within and outside of the branches are covered with flowers and – always in pairs – with sprouts.

■ The Civitas Corvey – the Carolingian monastery district

The enclosed area of the monastery district which was fortified in 940 at the latest amounted to approximately eight hectares in the form of a rectangle bevelled by the course of the River Weser in the east. Its essential features are still preserved below the entire baroque complex. As can be derived from the floor plan of the old church with its attachments of the western and eastern wings of the cloister, the monastic precinct was located on the north side of the church.

The baroque ditch, which has subsequently been backfilled in part, passing by the present castle in a northerly direction, was preceded by a medieval ditch running in the same direction, which is accompanied on the inner side by pre-baroque walls. In the east there are traces of older walls running almost in parallel just outside and inside the baroque monastery walls. In the south, walls and remnants of ramparts possibly of pre-baroque origin run along the baroque bounds of the monastery. This delimitation as well as the one in the north form a distinct boundary of early medieval and medieval finds. Finds from the western side are scarce. However a boundary of the older monastery area along the baroque lines can also be expected in this case. According to present knowledge, it can be assumed that not only the late medieval but also the Carolingian boundary of the monastery precinct corresponded roughly to the course of the baroque ditch and walls.

Within this fortified area not only the church and monastic precinct but also many elements of building and utilization have been documented archaeologically and by written sources in the past few decades: according to written and archaeolo-

Medieval glass from Corvey.
Fragments of a smoothing
tool made of greenish wood
ash glass from the Carolin-
gian monastery workshops



15

30

Wall of the abbots' castle
with pillars for internal
battlements, ca. 1300. In
the background the area of
Carolingian workshops from
the main construction peri-
od of the monastery.



16

Deserted town of Corvey,
the *Brugge Straße* (course
of the *Hellweg*) shortly be-
fore the former bridge of
the River Weser



Carolingian findings in the
southern and northern are-
as of the atrium



17



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gical sources there were graveyards to the north-east, east and south of the church. According to archaeological observations, the burial site stretched to the south beyond the limits of today's graveyard and in western direction to the area south of the former atrium in medieval times. South of the graveyard there are indications of stone buildings, cellars and wells. In the south-west, sunken rooms of the Early Middle Ages (pit houses/cellars) can also be shown to have existed. Many traces of older stone houses could also be found in the west and east of the baroque abbey with indications for the processing of glass and non-ferrous metal, especially in the north of the medieval enclosure. ¹⁵

An area which was used particularly early is located close to the later abbots' castle: ¹⁶ in an area at a bay of the River Weser, which was later refilled, remnants of buildings and indications for the processing of stone and non-ferrous metal with ceramics from the foundation period of the monastery were found. The written sources suggest that within the monastery area, in addition to church and square monastic precinct the following further buildings existed: the infirmary of the monks and the graveyard of the monks with its own chapels, at least three more chapels outside the precinct, the medieval abbots' residence which was presumably located in the north of the atrium, ¹⁷ the hospice for pilgrims and also dwellings for distinguished guests, the clergy, ministerial officials and dependents of the monastery. On the watercourse of the *Grube* existed many economic buildings and mills. The so-called *Werneburg* of the Corvey abbots was built at the end of the 13th century. The moat and wall of this castle which was destroyed in early modern times could be archaeologically established in the north-eastern corner of the monastic compound.

The extensive area of the Carolingian monastery, the essential features of which were obviously planned, with its clerical and secular infrastructure, represents as an archaeological monument a unique, largely hidden treasure of medieval cultural history. Even the eastern wing of the precinct which was largely built over in the Baroque period is still preserved in the ground. The surrounding deserted medieval town completes this outstanding ensemble with further important evidence regarding settlement development and construction history.

■ Baroque abbey church and baroque monastery complex

After the Prince-Bishop of Münster, Christoph Bernhard von Galen, had been elected administrator by the community (convent) of monks of Corvey, he initiated the building of a new abbey church in 1667. The new construction of the monastery complex began under his successor Florenz von dem Velde. This was the beginning of the baroque Corvey. Up until around 1750, his successors expanded and completed the complex still existing today with baroque church, abbey (cloisters ¹⁸, Abbots' Gallery ¹⁹, Emperor's Hall) and agricultural buildings.

2.b HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

The foundation of the oldest Benedictine monastery in Saxony probably has its origins in the lifetime of Charlemagne. However the plans could only be realized in 815, shortly after his death, under his successor Louis the Pious. Only the name of the first settlement, Hethis, is known, not however its location. Based on more recent tradition, it is assumed to have been near Neuhaus in the Solling. Hethis turned out to be in an inconvenient loca-



Corvey and its surroundings
Historical Map 1674

tion, and in 822 the monastic community relocated its seat to the place on the River Weser where it can be found still today. The resettlement was made possible by Louis the Pious through the transfer of ownership of the *villa regia in loco nuncupante Hucxori*.

The mother monastery which sent out the first monks was Corbie on the river Somme in the north of France, and this is where the new foundation derives its name from – *Nova Corbeia*. Abbot Adalhard of Corbie and his brother (and later successor) Wala, both close confidants of Charlemagne and relations of him were substantially involved in the foundation and development of the monastery. Under the protection of the Carolingians and with the privilege of choosing its abbots freely and having immunity, the abbey assumed the undisputed ascendancy among the religious centres in Saxony within a very short time. The translation of the relics of St Vitus from Saint-Denis in 836 was of central importance. In the

first two centuries of its existence the rapidly growing imperial abbey developed into an important religious and cultural centre, including a monastery school and large library, also outside Saxony. Being the only Benedictine monastery in Saxony for a long time, bishops, poets and historiographers were educated at Corvey, such as Widukind of Corvey, author of the „History of the Saxons“. The importance of the abbey is also emphasized by the numerous stays of East Frankish kings and later rulers of the Roman-German realm which are documented by visits of King Arnulf in 889 and King Otto at the beginning of the 13th century.

With the granting of minting and market rights in 833, one of the largest known areas of settlement of Carolingian times in Central, Northern and Eastern Europe developed in the direct surroundings of the monastery with a residential nucleus in Höxter and others in front of the monastery's gates. This lay settlement close to the monastery developed into a town which

was supported by the abbots and fortified in the second half of the 12th century, with a foundation of secular canons monastery Niggenkerken (*nova ecclesia/new church*), which existed at the latest by 863, a market church ²⁰ originating from the middle of the 12th century, also its own bridge over the River Weser and finally also a council as a self-governing body. However the town of Corvey was in competition with the neighbouring town of Höxter and was destroyed by a coalition comprising the Bishop of Paderborn, citizens of Höxter and ministerial officials of Corvey in 1265 and largely abandoned thereafter.

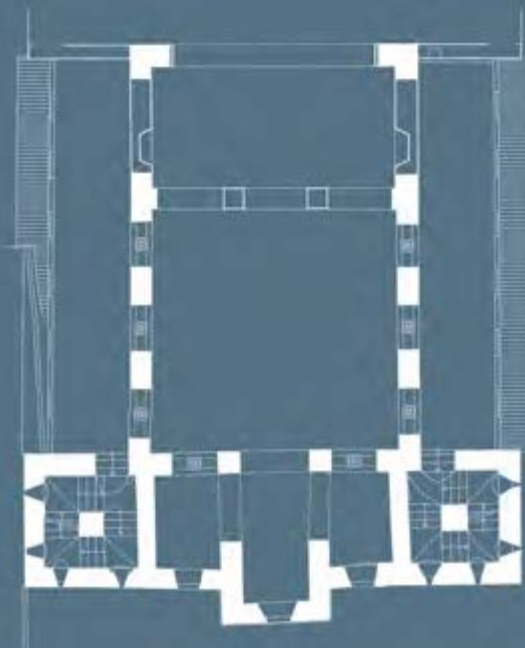
At that time the monastery too no longer had the political, economic and cultural importance it had had during Carolingian times; a last heyday under abbot Wibald von Stablo (1146 – 1158) had been more than 100 years before. The former closeness to royal power is evoked once more in the mention of the palace or royal chapel (*capella regia*) in the Late Middle Ages, which was dedicated to St Gertrud. Centuries of neglect of any discipline in the monastery followed. A further raid destroyed the precinct of the monastery in 1327. The importance of St Vitus as the imperial saint was once again emphasized in 1355 when Emperor Karl IV. had his [St Vitus'] head transferred from Corvey to the St Veit's Cathedral in Prague. Contact and then integration of Corvey within the reform movement of the Bursfelde Congregation first took place 1501/05 under the abbots Hermann von Bömelburg and Franz von Ketteler, a step which brought a revival in the religious as well as economic field. During the Thirty Years' War, the monastery was again severely damaged, the buildings were devastated, amongst others things the mediaeval shrine of St Vitus and large parts of the library were lost.



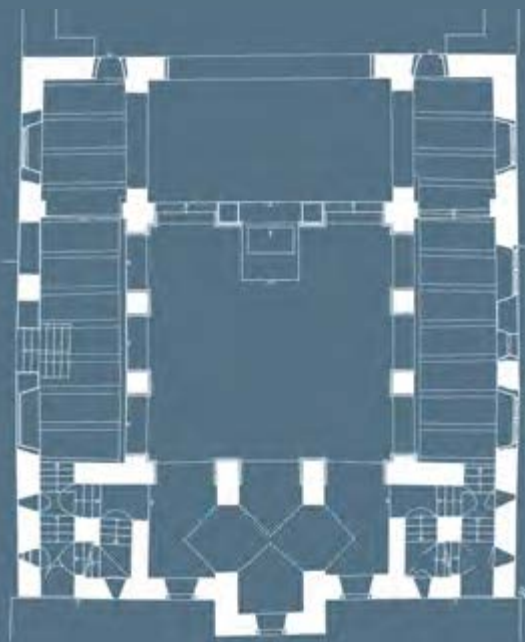
The monastery was secularized on its own endeavours and changed into a diocese in 1792. The principality of Corvey was abolished by the *Reichsdeputations-Hauptschluss* (Final Resolution of the Imperial Deputation) in 1803, while the diocese continued to exist until the death of its bishop Ferdinand von Lüninck in 1825. After the Congress of Vienna and now part of the Kingdom of Prussia the complex as well as the monastic property came by royal grant into the possession of Landgrave Viktor Amadeus of Hessen-Rotenburg through the Kingdom of Prussia in 1820 and then in 1834 by inheritance into the possession of the Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst family followed by the Dukes of Ratibor in 1840. Today, the former monastery area is owned by the Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. The church with atrium and graveyard has been the property of the parish of *Katholische Pfarrgemeinde St Stephanus und Vitus* since 1977.

Deserted town of Corvey. View from the west on the choir of the three-nave Romanesque market church of Corvey

Gallery floor

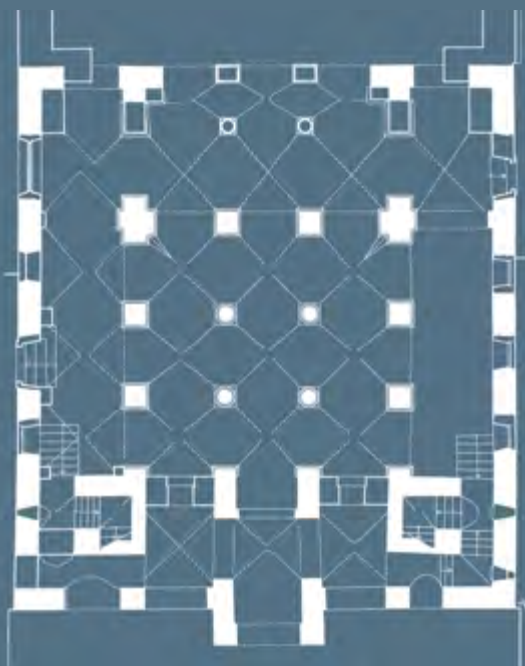


St John's choir



Ground floor

Drawings by Frohnert



Reconstruction of the Carolingian westwork in the state at the end of the 9th century
Model construction: Hanne-
mann 1999





3. JUSTIFICATION FOR INSCRIPTION

3.1.a Brief synthesis

The Westwork ²² of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the few Carolingian structures, the main parts of which have been preserved. Furthermore it is the only preserved example of a Westwork building from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models at a high level. As a building type it has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars ²³ on the ground floor as well as the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor ²⁴ make Corvey one of the most striking examples of the *Carolingian Renaissance*. This especially applies to the documented original artistic decoration of the elements which still exist on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, including life-size stucco figures ²⁵ and mythological friezes presenting the

only known example of wall paintings of ancient mythology ²⁶ with Christian interpretation in Carolingian times. The structure and the decoration refer forcefully to the world of ideas of Carolingian times which has become essential to western history. Corvey is linked with cultural centres in Europe through historical tradition as well as through the preserved building design and the archaeological evidence, also beyond the former Carolingian empire.

Corvey was one of the most influential monasteries of the Frankish Empire. Its missionary task was highly important with regard to the politico-religious processes in many parts of Europe. An inscription tablet originating from the time of foundation names the Civitas Corvey which can be identified with the area of the monastery through archaeological finds. With its important scriptorium and one of the outstanding libraries of that



Middle and northern west room of the upper floor with findings illustrated by means of drawings



38



26

Drawings of the respective sinopia of the northern and southern wall (left and right) with the attributed stucco fragments applied to it



25



time, the monastery was a cultural and a religious centre. The Corvey abbey as imperial abbey had not only had intellectual and religious functions with regard to the conversion of Saxony and adjacent areas but was also of political and economic importance as an outpost of the Frankish Empire on the edge of the Christian world at that time. The deserted town close to the Westwork and the monastic precinct preserves archaeological evidence of a quite important settlement of the Early and the Late Middle Ages.

3.1.b Criteria under which inscription is proposed

The draft statement presented in respect of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey is based mainly on the criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (vi). They are defined in the guidelines concerning the implementation of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage paragraph 77 of 1 February 2012 as amended.

Criterion (ii)

The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey *exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design:*

Although Corvey was founded and built at a considerable distance from the important cultural centres of medieval Europe and far outside the former Roman Empire the buildings and furnishings reflect grand, civilized, artistic and monastic aspirations of the highest kind. Structural technology, architecture and ornaments painted in strong colours, flat reliefs and inscriptions with gilded capi-

tals, precious glass tiles, window glass but also themes of wall paintings not least the monumental sculptures of the Westwork represent Frankish architecture at its highest level and a demonstrative orientation on models of antiquity.

Corvey possesses the only almost completely preserved Carolingian Westwork. The central main room on the upper floor which is encircled on three sides by galleries is based in its form and its original artistic decoration on ancient models of profane rooms of representation; the arch in the entrance hall also has links to ancient construction techniques.

All in all, the Westwork formed the basis for further technical and architectural developments.

Criterion (iii)

The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey *bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared:*

The itinerant kingship needed bases to secure dominance and to organize administration in the Frankish Empire. Beside royal palaces and diocesan towns imperial monasteries belonged to the most distinguished instruments of power of the Carolingian dynasty. Corvey was by far the most important Carolingian monastic foundation in the northeast of the Frankish Empire. There was an extraordinary close connection between nobility and empire, between Saxony and the royal abbey as a common family foundation of the Carolingians at the zenith of their power. The main room on the upper floor served liturgical and high-status uses. The monastic compound, which was fortified in 940 at the latest, around the monastery, which had a school and library and

served as a religious, cultural and economic centre, was already established during Carolingian times and included a pilgrim hospice, dwellings for guests and servants, working quarters and workshops. The political and cultural revival under the Carolingians on the edge of the Frankish Empire manifested itself in this complex.

Criterion (iv)

The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey are *an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscapes which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history:*

The Westwork of Corvey abbey is an outstanding testimony to Carolingian building and monastic Culture, which has never been an expression of religious content and clerical goals alone but also an instrument to secure sovereignty and to develop the country. The former fortified monastic compound and the medieval town growing from the Carolingian centre of settlement around it as archaeological monuments are outstanding documents of political, cultural and scientific life in the Middle Ages.

Criterion (vi)

The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey are *directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance:*

Very soon after its foundation in 822, Corvey developed into the leading centre of the spiritual life in Saxony, a position which it was able to maintain also during the Ottonic period. The monks, who came from the principal monastery of Corbie to the Weser area, brought books from the

west of France to be used for church services and the monastery school which was established at a very early stage. In addition to transcripts of the writings of ancient authors, literary works were produced in the scriptorium. These include the „History of the Saxons“ by the monk Widukind von Corvey as one of the most important works of western historiography of the 10th century. With the library and a school for future clerics and aristocratic sons who were destined for a religious career, Corvey was the politico-religious centre of Frankish rule in the east of the empire.

The Westwork has been at the centre of historical, art historical and church historical research for more than 100 years and has helped shape our view of early ecclesiastical monumental architecture throughout the former Frankish Empire. The technical term „Westwerk“ (westwork) has become a common term in the history of architecture and art as a result of scientific analysis of Corvey’s Carolingian architecture.

3.1.c Statement of Integrity

According to paragraph 88 of the guidelines for the implementation concerning the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1 February 2012, as amended, analysis showed that the requirements with regard to integrity are fulfilled and that the nominated property includes all elements necessary to express an Outstanding Universal Value, is of appropriate size in order to reflect the features and processes, which characterize the importance of the property, in a complete manner and does not suffer from negative effects caused by development and/or negligence. The



key-parameters for integrity as qualifying conditions for the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey to secure and sustain their significance are:

Completeness: The Westwork includes all elements, features and structures to convey its significance as the oldest extant Carolingian example whose prototype was developed in the last decade of the 8th century in Centula. Significant characteristics are: a low entrance-hall with a multi-layered nave on the ground floor, a two-storey upper main room surrounded by arcades on the upper floor and a façade with multiple storeys between two towers.

The Civitas Corvey includes all the underground cultural resources (excavated and unexcavated) which are associated with the reasons advanced for its Outstanding Universal Value. The church, cloister and monastery have been archaeologically investigated producing significant results: the most elaborate monastery complex of the 9th century was built in Corvey between 822 and 885.

Intactness: The Westwork is in a good physical state of repair. The physical, social and economic conditions necessary to maintain the Westwork as a monument in



View across the ruins of the monastery of tom Roden towards Corvey (left)

View from the Heiligenberg into the valley of the River Weser (right)

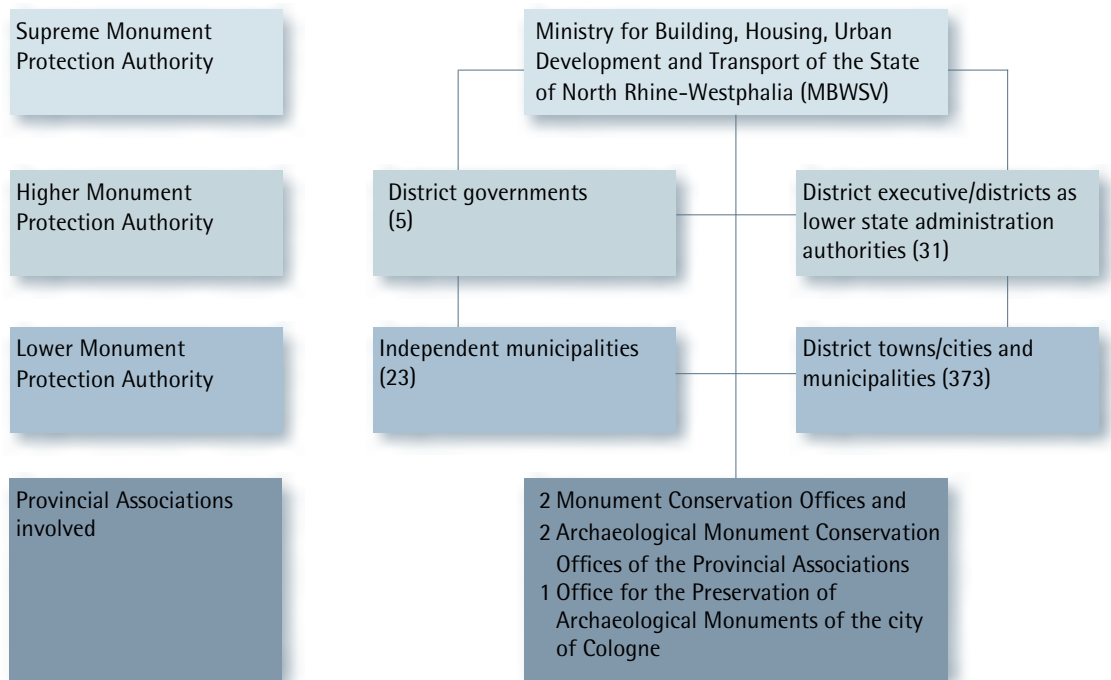
a good condition are present. The Civitas Corvey as an archaeological site is well maintained, its constituent fabric and materials protected from risk or decay. The integration of the property in the natural environment is undisturbed. ²⁷

3.1.d Statement of Authenticity

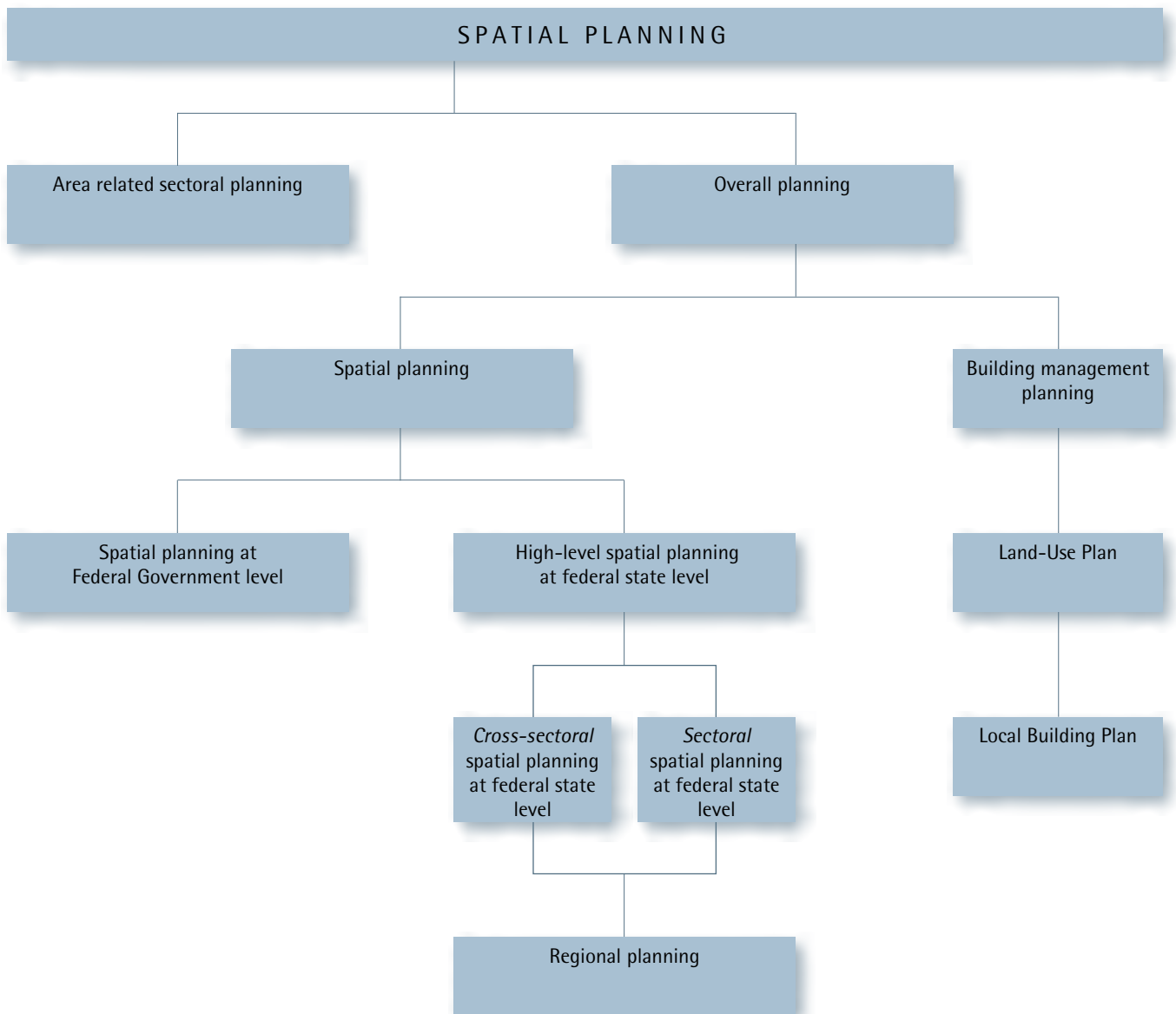
The draft statement in respect of Outstanding Universal Value according to paragraph 82 of the guidelines concerning the implementation of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1 February 2012, as amended, confirms as regards the criterion of authenticity that the property fulfills the requirements. The key-parameters for authenticity as qualifying conditions for the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey to convey its significance over time are:

Form and design: The form and the design of the Carolingian Westwork are largely preserved in its original substance and material. The exemplarily strictly defined complex of the abbey reminds strongly of the “plan of St Gallen”, which is considered more as an ideal plan than a building plan for a large Benedictine monastery. In this connection it has to be considered that Corvey was built shortly

Organization chart of monument protection and monument conservation in North Rhine-Westphalia



Authorities/Institutions	Tasks
Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban development and Transport (MBWSV) Supreme Monument Protection Authority	<p>The Supreme Monument Protection Authority is responsible for general tasks relating to monument policy, steering tasks and supervisory functions. With regard to matters of monument protection, the Supreme Monument Protection Authority supervises the subordinated Higher and Lower Monument Protection Authorities but not the Monument Conservation Offices of the Provincial Associations. Within the scope of monument preservation, the legislator has transferred the task of preparing the annual monument support programme for churches and religious communities, according to Art. 36 DSchG to the Supreme Monument Protection Authority. In addition, the Supreme Monument Protection Authority is responsible for the settlement of professional disagreements between the Monument Conservation Offices of the Provincial associations and the Monument Protection Authorities and is to make a decision.</p>
District of Höxter Higher Monument Protection Authority	<p>The Higher Monument Protection Authority acts as an intermediate authority which assumes supervisory functions towards the Lower Monument Protection Authorities in their territory. According to Art. 20 sub-section 2 DSchG NW the districts are obliged to advise the Lower Monument Protection Authorities. In addition, the Higher Monument Protection Authorities are responsible for the approval of monument area by-laws (Art. 5 (3) DSchG), granting of excavation permits (Art. 13 DSchG), determination of protected excavation areas (Art.14 DSchG) and to register notifications of discovered archaeological monuments (Art.15 DSchG).</p>
Town of Höxter Lower Monument Protection Authority	<p>The Lower Monument Protection Authorities are in charge of the enforcement of the Act in North Rhine-Westphalia. They are responsible for the registration and permission procedures and maintain the monument list.</p>
Offices of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen; LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen	<p>As professionally independent agencies they are not part of the authority structure. Their task is to support and advise the municipalities and districts and to contribute to their decisions and to carry out scientific research according to Art.22 (2) DSchG.</p>



after the reform council of Aachen of 817 which provided new guiding principles for matters of the ecclesiastical and monastic system in the Occident, valid for centuries. As an archaeological monument the former monastic complex in Corvey is one of the best preserved and investigated Carolingian examples for the built version of the ideal plan of St Gallen.

Material and substance: The Westwork of Corvey abbey is one of the very rare preserved structures complete with Carolingian substance and probably the only structure with a towering west front in the outward appearance of which the lordly aspirations of Carolingian culture still become directly vivid today. Its wall paintings are the only known example of elements from profane ancient iconography integrated into the picture programs of Carolingian sacred rooms.

Sinopias and stucco fragments of the Westwork are the most important evidence of large-scale sculptures from Carolingian times north of the Alps and at the time the most convincing document for the close conceptual and manual synthesis of wall painting and ornamental sculpturing in the decoration system of this epoch.

■ **Use and function:** The Westwork of Corvey serves up to the present day as a monumental, west-facing entrance section of the church. Since its completion the Westwork has always been a consecrated building with an altar in the central room on the upper floor.

■ **Location and setting:** Situated in a curve of the River Weser below the Solling hill range Corvey was founded and built at a considerable distance from

the important cultural centres of medieval Europe. Since its foundation Corvey has been surrounded by extensive fields and framed by the woods of the Solling. Agriculture and forestry are the economic basis for Corvey since centuries. The ground of the former fortified monastery district is of particular value as an archaeological monument, because here findings and finds in respect of an obviously systematically built large Carolingian monastery with pertaining dwelling and work areas, graveyards and chapel buildings have been largely preserved, unaffected by later destruction. The same applies to the remnants of the settlement preserved in the grounds in front of the monastery's gates, which grew to become a town in the 12th century, in which an early urban development can be archaeologically traced, without major destruction caused by new settlement activities. This settlement was then deserted in the Late Middle Ages.

3.1.e Protection and management requirements

The Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey are protected by international and national laws. Especially at international level the Convention for the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO, Paris 1972) and the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflicts (UNESCO, Den Haag, 1954) including the protocols of 1954 and 1999, the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage (Council of Europe, Granada, 1985) and the Convention for the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Council of Europe, Malta 1992) are relevant.

The regulations of international conventions, ratified by the Federal Republic of

a) Parish of St. Stephanus und Vitus	b) Office of the Duke of Ratibor	c) Kulturkreis Höxter Corvey gGmbH/Museum	d) Library and archive
1 Chairman of the church council (parish dean)	1 Manager	1 Museum manager/ general management	1 Librarian and archivist
6 Voluntary members of the church council	1 Secretary	1 Tourism and marketing staff	
2 Sextons	1 Accountant	1 Accountant	
3 Supervisory staff	1 Real estate agent	1 Event management	
	1 Carpenter	1 Secretary	
	1 Mason	1 Museum pedagogue	
	1 Painter	1 Facility manager	
	1 Craftsman	3 Museum shop assistants	
	2 Gardeners	5 Supervisory staff	

Germany, have to be respected by national legislation according to the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Court.

In particular, at national level the German Construction Code (1960/2011), the Law for the Protection and Conservation of the Monuments of the State North Rhine-Westphalia (1980) and the Law for Securing the Natural Balance and Developing the Landscape of the State North Rhine-Westphalia (2011) have to be observed.

The central instrument for the preservation of a nominated World Heritage Site with regard to its continued existence and value is the registration as an architectural or archaeological monument pursuant to Art. 3 of the Monument Preservation Act of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW). Changes to and measures taken on registered architectural and archaeological monuments and their surroundings require the authorization of the Lower Monument Protection Authority in accordance with Art. 9 DSchG NW. This authority has to make its decision in consultation with the Monument Conservation Offices. In the case of disagreement, the relevant Office has the right to ask the

Ministry as Supreme Monument Protection Authority to make a decision.

The Westwork, the forecourt (former atrium) as well as the graveyard in the south of the church are in the ownership of the Parish St Stephanus und Vitus. The areas of the monastery district as well as of the deserted medieval town are the property of the Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. The public streets and road network as well as the harbour are the property of the public authorities. The District of Höxter, the Town of Höxter and the Duke of Ratibor founded the „Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH” for the management of the museum, the cultural and educational programmes. The academic supervision of the princely library is assumed by the Corvey-Institut für Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte gGmbH.

Restoration and renovation work on the buildings as well as archaeological measures are developed and implemented in close cooperation with the competent church and state authorities.

The continuous monitoring and management of the Carolingian Westwork and

the Civitas Corvey is carried out by the owners in close cooperation with the building authorities of the archdiocese of Paderborn, LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen and LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen. Specialised planners and professional companies are employed as required.

The Carolingian Westwork is subject to continuous monitoring by means of measurements and documentation of the following key indicators:

- Monitoring of cracks in the structure
- Monitoring of the inclination of the towers after initial measurement
- Monitoring of the Carolingian plaster
- Continuous test of salt efflorescences
- Material humidity measurements on the basis of electrical conduction

All documentation is archived with the owner and the expert authorities for architectural and archaeological monument conservation.

For the nominated World Heritage Site a Management Plan has been developed. It describes as an integrated planning and management concept the aims and measures necessary to realize the protection, conservation, operation as well as use and sustainable development. Based on the awareness that monuments are sources and testimonials of history and culture, which are to be protected by all means, the strategy of the present Management Plan is based on the consistent implementation of internationally binding legal bases and internationally applicable standards as these have been adopted in national law and substantiated at a regional or municipal level. The site, including its buffer zone nominated for Inscription on the

World Heritage List is protected and maintained according to the legal bases, agreements, recommendations, charters and statutes set forth in the following.

The measures to be carried out in the short and medium term include the further conservation of the Westwork, the church building and the agricultural buildings, the restoration of the organ, the removal of disturbing buildings on the home farm as well as the optimization of visitor management and the touristic infrastructure. Further measures include the development of the deserted medieval town into an archaeological park within the buffer zone, the communication of the World Heritage idea on site, the restoration of the Dreizehnlindenhaus as well as the design of the monastery garden in terms of monument conservation.

3.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Definition according to ICOMOS

According to the typological, chronological-regional and thematic system of ICOMOS the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey belong to the group of religious Christian sites of the Early Middle Ages in Western and Northern Europe.

Identification

444 major sacred buildings are known from the Frankish Empire between 768 until the middle of the 9th century. Among them were 417 monasteries, convents and priories and 27 cathedrals. Only a few of them are completely or partly preserved as monuments, the majority is documented archaeologically or by literary sources (see map, page 50-51).

From the group, which is represented on the World Heritage List by a relatively small number of properties, are to be mentioned as comparative examples the following sites due to the time of their origin and intangible values:

- Aachen Cathedral (Germany),
- Benedictine Abbey of St Gallen (Switzerland)
- Monastic Island of Reichenau (Germany)
- Abbey and Altenmünster of Lorsch (Germany)
- Benedictine Convent of St John at Müstair (Switzerland)
- Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Rheims (France).

In addition the relation to following sites, which are not inscribed on the World Heritage List, has to be analysed:

- Abbey of Corbie (France),
- Abbey of Saint-Riquier, former Centulla (France) and
- other constructions from Carolingian times and the Middle Ages.

Comparative description

Aachen Cathedral. The chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen Cathedral has been preserved as part of one of the most important royal residences of the Early and High Middle Ages. The central building with octagonal floor plan which today forms the core of the Aachen Cathedral and differs markedly from the building parts, which were added at a later point in time, is the earliest large building with a dome north of the Alps. In addition to the use of antique spolia, including the columns and the Roman female bear in the vestibule, Carolingian workshops produced their own outstanding works of art such as the

bronze latticework of the gallery above the side and main entrances. Today, more than twenty antique columns, eight bronze lattices and four bronze gates have been preserved. The builder Odo von Metz succeeded in translating the religious and political ideas of Charlemagne into one unique building following the Western and Eastern Roman building tradition.

Conclusion: As a central building which stands in Byzantine tradition and repeats the construction model of Saint Vitale in Ravenna, the palace chapel in Aachen ranks at the very top of the few preserved Carolingian monuments.

Benedictine Abbey of St Gallen (Switzerland). Apart from the palaces, monasteries were the most important local base of Frankish rule. These also included the Abbey of St Gallen. Today the ensemble of the abbey district, comprising the abbey, the library and the archive, is characterized by Late-Baroque forms. Authentic relics from the period of the Frankish Empire are the unique collections of manuscripts and charters including the plan of the Monastery of St Gallen probably compiled between 819 and 826 in Reichenau Abbey. The earliest pictorial representation of a monastic precinct shows a ground plan of about fifty buildings, the names and functions of which are described by 333 tituli (labels). The largest building of the complex is the abbey to which the scriptorium, the vestry, an accommodation for guest-monks and gate-rooms are connected, followed by the monks' area with dormitory, latrine, bathroom, dining hall, kitchen, bake-house and brewery. Furthermore, the plan describes a guesthouse, the abbot's palace, infirmary and additional working quarters

and workshops in addition to gardens, fences, walls and paths. The buildings might have accommodated more than 100 monks and about 200 workers and servants. Independent of the question whether the St Gallen plan is to be interpreted as a realistic drawing of the buildings or as an ideal plan of the extensive monastic complex also including secular functions, it gives an impression of how an abbey as a religious centre, as missionary centre, school, agricultural estate and administrative base was to be organized according to the ideas of Charlemagne.

Conclusion: The St Gallen monastery plan is of great importance for the interpretation of the archaeological finds from the monastic compound of the Civitas Corvey.

Monastic Island of Reichenau (Germany).

The compilation of the plan of the Convent of St Gallen plan between 819 and 826 at Reichenau Abbey on Reichenau Island is now considered relatively certain. This monastery island which was cultivated by the Benedictines was also a preferred base of the Carolingians. Testimonies of the Carolingian past and monastic culture include the churches of St Maria und Markus in Mittelzell with the oldest parts of the building dating from 816, St Georg in Oberzell with Ottonian wall paintings from the 10th century and Saints Peter and Paul in Niederzell with an apse painting from the late 11th century. All three churches are basilicas with high naves and two lower aisles. In Late-Antiquity the three-aisle basilica was the common form of the parish church, while during the period of the Barbarian Invasions a

reduction of the highly developed church form took place which gave preference to the simple hall church.

Conclusion: The Reichenau churches originating from the 9th century confirm that Carolingian architecture reassumed the basilica form of late Roman churches and thus established a basis for their development in the Romanesque period.

Abbey and Altenmünster of Lorsch (Germany).

Under the aegis of the Carolingians, the Benedictine Abbey of Lorsch also played an important role. The first building, the so-called “Altenmünster”, which was relocated by about 600 meters some years later, was built under King Pippin I. in the 8th century. This abbey was transferred to Charlemagne, who was personally present during the consecration of the church in 774, to become an imperial abbey. The dated gate hall is the only thing preserved from this monastery complex; its original function is still unknown. Half-columns and pilasters with partly Corinthian and partly Ionic-looking capitals are positioned on the front of the two ornate façades, which are decorated with white and red mosaic stones, thereby structuring it vertically. A cornice strip with fine ornaments separates the upper floor from the ground floor optically, the arch openings of which remind one of city gates in Rome or the Porta Nigra in Trier. The stairs in the two flanking towers lead to the hall which was dedicated to St Michael in the 14th century and where remnants of medieval frescos are to be found.

Conclusion: The gate hall is one of the most important examples of the Carolingian Renaissance by means of which the memory of antique Roman tradition and the Carolingian claim of power were documented in close connection to papacy. The foundations of a massive western building have been proved archaeologically.

Benedictine Convent of St John at Müstair. The Benedictine Abbey of St Johann in Müstair in the Swiss Canton of Graubünden, which is considered to have been founded by Charlemagne, is one of the outstanding examples of the artistic design of Carolingian buildings. The most important construction of the monastic complex is the church, dedicated to St John the Baptist. The frescos about 800 are a unique example of religious painting of the Early Middle Ages due to their still preserved existence, high quality and complex theological programme. They are particularly important in understanding the evolution of certain Christian iconographic themes, such as the Last Judgement. Other precious artworks preserved in the Benedictine complex date from successive centuries.

Conclusion: The Benedictine Convent of St John at Müstair is one of the most coherent examples of painting of the Carolingian period and the Middle Ages. The building substance of the simple Carolingian single-nave church has been preserved to a great extent.

Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Rheims (France). In 1991 Rheims Cathedral was inscribed on the World Heritage List as masterpiece of Gothic art. The previous Carolingian building built soon after 816 had a Westwork. The foundations, excavated in 1920/21, do not however give a sufficient impression of the building. The existence of two storeys and the vaulting of the ground floor are at least verified by archaeological features and finds as well as reports in chronicles. As far as the floor plan is known, it was not identical with the one of Corvey.

Conclusion: The archaeological features and finds indicate that the Westwork of Rheims Cathedral had a much simpler architecture in comparison with Corvey.

Abbey of Corbie (France). In Carolingian times Corbie was one of the most important abbeys. The abbots Adalhard (abbot of Corbie 780 – 826) and his half-brother Wala (abbot of Corbie 826-836) founded Corvey abbey, which was called originally „Corbeia nova“.

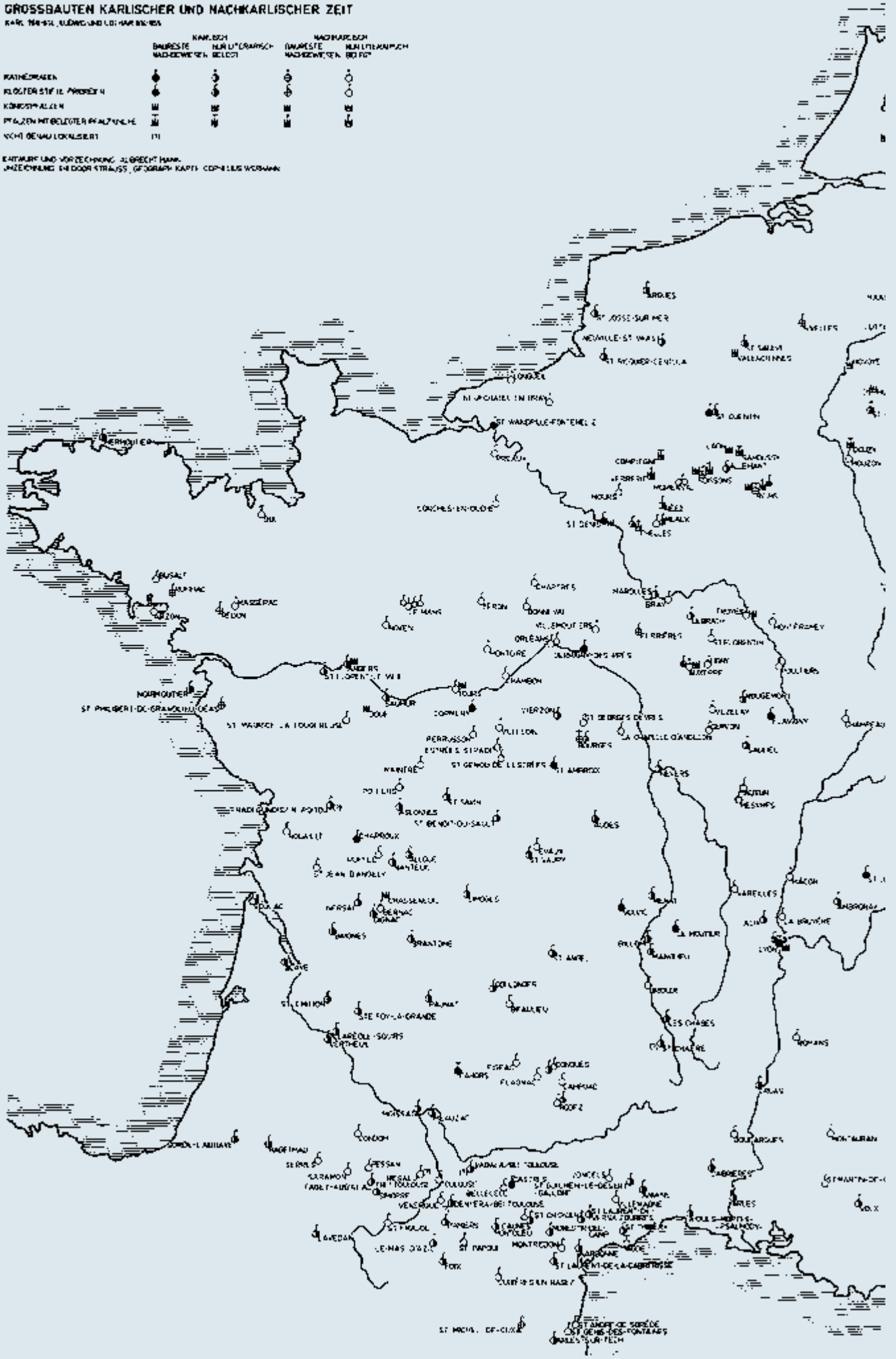
Conclusion: Unfortunately the building structure of this abbey has not been preserved. However, the political significance of the mother monastery suggests that the architectural concept of Corvey has been strongly influenced by Corbie and that the model for the Westwork of Corvey stood there.

GROSSBAUTEN KARLISCHER UND NACHKARLISCHER ZEIT

KARL. ZEIT, KLINGEN UND LOI-KARLISCHER

	KARLISCHER ZEIT		NACHKARLISCHER ZEIT	
	DRÄHREISSE	NACHKARLISCHER ZEIT	DRÄHREISSE	NACHKARLISCHER ZEIT
KATHEDRALEN	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
KLOSTERSTIFTE	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
KÖNIGS-PALÄSTE	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
PALÄSTE MIT BELEHNER-PALÄSTEN	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙
NICHT BEWAHLT	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙

ENTWURF UND VERZEICHNUNG: ALBRECHT HANN
 ZEICHNUNG: H. DOOR STRAUSS, GEOGRAPH. ANST. COPIERTE VON HANN





Abbey of Saint-Riquier, former Centula (France). Not far from Corbie lies Saint-Riquier, once called Centula. Angilbert, the lay abbot of the abbey and one of the closest confidants of Charlemagne, erected a new abbey building between 790 and 799. Based on writings of Angilbert himself and other reports given in chronicles as well as copies of the 17th century based on a lost miniature of the church of the 11th century, we are able to gain an impression of the building. Presently, there is no secured archaeological information. That Centula was known in Corvey can be deduced from its close proximity to the mother monastery of Corbie.

Conclusion: It is, however, obvious that the prototype of the Westwork building type was situated in Centula.

Reception of the Westwork of Corvey. In contrast to Carolingian times, many buildings are known from the following centuries which are more or less similar to the Westwork of Corvey or take up partial aspects of the building type. This indicates a development which can be observed for other building types as well, such as for example the west choir or the west transept, which in Carolingian architecture is limited to a few, mainly important churches, but since Ottonian times became part of the widespread stock of forms available. Among the Westwork types of the 10th and 11th centuries – compared with the habit of variation in medieval architecture – there is a strikingly homogeneous group which contains essential characteristics of the Westwork of Corvey in a simplified form.

At least nine buildings can be attributed to this group according to the present state of research. The datings go back as far as the late 10th century (Soest, St Patrokli; Gernrode) and then into the first decades of the 11th century (Paderborn, Cathedral built by Bishop Meinwerk; Oberkaufungen; Minden probably after an older model first in 1062). All associated buildings are situated in an area where the Ottonian kingdom had its focal point in the 10th and early 11th century. Whether there is a causal relationship is still to be determined. Corvey itself lies right in the middle of this area and the assumption that Corvey encouraged the development of this type and served as a pattern is obvious. Doubtlessly there were other examples, such as the Romanesque Westwork of the abbey in Maursmünster in Alsace shows – an unmistakable echo from a Carolingian pattern.

The building type represented by Corvey experienced many further modifications and is connected with other types in many ways (single tower, west choir). Therefore it has a significant effect on the religious architecture of Western Europe. Examples are to be found from Croatia to Spain. It plays a very important role especially in the Romanesque architecture of France and Germany; an echo can even be found in the brick Gothic of the Baltic Region.

Conclusion: The Westwork and Civitas Corvey and the properties mentioned above already inscribed on the World Heritage List share the fact that they originate from the Carolingian period and the

9th century. The evidence they provide of past times results in all of the properties collectively representing the rise of culture and architecture in the Early Middle Ages. This rise was based on the aspiration of Charlemagne to legitimate his empire as a continuation of the Roman Empire. Forms from Late Antiquity were integrated in architecture and introduced into the buildings which were monumental constructions as large as those in Antiquity, surpassing everything that had been built in the previous 300 years.

As a result of the comparative analysis it remains to be said that the Outstanding Universal Value of the Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey is based on following facts:

- The Westwork represented an absolutely new type of building. Ancient, Early Christian or Merovingian models are not known for the Westwork building type, which also cannot be deduced from written sources. This means that it is a new type of building created during Carolingian times. This is a very rare case since almost all other building types of Pre-Romanesque or Romanesque architecture have their origin in Late Antiquity. The fact, however, that in spite of intensive archaeological research in France and Germany no other secured building of this kind from Carolingian times has become known, suggests that they existed only at a few high-rank churches.
- The Westwork provides the only proof that elements of secular ancient iconography were included in the iconographic programme of Carolingian

sanctuaries. The ornamental system of the Westwork, including remnants of a sea creature cycle in the western neighbouring arcade of which the scene from Ulysses also forms a part, as well as sinopias and fragments of Carolingian stucco figures, which allow an insight into the work's process and pictorial programme of the Westwork.

- To control an empire such as that of the Franks without urban administrative centres and without a developed infrastructure for transport required a special organization. Palaces, abbeys and noble residences served as stops for stays of the king during his regular travels through the country to administer justice and enforce the law locally, to seek advice, show presence and thus affirm the claim to power and the authority of the sovereign. Unfortunately only few buildings or parts of buildings and features have been preserved which document the system of rule and itinerant kingship in the Frankish Empire.

Perfect ideas of a base for the travelling kingship and a large scale monastery of the Carolingian times, as transmitted in the plan of St Gallen, could - on the basis of the favourable site available - be realized to a large extent without any restrictions. At present, there is not a second place known in the Occident in which a construction was realized in such a generous, wide foresighted style and dimension as in Corvey.

3.3 PROPOSED STATEMENT OF OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

a) Brief synthesis

The Westwork of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the few Carolingian structures, the main parts of which have been preserved. Furthermore it is the only preserved example of a Westwork building from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models at a high level. As a building type it has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars on the ground floor as well as the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor make Corvey one of the most striking examples of the „Carolingian Renaissance“. This especially applies to the documented original artistic decoration of the elements which still exist on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, including life-size stucco figures and mythological friezes presenting the only known example of wall paintings of ancient mythology with Christian interpretation in Carolingian times. The structure and the decoration forcefully refer to the world of ideas of Carolingian times which has become essential to western history. Corvey is linked with cultural centres in Europe through historical tradition as well as through the preserved building design and the archaeological evidence also beyond the former Carolingian empire.

Corvey was one of the most influential monasteries of the Frankish Empire. Its missionary task was highly important with regard to politico-religious processes in many parts of Europe. An inscription tablet originating from the time of foundation of the monastery names the Civitas Corvey which can be identified with the area of the monastery through archaeological evidence. With its important scriptorium and one of the outstanding libraries of that time, the monastery was a cultural and a religious centre. Corvey abbey as imperial abbey not only had intellectual and religious functions with regard to the conversion of Saxony and adjacent areas but was also of political and economic importance as an outpost of the Frankish Empire on the edge of the Christian world at that

time. The deserted town close to the Westwork and the monastic compound preserves archaeological evidence of a quite important settlement of the Early and the Late Middle Ages.

b) Justification for Criteria

Criterion (ii): *Corvey possesses the only almost completely preserved Carolingian Westwork. The central main room on the upper floor which is encircled on three sides by galleries is based on ancient patterns in its form and its original artistic decoration for secular rooms of representation; the arch in the entrance hall also takes up ancient construction techniques. All in all, the Westwork formed the basis for further technical and architectural developments.*

Criterion (iii): *The main room on the upper floor served liturgical purposes and high-status uses. The wider monastic area around the monastery itself, which was fortified in 940 at the latest, with school and library and which served as a religious, cultural and economic centre was already established during Carolingian times and included a pilgrim hospice, dwellings for guests and servants, working quarters and workshops. The political and cultural revival under the Carolingians on the edge of the Frankish Empire manifested itself in this complex.*

Criterion (iv): *The Westwork of Corvey abbey is an outstanding testimony to Carolingian building and monastic culture, which was not solely an expression of religious content and clerical goals but also an instrument to secure sovereignty and to develop the country. The former fortified monastic compound and the medieval town growing from the Carolingian centres of settlement around it as archaeological monuments are outstanding documents of political, cultural and economic life in The Middle Ages.*

Criterion (vi): *With the library and a school for future clerics and aristocratic sons who were destined for a religious career, Corvey was the politico-religious centre of Frankish rule in the east of the empire. In*

addition to transcripts of the works of ancient authors, literary works were produced in the scriptorium. These include the „History of the Saxons” by the monk Widukind von Corvey as one of the most important works of western historiography of the 10th century. The technical term „Westwerk“ (Westwork) has become a common term in the history of architecture and art as a result of scientific analysis of Corvey’s Carolingian architecture.

c) Statement of Integrity

The architecturally preserved Westwork and the formerly fortified monastery district which is a protected archaeological monument are comprehensible in terms of location and in the general context. The monastery complex has been preserved in the original size and its integration in the natural environment is undisturbed.

d) Statement of authenticity

The Westwork of Corvey abbey on the River Weser is one of the very rare preserved structures with Carolingian substance right up to the roof and probably the only structure – through the towering front in its outward appearance – through which the lordly pretensions of Carolingian culture still become directly vivid today. The form and the design of the Carolingian Westwork are largely preserved in its original substance and material. Its wall paintings are the only known example of integrated elements of profane ancient iconography in the picture programmes of Carolingian sacred rooms. Corvey offers the only reliably analyzed source of knowledge about the paintings of flat and vaulted plaster ceilings in Carolingian times. Sinopias, preparatory background drawings with red ochre pigment, and stucco fragments of the Westwork are the most important evidence of large-scale sculptures from Carolingian times north of the Alps and at that time the most convincing evidence for the close conceptual and manual synthesis of wall painting and ornamental sculpturing in the decoration system of this epoch. The ground of the former fortified mon-

astery district is of particular value as an archaeological monument because here findings and finds from an obviously systematically built large Carolingian monastery with pertaining dwelling and work areas, graveyards and chapel buildings have been largely preserved unaffected by later destruction. The same applies to the remnants of the settlement preserved in the grounds in front of the monastery’s gates which was deserted in the Late Middle Ages and grew to become a town in the 12th century in which an early urban development without major destruction caused by new settlement activity can be archaeologically traced.

e) Requirements for protection and management

The former St Stephanus und Vitus abbey church and the former monastery complex have been inscribed in the monument register of the Town of Höxter as an architectural monument since 1 June 1986 and the archaeological findings (Civitas) as an underground monument since 3 September 1990. Changes and building measures on monuments and in areas of archaeological findings are subject to authorization according to paragraph 9 DSchG NW. Building activities in the buffer zone and in the perspectives are governed by land development plans, building development plans, statutes with regard to renovation and preservation.

The Westwork and the former abbey are in the possession of the St Stephanus und Vitus parish of Höxter, the former monastery complex is owned by Viktor Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. With regard to the management of the museum as well as cultural and educational programmes, the Höxter District, the Town of Höxter and the Duke founded the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH. Restoration and renovation works on the buildings as well as archaeological measures are carried out by the owners in close cooperation with the church and government authorities in charge.

4. STATE OF CONSERVATION AND FACTORS AFFECTING THE PROPERTY



4. a Present state of conservation

Research on restoration, investigations, measures

Extensive restoration work, which had already been called for in the Dehio in 1912, took place between 1947 and 1966 to address the bad state of preservation. In addition, it was intended to restore the structure to its original Carolingian state as far as possible on the basis of clear and precise findings and evidence. The impressive main room of the Westwork with renewed columns and capitals interpreted in a contemporary way, completely encircled by two-storey arcades, is a result of the structural restoration and the reconstruction of the 1950s and early 1960s. However the removal of all finds not belonging to the Carolingian „original pro-

totype“ and which had been carried out without documentation, sample taking, dendro-chronological dating or architectural clarification has turned out to be problematic for later research.

The wall paintings, which had already been known in part around 1900, have been increasingly revealed since the building measures carried out in 1939 and identified as Carolingian since that time. Revealing of specific areas began in 1954, all wall surfaces were examined once again by Hilde Claussen and the restorer Scholley looking for older plaster and painting in 1959/60. The report which included all finds – even non-Carolingian – is the only documentation of non-Carolingian changes with regard to the wall sections which in the meantime were cov-

ered by plaster again, and the only basis of architectural analysis and phase allocation of these structural parts by Lobbedey. The visible inclination of the western tower façade together with the cracks in the wall led to an extensive intervention between 1960 and 1965. The foundation was expanded with concrete and hollows in the walls were backfilled by means of a then frequently used procedure called “Torkretierung” (dry spraying process), i.e. liquid cement was injected into the façade from above for stabilization. As a consequence however, the historical external plaster was largely lost and humidity damage as well as an increased salt exposure on the inside occurred. The floor in the entire façade area and the adjoining bay on the inside of the Westwork were sealed by means of a concrete slab below the façade and made inaccessible for excavations.

An extensive restoration of the façade took place in 1983/84. The necessary external scaffolding of the entire tower construction on the one hand allowed for a detailed observation of otherwise non-accessible parts and thus provided important progress. On the other hand a part of the finds, which had just been observed, was destroyed by new jointing and replacement of the damaged masonry. Extensive revealing of the masonry was carried out in 1992 after the finding of the sinopias, preparatory background drawings, which document the formerly existing life-size figures above the arcade pillars of the upper floor.

Since then, in addition to measures to preserve the structure, individual investigations have been carried out under the floor of the St John’s-choir and under the wall plaster of the 1960s to resolve ar-

chitectural questions. An essential measure to save the Carolingian wall plaster in the staircases of the towers was a project funded by the German Federal Foundation for the Environment (DBU): the open arcade storeys of the towers and the middle structure were sealed with plastic sheeting and self developed mortar and the water drainage of the front building on the western façade was improved between 2007 and 2009. Moisture penetration due to pollution as a consequence of environmental influences had caused structural damage or even loss of substance in the area of the historical plaster walls. The restorer Eva Möllenkamp, accompanied by Beat Sigrist, the expert restorer of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen as well as by the Laboratory for Building Materials of the University of Holzminden, stabilized the wall plaster of the staircase and mapped all existing mortar and plaster from Carolingian times until the present.

At the moment a restoration survey of the condition of the Carolingian and medieval wall paintings, plaster and fragments of architectural colour ornamentation is being prepared. No complete and continuous recording and monitoring of the status of preservation has taken place since the revealing of the paintings at the end of the 1950s and the later discovery of fragments of architectural colour ornamentation. Due to the symptoms caused by damage an examination of the restoration is required from a monument preservation perspective.

Gerhard Drescher and Peter Butt prepared a catalogue of damage on 28 December 2000 according to which part of the wall paintings, plaster and fragments of the architectural colour ornamentation in the

Westwork showed acute damage and are threatened by continuous decay and loss. Beat Sigrist summarized the situation on 26 January 2006 as follows:

Location	Symptoms
St John's choir, western gallery, southeastern corner, above	surfaces with "faded" paintings
St John's choir, western wall, middle bay, south-western corner	Partially humid plaster areas and surfaces with paintings related to the system of water drainage
Ground floor, columned hall, south aisle, north wall below the flat ceiling	Loosened plaster with Carolingian painting
Ground floor, columned hall, columns/capitels	Fragments of colour ornamentation cracking off and minimized due to salification
Towers, staircases	Degrading and minimized plaster due to salification

In the scope of the DBU-funded project in 2007 – 2009, some causes of damage which were obviously related to external influences could be eliminated such as the sealing of the tower rooms which used to be open and the controlled water drainage of the front building of the western façade. A preliminary analysis as a basis for a necessary complete recording and monitoring of the status was prepared by Beat Sigrist, restorer of the LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, in May 2011.

Archaeological research in the monastery district

Archaeological research in the monastery district and exploration of finds preserved underground began in Corvey with small investigations by Wilhelm Effmann at the end of the 19th century when traces of the nave of the Carolingian monastery church were excavated. The search for individual elements of the development of the construction of the church and the atrium which had been derived from other sour-

ces was continued only by small pits and trenches dug by architects and art historians in the first half of the 20th century. Friedrich Esterhues, the first professional excavator, started his work in 1951/52. The external crypt which was known at that time from the plans dated 1665, the northern transept arm, some areas of the former southern cloister wing and the east room of the Westwork were explored by means of excavation trenches. However, only the large-scale investigations according to modern methods under the supervision of Uwe Lobbedey brought reliable knowledge about the building history. The inside of the baroque church was investigated in 1974/75, the Westwork in 1977 and the forecourt to the west of the church in 1995 including the finding of the two building phases of the atrium. Remnants of the southern cloister wing of the medieval monastic precinct were revealed in the present graveyard, immediately to the north of the church in 1976 and 1993. These large-scale excavations were completed by a smaller excavation in the area of the pre-baroque southern transept arm in 1999 and small investigations north and south of the church in 1976 and 2000. These investigations, through which essential characteristics of the first abbey church which was consecrated in 844, the late-Carolingian extensions of its eastern parts, the first atrium preceding the Westwork followed by the second atrium as well as some base lines of the development of the northern cloister building could be identified, have so far only been published in the form of preliminary reports. The final edition of the excavation results which are to be combined with the presentation of the findings and results of the structural analysis in the Westwork has just been completed and published.

During intensive excavation activities which involved the abbey and its immediate surroundings the boundaries of the monastery district within the remaining nominated site first came into focus. Building director Fritz Sagebiel from Höxter, commissioned by the Provincial Curator Rave, carried out searches and excavations which probably, and in part certainly, led to the discovery of pre-baroque stonework on the northern, southern and eastern boundaries of the monastery area and indicated possible gate positions. In addition, walls of the “Werneburg”, which was later identified as the abbots’ castle, were discovered in the northeastern corner of the monastery area. Further investigation of the monastery district took place thanks to Hans-Georg Stephan who starting in the 1970s has continuously made observations with regard to the area relief, recovered surface finds and documented small excavations. These include exploration of part of the area with a grid of investigations using a bore-rod in 1984, observation of an extensive drainage construction project around the baroque buildings in 1988 and a test section through the fortification of the abbots’ castle, extended by an area excavation in its interior in 1990-1992 which led to the discovery of finds originating from the early days of the monastery. Stephan published his collected knowledge in „Studien zur Siedlungsentwicklung von Stadt und Reichskloster Corvey” in 2000. Andreas König, the archaeologist of the Town of Höxter has also been active in the monastery area since 1986, most recently during the planning phase of a construction road south of the church.

Summarising the investigations in the monastery area, which can be largely categorized as archaeological surveys, the following impression can be gained: the

baroque ditch leading directly along the present castle to the north and which was in the meantime partly backfilled was preceded by a medieval ditch leading in the same direction accompanied by pre-baroque walls in the south. To the east there are traces of an older wall running almost parallel just outside and inside the baroque monastery walls. To the south there are walls and remnants of walls probably originating from pre-baroque times along the baroque monastery boundaries. Like the ones in the north, these boundaries represent a clear line between early and late medieval finds. Knowledge about the western boundary has been scarce so far. But also in this case a demarcation of the older monastery area has to be assumed approximately along the baroque lines. According to current knowledge it can be assumed that not only the late medieval boundaries but also the Carolingian boundaries of the monastery area corresponded at least approximately to the described baroque ditches and walls. The fortification of the area around 940 can be assumed from the grant in that year to the monastery of castle immunity with the right of obligatory labour.

The abbey church was situated almost exactly in the centre of the fortified area. Cloister and monastic precinct have been located to the north since Carolingian times. The west and north wing of the monastic precinct have a baroque superstructure, the location of the medieval east wing is still unexplored in the baroque courtyard, the present graveyard (Friedgarten). On the northern edge of the precinct building runs the water canal of the „Grube” - since Carolingian times and probably supplied with water from the Schelpe since the 12th century- coming from a valley west of Höxter and flowing

into the River Weser. According to written and archaeological sources there were graveyards in the north-east, east and south of the church. In medieval times, according to archaeological observations, the burial site stretched south beyond the limits of today's graveyard and in westerly direction to the area south of the former atrium. South of the graveyard there are indications of stone buildings, cellars and wells. In the south-west, sunken rooms of the Early Middle Ages (pithouses/cellars) have also been identified. Many traces of older stone buildings have also been found west and east of the baroque abbey with indications of the processing of glass and non-ferrous metal, especially north of the medieval monastic precinct. An area which was used particularly early is located close to the later abbots' castle: in an area at a bay of the River Weser, which was later inundated. Remnants of buildings and indications for the processing of stone and nonferrous metal with ceramics from the foundation period of the monastery were found here. The written sources suggest that within the monastery area, in addition to the church and rectangular precinct, the infirmary of the monks and the graveyard of the monks with its own chapels, at least three more chapels outside of the precinct, the medieval abbots' palace which was presumably located north of the atrium, the pilgrim hospice, completed by dwellings for distinguished guests, the clergy, officials in the knightly retinue and dependents of the monastery, many working quarters and mills existed. At the end of the 13th century, the so-called „Werneburg“ of the Corvey abbots was built. The ditch and

wall of this castle which was destroyed in early modern times could be archeologically established in the north-eastern corner of the monastery district. There are only preliminary results available from the geomagnetic analyses which were carried out in 2011. They refer to archaeological finds especially in the service buildings of the former monastery as well as to the west of the Westwork and the baroque west wing. The present garden areas, which are situated at a distance to the buildings east of the monastery, hardly show any anomalies. In the area of the former abbots' castle there are more indications of archaeological finds.

It is intended to complete the archaeological survey in the area of the „Friedgarten“ and the former abbots' castle by ground radar analyses. Data of an aerial relief survey (LIDAR) have to be analysed. Knowledge about soil structures and recent disturbances is to be clarified by investigations with bore-rod in the eastern area of the monastery.

Previous as well as future archaeological surveys aim at gaining knowledge about structures in the ground without invasive destruction of the archaeological monument. The superior goal of archaeological monument preservation is to conserve an intact archaeological monument in the ground. Every intervention in the ground is a change which requires an authorization according to monument law pursuant to Art. 9 DSchG NW. Some measures listed in the catalogue of measures involve interventions in the ground which require archaeological support and documenta-

tion and in some cases preliminary clarification. With regard to all authorization procedures in accordance with monument law it has to be observed that in this case an archaeological monument of Outstanding Universal Value is involved.

4.b Factors affecting the property

The factors that could affect the property are referred to in chapter 5.4 Threats and preventive protection of the Management Plan, appended as Annex A.

(i) Development Pressures

There is hardly any development pressure with regard to the proposed World Heritage Site. Industrial zones, road and bridge construction projects which could have an impact on the proposed World Heritage Site are not planned. The utilization pressure possibly arising from agricultural activities is to be addressed by means of a transfer of colliding uses out of the core and buffer zones (see Management Plan, chapter 5.4.5).

(ii) Environmental pressures

There is no knowledge of negative impacts due to environmental influences.

(iii) Natural disasters and risk preparedness

The altitudes of the buildings of the present castle complex, the park and garden area (≥ 92 m above sea level) place them outside the flooding area which was determined for the Corvey area (≤ 91.23 m above sea level), the surrounding areas can however be flooded during exceptional floods which take place perhaps once

a century. A risk for the proposed World Heritage Site is therefore hypothetical (see Management Plan, chapter 5.4.2).

The proposed World Heritage Site is protected by means of organizational and technical measures against vandalism, burglary and fire (see Management Plan, chapters 5.4.1 and 5.4.3).

An inclination of the two towers of the Westwork towards the west due to a still unexplained cause has been determined. Further observations and investigations of the possible cause studies will be carried out.

(iv) Responsible visitation at World Heritage Sites

Due to the „World Heritage” status increasing numbers of visitors can be expected. It is not assumed that the number will exceed the acceptable extent in respect of the monument. All planned structural changes aim at an improved infrastructure as well as an increased in attractiveness for visitors (see Management Plan, chapter 5.4.5).

(v) Number of inhabitants within the property and the buffer zone

- Area of nominated property:
50 permanent residents (2011)
- Buffer zone:
44 permanent residents (2011)
- Total:
94 permanent residents (2011)

The protection and management of the site, including its buffer zones, proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List are described in detail in the Management Plan which is enclosed as annex A.

5.a Ownership

The Westwork, the church, the forecourt (former atrium) as well as the graveyard to the south of the church are owned by the parish of St Stephanus and Vitus. The area of the former monastery district (Civitas) as well as the area of the deserted town (buffer zone) is owned by Viktor Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey.

- Kath. Pfarrgemeinde St Stephanus und Vitus im Pastoralverbund Höxter
Marktstr. 21 · 37671 Höxter
Tel.: +49 (0)5271 7514
Fax: +49 (0)5271 9516783
E-Mail: info@pv-hx.de
- Herzog von Ratibor'sche
Generalverwaltung Corvey
Schloss Corvey · 37671 Höxter
Tel.: +49 (0)5271 68119
Fax: +49 (0)5271 68140
E-Mail: verwaltung@corvey.de

5.b Protective designation

The Westwork and the former abbey church and today's parish church of St Stephanus and Vitus and the former monastery district (Civitas) were recorded on the historic monument list of the Town of Höxter in accordance with Art. 3 of the Act for the Protection and Conservation of Historical Monuments of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW) in 1986 and 1990. Changes to and building projects on the historic monument and in

the area of the archaeological monument are subject to authorization in accordance with Art. 9 DSchG NW. Construction work in the buffer zones and points of view are governed by existing plans and statutes and also by those which are being changed (regional plan, land-use plan, development plan, landscape plan, statutes on design and maintenance).

5.c Means of implementing protective measures

In Germany, the federal states are responsible for the protection and management of the cultural heritage.

The central instrument for the preservation of a nominated World Heritage Site with regard to its continued existence and value is its registration as an architectural or archaeological monument pursuant to Art. 3 of the Monument Protection Law of the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW). Changes to and measures taken on registered architectural and archaeological monuments and their surroundings require the authorization of the Lower Monument Protection Authority in accordance with Art. 9 DSchG NW. This authority has to make its decision in consultation with the Monument Conservation Offices of the LWL. In the case of disagreement, the relevant Office has the right to ask the Ministry as Supreme Monument Protection Authority to make a decision.

Legal definitions with regard to planning and building measures are included in the regulations of federal and state law. The regulations which are binding for the nominated World Heritage Site and the suggested buffer zone are the following legal instruments:

- World Heritage Convention
- Monument Protection Law of the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia
- State development plan North Rhine-Westphalia
- Regional plan
- Landscape plan
- Municipal building management
- Planning
- Design by-laws
- Preservation by-laws

5.d Existing plans related to municipality and region in which the proposed property is located

The historic monument, including its buffer zone nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List, is described in the land-use plan (FNP) of the Town of Höxter. The land-use plan developed in accordance with Art. 5 German Building Code (BauGB) was prepared by the Town of Höxter in compliance with the higher goals of regional development, state planning and regional planning in the scope of their municipal planning competence. It is legally binding and to be observed by all authorities.

The land-use plan (FNP) describes the abbey complex as a special area designated for cultural purpose. The area of the deserted town is mainly described as agricultural land. The designation as an archaeological monument, landscape conservation area and flooding area has been integrated in the land-use plan for information. The course of the fortification of the deserted town has also been integrated in the land-use plan for information.

5.e Property management plan or other management system

For the nominated World Heritage Site a Management Plan has been developed. It was prepared together with the owners, the representatives of the Town of Höxter, the District of Höxter, the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe (LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen), Pesch und Partner, architects and urban planners, Werkgemeinschaft Freiraum Landschaftsarchitekten and the Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia. It serves as an integrated planning and action concept for the determination of goals and measures with regard to the protection, maintenance, use, development and communication of the nominated World Heritage Site *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* which are to be safeguarded and implemented.

Its central aim is to register, preserve, protect and to adequately present the cultural property nominated for Inscription on the World Heritage List in accordance with Art. 5 of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. On the basis of this jointly developed Management Plan the owners, the Town of Höxter, the District of Höxter, the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe and the State of North Rhine-Westphalia pursue the intention of safeguarding a comprehensive, permanent and sustainable protection of the site which is nominated for Inscription on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List.

The format of the Management Plan is based on the publication „Management Plans for World Heritage Sites – A prac-

tical guide”, published by the German Commission for UNESCO in 2008.

Format of the Management Plan

1. Fundamental concern – content and objective

- 1.1 Goals
- 1.2 Competent authorities
- 1.3 Contact data
- 1.4 Structure
- 1.5 Annexes

2. World Heritage attributes

- 2.1 Statement of significance of the site and justification of its Outstanding Universal Value
 - 2.1.1 Short description
 - 2.1.2 Justification of the criteria
- 2.2. Statement of integrity and authenticity
 - 2.2.1 Integrity
 - 2.2.2 Authenticity

3. Subject of protection, protection goal and instruments of protection

- 3.1 Subject of protection
- 3.2 Projection goal
- 3.3 Instruments of protection
 - 3.3.1 The World Heritage Convention
 - 3.3.2 Other international conventions and charters
 - 3.3.2.1 International conventions
 - 3.3.2.2 International agreements and charters
 - 3.3.3 National law and planning system

- 3.3.3.1 Monument Protection Law of the State of North-Rhine Westphalia
- 3.3.3.2 State development plan North-Rhine Westphalia
- 3.3.3.3 Regional plan
- 3.3.3.4 Landscape plan
- 3.3.3.5 Municipal building management planning
- 3.3.4 By-laws
 - 3.3.4.1 Design by-laws
 - 3.3.4.2 Preservation by-laws

4. Protected area

- 4.1 Boundaries of the World Heritage Site
- 4.2 Buffer zones
- 4.3 Protection of view perspectives, silhouette and panorama
 - 4.3.1 View perspectives: Visual relationships towards Corvey
 - 4.3.2 View perspectives: Visual relationships from and towards Corvey
- 4.4 Historical views – View perspectives towards Corvey

5. Management system

- 5.1 Management structure
 - 5.1.1 Authorities and procedures
 - 5.1.2 Ownership structure and responsible bodies
 - 5.1.3 Co-ordination
- 5.2 Basic principles for planning and acting
 - 5.2.1 Objectives, targets and strategies
 - 5.2.2 Masterplan and catalogue of measures
 - 5.2.2.1 Reorganization of the traffic situation
 - 5.2.2.2 Measures in the surroundings of the World Heritage Site

5.2.2.3	Buffer zone and deserted medieval town	6.2	Höxter - Corvey: citizens' town and imperial abbey
5.2.2.4	Westwork and Civitas Corvey		
5.2.2.5	Catalogue of measures	6.3	Local surroundings: relics of the imperial abbey of Corvey
5.3	Science and research		
5.3.1	Art historical research on architecture and building history	6.4	Region: Monasteries in the Weserbergland region and in the Kulturland Kreis Höxter (Cultural District of Höxter)
5.3.2	Research on restoration, investigations, measures		
5.3.3	Archaeological research in the monastery district	7.	Sustainable use
5.3.4	The scientific investigation of the deserted medieval town of Corvey	8.	Resources
5.3.5	Archaeological prospection of the nominated site, the buffer zone and the surroundings	8.1	Staff
5.3.6	Library research	8.2	Budget
5.3.6.1	Medieval library and scriptorium		
5.3.6.2	Baroque monastery library		
5.3.6.3	Princely library of Corvey		
5.4	Threats and preventive protection		
5.4.1	Fire		
5.4.2	Flooding		
5.4.3	Vandalism / burglary		
5.4.4	Impact due to disturbing building measures or use		
5.4.5	Pressures of development and use		
5.5	Monitoring, quality assurance and conflict management		
5.5.1	Monitoring		
5.5.2	Quality assurance		
5.5.3	Conflict management		
5.6	Visitor guidance and information		
5.6.1	Visitor guidance		
5.6.2	Communication		
5.6.3	Monument and museum education		
5.6.4	Events / special events		
6.	Tourism		
6.1	World Heritage Corvey: Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey		
			Attachment
			I. Act for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia
			II. Wording of the registration of the monuments listed by the Town of Höxter Lower Monument Protection Authority
			III. Historic views: view perspectives towards Corvey, Picture credits
			IV. Figures and photo credits
		5.f	Sources and levels of finance
		■	Parish
			The maintenance and care of the church building, including the atrium and the graveyard is funded by the parish's own financial means and with the financial means of the archdiocese of Paderborn. A supporting society has been established for the restoration of the baroque organ.
			Financial means from the historical monument support programme of the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia amounting to EUR 595.000 have been made available between 1980 and 2011.

■ Office of the Duke of Ratibor

(Herzog von Ratibor'sche Rentkammer)

The remaining buildings of the World Heritage Site are largely rented out, especially for museum use. The rental income generated in this way is completely used for the restoration and maintenance of the buildings and facilities. Costs in excess of this are financed in the scope of state funding.

Financial means from the historical monument support programme of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia amounting to EUR 3,508,182 have been made available between 1980 and 2011.

■ Museum

The museum is supported by the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH. The financing of the necessary budget is based on visitor admission fees. There is also a supporting society „Kulturfreunde Corvey“. Deficits in excess are funded by the Town and the District of Höxter.

Financial means amounting to EUR 3.66 million from the urban development support programme of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia have been made available for the renovation of the museum and the presentation of the princely library between 1987 and 2011.

The budget of the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH amounts to EUR 300,000 in 2012.

5.g Sources of expertise and training in conservation and management techniques

The owners and the scientific management of the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH which is responsible for the man-

agement of the museum of the nominated World Heritage Site are given professional advice and support for the conservation and management of Corvey with regard to building maintenance and conservation, investigation and inventorization as well as museum presentation, etc. by the following institutions:

■ Ministerium für Bauen, Wohnen, Stadtentwicklung und Verkehr des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen (MBWSV)
Oberste Denkmalbehörde
Jürgensplatz 1 · 40219 Düsseldorf
Tel.: + 49 (0)211 3843-5241
Fax: + 49 (0)211 3843-93-5241
E-Mail: info@mwebwv.nrw.de

■ LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen
Fürstenbergstr. 15 · 48147 Münster
Tel.: + 49 (0)251 591-4036
Fax: + 49 (0)251 591-4025
E-Mail: dlbw@lwl.org

■ LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen
An den Speichern 7 · 48157 Münster
Tel.: + 49 (0)251 591-8801
Fax: + 49 (0)251 591-8805
E-Mail: lwl-archaeologie@lwl.org

■ Stadt Höxter
Stadtarchäologie, Stadtarchiv und Untere Denkmalbehörde
Westerbachstr. 45 · 37671 Höxter
Tel.: + 49 (0)5271 963-0
Fax: + 49 (0)5271 963-1900
E-Mail: rathaus@hoexter.de

■ Erzbischöfliches Generalvikariat
Bauamt
Domplatz 3 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: + 49 (0)5251 125-0
Fax: + 49 (0)5251 125-1470
E-Mail: generalvikariat@erzbistum-paderborn.de

- Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek
Leostr. 21 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: + 49 (0)5251 290 480
Fax: + 49 (0)5251 282 575
E-Mail: info@eab-paderborn.de
- Diözesanmuseum Paderborn
Markt 17 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: + 49 (0)5251 125-1400
Fax: + 49 (0)5251 125-1495
E-Mail: museum@erzbistum-paderborn.de
- CORVEY-INSTITUT für Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte gGmbH
Universität Paderborn
Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften
Warburger Str. 100 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: + 49 (0)5251 60-3093
Fax: + 49 (0)5251 60-4202
E-Mail: tiggess@hrz.upb.de

5.h Visitor facilities and infrastructure

Visitor facilities:

- Church (place of worship and prayer, pilgrimage site)
- Museum
- Concert halls
- Restaurant
- Hotel / guest house
- Canoe rental
- Transport links
 - Local transport bus stop
 - Link to district road
 - Shipping pier, link to regular ship line (Flotte Weser)
 - Pier for water sportsmen
 - National bicycle route (Weserradweg)
 - Long-distance hiking trail
 - Pilgrimage route of St James
 - Parking place for visitors' cars
 - Special parking space for the disabled
 - Special parking place for coaches
 - Space for parking bicycles

Statistics

There is a museum in the castle which attracts approx. 50.000 visitors per year, these being statistically registered by means of entrance tickets. In addition, there are about 35.000 visitors of concerts, events and the other facilities.

5.i Policies and programmes related to the presentation and promotion of the property

The Westwork, the church and the complex of the present castle have had a high cultural appeal for decades. The Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH is in charge of the museum presentation and the cultural offers.

The museum is regularly open to the public between April and November (special events, guided tours and museum education programmes are also offered out of the season). The programme giving information about concerts, events, guided tours and museum education is issued annually. Furthermore, printed information and guide books on the architecture and history of the complex are available.

The museum in the castle documents the art, culture and history of Corvey and Höxter in the scope of a permanent exhibition and also shows special exhibitions which change annually. The Corvey Music Weeks which have been in existence since 1954 take place usually with their own especial motto. Further musical events complete the programme.

The museum and cultural offer of the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH is integrated in the touristic sales and marketing structure of the Town and District of Höxter, the tourism association of *Teutoburger*

Wald and *Weserbergland* as well as the tourism organizations of the Federal States of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

The existing facilities, offers and programmes and the optimization plan are set forth in chapter 5.6 Visitor guidance and communication of the Management Plan which is appended to this document as annex A.

5.j Staffing levels and expertise

The employees of the different institutions directly involved in the nominated World Heritage Site in 2011 are listed below. The list only includes employees who are directly involved in the administration or the operation of the nominated World Heritage Site. This is completed by employees of the leased Schlossrestaurant as well as several domiciled companies e. g. hotel / guesthouse, wine shop as well as service providers and craftsmen, among others.

a) Parish of St. Stephanus und Vitus

- 1 Chairman of the parish church council (parish dean)
- 6 Voluntary members of parish church council
- 2 Sextons
- 3 Supervisory staff

b) Office of the Duke of Ratibor

- 1 Manager
- 1 Secretary
- 1 Accountant
- 1 Real estate agent
- 1 Carpenter
- 1 Mason
- 1 Painter
- 1 Craftsman
- 2 Gardeners

c) Kulturkreis Höxter Corvey gGmbH/ Museum

- 1 Museum manager/general management
- 1 Tourism and marketing staff
- 1 Accountant
- 1 Event management
- 1 Secretary
- 1 Museum pedagogue
- 1 Facility manager
- 3 Museum shop assistants
- 5 Supervisory staff

d) Library and archive

- 1 Librarian and archivist

6.a Key indicators for measuring state of conservation

Essential key indicators referred to in the Management Plan which is appended as annex A, and which are explained in chapters 5.2.2.5 and 5.5.1 include the following:

Indicator	Area	Periodicity	Location of Records
Monitoring of cracks in the structure	Westwork	Continuously	LWL- Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster, Architekturbüro Henne, Höxter
Monitoring of the inclination of the towers	Westwork	Continuously	LWL- Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster, Architekturbüro Henne, Höxter
Observation of salt efflorescences	Westwork	Continuously	LWL- Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster, Architekturbüro Henne, Höxter
Monitoring of the Carolingian plaster	Westwork	Continuously	LWL- Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster, Architekturbüro Henne, Höxter
Material humidity measurement on the basis of electrical conductivity	Westwork	Continuously	LWL- Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster, Architekturbüro Henne, Höxter
Underground interventions	Corvey	Continuously; critical consideration of measures according to the respective occasion	LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen, Herzog von Ratibor'sche Generalverwaltung, Town of Höxter,
Monitoring of roof surfaces and façades with regard to impermeability	Baroque complex	Continuously	Herzog von Ratibor'sche Generalverwaltung
Monitoring of room temperature	Museum	Continuously	Kulturkreis, LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster

6.b Administrative arrangements for monitoring property

A Management Plan, which is appended to this document as annex A, was developed in respect of the nominated World Heritage Site. It serves as an integrated planning and action concept for the determination of goals and measures with regard to the protection, maintenance, utilization, development and communication of the nominated World Heritage Site *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* which are to be safeguarded and imple-

mented. Its central aim is to register, preserve, protect and to adequately present the cultural property nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List in accordance with Art. 5 of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

6.c Results of previous reporting exercises

To date the nominated property has not been subject to a reporting requirement, therefore there are no results available.

7.a Photographs and audiovisual image inventory and authorization form

Historic and current photographs of the nominated property in printed form can be found in the volume "Material accompanying the application: Maps and pictures". Current photographs in digital form including the print authorization can be found in the DVD inside the rear cover of this volume.

1. Aerial views, General views of the monastery

- 1 001 Aerial view
- 1 002 General views of the monastery

2. Westwork

- 2 001 Westwork outside: general views
- 2 002 Westwork outside: details
- 2 003 Westwork interior: ground floor
- 2 004 Westwork interior: upper floor

3. Church house

- 3 001 Church outside
- 3 002 Church inside

4. Civitas: Area of the former Monastery and the present Castle

- 4 001 buildings and yards on the archaeological area of the former Civitas
- 4 002 Courtyard and cloister
- 4 003 Borders of the Civitas

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
1 001 01	tif	Aerial view	06/2010	Baoquan Song, Bochum	Baoquan Song, Bochum	Ruhr-Universität Bochum Faculty of History Am Bergbaumuseum 31 44791 Bochum Tel.: 0234-32-22551 Baoquan.Song@ruhr-uni-bochum.de	Yes
1 002 01	tif	View from southwest	04/2005	Henning Fischer, Höxter	Henning Fischer, Höxter	Henning Fischer Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-8101 h.fischer@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 02	jpeg	View from the Heiligenberg into the valley of the River Weser	05/2011	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-1120 m.koch@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 03	jpeg	View across the ruins of the monastery of tom Roden towards Corvey	04/2005	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-1120 m.koch@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 04	tif	View from the south		Beate Sikorski, Bochum	Beate Sikorski, Bochum	Ruhr-Universität Bochum Faculty of History Am Bergbaumuseum 31 44791 Bochum Tel.: +49 234-32-23382 fs-archaeologie@rub.de	Yes

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
2 001 01	tif	Westwork, view from northwest	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Schloss Corvey 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 694010 Fax: +49 (0)5271 694400 empfang@schloss-corvey.de	Yes
2 001 02	tif	Westwork, view from the west	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 001 03	tif	Churchyard	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 001 04	tif	Church view from the south	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 002 05	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 002 06	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade: inscription tablet	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 002 07	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade: inscription tablet	um 1995	LWL-Fotoabteilung	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Fürstenbergstr. 15 48147 Münster Tel.: + 49 (0)251 591-4036 Fax: + 49 (0)251 591-4025 dlbw@lwl.org	Yes
2 003 01	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 02	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 03	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 04		Westwork, ground floor towards the southeast	um 1995	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 05	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 01	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the west	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 02	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the southeast	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 03	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the south	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
2 004 04	tif	Westwork, south wall of the upper floor, eastern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 05	tif	Westwork, south wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 06	tif	Westwork, west wall of the upper floor, southern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 07	tif	Westwork, west wall of the upper floor, northern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 08	tif	Westwork, north wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 09	tif	Westwork, north wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	1995	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 10	tif	Westwork, upper floor, vault of the west room with figurative scenes	01/2007	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 11	tif	Westwork, soffit arch of the west arcade, upper floor	12/2006	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 12	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	12/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 13	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 14	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 15	tif	Westwork, figurative frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 16	tif	Westwork, upper floor, fragment of the southern arcade, western gallery	12/2006	Renvert, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
2 004 17	tif	Westwork, upper floor, best finds of the frieze of sloped semicircles	11/2006	Goege, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 18	tif	Westwork, upper floor, soffits with rudiments of frieze, north gallery	12/2006	Goege, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
3 001 01	tif	Graveyard	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
3 002 01	tif	Interior of the church	05/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 01	tif	Castle of Corvey, view from northwest	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 02	tif	Castle of Corvey, view from the west: Civitas	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 03	tif	Castle of Corvey, castle square: Civitas	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 002 01	tif	Courtyard of the castle	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 002 02	tif	Cloister	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 01	tif	Castle of Corvey, ditch on the west side, view to the south	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 02	tif	Promenade on the banks of the River Weser; border of the Civitas	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 03	tif	Field cross Dreizehnlinden near the banks of the River Weser; border of the Civitas	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 04	tif	The Corveyer Allee, view to the west	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes

7.b Texts relating to protective designation, copies of property management plans or documented management systems and extracts of other plans relevant to the property

The justifications in respect of the monument value are printed in the Management Plan, which is appended to this document as annex A. The management system, including the authority structure, competences and procedures as well as the legal bases, are described in detail therein.

7.c Form and date of the most recent records or inventory of property

The following inventories and records exist:

- Inventory of the museum, file card record, 2011
- Inventory of the church, file card record, 2009
- Catalogues of the monastery libraries: Online catalogue (OPAC) at the Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek (in the process of development)
- Catalogue of the princely library: digital and printed, 1999
- Archival material in:
 - State Archives North Rhine-Westphalia, department for Westphalia, Münster;
 - Archive of the Archdiocese of Paderborn, Paderborn
- Plan archive, LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster
- Picture archive, LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster
- Depot of finds, LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen, Münster

7.d Address where inventory, records and archives are held

Inventory of the museum:

- Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH
Schloss Corvey · 37671 Höxter
Tel.: +49 (0)5 271 694010
Fax: +49 (0)5 271 694400
E-Mail: empfang@schloss-corvey.de

Inventory of the church:

- Diözesanmuseum Paderborn
Markt 17 · 33102 Paderborn
Tel.: +49 (0)5251 125-1400
Fax: +49 (0)5251 125-1495
E-Mail: christoph.stiegemann@erzbistum-paderborn.de

Inventories of the libraries:

- Former monastery library:
 - Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek Paderborn (EAB)
Leostr. 21 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: +49 (0)5251 2904-80
Fax: +49 (0)5251 2904-88
E-Mail: info@eab-paderborn.de
- Princely library:
 - CORVEY-INSTITUT für Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte GmbH
Universität Paderborn
Fakultät für Kulturwissenschaften
Warburger Str. 100 · 33098 Paderborn
Tel.: +49 (0)5251 60-3093
Fax: +49 (0)5251 60-4202
E-Mail: tigges@hrz.upb.de

Inventories of archive materials:

- Landesarchiv NRW
Abteilung Westfalen
Bohlweg 2, 48147 Münster
Tel.: +49 (0)251 4885-0
Fax: +49 (0)251 4885-100
E-Mail: westfalen@lav.nrw.de

- Erzbischöfliches Generalvikariat
Erzbistumsarchiv
Domplatz, 333098 Paderborn
Tel.: +49 (0)5251 125-1252
Fax: +49 (0)5251 125-1470
E-Mail:
archiv@erzbistum-paderborn.de
- LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und
Baukultur in Westfalen
Fürstenbergstr. 15, 48147 Münster
Tel.: +49 (0)251 591-4036
Fax: +49 (0)251 591-4025
E-Mail: dlbw@lwl.org
- LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen
An den Speichern 7, 48157 Münster
Tel.: +49 (0)251 591-8801
Fax: +49 (0)251 591-8805
E-Mail: lwl-archaeologie@lwl.org

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- Claussen, Hilde: Karolingische Sinopien und Stuckfragmente im Corveyer Westwerk. In: Sinopien und Stuck im Westwerk der karolingischen Klosterkirche von Corvey, edited by Joachim Poeschke, Münster 2002, p. 9 - 48.
- Claussen, Hilde und Anna Skriver: Die Klosterkirche Corvey. Vol. 2: Wandmalerei und Stuck aus karolingischer Zeit. (Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen 43.2). Mainz 2007.
- Effmann, Wilhelm: Die Kirche der Abtei Corvey, edited by Alois Fuchs. Paderborn 1929.

- Falkenstein, Ludwig: Karl der Große und die Entstehung des Aachener Marienstiftes (Quellen und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Geschichte N. F. 3). Paderborn/München/Wien/Zürich 1981.
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For the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

Ute Schäfer



Ute Schäfer
Minister for Family, Children, Youth, Culture and Sport

Höxter, 12. December 2012

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PREFACE

This Management Plan was prepared together with the owners, the representatives of the Town of Höxter, the District of Höxter, the Offices for Conservation, Landscape- and Building Culture in Westphalia and for Archaeology in Westphalia at the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe (Provincial Association Westphalia-Lippe), Pesch und Partner, architects and urban planners, Werkgemeinschaft Freiraum Landschaftsarchitekten and the Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport (MBWSV). It serves as an integrated planning and action concept for the determination of goals and measures with regard to the protection, maintenance, utilization, development and communication of the nominated World Heritage Site *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* which are to be secured and implemented. Its central aim is to register, preserve, protect and present adequately the cultural property nominated for Inscription on the World Heritage List in accordance with Art. 5 of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. On the basis of this jointly developed Management Plan the owners, the Town of Höxter, the District of Höxter, the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe and the State of North Rhine-Westphalia pursue the intention of securing a comprehensive, permanent and sustainable protection of the site which is nominated for Inscription on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List.

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„Das vielbemelte Keiserliche freie Stifft
und Closter Corbey,
wie das zu unser zeit im augenschein zu
sehn ist,
ist an einem ober auß wolgelegennem
guten und fruchtbaren orte,
aller nottürfftigen dinge halben angelegt
und gebawet worden.“

Chronica Corvey von Johann Letzner 1604

The widely-known free imperial monastery
and Corvey abbey,
as it appears to us in our times
situated in an extraordinarily good and fertile place
was designed and built here to provide for
all necessary things.

Chronica Corvey by Johann Letzner 1604

1.1 GOALS

- Safeguarding and preservation of existing stock
- Planning of future building, conservation and development measures
- Securing scientific support for future measures
- Conflict management
- Conflict prevention and management with regard to conflicts of interest
- Safeguarding the authentic use of the church
- Securing the use of sustainable concepts under economic and touristic pressures
- Securing increased awareness of the monument at national and international level

1.2 COMPETENT AUTHORITIES

■ **Monument protection.** In terms of monument protection, the nominated World Heritage Site is within the responsibility of the Town of Höxter as the Lower Monument Protection Authority, the District of Höxter as the Higher Monument Authority, the Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport (MBWSV) as Supreme Monument Authority as well as the Offices for Conservation, Landscape- and Building Culture in Westphalia and for Archaeology in Westphalia

at the Provincial Association Westphalia-Lippe as professional departments. The MBWSV as competent state ministry is responsible for representing the Federal State of North Rhine-Westphalia to UNESCO.

■ **Landscape protection.** Matters related to landscape protection are within the responsibility of the District of Höxter as Lower Landscape Protection Authority, the regional administration of Detmold as the Higher Landscape Protection Authority and the Ministry for Climate Protection, Environment, Agriculture, Nature Conservation and Consumer Protection (MKULNV) of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia as Supreme Landscape Protection Authority.

■ **Nature protection.** Matters related to landscape protection are within the responsibility of the District of Höxter as the Lower Nature Protection Authority, the regional administration of Detmold as the Higher Nature Protection Authority and the MKULNV as the Supreme Nature Protection Authority.

■ **Planning and construction.** The planning and construction sector belongs to the competence of the municipality of Höxter. The District of Höxter and MBWSV are the supervising authorities.

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1.4 STRUCTURE

The conceptual structure of the present Management Plan is based on the structure of the guidelines for management plans by Birgitta Ringbeck.¹

1.5 ANNEXES

The Act for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia and the texts of the registration of the monuments are to be found as attachments.

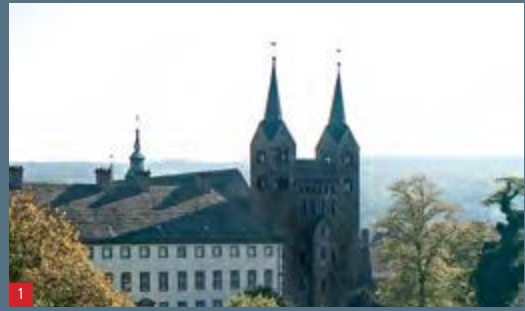
¹ Birgitta Ringbeck, Management plans for World Heritage Sites. A practical guide, Bonn 2008, p. 6.



„Zugleich erhöhte mit dem Ruhm und Reichthum die Schönheit des Aeusseren sich und immer geschmückter und sorgfältiger bedacht ward seine Kirche; Abt Adelgar bauete drei hohe schöne Thürme; Thiatmar liess sechs prachtvolle eherne Säulen setzen und die grosse fernhin schallende Glocke Cantabona giessen; neben Abtei und Kloster ward sogar auch ein Kaiserhaus erbaut zur Aufnahme der Kaiser, welche nach Corvei kamen.“

The beauty of the appearance increased with the fame and fortune and its church was more and more adorned and carefully attended to; abbot Adelgar built three lovely high towers; Thiatmar had six grand bronze pillars erected and had the Cantabona bell founded ringing afar off; next to the abbey and the church even an emperor's house was built to accommodate the emperors during their visit to Corvey.

Shape and structure of the Carolingian Westwork have been preserved to a great extent in their substance and material.



1



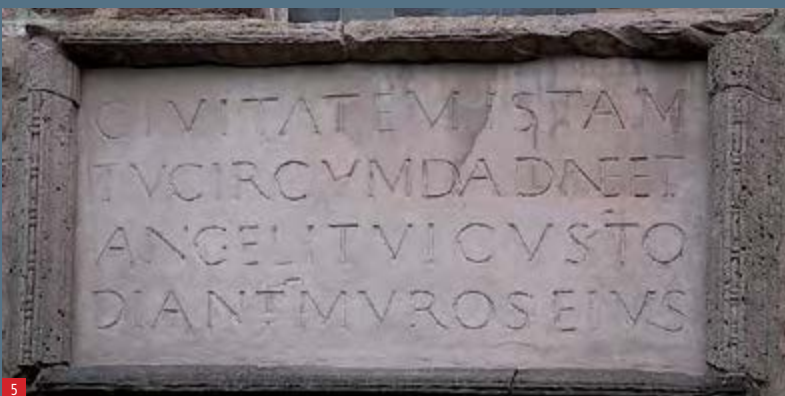
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3



4



5

2.1 STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SITE AND JUSTIFICATION OF ITS OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

2.1.1 Short description

The Westwork ¹ of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the rare Carolingian structures, the main parts of which have been preserved. Furthermore it is the only preserved evidence of the Westwork building type from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models at a high level. As a building type it has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars on the ground floor as well as the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor make Corvey one of the most significant examples of the „Carolingian Renaissance“. This especially applies to the documented original artistic decoration of the still existing elements on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, ² including life-size stucco figures and mythological friezes presenting the only known example of wall paintings ³ of ancient mythology with Christian interpretation in Carolingian times. The structure and the decoration refer forcefully to the world of ideas of Carolingian times which has become essential to western history. Corvey is linked with cultural centres in Europe through historical tradition as well as through the preserved building design and the archaeological evidence, their influence reaching beyond the former Carolingian empire.

Corvey was one of the most influential monasteries of the Frankish Empire. ⁴ Its missionary task was highly important with regard to the politico-religious processes in many parts of Europe. An inscription tablet ⁵ originating from the time of the foundation names the Civitas Corvey,

which can be identified with the monastery district through archaeological finds. With its important scriptorium and an extraordinary library, the monastery was a cultural and a religious centre. The Corvey abbey as imperial abbey had not only had intellectual and religious functions with regard to the conversion of Saxony and adjacent areas but was also of political and economic importance as an outpost of the Frankish Empire on the edge of the Christian world at that time. The deserted town in the surroundings of the Westwork and the monastery district preserves the archaeological testimonials of a quite important settlement of the Early and Late Middle Ages.

2.1.2 Justification of the criteria

Criterion (ii): Corvey possesses the only almost completely preserved Carolingian Westwork. The central main room on the upper floor which is encircled on three sides by galleries is based on ancient models in its form and its original artistic decoration for secular rooms of representation; the arch in the entrance hall also has links to ancient construction techniques. All in all, the Westwork forms the basis for further technical and architectural developments.

Criterion (iii): The main room on the upper floor served liturgical and high-status uses. The monastic compound, which was fortified in 940 at the latest, around the monastery, which had a school and library and served as a religious, cultural and economic centre, was already established during Carolingian times and included a pilgrim hospice, dwellings for guests and servants, working quarters and workshops. Thus, the political and cultural revival under the Carolingians on the edge of the Frankish Empire manifested itself in this Complex.



Beginning of a soffit on the north side, ground floor of the southern nave, eastern arcade
Drawing of the find by Goege

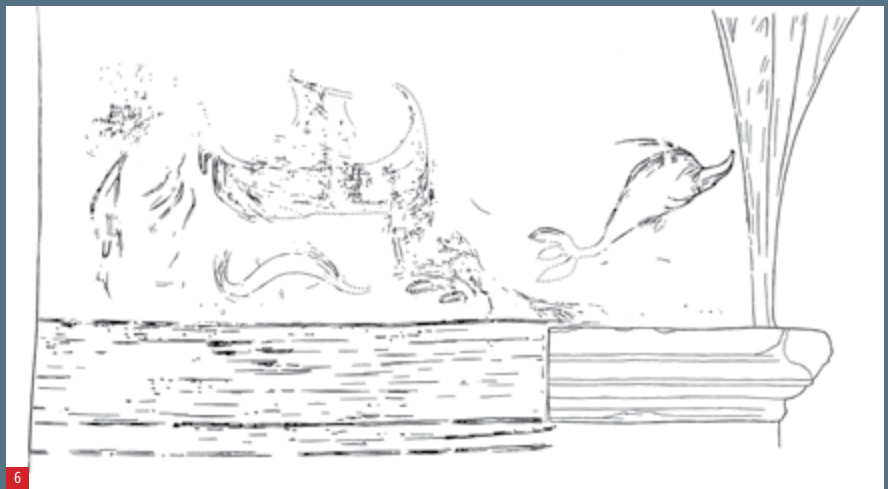


Ship scene in the west porch. Upper floor, north side

Drawing with dotted additions
Drawing of find by Großheim



6



6



7

Southern sinopia, western wall of upper floor

Criterion (iv): The Westwork of Corvey is an outstanding testimonial to Carolingian building and monastic culture, which has never been an expression of religious content and clerical goals alone but also an instrument to secure sovereignty and to develop the country. The former fortified monastic compound and the medieval town growing from the Carolingian centre of settlement around it as archaeological monuments are outstanding documents of political, cultural and scientific life in the Middle Ages.

Criterion (vi): With the library and a school for future clerics and aristocratic sons who were destined for a religious career, Corvey was the politico-religious centre of Frankish rule in the east of the empire. In addition to transcripts of ancient authors, literary works were produced in the scriptorium. These include the „History of the Saxons” by the monk Widukind von Corvey as one of the most important works of western historiography of the 10th century. The technical term „Westwerk” (westwork) has become a common term in the history of architecture and art as a result of scientific analysis of Corvey’s Carolingian architecture.

2.2 STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY AND AUTHENTICITY

2.2.1 Integrity

The architecturally preserved Westwork and the formerly fortified monastic compound, which is a protected archaeological monument, are comprehensible in terms of location and general view. The monastery complex is preserved in its original size. Its integration in the natural environment of the bend of the River Weser (*Weserbogen*) is undisturbed.

2.2.2 Authenticity

The Westwork of the monastery of Corvey on the River Weser is one of the very rare preserved structures with Carolingian substance right up to the roof. It is probably the only structure through which – in its outward appearance with towering west front – the lordly claims of Carolingian culture still become vivid directly today. Its wall paintings ⁶ are the only known example of integrated elements of profane ancient iconography in the picture programmes of Carolingian sacred rooms. Corvey offers the only reliably analysed source of knowledge about the paintings of flat and vaulted plaster ceilings in Carolingian times. Sinopias, preparatory background drawings with red ochre pigment, ⁷ and stucco fragments of the Westwork are the most important evidence of large-scale sculptures from Carolingian times north of the Alps and at the same time the strongest evidence of the close conceptual and manual synthesis of wall painting and stucco sculpture in the decoration system of this epoch. The ground of the former fortified monastic compound is of particular value as an archaeological monument, because here, findings and finds from an obviously systematically built large Carolingian monastery with pertaining dwelling and work areas, graveyards and chapel buildings have been largely preserved unaffected by later destruction. The same applies to the remnants of the settlement preserved in the grounds in front of the monastery’s gates, which grew to become a town in the 12th century – deserted in the Late Middle Ages –, in which an early urban development without major destruction caused by new settlement activities can be archaeologically traced.



Reconstruction of the Carolingian Westwerk in the state at the end of the 9th century
Model construction: Hanne-
mann 1999



Upper floor

Reconstruction of the upper floor towards the northwest
Drawing by Buchholz







„Die junge Stiftung nahm rasch einen glänzenden Aufschwung: Kaiser Ludwig und seine Gemahlin Judith beschenkten sie reichlich mit Privilegien und Gütern, Immunität und Münzrecht; Hilduin der Abt von St. Denis bei Paris verschaffte dem Kloster die Reliquien des heiligen Vitus...“

The young foundation soon prospered magnificently: Emperor Ludwig and his wife Judith granted it many privileges and lands, immunity and the right to mint coins; Hilduin, the abbot of Saint Denis near Paris provided the monastery with the relics of St Vitus.

Ferdinand Freiligrath, Levin Schücking:
Das malerische und romantische Westphalen 1841

3. SUBJECT OF PROTECTION, PROTECTION GOAL AND INSTRUMENTS OF PROTECTION

3.1 SUBJECT OF PROTECTION

The Westwork, the former abbey church and the present parish church St Stephanus und Vitus, the former monastery district (Civitas) and the baroque buildings standing on it, as well as the remnants preserved in the terrain of the settlement, which had been deserted in the Late Middle Ages and grew into a town in the 12th century, are recorded on the historic monument list of the Town of Höxter in accordance with Art. 3 of the Act for the Protection and Conservation of Historic Monuments in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW). Changes to and building projects on the historic monument and in the area of the archaeological monument are subject to authorization in accordance with section 9 DSchG NW. Construction work in the buffer zone and in the view perspectives are governed by existing plans and by-laws and those at present being changed (regional plan, land-use plan, development plans, landscape plan, by-laws on design and maintenance).

3.2 PROTECTION GOAL

Based on the awareness that monuments are sources and testimonials of history and culture, which are to be protected by all means, the strategy of the present Management Plan is based on the consistent implementation of internationally binding legal bases and internationally applicable standards as these have been adopted in national law and substantiated at a regional or municipal level. The site, including its buffer zone nominated for Inscription on the World Heritage List is protected and maintained according to the legal bases, agreements, recommenda-

tions, charters and by-laws set forth in the following.

The measures to be carried out in the short and medium term include the further conservation of the Westwork, the church building and the home farm, the restoration of the organ, the removal of disturbing buildings in the home farm as well as the optimisation of visitor management and the touristic infrastructure. Further measures include the development of the deserted medieval town into an archaeological park within the buffer zone, the communication of the World Heritage idea on site, the restoration of the *Dreizehnlindenhaus* as well as the design of the monastery garden in terms of monument preservation.

3.3 INSTRUMENTS OF PROTECTION

3.3.1 The World Heritage Convention

The Federal Republic of Germany acceded to the World Heritage Convention, which had been passed by UNESCO on 16 November 1972, in 1976. Therewith it committed itself to the maintenance and conservation of its cultural monuments in accordance with this Convention. The coming into effect of the World Heritage Convention in the form of an administrative convention took place in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1977 by means of its publication in the Federal Law Gazette.² In the scope of the cultural sovereignty of the Federal States, North Rhine-Westphalia will thus become obliged to protect and preserve the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey after its Inscription on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List in accordance with the World Heritage Convention.

² See BGBl. II 1977, S. 213

3.3.2 Other international conventions and charters

3.3.2.1 International conventions

The following international legal bases, amongst others, are binding on a global and European level:

- the *Hague Convention* for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in the Event of Armed conflicts, (UNESCO 1954/99)
- the *Granada Convention* for the Protection of Architectural Heritage in Europe (Council of Europe, 1985)
- the *Valetta Convention* for the Protection of Architectural Heritage in Europe (revised) (Council of Europe, 1992).

3.3.2.2 International agreements and charters

The following standard setting policy documents will also be taken into consideration:

- *the Recommendation in respect of the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage on a national level* (UNESCO 1972)
- the *Nara Document* on Authenticity (ICOMOS, ICCROM 1994),
- the *Charter of Venice* on the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 1964),
- the *Charter of Florence* on the Preservation of Historic Gardens (ICOMOS 1981),
- the *Charter of Lausanne* for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (ICOMOS 1990)
- the *International Cultural Tourism Charter – Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance* (ICOMOS 1999).

3.3.3 National law and planning system

In the Federal Republic of Germany, monument protection is the responsibility of the Federal States and is governed by also a respective monument protection acts at State level. Monument protection is also a purpose of many other laws such as the Federal Building Code and the building regulations of the Federal States as well as the acts under which these are implemented such as development plans, layout and design rules and administration acts of construction authorities. Spatial planning acts and state planning acts, law relating to the rights of way of traffic, the nature protection law, the environmental protection law and in this case especially the environmental impact analysis law offer further legal bases to take account of monument protection. The most important legal provisions and legal acts relating to the protection and management of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey are set forth in the following.

3.3.3.1 Monument Protection Law of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

Art. 18 of the Constitution of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia determines that „*the monuments of art, history and culture, landscape and natural monuments [...] are under the protection of the State, the communities and the municipalities*“. This constitutional law was implemented by means of the Act for the Protection and Conservation of Historic Monuments in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW). It determines what monuments are, describes the tasks of monument protection and monument management, determines the competences of the authorities involved in monument protection and governs the procedures in terms of monument protection.

Westwork and Civitas Corvey are recorded as architectural and archaeological monuments on the list of historic monuments of the Town of Höxter according to Art. 2 DSchG NW (see attachment, registration texts). Measures of conservation and restoration, changes and building projects on the historical monument and in the area of the monument are subject to authorisation in accordance with Art. 9 DSchG NW. The Town of Höxter as Lower Monument Protection Authority is responsible. It has to make decisions in coordination with the Offices of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen and LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen. The District of Höxter as Higher Monument Protection Authority and the Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport (MBWSV) act as consulting and supervising authorities.

3.3.3.2 State development plan of North Rhine-Westphalia

State planning aims at a sustainable development in the scope of which social and economic space requirements are aligned with ecological requirements. The state development plan represents a central control instrument at state level.

The state development plan of North Rhine-Westphalia (LEP NRW) includes:

- the objectives of spatial structure including the development axes of settlement areas and the natural bases of life such as free space, nature, forest and water;
- the area precaution for residential complexes, commercial areas, large-scale projects, for natural resources as well as for leisure and recreation;
- the infrastructure for transport, energy supply and waste management.

In order to simplify the spatial planning system and to take into account economic and social development in North Rhine-Westphalia the currently applicable state development plan from 1995 is to be brought into line with a new state development plan in the scope of the state development programme.

In addition to the mission statement of spatial development as a whole, the new state development plan is to represent objectives for the following eight areas:

- Sustainable settlement development
- Industrial and commercial sites
- Large retail stores
- Free space and natural bases of life
- Cultural landscapes
- Energy supply
- Protection of natural resources
- Mobility and infrastructure

The law on state development (state development programme – LEPro) dated 5 October 1989, last modified by Art. 2 of the law dated 17 December 2009, and the state planning law (LPIG) dated 3 May 2005, last modified by Art. 1 of the law dated 16 March 2010, form the legal bases on the regional level.

The competent state planning authority is the state chancellery.

3.3.3.3 Regional plan

The regional plan (previously area development plan - GEP -) determines the regional objectives of spatial planning and state planning for the development of the administrative district and all planning and measures of spatial relevance for the planning area on the basis of the law on state development (state development programme LEPro) NRW and the state development plan. The regional plan becomes

the objective of the spatial planning upon publication in the Law and Ordinance Gazette for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia. The objectives of spatial planning are to be observed by federal and state authorities, the communes and municipalities as well as by public planning bodies with regard to all planning and measures of spatial relevance.

In addition, the regional plan forms the basis of the required adjustment of the urban land-use plans of the towns and municipalities to the objectives of spatial planning. In its capacity as landscape outline plan and forest outline plan the objectives of the regional plan refer to the realization of nature protection and landscape management.

The regional plan has a special function within the scope of project-related presentations in North Rhine-Westphalia.

In the administrative district of Detmold the regional plan exists for the complete area in two sections (TA)

- Upper Bielefeld area section (city of Bielefeld, districts of Gütersloh, Herford, Lippe and Minden-Lübbecke)
 - Paderborn-Höxter section (districts of Paderborn and Höxter)
- and the functional section
- Wind energy.

The competent regional planning authority is the regional administration of Detmold.

It is intended and determined in the regional plan that the nominated World Heritage Site *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* is especially worthy of protection and therefore to be protected from any visual and other interference which could endanger its visual integrity as an

architectural monument dominating the landscape. Essential view perspectives towards Corvey and visual relationships from Corvey are to be described in the regional plan and objectives or corresponding principles of spatial planning and state planning to keep this corridor free from interfering structures are to be formulated. A regional plan revision procedure is to be initiated.

3.3.3.4 Landscape plan

The task of preparing landscape plans is stipulated in the Federal Nature Protection Law.

Landscape planning is the planning instrument of nature protection and landscape management. In North Rhine-Westphalia, landscape planning is governed by the provisions of Landscape Conservation Law (LG). This divides landscape planning into a landscape programme at state level, landscape outline plans on regional level (regional plans) and communal landscape plans of districts and independent cities (local landscape plans).

The centrepiece of landscape planning in North Rhine-Westphalia is the landscape plan at district level. The districts and independent cities are responsible for the preparation of the landscape plans. Landscape plans only apply to the outskirts area and are fixed as statutes, i.e. the landscape plan includes binding determinations which are to be observed by both the authorities and individual citizens.

Landscape planning is based on precautionary principles. According to the law the capacity of the ecosystem as a basis of human life is to be restored and restored through landscape planning. That means that the approach of landscape planning

goes far beyond the preservation or development of species and habitat diversity but also aims at the preservation and improvement of the landscape image and the recreational suitability as well as the general usability of natural resources such as soil, water and air by taking into consideration the relevant laws (for example state soil protection law, state water protection law).

The respective measures of protection, management and development are specified as being legally binding.

The landscape plan no. 1 „Wesertal and Fürstenauer Bergland“ has been in existence in the municipal area of Höxter since 2006. The Corvey monastery complex itself is not situated within the scope of the landscape plan but the deserted medieval town (buffer zone) is. Therefore, the landscape plan determines in part a landscape protection area.

The most important view perspectives towards Corvey and visual relationships

from Corvey are to be determined in the landscape plan in order to keep these corridors free from interfering structures and other visual disturbances.

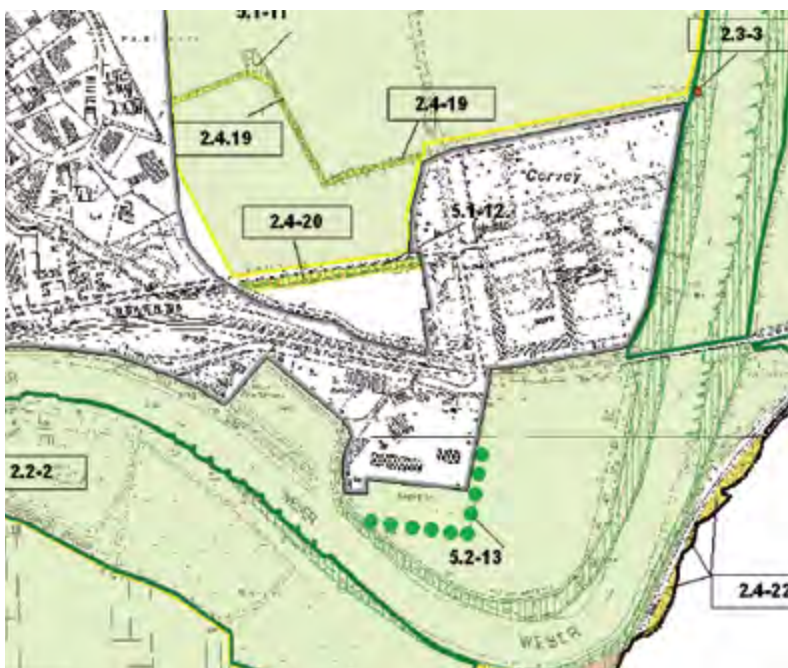
3.3.3.5 Municipal building management planning

The site, including its buffer zone nominated for Inscription on the World Heritage List is described in the land development plan (FNP) of the Town of Höxter. The FNP prepared according to the provisions of Art. 5 Building Code (BauGB) was developed by the Town of Höxter taking into account the superior objectives of spatial planning, state and regional planning in the scope of its municipal planning sovereignty. The land development plan (FNP) describes the monastery complex as a special area with intended cultural use. South of the complex railway areas with a halt are planned. The area of the deserted medieval town is described mainly as agricultural land. The designation as archaeological monument, as landscape protection area and flooding area were included in the FNP for information. The course of the fortification of the deserted medieval town was also included for information.

Further subordinated descriptions include the course of a road and the parking space in front of the monastery complex as a public transport area, a facility for public administration (harbour authority), a shooting range, the national bicycle path R 1/R 99 (Weserradweg), a protected part of the landscape and water areas. The land development plan is legally binding and is to be observed by all authorities.

The monastery complex itself is to be classified as an interior area with regard to planning law. Its surroundings, how-

Extract from the Landscape plan no. 1



„The Design by-law aims at preserving the characteristic picture of the former monastery complex, the development of the bend of the River Weser area as well as the Corveyer Allee (avenue) as historical connection with the town of Höxter and also with the Old Town of Höxter and to exclude disturbances caused by building projects and advertising structures.“

ever, are to be classified as an outskirts area while the FNP has to be observed too when decisions on projects in this area are made. Based on its description, building projects in this area are evaluated very restrictively.

A section of the deserted medieval town has been redeveloped on the basis of the development plan no. 8/50 „Corvey, Am Hafen“. This plan determines „agricultural areas“ for this part of the former town and identifies the entire area as an archaeological monument for information. Thus, building projects which are contrary to the purpose of protecting the monument are not permissible in the area of the development plan.

3.3.4 By-laws

3.3.4.1 Design by-law

(“Statutes of the Town of Höxter on the external design of structures as well as on the special requirements of physical structures and advertising structures with regard to the protection of the architectural characteristics and on the falling below of distances in respect of the preservation of the importance of architectural history“). The Design by-law aims at preserving the characteristic picture of the former monastery complex, the development of the bend of the River Weser area as well as the *Corveyer Allee* (avenue) as historical connection with the town of Höxter and also with the Old Town of Höxter and to exclude disturbances caused by building projects and advertising structures.

Here, the requirements in terms of the design of new buildings, restructuring, building extensions as well as structural changes to existing buildings are stipulated and include important aspects such as type of material, colour design and

structural details as well as advertising structures and open spaces.

The regulations agreed on are to ensure that intended planning projects are integrated in the given historical surroundings.

Working with the Design by-law over the years has produced good results and shows that the by-law is a suitable instrument in order to take positive influence on the design of the structural development of the area covered by the same.

If the further development of Corvey requires a modification of the present demands of the by-law, the Town of Höxter will make necessary adjustments.

3.3.4.2 Preservation by-law

In addition to the Design by-law, a Preservation by-law also exists according to Art. 172 Building Code (BauGB) for the monument nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List. In this way the Town of Höxter ensures the protection and preservation of the outstanding cultural monument and its surroundings. At the same time, the requirements of preserving urban renewal as well as the *Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz* (a federal and state government support programme for monument protection in urban development) are met. In this way, the access to the federal urban development support programme is created and thus the implementation of the measures described under 5.2.2 of this Management Plan is ensured.



„Die alte gefürstete Reichsabtei Corvei liegt in einer Ebene, die nach zwei Seiten hin von einer Krümmung der Weser umschlossen wird, unter seinen Gärten und Alleen, als ein schönes und imposantes Denkmal alter Herrlichkeit da.“

The old princely imperial abbey of Corvey is situated in a plain which is enclosed on two sides by a bend of the Weser, amidst its gardens and avenues it has the appearance of a beautiful and impressive monument of old splendour.

*Annette von Droste-Hülshoff after a visit to Corvey
in August 1834*

4.1 BOUNDARIES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE

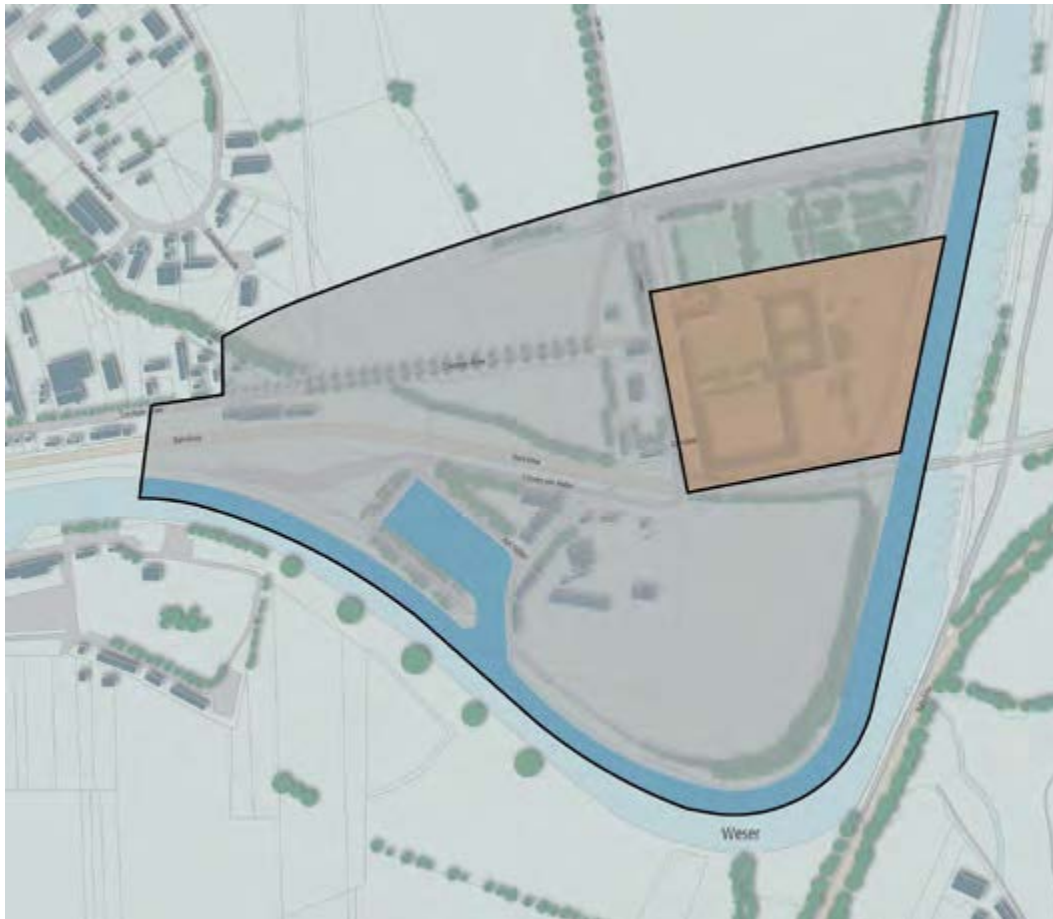
The boundaries of the nominated World Heritage Site are defined by the limits of the Carolingian monastery complex, the extent of which has been determined by means of excavations and archaeological surveys. According to current knowledge it largely corresponds to the enclosing boundaries of the existing development of the monastery area formed by ditches.

The boundaries of the monastery complex and the World Heritage Site are clearly perceivable along the course of the ditch in the west and the south. The boundary between the monastery walls and the banks of the River Weser runs along the east side and includes the excavated wall remnants and presumed ditches.

The northern demarcation on the outside of the ditch which was refilled in part and is described partly as a water ditch and partly as a green area in front of the castle building runs between the wall in the east and the ditch in the west. The abbot's garden on the north side, which was created in 1706, with the Orangery (tea-house) dated 1741, a more recent extension of the monastery complex, is part of the buffer zone.

Therefore, the World Heritage Site includes:

- the Carolingian Westwork, built since 873 and consecrated in 885, with its baroque church, newly built between 1667 and 1671 on the foundation of the Carolingian church which was consecrated in 844;
- the monastery building erected under Abbot Florenz von dem Velde over the Carolingian monastery preserved in the ground between 1699 and 1714 (two-and-a-half storey plastered quarry-stone buildings with ashlar structure and hip roof, framed in the north by square corner towers with curved caps set over);
- the front section of the castle built between 1730 and 1735 in part according to the plans of Justus Wehmer, including stables and mews in the north and a servants' wing in the west (one-storey plastered buildings with hip roof and corner towers corresponding to those of the main building); the monastery gate comprising gate pillars with niches for figures and coat of arms in the upper part integrated in the front section of the castle as start of the avenue leading to Höxter with pool bridge and sentry box dated 1743;
- the forecourt, situated between the monastery building and the front section of the castle, which is passed through by the water canal of the *Schelp*e leading to the River Weser;
- the three-sided *Domänenhof* (farmyard) in the southwest of the church, built between 1709 and 1731 and integrating older parts of the structure (three elongated two-storey quarry-stone wings which used to be plastered);
- the former monastery garden in the south of the church as well as areas of the former graveyards to the east and south of the church;
- the site of the *Werneburg* built around 1288, a fortified residence used by the abbots until approximately 1500;
- traces of settlements within the monastery area, archaeologically recorded, surveyed or to be expected.



Borders of the World Heritage Site and buffer zone

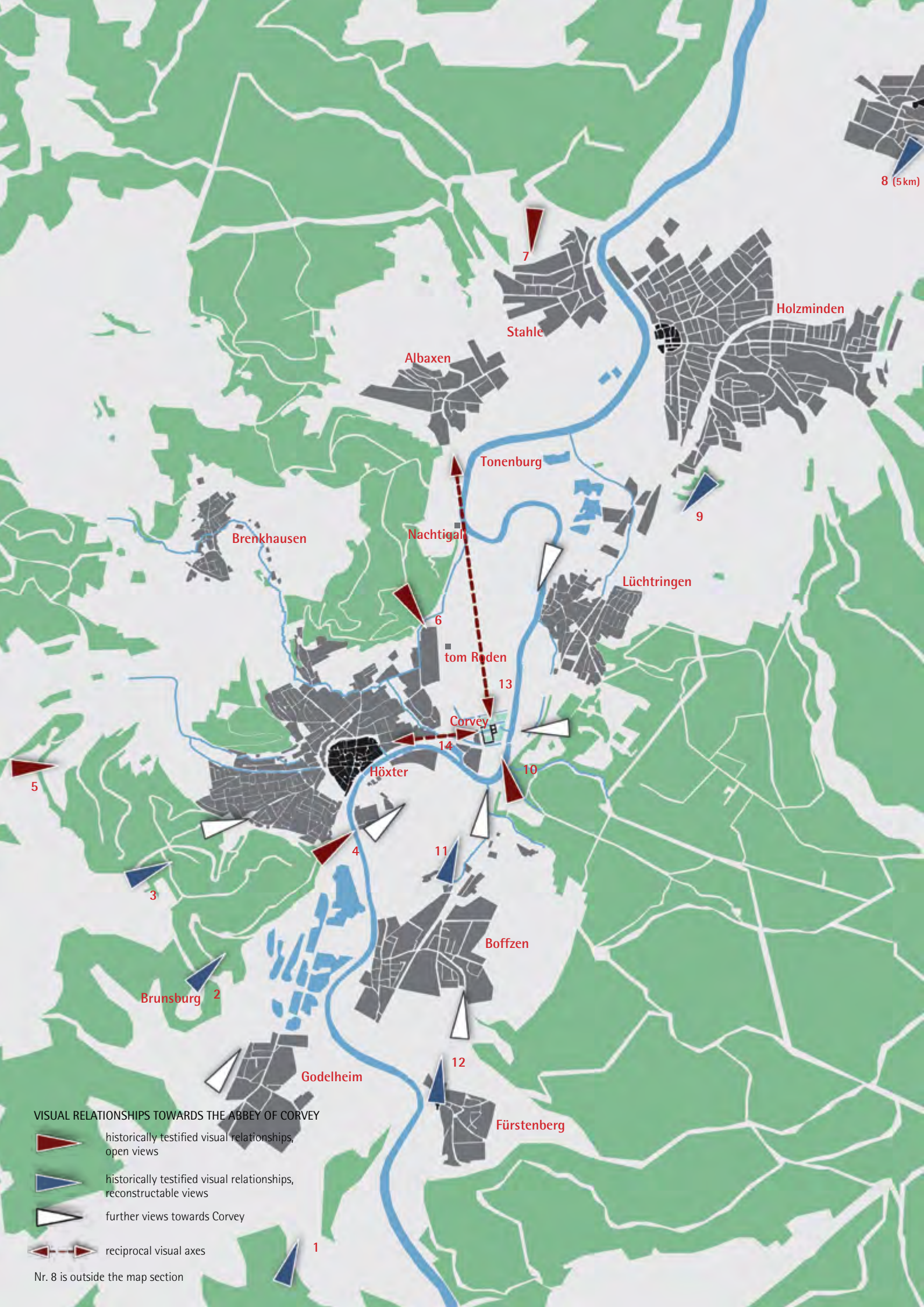
- Nominated property
- Buffer zone
- River (Weser)

4.2 BUFFER ZONES

The buffer zone around the Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey is defined by the archaeological monument of the deserted medieval town of Corvey and the northern part of the archaeological monument of the Corvey abbey, which do not belong to the nominated site and which together comprise the medieval town in front of the monastery's gates which was fortified in the 12th century and later deserted. This zone is completed by some or scarcely developed areas in front of the former town's fortifications as well as the banks of the River Weser and its course up to middle of the river in front of the boundaries of the aforementioned archaeological monuments.





4.3 PROTECTION OF VIEW PERSPECTIVES, SILHOUETTE AND PANORAMA

The larger surroundings of the World Heritage Site and buffer zone, comprising the *Marca Hucxori*, i.e. the territory which Louis the Pious gave to the monastery of Corvey as a gift in 823, can also be defined by historic boundaries. It is enclosed by a defensive dyke from the 14th century which is still largely obvious in the scenery today through ramparts, ditches and watchtowers. Historic evidence from the monastic period and especially the visual relationships and view perspectives are worthy of protection.



8 (5km)

VISUAL RELATIONSHIPS TOWARDS THE ABBEY OF CORVEY

-  historically testified visual relationships, open views
-  historically testified visual relationships, reconstructable views
-  further views towards Corvey
-  reciprocal visual axes

Nr. 8 is outside the map section

4.3.1 View perspectives: Visual relationships towards Corvey

	View perspectives	Condition
1	from Wildburg near Amelunxen (town of Beverungen)	situated in woodland
2	from Brunsburg near Godelheim (town of Höxter)	situated in woodland; visual contact from below the shelter hut
3	from Bosseborner Warte/Bismarckturm	hidden behind tree tops
4	from Rodeneck Tower on the Ziegenberg (town of Höxter)	open view
5	from Heiligenberg chapel near Ovenhausen (town of Höxter)	situated in woodland; visual contact southwest of the wood surrounding the Heiligenberg chapel
6	from Tanzplatz above the vineyard, across the former monastery <i>tom Roden</i> (town of Höxter)	open view in part
7	from the chapel on the Feldberg near Stahle (town of Höxter)	open view
8	from Großer Everstein in the northeast of Bevern (district of Holzminden)	situated in woodland
9	from Kaiser-Wilhelm-Turm, Stadtpark Holzminden (district of Holzminden)	hidden behind tree tops
10	from Steinkrug/Rutengrund, east of the River Weser opposite Corvey (district of Holzminden)	open view
11	from Brückfeldwarte (town of Höxter)	visual contact restricted by tree-groups
12	from the tower of Fürstenberg Castle (district of Holzminden)	open view from the roof

4.3.2 View perspectives: Visual relationships from and towards Corvey

13	North axis between the library wing of the Castle and Nachtigall/Tonenburg	open view, impaired by pump station
14	West axis along the <i>Corveyer Allee</i> (avenue) between the Castle of Corvey and the town of Höxter	open view



4.4 HISTORICAL VIEWS: VIEW PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS CORVEY

The location of the monastery of Corvey in the bend of the River Weser has appealed to painters and illustrators for centuries. Surrounded by the extensive fields of the Weser floodplain, the monastery is framed in the background by the green hills of the Solling close to the banks of the River Weser in the east.

The extensive, clear lines of the river and the fields as well as the elongated buildings of the monastery are vertically accentuated by the dominating twin-tower façade of the Westwork which promises rewarding subjects for paintings and photographs and perspectives from all directions.

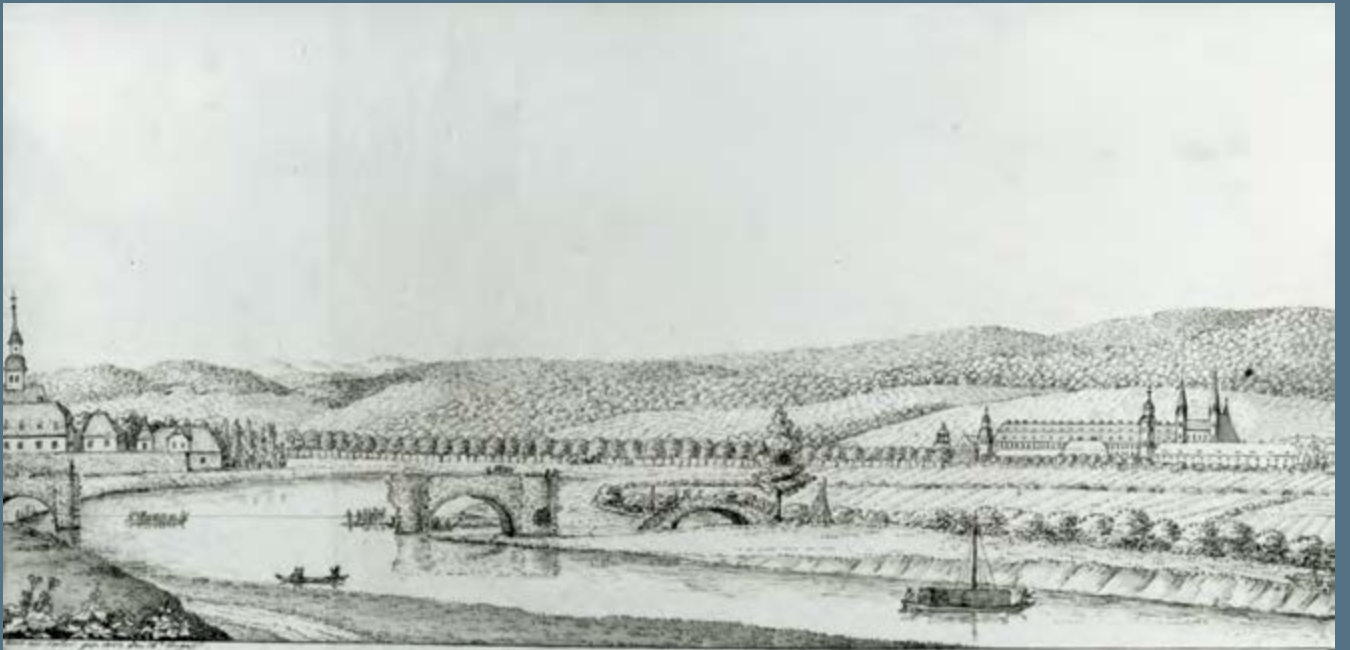
CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHWEST (VIEW PERSPECTIVES 1, 2, 4)

Viewed from the southwest, Corvey is often depicted with the River Weser in the foreground and centre and the town of Höxter on the left, while the monastery complex is on the right in front of the *Solling*. The best position for an artist for this view is the eastern margin of the *Ziegenberg* where the Rodeneckturnm (tower) was erected in 1883 – certainly with reference to this view. From a greater distance a similar effect is gained from the *Wildburg* and the *Brunsbürg*.

An early view is by Renier Roidkin approx. 1720–30 (WP 381 ⁸); the view has been copied by engravers such as L. Besemann, end of 18th century (WP 389 ⁹) and illustrators such as Georg Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Count of Münster, 1801 (WP 392 ¹⁰) in the late 18th and early 19th century.



9



Ansicht der Weidenbrücke bey Aachen, und Cooy.

10

This is also one of the most prominent views in illustrated books of travels and portfolios of the 19th century since two main places – Höxter and Corvey – could be combined in one picture, for example, by Georg Stietz, Ludwig Schütze after 1832 (WP 403 [11](#)) and Theodor Müller around 1880 (WP 418 [12](#)).



From a short distance, an attractive perspective is provided from the Town of Höxter across the River Weser to Corvey, as depicted by Friedrich von Mengersen around 1820/30 (WP 472 ¹³), Agnes Countess Mengersen around 1860 (WP 485 ¹⁴) as well as in pictures of several vehicles such as railway, boat and horse by Franz Tonnellier in 1880 (WP 452 ¹⁵).



CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE NORTHWEST
(VIEW PERSPECTIVE 6)

From the *Tanzplatz* above the vineyard on the *Räuschenberg* the view opens up to the monastery in front of the circle of the range of the *Solling* hills.

Here the possibility also exists of expanding the panorama of the monastery buildings by means of an angled aerial view with a shortened perspective – such as by Wenderoth/ Gray, 1838 in Franz Dingelstedt „Das Weserthal von Münden bis Minden“ (WP 474 ¹⁶) –, or to embed the monastery deep into the hill



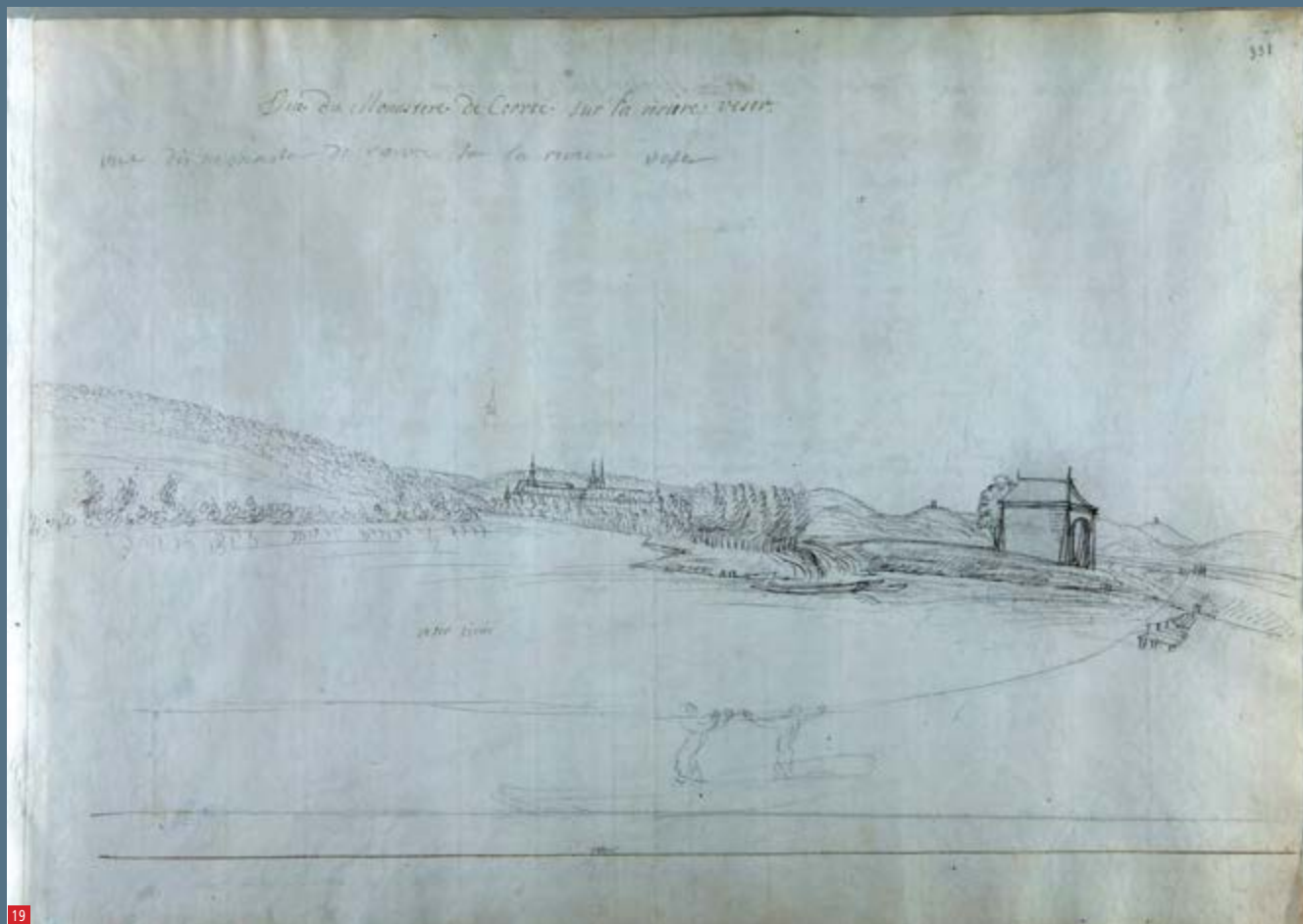
rim as with Franz Hoffmann-Fallersleben in 1918 ¹⁷ – a perspective which he was fond of varying, see the view in 1924. ¹⁸



CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE NORTHEAST (VIEW PERSPECTIVE 9 AS WELL AS VIEWED FROM THE LÜCHTRINGEN FERRY)

The view from the northeast in the opposite direction of the view to the southwest offers the possibility of showing the town of Höxter on

the right or in the distance, while Corvey can be seen further to the left or in the centre of the picture. Renier Roidkin, 1720-30 (WP 469 ¹⁹) and P.Johann Friedrich Weitsch, 3rd quarter of 18th century (WP 466 ²⁰) were interested in the view from the banks of the River Weser at the Luchtringer Ferry as early as the 18th cen-



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ture. In 1859, Marie Bartels drew her pictures from a similar location focussing, however, stronger on the buildings and less on the landscape (WP 481 [21](#)).

From a seemingly heightened position (similar to view perspective 9, shifted towards the west) Friedrich Fleischmann expanded the panorama with Corvey on the left and the town of Höxter on the right of the picture in his sketch book "Reise von London zurück nach Nürnberg" in 1814 (WP 396 [22](#)).



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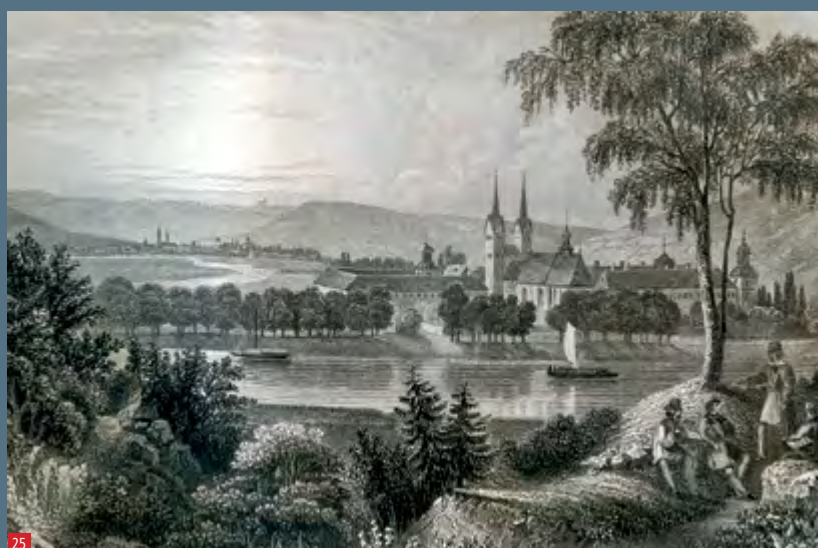
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CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHEAST (VIEW PERSPECTIVE 10)

Although the Westwerk is now in the background, the view from *Steinkrug* in the southeast was the most popular view among artists of the 19th and 20th centuries, probably due to the close proximity to the monastery, and certainly aided by the establishment of an inn around 1800.

In 1857 the view was already reproduced by Wilhelm Riefstahl prior to the building of the railway bridge (WP478 ²³) but the building of the bridge in 1863 did not lessen the artists' joy for this view, as in the steel engraving after Schlickum in the work by Ferdinand Freiligrath and Levin Schücking "Das malerische und romantische Westphalen, 2nd edition, 1872, proves



(WP 490 ²⁴); in the first edition of 1841 the bridge is still missing in the engraving by Henry Winkels according to a drawing by Carl Schlickum (WP 475 ²⁵).

Further views from this perspective were created by Theodor Müller in 1880 (WP 495 ²⁶); Franz Hoffmann-Fallersleben in 1915 ²⁷;

repeatedly by Marie Bartels in 1859 (WP 480 ²⁸), around 1860 (WP 482, 483), in 1864 (WP 488), in 1867 (WP 489); Th. Albert in Alexander Duncker: Die ländlichen Wohnsitze, Schlösser und Residenzen... Berlin 1860 (WP 487), and they can be found in the extensively circulated Illustrated German Calendar for 1891 (WP500).





„Wir hatten uns fortwährend des Besuches
lieber Freunde und Verwandten zu erfreuen,
die ebenso von unserm zauberischen
Weserthale entzückt waren wie von unserer
wunderbaren reichen Bibliothek.“

We were constantly visited by beloved
friends and relatives who were as delighted
about our magical Weser valley as about
our wonderful rich library.

August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1864

The preservation, management and development of the nominated World Heritage Site require close cooperation of the owners and the competent public authorities (see especially 1.2 and 5.1.2). The most important authorities are the Monument Protection Authorities and the relevant professional Offices of the LWL. Furthermore, urban planning and urban development play an important role. In addition, the interests of landscape protection and cultural sectors, press and public relations as well as the support of the economy and tourism are to be taken into consideration in the management of the nominated World Heritage. Workgroups related to the corresponding measure can be formed to coordinate the activities. (see 5.1.3).

5.1 MANAGEMENT STRUCTURE

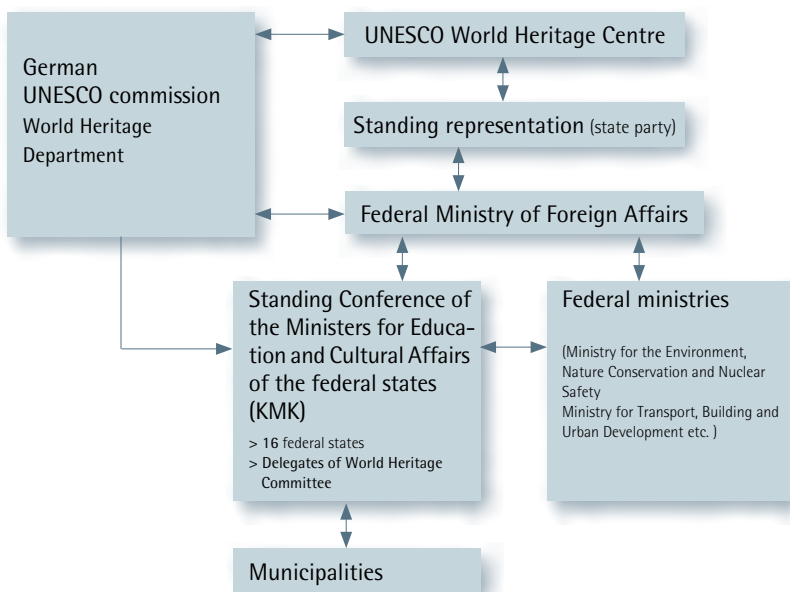
5.1.1 Authorities and procedures

World Heritage. In Germany, the federal states are responsible for the protection and management of the cultural heritage.

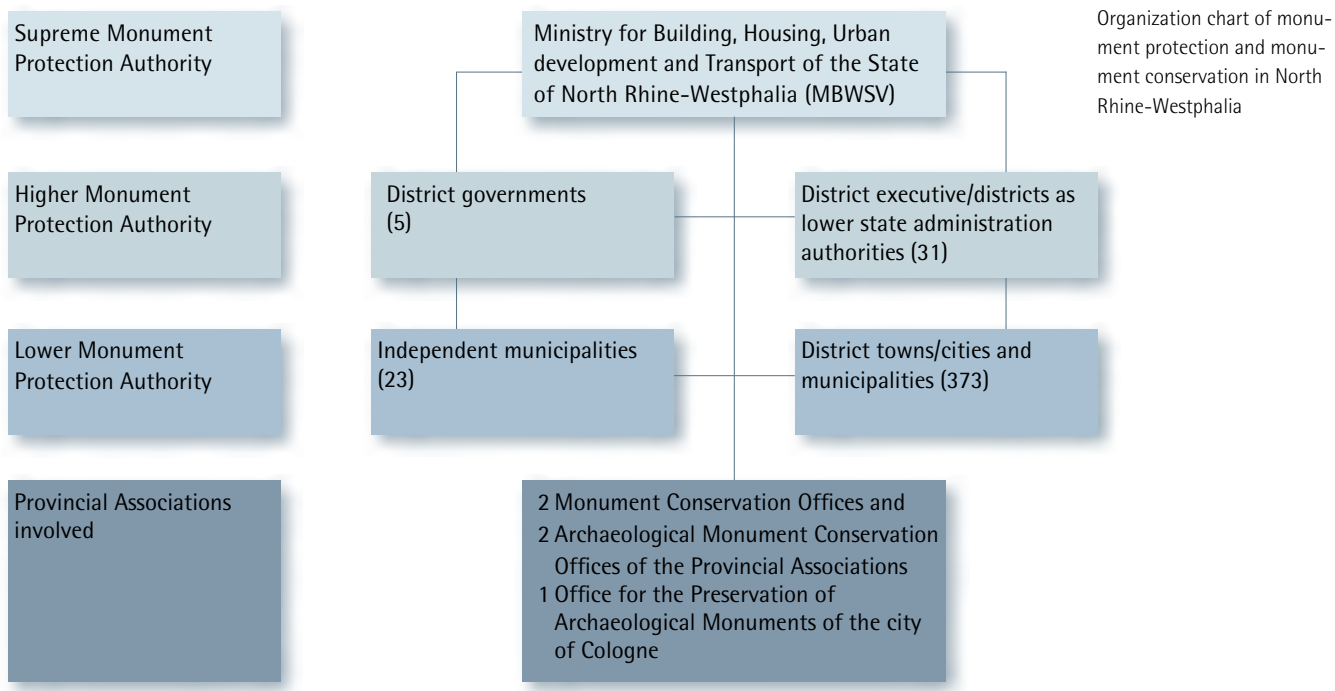
With regard to the cultural heritage they are entitled to make suggestions for the German list of applications for inscription on the World Heritage List and have the task to ensure that the obligations arising from inscription of sites in the World Heritage List are met. The Standing Conference of the Ministers for Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK) in Bonn, Germany, is responsible for the coordination between the federal and state governments with regard to foreign cultural policy as well as international and European cooperation relating to cultural matters. The KMK prepares a unified German nomination list on the basis of the suggestions made by the individual Federal States, coordinates the reporting obligations towards the World Heritage Centre and the World Heritage Committee and designates the cultural delegate or the delegates to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.

Monument protection and preservation.

The central instrument of the preservation of the nominated World Heritage Site with regard to the continued existence and value is the registration as an architectural or archaeological monument pursuant to Art. 3 of the Monument Preservation Act of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (DSchG NW). Changes to and measures taken on recorded architectural and archaeological monuments and their surroundings require the authorization of the Lower Monument Protection Authority in accordance with Art. 9 DSchG NW. This authority has to decide in consultation with the relevant Offices of the LWL. In the case of disagreement, these Offices have the right to ask the Ministry as Supreme Monument Protection Authority to decide.



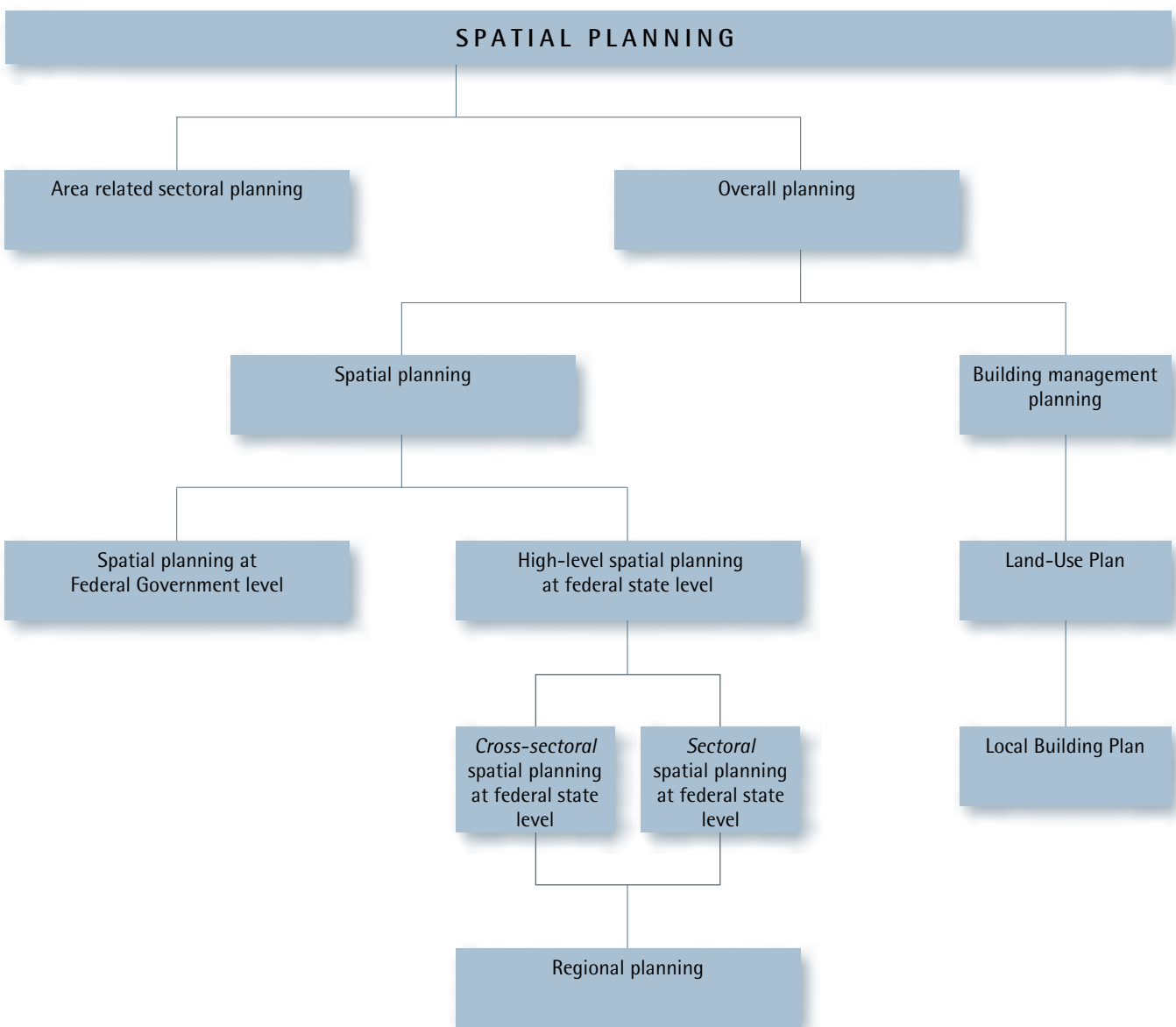
German World Heritage – Institutions and responsibilities



Authorities/Institutions	Tasks
Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban development and Transport (MBWSV) Supreme Monument Protection Authority	The Supreme Monument Protection Authority is responsible for general tasks relating to monument policy, steering tasks and supervisory functions. With regard to matters of monument protection, the Supreme Monument Protection Authority supervises the subordinated Higher and Lower Monument Protection Authorities but not the Monument Conservation Offices of the Provincial Associations. Within the scope of monument preservation, the legislator has transferred the task of preparing the annual monument support programme for churches and religious communities, according to Art. 36 DSchG to the Supreme Monument Protection Authority. In addition, the Supreme Monument Protection Authority is responsible for the settlement of professional disagreements between the Monument Conservation Offices of the Provincial Associations and the Monument Protection Authorities and is to make a decision.
District of Höxter Higher Monument Protection Authority	The Higher Monument Protection Authority acts as an intermediate authority which assumes supervisory functions towards the Lower Monument Protection Authorities in their territory. According to Art. 20 sub-section 2 DSchG NW the districts are obliged to advise the Lower Monument Protection Authorities. In addition, the Higher Monument Protection Authorities are responsible for the approval of monument area by-laws (Art. 5 (3) DSchG), granting of excavation permits (Art. 13 DSchG), determination of protected excavation areas (Art.14 DSchG) and to register notifications of discovered archaeological monuments (Art.15 DSchG).
Town of Höxter Lower Monument Protection Authority	The Lower Monument Protection Authorities are in charge of the enforcement of the Act in North Rhine-Westphalia. They are responsible for the registration and permission procedures and maintain the monument list.
Offices of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen; LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen	As professionally independent agencies they are not part of the authority structure. Their task is to support and advise the municipalities and districts and to contribute to their decisions and to carry out scientific research according to Art.22 (2) DSchG.

Planning and building. Legal definitions with regard to planning and building measures are included in the regulations of the federal and state law.

The regulations which are binding for the nominated World Heritage Site and the suggested buffer zone are referred to in chapters 3.3.3.2, 3.3.3.3., 3.3.3.4, 3.3.3.5 and the competences are referred to in chapter 1.2.



The Management Plan for the nominated World Heritage Site and its buffer zone aims at preserving this heritage, to

increase the awareness to the public and to strengthen the prerequisites for a long-term preservation.

5.1.2 Ownership structure and responsible bodies

The Westwork, the forecourt (former atrium) as well as the graveyard in the south of the church are under the ownership of the parish of St Stephanus und Vitus. The areas of the monastery district as well as of the deserted medieval town are the property of the Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. The public streets and road network as well as the harbour are the property of the public authorities. The District of Höxter, the Town of Höxter and the Duke of Ratibor founded the “Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH” in respect of the management of the programme of the museum and the cultural and educational programme. The academic supervision of the princely library is assumed by *Corvey-Institut für Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte gGmbH*.

5.1.3 Co-ordination

Restoration and renovation work on the buildings as well as archaeological measures are developed and implemented in close cooperation with the competent clerical and state authorities. For this purpose working groups relating to the relevant measures can be established. Upon a successful Inscription of the Westwork and Civitas Corvey on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List a World Heritage Steering Committee could be established which is to be integrated in terms of organization in the foundation which is to be set up. Potential members are representatives of the agencies which were involved in the elaboration of this Management Plan (see imprint).

5.2 BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR PLANNING AND ACTING

5.2.1 Objectives, targets and strategies

The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey as well as the deserted medieval town in the buffer zone are outstanding important architectural and archaeological monuments located in a distinctive landscape. The Management Plan for the nominated World Heritage Site and its buffer zone aims at preserving this heritage, to increase the awareness to the public and to strengthen the prerequisites for a long-term preservation. In addition, the integration of urban development and landscape planning as well as the connection with other important places of the region as regards content and space are essential objectives.



Location in the area

It is essential to preserve the World Heritage Site with regard to existence and value. As a site of Outstanding Universal Value it is part of the cultural heritage of mankind. In the case of the architectural monument, preservation requires the physical conservation and the permanent management, a suitable use and economic resources. The archaeological monuments Corvey abbey and the deserted medieval town of Corvey are to be investigated by means of non-invasive and forward-looking scientific methods.

In addition to preservation and investigation, modern communication of the cultural heritage is an important objective. In order to address as many people as possible with different kinds of interests and leisure-time needs, and not only a selected circle of people interested in education, the focus is to be put on an appropriate presentation and the linking with additional leisure activities.

In the case of Corvey, landscape and water promise particular synergy effects in this respect. Cultural highlights in an intact landscape with numerous leisure activities are suitable to draw the attention of many people to this place and this region.

If the number of visitors can be successfully increased without having a negative impact on the monument an important element for the sustainable development of the nominated World Heritage Site and the region could be obtained. In this it will be important to find a suitable use for buildings which are presently empty or hardly used (e. g. the *Dreizehnlindenhaus*, the front section of the castle or several buildings of the *Domänenhof* [farmyard]).

The nominated World Heritage Site is integrated in a cultural and historical „network“, which is overlapped by the environmental connections of the region. The Corvey area possesses a large number of places of cultural and scenic importance. An activation of the World Heritage Site and its surroundings in terms of tourism has to enable visitors to see and experience the spatial relationship of the places – i. e. the particularly important ones such as Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey, the deserted medieval town and its fortification but also the less important ones such as the vineyard with its chapel or the old ferry pier – in their perceptibility, meaningfulness and their spatial interconnectedness. The ability to see and experience these places and the relationship between the places and to the landscape are a special opportunity. The integration of Corvey as regards content, space and organization in the regional context is a very important guiding principle for the development of the bend of the River Weser reaching far beyond the protection of the architectural and the archaeological monument.

Monasteries have always had influence on the surrounding landscape; monks initiated land use in line with the naturally given situation.

Therefore, the master plan contains a series of measures which are to be evaluated under aspects of sustainable resources protection and an adjusted use of the land. This includes the objective to avoid motor vehicle traffic by means of establishing a railway stop as well as deconcentrating and eliminating motor vehicles from the direct environs of the nominated World Heritage Site. In detail these measures are linked with extensive removals and considerable renaturation measures of



commercial and transport areas. The new parking places will partly receive porous strengthened paved and gravel surfaces.

The design of the whole area of the deserted medieval town as pastured grassland and the completion with rows of trees/woods means a soil-conserving cultivation and creates a structural wealth which not only produces a vision of a new landscape but also new habitats for plants and animals.

5.2.2 Master plan and catalogue of measures

The master plan describes the nominated World Heritage Site, the directly adjoining buffer zone as well as the neighbouring settlement and landscape area. The church including the entirety of the Westwork and the monastery form the nominated World Heritage Site, the extension of the buffer zone corresponds to the area of the deserted medieval town of Corvey. Landscape areas, i.e. the Solling hill range and the Weser meadows, adjoin to the east and the south of the River Weser. Important visual perspectives to the World Heritage Site are provided from all directions.

The present deficits are eliminated and potentials are used by means of a series of urban development and landscape planning measures:

5.2.2.1 Reorganization of the traffic situation

The development of Corvey will be restructured for all types of transport. Visitors travelling with vehicles are to park their vehicles on the outskirts of Corvey and approach the sights on foot while attuning themselves to the surroundings. The master plan provides the following concept for each type of transport.

Private motorized transport. The *Corveyer Allee* will be closed for through traffic in the eastern section between the bridge over the *Schelpe* creek and the west gate of the castle of Corvey. ²⁹ ¹ The end of the generally passable section of the *Corveyer Allee* will be marked in the future by a turnaround area west of the *Schelpe* bridge. ² The *Schelpe* bridge will be the point of departure of the section of the *Corveyer Allee* which is mainly reserved for pedestrians. Visitors will approach the castle and Corvey abbey on the old *Schlossallee* bordered by impressive copper beeches undisturbed by traffic. The hard surface of the present road will be reduced to a width of about three meters.

Visitors travelling by private car will be guided from the turnaround area to a parking space on the adjoining railway wasteland in the south. ³ The access to the area for residents, employees and other necessary journeys will be provided by the carefully completed farm track running ⁴ parallel to the railway and joining the *Domänenhof* (farmyard) at its southwestern corner, thus relieving the prominent *Corveyer Allee* of this necessary transport infrastructure.

An additional parking place is planned south of the *Dreizehnlindenhaus* which is also to be used by handicapped persons and visitors of the restaurant, hotel, church as well as the visitors of concerts as a parking area.

Similar to the *Corveyer Allee* the street „Die Lüre” will also be closed for through traffic between the junction of the street „Zur Lüre” and the monastery/castle area. ⁵ The street section bypassing the present parking lot in a curve will be built back. ⁶ „Die Lüre” will become linear again up to the right-angle junction with the *Cor-*



Farmland

Farmland

16

19

28

Carl-Bosch-Straße

Konrad-Zuse-Straße

Eugen-Diesel-Straße

tom Roden

Zur Lüre

Die Lüre

5

16

16

Farmland

Farmland

10

29

10

Gurenbergstraße

Gurenbergstraße

Gurenbergstraße

Von-Siemens-Straße

15

11

24

21

6

Visitor centre

Corveyer Allee

Schelppe

additional parking space

18

Visitor parking

21

2

3

Visitor parking

1

35

29

27

22

railway line

9

20

additional parking spaces

8

Train stop

4

Harbour

26

32

29

Pier for Weser-shipping

14

25

12

30

Farmland

Archaeological park

30

30

31

Vitus-ferry

13

Weser

- 1 Eastern section of the *Corveyer Allee* is closed for through traffic
- 2 Turnaround area west of the *Schelpe* bridge
- 3 Parking space
- 4 Developed farm track
- 5 Junction of „Die Lüre“ and the monastery/castle area is closed for through traffic
- 6 Dismantling of parking space
- 7 New railway line stop
- 8 Planned bicycle station
- 9 Improvement of the road and dismantling of paved areas
- 10 Completion of network of footpath and bicycle trails north of the *Corveyer Allee*
- 11 Circular path leading around the deserted medieval town of Corvey
- 12 Footpath leading through the archaeological park
- 13 Ferry across the River Weser for pedestrians and cyclists
- 14 Pier for passenger shipping
- 15 New planting as boundary to outskirts of the town
- 16 New planting as buffer to the adjacent industrial area
- 17 Technical infrastructure, e.g. parking spaces for coaches
- 18 Possible reconstruction of the advertizing installations
- 19 Improvement and integration of the former *tom Roden* monastery
- 20 Information boards or information points
- 21 Bridge across the ditch to the deserted medieval town of Corvey
- 22 Information point – Beginning of the deserted medieval town of Corvey from the west
- 23 *Dreizehnlindenkreuz* (field cross) – Information board at the access to the deserted medieval town of Corvey from the north
- 24 Line of trees
- 25 Removal of disturbing industrial sites
- 26 Disturbing element: the Shooting Club house
- 27 Disturbing element: agricultural buildings
- 28 Disturbing element: waterworks
- 29 Park-like design of the area where the deserted medieval town is situated, the banks of the River Weser and the connection with *tom Roden*
- 30 „Window into the past“
- 31 Access to the „Window into the past“
- 32 Observation deck
- 33 Visitor centre
- 34 Re-utilisation of partly empty buildings
- 35 Re-use of the *Dreizehnlindenhaus*
- 36 Re-design of the monastery garden
- 37 Re-design of the *Domänenhof* (*farmyard*)

veyer Allee. The immediate environs of the castle access in the north of the *Dreizehnlindenhaus* will be restructured; the newly gained areas will become part of the archaeological park of the deserted medieval town and will be created as a meadow accordingly.

Rail-bound transport. The local train 84 running between Paderborn and Holzminden passes Corvey. A new stop „Corvey” ⁷ north of the harbour is to take train travellers closer to the World Heritage Site. The stop is in walking distance to the monastery/castle area, in close proximity to the parking space the bicycle station and the new pier of the Weserschiffahrt. In this way an intersection is created which allows changing between means of transport within a short distance. At the same time, the transport infrastructure is kept at an adequate distance from the monastery/castle area.

Bicycle and pedestrian traffic. Corvey is situated on the long-distance bicycle trails R 1 and R 99 which are of national importance and are frequented accordingly. A bicycle station near the harbour area ⁸ and in the immediate environs of the railway stop affords parking and hire possibilities – even for those travelling by car or train who in addition to Corvey want to explore the surroundings by bicycle.

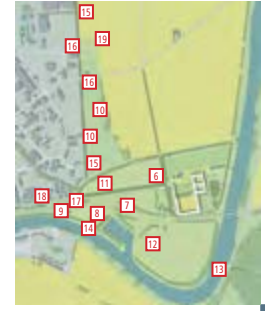
The offers for pedestrians will be extended and enhanced considerably. The Weser promenade is already an attractive footpath between Höxter and Corvey today. This route will be improved by renaturation of the hard surfaces, which still display their previous military use, ⁹ and the creation of an avenue.

The network of footpaths and bicycle trails will be completed by a network of paths to north of the *Corveyer Allee*, which on the one hand leads to the former Propstei (former provost’s church) *tom Roden*, ³⁰ ¹⁰ and on the other hand also completes a circular path leading around the deserted medieval town along the former fortification. ¹¹

Another footpath follows the route of the old *Hellweg* (highway/salt road) and crosses the southern part of the archaeological park. ³¹ ¹² This path will be designed in a restrained way, at the same time leading to places of archaeological finds which are opened at intervals as the „Window into the past” and presented to the public.

A cable ferry enables pedestrians and cyclists to cross the River Weser at a historical site as an extension of the old *Hellweg*. ¹³

The course of the European bicycle trail R 99 leads behind Corvey; the connection is to be improved in the future. Therefore, the R 99 coming from Höxter will be initially led to the traffic junction in the eastern part of Höxter where it is possible to park the bicycle and walk along the *Corveyer Allee* to the nominated World Heritage Site of Corvey. The R 99 continues further along the northern boundary of the buffer zone offering a beautiful view of the monastery complex and the Westwork up to the street “Zur Lüre” and is led from there to the crossroads in the north and then to the east back to the River Weser.



Shipping. Passenger shipping on the River Weser between Hameln and Minden as well as Karlshafen represents another tourism potential. The present, rather provisionally looking pier at the rear of the nominated World Heritage Site does not, however, do justice to the importance of this pier. In the future, the passenger ships are to moor at the position of the harbour. ¹⁴ This offers the advantage of the immediate connection to other means of transport as well as an attractive infrastructure for the visitors of the World Heritage Site via the *Corveyer Allee*.

A pier for canoes is located in the immediate proximity of the *Domänenhof* farmyard; the canoe hire uses buildings within the *Domänenhof*. This facility is to be maintained as an economic use of buildings of the *Domänenhof* in the future.

5.2.2.2 Measures in the surroundings of the World Heritage Site

An outstanding feature of Corvey is that it is embedded in the landscape surrounding it. Some disturbing influences caused by urban development can be reversed or mitigated at acceptable costs. Thus, attractive view perspectives of the nominated World Heritage Site and a largely undisturbed silhouette of the structures still exist today. The master plan sets forth following measures for safeguarding and improving surroundings:

Arrangement of the eastern edge of the town of Höxter. The eastern edge of the town of Höxter with its commercial building structure does not represent an attractive urban background to the nominated World Heritage Site. A further expansion of the settlement area towards the east is

not intended, the status is ensured with regard to planning law. A dense and sufficiently planting in depth is to improve the outskirts and define a permanent boundary between settlement area and landscape. ¹⁵ This will be completed by a free growing hedge of ten to twelve metres depth comprising plant species appropriate to the site also integrating evergreen plants such as yew and holly as visual protection in the west. These new outskirts will also benefit from the archaeological area of the former provost's church *tom Roden* which will receive a green buffer zone to the adjoining industrial area. ¹⁶

In the passage between the town of Höxter and Corvey south of the *Corveyer Allee* there is railway wasteland. This section of the *Corveyer Allee* is unsatisfactory as regards urban development. The areas could be used to develop a transport infrastructure for the visitors of Corvey (for example parking spaces for coaches). ¹⁷ The northern roadside opposite the railway wasteland which, due to its industrial building structure, is partly dominated by oversized and disturbing advertizing installations, is to be improved by regulation of the advertizing installations as well as open space planning measures. ¹⁸

Improvement and integration of the former provost's church tom Roden. *tom Roden* will be integrated in the network of footpaths and bicycle trails for better accessibility. Further archaeological investigations will clarify the exact limits of the former monastery complex. ¹⁹ How this location can be highlighted as a symbol for miles around is to be determined in the scope of a competition.

Walls of the Propstei tom Roden

Walls of the convent church St Paul



32



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5.2.2.3 Buffer zones and deserted medieval town

The monastery complex which has been fortified at least since the Magyar invasion in the 10th century and the town in front of it which developed from the Carolingian settlement cores in the 11th/12th centuries are as archaeological monuments important testimonies to the development of settlement, economy, religion and culture in the Early and High Middle Ages in one of the most important monasteries. The boundary of the medieval settlement was determined by the town fortification of Corvey in the second half of the 12th century during the period of the Hohenstaufen kings. Its course is exactly defined in the environment by the bend of the River Weser in the east, the south and the west; towards the open landscape in the north it had been developed in the form of a ditch system which can still be perceived in part in the landscape.

The master plan shows how the boundaries and accesses to the World Heritage Site are defined. Within the boundaries of the World Heritage Site the aim is to achieve protection goals by means of structuring and creative measures. The individual measures are detailed in the following:

Limitation and access to the buffer zones.

The bridge across the *Schelpe* in the course of the *Corveyer Allee* marks the access to the town which grew from the Carolingian residential core during the 11th/12th centuries. The access is marked by the pavement, the design of the bridge stringers and possibly by information boards or steles. ^[20]

This access element is to be repeated in the area where the north gate is supposed to have been, today in the course of the street „Die Lüre” in the northwestern corner of

the castle area. Here, again, a bridge across the existing ditch makes the access to the settlement from the High Middle Ages an experience. ^[21]

Two more accesses to the buffer zone of the nominated World Heritage Site are situated on the riverside path along the River Weser. Coming from Hörter, an information stele at the Weserpromenade marks the beginning of the settlement from the High Middle Ages; ^[22] coming from the north the field-cross *Dreizehnlinden* marks the access. ^[32] ^[23] An additional information board indicates the access to the buffer zones with the settlement from the High Middle Ages.

The northern boundary of the buffer zone is marked by a row of trees and a footpath and bicycle trail leading along the former fortification of the settlement from the High Middle Ages. ^[24] This row of trees completes the environmental demarcation by the bend of the River Weser; the footpath closes the gap between the now complete circular path around the buffer zone and the settlement from the High Middle Ages.

Shift of incompatible uses, regulation-measures. There is a timber industry company in the area of the buffer zone between the harbour and *Domänenhof* (farmyard) which blocks parts of the archaeological monument – amongst other things the foundation walls of the former market church – and which also affects the visual and functional relationship between the castle, the settlement from the High Middle Ages and the river to a considerable extent. ^[33] ^[25] Further disturbing structural elements in the area of the buffer zones are the large Shooting Club house north of the harbour basin ^[26] and an agricultural building ^[27] south of the

Deserted medieval town of Corvey, course of the *Hellweg*

Dreizehnlindenhaus as well as the waterworks ³⁴ ²⁸ at the road „Zur Lüre”. These uses are to be shifted in order to make the area of the deserted medieval town an experience in its context and to free the World Heritage Site from disturbing structures within the bend of the River Weser. Alternative solutions are also to be developed for the cottage of the railway-crossing keeper, parts of the allotments and the Motor Boat Club, if possible. The remaining residential buildings in the southwest of *Domänenhof* as well as buildings on the western edge of the harbour basin have a modest effect due to their size and are to be classified as compatible. The pump station in the northern view perspective is to be shifted when opportunity arises.

Design of the archaeological park in the buffer zone. The archaeological monument of the deserted medieval town covers the entire area within the bend of the River Weser. Embedded in the northeastern part of this area are the Westwork, the abbey church and the castle of Corvey. The area of the settlement from the High Middle Ages, the banks of the River Weser and the link to *tom Roden* will be constructed like a park with extensive, open green spaces which are to be permanently used for grazing if possible. ²⁹ Groups of trees will especially mark demarcations and path relationships. The continued research of the archaeological monument will take place without destruction by means of modern scientific methods. Foundation walls of individual historical buildings will only be exposed at some points as a “Window into the past” in order to provide visitors with a sensual experience and an inspiring access to the history of this place. ³⁰ The former course of the old *Hellweg* will be used to offer a path across the area within the bend of



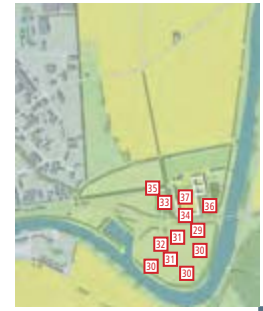
the River Weser from which footpaths branch off to the opened findings sites. ³⁵ ³¹ The area of the settlement from the High Middle Ages will additionally be highlighted by a footbridge in the extension of the avenue in front of the castle and *Domänenhof* leading to an observation deck ³² on the level above the meadow surface. From here the entire bend of the River Weser and the southern part of the deserted medieval town with the most impressive landscape in the background can be seen.

The conceptual ideas of the master plan are to be qualified in the scope of a high-level competition procedure.

5.2.2.4 Westwork and Civitas Corvey

The structure of the Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey stand out markedly within the park-like area of the settlement from the High Middle Ages: walls, buildings and ditches confine the square area. The aim is to preserve, use and manage the historical structures of different periods. The most prominent parts of this area include the open areas, gardens and courtyards. The partly inadequate use and design deficits require a sensitive arrangement in accordance with historical examples (medieval monastery garden) and its subsequent management.

Preservation, use and management of the church building. The church building as the centre of the entire complex of the former Corvey abbey is under the ownership of the parish of St Stephanus und Vitus, Corvey. It includes the forecourt (Carolingian atrium), the Carolingian Westwork including the St John’s choir as well as the former baroque abbey church. This complex primarily serves the parish as a place of worship for liturgy and pas-



toral care. Therefore, it is not a dead heritage which is worth preserving only for reasons of monument protection. Its importance as a place of worship has priority over all aspects as regards building history, museum and tourism. To elucidate the dignity of the place is therefore the mission statement for all measures which will be taken.

Many believers from the entire Corvey territory do not only regularly participate in the church services held here but come to the church for silent prayers as well. Processions such as the great procession held on the festivity of St Vitus have their fixed date during the year. Weddings are celebrated here, too.

The church is open to visitors. The presentation of the typical ornaments and the decoration of the Carolingian structure are to be carried out modestly and to serve the purpose of offering a better experience of the original condition of the structure. A conversion into a museum, also including the Westwork, is not intended. Concerts are held in the church several times a year.

The parish takes care of the preservation and management of the church building.

Other buildings and open areas. The main building of the castle is primarily used as a museum to impart the history of the monastery, the castle and the region and for alternating art exhibitions as well as concerts. Part of the area which is open to the public also includes the princely library from the 19th century. Another part of the castle is the residence of the Duke of Ratibor's family and some tenants. The offices of the princely administration and of the museum are also located there.

The Schloss-Restaurant is located in the former princely stables.

The front section of the castle is inhabited in part but is to be completely repaired and restored to use as a visitor centre for the World Heritage Site. ³⁶ ³³

Compatible commercial uses already exist for the buildings of the *Domänenhof* farmyard, for example a wine shop or a guesthouse. Still unused parts of the buildings are to be renovated and maintained on a permanent basis. An adequate commercial and residential use or even an addition to the existing museum offer could be planned. ³⁴

The *Dreizehnlindenhaus* (built in 1792-94) in front of the gate of the monastery complex has to be completely renovated and is to be developed and operated as a hotel in the future. ³⁷ ³⁵

As a result of the rearrangement of the monastic garden according to the principles of monument preservation in the east of the castle, this open area could provide a use and design suitable for the monument and be opened to the public. ³⁶

More recent storage and warehouse buildings will be removed from the *Domänenhof* and a uniform modest design of the area will be initiated. ³⁷

The preservation and management of the buildings and the open areas is carried out by the princely administration and is funded by income from rent and grants.



5.2.2.5 Catalogue of measures

This catalogue lists the measures which are necessary for the preservation and visual integrity, especially in order to optimize the ability to experience the nominated World Heritage Site. The measures have to be qualified, defined and verified, each according to the principles of monument preservation and planning law. Questions of financing and compensation have to be dealt with as well.

Measures to be taken on the World Heritage Site of Corvey and in the immediate environs

1. ABBEY

1.1 External area, church forecourt

- Renovating of the covering slabs on the external walls of the atrium

1.2 Westwork

Entrance floor

- Possible temporary separation between Westwork and baroque nave

St John's choir

- Climatic tests
- Establishing accessibility
- Documentation of restoration work, permanent status observation, mapping of plastered walls and measures to preserve the Carolingian wall paintings
- Dendro-dating and plaster analyses
- Repair of plaster
- Plastering and closing of sinopias / dry cleaning / white-washing
- Restoration of the staircases in the towers and of the towers' access doors
- Removal of the wood paneling to the towers' stairway

- Emergency door to the castle
- Closing of the towers' staircases by means of new wrought-iron gates
- Eliminating the suction effect and avoiding air movement in the area of the wall paintings

1.3 Baroque organ

- Major renovation and restoration of the baroque springchest organ according to principles of monument conservation
- Physical tests of climatic problems within the organ
- Repair of the pipes damaged by lead corrosion

1.4 Westwork towers, tower rooms and attic

- Monitoring of cracks in the structure
- Measuring of the towers and monitoring of inclination
- Monitoring of the Carolingian plaster
- Continuous analysis of salt efflorescence
- Materials humidity measurements based on electrical conductivity
- Examination of the building ground for clarification of static load capacity

1.5 Baroque nave

- Reducing UV radiation by means of protective glazing
- Physical tests of climatic situation between nave, organ and St John's choir
- Concept development for maintaining an indoor climate according to restoration principles for baroque decoration, organ and St John's choir
- Measures of conservation to protect the relics
- New uniform lighting concept
- Measures of restoring furnishings and interior decorations
- Repair of damaged sandstone floor



- Closing of cracks in the outer stonework
- Development of additional storage space for the parish, establishing a storeroom for chairs

2. CASTLE BUILDING/MONASTERY BUILDING

2.1 Roofs: Repair of damage on all roofs of the Castle

- Sealing of sandstone coverings, roof connections, chimney heads and copper drains, eaves
- Replacement of the snowguard planking
- Renovating and sealing of slate coverings of both tower roofs and execution of the related metalwork

2.2 Façades

- Closing of cracks in the plaster and adjusting in colour
- Replacing and painting the plaster at the base of the walls
- Renovating, painting or partly renewing wooden window frames
- Renovating and sealing sandstone window sills and frames
- Renovating windows and doors if required

2.3 Staircases

- Renovating the baroque wooden staircases in the north and east wings

2.4 Wooden beam ceiling

- Static revision of wooden beam ceiling, especially in the support area of the outer walls
- Renovating ceiling beams, including floor work etc.

2.5 Interior

- Repairing the rooms on the second upper floor of the north and west wings independent of their use
- Renovating the abbots' corridor on the first upper floor of the east wing, restoration of the old enfilade
- Renovating the corridor on the second upper floor of the east wing
- Repairing the rooms on the second upper floor of the east wing independent of their use (today unused storerooms)

3. MUSEUM

3.1 Princely drawing rooms

- General ensuring of substance and restoring of the classical drawing rooms of the west wing, especially wallpapers, ceilings and floors

4. LIBRARY

4.1 Wooden floors

- General stabilization, ensuring of substance and restoration of wooden floors of the library, protection by carpets

4.2 Ceilings

- Cleaning, repairing and painting of ceilings, especially stucco ceilings, also in the *Sommersaal* (summer hall)

4.3 Walls

- Cleaning and repairing of the wallpapers which have not been included in restoring measures performed so far
- Protection of wallpapers in case of increasing numbers of visitors

4.4 Bookcases

- General ensuring of substance and restoration of the classical bookcases of the library

4.5 Books

- General restoration of the collection (most of all book care and repair, i.e. cleaning, repairing and securing as well as greasing of the leather parts, if required)

5. FRONT SECTION OF THE CASTLE AND FORMER PRINCELY STABLES (today: restaurant)**5.1 Roofs**

- Re-cover existing regionally typical sandstone roofs according to historical form in the so-called double-covering style, including renovation of truss and eaves
- Renewal of copper drains
- Renovation of partly existing chimney heads
- Repair of slate covering of the two tower roofs, including metal work

5.2 Façades

- Closing of cracks and adjusting in colour
- Replacing and painting of plaster on the base in part
- Reworking, painting and partly replacing of wooden windows, reworking and resealing of sandstone window sills

5.3 Interior

- Repairing the rooms in the front section of the castle and restructuring the same into a visitor centre of the World Heritage Site, including entrance portal, information centre, museum shop and the rooms and facilities of the museum educational service

6. ESTATE BUILDINGS AND FARMYARD (DOMÄNENHOF)**6.1 Roofs**

- Red tiled roofs: re-covering the remaining tiled roofs in the southern part of the estate farmyard with the typical sandstone covering in the so-called double covering style according to historical principles, including renovation of truss and eaves
- Renewal of copper drains
- Renovation of partly existing chimney heads
- Renovation of damaged roof junctions
- Replacement of the snowguard plank-ing if required

6.2 Façades

- Scaffolding, cleaning and plastering of all façades with lime mortar
- Rework and paint casing of eaves and windows worth preserving (only in non-residential parts)
- Renewal of existing windows on the basis of windows with cross-bars worth preserving
- Dismantling of modern disturbances in the façade (e. g. concrete window frames)
- Opening of the southern entrance to the estate farmyard, including installation of wooden gates according to historical principles
- South front of the farmyard: Making visible and restoring the old historically important gates in the wall and new „evaluation“



Library



Monastery garden

6.3 Design of the farmyard

- Dismantling of disturbing agricultural facilities still existing and implementation of a suitable design of squares and open areas, including green areas according to principles of monument preservation and for tourism and commercial use
- Renovation and paving of the entrance to the estate farmyard
- External buildings: demolition and relocation of incompatible buildings on the farmyard: namely the former cereal drying hall, garages, weighing machine, several sheds
- Interior construction: restoration of the former stables and straw attics as useful areas, e. g. for museum use or other compatible commercial use

7. GROUNDS

7.1 Monastery garden

- Designing and opening of the monastery garden according to principles of monument conservation and baroque examples (green area situated between Castle walls towards the River Weser and the eastern estate area)

7.2 Ponds and ditches

- Removal of vegetation in part
- Dredging in line with the profile of the ponds and the water-bearing ditches
- Displaying the ingenious water regimes

7.3 Castle wall

- Removing vegetation from castle walls
- Examining the natural stone walls and the sandstone coverings
- Repair of defects also in the jointing

7.4 Castle forecourt

- Improvement by means of gardening and according to principles of monument conservation, lighting

7.5 Schloss-Restaurant terrace

- Re-designing of the visitor terrace including necessary drainage and paving or with sandstone slabs according to principles of monument conservation

7.6 Castle entrance

- Removal of the existing asphalt surface, road bed excavation of the substructure, installation of a suitable supportive layer in line with the profile and laying of natural stone paving in accordance with paving of the courtyard

7.7 Delivery traffic to Schlossrestaurant

- Re-location of the access to the northern backyard of the restaurant for suppliers and employees through the gate in the west of the yard to separate delivery traffic from the visitor area

8. DESIGNING OF THE IMMEDIATE ENVIRONS AND THE BUFFER ZONE

8.1 Visitor parking space

- Re-location of the visitor parking space existing directly in front of the castle
- Renaturation of the old parking space into a meadow and construction of a new parking area including re-routing of the road and lighting

8.2 Green areas

- Re-designing and gardening of green areas in the immediate environs of the castle

8.3 Banks of the River Weser

- Removal of vegetation and designing of the riverside

8.4 Oak tree avenue along the bicycle trail

- Preservation and development of the trees, professional maintenance

8.5 Agricultural machine hall

- Re-location of the unsuitable machine hall and renaturation of the sealed surfaces

8.6 Former kindergarten

- Repair of all parts of the building in the immediate environs of the estate entrance independent of its use

8.7 Dreizehnlindenhaus

- Extensive renovation of all building parts of the former inn and hotel situated opposite the entrance portal in accordance with principles of monument conservation for resumed use

8.8 Designing of the eastern outskirts of the town of Höxter

- Dense vegetation of the eastern outskirts along the industrial zone with evergreen plants
- Designed shielding of the industrial zone on the northern curb of the *Corveyer Allee*; restriction of advertising installations

8.9 Paths along the River Weser

- Improvement and designing of the Weser promenade between Höxter and Corvey; planting of trees, dismantling of over-sized traffic areas

8.10 Improvement and integration of the former provost's church, Propstei *tom Roden*

- Installation of footpaths and bicycle trails between Corvey and *tom Roden*
- Presentation of Propstei *tom Roden*; taking into consideration the attractive visual relationships between Corvey and *tom Roden*

8.11 View perspectives and visual relationships

- Exposure/keeping clear of view perspectives and visual relationships

8.12 Boundaries and entrances to the World Heritage Site

- Presentation of the main entrances from the west (*Corveyer Allee*) and north (*Die Lüre*) by designed bridges
- Marking of entrances on foot- and bicycle tracks along the River Weser in the north and the west (e. g. information boards)
- Marking of the northern boundary of the deserted medieval town between the outskirts of Höxter and *Die Lüre* by a row of trees

8.13 Re-location of incompatible uses and buildings

- Re-location of all unsuitable buildings, including the saw-mill in the area of the deserted medieval town in the bend of the River Weser and other agricultural buildings as well as renaturation of sealed surfaces, arrangement as open spaces
- Relocation of Shooting Club house, arrangement as open space

8.14 Design of the archaeological park of the deserted medieval town

- Continuous surface design as meadow used for grazing with groups of trees and shrubs
- Selective exposure of archaeological finds along the old highway
- Competition in respect of the design of the archaeological park

9. TRANSPORT AND INFRASTRUCTURE

9.1 Private motorized transport

- Closing of the eastern section of the *Corveyer Allee* for through traffic
- Building of a turning point in the entrance area of the World Heritage Site
- Designing of the eastern section as main access for visitors
- Closing of the southern section of the street "Die Lüre" for through traffic
- Building back of the bend in the street in the area of the parking place in favour of a linear route, design in the form of an avenue
- Dismantling of the parking lot opposite the *Dreizehnlindenhaus*, design as free area
- New parking places for visitors on the present railway wasteland in the western entrance area leading to the deserted medieval town of Corvey
- Development of monastery and castle area via supply road along the railway line, modest development of road
- User parking places for the *Dreizehnlindenhaus* and adjoining additional parking space (for handicapped persons, event visitors, visitors and guests of restaurant, hotel and church)

9.2 Rail-bound transport

- Installation of a new stop "Corvey" close to the harbour

9.3 Bicycles and pedestrians

- Installation of a bicycle station (parking and hire offers) in the area of the railway stop at the harbour.
- New footpaths and bicycle trails in northern direction up to the former provost's church *tom Roden* and along the former fortification of the medieval town of Corvey between the outskirts of Höxter and the street „Die Lüre”
- Operation of a cable ferry (*Vitus-Fähre*) to the crossing of the River Weser in the course of the old highway.
- Re-location of the bicycle trail R 99 along the northern boundary of the buffer zones

9.4 Shipping

- New pier of the Weserschiffahrt „Corvey" in the harbour area

5.3 SCIENCE AND RESEARCH

5.3.1 Art historical research on architecture and building history

The outstanding Westwork of Corvey has been the subject of art historical descriptions, analyses and dating attempts since the middle of the 19th century. Distinguished art historians such as Wilhelm Lübke³, Carl Schnaase⁴ and Ferdinand von Quast⁵ wrote about the Westwork in their presentations of medieval architecture and presented dating methods before the first monograph by Wilhelm Effmann⁶ provided the basis for further scientific research in 1929. A detailed consideration was published by Joseph Bernhard Nordhoff⁷ in 1888/89, in which he described the history and liturgy as well as the architecture and categorized the same by means of comparison. Paul Jonas Meier⁸, in the first edition of the Dehio handbook of German art monuments, tried to comment on the internal structures in 1912 and Erwin Panofsky put the building phases of the Westwork into a new order⁹ by means of comparison with the Minden Cathedral in his penetrating building analyses – his attributions were largely confirmed by later detailed research.

Wilhelm Effmann determined the general uniformity of the Westwork (apart from the upper part of the towers and the belfry) in his monograph which was published after his death by Alois Fuchs in 1929 and identified it without any doubt with the three-tower construction,³⁸ the consecration of which took place in 885 and is confirmed in the sources. He noticed later changes and attributed the majority of them correctly into restructuring phases in the 12th and late 16th century. His mistakes result from the then much restricted possibilities of building investigation or from misinterpretations of terms used in the

sources (e.g. he called the hall on the ground floor “crypt”).³⁹ The book about Westworks published by Alois Fuchs in the same year produced a long tradition of misinterpretations, the repercussions of which are still present today not only with regard to Carolingian „west buildings”, in which he interpreted the structure as an imperial church according to the example of the Aachen palace chapel (Aachener Pfalzkapelle), an interpretation which is not attested in any source.

Between 1951 and 1953, during first systematic excavations, commissioned by the Provincial Conservator of Westphalia, Friedrich Esterhues obtained information about the external crypt according to a plan dated 1663 and on the basis of mortar finds attributed it to the Carolingian building.¹⁰

Wilhelm Rave, for many years Provincial Conservator, set new accents with his detailed analyses of the monastery and settlement history of Corvey which preceded his monograph;¹¹ he did not look at the church and monastic precinct in an isolated way but within the context of the working quarters and dwellings, churches and chapels as well as the fortifications. Also important was the clarification by Thümmeler in 1957,¹² taken up by Rave, that the east room of the Westwork was originally not divided into storeys by ceilings at the point of juncture with the former, demolished nave. Rave’s partly very wide-reaching suggestions for reconstruction were rejected in a detailed review by Edgar Lehmann in 1960¹³ and the necessity of further excavations to find answers to open questions was emphasized.

In 1963, Felix Kreuzsch of Aachen, cathedral architect and expert in Carolingian architecture, presented new suggestions for

3 Wilhelm Lübke, Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Westfalen, Leipzig 1853, p. 57-58.

4 Carl Schnaase, Geschichte der bildenden Kunst, Bd. IV, Düsseldorf 1871², p. 337-339.

5 Ferdinand von Quast, in: Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertümerversine 3 (1854/55), p. 24 as well as 17 (1869), comment on p. 5-6.

6 Wilhelm Effmann, Die Kirche der Abtei Corvey. Aus dem Nachlass des Verfassers herausgegeben von Alois Fuchs, Paderborn 1929.

7 Joseph Bernhard Nordhoff, „Corvei und die westfälisch-sächsische Früharchitektur“, in: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 11 (1888), p. 147-165 and 396-404 as well as 12 (1889), p. 372-389.

8 Paul Jonas Meier, in: Georg Dehio (Ed.), Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Volume V, Berlin 1912, p. 299 - 300 (printed unchanged in second edition 1928).

9 Erwin Panofsky, Der Westbau des Doms zu Minden, in: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft 42 (1920), p. 51-77.

10 Friedrich Esterhues, Zur frühen Baugeschichte der Corveyer Abteikirche (Report on excavation results), in: Westfalen 31 (1953), p. 320 - 335; idem., Zur Rekonstruktion der ersten Corveyer Klosterkirche, in: Westfälische Zeitschrift 108 (1958), p. 387-394.

11 Wilhelm Rave, Corvey, Münster 1958.

12 Hans Thümmeler, Die karolingische Baukunst in Westfalen, in: Karolingische und ottonische Kunst (= Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und Christlichen Archäologie 3), Wiesbaden 1957, p. 84 - 108.

13 Edgar Lehmann, Zum Buche von Wilhelm Rave über Corvey, in: Westfalen 38 (1960), p. 12 - 35.



39



Reconstruction of the westwork



38

The wall paintings which had already been known in part around 1900 have increasingly revealed

since the building measures carried out in 1939 and identified as Carolingian since that time.

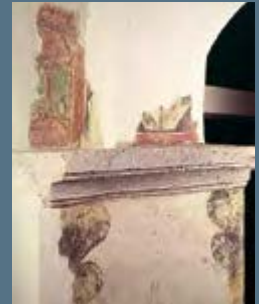
Carolingian finds and baroque burials in the West-work



Acanthus frieze, ground floor of the southern aisle, finds in the north-eastern corner (left)



Alternating yellow and blue arches of tendrils. Southern fragments of the middle soffit of the western arcade of the upper floor (middle)



Soffits with rudiments of frieze on the west side of the eastern arcade on the north gallery (right)



Frieze at the beginning of the northern vault (below)

reconstruction which were based on the restoration work taking place at that time, which however, due to his limited possibilities of examination, were not as advanced as the already existing state of research.

In 1966, Hermann Busen, Provincial Conservator, summarized the state of knowledge which was current at that time.¹⁴ However Busen's wish for indisputable clarity enticed him to make statements with regard to undecidable questions which in turn led to misinterpretations. However it is without doubt to his credit, that he provided the first indication of the remnants of a cornice in the upper part of the Carolingian middle tower at the northern wall of the south tower¹⁵ which marks the verifiable minimum height of the middle tower.

An extensive publication on the state of knowledge of that time planned by Busen himself (architectural findings and documentation), Hans Thümmeler (position within the history of architecture) and Hilde Claussen (restoration findings) could not be realized as Busen and Thümmeler both died in 1972.

Essential aspects of older research work were corrected by the results of the area excavations of Uwe Lobbedey (1974/75 in the baroque church, 1977 in the Westwork)⁴⁰ and the discussion of the reconstruction of the Carolingian church put on a secured archaeological basis. Since then the responsibility for further research and publication of the results lay with Hilde Claussen and Uwe Lobbedey.¹⁶ Despite an intensive cooperation of the two researchers which was continued beyond their professional activity into retirement they were not able to finalize the publication

summarizing all archaeological and architectural investigation.

True, Lobbedey and Claussen reported on their research in preliminary reports and papers¹⁷ but this information unavoidably always remained incomplete. Anna Skriver, an employee of Hilde Claussen who had fallen ill completed the volume on wall paintings⁴¹ in 2007. The excavations and architectural investigations by Uwe Lobbedey have been summarized by Sveva Gai und Kristina Krüger. Thus, an extensive documentation and interpretation of the archaeological and architectural research during the past 150 years will be provided in 2012/13.

5.3.2 Research on restoration, investigations, measures

Extensive restoration work, which had already been called for in the Dehio in 1912, took place between 1947 and 1966 to address the bad state of preservation. In addition, it was intended to restore the structure to its original Carolingian state as far as possible on the basis of clear and precise findings and evidence. The impressive main room of the Westwork with renewed columns and capitals interpreted in a contemporary way, completely encircled by two-storey arcades, is a result of the structural restoration and the reconstruction of the 1950s and early 1960s. However the removal of all finds not belonging to the Carolingian „original prototype“ and which had been carried out without documentation, sample taking, dendro-chronological dating or architectural clarification has turned out to be problematic for later research.

The wall paintings, which had already been known in part around 1900, have been increasingly revealed since the

14 Hermann Busen, „Kloster und Klosterkirche zu Corvey, in: Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800 -1600 (= exhibition catalogue of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Corvey 1966), Münster 1966, vol. 1, p. 19-42.

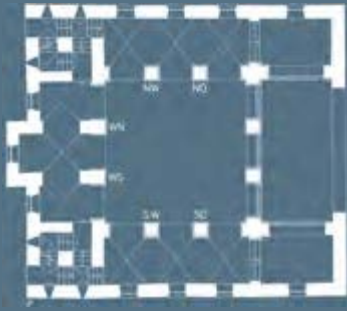
15 Travel report of Dr. Hermann Busen of 24.9.1956, files of DLBW.

16 Both were originally with the Westfälischen Amt für Denkmalpflege, Lobbedey was from 1980 employed by the „Westfälisches Museum für Archäologie/Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege“.

17 See preliminary reports on the excavations (Uwe Lobbedey. Neue Ausgrabungsergebnisse zur Baugeschichte der Corveyer Abteikirche, in: Westfalen 55 [1977], p. 285-297) and especially the research overview and the description of the existing condition in 2002 (Uwe Lobbedey, Die Baugestalt des Corveyer Westwerks, Forschungsstand und Aufgaben, in: Joachim Poeschke (Hg.), Sinopien und Stuck im Westwerk der karolingischen Klosterkirche von Corvey, Münster 2002, p. 115 - 130).

For publications by Claussen on the Carolingian wall paintings, the sinopias and stucco figures found in the Westwork see Hilde Claussen and Anna Skriver, Die Klosterkirche Corvey, Volume 2: Wandmalerei und Stuck aus karolingischer Zeit. (= Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen, Volume 43,2), Mainz 2007, Bibliographie p. 511-512.

Floor plan of upper floor, reconstruction of the Carolingian condition with location of the sinopias, drawing by Frohnert



Southern wall of upper floor, western sinopia drawing by Schneider

building measures carried out in 1939 and identified as Carolingian since that time. Revealing of specific areas began in 1954, all wall surfaces were examined once again by Hilde Claussen and the restorer Scholley looking for older plaster and painting in 1959/60. The report which included all finds – even non-Carolingian – is the only documentation of non-Carolingian changes with regard to the wall sections which in the meantime were covered by plaster again, and the only basis of architectural analysis and phase allocation of these structural parts by Lobbedey.

The visible inclination of the western tower façade together with the cracks in the wall led to an extensive intervention between 1960 and 1965. The foundation was expanded with concrete and hollows in the walls were backfilled by means of a then frequently used procedure called „Torkretierung“ (dry spraying process), i.e. liquid cement was injected into the façade from above for stabilization. As a consequence however, the historical external plaster was largely lost and humidity damage as well as an increased salt exposure on the inside occurred. The floor in the entire façade area and the adjoining bay on the inside of the Westwork were sealed by means of a concrete slab below the façade and made inaccessible for excavations.

An extensive restoration of the façade took place in 1983/84. The necessary external scaffolding of the entire tower construction on the one hand allowed for a detailed observation of otherwise non-accessible parts and thus provided important progress. On the other hand a part of the finds, which had just been observed, was destroyed by new jointing and replacement of the damaged masonry.

Extensive revealing of the masonry was carried out in 1992 after the finding of the sinopias, preparatory background drawings, which document the formerly existing life-size figures above the arcade pillars of the upper floor. ⁴²

Since then, in addition to measures to preserve the structure, individual investigations have been carried out under the floor of the St John's-choir and under the wall plaster of the 1960s to resolve architectural questions. An essential measure to save the Carolingian wall plaster in the staircases of the towers was a project funded by the German Federal Foundation for the Environment (DBU): the open arcade storeys of the towers and the middle structure were sealed with plastic sheeting and self developed mortar and the water drainage of the front building on the western façade was improved between 2007 and 2009. Moisture penetration due to pollution as a consequence of environmental influences had caused structural damage or even loss of substance in the area of the historical plaster walls. The restorer Eva Möllenkamp, accompanied by Beat Sigrist, the expert restorer of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen as well as by the Laboratory for Building Materials of the University of Holzminden, stabilized the wall plaster of the staircase and mapped all existing mortar and plaster from Carolingian times until the present.

At the moment a restoration survey of the condition of the Carolingian and medieval wall paintings, plaster and fragments of architectural colour ornamentation is being prepared. No complete and continuous recording and monitoring of the status of preservation has taken place since the revealing of the paintings at the end of the 1950s and the later discovery of frag-

ments of architectural colour ornamentation. Due to the symptoms caused by damage an examination of the restoration is required from a monument preservation perspective.

Gerhard Drescher and Peter Butt prepared a catalogue of damage on 28 December 2000 according to which part of the wall paintings, plaster and fragments of the architectural colour ornamentation in the Westwork showed acute damage and are threatened by continuous decay and loss. Beat Sigrist summarized the situation on 26 January 2006 as follows:

Location	Symptoms
St John's choir, western gallery, southeastern corner, above	surfaces with "faded" paintings
St John's choir, western wall, middle bay, southwestern corner	Partially humid plaster areas and surfaces with paintings related to the system of water drainage
Ground floor, columned hall, south aisle, north wall below the flat ceiling	Loosened plaster with Carolingian painting
Ground floor, columned hall, columns/capitels	Fragments of colour ornamentation cracking off and minimized due to salification
Towers, staircases	Degrading and minimized plaster due to salification

In the scope of the DBU-funded project in 2007 – 2009, some causes of damage which were obviously related to external influences could be eliminated such as the sealing of the tower rooms which used to be open and the controlled water drainage of the front building of the western facade. A preliminary analysis as a basis for a necessary complete recording and monitoring of the status was prepared by Beat Sigrist, restorer of the LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, in May 2011.

5.3.3 Archaeological research in the monastery district

Archaeological research in the monastery district and exploration of finds preserved underground began in Corvey with small investigations by Wilhelm Effmann at the end of the 19th century when traces of the nave of the Carolingian monastery church were excavated. The search for individual elements of the development of the construction of the church and the atrium which had been derived from other sources was continued only by small pits and trenches dug by architects and art historians in the first half of the 20th century.

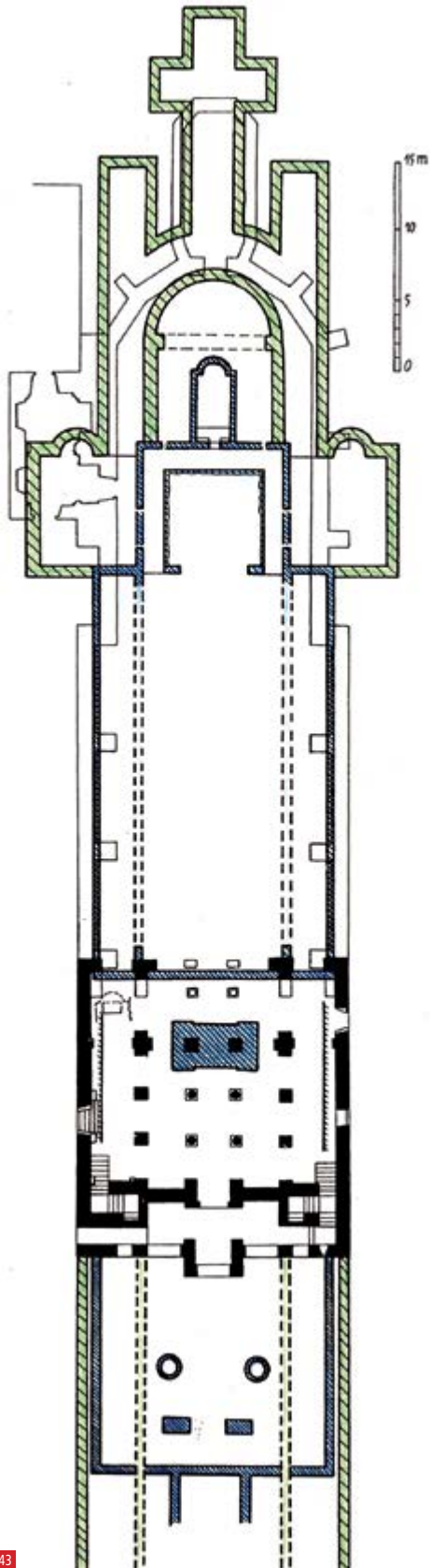
Friedrich Esterhues, the first professional excavator, started his work in 1951/52. The external crypt which was known at that time from the plans dated 1665, the northern transept arm, some areas of the former southern cloister wing and the east room of the Westwork were explored by means of excavation trenches. However, only the large-scale investigations according to modern methods under the supervision of Uwe Lobbedey brought reliable knowledge about the building history.

⁴³ The inside of the baroque church was investigated in 1974/75, the Westwork in 1977 and the forecourt to the west of the church in 1995 including the finding of the two building phases of the atrium. Remnants of the southern cloister wing of the medieval monastic precinct were revealed in the present graveyard, immediately to the north of the church in 1976 and 1993. These large-scale excavations were completed by a smaller excavation in the area of the pre-baroque southern transept arm in 1999 and small investigations north and south of the church in 1976 and 2000. These investigations, through which essential characteristics of the first abbey church which was conse-






Lime mortar from 873-885

Foundation 223 of the Westwork

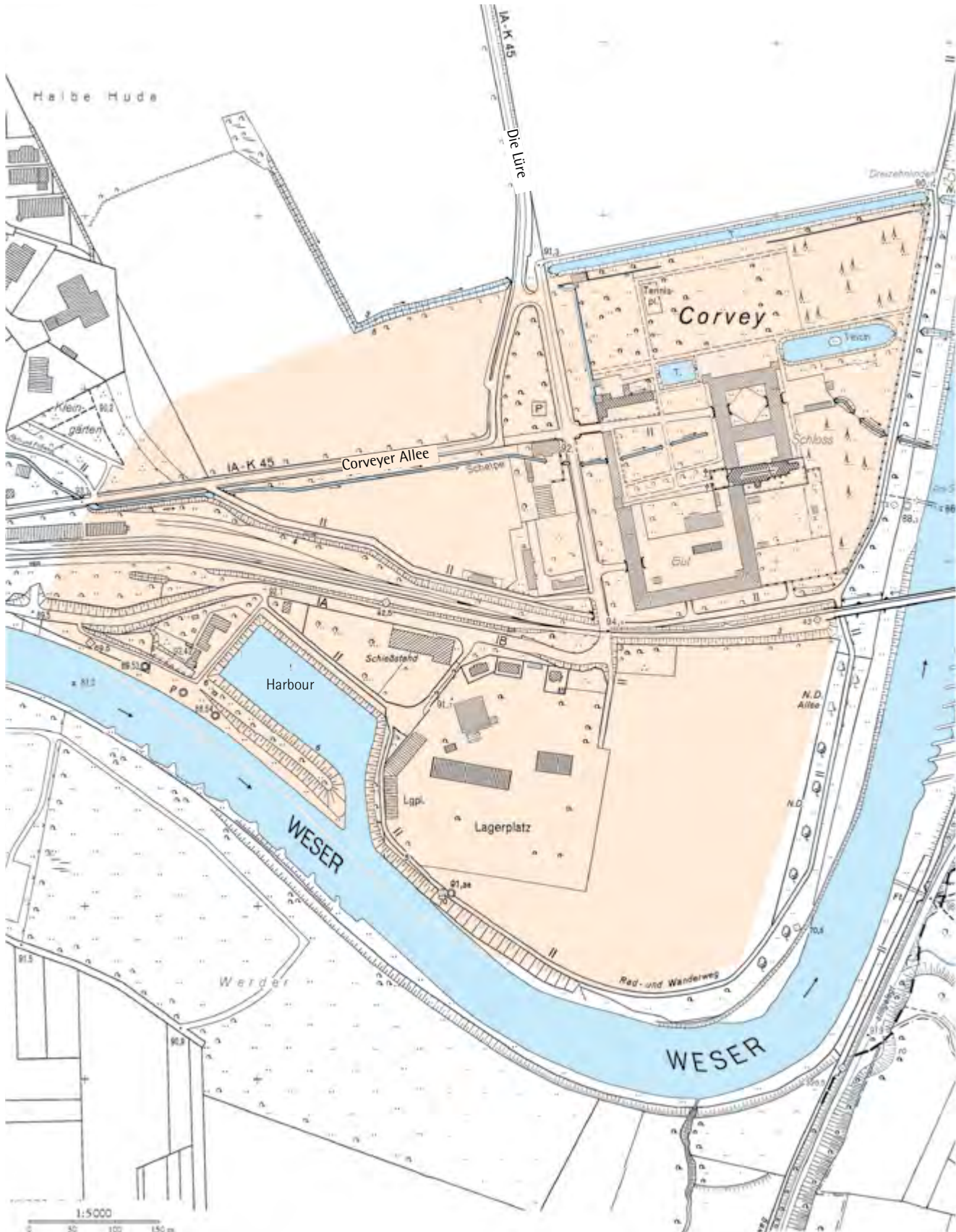


Corvey, Westwork and church, floor plan with different construction phases
Drawing by LWL, Münster

-  Construction period A (822-844), excavated
-  Construction period B (after 870), excavated
-  Westwork (873-885), existing
-  Baroque (1667-1671, 1717/18), existing

The area of the former town of Corvey c. 1200 shown on the current map, state 2011

Topographical basis:
Deutsche Grundkarte 1 : 5000
© Geo-basis data: Kreis Höxter,
Fachbereich Kataster und Vermessung,
Nr 51-B1-1521/11
Graphics: Th. Kaling, Institut für
vergleichende Städtegeschichte



crated in 844, the late-Carolingian extensions of its eastern parts, the first atrium preceding the Westwork followed by the second atrium as well as some base lines of the development of the northern cloister building could be identified, have so far only been published in the form of preliminary reports. The final edition of the excavation results which are to be combined with the presentation of the findings and results of the structural analysis in the Westwork has just been completed and published.

During intensive excavation activities which involved the abbey and its immediate surroundings the boundaries of the monastery district within the remaining nominated site first came into focus. Building director Fritz Sagebiel from Höxter, commissioned by the provincial curator Rave, carried out searches and excavations which probably, and in part certainly, led to the discovery of pre-baroque stonework on the northern, southern and eastern boundaries of the monastery area and indicated possible gate positions. In addition, walls of the “Werneburg”, which was later identified as the abbots’ castle, were discovered in the northeastern corner of the monastery area. Further investigation of the monastery district took place thanks to Hans-Georg Stephan who starting in the 1970s has continuously made observations with regard to the area relief, recovered surface finds and documented small excavations. These include exploration of part of the area with a grid of investigations using a bore-rod in 1984, observation of an extensive drainage construction project around the baroque buildings in 1988 and a test section through the fortification of the abbots’ castle, extended by an area excavation in its interior in 1990-1992 which led to the discovery of finds origi-

nating from the early days of the monastery. Stephan published his collected knowledge in „Studien zur Siedlungsentwicklung von Stadt und Reichskloster Corvey” in 2000. Andreas König, the archaeologist of the Town of Höxter has also been active in the monastery area since 1986, most recently during the planning phase of a construction road south of the church.

Summarising the investigations in the monastery area, which can be largely categorized as archaeological surveys, the following impression can be gained: the baroque ditch leading directly along the present castle to the north and which was in the meantime partly backfilled was preceded by a medieval ditch leading in the same direction accompanied by pre-baroque walls in the south. To the east there are traces of an older wall running almost parallel just outside and inside the baroque monastery walls. To the south there are walls and remnants of walls probably originating from pre-baroque times along the baroque monastery boundaries. Like the ones in the north, these boundaries represent a clear line between early and late medieval finds. Knowledge about the western boundary has been scarce so far. But also in this case a demarcation of the older monastery area has to be assumed approximately along the baroque lines. According to current knowledge it can be assumed that not only the late medieval boundaries but also the Carolingian boundaries of the monastery area corresponded at least approximately to the described baroque ditches and walls. The fortification of the area around 940 can be assumed from the grant in that year to the monastery of castle immunity with the right of obligatory labour.

Medieval glass from Corvey.
Fragments of a smoothing
tool made of greenish wood
ash glass from the Carolin-
gian monastery workshops



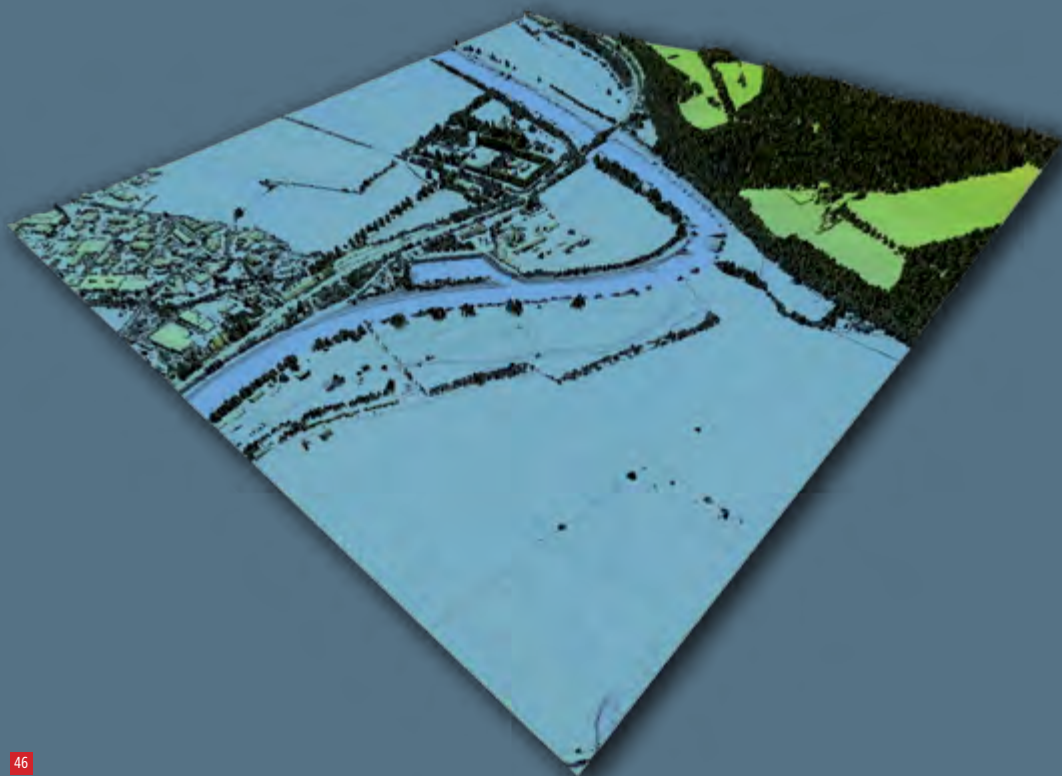
44



45

Wall of the abbots' castle
with pillars for its internal
battlements c. 1300 and the
area of Carolingian work-
shops from the main con-
struction period of the
monastery in the back-
ground.

Detailed relief aerial survey
(LIDAR), Corvey



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The abbey church was situated almost exactly in the centre of the fortified area. Cloister and monastic precinct have been located to the north since Carolingian times. The west and north wing of the monastic precinct have a baroque superstructure, the location of the medieval east wing is still unexplored in the baroque courtyard, the present graveyard (Friedgarten). On the northern edge of the precinct building runs the water canal of the „Grube” - since Carolingian times and probably supplied with water from the Schelpe since the 12th century- coming from a valley west of Höxter and flowing into the River Weser. According to written and archaeological sources there were graveyards in the north-east, east and south of the church. In medieval times, according to archaeological observations, the burial site stretched south beyond the limits of today’s graveyard and in westerly direction to the area south of the former atrium. South of the graveyard there are indications of stone buildings, cellars and wells. In the south-west, sunken rooms of the Early Middle Ages (pithouses/cellars) have also been identified. Many traces of older stone buildings have also been found west and east of the baroque abbey with indications of the processing of glass and non-ferrous metal, ⁴⁴ especially north of the medieval monastic precinct. An area which was used particularly early is located close to the later abbots’ castle: ⁴⁵ in an area at a bay of the River Weser, which was later inundated. Remnants of buildings and indications for the processing of stone and nonferrous metal with ceramics from the foundation period of the monastery were found here. The written sources suggest that within the monastery area, in addition to the church and rectangular precinct, the infirmary of the monks and the graveyard of the monks with its own

chapels, at least three more chapels outside of the precinct, the medieval abbots’ palace which was presumably located north of the atrium, the pilgrim hospice, completed by dwellings for distinguished guests, the clergy, officials in the knightly retinue and dependents of the monastery, many working quarters and mills existed. At the end of the 13th century, the so-called „Werneburg” of the Corvey abbots was built. The ditch and wall of this castle which was destroyed in early modern times could be archaeologically established in the north-eastern corner of the monastery district. There are only preliminary results available from the geomagnetic analyses which were carried out in 2011. They refer to archaeological finds especially in the service buildings of the former monastery as well as to the west of the Westwork and the baroque west wing. The present garden areas, which are situated at a distance to the buildings east of the monastery, hardly show any anomalies. In the area of the former abbots’ castle there are more indications of archaeological finds.

It is intended to complete the archaeological survey in the area of the „Friedgarten” and the former abbots’ castle by ground radar analyses. Data of an aerial relief survey (LIDAR) have to be analysed. ⁴⁶ Knowledge about soil structures and recent disturbances is to be clarified by investigations with bore-rod in the eastern area of the monastery.

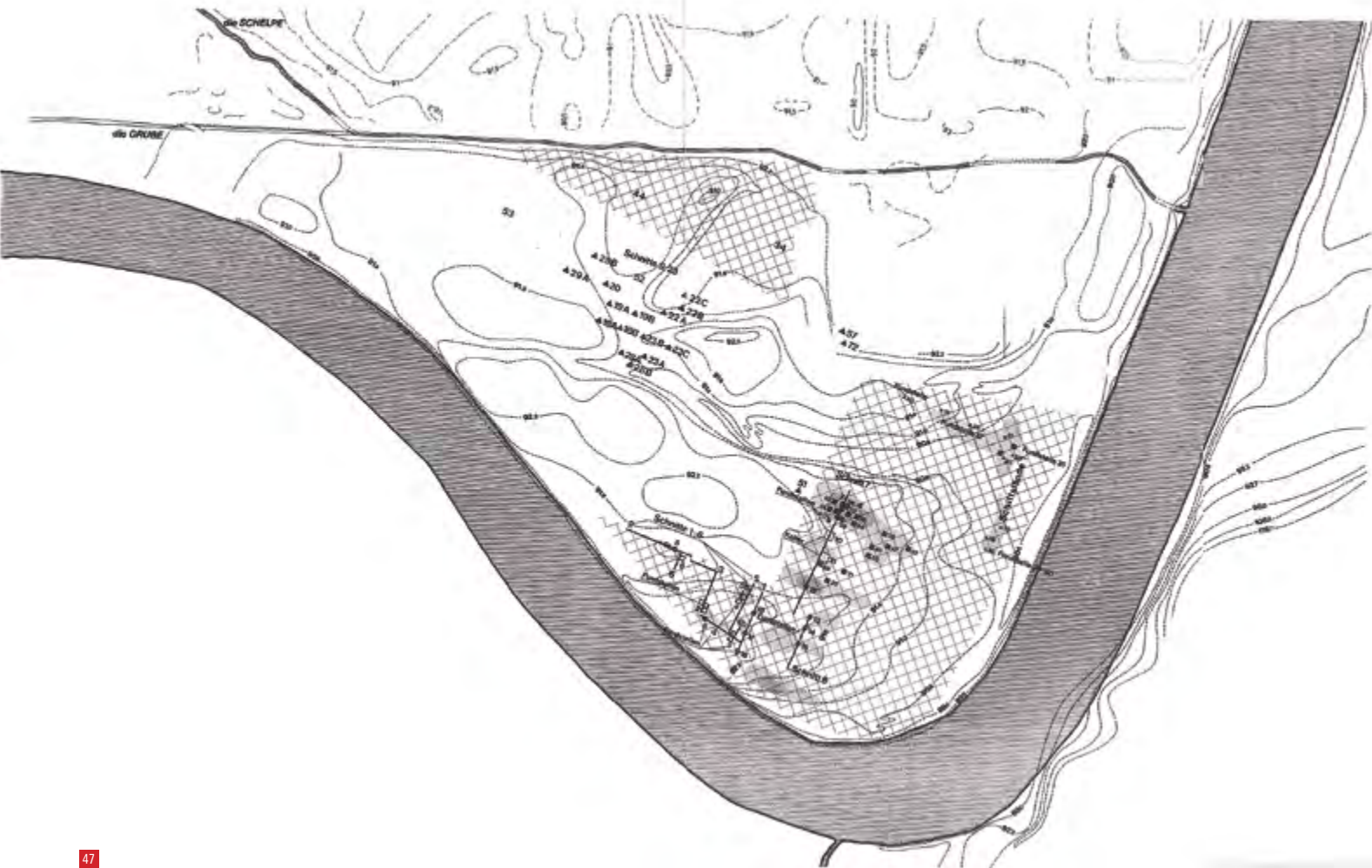
Previous as well as future archaeological surveys aim at gaining knowledge about structures in the ground without invasive destruction of the archaeological monument. The superior goal of archaeological monument preservation is to conserve an intact archaeological monument in the ground. Every intervention in the ground

Deserted medieval town of Corvey. Stone cellar foundations of the later 12th century in detail.



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Surface mapping in the southern part of the medieval deserted town of Corvey (state 1973) including the excavation sites of the year 1970

- Excavation areas (1970)
- ▲● Position of excavation trenches (1970) indicating the numbers of the trenches and finds
- Chequered: Extension of the areas of arable land with number of find site
- Dot matrix: Concentrations of surface findings (1973)
- ◼ Narrow dot matrix: extremely high concentrations of surface finds (1973)
- Concentrations of larger stones with number assigned during mapping (1973)
- △ Concentration of burned clay of houses with number assigned during mapping (1973)

is a change which requires an authorization according to monument law pursuant to Art. 9 DSchG NW. Some measures listed in the catalogue of measures involve interventions in the ground which require archaeological support and documentation and in some cases preliminary clarification. With regard to all authorization procedures in accordance with monument law it has to be observed that in this case an archaeological monument of Outstanding Universal Value is involved.

5.3.4 The scientific investigation of the deserted medieval town of Corvey

The early modern historian of the monastery, Johannes Letzner, mentioned evidence, noticeable in 1590 (at the time he was writing), that the abbey of Corvey had been surrounded by a town and included the remnants of churches and elegant buildings, recently exposed paved roads and wells and the remnants of a ditch-rampart fortification which were still visible at that time. 19th century floods of the River Weser repeatedly revealed finds of an urban settlement and graves which had been arranged around St Paul's church, consecrated in 863, and at the „nova ecclesia“ monastery (Niggenkerken) mentioned in 1155. Structural remnants of this church were recorded and documented during the digging of the harbour basin in 1901. There were also some additional graves of women, identified by inscriptions, and which suggested that the community of canons had been preceded by a foundation for women. Through investigation of the harbour jetty in 1989 and further archaeological surveys, Hans-Georg Stephan was able to confirm and to specify the location of the church and the convent.

In the core zone of the medieval town in the bend of the River Weser south of the

monastery and the *Corveyer Allee* a series of search sections was made under supervision of Uwe Lobbedey (LWL-Archäologie) in 1970. In the same year, a section through the rampart and ditches of the town's fortification on the western outskirts of the former town near the *Schelppe* bridge across the *Corveyer Allee* were documented by him. In the following years, Hans-Georg Stephan mapped surface finds in many areas of the deserted town and made smaller archaeological observations.⁴⁷ Between 1988 and 1997, larger areas in several locations within the core area of the town were excavated under Stephan's supervision.

In the course of this work parts of the representative Romanesque market church and of the urban infrastructure with a paved, built-on main road could be recorded. Parts of the houses of the citizens which were found included stone cellars and stone rear buildings.⁴⁸ Traces of an extensive suburban settlement dating as far back as the 9th century could be demonstrated in several places within the town area under investigation, for example in front of the Weser ford. The downfall of the town, which had its own Town Council, was mainly due to the competitive situation with the town of Höxter situated at a distance of 0.7 km. After the destruction of the town recorded for 1265 and the relocation of St Paul's monastery (= Niggenkerken) in 1266, a speedy, archaeologically documented, depopulation of this town area took place in the second half of the 13th century leading to the final abandonment of the existing rural remnants of the settlement in the course of the 14th /15th centuries.

The area of the relocated district road 45 in the northwestern section of the deserted town which was investigated by Rudolf

Bergmann (LWL-Archäologie) in 1990 presented different excavation results. The area which is also situated outside the monastic immunity zone showed scattered building structures of the first half of the 12th century, i.e. prior to the time of suburban settlements. The non-agrarian location of the house comprised a sill beam construction with a fireplace, a pit house and a stone tube well. Processing waste originating from antlers and fragments of flat glass of Venetian origin (analyzed by Karl Hans Wedepohl, university of Göttingen) indicate a craft production area related to the monastery complex. Immediately prior to the erection of the ditch-rampart fortification of the town of Corvey in the Hohenstaufen period, the well had been back-filled with the external slope of the rampart leading across the same. The finds of the backfill layers of the well deliver the terminus post quem with regard to the impressively early development of the town walls in the course of the second half of the 12th century. The town walls comprising bulk layers of clay and gravel have been visibly preserved at this point in part. They can be reconstructed to a height of at least four to five metres above surface level. An urban colonization of the fortified area did, however, not take place within the area under investigation. Only traces of a straight pathway accompanied on both sides by ditches could be recorded.

Historical tradition and archaeological sources in respect of the deserted town of Corvey have been combined in an overall picture in a book by Hans-Georg Stephan.¹⁸ The annex to the publication includes contributions from other scientists with regard to soil science, project work and natural scientific analyses of bones and ceramic finds and remnants of plants. The research status was recently summarized and explained by means of numerous maps on

the „Höxter and Corvey” page in the Westfälischer Städteatlas.¹⁹

Geophysical surveys and recent aerial photographs have still not recorded the entire area of the deserted town and have not been finally analyzed. There is not only the main road which already exists in the southeastern part of the former town but also there are other pathways and roads which have been recorded with additional indications of a stone building and stone cellars as well as numerous geomagnetic „anomalies” which hint at further archaeological findings in the ground. Furthermore, the geomagnetic prospection demonstrated very marked traces of the fortification ditch on the northern edge of the town.

The current archaeological survey work has continued in 2011 and has been completed by the analysis of the LIDAR data already collected on the detailed relief, the use of the soil radar in the area of the Niggenkerken monastery under the harbour jetty and by means of bore-rod investigations in the core area of the former town in the bend of the River Weser.

With regard to areas which have not been excavated so far, the planned „archaeological window” requires prior excavations including extensive documentation according to scientific standards. A follow-up investigation, possibly including additional documentation, will also be required for excavated areas. Both types of investigation require an authorization based on monument law. This also applies to all other soil interventions in areas registered as archaeological monuments. Particular measures of the catalogue of measures are connected with soil interventions on the monument; an authorization according to monument law, including additional provi-

18 Studien zur Siedlungsentwicklung und -struktur von Stadt und Reichskloster Corvey (800-1670). Eine Gesamtdarstellung auf der Grundlage archäologischer und historischer Quellen, Neumünster 2000.

19 Westfälischer Städteatlas IX, No. 4, 2006, edited by Michael Koch, Andreas König and Hans-Georg Stephan.

sions safeguarding archaeological concerns may be obtained in general. The road construction outside the registered monument also requires archaeological support.

5.3.5 Archaeological prospection of the nominated site, the buffer zone and the surroundings

Airborne 3D-multisensor documentation in Corvey and surroundings. The archaeological cultural landscape surrounding Corvey is currently being three-dimensionally documented over a total surface of 104 km² by means of flights with an airborne laser scanning system with an aerial camera and a multisensory platform (thermal and hyperspectral documentation over a total of 7 km²). With these modern ar-

chaeological multisensor flights a very high accuracy is obtained since the photographs are taken from helicopters or ultra-light airplanes flying very low.

High-resolution and comprehensive 3D data for the development of topographic and archaeological terrain models are prepared from the raw data. A plan of the existing condition including vegetation and a plan without vegetation (terrain model without tree population and buildings) will be prepared. In these so-called digital terrain models, the still visible archaeological terrain monuments (castles, settlements, deserted towns etc.) are precisely measured in 3-D. Elements of the cultural landscape such as old defensive dykes, road systems, field terraces, barrows



and certainly some hitherto unrecognized elements of the cultural landscape are also included in the digital terrain models. Finally, selected sections of geologically referenced maps are prepared on the basis of the additional data from the thermal and hyperspectral sensors. The possibility of using these additional sensors is largely unexplored in view of archaeology (they are mainly used in environmental monitoring). Thus this project offers the very great chance, which can only be evaluated in part so far, of adding to and completing already existing archaeological prospection methods. Since there are very extensive investigations, inspections and most of all geophysical prospections (geomagnetic, geoelectric, soil radar) available for Corvey as corrective data, the possibility of clarifying the potentials of these sensors more closely within the scope of a unique pioneering project in Germany arises.

5.3.6 Library research

5.3.6.1 Medieval library and scriptorium

Some years ago, the scriptorium in Corvey could be identified by means of palaeographical analyses by Bernhard Bischoff as the place of creation of an outstanding group of illuminated Ottonian manuscripts, the so-called Weser-group. The production which already started before the middle of the 10th century and reached far into the 11th century is to be seen in close connection with the relationship between the monastery and the Ottonian dynasty.

Very soon after its foundation in 822, Corvey developed into the leading centre of spiritual life in Saxony, a position which it was able to maintain also throughout the Ottonian period. The monks who came from the principal monastery of Corbie to the Weser area brought books from the west of France to be used for church ser-

vices and the monastery school which was established at a very early stage. Writing by scribes in Corvey began using these manuscripts as models. The majority of liturgical books written here were commissioned by other religious communities. Work ordered by the Ottonian dynasty was obviously preferably done in Corvey. In the last quarter of the 10th century picture ornaments were added to the manuscripts. The first example is probably the *Evangelistar*, produced around 970 and kept today in the Public Library in New York, with full-page pictures of Christ and the evangelists, interpreting ideas from Rheims and the scriptorium of Charles the Bald. A series of high-ranking, lavishly illuminated manuscripts has been preserved in many international collections and libraries, such as, amongst others, in London (*British Library*), Leipzig (*Universitätsbibliothek*), New York (The Pierpont Morgan Library), Rheims (*Bibliothèque Municipale*), Wolfenbüttel (*Herzog August Bibliothek*), Paderborn (*Diözesanmuseum*) and Helsinki (*Suomen Kansallismuseo*). A correlated group of three manuscripts from the end of the 10th century, the figures of which depicted in it are pen drawings, developed from dense layers of lines. They are kept in Leipzig, Kassel and Wolfenbüttel. The production of sophisticated illuminated manuscripts in Corvey obviously came to a temporary end soon after 1000. However it had influence on the Hildesheim book illustration of the period of Bishop Bernward.²⁰

A catalogue of early and late medieval Corvey manuscripts represents an essential desideratum in research. However the preparation of such a catalogue is planned in the context of an exhibition of manuscripts from the Corvey scriptorium held in the museum of the diocese of Paderborn. At the same time this collection is made

²⁰ See catalogue of the Bernward exhibition in Hildesheim where many manuscripts from Corvey were shown and described: Michael Brandt/Arne Eggebrecht (Ed.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*. Exhibition catalogue Hildesheim 1993, Hildesheim/Mainz 1993.



The original collection of the former library of the Benedictines in Corvey will be reconstructed and made accessible virtually.

accessible to research and a broader public in the form of a virtual library ⁴⁹ by means of digital facsimile production of the most important text manuscripts and the illuminated codices. This could involve cooperation with the Lower-Saxon State and University Library of Göttingen but a partner in North Rhine-Westphalia such as the University Library of Münster and the State Archives also there could be worth considering.²¹

5.3.6.2 Baroque monastery library

With the new beginning after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the monastery founded a new baroque user library in the newly created building complex in 1714. This library was also dispersed during the secularization in 1803 and no longer exists. Today the most extensive holding (approx. 2,500 volumes) is kept as a deposit of the Dechaneibibliothek in the EAB (Erzbischöflich Akademische Bibliothek/archiepiscopal academic library) in Paderborn. Further volumes are preserved in other libraries.²²

The research project „Kloster und Schloss Corvey als abendländische Bildungs- und Mediengeschichte“ (Monastery and Castle of Corvey as a western history of education and media), a part of the project „Kulturerbe-Sakralbauten“ (cultural heritage – sacred buildings) funded by the Ministry for Innovation, Science and Research (MIWF) of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, analyses the monastery with regard to its history of education and media of more than 1,000 years. The aim is to take stock, catalogue and digitalize the existing physical stocks of the former monastery library. The development of an Internet portal Nova Corbeia is to provide access to research objects and results to everybody and on an international level. The objective involves the virtual reconstruction of the former library, its digital

use and the listing of the collections with book inventories in their respective locations. The project „Kloster und Schloss Corvey als Ort der abendländischen Bildungs- und Mediengeschichte“ (Monastery and Castle of Corvey as a western history of education and media) has been carried out at the Faculty of Material and Immaterial World Heritage at the University of Paderborn since 2008. The still surviving collections of books will be brought together for an exhibition which has been shown 2011/2012 i.a. in Corvey, Marburg and Bonn.

5.3.6.3 Princely library of Corvey

Today's „Fürstliche Bibliothek Corvey“ (princely library of Corvey) ⁵⁰ is in the ownership of the Duke of Ratibor and Prince of Corvey. The origins of this princely library are based on the book collection of the Landgraves of Hessen-Rotenburg which was brought to Corvey from 1825 on. The original collection amounted to 36,000 volumes. It was expanded by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben to a size of 74,000 volumes between 1860 and 1874, these still being preserved today. In contrast to the former monastery library, the princely library is a truly secular collection. The collection of books of light fiction and travel literature as well as unique collections of precious books and illustrated volumes has not been enlarged since that time and neither have there been any losses. The books are in a well-preserved state. The collection consists of volumes in German, English and French, proportionately one third of them in each language.

Since many books in the princely library were not collected elsewhere due either to their often high purchase price or their low reputation at university libraries, aristocratic libraries and public libraries, Cor-

21 Karl Hermann Usener, Buchmalerei bis 1200, in: exhibition catalogue Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800-1600, Vol. 2, Catalogue. Münster 1967, p. 464-469; Gerd Bauer, Corvey oder Hildesheim? Zur ottonischen Buchmalerei in Norddeutschland, 2nd Vol. Phil. Diss., Hamburg 1977; Rainer Kahsnitz, Frühottonische Buchmalerei, in: Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa, exhibition catalogue, Vol. 1 Essays, Mainz 2001, p. 225-250.

22 Hermann Josef Schmalor, Die Bibliothek der ehemaligen Reichsabtei Corvey, in: Westfälische Zeitschrift 147 (1997), p. 251-269; Günter Tiggesbäumker, Der Neuaufbau der Corveyer Klosterbibliothek nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg unter Fürststab Maximilian von Horrich, in: Jahrbuch Kreis Höxter 2002, p. 146-150.

vey has preserved a collection stock which can hardly be shown in any other catalogued library. The collection is kept in bookcases of the late Classical and Biedermeier periods. The restoration of the rooms and the library bookcases has been completed in 2012. In its totality the library represents a monument of European book culture mainly of the 19th century and its indexing is used as a model for aristocratic libraries.

The princely library has been indexed since 1999. The catalogue is available online. The research results of the “Corvey-Studien” (Corvey studies) series is documented. The library is managed by the „Corvey-Institut für Buch- und Bibliotheksgeschichte” (Corvey institute for the history of books and libraries) at the University of Paderborn. The Corvey research sites at the universities of Cardiff, Shef-



field, Innsbruck and Nebraska are among the cooperation partners.

Since the catalogue of the princely library is available on the Internet and can be researched online, the library management receives several hundreds of requests of different kinds annually on a regular basis via interlibrary loan or directly which can largely be taken care of (partly by means of copies or alternative media). In order to make the offer of the library and the work more effective, more attractive and more modern, the concept for an interactive website is currently being developed in cooperation with the library management in the scope of a thesis for the Higher Library Service. This website is to provide information on the history of the library as well as on the historical rooms (including a virtual tour) on the one hand, and also to facilitate direct access to the catalogues and stocks of holdings (in digital form), on the other hand. The concept of the website will be available in the second half of 2011. The realization of this website provides virtual access at international level to the diverse facets of the princely library of Corvey such as holdings, indexing and use as well as to the unique interior furnishings.

Following the implementation of the content by a professional IT company (web-designer) the website can be accessed via an own domain, the address of which has already been reserved under www.fuerstliche-bibliothek-corvey.de.

5.4 THREATS AND PREVENTIVE PROTECTION

5.4.1 Fire

Fire can have serious effects on the buildings and grounds. Damage can be caused not only by fire itself but also by consequences such as smoke development and extinguishing water. General measures against personal injuries and property damage must be taken in the context of all fire protection precautions. In the case of Corvey this also includes a commitment to the protection of the very important and extensive cultural assets (architecture, fixtures, museum assets, archive/library, etc.).

Accessibility and time schedule for the fire brigade. The buildings are situated approx. 2,3 km from the Höxter fire brigade. The complex can be accessed via the entry on the west from the *Corveyer Allee* across the stone bridge to the monastery complex or via the entry to the *Domänenhof* farmyard. The fire protection master plan of the Town of Höxter determines that in an emergency case in the town centre ten functions have to achieve a level of 80% within 8 minutes after alarm has been raised. The buildings of the castle and the museum can be accessed via paved roads with sufficiently broad gate entries. The *Domänenhof* is accessible via a separate entry through a passage. A construction road built in the scope of building measures on the church in the area of the former monastery garden was paved up to the graveyard at the abbey so that the church building can be accessed from the south.

On the basis of these measures and conditions, all parts of the buildings of the monastery complex can be accessed well and efficiently with fire brigade vehicles, including the turn-table vehicle in case of fire.

Extinguishing water supply. A tap point is installed at the existing castle garden pond in the monastery complex. The capacity of the tap point can be considered to be inexhaustible. Additional tap points for extinguishing water have been set up outside the monastic complex near the railway crossing on the *Schelppe* and at the River Weser which can also provide an inexhaustible supply of water. The *Schelppe* creek can be dammed if required. The entry of fire brigade vehicles to all tapping points is ensured.

A dependent supply of extinguishing water through a hydrant only exists in the area of the monastery complex to a limited extent. This is, however, compensated for by the naturally existing supply of extinguishing water.

Fire protection and fire alarm systems.

The building and usage permits for the area of the monastery and the museum are based on existing fire protection concepts adjusted to the characteristics of the monument.

The rooms of the monastery are used in different ways. There are the exhibition rooms of the museum and the library, administrative offices and residences.

The attics have not been adapted for use.

The so-called Emperor's Hall on the 1st floor of the west wing hosts events on a regular basis. The Emperor's Hall is a meeting room with a floor space of approx. 230 m² surface area and accommodates 300 persons. Other areas are also classified as meeting rooms.

The following aspects of the fire protection concepts have been realized accordingly:

- Proof of the required emergency escape routes
- Subdividing the entire building into fire compartments
- Parts of the museum and the library, including the attics are monitored by means of automatic fire alarm systems connected to the fire brigade headquarters

Other security systems such as escape route identification, emergency lighting, burglar alarm, and mobile fire extinguishers are available in areas of public access. As a further means of protection against fire caused by lightning, there are lightning protection systems installed in all relevant buildings and parts of the buildings which are maintained on a regular basis.

Fire precaution updating, completion of fire protection systems. The abbey church and the Westwork, the area of the monastic home farm (Okonomie/Domäne) and the buildings in front on the western side (the front section of the castle with the stables used as a restaurant) have not yet been included in ideas for fire protection plans or precautions.

The updating of the fire protection plan and a completion of the protection systems has to be developed and implemented for these buildings as part of future procedures based on planning and building law regulations. The area of the church and the Westwork must certainly have highest priority.

The church building has a floor space of approx. 920 m² and accommodates between 350 and 500 persons – depending on the use.

Due to the religious use, it is not subject to the requirements of the special building regulations.

The special building regulations are, however, binding with regard to the secular concerts which take place several times throughout the year. This involves the development of seating plans; emergency exits and escape routes will be indicated. Emergency lighting is planned and escape route plans placed at the entrance doors. Fire protection and fire brigade plans exist and are available to the local fire brigade.

The exit doors from the church building do not open in the direction of escape. A corresponding renovation of the doors is impossible with regard to the principles of monument protection. During events security personnel positioned at all doors has to ensure that these exits can be properly used as escape routes in case of emergency.

At present, fire extinguishing measures in the roof of the church and in the towers are only possible through a complex laying of the fire hose by the fire brigade. This situation is to be and will be optimized.

This enables direct and effective fire-fighting.

The installation of fire barriers is to prevent fire from the nave spreading to the towers and vice versa. Suitable measures have to be considered with regard to the towers themselves with their great height (chimney effect of the stairways).

5.4.2 Flooding

Flood areas are important areas for flood protection and water pollution protection which are to be preserved in their function as natural retention areas. Flood areas are determined for a flood event which is to be expected once in a hundred years from a statistical point of view. Measures and changes to the ground surface within legal flood areas require permission by the competent authority pursuant to the Water Resources Act. This also applies to measures in and on waters on the basis of the State Water Supply Law.

The flood area of the *Schelpe* which had been determined according to Prussian Water Supply Law in 1913 was recalculated in August 2010. The *Schelpe* is divided in two flow paths at kilometre 2.6. The discharge ditch of the *Schelpe* serves as flood discharge of the town of Höxter and reduces the flow amount in the section of the *Schelpe* towards Corvey into a shorelevel discharge. Due to this new determination, there will no longer be a flood area of the *Schelpe* in the Corvey area in the future.

The flood area of the River Weser in the Höxter area was determined by the district government of Detmold in December 1996. The altitude places the buildings and the castle grounds as well as the park and gardens (≥ 92 metres above sea level) outside the flood area ($\leq 91,23$ metres above sea level) but the surrounding areas will be flooded in case of a centenary flood event occurring.

The „Hochwasser-Aktionsplan Weser“ (Weser flood action plan) was published by the State of North Rhine-Westphalia in 2005. It provides detailed information on flood protection and flood prevention. The flood action plan describes the area,

indicates the flood areas, quantifies possible damage and suggests general and local measures.

Groundwater is to be protected against pollution and excessive use above ground as well as underground within the confined catchment area on the basis of water protection areas which are determined by the regulatory authority.

5.4.3 Vandalism/burglary

Counter-strategies based on suitable organizational or technical precautions and measures are provided for critical areas such as the church/Westwork or the castle (e. g. the museum).

These include the control of opening hours, guidance and guiding of visitors, control and monitoring of visitors by staff members but also technical support by means of burglar alarm and fire alarm systems.

5.4.4 Impact due to disturbing building measures or use

Like other areas in the Weser valley, the surroundings of the nominated World Heritage Site outside the buffer zone are also exposed to the general possibility or risk that disturbing buildings and structures or inappropriate use of the free spaces may be planned or implemented.

In order to counteract and control the situation the federal, state, district and municipal authorities have different instruments at hand such as state development plan, regional plan, land-use plan, landscape plan, nature and water protection regulations or urban planning procedures.

Decisions in respect of the flood issues of the River Weser and the *Schelpe* creek also have a regulatory effect by not per-

mitting progressive development in the identified flood protection zones (including the area surrounding Corvey).

The World Heritage status of Corvey is to be embedded in these regulations so that an even greater protective effect is developed.

The corresponding authorities from the neighbouring state of Lower Saxony are to be involved accordingly and take action.

Further protection against incompatible projects and measures results from the applicability of the monument protection law of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia which extends to architectural monuments as well as to protected archaeological relics existing underground.

As part of the legal objectives of “site protection” (which is of increased relevance in the case of the important Corvey complex) all corresponding projects have to be agreed upon with the competent monument protection authorities.

5.4.5 Pressures of development and use

There are no alarming pressures of development or use with regard to the nominated World Heritage Site. Although the outskirts of the town of Höxter are situated only about 500 metres to the west of Corvey the further expansion of the town or of the industrial zone „Zur Lüre” located there can be excluded due to the flood protection area of the River Weser and the

development prohibition related to it or the guidelines of monument protection.

Road and bridge building projects or projects such as, for example, wind power plants which could affect the nominated World Heritage Site are not planned.

The agricultural business Metternich-Ratibor-Corvey KG situated in Corvey cultivates all field areas and uses many of the buildings within the nominated World Heritage Site or the buffer zone. Here the pressure of development and use applies. In order not to affect the competitiveness of the company in the future it is necessary to enable the agricultural enterprise to adapt the premises regularly to the requirements of a modern agricultural business. This will therefore involve repeated attempts to invest in measures to secure the future.

The aim is to relocate uses of the core and buffer zone which possibly collide with the World Heritage status. A balance between the public sector and the respective users is to be established in order to achieve this.

An increasing number of visitors is to be expected due to the “World Heritage” status. It is not assumed that the number will exceed the acceptable limit in respect of the monument. All planned structural changes aim at an improved infrastructure as well as an increase in the attractiveness for visitor traffic.

5.5 MONITORING, QUALITY ASSURANCE AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

5.5.1 Monitoring

The continuous monitoring and management of the Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey is carried out by the owners in close cooperation with the building authorities of the archdiocese of Paderborn and the Offices of LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen and LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen. Specialized planners and professional companies are employed as required.

The Carolingian Westwork is subject to continuous monitoring by means of measurements and documentation of the following key indicators:

- Monitoring of cracks in the structure
- Monitoring of the inclination of the towers after initial measurement
- Monitoring of the Carolingian plaster
- Continuous test of salt efflorescences
- Material humidity measurements on the basis of electrical conductivity

All documentation is archived with the owner and the expert offices for architectural and archaeological monument conservation.

5.5.2 Quality assurance

With regard to larger planning and building projects, such as the development of the buffer zone into an archaeological park for example, awarding competitions are planned in respect of quality assurance. The quality assurance of conservation measures is guaranteed through the professional and scientific support and monitoring by restoration specialists of the LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen. The same applies to archaeological projections and excavations. In this case the LWL-Archäologie assumes the supervising function.

5.5.3 Conflict management

Upon the successful inscription of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey on the World Heritage List a steering committee for the World Heritage Site could be established with the aim of coordinating all planned measures at an early point in time and by mutual agreement (see also 5.1.3). Members of the steering committee could be representatives of the offices involved mentioned in the imprint. In addition, the appointment of a member of ICOMOS International to this body would be reasonable.

The management of conflicts with regard to monument protection is already governed by Art.21.4 DSchG NW: if the Lower Monument Protection Authority and the Monument Conservation Offices at the Provincial Association LWL cannot reach agreement, then these are entitled to appeal to the Ministry MBWSV as the Supreme Monument Protection Authority to make a decision.

5.6 VISITOR GUIDANCE AND COMMUNICATION

The presentation concept of Corvey is to be completely revised. Essential components as regards contents and the museum include the following approaches:

- A new concept for visitor guidance;
- A visitor centre, including an exhibition on the presentation of Carolingian architecture and the facilities as a whole in the front section of the castle;
- A new concept of the circular route through the former monastery area, including the Westwork, the abbey church, monastery garden and graveyard as well as the present castle, including the library, permanent and alternating exhibitions.

5.6.1 Visitor guidance

Visitor guidance will be completely re-structured based on the planned measures described in the master plan:

All arriving visitors will initially be guided to the traffic junction at the *Corveyer Allee*. Here are parking spaces for coaches, cars as well as the new railway stop. The new pier of the Weserschiffahrt is also located in the direct environs. The national bicycle trail *Weser-Radweg* (R 99) passes by. Here, visitors have the opportunity to use the newly installed sanitary facilities.

Then they are guided on foot along the footpath, closed for through-traffic, along the *Corveyer Allee*, lined with old copper beeches, enabling them to gradually approach the entrance area of the World Heritage Site.

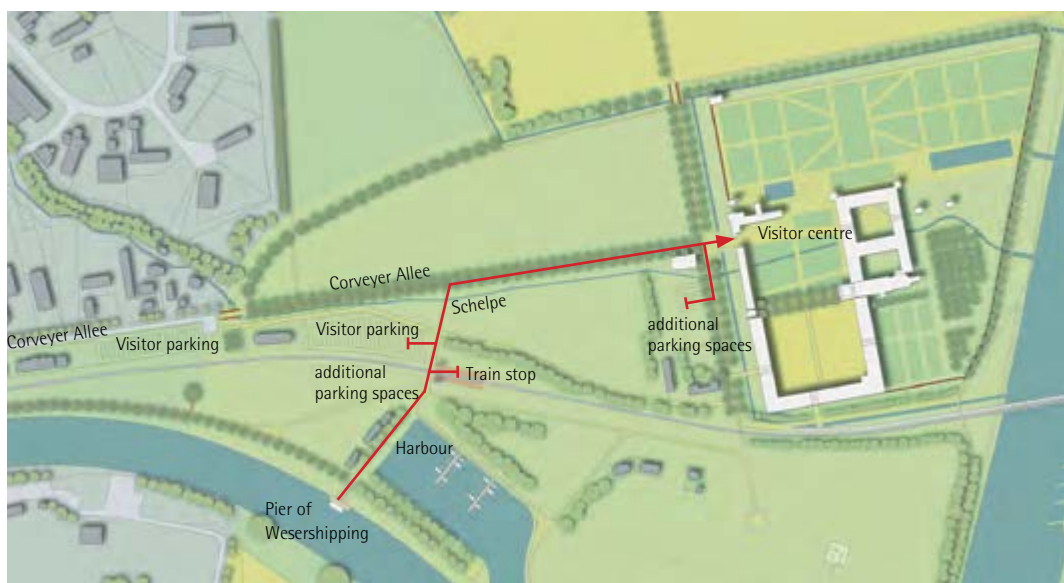
The path is about 450 metres long. Therefore, closer parking spaces to the south of *Dreizehnlindenhaus* will be provided for the handicapped persons, visitors to church

service, of the restaurant, the hotel as well as the concerts.

Visitors will find a newly designed entrance area in the area of the bridge in front of the baroque portal. Here, they can take a rest in the restaurant or go to the World Heritage Site passing through the new visitor centre in the front section of the castle (between portal and clock tower).

The meeting point for guided tours, the sale of entrance tickets and the museum shop are located in the visitor centre. In addition, the visitor is provided with information brochures, introductory multimedia presentations are also offered. The entry is free for all believers who want to pray in the church or visit the graves in the graveyard.

Exhibition rooms relating to „Carolingian architecture”, in which models – currently displayed in the Westwork – can be presented to prepare the visitor for the Westwork, are to be found here as well.



The visitor passes through the current clock tower to walk straight towards the façade of the Carolingian Westwork. There, the visitor enters the abbey church.

The liturgy in the abbey church is not to be disturbed by tourists during the sacred use. In this case, access to the museum is provided through the entrance for the handicapped persons at the south end of the cloister (dotted line).

The circular tour follows the defined chronology of the site whereby the visitor is first guided from the alleged location of the Carolingian entrance (today the baroque clock tower) to the Carolingian Westwork of the 9th century. The Baroque period includes the abbey church, the cloister and the exhibition segment “Corvey im Barock” (Corvey during the Baroque period) as well as the Emperor’s Hall on the first upper floor. The princely drawing rooms and the princely library adjacent to the Emperor’s Hall represent the 19th century.

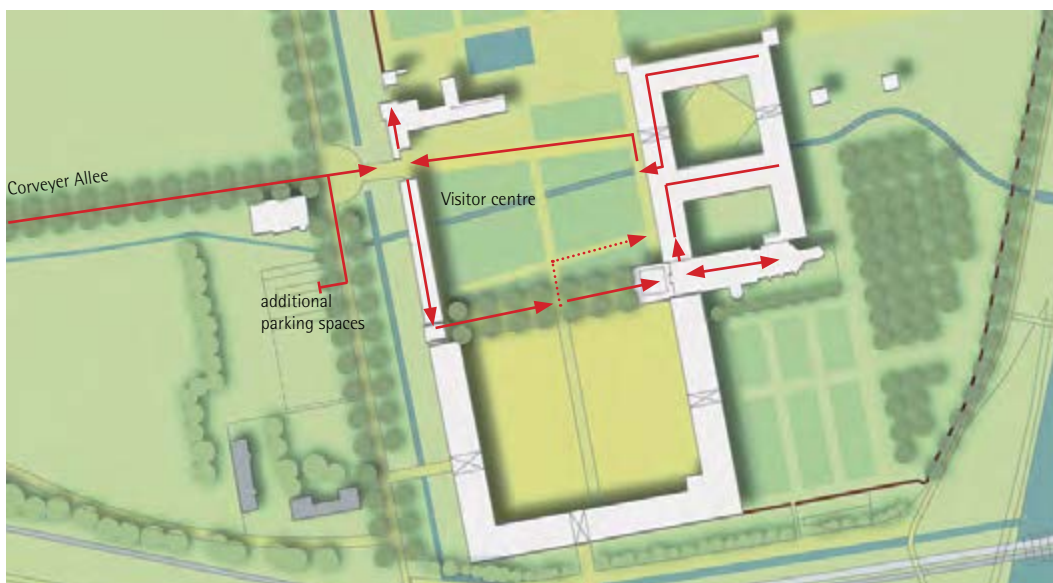
The permanent exhibition on the urban history of the town of Höxter which was specially designed for students on the second upper floor as well as the special exhibitions in the baroque hall and the adjacent rooms present further points of attraction.

On the way back one passes the restaurant and the visitor centre with the museum shop and return to the *Corveyer Allee* and the parking space.

5.6.2 Communication

In addition to the re-structured visitor guidance and the establishment of a visitor centre in the front section of the castle the communication plan of Corvey is to be completely revised.

The early history of Corvey before the Thirty Years’ War could be presented more prominently than at present, whereas the introduction should include on the one hand the structural aspect of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey,



on the other hand also the communication of historical data such as the foundation in the 9th century, the representation of the secular power in the following period, the establishing of a monastery school and the development of the libraries.

The communication of the early history of Corvey can be realized by means of electronic media which in addition to the already existing models of the original abbey church and other media could be shown in the visitor centre. It is important that the Westwork is presented as the core of the nominated World Heritage Site in an untouched condition and to let it take its effect on the visitors. At the most only very brief information or projections are to be installed. The presentation of the Baroque periods and the 19th century is to be revised.

Therefore, the following measures are planned:

- New concept of permanent exhibitions
- Unified signs, text panels
- Additional multimedia presentations (e. g. multitouch screen)
- Additional video presentations
- New concept for guided tours as regards contents
- New concepts for printed brochures or guided tours in several languages as regards contents
- Revision and completion of the museum education services

5.6.3 Monument and museum education

Museum education in Corvey offers vivid information on the 1,200-year history of the grounds and is presented in an easy, comprehensible way and appropriate for children. Original archaeological objects, elaborate room arrangements and the special historical atmosphere of the former monastery complex of Corvey create the authentic setting for this programme.

The existing offer includes three aspects:

1. Insight into monastic life through the programme “Ora et labora”
2. Travel through time in Höxter based on the urban history exhibition “Von der Villa zur Stadt” (From the villa to the town)
 - 2.1 Of tooth breakers and bone carvers
 - 2.2 Well-heeled and stinking rich
3. Tour of exploration through Corvey following the tracks of the Benedictines and the ducal family that is the owner of the castle (for students of all age groups).

The current museum education program especially addresses school classes. The target group „Families with children” ... has to be taken more seriously into consideration.

The nominated World Heritage Site, *the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey*, has to be placed at the centre of attention in the future. An exchange with similar World Heritage Sites is also intended (e. g. Maulbronn, Lorsch, Reichenau) in order to plan and implement museum education projects jointly.



5.6.4 Events/Special events

The current castle grounds with the integrated museum ⁵¹ as a venue in the east Westphalian region has attracted people for decades. The museum offers permanent exhibitions (i. a. Corvey during the Baroque period, Corvey in the 19th century with the princely library, exhibition on the urban history of Höxter, amongst others) on the one hand, and special exhibitions during the season, on the other hand. The Corvey Music Weeks, held for the first time in 1954, often have a special motto.

In 2011 for example, the following exhibition was displayed in cooperation with the Faculty for Material and Immaterial Cultural Heritage of the UNESCO at the University of Paderborn:

„1.000 Jahre Wissen - Die Rekonstruktion der Bibliothek der Reichsabtei Corvey“.

The national exhibition tour deals with the immaterial cultural heritage of the former imperial abbey of Corvey. The library of the monastery was dispersed during the secularization two hundred years ago. Today, stocks of books from the former monastery library of Corvey are to be found i.a. in Marburg, Bonn, Münster, Wolfenbüttel and Berlin, amongst others. The largest collection is, however, kept by the Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek in Paderborn. The various holdings of books are united together for the first time in the scope of this exhibition. The medieval and modern library of the monastery is at the centre of attention focusing on the enormous and manifold knowledge which characterizes the millennial importance of Corvey. The project „Kloster und Schloss Corvey als Orte abendländischer Bildungs- und Mediengeschichte“ (Monastery and Castle of Corvey as locations of western

history of education and media) of the Faculty for Material and Immaterial Cultural Heritage of the UNESCO of the University of Paderborn was a prerequisite for the reconstruction of this library.

The different holdings were indexed and catalogued during the project. High-quality digital copies were made of the most precious and research-relevant manuscripts and books. The data was compiled on an Internet platform “Nova Corbeia – Die virtuelle Bibliothek Corvey” (The virtual library of Corvey) which was especially designed for this purpose and can therefore be researched throughout the world. In this way, the former Benedictine library can be used again in its entirety and original context in a virtual location.

This Internet platform is part of the exhibition: visitors can interactively “browse” through selected books of the former Benedictine library in Corvey. Furthermore, the exhibition also presents many original books such as precious incunabula and old prints. At each station of the tour the exhibition is expanded by the presentation of stocks from Corvey kept there.

The books travel to the books and are embedded again in their original library context.

In addition, visitors are given an overview on the history of Corvey and the general development of writing, painting and bookmaking. Thus, the essential aspects of the western history of media of the past 1.000 years are explained by example of the exhibition objects. The project and exhibition were funded by the State of North Rhine-Westphalia/Ministry for Innovation, Science and Research (MIWF) and the LWL-Kulturstiftung.



„Wir hatten uns schon lange danach
gesehnt, diese Abtei zu besuchen, die ja
ein Abbild unseres Corbie in Frankreich ist.
Und wir wurden aufgenommen nicht wie
Fremde, sondern wie Brüder.“

Benediktiner aus Frankreich (Mauriner)
über ihren Besuch in Corvey 1718

We had yearned to visit
this abbey for a long time
since it is a copy of our Corbie in France.
And we were received not as
strangers but as brothers.

Benedictines from France (Mauriner)
about their visit to Corvey 1718



Tourism is the most important economic factor and the greatest challenge for the generation of jobs and the sustainable development of the location. In order to face this challenge, the mission statements of the District and the Town of Höxter provide action guidelines on a local as well as regional level. Nature, activities and the cultural heritage are defined as the central values of the tourism profile in both development concepts as well as in the state master plans *Weserbergland* Tourism, *Teutoburger Wald* and NRW Tourism. The nominated World Heritage Site of Corvey as an attraction for visitors with an outstanding function is an integral part of these concepts.

Corvey is already integrated in merchandising products and infrastructure very well today. Special mention has to be made of the close proximity to the town of Höxter ⁵², the central location within the *Weserbergland*, the connection to the *Weserradweg* and other important long-distance bicycle trails ⁵³ as well as the *Weserschiffahrt*. The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey with the baroque monastery and castle complex ⁵⁴ are therefore a destination for culture, bicycle and water tourists as well as visiting guests from the entire *Weserbergland* and other regions. Therefore, Corvey is of central importance with regard to the entire production and marketing chain aimed at bicycle, culture and group travel tourism.

Upon Inscription on the World Heritage List of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey, the objective of all people involved is to develop the thematic struc-

ture of the supply and the quality of the products even stronger. Learning while travelling is an attractive market segment of tourism and historical sights are just right to amalgamate culture and education to integrated recreational activities. Special attention is therefore to be given to the presentation of the space of experience as places of recreational learning.

Many historic buildings and sites in the surroundings are closely connected to Corvey, are worth visiting and emphasize the historical importance of Corvey. Although Westwork and Civitas Corvey with the baroque buildings are integrated in tourism marketing as well as in the travel packages offered by the town and the district the historical networking of the imperial abbey of Corvey with the churches and monasteries, castles and defensive dykes as well as estates established from Corvey for the supply of the abbey has not been sufficiently promoted and is hardly discernable from the guests' point of view.

In order to present this network of relationships and its historical importance more strikingly, the catalogue of measures distinguishes the following four sectors:

- World Heritage Corvey: Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey (6.1.)
- Höxter – Corvey: Citizens' town and imperial abbey (6.2.)
- Local surroundings: Relics of the imperial abbey of Corvey (6.3.)
- Region: Monasteries in the *Weserbergland* region and in the Cultural District of Höxter (6.4.)

6.1 WORLD HERITAGE CORVEY: CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK AND CIVITAS CORVEY

In order to achieve an ideal touristic development, a uniform presentation of the nominated World Heritage Site and its buffer zone is required as it is a didactically structured offer for the different target groups.

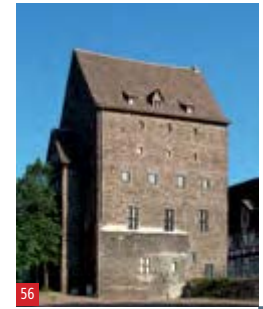
Instruments of communication include thematic guidebooks (print media) which can be obtained in the visitor centre (multilingual: German, English, Dutch). The Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey are at the centre of attention whereas the introduction to the topic is to involve the structural aspect of the building (Westwork, sinopias, wall paintings), on the one hand, and the making visible and communication of historical facts (foundation in the 9th century, representation of the secular power in the following period, the establishing of a monastery school and the development of the libraries). The communication of the World Heritage Site can be ideally realized by means of electronic media (e. g. multitouch screen) which are to be placed in the visitor centre in addition to existing models of the former abbey and maps and/or models of the civitas which are to be prepared in the form of animations and visitor motivation. The worthy presentation of the core of the nominated World Heritage Site and its having effect on the visitor are important. At the most only very brief information (tables, projections) are to be in-

stalled in the Westwork. Otherwise, guided tours for travel groups and newly developed multimedia presentations for individual tourists are to be offered as usual.

In addition to the presentation on site and the structure of the offer which is more strongly aligned with tourism, the development of geographical reverences based on the history of Corvey and which can be utilized with regard to tourism are required. The connections with northern Germany (Meppen, Hamburg, Bremen) or with Franconia and Old Bavaria (Vitus) can be mentioned as examples, but most of all the European network which had already existed before the turn of the millennium and was based on Vitus as patron saint, including Scandinavia (St Ansgar), Prague (Vitus-Veit), Tyrol (*Vitus am Romweg*), France (principal monastery of Corbie, transfer of the relics of St Vitus from Saint-Denis) or with the stations of the Way of St James (*Jakobsweg*). Travel agencies and coach companies have to be addressed through this targeted historical approach.

6.2 HÖXTER – CORVEY: CITIZENS' TOWN AND IMPERIAL ABBAY

It is intended to emphasize the presentation of the close relationship of the town of Höxter with the imperial abbey of Corvey. To this purpose, the estates and structures of high dignitaries of Corvey and the monastic nobility are to be related to further important buildings such as,



for example, the historic town hall and the church of St Kilian by means of a pedestrian guidance system. Interested visitors may download further information from information boards on the buildings in the form of text, audio or video to their mobile device by means of a QR code. A thematic town map as well as a guided adventure tour with „Brother Henricus of Herstelle” from the story „Höxter und Corvey” by Wilhelm Raabe complement the offer.²³

Not all relics of Corvey are still visible and can be experienced in the town. The presentation of these, now vanished places is to be facilitated by means of a GPS-based treasure hunt (Geocaching). Multi- and Mystery-Caches hidden in historic places let the treasure hunters playfully immerse into history and have historical relationships explained to them.

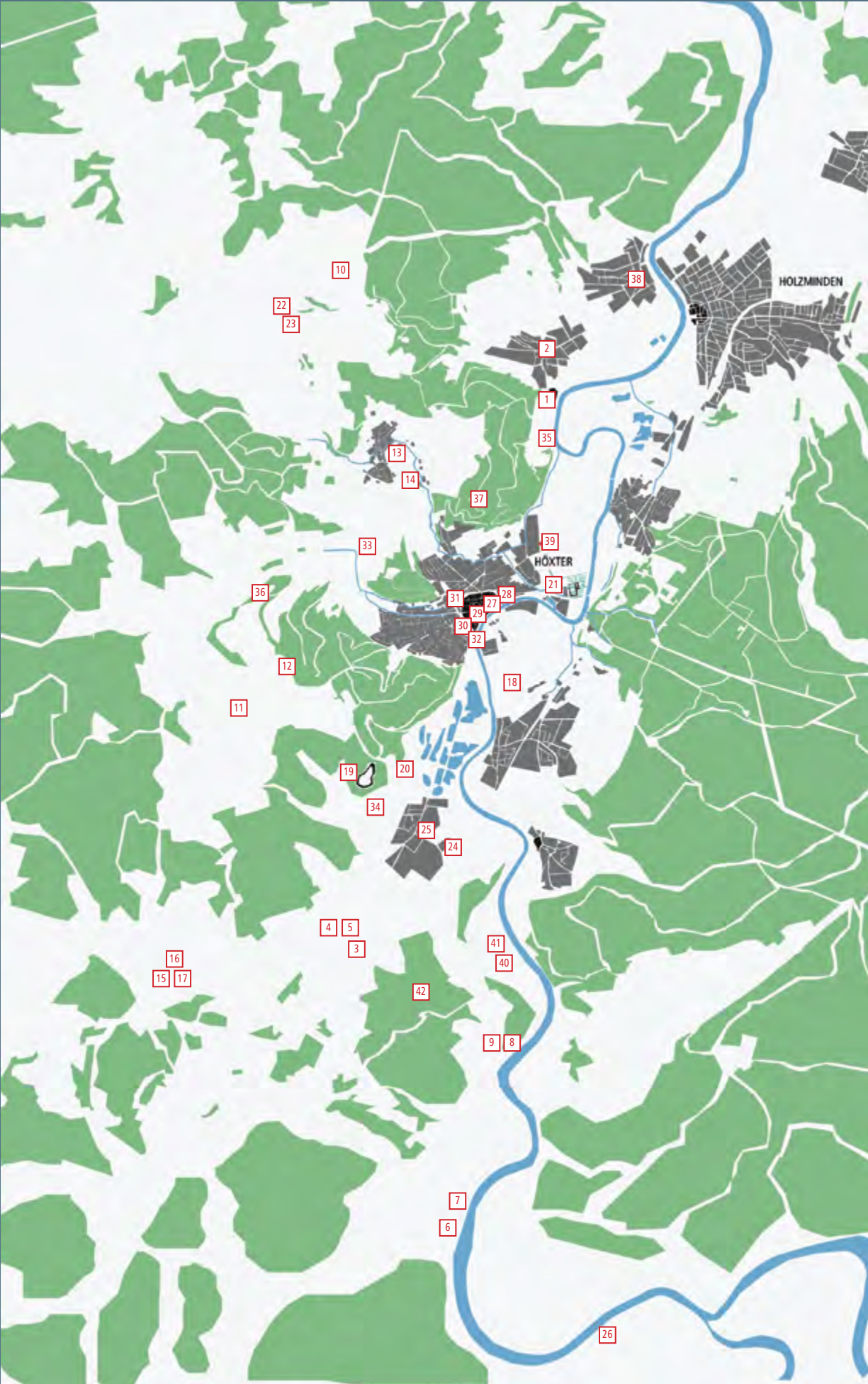
The residents of Höxter were recognized for the first time as contractual partners by abbot Erkenbert of Corvey according to the deed for the historic bridge market, dated 1115. An event which includes and displays the central elements of this historic market is planned. Monasteries were the centres of social networks in the Middle Ages. The network of Corvey reached far beyond the state boundaries. This network is to be revived by means of modern media in suitable places in Höxter and Corvey as well as other sites of historic reference. These could include Corbie (France), Ribe (Denmark), Hamburg, Herford and Fulda (Germany).

6.3 LOCAL SURROUNDINGS: RELICS OF THE IMPERIAL ABBEY OF CORVEY

Much evidence of the monastic history of Corvey is to be found in the entire former territory of the imperial abbey of Corvey as well as in the town centre of Höxter and in the surrounding built-up areas (see map, p. 102). These relics include the Höxter defensive dyke with watch towers and the Corvey territorial castles: the hill-top castles Wildburg and Brunsburg as well as the castles built in the Weser lowlands Tonenburg,⁵⁵ Blankenau and Beverungen.⁵⁶ From Corvey, monasteries and churches were founded and estates established for supply. Estate houses of high dignitaries of Corvey and the monastic nobility are to be found especially in the town centre of Höxter but also in the surrounding places.

Many sights have already been developed by means of hiking and bicycle trail systems. Day tours relating to Corvey will be prepared in the future based on this system and focussing more strongly on topics such as „Fortifications and defensive dykes”, „Churches and monasteries”, „Castles and estates”. Hikers and cyclists will be able to follow on historic traces, are guided to sights, experience the beautiful visual relationships towards Corvey and also learn something about the history of the imperial abbey of Corvey.

²³ The publication is available in book shops: Wilhelm Raabe: Höxter und Corvey. Eine Erzählung, nach der Handschrift von 1873/74, ed. by Hans-Jürgen Schrader, Stuttgart 2003.



Nr.	Place	Object	Founded/ mentioned	Dating of what is visible today
1	Albaxen	Tonenburg	about 1315	about 1315, 18 th /19 th century
2	Albaxen	St Dionysius Catholic church	approx 9 th century, archaeological date 1200, mentioned 1231	1697
3	Amelunxen	Georgskirche Protestant church	about 9 th century, archaeological date 1200, mentioned 1231	12 th century
4	Amelunxen	Estate with manor-house (Corvey dynasty of Amelunxen)	9 th century	16 th century
5	Amelunxen	St Peter und Paul Catholic church	1818-1822	1818-1822; organ from 1681
6	Beverungen	Castle	Mentioned in 1331	about 1331
7	Beverungen	St Johann Baptist Catholic church	Mentioned at the end of 11 th century	1682-98
8	Blankenau	St Josef Catholic church	before 1714	1714
9	Blankenau	Castle	1315	1315, Beginning of 18 th century
10	Bödexen	St Anna Catholic church	approx. 9 th century, mentioned 1231	1683
11	Bosseborn	Mariä Himmelfahrt Catholic church	before 1620	1726
12	Bosseborn	Watch tower (today Bismarckturm)	approx. 2 nd half of the 14 th century	1900
13	Brenkhausen	Cistercian monastery	Founded in Ottbergen in 1234, here since 1246/47, parish church mentioned in 1231	1246-1320; end of 17 th /beginning of 18 th century
14	Brenkhausen	Watch tower		probably 2 nd half of the 14 th century
15	Bruchhausen	Late medieval castle and manor-house of Baroque period		Late Gothic, probably older
16	Bruchhausen	Laurentiuskirche Protestant church	Mentioned in 1231	16 th century
17	Bruchhausen	Mariä Himmelfahrt Catholic church	1699	1699
18	Brückfelde	Watch tower		Mentioned in 14 th century, changed in 15 th century
19	Brunzburg	Castle	Mentioned in 1198	before 1200
20	Brunzburg	Battle of Brunzburg	775	
21	Corvey	Grube and Schelpe	9 th or approx. end of the 12 th century	1482
22	Fürstenau	St Anna Catholic church	14 th century	1519
23	Fürstenau	Fürstenhof	1323; estate buildings 1758	1758
24	Godelheim	Haus Brunnen	1746	1746
25	Godelheim	St Johannes Baptista Catholic church	approx. 9 th century, archaeological date 12 th century, mentioned in 1231	Hall-like building of 11 th century, altered in Late-Gothic period, Romanesque west tower. Choir from 1962
26	Herstelle	Castle and monastery grounds	797	1798, 1826-32
27	Höxter	Ev. Kilianikirche, Protestant church	archaeological date about 800	1 st half of 12 th century
28	Höxter	Former Minorite monastery with Church of Our Lady	1248	about 1250-1283
29	Höxter	Stadthof Marktstraße	Mentioned in 13 th century	1564 and 1570/71
30	Höxter	Stadthof Westerbachstraße	archaeological date in 13 th century	1512, 1515, 1582-85
31	Höxter	Stadthof Möllingerstraße	Mentioned in 13 th century	1594-1610 amongst others
32	Höxter	Stadthof Stummrigestraße	archaeological date in 13 th century	
33	Lütmarsen	Estate complex	Mentioned in 12 th century; manor-house/Castle c. 1500	Renovated in about 1800
34	Maygadessen	Castle/manor house with service buildings	Mentioned prior to 1490	Manor-house 1850/51; farm buildings i.a. 1800
35	Nachtigall	Outwork with shepherd's house	17 th century	About 1700
36	Ovenhausen-Heiligenberg	Catholic Chapel of St Michael and St Maria Salomé	1078	1693
37	Räuschenberg	Watch tower	Approx. 2 nd half of 14 th century	Re-built in the 1960s
38	Stahle	St Anna Catholic church	Mentioned in 14 th century	1697
39	tom Roden	Provostry with church St. Maria Magdalena ad Novale	Middle of 12 th century; abandoned and deserted in 1538	Foundation walls restored in 1990/1991 following excavation in 1976-80
40	Wehrden	Catholic church of the Holy Family	1698	1698
41	Wehrden	Mansion		about 1696-1699
42	Wildberg	Castle	about 1160-90	

[A detailed description of the listed sites as well as a precise mapping are to be found in the separate volume „Materials accompanying the application: Maps and pictures“]

MONASTERIES IN THE *WESERBERGLAND* REGION AND IN THE *KULTURLAND KREIS HÖXTER*
 (CULTURAL DISTRICT OF HÖXTER)



6.4 REGION: MONASTERIES IN THE WESERBERGLAND REGION AND IN THE KULTURLAND KREIS HÖXTER (CULTURAL DISTRICT OF HÖXTER)

The *Weserbergland* region and cultural landscape of Höxter as destinations for tourism with their monasteries and monastic facilities offer the ideal prerequisites for cultural tourism in a cultural landscape which is almost 1200 years old. The area with its historic monasteries along the River Weser such as, for example, Bursfelde, Lippoldsberg or Helmarshausen is almost unique in Germany with regard to density and historic potential of monasteries and monastic facilities (see map, p. 104).

The conceptual approach for the profiling of a monastery region in the *Kulturland Kreis Höxter* (cultural landscape of Höxter; supported by the European Union), which started an important tourism network in 2009, has been created in the district of Höxter. This structure is open to integrate further partners. Based on the historic monasteries situated upstream and downstream of Corvey along the River Weser, the States of North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony and Hessen may benefit from the potentials of culture tourism.

All people involved have to take the chance of qualifying this topic which is attractive to tourism in the future. The development of a monastery route for active tourists (hiking and cycling) across state boundaries is a practical starting point. Joint tourism marketing including a uniform „Corporate Design”, analogous to the *Klösterreich* network in Austria, would be a good form of co-operation.

It is also important to get guests interested in culture more strongly involved in the monasteries and monastic facilities. The experiences made in the District of Höxter with the monastery festival and the monastery workshop offer a practical starting point in this respect. Music, literature, theatre and attractive seminar and training offers are important conceptual elements. The aim is to make the „magical places” an experience by means of music, sound and monastic silence. Guests who are looking for a historical atmosphere, creative work and relaxation during their holidays will be addressed by offers such as meditation, art crafts and old monastic craft techniques. In this way, the monastery landscape of *Weserbergland* can become an experience. This is where regional, national and international potentials lie.



„Und damit Ich gleichwol auch
S. Vito sein recht thu
muß ich allhie seines Festes
Wallfahrt und Jahrmarckts gedencken.
Und wird seines Fests unnd tags Gedechnis
alle Jahr zu Corbei und im gantzen Stifft
den 15 Junii
feirlich und herlich gehalten.“

And to also do justice to S. Vito, I have
to commemorate the pilgrimage and
the carnival celebrated on his festive day.
The remembrance in honor of his name day is
celebrated solemnly and gloriously
every year in Corvey and the entire
monastery district on the 15th June.

Chronica Corvey by Johann Letzner 1604

The task of all parties involved in the management of the World Heritage Site is to ensure and improve sustainability. The site nominated for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List, *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey*, unites essential ideas of sustainability in accordance with the action programme “Agenda 21” which was passed by the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Therefore, the integrative sustainability concept is fulfilled as well as the general understanding under international law that „culture“ in its purport represents an independent fourth aspect of sustainability. Culture is the basis of economy, ecology and social affairs.

In addition, the sustainable use of the Westwork and therefore the central part of the nominated site is naturally maintained due to the uninterrupted function as a Catholic church, including all its related liturgical and pastoral tasks ever since the completion of the building.

Economic goals. The aim of the inscription on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List is to strengthen Höxter and Corvey as a destination for tourism. In accordance with a sustainable and low-impact tourism interventions in the historically grown structure can only take place with great care. The new development concept (see chapter 5, especially 5.6.1) is designed to regulate an increased number of visitors and to prevent risks possibly resulting therefrom. Large parts of the site itself which is nominated for Inscription on the World Heritage List can only be experienced on foot. Exceptions are only made for mobility-impaired persons. The careful internal development corresponds to the external connection. Corvey is connected to public transport as well as to a national and international bicycle and hiking trail network. Parking spaces integrated in the landscape and designed accordingly are available to motorized private transport. Therefore, it is ensured that the tourism concept mentioned in chapter 6 observes the principles of sustainability in respect of the development and communication of Corvey in the context of the town of Höxter, including the relics of the imperial abbey in the local surroundings as well as the monastery region and the cultural landscape of the district of Höxter.

Ecological goals. The building of an archaeological park in the buffer zone of the nominated World Heritage Site involves the transformation of an area of intensive industrial, commercial and agricultural use. The removal of buildings and structures and the unsealing of roads and pathways have created the basis for a design of the lowland of the bend of the River Weser (*Weserbogen*) close to nature. The areas of intensive agricultural use and which were built-up are to be transformed into extensively used green spaces. The pastoral economy enabled in this way is not only reasonable from the ecological point of view but also the best protection for the archaeological monument.

Social goals. It is expected that the planned investment made in the development of the museum and tourism infrastructure will strengthen the regional economy strongly in the coming years; this also applies to the subsequent maintenance and management. In addition, an offer is presented to the local community providing a platform for expansion and development to present and future generations. The investments made in the fields of science and research will deepen the knowledge about the history and the culture of the region, too, and will also advertise the same towards the broad public so that the strengthening of the regional identity is guaranteed in the long-term. This is urgently necessary because the region has to face structural disadvantages due to its rural characteristics and the expected demographic change.



Ich muß nach Corvey Tag für Tag
Die Brief' aus Höxter tragen;
Wie Weg und Wetter sein auch mag,
Ich laß' es mir behagen.

To Corvey I have to take letters from Höxter
day by day; no matter how the road or weather
conditions may be, I take pleasure in it.

August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1870

8.1 STAFF

The employees of the different institutions directly involved in the nominated World Heritage Site in 2011 are listed below. The list only includes employees who are directly involved in the administration or the operation of the nominated World Heritage Site. This is completed by employees of the leased *Schlossrestaurant* as well as several domiciled companies e. g. hotel / guest-house, wine shop as well as service providers and craftsmen, among others.

Resources have to be increased with rising numbers of visitors and especially with regard to the implementation of the master plan.

a) Parish of St Stephanus und Vitus

- 1 Chairman of the Church Council (parish dean)
- 6 Voluntary members of the Church Council
- 2 Sextons
- 3 Supervisory staff

b) Office of the Duke of Ratibor

- 1 Manager
- 1 Secretary
- 1 Accountant
- 1 Real estate agent
- 1 Carpenter
- 1 Mason
- 1 Painter
- 1 Craftsman
- 2 Gardeners

c) Kulturkreis Höxter Corvey gGmbH/ Museum

- 1 Museum manager/general management
- 1 Tourism and marketing staff
- 1 Accountant
- 1 Event management
- 1 Secretary

- 1 Museum pedagogue
- 1 Facility manager
- 3 Museum shop assistants
- 5 Supervisory staff

d) Library and archive

- 1 Librarian and archivist

8.2 BUDGET

Status quo

a) Parish of St Stephanus und Vitus

The maintenance and management of the church building, including atrium and graveyard, is financed by own funds of the church community or with funds from the archdiocese of Paderborn. A support association was established for the renovation of the baroque organ.

b) Office of the Duke of Ratibor

The remaining buildings of the nominated World Heritage Site are largely rented out, especially for museum use. The income from rent generated in this way is completely used for the restoration and maintenance of the buildings and facilities. Costs in excess of this are financed within the framework of state funding (historic monument support programme or the urban development promotion programme of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia).

c) Museum

The museum is supported by the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH. The financing of the necessary budget is based on visitor admission fees. There is also a supporting society *Kulturfreunde Corvey*. Deficits over and above this are funded by the Town and the District of Höxter.

Future prospects. The planned development and transformation of Corvey in accordance with the Management Plan re-

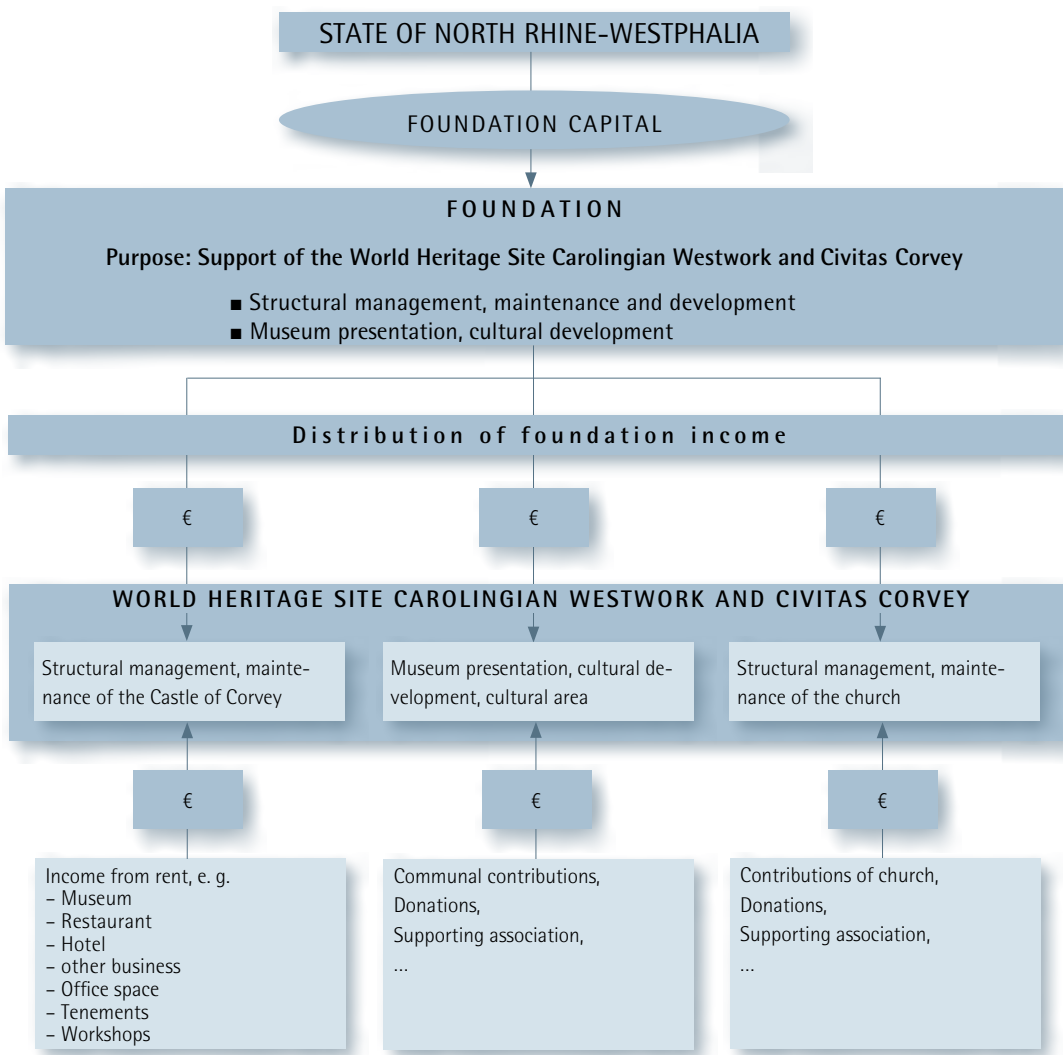
quire an adequate financial basis. An assessment of the size of the sums needed would have to be carried out in a separate project including:

- a) Investments (structural and design measures according to the Management Plan)
- b) On-going operation (management, maintenance and presentation of the World Heritage Site)

A state foundation could be a possible approach:

- Purpose of the foundation is the support of the World Heritage Site Corvey (management, maintenance and presentation)

- The council of the foundation decides on the distribution of the foundation's income
- The distribution of the foundation's income replaces the present state subsidies
- The three responsible institutions (church community, Office of the Duke, Kulturkreis) may apply to the council of the foundation for funds to support the management, maintenance and presentation of the site, while a competition between the institutions is desired, so that the applicants use their best efforts to convince the council of the foundation of the efficiency of their planned measures.



ATTACCHAMENTO

Act for the Protection and Conservation of Monuments in the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (Denkmalschutzgesetz - DSchG) dated 11 March, 1980 (Fn 1)

§ 1

Purpose of the Protection and Conservation of Monuments

- (1) Monuments shall be protected, preserved, used in a reasonable and appropriate way and explored scientifically. They shall be made accessible to the public as far as possible to a reasonable extent.
- (2) The protection and conservation of monuments shall be incumbent upon the State of North Rhine-Westphalia and the local authorities according to the provisions set forth in detail in this Act.
- (3) Within the scope of public planning and public measures, adequate consideration shall be given to the concerns of protection and conservation of monuments. The authorities competent for the protection and conservation of monuments shall be involved at an early stage and shall be included in the process of weighing their concerns against other concerns with the aim of enabling the preservation and use of monuments and monument conservation areas as well as an adequate design of their surroundings. On their part the institutions for protection and conservation of monuments work towards the integration of monuments into regional planning and development, urban development and landscape conservation and towards their reasonable use.

§ 2

Definitions

- (1) Monuments are objects, assemblages of objects and parts of objects the preservation and use of which lie in the public interest. A public interest exists if the objects are important for human history, for cities and settlements or for the development of labour and production relations, and if there are artistic, scientific, ethnographic, landscape or cityscape grounds for their preservation and use. The provisions of the Landscape Act shall not be affected.
- (2) Historic monuments are monuments which consist of architectural structures or parts of architectural structures. Gardens, parks and cemeteries as well as other parts of landscape designed by humans shall be treated accordingly if they meet the conditions laid down in paragraph 1. Historic furnishings shall be treated like historic monuments in as far as they form an entity of monumental value together with the historic monument.
- (3) Monument conservation areas are assemblages of architectural structures, and even then if the conditions laid down in paragraph 1 are not met by each individual architectural structure forming part of such areas. Monument conservation areas may be town plans, cityscapes and townscapes and skylines, urban districts and quarters, settlements, groups of homesteads, streets of houses, architectural entities and individual buildings as well as their close surroundings in as far as the latter are important for their appearance. This also includes craft and industrial production sites if they meet the conditions laid down in paragraph 1.
- (4) A movable monument is any non-fixed monument.
- (5) Archaeological monuments are movable or immovable monuments which are, or were, located in the ground. Also to be considered archaeological monuments are: evidence of animal or plant life of geological time as well as changes and discolorations in the natural condition of the soil caused by archaeological monuments which are no longer independently identifiable, in as far as they meet the conditions laid down in paragraph 1.
- (6) The provisions of this Act shall not apply to archive material.

Fn 1

GV. NW.*) 1980 p. 226, rectified p. 716, amended by art. 7 of the Administrative Proceedings Law Adjustment Act, 18.5.1982 (GV. NW. *) p. 248), art. 6 of the Act for the Restriction of State Provisions on Fines, 6.11.1984 (GV. NW. *) p. 663), § 51 EEG NW, 20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p. 366), art. 8 of the Act for the Strengthening of the Capability of districts, towns and local authorities in NRW, 25.11.1997 (GV. NW. *) p. 430), article 52 of the EuroAnpG NW (Act adapting the Law of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia to the Euro, 25.9.2001 (GV. NRW. *) p. 708).

*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gazette of laws and ordinances for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

§ 3 (Fn 2)
List of Monuments

(1) Monuments shall be registered in the list of monuments, broken down into historic monuments, fixed archaeological monuments and movable monuments; movable monuments shall only be registered if this seems appropriate because of their particular importance which may also be a historically founded relationship to the location. Through registration or temporary listing of buildings these monuments shall be subject to the provisions of this Act. If movable monuments are cared for by a public institution they do not need to be registered in the list of monuments; they shall nevertheless be governed by the provisions of this Act. The provisions of paragraphs 13 to 19 shall apply independently of the registration of archaeological monuments in the list of monuments.

(2) The list of monuments shall be held by the Lower Monument Authority. Registration shall be made ex officio in consultation with the Provincial Association or on the request of the owner or the Provincial Association.

(3) A notice shall be issued on the registration.

(4) The registration shall be deleted ex officio if the conditions for registration are no longer met.

(5) As far as the registration of historic and fixed archaeological monuments is concerned, the list of monuments shall be available to everyone. As regards the registration of movable monuments, only the owner and other persons with rights in rem or persons specifically authorized by them shall be permitted to inspect the list of monuments.

(6) The Minister responsible for the conservation of monuments shall be authorized to fix by statutory decree the detailed provisions relating to form and keeping of the list of monuments as well as to the registration and deletion procedure.

§ 4
Temporary Protection

(1) If it is to be expected that a monument will be entered into the list of monuments, the Lower Monument Authority shall order the monument to be deemed registered temporarily.

(2) The order shall be served to the owners or other other entitled users. It shall become ineffective if the procedure for registration in the list of monuments is not initiated within a period of six months.

(3) Until 1 January 1985, paragraph 2 shall apply with the proviso that the six month term is dropped.

§ 5
Listing of Monument Conservation Areas

(1) Monument conservation areas shall be protected by the by-law of the local authority which requires the approval of the Higher Monument Authority. Upon listing of buildings, monument conservation areas shall be governed by the provisions of this Act.

(2) The by-law of the local authority shall identify the area in which measures according to § 9 are subject to permission. It shall be indicated for which reasons the area is determined as monument conservation area. Plans or graphic, photographic or photogrammetric representations of the skyline to be protected, of the architectural sequence of cityscapes or townscapes, entire structures or individual buildings along with the surroundings necessary for their appearance (open spaces, open areas, sightlines) shall be annexed. The plan or representation shall be declared part of the by-law. The expert opinion of the Provincial Association according to § 22 paragraph 3 shall be annexed to the by-law for information purposes.

Fn 2

§ 3 para. 6 amended by EEG NW (Expropriation and Compensation Act of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia), 20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p. 366); came into force on 1 January 1990.

- (3) Approval may only be refused
- a) if the by-law did not come into existence in proper form,
 - b) if the by-law is in contradiction with this Act, the legal provisions issued on the basis of this Act or any other legal provisions or
 - c) if the stipulations for accomplishment of the objectives of this Act are not sufficient.

(4) Upon failure of the local authority to issue a relevant by-law within an appropriate period of time, the Higher Monument Authority shall request the local authority to present the by-law within a period of three months. After expiry of this deadline, the Higher Monument Authority may list monument conservation areas by order of the regulating authority. The order shall be repealed as soon as a legally binding by-law exists.

§ 6

Listing Procedure for Monument Conservation Areas

(1) The draft by-law for listing of monument conservation areas shall be laid out for public inspection by the local authority during a period of one month. Time and duration of such public inspection shall be announced at least one week in advance in compliance with local practice and regulations, pointing out that concerns and suggestions can be raised during the public inspection period.

(2) After expiry of the public inspection period, the draft by-law as well as the concerns and suggestions raised shall be discussed with the Provincial Association.

If the concerns and suggestions are not complied with, the local authority shall communicate its according comments in writing to the senders. Upon presentation of the by-law for approval by the Higher Monument Authority, concerns and suggestions which have not been taken into account shall be annexed along with a comment of the local authority.

(3) The approved by-law shall be laid out for public inspection by the local authority which shall announce the place and time for public inspection in compliance with local practice and regulations pointing out the by-law's approval. The by-law shall come into force upon announcement.

(4) Monument conservation areas may also be fixed in a binding construction plan: such stipulations shall be subject to the provisions of the Federal Building Code.

§ 7

Conservation of Monuments

(1) Owners and other entitled users shall maintain, restore and properly treat their monuments and shall protect them against danger as can reasonably be expected of them. With regard to expectations, the possibility of drawing public funds or using tax advantages shall also be taken into account. Owners and other entitled users may not invoke charges due to increased conservation costs, which were caused by measures for preservation not taking place contrary to this Act or any other public law.

(2) Upon failure of owners or other entitled users to meet the obligations specified in paragraph 1, the Lower Monument Authority may make the necessary orders after hearing the owner or entitled user.

§ 8

Use of Historic Monuments and Fixed Archaeological Monuments

(1) Historic monuments and fixed archaeological monuments shall be used in such way that conservation of the physical fabric is guaranteed in the long run.

(2) If a historic monument or fixed archaeological monument is not used or is used in a way endangering the physical fabric worthy of being preserved, and if damage has to be feared for this reason, the Lower Monument Authority may oblige owners and other entitled users to use the historic monument or fixed archaeological monument in a specific way which can reasonably be

expected of them. Upon request, they shall be allowed to use the historic monument in another way proposed to them if its preservation is sufficiently guaranteed and if such use is consistent with public law.

§ 9 (Fn 3)

Measures subject to Permission

- (1) Permission of the Lower Monument Authority is required for
 - a) removal, modification, relocation or change of the previous use of historic monuments or fixed archaeological monuments,
 - b) creation, modification or removal of facilities in the close surroundings of historic monuments or fixed archaeological monuments if this affects the appearance of the monument,
 - c) removal or modification of movable monuments.

- (2) The permission shall be granted if
 - a) there are no reasons of monument protection opposed to it
 - or
 - b) an overriding public interest requires the measure to be taken.

- (3) If a measure subject to permission requires official approval of the plan, authorization, permission, approval or consent under other legal provisions, the competent authorities shall take adequate consideration of the concerns of monument protection and conservation in accordance with this Act. In case the authorization or consent of the building supervisory authority or according to emission control law is required, the permission according to paragraph 1 may also be applied for separately.

§ 10

Notice of Disposal and of Modification

- (1) In case of disposal of a monument, the previous and the new owner shall notify the change of owner to the Lower Monument Authority without delay but not later than within one month. Notice of one of the persons obliged to give notice shall release the other one.

- (2) In case of relocation of a monument, the owner or other entitled users shall give according notice to the Lower Monument Authority within one month.

§ 11

Protection of Archaeological Monuments

Local authorities, districts and land consolidation agencies shall ensure the safeguarding of archaeological monuments in town and country plans, landscape plan and in the drawing-up of land consolidation plans.

§ 12

Permission Proviso

For interventions on archaeological monuments, § 9 shall apply accordingly.

§ 13

Archaeological Excavations

- (1) For the purpose of excavating archaeological monuments or rescuing archaeological monuments from waters, the permission of the Higher Monument Authority shall be required. Investigations which are carried out under the responsibility of the State, Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) shall be exempted from this requirement.

- (2) The permission shall be granted if the intended excavation or rescue does not endanger archaeological monuments or the preservation of sources for research purposes.

Fn 3

§ 9 para. 4 amended by art. 7 of the Administrative Proceedings Law Adjustment Act, 18.5.1982 (GV. NW. *) p.248), came into force on 1 July 1982.

*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gazette of laws and ordinances for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

(3) The permission may be granted subject to conditions and obligations relating to the planning and execution of the excavation or rescue, the direction by trained specialists, the treatment and safeguarding of archaeological finds, the documentation of excavation finds, the reporting and final handling of the excavation site. The permission may also be granted subject to the condition that execution shall be done according to a plan approved by the Higher Monument Authority.

§ 14

Protected Excavation Areas

(1) The Higher Monument Authority may, by official regulating order in consultation with the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5), declare specific plots of land which, on proven grounds or in the convinced opinion of experts, contain archaeological monuments as protected excavation areas for a period of three years; this period may be reasonably extended if the importance of the archaeological monuments requires so. If minerals which are subject to mining law outcrop in the concerned area, an understanding shall be reached with the Mining Authority of North Rhine-Westphalia.

(2) The order shall identify the measures for which a permission is required. The permission shall be granted by the Higher Monument Authority. The permission shall be subject to the provisions laid down in § 9 paragraphs 2 to 4.

§ 15

Discovery of Archaeological Monuments

(1) Any discovery of an archaeological monument on a piece of land must be notified to the local authorities or the Provincial Association without delay. The local authorities shall inform the Provincial Association immediately. The latter shall inform the Higher Monument Authority.

(2) The owner and other entitled users as well as the person in charge of the work, in the context of which the archaeological monument was discovered, are obliged to give notice as soon as they get knowledge of the discovery. Paragraph 1 shall apply accordingly. Notice of one of the persons obliged to give notice shall release the other ones.

§ 16

Conduct upon Discovery of Archaeological Monuments

(1) Persons obliged to give notice shall maintain the discovered archaeological monument and the discovery site in unchanged condition.

(2) The obligation according to paragraph 1 shall expire three working days after receipt of the notice, in case of written notice not later than one week after dispatch of such notice. The Higher Monument Authority may extend the three working days term if proper analysis or rescue of the archaeological monument requires so. If an archaeological monument has been discovered during ongoing work, the three working days term shall not be exceeded only if this does not imply an unacceptable burden for the party concerned.

(3) The obligation according to paragraph 1 shall expire before three working days upon

a) termination of the analysis or rescue by the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5)

or

b) release by the Higher Monument Authority in consultation with the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5).

(4) The State and the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) shall be entitled to rescue, evaluate and take possession of the archaeological monument for a period of up to six months for scientific research. In doing so, all measures necessary for preservation of the archaeological monument shall be taken. The Higher Monument Authority may extend the term if this is necessary for preservation of the archaeological monument or for its scientific exploration.

§ 17
Delivery

- (1) A movable archaeological monument discovered in the scope of an excavation or incidentally in or on a piece of land or in a water shall, upon request, be delivered against compensation (§ 34).
- (2) The State, Provincial Administration, district and local authorities in the area in which the archaeological monument was found shall be entitled to claim delivery.
- (3) Delivery may only be claimed if it is necessary for perpetual preservation of the archaeological monument or if the archaeological monument is so important that its placing in a public location lies in the public interest.
- (4) Delivery may no longer be claimed if
 - a) six months have passed since receipt of the notice (§ 15 para. 1) or
 - b) the owner offered delivery of the archaeological monument to those authorized to acquire it and the latter failed to accept the offer within a period of six months.
- (5) The President of the Regional Administration shall decide on the request for delivery.
- (6) If the demand for delivery is made by several parties, the Supreme Monument Authority shall, after hearing the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) and the President of the Regional Administration, designate those authorized to acquire it ranking first as well as the order in which others authorized to acquire it shall take place in case they decline. In this respect, the Supreme Monument Authority shall be considerate of the local significance of the archaeological monument, of the interest of science as well as of the existing scientific and monument conservation institutions.

§ 18
Execution of Delivery

- (1) After payment or deposit of the compensation, the archaeological monument shall be delivered. The provisions of § 16 para. 4 shall not be affected.
- (2) The President of the Regional Administration shall make the orders necessary for execution of the delivery.
- (3) If the decision pursuant to § 17 para. 5 is not contested, then those authorized to acquire become owners.

§ 19
***Special Regulation with Regard to Measures
for the Extraction of Natural Resources***

- (1) With regard to archaeological monuments in areas where mining measures or measures under the Extraction Act are planned in accordance with the objectives of regional planning and development, §§ 14, 25, and 30 shall cease to apply upon commencement of such measure - in as far as the areas are used for it.
- (2) In due time before commencement of the measures, the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) shall be given the opportunity for scientific investigation of supposed archaeological monuments or for their rescue. To this effect, the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) shall be informed of all relevant planning issues as well as of changes applied to them. The necessary work shall be carried out in such way that no unacceptable impediments arise during execution of the measures.
- (3) With regard to the approval of operating plans under mining law, the mining authorities shall reach an understanding with the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5).

(4) During mining, the Provincial Association or the City of Cologne (§ 22 para. 5) shall be given the possibility to check all edges of mines and soil explorations for archaeological monuments appearing, to carry out an archaeological analysis and to rescue archaeological monuments.

§ 20 (Fn 4)

Monument Authorities

- (1) Monument authorities are
 1. Supreme Monument Authority:
the Minister responsible for the conservation of monuments;
 2. Higher Monument Authority:
the President of the Regional Administration for towns/cities, independent of districts, the chief executives of the districts as subordinate government agencies;
 3. Lower Monument Authorities:
the local authorities.
- (2) The districts shall be obliged to give advice to the Lower Monument Authorities unless they are large or medium size county boroughs.
- (3) The Monument Authorities are special regulatory agencies. The tasks incumbent upon them under this Act are aimed at preventing danger.

§ 21

Competence of the Monument Authorities

- (1) Unless otherwise stipulated by law or on the basis of a law, the Lower Monument Authorities shall be competent for the execution of this Act.
- (2) Local competence shall fall to the Monument Authority in the district of which the monument is situated. In case of doubt, the next higher authority shall decide on competence. For archaeological monuments, local competence shall depend on the site of discovery; in case of imminent danger, the Monument Authority in the district of which the archaeological monument is placed may also issue orders.
- (3) If the Federal Government or the State of North Rhine-Westphalia are concerned in their capacity as owner or entitled user of a monument, the President of the Regional Administration shall decide in lieu of the Lower Monument Authority.
- (4) The Lower and Higher Monument Authorities shall take their decisions in consultation with the Provincial Association. Consent shall be deemed to be reached if no statement from the Provincial Association has been submitted to the Monument Authority within a period of three months. If the Monument Authority wants to deviate from the statement of the Provincial Association, the Provincial Association shall be entitled to initiate the decision of the Supreme Monument Authority. § 22 para. 5 shall apply accordingly.

§ 22

Conservation of Monuments

- (1) The conservation of monuments shall be incumbent upon the local authorities in the context of their tasks of self-government. § 20 shall not be affected.
- (2) The Provincial Associations shall advise and assist the local authorities and districts in the conservation of monuments and shall participate in the decision of the Monument Authorities with regard to technical aspects.
- (3) In the context of monument conservation by the monument conservation authorities, the Provincial Associations primarily assume the following tasks:

Fn 4

§ 20 para. 1 amended by § 51 EEG NW, 20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p. 366), came into force 1 January 1990.

*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gazette of laws and ordinances for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

1. Technical consulting and issuing of expert opinions in all matters of protection and conservation of monuments
2. Scientific analysis and research of the monuments as well as their publication and scientific dealing with questions of methodology and practice of monument conservation
3. Conservation and restoration of monuments as well as technical supervision of these measures
4. Scientific excavations, rescuing and restoration of archaeological monuments, supervision of these measures as well as survey of movable archaeological monuments
5. Management and control of the funds made available to them by the State of North Rhine-Westphalia for the conservation of monuments
6. Safeguarding the interests of monument conservation in the context of planning and other measures undertaken by the local authorities or other public authorities as agencies responsible for public concerns
7. Consulting in the preparation of conservation and design by-laws.

(4) The monument conservation offices shall not be bound to technical instructions when preparing expert opinions, they shall be entitled to transmit their expert opinions to those persons, authorities and other agencies that prove a justified interest.

(5) For its area, the City of Cologne shall assume the tasks of archaeological monument conservation in lieu of the Rhineland Provincial Association.

§ 23

Advisory Committees

(1) For the purpose of representation of monument conservation concerns, a Monument Board of the State may be created at the Supreme Monument Authority and recognized conservation organisations may be heard.

(2) At each Lower Monument Authority a committee representing it shall be designated for the tasks incumbent upon it under this Act. The representation shall decide by by-law if a Monument Committee shall be created or which other committee shall be assigned these tasks. The by-law shall provide for the possibility that, in addition, competent citizens participate in the deliberations on tasks under this Act for the conservation of monuments with an advisory voice.

§ 24

Representatives for the Conservation of Monuments

(1) The Lower Monument Authority may, in consultation with the Provincial Association, appoint honorary representatives for the conservation of monuments.

(2) If several honorary representatives for the conservation of monuments are appointed for a local authority area, the scope of their respective tasks shall be delimited according to regional or technical aspects.

(3) Representatives for the conservation of monuments shall be appointed for five years and shall be eligible for re-election.

(4) Honorary representatives for the conservation of monuments shall act in an expert capacity. They shall have in particular the following tasks:

1. Provision of information to the committee according to § 23 para. 2, to the Lower Monument Authority and the Provincial Association
2. Observation of local projects, planning, incidents and press reporting which touch upon the interests of monument conservation, as well as
3. Cultivation of relations to institutions and persons that show understanding for the conservation of monuments or may promote it.

§ 25

Monument Conservation Plan

- (1) The local authorities shall prepare and update monument conservation plans.
- (2) The monument conservation plan shall give an informational account of the objectives and requirements of the protection and conservation of monuments as well as of the descriptions and stipulations contained in the town and country planning. It shall include
 1. the survey of the existing condition and analysis of the local authority's area under aspects of settlement history,
 2. the description of historic and archaeological monuments, of monument conservation areas, of protected excavation areas as well as - for information purposes - of the physical fabric worthy of being preserved, and
 3. a planning and action concept for the determination of objectives and measures which shall serve the protection, conservation and use of monuments in the scope of urban development.

§ 26

Permission Process

- (1) The application for granting a permission pursuant to this Act shall be submitted in writing to the competent monument authority along with the documents necessary for evaluation of the project.
- (2) A permission pursuant to this Act shall expire if the execution of the project has not been commenced within two years after granting of the permission or if the execution of the project has been interrupted for two years. The period may be extended.

§ 27

Restoration of the Original State

- (1) Anyone who carries out an action requiring permission pursuant to this Act without such permission, improperly or contrary to the conditions imposed must, upon request of the Lower Monument Authority, immediately suspend work and restore the previous state.
- (2) Anyone who unlawfully damages or destroys a monument by negligence or wilful misconduct shall be obliged, upon request of the Lower Monument Authority, to restore the destroyed property.
- (3) For the rest, the provisions of the Regulating Authorities Act shall apply.

§ 28

Right of Information and Access

- (1) Owners and other entitled users of monuments shall be obliged to provide the information necessary for the execution of this Act to the monument authorities and Provincial Associations.
- (2) Owners and other entitled users of monuments shall, after prior notice, grant the representatives of the monument authorities access to land and housing and allow them to carry out checks and studies to the extent imperatively required for the preservation of the monument. The access to housing shall not be permitted without consent of the owner or other entitled users unless in case of imminent danger or on the basis of a judicial order. With regard to procedure, the provisions of the Act on Matters of Non-Contentious Jurisdiction shall apply accordingly. The basic right of inviolability of the home (article 13 of the Basic Law) is restricted in this respect.
- (3) All measures shall take into account the concerned persons; damages caused by the exercise of these rights shall be compensated.

§ 29 (Fn11)
Exemption from Fees

For official actions under this Act, no fees shall be levied; this shall not apply to decisions according to §§ 13, 14 and 40.

§ 30 (Fn 5)
Expropriation

(1) Historic monuments and fixed archaeological monuments may be expropriated if this is the only means

- a) to preserve a monument in its existence, its singularity or its appearance,
- b) to make a monument accessible to the general public if there is a public interest in it, or
- c) to conduct scheduled investigations in a protected excavation area.

(2) The State or other legal person of public law shall be entitled to exercise the right of expropriation; a legal person of private law shall also be entitled to this right if and in as far as the purpose of expropriation is part of the tasks laid down in the by-law.

(3) The Expropriation and Compensation Act of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (EEG NW) shall apply. The Supreme Monument Authority shall decide on the approval of expropriation.

§ 31
Transfer of monuments

The owner may request a monument to be transferred to the local authorities if and in as far as it cannot be reasonably expected of him under economic aspects to keep the monument or to use it in the previous or any other permitted way taking into account his obligation to preserve the monument on the basis of an administrative measure under this Act. As to the rest, the provisions of § 30 shall apply accordingly.

§ 32 (Fn12)
Preemptive Right of purchase

- repealed -

§ 33 (Fn 6)
Compensation

In as far as the execution of this Act has an expropriating effect, an adequate compensation in money shall be granted. The Expropriation and Compensation Act of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (EEG NW) shall be applied.

§ 34
Compensation for Movable Archaeological Monuments

(1) The President of the Regional Administration shall decide on the application for determination of the compensation in case of delivery (§ 17).

(2) The compensation shall be determined by the fair market value of the archaeological monuments. On the fair market value, the expert opinion of an expert commission shall be sought.

(3) The President of the Regional Administration shall fix the compensation on the basis of the expert opinion of the expert commission. It shall be paid to the person who lost the ownership of the movable archaeological monument according to § 18 para. 3. In case there exist other persons with rights in rem, the compensation shall be deposited.

(4) In case of accidental finds, the expenses incurred by the discoverer, the owner of the land or the person in charge of the work for measures of preservation of the archaeological monument or discovery site, in as far as he deemed them necessary according to circumstances, and which have not been taken into account in the assessment of value, shall in addition be reimbursed. Any claims pursuant to § 33 shall be included in this procedure.

Fn 5
§ 30 revised by § 51 EEG NW, 20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p.366), came into force 1 January 1990.

Fn 6
§ 33 amended by § 51 EEG NW, 20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p.366), came into force 1 January 1990.

Fn 11
§ 29 last amended by article 52 of the EuroAnpG NW, 25.9. 2001 (GV. NRW. *) pp. 708), came into force 1 January 2002.

Fn 12
§ 32 repealed with effect from January 1, 1998 by art. 8 of the Act, 25.11.1997 (GV. NW. *) p. 430).

*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gazette of laws and ordinances for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

(5) The compensation decision shall be served to the parties involved in the procedure. An appeal against it to the proper court may be made within one month after the decision has been served.

(6) The costs of the proceedings shall be borne by those authorized to acquire.

(7) In case those authorized to acquire subsequently waive their right, they shall be obliged to reimburse the necessary expenses incurred by the proceedings to the parties involved and, in the cases under paragraph 4, to make compensation as indicated there.

(8) It shall be equivalent to waiving if those authorized to acquire do not pay or deposit the definitely assessed compensation within a period to be determined by the President of the Regional Administration upon request.

(9) The Minister responsible for the conservation of monuments shall be empowered to issue, by legal decree, detailed provisions with regard to the appointment of the expert commission, the procedure and the costs.

§ 35 **Benefits**

(1) Benefits pursuant to this Act shall be provided from funds of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia and of the local authorities. Financial support for the conservation of monuments requires a request to be made by the owner.

(2) Support can be granted in the form of subsidies, loans and interest subsidies. The owner's ability to pay shall be taken into account when assessing the participation or support of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

(3) Funds of the State shall be granted as

1. lump sum allocations to the local authorities for the support of private monument conservation measures
2. individual subsidies for the support of monuments owned by local authorities,
3. individual subsidies for monuments owned by the Churches or religious communities,
4. individual subsidies for important private monument conservation measures.

The amount of lump sum allocations to local authorities shall be based on the importance of the monument stock and on the scope of the monument conservation measures.

(4) Financial support may also be granted to monument conservation organizations, non-profit holders and individual persons that assume monument conservation tasks.

(5) If the participation of public authorities in the costs of monument protection and conservation results in an increase in value of the monument, the owners and entitled users shall reimburse the expense incurred in this respect to the extent that can reasonably be expected of them.

§ 36 **Heritage Support Program**

(1) Each year, the President of the Regional Administrations shall, in consultation with the Provincial Associations and with the City of Cologne as far as archaeological monument conservation of the latter is concerned, prepare the heritage support program for the following year. The program shall include the compilation of all intended measures as well as their costs and financing.

(2) The President of the Regional Administrations shall submit the prepared heritage promotion program to the Supreme Monument Authority. The latter shall involve the Churches and religious communities for the inclusion of their monuments and shall draw up the heritage support program.

§ 37

Support for Urban Development, Housing Modernisation

Historic monuments and monument conservation areas may also be preserved, renewed and appropriated to a use according to their function pursuant to the provisions of the Federal Government or the State of North Rhine-Westphalia on the deployment of urban development and housing modernisation funds. In this respect, the Provincial Associations shall cooperate within the scope of tasks incumbent upon them as agencies responsible for public concerns.

§ 38

Monuments Serving Religious Practice

The cooperation with the Churches and religious communities in the protection and conservation of their monuments shall be continued. In taking decisions on these monuments, the monument authorities shall respect the concerns of the practice of religion as assessed by the Churches and religious communities.

§ 39

Protection in Case of Disaster

(1) The Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs shall be empowered to issue, by legal decree, and after consulting the Minister of the Interior, the necessary provisions for the protection of monuments in case of disaster. In this respect, in particular the owner and other entitled user may be committed

- a) to notify the place of custody of monuments,
- b) to have monuments labelled as specified in international treaties,
- c) to rescue monuments, to rescue, safeguard or have them safeguarded in a special way or to deliver them by order of the monument authority for the purpose of temporary custody at rescue sites,
- d) to tolerate the scientific survey of monuments or other measures ordered by the monument authority for their documentation, safeguarding or restoration.

(2) In as far as the legal decree provides for a delivery term, it shall be ordered that the delivered items shall be promptly returned to the person entitled once further custody at a rescue site for the protection of the monuments is no longer necessary.

§ 40

Certificates for Tax Purposes

Certificates for obtaining tax benefits shall be issued by the Lower Monument Authority in consultation with the Provincial Association. They may be granted only on condition that the monument is registered in the list of monuments or is deemed temporarily registered according to § 4 para. 1 and 2.

§ 41 (Fn 7)

Fines

- (1) An administrative offence is committed by anyone who deliberately or negligently
1. fails to give notice, or give it in due time, according to §§ 10 or 15 para. 1 sentence 1 or para. 2 sentence 1,
 2. carries out or has carried out measures for which a permission is required pursuant to § 9 para. 1, §§ 12, 13 para. 1 sentence 1 or § 14 para. 2 sentence 1 without or in derogation of such permission,
 3. fails to maintain discovered archaeological monuments or the discovery site in unchanged condition pursuant to § 16 para. 1,
 4. contravenes a legal decree issued pursuant to § 39 if the legal decree refers to this provision on fines for specific facts.

(2) These administrative offences are punishable by fines of up to 250,000 Euros. If a historic monument is removed without permission pursuant to § 9 para. 1 subpara. a, a fine of up to 500,000 Euro may be fixed.

Fn 7

§ 41 last amended by article 52 of the EuroAnpG NW, 25.9.2001 (GV. NW. *) p. 708), came into force 1 January 2002.

*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gazette of laws and ordinances for the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

(3) The prosecution of the administrative offence shall be no longer possible after five years.

Fn 8
§ 42 amended by § 51 EEG NW,
20.6.1989 (GV. NW. *) p.366),
came into force 1 January 1990.

(4) The competent authority in the meaning of § 36 para. 1 no. 1 of the Act on Administrative Offences is the Lower Monument Authority.

§ 42 (Fn 8)

Administrative Provisions

Fn 9
§ 43 para. 2 nugatory; repeal pro-
visions. (GV. NW. *) p. 274), came
into force 28. April 2005.

The Minister responsible for the conservation of monuments shall issue administrative provisions necessary for the execution of this Act.

§ 43 (Fn 9)

Coming into Force

Fn 10
GV. NW. *) issued 29 March 1980
*) Gesetzes- und Verordnungsblatt
für das Land Nordrhein-Westfalen:
Gazette of laws and ordinances for
the State of North Rhine-West-
phalia

(1) This Act shall come into force on 1 July 1980. §§ 3 para. 6, 5, 6, 34 para. 9, 39 and 42 shall come into force on the day following its promulgation (Fn 10). The state government will inform the parliament about the necessity and advisability of this law by 31 December 2009.

The government
of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

II. WORDING OF THE TEXTS OF THE REGISTRATION OF THE MONUMENTS LISTED BY THE LOWER MONUMENT PROTECTION AUTHORITY OF THE TOWN OF HÖXTER

a) Architectural monument: Complete complex of the former imperial abbey of Corvey comprising the following parts:

- Catholic parish church St Stephanus (Stephen) and Vitus, former abbey church of Corvey
- Castle complex of Corvey: previous abbey, portal, front section of the castle, garden, teahouse, working quarters, moat and wall

Day of inscription

- 01.07.1986 – church, castle complex, park, wall and moat as well as working quarters and teahouse
- 03.03.1988 – plot of field 215
- 31.08.1994 – furnishings of the church (organ, altars, pulpit, etc.)
- 09.02.1995 – burial place of Hoffmann von Fallersleben, gravestones and grave slabs
- 14.02.1997 – sandstone grave slabs in the graveyard, crucifixion group
- 20.09.1999 – furnishings of the Westwork
- 05.07.2006 – amendment decision: abbreviated designation

Summarized by the specification of 11.11.2012

Text of the registration decision, description and justification¹

HISTORY AND FORM OF THE COMPLETE COMPLEX: FORMER IMPERIAL ABBEY OF CORVEY

The famous former Benedictine monastery was founded in 815 as the oldest monastery of Saxony and outpost of the conversion to Christianity of the Saxons by the brothers Adalhard the Elder, Abbot of the large West Frankish abbey of Corbie, and Wala, relations of Charlemagne, together with monks from Corbie. The first settlement in Hethis (presumably in the Solling) was given up on account of its inconvenient location. In 822 it was founded on the newly acquired property (villa Hucxori) on the left bank of the River Weser as Corbeia nova. In 823 the property was confirmed by Emperor Louis the Pious, the Saxon estates of Corbie were transferred to the daughter monastery which was granted immunity, the privilege of choosing its abbots freely and was donated a relic of St Stephanus (Stephen) from the imperial court chapel. The translation of the relics of St Vitus from Saint-Denis in 836 made Corvey a centre of one of the first and most important cults of saints in Saxony. In the 9th and 10th centuries the rapidly growing imperial abbey developed systematically into a religious and cultural centre, including a monastic school and a large library. Being the only Saxon Benedictine monastery for a long time, Corvey was the educational institution for future bishops (among them Ansgar, the first headmaster of the monastic school and apostle of the North), poets and historians such as Widukind, the author of the famous history of the Saxons.

Favoured by the location on the *Hellweg*, numerous stays of kings took place till the beginning of the 13th century. Since the second half of the 11th century the widely scattered property was endangered by embezzlement and disputes concerning tithes with the bishops of Osnabrück and Paderborn. Abbot Markward (1081-1107) introduced the reform of Hirsau; the reform of East Saxon monastic communities emanated from Corvey. The last heyday including the consolidation of the property and the construction of new buildings took place under Abbot Wibald von Stablo (1146-58). Among the new foundations initiated by Corvey are Gröningen, Helmarshausen, Bursfelde and Marienmünster and the daughter monasteries in Stadtberge (Marsberg-Obermarsberg as it is now called), Meppen, Visbeck and tom Roden.

From a cultural and economic point of view, Corvey was of less importance in the Late Middle Ages; an improvement was achieved only temporarily in 1501 by integrating the monastery in the reform congregation of Bursfelde. During the Thirty Years' War, the monastery was severely damaged, the buildings were devastated and the precious library was lost. In 1792/94 Corvey

¹ Description after: Georg Dehio, Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Nordrhein-Westfalen 2: Westfalen, Berlin, München 2011, S. 489-497. The text on Höxter-Corvey has been revised by Dr. Kristina Krüger.

was elevated to a prince-bishopric which was annexed to Paderborn in 1825. In 1803 the property of the prince-bishopric was secularized; since 1840 Corvey has been owned by the Dukes of Ratibor and Princes of Corvey. The monastery was redesigned as a castle with an extensive library where August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben worked as a librarian between 1860 and 1874.

With the granting of minting and market rights in 833, Corvey developed into an economic centre with two nuclei of settlement: besides the older one in Hörter a second one in front of the monastery's gates. After 1150 this lay settlement close to the monastery in the southwest of the monastery complex developed into the town of Corvey which had its own Weser bridge in the middle of the 13th century but was later deserted. The town of Corvey, supported by the abbots, was in a fierce competition with the town of Hörter. In 1265 it was destroyed by a coalition comprising the Bishop of Paderborn, inhabitants of Hörter and retinue officials of Corvey, and not resettled.

The monastery district in the area of the present castle complex is secured by walls and gates. The area immediately surrounding the monastery with precinct in the north of the church and the southern wing of the Carolingian cloister can be shown to have existed. Apart from rooms of the precinct and for provision around the cloister, additional monastic buildings are documented by written sources: infirmary (12th century) and infirmary chapel with the altar of Ägidius (1194) in the east of the cloister; monks' graveyard with chapel in the east of the church. Outside the precinct the abbot's residence with Remakluskapelle (chapel of Remaklus) (1149-51) was located in the northern wing of the atrium. In the south of the church a graveyard for laymen with chapel (1150) and a house for noble guests with Gertrudenskapelle (chapel of Gertrude) (2nd half of the 13th century, referred to as *capella regia* in 1355) which was possibly the monastic residence for the stays of kings and in the west a pilgrim hospice could be verified. More chapels were situated inside and outside the precinct. In the area outside the monastery working quarters, a mill and workshops as well as houses for retinue officials were located. In the east a place for ships to dock was established.

In the bend of the River Weser a lay settlement with market church had existed and in the west the collegiate church of St Paul, called Niggenkerken, which was consecrated in 863. After the destruction of the town in 1265, it was relocated to Hörter. To the northwest there was the provost's church of *tom Roden*, originating from the 12th century and abandoned in 1536; excavated between 1976 and 1980, in 1990/91 the foundations were consolidated to make the ruins visible.

CATHOLIC PARISH CHURCH ST STEPHANUS (STEPHEN) AND VITUS, FORMER ABBEY CHURCH

The appearance of the plastered post-Gothic hall-like room, made of quarry stones and consisting of three bays, an equally long choir with five-sided end and east chapel, is dominated by the projecting Carolingian Westwork set up in front with a high elegant west façade crowned by two lean Romanesque towers. This Westwork, unique in the complexity of its inner structure, and emphasized by the quality of its furnishing which was partly preserved and which can partly be reconstructed by means of manifold remains, belongs to the most important upright standing buildings of the early Middle Ages in Europe.

BUILDING HISTORY. The chronological sequence of construction and original form have been extensively clarified by architectural investigations and systematic area excavations (in 1974/75 in the baroque church, in 1977 in the Westwork and in 1995 on the western forecourt, the area of the former atrium): The Carolingian church, consecrated in 844, was a three-nave basilica with a wide central nave, remarkably small side-aisles and a slightly cross-squared and clearly elevated choir as broad as the central nave, markedly separated from the nave by means of division walls and accessible via a staircase of full width. A scarcely embedded square crypt gallery on the interior wall of the choir opened up a double-storey axial chapel in the apex of the choir and presumably a reliquary shaft below the sanctuary. In the west of the nave an atrium of equal width and nearly the same length as the church existed with lateral galleries slightly wider than

the side aisles and with a protruding portal at the western end. In the inner court in front of the façade of the church a large cross-squared foundation block was set up which has not been interpreted so far. The southern wing of the Carolingian cloister, extending up to the front of the church towards the west, presumably had direct access to the atrium.

Before 873 this building was enlarged by low transverse arms with east apses and a new choir. In doing so, the older level of the choir was lowered and a new slightly retracted and only slightly elevated square sanctuary with semi-circular apse and outer crypt was erected. This type of crypt with straight closed side arms and a long-stretched cross-shaped apex chapel, closely related to the outer crypts of Auxerre, Flavigny, Hildesheim and particularly Halberstadt (consecrated in 859), was, however, only one-storeyed.

According to the annals of Corvey, the construction was started in 873 and the *tres turres* (three towers) were consecrated in 885. This refers to the preserved Westwork, a building consisting of several floors on a slightly longitudinal-rectangular ground plan of five aisles and of a length of five bays, less wide than the Carolingian nave. The designation seems to be attributed to the stair-towers in the western corner bays and the originally tower-like pointed square main room on the upper floor. The latter was encircled on three sides by double-storey side rooms and in the east it was separated by double-storey sequences of arcades from the connecting bay which was not divided into storeys and attached to the nave. The eastern pillars of this bay, immediately in the east of the destroyed west wall of the Carolingian nave, disturb the floor which was renewed in the nave within the scope of the enlargement of the choir. Thus the chronological sequence of the construction, new choir prior to the Westwork, is clarified. In front of the Westwork a new double-storey atrium was erected.

The low transverse arms (partly?) renovated at a later point of time; the few relics of the northern arm are different from the masonry of the 9th century. The building activity, testified under Wibald von Stablo (1146-58) in the „Vitus church“, has been traditionally linked with the Westwork. At that time a bell-storey was added to the middle part of the façade and the open floors of the stair-towers provided with windows were erected. In the main room of the upper floor clerestories with masonry above was demolished, the side galleries were removed and their openings were remodelled as windows.

Under Abbot Theodor von Beringhausen (1585-1616), securing of the structure and reorganization of the Westwork (coat of arms at the northern tower and timber ceilings): walling up of the cracks in the western front and construction of pointed rhombic spires of the towers; elevation of the walls of the clerestory, installation of new windows, construction of new timber ceilings in the side aisles and the central room as well as of a steeper saddle roof; a vault dividing the storeys was put up in the bay connected to the nave, demolition of the arcade's wall and incorporation of the upper floor into the central room.

In 1616/24 demolition of the atrium when the adjacent west wing of the monastic building was renewed. Under Christoph Bernhard von Galen, prince bishop of Münster and administrator of Corvey between 1661 and 1678, demolition of nave and choir of the Carolingian monastic church and between 1667 and 1671 reconstruction on the basis of a plan of 1667 by the Capuchin friar *Polycarp* from Hildesheim in post-Gothic forms under the direction of *Niclas Dentel*. Instead of the apex chapel of the outer crypt, the Benediktuskapelle (chapel of Benedict) was erected adjoining the choir in 1717/18 and a Marienkapelle (Lady Chapel) in the South in 1790.

Since 1945 restorations and dismantling work were undertaken in the Westwork; a western square was arranged on the level of the former atrium. The modern portals of the façade were removed and the open arcades on the ground floor were renovated, all openings which had been renewed with pointed arches were dismantled; the masonry of the western front was safeguarded by using the injection technique and the foundations were widened to stabilize the façade. The collapsed lower part of the staircase in the northern tower was renovated. The walls in the main room were removed, the lateral galleries were reconstructed with new intermediate supports and the eastern arcade's wall on the old foundation was renovated. The late Gothic vault in the

southern aisle of the ground floor was demolished and a flat ceiling installed according to findings. All walls were examined with regard to Carolingian wall paintings.

In 1960 fragments of stucco were discovered in the debris of the filling below the floor of the central room and in 1992 sinopias, preparatory background drawings with red ochre pigment, of life-size stucco figures on the walls.

WESTWORK. The overall impression of the twin-tower front is strongly determined by the building alterations of the 12th and late 16th centuries: at the top the bell-storey with two rows of differently large twin arcades and the towers with their upper floors with open arcades and high pointed helmets. The façade and the towers of the formerly plastered building are stone-faced today, except for cuboids in the added Romanesque storeys of flat layers of quarry stone masonry; the side walls are newly plastered. The façade is plastically structured by a single-axle porch stretching as far as the bell-storey. The ground floor is open to the portal of the vestibule in three large arcades, the upper floor and the gallery are equipped with large round-arched windows, in the gable of the porch a semi-circular niche subsequently reduced with a saviour sculpture (copy, the original is inside the church). In the lateral staircase-towers arched openings towards the former galleries of the atrium are to be found on the ground floor and on the level above, in addition slit windows along the staircase which indicate the Carolingian masonry. In the towers it ends approximately two metres below the first arcade gallery, in the middle part of the façade, however, below the niche of the porch; the floor with slit windows below the arcades of the bell-storey is Romanesque. In the porch below the window of the gallery within the Carolingian masonry, a copy of a large inscription tablet, asking God and his angels for protection of the monastery (*civitatem istam*), is installed. It is made of sandstone from the Solling, formerly with carved gilded metal letters; the original is in the western gallery. A gilded metal letter found in the demolition debris of the first choir verifies the use of similar inscriptions in Corvey, even prior to 844. Antique Capitalis Quadrata inscriptions with metal letters have so far only been known from Southern Italy (Salerno, San Vincenzo al Volturno, at the beginning of the 9th century).

Interior. The ground floor of the westwerk is a low hall, the middle part of which is vaulted above square pillars and two rows of two columns each, whereas the side aisles and the eastern bay connected to the nave were originally provided with a flat ceiling (the vault existing today in the north and east dates back to the time around 1600). On the upper floor, the so-called *Johanneschor* (St John's choir), accessible by means of stairs in the western corners, the square central room, the original appearance of which, with galleries above the side aisles in the north, west and south and arcade's wall in the east, has been reconstructed, rises above the vaulted middle part of the ground floor. The three wide arcades on each side and storey are subdivided on the main storey by stone-faced square pillars with filigree profiled circumferential impostes, and on the gallery in twin arcades by integrated little columns (completed in a modern way, with stylized little capitals). The middle arcade of the western gallery is broader than the lateral arcades and reaches down to the ground. The double row of arcades of the east wall has been reconstructed according to the preserved projections of the arches, the former semi-circular, after 1667 modified segmental arched large opening of the bay connected to the nave has been blocked with the organ. Only the west room below the gallery is equipped with the original lunette vault, the side aisles and the main room are provided with beam ceilings decorated with stucco, the west gallery is covered with a flat roof and the side galleries are jamb sill storeys below a shed roof. The original height of the ceiling of the central room, approximately 60 cm above the present height (beam holes in the west wall), leads to the assumption that Carolingian clerestory windows had existed. The altar at the original position in front of the middle arcade in the east, which had been testified in 1481 to be older, was newly consecrated in 1608 and rebuilt in 1961/62.

Building sculpture and wall paintings. The original paintings well preserved only in the formerly walled-up parts, the rest is merely faintly perceptible today. The detailed examination of the

complete wall surfaces for paint residues resulted, however, in a surprisingly significant, but not entire image of the painting system and the original colourfulness. The architectural elements on both storeys are painted with various strikingly strong colours: red arcade pillars; painted cornices as an extension of the sculptured impostes; frames for arcades and windows; ornamental banding with acanthus tendrils or multi-coloured geometrical samples in soffits of the arches, as pedestal and ceiling strips as well as along the ridges of the vaulting; the galleries with painted corner columns and coloured tympana. In the porch there is the Carolingian church portal with broad sandstone frame and ogee-shaped cornice at the top (the middle part was added, at the side remnants of an inscription), originally painted green with red and yellow vertical stripes and circumferential cavities for filling in other material. The vaulted middle part of the hall of the ground floor is built on columns with attic bases and Corinthian capitals and pieces of beam serving as an impost block. The only part elaboration of the acanthus shows that a painted version had been intended, individual paint residues of which have been preserved. The high-quality stone-masonry and the classic antique habitus illustrate the pretension of the furnishing of Corvey. In the west room of the upper floor figurative paintings of fragmentarily preserved scenes of a sea creature frieze (e.g. the fight of Ulysses against Scylla, a siren playing the harp, a figure riding on a dolphin, scene of boats with fish). It is the only known example of wall paintings of the mythology of the sea interpreted from a Christian point of view dating back to Carolingian times. Below the frieze there are rapidly sketched heads, samples of painting later painted over.

In the spandrels of the arches above the arcades of the main storey figures made of stucco which had originally been coloured and placed on pedestals above the impostes of the arcades have been found. Sinopias of the life-size figures had been painted with red colour directly on the masonry, the stucco figures had formerly been embedded in the wall with wooden pegs; some of the stucco fragments discovered could be directly assigned to the sinopias. On the west wall there are two women facing each other and wearing long robes as well as a scarf-like kerchief, on the north and south walls two male figures each, clad in tunics ending at the knees and chlamys. The interpretation as lay donors is controversial; comparable examples from approximately the same time for figures in ecclesiastical areas are always saints or prophets.

Appreciation. Research with respect to the function of the west building of Corvey as the ideal type of the so-called Westwork, which began with the declared intention to prove the independent character of this newly defined type of building, has so far not led to convincing results provable by sources from the Middle Ages. Only the use of the central room with the *Johannesaltar* (St John's altar) as an elevated western sanctuary is supported equally by finds of the construction, furnishing and contemporary and more recent sources relating to Corvey and also to the Carolingian western buildings of Centula/Saint-Riquier which is typologically comparable but has not been preserved. Also without the special function as „westwork“, the west building of Corvey deserves an outstanding position with respect to architectural history as the best preserved example of one of those Carolingian western choir buildings with a complex structure and with towers rising above the square block, which are otherwise known only from excavations.

BAROQUE CHURCH OF THE MONASTERY. Except for the trefoil lancet windows with uniform bubble tracery, the exterior is completely unadorned, only the choir is structured by stepped buttresses. The two-lane windows in the east closing are walled up to a large extent with simple facing tracery. Above the choir there is a copper-plated ridge turret with a curved lantern attachment.

The interior is a hall with pilasters comprising three rib-vaulted bays with a retracted choir, elevated by three levels, and consisting equally of three bays and a flat pentagonal apse at the end of the choir. The vaults of the choir are mounted on volute consoles, the square pilasters with the retracted wall form flat niches with floor-to-ceiling height for the arrangement of side altars and confessionals.

The compact overall impression, determined by the extremely rich baroque furnishing, was created between 1674 and 1693 according to designs by the court painter *Johann Georg Rudolphi* from Paderborn and the carving by *Johann Sasse*. The strongly coloured original ornamentation, made by *Anton Splithoven*, was restored together with the renewed architectural setting, based on remnants of the original condition, between 1953 and 1957. – High altar with coupled columns decorated with vine tendrils, a Trinity painting, framed in the form of a medallion, in the upper part, and figures of Stephanus (Stephen) and Vitus, the patrons of the church, as well as of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious; six altarpieces interchangeable according to the feasts of the Church year, among them the Miracle of the Pentecost by *Hieronimus Sies* as well as Crucifixion and Assumption of the Virgin by *Tobias Querfurth*. – The side altars, retables with paintings, in the north annunciation, in the south crucifixion were made by *Rudolphi* in 1682. – The antependium of the celebration altar which is of perforated carving was part of an altar in the *Johanneschor* (St John's choir) made by *Heinrich Papen* between 1716 and 1718. – The pulpit, two confessionals crowned by figures of repentant sinners, the choir stalls with relief figures of saints and abbots of Corvey as well as the pews with lavishly carved ends were made by *Sasse*. – The reliquary in the form of a cupboard was produced by *Papen*. The west gallery, carried by figures of angels larger than life, with organ case was made by *Sasse*; the baroque organ, produced by *Andreas Schneider* in 1681, was altered in the 19th century and restored according to the original condition between 1963 and 1965. – A Vitus monument with a carved figure of the Saint in an aedicule frame was made by *Papen* around 1680. – Four high-quality alabaster epitaphs of abbots of the late 17th and the first half of the 18th century with figures of the deceased, von Bellinghausen and von dem Velde, also made by *Papen*, von Horrich by his son *Christophel* and von Blittersdorf by his brother-in-law *Johannes Pollmann*. – The furnishing of the Lady Chapel is characterized by the delicate forms of the late 18th century. – Of the former chime of the monastery three bells have been conserved, the so-called Cantabona of 1584, according to the inscription a new casting of the bell donated in the 11th century by Abbot Druthmar, which carries the same name, as well as bells from 1683 and 1792.

CASTLE COMPLEX OF CORVEY: PREVIOUS ABBEY, PORTAL, FRONT SECTION OF THE CASTLE, GARDEN, TEAHOUSE, WORKING QUARTERS, MOAT AND WALL

The baroque castle complex, i. e. the former monastic complex, is a spacious property formerly surrounded by moats in the north, the west and the south. With regard to its size it is the most pretentious baroque monastic complex of Westphalia, in terms of design and furnishing it is, however, much more simple than those of monasteries in Southern Germany, which were built at the same time. The former buildings of the convent (today castle with museum Höxter-Corvey) were erected on a closed and elongated rectangular ground plan in the north of the church around two inner courtyards. In 1699 under abbot Florenz von dem Velde (1696-1714) began the construction of the west and north wings (accommodation for guests and residence of the abbot) according to plans of one or more unknown architects, up to 1714 the raw building of the east wing and the central wing (monastery chambers and residential apartments) was finished and in 1718 the interior fitting was completed under Maximilian von Horrich (1714-21). Since 1977 comprehensive restorations and reconstructions of the interior rooms were carried out according to finds of the 18th and 19th centuries.

Plastered quarry stone buildings, consisting of two and a half storeys, with ashlar structure and hipped roof, in the north bordered by protruding square corner towers with curved cupola and a high spire, in the south correspondingly vertical accents through a twin tower façade and ridge turrets of the church. The façades are unstructured except that of the north wing which is provided with a three-axis gable-topped central risalit, accentuated only by pilaster portals with a triangle or segment vault gable, some of them more lavishly with partly renewed sandstone sculptures.

The courtyard of the convent, adjacent to the church, the so-called *Friedgarten* (churchyard) with a surrounding cloister gallery on three sides is integrated into the interior; wall attachments, belts and ribs of the groined vaults were renovated with strong colours similar to those of the

time of building. – Only a few rooms on the upper floor are equipped more richly: In the east wing a gallery with portraits of the abbots of Corvey, begun under Abbot von dem Velde, was made by *Querfurth*. The former refectory (the so-called baroque hall) in the central wing is a one and a half storey hall with clearly structured stucco on the walls and ceilings in unobtrusive rocaille forms. The so-called Emperors' hall in the west wing is a Hall of State, stretching over the whole depth of the building and including also the mezzanine, with rich rococo stuccoes by Giacomo Perinetti; the wall and ceiling paintings, showing portraits of emperors and the Marriage of Cana are of mediocre quality. In 1832 the former abbot's apartment in the north wing was modified into the Princely library, one of the largest German private libraries of the 19th century. In front of the long-stretched west wing there is a large open square which is enclosed by stables and coach houses in the north and by the servants' wing (the so-called *Vorburg*) in the west, built between 1730 and 1735 according to designs by Justus Wehmer. One-storey plastered buildings with hipped roof and cross dormers, designed in the style of the convent buildings with corner towers corresponding to those of the central building. The gate of the monastery consisting of two gate pillars, provided with columns respectively pilasters, with niches for sculptures and head-pieces with coats-of-arms as well as the avenue starting at the gate and leading to Höxter were built in 1716 under Abbot von Horrich; the bridge of the moat and the guard-houses of 1743 are ascribed to Franz Christoph Nagel. – The abbot's garden formerly separated by a wide moat is located in the north; the orangery, the so-called teahouse, in the north western corner is a rectangular building made of plastered cuboids with a hipped mansard roof which was built according to a plan by Nagel. – In 1746 he probably also deigned the statues of the patrons of the monastery on high disrupted pilaster pedestals in front of the façade of the church.

The three-sided working quarters in the south west of the church comprising three elongated two-storey quarry stone wings formerly plastered and provided with stone sculptures of the patrons of the monastery in shell niches was built in several phases between 1709 and 1731 while including older structural components.

THE MONUMENT COMPLEX ON THE TERRITORY OF THE “FORMER IMPERIAL ABBEY OF CORVEY”, NOWADAYS CASTLE COMPLEX WITH PARISH CHURCH, ENCOMPASSES THE FOLLOWING PARTS

(all: town of Höxter, district Corvey, plot of field 9):

1. Monastery church

- a. Abbey church with Westwork (plot of field 229), with historic furnishings
- a.1. Bell-Chime consisting of bell I, Cantabona, produced in 1584 by bell-founder H. Bock, recast by Hans Vogelmann; bell II, Sunday bell, made in 1683, recast of a bell by Claudius Bricon; bell III, sermon clock, produced in 1782 by Joseph Greve from Meschede, bell IV, the smallest of the chime, undated, 1st half of the 20th century.
- b. Pathway to the Westwork (plot of field 216)
- c. Forecourt in front of the Westwork (plot of field 229)
- d. Pedestals with figures (patrons of the church; plot of field 229)
- e. Graveyard in the south of the church with tombs and tombstones as well as burial place of Hoffmann von Fallersleben (plot of field 229)

2. Castle complex, former monastery building

- a. North wing: formerly prelatore (plot of field 23)
- b. West wing: formerly guest wing with kitchen (plot of field 23)
- c. South and east wings: formerly building of the convent (plot of field 23)
- d. Court of the residence (plot of field 23)
- e. Former court of the convent/so-called *Friedgarten* (churchyard) (plot of field 22) with crucifixion group (formerly in front of the so-called *Dreizehnlindenhaus*) and three tombstones
- f. Forecourt (plot of field 215) with course of stream (formerly canal of the *Grube*, probably fed by the course of the *Schelp* stream since the 12th century) (plot of field 26)

II. Wording of the texts of the registration of the monuments listed by the Lower Monument Protection Authority of the Town of Hörter

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3. Portal

- a. Bridge over the moat with balustrade (plot of field 215)
- b. Two gate pillars with niches for figures (plot of field 215)
- c. Two guard-houses (plot of field 215)

4. Front section of the castle

- a. Stables and coach houses (plot of field 28)
- b. So-called Schneiderturm (plot of field 28)
- c. Small working house of the 18th century, plastered half-timbered building, tent-roof covered with sandstone slabs (plot of field 28)
- d. Small court (plot of field 28)
- e. Front section of the castle (Vorburg) with former chapel and ridge turrets (plot of field 25)
- f. Clock tower with furnishings (plot of field 25)
- f.1. Clockwork, probably manufactured in Berlin in the 19th century
- f.2. Bells (east German bells): bell I from 1566; bell II from 1677, bell-founder Joachim Groß, Vienna.

5. Garden

- a. Orangery, so-called teahouse (plot of field 36)
- b. Former pleasure garden (plots of field 8 and 29 [ponds], 30, 31, 32)
- c. Staircase at the northern garden wall (plot of field 30)
- d. Kitchen garden (plots of field 219, 220)
- e. Course of stream (formerly canal of the *Grube*, probably fed by stream of *Schelpe*) since the 12th century with a bridge as connection between the former pleasure garden and the kitchen garden (plot of field 9)

6. Working quarters, *Domänenhof*

- a. East wing: baking house and brewery, wheelwright's workshop, cottage, shed (plot of field 18)
- b. South wing: Barn and sheep shed with former shepherd's gate, closed in 1865 (plot of field 18)
- c. West wing: Stables, distillery, access since 1865, staff quarters (plot of field 18)
- d. Farmyard (plot of field 217)
- e. Southern bridge, so-called shepherd's gate (plot of field 146)
- f. Coach house with horse stable (plot of field 10)
- g. Small farmyard (plot of field 10)

7. Moat

- a. in the north, so-called castle moat (plot of field 33), the only area carrying water
- b. in the west (plots of field 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42), drained
- c. in the south (plots of field 14, 15, 17, 147, 148), drained
- d. former dam with passage to the east, dated 1733 (plot of field 147)
- e. former dam with passage to the south, dated 1738 (plot if field 37)

8. Enclosure of the complex (wall of the castle)

- a. in the west in the area of the former garden of pleasure (western border of plot of field 30)
- b. along the eastern border of the complete complex with gate in the area of the garden of pleasure (eastern border of the plots of field 30, 31, 219, 220)
- c. Turret in the south-eastern part (plot of field 219)

JUSTIFICATION

The former Benedictine abbey, directly subject to the Empire, is important for the history of mankind because since its foundation in 815 (in Hethis) and the translocation to Corvey in 822 it was the first monastery in Saxony that started with the missioning of the Saxons. The translocation of the relics of St Vitus from Saint-Denis in 836 made Corvey the centre of one of the first and most important Christian cults of saints in Saxony. The imperial abbey, growing rapid-

ly through royal grants and donations of the Saxon nobility, was systematically extended to become a major religious and cultural centre with monastic school and large library in the 9th and 10th centuries; the settlement developed into a town. For scientific and especially historic reasons it is of public interest that the complex is preserved and used according to § 2.1 DSchG NW (law for the protection of monuments in North Rhine-Westphalia).

As numerous new foundations emanated from here (Gröningen, Helmarshausen, Bursfelde and Marienmünster) as well as daughter monasteries (Stadtberge [today Marsberg-Obermarsberg], Meppen, Visbeck and tom Roden), reasons for conservation which are also mentioned refer to the history of religion.

On the one hand reasons relating to the architectural history are stated because the Westwork, built between 873 and 885, of the Carolingian church which was consecrated in 844 is the oldest preserved construction in Westfalen-Lippe (Westphalia-Lippe). On the other hand the church and the buildings of the monastery have been subject to alterations, especially after destruction in the Thirty Years' War; that is why the complete complex of the monastery, enclosed with walls, with two courts and an annexed working quarter was newly built in the manner of an imposing baroque residence (except for the Westwork), which represents with reference to its size the most pretentious baroque monastery complex in Westphalia.

In addition, reasons relating to the history of art are mentioned because the frescoes of the 9th century in the Westwork are the oldest figurative wall paintings in Westphalia. Moreover, artistic reasons for the public interest in preservation are stated because of the rich baroque furnishings of the church and the impressively furnished rooms of the castle-like wings. The newly collected very extensive library is, however, without direct relationship to the monastic library which was scattered after the secularization, but it documents essential subjects of collection relating to humanistic and scientific arts since the beginning of the 19th century. Between 1860 and 1874 it was the place of activity of August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben who died here and was buried in the churchyard south of the abbey church. Because of knowledge connected with the development of librarianship also reasons of intellectual history must be mentioned. Due to the fact that the baroque complex with the twin-tower front of the Westwork, visible to a large extent in the northwest of the bend of the Weser, has a shaping effect on the landscape, reasons for conservation in terms of town planning are also stated.

b) Archaeological Monuments

1. Archaeological Monument of the Monastery of Corvey

The Benedictine abbey of Corvey was erected in 822 by monks from Corbie under the supervision of the clerics Adalhard and Wala, close relatives of the Carolingian royal house, after the foundation of a monastery had already been initiated in a place called Hethis in the Solling which cannot be safely located. With the support of the kings of the Carolingian dynasty, of whom Louis the Pious had enabled the relocation by acquisition and, moreover, had granted the community of the monks the privileges of choosing their abbots freely, of immunity and royal protection, the abbey reached within shortest time an undisputed primacy among the religious centres of Saxony. In this connection, it must be mentioned that especially the translation of the relics of St Vitus from Saint-Denis near Paris to Corvey was of great importance. A rapid growing of the property by donations of the German kings as well as of Saxon noblemen speak for the attractiveness of Corvey as well as the large number of monks who advanced to the rank of a bishop or abbot of other monasteries under the auspices of the high medieval church reform. At that time, Corvey laid the property basis of its late medieval territory. On the other hand however a town-like settlement with a market and with its own parish church next to the monastery as well as with a bridge in this area did not result in a favourable development. The coherent monastic property complex around Corvey, Höxter as well as 16 additional villages was the basis for the position and the duties of the late medieval abbots as secular rulers, as the construction of castles and the policy of alliances with neighbouring territorial lords show.

After transforming the monastery into a small bishopric in 1794 and the final secularization in 1803, the complex as well as the monastic property came via the kingdom of Prussia into the possession of Prince Victor Amadeus of Hesse-Rotenburg in 1820 and thereafter by inheritance into the ownership of the family of the Dukes of Ratibor.

The importance of Corvey as an imperial abbey since Carolingian times is reflected in the medieval church building, the first floor of which is documented in a plan of 1663 and which has been archaeologically researched to a large extent. The basilica with a rectangular choir, crypt and apex chapel, which was consecrated in 844, was enlarged around 870 by rebuilding the eastern parts and adding a large outer crypt. By 885 the Westwork, the core of which has been preserved up to the present day, had been erected. Thereafter the atrium which had already existed in the west of the church was enlarged as a court surrounded by two-storey building wings. The basilica, repaired and modified comprehensively in the 12th century, was demolished – in the same way as the atrium already before – and the church was replaced by a new building between 1667 and 1671 while including the old Westwork.

After the redesign of the church the remaining buildings of the monastery were also newly constructed, including two courtyards, by 1714. Their location north of the church had already been necessary for the previous complex too, as shown by the ground floor plan of the old church with parts of the adjoining western and eastern cloister wings. From Carolingian times a cloister in the north of the church, which has been renewed several times, is archaeologically documented. Presumably also since the early times of the monastery, the water canal of the *Grube* passed along the northern side of the precinct. This canal, probably fed by the *Schelpe* stream since the 12th century, was diverted east of Höxter and then ran several kilometers towards the monastery. Baroque working quarters and dwellings for servants were built to the south and west of the church by 1735.

Not only with regard to the location of the church and the buildings of the precinct did the baroque monastery follow structures of the previous complex. Archaeological observations, examinations and prospections give the following results: The baroque moat, which was partly back-filled in the meantime, leading directly along today's castle in a northerly direction was preceded by a medieval moat, running in the same direction, which is accompanied by pre-baroque walls in the south. In the east there are traces of older walls running almost in parallel just outside and inside the baroque monastery walls. In the south, walls and remnants of walls possibly of pre-baroque origin run along the baroque limits of the monastery, too. This limit and the one in the north form a marked border with regard to early medieval and medieval finds. Finds on the west side are scarce but a limit of the older monastery area along the baroque lines can also be expected in this case. According to present knowledge, it can be assumed that not only the late medieval boundaries but also the Carolingian bounds of the monastery district corresponded roughly to the described course of the baroque moat and walls. The fortification of the area has to be assumed at the latest in connection with a grant of castle immunity (*Burgbannverleihung*) in 940.

Within this fortified area not only church and precinct but also numerous elements of building and utilization have been attested to archaeologically and by means of written sources in the past few decades: According to written and archaeological sources there were graveyards to the north-east, east and south of the church. According to archaeological observations, the medieval burial site stretched south beyond the limits of today's graveyard and in western direction to the area south of the former atrium. South of the graveyard there are indications of stone buildings, cellars and wells. In the southwest, sunken rooms of the Early Middle Ages (pit houses/cellars) can be shown to have also existed. Many traces of older stone buildings have also been found west and east of the baroque abbey with indications for the processing of glass and non-ferrous metal, especially north of the medieval precinct. An area which was used particularly early is located close to the later abbot's castle: In an area at a bay of the River Weser, which was later re-filled, remains of buildings and indications for the processing of stone and non-ferrous metal with ceramics from the foundation period of the monastery were found. The written sources sug-

gest that within the monastery area, in addition to the church and the square precinct, the infirmary of the monks and the graveyard of the monks with its own chapels, at least three more chapels outside the enclosure, the medieval abbot's castle which was presumably located north of the atrium, the pilgrim hospice, completed by dwellings for distinguished guests, the clergy, retinue officials and dependents of the monastery, many working quarters and mills had existed on the canal of the *Grube*. The so-called *Werneburg* of the Corvey abbots was built at the end of the 13th century. The moat and wall of this castle which was destroyed in early modern times could be archaeologically established in the north-eastern corner of the monastery district.

In the north, south and west the limits of the archaeological monument are orientated according to the outer edges of the moats which surround the baroque monastery complex. In the east they run parallel with the banks of the River Weser so far in front of the baroque wall of the monastery that remnants of walls excavated in this place and presumed courses of moats are also included. In the north the delimited area to be protected comprises not only the fortified area of the monastery of the Middle Ages but also the baroque abbot's garden. Here not only traces of the baroque garden architecture are preserved in the soil but also finds from the town of Corvey, which was settled and fortified in the 12th century in this place and later on deserted (archaeological monument deserted town of Corvey, DKZ 4222,129), are proven. According to preserved and archaeologically prospected finds, the fortification of this town ran along the northern limit of the abbot's garden. The moat running along this limit marks on the whole the course of the former moat of the town. Good conservation conditions exist for archaeological finds within the monument because hardly anything has been built since the baroque rearrangement.

JUSTIFICATION

According to § 2 DSchG NW it is an archaeological monument, the conservation of which is in the public interest because it contains remnants of a medieval monastery complex and a deserted town in the ground which are of considerable importance for the history of mankind, the history of the kingdom of medieval Germany and the history of settlement of the territory. For scientific reasons, they should be conserved.

2. Archaeological monument deserted town of Corvey

After the monastery „Corbeia nova”, relocated to the bend of the River Weser in 822, had received a hitherto unidentified royal estate „in loco nuncupante Hucxori”, which has not been exactly localized up to now, in 823 and market and minting rights in 833, new, partly scattered and partly dense lay settlement areas developed between the 8 hectares large monastery area (archaeological monument monastery of Corvey, DKZ 4222, 130), fortified by the latest in 940, and the later town of Hörter with the old church of St Kilian. In the area of the later deserted town there were similar settlement areas south of the monastery district, towards the ford of the Weser and in the west towards St Paul's church (also called Nova ecclesia/Niggenkerken), consecrated in 863, where a presumably much older foundation of canons can be shown to have existed.

According to present knowledge the settlement in front of the monastery strongly developed from the end of the 11th century and especially in the 12th century. The main traffic axis, one of the routes of the Hellweg was made a fixed street and paved in stone; in the extension of this street a Weser bridge is mentioned in 1255. Along this main road buildings with stone cellars and stone rear houses have been archaeologically proved. Southeast of St Paul's church with a Carolingian core, the church of the Niggenkerken collegiate foundation, a Romanesque market church, presumably with St Peter as patron, was erected near the *Hellweg*. Large areas in the south, west and also north of the monastery district were settled and fortified probably in the second half of the 12th century. The „nova villa in Corbeia”, so-called in 1190, a large settlement comprising 55 hectares has developed into a town at that time (1255 civitas, one council is mentioned). Perhaps already around 1200 the development of the town slowed down and after the town was conquered and destroyed in 1265 it was deserted, the foundation of Niggenkerken was already relocated to Hörter in 1266. The process of desertion continued beyond the 14th century when the former town is still mentioned (quondam oppidum Corbeia, 1360), the „oldendorpe tho nygenkerken” (1316) respectively the „dorp tho Corbeya” (1388), up to the 15th century.

The boundary of the archaeological monument „Deserted town of Corvey” orientates itself according to the fortification of the town which was presumably built in the 12th century. Remains of the rampart of this fortification are preserved in the north to the west of the district road (Kreisstraße 45) and have been archaeologically examined. The moat in front of this rampart is marked in a plotted line of an entry in the original land register of 1830/31. It was discovered by a search trench and verified in a geomagnetic prospection of 2010 reaching from the district road (Kreisstraße) to the western end of the area of arable land in the north of the *Corveyer Allee*. For technical reasons the moat cannot be traced further by geomagnetic means from this final point to the west and the south. 20 metres north of the *Corveyer Allee* the rampart and the wall were recorded in an investigation section in 1970. In combination with the new prospection results the finds of that time make clear that the course of the moat of the former fortification of the town cuts today’s *Corveyer Allee* directly east of the underpass of the *Schelppe*. According to archaeological explanations the previous town stretched along the River Weser towards the west as far as a road, which - according to an entry in the land register of 1830/31 - separates the eastern plot the field called „in the new church” (derived from the monastery of Niggenkerken) from the garden areas „Am neuen Wege” belonging to Höxter. Here the western edge of the path marks a line which according to the present state of knowledge surrounds and even marks the outer edge of the fortification (cf. Westf. Städteatlas IX, 4, 2006). Therefore, the delimitation of this archaeological monument along the River Weser first of all follows this line up to the *Corveyer Allee*, then it runs at its northern edge to the east as far as the underpass of the *Schelppe* and from there to the northeast and east along the former outer edge of the moat according to the results of excavation and prospection. With this limitation within and south of the *Corveyer Allee* some areas of the former moat are included from which the previous water canal *Grube* was led to the fortification. The north-eastern part of the deserted town east of the district road (Kreisstraße) belongs as part of the baroque monastery complex to the archaeological monument „Monastery of Corvey” (DKZ 4222, 130), the town moat was continued here in the course of today’s „Hechtgraben” at the northern edge of the baroque abbot’s and today’s castle garden.

Deserted towns of the Middle Ages are an unusual phenomenon. In Westphalia among approximately 4.000 estimated deserted settlements only six complete deserted cities have been documented up to now. The deserted town of Corvey is by far the most outstanding in Westphalia and one of the important deserted settlements in Northwest Germany. Due to its early urban development, the former town of Corvey can be compared with the Westphalian episcopal towns and the old commercial centres of Dortmund, Soest, Marsberg and Höxter which preceded the large wave of foundations of towns of the 13th century in Westphalia. While the settlement structures of the later founded towns are better known, knowledge about the development phases of early founded cities is to a large extent still lacking. In the towns mentioned, which are still inhabited today, the prospects for fruitful research about this epoch are strongly restricted by continuous settlement. In view of this background, the fact that the town of Corvey remained mostly unsettled after its extensive destruction in 1265 makes the deserted town extraordinarily valuable for research on pre-urban and early urban settlements from the 9th to the 13th century in Westphalia and central Europe.

As far as Corvey is concerned, important historical factors must have occurred which resulted in abandoning the town with its residential buildings and working quarters as well as religious and cultural institutions together with defences. The process of the town of becoming deserted cannot be explained by the „defective settlement theory” (Fehlsiedlungstheorie) because the town was, with regard to traffic, in a favourable topographical location at the crossing of the *Hellweg* over the River Weser. Particularly the fact that the cities of Corvey and Höxter being in direct neighbourhood at an air distance of 1 kilometre only, entered into a competitive situation with one another caused by agglomeration in the 13th century influenced the decline of Corvey considerably. It was the fact that the towns of Corvey and Höxter, in close proximity to each other at an aerial distance of only 1 kilometre, stood in an intense competitive situation, caused by their growth in the 13th century, which most of all influenced Corvey’s decline.

JUSTIFICATION

According to § 2 DSchG NW the deserted town of Corvey is an archaeological monument the conservation of which is of public interest because it reveals:

- a) knowledge about living structures in early medieval towns
- b) knowledge about urban circumstances of production and economy as well as material remains of the medieval town of Corvey, and
- c) knowledge about the historical processes of settlement and desertion which have considerably shaped the development of the cultural landscape in the Höxter area.

Thus, the deserted town of Corvey is of regional and supra-regional importance for the history of mankind. Scientific reasons speak for the conservation of the archaeological monument: For research purposes in the fields of settlement history and cultural geography it should remain unimpaired especially considering the value of its evidence.

Historic views, view perspectives towards Corvey, Picture credits

WP = Jochen Luckhardt: Westfalia Picta Bd. V, Kreis Höxter – Kreis Paderborn. Bielefeld 1995

- Page 30: Corvey viewed from the southeast, Wilhelm Riefstahl 1857, colour lithography, 22,2 x 29,7 cm (WP 486).
Collection Henze, Höxter.
- Page 36_8: Höxter and Corvey from the southwest. Sketchbook Renier Roidkin, fol. 332, around 1720-30, pen and pencil on paper, 28,5 x 40,0 cm (WP 381).
desig. Vue de l'illustre monastere de Corbie, et la ville de Höxter sur la riviere Veser.
LVR-Amt für Denkmalpflege im Rheinland, Reproduction Silvia-Margrit Wolf 2011.
- Page 37_9: Höxter and Corvey from the southwest. L. Besemann, End of 18th century, etching in brown wash; 21,3 x 34,5 cm (WP 389).
Collection Henze, Höxter.
- Page 37_10: Corvey viewed from the southwest, Sketchbook Georg Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Count of Münster, 1801, washed pen drawing (WP 392).
LWL-Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, inv. no. K 70-62 LM.
- Page 38_11: Höxter and Corvey from the southwest, drawing Georg Stietz, steel engraving Ludwig Schütze, after 1832; steel engraving on paper, 31,6 x 44,6 cm (WP 403).
LWL-Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, inv. no. K 41-12 LM.
- Page 38_12: Höxter and Corvey from the southwest, drawing Theodor Müller, lithography A. Haun, around 1880, 28,0 x 43,7 cm (WP 418).
LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, inv. no. 336/58.
- Page 39_13: Corvey viewed from the southwest, Friedrich von Mengersen, around 1820/30, coloured etching 20,9 x 32,8 cm (WP 472).
Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Dortmund, inv. no. Q 2260.
- Page 39_14: Corvey viewed from the southwest, Sketchbook Agnes Countess Mengersen, around 1860, pencil and chalk on paper, 15,2 x 24,2 cm (WP 485).
Freiherr von Spiegel, Brakel-Rheder.
- Page 39_15: Corvey viewed from the southwest, Franz Tonnellier 1880, oil on canvas, 39,5 x 46,5 cm (WP 452).
Museum Höxter-Corvey.
- Page 40_16: Corvey viewed from the northwest, drawing August Wenderoth, steel engraving Jens Gray, 1838, steel engraving on paper 9,7 x 14,9 cm (WP 474).
Princely library of Corvey.
- Page 40_17: Corvey viewed from the northwest, Sketchbook Franz Hoffmann-Fallersleben, 1918, pencil on paper, format unknown.
Privately owned, Reproduction Oliver Gradel, Beverungen.
- Page 41_18: Corvey viewed from the northwest, Franz Hoffmann-Fallersleben, 1924, oil on wood, 34 x 27 cm.
Privately owned, Reproduction Oliver Gradel, Beverungen.
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Annex B

CORVEY – A CAROLINGIAN IMPERIAL ABBEY
IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE



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In October 2010 an international symposium on the subject “Corvey – eine karolingische Reichsabtei aus internationaler Sicht” (Corvey – a Carolingian Imperial Abbey in international perspective / Corvey une abbaye imperiale carolingienne en perspective internationale) was held in Corvey.

The meeting with lectures from France, Italy, Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany was followed by a colloquium, entitled „Die Reichsabtei Corvey (The Imperial Abbey of Corvey)”, at the University of Paderborn in December 2010.

The *Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey* (Management of the Corvey Museum), the *Ministerium für Wirtschaft, Energie, Bauen, Wohnen und Verkehr des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen* (ministry for economics, energy, building, dwelling and traffic of the State of the Federal Government from North Rhine-Westphalia), the *Lehrstuhl für Materielles und Immaterielles Kulturerbe UNESCO der Universität Paderborn* (chair of material and immaterial cultural heritage of the UNESCO at the university of Paderborn), and the *Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe* were cooperative partners. The meeting was sponsored by the State of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The international volume of contributions consists of the sections „West-works and west constructions: Architecture draughts, facts and equipment”, „Early medieval monastery complexes and monastery churches” as well as „Monastery landscape and monastic heritage”. The lectures are preceded by a survey of „Corvey in the context of Carolingian monastery architecture. Representative sites compared on a European level”.

I want to express my thanks to Dr Birgitta Ringbeck for the coordination and scientific realization of the meetings, furthermore to Dr Kristina Krüger and Dr Sveva Gai (*Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe*) and Prof Dr Eva-Maria Seng (University of Paderborn) for the support concerning the choice of the lecturers and the organization and finally to the lecturers and the participants in the discussions. Many thanks to the State of North Rhine-Westphalia for financing the meetings!

Dr Claudia Konrad
Manager/Museum director
Kulturkreis Höxter Corvey

Höxter, in September 2012

CORVEY IN THE CONTEXT OF CAROLINGIAN MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE. A COMPARISON OF REPRESENTATIVE COMPLEXES IN EUROPE

The most elaborate monastery complex of the 9th century was built in Corvey between 822 and 885. The unique west front („westwork,“) has been preserved and the church, cloister and monastery surroundings have been archaeologically investigated producing significant results. The west front has been in the centre of historical, art historical and church historical research for more than 100 years and shapes the idea of early ecclesiastical monumental architecture throughout the former Frankish Empire.¹

From the classification of the Corvey monastery buildings into the Frankish monastic architecture of the 9th century it is not noticeable that this monastery was founded and built at a great distance from the great cultural centres of mediaeval Europe – the buildings and the furnishings reflected grand, civilised, artistic and monastic demands of the highest kind. Therefore, the monastery complex and the monastery town are much more significant than if they had been built in the old Frankish settlement area. The art historical and archaeological findings require an explanation – which still cannot be grasped – for the highly aimed political intentions which the benefactors associated with the founding and for the economic resources which could be activated to draw so many highly qualified builders of different crafts into this remote region. 200 km outside the boundaries of the former Roman Empire, in an area where the Roman military only stayed temporarily, the ancient architectural culture was not known here from ruins. Structural technology, architecture and ornaments painted in strong colours, flat reliefs and capitals, gilt inscriptions, precious glass tiles, window glass but also ancient themes of wall paintings and not least the monumental sculptures of the west front do not only represent Frankish architecture of the highest level but at the same time a demonstrative orientation on an exemplary antiquity in Corvey – with regard to which the key term „Carolingian Renaissance“ was created.

Corvey: Location and buildings

Situated in a curve of the river Weser below the Solling mountain range, Corvey is located slightly off the old ‘Hellweg’ trunk road which connects the Episcopal cities of Paderborn, Hildesheim and Halberstadt. All three episcopal towns were established after the victory of Charlemagne over the previously non-Christian Saxons, each within a quite short period in order to build the first territorial centre and mission cells: Paderborn in 799 and Hildesheim in about 815. Halberstadt which later became a diocese had initially been founded in Osterwieck and was relocated to Halberstadt around 804. The early, large Episcopal churches are archaeologically well investigated in all three places²; in Paderborn also the related large royal and Episcopal palace.³ Moreover, the location on the navigable river Weser is significant. The important monasteries of Hersfeld and Fulda founded already in the 8th century were located further upstream. The large church buildings of these two monasteries have not been investigated sufficiently so far⁴; the secondary church of St Michael was in part preserved in Fulda.⁵ Wall paintings, architectural sculptures and glass windows of the early Middle Ages are primarily known to be of high quality from Paderborn and Fulda,⁶ other crafts have been investigated primarily with regard to Fulda so far.⁷

1 Effmann 1912; Effmann/Fuchs 1929; Heitz 1963; Möbius 1968; Schönfeld-de Reyes 1999.

2 Lobbedey 1986; Kruse 2000; for current excavation finds, see now #; Leopold/Schubert 1984.

3 Gai/Mecke 2004.

4 Jacobsen 1999; Untermann 2005, 35 f.; Krause 2002 (see Untermann 2006b); Becht-Jördens 2010.

5 Ellger 1989.

6 Meyer/Herrmann 1997; Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999, passim; Preißler 2003; Kind/Wedepohl/Kronz 2003.

7 Kind 2007.

The floor plan of the Carolingian abbey of Corvey is known from a Baroque drawing and partial excavations. A strikingly large tunnel crypt with three naves was built from 822. Its altar room was rectangular underneath what was an angular tunnel crypt. A two-storey external crypt opulently furnished joined in the east. In front of the church to the west was an unusually large atrium which was accompanied by roofed passageways and could be accessed through a gateway comprising several parts. Two wells and a podium which has not been accounted for so far were part of the furnishings of this atrium which, directly or indirectly, found its model in the atrium of the late antiquity St. Peter's Church in Rome. The east front of the church was considerably enlarged in the late 9th century. It was furnished with a transept, a new altar room, now with a larger apse, as well as a new, now circular external crypt with a cross-shaped axial chapel and two secondary chapels – probably again with two storeys one on the other. The functions of the atrium seem to have been relocated to the west front, built 873-885, with its many rooms and its elevated Johannes choir which was the only part of the structure that could be largely preserved.

Size and construction form of the first abbey

The form of the building, however, is familiar in light of other large church structures of the 9th century.⁸ The preserved longhouse of the so-called Einhard Basilica in Seligenstadt, built around 820, should provide us with an idea of how the first church in Corvey looked like: the angular tunnel crypt of the Einhard Basilica in Steinbach, built 822-827, is also similar but of a far more complicated structure. The drawer of the St. Gall monastery plan represented a simple, rectangular tunnel crypt in 830, however, in a more elaborate church.

It is rather the considerable size than the building of the first three-nave abbey in Corvey which seems surprising. Large three-nave churches were not built immediately with the founding of most monasteries in the Frankish Empire but only after some time later. The documented seven years between the founding of Hethis and the beginning of the construction of Corvey were – at least according to tradition – economically not successful; rather Hethis has to be interpreted as an „unprofitable investment”.⁹

Anyway, many monasteries in the Frankish Empire had only one hall church until the middle of the 8th century. However, in most cases they had several small church buildings. This does not only apply to foundings such as Echternach, Schuttern and Reichenau but also to convents which had existed longer such as Hamage and Romainmôtier. If there were several altars the secondary altars stood on the sides of the triumphal arc such as in Reichenau-Mittelzell and Oberroden.

The new abbey of the monastery Saint-Denis near Paris was probably the first innovative structure as regards size and construction form. It was the preferred tomb of the Frankish kings and of many aristocratic families. Here, Pippin III. (739/751-768) appointed his cleric, Fulrad, abbot, had himself anointed by Pope Stephan II in 754 and promoted the building of the church the structure

⁸ Comparative buildings, see Untermann 2006a.

⁹ The excavations of H. G. Stephan und St. Krabath could not contribute to the clarification: Krabath 2000.

of which reflected the new direct alliance with the Roman Pope. The central aisle in the longhouse was once again supported by columns after a long time and the main apse including a circular crypt was connected to a wide transept: the early-Christian basilicas of the Pope in Rome, St. Johannes on Lateran and Old St. Peter in the Vatican served as models. The orientation on Roman models does not mean that the ancient construction forms were exactly reproduced in Saint-Denis: the columns did not stand on bases but rested on square plinths covered with ornaments the flat relief of which showed ancient forms but did not belong to the ancient Roman column orders at all. These are „misinterpreted“ reconstructions of decorated plinths of early Byzantine buildings. Only around 790/800 in St. Mary’s church in the Aachen Palace, were ancient column orders also precisely reconstructed in the Frankish Empire.

The standards with regard to „sophisticated building“ in the Frankish Empire become obvious through the description of the abbey of Saint-Denis from the year 799:¹⁰ 245 feet long (approx. 80 m), 75 feet ceiling height (approx. 24.5 m), 101 windows, 45 large arches, 50 large and 35 small columns etc. Where these columns were is hard to say. There were, however, only 16 „large“ columns in the central aisle, maybe four more at the triumphal arc. We know that the walls of churches of the 5th century in present France were decorated with several rows of blind arches one on the other and supported by columns on the interior; these arches have been preserved in basilica Apostolorum (St-Pierre-hors-les-murs) in Vienne and verified in the form of pictures in Ste-Marie-la-Daurade in Toulouse. Such rows of blind arches are, however, not documented for Saint-Denis – but the columns could have been painted on the walls (such as in the west front of Corvey).

Large three-nave churches were also built by other significant old monasteries after 800: Echternach (775/797), St. Emmeram in Regensburg (from 783), St. Alban in Mainz (consecrated in 805), preserved in part, and Fulda (802-822). The new building of Reichenau abbey, consecrated in 816, even had a transept. In Werden near Essen it has remained unclear whether the large three-nave church is actually the original building of 799 or a new building around 835 – anyhow, apses and crypt originate from this era at the earliest, the west front like in Corvey originates from the late 9th century. The equally large Salvator Church in Paderborn the high altar of which was consecrated by Pope Leo III. in 799, was expressly designated as a „church of wondrous size“ (*mirae magnitudinis*)ⁱ and was built – unlike Corvey – as a new episcopal church in the direct field of interests of Charlemagne.

Four-part double-storey external crypts became tradition in the Frankish Empire only after 840. The lower floor of the crypt of St-Germain in Auxerre (841-859) is well preserved, extensive remnants also in Flavigny (consecrated in 878). Excavation finds in the Saxon territory document such crypts for the Vreden Damenstiftskirche (collegiate church of Canonesses) (around 860) and the cathedrals of Hildesheim (851/874) and Halberstadt (consecrated in 859).

¹⁰ Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999, Vol. 2, 96 f.

The construction of the west front is far more difficult to integrate: The frequently mentioned model of the western Salvator Church in Centula has definitely not been clarified as regards its structure. The early west fronts of the cathedral in Reims and in St-Germain of Auxerre had a much simpler architecture – and this also applies to the west fronts of the 9th century in the German area known from excavation finds and structural remnants.¹¹

Multi-colouring – high-quality furnishings

The archaeologically comprehensible furnishings of the first external crypt and the preserved remnants of the furnishings of the later west front in Corvey are among the best of what was preserved from Carolingian times despite their fragmentary evidence. Stucco is not mentioned in the description of Saint-Denis neither elaborated wall paintings, ancient picture themes or large-size glass tiles. In fact, the corresponding elaborate church furnishings in the Frankish Empire have not been evidenced elsewhere in such diversity¹² – even if this could be expected. Stucco ornaments have been known in many places for years,¹³ as have been multi-colour glass windows recently.¹⁴

Important models for all elements of the Corvey furnishings are to be found on the other side of the Alps, in the territory of the Langobards. There, attempts at reconstructing ancient structural forms had already been made in the 8th century and succeeded in high quality results in combination with elaborate-fragile stucco decoration and sophisticated wall paintings in late antiquity style. San Salvatore in Brescia and the „Tempietto” in Cividale preserved extensive remnants of their furnishings of the most different materials and artistic techniques. The range and quality of the workmen who worked for the monastery in that isolated location are made clear through the excavations carried out in San Vincenzo al Volturno:¹⁵ there, the monastery under Abbot Josua (792-817) established suitable facilities for glass makers, ivory carvers, blacksmiths and other crafts in the proximity of the church’s building site; even a new workshop was erected next to the church in the course of the building process. The church building itself represents the work of the wall painters, stucco plasterers and stonemasons. Glass windows, terracotta reliefs and inscriptions were also part of the furnishings. There must have been workshops for workmen who were summoned to Corvey – only the capitals of the west front could have been delivered half finished as they remained.

A workshop is also shown in the St.Gall monastery plan.¹⁶ It is situated in the area of the economy of the monastery which supplied the convent with food and all other essential things. Shoemakers, saddlers, turners, tanners and dyers as well as blacksmiths whose workshops are indicated in this workshop complex belonged to this self-reliant economy of the monastery as did goldsmiths. Shield maker and blade smiths as producers of arms seem to be slightly unusual at first sight. However, the abbots of Carolingian imperial abbeys were strongly obliged to take part in the military campaigns of the sovereign and to equip their troops. This workshop complex has nothing to do with the planned

11 Sapin 2002; Lobbedey 2002; Lobbedey 2004.

12 Sapin 2000.

13 Sapin 2004; Sapin 2006.

14 Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999, Vol. 2, 160-165; Sanke/Wedepohl/Kronz 2002/2003; Kind/Wedepohl/Kronz 2003; Wedepohl 2003; Sapin 2010.

15 Im Kontext mit Corvey: Stiegemann/Wemhoff 1999, Vol. 2, 174-185; Vol. 3, 558-591; Hodges/Mitchell 1996; San Vincenzo 1993-2001.

16 Untermann 2008, 27-29.

building of the church in St. Gall; in Corvey – as in any other large monastery – there must have also been many different and permanently established workshops for the economy of the monastery the location of which is still unknown.

East front and west front: liturgical diversity

Many churches grouped around the „main church” holding the shrine were affiliated to the abbey of St-Denis.¹⁷ They were served by different groups of clerics. Where the monastic Divine Office took place is indeed unclear with regard to the early years. Shrine churches rather served pilgrims and – such as in St-Denis – as burial site so that the monks and nuns used their own „quiet” and secluded churches. Maybe St-Denis is one of the first parish churches which were to unite both functions in one building. Charlemagne had a west front built in 769 on the tomb of Pippin III., who had been buried at the west portal in 768, in which 10 to 15 monks were to continuously sing psalms – such as in a shrine. The problem of connecting the tomb, the choir area and the west entrance led to numerous restorations.¹⁸

The following attempt of Charlemagne to commit the members of the convent to the Rule of St. Benedict caused considerable disturbances and several replacements of abbots in the convent.¹⁹ The duty of a priest to serve at the altar and to care for the pilgrims and the deceased were not in accordance with a monastic life based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Therefore, in Saint-Denis, as in all large monasteries of the Carolingian period, the convent consisted of different groups which were all considered as „monks” but led different lives and performed different kinds of work. A new reform attempt under Emperor Louis the Pious even resulted in the „Benedictine” monks moving to an external monastery – after their return they were assigned a quiet place for the Divine Office in the external crypt which was built in the east of the abbey in 832.

A similar diversity of church life but also similar differences between „priest monks” and „Benedictine monks” can be verified for the early 9th century in Fulda. The classification of the convents as a „monastery” based on the Rule of St. Benedict and „abbey” with a clerical community as it was intended by Charlemagne and his consultants did not correspond to reality and could not be enforced in any large abbey in the 9th century.

Even Angilbert, the chaplain of Charlemagne, established the old monastery Centula (today: Saint-Riquier) as a mixed convent of 300 monks, many of which must have been priests, to read 30 masses a day at 30 altars after 790.²⁰ The convent used three different choir areas in the church – one in the central nave, one in the shrine and one on the upper floor of the west front. The liturgical order written down in detail in an *Institutio* is the most important source from the Carolingian period for the challenging liturgy of a monastery. The west front of Centula which can only be verified on the basis of pictures has been reconstructed after the model of Corvey since Effmann – and maybe its liturgical use was also exemplary for Corvey since Corbie abbey is only 50km

¹⁷ Wyss 1996; Wyss 2004

¹⁸ See Michael Wyss in this volume.

¹⁹ Semmler 1989.

²⁰ Effmann 1912; Heitz 1963; Möbius 1985; Quellenedition: Hallinger 1963, 283–303.

from Centula. Six altars stood in the longhouse, another four in the east front – there were even 14 altars in the church in Fulda.

The St. Gall monastery plan with its 15 altars in the church, another two in the west towers and the structured monastery complex it describes in detail appears to be intended as a plea against the differentiation of „monastic” and „clerical” forms of life:²¹ The church is a „collegiate church” run by numerous priests, the cloister an exemplary self-sufficient Benedictine monastery – there is even no indication of possible visits of the King as the ruler of the monastery.²² The excavated church, built 830-837, orientates itself as a „clerical church” on the Episcopal Church of Constance. While there is no room for the people and pilgrims in the drawing of the church it had, however, a demonstrative and innovative division of monks’ section and lay section.

The monastery town

The tendency to place as much altars as possible in the main church of the monastery was not consistently done in the 9th century. A majority of secondary churches were still affiliated to significant abbeys, frequently even to secondary monasteries and small clerical churches²³ where monks and priests of the convent lived. At times, such as in Reichenau, there were no dwelling houses next to these secondary collegiate churches. The priests obviously returned to the main monastery in the evening.

With regard to Corvey, a corresponding multipartite liturgy has to be assumed. The building of the eastern parts around 860 shows that the service at the altar now played a more important role as during the founding period, and also the west front made a more detailed differentiation of the liturgy possible, maybe it included elaborate processions within the church such as are verified for Centula. Other dependent churches („chapels”) were part of the monastery district, of which some can be verified later on the basis of sources. More distant external monasteries can only be comprehended well at a later point in time. With regard to Carolingian times one still has to rely on archaeological findings which can however be quite complex. The monastery of Corvey has surely not restricted itself to the closest area surrounding the well-known main church, maybe it was not even the only most important church of the abbey in the beginning. Every conclusion made on the basis of the biased, deliberately „incomplete” St. Gall monastery plan has to be misleading: neither the building of St. Gall nor of Reichenau, where the plan was drawn, looked exactly like planned in reality. The spacious monastery town of St-Denis corresponded to the entire island of Reichenau, and the monastery included additional secondary churches on the mainland.²⁴ The major monasteries, which were far away from the cities had, however, „early urban” structures unlike the monasteries in the Episcopal towns or those directly in front of their walls. This, naturally, did also apply to Fulda, Hersfeld and also to Corvey – this can be gradually demonstrated by means of material findings in Fulda.²⁵ The marketplaces which showed urban structures and are still cities today, which had gradually developed in the surroundings of the major abbeys beginning in the late

21 Untermann 2006a, 134-137,

22 Untermann 2011.

23 Wyss 1996; Wyss 2004

24 Zettler 1988, 64-133.

25 Kind 2007.

10th century follow a new kind of development – and this exactly can be verified for Corvey.

The structure of such a monastery town was verified based on the liturgical order of Angilbert and its interest rate register for Centula:²⁶ The gates of the external monastery wall showed chapels of the archangels after which they were named. 2,500 houses of secular people belonged to the monastery district and paid interest on money, chicken and eggs, and were also obliged to perform compulsory labour; market, market court and parish church are mentioned, amongst others. The merchants, blacksmiths, shield makers, saddlers, bakers, servants, dyers, butchers, tanners, furriers, winemakers, brewers and soldiers were obliged as one group (vicus) to pay duties and render services to the convent in order to fulfil its demand with regard to vital necessities.

The excavation findings in San Vincenzo and in Saint-Denis show that it is not pure fiction of the author, even if the interest rate register giving the number of houses did not describe the number of „real buildings“. The personal and financial effort as well as the time invested by urban archaeology in Saint-Denis illustrate that the respective archaeological research results are not to be achieved elsewhere in the scope of an excursive preservation of historical monuments or selective research projects and have therefore been „missing“ for all other major monastery towns up to now.

Strikingly, the representation of the monastery of Centula in the *Chronicles of Hariulf* of the 12th century²⁷ which is considered to be a copy of an older drawing shows nothing of this urban structure: There are no walls and all buildings, save the main church, the two secondary churches and the long arcades connecting the two. The author has not even pursued the intention to represent the complete liturgical disposition of Centula, because then he should not have omitted the angels' chapels of the four gates. The crafts listed in the Centula are shown in the St. Gall plan as parts of the monastery closely grouped around the cloister. The view of modern historians and archaeologists is shaped by such medieval representations. A topographically suitable reconstruction of early medieval monastery districts has to and can assume a series of individual observations, however insufficiently compiled: In Corvey it could become an aberration with high losses for monument protection and research if you confine your observations exclusively to today's Baroque monastery district. The founding of the monastery was, however, of utmost importance for spreading the Frankish culture in the conquered Saxony and reached far beyond spiritual-monastic, missionary purposes and the intention of securing sovereignty.

26 Hallinger 1963, #300; Lot 1894, 306-308.

22 Heitz 1963, Tab. 1-2.

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WESTWORKS AND WEST CONSTRUCTIONS: ARCHITECTURE DRAUGHTS, FACTS AND EQUIPMENT

17

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ROMANESQUE WEST FRONTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE

In our considerations in respect of the Romanesque west fronts in the south of France we have to bear in mind that the southern part of the present French state is composed of different regions necessitating a differentiated and geographical approach to their political, church political and economic development. By way of example, the Provence had belonged to Francia Media since the separation of the Carolingian Empire and was finally part of the Salish-Hohenstaufen Empire, whereas the Languedoc and Aquitani were nominally subordinated to the sovereignty of the West Frankish and finally to Capetian France but in fact they were largely independent spheres of influence. Catalonia as the successor of the most southern march of the Carolingian Francia occidentalis connects both sides of the eastern Pyrenees. The diversity of architectural tradition and forms related there with can only be briefly addressed in the form of some examples in the scope of our lecture.

A small but doubtlessly important number of modest hall church buildings the western part of which was not separated or designed as a baptistery or was hardly an independent room at all, was documented for late antiquity and the beginning of the Early Middle Ages in the present region of southern France by means of excavations and preserved structural findings. However, there are no indications of a connection to the later west fronts in terms of architectural history or function.¹ According to the present state of research a valid statement can hardly be made with regard to the form and function of west fronts in Carolingian and pre-Romanesque religious architecture in the south of France. Manuscripts, however, document the erection or restoration of important church buildings but archaeological findings are lacking in many cases which could provide a more exact idea of the extent, structure and form. Therefore, the Carolingian complex of Aniane, the parent monastery of St. Benedict (Witiza) who led the monastic reform in the Carolingian Empire under Louis the Pious, has been absolutely unknown up to the present day.² The same situation applies to the Carolingian or Pre-Romanesque predecessor church, Lagrasse abbey, the founder of which, Nimefredus, belonged to the circle of St. Benedict, and the dimensions of which had already been comparable to those of the Gothic successor buildings built at the end of the 13th century.³ With regard to Provence, the discrepancy in time between the historically documented building date of the 9th century and the preserved Romanesque original structure led the architect Henry Révoil, who was the first to look into the investigation of Romanesque architecture in the south of France in terms of architectural history and already made attempts in the field of archaeology in the 19th century - namely in the field of his restorative activities in western Provence and Mediterranean Languedoc - to the erroneous conclusion that the high Romanticism was to be assigned to the Carolingian dates on the grounds that their antiquities-styled architectural forms originate from a provincial Roman building tradition with a continuous effect into the 9th century.⁴

1 Yann Codou, Marie-Geneviève Colin: La christianisation des campagnes (Ive-VIIIe siècles). In: Marc Heijmans, Jean Guyon (Hrsg.): Antiquité tardive, haut Moyen Age et premiers temps chrétiens en Gaule méridionale. Seconde partie : monde rural, échanges et consommation. Gallia, 64, 2007, p. 1-190, p. 57-83, esp. fig. 25.

2 An archaeological project is being prepared under the supervision of Laurent Schneider (start in autumn 2011).

3 The building chronology of the abbey of Lagrasse has been completely revised in the scope of a research project lasting several years since 2007. See Nelly Pousthomis-Dalle, Mélanie Chaillou, Éric Dellong et al.: Lagrasse (Aude). L'abbaye, le bourg, le terroir. Etude archéologique et historique. Programme collectif de recherche 2008-2010. Unpublished final report, 4 Vols., Direction régionale des affaires culturelles Languedoc-Roussillon, Montpellier 2011; Nelly Pousthomis-Dalle, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich: Lagrasse autour d'Augier de Gogenx : nouvelles recherches sur l'architecture de l'abbaye. In: Les Cahiers de Lagrasse, ASMVAL, 1, 2010, p. 107-123.

4 Henry Révoil: Architecture romane du Midi de la France, dessinée, mesurée et décrite, 3 Vols., Paris 1873.

In fact, even if the connection with architectural history is a totally different one, the archaeological findings show how much the construction of churches in the southeast of France, which is especially appreciated here, was still

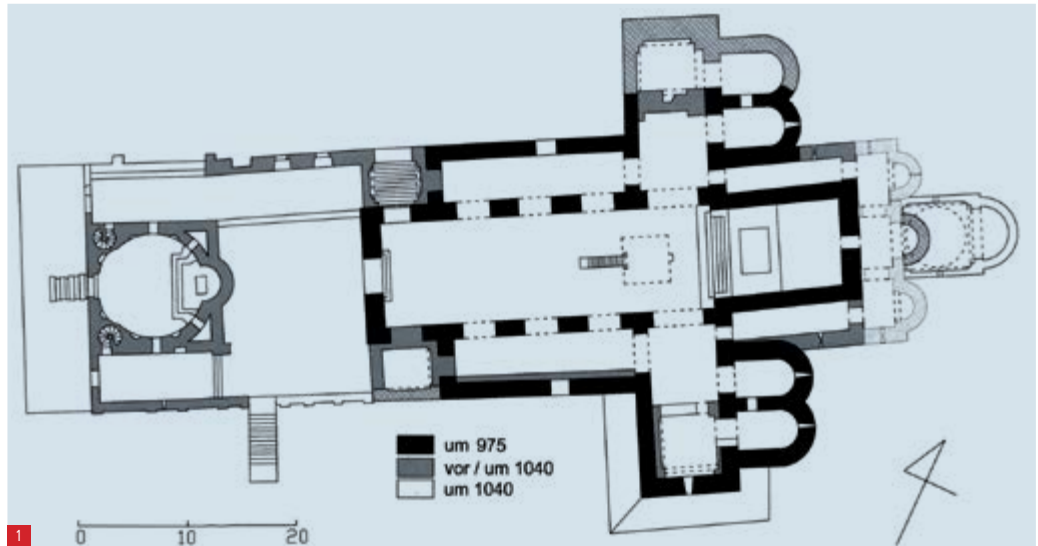
influenced by the substance until the beginning of the 11th century, and which primarily are dated back to late antiquity and the time of the development of the organizational structures of the church which continued far into the 6th century. In addition to the Episcopal and parochial churches, abbeys came into existence from the threshold to the 5th century the historical importance of which – such as in the case of the founding of St. Honoratius on the island of Lérins off the coast of Cannes (Alpes-Maritimes), Johannes Casianus near Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhône), Castor near Apt (Vaucluse) and Caesarius in Arles (Bouches-du-Rhône) – cannot be compared with clear archaeological findings. This usually also applies to the historically verified foundings from the Early Middle Ages, such as Lagrasse (Aude) (before/about 779), Aniane (Hérault) (before/about 782) and Caunes-Minervois (before 791), Saint-Gilles-du-Gard (before 814) or Montmajour (Bouches-du-Rhône) (around 949) – only to give the names of some important monasteries. In other cases, such as Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert/Gellone (Hérault) and Quarante (Hérault) there is, however, a pre-Romanesque building structure preserved in the churches of the 11th century but the chronological assignment based on conclusions drawn from historically documented consecrations is insufficient, while definite absolute-chronological datings (radio carbon, dendro-chronological analysis, thermo-luminescence procedure) chronotypological examination of the brickwork type or stratigraphic dating of foundations have so far been largely missing. In still other cases – such as the crypt of Saint-Gilles the location of which it has not been able to determine to date, compared with contemporary church buildings due to lacking archaeological findings, as well as the tower of Saint-Quentin in Amélie-les-Bains (Pyrénées Orientales) – the pre-Romanesque archaeological findings were destroyed in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Accordingly, indications of monumental west fronts in the south of France are hardly documented prior to the increasing building of churches at the end of the 10th century, and there is no archaeological evidence based on the corresponding strong floors of constructions of the westwork type, with several storeys, lateral staircase towers and a ground floor vaulting on divided free supports. Indirect indications towards a building of the westwork type, such as in the case of the nave protruding over the alignment of the side aisles ending in the west of the pre-Romanesque abbey of Cuxa (Pyrénées Orientales) ¹ ² which was consecrated in 975, do not allow for any direct conclusions with regard to the special function of this architectural element. In Lagrasse, a floor plan of the pre-Romanesque church similar to Cuxa can only be indirectly derived from the unusual form of the Gothic abbey which dates back to a predecessor which received two expansive transept arms in the 11th century which were integrated in the building of the 13th century and are in part of a re-shaped Gothic style.

A complex addressed as Carolingian was excavated in Cruas (Ardèche) during the 1980s which the head archaeologist interpreted as a three-piece west front with projecting central risalit attached to the early medieval predecessor church on re-used walls from the early Imperial Period.⁵ The walls of this

5 Joëlle Tardieu: Les massifs occidentaux de l'abbatiale de Cruas (Ardèche). In: Christian Sapin (editor): Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^e et le XII^e siècle, files of the international colloquium of CNRS, Auxerre, 17-20 June 1999. Paris 2002 (éditions du CTHS), p. 215-232, p. 216-223 and p. 216, fig 2.

Saint-Michel de Cuxa, abbey, layout plan (according to A. Hartmann-Virnich: Was ist Romanik?, Geschichte, Formen und Technik des romanischen Kirchenbaus. Darmstadt 2004, Fig. 278)

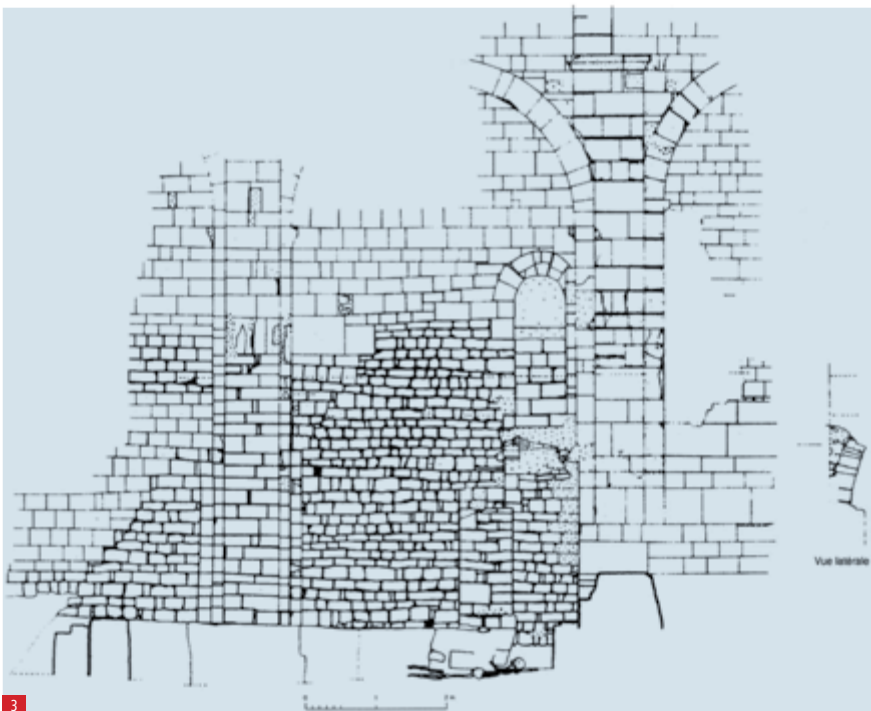


Saint-Michel de Cuxa, abbey, pre-Romanesque nave viewed from the north (A. Hartmann-Virnich)



Cruas, abbey, stone-by-stone and shape measurement of the nave's southern wall

(A. Hartmann-Virnich in: G. Démians d'Archimbaud, Y. Esquieu, M. Fixot, A. Hartmann-Virnich: Espaces d'accueil..., see note. 21, Fig. 18)



Marseille, Saint-Victor abbey, late antiquity structure in the crypt towards the southeast (A. Hartmann-Virnich)



annex hardly based on foundations and not thicker than 60-70cm were reinforced in the late 9th century suggesting the existence of a lateral tower and the vaulting of the central room including the construction of an upper floor. In spite of such vague and eventually diverse as well as doubtful findings, especially on the basis of the re-used older foundation walls lacking reference to the church complex, the presented chain of reasoning led to the express indication towards the great Carolingian and Ottonian westworks which were cited, in order to address the findings literally as „westwork” which was to be considered as an antecedent of this building type in the border region of the Vivarais on the right side of the River Rhône which was affiliated to the Empire. The interpretation of the southwest tower of the abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert as remnants of a pre-Romanesque or early Romanesque westwork is part of the same regional scientific surroundings.⁶

Independent of the question related to the factual relevance of these archaeological findings, these two interpretations primarily document the pithiness of the Carolingian westwork as a defined architectural form in terms of the history of research which was used as a model for this allegedly Mediterranean sibling and on the pattern of which the late Romanesque west front of the present abbey was based the building of which started in the 11th century. At the beginning of the construction of the Romanesque abbey in Cruas a two-storey closure in the west was obviously either actually re-used or planned such as is suggested by a door on the side of the cloister with a staircase preserved in fragments in the southern side aisle.⁷ **3** Only in the last building phase was the west tower with its connecting bay added to the still incomplete, three-bay basilica-like nave of the Romanesque church and this tower will be at the centre of the following discussion.

In order to take account of the many complexes which are to be considered, the question of the west front with regard to the southern region of present France has to be extended further than the terms permits in the stricter sense. This initially refers to the question of the regional models and pre-phases. A recently examined and absolutely newly interpreted example is the late antiquity complex which was integrated as an architectural relic in the Romanesque and early Gothic abbey of Saint-Victor near Marseille. **4** Michel Fixot made a reconstruction of this largely preserved complex of the 5th century⁸ as a tower-like supererectory room on a square floor plan flanked by galleries. The three-nave barrel-vaulted hall connecting in the north served it as a vestibule in connection with the entrance section further to the north and interprets its function in association with the description of the Basilica of St. Martin by Perpetuus according to Gregory of Tours and to later Carolingian westworks as *turris* for the keeping and worshipping of relics.⁹ This chain of reasoning also stirs up questions about the exemplary role of the Carolingian westwork as a model for interpretation of archaeological evidence while a formal analogy of this largely conclusive reconstruction of this building type appears to be quite possible with the west towers occurring later, not before the first Romanesque building movement. However, it still remains unclear in which state the late antiquity monuments were when the

6 Joëlle Tardieu: Les massifs occidentaux (see note 4), p. 219, according to Richard Bavoillot-Laussade: Les développements architecturaux de l'abbaye de Gellone. In: Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert au Moyen Age. Nouvelles contributions à la connaissance de l'abbaye de Gellone, Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert (Les Amis de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert) 1996, p. 23-31. For criticism of this essay see the review of Élisabeth Lorans in: Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 37, 1998, p. 247-248.

7 Andreas Hartmann-Virnich: Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux et Saint-Trophime d'Arles et l'église romane à trois nefs en Provence rhodanienne : architecture, construction, évolution. (Dissertation, Université de Provence Aix-Marseille I, 1992). Lille 2000, S. 447-450, fig 13-15 ; Joëlle Tardieu, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich: L'abbatiale Sainte-Marie de Cruas. In: Congrès archéologique de France, 150, 1992, Moyenne vallée du Rhône, Paris 1995, p. 91-116; Joëlle Tardieu: Les massifs occidentaux (see note 4), p. 225-227.

8 A new investigation with regard to the masonry in the scope of the restoration work is not completed yet (Fabien Blanc, Hadès/LAMM UMR 6572).

9 Michel Fixot: *Turris et reliques*. In: Claude Carozzi, Huguette Taviani-Carozzi (éditor): Le pouvoir au Moyen Age, idéologies, pratiques, représentations. Aix-en-Provence (Publications de l'Université de Provence) 2005, p. 31-50. Michel Fixot, Jean-Pierre Pelletier: Saint-Victor de Marseille, étude archéologique et monumentale. Turnhout (Brepols) 2010 (Bibliothèque de l'antiquité tardive, 12).

10 With regard to Odilon of Cluny, Raimbaud de Reillanne of Arles and Gauzlin of Fleury. He is also associated with the initiative of God's peace (*trêve de Dieu*). Several journeys took him to Rome with the intention of receiving active support by the Holy See. See Michel Zimmermann: *Sur la terre comme au ciel : la paix chrétienne. Oliba (1008-1046), pacificateur et guide des âmes*. In: *Le monde d'Oliba. Arts et culture en Catalogne et en Occident (1008-1046)*, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa, 40, 2009, p. 7-38.

11 Marc Sureda i Jubany: *Architecture autour d'Oliba : le massif occidental de la cathédrale de Gérone*. In: *Le monde d'Oliba* (see note 9), p. 221-236; Francesca Español Bertran: *Massifs occidentaux dans l'architecture romane catalane*. In: *Tours et clochers à l'époque pré-romane et romane*, Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa, 26, 1996, p. 57-77.

12 Marc Sureda i Jubany explains the liturgic functions of this west front which according to Francesca Español Bertran has been designated in its totality as *Sepulchrum* since the establishment of a Holy Tomb at the end of the 11th century (Francesca Español Bertran: *Massifs occidentaux* (see note 10), p. 73): A baptistery is located next to the Galilee. The symbolic functions of baptism, repentance and burial connected to the church affiliation are all united in this area. The stationary liturgy emphasises this position in reference to the different festivities during the liturgical year, including All Souls' Day, purification, Palm Sunday. In the two last mentioned cases the written sources expressly give reference to church, temple and earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. All Matutin services during Easter as well as those of Easter Sunday and on Laetare, are held on the cross/holy tomb altar on the upper floor; and on this last mentioned Sunday the texts – as can be compared with the Corvey inscription – also emphasises the reference to the heavenly Jerusalem: *Ecce mater nostra Jerusalem... ; omnipotens sempiterna Deus, edificator et custos Jerusalem* (CO 3787). In this, the altar appears to be the second most important altar of the cathedral in general. The treasure of relics of which were inferior only of that of the main altar. Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre and the place of Resurrection form a purposeful network of references which place the heavenly sphere above the earthly sphere on the upper floor of the Galilee. (Marc Sureda i Jubany: *Architecture autour d'Oliba* (see note 10), p. 225).

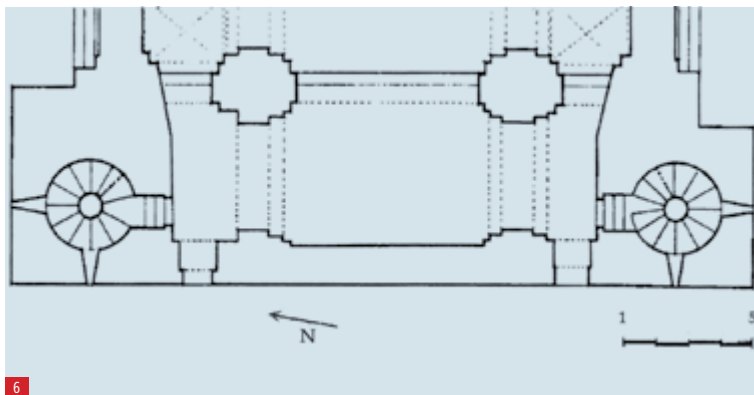
13 Francesca Español Bertran: *Massifs occidentaux* (see note 10), p. 57; Marc Sureda i Jubany: *Architecture autour d'Oliba* (see note 10), p. 231 and note 60-61 incl. bibliography.

abbey of Saint-Victor was founded in 977, how they were changed thereafter and which architectural relationship they had with the church consecrated under abbot Isam in 1040 which cannot be evidenced from the archaeological point of view. But it cannot be excluded that with the expansion of Saint-Victor during the period of the „Gregorian” reform and the (temporary) affiliation of numerous monasteries and priories in Provence, Languedoc and Catalonia it could have taken certain influence as it had been already at that point been seen and presented as tangible evidence for the old age of the holy place.

Early Romanticism

In the early Romanticism period, a series of different, monumental west front types occur. The models or early stages, as described in Cruas, can usually only be assumed indirectly. Here, too, Also in this and especially due to the difference and the liturgy function which is documented in exceptional cases only, the argument by analogy can only be considered as a suggested interpretation in the end. In connection with the written tradition in respect of the liturgic use of west fronts we have to mention Roussillon and Catalonia which due to their nominal affiliation to the Frankish Empire are to be taken into consideration. An impressive example which is assigned to the direct influence of the bishop and reforming abbot Oliba of Vich, Ripoll and Cuxa (1008-1046) whose far-reaching connections¹⁰ must have supported the adoption of exemplary architectural forms from the most important church centres, is the early Romanesque cathedral of Girona¹¹, to which the consecration date of 1038 was assigned, with its unpreserved but recently investigated west front which can be described in more detail based on excavation findings, comparisons and written sources as regards architecture and liturgy: the complex which was demolished between 1360-1380 comprises a cross-rectangular bar with a square profile which is joined on both sides by a construction size and a superelevated tower in the south in front of the single-nave longhouse. The cross-vaulted central ground floor which is addressed as Galilaea in the manuscripts of the 11th century 5 served the Dutchess Ermessenda (+ 1058), the Duke Ramon Berenguer (+ 1082) and several members of the cathedral's clergy as privileged tombs. The fact that this is no individual case is documented by the similar Galilaea vestibule of the early Romanesque cathedral of Barcelona. The main altar of the upper floor in the west front of Girona is mentioned as being consecrated to the holy grave in 1057, to the holy cross in 1106 and still possessed an important *capsa reliquiarum* in the 14th century. Detailed written sources of the 14th century witness the liturgic integration of both storeys in the processional liturgy of the Holy Week and Easter designed with stages which still used to be exercised at that time.¹²

A similar west front but with a denser architecture which, however, lacks the superelevated staircase towers projecting on both sides has been preserved in the collegiate church of San Vincenc in Cardona which was founded in 1029 and still incompletely consecrated in 1040¹³, 6 which, as a donation of the



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Dukes of Cardona who were related to Oliba, is to be ascribed to the initiative of the bishop. In the abbey of Ripoll which was again consecrated by Oliba after a restoration in 1032, a reconstruction of a similar west front is possible due to preserved findings in the ascending structure.¹⁴ Whether the fact that Oliba had a special concern for the salvation of the death and the institution of a commemoration for all of the deceased people of the diocese¹⁵ contributes to the interpretation with regard to the function of the buildings cannot be discussed here in more detail.

Saint-Michel de Cuxa, abbey, barrel vault of the pre-Romanesque crypt (A. Hartmann-Virnich)

Also the most unusual and therefore most famous early Romanesque west front of the Occitan early Romanticism is based on the initiative of Oliba: The pre-Romanesque abbey of Saint-Michel in Cuxa¹⁶ (fig 1), consecrated in 975, was restored in a spectacular manner under his supervision from 1036. In addition to the vaulting of the side aisles and the erection of two mighty belfries above the expansive transept arms, the rectangular choir was covered by a vaulted, three-cell external crypt and an elaborate, double-storey extension was added to the west end of the nave on a steep terrain the continuously vaulted ground floor **7** included a central building having an annular vault rising above a central pillar corresponding to a rotunda (recess) with east apse on the upper floor which was lined by two lateral wings in the alignment of the pre-Romanesque side aisles. A flight of stairs resting on a half barrel vault across the full width of the complex ascended to the three

14 Marc Sureda i Jubany: *Architecture autour d'Oliba* (see note 10), p. 232-233, incl. bibliography.

15 Michel Zimmermann: *Sur la terre* (see note 9), p. 37.

16 Vgl. Joan Duran-Porta: *Les cryptes monumentales dans la catalogne d'Oliba. De Sant Pere de Rodes à la diffusion du modèle de crypte à salle*. In: *Le monde d'Oliba* (wie Anm. 10), p. 326-339, p. 329-330 incl. bibliography; Marc Sureda i Jubany: *Architecture autour d'Oliba* (see note 10), p. 232, incl. bibliography.

accesses of this terrace-like rising upper floor from the west. The building report prepared by the Abbot Garcia as a witness expressly describes the altar patrocinia of the rooms which demarcate the west front as part of the entire concept in the centre of which stood the Holy Trinity guarded by the archangels with special reference to incarnation: the lower round chapel, built for pulchro et arcuato opere and consecrated to the presepium, having an apse to the east as on the upper floor, was consecrated to the Mother of God and incarnation of the Lord while the propagation is indicated on Gabriel's right side and the virginity of Mary is hinted at on Raphael's left side and Michael as the titular saint in the east of the main altar was to watch over the Son of God ante tempora natum. The upper central building was consecrated to the Holy Trinity. The eastern chapels of the martyrs Valentine, Flamidianus and Nazarius took up on the symbolic triad.¹⁷

In the absence of written evidence, the liturgical use of the following examples has to remain largely vague so that we need to focus on the formal aspects, although the scope of the lecture does not allow for more than a selective view. The two-tower façade with its internal floor structure of the central section lined by the towers on each side, as it was planned, for example, for the large „pilgrimage churches“ Saint-Sernin in Toulouse and Sainte-Foy in Conque in the second half of the 11th century, is of far less importance when compared to the different forms of the west tower. National references are to be assumed with regard to the early and high Romanesque west towers of Limousin the ground floor of which opens to the outside on three sides in the form of a double aisle or triple aisle vestibule¹⁸ such as in Evaux und Lesterps ⁸ – a tower form which was already pre-shaped in the west tower of Fleury on the River Loire, worship site of the relics of St. Benedict of Nursia, around 1026-1032 and also occurs in a lateral position in monumental form in Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers ⁹ before 1049.¹⁹

17 Nach Yvette Carbonell-Lamothe: Codalet (Pyrénées-Orientales), Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa. In: Xavier Barral i Altet (Hrsg.): Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an mil Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'an Mil. Avec un appendice Catalogne. Internationales Kolloquium des CNRS Hugues Capet 987-1987, la France de l'an Mil, June-September 1987, Paris (Picard) 1987, p. 467-468.

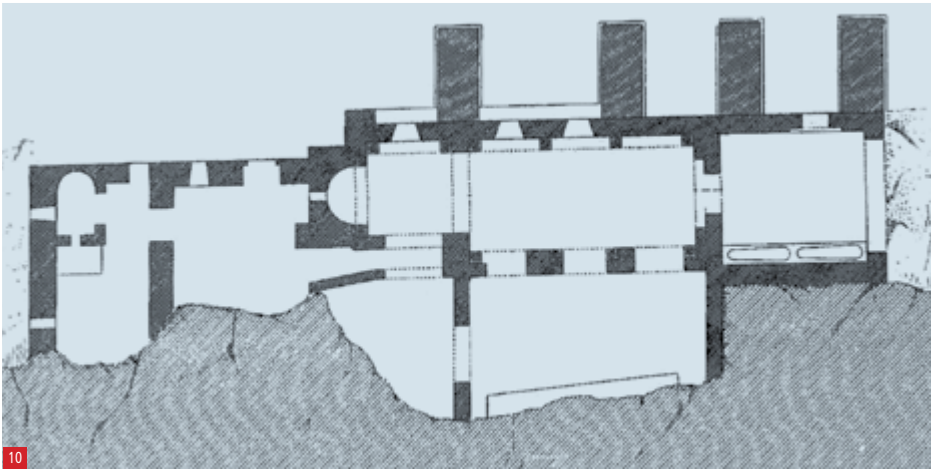
18 Claude Andrault-Schmitt: Le succès des tours-porches occidentales en Limousin (Xe-XIIe siècles). In: Christian Sapin (editor): Avant-nefs (see note 4), p. 233-250.

19 Marie-Thérèse Camus: Tours-porches et fonction d'accueil dans les églises du Poitou au XIe siècle. In: Christian Sapin (editor): Avant-nefs (see note 4), p. 260-280.

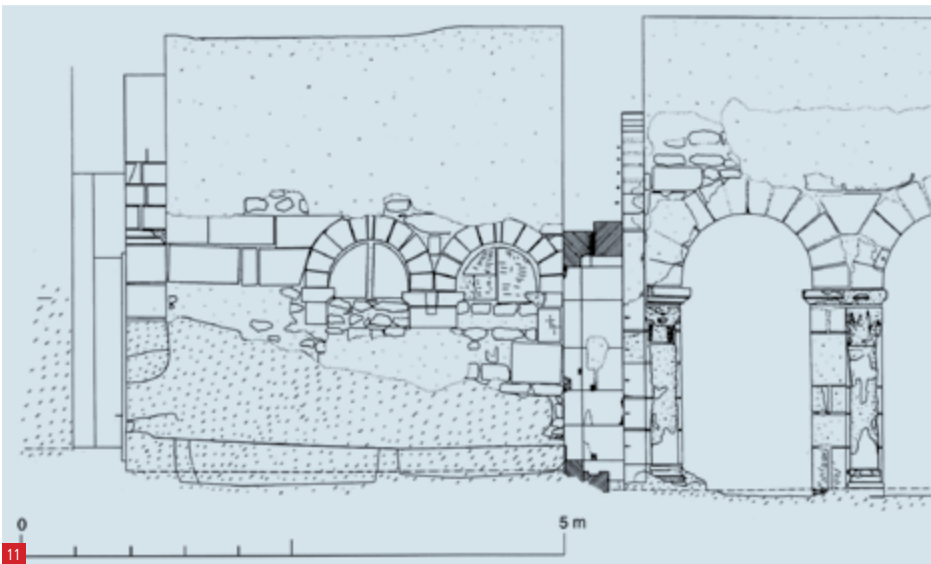
Lesterps, west tower viewed from the north (A. Hartmann-Virnich)

Poitiers, Saint-Hilaire, remnants of the pre-Romanesque vestibule tower (A. Hartmann-Virnich)





Montmajour, Saint-Pierre, layout plan (according to J.-M. Rouquette : *Provence romane I. La Pierre-qui-Vire* 1974, p. 364)



Montmajour, Saint-Pierre, cross-section of masonry and site details of the vestibule and the central aisle (A. Hartmann-Virnich, in G. Démians d'Archimbaud, Y. Esquieu, M. Fixot, A. Hartmann-Virnich: *Espaces d'accueil...*, see note 21, Fig. 8)

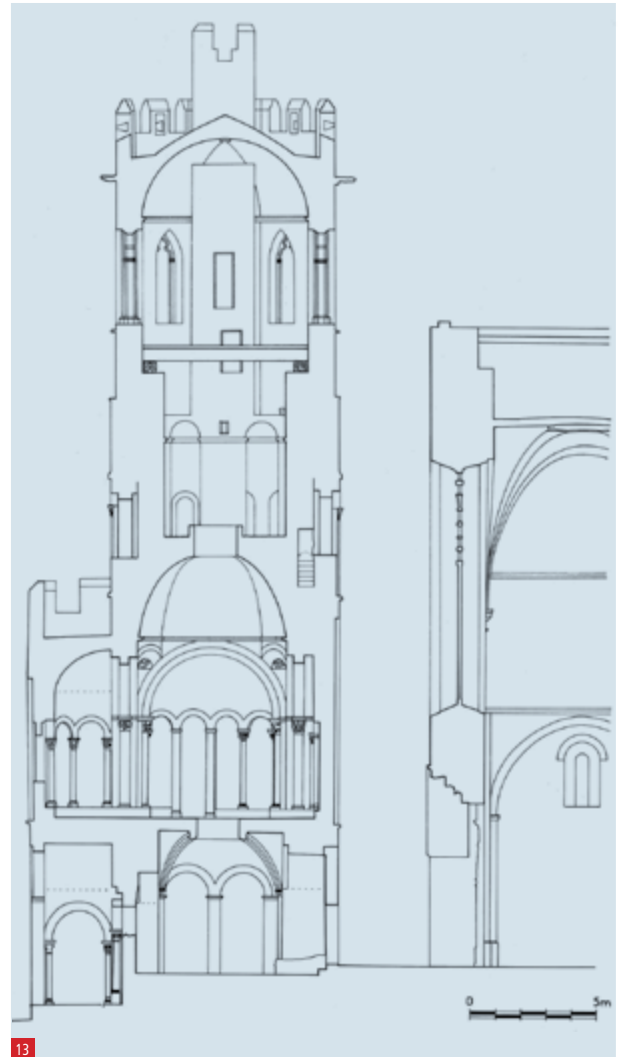
In comparison to these examples there is the early Romanesque west tower of the abbey of Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert which probably is the more simple form of the monumental superlevation of a projecting entrance floor at the beginning of a development which resulted in the series of elaborated west tower complexes with an entrance hall on the ground floor and a chapel or chapel-like gallery on the first upper floor between the end of the 11th and the 13th century. The foundations from the early and mid 11th century excavated in the cathedrals of Saint-Jean-le-Vieux in Perpignan²⁰ and Notre-Dame-du-Bourg in Digne²¹ document that this kind of tower construction had already been added to existing churches in the scope of reconstruction measures in the early Romanesque period. The tombs found in the basement of the west tower of Digne correspond to the function of the vestibule, which is to be reconstructed, as a privileged tomb as it is later stated in the inscription in the basement of the south tower of the priory church Saint-Paul-de-Mausole near Saint-Rémy. In Saint-Pierre in Montmajour^{10 11} and Saint-Honorat-des-Alyscamps near Arles, this function is assumed by a projecting hall in alignment with the longhouse which was later added to the nave of Saint-Honorat in the late 11th century.

20 Rémy Marichal: Perpignan (Pyrénées-Orientales). *Cathédrale Saint-Jean-le-Vieux*. In: Xavier Barral i Altet (editor): *Le paysage monumental* (see note 16), p. 471.

21 The following remarks in respect of the west fronts in Provence are mainly based on the our essay: Gabrielle Démians d'Archimbaud, Yves Esquieu, Michel Fixot, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich: *Espaces d'accueil et pôles occidentaux dans l'architecture religieuse préromane et romane de Provence*. In: Christian Sapin (editor): *Avant-nefs* (see note 4), p. 180-203, incl. bibliography.

Viviers, cathedral, west tower including entrance hall to the upper town. Viewed from the west (A. Hartmann-Virnich)

Viviers, Kathedrale, west tower, west-east longitudinal section (according to Y. Esquieu: *L'enceinte du quartier canonial de Viviers*. In: *L'église et son environnement. Archéologie médiévale en Provence*. Aix-en-Provence 1989, p. 38-39, Fig. 16)

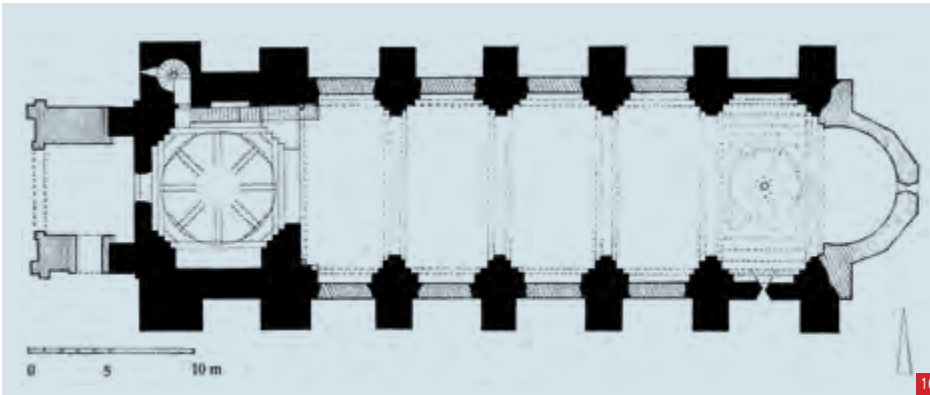


Viviers, cathedral, west tower, chapel on the second floor: squinch dome (A. Hartmann-Virnich)

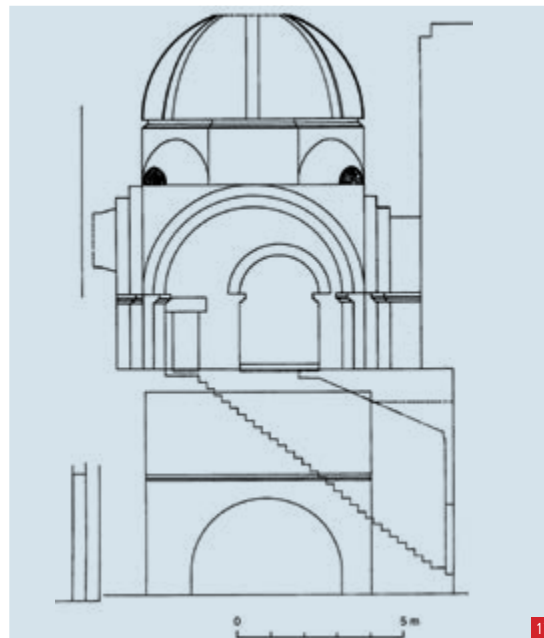
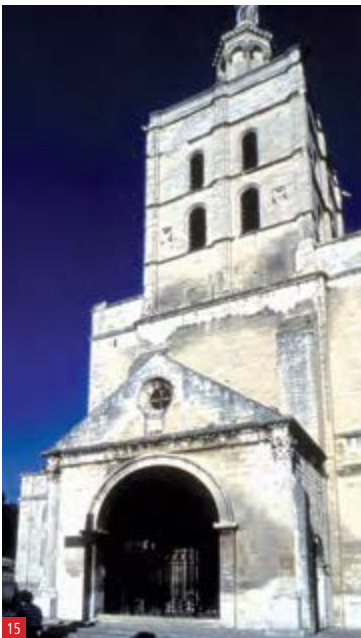


Early and classic high Romanticism of Provence

The west tower of the cathedral of Viviers ¹² ¹³ which was commenced in the late 11th century is an unusually special case and as such gives rise to diverse questions with regard to the model and function of such tower buildings. Its ground floor forms the original access to the fortified Episcopal town and several meters in front of the western facade of the church within the defensive walls stood the tower freely and independently the two upper floors of which were added, however, not before the 13th and 14th century. On the first upper floor which was completed in the early 12th century you will find the chapel with a dome that rests on squinches ¹⁴. Its architecture in the style of a main building suggests a severely deformed four-semi-domed hall through the integration of a too narrow external shell. The west conch is, however, bordered by a risalit of the gate entrance projecting to the west of the tower and therefore forming a complete semi-circular apse. It is unclear whether the Michael's patrocina which was not documented before the late Middle Ages was originally connected to the altar of the chapel and whether the chapel was accessed via the upper floor of the western facade of the church



Avignon, cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, west tower. Viewed from the west (A. Hartmann-Virnich).



Avignon, cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, layout plan including second floor of the west tower (drawing by A. Hartmann-Virnich according to J.-M. Rouquette: *Provence romane I*, see figure 10, p. 210)

Avignon, cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, west tower, longitudinal section towards the north (A. Hartmann-Virnich, in G. Démians d'Archimbaud, Y. Esquieu, M. Fixot, A. Hartmann-Virnich: *Espaces d'accueil...*, see note 21, Fig 23)

which is indicated by a door in the western wall, in addition to the hardly passable newel.

Another cathedral, Notre-Dame-des-Doms in Avignon ^{15 16 17},²² was built together with the western connecting bay of the nave and was later complemented by an antiquities-styled vestibule some time in last building phase which completed the high Romanesque church, such as Cruas abbey, in the second half of the 12th century. Since its external walls and buttresses were aligned with the single-nave longhouse the previously mentioned trisection of the building, which reminds us of older Catalan examples, only appears on the western facade. Here the massive tower the upper floor of which was re-built from 1415 after a partial destruction in 1405²³, rises up on a square floor plan above a slightly projecting central risalit bordered by the lateral staircase towers which serve as angular buttresses. Above the barrel-vaulted entrance room which is flanked by the side bays you will find the gallery on the upper floor. It can be accessed via stairs from the longhouse and opens up towards the same in the form of a transverse arch spreading across the whole width of the bay. This is vaulted as a square main building with a

22 For more recent architectural investigations of the west tower of Notre-Dame in Avignon see Andreas Hartmann-Virnich: *Lapidibus preciosi omnes muri tui. Regards archéologiques sur le chantier médiéval dans le Sud-Est de la France*, post-doctoral thesis, 7 Vols., Aix-en-Provence, Université de Provence, 2005, Textband 1, p. 37, 154-155, 188-189, 246, 259, 283, 295, fig 110-116. A new architectural study (Laura Deye, Andreas Hartmann-Virnich) was still in progress at the time of printing of this essay.

23 Vgl. André Reyne, Daniel Bréhier: *La métropole Notre-Dame des Doms, haut lieu de spiritualité, d'art et d'histoire*. Lyon 2002, p. 135-138.

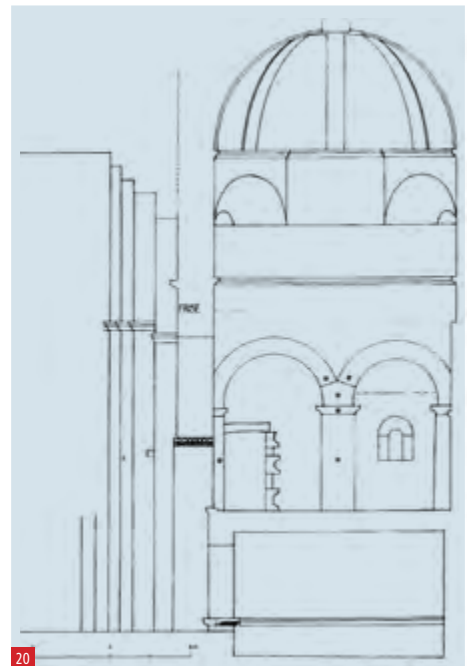
Avignon, cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, west tower, squinch dome towards the west (A. Hartmann-Virnich)



Saint-Restitut, interior of the west tower towards the west (A. Hartmann-Virnich)



Saint-Restitut, west tower, longitudinal section towards the south (A. Hartmann-Virnich, in G. Démians d'Archimbaud, Y. Esquieu, M. Fixot, A. Hartmann-Virnich: *Espaces d'accueil...*, see note 21, Fig. 14)



Saint-Restitut, west tower, squinch dome (A. Hartmann-Virnich)



stone-banded rip dome resting on a staggered blind arch.¹⁸ Its squinches which are decorated with sculptured evangelist symbols, such as in Vivier, suggest an altar position as a contrast to the main altar in the east which is vaulted by a similar dome. The newels leading to the tower only start on this level. Therefore these are not accessible from the ground floor. A very similar gallery chapel like in a main building was subsequently integrated in the enclosure walls of an older longhouse of the parish church of Saint-Restitut^{19 20 21} near Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux and was bordered from the outside like a tower. In this case, the barrel-vaulted ground floor forms a crypt-like, rectangular room which only opens up towards the longhouse. Its floor level was markedly lower than the reconstruction of the threshold of the Romanesque south portal and which probably is to be interpreted as Confessio for the relics of the titular saint Restitutus who was identified as the blind man who was cured by Jesus and whose historically proven prestige should explain the elaborate architecture.

In Cruas²² the gallery level of the late Romanesque west tower was added together with a connecting bay and a vestibule to the already existing longhouse in a last building phase, such as in Avignon. Although it was emphasised by a superbly designed front, the modest barrel-vaulted room is not as impressive as the monumental originally cross-vaulted ground floor²³ which integrates an interior staircase towards the central aisle due to the difference in height. Far more modest must have been the gallery on the entrance floor level of the west tower of the cathedral of Fréjus²⁴ which was connected to the upper floor level of the monastery's cloister must have been far more modest. In all cases mentioned, the high quality of the brickwork and of the construction literally emphasises the outstanding position of the tower within the entire complex. Its structure and design are always adjusted to the respective circumstances and requirements.

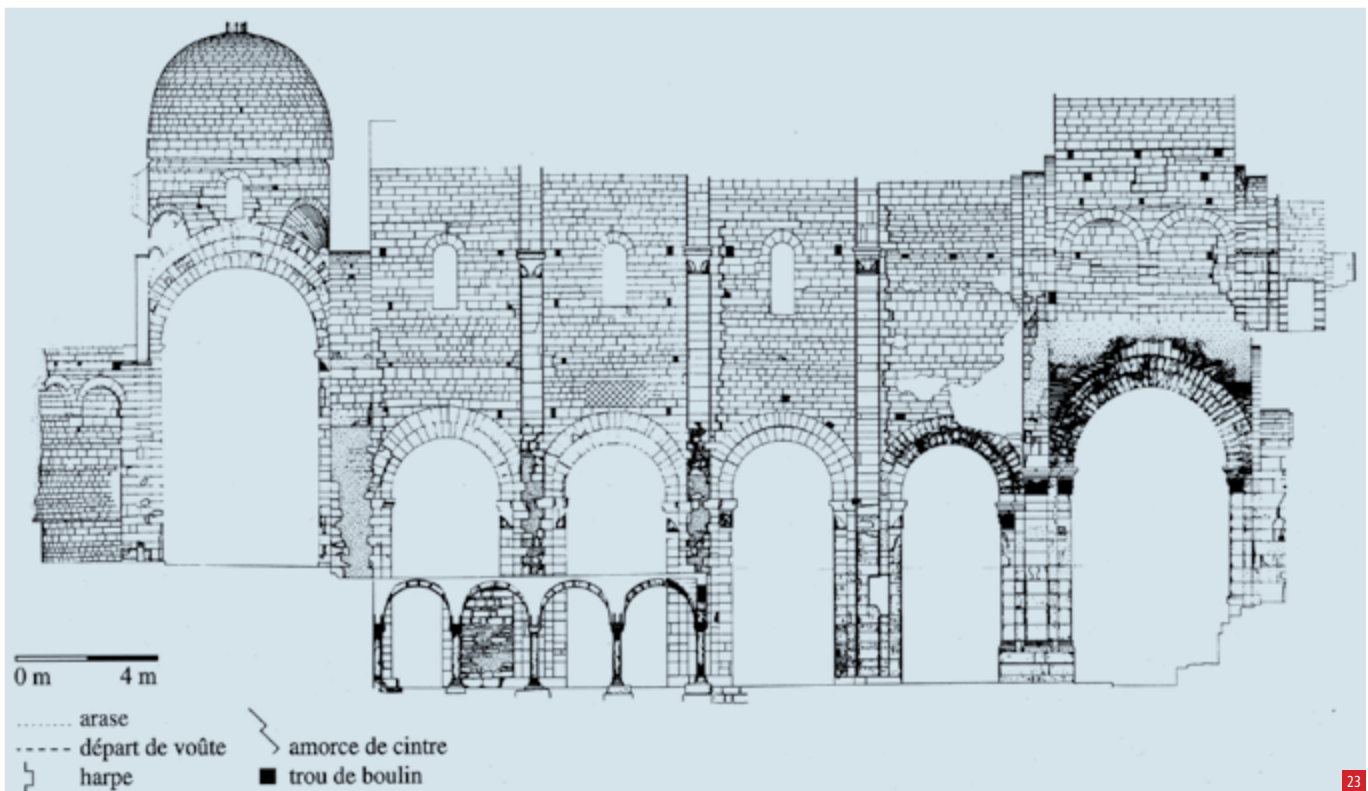
Depending on the location of the main entrance towards the nave, this kind of tower occurs repeatedly in a lateral position. In addition to the mentioned example of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, the south towers of Notre-Dame d'Aubune and Saint-Laurent in Salon de Provence (fig) from the high and late Romanesque period prove this variant which gives rise to the question as to whether or to what extent the tradition of the axial reference towards the oriented building played a role at all at that time.

Conclusion

During our short and selective overview it became clear that the preserved or currently known west fronts in the region of the present south of France (including Catalonia), which, in the narrower sense, have only been securely verified since the early Romanticism, compared to central and northern France and in comparison to the German cultural landscape are neither dependent nor independent types of buildings. If monumental two-tower complexes are an exception there are far more single-tower west fronts among which are also structures with flanking staircase towers and a complex, mul-

²⁴ A new monographic study of the cathedral of Fréjus by Michel Fixot was still ongoing at the time of the printing of this article.

Cruas abbey, west tower. Viewed from the west (A. Hartmann-Virnich).



Cruas, abbey, longitudinal section of masonry and site details

(A. Hartmann-Virnich in: L'échafaudage dans le chantier médiéval, Documents d'Archéologie en Rhône-Alpes, 13. Lyon 1996, p. 52, Fig. 29)

ti-storey interior for different liturgical use. Their relationship to regional as well as national models, especially from the Carolingian-Ottonian tradition can, however, be assumed but cannot be definitely verified due to the implementation of such models into the architectural form of the region. Only in exceptional cases such as Girona and Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa do written sources provide information about the liturgical purpose of these western complexes, the testimonial of which originating in part from later periods must not be generalised.

French summary: Massifs occidentaux en France méridionale

Notre communication ne peut donner qu'un aperçu sommaire et sélectif des formes du massif occidental dans les régions du Midi de la France actuelle, auquel il convient d'associer la Catalogne et le Roussillon en raison de leur lien historique avec le domaine franc et capétien. Si la discussion sur les origines et la relation des massifs occidentaux avec leurs parallèles septentrionaux et germaniques, généralement tributaire de la référence théorique au Westwerk carolingien et ottonien comme concept traditionnel prédominant, pâtit de la carence d'exemples attestés avec certitude avant l'an mil, la recherche actuelle envisage l'existence d'antécédents autochtones jusqu'alors ignorés, à l'instar de la possible turris à reliques tardoantique qui fut incorporée plus tard dans l'abbatiale de Saint-Victor de Marseille. Pour le début du XI^e siècle, le massif occidental de la cathédrale de Gérone et le complexe occidental exceptionnel qui fut ajouté à l'abbatiale préromane de Saint-Michel de Cuxa révèlent, grâce au témoignage exceptionnel des sources écrites, quelques aspects fondamentaux de leurs fonctions liturgiques et, pour partie, funéraires. Ailleurs, à la tour occidentale de la cathédrale de Viviers, seule une mention tardive évoque le culte de Saint-Michel rattaché à la chapelle haute, située en position tutélaire au-dessus de la porte d'accès à la cité épiscopale et sous le clocher, achevé plus tard. A côté des rares massifs occidentaux à deux tours comme à Saint-Sernin de Toulouse et Sainte-Foy de Conques, la tour-porche se présente comme la principale forme du massif occidental dans les régions méridionales, du Limousin à la Provence, commentée en plus grand détail.

A défaut de textes, c'est la coupole au Tétramorphe de l'étage de l'imposante tour occidentale de la cathédrale d'Avignon qui suppose la présence d'un autel dont le vocable reste inconnu. A Saint-Restitut, la tour occidentale aménagée après-coup dans un volume préexistant comporte une chapelle haute semblable au-dessus d'une crypte reliquaire basse ouverte sur la nef, comme adaptation particulière du type architectural au culte du saint local. A Cruas, l'ordonnance privilégie le rez-de-chaussée comme cadre monumental de l'escalier descendant dans la nef. A ces cas variables s'ajoutent d'autres formes de l'espace d'entrée monumental : à vocation funéraire à Notre-Dame-du-Bourg de Digne, Saint-Honorat-des-Aliscamps, Saint-Pierre de Montmajour près d'Arles et Saint-Paul-de-Mausole près de Saint-Rémy.

PROLEGOMENA FOR A REASSESSMENT OF THE CAROLINGIAN WEST MASSIF OF REIMS CATHEDRAL

In memoriam Anne Prache

A century after the publication of Georges Durand and Wilhelm Effmann's parallel studies of the abbey of Saint-Riquier at *Centula*,¹ and nearly fifty years since the appearance of Hans Reinhardt's monograph on the cathedral of Reims,² the occasion is suitable to review the still vexed topic of the construction and demolition of the IXth century Reims western massif in the light of recent research. The following is divided into four parts, starting with an appraisal of the written sources and two images sometimes purported to record the appearance of the Carolingian cathedral. The second and longest section is devoted to the massif's complex historiography, highlighting, given the context of the symposium, the role of Corvey in guiding interpretation of Reims. Following this is an assessment of how the archaeological investigation of the 1990s brings the documentary sources and previous interpretations into new relief. The final part focuses on the question of a Carolingian atrium, and the paper concludes with an agenda for a fresh approach of the massif.

PART I. THE DOCUMENTS

Partially dismantled in 976 and entirely swept away by the construction of the first Gothic façade in 1152, the Carolingian western massif³ of Reims cathedral has the distinction of having been the subject of heated debate well before its archaeological rediscovery in the 1920s and a recurring point of discussion since then. The historiography of the subject has real importance, as modern analysis cannot escape being conditioned by the terms of this drawn-out and complicated scholarly saga, the excavated remains themselves having long been subsumed in pre-existing, text-driven interpretations. For this reason, it is important first to consider the relevant documentation in isolation from these hypotheses as much as possible.

The testimony of the written sources

The historian Flodoard, whose mid-Xth century *History of the Church of Reims* constitutes the chief written source for the Carolingian cathedral, related often using selected archival documents what he considered significant about the church he knew so well, instructing his readers that it had been rebuilt by archbishop Ebbo (between roughly 817 and 835) and later dedicated by his successor, Hincmar, in 862.⁴ Still, other than recording an inscription accompanying a figural image on its façade, Flodoard makes no specific reference to the western massif in his narrative. For this, one must wait for parallel descriptions rendered by two late Xth century chroniclers, the continuer of the *Annals* of Flodoard and Richer of Reims, in which they report its demolition by archbishop Adalbero in 976 – two texts which later „ont prêté aux controverses et fort embarrassé les archéologues.”⁵

1 G. Durand, "Saint-Riquier," in *La Picardie historique*, vol. 4/2, Amiens/Paris, 1907-1911, pp. 133-358, and W. Effmann, *Centula-Saint-Riquier*, Münster, 1912.

2 H. Reinhardt, *La Cathédrale de Reims, son histoire, son architecture, sa sculpture, ses vitraux*, Paris, 1963 [= Reinhardt, 1963a].

3 The term "western massif" is used here in the same sense as the neutral French massif occidental in place of Westwerk or Westwork in order to avoid problems of definition; see C. Sapin, "Introduction," in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^e et le XII^e siècle*, C. Sapin, ed., Paris, 2002 [= *Avant-nef*, 2002], pp. 7-9.

4 Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, MGH, SS, XIII (1881), pp. 405-599 (= Flodoard, HER]. See the analysis of M. Sot, *Un historien et son Eglise. Flodoard de Reims*, Paris, 1993, pp. 474-477, 497-499 and 673-674.

5 L. Demaison, "Les cathédrales de Reims antérieures au XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, 85, 1926, pp. 67-116 (p. 93) paraphrasing R. de Lasteyrie, "Note sur la cathédrale de Reims à l'époque carolingienne," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1909, pp. 228-239 (p. 228).

The writer of the continuation of the *Annals* reports succinctly that

- In the year 976 Adalbero had destroyed ... the *arcuatam opus* [a vaulted or arcaded structure] that was along [near or beside] the doors of the church of Notre-Dame of Reims, above which [or opposite from] the altar of the Holy Savior had been, and the baptismal font of remarkable workmanship was put.⁶

Richer provides a somewhat fuller account:

- This man [Adalbero], since the beginning of his elevation [to archbishop], gave a great deal of thought to [or was much occupied by] the architecture [or structure, organization, plan] of his church. The vaults [or arches] of this, which stretched from the entrance of the church for one fourth of its total length as a lofty structure, he [had] dismantled. By reason of this, the vessel [the nave alone or the nave and the aisles] was amplified and the whole church decorated with a [more] dignified scheme. The body of [Saint] Calixtus, pope and martyr, he [had] placed above the entrance to the church in an elevated location; he also dedicated an altar and [had] created an oratory commodious to prayer to God.⁷

As Robert de Lasteyrie remarked, the literal sense of these two texts might seem clear, yet „ils sont trop peu explicites l'un et l'autre pour qu'il soit facile de se figure la nature de la construction dont il s'agit."⁸ Partly as a result, consideration of the passages over the years has often tended to be markedly subjective; the two texts can be reconciled, but the choice always risks being *a priori*. For example, as will be seen, one group of authors, in order to support their hypothesis of an early atrium, used an exaggerated reading of *secus* and *supra* as employed by the *Annals* author as designating the *arcuatam opus* as being situated „in front of” the entrance to the cathedral, at the same time downplaying Richer's comparatively clear reference to the structure's location inside the church.

In the face of these descriptions, by which the western structure – whether a raised tribune, crypt or atrium encompassing a baptistery and a chapel – would appear to have formed such a prominent part of the cathedral, Flodoard's silence becomes more notable. He reproduces the imperial diploma mentioning the addition of the dedication to the Holy Savior to that of Notre-Dame,⁹ but then neglects to mention the presence there of the altar of the Savior as well as the „font of remarkable workmanship” mentioned in the *Annals*, which existed when he wrote. Flodoard does provide one piece of significant information, which is the existence of a (mosaic?) depiction of the 816 coronation of Louis the Pious by Pope Stephen IV that took place in the old cathedral on the pedimental gable of the church's western façade (*ecclesiae pinnaculum*).¹⁰ The accompanying inscription read:

*Louis was crowned Caesar by Stephen,
Great Pope, in this cathedral; then archbishop Ebbo
Renewed all the foundations of this place.
He subjected the city to his authority and amplified all.*¹¹

6 Anno 976 destruxit Adalbero ... arcuatam opus quod erat secus valvas aeccliesiae sanctae Mariae remensis, supra quod altare sancti Salvatoris habebatur et fontes miro opere erant positi (MGH, SS, III, p. 407).

7 Richer writes,

Hic in initio post sui promotionem structurae aeccliesiae suae plurimum studuit. Fornices enim, qui ab aeccliesiae introitu per quartam pene totius basilicae partem eminenti structura distendebantur, penitus diruit. Unde et ampliore receptaculo et digniore scemate tota aeccliesia decorata est. Corpus quoque sancti Kalisti papae et martiris, debito honore in ipso aeccliesiae ingressu, loco scilicet editiore, collocavit. Ibi quoque altare dedicans, oratorium fundendis Deo precibus commodissimum aptavit (Richer, *Historiarum lib.*, III, 22, MGH, SS, III, p. 613).

8 Lasteyrie, 1909, p. 229, repeating the commonly held opinion that they reported the facts "tous deux en des termes différentes qui se complètent se corroborent mutuellement."⁹ Issued by Louis and Lothar ca. 826-830, this states that the church, originally consecrated to the Virgin alone, was rebuilt from its foundations and dedicated to the Savior as well: ab imo construi fecimus, eamque in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris mundi, simul et in honorem ejusdem sanctae et intemeratae Genitricis Mariae consecrari decrevimus (Flodoard, HRE, II, 19 [MGH, SS, XIII, p. 470]). For the date, see Demaison, 1926, p. 84, note 2.

10 Huius ecclesiae pinnaculum talem videtur praekonstrare titulum, personis etiam vel imaginibus Stephani papae ac Ludovici imperatoris insignitum (Flodoard, HRE, II, 19 [MGH, SS, XIII, p. 467]). For the question of the date of Ebbo's elevation, see M. Sot, 1993, p. 472, note 60, p. 474, note 80, and p. 477. Flodoard appears to record the inscription from the original still in place on the building itself. It is perhaps interesting that in the mid-Xth century, he makes no distinction between the massif and the rest of the church. Note that the location of the image and inscription (on the ecclesiae pinnaculum) could have been on the supposed porch fronting the massif (see below). For pope Leo III's contemporary mosaic in the Lateran palace as a possible model, see P. Gabet, "Constantin et Clovis, développements et transformations rémois aux IXe et Xe siècles," in *Clovis histoire et mémoire*, 2 vol., M. Rouche, ed., Paris 1997, vol. 2, pp. 73-81 (pp. 79-81, with further refs), as well as P. Demouy, "Le Baptême e Clovis dans les monuments rémois (XIIIe-XVIIe siècles)," in the same volume, pp. 805-819 (pp. 805-806).

11 The text of the inscription as given by Flodoard reads:

Ludovicus Caesar factus coronante Stephano
Hac in sede, papa magno;
tunc et Ebo pontifex
Fundamenta renovavit cuncta loci istius,
Urbis jura sibi subdens, praesul auxit omnia.

Though in reality the overall project was no doubt incomplete when Ebbo was forced to vacate the archiepiscopal throne for five years in 835, then again, definitively, in 841, the inscription may furnish a tentative *terminus ante quem* for the achievement of the greater part of the massif itself before 835, or more probably before 833.¹²

A more delicate piece of potential evidence is a charter from the abbey of Montier-en-Der (Haute-Marne).¹³ Though dated 816, the relevant passage is highly suspect, being most probably part of an interpolation of the mid-XIth century. The wording is not only more emphatic as to the role of the emperor than Flodoard recounts, but it also stipulates that Louis had been crowned in the *new* cathedral.¹⁴

Recognizing the problematic character of the Xth century documents and wary of the Montier-en-Der charter, scholars have sought to clarify certain questions by turning to evidence found in the XIIth century cathedral *ordines*.¹⁵ These have been accepted generally as reflecting liturgical practices of the Carolingian period, thus not only furnishing evidence for the disposition of spaces within the western part of the building after Adalbero's modifications but also possibly describing portions of the older massif incorporated within the altered structure.¹⁶ This concerns in particular what is referred to as the „old tower” (*vetera turris*) and with it the emplacement of the relics of Calixtus and the oratory mentioned by Richer.

Three of these documents are quite clear in their meaning, the best-known being the often-cited *ordo* for the cathedral clergy's Palm Sunday procession. This states that when the canons stop at the church of Saint-Denis opposite the cathedral,

the boys [of the cathedral choir] go ahead [of them] and climb up in the old tower. Coming also into the atrium [the canons] seat themselves on the chairs prepared [for them] there. The boys sing from the upper level the *Gloria laus*. When finished, [the canons] enter the cathedral.¹⁷

Similarly, vespers for the feast of Calixtus were sung „in the old tower,” apparently in the oratory.¹⁸ Finally, the *ordo* for the feast of the Archangel Michael stipulates that vespers were sung „below [the chapel of] Saint Calixtus.”¹⁹ Also mentioned, though somewhat ambiguously, are altars dedicated to Saints John the Baptist and Maurilius located to either side – the text says through doors to the right and left – of the Calixtus chapel.²⁰ Scholars disagree – with considerable imagination – as to exactly where these are to be situated.²¹ From two other passages in the *ordines*²² it also seems possible that prior to the construction of the first Gothic façade ca. 1152, the western massif may have possessed three portals, which may or may not have corresponded to chapels situated above them.²³

12 That the cathedral was largely complete by 835 has long been assumed, in part stemming from a rejection of a later date by V. Tourneur, in "La cathédrale de Reims", *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims* 29, 1860, pp. 53-78 (pp. 63-64). Yet Flodoard offers no proof and it is in fact quite possible the building was only finished by Hincmar between 845 and 862; see W. Berry, "Le groupe cathédral primitif des VIe-XIIe siècles", in *Reims (collection La grâce d'une cathédrale)*, Strasbourg, 2010, p. 36-41 (pp. 39-40). Just the same, the ideological content of the inscription and the Roman stylistic links of the images (Gabet, 1997) certainly seem to fit best the political situation before the revolt of 833 or even earlier, and certainly prior to Ebbo's disgrace in 835. M. Bur, in "Aux origines de la 'religion de Reims,'" *Les sacres carolingiens: un réexamen du dossier (751-1131)*", in *Clovis histoire et mémoire* (see preceding note), 1997, vol. 2, pp. 45-72, sees this instead as the work of Hincmar (pp. 50-51). If so, it would be a very uncharacteristically modest action not to have also proclaimed his own probable part in the rebuilding of the cathedral.

13 Mabilon, *Ann. O.S.B.*, II, (1704), *Annexe*, n° lxxx, p. 757.

... Sancta Remensis ecclesia, in qua praedecessores nostri, reges videlicet Francorum, fidem et sacri baptismalis gratiam perceperunt, in qua et nos per impositionem manus domni Stephani papae imperialia suscepimus insignia, ... a fundamentis restaurare sollempniter decrevimus ...

... Dum esset ante honore tantem Dei genitricis Mariae antiquo religionis cultu, nos propter novam exaltationis gratiam superaddentes sub invocatione sancti Salvatoris Dei et Domini nostri Jesu

Christi renovando, rebus competentibus divavimus... ..

Translation:

The holy cathedral of Reims, in which our predecessors, the kings of the Franks, received the faith and the sacred grace of baptism, and in which we received the imperial insignia by the hand of Pope Stephen ... we have decided to rebuild with dignity from the foundations ...

And while previously dedicated solely to Mary, the Mother of God, the traditional cult, because of our recent rise in dignity, we gave the order to have added the honor of the dedication to the Holy Saver, our God and Lord Jesus-Christ.

14 Carol Heitz, in *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne. Les formes et leurs fonctions*, Paris, 1980, p. 92-93, attempted to show that this document speaks specifically of the Reims western massif, its altar consecrated to the Holy Savior and baptistery, and its association with the Easter liturgy. H. Lecercq (DACL, "Reims", col 2253-2254), conceding its contested authenticity, suggested that "ce qui n'empêche que Louis se montra favorable à l'entreprise et ... il autorisa Ebbon à tirer de l'enceinte romaine les pierres à employer dans la nouvelle cathédrale." Reinhardt (1963a,

25), seeking to accentuate the direct interest of Louis the Pious in the reconstruction of the church, remarks the charter's explicit nature on the subject, arguing that despite its questionable status, "son contenu correspond si bien aux faits qu'il n'y a pas de raison de la mettre en doute." See also H. Reinhardt and E. Fels, "Etude sur les églises-porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman," *Bulletin monumental* 92, 1933, pp. 331-365 (pp. 353-354), and Demaison, 1926, pp. 82-83.

15 These were published in the seventh volume of U. Chevalier, *Bibliothèque liturgique*, Paris, 1900.

16 Use of this documentation in regard to the massif was first made by L. Demaison, "La cathédrale carolingienne de Reims et ses transformations au XIe siècle," *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1907, pp. 41-57 (pp. 54-56); see also idem, 1926, pp. 99-102. His interpretation became fundamental for later writers' use of these documents, which were particularly pertinent to Reinhardt's understanding of the massif and its later history (1963a, pp. 29, 41-42).

17 Cum autem perventum fuerit ad sanctum Dyonisium, ibi parumper subsistere mos est ... Interim autem debent pueri preire et in veterem turrim ascendere. Venientes autem in atrium, ibi sedent in sedibus praeparatis. Pueri autem superius cantant Gloria laus. Qua finita, intrant in ecclesiam. (Chevalier, 1900, vol. 7, p. 278). See Demaison, 1907, pp. 54-55, idem, 1926, p. 100, and 1933, p. 233 (citing Corvey as a parallel), Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 29 and 41, and Demouy 2005, pp. 151-152.

18 Vigilia sancti Calixti canatur vespere in turrim veterem (Chevalier, 1900, vol. 7, p. 303), thus placing the Calixtus chapel in the "old tower" and conceivably over the entrance. See Demaison, 1907, p. 54, idem, 1926, pp. 100-101, and Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 41.

19 Vigilia sancti Michaelis ... ingressi post vespere subitus sanctum Calixtum (Chevalier, 1900, vol. 7, p. 302). R. Branner, "The North Transept and the first West Facades of Reims Cathedral," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 24, 1961, pp. 220-241 (p. 225, note 14), remarks that "The thirteenth century ordo is identical with the twelfth century one in this respect. The former reflects the changes brought about by the differing disposition of the new Cathedral, however, as is shown by a significant comparison. In the twelfth century text the Michaelmas eve recessional passed "subtus Sanctum Calixtum", a chapel situated in the central, upper chamber of the old narthex." He adds that "this phrase was dropped from the text when the narthex was replaced by the thirteenth-century work, which in none of its forms could have contained upper chapels." Bur, 1984, p. 299, cites this as proof of the oratory's situation in the "tribune axiale de l'ancienne antéglise."

20 Procedunt in sinistram porticum, ubi est altare in honore sancti Johannis Baptiste ... Procedunt domini in dextram porticum ubi est altare in honore sancti Muarilii (Chevalier, 1900, vol. 7, p. 296, 300).

21 Reinhardt (1963a, pp. 41 and 43) places these with the altar of Calixtus in an upper level of the tour-porche he believed Adalbero had constructed against the west front of the dismantled massif, an elaboration of his earlier conclusion (Reinhardt and Fels, 1937, pp. 433-434) that the altars were found in a "simple chapelle haute." Branner (preceding note) reasoned that the Calixtus oratory was "flanked by the chapels of Saints Maurilius and John the Baptist, each in a tower" of the post-Adalbero western massif. On the other hand, Demaison, 1933, p. 233, appears to place them in a porch below the Calixtus oratory, while Bur, 1984, pp. 299-300, places these in the galleries of the atrium. A compromise, envisioning the altars originally at ground level and later transferred to the tribune of Samson's façade, is advanced by P. Demouy, *Genèse d'une cathédrale. Les archevêques de Reims et leur Eglise aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Langres, 2005, p. 133, n. 211.

22 The first reads, *In die Ascensionis ... ordinate proficiscuntur et exeuntes per portam sinistram porticum que est ante Hospitale ... circumstant maius claustrum* (Chevalier, 1900, vol. 7, p. 295). That is, on the north side of the church, where the Hôtel Dieu and canons' cloister were located. The second stipulates that the canons procession *egrediuntur ecclesiam ... exeuntes per posticam que est ante Sanctum Dyonisium* (ibid., p. 292), i.e., by the main (?) portal opposite the church of Saint-Denis.

23 Demaison (1926, p. 105-106) concluded that "La façade occidentale de l'église carolingienne avait trois portes comme notre portail actuel. Elles semblent avoir été précédées d'un porche. L'ordinaire fait mention de la porte du porche de gauche qui est devant l'Hôtel-Dieu, du porche de droite de la porte centrale qui regarde l'église Saint-Denis." Branner, 1961, p. 225, n. 13, appears to concur with the three portals. While the texts may concern the post-976 disposition, it is possible, as will be seen below, some writers believed that the porch and the entrances described belonged to a part of the old massif that had been altered internally but otherwise left intact.

A final source concerning the „old tower” is an annotation inserted in an abbreviated edition of Flodoard’s History by an unidentified canon toward the end of the XIIth century.²⁴ The gloss reads in part,

Regarding [archbishop] Seulfus [922-925], our predecessors often repeated that he had enlarged the cathedral by a length of three arcades. They also said that he constructed the old tower that the archbishop Samson destroyed, when he himself extended the church a length of two arcades in the year 1152.”²⁵

The commentator astutely adds that because Flodoard does not mention an enlargement of the church under Seulfus, canonical tradition must be in error.²⁶ As Demaison notes, tradition „se trompait seulement en mettant on avant le nom de Seulf. On peut ... y reconnaître un souvenir des travaux exécutés par Adalbéron à partir de 976.”²⁷

Tangential to this is a last written other source, the XIth century Chronicle of Mouzon, which has been advanced as elucidating Adalbero’s motivations in altering the IXth century massif.²⁸ This will be discussed in connection with the church of Saint-Denis in Part IV, below.

Iconographic evidence

There exist two representations of churches that have been taken by writers at one time or another to furnish a contemporary image of the Carolingian cathedral. The first, found on XIIIth century seals used by the chapter, poses what seem to be intractable problems that greatly reduce its value as evidence. The other, on the mid-XIth century Tomb of Hincmar, is not free of difficulties but may provide more useful information.

The „sede vacante” seal. The most frequently discussed in the past has been the seal used by the cathedral chapter when it administered the archdiocese in the absence of a sitting archbishop.²⁹ Long considered to have originated during the vacancy after the death of Henri de Braine (1240-1245), the existence has recently been proposed of an older prototype in use during the two year hiatus following the death of Guillaume de Champagne in 1202.³⁰ The seal presents in flattened perspective the west front and north flank of a church, both indicated as built in grand appareil.³¹ At the west, a gabled façade and projecting „porch” (?) are shown as framed by two round corner towers, each terminating in a ring of lantern windows capped by an elongated conical roof topped by a large cross.³² Below the gable of the façade, which also carries a cross, is a quatrefoil opening resembling a rose window (?), below which are found two large round-headed openings to either side. At the level of the porch, two curved lines over the wide doorway may possibly be an attempt to indicate a recessed portal structure in advance of the entrance.³³ On the church’s north side, the aisle is clearly distinguishable from the wall of the central vessel above it with its large clerestory windows.³⁴ Simpler, with a doorway much smaller than at the west, the portal at the center would seem to denote the north arm of a transept. If so, the part

24 The text was published by Labbe, *Nova bibliotheca manscriptorum librorum*, Paris, 1653, vol. 1, p. 362, and in Marlot, 1843-1845, vol. 1, p. 509, et 2, p. 708; its significance was recognized by Louis Demaison (1907, pp. 41-44).

25 De isto Seulpho solebant dicere nostri antecessores quod ipse ampliaverat templum hoc quantum continet longitudo arcuum trium. Dicebant quoque quod ipse veterem turrim construxerat, quam dominus Samson archiepiscopus dirui fecit, quando etiam ipse ecclesiam duorum arcuum longitudine ampliavit, et in unoquoque latere turrim unam aedificare inchoavit, anno Incarnati Verbi MCLII (Labbe, 1653, vol. 1, p. 362, as reproduced by Demaison). 26 Demaison, 1926, p. 98-99.

27 Ibid. See also Demaison, 1933, p. 232. Reinhardt (1963a, p. 42) also credits Adalbero, rightly or wrongly, with the tower’s construction.

28 M. Bur, “A propos de la Chronique de Mouzon. II. Architecture et liturgie à Reims au temps d’Adalbéron (vers 976),” *Cahiers de Civilisation* 27, 1984, pp. 297-302.

29 The seal, also known as the sceau de l’officialité, is 50 mm in diameter and carries the inscription “SIGILL’REM ECCLE METROPOLIS.” See P. Demouy, “Les sceaux des archevêques de Reims des origines à la fin du XIIIe siècle,” *Actes du 109e Congrès d Sociétés savants*, Dijon, 1984, Section d’histoire médiévale et Philologie, Paris, 1985, pp. 687-720, and P. Desportes et al., *Diocèse de Reims (Fasti ecclesiae gallicanae 3)*, Tournhout, 1998, p. 21.

30 Desportes et al., 1998, p. 21. Notwithstanding, the earliest extant example dates to 1242 (Demouy, 2005, p. 131).

31 The “masonry”—representing actual stonework or a system of false joints?—is indicated by a cloisonné-like network of hollow squares visible on all parts of the building.

32 It can be assumed that on the seal illustrated here, the north tower also originally carried a cross, now lost—note that the cross of the south tower continues into the register of the surrounding inscription. On other better preserved examples, all three towers carry crosses. Note that the façade is of the same height as the nave roof, i.e., it cannot be construed as a tower.

33 The small rounded feature at the apex of the gable is repeated above the transept portal and again at the eastern termination of the nave roof.

34 All of the windows here are of the same kind as the round-headed openings on the façade. The covering of the aisle and nave are presented in a similar manner; where most evident, over the aisles, this could possibly represent imbrices.

The „sede vacante” seal
(source: P. Demouy, 2005, p. 132)



Imaginative reconstruction of the
Carolingian cathedral by Povillon-
Piérard, 1823



of the building to the left of this would belong to the choir. Farther to the left, an apse is shown extending eastward at a lower level. The image is completed by a tower over the nave of the same type as on the west front; despite its position, this is probably meant to be understood as standing over the crossing.³⁵

XIXth century historians of the cathedral, ignorant of Samson’s mid-XIIth century building campaign, considered the image to depict either the XIIIth century church or its Carolingian predecessor. ■³⁶ Demaison, in 1926, put forward a more nuanced proposition.³⁷ Considering that the seal belonged to the years 1240–1245, he concluded that it is not the Carolingian cathedral that is shown; instead, the building appeared to him „d’apparence plutôt gothique.”³⁸ Suggesting that it had been simplified by the artist (e.g., the absence of flying buttresses), he judged the image to correspond to the mid-XIIIth century cathedral, seen either as it was at that time (with the mid-XIIth century façade in place and the present west front not yet begun) or as it was intended to be on completion. Demaison added, however, that if this

35 The tower has most likely been displaced to the north by the artist (and reduced in size?) in order to fit within the seal.

36 An early example of the latter is the local Romantic erudite, E. Povillon-Piérard, writing of the cathedral of Ebbo and Hincmar: “Un ancien sceau de chapitre nous représente sa forme extérieure. Elle était flanquée de tours, de tourelles; de créneaux, et ressemblait plutôt à une forteresse qu’à une église” (Description historique de l’église métropolitaine de Notre-Dame de Rheims, Reims, 1823, p. 9).

37 As described by Louis Demaison, Il représente une église avec son portail en trios quarts, muni de deux tours amorties par de hautes flèches, et percé en son fronton d’une rosace à trois lobes. Une autre flèche s’élève sur la croupe de la toiture, à l’endroit de la croisée du transept; toutes ces flèches sont surmontées par des croix. Dans le bas-côté s’ouvre une porte latérale; à l’extrémité du chevet est une construction plus basse, indiquant peut-être le profil d’une chapelle de rond-point (1926, p. 111).

Such representations, he wrote, are often fantasies, but others “nous représentent d’une façon un peu sommaire, mais avec une exactitude relative, des édifices qui ont existé réellement, et malgré leur imperfection, nous fournissent à leur sujet des renseignements utiles (ibid.).

38 This he based on the depiction of the twin towers and the “rosace trilobée du fronton” at the west. Troubled somewhat by the fact that the nave windows seemed to him round-headed, he suggested that this may be due to the “l’imprécision de la gravure” (ibid.).

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112. This was a modification of his earlier position in "La cathédrale de Reims, son histoire, les dates de sa construction," *Bulletin monumental*, 66, 1902, pp. 3–59 (pp. 15–16).

40 H. Deneux, *Dix ans de fouilles dans la cathédrale de Reims*, Conférence donnée à la Société des Amis du Vieux-Reims, le 1er juin 1944, Reims, s.d. [1944], p. 23. One finds among his photographs an enlargement (catalogued "DNX-790") of an XIXth century print of the seal showing obverse and reverse, but with much detail eliminated.

41 *Ibid.*

42 *Ibid.* The fact Deneux did not connect the west façade on the seal with the XIIth work of Samson is difficult to explain, for he appears to have believed that that included advanced corner towers.

43 Demouy, 2005, pp. 131–133. In 1985, the same author writes that the church pictured on the seal could evoke the cathedral as it existed prior to 1210, "mais l'image n'est guère précise et peut tout aussi bien être conventionnelle," concluding that it is best "de garder une prudente réserve" (in P. Demouy, R. Laslier and E. Pomarede, *Reims, panorama monumental et architectural des origines à 1914*, Reims, 1985, p. 53). In general, see Demouy, "Les sceaux des archevêques de Reims des origines à la fin du XIIIe siècle," *Actes du 109e Congrès d Sociétés savants*, Dijon, 1984, Section d'histoire médiéval et Philologie, Paris, 1985, pp. 687–720.

44 The recession of space between the towers is unlike Saint-Denis but was also found at early XIth century Chartres.

45 Or does this show a state of the building prior to the construction of the XIIth century choir, therefore likewise bringing into question the ascription of the depicted west front to Samson? A XIIth century date of the foundations of the twin-towered façade discovered by Deneux in the second and third bays of the present nave has been universally accepted; see however Balcon and Berry, 2002, p. 125 and n. 123.

46 See A. Prache, "Les monuments funéraires des Carolingiens élevés à Saint-Remi de Reims au XIIe siècle," *Revue de l'Art* 6, 1969, pp. 68–76 (pp. 70–75), and most recently, Demouy, 2005, p. 34–38.

47 5 vols., Paris, 1729–1733, here vol. 1, 1729, pl. XXVIII.

48 E. Martène and U. Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux bénédictines de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, Paris, 1717, part 2, p. 81. The Montfaucon print shows the church from a slightly different view-point (from the south-southeast) and with distorted proportions. Its more explicit architectural details derive in part from the copyist's reading of the 1717 engraving and in part, it seems, from invention. Two other XVIIIth century copies, both much closer to the original, are illustrated by Mme. Prache (1969, p. 72, fig. 7 and 8).

were not the case, it must show the church as it was after its rebuilding in the mid XIIth century.³⁹

The excavator of the cathedral, Henri Deneux, arrived at a very different conclusion. Apparently with Demaison's interpretation in mind, he wrote in 1944, *Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de jeter un coup d'œil sur le sceau de la métropole. Parce que ce sceau aient encore employé en 1240 et 1245, certains auteurs ont voulu y voir le représentation de la cathédrale actuelle avec ces flèches. Cette hypothèse est peut-être un peu hardie. Il paraît peu probable que des artistes du XIIIe siècle aient représenté notre cathédrale sous cet aspect plutôt roman, et surtout sans arcs-boutants.*⁴⁰

Influenced by the work of Hans Reinhardt and Etienne Fels (see below), Deneux rejected the idea that it is the Carolingian cathedral that is depicted, as the latter must have resembled closely Saint-Riquier and „[n]otre sceau n'a aucune analogie" with the well-known engraved view of that church.⁴¹ Thus, by a process of elimination, he concluded that the seal must represent the Vth century church of Saint Nicasius „dont on aurait perpétué le souvenir à travers les siècles. Cette sceau refait au XIIIe siècle pourrait très bien copier celui ou ceux antérieurs."⁴²

Most recently, Patrick Demouy has noted that even if the extant form of the seal was based on an older model representing the church before the fire of 1210, the worth of the image is only „admissible pour une vague silhouette générale, avec façade harmonique et tour de croisée, qui serait encore carolingienne, mais le dessin est beaucoup trop simplifié et stylisé pour nous renseigner sur l'élévation extérieure."⁴³ This said, the image's curious blend of elements retains a certain interest. While the resemblance of the portal and rose on the façade to Suger's Saint-Denis, which Reinhardt proposed as the model for Reims, might support an identification with the west front erected by Samson, other aspects recall an older type of west front, along the lines of the Xth century Westwerk of Saint Pantaleon at Cologne, with projecting towers and a recessed central space.⁴⁴ For the north flank, Demaison's case for the XIIIth century is unsatisfying, and as Demouy remarks, it is much more consistent with what is known of the IXth century nave. The representation of the east end poses a significant problem in that it does not seem to portray Samson's new Gothic chevet. Was it a conventional representation of an apse used by the artist simply due to a lack of space or was the east end downplayed to give the façade more importance?⁴⁵ The most that can be said is that it seems to show the west end of the building after the IXth century massif and the „old tower" had disappeared and a twin-towered façade added.

Two tall round lantern towers at corners projecting in front of the façade, preceded by a gabled porch(?); above this two round-headed openings and central rose (?)

Nave with aisles

Transept with crossing tower, portal in north terminal wall

Apse/choir

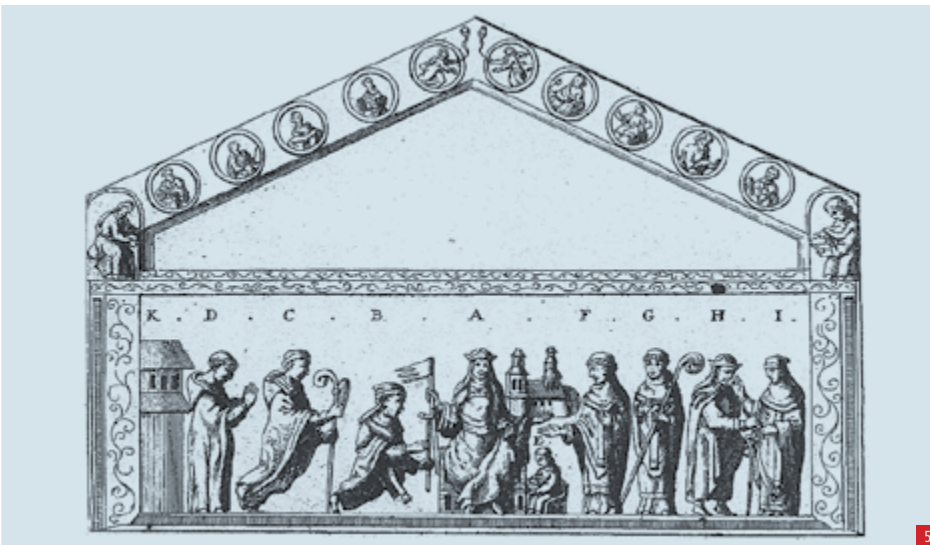
3

Model of the church as represented on the „sede vacante” seal (west to east).



4

Engraving of the relief on the Tomb of Hincmar from Montfaucon's *Les Monuments de la monarchie française*, 1729. (source: A. Prache, 1969, fig. 9)



5

Engraving of the relief on the Tomb of Hincmar from Martène and Durand's *Voyage littéraire*, 1717. (source: A. Prache, 1969, fig; 6)

The Tomb of Hincmar. If the sceau de l'officialité is to be discarded as evidence for the Carolingian western massif, the value of the second image appears to be potentially more positive, although it, too, presents problems of interpretation. This is the representation of a church held in the left hand of the enthroned central figure on the lower bas relief panel of the tomb of Hincmar, datable to ca. 1140.⁴⁶ Formerly in the abbey church of Saint-Remi at Reims and now lost, it is best known from an illustration in the first volume of Montfaucon's *Les Monuments de la monarchie française*, published in 1729 [4](#),⁴⁷ in fact an imprecise copy of an engraving in Martène and Durand's 1717 *Voyage littéraire* [5](#).⁴⁸

49 Martène and Durand, 1717, believed the seated figure to be presenting the church to the archbishop (Prache, 1969, p. 71). Yet the fact that the façade faces the enthroned figure would seem to indicate the reverse, that the church is being presented to that personage by the archbishop (i.e., Hincmar). However, it is also possible that the presence of the model church does not signify an act of presentation but instead is an attribute relating to the seated figure; see Demouy's identification of the seated figure as Maria-Ecclesia, below.

50 Earlier scholarship is summarized in Prache, 1969, pp. 70–72. She asks if the church in the hand of the central figure, "avec son massif occidental," could be any other than the cathedral. Like A.K. Porter before him ("The Tomb of Hincmar and Carolingian sculpture in France," *Burlington Magazine*, 1927, pp. 75–91), K.J. Conant (in *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800–1200*, Pelican History of Art, 2nd rev. ed., Harmondsworth, 1974, p. 46) also felt that this "seems without question." Demouy (2005, p. 34) is equally sure, finding that "le modèle réduit d'une église qui ressemble fort à ce que l'on imagine être la cathédrale carolingienne-alors en place." Michel Bur (1984, p. 297) is also unequivocal, judging it to convey the "double-headed" profile of the IXth century cathedral.

51 Its depiction by the 1729 copyist as a semi-circular apse with windows at ground level and covered by a tiled conical roof is not repeated on the other two copies in the Bibliothèque nationale (Prache, 1969, figs. 7 and 8).

52 This could be due to the non-depiction of the aisle, but the artist has emphasized the idea of projection by the use of vertical hatching to indicate shadow on the nave wall just to the right of the massif (in the process blocking out the possible fourth clerestory window?). Horizontal hatching is added along the whole of the right edge of the massive and its tower (see below). At the left, additional outline seems to have been used to provide a sense of perspective.

53 The same details are found on the two copies illustrated by Mme. Prache (1969, fig. 8 and 9). The artist of the 1727 print understood these as square in plan, the base and second stage covered by hipped roofs and the upper lantern by a pyramidal (?) roof. He shows three openings in the base, two in the intermediary stage and one at the final level.

54 Not indicated on the Martène and Durand engraving (perhaps because of the introduction of the letters of the legend?), this molding is shown on the two copies published by Mme. Prache. On these it is indicated as passing just above the head of the central figure and cutting off the top of the large "tower" at the far left of the scene. The same is implied by the upper border of the frame around the Montfaucon version.

55 Note the artist's use of a heavy line separating the lower part of the massif from the base of the tower, which continues across the "façade" at the left. Rather than indicating a cornice, this could indicate that the tower was located at the center of the façade, much as the 1729 copy shows it (though with the proportions of the two parts unaccountably reversed).

Though interpretation of the scene on the relief has varied,⁴⁹ the church represented has usually been considered to be the cathedral.⁵⁰ This is viewed from the south. There is no indication of side aisle or transept, and the three (or four?) nave clerestory openings and roof above are given no detail; the east end is very sketchily rendered and made even more difficult to read because of the artist's addition of shading.⁵¹ What appears to be the western massif is shown as a blockish structure of the same height as the nave but clearly separate from it, seeming to project slightly to the south.⁵² No windows are shown. Two vertical rows of dots at the center may indicate ashlar masonry – at least it was understood as such by the copyist of the 1729 engraving.

Rather than the body of the church, emphasis is clearly on the cathedral's two towers, the dimensions of which appear to have been enhanced in relation to the rest of the building. The presumed crossing tower is shown as comprised of three stories; shading and added outline along the left edge are perhaps an attempt by the artist to provide volume. The base, pierced on the side visible by two tall, possibly round-headed openings, would appear to be quadrangular. The upper two stories can be read as square, polygonal or round in form, with single openings of undefined type.⁵³ Note that it is likely that the flat termination of the uppermost part of the tower was due to the presence of a cornice across the top of the relief – not indicated on the 1717 engraving – thus cutting off the apex of what may have been a conical roof.⁵⁴ In comparison with the crossing tower, that at the west is shown as different in design and rather more solid in its proportions. The base, the exact form of which – square or barlong – is not evident, rises above the height of the nave roof; it is penetrated by a pair of large round-headed openings and covered by a hipped roof.⁵⁵ It is above which stands a single lantern stage, apparently square and pierced by a single visible round-headed opening. Here, as in the case of the eastern tower, it is possible that the uppermost part – simply the top of the roof or an additional lantern stage? – was not shown by the sculptor because of the cornice above.

The configuration of the Reims eastern tower finds an obvious comparison in the supposedly Carolingian *tristegum* spires of the abbey church and Virgin chapel at Centula as known from three XVIIth century engraved views copied from a lost XIth century original.⁵⁶ As the reliability of these images is a matter of dispute,⁵⁷ a more trustworthy (and perhaps more appropriate) parallel, especially for the Reims western tower, is offered by the well-known representation of bishop Fulbert's cathedral at Chartres ca. 1030 from the *Obituary of the Chapter of Notre-Dame*.⁵⁸ The towers there are shown as having square bases, that at the west having very large openings, and round (or octagonal) upper stories with domical roofs (more-or-less as in the Saint-Riquier engravings).

As to the validity of the depiction of the cathedral on the Hincmar tomb, Patrick Demouy cautions prudence but finds that „à Reims même elle ne pouvait être trop éloignée de la réalité.”⁵⁹ Significant in this regard, Demouy has proposed that the central figure on the relief attired „à la grecque” usually accepted as Charles the Bald, is instead Maria-Ecclesia and that the scenes on the relief form part of a politically-charged *Majestas Domini*, in reality a defense of the prerogative of the archbishop of Reims in administering the royal sacre.⁶⁰ This would add another dimension to the meaning of the model building and could imply that accuracy in representation was important, so as to raise no doubt for the viewer as to the identity of the church portrayed. Thus, the depiction of the cathedral can probably be judged as at least partially reliable as to the state of the building ca. 1130, a century and a half after Adalbero’s modifications. It conveys an idea of the real prominence of the western block and its central (?) tower – probably the *vetera turris* of the XIIth century ordines – in contrast to the smaller (older?) tower over the presumed crossing.⁶¹ But the artist’s selective alteration of the building – enlarging the towers, compressing the nave, eliminating the aisle and transept, and stair turrets flanking a porch (?) – warns of its very limited value for detail except, it seems, for the basic aspects of the two towers.

Western massif Lower unified windowless (?) block carrying single (?) tower of two stages, the first much larger, with two openings, single opening in upper level. No indication of porch or stair turrets.

Nave with no indication of aisle or transept. Three-stage crossing tower smaller than that at the west; two openings at first level, single in each of upper two smaller stages

Vaguely indicated wide semi-circular apse (with windows at ground level?)

6

Model of the cathedral as represented on the Tomb of Hincmar.

56 As shown on XVIIth century prints copied from a now lost XIth century manuscript. Two fairly similar engravings were produced in 1612 for P. Petau, *De Nithardo Caroli Magni nepote*, Paris, 1613, while a third less faithful image was made for the *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, vol. 4, part 1, Paris, 1677. Conant suggested (1974, p.45) that “the masonry construction of the westwerk extended upward only as far as the base of the round drum, and that this drum, like the spire above, was of wood,” referring to an VIIIth century description of a wooden spire at Saint-Wandrille.

57 See D. Parsons, “The Pre-Romanesque Church of Saint-Riquier: The documentary Evidence,” *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 130, 1977, pp. 21-51, and for the question of the towers in particular, V. Janson, “Round or Square? The axial Towers of the Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier,” *Gesta*, 21, 1982, pp. 83-90.

58 Chartres, *Bibl. mun.*, MS N.A. 4, fol. 34. The church had a single tower at the west and two lateral towers at the east, one of which was omitted by the illuminator.

59 Demouy, 2005, p. 125.

60 Demouy, 2005, pp. 34-38, where he explores the tomb’s iconography in terms of the events around the coronations of 1129 and 1131.

61 A comparison of the representation of the tower here with that on the XIIIth century *secau de l’officialité* would seem to confirm that the latter was a simplified reduction.

PART II. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CAROLINGIAN WESTERN MASSIF

Since the XIXth century, each generation of scholars has added a new layer of interpretation concerning the western massif. Understanding of this today can hardly escape this heritage, as certain recurrent themes and unresolved questions continue to condition present opinion. The purpose here is to outline the overall evolution of the main arguments down to the early 1990s. In face of an extensive bibliography treatment here is necessarily selective, and the presentation narrative rather than thematic, and repetitive in a way as the same few documents came to be interpreted and reinterpreted over the course of a century and a half. This begins with a review of the opposed conceptions of the massif prior to 1914, followed by an analysis of the effect of the results of post-war excavation and the influence of comparison to Saint-Riquier and Corvey in the 1930s, leading up to the publication of Hans Reinhardt’s 1963 monograph on Notre-Dame and its aftermath. The section ends with the collapse of the Saint-Riquier paradigm and its implications for Reims.

Source interpretation before the First World War

Prior to the excavations of the 1920s, scholars addressing the question of the arcuatum opus were obliged to rely in large part on the information provided by the continuer of Flodoard's *Annals* and Richer. Toward the end of the XIXth century, these texts came to be interpreted in either of two opposed manners and became the subject of debate especially around the time of the XIVth Centenary of the Baptism of Clovis in 1896. The main points of the argument would seem today to be purely semantic, but at stake for the different proponents was whether the baptistery of Clovis could or could not be located by text analysis alone, and for one side, the underlying ideological argument was more important than the simple meaning of several key words.

Reading for the literal sense: Tourneur, Quicherat and Demaison. For much of the XIXth century, the majority view concerning the opus arcuatum among local historians of the cathedral was based on a literal reading of the sources. In 1860, for example, the influential abbé Louis-Victor Tourneur began by translating from Richer: „une construction voûtée qui s'étendait depuis l'entrée jusqu'environ au quart de l'édifice, et s'élevait à une grande hauteur,„⁶² then interposed from the *Annals* the information that the altar of the Holy Savior and the baptismal font were placed „Sur cette voûte,„⁶³ Next he returned to Richer for the dismantling of the structure by Adalbero, that gave „à l'intérieur du vaisseau de l'espace et de l'air,“ after which the archbishop placed the relics of Calixtus „[p]rès des portes de l'église, à l'intérieur ... en un lieu élevé“ and installed an oratory there.⁶⁴ Tourneur— apparently unaware of the possible contradictions between the two texts concerning the location of the vaulted structure in relation to the cathedral's west front— did not attempt to go beyond what seem to have been for him the bare facts.

Tourneur evidently wrote independently of remarks made six years earlier by Jules Quicherat, professor of archaeology at the *Ecole des Chartres*. His brief observation appeared in the perspective of a general discussion of vaulting in pre-Romanesque buildings: „le continuateur de Flodoard nous apprend qu'elle [the cathedral] posséda, jusqu'à la fin du Xe siècle, une tribune adossée intérieurement au mur de la façade et cette tribune portait sur une voûte; du moins on peut interpréter ainsi le témoignage du chroniqueur.“⁶⁵ This was clearly based on the *Annals* passage alone – in fact, it is not sure that Quicherat knew of Richer's description.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, his solution offered a cogent explanation for the major inconsistency between the *Annals* and Richer's descriptions by understanding the arcuatum opus as a sort of tribune and placing it firmly inside the church, thus excluding the alternative situation west of the façade. In addition, his suggestion made possible an explanation of how the elimination of the structure could have opened up the church along one-fourth of its internal length as Richer stated.

Later in the century, the archivist Louis Demaison began to open new ground through his study of the documentary sources for the pre-XIIIth century

62 This appeared in his fundamental article, "La cathédrale de Reims," *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims*, 29, 1860, pp. 53-78 (here pp. 70-71), his translation of Richer being based on the G. H. Pertz 1839 edition (MGH, SS, III, p. 613), with the mistaken 969 date. This article was repeated in the *Bulletin monumental* 29, 1863, pp. 449-475, and formed the basis of his *Description historique et archéologique de Notre-Dame de Reims*, Reims, 1861, by which Tourneur's work was known to most later writers (especially through the fifth edition of 1889).

63 The passage from the *Annals* he inserted was drawn from on the text published by Dom Marlot (cited in n. 1, p. 71) instead of Pertz's edition (MGH, SS, III, p. 407). It is interesting that Tourneur, so important for perpetuating the local tradition, did not take up Marlot's alternative reading (see below).

64 Tourneur, 1860, p. 71.

65 This appeared in the fourth installment of his article, "De l'architecture romane," *Revue Archéologique* 11, 1854, pp. 668-690, republished in J. Quicherat, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire. Archéologie du moyen âge. Mémoires et fragments réunis par Robert de Lasteyrie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886, vol. 2, pp. 130-152. He drew not on the Pertz edition of the text but that published by A. Duchesne, *Historiae francorum scriptores*, Paris, 1636-1649, 5 vols., vol. 2, p. 623.

66 Lasteyrie was aware of this, writing that (1909, p. 229, n. 3): "Quicherat ne cite pas le texte de Richer, et je ne l'ai pas trouvé dans les nombreux extraits qu'il avait réunis et qui m'ont servi à annoter les fragments qu'il avait laissés et que j'ai publiés après sa mort."

church. Writing of the arcuatam opus in 1894, he accepted Quicherat's proposition, though, at pains to distinguish between the evidence provided by the two texts, he did so with some apparent indecision.⁶⁷ He conceded that the continuer of the *Annals* described an „ouvrage muni d'arcades ... qui était près les portes de l'église ... sur lequel se trouvait un autel dédié au Saint-Sauveur, et les fonts d'un admirable travail.”⁶⁸ On the other hand, aware of the conflict between the two texts, he points out that Richer,

nous parle d'arcades élevées qui s'avançaient depuis l'entrée jusqu'au quart environne la basilique entière. Autant qu'on peut en juger par ces données fort obscures, il agit d'une construction intérieure qui encombrait l'église, d'une tribune peut-être, ainsi que le pensait Jules Quicherat, en tout cas, d'un ouvrage qui n'était probablement pas antérieur à l'époque carolingienne.⁶⁹

This said, Demaison – perhaps because he was not entirely convinced by this explanation – adds that the baptistery was probably to be found „compris dans les limites de la cathédrale actuelle, qui a embrassé dans sa vaste étendue tout l'espace occupé par l'ancienne cathédrale et par une partie des constructions voisines.”⁷⁰

Alternative solutions: Lot and Jubaru. The 1890s was a time ripe for new interpretations. An insightful attempt to reconcile the texts was put forward by the historian Ferdinand Lot in 1891, whose thesis was that the structure that Adalbero „détruisit de fond en comble,” what was in reality „une crypte voûtée qui sortait à moitié du sol et qui devait être fort gênante,” as it took up a fourth of the cathedral's length „à partir des portes.”⁷¹ Though his proposition was misunderstood at the time, Lot (like Quicherat) correctly described the presence of a cumbersome vaulted structure supporting an altar and occupying the western part of the church, anticipating in a way Jean Hubert's concept of *cryptae inferiores* and *superiores*.⁷² Also, Lot's used the *Chronicle of Mouzon* to define the relationship of the cathedral and the church of Saint-Denis,⁷³ a point that will be taken up in the work of Michel Bur nearly a century later (discussed below).

Much more influential, however, was the position taken by F. Jubaru, S.J., in 1896.⁷⁴ His argument revolved around the idea that the Vth century atrium and baptistery had escaped destruction when Ebbo rebuilt the cathedral, which was extended to the east but not to the west, thus „perpétuant le souvenir du baptême de Clovis des Francs”.⁷⁵ In effect, his hypothesis was an enlargement of that of the XVIIth century local church historian Dom Guillaume Marlot,⁷⁶ who had understood the words of the continuer of the *Annals* to describe an arcaded structure in front of the cathedral, near which were located the baptistery and the altar of the Savior.⁷⁷ Like Marlot, he judged the chroniclers' words not to describe the demolition of a structure inside the church but the atrium and baptistery outside when Adalbero „jeta bas les arcades du parvis et sur l'emplacement de l'atrium prolongea le vaisseau de la cathédrale.”⁷⁸ Rejecting the possibility of a font located on an interior tribune (Quicherat) or crypt (Lot) as „une inexplicable étrangeté,” he concluded

67 “Le lieu du Baptême de Clovis,” *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims* 97, 1894-1895, pp. 269-291, (pp. 290-1). This was also published as an annex to G. Kurth, *Clovis, Tours*, 1896, and in a revised form in Kruth, *Clovis*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1901, vol. 2, pp. 287-314, discussed below.

68 Demaison, 1896, p. 290, in doing so, he characterized Marlot's reading as “rein n'est moins sûr.”

69 *Ibid.*

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 290-291. Here Demaison may have meant the area west of the present sixth nave bay, where tradition placed the façade of the Vth century basilica was located (see n. 80, below). His reference to “des constructions voisines” may refer to contemporary belief that work on the three final western bays of the present cathedral had been blocked until the XIVth century by the existence of buildings west of the fourth nave bay (e.g., *Tourneur*, 1889, pp. 93-94); for the famous “coupure Tourneur,” see P. Kurmann, *La façade de la cathédrale de Reims: Architecture et sculpture des portails; Etude archéologique et stylistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Lausanne, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 59-62. The existence of Samson's mid-XII century façade was unsuspected at this date. Demaison's phrasing might suggest that he was not completely convinced in his rejection of Marlot's understanding of the documents even before becoming aware of father Jubaru's proposition (see below). His words could also imply that he believed Ebbo had destroyed the baptistery.

71 *Les derniers Carolingiens*, Lothaire, Louis V, Charles de Lorraine, 954-991, Paris, 1891, p. 73.

72 “‘Cryptae inferiores’ et ‘Cryptae superiores’ dans l'architecture religieuse de l'époque carolingienne,” in *Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, Paris, 1951, pp. 351-357.

73 From his reading of the *Chronicle*, Lot concluded (1891, p. 74) that Richer's use of *ampliore receptaculo* in describing the result of Adalbero's modifications was due to his having erected the church of Saint-Denis immediately west of the cathedral, “porte à porte et communicant avec elle”—for which he was roundly criticized by Demaison (1907, p. 45, n. 1).

74 F. Jubaru, “Clovis a-t-il été baptisé à Reims”, *Etudes religieuses, historiques et littéraires* 67, 1896, p. 292-320.

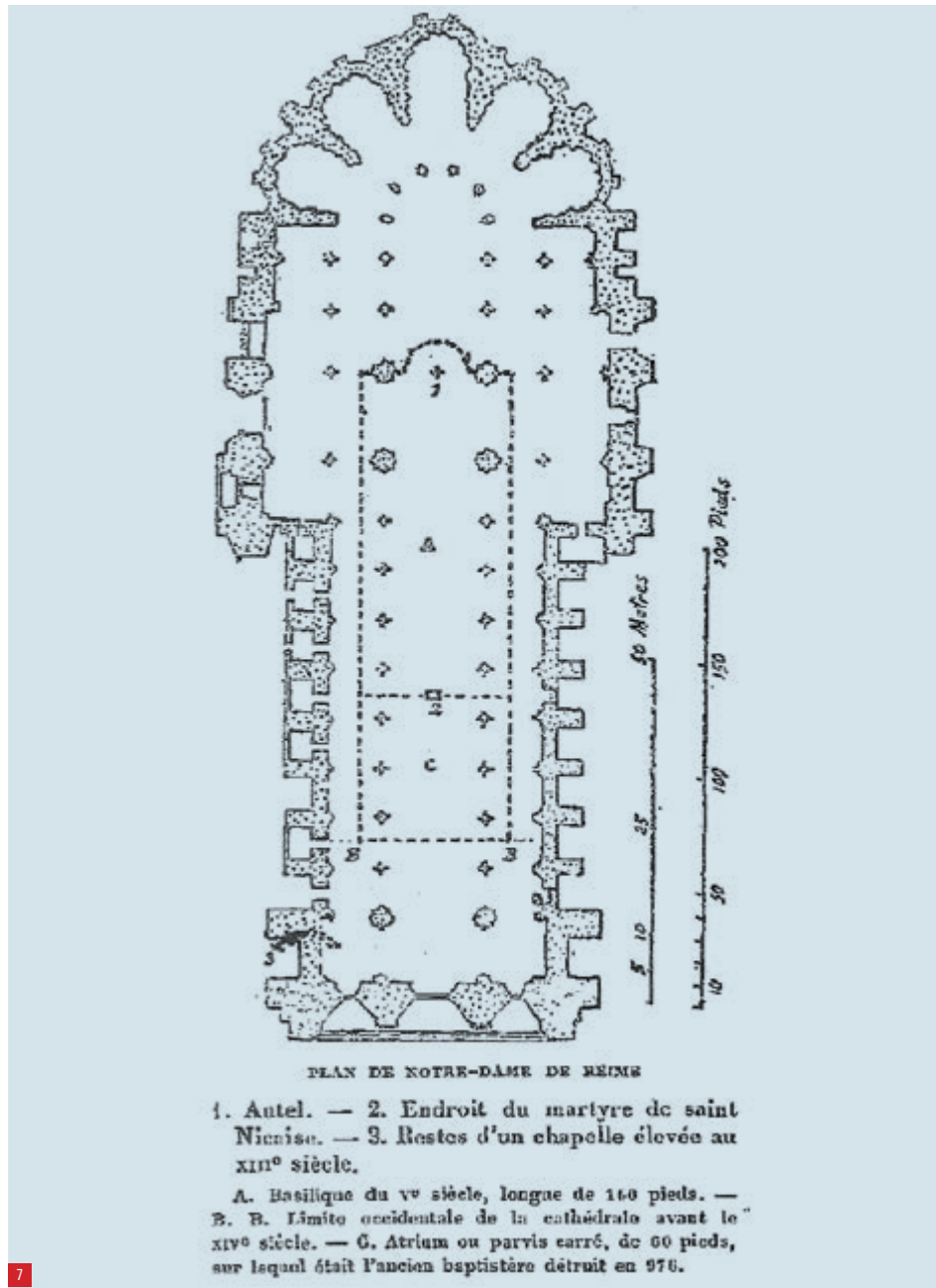
75 *Ibid.*, p. 302-303. Due to “les plus précieux souvenirs” attached to the atrium and baptistery, the IXth century builders were constrained to enlarge the church “du côté du chœur” (p. 307).

76 Author of *Metropolis Remensis Historia*, 2 vols., Lille et Reims, 1666-1679, translated and republished as *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, 4 vols., Reims, 1843-1847.

77 Marlot, 1666-1679, vol. 1, p. 160. Marlot's reading of supra in the *Annals* passage is unexplained. Was he guided by a later forgotten tradition?

78 Jubaru, 1896, p. 307.

Jubaru's hypothetical reconstruction of the primitive cathedral and atrium, 1896



79 Ibid., p. 308. For Jubaru, Adalbero's extension of the building by "a fourth of its length" as Richer describes would have entailed the destruction of the atrium, thus placing the façade of the Xth century in the third bay of the present church (i.e., on the limit of the atrium's west side). This he finds this consistent with the then current belief that the present west front had been blocked until the XIVth century by buildings beyond this point (ibid., pp. 302, n. 4, and 306), citing Tourneur, 1889; see n. 70, above. In fixing the atrium in its urban context, Jubaru made astute use of available archaeological knowledge of the city center (plan p. 316), overlying his plan of the Vth century cathedral on the Antique street pattern proposed by N. Burnette, *Plan de Reims antique pour servir aux explorations du sol de la cite gallo-romaine*, Reims, 1846.

80 Jubaru, 1896, p. 302, drawing on Tourneur (1889, p. 94, repeating 1860, pp. 56-57) for the length of the basilica and on Gregory of Tours for the size of the atrium (comparisons to the dimensions of the atria of Saint-Martin at Tours and Clermont). For the "Rouelle," see J. Leflon, *Histoire de l'église de Reims du I^{er} au V^e siècle*, *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims* 152, 1941, pp. 161-163.

that Richer's description of Adalbero's subsequent enlargement of the church – *ampliori receptaculo* – could only have been obtained by the destruction of the atrium.⁷⁹ Drawing on abbé Tourneur's contention that neither the high altar nor the „Rouelle” (the monument marking the supposed place of the martyrdom of Nicasius at the door of his church) in the sixth bay of the present cathedral had ever been moved, he established the length of the primitive basilica as between 150 and 160 feet, to which he added 60 feet for the atrium, which permitted him to reconstruct the plan of the primitive basilica.⁸⁰ 7

An insightful point made by Jubaru in this connection turned on the destruction of the font „of remarkable workmanship” mentioned in the *Annals*,

for which the chronicler appears to reprimand Adalbero.⁸¹ Jubaru suggested that if this had been a more recent, Carolingian font, it „eût été facile des conserver, en la transférant.” The coincidence of its loss with the dismantling of the arcuatam opus instead appeared to better suit

des fonts à la manière antique; la piscine formée de maçonnerie adhérente au sol, couverte d'un enduit de ciment ... ne se prêtait à aucun déplacement. L'archevêque ne pouvait le conserver, s'il voulait agrandir l'espace entre l'autel et l'entrée de la nef, et donner à cette partie de l'église de dimensions en rapport avec le reste de l'édifice.⁸²

Regarding the key phrase *supra opus arcuatam* in the Annals passage, Jubaru first defined this feature as an „ouvrage garni d'arcades,” noting that this „s'applique aisément à tout l'ensemble d'un atrium dallé et entouré de galeries cintrées.”⁸³ As for the meaning of *supra* in particular, he contended it specified here „opposite” rather than „above,”⁸⁴ which he believed to confirm the location of the baptistery facing the entrance to the church and likely situated in the center of the atrium.⁸⁵

Jubaru's understanding of the sources as descriptions of an atrium rather than a vaguely defined later vaulted structure provided a persuasive solution that many scholars wanted to believe. The attractiveness of the hypothesis at the time must be understood in the setting of the XIVth Centennial of the Baptism of Clovis amid mounting conflict between church and state, which would lead to their complete separation nine years later.⁸⁶ This tension and a hope for compromise is palpable in the final words of Jubaru's article – „Autour de l'autel de Notre-Dame de Reims, il y n'y a plus qu'un peuple de chrétiens; l'unité de foi vient d'enfanter l'unité nationale.”⁸⁷

Louis Demaison changes sides. In the immediate aftermath of the 1896 Clovis anniversary Jubaru's position came to be widely accepted, for example by the historians Philippe Lauer⁸⁸ and Henri Leclercq,⁸⁹ but most importantly by Louis Demaison. The latter's vault-face is found in the 1901 revision of his „Le lieu du baptême de Clovis” of 1896,⁹⁰ in which he now judged Quicherat's position „en somme peu probable” and Jubaru's reconciliation of the written sources „la vraie solution du problème.”⁹¹ He now accepted Marlot's reading of the Annals—“Ce passage semble bien s'appliquer à un baptistère primitive, construction isolée, située en dehors et à proximité de l'entrée de l'église”⁹²—because, as Jubaru had shown, Richer's „*ampliori receptaculo decorate*” referred to Adalbero's extension of the nave over the emplacement of the former atrium.⁹³

Demaison's fullest apology for the Jubaru thesis came in his 1907 article on the history of the Carolingian cathedral down to the XIIth century,⁹⁴ in which he made a major and lasting contribution to the history of the pre-XIIIth century cathedral by bringing into play „new” documents, including the gloss of an anonymous XIIth century canon with evidence for archbishop Samson's demolition of an „old tower”⁹⁵ and references to the same tower in the

81 Jubaru, 1896, p. 309.

82 Ibid. pp. 309-310.

83 Jubaru, 1896, p. 308.

84 Ibid., pp. 308-309. Appealing to the *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latininitatis* of Du Cange, he wrote “le terme *supra*, au moyen âge, n'est pas pris dans le sens seul de *superposition*, mais souvent aussi indique la *juxtaposition*, le voisinage immédiate.”

85 Ibid., pp. 304 and 309. Jubaru advanced (p. 310, n. 1) the possibility that the well-known IXth century ivory plaque showing the Baptism of Clovis (Musée de Picardie, Amiens) and probably produced at Reims depicted the scene in the still-existent atrium of the cathedral. 86 See the various papers in the tenth section of *Clovis histoire et mémoire*, 2 vols., M. Rouche, ed., Paris 1997, vol. 2, pp. 683-774.

87 Ibid., p. 320. Similar sentiment is found in the introductory passages of Demaison, 1896, pp. 269-270. 88 *Les Annales de Flodoard*, publiées d'après les manuscrits, Paris, 1906, p. 161, finding this “de beaucoup la plus plausible.”

89 “Clovis,” *DACL*, vol. 3, col. 2037-2074 (published 1914).

90 This was prepared for the second edition of *G. Kurth's Clovis* (Paris, 1901, pp. 287-314). The immediate effect of Jubaru on Demaison is evident in the final note to his 1896 “*Lieu du baptême*” article, inserted apparently after the type had already been set: “on trouve dans son travail des aperçus nouveaux et ingénieux. La question vaudrait le peine d'être discutée de nouveau” (1896, p. 291, n. 1).

91 Ibid., p. 312.

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., p. 314; cf. *idem*, 1896, pp. 290-291. This suited Demaison's existing presumption, mentioned above, that the baptistery was to be found in the western part of the XIIIth century nave, perhaps most likely in the third to fifth bays, as he, too, believed the two bays of the present west front to be of XIVth century date; see n. 70, above.

94 “La cathédrale carolingienne de Reims et ses transformations au XIIe siècle,” *Bulletin Archéologique*, 1907, pp. 41-57.

95 Ibid., pp. 41-44 (gloss) and 53-54 (demolition of the “old tower”).

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

97 In doing so, he amplified his criticisms of Quicherat (*ibid.*, pp. 44–45 and 47) and Lot (p. 45, n. 1), and recapped point by point the arguments for accepting the arcuatum opus as an atrium (pp. 46–48). Especially interesting is Demaison's apology for his recourse to informed speculation (and in effect his adherence to Jubaru's theories) by noting that all of the data provided by the written sources concerning the arcuatum opus "sont assez obscures, et l'on regrette que nos auteurs ne se soient pas exprimés d'une façon plus nette. Ils ne font qu'exciter notre curiosité sans la satisfaire, et pour les comprendre, on en est réduit aux hypothèses" (p. 45).

98 *Ibid.*, p. 54 and n. 2, where he reasoned that Richer's mention of the installation of bells by Adalbero implies "l'existence d'une tour où elles devaient être placées," a point which later will be reiterated by H. Reinhardt. At this point, Demaison located Adalbero's oratory of Saint Caixtus, as mentioned by Richer, "à l'entrée de la cathédrale," on the ground floor of the tower that he "avait élevée sur son nouveau portail," (pp. 54–55), though he admitted that the chronicler's words seem to indicate that the chapel may have been reached "par quelques degrés" (p. 55, n. 1). He will defend this position again, with alterations, in articles of 1926 and 1933.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

100 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

101 Demaison, 1901, p. 27.

102 Demaison, 1907, p. 56. Note that he was at pains to show that though the nave was extended three bays by Adalbero (over the former atrium) and two more by Samson, it fell considerably short of the present west front (pp. 56–57).

103 Giving as evidence a document of 1299 placing the "Rouelle" in the sixth bay (1907, p. 46, n. 2); he had already cited this in *idem*, "La cathédrale de Reims, Son histoire, les dates de sa construction," *Bulletin monumental*, 66, 1902, pp. 3–59, (pp. 30–31).

104 "Note sur la cathédrale de Reims à l'époque carolingienne," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes-rendus*, 53^e année, n° 3, 1909, pp. 228–239. Lasteyrie had succeeded Quicherat as professor of archaeology at the *École des chartes* in 1880.

105 Lasteyrie, 1909, pp. 229–230, replying to Demaison, 1907, pp. 44–45 (taking the latter's remarks out of their context) but perhaps taking umbrage most to that author's oblique reference to Quicherat on p. 47, where he wrote that he could not see "comment l'on pourrait se tirer d'affaire en plaçant à l'intérieure de la basilique les arcs détruits par Adalbéron."

106 Demaison, 1907, p. 45, n. 1.

107 Lasteyrie, 1909, pp. 230–231. Evidently unaware of the similarity of Lot's proposition to Quicherat's and his own, he argues two points against Lot's suggestion. As the "crypt" would have extended along the whole of the façade (citing the use of *secus valvas* by the continuer of the *Annals*) and would have been partly below ground ("une crypte est toujours enfouie partiellement au moins dans le sol"), access to the church would have to have been through "une partie plus ou moins souterraine," which could not be explained by the topography of Reims. Also, as a crypt is "toujours une construction peu élevée," it would not fit Richer's description of the feature in question as an eminent structure.

XIIth century ordines⁹⁶. Maintaining his partisan defense of Jubaru,⁹⁷ he understandably attributes the „old tower” to Adalbero as part of what he believed to be the archbishop's late Xth century extension of the nave after his demolition of the old atrium.⁹⁸ Demaison concluded that even if these texts „s'éclaircissent réciproquement et arrivent à nous faire connaître l'une des dispositions de l'antique église,”⁹⁹ adequate evidence was lacking nevertheless for the reconstruction of either the Carolingian or the XIIth century cathedral without recourse to excavation.¹⁰⁰

Present west front (bays 1–3 of the present nave built in XIV th century) after demolition of buildings	Two bays added by Samson 1152. the present nave bays 4 and 5 built over this	V th century atrium and baptistery destroyed 976. Adalbero extends IX th century nave three bays to west after 976	IX th century nave façade built over that of the V th century
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Model of the basic elements of Demaison's 1907 development of Jubaru's thesis.

It must be stressed how much the location of the Vth century façade has constituted a major point for writers treating the cathedral's western massif. Its significance stemmed initially from its importance for positioning the three bays of the arcuatum opus, to which was then added the two ancillary bays of Samson's façade. Demaison had already seconded Jubaru in 1901 in adhering to abbé Tourneur's situation of the „Rouelle” in the sixth bay of the nave: „La tradition a gardé aussi u souvenir précis de l'endroit où s'ouvrait le porte de la basilique ... le lieu de son martyr était resté l'objet d'une vénération non interrompue à travers les âges.”¹⁰¹ In 1907 he could state that nave „devait être assez grande, ayant été augmentée successivement de cinq travées par Adalbéron et par Samson; mais bien que nous connaissons le point de départ, l'emplacement du portail primitive, coïncidant avec le lieu du martyr de saint Nicaise.”¹⁰² Central to his thesis was his belief that the location of the „Rouelle” was „très exactement connu” and that those writers who believed that this had been moved from an initially situation in the eighth nave bay were simply mistaken.¹⁰³

Toward a new consensus: Lasteyrie, Durand and Effmann

The last years before the outbreak of war in 1914 witnessed an accelerated evolution of the arcuatum opus debate and a convergence toward a new model that would dominate thinking about the Reims western massif for much of the remainder of the XXth century.

Lasteyrie contra Jubaru and Demaison. The first step was Robert de Lasteyrie's 1909 defense of Quicherat's interpretation by means of a systematic dismantling of the Jubaru-Demaison position.¹⁰⁴ Although a careful reading today raises questions as to the soundness of some of his arguments – the po-

lemic character of the subject possibly led him into advancing arguments not always apposite – his criticism soon came to be viewed as definitive and was accepted in time by Demaison himself. Lasteyrie directed his critique against several key points, beginning with Demaison's (in truth rhetorical) submission that the „tribune” envisioned by Quicherat inside the nave might have been an older structure integrated in the Carolingian cathedral, which Lasteyrie labeled „useless” as it displaced the difficulty without resolving it.¹⁰⁵ He next dismissed Demaison's negative assessment of Lot's suggestion of a „crypt” occupying the western fourth of the church¹⁰⁶ before objecting to Lot's interpretation himself.¹⁰⁷

Lasteyrie's objections to specific aspects of Jubaru's proposition are of particular interest. He first questioned the idea that under Ebbo, in respect for the place of martyrdom of Nicasius at the portal of the Vth century basilica, the cathedral had been enlarged only to the east.¹⁰⁸ Though he admitted this was not impossible, Lasteyrie reasoned that the Carolingian church could have been enlarged to the west expressly to protect this venerated spot.¹⁰⁹ As to the existence of an atrium – of the Vth century or one renovated in the IXth – Lasteyrie was not opposed categorically,¹¹⁰ but he was certain that this could not have been the structure removed by Adalbero.¹¹¹ For proof, he stipulated that the term *arcuatam opus*, which he qualified as an „expression vague and peu intelligible,” did not indicate the galleries of an atrium, and that it was unthinkable that the continuer of the *Annals* or Richer would not have used the word atrium if it was in fact an atrium that Adalbero had destroyed.¹¹² Furthermore, this structure was not to be found in front of the church but in the interior (*secus valvas ecclesiae*) and it occupied one-fourth of its length counting from the entrance (*ab ecclesiae introit*).¹¹³ To this the author added other „preuves encore plus catégoriques.” The first two of these „proofs” form in fact the weakest part of his argument, taking Demaison to task for suggesting as a parallel the baptistery of the cathedral of Parenzo (Porêc, Croatia)¹¹⁴ and dismissing his hypothesis for creating an „atrium bien encombré!”¹¹⁵

More telling is Lasteyrie's attack on his adversaries over the meaning of the word *supra*, showing to his own satisfaction that it could only connote „above” and not „opposite” as Jubaru had believed.¹¹⁶ Finally, Lasteyrie points out that by suppressing the vaulted structure inside the nave, Adalbero „ait pu sensiblement agrandir sa cathédrale, quoiqu'aucune texte ne dise qu'il y ait fait des constructions nouvelles.”¹¹⁷

Assured of having disposed of the main pillars of the Jubaru-Demaison position, Lasteyrie altered his discourse to flesh out Quicherat's bare description of the massif,¹¹⁸ in the process coming close to the classic descriptions of Durand and Effmann of Saint-Riquier. He repeated that a literal reading of the chronicles showed that the *arcuatam opus* had consisted of a spacious upper story carried by a relatively tall vaulted structure at ground level

108 Jubaru, 1896, pp. 306-307.

109 One remarks here not only once again the importance of the location of the Vth century facade but also how it could be turned to support other arguments than Jubaru and Demaison's: "Mais on peut supposer avec non moins de vraisemblance que pour mieux garantir ce lieu contre toute profanation, Ebbon l'aura enfermé à l'intérieure de la nouvelle cathédrale, ce qui donnait aux fidèles plus de facilités pour y venir faire leurs dévotions" (Lasteyrie, 1909, p. 232). He believed this solution correct "jusqu'à preuve du contraire, ne me paraît pas la moins plausible" (*ibid.*, p. 233).

110 Lasteyrie does not reject entirely the existence of a IXth century atrium, observing (*ibid.*) that Ebbo "n'a pas dû conserver sans nécessité un accessoire occupant autant de place." He adds that though there is no mention of an atrium in the sources from Flodoard to the XIth century, such a silence is "pas toujours probant."

111 "[M]ais serait-elle prouvée, que je ne saurais accepter l'identification de cet atrium avec la construction supprimée en 976" (*ibid.*).

112 *Ibid.*, p. 234. Additionally, Lasteyrie contended that even if there had been an atrium, at that period it would not have been vaulted. Therefore Richer's use of *fornice* could not apply to an atrium.¹¹³ *Ibid.* Demaison had been obliged to posit that the length mentioned included the atrium (1907, 47). For Lasteyrie, whether *per quartam pene totius basilicae* referred to the total length of the church or only the nave was secondary; for him the main point was that it was inside the building (*ibid.*, 234-5).

114 Demaison, 1907, p. 47. Lasteyrie labels the comparison "mal fondée" on the grounds that "s'il est vrai que les fonts baptismaux de la basilique de Parenzo sont placés dans l'atrium ... ils ne sont pas enfermés dans un baptistère et aucun autel ne les accompagne" (1909, p. 235). In fact, the octagonal baptistery building is one of the better-known of VIth century examples; see S. Ristow, *Frühchristliche Baptisterien*, (*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 27), Münster, 1998, notice n° 469, p. 204. Also, Demaison does not infer that an altar was found in the Parenzo baptistery.

115 Lasteyrie 1909, p. 235, reacting to Demaison's suggestion (1907, p. 47) that the baptistery was to be found in the atrium with the Saint-Saveur altar either in that building or perhaps in a "chapelle contiguë." The disposition proposed by Demaison seems to have been a baptistery that "se reliait aux arcades et se rattachait à l'atrium" (as at Parenzo) that occupied the west side of the atrium. Note that Jubaru, 1896, 307, was not as specific, seeing the baptistery as either standing "au milieu de l'atrium" or on "la face latérale."

116 Lasteyrie, 1909, pp. 235-237, contra Jubaru, 1896, pp. 308-309 and Demaison, 1901, pp. 313-314, and 1907, p. 47.

117 Lasteyrie, 1909, p. 239.

118 Lasteyrie asks disarmingly (1909, p. 235), "Mais l'aurait-elle, pourquoi s'écarter du sens usuel, pourquoi entasser tant d'hypothèses quand la traduction littérale ... peut tirer une interprétation parfaitement satisfaisante?" Namely that of Quicherat. Lasteyrie, however, makes an interesting aside, saying that "tout le monde l'eût acceptée si les idées qu'il professait sur l'origine des voûtes ne l'avaient empêché de l'exprimer avec toute la netteté voulue" (p. 237).

built against the inner face of the facade and extending two or more probably three bays into the church.¹¹⁹ He suggested that the lower level would no doubt have been groin-vaulted, „dont les supports étaient assez rapprochés,” creating the encumbered space that Adalbero later had cleared away.¹²⁰ Rejecting a resemblance to the semi-independent avant-nef at Tournus, Lasteyrie suggested that the Reims massif opened toward the body of the church „par des arcades analogues à celles qui reliaient la nef aux bas-côtés.”¹²¹ The presence of an altar on the tribune he found unexceptional for the IXth century,¹²² and, though he admitted a baptismal font there seemed without parallel, that, too, he felt was not impossible.¹²³

More importantly, Lasteyrie was the first to recognize that the Reims massif belonged to a known type of Carolingian entrance structure. For this he cited extant examples in Germany, „où les traditions carlovingiennes se sont conservées plus longtemps que chez nous,” including Hildesheim cathedral, Hersfeld, Paulinzelle and Hirsau.¹²⁴ In addition, besides the documented case of Le Mans cathedral, he pointed to Saint-Pierre de Jumièges (Seine-Maritime) as an existing example of a western massif in France.¹²⁵

119 Ibid., p. 237. Following the continuer of the Annals of Flodoard, Lasteyrie describes this as “adossée aux portes de la cathédrale,” adding that he will not discuss the possibility that the tribune could have continued above the side aisles because “il a existé plus d’une église dont l’extrémité occidentale était munie d’une éminence structurale ou d’un arcuatum opus, sans qu’il y eût des tribunes sur les bas-côtés” (p. 238).

120 Ibid., p. 239.

121 Ibid., p. 237.

122 Ibid., giving as an example the IXth century cathedral of Le Mans (Sarthe), where he believed an altar had been placed “dans une tribune adossée au mur de façade,” as at Reims.

123 Ibid., p. 238. He suggested that in that time of rapid liturgical change, when baptismal fonts were being introduced into the interior of the church building, “il était plus pratique, si on ne voulait pas, comme on l’a fait depuis, les reléguer dans un bas-côté, de les monter sur une tribune construite au bas de la nef” 124 Ibid. One notes the absence of Corvey in the list and also Lasteyrie’s apparent unawareness of archbishop Ebbo’s close relationship with Hildesheim.

125 Ibid. Lasteyrie considered that the Jumièges west tribune was of Carolingian date.

126 See note 1, above. Effmann had previously published work on Werden (1899) and his monograph on Corvey would be published posthumously in 1929.

127 See S. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier, the Symbolic Vision of Angilbert*, Philadelphia, 1985, p. 12, n. 45 (pp. 163–164), with bibliographic discussion and references to recent editions of the sources.

128 F. Lot, *Hariulf. Chronique de l’abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle, 1104)*, Collection de textes pour servir à l’étude et à l’enseignement de l’histoire, vol. 17, Paris, 1894, which included the publication of the *Institutio*.

Tribune of three bays equivalent to the western three bays opened up by Adalbero

9

Portal of Vth century (between the third and fourth nave bays of the XIIIth century nave)

Model of the Quicherat/Lasteyrie hypothesis.

A widening perspective – Saint-Riquier and Corvey. As Lasteyrie was composing his defense of Quicherat, Georges Durand and Wilhelm Effmann were autonomously engaged in their well-known studies of the abbey of Centula in the Somme, the results of which appeared in 1911 and 1912 respectively.¹²⁶ If Lasteyrie’s 1909 article acted as a call to order and effectively closed a long first chapter in the historiography of the Reims western massif, a new one was opened by the recognition of the abbey church of Saint-Riquier at Centula as parallel and prototype. Any lingering ambiguities concerning the arcuatum opus seemed cleared away, setting the stage for the ensuing work of Hans Reinhardt and Etienne Fels in the 1930s.

Durand’s approach was essentially source-based, drawing on the information provided by two texts. The first of these, the *Libellus* – accredited to Angilbert, the „Homer” of Charlemagne’s court circle, who enlarged and rebuilt the abbey in the final decade of the VIIIth century – contains both a compilation of the abbey’s particular ceremonial liturgy (the *Institutio de diversitate officiorum*), as well as a descriptive account of the monastery and its three churches (the *De perfectione Centulensis ecclesiae*).¹²⁷ The second text, Hariulf’s *Chronicon Centulense*, dating to the end of the XIth century, recorded the history of the monastery from its foundation by Saint Richarius down to his own time.¹²⁸ Descriptions of the western massif of the abbey church in

particular, dedicated as it was to the Holy Savior, led Durand to propose a connection with the Reims arcuated opus as portrayed in the Annals of Flooard and by Richer.¹²⁹ In attempting a reconstruction of the plan of the abbey church, Durand was cautious in the use of the iconographic evidence offered by XVIIth century engravings of a view of the monastery copied from a now lost XIth century manuscript of Hariulf's *Chronicon Centulense*, mentioned above.¹³⁰ Effmann instead made full use of the engravings to expand on the evidence of the written sources. But equally important to his reasoning was his realization of a link between the lost western massif at Saint-Riquier and the extant later IXth century example at the abbey church of Corvey in Westphalia, on which depended much of his more detailed interpretation and reconstruction.¹³¹

This shift of interest in the last pre-war years was significant, for from this point on most writers will employ the written documents differently as part of a comparative approach to architectural reconstruction. Whereas Demaison had used Parenzo more as an illustration than a parallel, Lasteyrie in his conclusion sought relative examples to determine the building type to which the Reims western massif had belonged. If the Jubaru-Demaison thesis continued to have an influence for a time after the war, it was as a rear-guard action in face of the new consensus. The joint effect of Durand and Effmann helped erect the paradigm that guided the study of Carolingian architecture into the 1960s.¹³² In the process, understanding of the Reims western massif became dependent on the hypothetical reconstructions of Saint-Riquier on the one hand and comparison to Corvey on the other – parallels that will inform but also constrain interpretation of the written sources and the archaeological data at Reims down to the present day.

The impact of archaeology

If discoveries made from 1920 to 1922 in the nave of Notre-Dame seemed for a short time to contradict the criticisms of Lasteyrie, it quickly became apparent that the Jubaru-Demaison position must be abandoned. However, the peculiar manner in which the results of the excavation were published continues to plague interpretation until very recently.

The awkward role of Henri Deneux. After significant discoveries were made somewhat haphazardly during work in the crossing of war-damaged Reims cathedral in 1919,¹³³ the architect Henri Deneux began a program of systematic excavation the next year that was to go on into the 1930s.¹³⁴ Deneux's intervention in the nave in 1920 exposed what he believed to be the facade of the Vth century basilica in the sixth bay of the nave, coinciding as it did with the traditional location of the martyrdom of Nicasius.¹³⁵ Undoubtedly under the influence of the Jubaru-Demaison hypothesis, he was led to conclude that other features uncovered to the west of this in the fourth and fifth bays must belong to an atrium. It appears that Deneux considered the narrow central unit of what is now known to be the Carolingian western massif

129 Durand, 1911, pp. 163-164. Reinhardt writes (1963, p. 28) that "Durand a observe le premier, dès 1911, que la cathédrale de l'archevêque Ebbon devait ressembler en tous points à l'église picarde."

130 See n. 56, above.

131 Carol Heitz, in *La France pré-romane, Archéologie et architecture religieuse du Haut Moyen Age IVe siècle – An Mille*, Paris, 1987, pp. 141-142, points out that Effmann was the first to establish a formal relationship between the two churches, much as Durand had done in connecting Saint-Riquier and Reims. Reinhardt and Fels called attention to the fact that Durand demonstrated the significance of the textual sources for Saint-Riquier, but "faute d'une analogie directe avec une construction aussi étrange" was not able to produce "une image précise de l'édifice." For them, it was left to Effmann, employing the Corvey parallel, to arrive at "la solution définitive" (1933, p. 337-338).

132 As expressed by Hans Reinhardt, Saint-Riquier had "essentiellement déterminé l'évolution de l'architecture religieuse au nord des Alpes" ("L'église carolingienne de Saint-Riquier," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozat à l'occasion de son 70^{ème} anniversaire*, 2 vol., Poitiers, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 81-91 [p. 81]). This was a view commonly held; see for example K.J. Conant, 1974, pp. 43-46. The paradigm came to be contested from the 1970s on; see J. Ottaway, "Traditions architecturales dans le nord de la France pendant le premier millénaire," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, 23, 1980, pp. 141-172, 221-239 (pp. 157-160), and Rabe, 1985, pp. 1-20.

133 These included parts of the purported sanctuary and crypt of the Vth century church (in reality of IXth and Xth century date respectively) and a mosaic pavement attributed to Hincmar (but really of late Xth century date). See the report of E. Chartraire, *Revue archéologique*, 1919, pp. cviii-cxi. Deneux's dating rested much more on a reading of Flooard and abbé Tourneur than on any archaeological evidence.

134 For Deneux, see Y. Harlaut, "Au chevet du sanctuaire blessé: l'œuvre d'Henri Deneux," in Reims, collection *La grâce d'une cathédrale*, Strasbourg, 2010, pp. 111-119.

135 As expressed by the abbé Tourneur and others; its position was exactly as figured on Jubaru's plan of the early cathedral (Fig. 7). For the nave excavations in and the evolution of Deneux's interpretation, see S. Balcon and W. Berry, "Le massif occidental de la cathédrale de Reims," in *Avant-nefs*, 2002, pp. 108-126 (pp. 117-123).

The reconstruction of the first cathedral by E. Kalas, 1922–1923

136 As late as 1925, Deneux described the foundations of the massif as “murs antiques” associated with a “sol ancient” (as indicated in the legend of his plan of the cathedral excavations in the *Bulletin du Diocèse de Reims*, 1925, p. 320). He later termed these “deux murs anciens souvent utilisées pour la construction de ces tombes” (Deneux, 1944, p. 18), i.e., the many caveaux that were installed in the central space in the Late Middle Ages.

137 Deneux’s thoughts on the matter are clearly reflected in the plan of the primitive cathedral (with the baptistery shown on the north side of the atrium) published by his colleague, E. Kalas, in “Religion populaire au V^es.” (*La Vie rémoise à travers les âges*), *Almanach Matot-Braine*, Reims, 1922–1923 (Fig. 10). For Deneux’s subsequent search for the baptistery see W. Berry, “Das Baptisterium der Kathedrale von Reims,” in *Die Franken - Wegbereiter Europas* (exhibition catalogue), Mannheim, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 200–205, and *idem*, “Le problème du baptistère de la cathédrale primitive de Reims,” in *Autour du Baptême de Clovis*, P. Demouy, ed., Reims, 1998, pp. 29–38.

138 F. Deshouillères, “Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Reims,” *Bulletin monumental*, 82, 1923, p. 400–408 (p. 405). Adding to the confusion, in the early 1920s Deneux conceived of the IXth century façade as lying along this same axis (Balcon and Berry, 2002, pp. 111–112).

139 This can be discerned from the excavation documents (Balcon and Berry, 2002, pp. 111–112).

140 The first of these was given in Paris and reported by Deshouillères, 1923; the second was presented at Reims and published by Deneux as “Conférence faite à la 31^e assemblée générale de l’Association Provinciale des architectes de France le 10–16 juin 1924,” *Bulletin de l’Association des architectes français*, 1924, pp. 220–226 and 261–268, repeated the *Bulletin du Diocèse de Reims* in 1925.

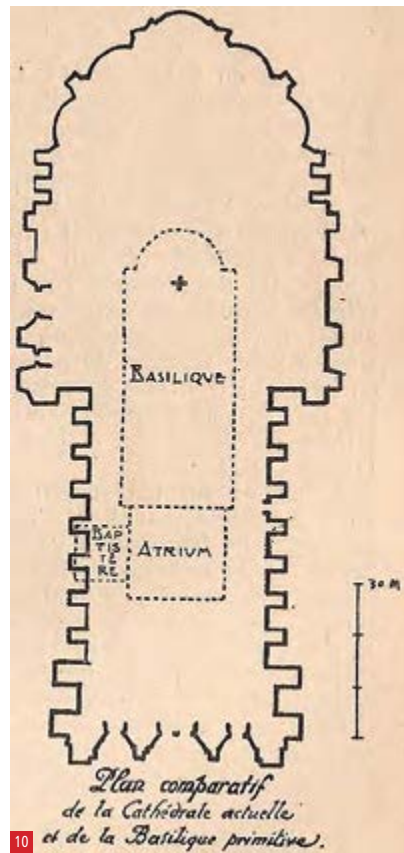
141 Deshouillères, 1923, p. 405, and Deneux, 1924, p. 264. The ambiguousness of architect’s position is perhaps due to a certain discomfort before what he was coming to realize were contradictions in his argument. Here, for example, his remarks concerning the well in the fourth bay and baptistery in 1924:

De là, à en conclure que ce puits avait pu alimenter ou desservir le baptistère placé dans l’atrium de la première cathédrale, il n’y avait qu’un pas.

Des fouilles furent donc entreprises dans le bas-côté nord en vue de rechercher les traces du baptistère.

On ne comptait pas retrouver le baptistère, puisque les historiens nous apprennent qu’il fut détruit par Adalbéron au Xe siècle, mais tout au moins son emplacement. (p. 264)

142 Deshouillères, 1923, p. 400.



the open area of the „atrium,” with galleries on its south and north sides.¹³⁶ This he was confirmed by the discovery of a well with a pipe leading off to the north in the middle of fourth nave bay, which inspired him, again guided by the Jubaru-Demaison thesis, to search for the baptistery on the north side of the supposed atrium.¹⁰¹³⁷ As for its western limit,

au niveau de la quatrième pile de la nef, là où dans l’édifice actuel s’accuse la reprise des travaux nécessités pour son allongement [i.e., the „coupure Tourneur”], on a mis à jour le mur de clôture provisoire du XIII^e siècle, placé à cheval sur une construction très antérieure que M. Deneux estime avoir été l’atrium de la cathédrale de saint Nicaise.¹³⁸

Deneux’s initial interpretation is certainly comprehensible given his limited frame of reference and the fact that he had uncovered precisely what local tradition and Louis Demaison had envisaged.

Extension of the excavation into the adjoining aisles in 1922 revealed the continuation of the „atrium” to the north and south, but also the presence of a later façade to the west in the third bay, with twin outer towers projecting into the second bays of the aisles.¹³⁹ In conferences given in 1923 and 1924,¹⁴⁰ Deneux, in a curious amalgam of Demaison and Lasteyrie, identified the twin-towered façade in the second and third bays as that of the Carolingian cathedral and the „atrium” east of this in the fourth to sixth bays (and thus inside the church) as the Vth century structure destroyed by Adalbero.¹⁴¹ François Deshouillères, reporting Deneux’s 1923 Paris conference, was at pains not to endorse Deneux’s conclusions – perhaps more because of their adherence to the Jubaru-Demaison position than due to their dubious archaeological foundation – and openly called Deneux’s interpretations into question: „il importe que des discussions oiseuses ou des hypothèses superficielles n’égarent pas les investigations qui sont encore à faire.”¹⁴²

The acquiescence of Demaison. It was in this critical climate with the tensions in the aftermath of the arcuatum opus controversy still very much in the air that Demaison came to opt in favor of Lasteyrie’s thesis. In an article in the 1926 *Bulletin monumental*, he fell in line behind Deshouillères in making a series of not so veiled criticisms of the hapless Henri Deneux, disasso-

ciating himself from the architect's conclusions, for which he himself was at least indirectly responsible.¹⁴³ Abandoning his allegiance to Jubaru's atrium hypothesis, he acknowledged the arcuatam opus as described by the chroniclers did indeed consist of a vaulted structure in the interior of the church, and that it had supported a tribune housing the altar of Saint-Sauveur and the baptismal font.¹⁴⁴

He further agreed with Lasteyrie that by dismantling this internal structure, Adalbero could have added three bays to the church, thus giving it the greater volume-ampliore receptaculo-described by Richer.¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Demaison suggested that one could infer from the chronicler's words that the archbishop extended the building by three bays toward the west.¹⁴⁶ A hold-over from his article of 1907,¹⁴⁷ this hypothetical extension was necessary for the author's explanation of the anonymous XIIth century canon's account of Samson's addition of two bays to the cathedral when the new west front was added in 1152.¹⁴⁸ One also finds again Demaison's suggestion that Adalbero had been responsible for the „old tower” pulled down by Samson, which he now appears to situate on one side or the other of the portal.¹⁴⁹ As to Deneux's accrediting the twin-towered façade in the second and third bays to Ebbo and Hincmar,¹⁵⁰ he was once again disparaging of the architect's conclusions, finding that „Il n'ya en tout cela rien de carolingien.”¹⁵¹ He was convinced that to the contrary this, as he had foretold in 1907, was to be identified as Samson's new west front, the discovery of which he judged „un des résultants les plus importants de ces fouilles.”¹⁵²

Enter Reinhardt and Fels. One observes at Reims in the 1920s an apparent unfamiliarity with either Durand's association of the arcuatam opus with Saint-Riquier or the implications of Effmann's work.¹⁵³ This changed abruptly the early 1930s with research undertaken by Hans Reinhardt and Etienne Fels into the origin and development of what they termed the Carolingian „église-porche.”¹⁵⁴ As part of their exposition, they built on Durand's observation of a strong resemblance between the western massifs of Saint-Riquier and Reims as described in the sources by proposing that the foundations forming an „énorme grill” discovered by Deneux in the nave were identical with the structure described by the chroniclers.

Les fouilles entreprises dans le sol de la cathédrale ... ont confirmé que l'église métropolitaine élevée à l'onzième [sic, IXth] siècle se rattachait bien à la tradition monumentale dont Saint-Riquier paraît avoir été le prototype. Entre la troisième et la septième travée de la nef, les fondations d'une grande construction barlongue ont été mises au jour ... Il faut y reconnaître les substructions d'un de ces massifs occidentaux dont les murs intérieurs étaient destinés à supporter les colonnes du vestibule voûté: l' 'arcuatam opus' détruit par Adalbéron.¹⁵⁵

Further, since the sanctuaries of the Saint-Riquier and Reims massifs shared the same dedication to the Savoir, they reasoned that the two buildings „ont dû se ressembler aussi par leur disposition générale.”¹⁵⁶ Thus they felt

143 Demaison, 1926. Implied criticism of Deneux is found throughout but is most evident in the introductory remarks, pp. 67-68.

144 Ibid., pp. 80 and 96-97, repeating and accepting Lasteyrie's critique point by point, concluding finally that “les constructions signalées par nos chroniqueurs ne sont pas antérieures à la cathédrale d'Ebbon. La démonstration est faite et il ne saurait plus être question aujourd'hui d'un baptistère du Ve siècle” (p. 98).

145 Ibid., pp. 99-100.

146 Ibid., p. 100. Like Deneux at this point, Demaison did not connect the foundations in the fourth to sixth nave bays with the arcuatam opus, perhaps because Lasteyrie had proved it to lie inside the cathedral; i.e., the structure had to lie east of the Vth century façade, and thus in the sixth to eighth nave bays (ibid., pp. 76-77). As for the two east-west walls uncovered in the fourth to sixth nave bays, he described them as “dans l'axe de la nef, un corridor étroit entre deux murs de pierre, d'un appareil très soigné,” adding “dont je ne saurais déterminer la date ni la destination” (p. 81, n. 2).

147 Demaison, 1907, pp. 41-44 and 53-56.
148 Demaison, 1926, pp. 98 and 110. In this, he correctly advanced a point that Lasteyrie had overlooked, but unaware himself that the arcuatam opus lay in the fourth to sixth bays, he was obliged to continue to posit the western extension of the nave by Adalbero. Demaison's position is most clearly stated in the third edition of his *Cathédrale de Reims* (Petites Monographies des Grandes Edifices de la France), Paris, s.d., p. 9.

149 He describes it somewhat ambiguously as “s'élevait à côté du portail,” repeating that Richer's mention of bells as an allusion to Adalbero's construction of the tower (ibid., p. 100); cf. Demaison, 1907, p. 54, n. 2. In addition, using the XIIIth century ordines (already cited in 1907, p. 54), he now places the oratory of Calixtus “dans un étage de la tour” (1926, pp. 100-101).

150 Deshouillères, 1923, p. 405, and Deneux, 1924, p. 264.

151 Ibid., p. 109.

152 Ibid., p. 110.

153 Demaison does mention the examples of Jumièges and Le Mans in his 1926 article (pp. 97-98), but this appears to have been taken directly from Lasteyrie, 1909.

154 Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, pp. 351-354; they state that “église-porche” is preferable to Westwerk or “massif occidental” because “nous paraît rappeler davantage les éléments générateurs de ces bâtisses: le sanctuaire et le passage dispose en dessous—le clocher-porche n'étant qu'une réduction du thème primitive” (p.332, n. 1). See n. 273, below, for Heitz's criticism of this.

155 Ibid., p. 353 and n. 1, where they record their obligation to Deneux for sharing “ce renseignement sans prix,” noting that their text was written “avec son assentiment.”

156 Ibid., p. 353, citing not only Flodoard but also the more explicit passage in the contested Montier-en-Der charter.

confident in venturing to reconstruct the Reims massif in elevation with Effmann's restitution of Saint-Riquier in hand, deducing that the space above the arcaded and vaulted vestibule¹⁵⁷ did not resemble a „sorte de tribune ou d'avant-nef" as at Tournus – as they incorrectly state had been suggested by Lasteyrie – but a „sanctuaire à plan central surmonté d'une tour et entouré de tribunes."¹⁵⁸ Further, they found unsurprising both Richer's remark that the structure had taken up one-fourth of the length of the church¹⁵⁹ and the statement in the Annals that the baptismal font was located on the upper level, as at Corvey.¹⁶⁰

Reception and further development of the Reinhardt-Fels hypothesis. The appearance of the „Eglises-porches" article in 1933 marked a turning point at Reims by transforming the opinion of Demaison and Deneux. Although it is difficult today to see how they had failed to appreciate the archaeological evidence disclosed in the early 1920s, this illustrates to what extent the issues had become clouded by decades of controversy as they failed to understand properly the relation of the primitive façade to the later structures. It took „outsiders" looking at the data afresh to arrive at the definitive solution, that is: (1) the IXth century massif was built in front of the Vth century façade (as Lasteyrie had lukewarmly proposed, whether or not on the emplacement of an older atrium); (2) it was this structure in advance of the nave but inside the church that Adalbero had dismantled; and (3) it was in front of the Carolingian façade (which had not changed place) that Samson had added the two bays of his new west front.

Demaison. The upshot was immediately apparent in Demaison's ultimate revision of his previous propositions concerning the massif and its transformation under Adalbero.¹⁶¹ He fully accepted Reinhardt and Fels' understanding of the texts,¹⁶² the validity of the parallel they established with Saint-Riquier and the association of the remains uncovered by Deneux with the IXth century massif.¹⁶³ He also stressed the significance of the identical dedications of the western massifs of Saint-Riquier and Reims to the Savoir, and on the strength of comparison with Corvey acknowledged as well that the font had been placed on the upper level.¹⁶⁴

As to the modifications of 976, Demaison was forced to abandon his previous position that the archbishop had caused the building to be extended to the west.¹⁶⁵

L'examen du plan et les données fournies par les fouilles ne permettent pas d'admettre un prolongement extérieur de l'édifice, de la longueur de cinq travées, en y comprenant les deux travées ajoutées par Samson. Il semble donc que les travaux exécutés par Adalbéron ont porté sur l'emplacement de l'ancien portail [i.e., the three bays of the massif], et qu'il n'a pas, comme on a pu le supposer, élevé plus en avant ses constructions nouvelles.¹⁶⁶

These indications led Demaison to admit that Adalbero could have „simply renovated" the existing façade. As a consequence, he asked intuitive-

157 This they termed "une entrée monumentale surmontée de tribunes" (ibid., p. 351) and also as a "vestibule" or "passage" (p. 353).

158 Ibid., pp. 352-53.

159 On this point, which had posed such difficulties for past commentators, they remark that "Richer nous dit qu'à Reims le sanctuaire occidental couvrait à peu près le quart de la surface totale de l'église. Or, quand on compare le plan de Saint-Riquier, tel qu'il a été restitué par Effmann, avec le récit du chroniqueur rémois, on constate que les indications de ce dernier s'appliquent également à la grande abbatale picarde" (ibid., p. 354).

160 Ibid., p. 350, 354. Here Demaison, who found such a location for the font "extraordinaire," is again criticized. Reinhardt, however, would later change his interpretation. 161 L. Demaison, "La cathédrale carolingienne de Reims," *Nouvelle Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, January 1933, pp. 228-233.

162 Ibid., p. 233, finding that "leur explication ne peut plus laisser place à aucun doute."

163 Ibid., pp. 230-231.

164 He found that the Corvey parallel "écarte toute difficulté et ne laisse prise à aucune objection," adding that "L'existence des ces fonts à Reims, à Saint-Riquier et à Corvey prouve que leurs églises supérieures devaient être affectées au service paroissial pour les habitants du voisinage" (ibid., p. 231, following Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, pp. 340-343).

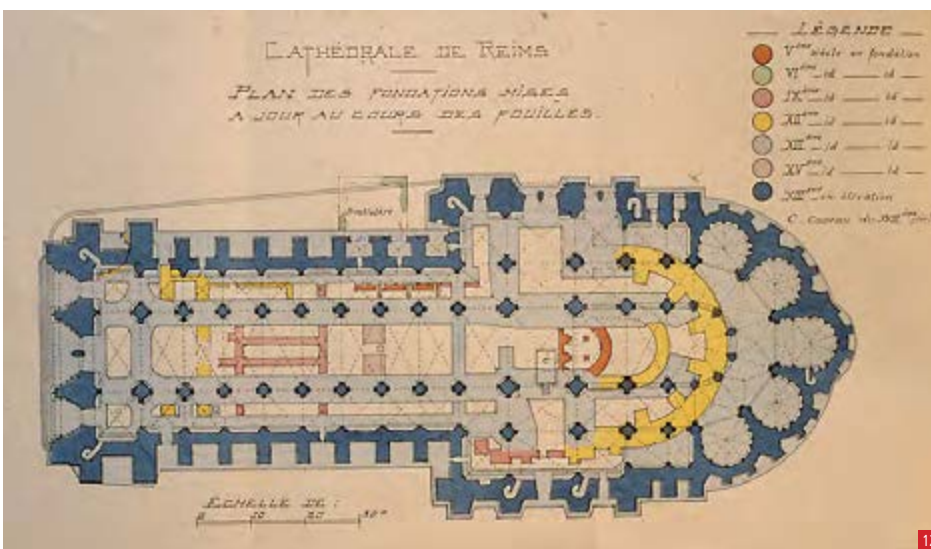
165 Demaison, 1926, pp. 99-101.

166 Ibid., p. 232.

ly if the veterem turrim destroyed by Samson may in effect have belonged to a portion of the IXth century massif that had escaped demolition and in which the Calixtus oratory was installed.¹⁶⁷ As he had proposed in 1926¹⁶⁸, Demaison may suggest the tower in question was not located at the center of the façade but to one side of the main portal („à côté du portail”), in support of which he now cites as parallels the „tours latérales” of Saint-Riquier and Corvey, as well as the analogous fact that a choir sang sub turribus in the upper level of the massif of the latter church, as at Reims.¹⁶⁹ Based on his reading of the XIIth century ordines, Demaison added two other points of interest. First, he believed that these documents portray the portal of the massif – to his mind in its state posterior to the supposed renovation by Adalbero – as having three doors, „comme notre portail actuel.”¹⁷⁰ And second, the sources suggested to him that the altered massif was preceded by a porch that housed a pair of altars – one of which being dedicated to the Baptist – that he placed at ground level.¹⁷¹

Porch with altars added ca. 976; destroyed in 1152.	Renovated IX th century façade with corner towers, in one of which (called the "old tower" in the ordines) is installed the Calixtus chapel ca. 976; destroyed in 1152.	Three new nave bays added where arcuatum opus has been removed in 976; new façade built west of this in 1152.	Carolingian nave
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Model of Demaison's final proposition (1933).



Deneux's 1944 "Plan des fondations mises à jour au cours des fouilles"

Deneux. The main published source for understanding Deneux's position is his 1944 lecture to the Société des Amis du Vieux Reims.¹⁷² This convoluted text, drawn in part from lectures of 1923 and 1924, was accompanied by a fold-out „Plan des fondations mises à jour au cours des fouilles” that came to constitute the most important published document from the excavations.¹⁷³ The effect of the Reinhardt-Fels hypothesis on the thinking of Henri Deneux appears to

167 Demaison, 1933, pp. 232-233.

168 Demaison, 1926, p. 100.

169 Ibid., p. 233, citing Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 350. Note that the latter authors actually place the singing of the Gloria patri in the western tribune of the Corvey massif.

170 Demaison, 1933, p. 233.

171 Ibid.

172 Deneux, s.d. [1944].

173 The 1923 lecture was reported in Deshoulières, 1923; the other two were published by the architect (Deneux, 1924 and 1925). The 1944 plan presents the discoveries in a much more simplified manner than that prepared for his conferences of the 1920s, and it sometimes compliments and other times contradicts the architect's text. To reconstruct what Deneux may have thought can often be attained only with the aid of the unpublished excavation documents that became available in 1994; see Balcon and Berry, 2002, pp. 120ff.

have been limited to two main points: first, he accepted the identification of the foundations in the fourth to sixth nave bays as the arcuatum opus and of IXth century date; and second, he agreed on the overall similarity in plan and appearance of the Carolingian cathedral to Saint-Riquier. Thus, in the context of his remarks concerning the sede vacante seal (discussed above), he wrote

... depuis les recherches faites par MM. Fels et Reinhardt sur les monuments carolingiens, et sur la présence, dans les fondations de la cathédrale d'Ebbon, des murs retrouvés au cours des fouilles, nous pensons que notre cathédrale carolingienne devait beaucoup ressembler à l'église abbatiale primitive de Saint-Riquier.¹⁷⁴

The foundations of the massif are indicated as IXth century on the plan. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence in the text to show that he believed the massif had been laid out over the atrium, with its east side having been built over the Vth century façade.¹⁷⁵ In addition, though Deneux still termed the twin-towered façade in the second and third bays the „portail d'Hincmar,”¹⁷⁶ it is shown on the 1944 plan as XIIth century, clearly demonstrating that he had come to accept Demaison's 1926 interpretation.

Reinhardt and Fels again. In the second part of their study, published in 1937, Reinhardt and Fels advanced a hypothesis for the later history of the massif differing rather much from that proposed by Demaison.¹⁷⁷ Based on their appraisal of Richer's text in the light of other architectural examples, such as Hildesheim and Montier-en-Der, they argued that in dismantling the cathedral's *église-porche*, Adalbero had acted from a wish to merge the space taken up by the massif, which they believed had by then become functionally redundant, with the nave, thereby also freeing access to the church, encumbered until then by the supports for the platform above.¹⁷⁸ Significantly, still reading from Richer, they contended that following the dismantlement of the interior of the massif, Adalbero had the relics of Calixtus translated to an oratory „établi dans une nouvelle tribune à l'entrée du monument.” This they qualified as a *clocher-porche* erected in advance of the cathedral's façade and which they identified as the „old tower” destroyed by Samson.¹⁷⁹ In doing so, the authors' wish to complete the typological chain from *église-porche* to *tour-porch* at Reims led them into being rather incautious in their use of the sources already explicated by Demaison.

174 Deneux, s.d. [1944], p. 23.

175 *Ibid.*, pp. 24 et 34. At p. 20, he showed some uncertainty as to whether the foundations were those of the “atrium de la basilique de Saint-Nicaise ou à la cathédrale carolingienne,” but this may be due from his reuse of an earlier text. In this regard, one notes his inclusion of a plan and sections of the early 1920s (pp. 9 and 11) showing these features as Vth century.

176 *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 23-24, again reusing passages written in the 1920s.

177 H. Reinhardt and E. Fels, „Étude sur les églises-porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman (suite)”, *Bulletin monumental*, 96, 1937, pp. 425-469.

178 *Ibid.*, pp. 433-434.

179 *Ibid.*, pp. 449-451; their argument concerning the “old tower” (p. 450) depended in part on a recasting the meaning of the same XIIth century ordines employed by Demaison.

Clocher-porch (the “old tower”) with oratory of Calixtus on an upper level built ca. 976, destroyed 1152.	Façade of the IX th century massif retained in 976, by implication altered or destroyed 1152 (?).	The interior space occupied by the former arcuatum opus (the IX th century massif) remodeled to form three additional nave bays ca. 976.	IX th century nave.
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Model of the interpretation of Reinhardt and Fels, 1937, for the alterations of Adalbero.

The Reims massif marginalized, 1938–1963

Reinhardt and Fels had arrived at an overall solution that seemed definitive for both the IXth century structure and its later transformation, reconciling as it did the contradictions in the textual sources that had bedeviled earlier interpretation. What is more, in connecting it with Saint-Riquier and also Corvey, and signaling Deneux's discoveries as „la preuve matérielle” of the existence of the Westwerk in Neustria, they positioned the cathedral of Reims on a level equivalent to the greater monuments of Carolingian architecture¹⁸⁰ and ascribed to archbishop Ebbo a possible role in the dissemination of the type in the eastern part of the Empire.¹⁸¹ Their proposition formed the starting point for all later study of the IXth century church. However, by overemphasizing the Saint-Riquier-Corvey connection, they paradoxically placed Reims on the periphery of scholarly inquiry until the publication of Reinhardt's monograph in 1963, by which time the usefulness of the Saint-Riquier documents and validity of Effmann's conclusions were being called into doubt.

The plausibility of the Reinhardt-Fels interpretation of the massif, dovetailing as it did with contemporary conception of Carolingian architectural development, led to its wide acceptance and durability. To cite a single early response, Jean Hubert in his *L'art pré-roman* of 1938 concurred entirely with their analysis: „A l'ouest, comme à Saint-Riquier, s'élevait une vaste construction voûtée couvrant à peu près le quart de la surface totale de l'édifice et surmontée d'une tribune où étaient disposés un autel dédié au Sauveur ainsi que les fonts baptismaux.”¹⁸² He agreed with the authors as well that Saint-Riquier and Reims demonstrated that „les plus anciennes, et aussi les plus heureusement disposées” of églises porches were to be found in France.¹⁸³ Evidently writing before the appearance of the second part of their study in 1937, however, Hubert does not adopt their idea of a clocher-porche but instead Demaison's 1926 hypothesis of a renovation of the existing west front by Adalbero and his construction of a tower flanking the portal.¹⁸⁴ World War II intervened to prevent Reinhardt and Fels' publication of the final part of their study, which would have brought the development of the western massif into the Romanesque period, and also cut short Reinhardt's research for a monographic treatment of the history of Reims cathedral, a project to which he was able to return only twenty years later.¹⁸⁵

1945–1963. The Reinhardt-Fels hypothesis for Reims remained the consensus view in the post-war years. In a 1952 volume updating his earlier *L'art pré-roman*, for example, Jean Hubert termed the Reims excavations „l'œuvre méritoire” of Henri Deneux before adding that like „la plupart des fouilles dans les cathédrales, celles-ci soulèvent de grandes difficultés d'interprétation.”¹⁸⁶ From his brief notice, Hubert appears to have still fully accepted Reinhardt and Fels' 1933 view of the western massif, but it is not clear what he thought of their 1937 hypothesis that it had been replaced by a clocher-porche. Hubert illustrated the results of the excavations by using

180 *Ibid.*, p. 354. In the second part of their study, the authors underscored the influence of the western massifs of both Saint-Riquier and Reims—the latter now significantly termed “un transept occidental”—as the source for that conserved at Corvey. Note that here (1937, pp. 433–434) Adalbero's dismantling of the arcuatum opus and its replacement by “une simple chapelle haute” is paralleled with the destruction of the western massifs at Hildesheim and Montier-en-Der. Reinhardt would later maintain (1966, p. 88) that the apparently centralizing plans of the German Westwerk—including Corvey—were in effect “reductions” of the earlier western massifs of Saint-Riquier and Reims.

181 By way of the cathedral of Hildesheim (*ibid.*, pp. 356–357 and 364–5).

182 J. Hubert, *L'art pré-roman*, Paris, 1938, pp. 25–26, citing Reinhardt and E. Fels, 1933.

183 Hubert, 1938, p. 65.

184 Reinhardt and E. Fels, 1937 is absent from his bibliography. Hubert wrote somewhat vaguely that Adalbero “élève une tour auprès de la nouvelle façade” (*ibid.*, p. 25). Cf. Demaison, 1926, p. 100, who placed it “à côté du portail.” For the modification of the Reims massif, Hubert draws the instructive parallel with the porch of Auxerre cathedral (1938, p. 68).

185 Reinhardt, 1963, pp. 2–3, and Heitz, “Rôle de l'église-porche dans la formation des façades occidentales de nos églises romanes,” *La façade romane*, Actes du colloque, Poitiers, Septembre 1990, Cahiers des civilisation médiévale, 34, 1991, pp. 329–334. (p. 330).

186 J. Hubert, *L'architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Age*, Paris, 1952, p. 57. To his bibliography are now added Demaison, 1933, Reinhardt and Fels, 1937, Deneux, s.d. [1944], and Leflon, 1941.

187 *Ibid.*, pl. xi fig. 33. On this the foundations of the Carolingian massif and the south terminal wall of the transept are shown as contemporary, but the sections of wall in the eastern bays of the north aisle considered as IXth century by Deneux, are left blank. The baptistery and east-west walls in the north aisle are indicated as of similar date, though Deneux had differentiated between them (see Fig. 12). The crypt is shown as not part of the primitive cathedral—it was dated by Hubert to the Xth century in his text. At the west, Hubert, following Deneux, does not show the XIth century façade as continuous but has possessing two projecting towers.

188 Conant, 1974, p. 46.

189 See n. 46.

190 Conant, 1974, p. 46.

191 G. Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, K. Wallis, trans., afterword H.J. Böker, New York, 2005, p. 201 [originally *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin, 1951].

192 For example, Marcel Aubert, "Les campagnes de construction de la cathédrale de Reims," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 87, 1943, pp. 203-209, notes vaguely (p. 207, and probably from Demaison, 1926) that the "soubassements" of the XIIIth century west façade "paraissent bien remonter en effet au milieu du XIIe siècle."

193 Deneux himself also contributed around this time to the study of the Gothic cathedral in articles in the *Bulletin monumental* in 1944, 1946, 1948 and 1949/1950.

194 For instance, in Branner, 1961, pp. 220-241, he simply refers to Deneux's 1944 plan to situate the terminal walls of Carolingian transept (pp. 224-225, nn. 7 and 15).

195 "La cathédrale de Reims et les cathédrales qui l'ont précédé sur le même emplacement," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 103, n°. 2, 1959, pp. 241-250 (p. 244).

196 Balcon and Berry, 2002, pp. 111-112 and fig. 5.

197 Recall that Kalas (n. 137, above) had proposed a plan of the Vth century building in 1922 drawing on Deneux's initial discoveries but still highly influenced by Jubaru's 1896 hypothesis (see Fig. 10).

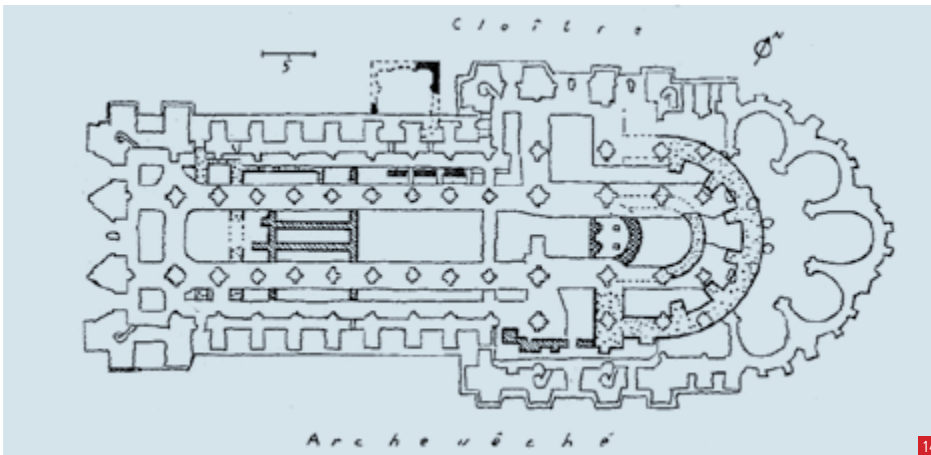
198 Of the western massif itself Lambert writes only that this "narthex voûté" was destroyed by Adalbero to lengthen the nave by three bays, "en y ajoutant peut-être en outre une tour" (1959, p. 245). For the tower, it is not clear if he is following Demaison, 1926 or 1933, or Reinhardt and Fels 1937. Lambert's description of the two central east-west walls of the massif as "les murs latéraux d'un caveau très allongé, peut-être à destination funéraire" is a misunderstanding of Deneux's text (1944, p. 18), and a misreading of the 1944 plan is evident in his indication of Samson's choir as unfinished at the north.

a somewhat altered copy of Deneux's 1944 plan, ¹⁴ 187 which, rather than the original, will be used as a basis for analysis not only by Hubert himself but also by Carol Heitz in his subsequent study of the massif.

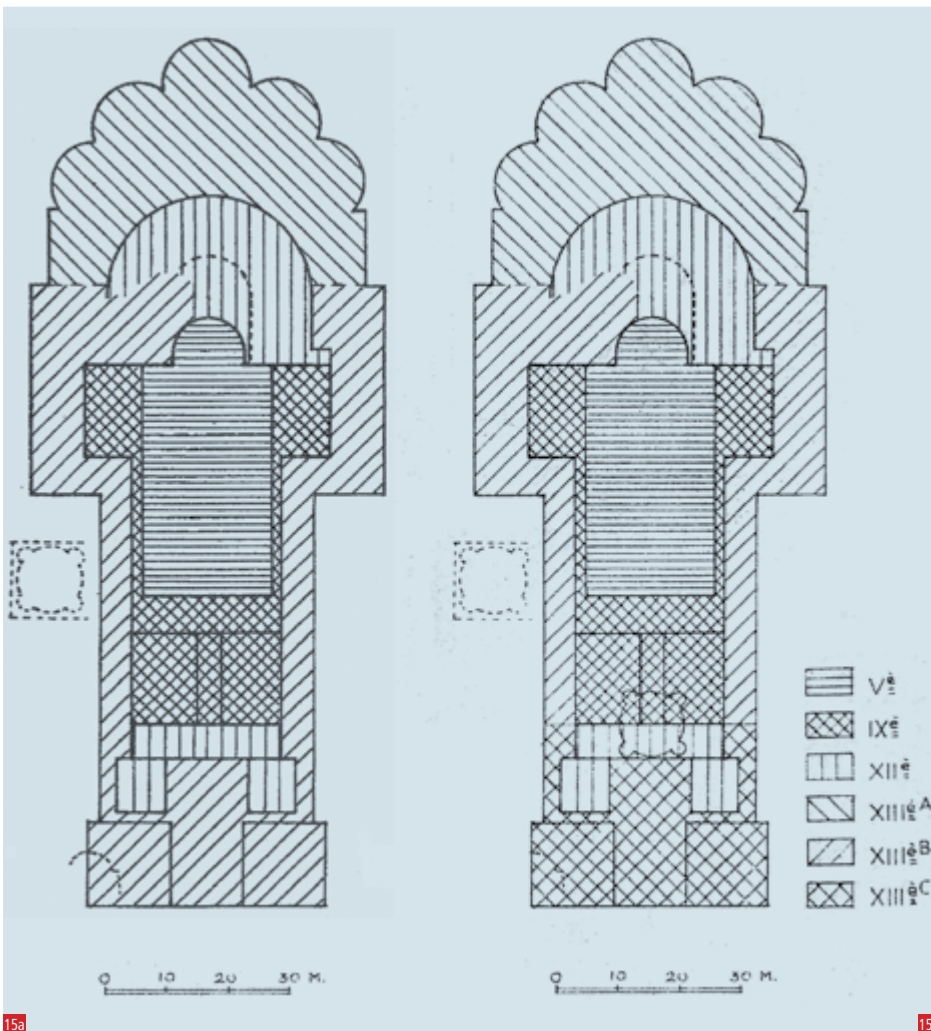
Continued credence in Reinhardt and Fels by architectural historians is exemplified by K.J. Conant. Writing in 1959, he rehearsed the standard picture of Centula, "The wonderful design for Angilbert's church ... evidently made a sensation and echoes of it are perceptible in ecclesiastical architecture for centuries."¹⁸⁸ Finding that the model church on the Hincmar tomb demonstrated the cathedral's close resemblance to Saint-Riquier,¹⁸⁹ Conant agreed with Reinhardt and Fels in an intermediary role for Reims in carrying the "Westwerk theme" to Germany. "The westwerk of Reims was the inspiration of that of the cathedral of Hildeshiem" just as "the westwerk of Corbie in Picardy inspired that ... of Corvey on the Weser."¹⁹⁰ In this regard, one notes that though Reims is cited in this manner as serving in the overall development of the western massif, writers did not go farther. In Günter Bandmann's 1951 exposition of the Westwerk, for example, Reims appears in the list of monuments but plays no further part in the discussion.¹⁹¹

Most art historical work on the cathedral in the 1940s and 1950s took little account of Deneux's excavations,¹⁹² and the publication of the architect's 1944 lecture seems to have attracted scant notice.¹⁹³ Even Robert Branner in his series of seminal articles on Reims in the early 1960s did grasp completely the potential of the archaeological evidence for understanding the construction history of the present building.¹⁹⁴

An exception was the approach of Elie Lambert, who proposed in 1959 that the excavations of the 1920s not only clarified and complemented the historical record, but also permitted one to understand the construction history of the present building, erected "en quelque sorte par étapes, pus en les détruisant au fur à mesure, les diverses parties encore existantes en 1210 des cathédrales antérieures."¹⁹⁵ His attempt to reconcile the written sources and archaeology is illustrated by a diagrammatic plan of the "four" cathedrals. ^{15a} This was clearly based on Deneux's 1944 plan, yet the positioning of the Vth century façade east of the massif and the projection of Samson's two towers at the west suggests Lambert's acquaintance with Deneux's 1924 plan as well.¹⁹⁶ Despite its schematic nature, Lambert's diagram is noteworthy as the first attempt to work out the plans of the different buildings based on a synthesis of the evidence from Reims and not on comparisons from elsewhere.¹⁹⁷ Significantly, Lambert's scheme for the IXth century church included a non-projecting choir and a western massif of the same width as the nave, prefiguring the reconstruction advanced by Jean Hubert in 1968 considerably more than that proposed by Reinhardt in 1963.¹⁹⁸ Also of interest is Lambert's reuse of the same plan in 1961, adding a final Gothic construction phase departing from the west side of the IXth century massif and superimposing the position of the labyrinth, ^{15b} which helps the reader visualize the complexity of architectural changes in the area of the massif.¹⁹⁹



Hubert's 1952 copy of Deneux's 1944 plan



Lambert's reconstruction plans of 1959 (a) and 1961 (b).

199 "La construction de la cathédrale de Reims au XIII^e siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-arts* 57, 1961, pp. 217–228 (fig. 3, p. 219). He argued that the temporary wall discovered by Deneux over the foundations of the west front of the massif in the fourth nave bay marked a major break in the XIII^e century construction sequence—Samson's façade being left in place to the west of this—and that "cette démarcation fut plus tard rendue concrète par la pose de labyrinthe" (idem., 1959, p. 249). Note that Deneux had also included the labyrinth on his plan of 1924.

Reinhardt's definitive interpretation

Hans Reinhardt's 1963 monograph, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, represents the culmination of research he had begun nearly forty years earlier as well as an apology for his previous conclusions.²⁰⁰ Though today much out of date for the High Gothic building, it still remains the most comprehensive account of the church's history, and in particular for the Carolingian cathedral and its western massif. He continued to adhere to the same comparative approach he had employed in the 1930s, though now extended to seeking parallels for the three pre-XIIIth century cathedrals. His conception of this trio of buildings was drawn in part from a rereading the written sources with the results of the excavations in mind. Use of the archaeological evidence transmitted by Deneux had already been made by Hubert in 1952 and more recently by Lambert.²⁰¹ Reinhardt, however, had in addition access to unpublished information furnished by the architect.²⁰² Where changes or additions to Deneux's published conclusions appear, it is difficult to assign responsibility, for Reinhardt did not specify which ideas were Deneux's and which were his own.²⁰³ Reinhardt's working method and his often flawed manner of handling the archaeological data is most apparent in his treatment of the cathédrale primitive.²⁰⁴ In the framework of the current discussion, the most important point is his situation of the „Rouelle” – and thus the façade of Nicasius' church – between the seventh and eighth nave bays.²⁰⁵ Only, as he admitted, this posed the problem of the early wall found by Deneux in the north aisle, which continued west of the church's proposed façade. As a result, he was obliged to imagine a deep narthex, which he noted would thus be aligned with the building to the north identified as a baptistery, thus confirming the existence of the narthex. 16 ²⁰⁶

Reinhardt's typological approach led him to privilege four comparative monuments: for the mid-Vth century basilica at Reims the first cathedral of Geneva as reconstructed by Louis Blondel;²⁰⁷ for the Carolingian cathedral Saint-Riquier and Corvey; and for Samson's mid-XIIth century changes Sug-

200 His intension to write the book went back to the late 1920s. Having just begun research for it at Reims in 1938, he was only able to return to the project twenty years later, finishing the greater part in 1960 (Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 1-2). A fuller statement of his interpretation of the early church is found in "La cathédrale du VI^e siècle à Genève et l'église du baptême de Clovis à Reims," *Genava* 11, 1963, pp. 127-139 [=Reinhardt, 1963b].

201 Hubert, 1952, and Lambert, 1959 and 1961.

202 In the *Avant-propos* Reinhardt underlines (1963a, p. 2) the importance of Deneux's excavations but also the fact that "M. Deneux m'a autorisé à puiser largement dans sa profonde connaissance de "sa cathédrale" qu'il avait aimée et étudiée ... C'est avec une amitié paternelle qu'il m'a reçu sur son chantier [in the early 1930s], puis dans sa retraite parisienne [in the late 1950s]."

203 The idea that the alterations he made came from Deneux himself is not supported by the excavation documents available since 1994, and in most cases it seems that Reinhardt "corrected" the excavation evidence in order to conform more fully to his hypotheses.

204 Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 14 and 17-18, and 1963b, *passim*.

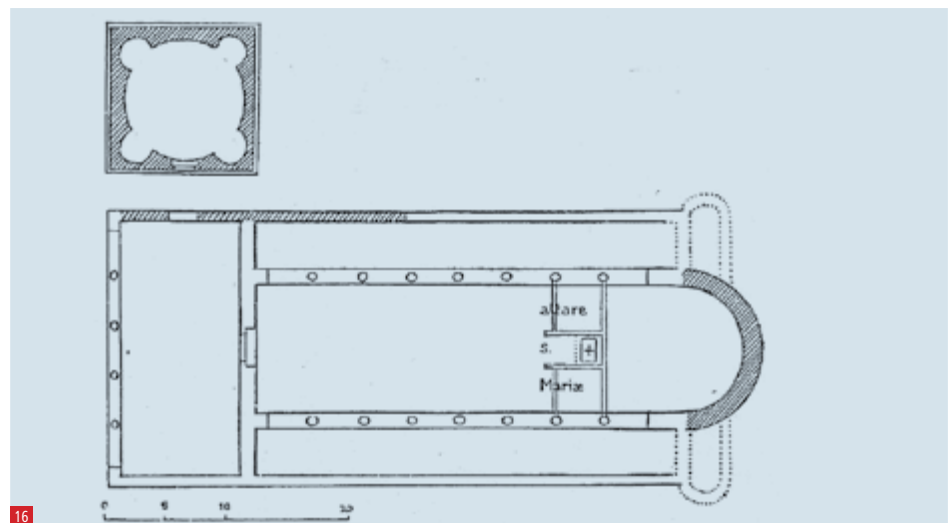
205 H. Reinhardt, 1963a, p.16, *contra* Demaison, 1926, p. 76, who had defended the traditional location in the sixth nave bay. Reinhardt based his argument on a mention of the "Rouelle" in the *Vita sancti Alberti*, as seemingly confirmed by Deneux.

206 *Ibid.* A comparison of his plans and Deneux's of 1944 shows that Reinhardt "extended" the wall in the north aisle into the sixth bay to join with the purported narthex façade, and also "added" the basilica's façade "below" the jubé, something Deneux had proposed in 1924 but had dropped from the 1944 plan (cf. Fig. 12).

207 L. Blondel, "Les premiers édifices chrétiens de Genève, de la fin de l'époque romaine à l'époque romane," *Genava* 11, 1933, pp. 77-101. Reinhardt proposed (1963a, p. 20, and 1963b, pp. 138-139) that Nicasius had reused parts of the imperial bathes on the site and that the first basilica had been built by his successor, Bennadius (452-456), thus making possible the existence of a central plan baptistery for the baptism of Clovis.

208 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 56.

209 For example, his suggestion that Sigismund's mid-VIth century cathedral at Geneva imitated (via Chlothid, the wife of Clovis) the mid-Vth century basilica at Reims; therefore Blondel's hypothetical reconstruction could provide a direct parallel for understanding the latter.

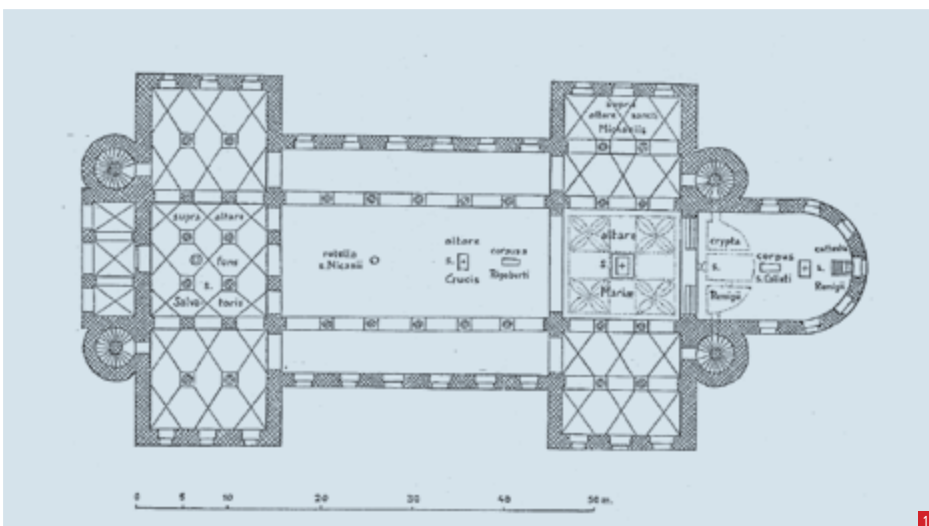


Reinhardt's 1963 reconstruction of the early cathedral

er's abbey church at Saint-Denis.²⁰⁸ In each case he sought to bolster the appropriateness of his proposed architectural analogies by recourse to sometimes rather doubtful historical connections.²⁰⁹

Concerning the IXth century church, which he believed would have been largely completed by 835,²¹⁰ Reinhardt contended that „Grace aux textes, aux fouilles et aux comparatives, la cathédrale carolingienne de Reims peut être reconstituée dans ses grandes lignes avec une très grande précision.”²¹¹ He seconded Deneux's interpretation of the excavated remains with certain reservations, amplifying them using the written sources and especially comparison with Saint-Riquier.²¹² He felt this was fully appropriate since „Il est certain que Reims devait ressembler en tout point à Saint-Riquier,”²¹³ advancing as proof a comparison of proportions that he believed showed the cathedral was a duplicate of the abbey church „à une échelle agrandie” and „jusqu'au moindre détail.”²¹⁴ At the east, for instance, he judged that the foundations identified by Deneux as the rond-point of the XIIth century choir were laid over those of a deep IXth century, closely resembling that envisioned by Durand and Effmann for Saint-Riquier.²¹⁵ This did not house an altar, he pointed out, but functioned as a „choir” in the true sense of the word – the main altar, dedicated to the Virgin, being situated at the crossing, its location signaled by the large circular bell tower above it.²¹⁶ A similar logic prevailed in Reinhardt's reconstruction of a nave of six bays.²¹⁷ Conversely, he used documentary evidence for Reims to amend Effmann's restitution of the Saint-Riquier east transept by conjecturing that its arms were surmounted by tribunes.²¹⁸

Regarding the western massif, Reinhardt elaborated considerably on Fels and his earlier interpretation by proposing the existence of a strongly projecting, multi-storied western transept some seven bays wide and three bays deep. This was preceded by a porch three bays in width framed by round stair turrets and surmounted by a central circular tower, pendant of that over the crossing.²¹⁹ His conception of the structure at ground level **17** was clearly



Reinhardt's 1963 reconstruction of the IXth century cathedral

210 He felt that work "devait être très avancé en 835" (when Ebbon was forced to leave the see of Reims) and this must have been completed soon after 845 (under Hincmar), being "sans doute terminée depuis quelque temps" when consecrated in 862 (Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 26).

211 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34.

212 Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 23-38. The Saint-Riquier-Reims relationship is reiterated in a more synthetic fashion in H. Reinhardt, "L'église carolingienne de Saint-Riquier, dans *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son 70^e anniversaire*, 2 vols., Poitiers, 1966, vol. 1, pp. 81-91.

213 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34, repeating a point made in Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 353.

214 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 36, where he pointed to the inexact dimensions of Effmann's plan; when corrected, "on obtient des proportions beaucoup plus ramassées, semblables à celles de Reims." In Reinhardt, 1966, he ascribed (p. 89) to Deneux the "observation surprenante que, ramenés à la même dimension ... les deux plans se couvrent exactement," a fact that "fournit des éléments complémentaires pour la restitution des deux édifices ayant presque la valeur de preuve". Cf. Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 354, where a similar argument is made in comparing Richer's description of the massif as taking up one quarter of the church's length and Effmann's reconstruction of Saint-Riquier.

215 Deneux, 1944, pp. 26-27. Reinhardt argued (1963a, pp. 29-30) that changes observable in the shape of the apse indicate that the XIIth century ambulatory took the form of the Carolingian choir, pointing to the fact that "la gravure de Saint-Riquier montre également un sanctuaire oriental faisant saillie sur le transept" (p. 29), demonstrating in his opinion that "le plan des chœurs profonds avait été créé dans le Nord de la France" (p. 34).

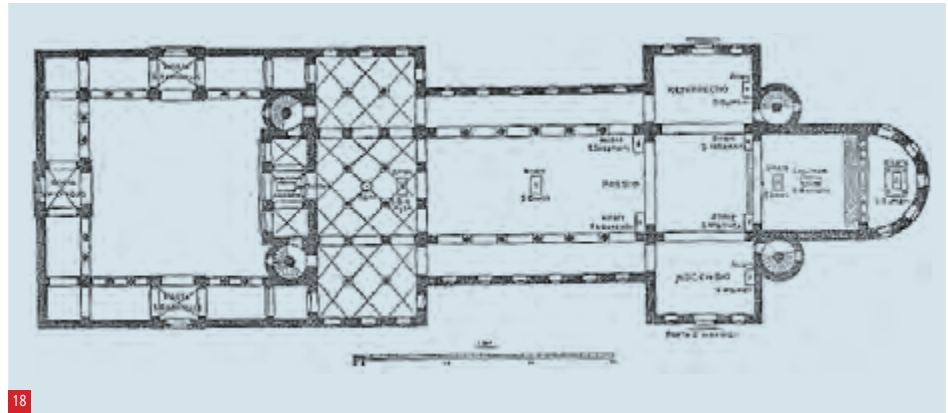
216 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34, stressing that the same arrangement was found at Saint-Riquier. In doing so, he accepted the traditional view that the main altar of the cathedral "n'a jamais changé place" (ibid.). See also idem, 1966, p. 90.

217 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 31, thus establishing a total length for the building of twelve bays.

218 Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 31-33, and 1966, pp. 85 and 89, signaled the existence of an upper chapel dedicated to Saint-Michel in the north arm of the transept at Reims. Effmann had not included tribunes. See Ottaway, 1980, pp. 158-159.

219 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 28. He finds that Durand's observation of a relation between the Saint-Riquier and Reims massifs was "entièrement confirmée par le résultat des fouilles" and furthermore that "Il est facile de reconnaître, dans ces murailles [uncovered by Deneux in the nave], les substructions d'un transept occidental dont les renforcements intérieurs étaient destinés à supporter les piliers et les colonnes de l'ouvrage voûté détruit par Adalbéron."

Effmann's reconstruction of the abbey church of Saint-Riquier, 1912



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220 Reinhardt, 1963a, fig. 3. He states (p. 36) that the coincidence of the dimensions of Saint-Riquier and Reims "semble apporter à notre essai de reconstitution, basé sur la parenté avec Saint-Riquier, une sorte de preuve définitive."

221 The triple entrance is similar to Corvey but also to later examples such as the Romanesque abbey church of Marmoutier. The stair turrets would be equivalent to the cochleae flanking the porch and choir described in the texts for Saint-Riquier. Their location on the Reinhardt plan finds analogies in the west fronts of Gerrode and the third phase of Paderborn cathedral; see U. Lobbedey, "Les Westwerke de l'époque ottonienne en Allemagne du Nord," in *Avant-nefs*, 2002, pp. 67-75.

222 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34. Again, as for example at Corvey and Marmoutier.

223 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 29. Heitz, 1963, p. 26, points out that the designation *cripta sancti Salvatoris* was not only because of its crypt-like appearance but also because the abbey church's major reliquary, the *Capsa major*, was situated there.

224 Reinhardt; 1963a, p. 27-29. The *Annals* text places the font at the upper level (*ibid.*, p. 29, n. 1 and 2), which he had previously accepted (Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 354). But Reinhardt now writes, "il semble qu'il y ait là négligence de l'annaliste, et que les fonts aient bien eu leur place au rez-de-chaussée, comme à Saint-Riquier. En effet, un caniveau de pierre servant à l'écoulement de l'eau du baptême qui, suivant les prescriptions liturgiques, doit être versée dans les fondations de l'église ..." This is indicated on Reinhardt's general plan and the position of the hypothetical font on his reconstruction of the Carolingian cathedral (his fig. 3, p. 19). The conduit in question, in fact anterior to the IXth century massif, is discussed in Part III, below.

225 Reinhardt finds (1963a, pp. 27-28) the imperative for this in imperial religious policy. In its essentials, his position was a restatement of Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, pp. 332-334.

226 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 28.

based on Effmann's reconstruction of the Saint-Riquier massif, itself depending by and large on Corvey.¹⁸ Reinhardt showed the porch as having three western openings and groin-vaulted, with stair turrets built against the end walls of the porch and the façade of the massif.²²¹ Entrance to the interior from the interior of the porch is limited to a unique central portal, where „une passage voûté permettait l'accès de la basilique dans son grand axe."²²² Borrowing from descriptions of Saint-Riquier, Reinhardt termed the vaulted ground floor of the massif proper (i.e., the *arcuatam opus*) the „crypt of the Savior" after the altar dedicated to the Holy Savior situated above it as at the abbey church.²²³ He proposed a vaulting system consisting of groin-vaults carried by a combination of piers and columns, as in the central space of the Corvey massif. Diverging from Effmann and his own earlier interpretation, Reinhardt now placed the baptismal font at this level rather than above, as had the continuer of the *Annals of Flodoard* and as at Corvey.²²⁴ At the east, he suggested that ingress to the nave was through a triple arcade, with single openings into the aisles, as imagined by Effmann for Saint-Riquier, again based on Corvey.

The „crypt" thus served as a sort of entrance hall or vestibule, while its vaults supported a platform (Quicherat's „tribune") extending the whole length and breadth of the western transept and forming a virtual counter-church. In Reinhardt's estimation, the invention of such a structure constituted one of the major innovations of Carolingian architecture. He explained its initial appearance at Centula as a solution to the needs of the processional liturgy instituted by abbot Angilbert in a building possessing a double cult, with the altar of the founder saint, Riquarius, in its customary place at the east and the cult of the Holy Savior installed as a new and separate liturgical focus at the west.²²⁵ He noted that one answer to the problem would have been the introduction of an opposing western apse, such as at Saint-Maurice d'Agave or Fulda. But at Saint-Riquier the necessity of creating an appropriate architectural setting for the newly instituted cult of the Savior and at the same time freeing the ground floor for processional use led the builders to the innovative solution of displacing the altar of the Savior to an upper level, by which „la grande perspective de l'antique plan basilical se trouvait très heureusement rétablie."²²⁶

For the upper parts of the massif, Reinhardt's description is less specific than for the ground floor and certain points must be worked out from inference. He placed what he termed the „sanctuaire du Sauveur” in the platform's center, „entouré de tribunes supérieures, dédiées aux anges.”²²⁷ Though not specified, it is implicit in his description that he felt that the tribunes would have been located above galleries bordering the „sanctuary” on three sides, as at Corvey.²²⁸ This being the case, the lateral spaces would have occupied the whole of each of the transept arms at both levels, like Effmann had proposed for Saint-Riquier. The relationship of the porch to the body of the western transept is also not spelled out. Nonetheless, the close resemblance between Reinhardt's plan and Effmann's restitutions strongly suggests that he saw the porch as a multistoried structure like that imagined by the German scholar for Saint-Riquier. If so, the upper levels of the porch would have corresponded to the galleries and upper tribunes of the transept proper and would have communicated with these by use of the corner stair turrets, as at Corvey. Thus the porch was not an appendage applied to the transept but an integral part of that structure.

Lastly, Reinhardt pictured a circular western bell tower rising over the „sanctuary” of the Savior identical to that over the eastern crossing, creating a silhouette analogous to Saint-Riquier: „Ainsi les deux clochers, surmontant les autels, annonçaient au loin que les églises étaient consacrées à un double culte.”²²⁹

[No atrium, as at Saint-Riquier?]	Porch: 3 bays wide and multi-storied, with outer stair turrets for access to transept upper levels	Western transept: Central round lantern tower <hr/> Two story „sanctuary of the Savior” with central altar and galleries on 3 sides carrying upper tribunes <hr/> Groin-vaulted “crypt” of 7 x 3 bays, with baptistery font at center	IX th century nave
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Model of Reinhardt's final conception of the IXth century massif.

The question of function. If Reinhardt's explication of the origin of the Saint Riquier western massif was plausible, he did not make clear why this solution would have been appropriate for the cathedral of Reims other than underscoring the two churches' shared imperial patronage²³⁰ and above all the introduction of the cult of the Holy Savior at Reims at the personal request of Louis the Pious.²³¹ This naturally led him to the vexed question of the function of the „sanctuary” level of the Reims massif. In 1933, he and Fels

227 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34, thus corresponding to the ambulatoria in the Saint-Riquier western massif.

228 Reinhardt stated elsewhere (1966, p. 90) that the disposition of three levels of windows on the engraved views of Saint-Riquier demonstrated that the upper tribunes were carried by galleries at a median level--the lowest of windows corresponding to the “crypt,” the upper two to the gallery and tribune levels above. Note that, Heitz remarks (1963, p. 27) that the sources do not make it clear if the tribunes enclosed the sanctuary on three or four sides.

229 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34. He offers in comparison Marmoutier (*ibid.*, p. 28). This was an example he had already employed in 1938, though not referring directly to Reims at the time (Reinhardt and Fels, 1938, pp. 428-431). In both instances, reference is made to the Xth century description of the three towers of the west front of the abbey church of Fécamp by Dudon of Saint-Quentin; see also Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, pp. 354-355. Reinhardt draws a similar comparison with the west facade of Jumièges in *idem*, 1966, p. 88; for this, see J. Morganstern, et. al., “Le massif occidental de Notre-Dame de Jumièges: recherches récentes,” *Avant-nefs*, 2002, pp. 296-309.

230 Reinhardt emphasized the Charlemagne-Angilbert connection of in the building of Saint-Riquier, and posits a similar association between Louis and Ebbo in the reconstruction of the cathedral of Reims (1963a, pp. 25-29 and 35, and 1966, p. 89).

231 He understood the union of the cult of the Savior to that of Notre-Dame as a result of the reform movement under Charlemagne as continued under Louis, (*ibid.*, p. 27), a point already made in Reinhardt and Fels 1933, pp. 353-354, citing the underscoring of Louis' role at Reims in the disputed passage in the Mou-tier-en-Der charter.

232 1933, pp. 340–343, stating that the proof of this at Saint-Riquier was the presence of a baptismal font in the western massif. They also agree to a parochial function for the Corvey massif, taking notice of Effmann's evidence of a font in its upper level (*ibid.*, pp. 348–350). This was thus contra the contemporary interpretation of Alois Fuchs, *Die karolingischen Westwerke und andere Fragen der karolingischen Baukunst*, Paderborn, 1929, who held that the upper level in a western massif at this period constituted an imperial chapel embellished with ideological meaning, a thesis further refined by him in "Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke," *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 100, 1950, pp. 227–278. This led writers such as Wilhelm Rave (Corvey, Munster, 1957) to identify the central upper level at Corvey, higher than those to the sides, as the emplacement for an imperial throne.

233 Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 354; and also p. 340, where they refer to services in the massif for the laity at Easter and Christmas.

234 For a perceptive recent review of the subject, see C. Kosch, "Überlegungen zu Vorromanischen Westwerken und ihrer in der Stauferzeit veränderten Gestalt und Funktion (Ausgehend von St. Pantaleon in Köln)," in *Kunst und Liturgie im Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Kongresses der Bibliotheca Hertziana und des Nederlands Instituut te Rome*, Rom, 28–30. September 1997, N. Bock, et al., eds., *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, Beiheft zu Vol. 33, 1999/2000, (2003), pp. 101–120, and in a wider context, C. McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*, New Haven, 2005, pp. 173–194.

235 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34 with nn. 6 and 7, reaffirmed in *idem*, 1966, pp. 87–88.

236 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 35.

237 For Saint-Riquier, Corvey and Reims, see Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, pp. 342–343 and 350, and 1937, p. 450.

238 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 34, adding that this was "exactement comme à la cathédrale de Reims."

239 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 35. The inscription reads: CIVITATEM ISTAM TU CIRCUMDA DNE/ ET ANGELI TUI CUSTODIANT MURUS EIUS (This City, surround it by your solicitude, Lord [and] your angels make certain its walls).

240 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 35. If this were the case, he reasoned, the paradis so often mentioned by Angilbert would not have referred to an atrium but to the vaulted passage in the interior of the massif itself. In 1966, Reinhardt elaborated somewhat on his hypothesis (pp. 86 and 90), stating that Durand and Effmann were mistaken in proposing the existence of an atrium. In his reading of the texts, one leaving the church by the main portal "gagnait le voie publique, via publica, ou la platea, la place devant l'église."

241 1937, pp. 433–434 and 450–451.

242 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 43.

243 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 42.

244 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 43. Cf. Reinhardt and Fels, 1933, p. 434, where they signal the destruction of the arcuatum opus and the addition of a tour-porche as an example of the abandonment of "l'idée de l'église-porche pour lui préférer une solution qui augmentait l'importance de la nef."

had agreed with Effmann's hypothesis of a parochial role for this part of the abbey church at Saint-Riquier as at Corvey.²³² Though their acceptance of the location of a baptismal font in the upper level of the Reims massif might be construed as admitting some similar utilization, the authors were otherwise silent on the purpose of that space at Reims.²³³

Reinhardt's ideas concerning the use of the massif's upper level at Reims in 1963 must be seen against the background of disagreement among scholars during the 1950s concerning the function of the Westwerk.²³⁴ Positioning himself on the side of Ernst Gall, Reinhardt continued on the whole to reject Alois Fuchs' conception of a „loge de prince" as a constituent part of any Westwerk.²³⁵ For Reims he called attention to the fact that the pre-XIIIth century liturgical sources „restent absolument muets" on the subject of an imperial loggia and that the ritual of royal coronation was limited to the liturgical choir and crossing. For the upper tribune at the west, he judged that „elle faisant fonction de 'Galerie du Gloria,' dont l'usage s'est perpétué jusque dans l'édifice actuel."²³⁶

Reinhardt had always devoted attention to the function of the tribunes, employing textual sources to demonstrate their use by choristers, a practice he connected with the „culte des anges."²³⁷ Corvey provided the most concrete evidence, consisting firstly of the description in Letzner's *Chronica* of how previously „les enfants montaient des les tribunes supérieures pour y chanter le Gloria en un chœur angélique;"²³⁸ and second, the inscription on the exterior at the same level „invoquant le Sauveur et ses anges" that Reinhardt found an apt précis of the role of this upper part of the massif, leading him to propose that the bay on the interior housed an altar consecrated to the archangels.²³⁹ In regard to Saint-Riquier, textual reference to altars dedicated to the Archangels and the presence of relics of the Holy Innocents in the western massif guided Reinhardt to revise Durand and Effmann's reconstruction, proposing that the altars dedicated to Gabrielle and Raphael were not to be found over the entrances to an atrium, but above the three portals of the west façade, while that of Michael was installed in a gate west of the church.²⁴⁰

Reinhardt on Adalbero. As to the dismantling of the arcuatum opus in 976, Reinhardt maintained the essentials of Fels and his previous proposal,²⁴¹ at the same time enlarging his discussion to place this event in the context of what he had come to believe had been a much more extensive transformation of the cathedral under Adalbero. He found motivation for the removal of the western massif in a wish to open up and lengthen the nave, which he deemed signified by Richer's use of *ampliore receptaculo*.²⁴² For Reinhardt, this found a close parallel in bishop Godehard's alteration of the Westwerk of Hildesheim cathedral a generation later.²⁴³ Reinhardt viewed these events as part of a wider development, which witnessed „les grands massifs de façade tombèrent en désuétude, à partir du Xe siècle, ne répondant plus au besoin liturgique et considérés comme trop encombrants."²⁴⁴

Joining the information furnished by the anonymous XIIth century canon as published by Demaison in 1907 with the account of the continuer of the *Annals of Flodoard* and Richer's fuller version, Reinhardt envisioned the demolition of the IXth century massif to have included not only the former „sanctuary of the Savior” but also the lateral galleries and tribunes – and thus the suppression of the massif's projecting arms – prior to the lengthening of the nave and aisles by three bays, and the construction west of this of a clocher-porche (i.e., the „old tower” of the ordines).²⁴⁵ Though incompletely developed in the text, these changes are clearly represented on his reconstruction plan of the cathedral in the second half of the XIIth century.²⁴⁶ This makes clear Reinhardt's vision of Adalbero's new west end as part of a wide-ranging modification, not to say rebuilding, of the Carolingian nave, which the author imagined as including an alternating system of supports and larger windows.²⁴⁷

Reinhardt pictured Adalbero's supposed clocher-porche as occupying the site of the former porch, which had straddled the intersection of the third and fourth bays of the present nave, as well as extending an unspecified distance to the west of the older structure. He assumed that because Deneux's excavation had failed to reveal any trace of this new construction, its foundations must have been completely destroyed by the erection of Samson's façade in the second and third bays of the present nave.²⁴⁸ In addressing the question of the „old tower” mentioned in the liturgical texts, Reinhardt accepted Demaison's explanation that it had been built by Adalbero, but he shifted the identification to the hypothetical clocher-porche. Hence this would have constituted one of the earliest examples of the type, being roughly contemporary with that of the cathedral of Metz but anterior to those of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.²⁴⁹ In his opinion, the structure was of considerable size for it accommodated the oratory of Calixtus as well as altars dedicated to Saints John the Baptist and Maurilius, and in addition it was able to support „le poids et le mouvement des cloches sonores, dont l'archevêque Adalbéron dota sa cathédrale.”²⁵⁰

It should be noted that Reinhardt's somewhat vague portrayal of the supposed clocher-porche departs somewhat from what Fels and he had previously proposed. Hypothesizing from the written sources for the cathedrals of Reims and Hildesheim, they had submitted in 1937 that due to the gutting of the interior, the „tour central devait donc disparaître, tandis que le maintien du front antérieur avec son étage lui permettait de jouer le rôle de porche et de chapelle haute.” Citing the vita of bishop Godehard of Hildesheim, they suggested that he had erected a new central tower above the older avant-corps, still in place.²⁵¹ Reinhardt's 1963 suggestion that the stair turrets of the former porch may have been conserved could indicate that he had not completely abandoned Fels and his earlier interpretation. In that case, the older avant-corps would have been sandwiched between the renovated nave and the clocher-porche – an arrangement that would also conveniently explain the absence of foundations for the presumed new porch between the massif in the fourth nave bay and Samson's façade in the third.

245 Accepting Demaison's interpretation of the canon's remarks, Reinhardt first presents (1963a, p. 26) translations of the pertinent excerpts from the *Annals* and Richer's history as part of the straightforward presentation of texts for the IXth century cathedral and more-or-less without editorial comment. When the same texts appear in paraphrase as part of the discussion of Adalbero's activity (*ibid.*, p. 41), they are rendered in such a way as to incorporate Reinhardt's conclusions from the following section (for instance, the destruction of the baptismal font has now been dropped from the *Annals* passage). He points to the “exact correspondence” of the three bays mentioned in the text to the substructures found by Deneux and concludes that the clocher-porche “s'élevait donc à l'ouest de celui, au-delà des fondations carolingiens” (1963a, p. 42). In his translation of the relevant passage (*ibid.*), Reinhardt interpreted *ipse ampliaverat templum hoc quantum continent longitudine arcuum trium* as “il aurait augmenté la cathédrale de l'espace de trois arcades” when “a length or distance” of three arcades would seem more impartial.

246 His Figure 4 (p. 54). Shaded areas in the final bays east of Samson's façade show the aisle walls as well as the nave arcades as totally rebuilt.

247 Reinhardt, 1963a, pp. 44–45.

248 H. Reinhardt, 1963a, p.42: “Malheureusement rien ne subsiste de cette construction. Sa trace a entièrement disparu lors de la réédification de la façade au XII^e siècle,” thus using negative evidence (the unproven conclusion that the porch was destroyed by the new façade) as a proof of the porch's existence. He does not explain why no trace of this construction was found in the present fourth nave bay, where IXth century foundations of the massif were uncovered as far west as the first of the XIIth century demolition trenches, as clearly indicated on Deneux's plan of 1944 and his own his general plan of 1963.

249 H. Reinhardt, 1963a, p.43.

250 Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 43. Richer records (MGH, SS, III, p. 613) the endowment of bells by the archbishop—*campanis mugientibus acsi tonantem dedit*—but he does not state where they were placed. He hesitated as to the structure's exact disposition, posing the question of whether it was square in plan, as was common in Northeast France, or flanked by stair turrets, as at Cambrai. Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 43. He lists a number of examples reflecting “without doubt” to his mind the “Vielle tour de saint Calixte.” See also *idem*, “Les églises de la Champagne après l'an mil,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 4, 1961, pp. 149–158 (pp. 153ff). He added (Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 43) that in the second case, “il se pourrait que les tourelles carolingiennes [at Reims] y aient trouvé leur emploi,” yet admitted that “il serait téméraire de se prononcer.”

251 Reinhardt and Fels, 1937, p. 464, suggesting as analogous the alterations of the massifs of Corvey and Gandersheim (pp. 464–465). The authors also refer to iconographic sources recording the aspect of Godehard's west end: “Le transept occidental a disparu; d'un massif transversal sans largeur montent deux tourelles d'escalier. Le vide qui existait entre elles a été comblé par un beffroi barlong ajouté après coup et qui les surplombe d'un étage.”

Model of a possible interpretation of Reinhardt's conception of the west end as modified by Adalbero.

Tour-porche of uncertain form housing on an upper level an oratory and two altars, surmounted by a bell tower

Ambiguous zone between the porch and the west façade – possibly equivalent to the avant-corps of the old massif with its stair turrets (?)

Three new nave bays on site of destroyed old west massif

20

252 See n. 179, above.

253 See reviews by F. Salet (Bulletin monumental 121, 1963, pp. 294-298), R. Branner (Art Bulletin 45, 1963, pp. 375-377), and W. Sauerländer (Kunstchronik, 17, 1964, pp. 270ff). A decisive shift in Reims studies occurred with the publication of R. Branner's 1962 "The Labyrinth of Reims Cathedral," which rejected the Reims labyrinth as a valid source for determining the chronology and responsibility of architects for the XIIIth century cathedral. Equally important in this process was F. Salet, "Le premier colloque international de la société française d'archéologie (Reims, 1er-2 juin 1965), chronologie de la cathédrale," Bulletin monumental 125, 1967, pp. 347-394.

254 H. Bernard, "Premières fouilles à Saint-Riquier," in Karl der Große, vol. 3, Karolingische Kunst, Düsseldorf, 1965, pp. 369-373, and idem., "Les fouilles de l'Eglise Notre-Dame à Saint-Riquier," Bulletin archéologique, n.s. 1-2, 1965-1966, pp. 25-47. The excavation, begun in 1959, was carried out to test Jean Hubert's 1957 hypothesis of a central plan for Notre-Dame in "Saint-Riquier et le monachisme bénédictin en Gaule à l'époque carolingienne," Il monachesimo nell'alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale, Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medio Evo 4, Spoleto, 1957, pp. 293-309.

255 V. Jansen, "Round or Square? The Axial Towers of the Abbey Church of Saint-Riquier," Gesta, 21, 1982, pp. 83-90.

256 D. Parsons, "The Pre-Romanesque Church of St-Riquier: The Documentary Evidence," Journal of the British Archaeological Association 129, 1976, pp. 21-51. For a counterargument, see Rabe, 1995, pp. 14-20.

257 J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W. F. Volbach, Carolingian Art, A. Malraux and A. Parrot, eds. (Arts of Mankind) London, 1970, pp. 63ff. This is the English translation of Empire carolingien in the series L'Univers des Formes published in 1968. Hubert compared the "badly lit" vaulted lower level not only with Corvey but also with the cathedral of Auxerre.

258 Ibid., p. 364. Though he made no reference to Reinhardt, he seems clearly to have disapproved the Swiss scholar's 1963 reconstruction of the IXth century church. His disparaging remarks on Deneux's excavations as lacking "the scientific precision which one is entitled to expect nowadays" show his unawareness of the architect's often careful recording, well in advance for his time.

259 Ibid.

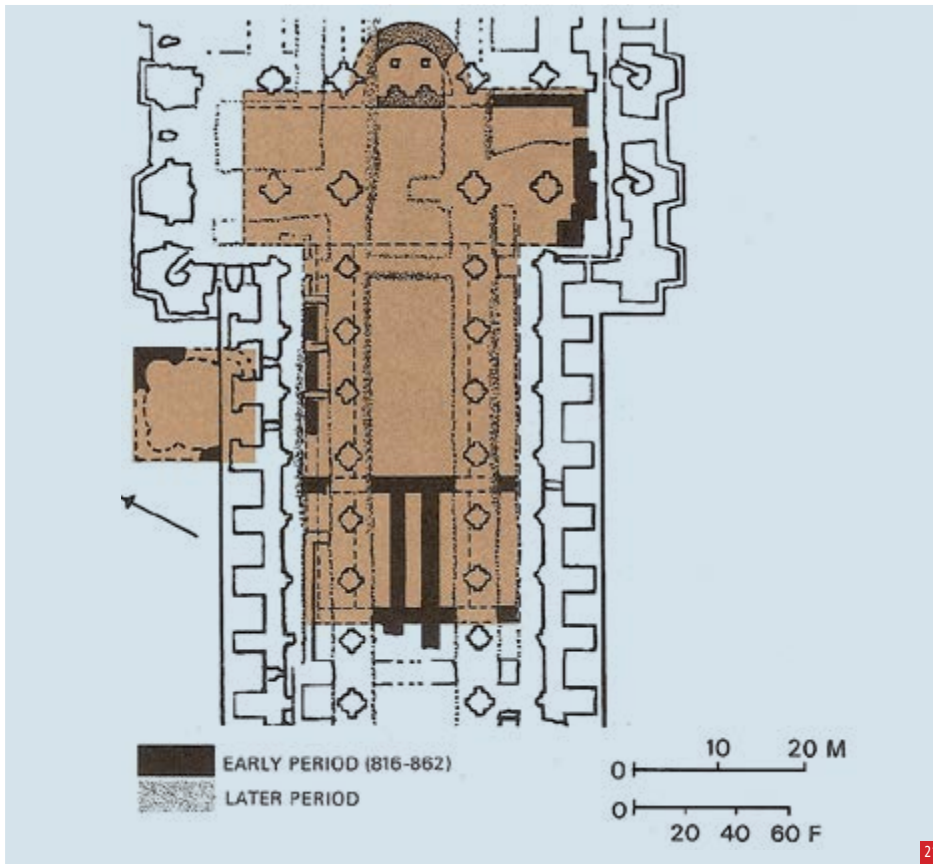
In sum, having advanced Saint-Riquier as the prototype for a western transept at Reims, Reinhardt was obliged to have it dismantled by Adalbero so that Samson could construct his façade in the manner of St-Denis. In addition, by opting for Reims as one of the sources of the great tour-porches along the lines of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, he was forced to abandon the much more realistic hypothesis of 1937.²⁵²

The western massif after Reinhardt, 1963-1991

On the whole, response to Reinhardt's 1963 monograph was not overly favorable.²⁵³ Fundamental changes in the practice of art history had undermined the basic assumptions made by Reinhardt and others of his generation. Critical for Reinhardt's approach to the Carolingian cathedral in particular was the erosion of confidence in the iconographic sources for Centula. Excavation of the church of Notre-Dame at Saint-Riquier in the early 1960s provided archaeological confirmation of the unreliability of the XVIIth century engravings of the abbey,²⁵⁴ and soon revisionist writers inquired into the validity of previous interpretations of specific architectural elements²⁵⁵ or questioned the trustworthiness of the sources themselves.²⁵⁶ In addition, the strict formalistic development from the Carolingian église-porche to the Romanesque twin-towered façade charted by Reinhardt and Fels in the 1930s was being brought into question by the recognition of the multiple origins and diversity of solutions in the architecture of the VIIIth to the Xth century north of the Alps.

In the three decades from the publication of Reinhardt's volume to the start of the archaeological reexamination of the Reims archiepiscopal group in the early 1990s, the Carolingian cathedral received rather limited attention. But the writers who did address the problem of its western massif each admitted the basic value of Reinhardt's interpretation while correcting or extending some part of his conclusions.

Jean Hubert. In 1968, Hubert continued to accept the main lines of Reinhardt and Fels' earlier argument for the general form and function of the antéglise at Reims, accepting it as having been on two levels, forming, as at Saint-Riquier, „an entire parish church in itself, complete with baptismal font.”²⁵⁷ However, without naming Reinhardt, Hubert wrote of the evidence of Deneux's excavation as having led to „contradictory interpretations.”²⁵⁸ In response, he presented his own reconstruction for the IXth century church, justifying it as „the simplest interpretation that can be proposed and it seems to



Hubert's 1968 reconstruction of the Carolingian cathedral

be in keeping with the building practices of the Carolingian period".²¹²⁵⁹ This, like Lambert's schematic plan of 1961 (fig 15b), differs most significantly from Reinhardt's restitution (fig 17) in possessing neither a deep eastern choir nor a projecting western transept, but also the lack of stair-turrets or a western porch. Hubert's plan is itself not unproblematic; it appears it was not worked up directly from the 1944 original but from his own 1952 annotated copy of Deneux's plan, leading to certain inaccuracies.²⁶⁰ The most important of these is a narrowing of the nave aisles and massif by several meters; once corrected, the proportions for the nave become very close to those proposed by Reinhardt.²⁶¹

Hubert's terse reference to Adalbero's modification of the massif—which was dismantled „to make way for a tower and a new façade”—is a repetition of his opinion of 1938.²⁶² But if this was meant as a refutation of Reinhardt's hypothetical late Xth century *tour-porche* is not clear.

Carol Heitz. Heitz's major study of the role of the liturgy in the evolution of Carolingian architecture appeared in the same year as Reinhardt's Reims monograph.²⁶³ His central focus concerned the factors leading to the progression from „*église-porche*” to „*tour-porch*” between the later VIIIth and Xth centuries. Like Hubert accepting in broad outline the schema proposed by Reinhardt and Fels as to the formal development of the type, he sought to

²⁶⁰ Though indicated on the plan as IXth century, the wall segments in north aisle and the baptistery were dated to the Vth and VIth centuries respectively by Deneux, and the east wall of the south transept arm to the XIIth century. Note that contrary to Reinhardt, both the apse and crypt are dated together to a “later period” (i.e., early Xth century). In addition, the outer, north-south walls of the western massif have been mistaken for east-west walls, resulting in a narrowing of the aisles. Note that in this reconstruction the western massif takes up exactly one-fourth of the total length of the church (from façade to apse), as Richer appears to describe it.

²⁶¹ This was perhaps caused in part by Hubert's apparent consideration of the excavated remains of the somewhat later cathedral of Minden as a parallel for Reims, placing the two plans alongside each other (Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, 1970, p. 302, fig. 363). Lobbedey (2002, p. 71) has also remarked the possible connection between the massifs of these two monuments.

²⁶² Hubert, 1938, p. 25.

²⁶³ *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne*, Paris, 1964.

264 As well as for the feasts of the Ascension and the Nativity. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–16 and 239ff.

265 Principally in *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne, Les formes et leurs fonctions*, Paris, 1980, and *La France pré-romane, Archéologie et architecture religieuse du Haut Moyen Âge, IVe siècle – An Mil*, Paris, 1987, but also in "Architecture et liturgie processionnelle à l'époque préromane," *Revue de l'art* 24, 1974, pp. 30–47; "The iconography of architectural form," in *The Anglo-Saxon Church, Papers on history, architecture, and archaeology in honour of Dr H M Taylor* (CBA Research Report No 60), L. Butler and R. Morris, eds., London, 1986, pp. 90–100; "L'église-porche dans la formation des façades occidentales," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34, 1991, pp. 329–334; and "Le modèle du Saint-Sépulcre," in *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'architecture des rotondes, Actes de colloque de Dijon, Musée Archéologique, 23–25 septembre 1993*, M. Jannet and C. Sapin, eds., Dijon, 1996, pp. 229–236.

266 See, for example, the review of Heitz, 1980, by Charles McClendon in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, 1982, pp. 58–59.

267 Heitz, 1963, pp. 29–30, describing the foundations as "une grande construction oblongue, deux murs transversaux reliés par des soubassements parallèles."

268 Heitz, 1963, p. 31: "Nous ne savons pas avec certitude si la partie occidentale de l'église avait une dédicace particulière, mais tout porte à croire qu'elle était dédiée au Sauveur." The analogies are the presence of an altar to Christ at the west at Saint-Riquier and a baptismal font at the upper level at Corvey. For Louis's action he cited the disputed Montier-en-Der charter; see nn. 13 and 14, above.

269 Heitz, 1963, fig. 3, p. 30. This is repeated in Heitz 1980 (fig. 68, p. 93) and in a highly schematic fashion with errors in 1987 (p. 250).

270 Heitz, 1963, p. 239–41. This definition appeared in the context of his exposé on the inappropriateness of the term *église-porche* as used by Reinhardt and Fels, and his advocacy of the term *antéglise*, arguing (p. 240) that the "église" in *église-porche* is appropriate (including the crypt below the sanctuary), but that "porche" is out of place, pointing to the presence of a *porche* (porticus) between the stair-turrets serving funerary role at Saint-Riquier and Corvey. He adds that his definition of *antéglise* is synonymous with the initial meaning of the term *turris*: "église en forme de tour (rotunde), et non pas clocher" (p. 241, n. 2).

271 *Ibid.*, p. 29. He later (1987, p. 251) somewhat ambiguously described the relics of Calixtus as having been housed at the tribune level of a "tour-porche" that had taken the place of the massif after 976, but it is clear he is not referring to the construction proposed by Reinhardt.

272 Heitz, 1980, p. 92. Although he accepts the building was "assez bien connue" through Deneux's excavations, he echoes Hubert's contention that these "ont soulevé de grandes difficultés d'interprétation," adding that "la restitution de monument carolingien, tentée par M. Reinhardt ... s'appuie trop sur l'exemple de la Centula d'Angilbert."

explain its inception and disappearance through a detailed examination of the cult of the Holy Savior and the western massif as a setting for the Pascal liturgy.²⁶⁴ The author elaborated on and defended his position into the early 1990s.²⁶⁵ Although his concentration on the Rome–Jerusalem liturgical axis has been judged overdrawn,²⁶⁶ his work still provides various insights into the disposition and function of the Reims western massif.

Writing before the publication of Reinhardt's *La Cathédrale*, Heitz found that Reinhardt and Fels had quite correctly identified in 1933 the substructures uncovered by Deneux as those of the *arcuatum opus* destroyed by Adalbero.²⁶⁷ Observing that the western massif can only be assumed to have housed a sanctuary of the Savior, he judged this most probable not only on the basis of resemblance to Saint-Riquier and Corvey but also because Louis the Pious had personally appended that cult to that of the Virgin.²⁶⁸ Heitz did not propose a reconstruction of his own but used Hubert's 1952 copy of Deneux's 1944 plan to illustrate the Carolingian cathedral.²⁶⁹ Nonetheless he implied in his conclusion that the western massif at Reims, like those of Saint-Riquier and Corvey, belonged to the veritable type of *antéglise* coming into being at the end of the VIIIth century and disappearing from the middle of the Xth that he characterized as consisting of a central tower (composed in its interior of a lower crypt and an upper sanctuary) preceded by an *avant-corps* flanked by stair turrets.²⁷⁰ As for Adalbero's changes to the massif, Heitz distinguished himself from Reinhardt and Fels's 1937 *clocher-porche* hypothesis. Paraphrasing Richer, he wrote that after the church had been enlarged by a fourth of its length by the destruction of the internal vaulted structure, it „ne gardait, du côté Ouest, qu'une tribune sur laquelle fut place une importante relique, le corps of saint Calixte," by which Heitz appears to suggest that the upper levels above the porticus had survived the modifications of 976.²⁷¹

Concerning Reinhardt's 1963 conception of the IXth century cathedral, Heitz summed up his own and most other specialist reaction in 1980 by faulting the Swiss author for his over reliance on the model of Saint-Riquier.²⁷² Despite his stated reservations, however, it is clear from his later publications that Heitz conceived of the Reims massif much as Reinhardt had, though he remained circumspect as to its possible triturrin form. In 1980, for example, in comparing Reims with the double choir plan of the contemporary cathedral of Cologne, he described the massif as an „antéglise occidentale assez spacieuse" of decidedly Neustrian type:

La cathédrale carolingienne de Reims est encore 'bicéphale' – comme l'abbatiale de Centula: au sanctuaire principal dédié à la Vierge, répondit à l'Ouest un sanctuaire dédié au Sauveur. Les fondations des deux transepts en font foi: les deux massifs ont dû marquer également par leur volume plastique, sans que l'on puisse dire s'ils avaient le même aspect trifforme que ceux de Centula.²⁷³

It seems probable that he conceived of the Reims western massif, if not mirroring exactly that of Saint-Riquier, as comprised internally of a „crypt” supporting a sanctuary platform surrounded by augments and upper tribunes while conveying on the exterior the appearance of a transept preceded by a porch.²⁷⁴ It should be noted that at this point the first round of Honoré Bernard’s excavations concerning the abbey church of Saint-Riquier appeared to confirm the evidence of the engraved views of the monastery by demonstrating the presence of two well-defined transepts, even if they did not appear to share the same dimensions.²⁷⁵

Atrium?	Porch (with or without stair turrets)	Massif, apparently including lower “crypt” and upper sanctuary with aisles and tribunes on three sides, those at west over porch, with possible (round and tristegum?) central tower	Nave (with stairs to massif upper level sanctuary in aisles ?)
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Model of Heitz’s conception of the Reims massif.

In regard to function, Heitz stressed that the Reims massif had served as a sort of Easter season „*aula de fête*,” as at Saint-Riquier and Corvey. He sought to identify the origins of this in the liturgical innovations realized under the first Carolingian emperors, specifically the introduction under the early Carolingians of a Roman Pascal ceremonial imitating practices current at the holy sites in Palestine. In this way Reims would have shared with Saint-Riquier a „*filiation liturgique – et architecturale – non seulement avec Rome, mais aussi et surtout avec Jérusalem et notamment la rotonde de l’Anastasis qui abrite le tombeau du Christ*” – a contention central to Heitz’s basic argument.²⁷⁶ Thus, for example, the round form of the major towers at Saint-Riquier was deliberate and emblematic of the Holy Sepulcher and the Resurrection.²⁷⁷ At the same time, he suggested a possibly more secular aspect for the Reims massif in particular. Though in a general fashion he, like Reinhardt, rejected the idea of the antichurch as *Kaiserkirche*,²⁷⁸ he saw in the emperor Louis’s intervention as an effort to create „*une antéglise d’inspiration doublement royale: placée sous le vocable du Sauveur, elle abritait le culte du Christ associé à celui du vicarius Dei que prétendait être le souverain carolingien.*”²⁷⁹ Heitz pointed to the destruction of the massif as the absolute antithesis to the emperor’s original intention:

Cette mesure d’apparence purement pratique a un arrière-plan symbolique: l’atrophie, ici la disparition, des antéglises d’essence royale marquant le déclin d’un certain pouvoir, amalgame du temporel et du spirituel, et la montée en force d’un autre, celui de l’Eglise. A ce point de vue, l’évolution de l’architecture rémoise entre 816 et 976 semble hautement significative.²⁸⁰

273 Heitz, 1980, p. 92-93. His reticence may have stemmed from Reinhardt’s dependence on Effmann’s reconstructions but as well from Hubert’s non-inclusion of stair turrets in his 1968 reconstruction. Yet in his conclusion (p. 230) Heitz states that the western massif of this type “se présente généralement à la manière d’un édifice à trois tours: une tour centrale, ronde ou carrée, accompagnée de deux tourelles d’escalier qui souvent encadrent une porche.”

274 His definition of the antéglise (see n. 270, above) concerns Saint-Riquier and Corvey, but also Reims by implication. An interesting feature of Heitz’s analysis of Saint-Riquier is his addition of hypothetical stairways permitting direct access to and from the sanctuary level of the massif from the side aisles of the nave, as at Tournus (see Heitz, 1974, p. 33, figs. 9 and 13). Such elements were absent in the reconstructions of Durand and Effmann, as well as that of Edgar Lehmann, “Die Anordnung der Altäre in der Karolingischen Klosterkirche zu Centula,” Karl der Grosse, 4 vols. Düsseldorf, 1965, vol. 3, pp. 374-383.

275 Results summarized in H. Bernard, “D’Hauteppe à Effmann, à la lumière des récentes fouilles de Saint-Riquier,” Actes du 95^e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes de Reims 1970, Section d’archéologie et d’histoire de l’art, Paris, 1974, pp. 219-235. Despite the apparent lack of symmetry, Heitz (1980, p. 60) still signaled the building’s “bicéphale” form as a “nouvelle synthèse carolingienne.” His continued confidence is evidenced in his presentation of Effmann’s elevation and Bernard’s plan on the same page (ibid., p. 57, figs. 37 and 38). In 1987 (p. 139), he will place Bernard’s 1969 reconstruction in comparison with the 1673 Mabilion engraving.

276 Heitz, 1987, pp. 142-143. On this theme, see idem, 1980, pp. 214ff, as well as his articles of 1974, 1986 and 1996 cited above, n. 265.

277 Which led Heitz to argue against the revisionist attacks on the reliability of the sources for Saint-Riquier and for their acceptance as primary documents; for example, idem, 1986, pp. 92ff, and 1987, p. 139.

278 See Heitz, 1963, pp. 152-164.

279 Heitz, 1987, p. 250, apparently on the basis of the Montier-en-Der charter. For the presence of multiple levels of meaning in Carolingian architecture, see ibid., pp. 146ff. Heitz later went further (1991, p. 330), writing that Ebbo installed the western massif itself “à la demande du jeune empereur.”

280 Ibid., p. 251.

281 Ottaway, 1980, pp. 147-148, terming the reconstructed plan of Saint-Riquier (i.e., Effmann) as "totalement hypothétique"; see his comments pp. 158-159., citing Hubert, 1957 and Parsons, 1977. He writes (*ibid.*, p. 148, n. 49) that "Les fouilles ont révélé la silhouette d'un grand "westwerk," précédé d'un porche qui présente seulement une petite saillie de chaque côté de l'église elle-même." He added that he did not have access to Deneux, 1944. Could he be working not from Reinhardt's 1963 general plan but from Hubert's plans of 1952 or 1968?

282 The excavations (i.e., the first sondages by H. Bernard at the abbey church) "ont prouvé que les rapports entre les deux bâtiments sont très étroits et que même si les choses ne se présentaient pas exactement comme l'a proposé H. Reinhardt, sa conjecture reste juste quant au fond" (*ibid.*, p. 148, n. 50). For the Hildesheim connection, see p. 158, where he seems to accept Reinhardt's proposal (1963, p. 32) of a role for Ebbo in its planning.

283 Ottaway, 1980, pp. 228-229.

284 Though he speaks only of tribunes, this would have included the galleries as well.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 228. He adds this would have corresponded to the emplacement of the altar of the Nativity at Saint-Riquier and also the upper level of the western massif of Auxerre cathedral.

286 *Ibid.*, p. 297. Terming Reinhardt "le dernier grand historien de la cathédrale" (p. 298), he used his 1963 reconstruction to illustrate the Carolingian church (his fig. 1) but differed with him on several points in interpreting the texts of Richer and the Annals, and the XIth century ordines (pp. 298-300). Note that he also used a detail of the 1729 Montfaucon engraving of the Tomb of Hinemar (his fig. 2) to demonstrate the building's bicephalous appearance. In his description of the cathedral he mentioned (p. 298) only the presence the two major towers, as in the Montfaucon image; however, on p. 300, he posited the existence of stair turrets at least at the west.

287 *Ibid.*, p. 297: "il s'inscrivent dans des perspectives que les archéologues, faute de documents, n'ont pas réussi à dégager." Interestingly, he gave credit for the solution to the arcuated opus question to Ferdinand Lot rather than Lasteyrie.

288 *Chronicon mosomensis monasterii*, MGH, SS, XIV, 1883, pp. 601-618. Text and translation of the passage are given in Bur, 1984, p. 301. The chronicle was later published by Bur as *Chronique ou Livre de Fondation du Monastère de Mouzon*, Paris, 1989.

John Ottaway. In his extensive 1980 inquiry into church architecture in France before the Year 1000, Ottaway also assessed the general contours of Reinhardt's reconstruction of the IXth century cathedral of Reims as too strongly contingent on Effmann's despite his stated attention to the results of the excavations of Henri Deneux.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, he granted that Reinhardt's ideas concerning the two transepts were worthy of note, especially in light of the excavations at Saint-Riquier, which Ottaway believed provided proof of the close relationship between the two churches and the cathedral of Hildesheim as well.²⁸²

Ottaway was much less amenable to Reinhardt's view of the modifications enacted by Adalbero.²⁸³ First, his own reading of the written sources led him to ask if it were not more logical to see demolition to have been limited to the central part of the massif (corresponding to the nave), leaving in place the surrounding tribunes over the aisles and the porch.²⁸⁴ Secondly, he re-joined the opinion of Louis Demaison in rejecting Reinhardt's proposition of a clocher-porche added by Adalbero, citing as proof the failure of the discovery of foundations for such a structure by Deneux. He considered instead that the „old tower” had been erected by Adalbero over a part of the IXth century massif that escaped demolition – therefore the oratory of Calixtus would have been installed „dans une tour élevée au-dessus du porche, autrefois entrée du „westwerk” lui-même.”²⁸⁵ Overall, Ottaway's solution, tallying as it does with Demaison's final opinion, remains today the most consistent vis-à-vis the written sources. Yet, as will be seen, it, too, is not free of difficulty.

Old porch, with gallery and tribune levels, retained, with a new tower added over it (i.e., the "old tower" of the ordines).

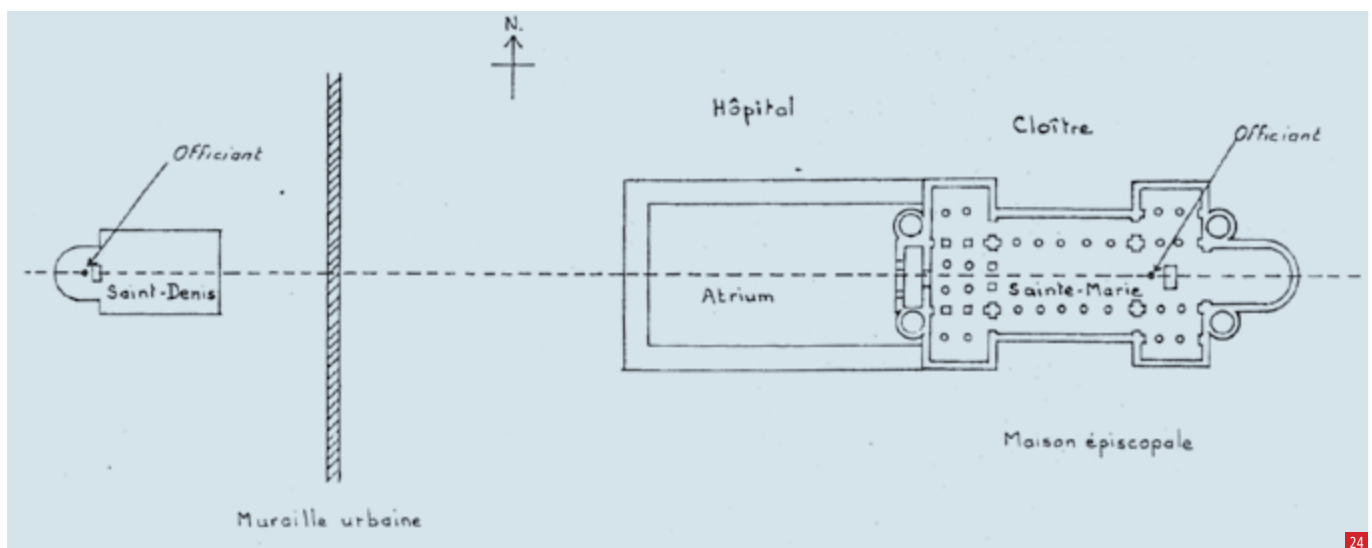
23

Central component of the IXth century massif (the sanctuary of the Savior and the piers and vaults supporting it, i.e., the arcuated opus of the Annals) removed to add three bays to the nave; the lateral portions of the massif, (including the ground floor vaulting system, galleries and tribunes) was left in place.

IXth century Nave

Model of Ottaway's hypothesis for the alterations of the IXth century massif under Adalbero.

Michel Bur. A provocative reassessment of Adalbero's intention in removing the arcuated opus was proposed by the historian Michel Bur in 1984. He accepted Saint-Riquier as the direct inspiration for IXth century cathedral of Reims – „tous les historiens de l'art depuis G. Durand (1911) l'admettent” – and concurred with Reinhardt's reconstruction of the building.²⁸⁶ For the alterations effected under Adalbero, he agreed with the basic premise that Richer and the continuer of the Annals referred to the archbishop's demolition of the „crypt” and upper sanctuary of the western massif, but he contended that the real motive for the prelate's action had escaped scholars' notice.²⁸⁷ Bur maintained this was spelled out in a passage in the XIth century Chronicle of Mouzon that offered an account of the particular liturgical rela-



tionship existing between the cathedral and the church of Saint-Denis, situated on axis with it just outside the city walls (see the discussion of the atrium, below).²⁸⁸ Bur argued that in destroying the arcuatum opus, Adalbero had purposely brought to an end the Pascal celebration of the Resurrection centered on the western massif, but more importantly, „il a supprimé l'écran qui séparait l'église Saint-Denis de la basilique Sainte-Marie,” in doing so linking the two churches to form „un seul et même lieu de culte à deux absides opposées”.²⁴²⁸⁹

Reinhardt and the art historians. Reinhardt's reconstruction of Ebbo's cathedral was generally greeted with caution by art historians engaged in study of the present church.²⁹⁰ Yet despite such reservations, the essentials of his conclusions continued to be relied on in the view that these reflected the results of Deneux's excavations, just as his general plan was commonly considered to present accurately the archaeological evidence. This attitude of skeptical acceptance is encountered for instance in Donna Sadler-Davis's extensive treatment of the Carolingian cathedral in the introduction in her 1984 dissertation.²⁹¹ Interest in the IXth century massif by other scholars dealing with the XIIIth century west façade was often negligible; unaware of the presence of the presumed early baptistery below the western massif and the consequences that entailed, their attention was centered instead on the part Samson's façade may have played in the building of its successor.

It was in the context of questions concerning the relationship between the XIIIth century church and the older building that Peter Kurmann critically appraised the work of Deneux and Reinhardt in his 1987 study of the present west front.²⁹² He judged knowledge of the church as it had existed in the XIIth century too incomplete to reach satisfactory conclusions, faulting Deneux for failing to publish his results properly and for the oversimplification of his 1944 general plan, and finding Reinhardt's use of the excavation data shed no new light on the discoveries of the 1920s. Although he credited him with being the first „à en tirer des conclusions intéressant l'histoire de l'art

Bur's 1984 reconstruction of the Carolingian cathedral and atrium.

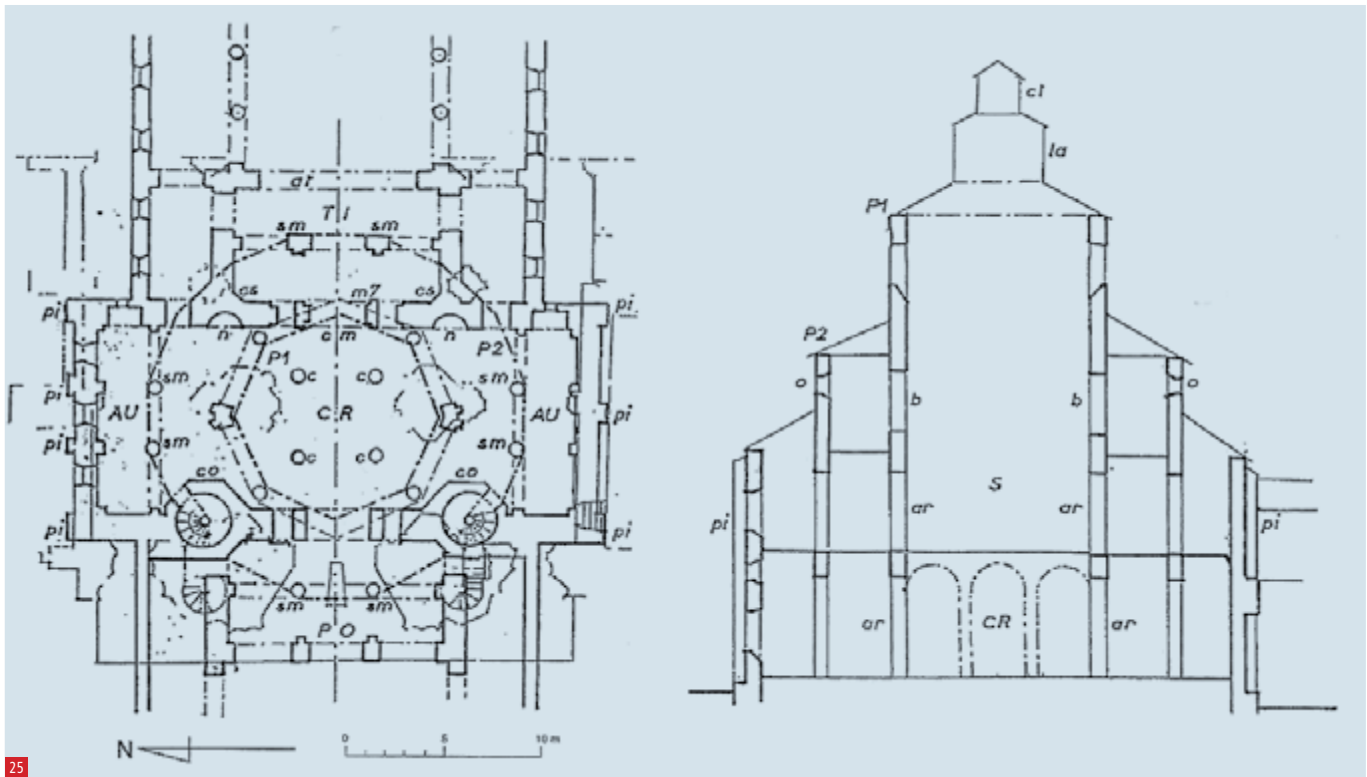
289 Ibid. This arrangement he compares (pp. 301-302) to double-apsed plans such as the abbey church at Fulda and Cologne cathedral.

290 Exemplified by the notice on the cathedral by historian Patrick Demouy in *Le paysage monumental de la France autour de l'An Mil*, X. Barral I Altet, ed., Paris, 1987, pp. 305-307.

291 "The Sculptural Program of the Verso of the West Façade of Reims cathedral," PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1984, pp. 5-35, demonstrates the continued importance of Reinhardt as the primary source for the archaeological data for non-specialists, Sadler-Davis's selective rejection of his certain of his interpretations notwithstanding.

292 P. Kurmann, 1987, vol. 1, pp. 41-46 [see n. 70, above]. He pointed to the "double perspective" of the rapport between the present cathedral and its predecessor: first, how the older building might have affected the development of the project, and second, how might its presence have affected the course of construction. He illustrated this section with the Deneux 1944 plan (fig. 2, p. 40). In the discussion of the Samson facade, Kurmann used instead a detail of Reinhardt's general plan with that author's chronological indications for the XIIIth century blacked out (ibid., fig. 26, p. 119).

293 He also noted (ibid., p. 41, n. 5) the several unexplained modifications of the archaeological evidence on Reinhardt's plan.



25 Simplified plan and elevation of Bernard's final reconstruction of the Saint-Riquier western massif: (a) plan; (b) section north-south.

294 *Ibid.*, p. 42, in fact the suggestion was that of John Ottaway, discussed above.

295 Kurmann rejects (*ibid.* n. 11) the possibility of an alternating system in the nave arcade on the basis of Deneux's 1944 plan.

296 *Ibid.*, p. 42, n. 10.

297 "Les campagnes de construction de la cathédrale de Reims au XIII^e siècle," *Bulletin monumental* 137, 1979, pp. 7-66. A rare case is his reference (*ibid.*, p. 11) to Deneux's 1944 plan to locate Samson's façade.

298 Ise Schüssler, *Die Kathedrale von Reims*, Stuttgart, 1993, vol 1, pp. 28-31. Previously, in "Zur Baugeschichte der Kathedrale von Reims," in *Gedenkschrift Ernst Gall*, Munich and Berlin, 1965, pp. 195-234, Hamann-MacLean had approached the problem in terms of the present building alone.

299 *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31, with the Deneux plans redrawn (figs. 3 and 4) and corrected (e.g., p. 28, n. 34). He, too, could be highly negative regarding to Reinhardt's representation of the excavated evidence, as in the case of the Gothic temporary wall across the east wall of the massif (pp. 29-30).

médiéval," he reproached Reinhardt for his failure to subject his interpretations to „un examen critique suffisant."²⁹³ In spite of his dissatisfaction with what he called „l'extrême carence des recherches," Kurmann granted that the building's plan could be established from Deneux's work and that Reinhardt's dating of its various parts was valid. Concerning the western massif, he agreed with Bur (see above) that Adalbero „fit supprimer les tribunes de la tour, tout en les maintenant ailleurs dans ce massif occidental, c'est-à-dire à sud, à l'ouest et au nord."²⁹⁴ Moreover, Kurmann reasoned that the archbishop had in fact been content to restructure the existing massif; thus he neither added a clocher-porche at the west nor modified the interior of the nave with an alternating system of supports as Reinhardt had thought.²⁹⁵ Explaining Richer's reference to the more „dignified schema" produced by Adalbero's intervention, he very interestingly suggests that the term *digniore scemate* referred to the transformation of the western massif alone, as this by itself could have sufficiently amplified the majesty of the church in the view of the chronicler.²⁹⁶

Another authority, Jean-Pierre Ravaux, especially critical of Reinhardt and much less concerned with the pre-High Gothic building, made only the most minimal use of the archaeological evidence.²⁹⁷ Conversely, Richard Hamann-MacLean devoted a subchapter of his magisterial study of the cathedral to Deneux's excavations.²⁹⁸ This included a close study of the plans, sections and photo of the massif published by Deneux in 1944, but focused almost entirely on the information these provided for the foundations of the XIIIth century.²⁹⁹

The end of Saint-Riquier as archetype. Evidence brought to light by a second series of sondages carried out in the late 1980s by Honoré Bernard on the emplacement of the Saint-Riquier western massif initially seemed to support the excavator's 1978 hypothesis that the two turris were not quadrangular but ring-shaped at ground level 25 a-b.³⁰⁰ Then new discoveries in 1989 led Bernard to propose not only that the central space was in fact octagonal in plan, but that this was surrounded by a larger sixteen-sided outer unit.³⁰¹ Though initially skeptical, Carol Heitz in his last articles of the early 1990s came to incorporate the possibility of an octagonal form for the central space of the western massif and thus a more than likely connection with the contemporary palatine chapel at Aachen.³⁰² Further, faced with the new archaeological evidence, he now described the two turris at Saint-Riquier as „pseudo-transepts” and most importantly characterized the western massif there as still not fully developed: „on a vraiment l'impression de se trouver devant un prototype, dont les formes ne sont pas encore parfaitement stabilisées.”³⁰³ At the same time, Bernard proposed a new reconstruction of the abbey church with matching complex polygonal towers—that of the projecting east transept being open over the crossing while the other included a platform (the chapel of the Savior) extending across the width of the stubby western massif (Fig. 26)—a solution viewed today with a good deal of circumspection.³⁰⁴ Thus the image of Saint-Riquier conveyed by the XVIIth century engravings showing „une basilique encadrée de deux tours avec transepts” was no longer valid; one had now to imagine instead a „curieux ensemble bipolaire – qui n'en garde pas moins au dehors une silhouette basilicale.”³⁰⁵ Even so he attempted to argue that this

répondre plus que jamais au rapprochement qu'en suggérait C. Heitz avec le Saint-Sépulcre constantinien de Jérusalem en se fondant sur une similitude certaine des usages liturgiques rapportés par le pèlerin: à la rotonde de l'Anastasis répondait, à l'ouest, la tour du Saviour, à la basilique du martyrium à l'est, répondait le complexe du buticum, tandis que l'espace plus au centre de la Sainte-Croix représentait la petite cour où l'on vénérât le Golgotha.³⁰⁶

On the eve of new archaeological work at Reims, earlier interpretations based on the Saint-Riquier seemed in disarray, Reinhardt's 1963 reconstruction definitively dismantled, and Deneux's published excavation results excessively problematical. One would seem to have come full circle and to have returned to a dependence on the written sources and architectural comparisons, chiefly Corvey.

PART III. CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE MASSIF

If interpretation of the results of the re-evaluation of the accessible parts of the massif made between 1994 and 1998 remains in its essentials the same as previously published,³⁰⁷ several points related to the present discussion need to be enlarged upon and others given new emphasis.

300 "Un site prestigieux du monde carolingien: Saint-Riquier. Peut-on connaître la grande basilique d'Angilbert?" *Cahiers archéologiques de Picardie*, 5, 1978, pp. 241-254.

301 H. Bernard, "Saint-Riquier: Une restitution nouvelle de la basilique d'Angilbert," *Revue du Nord* 71, 1989, pp. 307-361.

302 Heitz, 1991, pp. 332-333 [see n. 265, above], noting that if true, this would tend to support the hypothesis of an imperial loggia in the western massif at Corvey. Recall that earlier (1963, pp. 160-164), he had argued that even if a typological affinity existed among Saint-Riquier, Aachen and Corvey, the western massifs of the two abbey churches were not imperial but linked to a Christological cult.

303 Heitz, 1991, p. 333.

304 H. Bernard, "Saint-Riquier. Fouilles et découvertes récentes," in *Avant-nefs*, 2002, pp. 88-107.

305 Bernard, 2002, p. 104.

306 Bernard, 2002, p. 104, drawing on Heitz, 1963, pp. 106-113.

307 Balcon and Berry, 2002. These conclusions were based on the examination of the foundations left in place by Deneux in the third to the seventh bays of the nave, complemented by re-excavation where possible, and the study of the excavation documents, including an important set of notes and plans of the early 1920s that became available in 1995 (now part of the Fonds Deneux of the Reims Bibliothèque Carnegie).

308 W. Berry and R. Neiss, "Le découverte du baptistère paléochrétien de Reims", in *Clovis, histoire et mémoire*. M. Rouche, ed. 2 vols. Paris, 1998, pp. 869-888 [1988a], and "La Cathédrale de Reims", in *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, 3 vols., Paris, 1998, vol. 3, pp. 105-111 [1998b]. Its mortier du tuileau floor was uncovered by Deneux, who dated it correctly but believed it to belong to the primitive atrium.

309 The west wall of the IVth century rooms is conserved below the foundation of the massif's west front.

310 This was possibly contemporary with an enlargement of the church toward the east; summarized in Berry, 2010, pp. 38-39. The massif's center was heavily damaged by Late Medieval tombs but corresponding floor layers (of beaten earth) were found intact in a sondage to the southeast. Alterations at this point included the filling in of the well at the west and the possible incorporation of that area within the building.

311 Deneux does not seem to have connected this with the baptistery, which he supposed lay to the north; for his search for this, see W. Berry, "Das Baptisterium der Kathedrale von Reims", in *Die Franken - Wegbereiter Europas*, 2 vols., Mannheim, 1996, vol. 1, pp. 200-205.

312 The south termination of the conduit, rounded out to form a receptacle for water draining from above, is located 50 cm north of the exact center of the Carolingian massif and less than a meter west of the position of the supposed fonts of phases 2 and 3.

313 Reinhardt, 1963, p. 29; see n. 224, above. He indicates the drain as continuing to the north on his general plan as well as the situation of the font on his reconstruction of the IXth century church (his fig. 3, p. 19).

314 Circumstantial evidence argues against an extension of the nave west of the present sixth nave bay and in favor of a continued separation of the two spaces. It is not known if the baptistery could be accessed directly from the nave as at Aoste or in the case of the bath unit fronting the north church at Rouen, or whether entry was lateral.

315 This may have been removed already in the VIIIth century, if not before; the spatial organization within the baptistery was altered considerably between the phases 1 and 2, which seems to have included a change of the central axis toward the north.

Relation to the presumed baptistery. The western massif was built over the emplacement of the supposed early baptistery, which the recent study demonstrated was in use from the Vth to the VIIth centuries (phases 1-3) and possibly in the VIIIth century as well (phase 4).³⁰⁸ The original large font of phase 1 occupied the center of a room approximately 9 m square situated somewhat to the south of the center axis of the Carolingian cathedral. This room may have been flanked by other chambers to the north and south, and a portion of the IVth century bath complex adjoining it on the west may have formed part of the ensemble. Beyond this lay an area of open ground free of construction from the Vth to the early IXth century (discussed below). A major restructuring of the building must have occurred in the succeeding phase for the position of the second, now much smaller font was displaced toward the northwest, close to the center of the future massif. By this point the bath elements at the west had certainly gone out of use, replaced by an enclosed (?) yard in which a well associated with the rebuilt baptistery was installed.³⁰⁹ The font of phase 3, served by a new system of adduction and evacuation, occupied the identical position of its predecessor.

The features of phases 2 and 3 would probably have been unknown to the Carolingian builders, unless by tradition, for they had entirely disappeared from view as the result of an important modification occurring most likely in the VIIIth century (phase 4) indicated by a rise of floor level and the installation of a stone drain just below this.³¹⁰ The drain, located in the fifth bay of the present nave, had clearly interested Deneux, but his understanding of it is uncertain.³¹¹ Located as it is almost exactly at the center of the Carolingian massif,³¹² Reinhardt later connected it with the font mentioned by the continuer of the *Annals of Flodoard*.³¹³ However, observation here demonstrated that the conduit had been buried below a deep fill layer during the massif's construction, indicating that it was most probably no longer in use.

The east side of the massif was laid out on the axis of the wall separating the nave from the baptistery of phases 1-3. Though it is not clear if the latter went out of use in the VIIIth century or was restructured (with a font associated with the stone drain), differences in floor level imply continued differentiation between the two spaces.³¹⁴ The massif's west side was not laid over the west wall of the baptistery proper but the outer wall of the yard containing the well in use in phases 2 and 3. It is possible that the extremities of the two IXth century north-south foundations found in the 1920s in the present aisles were also built over the walls of chambers flanking the baptistery proper, but this is a matter of conjecture. Of the two longitudinal foundations down the center of the massif that on the north lay partially astride the north wall of the phase 1 baptistery, but this does not seem intentional.³¹⁵ The foundation on the south overlay the vestiges of the first font but also in part a wall of the baths, again probably not by design.

The „Rouelle.” Observations made in the eastern half of the present nave demonstrated that the floor of the supposed Vth century church was continuous over a distance of more than 30 m, from the baptistery as far as the

ninth nave bay. In addition, re-excavation of the XIth century tomb of archbishop Odalricus disclosed no evidence of a north-south wall as hypothesized by Deneux on his plan of 1924 or as inscribed by Reinhardt on his general plan and reconstruction of the early church.³¹⁶ This lends support to Demaison's argument that the „correct” location of the „Rouelle” was in the sixth nave bay as dictated by local tradition.³¹⁷ However, the presence of the supposed baptistery structure at the west end of the church suggests that this monument did not mark the Vth century portal as so long thought. Instead, veneration of this particular spot may not have been older than the second half of the IXth century, initiated by Hincmar³¹⁸ or, more likely, connected with the translation of the relics of Nicasius and his martyred sister to the cathedral by archbishop Fulco at the end of the century.³¹⁹ In this regard, the late date of the narrative account of Nicasius's martyrdom *ad ostium basilicae* is noteworthy, as the *Passio sancti Nicasii* in which this appears is not much older than its earliest citation (by Flodoard) in the second quarter of the Xth century.³²⁰ It is interesting that in a letter circulated by Hincmar in 875 but which harkens back to an older text, the place of martyrdom is less exact, as it is stated only that Nicasius „mérita par son martyr d'être couronné entre les murs de l'église” without giving a specific location.³²¹

The plan of the massif. Study of the Deneux documentation indicates that the foundations describe a rectangular block approximately 17 m deep and as much as 28 m wide on the exterior, 14 by 24.5 m internally. Though the width of the IXth century nave is imprecisely known, it does not appear that the massif projected beyond it very far if at all. The ratio of its width to depth is 1.64:1 (measured on the exterior), the same as the somewhat smaller Xth century main block of the Westwerk of the cathedral of Minden. In comparison, one can cite for instance the rather narrow western structure of the third and fourth phases at the abbey of Saint-Denis (1.83:1), the central block of the Corvey Westwerk (1.75:1) and the Saint-Riquier massif as reconstructed by Bernard (also 1.75:1).³²²

No archaeological indication of the internal disposition of the massif survived above the level of the substructures. No floor levels or traces of supports were observed, aside from a small area of XIIIth (or XIIth?) century floor preparation at the southwest corner. No evidence of Adalbero's supposed demolition was found; instead a uniform interface of destruction was observed, no doubt dating the XIIIth century.

Of the foundations extending west from the massif and interpreted by Reinhardt as belonging to a porch with stair-turrets, the one on the north, now lost, is quite problematic.³²³ Not aligned with the sleeper wall within the massif, this measured 2 m or more in width but only 0.6 m in length, and Deneux's excavation documents show no trace of it continuing farther west. It is, in fact, not even clear if this was contemporary with the massif. Its counterpart on the south appears as a more narrow continuation of the corresponding east-west substructure in the interior. Reinhardt followed Deneux in believing it to have been cut off by the construction of the later twin-towered

316 Reinhardt, 1963a, fig. 2, p. 19, and 1963b, pp. 134-135; see also n. 206, above. For the location of the tomb of Oldaricus, see Deneux, 1944, fig. p. 11.

317 Demaison, 1926, p. 76. The earliest reference to it seems to be in the late XIIth century *Vita Alberti*.

318 Perhaps linked to the creation of the entry from the massif into the nave? One notes that Nicasius was given a place of honor on Hincmar's new high altar antependium (see Demouy, 2005, p. 124). Recall Lasteyrie's proposal that the massif might have been added to protect the place of martyrdom; see n. 109, above. Note also that a relation with the VIIIth century modification of the nave and baptistery cannot be completely excluded.

319 Flodoard, HRE, IV, 8 (MGH, SS, XIII, p. 573); see Sot, 1993, p. 177.

320 It is placed "de peu antérieure à Flodoard" by Luce Pietri (*Topographie chrétienne*, XIV, 2nd ed., 2006, p. 25). Michel Sot (1993, p. 637) suggests a direct connection between the translation of the relics and the compiling of the *Passio*.

321 M.-C. Isaïa, *Remi de Reims, Mémoire d'un saint Histoire d'une Eglise*, Paris, 2010, p. 456, noting that the main subject of the letter was the baptism of Clovis and the Franks (pp. 455-457).

322 Using the proposed length of the transept (28 m, as at Reims) and measuring the distance from the portal (i.e., excluding the porch) to the east side of the proposed massif in the nave (16 m); see Bernard, 2002, p. 98, fig. 9a and 10.

323 This feature fell victim to Deneux's unearthing of the lead pipe leading north from the well inside the massif. The position is known from field drawings and photographs (Balcon and Berry, 2002, fig. 2 and 15), and it is correctly shown on the Deneux plans of 1924 and 1944. On his 1963 general plan, Reinhardt altered its position to align with the substructure within the massif and identified it as a pilaster of the IXth century porch (his fig. 3).

façade in the third nave bay.³²⁴ That the southern foundation belonged to a porch is supported by the presence of four tombs unearthed by Deneux in this sector.³²⁵ Each was of a different type, perhaps an indication of the funerary use of this space over a considerable period. Their disposition suggests that other tombs existed but disappeared during the construction campaigns of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries. It is interesting that Deneux did not find any similar burials west of the third bay, suggesting that funerary use was concentrated in the area of the entrance structure.³²⁶

Construction technique. Excavation shows that work began with the dismantling of the wall between the nave and baptistery, and possibly the exterior wall of the west annex as well.³²⁷ At the same time, fairly shallow trenches were dug for the footings of the two new central east-west sleeper walls. Then the trenches for all four foundations were packed with rubble and mortar fill to the level of the existing VIIIth century floor. Following this the east and west foundations were completed with built coursing to a height of about a meter, after which the two central longitudinal chains were completed in stages as the ground level was raised in the interior of the massif (and simultaneously in the nave to the east) to reach no doubt just below the level of the planned new floor.

Of the two foundations projecting west from the massif that on the south was also built in two stages. Its footing appears to be contemporary with the first phase in the rest of the massif, but its upper part was built differently – both it and the raising of ground level on this side of the massif appear to post-date completion of the substructures in the interior. The uppermost courses of this foundation may show transition to masonry in elevation, suggesting that ground level in the porch could have been slightly lower than that inside the massif.

Overall, variability in masonry technique from one part to another appears to show that work was carried out quickly, in some places one could say haphazardly, perhaps by more than one team of masons. The shallowness of the footings seems to indicate the builders' confidence in the solidity of the earlier foundations on the east and west. Yet given the scale of the IXth century building operation, one might ask if this maintenance of the previous perimeter had much less to do with constructional concerns than a *volonté* to preserve the limits of the older building.³²⁸

ADDENDUM: THE ATRIUM QUESTION

As has been seen, the question of an early atrium weighed heavily in scholars' interpretation of the arcuatum opus in the decades before the First World War and clouded for a time appreciation of the vestiges of the massif uncovered in the early 1920s. The issue re-emerged in a different form with Michel Bur's 1984 presumption of the existence of a Carolingian atrium as part of his explication of Adalbero's modification of the western massif.

324 A sketch plan of 1925 or 1926 shows no prolongation of this west of the negative in the third bay; any part of it further west would have been removed by the aborted construction of a chain wall between the second XIIIth century nave piers; see Balcon and Berry, 2002, pp. 120-121 and fig. 6. 325 One sarcophagus survives in place, the other burials are known only from sketches; see Balcon and Berry, 2002, fig. 2 and 6.

326 Other tombs, dated (perhaps erroneously) as "Carolingian" by Deneux, were uncovered in the fifth bay of the south aisle, thus in the middle of the southernmost aisle of the massif; see *ibid.*, p. 121 and fig. 17.

327 *Ibid.*, pp. 117-120, fig. 11-14.

328 At least as it is known in the present fourth to sixth nave bays, recalling that the correspondence of the outer extremities of the massif to pre-existing structures is unknown.

A contested reference. The first and only mention of an „atrium” at the cathedral is found in the important ordo for Palm Sunday.³²⁹ Though, as mentioned previously, this dates to the first half of the XIIth century, it has been assumed to reflect liturgical practice two centuries earlier. Interestingly, Demaison and Reinhardt both translated the word atrium in the ordo as „parvis.”³³⁰ It is true that in some cases atrium could carry the meaning usually associated with parvis, in the sense of a „churchyard” or a „fenced-in and consecrated space in front of or around a church,” and it could also denote a cemetery.³³¹ But here the reasoning of these two scholars may in fact have been conditioned by other factors. In the case of Demaison, one notes that in 1907 he did not make use of the ordo’s mention of an atrium to support Jubaru’s hypothesis of a Vth century atrium surviving until Xth century, perhaps considering it to have been destroyed by Adalbero and the ordo to describe the post-976 situation.³³² Reinhardt’s position may be related to his negation of an atrium at Centula.³³³

Archaeological indications. Evidence for an atrium to the west of the first cathedral is essentially negative. Study of the space immediately west of the presumed baptistery in the 1990s (limited to the third nave bay) showed this to have been open ground from the Vth into the VIIIth century, perhaps a zone of circulation but with no special treatment apparent in its successive surfaces.³³⁴ The only conserved feature here was a large post-hole dating to early in this long period, the position of which suggests the presence a wooden structure against or a covered passage along the exterior of the baptistery west „annex” at the east. But it would be imprudent to see this as constituting evidence of an atrium.³³⁵ With the construction of the western massif after 817, the open area in the third bay was incorporated within the new entrance structure. It should be remarked that limited excavation in 2007 in the parvis of the present cathedral some 50 to 75 m to the west disclosed Merovingian domestic occupation in the area where an extended atrium would have been located, though this would leave enough space for one of more modest dimensions closer to the church.³³⁶

A Carolingian atrium? If the prospect of an atrium west of the cathedral in the Merovingian period seems doubtful, the existence of an atrium of Carolingian date appears much more credible. Applying Carol Heitz’s dictum, „Chaque grande église carolingienne possède un atrium,”³³⁷ one might assume that this was true at Reims. Deneux did in fact record what may be a fragmentary foundation continuing west from the southwest corner of the massif, conceivably the departure of a gallery as at Lorsch or Fulda.³³⁸ And Bur’s proposed Carolingian period atrium was exactly such an arrangement with porticos communicating with the outer arms of the massif (Fig. 24). Following the example of Saint-Riquier, he situated the altars of Saints Maurilius and John the Baptist in its galleries rather than in the western massif as others had.³³⁹ He also argued that as Adalbero altered only the interior of the massif and did not add a clocher-porche as Reinhardt had believed, the atrium was left untouched until its destruction by Samson; therefore the atrium of the XIIth century ordo was that of the IXth century.

329 See n. 17, above. Bur used this as proof of an atrium prior to 1152 (1984, p. 299).

330 Demaison, 1907, pp. 54-55, and Reinhardt, 1963a, p. 29, n. 3, and p. 41.

331 J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden, 1997, p. 67.

332 See n. 98, above.

333 Reinhardt appears to have visualized the space west of the Reims massif as analogous to his conception of the court (platea) before the church of Saint-Riquier. See n. 240, above.

334 Knowledge of the post-IVth century stratigraphy here is based on field notes and photographs of 1921. Until the end of the IVth century this area had formed part of the bath complex. Structures here were razed in the Vth century and covered over by a demolition layer; this was succeeded by a build-up of dark earth, but it is not clear if this developed in place or was transported fill.

335 An atrium was not obligatory, “ce n’est en aucune cas un élément nécessaire à la vie ecclésiastique. C’est pourquoi beaucoup d’églises en ont toujours été dépourvues” (N. Gauthier, “Atria et portiques dans les églises de Gaule d’après les sources textuelles,” in *Avant-nefs*, 2002, pp. 30-36 [p. 36]). For the particular spatial organization of the early cathedral group at Reims, see W. Berry, “The domus ecclesiae of Reims: the state of the question in the light of recent research,” in *Actes du colloque Les “domus ecclesiae”: aux origines des palais épiscopaux*, Autun, 26-28 novembre 2009, Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité Tardive, forthcoming.

336 *Carte Archéologique de la Gaul 51/2* (2010), pp. 179-180. The excavation also brought to light in the same zone a cemetery in use from the XIth century, which as will be seen has interesting implications.

337 1980, p. 227.

338 Balcon and Berry, 2002, p. 125 and figs. 17 and 18.

339 Bur, 1984, pp. 299-300. For the altars, see nn. 20 and 21, above. He also placed on the atrium’s north side a door mentioned in another ordo as opening toward the Hôtel Dieu. Note how in his reconstruction (Fig. 24), Bur seems clearly to transpose Effmann’s Saint-Riquier atrium on Reinhardt’s restitution of the IXth century cathedral.

340 Demouy, 2005, pp. 126–127, i.e., a length of 125 m measuring from the Carolingian massif, or 40% longer than the contemporary atria of Fulda (west) and Lorsch (2nd state). Note, however, that the trapezoidal porticoed enclos south of the abbey church at Centula, though not an atrium, measured ca. 230 m in length.

341 Sot, 1993, p. 679. Marlot (1843–1846, vol. 3, p. 380), believed it could have been built by either Tilpin or Hincmar because of their having been monks at the abbey Saint-Denis, preferring the second because he had translated the relics of Rigobertus there. Bur (1984, p. 300, n. 12) also opted for Hincmar, as did Pierre Desportes. Reims et les Rémois aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles, Paris, 1979, p. 54, n. 30.

342 An earlier chapel, dedicated to Saint-Thomas, may have existed in the VIIIth century (Povillon-Piérard, 1822, p. 236, and Marlot, 1843–1846, vol. 3, p. 381). Most writers locate this just outside the walls, but one wonders if it could have been housed in the tower.

343 Note that the chapel of Saint Thomas is said to have laid "sur le chemin de l'ancien cimetière de la cathédrale" (Povillon-Piérard, 1822, p. 236). Rigobertus was believed to have established the cathedral chapter; see Sot, 1993, pp. 447–448, 457–448. Evidence of a cemetery of the VIIth and VIIIth centuries was recovered in excavation in 1999–2000 to the south of this zone, CAG 51/2, p. 198.

344 Sot, 1993, pp. 456–457. Desportes (1979, 54, n. 30) signals as motive Hincmar's wish to make it "le centre d'un vaste enclose funéraire réservé au clergé et place sous le patronage de saint Rigobert".

345 Sot (ibid., pp. 131 and 679) opts for the earlier date.

346 Ibid., p. 209.

347 Flodoard termed the chapel *ecclesiam in honore sancti Dionysii extra murum civitatis* (HER, IV, 13 [MGH, SS, XIII, p. 576]), but when referring to the translation of the relics of Rigobertus, underscored the canons' role in its construction: *canonicorum Remensium studio sumptibusque restructa* (HER II, 15 [MGH, SS, XIII, p. 462]). Note that Michel Sot situates the chapel "hors les murs, mais contre ceux-ci" (1993, p. 223). For its relationship to the cemetery, postern and roads, see the plan of XIth century Reims in Desportes, 1979, fig. 1, p. 63.

348 See Sot, 1993, pp. 412–415. Heriveus also affected clergy to the service of the new church.

349 Sot remarks (ibid., p. 239) that "Placer un saint évêque et un saint moine dans une basilique construite par les chanoines en l'honneur de saint Denis est sans doute un choix délibéré de l'archevêque: il symbolise par là l'association du sacerdoce et de la vie commune, caractéristique de la vie canoniale."

Recently Patrick Demouy has made a case much along the same lines as Bur, but proposes in addition that the IXth century atrium extended to the west as far as the Late Antique city wall taken down ca. 820.³⁴⁰ His suggestion is significant, for such an extended atrium would have abutted on a chapel, latter dedicated to Saint-Denis, which was the predecessor of the church mentioned in the Chronicle of Mouzon.

Saint-Denis. Probably to be credited to Ebbo, the chapel seems to have had the peculiarity of being built along the inner perimeter of the dismantled enceinte and on axis with the cathedral,³⁴¹ its apse perhaps installed in a tower left in place and thus facing west.³⁴² Its funerary function is denoted by its location adjacent to an extramural Merovingian period cemetery, access to which was previously no doubt by a postern in the old fortifications on the site of the future Porte Saint-Denis. This cemetery may have constituted a burial place for the cathedral clergy at least since the time of the bishop-reformer Rigobertus (689–719).³⁴³ By translating the relics of Rigobertus to the chapel in 873, Hincmar cemented its connection with the cathedral chapter.³⁴⁴ However, due to the Norse threat the chapel was soon pulled down when the city walls were rebuilt under archbishop Fulco, located as it was along the trace of the old enceinte. But whether this took place in the mid-880s (the relics of Rigobertus having been moved to the cathedral in 882) or after 890 is unclear.³⁴⁵ Complicating the issue is the fact that from ca. 887 to 890 monks from the abbey of Saint-Denis, in flight from the Norse invasions, are said to have used the chapel, resulting in its dedication to their patron saint.³⁴⁶

Signaling its spiritual importance, the canons erected a new church of Saint-Denis as soon as more settled times permitted, between 902 and 906. This was now situated outside the new city wall but, significantly, built up against the fortifications.³⁴⁷ The relics of Rigobertus were moved there as well by archbishop Heriveus, to be joined with those of Theodulphus, late VIth century abbot of Saint-Thierry.³⁴⁸ This not only re-established the symbolic link with the chapter,³⁴⁹ but as Michel Sot observes, it made the new Saint-Denis „avec la cathédrale et Saint-Rémi, un troisième pôle de sacralité de la ville épiscopale de Reims.”³⁵⁰

It is this church that is cited in the Chronicle of Mouzon, where it is portrayed as *extra muros urbis*, its axial position opposite the main portal of the cathedral being stressed: *pro foribus majoris ecclesiae sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae*.³⁵¹ Interestingly, in the succeeding section of the text, the chapel's entrance is explicitly described as facing that of the cathedral (*ostio contra ostium posito*), therefore facing east.³⁵² Focusing on his theory that in dismantling the arcuated opus Adalbero had sought „à doter le vieille basilique ... d'un chevet occidentale,” Bur used this as evidence of the chapel's apse having been turned to the west. He thus considered that during the office the priest would have faced east, looking toward the celebrant in the cathedral

but seeing him only metaphorically, „en esprit.”³⁵³ Believing the atrium was of moderate dimensions, as at Saint-Riquier, he neglected the possibility that ostio contra ostium posito might signify that the chapel’s portal was in point of fact open in some manner toward that of Notre-Dame and that the priest at Saint-Denis could have been in actual visual contact with the cathedral across an open space, Demouy’s „long” atrium. That the two churches shared a vis-à-vis, as Demaison put it, seems corroborated by one of the XIIth century ordines, which states that the central portal of the cathedral „looked onto the church of Saint-Denis.”³⁵⁴

The evidence of the Palm Sunday ordo. In this connection it is of interest to take a closer look at the ordo for les Rameaux.³⁵⁵ The directions given in the relevant section describe five separate actions. First, the procession, including the archbishop and the chapter coming from a ceremony at Saint-Maurice and carrying palms and boughs blessed previously at Saint-Pierre-les-Dames, arrive at Saint-Denis. There is no indication that they enter the building and no ceremony is indicated, the text simply reads perventum fuerit ad sanctum Dyonisium. One can imagine the clergy halted in the roadway in front of the postern, the church on their left, the canons’ cemetery behind them to the southwest. At this point, the choir boys depart, no doubt by way of the postern, and, reaching the cathedral, climb up in the „old tower.” The canons then also come into the atrium and proceed to take the seats prepared for them there. At that moment, the choir sings the Gloria laus from the tower and the canons reply. When finished, the canons enter the cathedral. One is struck here by the lack of instructions for the participants’ route between the postern and the atrium, no mention of streets or of a gate giving access to the atrium if that lay in reality some distance farther to the east, as in Bur’s reconstruction. Instead, it would seem simpler that on passing through the postern, the procession entered directly into the atrium, just as the text seems to read, venientes autum in atrium. Though conjectural, this possibility receives support from the discovery in 2007 of a well-used cemetery in use from at least the beginning of the XIth century in the zone east of the postern.³⁵⁶

Atrium or parvis? Accepting as a working hypothesis the presence of a long atrium, as proposed by Demouy, its creation would seem to fit best with Ebbo’s dismantling of the Late Antique enceinte and building (or rebuilding) of the chapel later dedicated to Saint-Denis.³⁵⁷ Opening onto the cathedral’s western massif, such a space would enhance its monumentality and symbolism, just as in the opposite direction the absence of fortifications would emphasize the European supremacy of the Carolingian house, making it an ideal setting for displays of dynastic as well as ecclesiastical splendor. The sheer size of this space, roughly 125 m long and maybe 50 m wide,³⁵⁸ might seem to argue against its being an atrium in the classic sense of a courtyard completely enclosed by galleries. Absence of references to the presence of porticoes or gates in the ordines of the first half of the XIIth century – Bur’s sug-

350 Ibid. Note that this was roughly contemporary with the “rediscovery” of a crypt below the cathedral’s apse, which Heriveus restored and dedicated to Remigius, just after the return of the relics of the latter to Saint-Remi (901).

351 Bur, 1984, p. 301. Writers such as Lot (1891, p.74) and Demaison (1907, p. 45, n. 1) believed the text to say that Adalbero built a new church of Saint-Denis. Bur argued (p. 300 and n. 13) instead the chronicle spoke of Adalbero establishing a separate chapter of canons as the clergy installed by Heriveus “n’avait pas se statut particulier.” In any case, Augustinian canons took over in 1067 following the church’s restoration under archbishop Gervasius.

352 Ferdinand Lot had called attention to this in 1891; see n. 73, above.

353 Bur, 1984, p. 301.

354 Demaison, 1907, p. 45, n. 1, in criticizing Lot’s interpretation of the phrase. For the ordo see n. 22, above. Note that Martène and Durand identified the tower at the left on the scene on the Tomb of Hincmar (Fig. 5) as representing the abbey of Saint-Remi (Prache, 1969, p. 71). One wonders if it may not depict Saint-Denis and the three prelates to the left of the central figure as coming in procession across the atrium.

355 See n. 17, above.

356 Carte Archéologique de la Gaul 51/2 (2010), pp. 179-180.

357 Could this give additional meaning to the last line of the inscription on the massif’s façade, which stated Ebbo had “subjected the city to his authority and amplified all”?

358 The width can perhaps be judged from the location of the buildings of the former Hôtel Dieu north of the parvis.

gestion for the location of the chapels of Saints John the Baptist and Maurilius aside – may suggest that the (IXth century) atrium spoken of in the Palm Sunday ordo should be imagined as an extensive square or place not very different from the present parvis. The lack of galleries may help explain why this space was encroached upon from the XIth century, notably by buildings belonging to the Hôtel Dieu but also on the south. Perhaps its original meaning was lessened by the reconstruction of the fortifications, and its intended function – allied to that of the cathedral's western massif – undermined by the parallel deterioration of the cult of the Savoir and imperial, then royal authority.

A parallel at Saint-Remi? An omission in discussions of the atrium to date has been a lack of attention to Flodoard's reference to an oratory dedicated to Saint-Germain installed by bishop Romulfus (590-613) in the atrium of the suburban basilica of Saint-Remi.³⁵⁹ What may be the oratory's westward-facing apse was revealed by excavation in 1931 in the western part of the present church.³⁶⁰ This has been considered as a possible sort of miniature counter-church facing the basilica,³⁶¹ which with the „atrium” may either have disappeared when the abbey church was rebuilt under Hincmar or have survived until later „pour que Flodoard l'ait cité.”³⁶² This hypothesis needs to be treated with caution, however, because it is not certain the excavated apse was that of the oratory of Saint-Germain or that it stood in an atrium, as might be thought from Flodoard's passage, for it could have formed part of the Merovingian church instead.³⁶³

Though problematical, the resemblance of the possible axial disposition of oratory and church at Saint-Remi and Bur's proposed spatial-liturgical relationship between Saint-Denis and Notre-Dame, in both cases separated by an atrium, may be more than simple coincidence. Bur saw this „conception d'un échange liturgique entre deux pôles hiérarchiquement inégaux mais complémentaires” as a late development.³⁶⁴ But the suspected situation at Saint-Remi shows it is possible that this type of arrangement could have existed much earlier at Reims. Indeed, it has been shown above that a probable similar close relation can be expected to have existed between the predecessors of the Xth century church of Saint-Denis and the cathedral, possibly going back to the early VIIIth century if not before.

CONCLUSION: THE NEED FOR A NEW FRAMEWORK

The archaeological evidence summarized above has enlarged and amended understanding of the Reims western massif in a number of respects. A positive aspect of this research has been the rehabilitation of Deneux as an archaeological observer, as disclosed by his hitherto unavailable excavation documents from the 1920s and 30s. However, the study has also demonstrated that no previous hypothesis for the history of the massif as built under Ebbo and modified by Adalbero is entirely satisfactory. The impact is espe-

359 Oratorium denique, sub honore sancti Germani, construxit in atrio sancti Remigii (Flodoard, HER, II, 4 [MGH, SS, XIII, p. 451]). This first church of Saint-Remi had replaced an older building dedicated to Saint-Christophe on the same site after the middle of the VIth century; by inference the „atrium” would have been of similar date. Note that Michel Sot (1993, p. 427, n. 41) has questioned the meaning of atrium here and is of the opinion that this signified „un espace clos autour la basilique.”

360 A. Prache, Saint-Remi de Reims, l'œuvre de Pierre de Celle et sa place dans l'architecture gothique, (Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie 8), Genève, 1978, pp. 8-9, and idem, „Documents inédits sur les fouilles de Henri Deneux dans la nef de Saint-Remi de Reims (1931),” Bulletin de la société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1974, pp. 41-43.

361 For example, Prache, 1978, p. 9. Heitz believed (1987, p. 250) that the large western apse discovered by Deneux in the first and second nave bays (see Prache, 1978, p. 14) was of Carolingian date. But Ottaway agreed (1980, p. 167-168) with J.-P. Ravaux („L'église Saint-Remi de Reims au XI^e siècle,” Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, n.s., 8, 1972, pp. 51-98 [pp. 83-85]) that it belonged instead to an aborted early XIth century campaign.

362 Prache, 1978, p. 8.

363 Ottaway, 1980, p. 167.

364 Bur, 1984, p. 302.

365 A related topic is Ebbo's period at Hildesheim, his possible role in the planning of the cathedral there and the relation of its western massif to Reims. If Ebbo's patronage of the „School of Reims” has been studied, his role as a builder of churches has received much less attention.

cially negative for Reinhardt's problematic proposition of 1963. Treated from the start with reservation due its overdependence on Saint-Riquier and further weakened by Honoré Bernard's final work at Centula in the later 1980s, major elements of his reconstruction of the Carolingian cathedral must be rejected, and in particular his conception of the IXth century massif and its restructuring in 976. The recent archaeological study has also confirmed the unreliability of Deneux's published work and Reinhardt's exploitation of his results. Even Ottaway's hypothesis for the Adalbero's modifications, although constituting the most logical solution to the longstanding arcuatum opus problem, must be accepted with caution as it is based on the assumption that the IXth century structure was largely as Reinhardt had proposed. Among previous work on Ebbo's massif, it is Hubert's elementary 1968 reconstruction – despite its imprecision – that emerges at present as the most useful as a potential schema for further work.

It is clear that any new attempt at interpretation must take into account the main points of the archaeological evidence. Yet in approaching the question of the disposition of the massif in elevation, the texts remain essential to any attempt at reconstruction. For the late Xth century alterations, a final reconciliation of the terse passages of Richer and the continuer of Flodoard's *Annals*, so contentious in the past, seems to have been achieved by Ottaway's submission. And careful reading of the presumed image of the cathedral on the Hincmar Tomb relief may provide some hints of its exterior appearance. Nevertheless, the question of the original configuration of the IXth century structure remains to be resolved.

The use of archaeology to inform the texts and vice versa has been part of the interpretive methodology applied to the question of the massif beginning with Jubaru, if not already by Tourneur in a different manner. Though most evident in Reinhardt's treatment of the two varieties of evidence, the circularity of reasoning that the matching of archaeological data to the written sources invites is manifest in the historiography of the pre-XIIIth century cathedrals as a whole. The recent observations made in the *sous-sol* of the nave and the integration of these findings with data drawn from a meticulous study of Deneux's documentation do furnish considerable new information on the construction history of the massif as well as the important relationship to earlier features, but it must be underscored that this data pertains to the massif's foundations alone.

Therefore, if archaeology has considerably enlarged the quantity of information available, the overall problem has not become any simpler. The difficulties inherent in the texts apart, the use of architectural comparison is especially delicate. With the collapse of the Saint-Riquier parallel, one must be particularly aware of the dangers of recourse to Corvey and the potential overreliance on that example as a counterpart, for the similarity to Reims is in point of fact more superficial than many writers have admitted, and the

usefulness of Corvey for the reconstruction of the upper levels at Reims may be valid only in a most general manner. In fact, the Reims western massif, often neglected in the past in favor of Saint-Riquier and Corvey, merits renewed investigation in itself as a possible major source for the fully-developed Westwerk as it will appear from the mid-IXth century east of the Rhine.

The issues involved are not only architectural. Even the function(s) of the Reims massif still remains uncertain. Closely related to this is the question of agency, for the individual roles of Louis the Pious and Ebbo in the planning and construction of the massif remain to be definitely sorted out.³⁶⁵ Another important matter is the apparent gradual loss of the massif's *raison-être* over the course of the later IXth and Xth centuries and how this seems to have laid the groundwork for Adalbero's decision to gut the structure. Equally interesting is the possible presence of a spacious IXth century atrium, which would have greatly increased the massif's visibility and impact on the viewer, thus enhancing its intended ideological meaning. In addition, the discovery of the presumed baptistery below the massif points to the significance of viewing the question of the Carolingian structure in the long *duré*. In many ways an ephemeral feature in the cathedral's global history, it is important to understand how it was affected by what came before and how it may have affected Samson's façade and the present west front.

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LE MONASTÈRE DE JUMIÈGES À L'ÉPOQUE CAROLINGIENNE; OBSERVATIONS SUR LES PARTIES OCCIDENTALES DES ÉGLISES SAINT-PIERRE ET NOTRE-DAME

Jumièges fait partie d'un groupe d'abbayes royales qui furent fondées au VII^e siècle sur le cours inférieur de la Seine, en aval de la cité épiscopale de Rouen. Sa fondation est relatée dans la biographie de son premier abbé, Saint Philibert, qui reçut en 654 de la reine Bathilde († 680), épouse de Clovis II, le terrain nécessaire à la mise en place des premiers bâtiments¹. La description de ces édifices dans la *Vita Philiberti* constitue, en raison de la date présumée de la rédaction de cette partie du texte – le début du VIII^e siècle – un témoignage de premier ordre sur la topographie d'un monastère d'hommes neustrien de l'époque mérovingienne². Par la suite, les sources écrites ne livrent aucune information sur l'histoire des bâtiments jusqu'à leur incendie par les Vikings en mai 841³. Il semble toutefois que Jumièges ait conservé jusqu'à ce moment son statut de monastère royal. Vers 754, Stürm, abbé de Fulda, y est interné sur l'ordre de Pépin le Bref⁴. Selon une tradition recueillie au XI^e siècle par Hariulf, auteur de la Chronique de Saint-Riquier de Centule, Jumièges aurait eu pour abbé Héliaschar († avant 840), archichancelier de Louis le Pieux⁵.

L'incendie de mai 841 marque la fin de la première époque de Jumièges. Peu de temps après, les moines abandonnent le monastère pour aller se réfugier dans une de leurs propriétés du nord de la France, la *cella* d'Haspres, près de Cambrai. Les ruines du monastère sont progressivement envahies par la végétation. Il faut attendre le début des années 930 pour voir deux moines d'Haspres revenir sur les lieux. Ils commencent à défricher le secteur de l'ancienne église Saint-Pierre et sont bientôt aidés dans leur tâche par le duc de Normandie Guillaume Longue-Épée (v. 927-942)⁶. Dans une *Historia Normanniae* perdue du milieu du X^e siècle, œuvre qui fut utilisée par Guillaume de Jumièges et par de nombreux historiographes des XI^e et XII^e siècles, sont rapportées les circonstances dans lesquelles ce duc, au cours d'une chasse dans la forêt de Jumièges, aurait fait la rencontre des deux moines et leur aurait offert son aide pour la restauration de l'église Saint-Pierre⁷. Ce récit est d'un vif intérêt pour les détails qu'il fournit sur les dispositions architecturales de l'église à l'époque carolingienne et sur la nature des travaux qui furent financés par le duc. Quand la restauration de Saint-Pierre et d'une partie des anciens bâtiments conventuels fut terminée, Guillaume Longue-Épée y installa un petit groupe de moines venus du monastère aquitain de Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers⁸. Leur arrivée à Jumièges marqua la première étape de la renaissance de l'établissement, mais l'impulsion décisive fut donnée par l'abbé Thierry de Dijon (1017-1027), un disciple de Guillaume de Volpiano, qui rétablit l'observance monastique et entreprit d'importants travaux de restauration⁹. L'étape suivante fut la réédification de la grande église Notre-Dame entre 1040, date de la pose des fondations du nouvel édifice, et 1067, date de sa dédicace solennelle en présence de Guillaume le Conquérant¹⁰.

Les bâtiments claustraux de Jumièges ont été en grande partie détruits après la Révolution, mais il subsiste un important ensemble de ruines, aujourd'hui propriété du département de la Seine-Maritime. Les deux éléments principaux sont les vestiges de l'église Saint-Pierre et, au nord de celle-ci, les ruines de Notre-Dame. Depuis 1988, l'architecture et le décor de ces deux mo-

1 R. Poupardin (éd.), *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire, Paris, 1905, p. 1-18

2 J. Le Maho, « Le monastère de Jumièges (France) aux temps mérovingiens (VIIe-VIIIe siècle) : les témoignages des textes et de l'archéologie », *Hortus artium medievalium*, t. 9, 2003, p. 315-322

3 *Annales fontanellenses priores*, éd. J. Laporte, *Mélanges de la Société de l'Histoire de Normandie*, quinzième série, 1951, p. 74-75

4 *Annales Laurissenses*, éd. PERTZ, M.G.H., *Scriptores*, t. 1, p. 138

5 Hariulf, *Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier* (Ve siècle-1104), publiée par Ferdinand Lor, *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Paris, Picard, 1894, p. 98

6 Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, éd. E. VAN HOUTS, t. 1, Oxford, 1992, p. 74-77 et 84-87

7 Nous préparons actuellement une étude d'ensemble sur cette source perdue et sa descendance littéraire. Pour une première approche, cf. J. Le Maho, « La production éditoriale à Jumièges vers le milieu du Xe siècle » (première partie), *Tabularia. Sources écrites de la Normandie médiévale*, Études, n° 1, 2001, Caen, 2001, p. 11-32 ; idem, « Vie perdue de Guillaume Longue-Épée († 942), état des recherches en cours », *Tabularia « Études »*, n° 7, 2007, p. 75-105, 11 septembre 2007

8 Guillaume de Jumièges, op. cit., p. 86

9 *Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges*, éd. J. Laporte, Rouen, 1954, p. 84-85

10 *Les Annales de l'abbaye...*, op. cit., p. 55 et 57.

numents sont étudiés dans le cadre d'un programme de recherches pluridisciplinaires mis en œuvre et dirigé par James Morganstern, professeur émérite d'Histoire de l'Art à l'Université d'Ohio State (Columbus, Ohio, USA)¹¹. Nous tenons à remercier notre collègue d'avoir bien voulu nous permettre de présenter ici les principaux résultats de notre recherche commune sur les parties préromanes de l'église Saint-Pierre¹², ainsi que les premiers éléments d'une étude inédite sur le massif occidental de l'église Notre-Dame à l'époque carolingienne.

I. L'ÉGLISE SAINT-PIERRE

Dans la *Vita Philiberti*, il est plusieurs fois question de l'oratoire que l'abbé-fondateur Philibert construisit en l'honneur de Saint Pierre, au sud de l'église Notre-Dame. L'édifice n'est pas décrit, mais l'emploi du terme *oraculum* laisse entendre qu'il s'agit d'un sanctuaire relativement modeste, peut-être réservé à l'usage personnel de l'abbé¹³. Saint Philibert y passe de longues nuits en veillées de prière et il dispose d'une cellule à proximité immédiate de l'oratoire. Reliée au logis claustral par une galerie à portique, cette cellule abbatiale sera pieusement conservée comme lieu mémorial après la mort de Philibert¹⁴. D'après l'ordre suivi par la description de la *Vita*, il semble que le dortoir des moines se trouve au sud de Saint-Pierre, ce qui signifie que l'emplacement du dortoir a dû rester pratiquement inchangé depuis le haut Moyen Âge : au XVI^e siècle, ce bâtiment claustral jouxte le collatéral sud de l'église. Les textes ne livrent aucune information sur l'histoire de l'église Saint-Pierre durant l'époque carolingienne. Après l'incendie du 24 mai 841, des arbres et des broussailles poussent au milieu des ruines, mais les murs ont conservé pratiquement toute leur hauteur d'origine¹⁵. Selon un passage de *l'Historia Normanniae* qui fut l'objet de plusieurs reprises du XI^e siècle, notamment dans un récit de la fondation de l'abbaye de Maillezais en Vendée, on voit encore dans les années 930, au fond de l'église, sous des absides voûtées, les restes de trois autels¹⁶. C'est ce que découvre Guillaume Longue-Épée lorsque, lancé à la poursuite d'un gros sanglier, il se trouve entraîné par l'animal jusque dans les ruines de l'église. Après avoir promis aux deux ermites de les aider à relever l'abbaye, le duc leur envoie une équipe d'ouvriers qui nettoie le site, effectue les ravalements nécessaires et remet hors d'eau l'église¹⁷. En 993, Enfulbert, doyen de Jumièges, est enterré au voisinage de la porte occidentale¹⁸. Par la suite, les moines portent l'essentiel de leurs efforts sur la restauration de Notre-Dame et il semble que Saint-Pierre reste longtemps délaissée. Dans un passage de la chronique de Jumièges rédigé au début du XIII^e siècle, il est précisé que cette église est conservée dans son état d'origine, telle qu'elle était dans les premiers temps du monastère¹⁹.

I.1 Les vestiges préromans de Saint-Pierre

Les éléments appartenant à la construction du haut Moyen Âge se situent dans la partie ouest de l'édifice, au niveau du corps d'entrée et de la nef. Ils correspondent aux tronçons qui ont été épargnés lors des reconstructions gothiques, ces dernières ayant porté sur presque toute la longueur du côté sud

11 Sur l'état d'avancement de ces recherches en 2003, voir J. Morganstern, « Jumièges, église Notre-Dame », dans Congrès archéologique de France. Rouen et Pays de Caux, Paris, Société Française d'Archéologie, 2006, p. 79-96, et Jacques Le Maho et James Morganstern, « Jumièges, église Saint-Pierre. Les vestiges préromans », dans Congrès archéologique de France. Rouen et Pays de Caux, Paris, Société Française d'Archéologie, 2006, p. 97-116

12 Jacques Le Maho et James Morganstern, op. cit.

13 « In dextris nobile sancti prominet Petri oraculum... » (R. POUFARDIN, op. cit., p. 7).

14 « Quadam nocte dum in basilica sancti Petri vigilans psalleret, ... » (R. POUFARDIN, op. cit., p. 9) ; « Vergit a meridie cellula ipsius sancti Dei petreo margine florescente ; operosa saxis clauastro comitur arcis. » (ibid., p. 7).

15 « ... maceris in sua soliditate in sullime porrectis arbustisque densissimis et arborum virgultis per .xxx. ferme annorum cucricula ubique e terra productis. » (Guillaume de Jumièges, op. cit., t. 1, 5 (6), éd. VAN HOUTS, t. 1, p. 20).

16 « Is autem erat locus quo est monasterium quod dicitur Vetus. Illic etenim, sicuti antiquissima non multo post docuerunt fundamina, antiquitus fuit ecclesia, cujus eversionis a nobis ignoratur causa. Remanserant enim tunc ipsa terna que in criptis habentur altaria, licet fuissent tam imbre quam pruina valde deruta, inter que illa, de qua agimus, jacebat bestiola. » (La fondation de l'abbaye de Maillezais. Récit du moine Pierre, éd. Georges PON et Yves CHAUVIN, La Roche-sur-Yon, 2001, p. 98).

17 « Immissis ergo actionariis, eum a ramnis et sentibus purgavit, Sanctique Petri, quod aliquantisper deciderat, monasterium resarciens competenter textit. » (Guillaume de Jumièges, op. cit., t. 1, 7, éd. Van Houts, t. 1, p. 86).

18 R. Favreau et J. Michaud, Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale, t. 22, Paris, 2002, p. 257-258.

19 « Primum quoque eius edificium fuit ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis, que usque hodie Deo donante parietum soliditate perseverat. » (Annales de l'abbaye..., op. cit. p. 79).

Jumièges, église Saint-Pierre ...



... les ruines du porche



... le bas de la nef



... le revers de la façade



... les deux premières travées de la nef, face nord



... mur sud, vestige de peinture murale

de la nef, sur les deux tiers des arcades du côté nord, l'étage des fenêtres hautes de la nef et la totalité du chœur.

Les vestiges du porche occidental se résument aux bases des deux tours d'escaliers latérales. Celles-ci ont été dépouillées de leurs parements au XIX^e siècle. Antérieurement, elles avaient été rétrécies par la construction de la salle capitulaire (au nord) et les réaménagements successifs du grand escalier du dortoir (au sud), de sorte qu'il est difficile, à l'heure actuelle, de déterminer l'emprise et la forme exactes de ces tours. L'état actuel de la construction laisse également subsister certaines interrogations sur le mode de couverture du porche. La seule certitude est qu'à son débouché sur la nef, le passage était couvert d'un arc en plein cintre retombant sur des piédroits en pierres de grand appareil.

En entrant dans la nef et en se retournant vers le porche, on peut voir, de part et d'autre, les portes d'accès aux escaliers en vis logés dans les tours. Au-dessus de chaque porte, le mur s'orne de deux médaillons circulaires en creux. Selon le témoignage de plusieurs auteurs du XIX^e siècle, ces faux *oculi* présentaient encore à cette époque les restes de décors peints²⁰. Le niveau suivant correspond à une tribune régissant au-dessus du porche et s'ouvrant sur la nef par une grande baie centrale, aujourd'hui murée. Les piédroits de cette ouverture s'élèvent à partir du sol de la tribune, ce qui semble indiquer que la baie était, dès l'origine, dépourvue de garde-corps en maçonnerie ; ils sont surmontés d'impostes à doucine et ressauts multiples, sur lesquels retombe, en net retrait, un grand arc en plein cintre. De part et d'autre de cette ouverture s'ouvraient deux baies géminées donnant chacune sur une petite galerie latérale donnant accès à la tribune. La baie nord, la plus complète, a conservé son support central, constitué d'une colonnette monolithe et d'un chapiteau sculpté à décor de feuilles lisses, sous un large tailloir de profil évasé, à ressauts et doucine. L'ensemble de la baie s'inscrit dans un encadrement quadrangulaire formé par un léger retrait de la maçonnerie.

Les dernières recherches sur l'église Saint-Pierre ont permis d'établir que la nef primitive comprenait vraisemblablement sept travées et qu'elle était dotée de collatéraux à tribunes. Dans l'état actuel subsistent les deux premières travées du mur nord de la nef centrale, conservées jusqu'à l'étage des tribunes. Les arcades du premier niveau sont constituées de piliers quadrangulaires en grand appareil et d'arcs en plein cintre retombant sur des impostes à cavet et bandeau. Au dessus se voit une série de quatre faux *oculi*, identiques à ceux qui ornent le revers du mur occidental de la nef. Ils semblent avoir appartenu à une frise de médaillons se développant sur toute la longueur de la nef et disposés deux par deux, avec un intervalle un peu plus important au-dessus de chaque pilier. Une frise du même type régissait au-dessus des arcades du côté sud de la nef, comme en témoigne un fragment de médaillon demeuré en place à la hauteur de la dernière travée orientale. Au revers du pilier qui sépare les deux premières arcades, un départ de voûte en mortier ocre prouve que le bas-côté nord fut, à un moment donné, couvert d'une

20 Abbé Cochet, Répertoire archéologique du département de la Seine-Inférieure, Paris, 1871, col. 304-305 ; J. Jollivet, « Découverte archéologique dans l'abbaye de Jumièges », Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics, t. 14, 1856, col. 354.

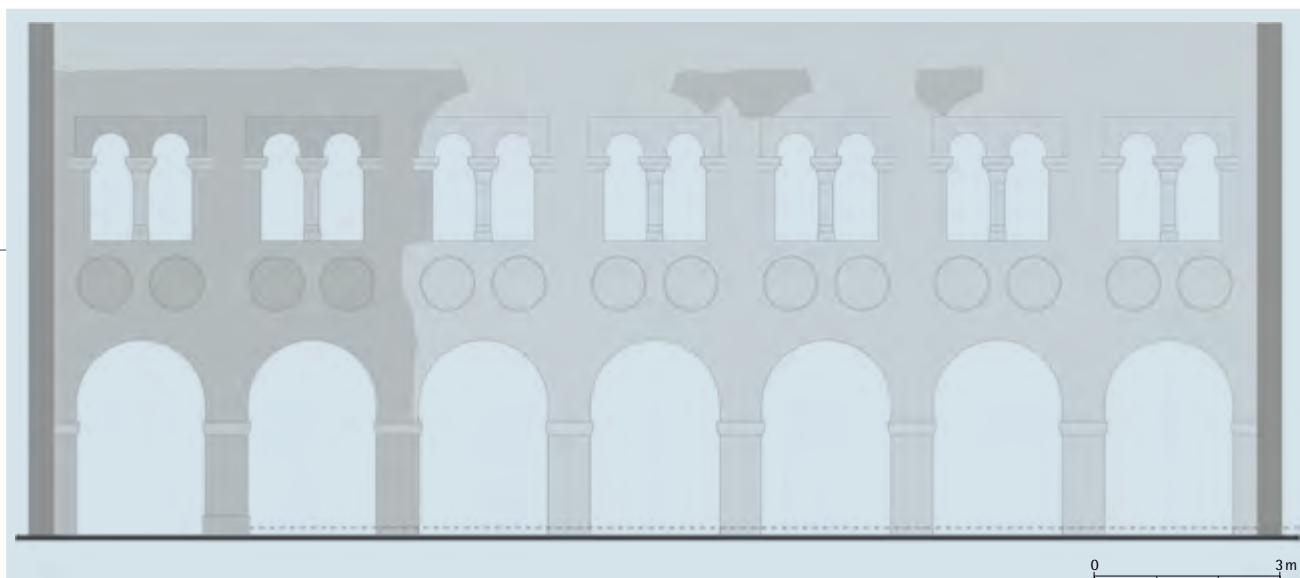
voûte d'arêtes. Celle-ci fut construite avant la première moitié du XII^e siècle, date à laquelle elle fut abattue pour permettre la construction de la salle capitulaire, mais rien ne prouve qu'elle se rattache à l'état primitif de l'église²¹.

Les tribunes situées au-dessus des bas-côtés s'ouvraient sur la nef par une série de baies géminées, disposées selon le même rythme que les arcades du niveau inférieur. Seules les deux premières du mur nord subsistent dans leur intégralité. Elles sont identiques aux deux baies du mur occidental, mais elles s'ouvrent un peu plus bas, ce décalage s'expliquant par une légère différence de niveau entre le sol de la tribune occidentale et celui des tribunes latérales de la nef. En d'autres endroits, un examen attentif des maçonneries permet de reconnaître les restes très fragmentaires de quatre autres baies ou de leurs arcs de décharge ; trois d'entre elles se situent au niveau des écoinçons des arcades gothiques du côté nord, la quatrième à la hauteur de la dernière travée orientale du côté sud. Les positions de ces différents éléments montrent que les baies s'inséraient dans une trame régulière de sept travées, ce qui confirme l'impression d'un édifice homogène et accrédite l'hypothèse d'une campagne unique de construction. À l'intérieur de la tribune qui surmonte les deux premières travées du collatéral nord, on peut encore voir le départ d'une voûte en berceau, couverte d'un enduit. Il est probable que cette voûte régnait sur toute la longueur de la tribune, mais il n'a pas été possible de déterminer à quelle phase architecturale elle se rattache.

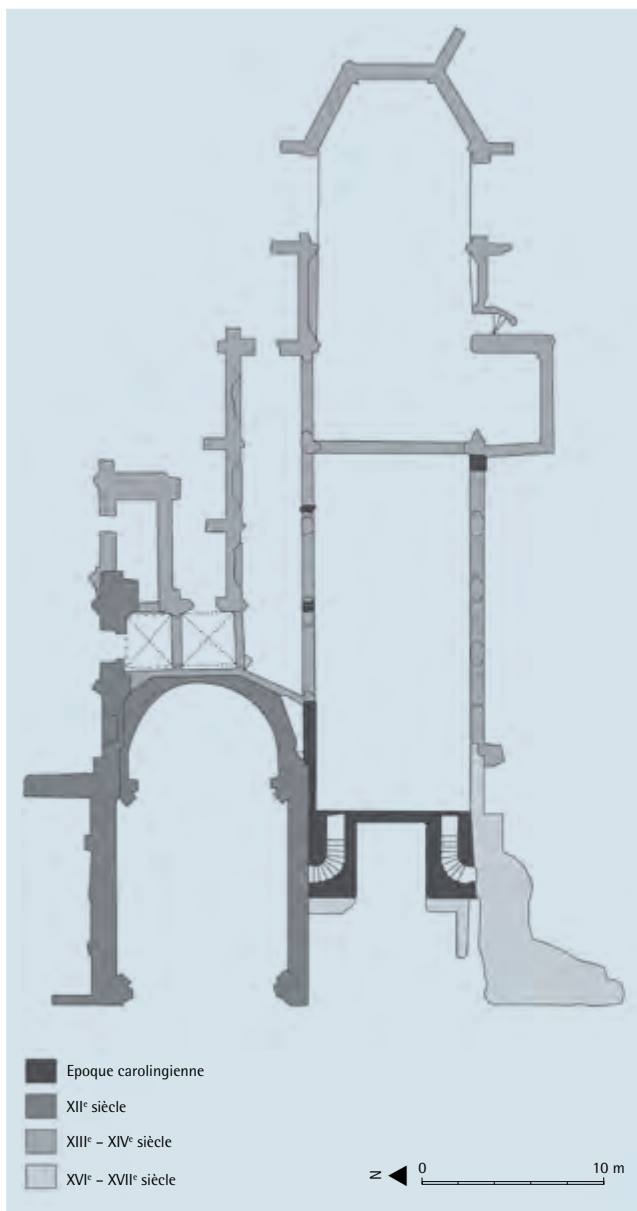
La reconstruction de l'étage supérieur de la nef à l'époque gothique laisse également subsister un certain nombre d'interrogations sur l'aspect originel de cette partie de l'édifice. Quelques fragments en réemploi dans les maçonneries suggèrent cependant la présence de fenêtres hautes. Sur la face orientale du pignon ouest se voit un bloc de pierre de Caen, creusé de trois rainures rayonnantes dessinant de faux claveaux, avec des joints simulés en mortier rose. Plusieurs autres éléments architecturaux en pierre de Caen, attribuables à l'édifice du haut Moyen Âge, ont été repérés dans les parties hautes de la nef ; la plupart d'entre eux présentent des marques d'incendie.

L'étude des élévations conservées à la jonction de la nef et du chœur gothique montre que l'édifice ne comportait ni tour de croisée ni transept à la veille des reconstructions des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. On ignore ce qu'il en était à l'origine. L'option la plus simple serait de considérer que les trois absides voûtées dont parle l'*Historia* du X^e siècle étaient situées dans le prolongement direct de la nef centrale et des collatéraux. À l'appui d'une telle restitution, il convient de mentionner la découverte en 2001, lors de travaux effectués dans le collatéral nord, d'un pavement de calcaire antérieur aux transformations gothiques : ce niveau de circulation semble avoir régné sur un collatéral qui ne dépassait pas, vers l'est, l'alignement du pignon actuel de la nef. Dans cette hypothèse, l'église carolingienne aurait été un édifice de plan basilical, avec trois absides alignées à l'est. L'abside centrale, la plus importante, aurait abrité le maître autel dédié à Saint Pierre. Quant aux deux absides latérales, elles auraient constitué les ancêtres des deux chapelles latérales

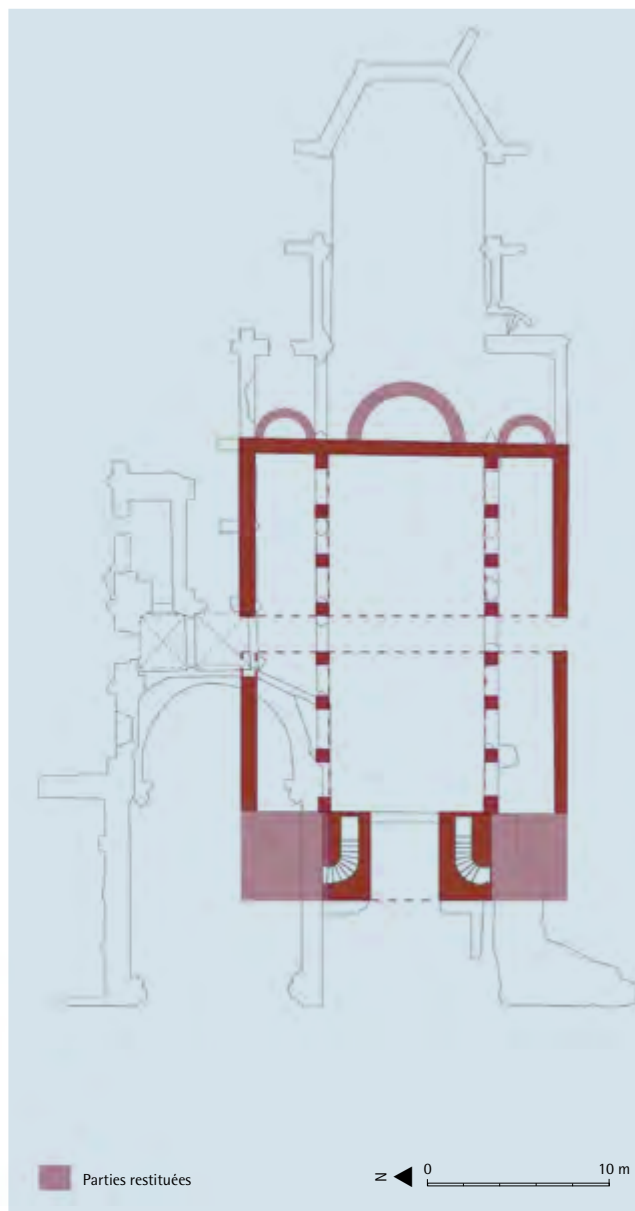
21 Analyse de Véronique Legoux (rapport d'étude de mars 2004, t. 1, p. 32).



Jumièges, église Saint-Pierre, essai de restitution de l'élévation des deux premiers niveaux de la nef carolingienne, face nord ; en gris plus sombre, les parties conservées.



Jumièges, plan des ruines de l'église Saint-Pierre ; au nord de l'église, la salle capitulaire



Jumièges, église Saint-Pierre, essai de restitution de l'état carolingien

du chœur gothique, chapelles situées dans le prolongement des bas-côtés de la nef ; à la fin du Moyen Âge, elles étaient respectivement dédiées à Saint André (au nord) et à Saint Martin (au sud).

Certaines parties de la nef préromane de Saint-Pierre comportaient des décors peints. À l'intérieur de l'un des faux *oculi* des deux premières travées du mur nord, l'abbé Cochet signale en 1871 les traces de « bustes peints de style grec »²². Dans l'un des deux médaillons du mur ouest, Jules Jollivet observe en 1856 que « l'on voit encore une peinture très ancienne dans laquelle on peut reconnaître, malgré son altération, un buste de femme, la tête ornée d'un diadème d'or et de perles, les épaules couvertes d'un manteau rouge. Elle tient dans la main droite un objet qu'il est impossible de distinguer : c'est un vase ou un globe »²³. Sur le mur sud, dans le petit espace situé entre la retombée est de l'arc de la septième travée et l'angle sud-est de la nef, une plaque d'enduit appartenant à la plus ancienne des sept couches identifiées sur les murs de Saint-Pierre²⁴ présente les traces relativement bien conservées d'un buste d'homme, peint à gauche d'un médaillon. Le visage est longiligne, le nez est fin et droit, le regard est fixe, la chevelure est épaisse et bouclée. L'homme est revêtu d'une chlamyde dont on ne voit que les plis du col et le contour des épaules, dessinés à grands traits. Plus bas, la couche d'enduit a été détruite, si bien qu'il est difficile de savoir si la représentation se limitait au buste ou s'il ne s'agissait pas plutôt d'un personnage en pied, debout sur une imposte à la retombée de l'arc, et dont le bas du corps aurait disparu. La hauteur du buste par rapport à l'imposte, le fait que la tête soit légèrement inclinée sur le côté, comme si le corps de l'homme était penché contre l'arc, iraient plutôt dans le sens de la seconde hypothèse, mais il paraît prudent de laisser la question en suspens.

1.2 La datation des parties occidentales de Saint-Pierre

La datation des parties préromanes de l'église Saint-Pierre a fait l'objet de nombreuses discussions depuis le XIX^e siècle. Jusqu'à ces dernières années, il était cependant admis que l'édifice avait été totalement reconstruit après la restauration monastique des années 930-940. L'un des principaux arguments à l'appui de cette thèse était la présence d'espaces voûtés au-dessus des collatéraux, ceux-ci étant alors interprétés comme des coursiers intra-murales, semblables à ceux de l'église de Mettlach en Sarre, datée de la fin du X^e siècle²⁵. À la suite de Karol Heitz, nombre d'auteurs ont également considéré que le Westwerk de Saint-Pierre était un bon exemple de la formule simplifiée qui était censée marquer l'aboutissement de l'évolution du massif occidental entre la fin du VIII^e siècle et l'époque ottonienne²⁶. Cette datation semblait en accord avec les caractères stylistiques des chapiteaux, Maylis Baylé situant ces œuvres dans un courant postcarolingien, proche des réalisations italiennes des environs de l'an Mille²⁷.

Un réexamen de l'ensemble du dossier a montré que ces interprétations se heurtent toutes à d'importantes difficultés. Il est tout d'abord apparu que l'hypothèse de coursiers au-dessus des arcades de la nef est sans fondement : les

22 Abbé Cochet, Répertoire archéologique, op. cit., col. 304-305.

23 J. Jollivet, « Découverte archéologique dans l'abbaye de Jumièges », op. cit., col. 354

24 Selon le rapport d'analyse de Véronique Legoux, 2004

25 J. Vallery-Radot, « Le deuxième colloque international de la Société Française d'Archéologie », Bulletin monumental, t. 127, 1969, p. 125-143.

26 C. Heitz, « Jumièges », dans La Neustrie. Les pays au nord de la Loire de Dagobert à Charles le Chauve (VIIe-IXe siècle), dir. P. Périn et L.-C. Feffer, Créteil, 1985, p. 167 ; idem, La France pré-romane. Archéologie et architecture religieuse du haut Moyen Âge – Du IVe siècle à l'an Mille, Paris, 1987, p. 164 et 256 ; idem, « Influences carolingiennes et ottoniennes sur l'architecture religieuse normande », dans L'architecture normande au Moyen Âge, Caen/Condé-sur-Noireau, 1997, t. 1, p. 42

27 M. Baylé, « La sculpture du XI^e siècle à Jumièges et sa place dans le décor architectural des abbayes normandes », dans Aspects du monachisme en Normandie (Ive-XVIIIe siècles), Actes du Colloque scientifique de l'Année des abbayes normandes, Caen, 18-20 octobre 1979, dir. L. Musset, Paris, 1982, p. 75-77 ; idem, Les origines et les premiers développements de la sculpture romane en Normandie, 100bis, Caen, 1992, p. 53-55 ; idem, « Jumièges : église Saint-Pierre », dans L'architecture normande au Moyen Âge, Caen/Condé-sur-Noireau, 1997, t. 2, p. 14-15 ; idem, « L'influence des Italiens sur l'art roman de Normandie : légende ou réalité ? », dans Les Italiens en Normandie, Cahier des Annales de Normandie, 2000, n° 29, p. 48-49.

départs de voûtes des collatéraux correspondent à des volumes nettement plus importants que ceux évoqués en 1939 par Georges Lanfry dans son hypothèse de restitution²⁸. En l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur la genèse et la typologie des massifs occidentaux carolingiens, il ne paraît plus possible de soutenir que la formule de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges – un simple porche surmonté d'une tribune, entre deux tourelles d'escaliers – appartient au dernier stade d'évolution du Westwerk. Les hypothèses fondées sur le postulat d'une reconstruction de l'église après la restauration monastique des années 930/940 sont également difficiles à concilier avec les données textuelles. Dans le récit qui nous a été conservé de l'installation des moines de Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers, il est bien précisé que les travaux de remise en état de l'église Saint-Pierre incendiée par les Vikings se limitèrent au strict minimum : avant même l'arrivée de ces religieux, l'édifice, dont les murs avaient conservé toute leur élévation d'origine, avait pu être assez vite remis hors d'eau par les ouvriers du duc Guillaume Longue-Épée († 942). Si rien ne s'oppose a priori à ce que l'église ait été reconstruite plus tard, cette éventualité apparaît cependant peu probable au regard du contexte. Après l'assassinat de Guillaume Longue-Épée en 942, Jumièges traverse de nouveau une période difficile, les abbés ne résident plus en permanence à Jumièges, la direction de l'établissement est laissée à des « doyens » et les ressources de la communauté sont des plus réduites. L'absence d'activité architecturale de quelque importance durant la seconde moitié du X^e siècle est confirmée par le témoignage de Dudon de Saint-Quentin, ce dernier n'incluant pas Jumièges dans sa liste des grands chantiers financés ou soutenus à travers toute la Normandie par le duc Richard I^{er} (942-996)²⁹.

Ces conclusions nous ont conduit à reconsidérer l'ensemble du problème en procédant à un réexamen détaillé des vestiges architecturaux et des éléments de décor tels que les chapiteaux des baies géminées des tribunes, leurs tailloirs, leurs colonnettes à bases moulurées et les impostes situées à la retombée du grand arc de la tribune occidentale. Dans le même temps, en marge de l'étude des mortiers et des enduits muraux par Véronique Legoux, ont été effectués plusieurs prélèvements d'échantillons en vue d'une approche de la datation par le C14.

Ces analyses vont toutes dans le sens d'une datation plus haute que celles précédemment admises. Du point de vue architectural, l'extrême sobriété de la plastique murale, la rusticité des supports des grandes arcades constitués de piliers de plan carré en grand appareil, mais aussi l'agencement de la tribune occidentale, des grandes arcades, des tribunes latérales et de leurs baies géminées, renvoient clairement à des modèles carolingiens. Pourvus d'abaques échancrés à plusieurs ressauts et d'astragales à peine visibles – deux traits qui les rattachent à une tradition antiquisante, inconnue dans la Normandie de l'époque ducale –, les chapiteaux s'apparentent à nombre d'œuvres italiennes et germaniques de la fin du VIII^e et du début du IX^e siècle. En France, les œuvres les plus proches sont celles d'un groupe de chapiteaux de Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert dans le Languedoc, datés des alentours de 800. C'est dans cette même tranche chronologique de la fin du VIII^e-début du IX^e siècle que se si-

28 G. Lanfry, « L'église carolingienne Saint-Pierre de l'abbaye de Jumièges (Seine-Inférieure) », *Bulletin monumental*, n° 1, 1939, p. 64-65 ; idem, *L'abbaye de Jumièges. Plans et documents*, Rouen, 1954, p. 23, pl. XII.

29 On trouvera le détail de l'argumentation historique et les principales références textuelles dans l'article de J. Le Maho et J. Morgans-tern, op. cit., p. 105.

tuent les principaux éléments de comparaison pour les bases des colonnettes et pour les deux impostes à doucine et ressauts multiples sur lesquelles retombe l'arc de la tribune occidentale. Sans entrer dans le détail de l'analyse des faux *oculi* qui ornent les écoinçons des grandes arcades, il convient de souligner, là aussi, l'abondance des éléments de comparaison pour la période carolingienne, depuis le reliquaire de Saint-Servais de Maestricht (815-830) jusqu'aux *oculi* du mur oriental de l'église de Steinbach en Allemagne (823/824-826)³⁰. L'étude stylistique du fragment de peinture murale de la nef a permis à James Morganstern de rapprocher cette œuvre de plusieurs réalisations de l'époque carolingienne, au nombre desquelles figurent les *sinopia* de la chapelle Saint-Jean-Baptiste du Westwerk de Corvey³¹.

À ces analyses comparatives viennent se joindre certaines constatations sur l'origine des pierres. Si la quasi-totalité des parties préromanes de l'église est constituée de matériaux locaux, il s'avère en revanche que les chapiteaux et les colonnettes des baies géminées sont tous en pierre de Caen. Il en est de même pour plusieurs éléments en réemploi dans les maçonneries gothiques de Saint-Pierre ainsi que pour un fragment de chancel conservé dans la collection lapidaire de Jumièges, élément attribuable, par son décor, au haut Moyen Âge. Ceci constitue un indice chronologique supplémentaire, dans la mesure où il est établi que la pierre de Caen fut l'objet d'une exploitation intensive à la fin du VIII^e et au début du IX^e siècle, et que les éléments sculptés en provenance des ateliers bas-normands connurent à cette époque une assez large diffusion par les voies maritimes et fluviales, jusqu'aux établissements monastiques de la Basse-Seine³².

Sachant que les lieux furent évacués par les moines dans les années qui suivirent l'incendie du monastère par les Vikings en mai 841, et que les ruines restèrent en l'état jusqu'au retour des religieux dans les années 930-940, la présence de traces d'incendie sur les maçonneries vient conforter les observations précédentes. En plusieurs endroits, les baies des tribunes du collatéral nord présentent en effet les stigmates d'un feu violent. Divers indices suggèrent que ce sinistre eut lieu au cours d'une des premières phases de l'histoire du bâtiment, ce que tendrait à confirmer la forte rubéfaction visible sur la plupart des éléments lapidaires en pierre de Caen attribués à l'état carolingien, comme le fragment de chancel évoqué ci-dessus. Un dernier élément à l'appui d'une datation haute des vestiges préromans de Saint-Pierre réside dans les résultats de deux séries d'analyses de C14, l'une sur un morceau de poutre trouvé à l'intérieur même du mur nord de la nef, l'autre sur un échantillon de mortier du piédroit entre les deux premières baies géminées de ce mur. Les mesures confiées à plusieurs laboratoires américains sont concordantes, les fourchettes chronologiques s'établissant, en accord avec les analyses des éléments architecturaux, autour de la fin du VIII^e et du début du IX^e siècle³³. En l'état actuel des recherches, les parties préromanes de l'église Saint-Pierre peuvent donc être attribuées à une période comprise entre la fin du VIII^e siècle et le début des années 840, le *terminus ante quem* correspondant plus précisément à l'année 841, marquée par l'attaque et l'incendie du monastère par les Normands.

30 Jacques Le Maho et James Morganstern, op. cit., 2006, p. 97-116

31 Étude à paraître

32 J. Le Maho, « Transports de matériaux de construction dans la basse Seine et ses abords au haut Moyen Âge (VIIe-Xe siècles) : les témoignages des textes et de l'archéologie », dans *Matériau et construction en Normandie du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, Actes du colloque de Saint-Lô, 24-25 novembre 2000, Saint-Lô, Société d'archéologie et d'histoire de la Manche, 2004, p. 11-32

33 Jacques Le Maho et James Morganstern, op. cit., p. 112-113

II. L'ÉGLISE NOTRE-DAME

Dans la *Vita Philiberti* du début du VIII^e siècle, l'église Notre-Dame est décrite comme un édifice de plan cruciforme. Le maître autel est dédié à la Vierge, les deux autels latéraux sont respectivement dédiés à Saint Jean et Saint Colomban. On relève également la mention d'une châsse en métaux précieux placée non loin de l'autel central et renfermant une relique de Saint Philibert, l'abbé fondateur. Il convient enfin de souligner l'emploi du terme *ecclesia* pour désigner cet édifice, alors que l'église Saint-Pierre voisine est présentée comme un simple *oraculum*³⁴. Ceci donne à penser que l'église Notre-Dame était, dès la première moitié du VIII^e siècle, de proportions plus importantes que Saint-Pierre, sans doute parce qu'elle était destinée à abriter les offices conventuels. Le témoignage de la chronique carolingienne de Fontenelle signalant que l'église Notre-Dame de Jumièges reçut la sépulture de l'abbé Hugues († vers 732) s'accorde avec cette interprétation : à partir du début du VIII^e siècle en Neustrie, les abbés, qui avaient généralement reçu jusque là leur sépulture dans une chapelle funéraire, sont de plus en plus souvent inhumés dans l'église principale du monastère³⁵.

II.1 La question des *turres* carolingiennes

Les sources écrites de l'époque carolingienne ne contiennent aucune autre mention de Notre-Dame que celle relative à la sépulture de l'abbé Hugues. À ce silence des textes s'ajoute le fait que l'édifice a subi une reconstruction complète à partir de 1040, sous l'abbatiat de Robert Champart ; contrairement à Saint-Pierre, Notre-Dame n'a donc conservé aucun vestige en élévation du haut Moyen Âge³⁶. Plusieurs informations intéressantes peuvent cependant être tirées des *Annales* de l'abbaye et des *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* de Guillaume de Jumièges, concernant notamment la survivance de certaines parties de l'église carolingienne à la veille de la reconstruction du XI^e siècle.

Dans un passage qui tire probablement sa source d'un chapitre de l'*Historia* perdue du X^e siècle, Guillaume de Jumièges signale qu'après la mort de Guillaume Longue-Épée en 942, l'église Notre-Dame fut en partie démolie sur l'ordre de Raoul Torta, agent du roi Louis IV d'Outremer, pour fournir les matériaux nécessaires à la réparation des murailles de la cité de Rouen³⁷. L'auteur précise que l'église aurait été totalement rasée si ses « deux tours » n'avaient pas été rachetées par un clerc du nom de Clément. Grâce à lui, poursuit-il, elles sont restées en élévation « jusqu'au temps de l'archevêque Robert, qui a restauré cette église »³⁸. Les tours en question subsistèrent donc jusqu'en 1040, date à laquelle les annales de l'abbaye placent le début de la reconstruction de Notre-Dame³⁹. Cet épisode semble indiquer que seule l'église Saint-Pierre fut remise en état à l'arrivée des moines de Poitiers. En 942, soit moins de dix ans après leur installation à Jumièges, ceux-ci n'avaient sans doute pas encore eu le temps ni les moyens d'entreprendre la restauration du vaste édifice qu'était Notre-Dame. Leur volonté de sauver les tours de la démolition montre qu'ils gardaient cependant l'espoir de pouvoir en re-

34 « Ab Euro surgens ecclesia, crucis instar erecta, cujus apicem obtinet alma virgo Maria ; altare ante faciem lectuli cum dente beatissimi Philiberti, pictum gemmarum lumine, comptum auri et argenti congerie. Ab utroque latere, Johannis et Columbanii arae dant gloriam Deo. » (R. Poupardin, op. cit., p. 7)

35 « Corpus eius Gemmetico coenobio, quo etiam vitae decesserat, in ecclesia sanctae matris ac perpetuae virginis Mariae venerabiliter sepulturae est traditum. » (Gesta sanctorum patrum fontanellensis coenobii, éd. F. Lohier et J. Laporte, Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Rouen-Paris, 1936, p. 42)

36 James Morganstern a seulement reconnu la présence de deux pierres en réemploi, provenant vraisemblablement de l'église du haut Moyen Âge (« Deux réemplois à l'église Notre-Dame de Jumièges. L'usage de la bretture et de la gradine à l'époque préromane », Ex quadris lapidibus. La pierre et sa mise en œuvre dans l'art médiéval. Mélanges d'Histoire de l'art offerts à Éliane Vergnolle, éd. Yves Gallet, Turnhout, Brepols, 2010 (2011), p. 244-456)

37 « Ad Gemmeticum vero cum accessisset, sancte Marie monasterium invasit illudque evertit. Quod a fundamento funditus diruisset, nisi quidam clericus nomine Clemens ab operariis duas turres pretio redemisset, que usque ad tempus Roberti archiepiscopi, qui illum restauravit ecclesiam, permanserunt stabiles. » (Guillaume de Jumièges, op. cit., IV, 7, éd. Van Houts, t.1, p. 110)

38 Ibid

39 « Fundamenta ecclesiae sanctae Mariae in Gemmetico posita sunt ab abbate Roberto, postea Cantuariorum archiepiscopo » (Les Annales de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Jumièges, op. cit., p. 55)

lever au moins une partie. Ces tours ayant plus tard été abattues pour faire place à la nouvelle église, on peut également déduire du texte de Guillaume de Jumièges que l'église carolingienne s'élevait à l'emplacement de l'édifice actuel.

Il resterait à savoir à quoi correspondaient ces deux *turres*. Jusqu'à présent, on a généralement considéré qu'elles étaient les ancêtres des deux tours de la façade actuelle de Notre-Dame. Il s'agirait donc des tours latérales du massif occidental carolingien. Théoriquement, le fait n'est pas inconcevable, même si le terme de *turris* s'applique le plus souvent, jusqu'au XII^e siècle, à l'ensemble du bloc occidental⁴⁰. On peut néanmoins s'interroger sur l'intérêt que les moines auraient eu à racheter à prix d'or les deux corps d'escaliers de la façade si c'est tout ce qu'il restait de l'église. Cette interprétation est également difficile à concilier avec l'idée, pourtant adoptée par la plupart des spécialistes de l'architecture normande du XI^e siècle, selon laquelle les restes de l'église carolingienne auraient fortement influencé les constructeurs de l'église romane, en particulier dans le choix d'un dispositif de tribunes de transept occupant toute la longueur des croisillons ; ceci n'est plausible qu'à condition d'admettre la survivance d'importants vestiges de l'église carolingienne, notamment dans la partie orientale de l'édifice. Or, il existe une autre lecture possible du texte transmis par Guillaume de Jumièges. Elle serait de considérer que cette mention de *turres* se rapporte à un dispositif du type de Saint-Riquier de Centule (fin du VIII^e s.) ou de Saint-Wandrille de Fontenelle (vers 830), avec une tour au niveau de la croisée du transept et une seconde tour à l'extrémité occidentale de la nef⁴¹. On peut aisément concevoir, en effet, que

les travaux de récupération des années 940 aient commencé par l'exploitation des matériaux des arcades de la nef, parties structurellement fragiles et donc probablement, à cette époque, dans un état de ruine avancée, tandis que subsistaient les deux « noyaux durs » constitués par la tour orientale et la tour occidentale. Cette campagne de démolition aurait eu pour résultat de scinder l'église carolingienne en deux parties, chacune des deux tours étant dès lors autonome. Leur rachat par les religieux, sans doute validé par un acte notifiant la cession par le fisc des deux *turres*⁴², aurait été inspiré par le souci de sauver les chapelles et les autels qu'abritaient ces tours, afin de réinvestir l'espace de la clôture monastique, de poursuivre la ré-



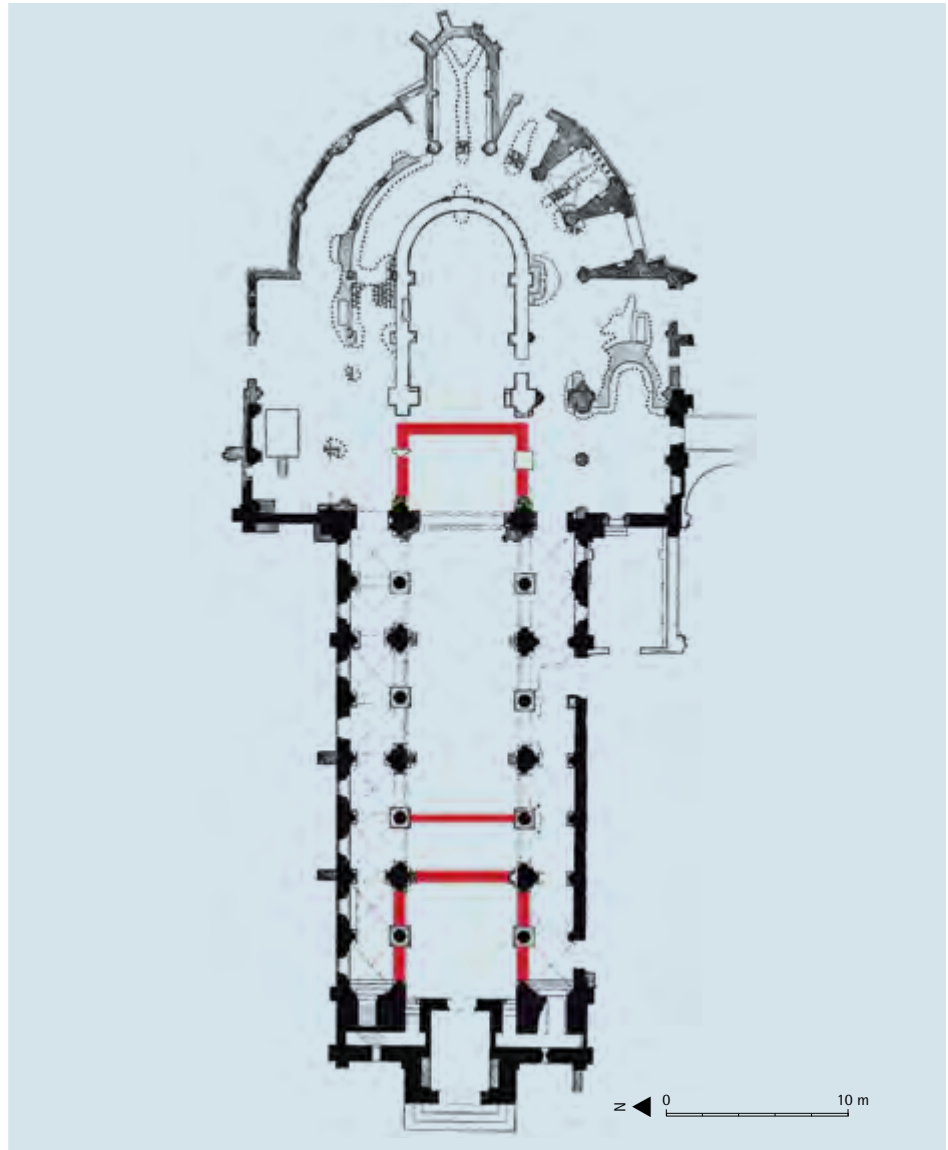
Jumièges, façade occidentale de l'église Notre-Dame (XI^e siècle)
Photo: Friedrich Tellberg

40 À Corvey même, certains documents évoquent les « tres turres » que constituent la tour centrale et les tours latérales (Monumenta Corbejensia, Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum, I, éd. Jaffé, Berlin, 1864, p. 33 sq.)

41 Karol Heitz, Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne, Paris (S.E.V.P.E.N.), 1963, p. 21-31

42 Le rachat par Guillaume Longue-Épée du bourg de Jumièges à des « alleutiers » avait sans doute fait l'objet, quelques années plus tôt, d'un acte similaire. Ces pièces du chartrier de l'abbaye constituèrent une base de documentation pour les chroniqueurs qui écrivirent le récit de la restauration monastique du X^e siècle (Marjorie Chibnall, « Charter and Chronicle », Church and Government in the Middle Ages, ed. C. N. L. Brooke et al., Cambridge, 1976, p. 1-17, spécialement p. 6)

Jumièges, plan de l'église Notre-Dame ; en rouge, l'emplacement présumé des deux tours carolingiennes.



habilitation des lieux de culte autour de Saint-Pierre et de redévelopper une liturgie processionnelle. À l'abbaye de Fontenelle, une fois le culte rétabli par l'abbé Mainard (960-966) dans l'ancienne église Saint-Pierre, l'un de ses successeurs, le doyen Enfulbert († 993), qui occupa également des fonctions importantes à Jumièges, s'employa selon son épitaphe à restaurer les « basiliques » du monastère.

À Saint-Riquier comme à Fontenelle, la tour ouest de l'église principale contenait une chapelle haute sous le vocable de Saint-Sauveur⁴³. Ce vocable était également, à Saint-Riquier, celui par lequel les moines avaient pris l'habitude de désigner la tour elle-même et l'ensemble du sanctuaire occidental⁴⁴. Ces données, parmi beaucoup d'autres mentions de chapelles Saint-Sauveur associées à un porche d'église, sont à rapprocher d'une chronique de Jumièges dont le texte nous a été transmis par une copie insérée au XIII^e siècle dans les Annales de l'abbaye, relatant l'histoire de l'établissement depuis sa

43 Karol Heitz, op. cit., p. 27 et 31

44 « ...turris occidentalis in honore sancti Salvatoris specialiter est dicata. » (Hariulf, Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier, op. cit., p. 54).

fondation jusqu'à l'abbatit de Thierry (1017-1027). En effet, cette narration évoque à deux reprises la présence, dans le secteur de l'ancienne église Notre-Dame, d'un sanctuaire dédié au Sauveur. La première mention se trouve dans un passage relatif aux incursions normandes du IX^e siècle et à la fuite des moines. Avant de partir, ceux-ci auraient caché « entre les églises Saint-Pierre et Saint-Sauveur, vers le milieu », deux châsses contenant les reliques des Saints Constantin et Pérégrin ; se trouvait avec elles « le vase qui se trouve maintenant auprès de la porte du cloître de Notre-Dame »⁴⁵. Un peu plus loin, la même église Saint-Sauveur, qualifiée cette fois de simple chapelle (*capella sancti Salvatoris*), est mentionnée à propos de la sépulture de l'abbé Thierry, mort en 1034 : « Il fut inhumé devant l'autel de Saint-Étienne, dans la chapelle Saint-Sauveur qu'il avait lui-même fait restaurer »⁴⁶. À ces témoignages s'ajoute celui d'un calendrier liturgique de l'abbaye signalant, à la date du 18 mars, la « dédicace de l'église Saint-Sauveur »⁴⁷. Comme les travaux entrepris dans cette église par l'abbé Thierry furent apparemment menés à leur terme, cette mention est sans doute à mettre en rapport avec l'achèvement de la campagne de restauration évoquée dans l'extrait précédent. D'après les indications fournies par la chronique du XI^e siècle, il semble que les restes des Saints Constantin et Pérégrin aient été découverts dans le secteur du cloître, à peu près à mi-distance entre les deux églises. Saint-Sauveur aurait donc été située au nord-ouest de Saint-Pierre, ce qui s'accorderait avec l'hypothèse, formulée dès 1982 par Maylis Baylé, d'un sanctuaire situé à l'extrémité occidentale de l'église Notre-Dame⁴⁸. La présence de deux enfes sous le porche actuel de Notre-Dame irait également dans ce sens, ce porche étant susceptible d'avoir accueilli les sépultures les plus remarquables de Saint-Sauveur lors de la reconstruction du massif occidental au XI^e siècle. Enfin, l'intervention de l'abbé Thierry à Saint-Sauveur s'étant limitée à une simple restauration, on peut en déduire qu'il ne fut pas le fondateur de cette église, que celle-ci était alors déjà relativement ancienne et qu'il en demeurerait des vestiges assez conséquents. Autant d'éléments donnant à penser que l'*ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris* du XI^e siècle était un démembrement de l'ancienne église Notre-Dame et qu'elle ne faisait qu'une avec la « tour » occidentale sauvée de la démolition au début des années 940.

II. 2 L'église occidentale Saint-Sauveur au XI^e siècle et ses antécédents carolingiens

Dans son état actuel, le massif de façade de Notre-Dame se présente comme un bloc rectangulaire d'environ 22,50 m x 7,00 m, composé d'un porche surmonté d'une tribune, entre deux hautes tours qui s'élèvent sur des souches de plan carré⁴⁹. Le porche est précédé par un avant-corps nettement saillant. Sous l'escalier de chacune des tours, derrière le mur de façade, se trouve un couloir voûté d'axe nord-sud qui reliait le porche à l'extérieur et communiquait avec une seconde galerie est-ouest débouchant sur la nef. À l'étage au-dessus du porche, la tribune s'ouvre vers la nef par une large baie en plein cintre. Primitivement, une arcature à deux étages, formant une barrière en claire-voie, régnait entre les deux piédroits de cette ouverture⁵⁰.

45 « Inter ecclesias sancti Petri et sancti Salvatoris, loco medio, deposuerunt duas capas sancti Peregrini et sancti Constantini, cum urceo qui est ad portam Sancte Marie claustralem. » (Les Annales de l'abbaye ..., op. cit., p. 83)

46 « Sepultus est ante altare sancti Stephani in capella sancti Salvatoris, quam ipse restaurari fecerat. » (Les Annales de l'abbaye ..., op. cit., p. 83)

47 J. Lambert, « Les calendriers de Jumièges », dans Jumièges, Congrès scientifique du XIII^e centenaire, t. 2, Rouen, 1955, p. 885

48 M. Baylé, « La sculpture du XI^e siècle... », op. cit., p. 77-78 ; idem, « Les origines... », p. 72

49 Sur cette partie de l'église romane, voir un récent état de la question par J. Morgantern et al., « Le massif occidental de Notre-Dame-de-Jumièges, recherches récentes », dans C. Sapin (dir.), Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV^e et le XII^e siècle, Paris, 2002, p. 296-309

50 J. Morgantern, « Jumièges, église Notre-Dame », op. cit., p. 87, fig. 15.

L'archaïsme de ce corps de façade du milieu du XI^e siècle a déjà été maintes fois souligné, de même que l'absence de liaison organique avec la nef. Selon Maylis Baylé, ces particularités ainsi que certaines hésitations dans la conduite des travaux pourraient s'expliquer par une implantation de l'ouvrage dès l'abbatit de Thierry. Cet abbé aurait mis en œuvre un projet de reconstruction complète de l'église Notre-Dame. Le projet serait resté à l'état d'ébauche à sa mort en 1027, mais les travaux auraient été déjà suffisamment avancés vers l'ouest pour conditionner les plans de la nouvelle église commencée en 1040 par Robert Champart⁵¹. Cependant, on voit mal comment Thierry aurait pu à la fois restaurer l'ancienne église Saint-Sauveur et investir le même emplacement pour y jeter les bases d'un nouvel édifice, et comment ces fondations auraient pu rester treize ans en attente. À cette difficulté s'ajoutent les témoignages de Guillaume de Jumièges et des annales du monastère, l'un certifiant que les anciennes tours de Notre-Dame étaient encore debout plus de dix ans après la mort de Thierry, l'autre situant en 1040 seulement la pose des premières fondations de la nouvelle église. Une solution plus simple serait de voir précisément dans la survivance de la vieille tour ouest l'explication de l'archaïsme du massif occidental du XI^e siècle : l'architecte de Robert Champart se serait inspiré de l'édifice prénormand qu'il avait encore sous les yeux.

Pour autant, le nouveau massif occidental ne reprend sans doute qu'une partie des dispositions de l'antéglise carolingienne. Il manque en particulier le corps principal que devait constituer, selon la formule de Saint-Riquier, de Corvey et des premiers massifs ottoniens, la grande tour derrière le bloc de façade. C'est à ce dernier élément que doit se rapporter plus particulièrement le terme de *turris* employé dans le récit du X^e siècle, repris par Guillaume de Jumièges. Au début du XI^e siècle, le passage de la chronique relatif au lieu d'inhumation de l'abbé Thierry († 1027) suppose que l'église abritait au moins deux chapelles, l'une dédiée au Sauveur, l'autre sous le vocable de Saint-Étienne. Sachant que la seconde est celle où fut enterré l'abbé, cette chapelle ne pouvait être que située au rez-de-chaussée. On ne saurait dire en revanche si la situation de la chapelle Saint-Étienne du chœur gothique, en position axiale, reproduit celle de l'oratoire du même nom dans l'église Saint-Sauveur. Avec ces deux chapelles et ses dispositifs d'accès aux étages supérieurs, la seule certitude est que l'ensemble était un ouvrage relativement complexe.

En 2006, à l'initiative de James Morganstern, un programme de prospections géophysiques a été mis en œuvre sur l'emprise des églises Notre-Dame et Saint-Pierre. Menées par Christian Camerlynck, géophysicien à l'Université de Paris VI, ces prospections ont révélé la présence de nombreuses structures dans le sol de Notre-Dame. L'analyse des relevés étant encore en cours au moment où sont rédigées ces lignes, les conclusions ne sauraient être que provisoires. D'ores et déjà, on est cependant en droit de penser que certaines traces sont à mettre en relation avec une importante phase architectura-

51 M. Baylé, « La sculpture du XI^e siècle ... », op. cit., p. 77-78 ; idem, « Les origines... », p. 74-80.

le du Haut Moyen Âge. Sous le carré du transept apparaît une puissante maçonnerie d'axe nord-sud barrant toute la largeur de la nef à l'ouest des piliers orientaux de la tour de croisée romane. Ce décalage par rapport aux piliers du XI^e siècle semble exclure son identification avec un chaînage de fondation de la tour de Robert Champart ; en revanche il s'expliquerait aisément dans le cas d'une structure ayant appartenu à la *turris* orientale de l'époque carolingienne. Vers le bas de la nef, les prospections ont fait apparaître deux autres structures d'orientation nord-sud, l'une, relativement légère, à une quinzaine de mètres du porche, l'autre beaucoup plus épaisse à une dizaine de mètres de celui-ci. Une hypothèse actuellement en cours d'étude porte sur l'attribution de ces deux murs à l'église occidentale Saint-Sauveur. Le mur épais correspondrait au mur oriental de la *turris*. Le fait que la trace de ce mur ne se poursuit pas dans les collatéraux indiquerait que les côtés nord et sud de la tour se confondent avec les tracés des chaînages de la nef romane. La tour pourrait dès lors être restituée comme une construction carrée de 9 à 10 m de côté (dimensions internes), s'élevant derrière le large massif de façade formé par le porche et les deux tours d'escaliers latérales. À l'intérieur, deux traces ponctuelles évoquent la présence de piliers soutenant une voûte. Au nord, au sud et à l'est, la *turris* aurait été entourée de salles annexes, celles du nord et du sud s'inscrivant dans les espaces ultérieurement occupés par les collatéraux de l'église romane.

III. CONCLUSION - JUMIÈGES ET CORVEY

Les différentes constatations effectuées au cours de cette étude montrent que le monastère de Jumièges fut le siège d'une importante activité architecturale à l'époque carolingienne. Sur plus d'un point, ce site neustrien offre la matière à d'intéressantes comparaisons avec Corvey. Dans la mesure où un doute subsiste sur le caractère originel de la figure peinte de l'église Saint-Pierre – simple buste, ou bien représentation d'un personnage en pied au-dessus d'une imposte, comme dans la chapelle Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Corvey – nous laisserons cependant de côté la question des décors pour nous attacher uniquement aux aspects architecturaux.

En ce qui concerne l'église Saint-Pierre, il faut souligner en premier lieu les nombreuses similitudes que la partie basse de la nef offre avec les dispositions de la chapelle Saint-Jean Baptiste du Westwerk de Corvey. Au côté ouest, c'est la même tribune ouvrant sur la nef par une grande baie dépourvue de garde-corps et flanquée de deux baies géminées plus petites à hauteur d'homme, avec piédroits surmontés d'impostes, colonnette centrale, petits arcs secondaires, tympan en retrait et arc de décharge. Sur les côtés nord et sud, même présence de grandes arcades portées par des piliers quadrangulaires au rez-de-chaussée et de baies géminées donnant sur des tribunes à l'étage supérieur. L'accès aux tribunes est assuré de manière identique, par des escaliers tournants logés dans les tours qui s'élèvent de part et d'autre du porche. Comme les escaliers ne marquent pas de pause entre les deux portes

qui desservent les tribunes, on constate, à Jumièges comme à Corvey, une légère différence de niveau entre le sol des tribunes latérales et celui de la tribune occidentale⁵².

Il reste une différence essentielle qui porte sur le nombre des travées : la salle haute du Westwerk de Corvey n'en comporte que trois, alors que la nef de Saint-Pierre de Jumièges se développait sur une longueur de sept travées. Toutefois, il faut tenir compte du fait que cette nef de Jumièges était autrefois divisée en deux. Dès la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle, la quatrième travée, celle du milieu, servait de zone de passage entre le dortoir des moines, situé au sud de Saint-Pierre, et le chœur de Notre-Dame situé de l'autre côté de cette église⁵³. Ce passage transversal coupait en deux la nef de Saint-Pierre, marquant dans celle-ci la séparation entre deux espaces liturgiques, s'inscrivant chacun dans un carré de trois travées. Le carré oriental était entouré de stalles et servait donc aux offices monastiques, le carré occidental jouait le rôle d'une nef ou d'une antéglise⁵⁴. La quatrième travée formait également une césure dans les bas-côtés, en déterminant, là aussi, une partition de l'espace liturgique : le collatéral nord abritait les chapelles Saint-Clément et Saint-André, le collatéral sud les chapelles Saint-Jean Baptiste/Saints-Innocents et Saint-Martin. Sachant que le dortoir se trouvait déjà au sud de Saint-Pierre au haut Moyen Âge et que l'emplacement du chœur de Notre-Dame demeura sans doute, lui aussi, inchangé, on peut penser que ces dispositions répondent à un mode de fonctionnement très ancien du groupe ecclésial.

C'est cependant l'église Notre-Dame, avec les premiers éléments d'information que cette recherche a permis de réunir sur son premier massif occidental, qui donne lieu aux rapprochements les plus remarquables avec le Westwerk de Corvey. Si, comme semblent l'indiquer les mesures géophysiques effectuées dans le sol des trois premières travées de la nef romane, la construction qu'a remplacée l'actuel corps de façade, avec son porche, sa salle haute et ses deux tours d'escaliers latérales, était bien accolée à une grosse tour de plan carré, elle-même entourée de trois salles annexes au nord, au sud et à l'est, l'ensemble de ces éléments nous met en présence d'un ouvrage monumental, dont les dispositions complexes s'avèrent très proches du plan de Corvey. Les dimensions sont également comparables. La longueur estimée des faces internes de la *turris* de Jumièges, entre 9 et 10 m, se rapproche du chiffre de trente pieds donné par les *Gesta Abbatum* de Fontenelle pour la tour Saint-Sauveur construite à l'entrée ouest de l'église principale de ce monastère par l'abbé Anségise († 833)⁵⁵, mais elle est aussi très voisine de celle des côtés de la tour de Corvey (autour de 9 m). Sachant que les constructions carolingiennes de Jumièges se situent toutes par rapport à un *terminus ante quem* très précis, qui correspond à l'incendie du monastère par les Vikings en mai 841, cette abbaye neustrienne s'offre ainsi comme un objet d'étude particulièrement intéressant pour la recherche des archétypes occidentaux du Westwerk de Corvey.

52 Jacques Le Maho et James Morganstern, op. cit., p. 101, fig. 5, et p. 107, fig. 15.

53 L'ancienneté de ce passage est prouvée par la présence d'une porte romane du XI^e siècle à son débouché dans le transept de Notre-Dame. Entre les deux églises régnait au XIV^e siècle une galerie couverte, à laquelle s'attache aujourd'hui l'appellation populaire de « passage Charles VII »

54 Georges Lanfry, L'abbaye de Jumièges, plans et documents, Rouen, Lecerc, 1954, pl. II, p. 6

55 « Acclesia autem sancti Petri a parte meridiana sita est, versa tamen ad orientem ; ipsam etiam a parte occidentali XXX pedum in longitudine ac totidem in latitudine accrevit, constructo desuper coenaculo, quam in honore domini Dei ac saluatoris nostri Iesu Christi dedicandam fore peroptabat ; sed et ipsum opus propter mortem eius tam citam imperfectum remansit. » (*Gesta sanctorum patrum fontanellensis coenobii*, op. cit., p. 106)

ULYSSES AND THE SAINTS

The role of Corvey in the investigation of Carolingian wall painting

Art history owes some of the most revealing and far-reaching findings with respect of the history of Carolingian wall painting to the former Imperial Abbey of Corvey.¹ To be exact, it is St. Vitus abbey church that offers these insights, with regard to all its structural elements and all phases of its Carolingian history. That history can only be experienced in the famous Westwork. The wall painting fragments, however, which were excavated in the east, especially in the area of the two-storey external crypt are hardly less interesting for research. It took about half a century until the relevant findings could be recognised or recovered, classified and identified, analysed and preserved, described and most of all be understood. An entire researcher's life was dedicated to this great task, including excavations and uncoverings in the scope of the extensive dismantling works since the 50's,² early preliminary reports in specialist publications,³ a first highlight achieved with the well-received exhibition in 1966,⁴ the deepening of numerous individual aspects in the 70's and 80's,⁵ the later discovery and investigation of elements of stucco sculptures⁶ and finally the monumental publication in 2007.⁷ That we know more about Corvey today than about any other work of early mediaeval wall painting is due to the energy and perseverance of a colleague, whose merits with regard to Corvey can hardly be underestimated: Hilde Claussen.⁸

What are the results of this life's work? I would like to emphasize four aspects that seem of special significance to me in view of the *Outstanding Universal Value* of the Corvey wall paintings:

1. We owe the knowledge about two wall painting complexes to Corvey which are better and more reliably dated than most other monuments of this era and which could therefore become solid anchors in the history of Carolingian monumental painting.⁹
2. Corvey offers the only reliably investigated and documented source for our idea of the pictorial design of both flat and vaulted plaster ceilings in Carolingian times.¹⁰
3. The Westwork provides the only proof that elements of secular ancient iconography were included in the iconographic programme of Carolingian sanctuaries.¹¹
4. Sinopias and stucco fragments of the Westwork provide the most important proof of a large-scale Carolingian sculpture from Carolingian times north of the Alps and at the same time presents the most significant evidence for the close synthesis of design and craft of wall painting and stucco sculpture in the ornamental systems of this era.¹²

If we want to look at these four aspects more closely we have to distinguish between three large material complexes:

1. The small external crypt closed on the side of the apse with its painting fragments originating from two storeys on top of the other, **1** **2** (page 98)
2. The ornamental system of the Westwork, including the remnants of a sea creature cycle in the western neighbouring arcade of which the scene from Ulysses also forms part, **3** **4** (page 99) and

1 Version of a lecture held at the symposium of Paderborn university "Die Reichsabtei Corvey" on 10 December 2010 extended by notes.

2 See the overview in Hilde Claussen, Corvey (Höxter-), in: Idem. und Matthias Exner, Abschlussbericht der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für frühmittelalterliche Wandmalerei, in: Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung 4, 1990, p. 261-268 (the classification of the excavated nave frieze stated there was later corrected by the author in favour of a Romanesque dating).

3 Hilde Claussen, Karolingische Wandmalerei im Westwerk zu Corvey, in: Kunstchronik 17, 1964, p. 173-176.

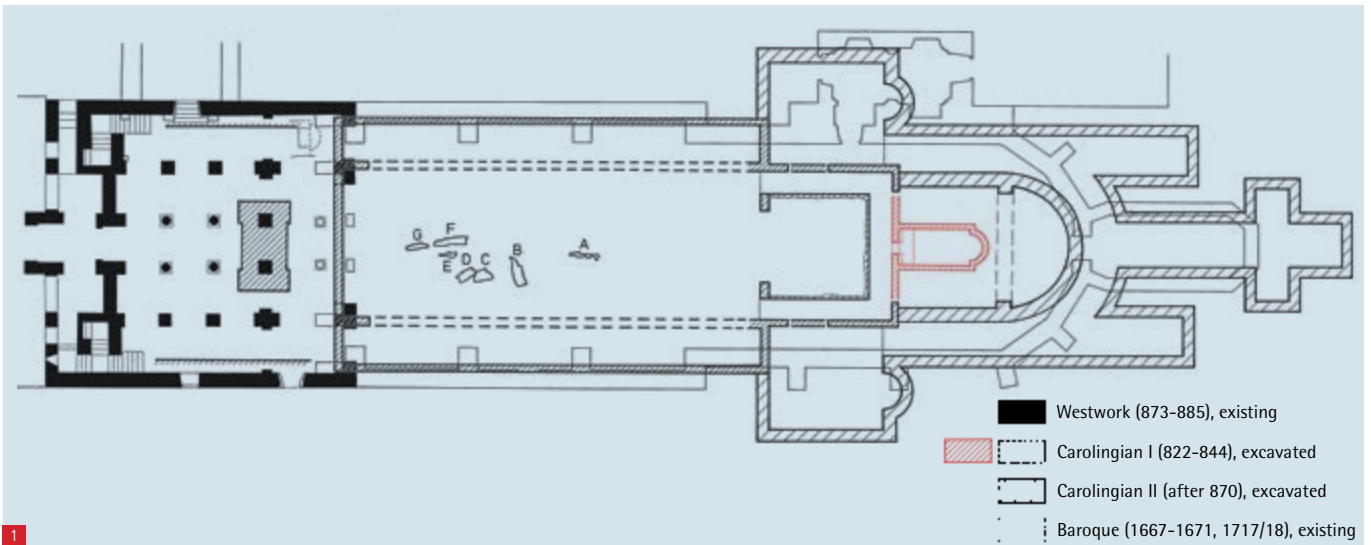
4 Hilde Claussen, Raumbau des Westwerks, in: Kunst und Kultur im Westraum 800-1600. Ausstellung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Corvey 1966, Vol. 2, p. 645-650.

5 Hilde Claussen, Karolingische Wandmalerei-fragmente in Corvey. Vorbericht über neue Funde. Mit einem Beitrag von Gerald Großheim, in: Westfalen 55, 1977, p. 398-308. – Idem., Kloster Corvey, München 1985. – Uwe Lobbedey und Hilde Claussen, Corvey, église abbatiale, in: Saint-Germain d'Auxerre. Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe Carolingienne. IXe – Xle siècles, Auxerre 1990, p. 238-253. – Hilde Claussen, Les frises d'acanthé et géométriques du Westwerk de Corvey, in: Édifices et peintures aux IVe – Xle siècles. Actes du 2e colloque C.N.R.S. Archéologie et enduits peints (Auxerre 1992), hg. von Christian Sapin, Auxerre 1994, p. 99-113.

6 Hilde Claussen, Karolingische Stuckfiguren im Corveyer Westwerk. Vorzeichnungen und Stuckfragmente, in: Kunstchronik 48, 1995, p. 521-534. – Idem., Vorzeichnungen und Fragmente karolingischer Stuckfiguren. Neue Funde im Corveyer Westwerk, in: Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters. Geschichte, Technologie und Konservierung, edited by Matthias Exner (ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees, 19), München 1996, p. 61-71. – Idem., Karolingische Sinopien und Stuckfragmente im Corveyer Westwerk, in: Sinopien und Stuck im Westwerk der karolingischen Klosterkirche von Corvey, edited by Joachim Poeschke, Münster 2002, p. 9-48.

7 Hilde Claussen und Anna Skriver, Die Klosterkirche Corvey, Vol. 2: Wandmalerei und Stuck aus karolingischer Zeit (Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen, Vol. 43.2), Mainz 2007.

8 Whether it was the sorting and processing of the excavated fragments or the clarification of questions in respect of the painting technique, processes of documentation or comprehension as regards content, only the highest quality met the standard of Claussen. For an appreciation of Claussen's life's work see: Ulf-Dietrich Korn, Nachruf auf Hilde Claussen, in: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft 63, 2009, p. 270-277. The fact that Claussen was not able to finally publish the sum of her work for reasons of health would have almost deprived the professional circles of the scientific result. Anna Skriver deserves a lot of credit for writing down the missing synthesis with scientific honesty and serving with lack of vanity (see note 7).



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey, floor plan of structure I and II including pertaining external crypt (822-844)



St. Vitus abbey church, structure I, external crypt, view on the excavation with collapsed wall painting fragments



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, West-work, western neighbouring arcade, Ulysses fighting against Scylla as well as siren and sea goat (drawing by Großheim)

3. Sinopias and fragments of Carolingian stucco figures that offer the possibility of insight into the work's process and the pictorial programme of the Westwork. ⁵ (page 102/103)

To these we should add the somewhat meager evidence for two decorative systems in the choir,¹³ the sparse findings in the corridor crypt¹⁴ and the architectural polychromy of the western portal.¹⁵ The nave, meanwhile, offers relatively unspectacular findings for the Carolingian period, due to an obviously rather systematic re-plastering of the walls.¹⁶ The extensive loss of the corresponding archaeological layers is plausible for this area since the Carolingian floor level was adopted during the Romanesque restoration. The findings were presented in a very systematic and structured form in the publication by Hilde Claussen and Anna Skriver in 2007. For this reason I need not give a complete overview of the areas for which we have information with regard to the painting. It shall suffice that I try to describe the role of Corvey with regard to our idea of Carolingian wall painting on the basis of those assumptions I mentioned at the beginning.

THE QUESTION OF DATING

The clear classification of the architecture and the statements made in the literary sources, which have never been contradicted by researchers, facilitate in the case of Corvey an extraordinarily conclusive dating of the construction phases and their respective excavation findings. Accordingly, the original design of the choir, a rectangular choir with a passageway crypt and an external crypt in front of the same towards the east is assigned to the first church built from 822 and consecrated in 844. The transfer of the relics of the martyr St. Vitus in 836, which is essential in terms of cult and economic growth, fits conclusively in the dates of this phase I.¹⁷

Of about 10,000 wall painting fragments which were excavated during different campaigns there are about fully 7000 may be assigned to the excavation sites of the choir, nave and crypts with a relevant prioritisation of the eastern parts of phase I. The largest and most coherent individual complex comprises the wall painting fragments from the area of the external crypt where they were found thrown down in the trench.¹⁸ ² (page 98)

Exposure and demolition of this structure during a phase II which follows a destruction of the choir by fire as a result of lightning in 870 according to historical sources provides a reliable *terminus ante quem* which can be further limited based on investigations with regard to plaster and painting techniques. With a view to the meticulously reconstructed production process, the pictorial findings of the first external crypt and the related pieces from the choir area can be reliably dated back to the construction period which ended in about 844. In view of the controversial dating in connection with other main works of Carolingian wall paintings, for example Münstair, Brescia or Lorsch, this is quite something already.¹⁹ Following a corbel frieze in the Einhard basilica in Steinbach/Odenwald and preceding a meander frieze in

9 See Claussen – Exner, 1990 (note 2), p. 261–290; Matthias Exner, Die Wandmalerei im Reich der Karolinger, in: Kunsthistorische Arbeitsblätter 2002, issue 4, p. 5–16.

10 See Hilde Claussen, Bemalte Putzfragmente einer Flachdecke und eines Gewölbes mit Flechtwerk. Grabungsfunde aus der karolingischen Klosterkirche Corvey, in: Boreas 17 (= Festschrift für Hugo Brandenburg), Münster 1994, p. 295–303; see Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 25–37, 44–56.

11 See Hilde Claussen and Nikolaus Staubach, Odysseus und Herkules in der karolingischen Kunst. I. Odysseus und das „grausige Meer dieser Welt“: Zur ikonographischen Tradition der karolingischen Wandmalerei in Corvey, in: Iconologia Sacra. Festschrift für the 75th birthday of Karl Hauck, edited by Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach, Berlin – New York 1994, p. 341–382.

12 See Claussen, 1996 (note 6). – Claussen, 2002 (note 6).

13 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 21f., 56f. incl. figure 52.

14 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 22.

15 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 124f.

16 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 21f., 58–64.

17 For an overview of the relevant literature sources and the corresponding proof see Vorromanische Kirchenbauten. Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen (Veröffentlichung des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, III), München 1966–71, p. 55–57 (F. Oswald); supplementary volume, München 1991, p. 81–84 (W. Jacobsen); Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 2–5.

18 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 26 fig. 16. – The technical achievements and the abundance of motives connected to this complex will be presented under item 2.

19 See Exner, 2002 (note 9); Matthias Exner, Das Bildprogramm der Klosterkirche im historischen Kontext, in: Jürg Goll – Matthias Exner – Susanne Hirsch, Münstair. Die mittelalterlichen Wandbilder in der Klosterkirche, Münstair – Zürich 2007, p. 83–113, here: p. 107–109; idem., La pittura murale carolingia in ambito alpino. Problemi di trasmissione della tradizione pittorica tra l'VIII e la metà del IX secolo, in: Carlo Magno e le Alpi. Atti del XVIII Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo (Susa – Novalesa 2006), Spoleto 2007, p. 353–384.

the chapel of Alpger in Goldbach/Lake Constance, Corvey has become a solid element in the short series of dated works from the first half of the 9th century.²⁰

The remains of phase II in the area of the eastern parts, such as the nave, can be determined even more precisely since the architectural changes with which they are to be connected can be dated between 870 and 873, i.e. between the fire in the choir stated in the annals and the beginning of the construction of the Westwerk.²¹

The extensive inventory of paintings of the Westwerk can once again be significantly limited based on the historical sources: the building was commenced in 873 and was consecrated in 885. That the painting had already been completed at the time of the final consecration is again derived from the design process. For technical reasons as well as the space's conceptual design, the paintings were made concurrently with the monumental stucco figures whose dating may be reliably verified with regard to the construction period (see below). Thus, a solid point of reference as regards the date in late Carolingian times was achieved which offers us an essential corrective for our idea of how the art of painting developed in the 9th century. Without this fixed date at the end of the century, it would be impossible to recognize to what extent the idea of stylistic processes gained from the knowledge about book illumination in the course of the 9th century was also important for monument painting. The conclusions which result from this will be made obvious by the findings themselves which are presented in more detail in the following.

THE PHENOMENON OF THE PAINTED PLASTER CEILINGS

The most pioneering result of the long-time puzzle of fragments is, to my mind, the differentiation of the three groups of findings in the area of the external crypt.

The typical case in this is represented by such fragments which can be assigned to a frieze situated on the top end of the plastered stonework.²² The remains of surface pigment found in situ at the base of the crypt walls allows for secure classification in this case. The fragments with drawings verify a meander in perspective on an otherwise monochrome ochre surface as it occurred in many cases in the form of a wall transition below ceilings.

The chronologically nearest example would then be the older findings, which belong to the first construction phase, of that chapel which was donated by Duke Alpger in Goldbach near Überlingen, Germany, in the 40s of the 9th century.²³ As the walls raised in the Ottonian period, the Carolingian frieze no longer forms the upper limit of the surface. It appears rather as an island laid bare within the Ottonian painting, recognizable by its stronger colour. The meander is accompanied by a consecration title the verses of which were composed by one of the great writers of Carolingian times, Walahfrid

20 Steinbach (Michelstadt), Einhard-Basilika (824–827): Vorromanische Kirchenbauten, 1966–71 (note 17), p. 320–322; supplementary volume, 1991, p. 399; Claussen – Exner, 1990 (note 2), p. 283–285; Thomas Ludwig, Die Einhard-Basilika in Steinbach im Odenwald, in: Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters. Bestand, Maltechnik, Konservierung, edited by Matthias Exner (ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees, 23), Munich 1998, p. 67–74; Stefan Schopf, Die Wandmalereien der Einhardbasilika in Steinbach. Untersuchungen zum Bestand an historischen Putzen, Fassungen und Malschichten, in: Idem., p. 75–83. – Goldbach (Überlingen), Sylvesterkapelle, Phase I (um 840–849): Helmut F. Reichwald, Die Sylvesterkapelle in Goldbach am Bodensee. Bestand – Restaurierungsgeschichte – Maßnahmen – Technologie, in: Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters, 1998, p. 191–218; Matthias Exner, Walahfrid Strabos Verse für Goldbach. Zur Erstaussstattung der karolingischen Sylvesterkapelle, in: Rondo. Beiträge für Peter Diemer zum 65. Geburtstag, edited by Wolfgang Augustyn and Iris Lauterbach, München 2010, p. 18–32.

21 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 2, 22f., 58–64.

22 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 27f., 49–51 incl. figure 17f., 46.

23 See note 20 of mentioned literature.

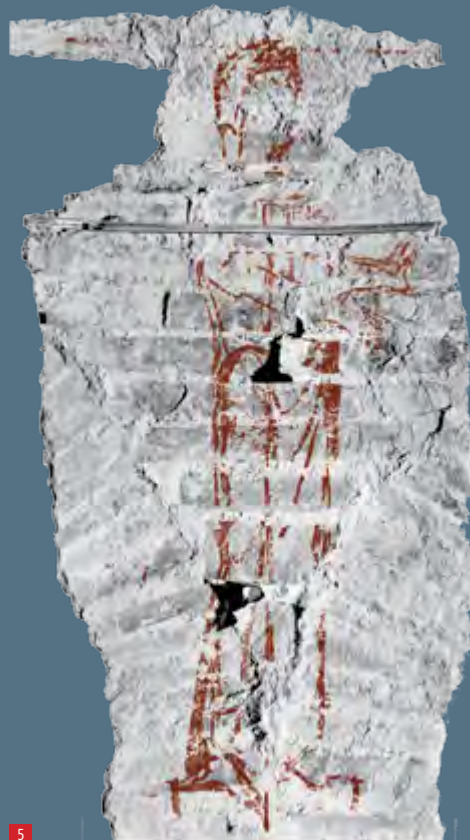
Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, sinopias of monumental stucco figures, southern wall: probably two male saints (about 885)



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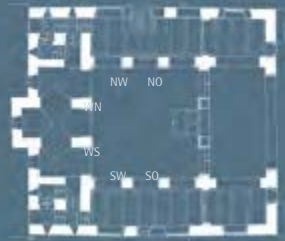


Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, sinopias of monumental stucco figures, western wall, probably two female saints about 885)

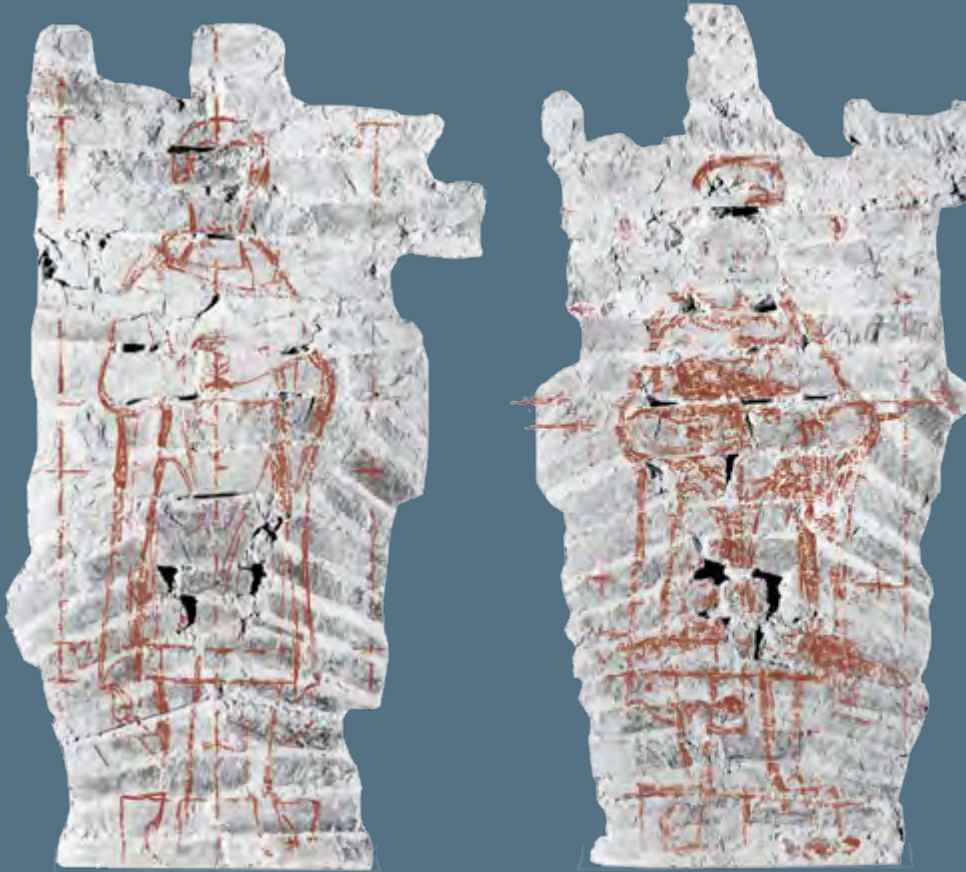


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Upper floor, reconstruction of the Carolingian state with local data of the sinopias



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, sinopias of monumental stucco figures, northern wall, probably two male saints (about 885)



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, sinopia and fragments of the eastern stucco figure on the southern wall (assembly)

Corvey, Schloss, Museum Höxter-Corvey, Chapter Hall, former St. Vitus abbey church, frieze of undulating tendrils in the basement of the external crypt (around or about 844)



Strabo, who had returned from the court in Aachen to the Reichenau as abbot in 838. His death in 849 represents the *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Goldbach meander. A comparison of the two motives is, however, not possible since the reconstruction of the Corvey meander has not been successful so far. Attempts of trying to recognize stylistic connections or developments on the basis of different meander patterns must be considered to have failed. Absolutely consistent patterns with regard to the Goldbach meander are known from Mals in the first half of the 9th century, but also from Augsburg Cathedral in the years around 1000.²⁴ These are derivatives of antiquity or late antiquity motifs to which one reverted to in different contexts and in all parts of the empire during early mediaeval times. All three examples, however, share the fact that they form the upper wall transition below the ceiling so that we are able to gain a definite point of reference for the arrangement of the fragmentary findings in Corvey.

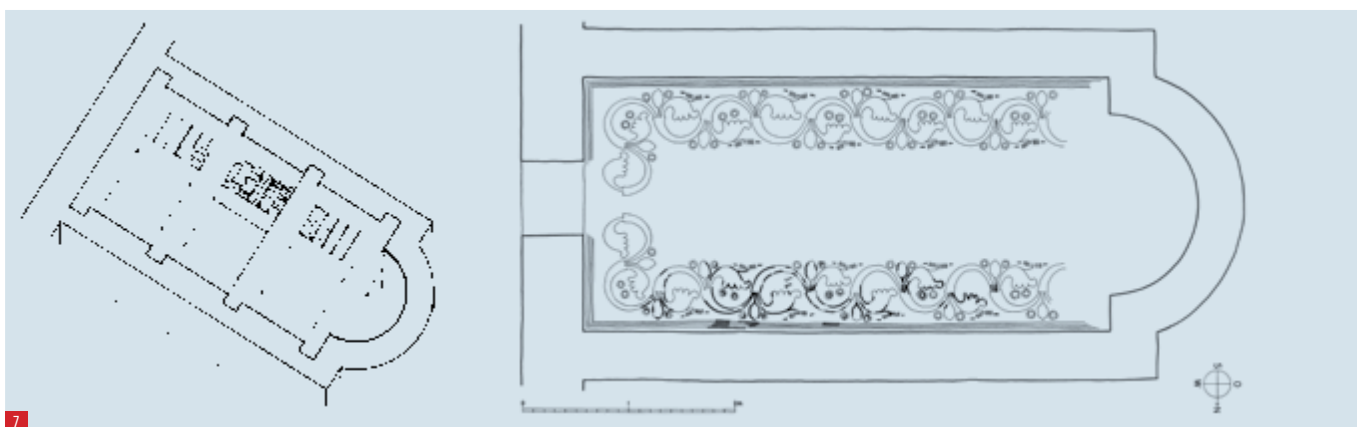
The corresponding ceiling findings are far more exciting: Based on the wickerwork imprints on the rear, about 890 fragments of a flat plastered ceiling could be assigned to the ceiling plan of which was circumferentially framed by friezes of undulating tendrils on both sides. ⁶ This, of course, is also a classic motif which, however, provides a better opportunity in respect of pictorial differentiation and different attitudes of style.²⁵ The alternating colouring of the tendril in ochre and grey on a dark background already demonstrates a painting attitude which is further represented by the soft design of the individual shapes and the natural modelling of the grapes. This does not quite achieve the illusionistic lightness of corresponding findings in Münstair, in Graubünden where also birds had been integrated picking at the grapes.²⁶ North of the Alps the Corvey frieze undoubtedly belongs to the most sophisticated documents of vegetable ornaments in wall paintings of the 9th century including an understanding of organic qualities of branching and undulating tendrils which is close to antiquity.

Far more decisive than the rapport of the tendril is, however, to prove how the Carolingians were able to at least furnish small rooms with painted flat plaster ceilings. The combination of beams to which planks were nailed from underneath and poles braided with willow branches forming the actual supports of the plaster layer has not been documented with such coherence any-

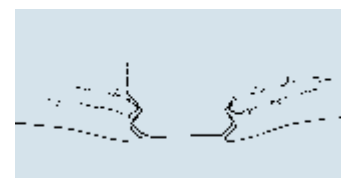
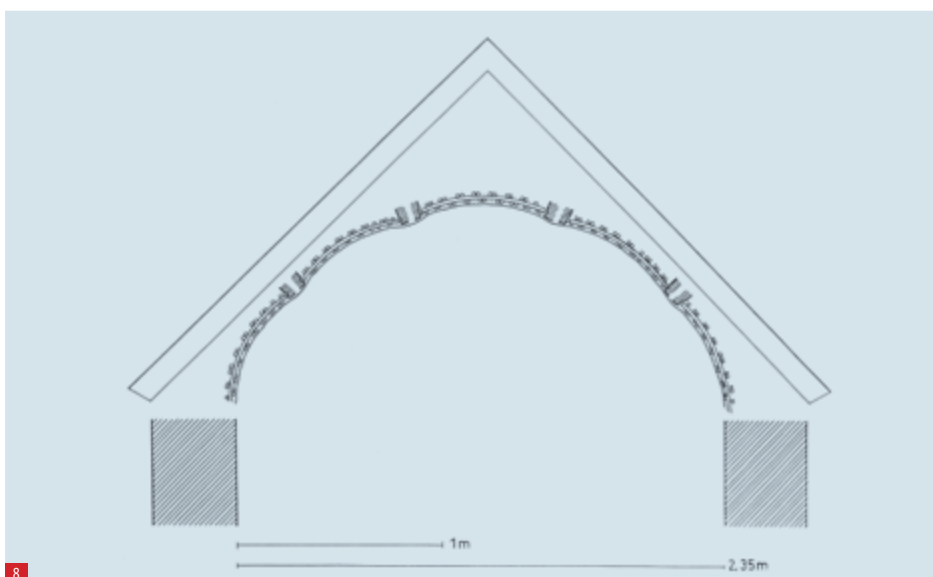
²⁴ Exner, 2010 (see note 20), p. 26f. incl. figure 3-5.

²⁵ Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 29-32, 47-49 incl. figure 19-26.

²⁶ Exner, Bildprogramm, 2007 (note 19), fig. 61f.



Former Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, structure I, external crypt, reconstruction of the low ceiling in the basement (drawing by Großheim)



Former Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, structure I, external crypt, reconstruction of the vaulted ceiling on the upper storey, section (drawing by Großheim)

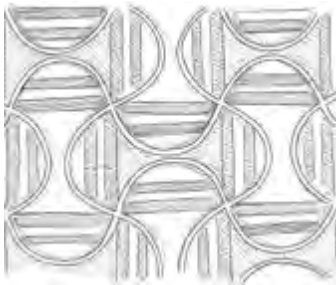
where else.²⁷ **7** It provides us with a model for the interpretation of older, less carefully analysed excavation findings, contributes to the basis for reconstructions of Carolingian architecture and differentiates our questions with regard to the archaeological evidence.

The third group of findings, however, can be considered a sensation. Through differing colours in mortar, concave or spherical curvature in the majority of fragments, great variation in the mortar strength, and obvious marks of wear on border pieces, a group of approximately 600 fragments emerged, whose outer surfaces were more heavily abraded and damaged. An inventory of careful drawings of all features eventually led to the solution of a reconstruction of a segmented vaulted ceiling which comprised a section of stripes of a crossbar network for which there must have been the corresponding grooves in the supporting beam construction.²⁸ **8** Such forms could not have been anticipated in Carolingian architecture so far.

This, however, was not at all implausible as there are respective findings in provincial Roman architecture, even north of the Alps, of which undoubtedly an unparalleled, even richer inventory which served as a model must have

27 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), fig. 20, 44f.

28 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 33-37, 51-56 incl. fig.. 27f., 31f., 47-51.



Former Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, structure I, external crypt, fragments of the frieze consisting of addorsed semi-circles of the vaulted ceiling on the upper storey as well as suggested reconstruction (drawing by Großheim)

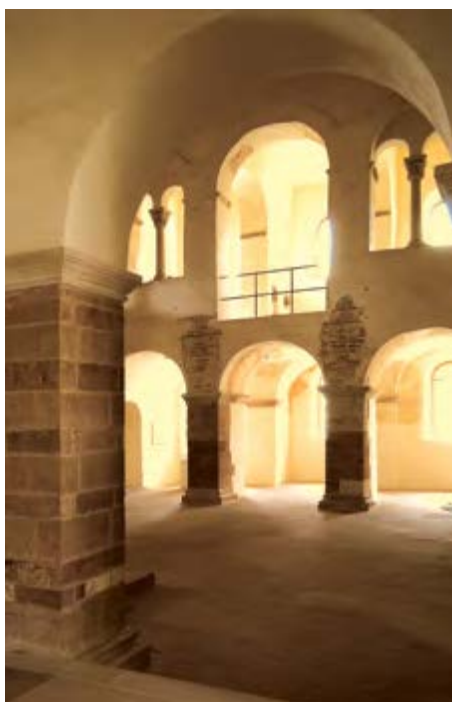


been in existence in Carolingian times. Hilde Claussen indicated an example of an excavation from the Roman villa of Ahrweiler, which is known as a refuge of design possibilities of late antiquity which also offered the significant patterns for one or the other finesse in the Carolingian art of painting.²⁹ The mortar fragments which can be distinguished by their intensive pink colour must have belonged to a second room the vaulted ceiling of which rested on the lintel above the flat ceiling with the vine tendril. This proves that the external crypt had two storeys which obviously included a vaulted room above the flat-ceilinged crypt. This does not only imply far-reaching consequences for our idea of the architectural options of Carolingian crypts but is evidence of an Antique citation that enriches the canon of engineering achievements in the Carolingian Renaissance as a highly welcome addition to our knowledge of this area. Even though the join between the vaulting and the roof scaffolding could not be fully understood from the finds, we have gained a model that allows us to pose fresh questions at other sites. Similar findings were undoubtedly excavated here and there but their importance remained unknown. With regard to some of the fragments of the Nazarius basilica in Lorsch excavated by Friedrich Behn around 1930 I suspect that these pieces would also have allowed for a similar interpretation.³⁰ But this can no longer be verified due to the loss of the originals. The handling of excavated fragments of painted plaster was largely ruthless in general up to the recent past. What looked like mere whitewash was not even considered worth keeping in many places due to ignorance of the conclusions concerning the ornamental system that Claussen was able to draw in Paderborn, for example, based solely on the percentage of white fragments relative to the coloured ones surviving within the same mortar group.³¹

29 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 36 incl. fig. 33; see also R. Goggräfe, Die Wand- und Deckenmalereien der villa rustica „Am Silberberg“ in Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler. In: Berichte zur Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel 4 (= Trierer Zeitschrift, supplementary issue 20; Trier 1995), 153-239; for a broader overview of material see R. Goggräfe, Die römischen Wand- und Deckenmalereien im nördlichen Obergermanien. Archäologische Forschungen in der Pfalz, 2 (Neustadt a.d.W. 1999).

30 Friedrich Behn, Die karolingische Klosterkirche von Lorsch an der Bergstraße nach den Ausgrabungen von 1927-1928 und 1932-1933 (Berlin/Leipzig 1934); see Matthias Exner, Die Reste frühmittelalterlicher Wandmalerei in der Lorsch Torhalle. Bestand, Ergebnisse, Aufgaben. In: Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein 32/33, 1992/93, 43-63.

31 Hilde Claussen, Die Wandmalereifragmente, in: Uwe Lobbedey, Die Ausgrabungen im Dom zu Paderborn 1978/80 und 1983 (Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen, Bd. 11), Bonn 1986, Vol. 1, p. 247-279, here: p. 249.



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum (873-885)

Despite the extremely reduced condition, the related painting of the ceiling could be successfully determined. It is an extensive ornament of adorsed semi-circles, which is also a motif of late antiquity which experienced a multifaceted and abundant heyday in wall painting and book illumination in early mediaeval times.⁹ With regard to late antiquity, Claussen was already able to refer to the Hypogeum of St. Mary in Stelle, near Verona or to the burial chamber in Tomis, Romania, giving random evidence of the late antique roots of the ornaments, in the end.³² The section of the south apse of the abbey church in Müstair is a good example for Carolingian times³³ whereas the motif did not only occur on Carolingian monuments but was also verified on a regular basis between Galliano and Aachen, Augsburg and Hildesheim in Ottonian times.³⁴ The most beautiful and significant document from Ottonian times is doubtlessly the section of the apse frame of San Vincenzo in Galliano. The influence of surviving late antique monuments is also in evidence here.

THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME OF THE WESTWORK

The Westwork of Corvey with its findings relating to the original state is doubtlessly among the most impressive testimonials for the effect of spatially defined interiors from Carolingian times.¹⁰ A similarly dense and multi-partite painting complex north of the Alps was only demonstrated for the crypt of Saint-Germain in Auxerre.³⁵ This is the reason why it was of special importance for research to be able to compare similarly representative monuments from the east Frankish Empire with the west Frankish example. The findings of Corvey, however, consist of too many small parts and are too wide-spread to give a clear idea of the room effect without reconstructive drawings.³⁶ Extensive uncovering was still successfully carried out only in

32 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 34f. incl. fig. 29f. and other proof.

33 Exner, Bildprogramm, 2007 (note 19), p. 86 incl. fig. 65.

34 Galliano, San Vincenzo (about 1007-1018): Marco Rossi (editor), Galliano, pieve millenaria, Cantù 2008, fig. p. 165-168; Former Aachen, Cathedral, ambulatory of the Octogon, upper floor, window soffit (beginning of 9th or end of 10th cent.): Matthias Exner, Ottonische Herrscher als Auftraggeber im Bereich der Wandmalerei, in: Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen, edited by Gerd Althoff und Ernst Schubert (Vorträge und Forschungen, hg. von Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vol. XLVI), Sigmaringen 1998, p. 103-135, here: fig. 7; Augsburg, Cathedral, transept, top end frieze (beginning of 11th cent.: Matthias Exner, Der Augsburger Dom – ein verkannter Großbau der ersten Jahrhundertwende. Von der bauzeitlichen Ausmalung zur romanischen Neufassung. Die Wandmalereibefunde in ihrem historischen Kontext, in: Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Denkmalpflege 64-65, 2010-2011, p. 38-56); Hildesheim, St. Michael, crypt (about 1015): Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen. Exhibition catalogue Hildesheim 1993, edited by Michael Brandt and Arne Eggebrecht, Hildesheim – Mainz 1993, Vol. 2, p. 535f. Cat.no. VIII-12; see Peter Diemer and Matthias Exner, Rezension, in: Kunstchronik 47, 1994, p. 735-742, here: p. 741.

35 Auxerre, former abbey of Saint-Germain, crypt (probably before 857): Christian Sapin, Le décor des cryptes, in: Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, 1990 (note 5), S. 121-139; Emmanuelle Cadet und Christian Sapin, Les peintures de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, nouvelles recherches 1986-1996, in: Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters, 1998 (note 20), p. 87-98; Francois Heber-Sufirin, Iconographie et programmes, in: Peindre à Auxerre au Moyen Âge. IXe-XIVe siècles, edited by Christian Sapin, Auxerre 1999, p. 104-153.

36 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 91 fig.89 and folded plate. IV (drawing by Buchholz).



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwerk, quadrum towards the northwest including drawing of reconstruction of the verified findings relating to the original state (drawing by Buchholz)

the rear adjoining and gallery rooms. The internal walls of the quadrum were cleaned so thoroughly from the early medieval wall plaster in the course of the restoration by Abbot Theodor of Beringhausen in around 1600 at the latest that there were hardly any findings relating to the original state left. Our knowledge of the room's colouring and the remnants of drawing published in Claussen and Skriver is due mainly to the information gathered from the opening and uncovering of the bricked double arcade.¹¹ Since the ornamental system can be seen as a painted continuation and completion of the built architecture, where the painted columns trim the built edges of the double arcade, the findings uncovered in the soffits could be reflected onto the surface. The contents of the drawing must be surmised by analogy.

Still, the idea conveyed remains incomplete because more decorative paintings can be assumed for at least the gusset surfaces between the upper arcades as well as in the window zone. The idea that the ornament of the quadrum might have been limited to the stucco figures is untenable when even the ancillary spaces show evidence of figural painting. Rather, we must factor the lost ceiling into consideration, which leads us beyond the surviving inventory of surfaces testifying to the art of Carolingian wall painting.

37 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141, fol. 5v: Sakramentar von Metz. Fragment. Einführung Florentine Mütterich

Here an intensification, a prioritisation as regards contents must be assumed. From an exegetical point of view, the programme was doubtlessly set up on a large scale if even secular scenes and cosmic elements were integrated in the western adjoining rooms. This has to be kept in mind when one comments on the controversial interpretation of the monumental stucco figures on the lowest level. Inevitably, they were parts of a large unit which must have had a Christological centre further up towards which all other elements were facing. I think the most conclusive suggestion seems to be the idea of a *Hierarchia Caelestis*, a celestial hierarchy, such as it is addressed in liturgy and was also visualized in contemporary Sacramentaries. Although the Holy Virgins, who together with the martyr were always on the lowest level, on the next level were the prophets, then the apostles and on top the angels. This pattern appears also in the fragmentary sacramentary of Charles the Bald from Metz, which I mention simply in passing as an older parallel from the west Frankish court school of Charlemagne's bibliophile grandson.³⁷ At the same time it represents the required orientation towards the Christological centre as well as the cosmological pretence of such ornamental systems which becomes obvious in the picture of Christ on the throne through the personification of water and the earth.³⁸

This interpretation is also the most compatible with the costume details of the former stucco figures which show some more parallels in each of the four male and female martyrs from St. Maximin in Trier.³⁹ After the failed attempts at identifying the four male and two female saints from Corvey, which also probably used to originally be a group of four, with defined saints, maybe present in the relics of Corvey,⁴⁰ it seems to me the most probable, in front the background given by Carolingian sources, to address the same as representatives of the rank of martyrs and virgins. In addition to the knee-length tunics of the men, the women's veils also find their most important parallel in the wall painting at Trier. That Corvey, like Trier, evinces two pairs of male and female figures might be a coincidence, but also bears comparison.

However, the hypotheses of naming the lost remain speculative and I do not want to talk about speculations but return to the facts of the preserved inventory. These facts include the most extensive inventory of Carolingian architectural painting and also an almost inexhaustible repertoire of floral and geometrical ornaments. In the end, the origins again are provincial Roman variations of late antiquity painting, similar to the older documents from the eastern sections, but the canon of forms is extended now, the complexity increased, the colour spectrum more colourful. But it is undoubtedly clear that the improved motives and ornaments do not necessarily mean an improvement with regard to the understanding of classical forms. Here are two examples:

The soft flow and the organic succulence of the vine tendril spiraling from the ceiling on the ground floor of the external crypt are searched for in vain among the artfully designed acanthus frieze and spiraling tendril frieze in

(Codices Selecti, Vol. XXVIII), Graz 1972, p. 28f.; Wilhelm Koehler (†) and Florentine Mütterich, Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen (Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, Vol. 5), Berlin 1982, p. 165-174 incl. plate 43a.

38 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141, fol. 6r: Koehler – Mütterich, 1982 (note 37), plate 43b.

39 Trier, Bischöfliches Museum (about 890-900): Matthias Exner, Die Fresken der Krypta von St. Maximin in Trier und ihre Stellung in der spätkarolingischen Wandmalerei (Trierer Zeitschrift, supplement 10), Trier 1989, p. 123-139 incl. plate IVf, fig. 10-19.

40 See Joachim Poeschke, Herrscher oder Heilige? For the interpretation of the sinopias of Corvey, see: Poeschke, 2002 (note 6), p. 49-58, here: p. 54f. (a corresponding discussion at the Münster symposium has not been included in the printed version).

the soffits of the Westwork arcades.⁴¹ 12 13 The comparison with similar soffit motifs in the crypt of Saint-Germain in Auxerre also elucidates the change in style which distinguishes the late Carolingian phase in Corvey from the older documents of the Carolingian Renaissance.⁴² The vivid effect derived from the lush white heightening in the west Frankish example is not evident in the Corvey tendrils.

This becomes even more obvious when we turn to the architectural painting: Everything bears witness to the greatest possible wealth of shapes and colours using expensive blue and green pigments lavishly but remains far from the delicacy antiquity as regards painting such as in the gate hall at Lorsch.⁴³ 14 (page 112) The differences start with the shining colours of the impost profiles which rely on contrast whereas in Lorsch, for example, nine different shades of red and ochre brightened with white are used for the modelling of an impost cornice and giving the profile plasticity, and end with the absolutely untectonic over-corner position of the columns 15 (page 112) in Corvey. Their shafts no longer show any edges of light and shadow but a vividly shimmering and obviously symmetrically built stiffness, while in Lorsch the use of precious stone material is suggested by means of a mottle according to ancient patterns. These details represent a change in style, a change of attitude that is in line with developments also evident in the manuscripts of the 9th century. This late Carolingian phase in wall painting on such a high level can be found nowhere else.

The sea creature cycle in the western vaults adjacent to the quadrum holds still more far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the Carolingian. In order to understand the comprehensive repertoire of ship scenes, dolphin and dragon riders and in view of the faintly visible remnants of the grounding that can be uncovered it is necessary to use the drawings of Gerald Großheim with their reconstructing viewing aids, which used to be the beginning of the decoding of the programme.⁴⁴ These are the edges of the vaulting above the impost zone which are populated by the real as well as the mythical sea creatures among which are a siren, sea creatures ridden on by cupids as well as two ship scenes. The northern wall where the fight of Ulysses against the monster Scylla is followed by a bird-like siren holding a harp and a sea goat, was decisive for the interpretation.⁴⁵ 3 4 (page 99)

The picture arrangements are quite unusual in front of the background of both ancient and high mediaeval documents, as was shown by Hilde Clausen: The fact that Ulysses with the spear does not stand on the ship's bow but on the tail of the sea monster which already presses one of his companions to his body which is girded by dogs, is an exaggeration with regard to which one wants to know more about the iconographic tradition. 3 (page 99) But despite their literary tradition, the mythological scenes of Corvey are absolutely isolated between late antiquity and the Romanesque representation in pictures.⁴⁶

The central motif, i.e. the wild sea of the world through which the Christian seafarer has to steer with goodness and chastity, is also present in the 12th cen-

41 Clausen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 88f., 184-193, 209-221 incl. fig. 83f., 198-206, 235-245.

42 Auxerre (see note 35), Confessio and Stephanus-Oratorium: Cadet – Sapin, 1998 (note 35), fig. 124, 126.

43 Corvey, Westwork, upper floor, impost: Clausen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 87 fig. 82; ground floor, columns: idem., p. 109 fig. 115; upper floor, columns: idem., p. 199 fig. 220; Gallery arcades: idem., p. 234-258. – For architectural decor of Lorsch gate hall see Clausen – Exner, 1990 (note 2), p. 270-274; Exner, 1992/93 (note 30); Hans Michael Hangleiter and Stefan Schopf, Untersuchung historischer Oberflächen und Farbigkeiten in der Lorschertorhalle, in: Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters, 1998 (note 20), p. 17-34; Matthias Exner, Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei im Kloster Lorsch. Die Gestaltungsphasen der Torhalle und eine verlorene Ausstattung der Nazariuskirche, in: Kloster Lorsch – Vom Reichskloster Karls des Großen zum Weltkulturerbe der Menschheit (Ausst. Lorsch 2011; Petersberg 2011, p. 312-329).

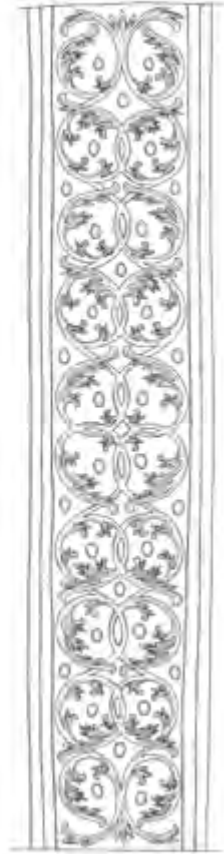
44 Clausen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 156-183, 258-276 incl. fig. 181-184, 297-327.

45 Clausen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), fig. 182f., 298-312.

46 Clausen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 161-183.



12



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, western wall, reveal of the northern arcade: frieze of spiral vines (873-885), line drawing, and reconstruction



13



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, reveal of the central arcade: acanthus frieze (873-885), line drawing, and reconstruction

Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, southern gallery, reveal of the eastern arcade (873-885)



14

Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, Westwork, quadrum, northern gallery, eastern reveal of the central arcade (873-885) as well as suggested reconstruction of one of the gallery arcades (drawing by Großheim)



15



tury, for example in the painting of the soffits at the beginning of the choir of the Romanesque Ulrichskapelle of Müstair abbey church, but the connection to Homer's Ulysses has already vanished at that point in time.⁴⁷ Also the well-known example of sea creatures populating the base zone in the apse of the Jakobskirche of Tramin in South Tyrol is limited to a selection of mythological creatures⁴⁸ without any obvious reference to exegesis, which has been documented since patristic time, the relevance of which for the mediaeval perception of the ancient world by Dungal of Saint-Denis is also verified with regard to the taught circle of Carolingian times.⁴⁹ The fact that the ideas documented in the pious and literate correspondence of Dungal do not remain literary fiction but are also reflected in the Christian education programme with an almost encyclopaedic pretence is known to us from the remnants of the wall paintings in Corvey alone. This document, which worthily follows the systematic copies of ancient authors as well as the related picture cycles in the manuscripts of the time, is an invaluable source for the reach of the Carolingian Renaissance and the depth of its discussion of the central topics of Greek mythology.⁵⁰

THE ROLE OF THE STUCCO SCULPTURE IN OUR PICTURE OF CAROLINGIAN SCULPTURE

The role of the monumental sculpture in the ornamental system of Carolingian churches was one of the great controversies in early mediaeval research during the first decades of the post-war period.⁵¹ Alleged indications of monumental sculptures of stone and wood could usually not be maintained with regard to the dating criteria,⁵² the late dating of art history to the 11th century could recently also be confirmed from the archaeological point of view for one of the disputed pieces, the so-called Sola relief from Solnhofen in central Franconia.⁵³ The fact that in this case great changes have occurred during the last two decades and that today we can refer to a comparatively long chain of more or less monumental evidence for the outstanding role of the stucco sculpture in the Carolingian ornamental system is significantly connected with the spectacular discoveries in Corvey, with the careful documentation and analysis and the fuelled interest in research.

We already talked about the difficulties with regard to an interpretation or even designation of the six verifiable figures. **5** (page 102-103) The share of the Corvey sinopias and stucco fragments, which was almost revolutionary for research, in our knowledge of early mediaeval production and processing techniques is, however, indisputable. Red paintbrush sketches of almost life-size figures were determined on three of the former four walls on the first floor which are situated directly on the stonework of the gussets of the arcades. Hilde Claussen was able to assign excavated stucco fragments to them which were believed to be Romanesque prior to the evidence of the original sinopias.⁵⁴ **5** (page 102-103) The red paintbrush drawings on the reddish stone are difficult to decipher. The fact that today they are comparatively easy to decipher in pictures is due to the careful inventory in the form of drawings and the separate recording of photographs of wall profiles and

47 Claussen – Staubach, 1994 (note 11), fig. 99-101; Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 178f. incl. fig. 193f.

48 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 182f. incl. fig. 196f.; see coloured figures in Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, München 1968, Plate XXXIII.

49 Dungal of Saint-Denis, *Epistola 6* (before 814): editor Ernst Dümmler, *Epistolae Karolini aevi 2* (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 4*), Hannover 1895 (reprint 1978), p. 581; see Claussen, in: Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 163f.

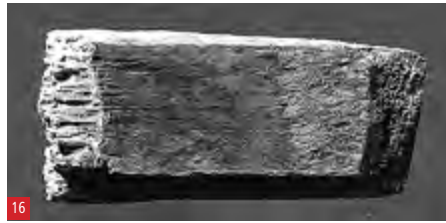
50 For an overview see Florentine Mutherich and Joachim E. Gaehde, *Karolingische Buchmalerei*, München 1976, p. 7-18, 26-29, 63-65, 68-71, 88f.; Florentine Mutherich, *Studies in Carolingian Manuscript Illumination*, London 2004, p. 98-117, 118-146, 147-265, 294-301.

51 Géza de Francovich, *Problemi della pittura e della scultura preromanica*, in: *I problemi comuni dell'Europa post-carolingia* (*Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo II*, 1954), Spoleto 1955, p. 355-519; for overview see the volumes of three Heidelberg colloquia: *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur I-III* (Heidelberg 1968-1972), Mainz 1969-1974.

52 See Victor H. Elbern, *Review of Christian Beutler, Bildwerke zwischen Antike und Mittelalter. Unbekannte Skulpturen aus der Zeit Karls des Großen* (Düsseldorf 1964), in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28, 1965, p. 261-269.

53 Munich, *Archäologische Staatssammlung*, stucco relief of the Sola Basilica: Matthias Exner, *Zur Stuckplastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, in: *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, 1996 (note 6), p. 9-16 incl. fig. 10; see Christian Later, *Die Propstei Solnhofen im Altmühlthal. Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der Kirche, zur Inszenierung eines früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Heiligenkultes und zur Sachkultur*, Diss. München 2010.

54 Claussen, 1995 (note 6), 1996 (note 6), 2002 (note 6); Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 353-450, here: p. 395-423 *Katalog der Stuckfragmente; eine partielle Montage einzelner Fragmente auf einer Kopie der Vorzeichnung* (idem. fig. 464f.) also depicted in: *Cat. 799. Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn* (Exhibition Paderborn 1999), edited by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff, Mainz 1999, Vol 2, p. 576f. *Cat.no. VIII.58* (Hilde Claussen).



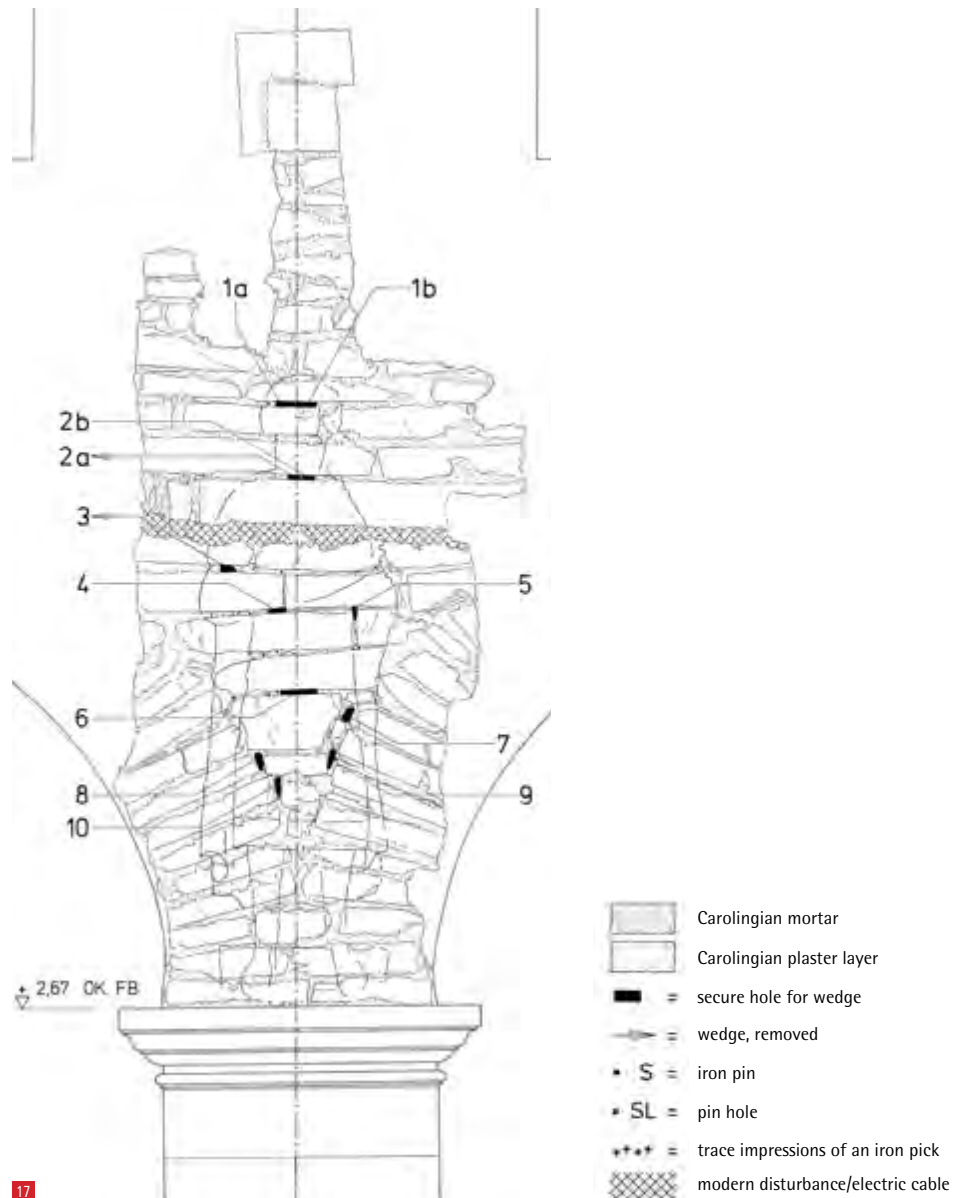
55 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 424-450.

56 For otherwise observed fixing methods see. Matthias Exner, *Stucchi*, in: *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, edited by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi, Vol 2. *Del costruire: tecniche, artisti, artigiani, committenti*, Turin 2003, p. 655-673, here: p. 657-659; Idem., *La sculpture en stuc du haut moyen âge et de l'époque romane dans les pays de langue germanique. Tradition et innovations du point de vue technique et artistique*, in: Christian Sapin (editor), *Stucs et décors de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge (V^e - XII^e siècle)*. Actes du colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 16 au 19 septembre 2004 (Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive, 10), Turnhout 2006, p. 325-337, here: p. 327-329.

57 Claussen – Skriver, 2007 (note 7), p. 429f.

58 For possible conclusions based on analogy with regard to a lost stucco ornamentation in Aachen Palatinate Church of Charlemagne see Exner, 2006 (note 56), p. 330f. heim, *St. Michael, Krypta (um 1015): Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*. Kat. der Ausstellung Hildesheim 1993, hg. v. Michael Brandt und Arne Eggebrecht, Hildesheim – Mainz 1993, Bd. 2, S. 535f. Kat.nr. VIII-12; vgl. dazu Peter Diemer und Matthias Exner, Rezension, in: *Kunstchronik* 47, 1994, S. 735-742, hier: p. 741.

drawings. So far, the evidence of the fixture of the monumental figures on the wall with oak wood wedges has been unique.⁵⁵ 16 17 It is obvious that the otherwise documented fixtures by means of nails or bone pins were not sufficient to hold the weight of the figures with the deeply carved relief.⁵⁶ From the engineering perspective, we owe the analysis of the wedges and their imprints in the join grouting not least to the evidence that the figures were installed at the time of the building. Since the insertion of the wooden support pegs into the still mouldable, smooth mortar can be documented, the consecration date of 885 can also be applied to the figure cycle and therefore also to the wall paintings. Because stucco plasterer and wall painters worked in parallel as is evidenced by the interconnection of the work traces.⁵⁷ This also gives us new insights in the decoration habits of Carolingian churches which give reason to reconsider some of the usual ideas, including the Aachen Palatinate Chapel of Charlemagne.⁵⁸



Corvey, St. Vitus abbey church, West-work, northern wall, documentation of the support pegs of the western stucco figure (drawing by Frohnert)

THE EARLY OTTONIAN WESTWORK OF MINDEN CATHEDRAL AND ITS CHANGES UP TO THE 12TH CENTURY¹

PRELIMINARY REMARK IN RESPECT OF THE TERMINOLOGY

The building the author wants to address has been called „westwork” in older literature, in all documentations included in the files and in the scenic and the professional environment of the author since its form could be basically determined in the post-war period. The advantages and disadvantages of the term were discussed on a national level in the recent past.²

Westphalian research – mainly represented by Uwe Lobbedey – has adhered to the term „westwork” and has tried to further specify the term.³ Therefore, a westwork defines a group of buildings comprising a central tower flanked by staircase towers the interior of which, with reference to the church hall joining in the east, has two storeys, opens up towards this church hall across these two storeys through arcades and is accompanied, at least in the north and the south, by adjoining rooms on both storeys. The central room on the upper floor rises above the adjoining rooms and has its own clerestory above which is still another storey of the tower. This definition unites existence and reconstruction of the Carolingian west front of Corvey with the group of the „Ottonian westworks”⁴ into one architectural type. When applied to Minden it allows for a differentiation in terms of terminology between the early Ottonian architectural state, justifying the assumption of a „westwork”, and the more general „west end” and the “west front” of the 12th century. But apart from this pragmatic advantage and Westphalian habit the word „westwork” with its history and definition rather remains an approach to the still unsolved problems with regard to the genesis and function of the west ends of churches in the early Middle Ages than a designation of extensive persuasiveness.

MINDEN AND ITS CATHEDRAL: LOCAL AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Like Corvey, Minden is located on the River Weser approximately 130 river kilometres downstream at a river crossing on the southern edge of the great North German Plain. Like the entire north-western region of Germany, it belongs to the area of the Saxons which was only divided into the Frankish Empire and Christianity through the wars of Charlemagne. Minden, which was mentioned for the first time as the place of an imperial assembly in 798, became a newly established Episcopal see in the conquered Saxony soon after. In the time of Charlemagne, the first church was built there which was further developed into a cathedral in the 9th century.⁵

In the first half of the 10th century, the west end was erected at Minden Cathedral together with a new nave. **1** (page 116) There is a dendrochronological analysis for an original window in the western wall between the towers dating it at around 930 or soon after⁶; the completion of the entire building project should be assumed on the basis of a consecration attested in 952. In the news about the new consecration of 952, St. Gorgonius is mentioned as the main patron and not St. Peter, the original patron of the Minden diocese, which led to considerations that not the entire cathedral had been consecrat-

1 Revised text of a lecture held on the occasion of a conference „Corvey – eine karolingische Reichsabtei aus internationaler Sicht” on 1 Oct.2010 in Corvey, completed by a preliminary remark and a conclusion, influenced by the discussion of the conference participants.

2 Dagmar von Schönfeld de Reyes, Westwerkprobleme. Zur Bedeutung der Westwerke in der kunsthistorischen Forschung, Weimar 1999; additional literature cited in: Uwe Lobbedey, Überlegungen zu den Westbauten der älteren Domkirchen von Halberstadt, in: Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft, 58 (2004), p. 42-59, p. 42 note. 1, 2.

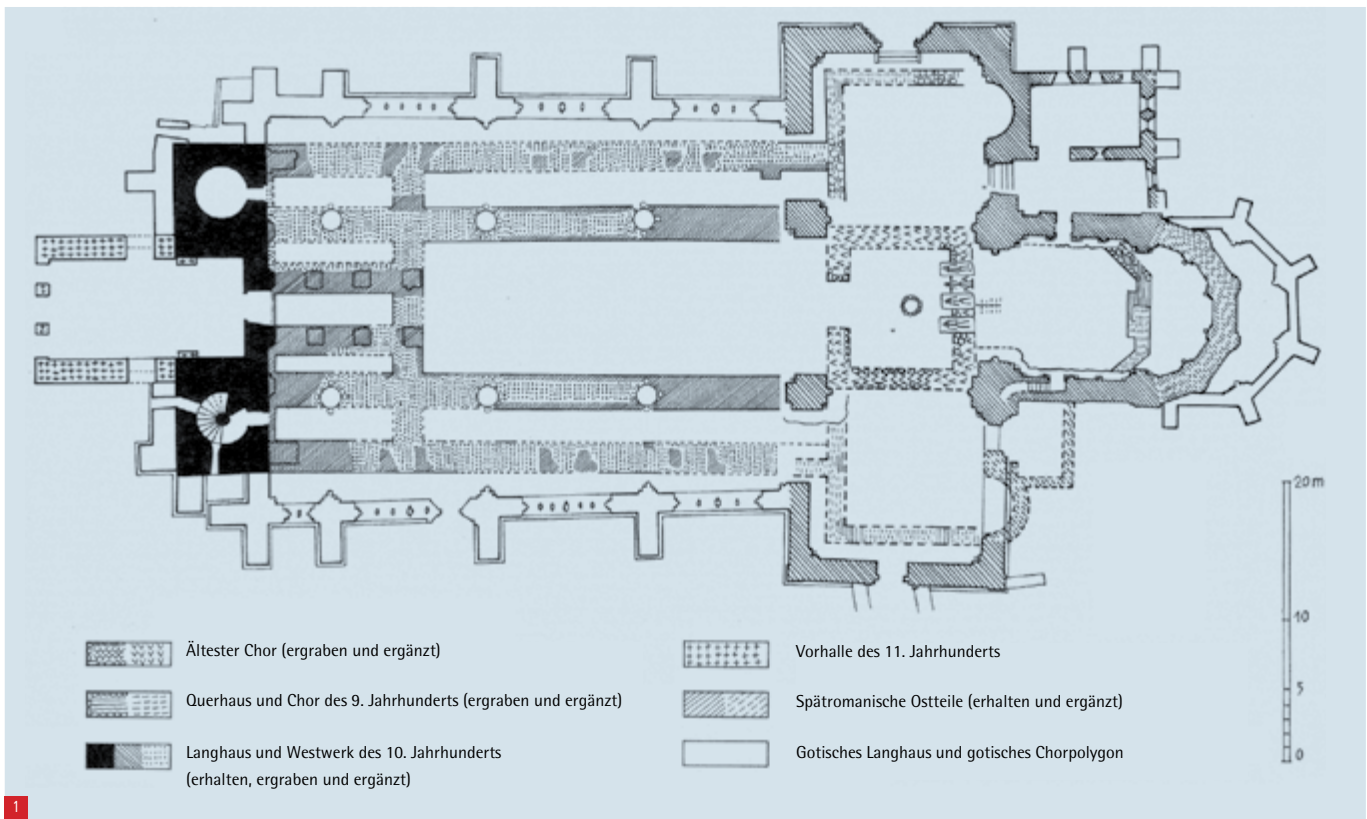
3 Uwe Lobbedey, Westwerke und Westchöre im Kirchenbau der Karolingerzeit, in: Peter Godman, Jörg Jarnut, Peter Johanek (editor), Am Vorabend der Kaiserkrönung. Das Epos „Karolus Magnus et Leo papa” und der Papstbesuch in Paderborn 799, Berlin 2002, p. 163-129; idem., Der Beitrag von Corvey zur Geschichte der Westbauten und Westwerke, in: Hortus Artium Medievalium 8 (2002), p. 83-98; idem. 2004, see note 2, p. 43; Hilde Clausen and Anna Skriver, Die Klosterkirche Corvey 2 – Wandmalerei und Stuck aus karolingischer Zeit. (Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen 43.2) Mainz 2007. Most recently approaching the problems with terminology, see: Uwe Lobbedey, Der Herrscher im Kloster. Corvey und die Westwerke. Comments on the state of research with regard to the question of the function, see: Hans Rudolf Sennhauser (editor), Pfalz – Kloster – Klosterpfalz St. Johann in Münstair. Historische und archäologische Fragen (Acta Münstair, Kloster St. Johann 2), Zürich 2010, S. 163 – 182

4 Lobbedey 2004, see note 2, p. 42 with older literature, first: idem., Die Ausgrabungen im Dom zu Paderborn 1978/80 and 1983 (Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen-Lippe 11), Bonn 1986, Vol. 1, p. 170 – 177.

5 For the 9th century basically Gabriele Isenberg, Bemerkungen zur Baugeschichte des Mindener Domes, in: Westfalen 70 (1992), p.92-111; general summary by Roland Pieper in: Stadt Minden, Altstadt 1, Der Dombezirk, 2 Vols., revised by Roland Pieper and Anna Beatriz Chadour-Sampson (Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen 50.II.1.1-2), Essen 1998 – 2000, Vol. 1, 1998, p. 55ff. and p. 93-126, Uwe Lobbedey, Romanik in Westfalen, Würzburg 1999, p. 201-223; last: Otfried Ellger/Uwe Lobbedey, 187 Modell des Domes St. Gorgonius u. Petrus Ap. zu Minden, in: Christoph Stiegemann/Martin Kroker (editor), Für Königtum und Himmelreich. 1000 Jahre Bischof Meinwerk von Paderborn, exhibition catalogue, Regensburg 2009, p. 461-463.

6 See note 15 below.

The early Ottonian westwork of Minden Cathedral and its changes up to the 12th century



Construction phase plan of Minden Cathedral according to Isenberg and Lobbedey



The Minden Cathedral viewed from the west prior to WW II



The Minden Cathedral viewed from the west after the reconstruction

ed but only its newly built western parts.⁷ Most likely, the relics of St. Gorgonius were received in Minden in the early 10th century.⁸

Since the main characteristics of the Minden westwork became known through excavations and architectural research on the building which had been destroyed during the war, it has been treated as the successor of Corvey which is approximately half a century older. As since it has the advantage that not only its foundation walls were excavated but that roughly one fourth stands upright, in contrast to most other comparative examples it is worth taking a fresh look at the Minden building in the context of new endeavours made with regard to Corvey.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

It has always been obvious to observers interested in architectural history that the western group of buildings of Minden Cathedral preceded the Gothic longhouse hall and the late Romanesque eastern parts.

The older researchers of the 19th and early 20th century thought that the west end was Romanesque; the date of the lower parts was determined for the 11th century and prevailed based on the reconstruction of the cathedral after devastating fires are documented by Bishop Eilbert between 1062 and 1072.⁹

An investigation based on his own observations of the west front was presented by Erwin Panofsky in 1920.¹⁰ This was followed by a study by the architect Wilhelm Ritter in 1926 who worked on the cathedral and already realised that the west front of the cathedral contained Ottonian parts.¹¹ Above all, Ritter described the most important architectural findings and presented a site measuring in the form of drawings which has been irreplaceable until today.

The description of Ritter is not only valuable because Minden Cathedral was severely destroyed in the Second World War. The west end burnt down and was torn apart in the transverse axis, however, loss of structures are to be lamented with regard to the architecture of the 12th century. The early Ottonian parts remained more or less intact. The west front, as it is today, and especially the Paradise Vestibule located in front of it in the west, shows the style of the reconstruction architect Werner March.¹² 2 3

Wartime destruction and reconstruction were not only a curse but also a blessing for the researchers. Plaster and wall fillings on the eastern walls of the lateral towers and of the walls spread in-between had come off due to the fire and therefore revealed findings which had been unknown to that day. In addition, they were given the opportunity to perform excavations in the severely damaged nave. Our picture of the westwork of Minden Cathedral is based on the investigations that were possible at that time. We owe it to the local preserver of monuments and architectural researcher, Hans Thümmeler, who presented his discoveries in short reports and observances from 1952.¹³ Mention has also to be made of the Minden architect Hans Gelderb-

7 Kristina Krüger: Zur liturgischen Benutzung karolingischer „Westwerke“ anhand von bauarchäologischen Zeugnissen und Schriftquellen zu Liturgie und Altarstellen, in: Michael Altripp/Claudia Nauerth (editor), *Architektur und Liturgie (Spätantike, frühes Christentum, Byzanz. Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend, Series B, 21)* Wiesbaden 2006, p. 125-142, p. 135f.

8 Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 58 incl. lit.; refer to: Hedwig Röckelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 28, including reference made to Francois Dolbeau, *Un panégyrique anonyme, prononcé à Minden, pour la fête de Saint Gorgon*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 103 (1985), p. 35-59; last statement „not long before 952“ and suggestions with regard to architectural history Manfred Balzer, *Westfälische Bischöfe des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts als Bauherren und Architekten*, in: Jörg Jarnut/Ansgar Köb/Matthias Wemhoff (editor), *Bischöfliches Bauen im 11. Jahrhundert. Archäologisch-historisches Forum*, München 2009 (*MittelalterStudien Paderborn* 18), p.109-136, p. 113f.

9 Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 48f, 59f.

10 Erwin Panofsky, *Der Westbau des Domes zu Minden*, in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 42 (1920), p. 51-77.

11 Wilhelm Ritter, *Der Eilbertdom zu Minden in Westfalen. Beitrag zur deutschen Baugeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Mindener Jahrbuch* 2 (1926), p. 7-60; for Ottonian parts see p. 44ff.

12 Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 73ff, including chapter V.2 and V.3.

13 Hans Thümmeler: *Neue Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Baukunst in Westfalen*, in: *Deutsche Kunst- und Denkmalpflege* 10 (1952), p. 97-105, p.100f.; idem., *Neue Funde zur mittelalterlichen Baugeschichte in Westfalen*, in: *Westfalen* 31 (1953), p. 274-303, p. 282f; idem., *Neue Beiträge zur karolingischen Baukunst*, in: *Kunstchronik* 6 (1953), p. 258-260.; idem., *Die karolingische Baukunst in Westfalen*, in: *Karolingische und ottonische Kunst. Werden – Wesen – Wirkung*. Wiesbaden 1957, p. 84-108; idem., *Der Dom zu Minden (Große Baudenkmäler 166)*, München-Berlin 1961, new edition 1967; idem., *Karolingische und ottonische Baukunst in Sachsen*, in: *Das erste Jahrtausend. Text vol. 2*. Düsseldorf 1964, p. 867-897, ND: Hans Thümmeler, *Zur Architektur und Skulptur des Mittelalters. Gesammelte Aufsätze (Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance 7)*, Rhema u. Münster 1998, p. 147-181, p. 160f.; idem./Friedrich Badenheuer, *Romanik in Westfalen*, 2. edition, Münster 1973, p. 8.



Minden, Cathedral: The west portal of the westwork viewed from the east in 1953

lom who documented and published in part the investigations made at that time in the form of reports and drawings.¹⁴

The dendrochronological dating mentioned initially originates from an investigation of two window frames retrieved in 1956 and published by Hilde Claussen in 1977.¹⁵

Roland Pieper compiled sources and states of research for the inventory volume of Minden Cathedral and described the parts in their present state in 1998.¹⁶

The book by Dagmar Schönfeld-de Reyes published in 1999 on „westworks“ in the history of research also makes reference to the Minden example and contains critical notes with regard to the suggestions made so far in respect of a reconstruction.¹⁷

The work on a model of Minden Cathedral prior to the restoration by Bishop Eilbert, which was prepared in the scope of the exhibition in Paderborn in 2009, has to be mentioned as the last scientific effort. (fig15).¹⁸ It reflects considerations made by Uwe Lobbedey with regard to the westwork which the author was able to familiarise himself with during his active collaboration on the model.

The following presentation is mainly based on the descriptions of Pieper and Ritter and with regard to the reconstruction on the considerations of Hans Thümmeler, Dagmar von Schönfeld-de Reyes and Uwe Lobbedey. This is completed by own observations on the object and important photos of destruction and restoration since today most parts of the interior walls are newly plastered.¹⁹

THE EARLY OTTONIAN WESTWORK

In the following, findings and reconstruction of the early Ottonian building are to be discussed, that means one floor after the other from the ground floor to the upper floor. In the process, we will see that our secured knowledge will become thinner as we move up.

Ground floor

The two west towers are restored from the ground floor to the ascending walls.

A barrel vault spread between them overlays a vestibule²⁰ which used to be open but which today is extended by the later paradise; in the largely original east wall of the vestibule a portal opens up to the interior. 4 The door frame joined together by large stone blocks was situated on the western edge of the wall and probably was closed by means of a straight lintel with a tympanum above it with the built round-arch opening extending like a funnel towards the east. Today, the portal itself has dramatically changed but the wall opening is still restored.

14 Hans Gelderblom, Die Grabungen und Funde im Mindener Dom als Führer in die eigene Vergangenheit und als Wegweiser zu zeitgenössischen Werken in Westfalen, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Landes- und Volkskunde des ehemaligen Fürstentums Minden 10 (1964), p. 11-72; idem.; Grabungen und Funde im Dom zu Minden 1936-1949, 1955, Msc. 1957, Copy in the files of LWL-Archäologie in Westfalen.

15 Hilde Claussen, Minden, Dompfarrkirche St. Petrus und Gorgonius, in: Hilde Claussen/Ulf-Dietrich Korn/Uwe Lobbedey/Sabine Schwedhelm/Ernst Hollstein, Hölzerne Fensterrahmen in Kirchen und Klöstern Westfalens. Funde aus dem 10.-13. Jahrhundert, in: Westfalen 55 (1977), p. 504-524, p. 514-516. The investigation carried out by E. Hollstein was based on a suggestion by Hans Thümmeler and Uwe Lobbedey.

16 Pieper 1998, see note 5.

17 on Schönfeld-de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 90-93, p. 185.

18 Ellger/Lobbedey, see note 5.

19 Based on photographs published in Pieper 1998, see note 5, and inventory of the picture archive of LWL-Denkmalpflege für Westfalen; the author thanks Dr. Kristina Krüger for her support and discussion during the architectural investigation and Prof. Dr. Uwe Lobbedey for discussing the photographs.

20 von Schönfeld de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p.90, rightly addresses this vestibule as "monumental portal niche".

Traces of 6 foundations running to the east, each with a width of more than 2m, meeting with a transverse foundation of the same width after approximately 9m were found in the course of the excavation east of the towers and the vestibule. **4** (page 116) **5** **6** (page 120) The two external ones started below the external eastern edges of the towers and continued towards the east of the transverse wall forming the foundation of the side aisles' walls of the basilica-like nave. Remnants found of the ascending stonework show that the ascending side walls of the west end do not start in alignment with the towers but slightly more inwards each time.

Two other foundations ran in alignment with the central aisle arcade of the nave; however not exactly as described in the plan of findings published by Thümmeler but slightly moved inwards towards the foundation of the nave arcade in accordance with the photographs, drawings and measurements by Gelderblom.²¹ Based on traces in the ascending stonework it can also be derived that the central room of the westwork circumscribed by these foundations was slightly smaller than the central aisle of the nave. This will be discussed in the following. Thümmeler, too, in his reconstruction which he elaborated together with Wilhelm Ritter had this drawn in this way.²² **7** (page 120)

The interior circumscribed by the mentioned foundations was divided into two narrower side aisles and a slightly wider central aisle by two additional foundation walls. Traces of bases of columns the western of which showed a uniform dimension of 1.15 x 1.15m whereas the two eastern ones were slightly larger and had small projections were found on these two foundations which separated the nave.

Some traces found at the eastern wall help us to imagine how the structure rising above the foundations east of the towers looked like: It was divided by four staged projections. The two internal ones flank the portal and are situated in alignment with the mentioned bases of columns. They are preserved up to the level of the top impost comprising of bevel and plate. **8** (page 121)

The external projections the lower bases of which have been excavated, stand on the lateral foundations of the central room and the northern one has also been verified by means of its break-off traces above.

Above this break-off trace there are rudiments on the walls of a cracked barrel vault above the 2.25m wide northern isle of the central room and above the northern side isle of the west end which with approximately 3.40 m is considerably wider. **9** (page 121) With regard to these findings, barrel vaults have to be assumed for all five isles. Due to the impost located at the level of the barrel base we have to assume a vault with crossing barrels in the central room. In theory, the side isles could have had longitudinal barrels; however, due to the projections which are at least identical with regard to their design and the lighting which is only possible from the lateral walls, it is more likely that the side aisles also had a vault which was crossed by barrels. This corresponds exactly to the reconstruction of Thümmeler.

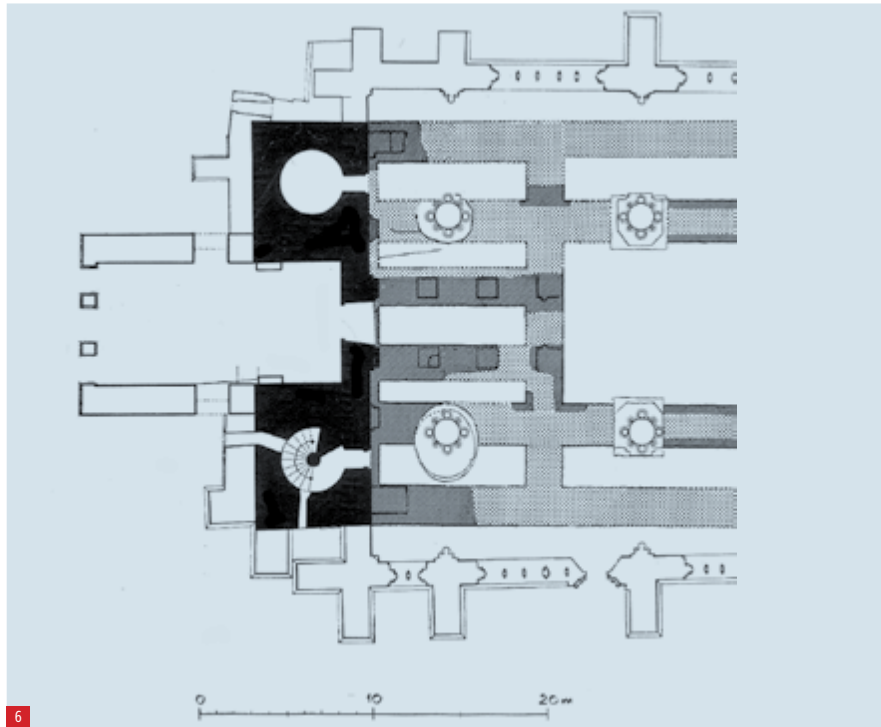
21 Gelderbloms drawing published by Pieper in 1998, see note 5, p. 191, fig 191; a letter written by Gelderblom including the corresponding comments in respect of the findings plan of Thümmeler (first published by Thümmeler in 1953 see note 13, p. 283, it is the bases of all further publications) preserved in the picture library of LWL-Denkmalpflege für Westfalen. A sketch for the findings plan has been preserved in the plan archive of the same institution and shows a less marked offset of the walls on the south side (4374 e, also see 4374 d). Two general photographs of the findings held in the picture library show the offset and also that the findings plan does not contain all – possibly only later – excavated parts of the foundation. See Fig 5.

22 Thümmeler 1957, p.102, fig13: Floor plan; also 1964 ND p. 160, all such as note13, reported in Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 121, fig 48.

Minden, Cathedral: The excavation findings for the central room of the westwork on the western end of the Gothic central isle nave in 1955



Minden, excavation plan Thümm-ler 1953, section including the west-work, structure black, excavation findings grey, replenishments printed in halftone



Minden, the early Ottonian westwork, floor plan of the ground floor reconstructed by Thümm-ler and Ritter, plan section





Minden, Cathedral, the eastern wall between the flanking towers of the westwork viewed from the east with the portal, the preserved wall projections of the central isle in the central room and the break-off traces of the wall projection between the central room and the northern isle in 1950



Minden, Cathedral: break-off traces of the wall projection and the barrel vault attached above it between the northern isle of the central room and the northern isle of the westwork in 1950

In the drawing of the plan and with a model based on it 7 10 ²³ he shows a wide five-aisled vaulted pillared hall. Occasionally it is described as crypt-like but was definitely monumental with its vaults of more than 7m in height. Lighting was provided with sufficient certainty through three windows on each side of the cross vaults. It opens towards the nave, at least in the central aisle, by means of a series of arches the height of which probably corresponded roughly to that of the nave arcades.

The groundfloor of Minden can be compared to Corvey insofar as the entrance to the central axis of the church is also especially emphasised and the entrance hall facilitates a representative entrance on this axis. However, in Minden the emphasis of this axis is strongly intensified through the large open vestibule and the direct entrance in the enlarged central isle of the central room. Only in the north and the south there are wings connecting to this centre which, in contrast to Corvey, are connected with the central room by vaulting and also by a similar, if not the same form of columns. In addition, the type of architecture is markedly different: In Corvey you find a precisely elaborated, light build on a mathematical geometrical basis, whereas in Minden there is a monumental hall forming a continuous platform for everything located above it, designed for an impressive passage through the church axis. With regard to the individual forms it is rather a modest mass structure with in part crudely stilted vaults.

Flanking towers

Before we look at how the structure continues above the platform formed by the vaulted hall we have to take a look at the two western flanking towers. 10

Today, only the south tower is literally a staircase tower. Here, the round stairwell on the inside of the square tower reaches far above the height of the main floor and contains an original newel with renovated steps and parts of the stonework.²⁴



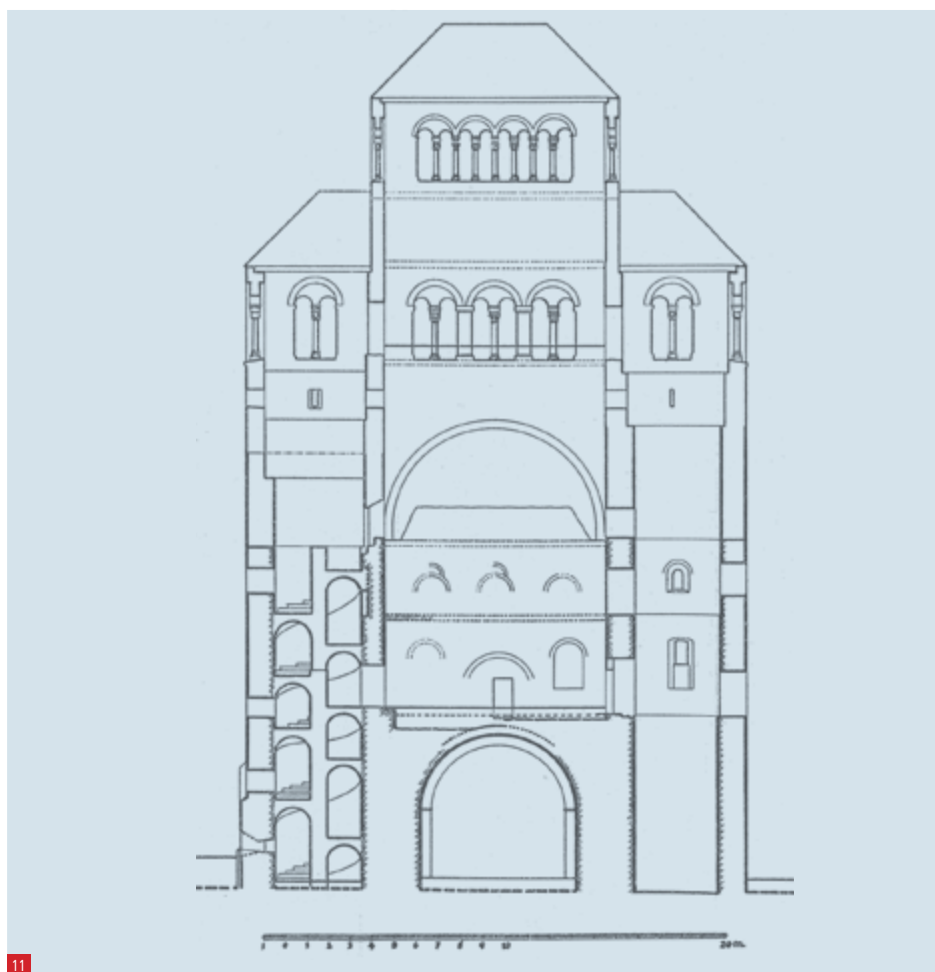
In the north, a newel is missing and the round stairwell only reaches up as far as the main floor. While it is verified that the stairwell has never been higher, there could have been a wooden staircase construction in its curvature. Although obvious indications in the stonework of the stairwell are missing as well as signs of windows, there are, however, traces of a later changed and eventually closed door entrance half way up on the outside of the tower's north side which must have led to a staircase on the interior of the tower.²⁵

Minden Cathedral: The westwork in the opened reconstruction model by Thümmeler and Leo, 1956

²³ Reconstruction by Thümmeler and Ritter including church floorplan and longitudinal section of the westwork in Thümmeler 1957, see note 13, p. 102, see previous note. Both drawings belong to an undated series probably drawn by Ritter in agreement with Thümmeler including external perspectives and a cross-section of the reconstruction, in plan archive of LWL-Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, Münster; the model corresponding to the westwork of these drawings is maintained in the Lapidarium of Minden Cathedral, designed by Hans Thümmeler and Peter Leo, 1956.

²⁴ The newel continues above the main floor with a slightly shifted centre and slightly crosses openings on the eastern and northern wall of the tower. This part might be restored or added at a later point in time. Curvature and window system correspond to the situation of the lower part, see Ritter 1926, see note. 11, p. 13; Pieper 1998, see note. 5, p. 152.

²⁵ See Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 142.



Minden, Cathedral: cross-section of the west front towards the W with findings of windows and openings, Ritter 1926. The openings in the northern wall of the north tower in its upper floor with arched windows of the 10th century in the western wall and also the door in the southern wall are presented as being open although they were and still are bricked up.

The early Ottonian upper window arch above the remnants of the lower one from the 11th century on the south side of the western wall between the towers



The fact that there were buildings adjoining to the northern side of this tower from the beginning to modern times will be discussed later.

Main floor

There are considerably less findings with regard to the reconstruction of the main floor when compared to the lower hall: The towers with its window and door openings, the wall above the barrel vault of the vestibule expanding between the western flanks of the towers and traces of the exterior lateral walls next to the eastern walls of the towers are preserved. Direct traces of the walls of the central room have not yet been found.²⁶

First, we take a look at the west wall which expands between the towers. In the photographs by Ritter ¹¹ it shows an upper row of three larger bricked up windows above which traces of smaller, older windows can be found.

Today, the entire wall is plastered on the inside, on the outside there are only traces visible on the southern window arches ^{11a}, on the inside the same arches were photographed after the war.²⁷ Today, the middle arches of the upper row disappeared, even the substance of them, as the respective part of the wall had

26 Ritter 1926, see note 11, who saw the interior lateral walls of the flanking towers still without plaster from the intermediate room describes on p.18 a subsequent closing of the wall of the south tower which is located where the western wall of the central room must have started, see Pieper, and 1998, p161, fig80. He could not find anything comparable on the north side but suspects the subsequent mounting of the eastern wall – which was urgently necessary from today's point of view – which existed at that time between the towers. The connecting points of the northern and southern wall of the central room can no longer be seen due to renovation and extensions. Apart from indications made by Ritter, the evidence of the central room on the main floor has to remain indirect: The essential arguments include support the transverse room between the towers which will be described in the following and the necessity to roof up the west front.

27 Pieper 1998, see note. 5, p.155, fig 71.

: Minden, Cathedral: The window of the 10th century in the western wall of the north tower, viewed from the inside, 2010

: Minden, Cathedral: The passageway from the bishop's palace to the main floor level of the westwork, situated in the northern wall of the north tower, 2010



been opened to build a swell-box for the organ in 1956. In the course of this opening, remnants of two window frames were found and subsequently dated by means of dendrochronological analysis. The big arch belongs to a window frame of the time when the cathedral was renovated by Bishop Eilbert in the 11th century; the small arch above it overlays an older, smaller window of the early Ottonian building, it could be closed and the clear width of its opening only measured 41cm.²⁸ A completely preserved window frame of the same type and width can still be found today in a window opening on the west side of the north tower, approximately at the same height.²⁹ 12

28 Claussen 1977, see note 15.

29 Pieper 1998, see note 5, p.158ff incl. fig 77.

30 Ritter 1926, see note 11, fig 8 and 12, p. 30, Pieper 1998, see note 5, p.152f (step 67/68), p. 160. Traces of the transverse room floor see Ritter a.a.O., p. 30; Gelderblom 1964, see note 14, p.18.

31 Ritter 1926, see note 11, fig 2 and 8, p. 14, Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 152 (step 48), p. 159, The essential jambs on the west of the southern door are old, the northern door is completely renovated due to the access from the outside at this level an original opening is to be assumed.

32 See von Schönfeld de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p 92, who refers to the lacking representative character of the western adjoining rooms on the upper floor in Minden.

33 Ritter 1926, see note 11, fig 8, p. 14 incl. note 26. Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 153, fig 59. also p. 142. In respect of the Bishop's palace mentioned in the 11th century and tangible at the later location north of the cathedral in the 13th century at the latest see Pieper 1998, see note 5, Vol. 2: Der Dombezirk, p.1180-1183; Bernd-Wilhelm Linnemeier, Der bischöfliche Hof zu Minden. Anmerkungen zur historischen Topographie des Mindener Dombezirks zwischen dem 16. Und 18. Jahrhundert, in: Mindener Heimatblätter 67 (1995), p. 9-42.

The original row of three small windows hardly provides light to the transverse room between the towers located approximately 4m above the main floor level; it is also verified by the door openings leading to it from the north and the south towers respectively.³⁰

Openings also lead from both towers to the main floor level below this transverse room.³¹ This part of the room was probably also lit by means of a similar row of windows, even if due to later changes made to this lower area, there are no traces left of it. Basically, this area between the towers can be compared well with Corvey: There are also two adjoining rooms on top of each other here which accompany the central room in the west and also in Minden they could have been connected to the central room by means of two rows of openings on top of each other in the western wall of the same. But there are also marked differences: The emphasis of the centre by means of the porch with its enlarging effect in Corvey does not exist in Minden; lighting is very scarce compared with Corvey.³² And in Minden you can only reach the two storeys via the south tower, the main floor may be accessed from the north via the possibly existing staircase construction but certainly through the wide door opening in the northern wall of the tower from the adjoining bishop's palace.³³ 11 (page 123) 13



The traces of the broken off external walls of the westwork on the south (left) and north tower (right) during times of destruction and reconstruction. Fractured zones in the brickwork below the arched openings of the „small stone phase“ rising from the top of the break-off traces transversely towards the centre probably indicate the insert of the former roofs of the side isles of the westwork

You could not directly access the upper floor level between the towers from this palace since a northern door leading to a north tower room on the upper floor as is assumed in the inventory text and therefore still integrated in the model of 2009 – as described and drawn by Ritter – actually is most probably a window.³⁴ If you don't want to assume a wooden staircase between the two rooms on top of each other in the north tower the upper room can only be accessed through the indirect route via the south tower and the upper transverse room.

It is not only this strange routing which distinguishes the main floor level of Minden from Corvey. The lateral adjoining rooms to the north and the south of the central room did not have upper floors in Minden: The break-off traces on the lateral walls which became visible on the eastern walls after the war suggest a roof insert of the pent roofs on the walls of the central room approximately at the level of the upper ending of the western upper transverse room.¹⁴ This corresponds more or less to the circumstances reconstructed here with regard to Corvey so that in theory lateral galleries would have fitted in. However, there are no traces of openings at this level to be found in the obviously original eastern walls of the towers. Although an opening in the north is also missing on the lower level of the main floor and with regard to the one in the south it cannot be verified whether it is original or was added later.³⁵ But on this level the lateral rooms can be accessed from the centre, on the upper floor level separate entrances are obligatory.

A suggestion with regard to what the interior of the main floor could have looked like is presented by Hans Thümmeler and his designed model.¹⁰ (page 122) The western wall of the central room is designed according to the example of Corvey.³⁶ The additional emphasis through an enlarged central axis in the lower row of arcades is based on a transfer of the situation on the ground floor. However, it is not necessarily obligatory because the western

34 Ritter 1926, see note 11, fig 8, p. 14, Pieper 1998, see note 5, p.159 incl. fig 78. The considerable summit height of 2.69m from the floor of the room, the shape of the arch and width correspond to the west window in the same tower room, the visible remnants of the lateral jambs do not suggest a door opening and obviously the layers originally continue through the lower area of the wall. A minor trace of this opening can also be found on the outside but a door opening has not been verified. The slight shift of the assumed window from the central axis of the side of the tower to the west could originate from the roof of the Bishop's palace.

35 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p.13, fig 2, 11; Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 152; the southern jamb in the lower part together with the following wall are visibly restored, the northern jamb unaccounted for due to a new cable cutting, on the whole made of smaller stones than the old jamb of the door leading to the main floor on the northern wall of the south tower. The width of the opening of about 1.30m is typical for early Ottonian buildings. Today's spindle vault overlaps the opening approximately from this height but does not have to be original in this form. Possibly the spindle was later completed or restored approximately on this level, see note 24.

36 The closeness of the reconstruction suggestions of Thümmeler and Gelderblom in respect of the example of Corvey is also referred to in Schönfeld de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 91.

The Minden Cathedral with the early Ottonian westwork, model 2009



wall of the upper central room does not stand above the columns of the ground floor but above the portal wall. The truth is that we do not exactly know: possibly there were triple arcades on the ground floor and the openings opposite the three external windows through which the transverse room may be addressed as a gallery towards the central room can be suspected but both considerations are not obligatory.³⁷

In his model, Thümmmler reconstructed arcades towards the lateral adjoining rooms on the level of the imaginary row of arcades leading to the lower western adjoining room. That means he takes the lower part of the central room of Corvey as a pattern and leaves out the upper part because there were no galleries above the lateral wings in Minden. There are also alternatives to this solution. As mentioned above, the author had the opportunity to familiarise himself with the considerations of Uwe Lobbedey on the interior of the central room on the main floor on the occasion of the model making in 2009 Lobbedey suggests that the arcades are considerably higher than the ones in the west. It is possible to extend them to almost the same height as that of the arcades in the lower hall to the upper western adjoining room. Lobbedey's attractive consideration may explain why the lateral walls of the westwork reach up that high, and it facilitates a better lighting of the central room. In addition, it makes the concept of Thümmmler more coherent in which he described the main floor of Minden Cathedral with a very appropriate term: He called it upper church.³⁸ The idea of a basilica-like church room which rises from the platform of the ground floor hall and actually shows analogies to the nave is also part of Lobbedey's suggestion but more consistently thought through.³⁹ Such an idea requires a clerestory which Lobbedey – again analogous to Corvey – assumes was located above the high lateral arcades in his imagination of Minden. 15 There is still – also in accordance

37 von Schönfeld de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 92, discusses the possibility that at least the upper room between the towers could not have had any opening towards the east. Then it would not have been a gallery but a connecting passage. The window openings which are quite small compared to the ones in Corvey can only contribute little to the lighting of the central room through a gallery, so this consideration has a right in its own. But possible kinds of use (e.g. a choir balcony for the liturgy in the central room) would have also been provided with light from the central room itself upon the necessary opening towards the east. At least, a passage on the ground floor is highly probable.

38 Thümmmler 1961, see note 13, p. 4ff; idem. 1964/ND 1998, see note 13, p. 159.

39 See also Lobbedey 1999, see note 5, p. 203.

with the reconstructions made for Corvey and for the later “Ottonian westworks”⁴⁰ – a final central tower floor above with large openings above a suspended ceiling.

But before we move on into airy heights without any findings, the eastern wall of the central room on the main floor is still left for discussion. In the model of Thümmler it opens towards the nave’s central aisle in a long arch – like the eastern section of Corvey. This, however, is easier to realise in Corvey since the walls of the central tower do not rest on this arch when compared to Minden where the eastern wall rested exactly in that place. And with the considerable wall thickness in Minden a three-piece arcade could also have stood here like that in the north and the south of the central room on the main floor. As we will show in the following, there is no verified proof that in Minden a central tower existed above the central room of the main floor which is indirectly indicated by the construction traces. Without central tower the roof of the central aisle of the nave might as well have run across the central room,⁴¹ in this case you do not need any eastern wall for it.

The top

If you look at the top parts of the westwork you are no longer able to account for an early Ottonian building with absolute certainty. On the western façade up to the end of the newel in the south tower, to the respective height in the north tower and about one and half metres higher on the intermediary western wall as well as on the small side there is brickwork which has to be early Ottonian due to the inserted windows which were partly dated by means of dendrochronological analysis.

The character of the brickwork changes above the line ¹⁶ (Page 128) which was already drawn by Ritter. Above and below the great relieving arch, the upper central wall between the towers originates from the 12th century. Compared with the lower brickwork, the stone formats become smaller and flatter. The light-grey stone material mixed with brown porta sandstone in the lower parts is no longer used. On the interior of the south tower it can be recognized that the brickwork shows short hard core bands, which is still another feature missing in the lower parts. Even if the respective brickwork of the north tower shows some thicker layers of cuboid shaped stones, in the following we will refer to the brickwork as “small stone phase” for reasons of convenience.⁴²

The „small stone phase” does not identify the towers right up to the upper parts of the west front which are clearly from the 12th century. In-between there is a section where larger, in part cuboid shaped stones are used again in relatively flat layers with considerable side lengths especially on the corners.⁴³ Also in this case, Ritter’s observations with regard to the brickwork were correct as was the measuring. ¹⁶ (Page 128) The dating of both wall sections at the towers is uncertain: they clearly existed prior to the reconstruction of the west front of the 12th century. The author thinks that with regard to the upper phase it is quite improbable and also uncertain for the

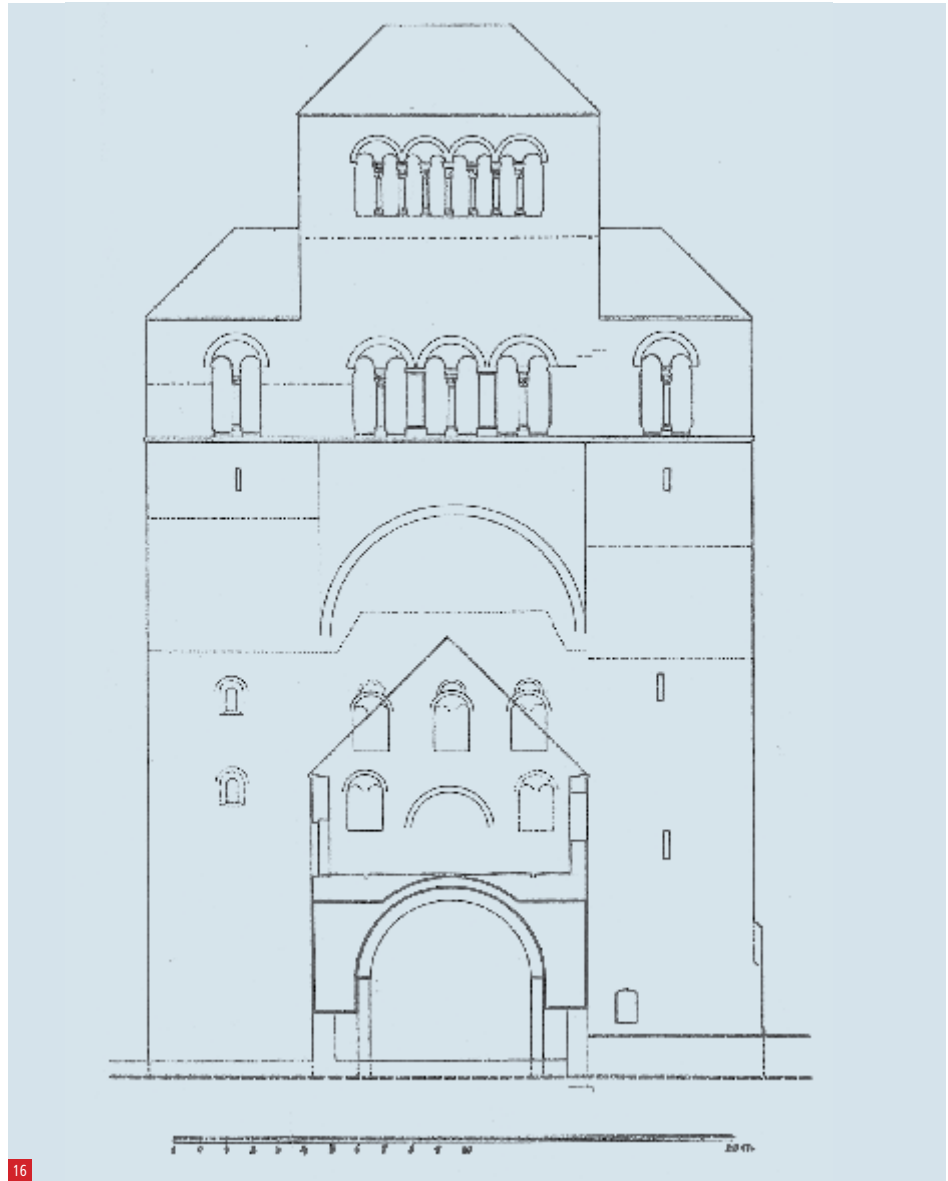
40 See note 4 above

41 See below the considerations in respect of the west front of Bishop Eilbert; the reconstruction possibilities indicated by Schönfeld de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 91 are obviously leading in the same direction. Due to the relatively high side walls one would have to imagine that the main floor was like a hall or assume that the central room exceeded the central aisle of the church in height.

42 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p. 17: „a much smaller stone structure... which definitely reminds you of brickwork”, see also, p. 28

43 See Ritter 1926, see note 11, p. 17, 28. In respect of the flanking towers see also Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 139ff incl. Fig. 55 and 58.

Minden, Cathedral: The west front viewed from the west with section of the vestibule, Ritter 1926. The boundaries of the brickwork sections are indicated, the "small stone phase" includes the brickwork section to the side of the large relieving arch in the flanking towers



lower phase that they belong to the Ottonian westwork. This will have to be discussed in more detail.

Let us first look at the upper part of the structure between the towers which is clearly early Ottonian.⁴⁴ From the outside it can be seen that the brickwork is pried out on the sides in favour of the great Romanesque relieving arch. On the inside the stronger, older brickwork with a straight top antecedes the younger wall rising above it and ends on the sides before the beginning of the relieving arch in two bevels, which are indicated in the drawing by Ritter ¹¹ (Page 123) and which today are partly destroyed due to the integration of a steel belfry.


44 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p. 16, 28, 37ff; Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 161 and Fig. 159.

45 Panofsky 1920, see note 10, p. 54ff.

46 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p. 28, 37ff.

Panofsky interpreted these bevels as traces of a gable in 1920,⁴⁵ but Ritter already disagreed due to the angle which is much too steep for a pitched roof area and reconstructed a less steep gable in a higher position.⁴⁶ In fact, the

northern bevel which is largely destroyed today is too steep for an Ottonian but also for a Romanesque gable and in addition was subsequently hewn into the brickwork. Today, the lower part on the south side is totally destroyed. Above it, remnants of a bevel with an inclination of about 55° can be seen, which after all was masoned. This, too, is not ideal for a gable from the Early Middle Ages. Therefore, Uwe Lobbedey, and also Hans Thümmeler before him, assumed a flatter gable inclination.

In the sections of the lateral towers which belong to the „small stone phase“ there are two arched accesses each in the centre of the walls leading from the south and the north to the zone of the assumed gable.⁴⁷ Originally they were only 1.35m high, which means they could be used by sextons, roofers and maybe for ringers but not intended for an everyday use. If you reconstruct the gable like in the model of 2009 they would have led to the outside towards the eaves of the gable roof. If this gable was situated higher or if the area between the flanking towers in front of the imaginary central tower was closed by means of a pent roof, the two openings could have lead into an interior room of the kind like the floor with the lancet windows in Corvey from which the upper room of the central tower could be accessed. However, there are no traces of possible higher roofs on the sides of the towers facing the centre. In addition, walls and openings of the “small stone phase” cannot be assigned to the Ottonian inventory with absolute certainty. There are two more openings which have not been mentioned so far which belong to this category. They are only 1.20m high and break through the eastern walls of the towers above the pent roofs of the westwork wings at the same level as the ones leading to the centre.⁴⁸  (page 125)

For lack of verified findings, our idea of the top part of the early Ottonian westwork has to remain a vague hypothesis. Assuming a central tower above the central room of the main floor analogous to the situation in Corvey and later “Ottonian westworks” there is a problem with regard to the projecting flanking towers which Minden adopts from Corvey or west fronts of similar construction. Since the internal eastern corners where the flanking towers are connected to the central tower cannot be opened to form a passageway a connecting room is required like the floor with lancet windows in Corvey above the main floor level if you want to avoid ascending to the top central tower over a gable roof from the outside or on stairs through the “west gallery” from the inside. The later buildings belonging to this group of Ottonian westworks solve this problem by arranging the flanking towers on the side of the central tower.

THE LATER RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WESTWORK

A west front came into being between and above the older flanking towers in the mid 12th century which was similar to the western end of Hildesheim Cathedral in terms of the basic concept and some details but which was lost in the 19th century⁴⁹ and also has a lot in common with the westwork of Corvey of those times.

47 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p.14, Fig. 2, 8, 12, Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 158, 160, Fig. 75, 76.

48 Ritter 1926, see note 11, p. 14, Fig. 2, 11, Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 159f, Fig. 53, 54, 75.

49 Maike Kozok, Der Westriegel des Hildesheimer Domes, in: Idem. (editor) *Architektur – Struktur – Symbol. Streifzüge durch die Architekturgeschichte von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (FS Cord Meckseper), Petersberg 1999, p. 119-138. The post-war restoration in Hildesheim in turn is similar to the one in Minden also in terms of the mistakes made: in both cases saddle roofs were built instead of the traditional hipped roofs which doubtlessly were original in Minden: Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 135 and fig 49.

Minden, Cathedral: Gallery storey of the west front after the wartime destruction in 1949. Bases and capitals from the 12th century are clearly visible



The open bell storey with its three biforium windows on each of the side walls belongs to this west front connected to the windowed top endings of the flanking towers and the gallery storey with its domed arcade openings in the centre above. ¹⁷ The reconstruction of the 12th century also included the western wall between the towers below and above the relieving archway down to the already described Ottonian wall with the built-in bevels. On the east side it does not only include the relieving arch located there and the stonework above and below the same but also the triple arcade on the old main floor level. ⁵⁰

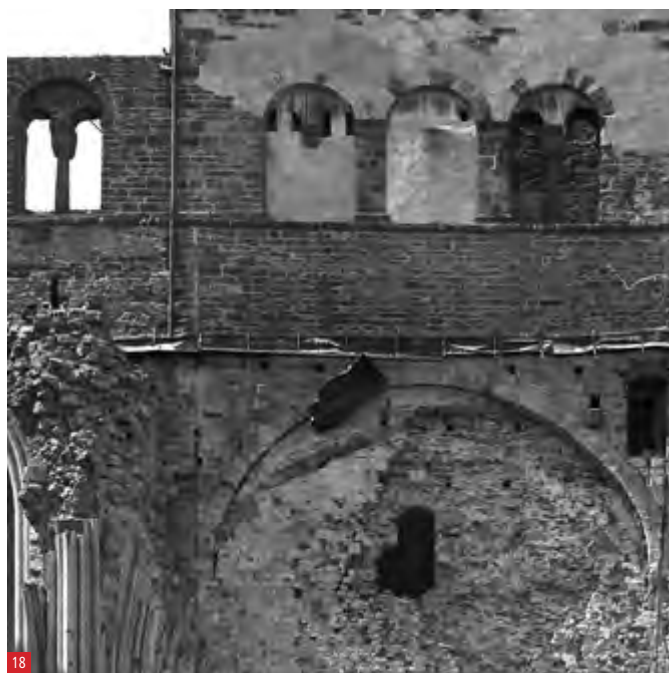
The Romanesque west front, however, did not directly succeed the Ottonian westwork.

The frame of the larger window which replaces the smaller Ottonian one in the central western wall originates from 1068/69 and therefore from the time when the cathedral was restored by Bishop Eilbert.

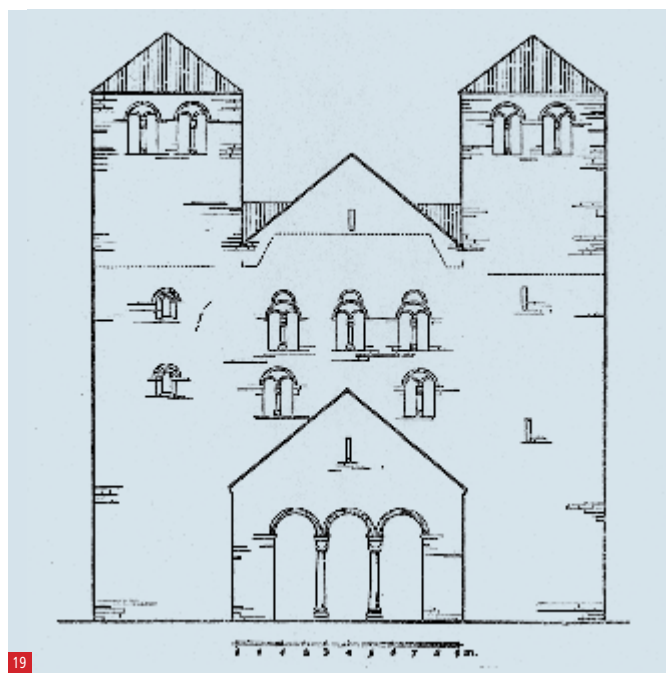
Ritter already noticed that the larger and lower windows built in at that time did not match the older “west gallery” between the towers for its window sills are below floor level. ⁵¹ And as the upper windows were even larger following the frame reconstruction by Hilde Claussen than drawn by Ritter at that time it has to be assumed that the upper room between the towers no longer existed after the restoration by Eilbert. But if its floor was removed and providing enough light to the western wall the eastern wall between the towers limiting the central room on the main floor towards the west, its opening ought to have been adjusted to the new direction of the light or even have been removed as a whole. The second alternative would require the downfall of the

⁵⁰ Pieper 1998, see note 5, p. 139f. incl. fig. 53. Lobbedey 1999, see note 5, p. 213 thinks it possible that the lower part of the later west front with the threesome arcade opening towards the nave had already come into being at the time of Bishop Eilbert. This consideration could support early dating of the Hidesheim Westriegel in Kozok 1999, see note 49, while L. makes no statement with regard to the zone above the roof of the central aisle. The Minden arcade must have been changed in the 12th century since its bases had spurs. In the passage cited, L. himself mentions two capital spolia in the bell storey of the 12th century from the time of Eilbert.

⁵¹ Ritter 1926, see note 11, Fig. 8, 9, 12. See also p. 15f, 29f, 45, 48, where the chronology of the window openings is clarified and the older ones are assigned to the Ottonian building and the younger ones to the time of Eilbert.



18



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central tower at the time of Bishop Eilbert. There are two arguments why this radical variant was actually selected. The first is based on the complete new construction of the eastern wall between the towers for the west front of the 12th century: If the Ottonian wall had existed at that time it would have been used purposefully in the scope of this building project and not be replaced.⁵²

The second argument results from the fact that ashlar masonry on the corners existed on the level of the small stone phase and also above it on the internal eastern corners of the flanking towers. ¹⁸ ¹⁴ (Page 125) Unfortunately, the photographs from this time are not sufficient to determine whether this ashlar masonry on the level of the small stone phase had originally existed or was the result of a later closing of an opening.⁵³ In the wall phases above, the ashlar masonry of the internal eastern corners of the tower is most probably original. In any event, the ashlar masonry exists in both tower sections and is to be explained by a construction phase in which the flanking towers stood freely without a central tower.

Therefore, the western facade of the cathedral after the restoration of the cathedral by Eilbert could actually have looked like the reconstruction by Ritter ¹⁹: a two-tower façade between the towers of which run the ceiling height and the roof of the central isle, with strongly windowed western wall.

CONCLUSION

In the previous paragraph, findings were presented which suggest a construction phase with two lateral west towers the top of which stood freely without a central tower at the western end of Minden Cathedral.

⁵² See note. 50. Based on the considerations of Lobbedey it can be assumed that the old westwork was already lost under Eilbert save the flanking towers and the zone between them. Then, a highly lighted wall - maybe a predecessor of the threesome arcade - between the towers towards the east can be assumed which later had to be replaced for the project of the 12th century. Alternatively, a westwork largely preserved up to the ceiling height of the central isle is possible where the new light from the west compensated for the clerestory.

⁵³ In the plan archive of LWL-Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen there is a view of the west front obviously drawn by Ritter in which the existing walls at that time are identified, together with the reconstructions of the westwork (see note 23): he includes the „small stone phase “ but assumes a later renovation of the internal western tower edges. In fact, the pre-war photograph (fig 2) does not show the marked lines but extensive repairs of the external shell. It facilitates the idea that both tower walls facing inwards could have been renovated on the level of the small stone phase but does not prove it. Further research on old photographs and inventory may be helpful.

54 This idea and the following train of thought resumes the concept of Prof. Dr. Matthias Untermann as presented in the discussion in the scope of the Corvey conference.

55 *Annales Corbeisenses: 873 fundamenta trium Turrium posita, 885 dedicatio trium TURRIUM*, Joseph Prinz, *Die Corveyer Annalen. Textbearbeitung und Kommentar* (publication of *Hist. Komm. für Westfalen 10, Abh. zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung 7*) Münster 1982, p. 106f. Message of consecration for the „*turriscae Marie*“ in Werden dated 943, in Schönfeld-de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 87f incl source and literature.

56 With regard to the strange eastern section which makes a connection with the older basilica and which is missing in Minden, Werden and probably in Centula, Corvey may be an exceptional case among the early west fronts with towers. For the development of the Ottonian westworks/fronts/three-tower groups based on Carolingian examples, see Lobbedey, see note 3. and 4, different from Schönfeld-de Reyes 1999, see note 2, p. 98f, with reference to Rüdiger Klessmann, *Die Baugeschichte der Stiftskirche zu Möllenbeck an der Weser und die Entwicklung der westlichen Dreiturmgruppe*, Göttingen 1952 (*Göttinger Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 1*), p. 69–111.

With regard to the assumption on which the present reconstructions are based that the central tower had existed previously cannot be supported with certainty according to the present state of knowledge. Is this central tower a chimera and is the early Ottonian Minden westwork not a “westwork” at all according to the definition cited at the beginning?

The author wants to stick to the common reconstruction, at least hypothetically. The westworks and also other west fronts of Carolingian and Ottonian times are tower groups to him the external monumentality of which was at least as important as was the internal design.⁵⁴ Of course, this idea is a hypothesis but in the scarce temporary document archives the corresponding building groups in Werden as well as in Corvey are called „*turres*”.⁵⁵ A respective basic assumption suggests a group of three towers according to the example of Corvey also for Minden since the structures of the ground floor and the main floor support such a solution literally and since there are considerable parallels with regard to the room structure, especially on the main floor of the Corvey westwork. Minden is much closer to Corvey than the group of the later “Ottonian westworks” with lateral flanking towers and without adjoining rooms in the west branching off from the central room. With regard to the west front of the cathedral, the example of Corvey and possible other buildings of the same type cannot be denied.⁵⁶ The formal analogies, however, cannot be translated in terms of functionality and liturgy: it is especially to be assumed that the Minden equivalent of the upper western gallery on the main floor, which led to many considerations in Corvey, was used very differently from Corvey due to the scarce lighting and the different access route.

Recent investigations on the three old window frames of the Westwork of Minden achieved surprising results. The dating of the larger frame at 1068 could be confirmed. The frame of the smaller window, overlapped by it in the construction, is, however, to be dated “after 1056” just as the structurally identical frame of the northern tower, which has been dated for the first time now. (Peter Barthold, *Drei mittelalterliche Holzfenster im Mindener Dom. Neues zu drei sehr alten Fenstern. Mit einem Beitrag von Mechtild Neyses-Eiden*, in: *Westfalen 90* (2012), S. 175–198)

As the windows date back to the time of building, the early Ottonian dating of the first building phase, described as “Westwork”, has become invalid. It was based on the dendro-chronological date which now turned out to be false. Under the new conditions, this phase is to be regarded as the first reconstruction period of the cathedral under Bishop Eilbert after the fire of 1062. Possibly according to the model of the preceding building, a western group with three towers above a large entrance hall had obviously been planned in this place. At the height of the area of small stones the plans were changed in favour of a twin-tower façade, as described in the lecture on the time of Eilbert

Picture credits

Fig. 1: Drawing: D. Noel Deney, Zodiaque-Verlag, in: Lobbedey 1999, see note 5, p. 202, Caption and scale offset.

Fig. 2: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photograph by Hege

Fig. 3: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Hugo Schnautz, Heinz Vössing, 1957.

Fig. 4: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Hugo Schnautz, 1953.

Fig. 5: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Heinz Vössing, 1955.

Fig. 6: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, plan archive; Thümmler 1953, see note 13, p. 283

Fig. 7: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, plan archive; Thümmler 1957, see note 13, p. 102

Fig. 8: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Wilhelm Rösch, 1950.

Fig. 9: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Wilhelm Rösch, 1950.

Fig. 10: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, 1956.

Fig. 11: Ritter 1926, see note 11, Tab. 4, Fig. 8

Fig. 12: Photo by Ellger 2010

Fig. 13: Photo by Ellger 2010

Fig. 14 a,b: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, 14 a photographed by Wilhelm Rösch 1950, 14 b photographed by Wilhelm Rösch 1947.

Fig. 15: Paderborn Achiepiscopal Diocesan Museum and Treasury, photo by Ansgar Hoffmann, Stiegemann/Kroker 2009, see note 5, Fig. 187

Fig. 16: Ritter 1926, see note 11, Tab. 4, Fig. 9

Fig. 17: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, photographed by Wilhelm Rösch 1949.

Fig. 18: LWL- Amt für Denkmalpflege in Westfalen, picture archive, 1947.

Fig. 19: Ritter 1926, see note 11, Tab. 7, Fig. 18

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EARLY MEDIEVAL CLOISTER BUILDINGS: THE EXAMPLE OF SAN VINCENZO AL VOLTURNO AND THE BUILDING OF ITS BASILICA MAIOR

1 INTRODUCTION

The monastic chronicler Johannes, writing in the early twelfth-century, described the life and times of one of the most important monasteries in Italy, S. Vincenzo al Volturno. The *Chronicon Vulturense* reports the foundation of the monastery by Beneventan nobles in the early seventh century at the source of the Volturno, a location indicated by the abbot of the monastery of Farfa, north of Rome, and the subsequent development of a vast monastic complex and network of managed properties over the course of the eighth and particularly the ninth centuries.¹ The monastery was felled at its zenith by an earthquake in 848, followed by a period of threats from the amir of Bari, Sawdan, and a final, fatal attack in 881 by Arab warriors in the service of Atanasius, the duke and Bishop of Naples. The monks of the monastery not killed in the attack fled the site, and sought refuge at Capua. There were attempts to return to the monastery and rebuild it over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and a stable, though reduced, monastery was reconstructed by the third quarter of the eleventh century. It thrived in the twelfth century, and its great church was again rebuilt, this time across the river in a new location. Johannes's text attests to the community's concern for the past and the means of legitimising the present at that time.

Systematic excavations at the site began in 1980, by a team led by Richard Hodges. These excavations, which continued until 1996, and then were resumed in 2000 by the Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici del Molise and Suor Orsola Benincasa University, have brought to light with startling detail the material environment of this monastery. They have shown not only the buildings of the abbey church and the monks' refectory, but also workshops, kitchens, storage cellars and passageways. The excavations have yielded the materials of daily life, the pottery, the kitchen rubbish, the window glass, as well as the painted walls, carved stone inscriptions and monks' graffiti.

The open area stratigraphic excavations have allowed us to see the sequence of activities at the site, the construction and reconstruction of the monastery. The most recent campaign of excavations have allowed us to read this data in greater detail than before. Different phases of building, especially around the area of the abbey church, attest to the deployment of different models. This shift in planning principles and the use of different models, each with different political significations in the panorama of socio-political relations in early medieval Italy, is the subject of what follows.

The archaeological explorations of S. Vincenzo al Volturno which recommenced in 2000 have significantly increased our understanding of the site. The area examined is three times that explored in the preceding fifteen years. Thanks to the establishment of a permanent seat of the project at Castel San Vincenzo, including a series of laboratories dedicated to analysis of the data from the site, it has been possible to work in continuation throughout this pe-

1 *Chronicon Vulturense*, ed. V. Federici, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicate dal R. Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, Scrittori, Secoli XII-XIII (Rome, 1940), 3 vols. For an introduction to the site, see R. Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages. The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Ithaca, 1997) and more recently F. Marazzi, ed. *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Guida agli scavi* (Ripalimosani, 2006).

2 For the state of the project in 2002, see F. Marazzi, *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Introduzione ad un cantiere di archeologia medievale* (Sant'Agapito, 2002); F. Marazzi, C. Filippone, P.P. Petrone, L. Fattore, T. Galloway, "San Vincenzo al Volturno. Scavi 2000-2002, rapporto preliminare", *Archeologia Medievale* 29 (2002), pp. 209-74.

3 Towards this, we are making progress on creating both up-to-date 3D reconstructions of the buildings brought to light during excavations, in their various phases, and a system of walkways through the actual site, recreating all the didactic panels presenting the site. The interventions of the Soprintendenza are part of an accord for programmes for archaeological sites made between the Minister per i Beni e le Attività Culturali and the Region of Molise, by which the Commune did Castel San Vincenzo, is creating an archaeological museum which will permanently house the scientific results and the finds which have come from the now twenty-five years of excavation at the site. The Università degli Studi Suor Orsola Benincasa di Napoli, in convention with the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise, is coordinating the excavations, the documentation and the analysis of the data as well as the documentation, conservation and restoration of finds. See also F. Vignone, "Strategie per la protezione architettonica degli edifici allo stato di rudere riportati alla luce negli scavi di San Vincenzo al Volturno", in F. Marazzi and F. de Rubeis, eds. *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture. Atti III Seminario di Studio sui Monasteri nell'alto medioevo* (Rome, 2008), pp. 391-400.

4 For the ease of the reader we have here maintained the names of the buildings coined by Hodges during the excavations during the 1980s, such as the complex of S. Vincenzo Minore. The name was designated that the church in that area, also called the South Church, was a late antique oratory dedicated to San Vincenzo. Such an identification is, however, tentative and lacking archaeological and documentary support. For the names, see R. Hodges, ed., *San Vincenzo al Volturno 1: the 1980-1986 excavations. Part 1* (London, 1993), and *Idem*, ed. *San Vincenzo al Volturno 2: the 1980-1986 excavations. Part 1* (London, 1995).

riod and to relate the excavation data and finds processing through a digital relational archive anchored in a GIS platform.² This degree of progress, both in terms of quantity and quality, has been made possible by the initiative of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise and the Direzione Regionale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici del Molise, who share the aim of bringing to light the entire archaeological area and render it and its scientific discoveries accessible and intelligible to the public at large.³

In order to fulfil this goal, the recent campaign of excavations has concentrated on the northern-most and southern-most areas of the site, S. Vincenzo Minore and S. Vincenzo Maggiore, respectively. Between 2000 and 2001 we excavated the entirety of the church of S. Vincenzo Maggiore, with its atrium and forebuildings, and explored the zone immediately to the south of the monastic refectory and along the eastern flank of the Colle della Torre. In 2002, a strip ca 80 x 20 metres along the eastern flank of the Colle della Torre, as well as its southern flank along the church of S. Vincenzo Maggiore, was excavated. The area between the S. Vincenzo Minore and the Guests' palace was excavated and its study was brought to conclusion.⁴ Two brief campaigns between 2004 and 2005 have helped to clarify the stratigraphy at the southern flank of the *basilica maior*, expanding the exploration beyond that conducted in 1986 and 1995–6. The campaign was preceded between 1999 and 2000 by diagnostic interventions, including a series of small soundings, prior to opening trenches for open area excavation, and a georesistivity study of the area between Colle della Torre and the Volturmo river.⁵

What follows here will lay out further considerations on the data published in the preliminary report⁶, and my interpretations of it.⁷ I aim to add to these the work presently drawing to a close on the *basilica maior* and the adjacent structures⁸, and to present a new prospective on medieval monasteries that the substantial amplification of the project has permitted us to understand. I intend to demonstrate some of the diverse ways in which the earlier structures of the site and models external to the site have been established, deployed and re-deployed in order to give significance to the monastic buildings at key phases in the monastery's history.

2 THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMPLEX OF THE BASILICA MAIOR BETWEEN THE EIGHTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

The analysis of the structures and the phases of use of the major basilica of the monastery has been particularly difficult. This is because of the systematic spoliation of the building during the central middle ages, which has left only minimal traces of the elevations, making it difficult to recognize many aspects of the building's construction. From the outset we can say that the construction of the building over its three centuries of use and the numerous conspicuous interventions to its structure bears a notable fidelity to a model set out at its construction. There are two main phases of the building. First,

5 F. Marazzi, K. Strutt, "San Vincenzo al Volturmo 1999 - 2000. Interventi di diagnostica preliminare sul campo", in S. Patitucci Uggeri, ed., *Scavi medievali in Italia 1996 - 1999* (Rome, 2001), pp. 325–43.

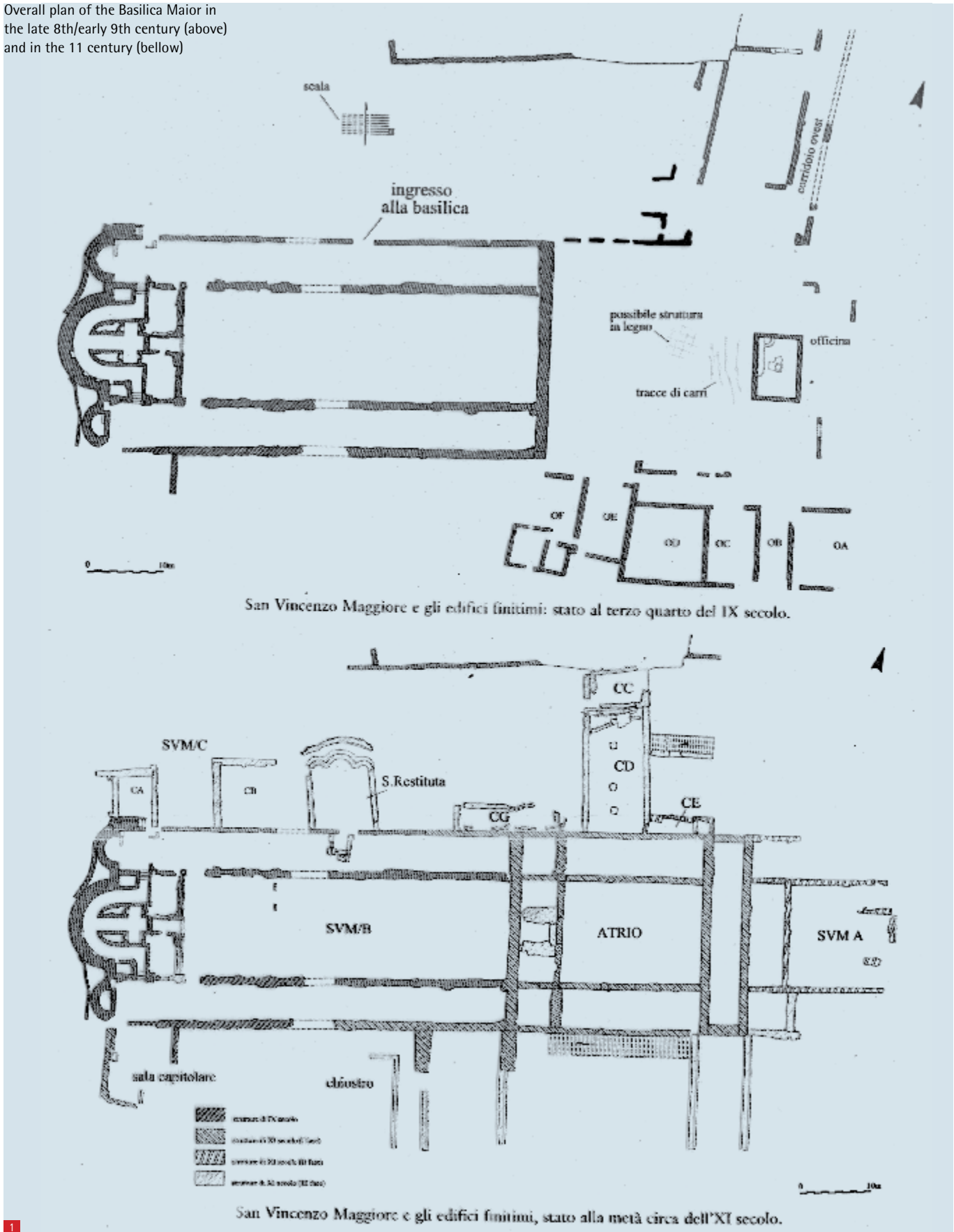
6 Marazzi, et al., "San Vincenzo", pp. 209–74.

7 I have published some initial interpretations in F. Marazzi, *S. Vincenzo al Volturmo. Evoluzione di un progetto monastico tra IX e XI secolo*, in G. Spinelli, ed., *Il monachesimo italiano dall'età longobarda all'età ottoniana*, VII Convegno di Studi Storici sull'Italia Benedettina (Cesena, 2003), pp. 425–60, plates 1–31.

8 F. Marazzi, ed., *Gli scavi del complesso della basilica maior di San Vincenzo al Volturmo (anni 2000 - 2002)*, in preparation.

Early Medieval Cloister Buildings: the Example of San Vincenzo al Volturmo and the building of its Basilica Maior

Overall plan of the Basilica Maior in the late 8th/early 9th century (above) and in the 11 century (bellow)



there is the construction of the apse area, the laying-out of the body of the church and the construction of its exterior walls and its functional elements, including the presbytery and the beginning of the aisles, which were paved in marble. In a second major phase, the elevation, including the apse area, was rebuilt radically, including even the lower parts of the foundations, the pavement was renovated, and the interior was given a different internal articulation, as well as a vast pictorial decorative programme. ¹

At present, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions but the extent of the restorations in what we have called the second phase of the church suggests that the first phase of the church was never entirely completed. The chronology of these phases is as follows: the first phase falls between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, and thus between periods 4 and 5 of the site, while the second phase includes all the reconstructions post-dating the sack of 881 and the fires associated with it. These include of course the rebuilding works of the eleventh century, but I would argue that they began in the last quarter of the tenth century, and thus correspond to period 6 and 7 of the general sequence of the site.⁹

The church of S. Vincenzo Maggiore is aligned east-west, with an apse in the west. The slope of the Colle della Torre, upon which the building sits, slopes northwest-southeast, which is why the level chosen for the pavement of the church near the façade is ca three metres higher than ground level, an effect which is accentuated in the southeast corner than in the northeast corner, while the level of the southern apse is more or less the same as ground level while the northern apse is actually slightly subterranean. In the process of constructing the apse of the church, there was evidently a large amount of work in the levelling of the clay slopes of the hill starting with the centre of the central apse and comprising also the labour-intensive cutting back of the travertine bedrock which appears underneath the clay of the hill. Towards the façade, the alignment of the church diverges from the alignment of the hill. Indeed, the area between the church and the hill was backfilled in period 7 and rooms were built on top of it, including, in Period 8, the chapel of S. Restituta, which was the only structure left standing after the comprehensive dismantling and relocation of the *basilica maior* in the period between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth. The area between the chapel and CG has not been excavated, owing to the extreme depth of the accumulation. Neither is it known what the ground level on the southern flank of the building was, nor correspondingly what was the level of the elevation of the basilica. The levels underneath the currently visible structures have never been excavated, and so the latest contexts are those of Period 6, Phase b and Period 7. Similarly, it has not been possible to examine the perimeter walls of the church at levels underneath the pavement, with the exception of a small area of the southern aisle near the facade, to be discussed below.

Our understanding of the building is thusly limited. The limitations can be overcome, however, by further archaeological research outside the basilica,

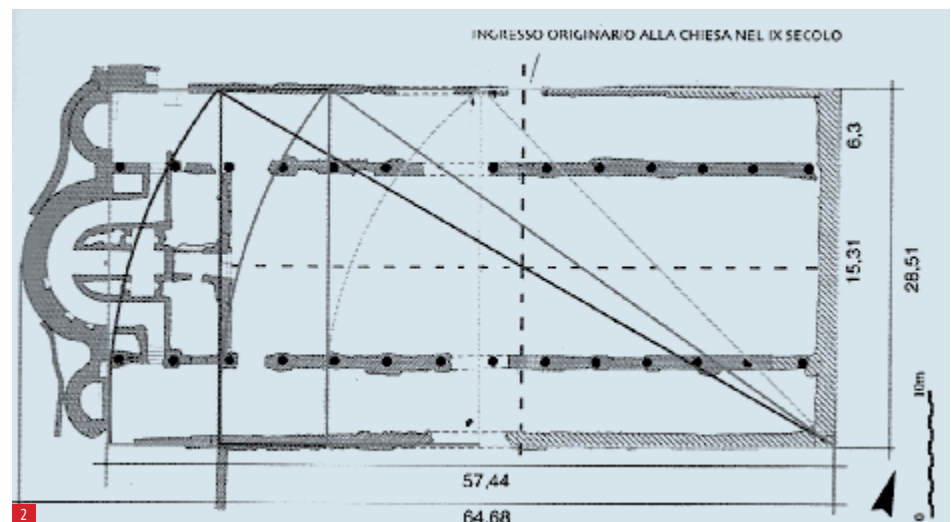
9 In establishing the chronology of the new excavations and the identification of the phases, we have maintained the sequence defined by R. Hodges for the earlier campaigns, Hodges, ed., *San Vincenzo al Volturno 1*, p. 7, table 1:2. We did this in order to render more legible the comparison between the old and new excavations.

along the southern side, as we intend to do in the near future in cooperation with the Soprintendenza. Despite these limitations, the architectural identity of the church is sufficiently clear, and it will be worth our while to identify its principal characteristics. The church is a basilica with an aisle and two lateral naves, each of which terminates in an apse. The central one, which is larger than the rest, has a partially subterranean annular crypt. The apses face the west, an orientation which though not very common, is nonetheless preceded by other examples of its use, including for example some of Constantine's churches at Rome (St Peter's on the Vatican and the Lateran basilica). The dimensions of the building are 63.40 metres in length, from the facade to the projecting central apse. Without the projection of the apse, the length is 56.75 m. From the facade to the line of the presbyterial *pergula* is 47.20 m. The width of the basilica is 28.20 m. The central nave is 15.10 m, while the northern and southern aisles are 6.40 and 6.70, respectively. ²

The early twelfth-century *Chronicon Vulturense* also gives the dimensions of the church built by Abbot Joshua (792–817).¹⁰ In the medieval text, the dimensions described are *passus*. In order to understand if there is a connexion between these data and those from the field, it is necessary to determine the equivalent between meters and *passus*. This is possible with some degree of clarity for the width of the building. The uncertainty of the length of the building lies in the ambiguity of whether the chronicler considers the church together with the atrium and forecourt or not. Thus, the chronicler reported that the building measured 12 *passus* in width, and in reality this was 28.20 m, we can deduce that the *passus* corresponds to a unit of measure of 1.762. Dividing the length of the building expressed in metres by 36, which is the number of *passus* indicated by the chronicler, one obtains, nearly to the millimetre, the same result: 1.761. The tiny difference noted can without doubt be understood in the inevitable discrepancies that measurements of this type yield.

Thus, we can say with certainty that the building that the chronicler Johannes describes, as a creation of the abbot Joshua, is surely the basilica hall

Plan of the Basilica Maior and its measurements



10 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, pp. 220–1.

without the addition of the atrium and the fore court. Further, in comparing the width and the length of the building without including the projections of the apses, one is nearly one-half the other (56.75 x 28.20 m). This signifies that the square box of the basilical hall was laid out according to the proportion of 1:2. The aisles were separated by two rows of columns, though exactly how many presents us with a problem. The *Vita* of Joshua in the *Chronicon* gives the number altogether as thirty-two columns, that is sixteen per side. Such a number is impossible, on the basis of archaeological examination of the remains of the building. The last passage of the *Chronicon Vulturense*, lost in the original manuscript and reported with lacunae in later copies, describes the church begun by Abbot Gerardus (1076–1109) on the right bank of the Volturno, which might help to come up with an alternative solution. This suggests that the new church of S. Vincenzo had twenty columns, while antea (previously) there had been twenty-four. *Antea* might refer to the time of the old basilica of Joshua which had probably been very recently demolished when the *Chronicon* was composed. For that basilica, twelve pairs of columns appear to be a plausible number, given that the first and last columns were supported not on columns but on pilasters attached to the walls of the basilica. This was a very typical solution to the problem in Christian basilicas in central and southern Italy, whether late antique or early medieval. To explain the existence of the remaining eight columns, we might imagine that the chronicler included in his count the two pairs of four columns each which supported the presbyterial *pergula*, the screen of columns running in front of the presbytery. But it is obvious that such an hypothesis cannot be advanced with absolute certainty and that there may be other explanations.

The apse area, which was brought to light in the excavations of 1994–5, has been the focus of a publication which, while not definitive, gives a general view of its morphology.¹¹ Thus what follows will describe this general view, integrating it with further observations which the more recent excavations have provided. The western end of the church was thus articulated through the construction of three apses at the end of the nave and aisles. The central apse, noticeably larger than the other two, was provided with a crypt, which comprised an annular corridor which followed the line of the apse. The crypt was in communication with both side aisles and central nave through two small staircases. At its apex, the crypt corridor opened into a longitudinal corridor, 5.280 metres long, which led onto a central chamber with a cross-shaped plan. There are four niches located in the two short arms of the cross, in pairs. The two niches on the eastern side both had an altar in front of them, which left obvious marks in the underlying masonry. Beneath the *fenestella confessionis*, the window in the altar, the end of the long arm of the central chamber likewise had a niche, which probably housed a sarcophagus or a large urn-reliquary. There were another two niches located in the eastern all of both of the ramps, one per side. The picture that emerges here is that there were at least seven foci of devotion in the crypt. The poor state of preservation of these niches makes identification and interpretation of them very difficult. One in two of the existing niches of the central chamber are

11 R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, *The Basilica of Abbot Joshua at San Vincenzo al Volturno* (Montecassino, 1996).

there legible paintings: two portraits of persons in monastic habit, with square halos, which have been identified as the abbots Joshua and Talaricus (817–23), under whom the majority of the building was constructed.¹² This hypothesis is very suggestive, but it lacks objective corroboration. There are no traces of *tituli picti* associated with the portraits, and these would have clarified the identity of the person. Access to the presbytery, above the crypt, was facilitated by two staircases which ran towards north and south, perpendicular to the passage in the crypt which led to the *fenestella confessionis*, and allowed the passage from the crypt to the level of the basilica.¹³ 3

The construction of the basilica was long and laborious, lasting certainly several decades. The crypt was built at a period after the construction of the apse area, though its plan, which is comparable to a number of early Carolingian buildings, suggests that it must nonetheless be relatively early.¹⁴ As excavations of the eastern end of the southern nave have demonstrated the area of the facade was completed after the destruction of the westernmost part of the so-called workshops. The buildings which were destroyed to allow space for the placing of the facade on the alignment where it lay conforming to the proportional scheme described above, were in their own turn on axis with a number of other buildings, including the Hall of the Prophets, the complex known as S. Vincenzo Minore, the production area of the abbey, upon which the basilica was placed, albeit with a different orientation. 4 This signifies that the planning of the basilica, its form and its dimensions, were established with a certain degree of care after the laying out of the majority of the monastery.

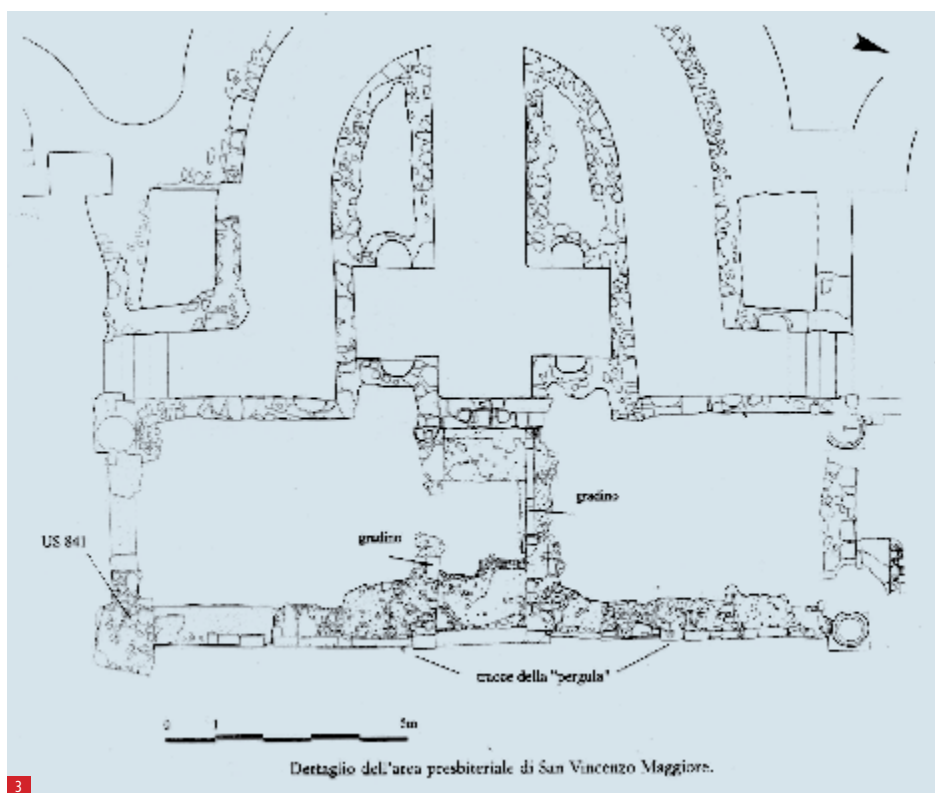
One of the most significant issues in interpreting the functions of the *basilica maior* in the Carolingian period on the basis of the excavations of the past fifteen years is the issue of access. The archaeological evidence indicates that there was no frontal access to the building. The only means of entry which was certainly in use during the Carolingian period was that on the northern flank of the building, located exactly in the midpoint between the facade and the screen of columns of the presbytery pergula. One entered the building at this door via a staircase that was located on the southern flank of the Colle della Torre, and it is possible to imagine that in this area the dormitory of the monastery was located, though this remains wholly hypothetical. This entrance, however, must have been connected to a passageway identified near the northeast corner of the church, which ran from the refectory area turned towards the west, and ran nearly parallel to the axis of the basilica up to the area where the lateral entrance lay. This passageway connected the cult building with the buildings in the northern area of the monastery which included the communal refectory.

The plan of the church with its nave and two aisles and without a transept is found in significant churches throughout the Christian west in the period from the second half of the eighth century. Italian parallels which seem particularly apposite include S. Salvatore in Brescia, datable to the third quarter

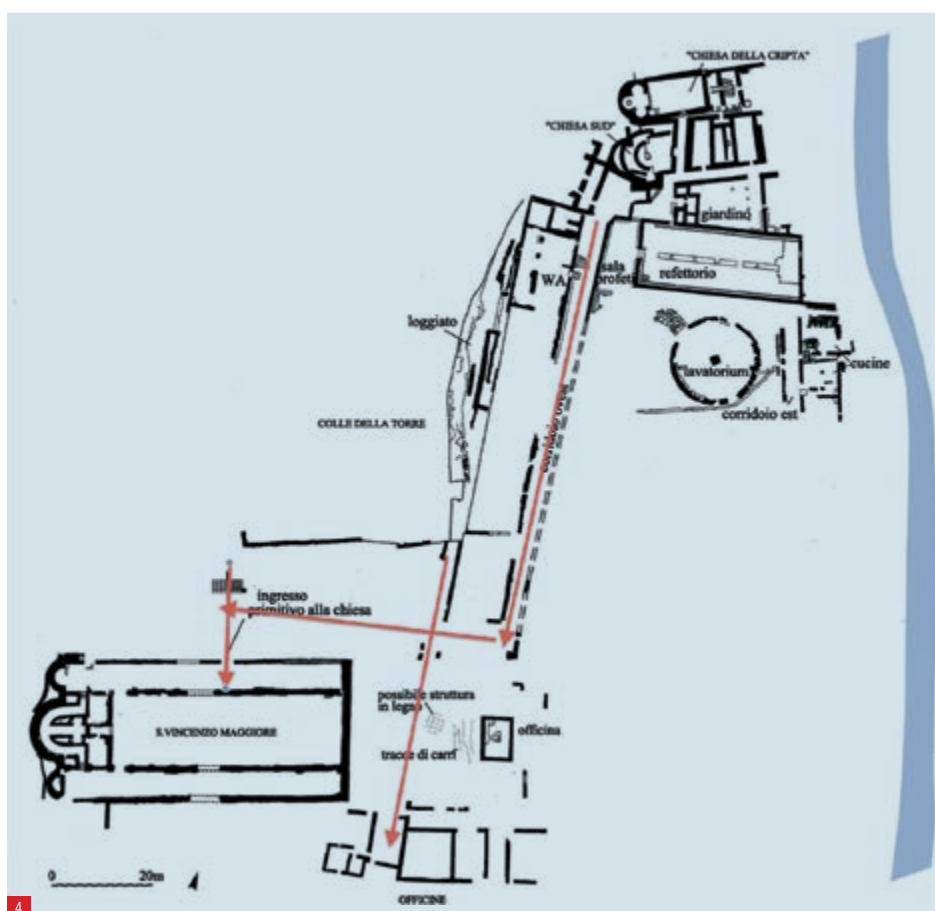
12 R. Hodges, J. Mitchell, L. Watson, "The discovery of Abbot Talaricus' (817–3 October 823) tomb at San Vincenzo al Volturno" *Antiquity* 71 (June 1997), pp. 453–7.

13 At the present date (August 2006) Professor D. Fiorani is completing a study on the system of covering the crypt, which might provide hypotheses about the difference in level between the nave and the presbytery. These studies will appear in the definitive publication of the excavations of the basilica maior. More detailed analysis will be presented there. On the floor surfaces of the basilica, see A. Gobbi and F. Guidobaldi, "I pavimenti marmorei di San Vincenzo Maggiore e Santa Restituta", in F. Marazzi and F. de Rubeis, eds. eds. *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VIII–XI): topografia e strutture. Atti III Seminario di Studio sui Monasteri nell'alto medioevo* (Rome, 2008), pp. 443–76.

14 On the shape and function of the crypt, see C. Goodson, "La cripta anulare di S. Vincenzo Maggiore nel contesto dell'architettura di epoca carolingia", in F. Marazzi and F. de Rubeis, eds. *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VIII–XI): topografia e strutture. Atti III Seminario di Studio sui Monasteri nell'alto medioevo* (Rome, 2008), pp. 425–44.



Basilica Maior: plan of the annular crypt



The building of the Basilica Maior in relationship with the pre-existing buildings

of the eighth century, according to the new chronology proposed by Brogiolo.¹⁵ Outside of Italy S. Emmeram of Regensburg, datable to around 780¹⁶ and the first phase of the Cathedral of Paderborn, dated to around 800.¹⁷

The area in front of the basilica in the ninth century

The history of the atrium of the *basilica maior* is not concluded with the construction and in the life of the atrium itself. The levels of occupation identified below the filling of the podium base indicate that this area witnessed an intense succession of phases of occupation before the monumental structure was built. Further the construction of the different parts of the body of the atrium is much more complex than it had been hypothesised at the moment of its discovery and the first analyses of these structures.¹⁸ As we shall see, we can now make further clarifications even to the conclusions advanced at the closure of the preliminary report, composed in the summer of 2002, whilst the examination was still underway.¹⁹

The area was probably already occupied in antiquity, as there is a high level of residual Roman pottery in all of the areas explored. This is particularly true in the deeper contexts lying beneath the kiln structure, which is the first building which can be dated to the early middle ages. Difficulties which arose in the course of excavation made it impossible to identify further the significance of this possible earlier occupation. With the position of the monastic centre, the area seems to have acquired a productive function. The first sign of activity is the creation of the small kiln described above. Probably, this was not the only sign of activity in the area; indeed it is possible that the first part of the glass workshop (the part dedicated to the primary fusion of glass) was already active.

The first intervention modifying the area (identifiable as Phase 3c of Hodges' sequence, with continuity into 4a), includes the creation of a walkway to reach the area to the south, the area of the so-called workshops. **5** This intervention is characterised by the presence of beaten earth floors pitted with tracks of carriages. It is more than likely that this intervention was the first architectural planning of the area in front of the basilica, including the construction of the buildings which now appear to be off the axis of the basilica by 27 degrees. This architectural programme includes then the Western Corridor, the connexion between the monastic refectory and the complex of S. Vincenzo Minore, corridor CF, which runs parallel to this, and its continuation towards the east. It also included the buildings to the south of the atrium, rooms OE, OF, OG and OH, and the first phase of rooms OB/OC and OD, as well as the dedication of the area to the north of the OB/OC as a glass workshop by means of the construction of a furnace for the primary working of glass. The continuation towards the south of corridor CF and the tracts of new wall which were laid out on its axis, connect exactly with the position of the two sections of walls located on the south side of the atrium, in front

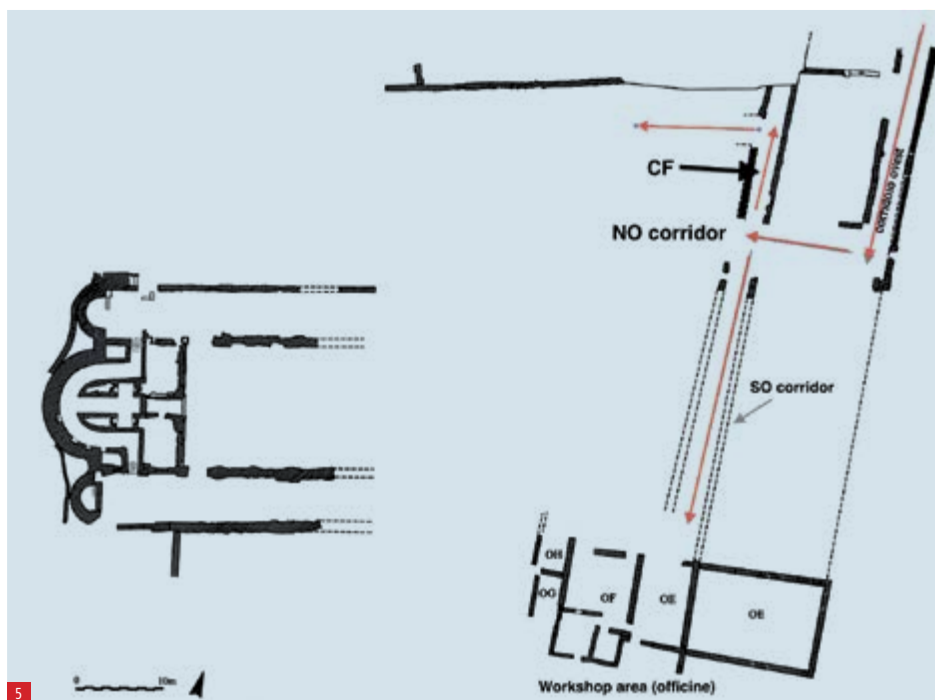
15 See G.P. Brogiolo, M. Ibsen and V. Gheroldi, "Nuovi dati sulla cripta del San Salvatore di Brescia", in F. Marazzi and F. De Rubeis, eds. *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VI–II–XI): topografia e strutture. Atti III Seminario di Studio sui Monasteri nell'alto medioevo* (Rome, 2008), pp. 211–38.

16 W. Jacobsen, "Die Renaissance der frühchristlichen Architektur in der Karolingerzeit", in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, eds. 799: *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und papst Leo III.* In Paderborn. Vol. 2. *Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz, 1999), vol. III, pp. 623–43.

17 S. A. Gai, "Die Pfalz Karls der Großen in Paderborn. Ihre Entwicklung von 777 bis zum Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts", in C. Stiegemann and M. Wemhoff, eds. 799: *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit. Karl der Grosse und papst Leo III.* In Paderborn. Vol. 2. *Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 1999* (Mainz, 1999), vol. III, pp. 183–96, in particular figures 5 and 6.

18 R. Hodges, F. Marazzi, *San Vincenzo al Volturno. Sintesi di storia e archeologia* (Rome, 1994); Hodges, Mitchell, *The Basilica*.

19 Marazzi, et al. "San Vincenzo".



The area in front of the Basilika maior when its building started (end of the 8th century)

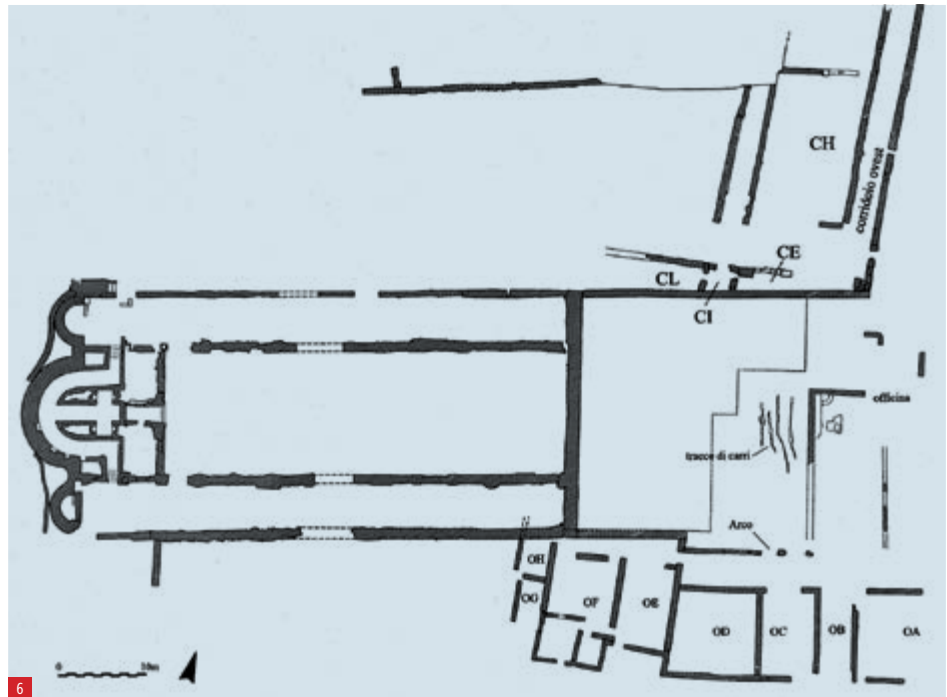
of the entrance to OE. This implies the existence of a built walkway, which we will call Corridor SO, connecting the two sides which are separated by the later atrium. Their alignment is beneath the layers of atrium fill that were not possible to excavate.

In this phase, the basilica itself was not completed and it might be that not even its dimensions had been completely determined, given that the outline of room OH extended beyond the alignment of the southern wall and that of the façade of the basilica. Further, the results of the geophysical exploration of the aisles of the *basilica maior* demonstrate that this was an open area before the construction of the basilica, and the construction of the church was the first major building work on the site. After this, with the completion of the basilica in the proportions which we see today (phase 4b), the area changed its character and was dominated by the great ecclesiastical building.

The completion of the church appears to have shaped the later changes to the area (phase 5a). The area went from one of heavy traffic both pedestrian and vehicular to one more clearly delimited and surrounded by buildings and their service areas. At least initially, the southwest corridor remained in use, but the area of the so-called workshops transformed more than in form and function.

6 A northern boundary wall was constructed around the workshops which brought the axis in line with the area of the church. A door opened through the northern side towards the cobbled area of the atrium. One-half of its arch was excavated, collapsed in situ, as well as part of the wall to the west of the door. This door opened onto an exit corridor running to the workshops excavated in 1994–6, such as OA, OB, OC and OD, which were at that time recon-

The area of the Basilica Maior in the mid 9th century



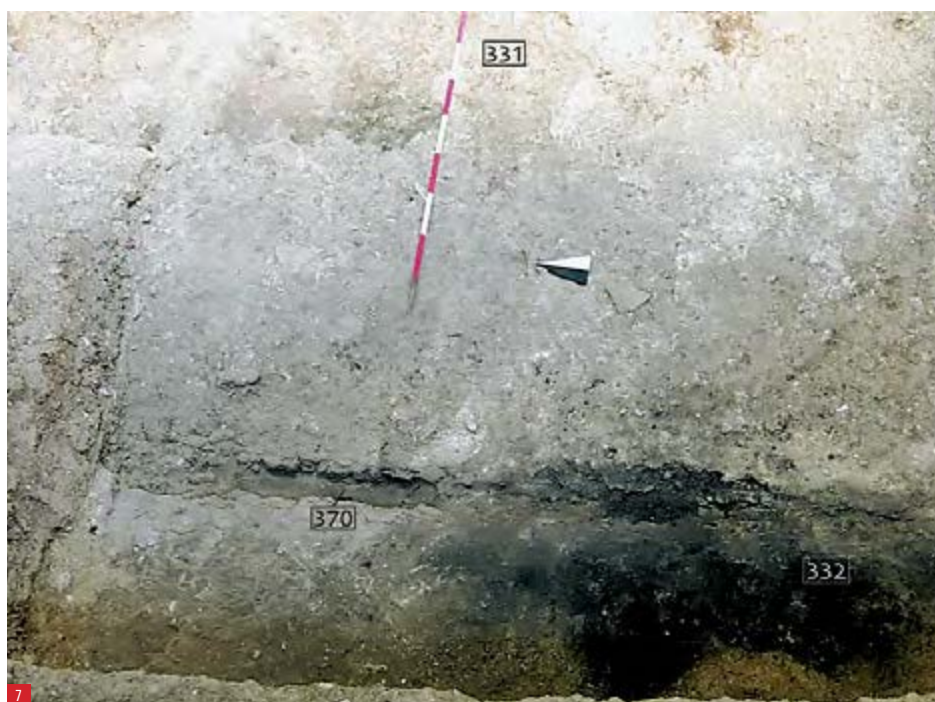
constructed as running parallel to the northern boundary wall. The entire complex, excepting those latest rooms to the west, was shifted to reorient with the axis of the church, which must have been more or less completed or at least its major elements laid out at that point. To the west of the door there was another, perhaps two more arches, excavated by Hodges in the early 1990s.²⁰ The first, which is still in its original position, led to an open area bounded at the west by Corridor SO, while the other two let onto the glass workshop, perhaps through an intermediary open space. This area was then connected with a glass working furnace for finishing glass products, on the edge of which was a large brick-making kiln.²¹

The cobbled areas were covered with a beaten earth surface, as part of the final organisation of the area in front of the basilica (Phase 5b), which might also have included the planning of a forebuilding in front of the basilica even if it did not correspond directly with the architectonic profile of the *paradisus* constructed afterwards. In our opinion, there is nothing which can confirm that the work was completed at the time of the destruction of the monastery by the Arabs. To the contrary, it was more likely that this event found the area in front of the *basilica maior* still as a building site.

The most significant intervention at this time was the destruction of the old Corridor SO by means of the construction of a wall on the north side of the atrium, which had the effect of transforming the corridor into a small nearly square room (Room CI). Using this and the continuation of the wall towards the west a second area (CL) was created. On the south side, a wall and the short end wall of the corridor SO were added to the existing wall, which is the extension of the southern wall of the basilica. The boundary wall to the north and its connected passage were not eliminated and remained in use until the

20 This solution must have substituted the structures that necessitated 4715, discussed above as the northern limit of the workshop for the primary working of glass.

21 F. Marazzi, F. D'Angelo, "Artes diversas intra monasterio exerceantur (RB, cap. LXVI). Riflessioni sulla gestione del ciclo produttivo del vetro a San Vincenzo al Volturno nel IX secolo", in R. Francovich and M. Valenti, eds., *Atti del IV Congresso nazionale di Archeologia Medievale* (Florence, 2006), pp. 447-54.



The burned beam found insitu below the southern arm of the 11th century atrium

destruction of the entire area. This partially maintained the organisation of the area in the preceding phase, and perhaps maintained provisionally the same for the monks.

The traces of the fire set to the area by the Arabs in year 881 are attested by deposits of earth evenly accumulated over these structures, raising the level of occupation of the area itself. This earth was filled with materials which had burned mixed with soil containing fragmentary building materials selected and compacted by treading. An analogous situation was identified in the course of 2000–2 excavations in the kitchens and in the completion of the excavations of the Guests' palace.²² It is probable that we are talking about the traces of burned earth and buildings which are not necessarily conserved in their original deposition but were rubble brought to this part of the site. It is important to remember that in the southern arm of the atrium, at the western edge of the area excavated, a burned roof beam was found still in situ, and connected to an upright. **7** These are probably the remains of a wooden annex to the workshop buildings just beyond the southern wall of the atrium. All of these elements can be tied to a traumatic event, and as has been suggested before, might be linked to the fire of 881 (Phase 5c).

The area to the northeast of the basilica maior and the atrium: the phases of the ninth century

The first recognisable activity in this area concerns the group of structures of Room CF and the perimeter of these extending towards the south, which were later absorbed into Room CI. Logically, CF should not be considered a room but rather a passageway which is part of a system which linked the part of the monastery at the foot of the southern flank of the Colle della

22 Marazzi, et al. "San Vincenzo", p. 259-62.

Torre, with the structure some 10 metres further north, the complex of S. Vincenzo Minore, in particular the Hall of the Prophets.

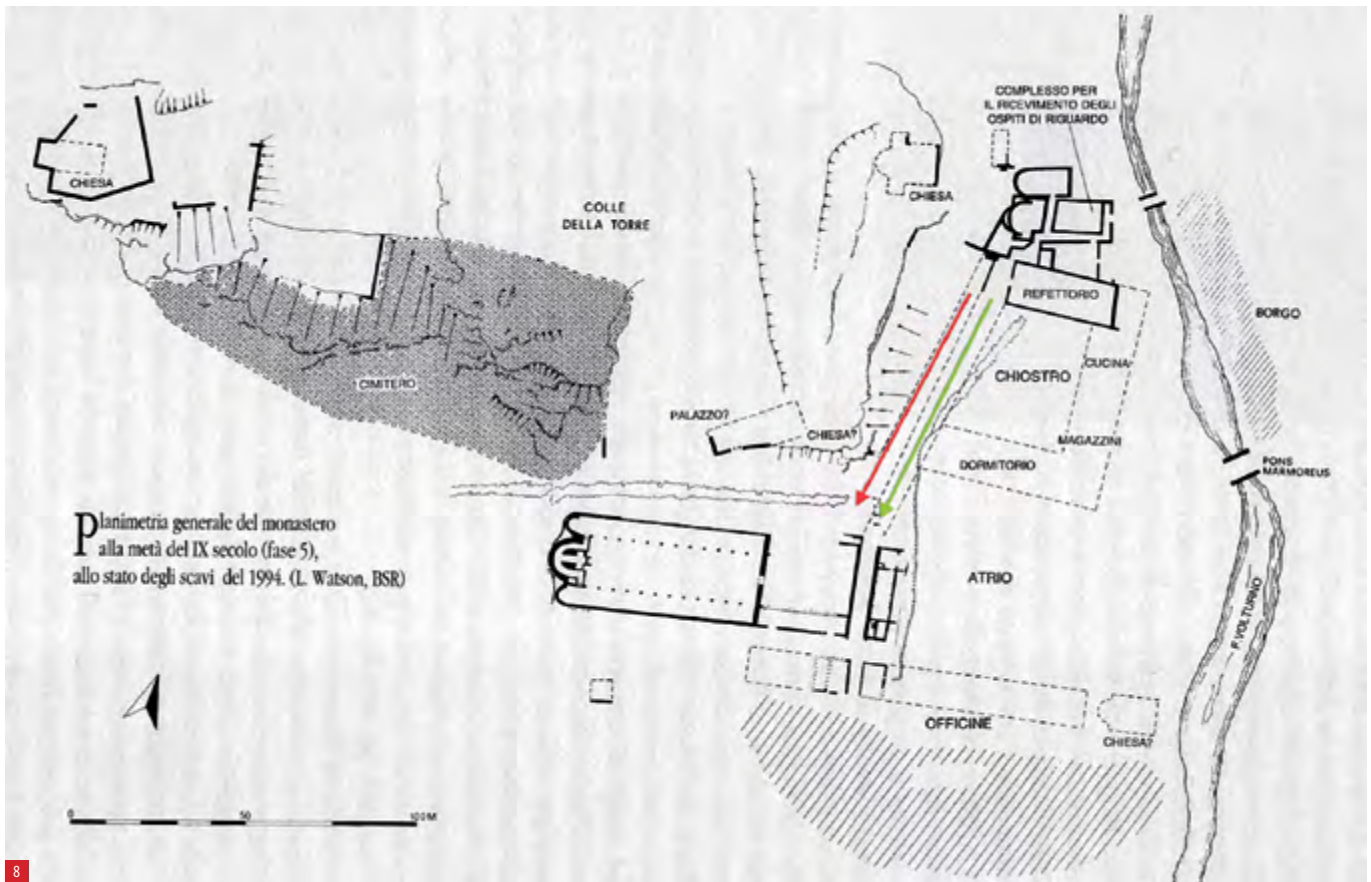
As mentioned above, a long porticated hall, called the West Corridor, joined the two sectors of the monastery. This corridor ran parallel to the room CF. Though the excavation of this area was not completed, we can say that the West Corridor probably had two construction phases, a first which comprised the construction of the area between the Hall of the Prophets and the northern edge of Room CH. A second phase, probably contemporary with the construction of CH itself, was the closure of the passage coming from the north and the building of a final passageway, called Corridor NO, which goes toward the north following the southern side of CH. This little arm joined the west corridor with the parallel axis of CF and its continuation to the south which we called Corridor SO. It is important to recognise that Corridor NO follows an orthogonal layout, with respect to CF, and its continuation to the south, but diverging some 27 degrees towards the north from the axis of the basilica.

The junction between the southern end of the West Corridor and the structures of the atrium is one of the major interpretative keys not only of this sector but also possibly of the entire excavation of S. Vincenzo al Volturno. At the time of the first explorations of the *basilica maior*, in the early 1990s, it seemed almost inevitable to link a vaulted passage under the eastern end of the atrium (Corridor III in the preliminary edition of the excavations from 2000–2) with the passageway leading from the Hall of the Prophets, whose alignment was intuited, if not actually identified. This reconstruction suggested that the corridor which linked directly the Hall of the Prophets with the basilica maior, the so-called lower thoroughfare, ran alongside another, which must have run slightly uphill towards the Colle della Torre and which in theory would have opened directly onto the basilica itself, so-called upper thoroughfare. This hypothesis of the two corridors was toned down in later studies in favour of a more decisively important direct connection between the Hall of the Prophets and Corridor III²³, but it must be said it was not entirely abandoned.²⁴ **8**

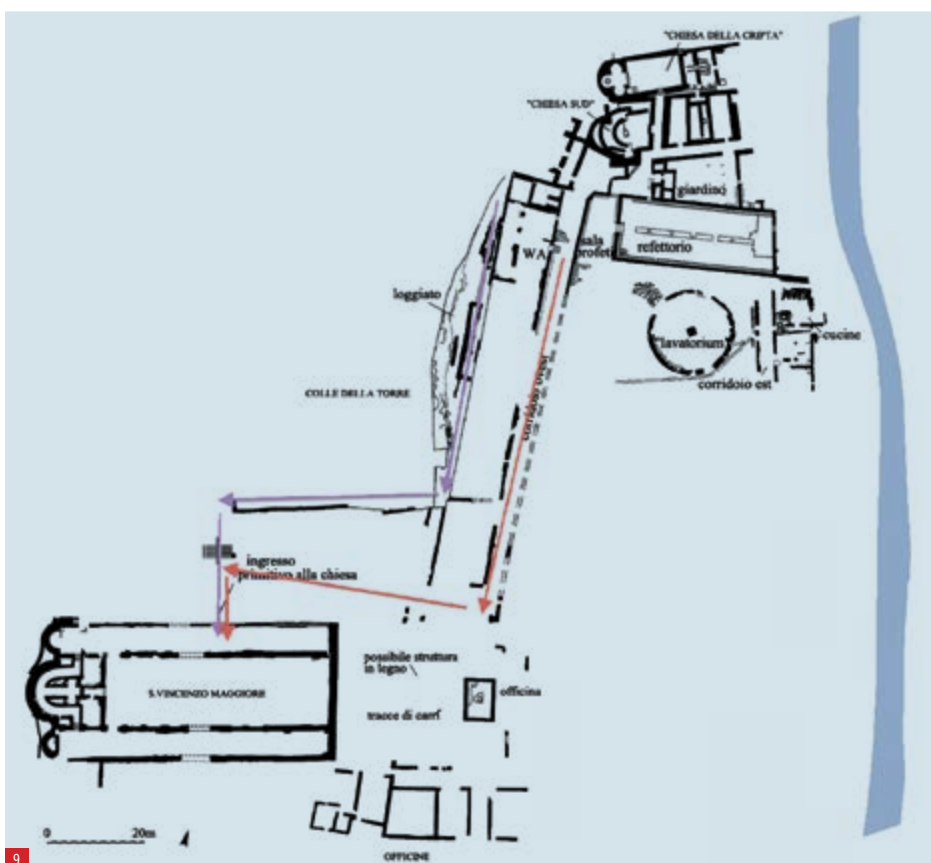
The hypothetical existence of the two corridors which ran from the so-called complex of S. Vincenzo Minore was indeed verified, though the disposition of the passageways was organized differently from that hypothesised: no corridor left directly from the Hall of the Prophets, but what we have called the Corridor West began next to and at a level slightly higher than the Hall, and the second corridor, called the Loggia by us, ended up being much more 'upper' than the first, running as it did along the flank of the Colle della Torre, at ca 6.30 metres higher than the level of the Corridor West. **9** These differences are not without significance as they indicate an alignment and thus a juncture between the Corridor West and Corridor III different from that hypothesised by Hodges, the two cannot coexist. This is not particularly significant in itself, but when considered in light with the fact that pavement level of the final part of the Corridor West is substantially different from that

23 R. Hodges, F. Marazzi, *San Vincenzo al Volturno nel IX secolo. L'invenzione di una città monastica*, in S. Patitucci Uggeri, ed., *Scavi medievali in Italia 1994–1995* (Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1998), pp. 311–22.

24 Cf Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages*, figures 5.3 e 5.16.



8



9

The upper and the lower thoroughfares linking the northern part of the monastery to the Basilica Maior as supposed in the mid 1990s (from Hodges-Marazzi)

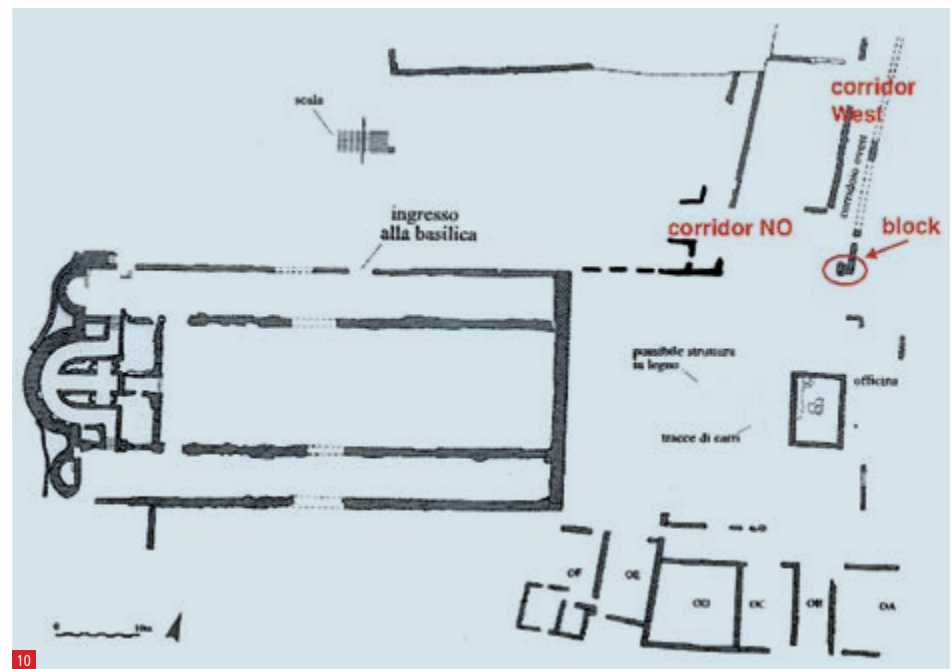
The upper thoroughfare ("Loggiato") and the lower thoroughfare ("Corridoio Ovest - Western Corridor") as defined during the 2000-2002 excavations

of Corridor III, which is located ca 1.15 metres higher, and the fact that there is no archaeological evidence that two levels were linked.

A further element which has proven decisive for the rereading of the area is the stratigraphic analysis of the masonry of the area at the end of the Corridor West. The external wall of Corridor West ends with a large travertine block, attached to the inside of which there is another, larger block, more or less square in form, measuring 1.10 x 0.70 m. This second block is placed in alignment with the first and the pair clearly predates the construction of the forebuildings located just behind them; rather it is located on the same axis as the wall which is surrounded by the walls of room CE, but it predates it.

10 + 11 These are the remaining elements of the first organisation of the end

Remains of the original junction between the western corridor and the northwestern corridor (late 8th – early 9th century). (Figures 10 + 11)



of the Corridor West and the first part of Corridor NO, by which one could continue straight into the zone of the workshops, perhaps through an arch of which one of the blocks might be the remains of a side wall, or one could have continued towards the intersection with Corridor SO, to go either into CF or to the left, or pass the front of the church on foot and reach the workshops that way (see figure 5).

The alignment of these last structures suggests that they form part of the older group of structure of the workshop complex along the south of the atrium (rooms OE, OF, OG, OH and the first phase of OD). These structures pertain to a structured architectural passageway, that which we have called Corridor SO, which links these two poles, and this offers a functional explanation of these elements linked to the coherence of their contemporary construction. These buildings all predate the laying out of the construction workshops for the building of the *basilica maior* (phase 3c). Their functions endured substantially the same during the later construction of the basilica (phases 4a/b).

The definitive plan of the ninth century (phases 5a/5b)

Shortly thereafter, however, there was a significant reorganisation of the area, which left very visible traces. These included the closing of Corridor SO, the construction of the small rooms CI and CL and the extension of Corridor NO in a westerly direction. In addition what had earlier been the passage north of Corridor SO in the area of CF became at this point a blind alley, used as a storage area. What happened to the end of the Corridor SO towards the shops is impossible to say, because the structures remain (presumably) below the unexcavated area of the atrium. The construction of the building which was subsequently enclosed in the wall north of the atrium, helped to connect the two axes of the basilica and the Corridor West and its associated buildings (see figure 6).

One of the keys to reading this phase is a certain wall, which follows the new alignment of the basilica and sits underneath the later walls which vaulted Corridor III²⁵ With the building of this wall, when one arrived at the end of the Corridor West, one could no longer pass directly but was forced to turn to the right towards the west, and take the Corridor NO. ¹² The remains of the old corridor system were used as rooms: on the left CE, CI and CL and on the right CF. ¹³ Corridor NO was large enough to be used by a large number of people. It takes an alignment slightly divergent from that of the basilica and the other related buildings. It has already been suggested that the extension of the perimeter walls of the *basilica maior*, in the course of the ninth century, could have been part of a monumentalisation of the passages related to the basilica. We have no way of knowing if they intended to include access to the front of the church.

As it was constructed, however, the intention was to monumentalise the approach to the church which must have existed before in a less structured

25 The wall in question, 5391, was previously considered equal to USM 4712, which is abutted by the southern edges of walls 4603 and 4610, and which aligns with the southern wall of the atrium, though it has been demonstrated that they are different. Firstly, the cross-section of the two walls is 1.42 metres for 4712 and 1.05 meters for 5391 respectively. Further, the masonry of 4712 is made of tiny pieces of travertine and limestone, with many bricks, held together by a very strong grey mortar, while 5391 is made of blocks of travertine with a much weaker yellow mortar. While 4712 has a genuine foundation, beneath the ground level of Corridor III, while 5391 is what remains of an elevation which interfered with the latter. 4712 appears to be the continuation of the foundation 299 of wall 572/573, which is the second phase of the palimpsest of masonry in the southern wall of the atrium.

way. The suppression of the Corridor SO and the creation of rooms CE, CI, CL and CF generated a well-defined passageway, with side passages leading up towards the only entrance securely datable to the ninth century, the slide portal on the north flank of the basilica. The passage joined up with the stairs which led down from the Colle della Torre and which must have linked up to the loggia on the eastern flank of the tower, though the stratigraphy of that area is severely compromised.¹⁴ This organisation of passages, allowed a quick and discrete entrance to the basilica for someone coming from the Hall of the Prophets and the refectory, across the Corridor West, screening from view the area in front of the basilica which would have still been a large building site. This situation was interrupted when a violent fire which swept through the area, which brought down the structures of the rooms flanking the Corridor NO and the rooms CH and Corridor West (phase 5c).

Some observations on the shape of the *basilica maior* in the ninth century

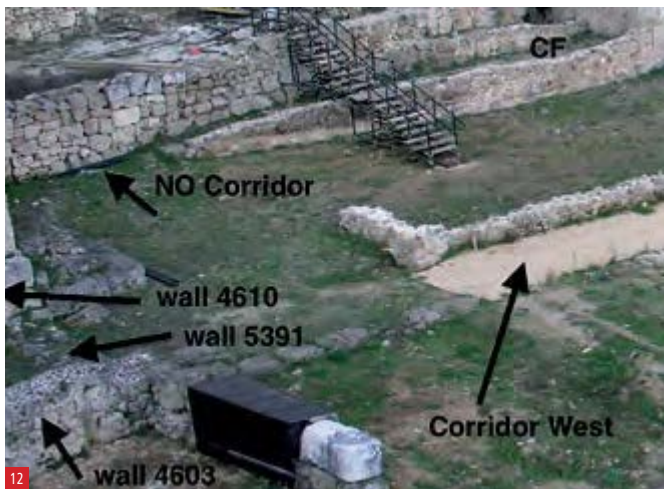
The archaeological explorations of 2000–2 have brought to light an architectural configuration that was highly articulated, certainly more than early excavation had suggested. In particular, one thing that has emerged as a key issue is significance of inserting the body of the basilica into the area of the site facing the Volturno. This was initially laid out as a different axis, which followed the eastern flank of the Colle della Torre, shaped by earlier quarrying.²⁶ It is apparent that the initial organisation of the area which was later occupied by the basilica did not in fact foresee the construction of a large basilica in that position, or at least not one which would take the shape and size of the one which was actually constructed there. At a certain moment, however, the site underwent a dramatic change, most visible in the construction of the sanctuary dedicated to the martyr Saint Vincent of Saragossa. The saint had previously been greatly venerated by the Franks, especially at Paris, at the sanctuary founded there in 544 by King Childebert (ca 496–558) upon his return from Spain, where the king deposited the stole of Saint Vincent.²⁷

The textual traditions reported by the chronicles of S. Vincenzo and Montecassino report that the abbot Joshua, who the *Chronicon Vulturense* describes as Frankish, was responsible for conceiving and initiating the basilica.²⁸ The *Chronicon Vulturense* describes the construction of the church with emphasis and detail which, while mistaking certain historical facts such as the presence of the emperor and the pope at the moment of the basilica's consecration, nonetheless demonstrates profound interest in the architectural, urbanistic and also devotional qualities of the project. Prior to that date,

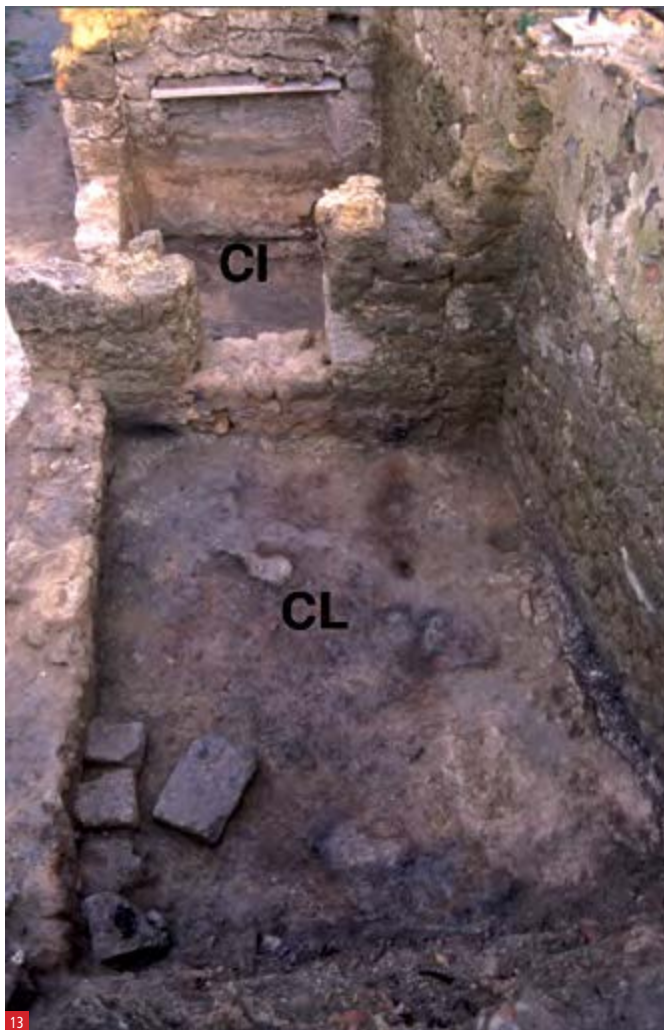
26 A. Gobbi and F. Guidobaldi, "I pavimenti marmorei di San Vincenzo Maggiore e Santa Restituta", in F. Marazzi and F. de Rubeis, eds. eds. *Monasteri in Europa Occidentale (secoli VIII-XI): topografia e strutture*. Atti III Seminario di Studio sui Monasteri nell'alto medioevo (Rome, 2008), pp. 443–76.

27 F. Marazzi, "Fama praeclaris martyris Vincentii. Riflessioni su origini e problemi del culto di San Vincenzo di Saragozza a San Vincenzo al Volturno", *Sanctorum* 4 (2007), pp. 163–203.

28 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, pp. 220–1; *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. G. Waitz, MGH *Scriptores rerum Langobardorum* (Hannover, 1878), I, 16.



Remains of the partition wall between the western corridor and the workshop area (mid 9th century)



Rooms "CI" and "CL" generated by the construction of the partition wall between the western corridor and the workshop area



The staircase leading from the colle della torre (monastic dormitory?) and the northern entrance to the Basilica Maior

the monastery at S. Vincenzo was mostly given over to the veneration of the Virgin. Two of the three churches on the site were dedicated to the Virgin Mary by Joshua's predecessors: the church of S. Maria *Maior*, built by Abbot Taso (720–1, 729–39)²⁹, and the church of S. Maria *Minor*, near the river, which is attributed to the initiative of Joshua's predecessor, Abbot Paul I (783–92).³⁰ The third church, dedicated to Saint Peter, was constructed by Abbot Ato (739–60) and it may reflect the strong ties the abbot had with the See of St Peter and Rome. Indeed it was that abbot who was called by Pope Stephen II (752–57) to persuade the Lombard king Aistolf to end the siege of Rome.³¹

Given the extremely thin data concerning the cult of Saint Vincent in this area prior to the foundation of the monastery³², it is worth noting that the *Chronicon Vulturense* places the biography of Abbot Ambrosius Autpertus (777–8) after a long digression on the history of the Franks, and in particular on the foundation of the Parisian sanctuary dedicated to Saint Vincent by King Childebert, where the king himself was eventually buried. It is further interesting to note that in the biography of Autpertus, who was indisputably of stock from north of the Alps, certain key elements are deliberately conflated, with necessary historical adjustments but with perfect narrative harmony.

For example, the biography reports the attention that Charlemagne dedicated to the monastery of S. Vincenzo, including the sending of Autpertus himself to the monastery to explain its patrimony, made concrete by privileges conceded through Autpertus, and then imitated by Prince Arechis of Benevento (ob. 788); the choice of Autpertus to take monastic vows at S. Vincenzo; the particular grace which this abbot received from the Virgin, who cured him from a speech impediment; the relevance of the cult of the Virgin in the monastery itself, to which Autpertus was strongly devoted; and the election of Autpertus as abbot of the monastery.³³ The construction of the text here gives the impression that the chronicler wants to relate the fortunes of the monastery of S. Vincenzo with the cult of the Spanish martyr among the Franks, and the cult which becomes predominant under the other 'Frankish' abbot, the successor of Autpertus, Joshua. In this way Autpertus acted a mediator, a person external to the monastery but who appears to be ideal to lead it for his doctrine and for his dedication to the Virgin, which was a preponderant element in local devotional cult.

The dialectic of the two cults, of Mary and of Vincenzo, was articulated in the prologue about the foundation of the monastery attributed to Autpertus himself.³⁴ In that narrative, another Frankish abbot, Thomas of Morienne, abbot of Farfa, sent the three founders Paldo, Taso and Tato, "towards Vincenzo", that is to the chapel where they were to found a new monastery, departing then "from Mary", to whom the Sabine monastery of Farfa is dedicated. The silences and elisions which characterise the narration of the

29 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, p. 155.

30 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, p. 204

31 L.-M. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: texte, introduction et commentaire* (Paris, 1886–92), vol. I, p. 441; *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, p. 166.

32 V. Saxer, *Saint Vincent diacre et martyr* (Bruxelles, 2002); F. Marazzi, "Fama praeclari"

33 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, pp. 176–82.

34 *Chronicon Vulturense*, vol. I, pp. 101–23

Chronicon Vulturense make it difficult to know whether a cult of Saint Vincent actually existed prior to the foundation of the monastery in his honour, or whether one coexisted with the Marian cult from the beginning, or whether the cult was actually ‘imported’ to the site with the increasing interaction, more or less spontaneous, with the Frankish world and thus superseded the cult of the Virgin, which had certainly had dominated during the period of Lombard administration of the monastery.

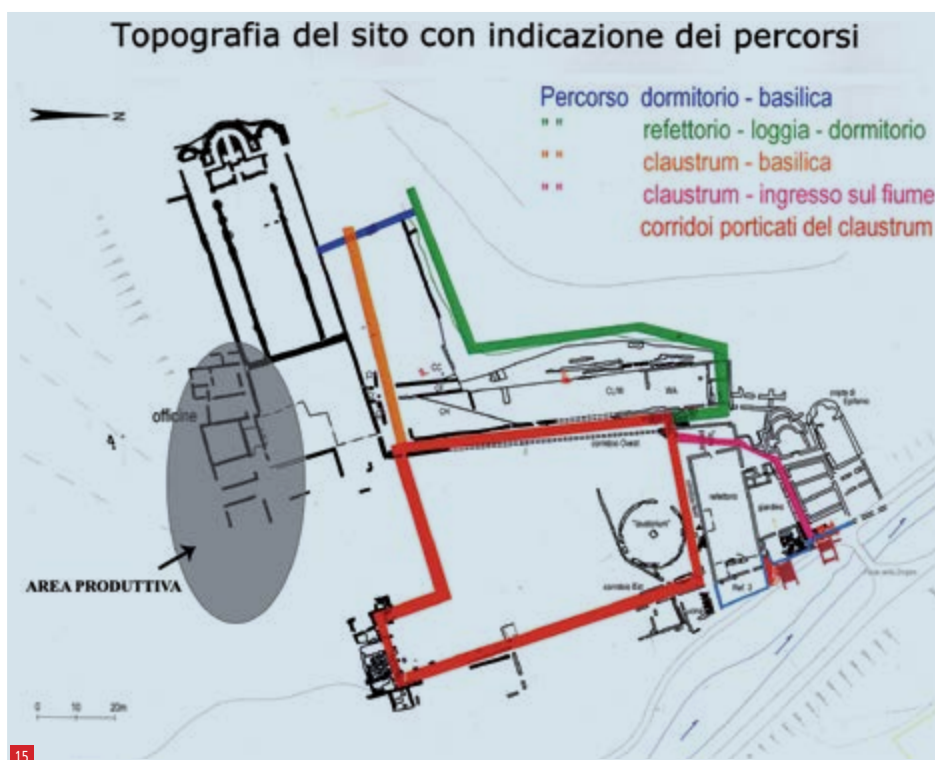
Under Abbot Paul, the monastery was still building shrines to the Virgin (*sancta Maria minor iuxta fluminem*³⁵), but with Joshua, the cult which the Chronicon reminds us was so dear to the Frankish kings dominates. The *basilica maior* of the monastery ceases to be that dedicated to the Virgin and becomes that erected in honour of the saint from Saragossa. This brings, as we have seen, a transformation of the site, both profound and complex. The basilica project of Joshua was an undertaking of scale previously unknown. The size of the church put the new church into direct conversation with the great churches north of the Alps and new churches of the ‘Renaissance’ in Rome. The new building represents an intrusion of a built element, which while not foreign, nonetheless inserted itself only with difficulty in the pre-existing structures of the monastery, reorienting the planimetry of the site.

The placement of the basilica presented opportunities and problems without easy answers. The location chosen offered great visibility of the bulk of the building, by virtue of its exposure from the southeast, in the direction of the main routes leading towards S. Vincenzo either from Venafrò or from the Abruzzese high plains. Further this location was somewhat removed from the entrances to the monastery, at least to judge from our available evidence. This indicates that anyone wanting to reach the church would have to follow a relatively lengthy passage through the monastery. These two aspects are not necessarily a contradiction between themselves. The function of the basilica, as a great signpost of the monastery would not necessarily implicate easy-access to the church, without the filters for those who did not pertain to the community. It is common in other monasteries of the Carolingian period, at least among those which permit such an analysis of the general topography, that the principal ecclesiastical building should have a prominent and visible position. This is true not only for the monasteries of medium dimensions, such as Farfa, Müstair and S. Salvatore at Brescia, but also much larger communities, such as S. Denis and Lorsch. In all of these cases, the major church was located away from the entrances to the monastery and in prominent positions, often constructed in larger dimensions than the other buildings surrounding it. This type of planning may reflect the direction of focus of the main church aimed toward at the community itself and the privileged guests who might be permitted to enter it. Such an hypothesis would suggest also the absence of a frontal entrance to the church, another element which finds parallels in ecclesiastical architecture of Carolingian monasteries, such as the church at Müstair and Mittelzell, on the island of Reichenau.

The problem of the absence of a front entrance to the *basilica maior* in the Carolingian period is connected to our new dating of the *paradisus* before the basilica. Contrary to what has been hypothesised on the basis of excavations in the early 1990s, the *paradisus* cannot have been constructed in the Carolingian period, at least not as we see it today. It is much more in keeping with the reconstruction of the monastery in the Ottonian period, around the year 1000.

I have here summarised the data for the new proposed chronology, reconsidering the observations published in the preliminary report of 2002 and integrating the data from the final campaign of 2002. These permit an up-to-date survey of the problem. As a general reflection, it should be pointed out that excluding the ninth-century chronology of the *paradisus* does not preclude that the area in front of the *basilica maior* was the site of significant activity. There is a general impression from the data that this area was a production site, which is clearly attested throughout the ninth century and which predated the positioning of the building site there. Certainly that area could have coexisted with the construction site for a long period and probably in relation to the functions of the construction site it could have adapted to the progress of the building. Once the church was erected, the area was enlarged towards the east of the church. This served to emphasise the lines of axis of the church, enclosing on the south side the complex of the workshops (which were partially reconstructed at that moment), and on the north side the corridor which came from the S. Vincenzo Minore and from it the passage way leading to the basilica. ¹⁵ + ¹⁶

The fact that these new structures were aligned with the long sides of the basilica might suggest that a forebuilding of the church was considered along with the initial plan. This may be true, but the archaeology makes clear that such a forebuilding, if actually ever conceived in the shape of an atrium, was not completed by year 881. This indicates that the process of adaptation of the structures of the site, begun by the imposition of the *basilica maior*, went on for a long time, and that the fabric of the basilica was not completed. Clearly, knowing only a small portion of the comprehensive structure that was the Carolingian monastery, it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this observation. In other words, it is impossible to say whether the slow pace of construction of the basilica was compensated by the speed of construction of other sections of the monastic complex. It is further important to remember that all of Joshua's successors, up to the mid-ninth century (Talaricus, Epyphanus (824–42) and Toto (842–44)) were all building abbots, responsible for five churches, making nine total churches in the complex, or ten if we include the dubious oratory of S. Vincenzo reportedly found by the three founders, as recounted in the prologue of the *Chronicon Vulturense* elaborated upon by Ambrosius Autpertus, according to tradition. Thus, the abbey remained an open worksite on many fronts, up to two generations after Joshua. This gives us the means to understand how the *basilica maior* could have taken such a long time to construct, and slowed down the building process of the accessory parts of itself.



15

Overall plan of the mid 9th century monastery with the links among the different parts of the complex



16

Hypothetical reconstruction of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the mid 9th century

It is impossible to pin down the exact chronology of all these transformations undertaken in the course of the ninth century. Our state of understanding of the ceramics of the period in question does not permit dating contexts to within the decade. Generally, what is plausible and – for a site like S. Vincenzo – also legitimate to do is to attempt to place the sequence of the archaeological events within a scale of phases, linked to moments in the life of the monastery known through the narrative of the *Chronicon Vulturense*. This method was substantially that applied by Hodges, and has been recently reiterated by Helen Patterson.³⁶

³⁶ H. Patterson, *San Vincenzo al Volturno. New insights into ceramic production and distribution at an early medieval monastery*, in G. De Benedittis, ed., *I beni culturali nel Molise. Il Medioevo* (Campobasso, 2004), pp. 249–58, especially p. 250.

Following this, the organisation preceding the laying out of the basilica (the plan of the organisation of the workshops and the construction of the corridor connecting with the north) could date to the third and fourth quarter of the eighth century (phase 3C of Hodges' sequence); the beginning of basilica's construction corresponds to the period between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, the abbacy of Joshua (phase 4a); the completion of the basilica and the first reconstruction of the workshop area date from the immediate successors of Joshua, Talaricus and Epiphanius, phase 4b); the renovation of the workshops and their reorientation to the lines of the basilica (phase 5a), presumably in the end of the abbacy of Epiphanius; beginning the structures extending towards the east, the possible forebuilding, dating to the second half of the ninth century (phase 5b).

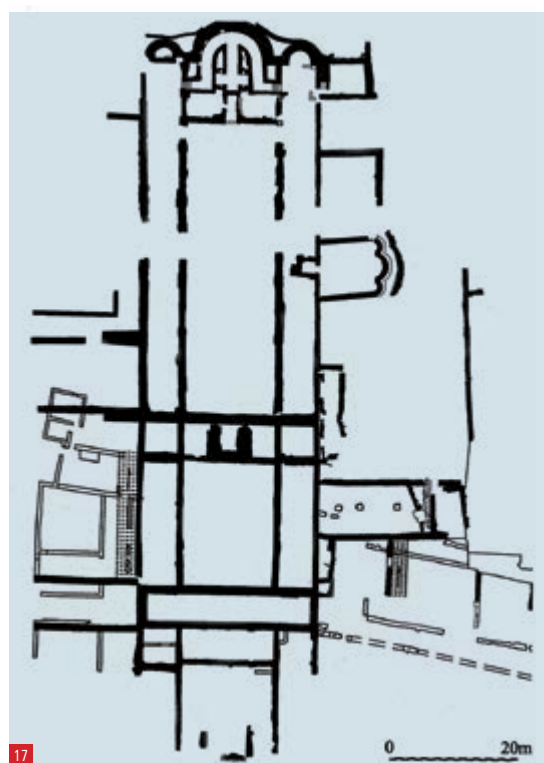
The events of 881 (phase 5c) bring to a quick end this long season of growth and transformation of the Carolingian monastery. It is still today difficult to understand the traces of the first attempts to reoccupy the monastery and to comprehend the rationale which coordinated the reoccupation. We know that the centre of gravity of the monastery relocated to Capua, where the abbots were intensively involved in the local politics of the first half of the tenth century. This pattern is similar to that witnessed by the Piedmontese monastery of the Novalesa³⁷, where after the traumatic end of the settlement in the mountains the new settlement was located in the plains. There the new site was more desirable in terms of the changed geopolitical conditions of the tenth century, though it did not suppress entirely the earlier site.

I have previously published my observations on the renewed imperial presence in southern Italy under the Ottonians and the new political opportunities this afforded the monastery of S. Vincenzo al Volturno within the political game board of Molise and Campania.³⁸ The glorious site at the source of the Volturno was thus the seat for corroborating this role, by means of an operation of concretising the spiritual prerogatives of the abbots and establishing a settlement network based on decentralised villages. This created an elite nucleus, based around the ancient land holdings of in the Volturno valley, which had been possessions of the monastery between the eighth and ninth centuries.

The *basilica maior*, which had been the symbolic centre of the Carolingian monastery, jealously reserved for the community and the reserved group of elites, powerful friends of the monastery, then took over a new role, that of a sort of cathedral in *pectore* of the seigneurial and spiritual circle growing around the monastery of S. Vincenzo. The building was reborn and adapted to its new role. The demolition of the ruins of the Carolingian building and the levelling of that area was in itself a major project. The rebuilding of their church was a further major undertaking (phase 6b). The northern and southern perimeter walls were rebuilt, as was the façade, and the southern wall was stabilised by buttressing. A *pergula*, screen of columns, was partially constructed across the presbytery. But the greatest project was the building of the monumental frontal entrance to the building, with the creation of an atrium and a quadriportico. ¹⁷ + ¹⁸

37 G. Cantino Wataghin, "L'abbazia dei SS. Pietro e Andrea di Novalesa: gli edifici monastici nell'alto medioevo", in ed. H. R. Sennhauser, *Wohn- und Wirtschaftsbauten frühmittelalterlicher Klöster. Internationales Symposium 1995 in Zurzach und Müstair* (Zürich, 1996), pp. 17-26; eadem, "L'abbazia dei Santi Pietro e Andrea di Novalesa: il contributo delle indagini archeologiche al recupero della sua memoria", in M. G. Cerri, ed. *Novalesa. Nuove luci dall'Abbazia* (Milan, 2004), pp. 35-57.

38 Marazzi, "San Vincenzo al Volturno: evoluzione," pp. 443-52.



The Basilica Maior in the 11th century and its surrounding buildings



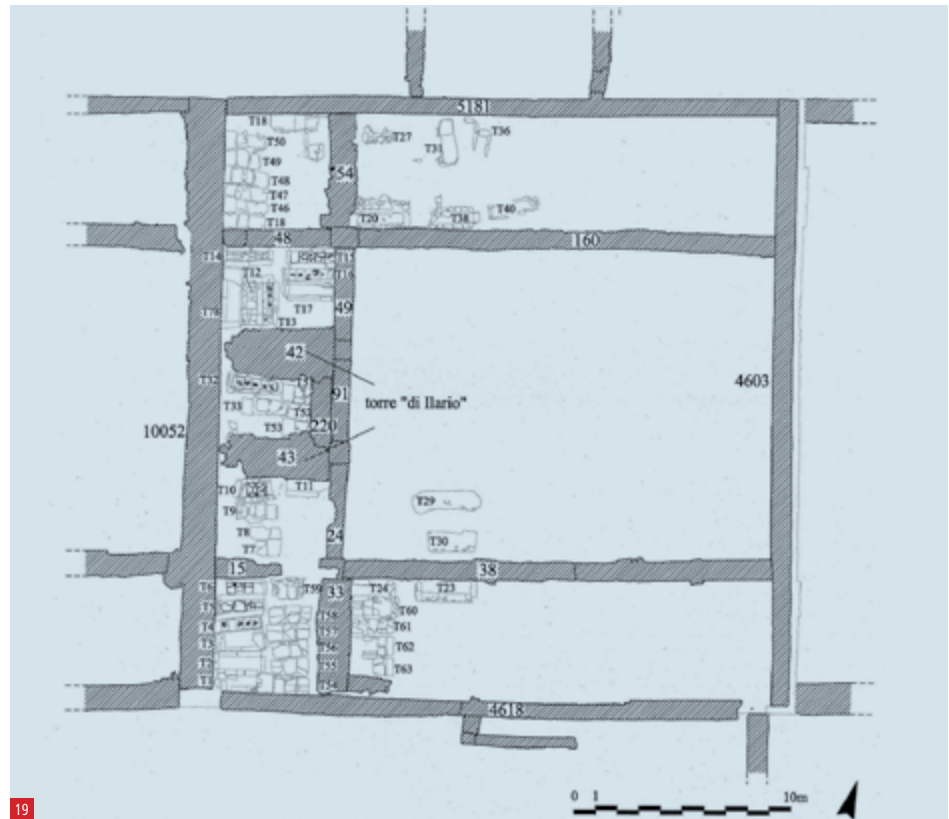
Hypothetical reconstruction of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the mid 11th century

A fragment of a ceramic jar with ribbon handle, a type dated to the tenth or eleventh century, in the uppermost level of the deposits of rubble from the ninth-century building, in the area that would become the centre of the atrium, suggests that these deposits were quarried for building material, either in phase 6a or 6b. The foundations for the atrium side walls were sunk into these deposits, and a work surface was created for building the walls up to the level of occupation of the atrium itself, by means of the progressive filling of the rooms which would serve as the substructure (phase 6a/b). These deposits of fill, in particular the central fill of the atrium, include other ceramic materials

Early Medieval Cloister Buildings: the Example of San Vincenzo al Volturno and the building of its Basilica Maior

Plan of the atrium San Vincenzo al Volturno in the mid 11th century

Alle Foto und Grafiken:
Suor Orsola Benincasa University,
Naples - Italy.



typologically datable to the tenth and eleventh centuries. All of these observations indicate that the construction of the atrium complex as we now see it, must have happened in the course of the initial reconstruction of the monastery, datable to the tenth and eleventh century, thus in phase 6b. The paradisus became an area of burials for the members of the monastic community who returned to live at S. Vincenzo. ¹⁹

From a chronological viewpoint, the creation of this cemetery must have followed shortly after the construction of the atrium, thus in the last quarter of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The tombs of this initial phase of the cemetery of the atrium, though built to a high quality, do not preserve a single epitaph. If they were to be ninth century in date, the prestigious letter-carvers of the monastery from the Carolingian period, who carved so many epitaphs for the monastery, would surely have provided inscriptions for the tombs.³⁹ This further suggests a date in the eleventh century for the tombs.⁴⁰

39 J. Mitchell, I. L. Hansen, eds., *San Vincenzo al Volturno. 3, The finds from the 1980-86 excavations* (Spoleto, 2001), ch. 3.

40 The final publication of our excavations of the basilica maior will present the evidence and discuss the implications of the reuse of materials in the tombs and parts of tombs, such as the famous 'tomb of Talaricus', datable to the ninth century, located in the cemetery of the atrium. These issues have already been discussed in Marazzi, et al., "San Vincenzo", pp. 228-30.

The eastward extension of the basilica was completed by the building of the forebuilding, which served to join the ground level to the level of the basilica up above (phase 6c). Following its initial use, the atrium underwent a major reconstruction (phase 6d). This included the closing of the passage between the western arm of the portico and the southern and northern arms, by means of two walls which transformed the western arm into a sort of narthex to the church. The two walls, some 1.5 to 1.6 metres in width, were built with reused blocks of travertine, very large in size and bearing traces of fresco, which were

cobbled together relatively roughly. Also, inside the western arm of the portico, a very large U-shaped structure was built abutting the façade wall, where the main entrance was located. Traces of the pavement of the structure have been identified, and they are pieces of brick, stone, and fragments of white marble, forming a rather rough and ready pavement. The structure was circa 2 meters thick, which suggests that it must have been fairly tall, certainly taller than the basilica itself. This may have been a bell tower; indeed a famous passage of the life of Abbot Ilarius (1011–45) mentions that “ante ecclesiam Sancti Vincencii edificavit campanarium excelsum” (in front of the church of S. Vincenzo he built a tall bell tower).⁴¹ The celebrated miniature of the Chronicon, which depicts Abbot Joshua in the act of offering a model of the church to San Vincenzo, is an image of the building after the construction of the large bell tower, that is in its last built form, the phase which the chronicler Johannes might have seen in person. Late interventions to the atrium included the partial rebuilding of the perimeter wall of the atrium, in conjunction with the building of an external staircase leading to the church. The wall was rebuilt partially against the earth fill of the southern arm of the atrium portico and partially in freestanding masonry, where the earthen fill was replaced. The shape of the stairs is visible against the wall which was reconstructed which projects several centimetres over them, because originally it met the level of the first riser. The fabric of this later part of the southern wall is less careful than the earlier part. The courses of blocks, mostly travertine, are rather irregular, and the blocking and squaring of individual stones is rather rough. The staircase rose from the intersection of Corridor IV and Corridor III, which had by then fallen into abandon. The first two stairs rising from the corridor are preserved, the threshold and the first riser. The end of the staircase corresponds to the southern end of the western portico of the atrium, and the building of the stair relates to the conversion of that arm of the portico into a narthex. Probably the staircase ended at the height of the basilica façade, where it joined buttress USM 3005. The latter was built against an earthen bank over top of the remains, by then levelled and covered over, of the ninth-century workshops. Unfortunately, none of this stratigraphy is preserved in situ, as the vineyards which grew in this area until 1995 compromised it. The little bit of stratified remains which remained was removed during the excavations of 1995, yielding a significant quantity of residual material and tenth- and eleventh-century pottery.

The relationship between the form of this forebuilding to northern models, specifically German ones, has been discussed elsewhere,⁴² where the significance of modifying the basilica to such models can be seen as a political expression with particular importance in the first or second quarter of the eleventh century. It has also been demonstrated that S. Vincenzo al Volturno, in adhering to these models, is in the illustrious company of neighbouring ‘imperial’ monasteries including Montecassino, Farfa and Subiaco. The arrangement of the forebuilding with towers is common to these other abbey churches.

Finally, the rebuilding of S. Vincenzo was completed by constructing, fairly rapidly, a series of rooms along the flanks of the church. These were rooms

41 Chronicon Vulturense, vol. III, p. 78.

42 Marazzi, “San Vincenzo al Volturno: evoluzione”.

hosting visitors to the community. Those on the northern side (rooms CC, CD and CG) were linked to a secondary entrance to the church, though of primary architectural quality. Those on the south side were reserved for residential uses and for the life of the monastic community. Among these latter buildings, we can recognise a porticated cloister, flanked on east and west by rooms which may have been the Chapter house and the cellarium, if they follow the organisation of elements in a monastic complex which was becoming standardised precisely in this period. The 'small' monastery of the Ottonian and early Romanesque period, which took on its specific political role, on the one hand retraced parts of the settlement of the eighth and ninth centuries, and on the other hand differentiated itself significantly in terms of size and planned arrangement. The older complex aimed to be a complex organism. Its religious functions were articulated, not only in the ecclesia maior, but also in the constellation of devotional centres distributed throughout the area, which acted as autonomous elements, interconnected between them. This interconnection took form not only on a physical level but also on a spiritual one, because each of these elements constituted sacred poles within the *civitas fidei*, whose models were Jerusalem and Rome, surrounded by their walls and sacred in every part of their urban spaces. Thus we see in this plan the imposition of organisational schemes from the great Carolingian monasteries in Italy and north of the Alps, Sciaffusa, Novalesa, S. Gall, Fontenelle-S. Wandrille, Montecassino, St. Denis and above all Centula-S. Riquier, whose sacred topography was explained in the text of Angilbert.⁴³ These complex religious functions ran side by side with a likewise complex and articulated topography of logistical and organisational exigencies, which were necessary to sustain not only a large religious community, but also a ponderous administrative and patrimonial system, and a technological and productive system as well. A monastery of this type stretched out over the terrain without problems, aside from common problems of resources, because of the available space and the faith that the surrounding territory did not hold threats or dangers, indeed the political framework of the monastery guaranteed a sufficient level of stability.

The monastery of the year 1000 was probably not lacking such ideological, architectural and organisational connotations, though the political frame had changed so significantly and the concomitant conflicts of local forces, reflecting a different capacity for controlling and organising resources. These issues underlie a vision, probably born of reflections which were probably present in the Carolingian period, but which emerged in a climate of reform in the tenth century, whereby the monastery developed as an organism more rigorously defined and distributed in its components and, at the end, more rational and compact in its structure.

Future archaeology at S. Vincenzo, and a deeper study of this site in comparison to western monastic models of the eighth century to the eleventh century will aid in calibrating and contextualising the data and hypotheses here expressed. They nonetheless constitute a preliminary reflection on the basis of our current state of knowledge on a theme which is still far from being fully understood.

43 For the Novalesa, see E. Micheletto, "Le cappelle dell'abbazia della Novalesa. Architettura e schema distributivo", in *Atti del V Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Rome 1982), vol. I, pp. 103–22; for Montecassino, see A. Pantoni, *Le vicende della Basilica di Montecassino attraverso la documentazione archeologica*, *Miscellanea cassinese* 36 (Montecassino, 1973); for Centula, H. Bernard, "L'abbaye de Saint-Riquier. Évolution des bâtiments monastiques du IXe au XVIIIe siècle", in *Sous la règle de Saint Benoît, Structures monastiques et sociétés en France du Moyen-Âge à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 1982), pp. 499–526; for S. Gallo, see A. Zettler, *Die frühen Klosterbauten der Reichenau* (Sigmaringen, 1988), tav. 13, p. 75; for Fontenelle, see J. Laporte, "sv Fontenelle ou S.-Wandrille", in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie Écclesiastique XVII* (Paris, 1971), coll. 915–53, and fig. 152; for Sciaffusa, see "Der Salvator-Kloster zu Schaffhausen", *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1979), pp. 151–98; and for S. Denis, see O. Meyer, "Le bourg monastique de Saint-Denis, dix-huit ans de fouilles: un site majeur", in J.M. Pesez (ed.), "L'Île-de-France de Clovis à Hugues Capet", *Condé-sur-Noireau* 1993, pp. 91–96.

L'ATRIUM COMME ÉLÉMENT ARCHITECTONIQUE PRIVILÉGIÉ DANS LES MONASTÈRES ITALIENS DU HAUT MOYEN-ÂGE

Le thème qu'il m'a été demandé d'affronter à l'occasion de ce colloque est apparemment simple dès lors que, disons-le d'emblée, l'Italie ne possède aucun exemple d'architecture médiévale pouvant être réellement comparé aux corps occidentaux de l'aire franque et germanique. Je ne parle pas de fonctions ou de significations qui, dans tous les exemples monumentaux conservés, en Italie et ailleurs, sont difficiles à expliquer de manière générale mais doivent au contraire être évaluées au cas par cas.

Je me réfère dans le cas spécifique à des constructions complexes sur plusieurs étages, « externes » de quelque manière à l'église et adossées à la façade occidentale – ou quoi qu'il en soit à l'entrée principale – et qui dénotent un rapport direct avec l'église, non seulement au niveau du rez-de-chaussée mais aussi, éventuellement, aux étages supérieurs.

Je ne veux pas dire que des structures de ce type n'ont jamais existé, mais seulement que dans le panorama italien actuel, il ne reste rien de semblable qui puisse être interprété clairement, mais tout au plus juste quelques traces de toute façon difficilement interprétables.

Cette situation a provoqué une espèce de « court-circuit sémantique et terminologique » (si je peux m'exprimer ainsi), de sorte qu'il n'existe aucun mot italien pour définir ces structures, lorsqu'elles existent ou sont reconnaissables, que ce soit pour les églises monastiques ou pour les séculaires. Ainsi, on a souvent directement utilisé, de manière impropre, des mots en langue non italienne. Le terme "Westwerk" a été parfois le mot préféré¹ car son propre son, vu du côté italien, tel une marque ou une étiquette, semblait renfermer l'explication de tout, alors qu'en réalité il n'expliquait rien.

Et puis on entend aussi parler de « massif occidental », de « Galilée » italianisée en « galilea », d'« avant-église », de « Vorkirche », moins fréquent toutefois. La vraie raison pour laquelle ces mots sont adoptés réside dans le fait qu'on ne comprend souvent pas très bien d'une fois à l'autre quelle est la fonction de solutions structurelles, telles que les tours adossées à la façade, les avant-nefs à structure complexe, etc. Très souvent, en effet, l'existence de ces structures amorce un mécanisme d'identification généré uniquement par une analogie formelle ou bien par la conviction qu'il s'agit d'influences provenant d'ailleurs. Ainsi, par exemple, il semble que l'appartenance d'un édifice à la famille clunisienne doit toujours avoir pour conséquence l'adoption de schémas identiques sur le plan de la planimétrie ou des parties hautes de ce type de structures, voire même qu'elles doivent être nécessairement présentes, de sorte que leur absence semble représenter un grave problème d'interprétation.²

Je ne nie pas qu'il y a des usages et des fonctions communes pour des espaces de ce type dans diverses parties d'Europe et que certains usages, liés aux exigences liturgiques ou à des coutumes, puissent avoir comme résultat l'adoption de solutions structurelles analogues. Seulement, ceci doit être vérifié au cas par cas.

1 G. Lorenzoni, « Per un'interpretazione semantica del "Westwerk" carolingio, in *Arte Antica e Moderna*, 19, 1962, pp. 323-244.

2 Sur l'architecture clunisienne dans l'Italie du Nord : P. Piva, *Le chiese cluniacensi. (Architettura monastica dell'Italia del Nord)*, Milano 1998.

Je voudrais toutefois ajouter que tout cela est souvent conditionné par une bonne dose de xénophilie, toujours aux aguets parmi les chercheurs italiens. Une attitude qui a souvent plus ou moins les mêmes effets négatifs qu'un nationalisme un peu trop prononcé.

Plus récemment, la plus grande diffusion de termes en langue italienne – notamment « *avancorpo* » (avant-nef) – indique non pas tellement qu'une idéologie a été surmontée mais plutôt qu'on a commencé à prêter un début d'attention à l'existence de ce type de construction, au-delà des éventuelles « influences » étrangères, et à se poser le problème, au cas par cas, de leur rôle.

En ce qui concerne l'Italie, il n'existe aucune étude d'ensemble sur les structures d'avant-nef en général, ou même seulement dans une catégorie d'édifices du Moyen Âge. Au fond, nous pouvons dire qu'il est une bonne chose qu'une étude de ce genre n'existe pas encore étant donné que les études de monuments sont encore dans une phase trop précoce ou bien qu'elles ne peuvent se baser sur des données de fouille et souvent même pas non plus sur une bonne documentation graphique.

Il y a quelques années, je me suis moi-même aventuré, sur invitation de Christian Sapin, dans un repérage, plutôt ample, des exemples provenant d'Italie du Nord,³ en me bornant à signaler, pour des cas sélectionnés, la diversité des fonctions exercées par ces avant-nefs dans des classes d'édifices de types divers, qu'ils soient monastiques ou pas. J'ai essayé de produire quelques observations mais j'ai surtout pu constater qu'il n'était pas possible d'identifier des fonctions valables pour tous les exemples de structures. Il faut aussi dire que, dans bon nombre de cas, la fonction nous échappe complètement aujourd'hui.

En cette occasion, j'entends reprendre quelques exemples, toujours d'Italie du Nord, en partant aussi de quelques exemples absents de mon étude précédente et en me limitant à des cas d'édifices monastiques, ce qui est le thème de notre rencontre.

D'abord, je devrais commencer en contredisant le titre même de mon intervention et affirmer que je ne suis pas en mesure de dire si, pour tous les édifices que je montrerai, l'atrium, ou d'autres structures plus ou moins complexes que nous pourrions définir par le terme collectif, justement d'« avant-nef », sont un espace toujours privilégié ou particulier. Mais je peux déjà dire, banalement qu'ils le deviennent, en quelque sorte, dès lors qu'ils existent. En d'autres termes, il n'est pas dit que l'éventuelle fonction – que nous supposons pouvoir attribuer à ces structures – en rende toujours nécessaire leur construction effective.

Sur l'histoire de l'atrium et de son évolution, il suffit de renvoyer aux études qui l'ont tout particulièrement traitée et, parmi elles, celles de Jean-Charles Picard⁴, pour comprendre la grande quantité de formes et de fonctions qui peuvent se cacher derrière un terme si générique. Dans ses recherches sur

3 S. Lomartire, « L'organisation des avant-corps occidentaux. À propos de quelques exemples de l'Italie du Nord au Moyen Âge », in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV et le XII siècle*, Actes du Colloque international (Auxerre, Abbaye Saint-Germain, 17-20 Juin 1999), Paris 2002, pp. 351-371.

4 J.-Ch. Picard, « Les origines du mot *Paradisus-Parvis* », in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen âge, temps modernes*, 83 (1971), p. 159-186 ; Id., « Le quadriportique de Saint-Laurent de Milan », in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité*, 85 (1973), pp. 619-712 ; Id., « Le quadriportique de Saint-Pierre-du-Vatican », in *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité*, 86 (1974), pp. 851-890 ; Id., « Le quadriportique de Saint'Agata de Ravenne », in *Felix Ravenna*, 116 (1978), pp. 31-43 (ces études ont été récemment rééditées dans: J.-Ch. Picard, *Évêques, saints et cités en Italie et en Gaule : études d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Roma 1998 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome; 242) ; Id., s.v. « *Atrio* », in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, I, Roma 1991, pp. 706-710.

les fonctions, dans des édifices non seulement monastiques, Picard a également admis la possibilité que des structures de ce type, dans certaines classes d'édifices, aient pu être construites sur la base d'une habitude ou du respect de typologies de construction et, donc, avant et indépendamment d'éventuelles exigences et fonctions spéciales.

Les différentes fonctions que l'atrium pouvait exercer d'une fois à l'autre, à partir de la plus simple, c'est-à-dire comme l'affirmait Picard, l'embellissement de l'édifice ecclésiastique ou bien la création d'espaces couverts devant l'entrée des églises, seront justement selon lui à la base de la naissance du cloître monastique ou canonical, qui bénéficiera du transfert ou de la duplication de cet espace de la façade aux flancs de l'église.

Les fonctions d'une avant-nef ou d'un atrium que la littérature cite, parfois de façon impropre, sous le nom de « narthex » – sans tenir compte du fait qu'il soit, par exemple, articulé sur un ou deux étages – se manifestent de manière parfois plus évidente dans des édifices non monastiques comme, par exemple, les cathédrales ou les églises urbaines.

Je voudrais rappeler rapidement quelques cas, tous plutôt tardifs, à partir du moment où, pour les complexes du haut Moyen Âge, la situation n'est souvent pas très claire.

Parmi les exemples les plus anciens, nous pouvons parler du cas de la basilique Saint-Eusèbe, l'actuelle cathédrale de Verceil, construite dans une aire suburbaine au V^e siècle et certainement remaniée à la fin du IX^e siècle. L'édifice a conservé une structure à cinq nefs et un atrium jusqu'à sa démolition au XVIII^e siècle pour faire place à l'édifice actuel.⁵ La fonction de l'atrium reste incertaine et nous devons rappeler que Picard supposait, pour les cas semblables de l'antiquité tardive, une fonction ne serait-ce que d'embellissement de l'édifice. Dans ce cas, s'agissant d'une basilique ad corpus, au fil du temps également liée aux marchés qui se tenaient aux alentours, il est permis de penser à un espace d'accueil pour les fidèles.

Mais à Verceil, au Moyen Âge, les fonctions de cathédrale étaient partagées entre la basilique Saint-Eusèbe et la plus ancienne cathédrale Sainte-Marie-Majeure, détruite vers 1770. Ce dernier édifice, dont il ne reste que des souvenirs graphiques,⁶ était situé le long d'un axe routier au centre de la ville et possédait lui aussi une courte avant-nef occidentale à deux étages, par conséquent un « narthex », dont les fonctions étaient probablement de créer une séparation entre la zone de passage et l'église, comme pouvait en témoigner Saint-Nazaire de Milan. Nous pourrions donc penser qu'une structure de ce genre avait probablement une fonction urbanistique.

Une fonction analogue est certaine pour l'atrium de la cathédrale de Casale Monferrato, construit vers le milieu du XII^e siècle.⁷ Dans ce cas, des documents encore médiévaux (du XIV^e siècle) indiquent que l'atrium disposait de portes de passage très larges et qu'il y avait une circulation publique. Dans les visites pastorales des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, il est en effet clairement dit

5 F. Arborio Mella, « L'antica basilica Eusebiana. Indagini e studi. I », in *Archivio della Società Vercellese di Storia e d'Arte. Memorie e studi*, V (1913), pp. 725-753 ; P. Verzone, *L'architettura romanica vercellese, Vercelli 1934*, pp. 70-75 ; T. Kirilova Kirova, « Cenni sulle chiese paleocristiane di Vercelli con particolare riguardo a S. Eusebio », in *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 6 (1974), pp. 323-332 ; G. Cantino Wataghin, « Appunti per una topografia cristiana : i centri episcopali piemontesi », in *Atti del VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana* (Ancona 1983), Ancona 1986, pp. 91-112, in part. p. 91 ; D. De Luca, *Duomo di Vercelli. Cattedrale di S. Eusebio*, Genova 2010.

6 P. Verzone, *L'architettura romanica vercellese, Vercelli 1934*, pp. 70-81 ; G. Carità, « Itinerario architettonico », in *Piemonte Romanico*, a cura di Giovanni Romano, Torino 1994, pp. 60-142, in part. pp. 137-138.

7 C. Tosco, « L'architettura del duomo di Casale: la struttura dell'atrio », in *Il Duomo di Casale. Storia, arte e vita liturgica*, Actes du Colloque (Casale Monferrato 16-18 aprile 1999), Novara 2000, pp. 87-106 ; A. Peroni, « L'atrium vouté de Saint-Evasio à Casale Monferrato », in *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV et le XII siècle*, Actes du colloque international du CNRS (Auxerre, 17-20 juin 1999), dir. C. Sapin, Paris 2002, pp. 378-385.

que l'église commence après l'atrium. Ce n'est pas un hasard si le cimetière des chanoines se trouvait dans les proches alentours et si l'atrium témoignait de la présence de sépultures. En outre, les documents nous informent (en vérité, à une époque successive) qu'on y célébrait des rites pour les défunts. L'exemple de l'ancienne cathédrale double de Pavie (Saint-Étienne et Sainte-Marie-du-Peuple) est significatif : le parvis de la cathédrale romane était appelé, encore au XIV^e siècle, « atrium Sancti Syri », qui servait pour le riche marché qui s'y tenait en permanence. On utilisait cette appellation bien que l'atrium n'existait pas ; il avait été prévu au XII^e siècle, comme on peut le constater sur la façade de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne d'après les photographies précédant la destruction à la fin du XX^e siècle des derniers restes, qui montrent les traces préparées sur la façade pour la construction. Dans ce cas, le terme « atrium » est peut-être un héritage de la situation de la plus ancienne cathédrale.⁸

Ceci était aussi probablement le cas pour Saint-Fidèle de Côme, où une vaste aire devant l'église comprenait le baptistère et une autre église, Saint-Pierre « in atrium ». Dans ce cas, la relation avec le tissu urbain était telle qu'au fil du temps la ville a grandi à l'intérieur de cet espace et en a littéralement phagocyté les structures et la forme d'origine.⁹

L'exemple de la cathédrale de Novare est intéressant car il propose une structure à deux étages reliée au baptistère par l'intermédiaire d'un atrium ou « courtine » ; dans ce cas, nous pouvons parler de fonctions multiples liées aux rites baptismaux de la Semaine Sainte mais aussi à un usage cémétériel de la « courtine ». À ce propos, il convient de rappeler que le terme « courtine » était aussi attribué, ainsi que l'a expliqué Picard, à l'atrium de la basilique Saint-Laurent de Milan, où l'on a également le témoignage d'un usage cémétériel. En outre, pour le narthex à deux étages, nous possédons le témoignage direct du Liber Ordinarius de la même cathédrale de Novare, qui mentionne des parcours liturgiques à certains moments de l'année, dans la partie haute de la structure qui était connectée à de larges matroneums et à une tribune, sous la forme d'un prothyron intérieur, et à des autels à l'étage.¹⁰

On retrouve des structures adossées à la façade ayant des fonctions liées aux rites baptismaux dans la cathédrale d'Aquilée, un cas bien connu,¹¹ ou dans celui plus tardif de Saint-Abonde à Côme où l'atrium, aujourd'hui détruit, est encore mentionné dans des documents du XVI^e siècle qui décrivent l'utilisation de la structure à deux étages superposés pour permettre l'entrée des baptisés dans l'église, qui se faisait par l'étage supérieur.¹²

Il existe également des cas très rares d'églises dotées d'annexes occidentales sur deux étages liées à des fonctions privilégiées, comme à Saint-Vincent de Pombia, où au rez-de-chaussée, un vestibule, est située une tombe à arcosolium, et à l'étage, une chapelle avec une chapelle orientée vers le sud.¹³

8 G. Panazza, « Le basiliche di S. Stefano e di S. Maria del Popolo di Pavia », in Pavia. Rassegna bimestrale del Comune, settembre-dicembre 1964, pp. 4-21; Id., « Le cattedrali pavesi », in Atti del IV congresso internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, (Pavia 1967), Spoleto 1969, pp. 489-483; P. Piva, Le cattedrali lombarde. Ricerche sulle "cattedrali doppie" da Sant'Ambrogio all'età romanica, Quistello 1990; A. Segagni Malacart, « L'architettura romanica pavese », in Storia di Pavia, III/3, Milano 1996, pp. 144-150.

9 G. Rocchi, Como e la Basilica di S. Fedele nella storia del Medio Evo, Milano 1973 ; M. Belloni Zecchinelli, « Paleocristiano e romanico in Como : la basilica di San Fedele già Sant'Eufemia », in I beni culturali, 11 (2003), 2, pp. 52-60.

10 P. Verzone, L'architettura romanica nel Novarese, I, Novara 1935, pp. 60-99 ; C. Tosco, « La cattedrale di Novara nell'età romanica: architettura e liturgia », in Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Parma, 19-23 settembre 2006), a cura di A. C. Quintavalle, Milano 2007, pp. 268-286.

11 P. L. Zovatto, « La chiesa dei pagani di Aquileia », in Aquileia nostra, XIV-XV (1943-1944), coll. 1-34 ; X. Barral i Altet, « La basilica Patriarcale di Aquileia: un grande monumento romanico del primo XI secolo », in Arte medievale, VI (2007), 2, pp. 29-64.

12 S. Lomartire, « L'organisation des avant-corps occidentaux », op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 366-367.

13 P. Verzone, L'architettura romanica nel Novarese, II, Novara 1936, pp. 43-48 ; M. Di Giovanni, « Gli edifici di culto dell'XI e XII secolo. La collina, il Cusio, e il medio Verbanò », in Novara e la sua terra nei secoli XI e XII. Storia documenti architettura, Milano 1980, pp. 169-172.


Le cas de la cathédrale d'Ivrée, fondée par l'évêque Warmond entre la fin du X^e et le début du XI^e siècle, est intéressant du fait de la présence d'un corps occidental avec tours. Contrairement à l'interprétation traditionnelle qui voyait cette structure comme un chevet harmonique occidental, il y a quelques années a été suggérée l'existence d'une sorte d'avant-nef monumentale à deux étages superposés qui permettait la vision des reliques à l'étage inférieur – l'actuelle crypte – et la circulation des fidèles tout autour d'elles.¹⁴ Il subsiste un doute sur l'emplacement des accès d'origine qui se trouvaient peut-être sur les parois latérales près des tours, ainsi que sur la structure à deux étages ouverts comme, par exemple, à Saint-Bénigne de Dijon. Une fonction également publique, pour ainsi dire, de ce corps occidental est également suggérée non seulement par la présence du déambulatoire mais aussi par la récente découverte d'inscriptions peintes qu'il est possible de faire remonter à l'époque de Warmond, et qui courraient le long des parois de ce même déambulatoire.

Cette rapide revue de détail avait uniquement pour intention de montrer très brièvement la multiplicité de fonctions des structures adossées à la partie occidentale des églises.

Nous devons naturellement nous demander si une situation du même type est également applicable à des structures monastiques ; mais une chose est sûre pour les structures d'avant-nef occidentales dans les églises monastiques : il faut exclure à priori un rapport d'interaction et, en même temps, d'intégration avec les espaces urbains. Ceci n'implique pas qu'elles aient pu être dépourvues d'une éventuelle fonction publique de ces structures, par exemple celles liées à des festivités particulières ou à la visite faite à des reliques.

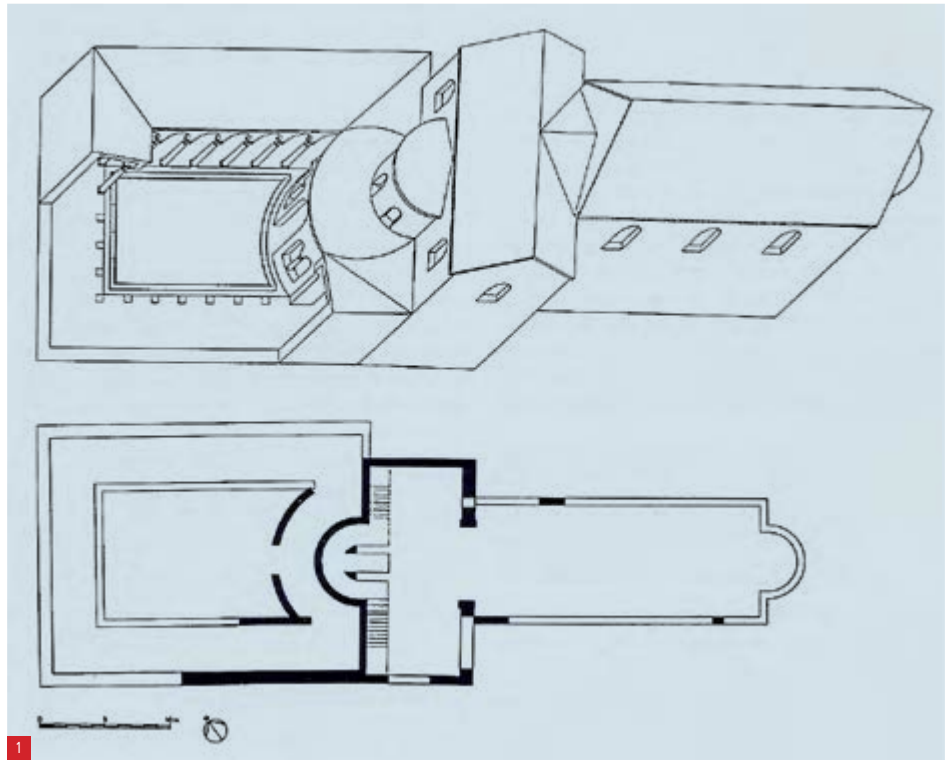
Dans ce sens, nous pouvons parler d'un usage « privilégié » de ces structures en milieu monastique dans la mesure où il exclut quelques-unes des fonctions exercées par les églises séculaires.

Pour le reste, le terme « privilégié » pourra difficilement indiquer une fonction univoque et bien définie. D'après les exemples que j'ai pu examiner, l'existence même de ces structures ne peut être prouvée dans tous les édifices monastiques, et l'on peut constater un grand nombre de situations différentes.

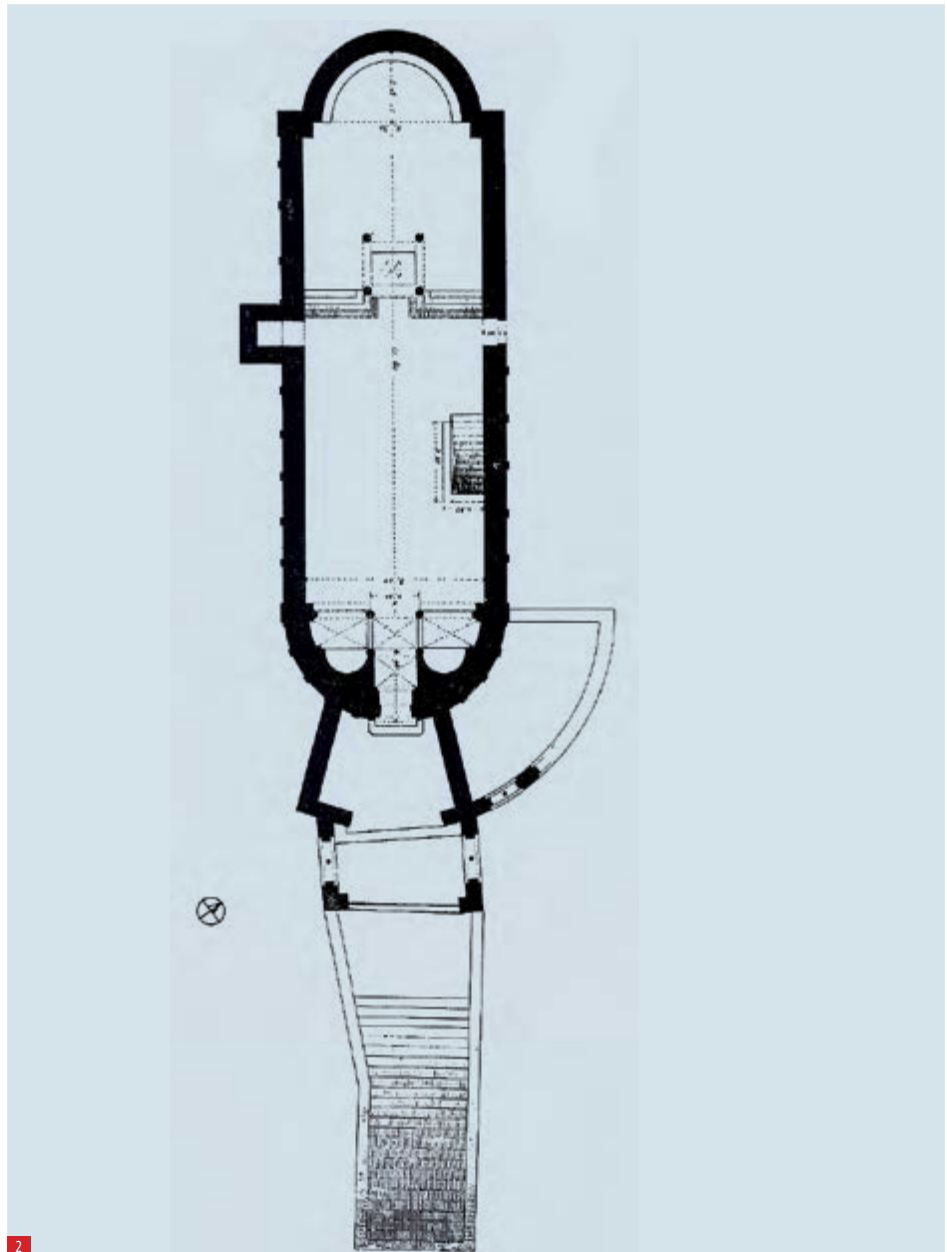
À ce propos, le cas de l'atrium de l'abbaye impériale de Farfa,  en Italie centrale, est éclatant. Un manuscrit du XI^e siècle conservé dans l'abbaye, jadis connu comme *Disciplina farfensis*, prescrit que, les jours de fête, les laïcs doivent rester dans l'atrium afin de ne pas entraver les fonctions se déroulant dans la « galilaea ». Or, le fait de constater l'emploi de ce même mot « galilaea » à Cluny a longtemps été reconnu comme un cas très clair de fonctions parfaitement comparables avec celles d'autres abbayes importantes

14 L. Pejrani Baricco, « La crypte occidentale de la cathédrale d'Ivrée », in *Avant-nefs & espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IV et le XII siècle*, Actes du colloque international du CNRS (Auxerre, 17-20 juin 1999), dir. C. Sapin, Paris 2002, pp. 386-395.

Farfa, abbaye. Reconstruction idéale de l'atrium et de l'abside occidentale de l'abbatiale autour du IX^e siècle (d'après McClendon, 1987)



Civate, Abbaye de St. Pierre-au-Mont. Plan de l'abbatiale (d'après Guiglia Guidobaldi, 1978)



hors d'Italie, et a même eu une influence sur les reconstructions de l'atrium de l'ancienne abbaye. En réalité, les historiens du monachisme ont depuis longtemps déjà reconnu que le manuscrit était constitué par la préface, composée à Farfa, du *Liber tramitis aevi Odilonis abbatis* et, par conséquent, transcrit les habitudes de Cluny, que l'abbé Hugues, mort en 1038 voulait adopter dans l'abbaye italienne.¹⁵ Voilà donc que la relation directe entre l'atrium de Farfa et la « galilaea » de Cluny n'est plus aussi évidente, même s'il est toujours possible qu'on ait essayé de se pourvoir de structures semblables à Farfa.

Je n'entends pas approfondir ici le thème des absides doubles ou opposées dans des édifices monastiques ou séculaires car cela présente des aspects problématiques qui, d'un côté impliquent la présence d'un culte et de fonctions particulières et, de l'autre, se connectent, comme nous l'avons vu à Ivree, à des fonctions différentes.¹⁶ Je voudrais, à ce propos, résumer les termes du problème en citant deux cas apparemment semblables mais en réalité très différents l'un de l'autre.

Le premier concerne l'église du monastère Saint-Pierre-au-Mont à Civate, 2 du XI^e siècle, qui présente deux absides opposées.¹⁷ L'atrium semi-circulaire et l'entrée sont reliés à l'abside orientale alors que l'autel occidental conservait un autel consacré à Saint Pierre. On a d'abord pensé que la fonction d'entrée de cette abside correspondait à un remaniement de l'église du haut Moyen Âge, on suppose en revanche depuis peu que les deux absides n'appartiennent pas à des phases de construction différentes.¹⁸ L'église se situait au terme d'un parcours qui conduisait au sommet de la montagne et c'est probablement cela qui incita à placer ici l'entrée, qui fut bientôt monumentalisée, peut-être au XII^e siècle, par l'adjonction de l'atrium.

L'intérieur de l'abside orientale fut subdivisé vers la fin du XI^e siècle en trois espaces dont le central, décoré de panneaux et colonnes en stuc, contient un vestibule à proprement dit, alors qu'aux deux côtés se trouvent deux autels. Sur le grand tympan supérieur, nous trouvons une scène de l'Apocalypse, probablement peinte au début du XII^e siècle. Sous le corps oriental se trouve la crypte. L'ensemble de la structure d'entrée dans l'église présente ainsi une articulation complexe à étages superposés et à fonctions multiples sans pour autant que, du point de vue formel, on ait ici une structure de type habituel, comme un quadriportique ou un narthex.

Un cas à première vue similaire, mais en réalité très différent, ressort des résultats des fouilles menées récemment dans l'église de l'abbaye de Leno, près de Brescia, fondée à l'époque lombarde par le roi Desiderius. À l'église du haut Moyen Âge fut ajouté, peut-être au XI^e siècle, un long corps occidental abside. On peut se demander s'il s'agit dans ce cas d'une vraie avant-nef ayant des fonctions liturgiques propres ou bien d'une nouvelle église.

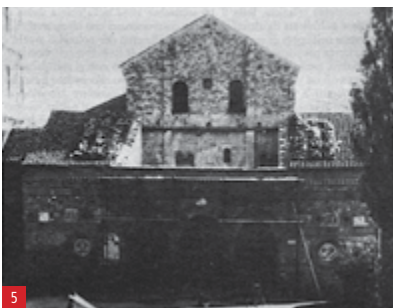
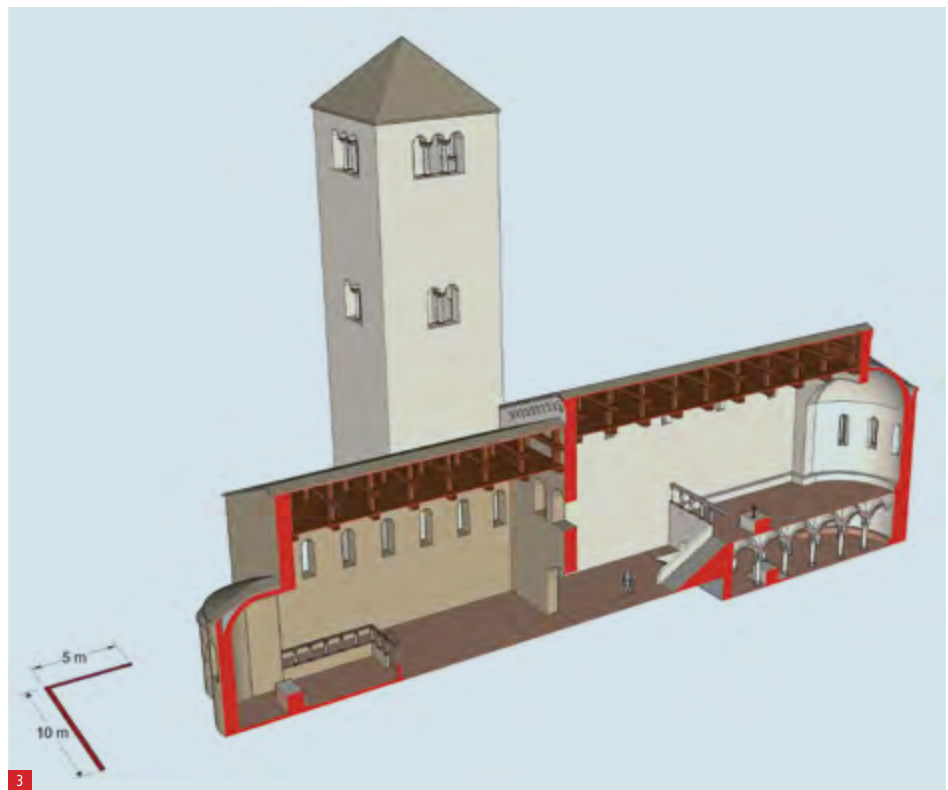
15 Pour l'atrium : Ch. McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa. Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages*, New Haven - London 1987, pp. 115-118 ; pour l'interprétation du texte de la *Disciplina Farfensis*, voir : A. Lucioni, « Farfa e Cluny », in *Farfa abbazia imperiale, Atti del convegno internazionale (Farfa - Santa Vittoria in Matenano, 25-29 agosto 2003)* a cura di Rolando Dondarini, *Negarine di S. Pietro in Cariano (Verona)*, 2006, pp. 179-213.

16 C. Tosco, « Le chiese ad absidi contrapposte in Italia », in *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, S. III, XIV-XV (1991-1992), pp. 219-267 ; P. Piva, « Chiese/santuario ad absidi opposte coeve (gli esempi italiani dell'XI secolo) », in *Le vie del Medioevo, Atti del I Convegno internazionale di Studi (Parma 1998)*, a cura di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Milano 2000, pp. 141-155.

17 A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, « Il problema delle due absidi contrapposte del San Pietro a Civate », in *Commentari*, n.s. 29 (1978), pp. 22-31 ; C. Tosco, « Le chiese ad absidi contrapposte », op. cit. (n. 16), pp. 245-251 ; P. Piva, « L'abbazia di Civate: San Calocero al piano e San Pietro al Monte », in *Lombardia Romanica. I grandi cantieri*, a cura di Roberto Cassanelli e Paolo Piva, Milano 2010, pp. 113-123.

18 P. Piva, « L'abbazia di Civate », op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 116-117.

Leno, abbaye. Reconstruction de l'église double (à droite l'église du haut Moyen Âge, à gauche l'église de la fin du XI^e siècle. Élaboration numérique de Dario Gallina)



Pomposa, abbaye. Vue du narthex au moment des restaurations (première moitié du XX^e siècle – d'après Russo, 1986)



Pomposa, abbaye. Vue de l'atrium de l'abbatiale

On a observé que la crypte à quatre nefs, à l'instar des exemples véronais de cette époque, présente des bancs dont la disposition fait penser à la liturgie versus orientem¹⁹. La mention, dans quelques documents de la fin du XII^e siècle, de la présence de fonts baptismaux fait ainsi penser qu'il s'agit ici d'une église double **3** dont l'occidentale revêtait des fonctions baptismales qui étaient, comme nous le savons, attribuées aux abbés de Leno qui détenaient le contrôle sur la paroisse et sur les chanoines. Il a récemment été proposé de dater cette seconde église à l'époque de l'abbé Wenzeslaus von Niederaltaich qui, sur nomination impériale, fut l'abbé de Leno entre 1055 et 1068, et qui est connu pour son esprit réformateur vis-à-vis de Rome : selon les chercheurs qui se sont occupés récemment de ce complexe, il aurait donc adopté ici un type de structure à double polarité plus répandu dans l'aire germanique.²⁰ L'église double, avec l'abside occidentale peut-être consacrée à Saint Pierre, fut détruite vers la fin du XII^e siècle, période à laquelle remontent des informations sur la perte des prérogatives baptismales des abbés de Leno.

Dans ce cas, donc, une enquête approfondie a permis de ramener ce qui dans un premier temps pouvait apparaître comme un atrium, ou une avant-nef, à la réalité d'une église double.

Parmi les atriums ayant une conformation plus fréquente pour l'aire italienne, l'exemple de l'abbaye de Pomposa **4** est significatif car il semble montrer l'adhésion à un type de structure traditionnelle de dérivation ravennate,²¹ comme ceux signalés dans d'autres cas par Picard, plutôt qu'une fonction liturgique précise, de culte, ou sépulcrale.

Quelques images d'une vieille restauration des toits de l'atrium **5** ont montré qu'au X^e siècle environ, à la façade de l'église fut probablement ajouté un narthex à deux étages, lequel fut démoli et en partie englobé dans l'allongement de l'église durant la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle, au moment de la construction de l'atrium actuel. L'aspect élégant de ce dernier atrium, avec l'emploi de briques de couleurs différentes et de bandeaux décoratifs et d'autres sculptures, dénote plus un intérêt à doter la façade d'une entrée somptueuse qu'à créer un lieu fonctionnel.

Les cas d'atriums construits dans le but d'embellir tout l'édifice, selon une tradition tardo-antique, ne doivent pas avoir été rares, ainsi que l'a rappelé à maintes reprises Jean-Charles Picard.

Sous cet aspect, nous devons au moins citer le cas de l'église Saint-Denis à Milan, fondée par Saint Ambroise, et détruite aujourd'hui. Dans le second quart du XI^e siècle, l'archevêque milanais Aribert d'Intimano institua un monastère à Saint-Denis et entreprit peut-être des travaux dans l'église à laquelle il destina de nombreux biens dans ses trois testaments. Il se fit inhumer dans le monastère, mais la reconstruction successive de l'église, puis sa démolition définitive au XVI^e siècle, nous ont privés de la possibilité de

19 A. Breda, « Leno: monastero e territorio. Note archeologiche preliminari », in *Brixia sacra. Memorie storiche della diocesi di Brescia*, VII, 1-2 (2002), pp. 239-254; Id., « Leno (Bs). Villa Badia. Indagini archeologiche nel sito dell'abbazia di S. Salvatore - S. Benedetto », Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Lombardia. Notiziario 2003-2004, Milano 2006, pp. 232-236; P. Piva, « Le chiese medievali dell'abbazia di Leno. Un problema storico-archeologico », dans *San Benedetto "ad Leones". Un monastero benedettino in terra longobarda*, a cura di Angelo Baronio, Brescia 2006, pp. 141-158.

20 P. Piva, « Le chiese medievali », op.cit. (n. 19), p. 149.

21 E. Russo, « L'atrio di Pomposa », in *La civiltà comacchiese e pomposiana dalle origini preistoriche al tardo medioevo*, Bologna 1986, pp. 477-536; C. Di Francesco et al., « L'atrio della chiesa di Santa Maria di Pomposa: studio, rilievo, restauro », in *Quaderni della soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici di Ravenna*, 5 (2002), pp. 9-17.

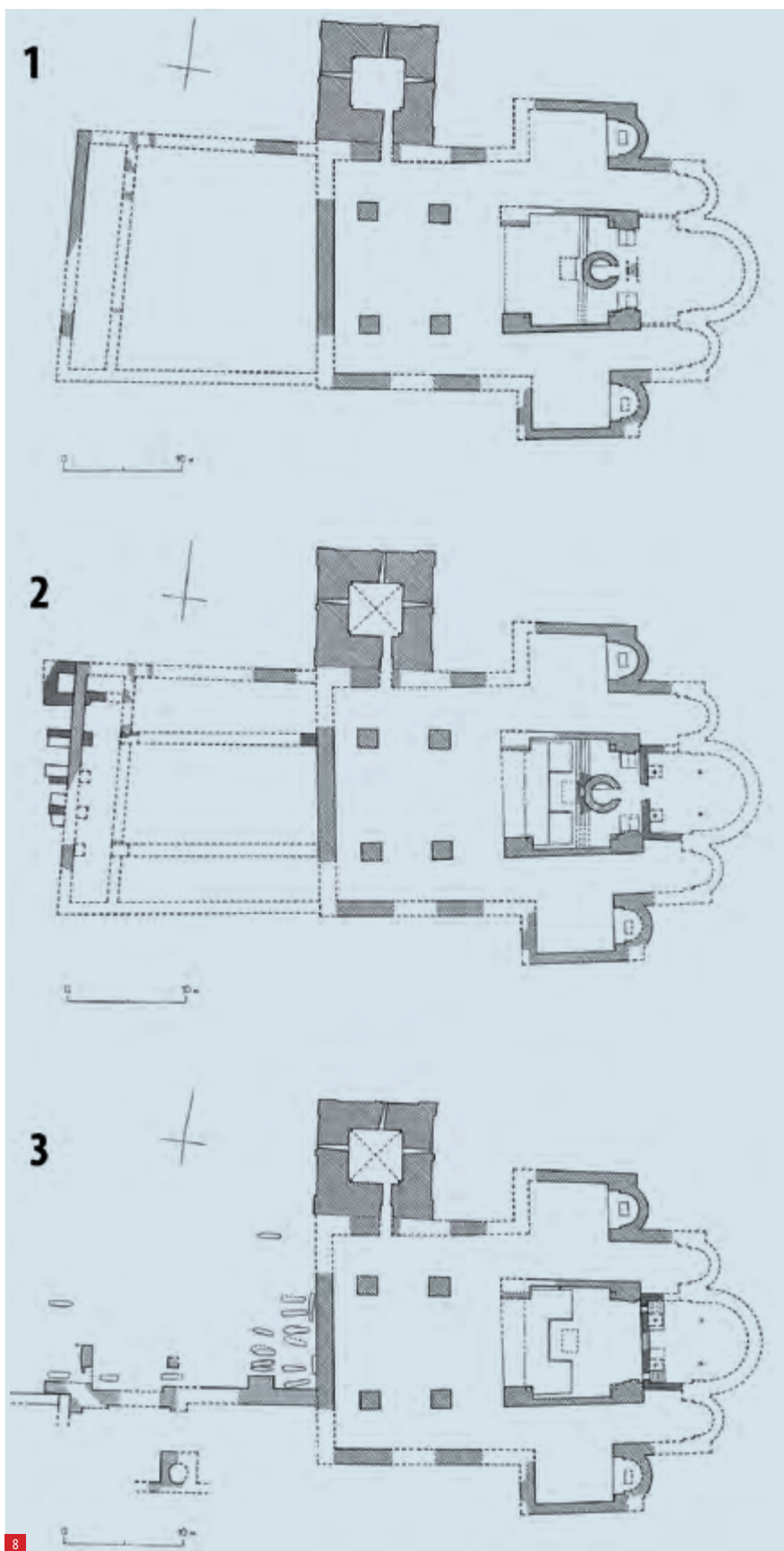


Milan, Musée de la Cathédrale. Croix de l'archevêque Aribert d'Intimiano pour l'abbaye de St-Denis de Milan (env. 1120-1130). Détail



Galliano, l'église St-Vincent. Le commanditaire Aribert d'Intimiano, sous-diacre et custos de l'église, avec la maquette de l'église (1007). Détail

Fruttuaria, abbaye. Reconstruction, d'après les fouilles, du développement de l'atrium de l'abbatiale entre le XI^e et le XII^e siècle (d'après Pejrani Baricco, 1998)



connaître le lieu exact de sa sépulture alors que le sarcophage et le grand crucifix **6** en lame de cuivre repoussé, argenté et doré, sont aujourd'hui conservés dans le Musée de la Cathédrale de Milan.

La figure d'Aribert commanditaire placée sous les pieds du Christ tient justement dans ses mains le modèle de l'église Saint-Denis. L'interprétation de ce modèle pose quelques problèmes. On a en effet pensé que l'église, faite rénover par Aribert, était pourvue à l'est d'une paire de clochers aux cotés du presbytère, formant un chevet harmonique, alors que sur le côté opposé apparaîtrait une avant-nef que certains auteurs ont appelé littéralement « Westwerk ». ²² Compte tenu de la possibilité que l'église ait reçu des interventions au moins à la deuxième moitié du XI^e siècle, ²³ on peut plutôt penser, au contraire, que les deux tours, qui n'étaient pas circulaires, comme semble le montrer le modèle réduit, mais carrées, se réfèrent à la façade, formant donc plutôt une façade harmonique et, par conséquent, que l'autre partie montre la zone absidale. ²⁴

Pour ce qui concerne un atrium lié à la figure de cet évêque, nous avons en revanche un portrait peint plus ancien, daté de 1007, dans l'église Saint-Vincent à Galliano. **7** Ici, le jeune sous-diacre Aribert, custos de cette église baptismale appartenant à sa famille, fera accomplir les travaux de construction et la décoration picturale. Dans ce portrait, il est représenté tenant dans ses mains un modèle réduit de l'église où l'on voit bien l'abside, le clocher et l'atrium, dont nous savons qu'il survécut jusqu'au XVII^e siècle et qu'il avait des fonctions funéraires. ²⁵

Revenant à des exemples monastiques, il convient de rappeler que, dans le cas de l'abbaye de la Novalèse, fondée en 726 par le noble franc Abbon, l'hypothèse de la présence d'une avant-nef, avec des fonctions non définies, suggérée dans un premier temps par des restes trouvés lors de fouilles, est aujourd'hui – après un réexamen des données à disposition – peu probable. ²⁶ Il en va différemment pour l'abbaye de Fruttuaria, fondée en 1003 par Guillaume de Volpiano sur des terrains lui appartenant. Ici, les fouilles menées par Luisella Pejrani Baricco ²⁷ **8** ont mis au jour une structure adossée à la façade occidentale qui a fait l'objet de transformations à trois époques différentes. Dans la première phase, l'espace très grand, large comme l'église et mesurant 21 mètres de long – remontant peut-être à peu de temps après la fondation de l'église, mais construit avec une technique plus pauvre – était doté d'un porche sur le côté ouest. L'entrée était probablement située au nord. À l'atrium se réfèrent seulement indirectement les Consuetudines Fructuarienses, rédigées entre la fin du XI^e siècle et le début du XII^e siècle : elles l'indiquent comme le lieu de départ et de retour de la procession à la structure circulaire dédiée au Saint Sépulture, installé dans la croisée de l'église, et de la Visitatio. Le texte relate que ceci est une coutume qui se transmet depuis longtemps et il suggère pour l'atrium une fonction continue liée à la liturgie processionnelle qui, à Fruttuaria, était particulièrement mise en exergue durant la Semaine Sainte et à Pâques.

22 C. Tosco, *Architetti e committenti nel romanico lombardo*, Roma 1997, pp. 79-83; G.A. Vergani, « Ariberto e il modello di San Dionigi », in *Il Crocifisso di Ariberto*, pp. 89-97; Id., « Ariberto d'Intimiano: arcivescovo e committente nella Milano dell'XI secolo », in *Evangelario di Ariberto. Un capolavoro dell'oreficeria medievale lombarda*, a cura di Alessandro Tomei, Milano 1999, pp. 23-49, in part. pp. 40-46.

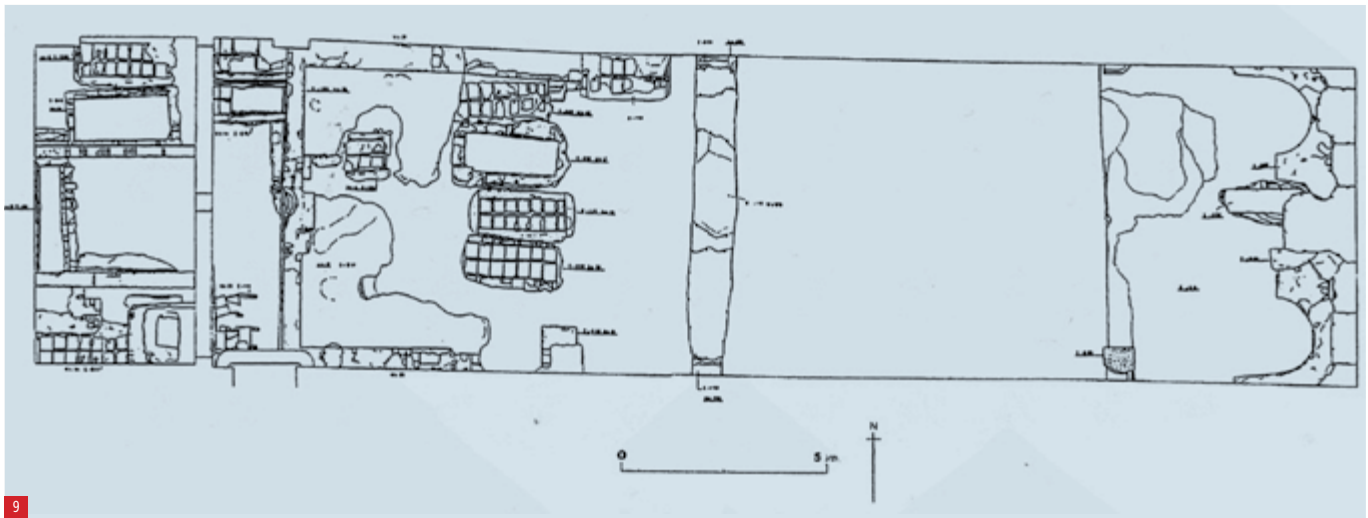
23 L. C. Schiavi, « "Ubi elegans fundaverat ipse monasterium". L'architettura ecclesiastica negli anni dell'arcivescovo Ariberto », in *Ariberto da Intimiano. Fede, potere e cultura a Milano nel secolo XI*, a cura di Ettore Bianchi, Martina Basile Weatherhill, Miriam Rita Tessera, Manuela Beretta, Cinisello Balsamo, Silvana Editoriale, 2007, pp. 197-219, in part. pp. 205-207.

24 S. Lomartire, « "Ut aula Domini resplendet". Riflessioni su Ariberto di Intimiano committente », in *Ariberto da Intimiano*, op. cit. (n. 23), pp. 41-69, in part. pp. 60-61.

25 Pour Saint-Vincent de Galliano : L. Caramel, « Dalle testimonianze paleocristiane al Mille », in *Storia di Monza e della Brianza*, IV/1, Milano 1976, pp. 252-271: 260-263; M. Rossi, « Il rinnovamento architettonico della basilica di San Vincenzo e il battistero di San Giovanni Battista a Galliano », in *Ariberto da Intimiano*, op. cit. (n. 23), pp. 87-99, in part. pp. : S. Lomartire, « "Ut aula Domini resplendet" », op. cit. (n. 24), pp. 35-36; R. Cassanelli, « La basilica di S. Vincenzo e il battistero di Galliano », in *Lombardia romanica. I grandi cantieri*, a cura di Roberto Cassanelli e Paolo Piva, Milano 2010, pp. 49-64 ;

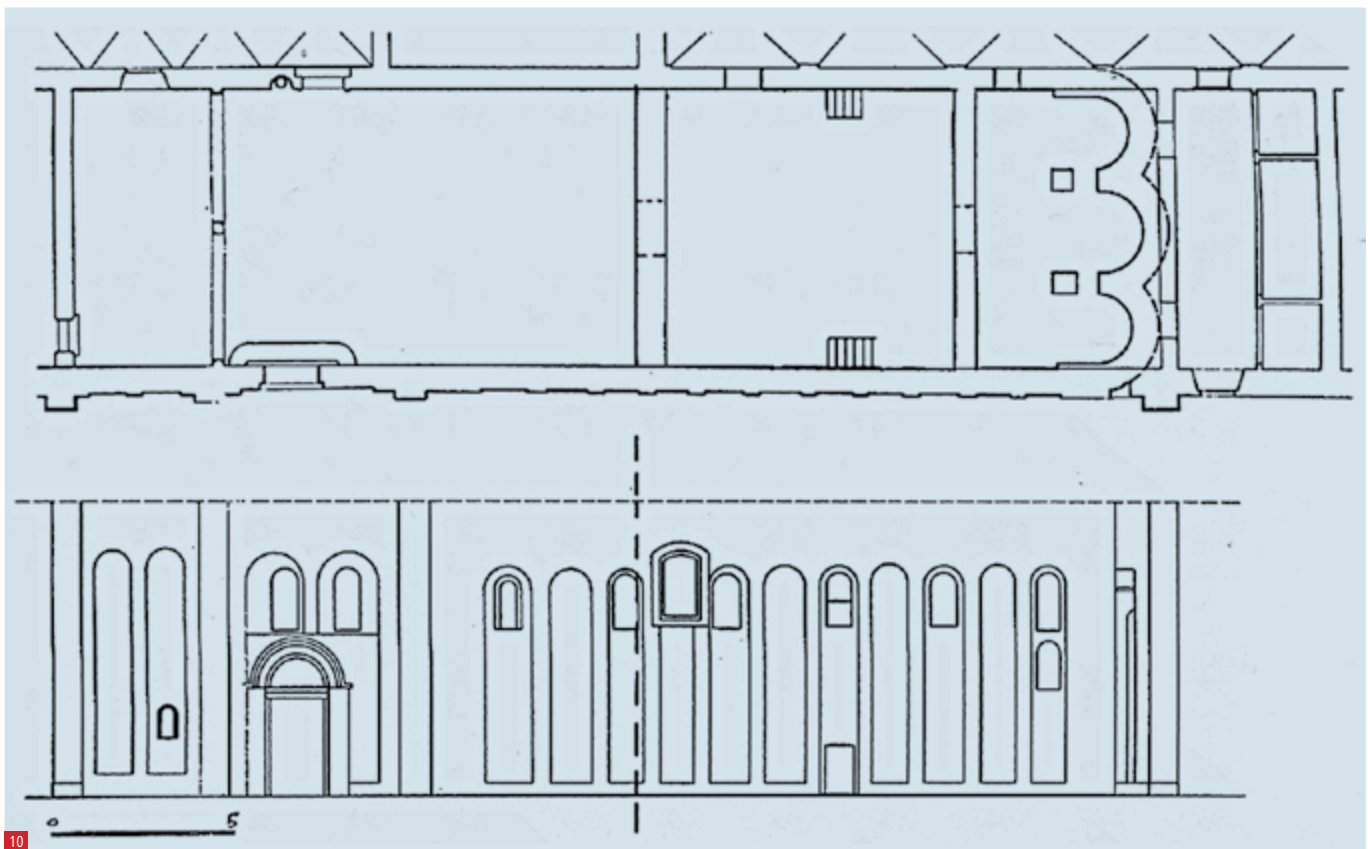
26 Ainsi que me le confirme la collègue Gisella Cantino Wataghin (Università del Piemonte Orientale).

27 L. Pejrani Baricco, « La chiesa abbaziale di Fruttuaria alla luce degli ultimi scavi », in *Archeologia in Piemonte, III. Il Medioevo*, Torino 1998, pp.187-208.



9

Pavie, église St-Félix. Plan des fouilles
(d'après Invernizzi, 1995-1997)



10

Pavie, église St-Félix. Plan et élévation
sud (d'après Lomartire, 2003)

Au cours du XI^e siècle, l'atrium fut modifié par l'adjonction des porches latéraux et des voûtes du porche occidental, qui fut peut-être élevé à deux étages, comme semble l'indiquer une tour d'escaliers.

Dans une troisième phase, peut-être du XII^e siècle, on assiste à la réduction de l'atrium au sud au profit d'une structure imposante. Dans l'atrium sont créées des sépultures ainsi qu'une aire cémétériale réservée à des laïcs de haut rang.

L'évolution de l'atrium de Fruttuaria indique donc une fonction privilégiée de cet espace. Mais, en même temps, ses transformations et, à la fin, sa réduction indiquent peut-être que cette fonction pouvait changer au fil du temps.

Concernant la fonction funéraire de l'atrium monastique, je souhaiterais citer le cas de l'église Saint-Félix à Pavie, ancienne église Saint-Sauveur du monastère fondé par les rois lombards Desiderius et Ansa dans la deuxième moitié du VIII^e siècle.²⁸ Les fouilles de 1996²⁹ ⁹ ont également permis de retrouver, outre les traces des trois absides indiquant que l'église appartenait au type bien connu de la salle unique à trois absides (Dreiaapsiden-Saalkirche),³⁰ les traces de l'ancienne façade, probablement rasée pour permettre l'allongement de l'église qui eut probablement lieu en concomitance avec la réforme de Mayeul de Cluny, appelé à Pavie par l'empereur Otton II. Immédiatement à l'ouest de la façade ont été trouvées des rangées de tombes qui occupent tout l'espace de l'avant-nef. Les tombes accueilleraient probablement les abbesses. Dans un cas, une riche tombe peinte porte également le nom de Aripurga abbatissa.³¹ Les premières rangées de tombes peuvent être datées de la seconde moitié ou de la fin du VIII^e siècle, à une date proche de celle de la fondation du monastère. Cela signifie que l'aire située à l'ouest de la façade a été conçue comme une aire funéraire, comme lieu pour les sépultures des abbesses. Ceci s'explique mieux dans un monastère urbain, probablement.

Mais que l'atrium de cette église fut un espace privilégié est prouvé par le fait que les tombes furent réutilisées trois ou quatre fois, même après l'allongement de l'église. À l'extérieur, ¹⁰ la paroi sud est scandée par des arcades aveugles continues, qui ne présentent aucune interruption à l'endroit où se trouvait l'ancienne façade. Même si l'on tient compte des restaurations, il est fort probable que ceci indique que le mur périmétral sud, mais évidemment aussi le nord, aient été construits dès l'origine pour accueillir aussi bien l'église que l'atrium funéraire et que ce dernier fait partie intégrante du projet d'origine. Les données ne permettent pas de dire comment était la structure interne de l'atrium, c'est-à-dire s'il était ouvert, mais l'agencement des tombes en rangées régulières laisse penser qu'il s'agissait d'un atrium entièrement couvert.

28 A. Peroni, « Per la tipologia architettonica dell'età carolingia nell'area lombarda », in *Roma e l'età carolingia, Atti delle giornate di studio* (Roma, 1976), Roma, 1976, pp. 87-102; D. Vicini, « La civiltà artistica: l'architettura », in *Storia di Pavie, II*, Milano 1987, pp. 317-341, in part. pp. 337-339.

29 R. Invernizzi, « Pavie, ex chiesa di S. Felice », *Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia. Notiziario*, 1995-1997, pp. 247-251.

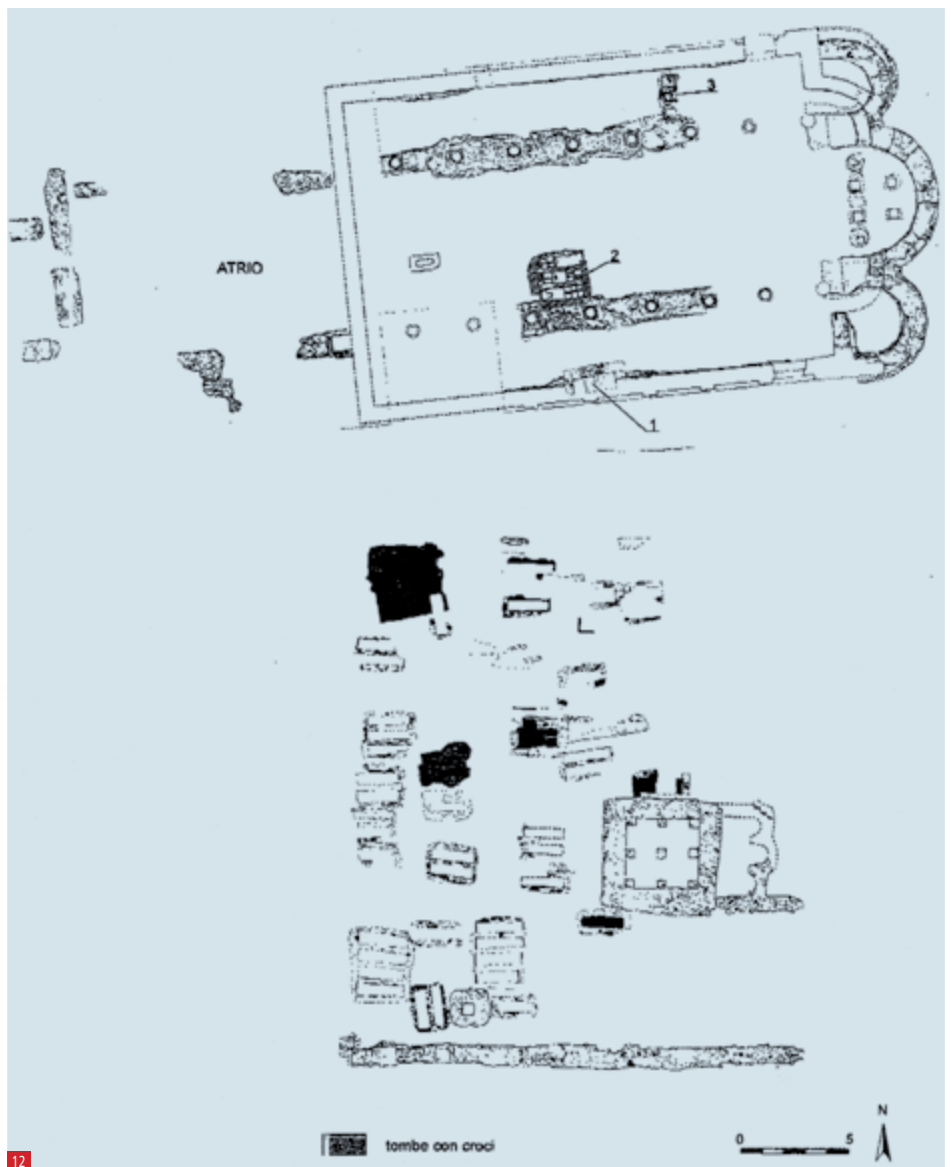
30 S. Lomartire, « Riflessioni sulla diffusione del tipo Dreiaapsiden-Saalkirche nell'architettura lombarda dell'altomedioevo », in *L'edificio de culte entre les périodes paléochrétienne et carolingienne* (Colloque Poreč, 17-21 mai 2002), in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 9 (2003), pp. 417-432.

31 A. Segagni, S. Lomartire, « Scheda n. 264. Tomba della badessa Aripurga (Pavia, S. Felice) », in *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, Catalogo della Mostra (Brescia giugno-novembre 2000), a cura di Carlo Bertelli e Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Milano, Skira, 2000, pp. 248-249.

Pavia, Palais de l'Évêché. Sépulture peinte du VIIIe siècle, dans l'ancien atrium de l'abbatiale (aujourd'hui détruite) de Ste-Marie-Antique.



Brescia, abbatale St-Sauveur. Plan des sépultures du haut Moyen Âge (d'après Brogiolo, 2004)





Une situation identique devait se présenter, toujours à Pavie, dans l'église du monastère Sainte-Marie-Antique, aujourd'hui englobée dans le Palais de l'Évêché. Il ne reste aujourd'hui presque rien de la structure de l'ancienne église, mis à part quelques restes de sépultures, dont une avec une caisse peinte, ¹¹ dans la zone à l'ouest de l'ancienne église, témoigne peut-être de la présence d'un atrium.³²

Castelletto Monastero (Biella), ancien prieuré clunisien de St-Pierre. Vue extérieure de l'atrium

Castelletto Monastero (Biella), ancien prieuré clunisien de St-Pierre. Vue intérieure de l'atrium

À Saint-Sauveur de Brescia aussi, les fouilles menées par Panazza en 1958-1962³³ ont permis d'identifier des tombes non seulement dans l'église, et parmi celles-ci une tombe importante sur le côté sud, identifiée comme probable lieu d'inhumation de la dernière reine lombarde, Ansa, mais aussi à l'ouest de la façade actuelle, ¹² dont la position correspond approximativement à celle de l'ancienne façade. Les tombes dans l'atrium ont été enlevées pendant les fouilles, mais selon l'interprétation de Gian Pietro Brogiolo, du moment qu'on a trouvé un fragment d'inscription funéraire d'une abbesse, ici se trouvaient à l'origine les sépultures privilégiées, tandis que le cimetière monastique était situé au sud de l'église.³⁴ L'atrium occidental est encore présent mais il a été transformé au XV^e siècle avec la construction d'un chœur.

À une date bien plus tardive, les années Quatre-vingt du XI^e siècle, appartient l'atrium de l'église prieurale de Saint-Pierre de Castelletto Monastero, dans le Piémont, ¹³ un prieuré clunisien actuellement fouillé par Eleonora Destefanis et Gabriele Ardizio.³⁵ Tout jugement sur la fonction de l'atrium est pour le moment prématuré si l'on considère que la situation statique de l'atrium obligera à en reporter la fouille tant que la structure n'aura pas été mise en sécurité. Mais ce cas nous offre au moins l'occasion de faire une considération non marginale. L'atrium a visiblement été ajouté à la façade, ¹⁴ peut-être vingt ou trente ans plus tard, et fut ensuite à deux reprises surélevé. La présence de voûtes, qui me semblent contemporaines de la structure de l'atrium, permet d'observer qu'elles coupent le tympan du portail, décoré d'une figure peinte du Christ, en plus de l'architrave, qui reporte une inscription peinte en lettres élégantes. D'un côté, à l'époque, une structure d'atrium, ou de porches, à l'ouest, ne fut considérée utile dans un premier temps ; de

32 R. Invernizzi, « Pavia. Piazza Duomo, Palazzo Vescovile », in Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia. Notiziario, 2001-2002, pp. 132-135 pp. 132-133.

33 G. Panazza, « Gli scavi, l'architettura e gli affreschi della chiesa di S. Salvatore in Brescia », in La chiesa di San Salvatore in Brescia (Atti dell'ottavo Congresso di studi sull'arte dell'alto medioevo, II), Milano 1962.

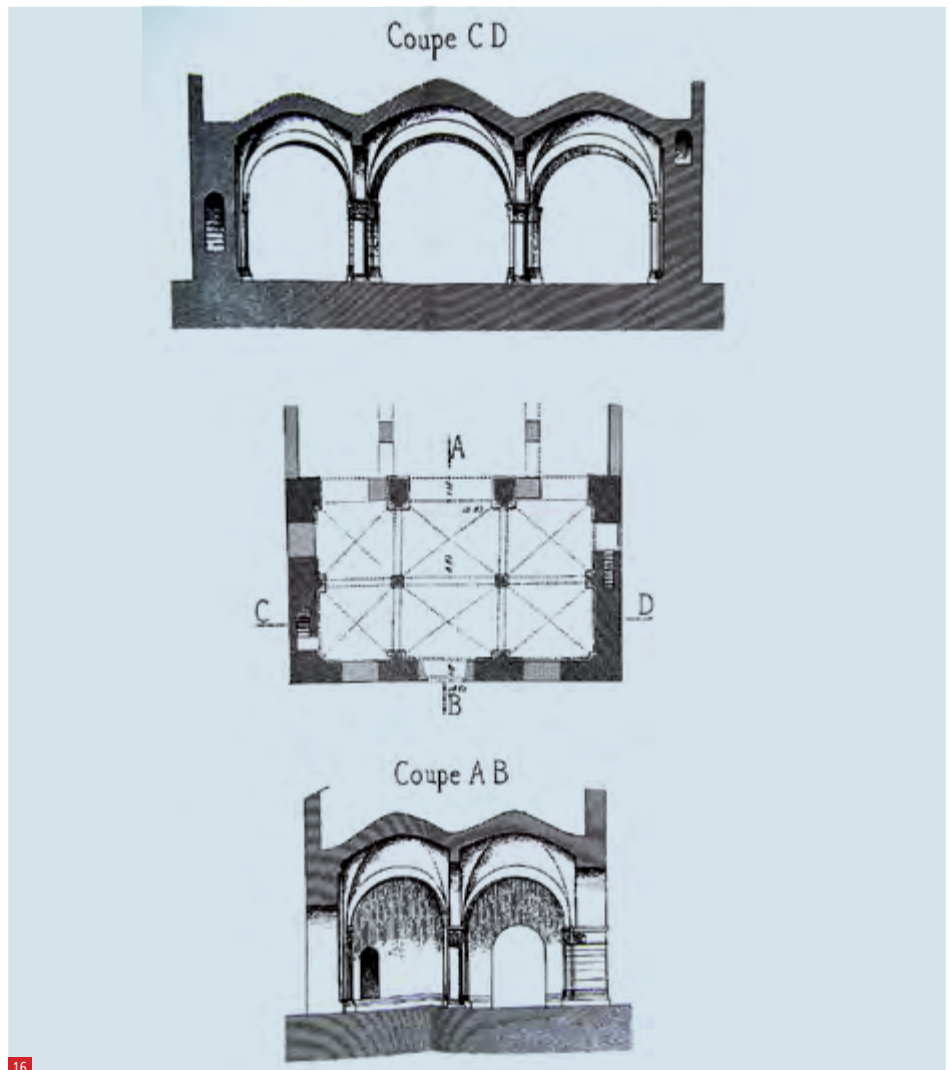
34 G. P. Brogiolo, « Sepolture privilegiate altomedievali nel monastero di S. Salvatore di Brescia », in Hortus Artium Medievalium, 10 (2004), pp. 15-24.

35 E. Destefanis, G. Ardizio, E. Basso, « Contributo alla storia del monachesimo cluniacense nell'Italia settentrionale : indagini archeologiche al priorato di Castelletto Cervo (BI) », in Atti del V Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale (Foggia-Manfredonia, 30 settembre - 3 ottobre 2009), a cura di Pasquale Favia e Giuliano Volpe, Firenze 2009, pp. 492-497.

Abbadia Cerreto (Lodi), abbaye cistercienne. Façade de l'abbatiale



Sesto Calende (Varese), église St-Donat. Vue extérieure de l'atrium





Sesto Calende (Varese), église St-Donat. Plan et coupes (d'après De Dartein, 1865-1882)

l'autre, au moment de sa construction, elle devint prioritaire de façon à permettre d'effacer le message iconographique du portail. Donc, indépendamment de ses fonctions, l'atrium ne faisait pas partie du projet originel et il faut par conséquent penser qu'il n'était pas indispensable aux coutumes de la communauté monastique. Les résultats des fouilles seront importants sous cet aspect dès lors qu'il est possible que l'atrium, outre à exercer d'autres éventuelles fonctions, était aussi destiné à accueillir des sépultures privilégiées. Mais on ne peut exclure aussi une fonction plus pratique, pour soutenir la façade située sur une terrasse fluviale et constamment soumise à des sollicitations statiques.

Sur la base de l'exemple de Castelletto Monastero, nous pourrions prendre en considération les atriums de quelques églises cisterciennes.¹⁵ Toutefois, dans ces cas, la situation doit toujours être appréhendée avec prudence car les exemples conservés (Chiaravalle Milanese, Chiaravalle della Colomba, Abbazia Cerreto) sont toujours des structures qui ont subi d'importantes interventions de restauration ou ont été reconstruites successivement.

Un autre cas intéressant, mais conservé dans son état originel, est représenté par l'église monastique de Saint-Donat de Sesto Calende, sur le lac Majeur.

¹⁶ L'atrium, probablement ajouté à l'église au début du XII^e siècle, est une imposante structure à travées sur colonnes et chapiteaux qui soutiennent des voûtes d'arêtes.³⁶ Deux escaliers en colimaçon ¹⁷ font penser qu'un étage supérieur devait être prévu sans jamais avoir été construit. Dans ce cas, nous avons un exemple en partie analogue à celui de Castelletto Monastero, dans le sens où l'atrium a été ajouté dans un deuxième temps.

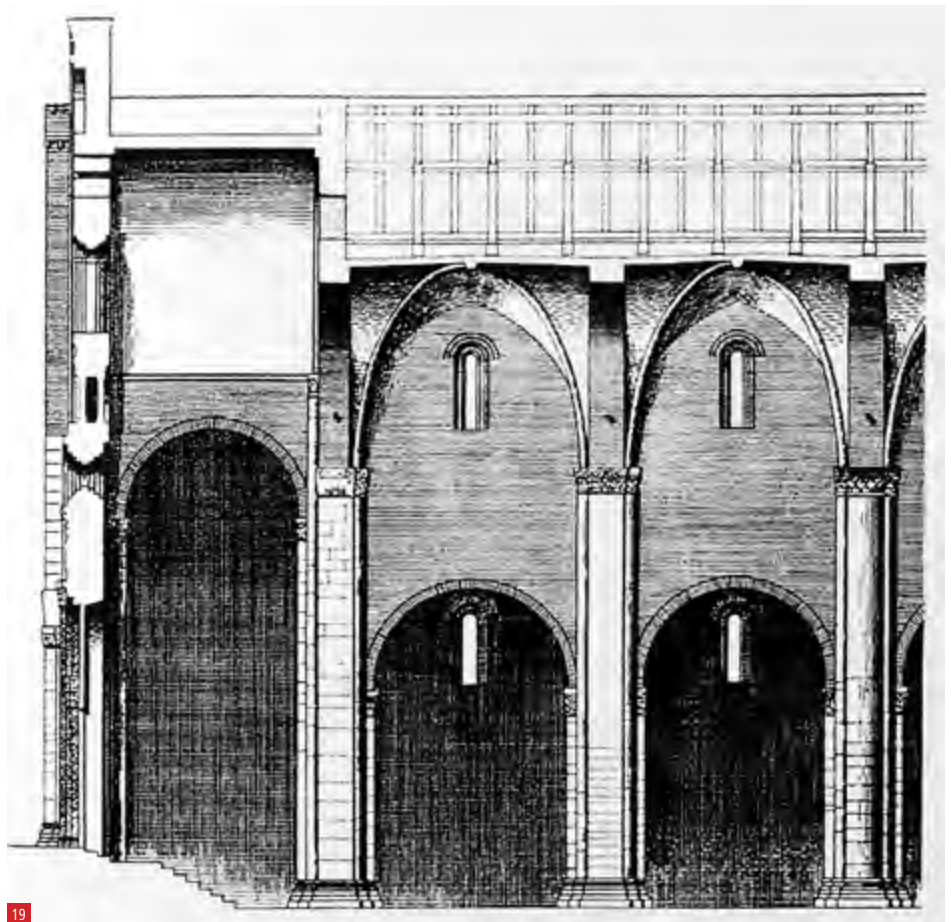
36 F. De Dartein, *Étude sur l'architecture lombarde*, Paris 1865-1882, t. II, pp. 383-386 ; A. Finocchi, « Note su edifici romanici nel Varesotto. II - La chiesa di San Donato e l'oratorio di San Vincenzo a Sesto Calende », in *Bollettino d'Arte*, s. VII, a. LI (1966), I-II, pp. 72-81 ; S. Lomartire, « L'organizzazione des avant-corps occidentaux », op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 360-361.

Pavie, église St-Pierre au Ciel d'Or. Façade avec restes de l'atrium prévu et jamais bâti



18

Pavie, église St-Pierre au Ciel d'Or. Coupe longitudinale (d'après De Darstein, 1865-1882)



19



Milan, St-Simplicien. Façade avec restes de l'atrium prévu et jamais bâti

Autre cas significatif, celui de l'atrium de Saint-Pierre au Ciel d'Or de Pavie, la grande abbaye où, dans la première moitié du VIII^e siècle, le roi lombard Liutprand fit arriver les reliques de Saint Augustin. L'église abbatiale encore visible de nos jours, construite au début du XII^e siècle, ¹⁸ présente sur sa façade occidentale la prédisposition pour l'adjonction d'un grand atrium à voûtes, qui ne fut jamais construit.³⁷ À cet atrium correspondait à l'intérieur une sorte de transept de façade, ¹⁹ et l'ensemble fait penser que dans le projet d'origine une attention toute particulière fut portée à l'aire de l'avant-nef, peut-être en relation avec les coutumes rituelles de la communauté monastique. On pourrait toutefois également penser que l'atrium était conçu aussi en fonction de l'afflux des fidèles qui se rendaient ici pour vénérer les reliques augustiniennes.

Parallèlement au cas de Pavie, nous pouvons rappeler celui, analogue, de l'église abbatiale Saint-Simplicien de Milan. ²⁰

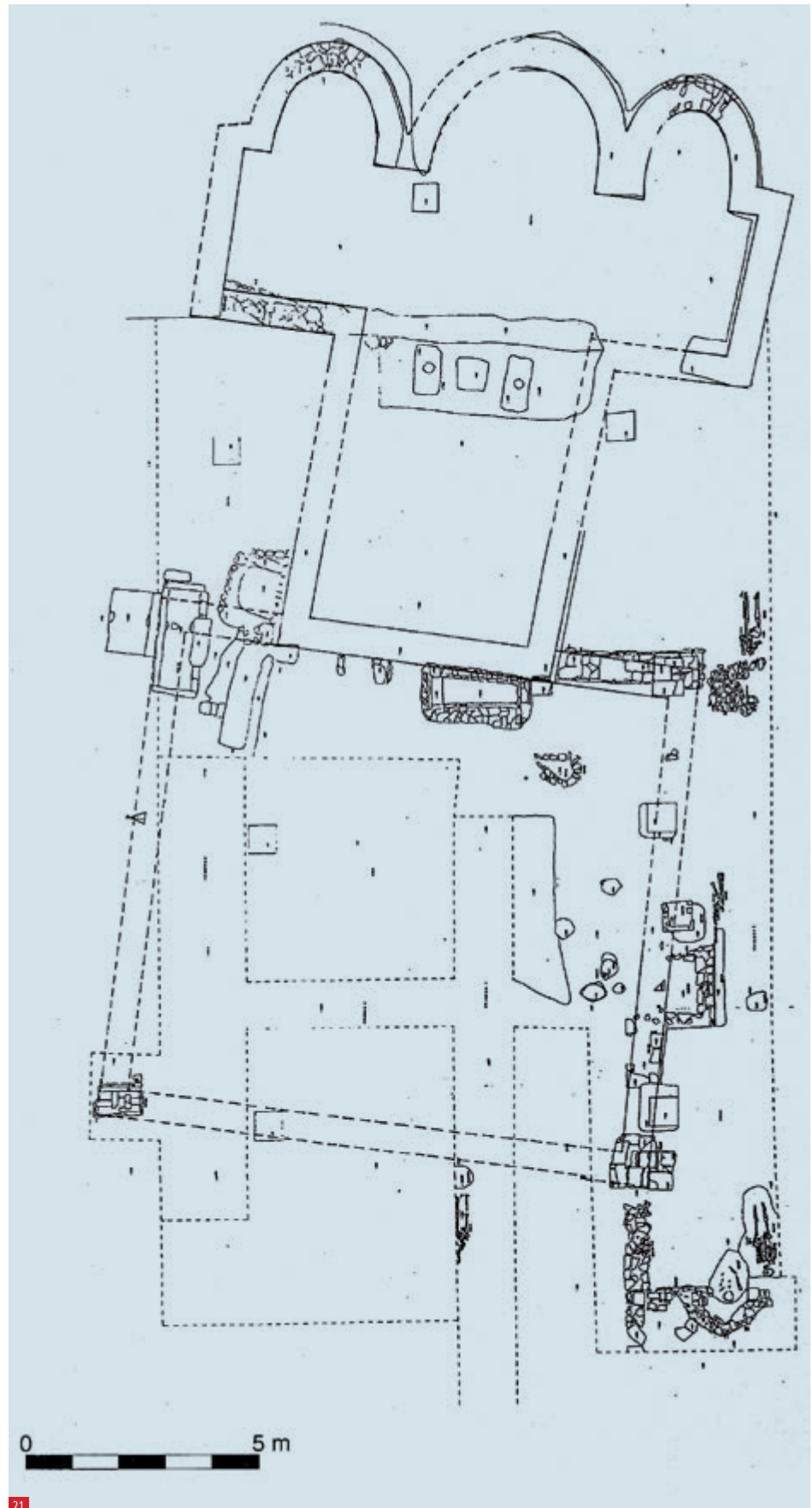
L'éventualité de la présence d'un atrium relié à l'afflux de pèlerins a été récemment énoncée également pour l'église abbatiale romane de Sesto al Reghena, en Friuli. Pour l'église du haut Moyen Âge, avec une planimétrie en « Tau » et trois absides, ²¹ les fouilles avaient déjà mis au jour la présence d'un atrium, dans lequel se trouvait une unique sépulture.³⁸ L'église reconstruite aux côtés de l'ancienne à la fin du XI^e siècle, fut agrandie vers le milieu du XII^e siècle, ainsi que l'ont proposé des études récentes,³⁹ moyennant l'ajout d'un long atrium à l'ouest, ²² qui fut par la suite rehaussé de deux étages (début du XIII^e siècle) avec la construction d'une chapelle dédiée,

37 A. Segani, « L'architettura romanica » in Storia di Pavia, III/3, Milano 1996, pp. 155-227, in part. pp. 139-144 ; S. Lomartire, « Il problema dell'atrio e la dimensione urbanistica della basilica di S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro nei secoli », in Il Santuario di Agostino e Boezio in età moderna. Rinnovamenti, restauri, conservazione, Colloque (Pavia, 26 avril 2011) [en cours de publication].

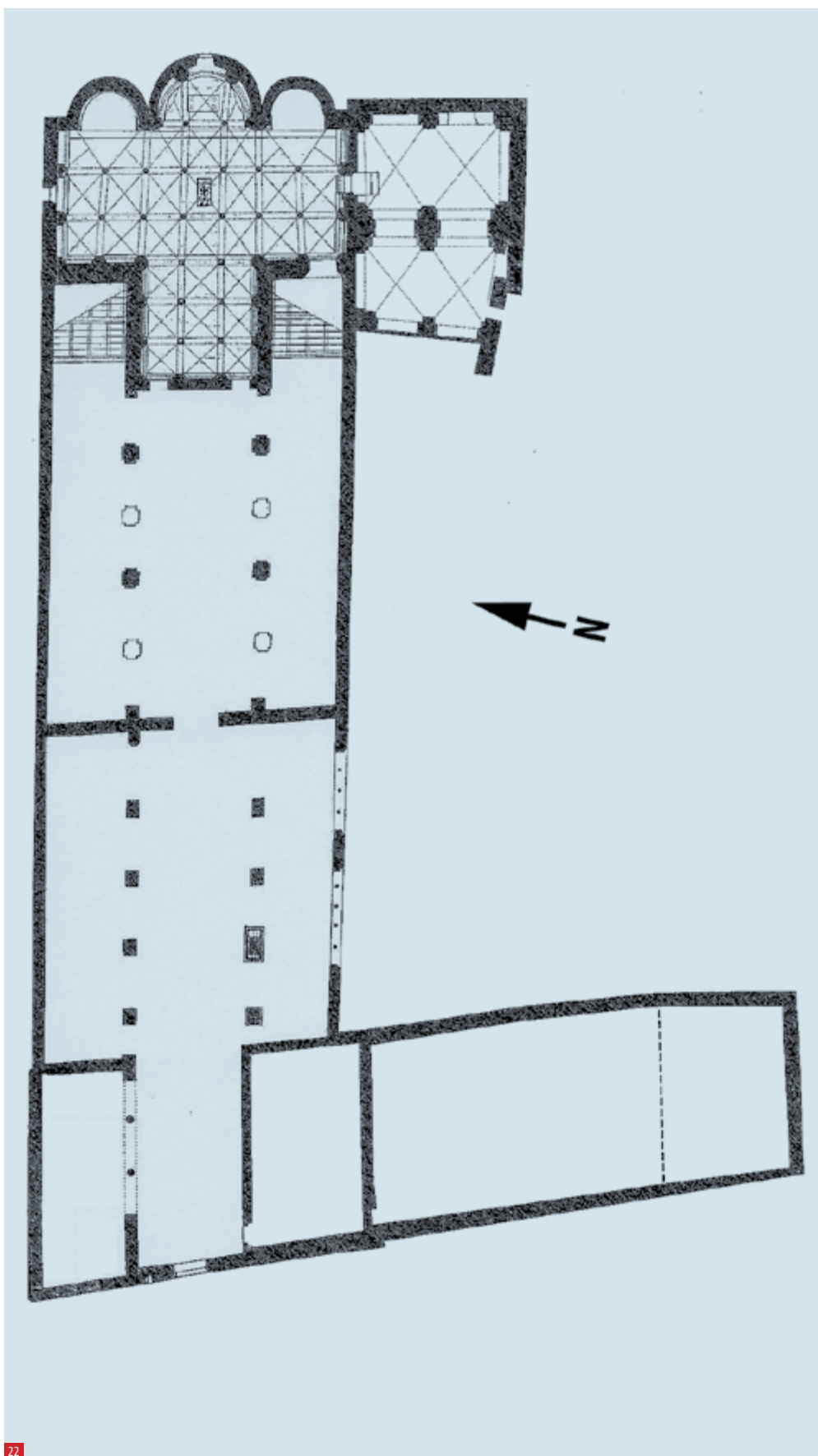
38 G. C. Menis, « La prima chiesa dell'abbazia benedettina di Sesto al Reghena », in L'abbazia di Santa Maria di Sesto fra archeologia e storia, a cura di Gian Carlo Menis e Andrea Tilatti, Pordenone 1999, pp. 53-73.

39 P. Piva, Sesto al Reghena. « Una chiesa e un'abbazia nella storia dell'architettura medievale », in L'abbazia di Santa Maria di Sesto, op. cit. (n. 38), pp. 223-324.

Sesto al Reghena (Pordenone). Restes, d'après les fouilles, de l'église du haut Moyen Âge (d'après Menis, 1999)



Sesto al Reghena (Pordenone). Plan de l'église abbatiale du XIe-XIIe siècle (d'après Piva 1999)



Sannazzaro Sesia (Novare). Abbazia di S. Nazario. Restes de l'atrium



Milan, St-Ambroise. Vue de l'atrium et de la façade



peut-être, à Saint Michel. Au XV^e siècle, cette structure à deux étages sera utilisée pour l'agrandissement du palais de l'abbé.

La présence de l'atrium dans ce cas se réfère non seulement à d'éventuels usages rituels pour la communauté monastique mais, compte tenu de la présence dans l'église d'une grande crypte avec les reliques de Sainte Anastasie, probablement aussi à l'accueil des pèlerins.

Pour l'exemple de l'atrium à deux étages, il a été proposé un lien hypothétique avec des exemples d'églises réformées allemandes, comme Saint-Pierre de Hirsau, ou aussi avec des exemples du milieu du XII^e siècle comme l'abbatiale de Paulinzella (Thuringe), sans pour autant qu'il ne subsiste d'indices de liens directs.⁴⁰

On a aussi remarqué que le double étage dans ce cas peut rappeler l'abbatiale Saint-Nazaire de Sannazzaro Sesia, où au XII^e siècle fut édifié un atrium pourvu de tribunes voutées.⁴¹ 23

Le cas le plus éclatant d'atrium aux formes monumentales est incontestablement celui de Saint-Ambroise de Milan, 24 avec ses proportions très allongées qui redoublent presque la longueur de la basilique, de sorte qu'il a souvent été considéré comme une réitération, d'une grande signification „politique”, de l'atrium de Saint-Pierre du Vatican. Dans la connexion avec la façade, l'atrium devient à deux étages superposés et l'étage le plus élevé n'a pas d'autre fonction que celle de monumentaliser la face occidentale, peut-être avec le rappel aux arcs triomphaux antiques et, en même temps, de produire de grandes ouvertures pour l'éclairage de l'intérieur étant donné que toute la nef centrale est dépourvue de fenêtres. Les deux clochers font partie de ce contexte mais seulement celui de gauche, dit « des chanoines », a été construit avec la basilique et l'atrium et par le même architecte (comme le rappelle un document du XII^e siècle). Le clocher de droite, dit « des moines », remonte au IX^e siècle, et il fut construit en particulier pour servir le monastère institué ici en 789 par l'évêque Pierre, aux côtés du clergé séculaire qui officiait dans l'antique basilica martyrum d'Ambroise.

Selon une ancienne tradition, l'atrium de Saint-Ambroise est dit « atrium d'Anspertus » sur la base de l'épithaphe de l'archevêque milanais Anspertus, où un distique élégiaque récite : « Quot sacras aedes / quanto sudore refecit / Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores ». ⁴² À partir de cette information, on en a toujours déduit que l'atrium roman actuel substituait celui construit par Anspertus. Cette lecture a récemment été mise en discussion par Anat Tcherikover : ⁴³ la citation ne se référerait pas à l'atrium de Saint-Ambroise mais, si on se relie au texte de ce distique, elle se référerait aux atriums des églises restaurées par l'archevêque. Dans ce sens, l'atrium roman aurait seulement remplacé celui de la basilique construite par Ambroise, qui peut-être resta debout jusqu'à la reconstruction de la fin du XI^e siècle. Mais rien n'interdit de penser que, parmi les « atria » qu'Anspertus avait construit ou, selon le texte, reconstruit, pouvait bien se trouver aussi celui de Saint-Ambroise. Les fouilles

40 Ibid., pp. 275-279.

41 P. Verzone, « Sannazzaro Sesia, S. Nazaro », in Congrès Archéologique du Piémont, 129e session (1971), Paris 1977, pp. 233-234; S. Lomartire, « L'organisation des avant-corps occidentaux », op. cit., (n. 3), p. 367; S. Caldano, « Da S. Silano tutto intorno. Torri di facciata ed avant-nefs nel Piemonte Orientale tra XI e XII secolo », in 1008-2008. I Mille anni dell'Abbazia di San Silano: ricerche e prospettive, Atti del Convegno (Romagnano Sesia, 22 novembre 2008), a cura di Franca Tonella Regis, Borgosesia 2009, pp. 43-75 (en part. pp. 62-63).

42 A. M. Ambrosioni, « Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores. Note in margine ad un'epigrafe del IX secolo », in Medioevo e latinità in memoria di Ezio Franceschini, Milano 1993, pp. 229-244; M. Petoletti, « Copiare le epigrafi nel medioevo : l'epitafio di Ansperto in S. Ambrogio a Milano e la sua fortuna », in Italia medioevale e umanistica, 43 (2002), pp. 92-114.

43 A. Tcherikover, « "Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores" : the fictitious Carolingian atrium of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan », Arte lombarda, N.S. 149 (2007), 1, pp. 5-9.

menées il y a presque vingt ans ont détecté la présence de tombes à l'intérieur des porches - mais on pense à les dater plutôt au IV^e/V^e siècle. En outre, nous savons qu'autour de l'atrium - mais à certaines périodes également à l'intérieur de celui-ci - étaient situés les bancs de certains laïcs (notaires, scribes).

Nous pouvons nous demander si l'atrium de Saint-Ambroise avait une fonction principale comme, par exemple, celle liée à la liturgie processionnelle très en vogue à Milan au Moyen Âge et encore à l'époque moderne, ou bien s'il avait aussi de nombreuses autres fonctions. Une inscription placée en 1098 sur le front de l'atrium rappelle l'institution d'un marché à Saint-Ambroise par l'archevêque Anselme IV, accompagnée d'une exemption d'impôt et d'une période de seize jours de paix à l'occasion de la fête des Saints Gervais et Protas, dont les reliques sont conservées dans la Basilique. Ce fait est important pour définir un autre aspect particulier de l'atrium ambrosien, qui était certainement lié aux premières mémoires chrétiennes de Milan et qui devait voir un afflux constant de fidèles, notamment durant les plus importantes festivités. L'atrium devait probablement exercer une série de fonctions différentes et nous pouvons dire que celles qui étaient liées à la vie de la communauté monastique ne devaient représenter qu'une petite partie de celles-ci.

Le cas exceptionnel, sans aucun doute, de l'église ambrosienne rassemble bon nombre de problèmes que nous avons présentés dans cette revue, très anthologique, d'exemples d'avant-nefs monastiques de l'Italie du Nord dans un arc temporel plutôt ample.

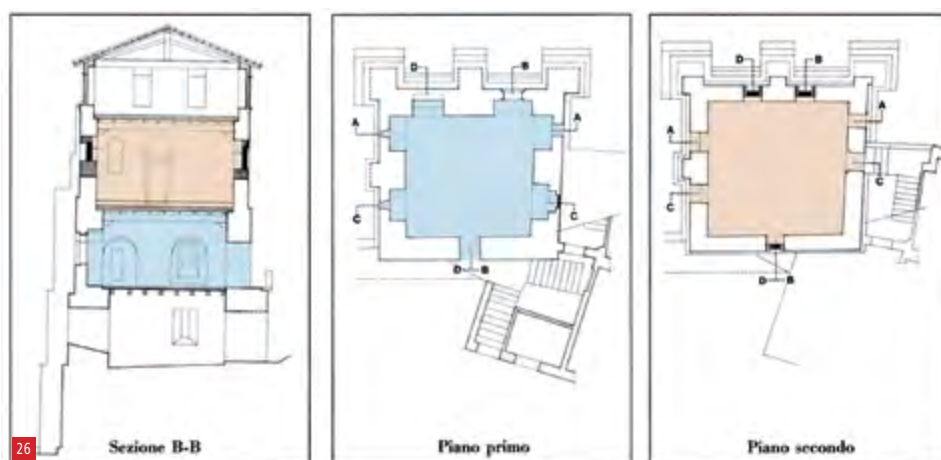
Il est difficile de tenter de faire un bilan d'après les observations faites. Il est avant tout nécessaire de souligner la nature « privilégiée » de ces espaces.

Privilégiés dans un sens général, toutefois, et non univoque. L'extrême pénurie de données sur l'usage particulier fait au cas par cas n'exclut naturellement pas des usages plus spécifiques, pour lesquels nous restons en attente de compléments d'information.

Cependant, l'étude des différents contextes nous met face à la réalité d'emplois différents ou de la somme de fonctions différentes dans un unique contexte. L'usage spécial, dans certains monastères, en particulier urbains comme nous l'avons vu - mais pas seulement - de l'atrium comme lieu privilégié pour les sépultures les plus importantes et qui, en outre, devait suivre une hiérarchie dans la dislocation des tombes, doit aussi être expliqué par les dispositions canoniques sur la possibilité d'inhumer « in porticu, in atrio aut in exedris », mais ne doit pas exclure d'autres usages dont nous ne savons tout simplement rien.

Vérone, église de St-Zénon. Façade





Torba (Varese), abbaye. Tour tardo-antique avec chapelle à double étage du haut Moyen Âge (d'après Bertelli, 1988)

Une chose est sûre : ces espaces, aussi importants soient-ils, pouvaient également ne pas être présents ou, mieux, pouvaient se passer de structures leur étant propres. L'église du très important monastère bénédictin de Saint-Zénon de Vérone, ²⁵ reconstruite dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle, n'avait pas de structure assimilable à un atrium ou à une avant-nef, et sa façade était libre et recouverte de cycles narratifs sculptés. Elle possédait toutefois un grand espace ouvert sur le parvis. C'est pour cette raison que, comme nous l'avons vu, ces structures, bien que conçues, ne furent dans certains cas jamais construites.

Pour conclure, je voudrais lancer une petite provocation. Je le fais à partir d'un édifice non pas religieux mais civil : le Broletto de Milan, l'hôtel de ville, construit à partir de 1228 et terminé en 1233 par le podestat Oldrado de Tresseno, qui fit également placer un portrait équestre de lui-même en haut-relief sur la façade sud du palais. L'inscription qui accompagne la statue débute par les vers « Atria qui grandis solii regalia scandis » (Toi qui montes les atriums du grand palais).⁴⁴

Lorsqu'il parle d' « atria », le texte se réfère clairement au porche qui est situé au rez-de-chaussée et qui constitue également l'accès à l'étage supérieur où se trouvaient la salle du conseil, les bureaux et les pièces du podestat. On remarque ainsi que, dans ce cas, on est confronté au concept d'un atrium situé non pas « avant » mais « sous » l'espace auquel on accède.

Revenons enfin à un exemple monastique du haut Moyen Âge : le monastère bénédictin de Torba, institué au début du VIII^e siècle et implanté dans les structures de l'enceinte tardo-antique de Castelseprio. La première église du monastère est construite sur deux étages de l'une des tours de l'enceinte : la chapelle proprement dite et un espace sous-jacent. ²⁶ Les deux pièces conservent des peintures remontant au VIII^e siècle. Ce fait doit être souligné dès lors que cette chapelle devait être la seule du monastère avant la construction de l'église monastique, qui aura peut-être lieu au XI^e siècle.⁴⁵

Une inscription peinte très abîmée, retrouvée dans l'espace inférieur, comporte le mot « Alexandria ». On pensait pour cette raison que ce lieu était

44 S. Lomartire, « Il monumento di Oldrado da Tresseno e le raffigurazioni equestri tra XII e XIII secolo », in *Monumenti equestri del Medioevo: forme, funzioni, modelli*, Giornate di studi (Roma, 13-14 febbraio 2006), a cura di Tiziana Barbavara di Grvellona [en cours de publication].

45 C. Bertelli, « Relazione preliminare sulle recenti scoperte pittoriche a Torba », in *Atti del 6° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Milano, 21-25 ottobre 1978), Spoleto 1980, pp. 205-218 ; Id. *Gli affreschi nella torre di Torba*, Milano 1988 ; C. Bertelli, « Ultimi studi sulle pitture di Castelseprio e Torba », in *Atti del Convegno: Castelseprio e Vico Seprio. Aggiornamenti* (Castelseprio - Torba, 22 settembre 2001), Castelseprio 2002, pp. 1-8

46 S. Lomartire, « Pittori dell'VIII secolo : Torba Monastero di santa Maria, Torre », in *Pittura tra Ticino e Olona. Varese e la Lombardia nord-occidentale*, Milano 1992, pp. 215-216.

destiné à conserver, comme une crypte, des reliques, provenant notamment d'Alexandrie d'Égypte. Mais une analyse plus approfondie de l'épigraphe m'a permis de lire avant ce mot l'expression « *famola tua* ». Ceci explique donc qu'Alexandrie est un nom propre et qu'il se réfère à une moniale, probablement une abbesse.⁴⁶ D'autres parties du texte comportent les noms des patriarches Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. De cette manière, l'inscription se présente comme une épigraphe funéraire. D'autres figures de moniales, avec leur nom, sont représentées dans la pièce. Il me semble donc évident qu'il s'agissait d'un lieu spécial de sépulture et certainement pas d'une crypte.

À présent, si nous revenons idéalement au Broletto de Milan, nous pouvons peut-être penser que, dans le cas du monastère de Torba, l'espace de l'étage inférieur doit plutôt être entendu comme un atrium ou, quoi qu'il en soit, comme un espace qui remplissait idéalement les fonctions d'un atrium. L'absence de toute liaison directe avec la salle supérieure ne représente aucun problème à partir du moment où les espaces monastiques étaient directement adossés à la tour. Il convient plutôt de se demander, justement pour cette raison, si une configuration de ce type ne prévoyait pas également des parcours rituels, à certains moments de la vie de la communauté, vers le lieu d'inhumation des abbesses.

Il est également juste de se demander si l'exemple de Torba peut constituer une possibilité d'interprétation également pour d'autres cas d'espaces à étages superposés. Ceci est une provocation, mais j'espère aussi une question et un élément de réflexion pour la recherche future.

CRYPTES ET CHEVETS D'ABBATIALES CAROLINGIENNES EN FRANCE (830-860), RÉFLEXIONS À PARTIR DES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES RÉCENTES

Résumé : Les récentes études archéologiques sur les cryptes et chevets de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre ou de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu invitent à mieux cerner les transformations et les choix des constructeurs de plusieurs édifices au moment même où se constituent les deux premiers états du chevet de Corvey. L'abandon du système de cryptes annulaires en vogue au début du IX^e siècle, bien connu en Italie, et encore présent à Saint-Denis ou à Saint-Quentin (selon les récentes fouilles encore inédites), au profit d'un système plus ample et plus complexe, pourrait être mis en relation avec les réformes impulsées par Benoît d'Aniane et le pouvoir impérial, mais la réalité est plus complexe. Les contacts entre Hilduin de Saint-Denis et Corvey, tout comme les relations entre l'abbé Arnulf de Deas (futur Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu) et Adalhard de Corbie, conduisent à intégrer dans notre réflexion sur le paysage monumental, une place importante aux acteurs religieux et politiques. Il en sera de même dans la génération suivante qui sous Charles le Chauve continuera à repenser cet espace liturgique privilégié que représente le chevet avec la présence des corps saints. Si certaines de ces relations au sein de l'élite sont bien connues, tout comme les parallèles souvent faits entre plusieurs chevets carolingiens, les nouvelles conclusions sur Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu, Saint-Quentin, Flavigny ou Auxerre obligent à repreciser les faits et les enjeux de ces transformations.

Les sites carolingiens étudiés par l'archéologie en France apparaissent relativement peu nombreux si on les compare avec l'Allemagne. À plusieurs reprises, nous nous sommes attachés à reconnaître les éléments architecturaux qui pourraient être retenus comme constituant des références pour cette période. Cela a été le cas de Saint-Pierre l'Estrier d'Autun (Saône-et-Loire),¹ à Saint-Germain d'Auxerre (Yonne) avec la fouille de l'avant-nef et des cryptes,² de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu (Loire-Atlantique),³ et plus récemment de Saint-Quentin (Aisne).⁴ Ces recherches archéologiques offrent quelques nouvelles perspectives quand on relie les résultats ou les premières hypothèses. Les plan de Corvey I, ou de Corvey II, ont été plusieurs fois cités en référence dans les rapprochements que nous avons pu faire à plusieurs reprises,⁵ et cette rencontre est l'occasion de faire le point tant pour les résonances architecturales que pour les hypothèses de fonctions liturgiques entre plusieurs sites carolingiens dans la première moitié du IX^e siècle.

Avec Saint-Denis, présenté ici par Michael Wyss (et en l'absence de données archéologiques précises pour le chevet de Saint-Riquier)⁶, nous nous trouvons autour des années 800 devant des sites particuliers faisant écho aux cryptes de type annulaire romaines et ravennates qui, comme on le voit aussi à Cologne, présentent bien des avantages pour la circulation ou l'adaptation d'une crypte à corps saint dans un sanctuaire déjà existant. Ce type est malgré tout peu présent en France,⁷ mais c'est celui que nous restituons à partir des études archéologiques récentes à Saint-Quentin. ■

1 Travaux menés avec Walter Berry, Bailey Young et Christian Sapin, *L'Ancienne église Saint-Pierre l'Estrier à Autun*, Archéologie médiévale, t. XII, 1982, p. 51-105.

2 Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, Archéologie et architecture d'un site monastique (C. Sapin, dir.), Paris-Auxerre, 2000.

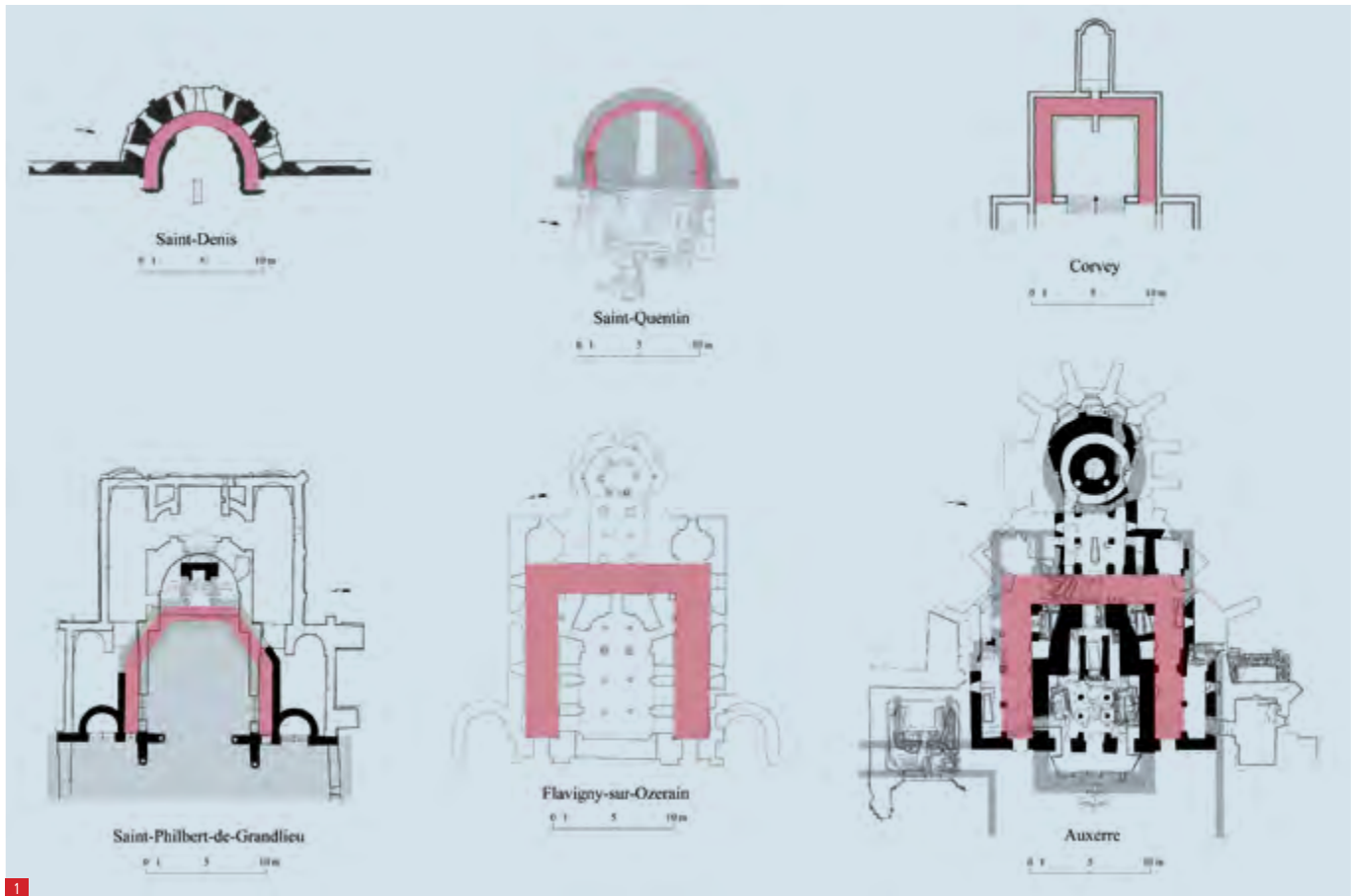
3 Travaux conduits avec Francois Heber-Sufrin et Daniel Prigent, à paraître.

4 C. Sapin, « La présence du corps saint dans le sanctuaire. Réflexions sur les contraintes et les aménagements entre Ve et XIe siècle, à partir de l'exemple de Saint-Quentin (Aisne, France) », in *Hortus, Artium Medieevalium*, vol. 15/1, 2009, p. 105-116. Les dernières campagnes de fouilles de 2011 ont confirmé les datations du haut Moyen Âge.

5 Cf. C. Sapin, 2000, op. cit. et catalogue de l'exposition *Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne, IXe-XIe siècles*, Auxerre, 1990, notamment notices de H. Claussen et U. Lobbedey, p. 238-253.

6 Cf. H. Bernard, « Saint-Riquier, l'abbaye carolingienne d'Angilbert », dans *Saint-Riquier, Une grande abbaye bénédictine*, Paris, 2009, p. 55-82.

7 Il est possible d'ajouter entre autres le chevet de Saint-Dyé-sur-Loire dont l'étude reste à reprendre. Cf. J. Martin-Demezil, *L'église carolingienne et la confession de Saint-Dyé-sur-Loire*, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1969, p. 21-39.



Plan des cryptes carolingiennes et comparaison entre Saint-Denis et Saint-Quentin (dessin CEM 2010)

8 C. Sapin, *op.cit.* Hortus Artium Medievalium, vol. 15/1, 2009, p. 105-116 ; et synthèse en cours (2011)

9 Vita s. Eligii (BHL 2474), éd. B. Krusch, MGH, SRM, IV, p. 634-742 (édition partielle) et PL 87, col. 479-594 (édition complète)

10 Les dates C14 donnent une large fourchette qui intègre la 1^{re} moitié du IX^e s ; Deux prélèvements sur le mur [90] – correspondant à l'élévation du premier état du mur carolingien de chaînage- les deux fourchettes obtenues donnent 721-890 et 723-943, avec un pic écrasé entre 760 et 880.

11 Les sources sont fournies par les Miracula S. Quintini, écrits peu après 835, période où l'on a du écrire la deuxième version de la passio et de l'inventio de Saint Quentin, dont le plus ancien manuscrit qui nous est parvenu est daté du Xe siècle (BNF nouv. Acq lat. 2164).

12 La translation du IX^e siècle (Miracula S. Quintini, éd. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, XV, p. 270 = AA SS, oct. XIII, Liber miraculorum S. Quintini, p. 811, récit écrit probablement peu après 835).

Le site a subi auparavant plusieurs transformations issues de la reconnaissance d'une tombe sainte auprès de laquelle s'installe un édifice de culte avec un autel.⁸ Cet état que l'on place au tout début du V^e siècle, si ce n'est avant, accueille deux sépultures privilégiées avant d'être agrandi au siècle suivant. C'est dans ce second édifice que nous situons l'intervention de Saint Eloi, évêque de Noyon (641-660), qui déplace le corps du saint à l'est, derrière l'autel.⁹ Le nouvel emplacement recentre le dispositif, deux siècles avant qu'un chevet carolingien, dont le plan est également restitué grâce à la fouille récente,¹⁰ ne prépare à un changement encore plus conséquent. C'est dans celui-ci qu'une crypte annulaire est installée. L'existence d'une crypte est attestée par les sources contemporaines, et correspond aux développements connus du culte des reliques dans de nombreux monastères contemporains. Nous insisterons ici sur le fait que nous sommes en présence d'une construction établie avec beaucoup de moyens avant les années 835, selon les sources, par un abbé appartenant à l'élite de la cour ; ce que nous allons rencontrer pour d'autres sites également novateurs. À Saint Quentin les transformations sont, en effet, dues aux abbés Fulrad et Hugues.¹¹ Selon les sources, le comte abbé Fulrad (814-826) construit une nouvelle basilique où sera installé par l'abbé Hugues (833-841) un aménagement particulier en 835,¹² dé-

signé plus tard (Sermon sur la tombe de Saint-Quentin)¹³ sous le terme de crypte. Charles le Chauve y transfère les restes de Saint Cassien (un des premiers évêques d'Autun) en (ou vers) 840 ; il s'agissait probablement d'un échange.¹⁴ L'abbé Fulrad, le premier constructeur carolingien (qui n'est pas le Fulrad de Saint-Denis [710-784]), est un Pippinide, neveu de Pépin le Bref. Cet abbé de Saint-Quentin est aussi connu par la fameuse lettre de Charlemagne convoquant son armée en 806.¹⁵

L'abbé Hugues, qui intervient par la suite pour établir une crypta, est également un personnage important. Né après juin 800 et mort en 844,¹⁶ il est le frère de Drogon, fils de Charlemagne et de la concubine Régine. On le suit dans sa formation à Charroux, après la condamnation de Bernard d'Italie, mais aussi dans le Livre de la confraternité de la Reichenau, en tant que diacre puis prêtre. On retiendra qu'après la réconciliation de Louis le Pieux avec ses frères en 822, et selon les Annales de Lobbes, il reçut entre autres l'abbaye de Saint-Quentin où son abbatiat est assuré par les textes entre octobre 833 et 834. À cette époque, il bénéficie d'un grand crédit auprès de Louis le Pieux, qu'il fera venir en 838 pour la cérémonie de la fête du saint Patron. Il est appelé « le plus grand des abbés »¹⁷ par Loup de Ferrière dans une lettre de 844. Entre temps, le 25 octobre 835 a lieu la translation des reliques de Quentin dans la crypte en présence des évêques de Noyon, Laon et Paderborn. Il s'agit pour ce dernier de Badurad. Evêque à partir de 815, mort en 862, ce dernier couvre largement l'époque en question. C'est lui qui était à Corvey le 25 août 822 pour bénir l'autel majeur de l'abbatiale.¹⁸ Fidèle à Louis le Pieux, comme l'abbé Hugues, il fut sans doute comme lui un ardent défenseur de la réforme bénédictine.

La crypte annulaire construite à Saint-Quentin est-elle du fait de l'abbé Hugues ? Il s'agit d'un nouveau parti pris de construction non envisagé semble-t-il dans le chantier de l'abside de Fulrad, décidé et réalisé entre 825 et 836. C'est en même temps un choix qui peut paraître « conservateur » si l'on en juge par les dates des constructions de ce type plutôt réalisées avant ou autour de 800. Le parallèle avec la crypte de Saint-Denis géographiquement proche et dans la même aire politique est frappant. On est dans les mêmes dimensions. Sauf à considérer que la crypte est due à un repentir lors de la réalisation de l'église sous Fulrad, on est plutôt enclin à considérer que les textes évoquant une crypte s'appliquent bien pour cette période à une crypte annulaire insérée dans le chevet par l'abbé Hugues.¹⁹ En retenant l'hypothèse de la construction d'une crypte de ce type terminée en 835, on réalise que le cas n'est pas unique à cette date. On le rencontre encore à Seligenstadt, où Eginhard le choisit pour la crypte réalisée entre 830 et 840, afin d'y placer les reliques de Saint Pierre et Marcellin.²⁰ Tandis qu'à Steinbach, l'édifice à crypte également souhaité par le même Eginhard, consacré en 827 avec ses longs couloirs, est d'un autre ordre, avec un dispositif qui pourrait faire référence aux catacombes d'où provient quantité de reliques.²¹ La référence ro-

13 *Sermo in tumulatione sanctorum martyrum Quintini martyris sociorumque eius* (AA SS, oct. XIII p. 816-820), écrit probablement au tout début du Xe siècle.

14 Des reliques de Quentin ont été données par Hugues à l'évêque Modoin d'Autun (vers 815 av. 843) à une date inconnue. Une église portait ce vocable au sud de la cathédrale de la ville de Bourgogne.

15 « [...] Nous t'enjoignons de t'y rendre, le 15 des calendes de juillet, avec tous tes hommes, bien armés et équipés, avec armes, bagages et tout le fournement de guerre en vivres et vêtements. Que chaque cavalier ait un écu, une lance, une épée longue et une épée courte, un arc et un carquois garni de flèches. Qu'il y ait dans vos chariots des outils de tout genre, et aussi des vivres pour trois mois [...], ainsi que des armes et des vêtements pour un semestre. » Lettre de Charlemagne à Fulrad. Cf. Ganshof, François-Louis, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1952, vol. 96, n°4, p. 531-537 ; C. Settapani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens*, 1, Mérovingiens, Carolingiens et Robertiens 481-987, *Nouvelle histoire généalogique de l'Auguste maison de France*, 1, 1, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 1993, p. 359-360.

16 Ph. Depreux, *Prosopographie de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux (781-840)*, 1997, p. 264-268.

17 Loup de Ferrières, *Correspondance*, (éd. L.Levillain), 1927, t. 1, Lettre 32.

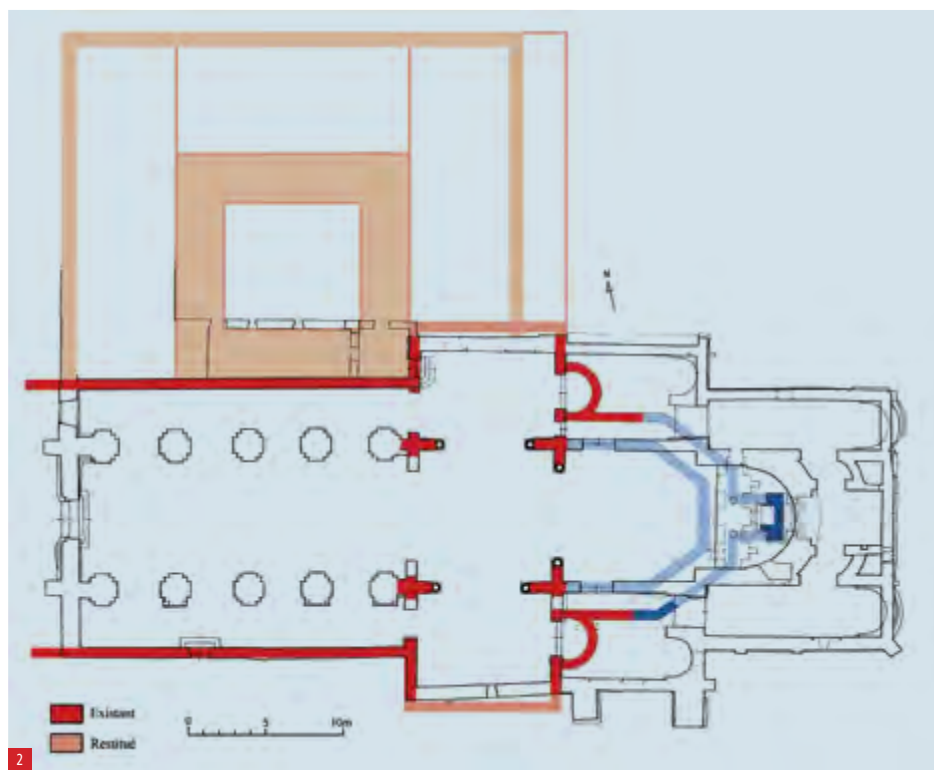
18 Sur Badurad, cf. Depreux, op. cit. p. 116.

19 Les deux phases de maçonneries sont bien visibles.

20 Cf. colloque T. Ludwig, O. Muller et I. Widra-Spees, *Die Einhard-Basilika in Steinbach*, Mayence, 1996 ; *Einhard symposium de Seligenstadt*, 24-27 septembre 2008, à paraître.

21 Ce rapport à Rome est rappelé par U. Lobbedey « *Bemerkungen zu den Einhardskirchen in Steinbach und Seligenstadt* », 2008, à paraître in *Einhard symposium de Seligenstadt*.

Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu. Plan du premier état des cryptes selon derniers sondages et hypothèse de restitution du monastère (Cem 2010)



maine est peut être identique à Saint-Médard de Soissons où arrive en 826 les reliques de Saint Sébastien.²² Pour cette génération, en utilisant le modèle annulaire, il ne s'agirait pas d'archaïsme au sens moderne mais, nous semble-t-il, bien d'une volonté de marquer par l'architecture une référence à Rome et à ses martyrs, ceci antérieurement à de profonds changements. Le changement architectural, nous le voyons nettement marqué après 840 avec Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, mais peut être déjà auparavant avec l'amorce de renouveaux à Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu et Corvey I. ²

Le chevet de Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu a, depuis dix ans, fait l'objet de nouvelles recherches avec la découverte de vestiges qui modifient l'interprétation traditionnelle de son plan. Depuis les premiers travaux du Père de La Croix qui l'ont fait connaître,²³ et les propositions d'interprétation de ses successeurs sur le site, Robert de Lasteyrie et Pierre Lebouteux,²⁴ son chevet bien connu est caractérisé par un type de construction où l'abside principale qui contient le corps saint visible depuis l'est dans une confession, est encadrée par de larges couloirs conduisant à des absidioles. Un accès ultérieur à l'origine a été créé pour conduire au couloir où se trouve actuellement le sarcophage originel du saint. À l'extrémité du chevet où devait se construire probablement une chapelle, aucun vestige ne permet d'en reconstituer la morphologie.²⁵

Depuis peu, à la lumière des dernières observations sur le terrain et des récents sondages archéologiques, on peut admettre qu'il existait un premier état avec des couloirs étroits dont le dispositif n'est pas sans rappeler le premier état de Corvey. Ce rapprochement est intéressant à plus d'un titre. Selon

22 (Translatio s. Sebastiani (BHL 7545),

23 C. de La Croix, Étude sur l'ancienne église Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu (Loire-Inférieure), d'après des fouilles, des sondages et des chartes, Poitiers, 1905.

24 R. de Lasteyrie, L'église de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu, Mémoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, t. XXXVII, 1910, p. 1-82 ; P. Lebouteux, L'église de Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux Historiques et scientifiques, nouv. série, t. 1-2, 1966-1967, p. 49-107.

25 Une prospection géophysique n'a rien donné et on peut penser que la construction était peu fondée.

les sources, Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu, ou anciennement Deas, est connu au début du IX^e siècle comme monastère reconstruit par l'abbé Arnulf dans le premier quart du IX^e siècle sur un site déjà occupé²⁶. Les dernières données de datation par archéomagnétisme sur les briques et les analyses¹⁴ semblent confirmer ce premier état.²⁷ Rappelons que c'est en 836 que le corps de Philibert est transporté depuis le vieux monastère de Noirmoutier et qu'interviennent à Deas de nouveaux travaux. Ceux-ci nous sont décrits par les *Miracula* où l'on indique entre autres que l'on n'avait pas prévu la tombe.²⁸

Ces sources ont conduit chaque auteur à échafauder, comme nous le faisons également, diverses hypothèses. Le texte dit que l'église avait une forme de croix et que par les soins de Hilbod on abattit « le mur primitif de la façade ... » et « toute l'élévation de la croisée du transept est rasée et considérablement agrandie ; le lieu de la sépulture est voûté et accosté de trois absides..... Peu de temps après ces travaux, on accourut en foule et de partout... ».²⁹

Les textes, comme l'archéologie du bâti, nous obligent ainsi à admettre que ce complexe s'est constitué en plusieurs phases. Dans la transformation du plan initial, on réalise que les absidioles tournées vers l'est sont liées à la réalisation de couloirs étroits conduisant vers l'orient et encadrant le sanctuaire. On peut admettre une certaine similitude avec Corvey I où des couloirs à peine plus larges conduisent également vers l'est à une chapelle orientale. On retrouve le principe des cryptes annulaires mais adapté à la forme du chevet comme c'est aussi le cas pour Saint-Gall. On retrouve ce principe de l'angle coupé confirmé également récemment à Minden,³⁰ avec une poursuite du couloir vers l'est ainsi qu'on le verra à Saint-Philbert dans un second état. À Corvey comme à Saint-Philbert, c'est dans un second temps, mais assez rapidement, que l'on assiste à une reconstruction plus ample du chevet et de l'accès aux corps saints. La différence, dans le cas de Saint-Philbert, est que l'on va procéder à un enveloppement du premier état, tout en conservant « la confession » comme on le verra à Auxerre. Historiquement, il serait tentant de rapprocher l'une des phases de conception du chevet de Saint-Philbert avec un programme de reconstruction régulière de l'abbaye sous les abbés Arnulf et Hilbod. En étudiant les cas de Saint-Philbert et de Corvey dans un cadre plus large que leur site, on est en effet frappé (comme pour Saint-Quentin) par la personnalité de leurs abbés et par leurs liens possibles, même si les sources ne le mentionnent pas, dans des projets volontairement novateurs.

Selon notre hypothèse, les travaux de Saint-Philbert pourraient avoir été initiés par le premier abbé Arnulf ou Arnoul. Celui-ci est attesté comme abbé de Herio/Déas à partir de 817 ; déchargé de son abbatat en 824, il meurt en 839.³¹ Il fait parti des Missi envoyés par Louis le Pieux dans les monastères de l'Empire pour y faire appliquer la réforme décidée à Aix en 816/817.³² Il est d'ailleurs présent avec Benoît d'Aniane à Saint-Denis dès 817. En 819, il obtient des autorisations de travaux pour une adduction d'eau à Deas. Il pourrait être à l'initiative du plan du premier état de l'abbatiale avec sa croisée.

26 Outre l'attestation de travaux d'aménagement, il aurait eu avant 825 concession de son immunité. Sur ces débuts en dehors des auteurs déjà cités, cf. I. Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert. Genèse d'un réseau monastique dans la société carolingienne*, Rennes, 2010, p. 103-104.

27 Pour les plus anciennes, les données sur la croisée se situent autour de 780-790. D'autres calculs sont en cours dans le cadre du GDRE du CNRS portant sur les « Terres cuites architecturales et nouvelles méthodes de datation ».

28 Ermentaire, *Miracula I*, c. XXVIII, (Ed. Poupardin, dans *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, Paris, 1905), p.34. « ...a praedicto Hilbodo venerabili abbate pariete prime frontis disjecto, et quicquid altitudinis est crucis funditus everso, copiose extensa, atque locus sepulturae mirifice est transvolutus, tribus perinde absidis circum-circa adjectis ».

29 Cf. infra n.28, Ermentaire, *Miracula I*, ibid c ; XXVIII et XIX.

30 Cf. travaux de Otfried Ellger dans ce colloque et Catalogue de l'exposition *Meinwerk (Für Königtum und Himmelreich, 1000 Jahre Bischof Meinwerk von Paderborn, Paderborn, 2009)*, notice 187, p. 461-463.

31 On le voit aussi abbé de Saint-Florent, et semble-t-il de Rebais et Saint-Faron de Meaux. Cf. Depreux, p. 112.

32 J. Semmler, *Le monachisme occidental du VIII e au X e siècle. Formation et réformation*, Revue bénédictine, t.103, 1993, p.68-89.

33 Paschase Ratbert, *Vita Adalhardi*, c. 32-3, MGH SS 2: 527 ou PL, t.120, c.41, col.1330.

34 I. Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert. Genèse d'un réseau monastique dans la société carolingienne*, Rennes, 2010, p.104.

35 Ph. Depreux, op. cit. p. 76.

36 H. Wiesemeyer, « La fondation de l'abbaye de Corvey à la lumière de la *translatio sancti viti* », dans *Corbie Abbaye Royale*, volume du XIIIe centenaire, Lille, 1963, p. 105-133 ; cf. également, H. Peltier, « Saint Adalhard, abbé de Corbie », *ibid.*, p. 61-94 ; H. Peltier, « Wala, disciple d'Adalhard », *ibid.*, p. 95-104.

37 Cf. à la suite des travaux de J. Semmler ou O.-G. Dexle, les réflexions de M. Gaillard, « La politique monastique de Louis le Pieux et de Benoît d'Aniane : réforme ou uniformisation ? », dans *La productivité d'une crise, Le règne de Louis le Pieux (814-840) et la transformation de l'Empire carolingien*, actes du colloque 17-19 mars 2011 (Ph. Depreux et S. Esders, dir.), à paraître.

38 I. Cartron, op. cit. p. 105.

39 Ch. De Merindol, « La topographie de Corbie d'après les textes. Patrimoine et urbanisme. Le site archéologique de l'abbaye et de la ville de Corbie. Note préliminaire de Jacques Thirion », *Cahiers archéologiques*, 41 (1993), p. 63-90.

40 H. Peltier, op. cit. p. 102.

41 H. Wiesemeyer, « Corbie et le développement de l'école monastique de Corvey du IXe au XIIe siècle », dans *Corbie, abbaye royale...*, op.cit. p. 211-222.

42 Cf. Notice Saint-Médard de Soissons, dans C. Sapin, J.-L. Bernard, F. Heber-Suffrin, P. Gillon, « Cryptes et culte des saints en domaine capétien au Moyen Âge », à paraître ; Résumé du projet collectif dans *Reliques et sainteté dans l'espace médiéval*, Pecia, ressources en médiévistique, vol. 8-11, 2005, p. 637-647.

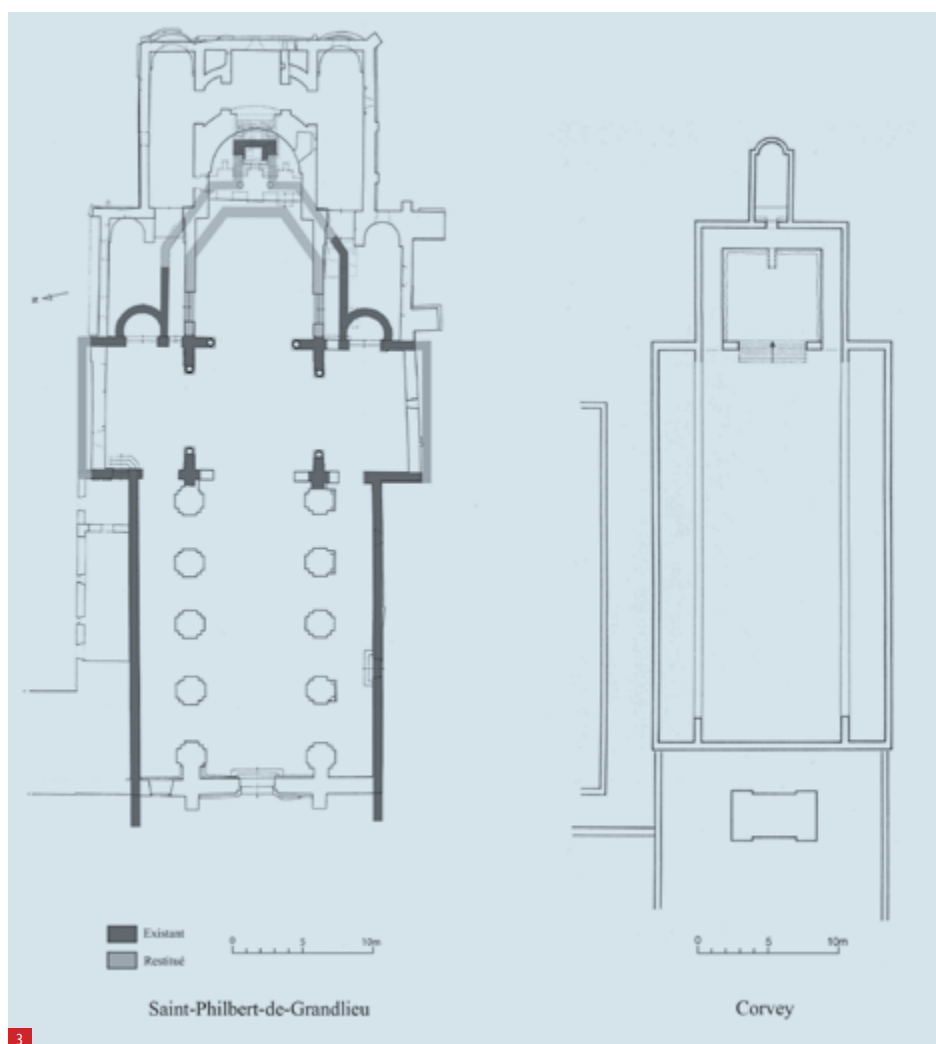
43 A.Van Landschoot *La translation des reliques de Saint Vit de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à celle de Corvey en 836*, *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 1996, n°74-3-4, p. 593-632 ; H.Rockelein, *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit in Frühmittelalter*, Stuttgart : Thorbecke, (Beihefte der Francia, 48), 2002. En 2004, H.R. a analysé la translation des reliques de Saint Justin d'Auxerre à Corvey et à Magdebourg à travers le contexte politique (Translations de reliques, mariages et pouvoir politique au haut Moyen Âge, intervention dans les journées des 19-20 Juin 2003, « Les reliques de saints dans les pratiques sociales, journées d'études, dir. E.Bozoky, Bulletin Centre d'Etudes médiévales d'Auxerre, 8, 2003-2004, p. 57 ; E. Bozoky, *Croyances, légendes et pratiques religieuses au Moyen Âge et La politique des reliques (Ive-XIIIe siècle). De la protection collective à la légitimation du pouvoir*, 2006.

44 Ph. Depreux, op. cit. p. 112.

C'est à cette époque, durant l'abbatit d'Arnoul, qu'Adalard de Corbie est exilé entre 814 et 821, à Noirmoutier (ou Herio). Les sources rapportent une bonne entente entre l'abbé exilé et les moines.³³ D'ailleurs, on peut souligner une similitude entre le projet d'Arnulf construisant un monastère sur le continent à Deas (futur Saint-Philbert), qui n'est pas un simple refuge mais bien un lieu domanial et rural, et celui de Adalhard avec Corvey.³⁴ Rappelons que l'abbé Adalhard est à cette époque un grand acteur politique au service du roi, puis de l'Empereur : on le voit présent en Italie de 781 à 814,³⁵ voulant fonder un monastère en Saxe pour évangéliser la région. Wala, son frère, poursuit l'œuvre avec une première tentative à Héthis en 815 ; puis c'est en août 822 qu'on assiste à la fondation du nouveau monastère de la Corbeia Nova, Corvey.³⁶ À partir de ces éléments, nous pouvons insister dans le rapprochement entre les deux sites (Saint-Philbert et Corvey) sur le principe d'un monastère idéal (comme pour Inden/Kornelinmunster) qui répondrait aux besoins les plus simples issus de la réforme en cours d'application non sans difficulté,³⁷ dont le modèle de vie doit s'imposer aux yeux de la société. On sait que les moines d'Herio (Noirmoutier) se rendent depuis 830 à Deas chaque été où plusieurs moines résidaient.³⁸ Ceci évoque les séjours souhaités par Benoît d'Aniane pour les moines à Inden. Toujours dans ce contexte, il est intéressant de souligner l'existence d'un voyage des moines de Deas à Corbie en 835. Sur ce site on suppose, certains en sont sûrs, la présence d'une crypte antérieure au XI^e siècle.³⁹ Une certaine fraternité est maintenue et les liens se poursuivent avec Herio où l'abbé Wala séjourne quelque temps.⁴⁰

Cette décennie, 830-840, est aussi celle qui voit en 830, Hilduin, l'abbé de Saint-Denis exilé à Corvey, déjà en plein essor économique et intellectuel.⁴¹ Hilduin l'archichapelain de Louis le Pieux avait fait venir en 826 à Saint-Médard de Soissons, les reliques romaines de Saint Sébastien dans une partie de l'édifice, dédié en présence de Charles le Chauve en 841. Dans ce cas, l'interprétation de la crypte est particulièrement complexe mais reflète la recherche d'un plan idéal de crypte pas encore établi mais probablement aussi influencé par les couloirs des catacombes romaines.⁴²

Corvey est à cette époque dirigé par Warin, noble d'origine franque et saxonne, autre personnage important du palais de Louis le Pieux. Warin avait été moine à Corbie où Hilduin lui avait promis des reliques de son monastère à son retour. Le 19 mars 836, il remet les reliques de Saint Vit à Warin dans l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis. On sait combien ces transferts ont joué un rôle important dans le renouvellement des alliances entre les centres de pouvoir et les abbayes.⁴³ On notera que 836 est aussi la date du transfert des restes du corps de Saint Philibert à Deas. Parmi les autres croisements intercommunautaires, on notera également que l'une des stations du circuit de transfert des reliques vers Corvey se fait à l'abbaye de Rebaix semblablement dirigée par Arnoul, ancien abbé de Saint-Philbert.⁴⁴ On constate par plusieurs faits que les relations restent souvent constantes dans un réseau de trames qui relie Saint-Denis/Corbie/Corvey/ Saint-Philbert.



Saint-Philbert-de-Grandlieu et Corvey, premiers états à la même échelle. (Cem 2011)

C'est ainsi que nous pouvons résumer les grandes étapes de Saint-Philbert de Grandlieu en respectant les sources. En 836, les moines déposent les restes du corps de Saint Philbert dans la croisée du transept, puis le transfèrent dans la croisée sud (droit) alors que le brancard reste dans la croisée nord en raison des travaux entrepris.⁴⁵ C'est ce second état, modifiant le simple plan cruciforme initial⁴⁶ et que nous proposons comme issue des travaux entrepris dans les années 820-836, qui pourrait être contemporain de Corvey I. **3** À Saint-Philbert, ces transformations achevées sous l'abbé Hilbod, sans doute sous la pression des menaces normandes, permettaient l'accès à la tombe placée à l'est, dont l'emplacement n'avait pas été prévu dans le chevet initial. Puis, rapidement on assiste (comme à Corvey II) à un renouvellement complet du chevet au cours des années 840-845⁴⁷ afin de répondre au succès des pèlerinages et sans doute aux problèmes de circulation pouvant gêner les offices, tout en restant presque de plein pied comme à Corvey, et en assurant un doublement des absidioles échelonnées nécessaire aux messes privées. Au même moment, Saint-Germain d'Auxerre répond à ce même besoin en créant deux niveaux aux cryptes.

45 Ermentaire, *Miracula* I, c XXVIII,

46 Plan que nous proposons inscrit dans une planification d'un plan idéal conçu sous l'abbé Arnulf.

47 Les nouvelles menaces normandes ont suggéré une interruption vers 843-845, avant les réelles incursions et l'incendie en 847. Les moines restent sur le site jusqu'en 858 (Cf. I.Catron, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107) pour les dernières réflexions sur la chronologie des événements et le contexte régional)

Cryptes et chevets d'abbatiales carolingiennes en France (830-860), réflexions à partir des recherches archéologiques récentes

Auxerre. Plan des cryptes carolingiennes (Cem 2000)

48 Cf. Heiric, *Miracula Sancti Germani*, Pat. Lat, 124, c.1207-1270 ; textes, traduction et commentaire par J.-C. Picard, D. Iogna-Prat et C. Sapin, dans *Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne*, p. 97-110.

49 Ibid. p. 156 ; sur le contexte cf. également le chapitre de N. Deflou, « Saint-Germain : un élément du pouvoir Welf en Francie occidentale », dans sa thèse *Saint-Germain d'Auxerre et ses dépendances (Ve-VIIIe siècle)*, Saint-Étienne, 2010, p. 151-155.

50 G. Bühner-Thierry, « Raban Maur et l'épiscopat de son temps », dans *Raban Maur et son Temps*, Ph. Depreux, S. Lebecq, M.J.-L. Perrin, O. Szerwiniack, (dir), Turnhout, 2010, p. 63-76.

51 C. Sapin, « Architecture et décor à Saint-Germain d'Auxerre au IX^e siècle : un ou des programmes adaptés », dans *Le programme. Une notion pertinente en histoire de l'art médiéval ?* (Études réunies par J. M. Guillouët et C. Rabel), Paris, 2011, p. 57-78.

52 Cf. Heiric, *Miracula Sancti Germani*, chap. II, 101, op. cit., Auxerre, 1990, p. 99.

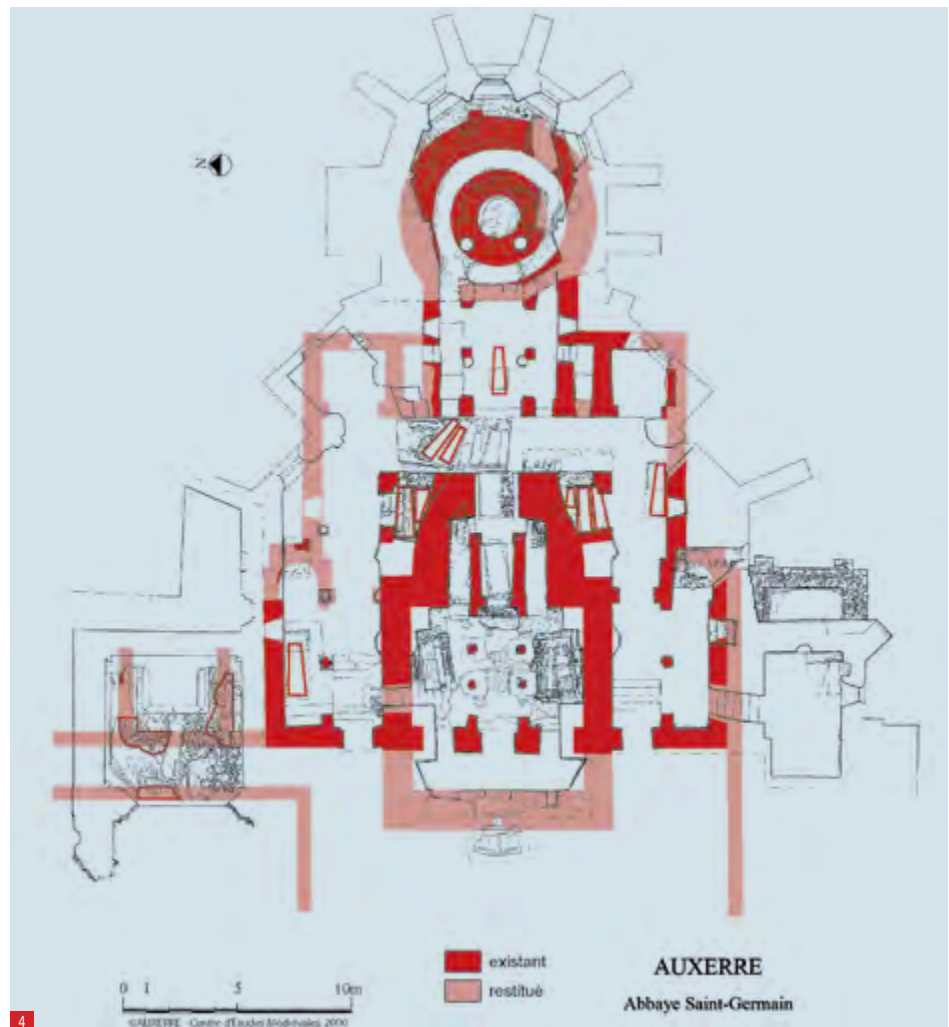
53 *Translatio et miracula S. reginae*, publication et études par J. Marilier, dans *Alésia, Textes littéraires antiques et textes médiévaux*, Paris, 1973, p. 147-159.

54 Loup, qui passe aussi à Corbie et Fulda dans sa formation, est en contact lui-même avec les lettrés de l'École d'Auxerre. Cf. C. Sapin, « Saint-Germain dans son réseau de relation » dans *Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne*, p. 206-208 ; Cf. également *L'École carolingienne d'Auxerre*, de Muretach à Remi, 830-908, *Entretiens d'Auxerre 1989*, publiés par D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy et G. Lobrichon, Paris, 1991.

55 Cf. Depreux, op. cit. p. 327-328 ; Loup de Ferrières, *Correspondance*, (éd. L. Levillain), 1927, t. 1.

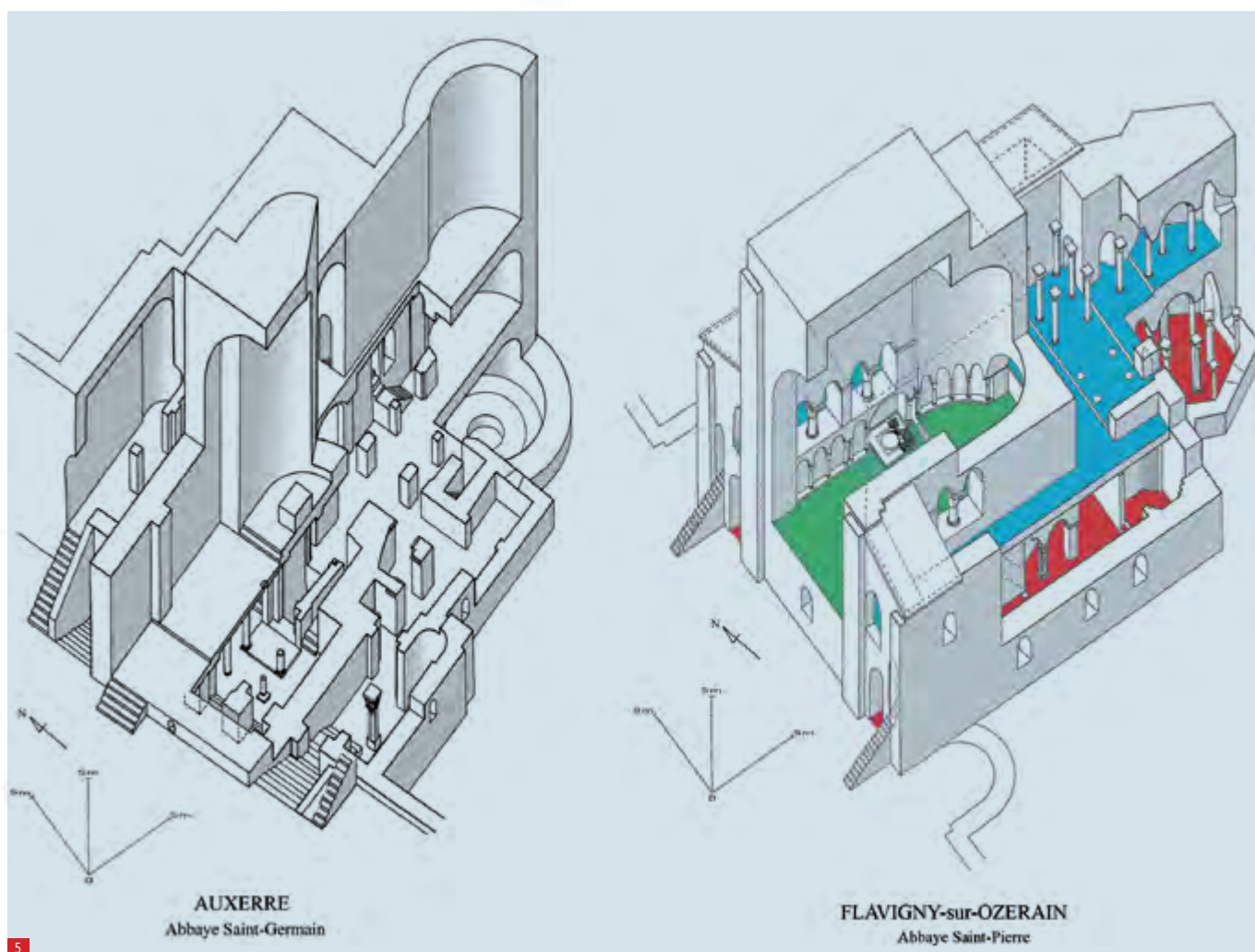
56 Auxerre, centre carolingien, dans *Intellectuels et artistes dans l'Europe carolingienne, IX^e-XI^e siècle*, p. 197.

57 Cf. pour Fulda, *La Vita Eigilis* (MGH SS XV, I, p. 229) cite clairement à propos de la construction de la crypte des colonnes et des voûtes. La crypte de la cathédrale d'Hildesheim (réétudiée par K. B. Kruse, *Der Hildesheimer Dom, Grabungen und Bauuntersuchungen auf dem Domhügel 1988 bis 1999*, Hanovre, 2000) fait actuellement (2010) l'objet de nouvelles fouilles qui pourraient indiquer un dispositif précoce de crypte halle centrale.



À l'abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, puis à celle de Flavigny, le principe de grandes cryptes monumentales à deux niveaux semble en effet être acquis. On se situe pour ces deux sites bourguignons dans un contexte de familles ou d'abbés liés à la cour impériale. En 841, l'abbé laïc d'Auxerre Conrad (attesté entre 830 et 862), qui est à l'initiative de la construction des cryptes,⁴⁸ est le frère de l'impératrice Judith et ainsi le beau-frère de l'empereur et un membre important de la cour.⁴⁹ Il fut sans doute aidé par la présence à la tête de l'évêché d'Heribald (attesté entre 829 à 857). Élevé au palais de Louis le Pieux, peut-être frère de Loup de Ferrière, cet évêque auxerrois est en correspondance avec Raban Maur.⁵⁰ Enfin, on peut penser qu'il participa également activement au projet même des cryptes de Saint-Germain où il sera enterré en 857, probablement à sa demande, dans l'oratoire Saint-Étienne.

L'ensemble des cryptes résulte d'un vaste programme mettant en valeur la tombe de l'évêque Germain mort en 448, saint mais non martyr. 4 Ce programme se prolonge avec la mémoire des évêques dans la crypte et en 862 avec l'arrivée de reliques de Rome et l'inhumation des évêques successeurs de Germain.⁵¹ Les temps changent : la crypte n'est plus seulement centrée sur le corps saint, mais joue un rôle de vecteur dans l'histoire ecclésiale et



renvoie à la mémoire du lieu. Sa consécration en 859 se fera en présence de l'empereur.⁵²

Restitution axonométrique d'Auxerre et Flavigny (Cem 2000).

À Flavigny, où le chevet avec ses cryptes est reconstruit en relation avec l'arrivée des reliques de Sainte Reine après 860 et avant 878, c'est Charles le Chauve lui-même qui aurait confié la responsabilité de l'abbaye à Eigil, futur archevêque de Sens (Yonne) ; ceci d'après *Les Miracles de sainte Reine* rédigés au IX^e siècle.⁵³ Eigil est originaire de l'abbaye de Prüm où il a du avoir des contacts avec Loup de Ferrière, lié à l'École l'École d'Auxerre,⁵⁴ et plus encore avec l'abbé Marward, autre personnalité de l'entourage de Louis le Pieux et précepteur du jeune et futur Charles le Chauve.⁵⁵ La parenté plusieurs fois soulignée entre les deux plans des cryptes d'Auxerre et Flavigny ne peut être due au hasard mais résulte, à notre sens, en partie de ce milieu intellectuel et lettré qui, notamment avec l'École d'Auxerre, se trouve au centre des échanges dans la Francie orientale, bien au-delà des frontières actuelles.⁵⁶ La crypte de Flavigny restaurée au XI^e siècle, intègre désormais la confession comme une petite crypte halle comme ce sera le cas auparavant à la cathédrale d'Hildesheim et probablement à Fulda.⁵⁷ 5

En conclusion, on peut souligner combien s'impose la formulation d'un concept de cryptes renouvelé dans un temps relativement court d'une génération (830-850). Dans cette élaboration, le rôle des élites et de l'entourage de la cour impériale fut probablement déterminant avec la mise en scène des corps saints liée à la célébration de l'Eucharistie (préoccupation contemporaine de Pascale Radbert de Corbie qui fonde les bases de la doctrine)⁵⁸ et aboutissant au renouvellement de l'architecture sous Louis le Pieux.

La valorisation du pouvoir à travers la gestion des reliques est manifeste dans plusieurs des cas cités. Même si l'on constate le maintien des formes annulaires et de la référence à Rome après 816, on voit s'amorcer, parallèlement, dès 830, le début d'un renouvellement pour des sites nouveaux comme Saint-Philbert ou Corvey, mais aussi pour d'anciennes fondations du haut Moyen Âge. C'est ce renouvellement qui va pour la première fois associer à la circulation auprès des reliques (de manière plus ample) des oratoires multiples, dédiés à des saints qui préfigurent Cluny et les grands chevets échelonnés des siècles à venir.⁵⁹

58 Sur cet aspect, Cf. C. Sapin, « Fonctions, vocable et liturgie », et particulièrement sur la question de l'Eucharistie, dans *La Bourgogne préromane*, Paris, 1986, p. 175.

59 Cf. C. Sapin, *Le nouveau plan de Paray-le-Monial et l'architecture du XIe siècle en Bourgogne*, dans *Le renouveau des études romanes*, II, colloque scientifique international de Paray-le-Monial, 2-4 octobre 1998, Paray-le-Monial, 2000, p. 79-90.

NEW RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE CAROLINGIAN CRYPT OF SAINT-DENIS ABBEY

As Michel Félibien states in his “Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France”, Abbot Hilduin of Saint-Denis (814-830 and 831-840) is said to have hastily joined the party of Lothar together with his colleague Wala of Corbie during a congress held in Nimwegen in 830 and was then expelled to the Saxon Corvey, the Corbeia Nuova, by Louis the Pious (814-840) after the political scheme had failed.¹ There, he promised the monks the relics from Saint-Denis for the developing monastery and was to return from exile soon.² In fact, the Emperor received Hilduin graciously soon after and assigned him the supervision of Saint-Denis again. However, it was not before 836 that the abbot kept his promise and gave the relics of St. Vitus from Saint-Denis to the monastery on the river Weser.

All these literary testimonials indicate that Saint-Denis and Corvey maintained relationships at that time. Therefore, some details of the Carolingian abbey of Saint-Denis are to be presented in the light of the Corvey UNESCO World Cultural Heritage Project. This will be based on the preliminary results gained from recent architectural surveys which were conducted in the crypt.³

The martyr bishop Dionysius of Paris is said to have been buried in Saint-Denis around 250.⁴ However, the continuous settlement in the area of the basilica did not start before the 4th century. The archaeological traces bear witness to secular buildings and a graveyard.⁵ According to the earliest building information, the aristocratic Genovefa of Paris is said to have ordered that a church be built on the martyr’s tomb which she revered, and this church was richly furnished by Dagobert I. (629-639).⁶ The preserved groundwork of the building corresponds to a hall church of at least twice the usual length with annexed rooms. The building served the Merovingian royal court as a tomb from the 6th century, as was described by Michel Fleury and Albert France-Lanord in 1959 after the grave of Queen Arnegunde who died in 580, a wife of King Clothar I. (558-561) had been found.⁷ With the burial of Dagobert I. in 639, the church became the tomb of the Neustrian kingdom for a long time.

An extensive burial ground *ad sanctos* developed in the north of the Merovingian Cemeterial basilica. It was decisive for the architectural development of this external graveyard that at least three secondary churches were built on the edge of the necropolis: Saint-Barthélemy, Saint-Pierre and Saint-Paul. **■** The small single-nave structures were surrounded by adjoining rooms. These were connected to each other by passageways. An architecturally closed courtyard developed in the course of the expansion of the complex in the 6th and 7th centuries which may have corresponded to the atrium which is frequently cited in contemporary literature. The building complex including the villa *regalis* of Clichy adjoining to Saint-Denis was the venue of important political events, such as councils and judicial decisions under Chlothar II. (584-629), Dagobert I. and Chlodwig II. (639-657).⁸

1 “L’abbé Hilduin qu’un zèle indiscret avoit jetté trop précipitamment du costé de Lothaire, s’estant présenté à l’assemblée accompagné de gens armez contre la parole dont on estoit convenu, fut relégué au monastere de la nouvelle Corbie en Saxe au diocèse de Paterborn.” M. Félibien, *Histoire de l’abbaye royale de Saint-Denis en France*, Paris 1706, p. 69.

2 “Pendant son exil les religieux luy firent promettre que lorsqu’il seroit rentré en grace, il leur enverroit quelque corps saint pour affermir la religion dans leur pays.” *Ibidem*, p. 77-78.

3 Jean-Pierre Gély (université Paris I), Rollins Guild (université Paris 8) and Professor Werner Jacobsen (Münster University) took part in the investigations carried out by the municipal service of the Unité d’archéologie de la Ville de Saint-Denis. The research work which started in 2010 is still in progress. Therefore, many questions which we tried to answer here remain unsolved. A final representation and detailed interpretation of the findings gained have to be reserved for a later publication.

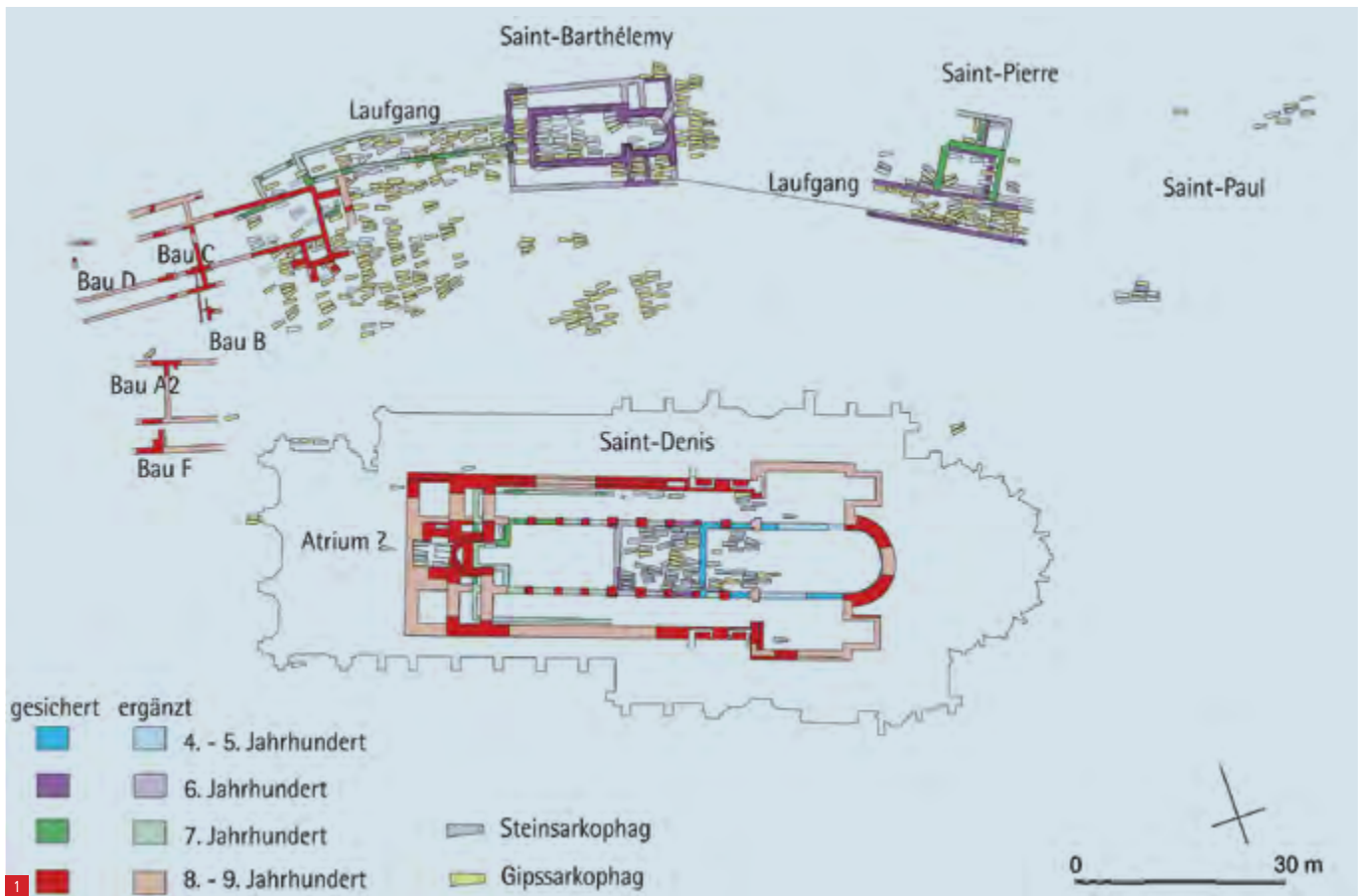
4 Gregor von Tours, *Historia Francorum*, hrsg. von B. Krusch, W. Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, t.I-1, Hanovre 1951, p. 23.

5 M. Wyss (editor), *Atlas historique de Saint-Denis : des origines au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1996 (*Documents d’archéologie française*, 59).

6 Summarised in: K. H. Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts. Ein historischer Katalog (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 4)*, München 1971, p. 171-189.

7 M. Fleury, A. France-Lanord, *Les trésors mérovingiens de la basilique de Saint-Denis*, Woippy 1998. Zu der Neudatierung des Grabes siehe P. Périn, T. Calligaro, *La tombe d’Arégonde. Nouvelles analyses en laboratoire du mobilier métallique et des restes organiques de la défunte du sarcophage 49 de la basilique de Saint-Denis*, in: *Antiquités nationales*, 37 (2005), p. 181-206.

8 J. Barbier, *Le système palatial franc: genèse et fonctionnement dans le nord-ouest du regnum*, in: *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes*, 148 (1990) p. 245-299 ; M. Wyss, *Die Klosterpfalz Saint-Denis im Licht der neuen Ausgrabungen*, in: *Deutsche Königspalzen. Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung*, Vol. 5, *Splendor palatii. Neue Forschungen zu Paderborn und anderen Pfälzen der Karolingerzeit* (*Publications of Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte*, 11), ed. L. Fenske, J. Jarnut, M. Wemhoff, Göttingen 2001, p. 175 - 192.



Saint-Denis, Overview plan of the early mediaeval complex (drawing by J.-P. Marie, J. Prim, M. Wyss)

Upon the seizing power of the early Carolingians, Saint-Denis was again integrated in important political affairs.⁹ Pope Stephan II. anointed Pippin king in the abbey and consecrated the high altar which was situated in front of the shrine to the apostles Petrus and Paulus in 754. The king died in 768 and was buried at his own request in front of the church entrance.

Abbot Fulrad replaced the Merovingian building by a basilica between 769 and 775.¹⁰ The new building was only slightly longer and wider than the previous one but must have been considerably higher. Charlemagne built an augmentum on the grave of his father Pippin around 800.

Abbot Hilduin tried to reform the monastic community from the late 20s of the 9th century and determined how the convent was to be maintained and supplied. At the same time, he extended the eastern part of the basilica by a crypt that was located at the feet of St. Dionysius and his followers, Rusticus and Eleutherius, ante pedes sanctissimorum martyrum. The chapel, consecrated in 832, was dedicated to Mary, John the Baptist, the apostles and several holy martyrs. Eight monks were to celebrate the liturgy of the hours according to Roman ritual, more Romano, day and night.¹¹ The crypt, which was highly frequented by pilgrims, also served for the exhibition of the relics of the Passion from the 11th century.¹²

9 J. Semmler, Saint-Denis: von der bischöflichen Coemeterialbasilika zur königlichen Benediktinerabtei, in: *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850* (Supplement of Francia, 16/2), ed. H. Atsma, Sigmaringen 1989, p. 75-123.

10 W. Jacobsen, Saint-Denis in neuem Licht. Konsequenzen der neuentdeckten Baubeschreibung aus dem Jahr 799, in: *Kunstchronik* 36 (1983), p. 301-308.

11 Brieffragment von Abt Hilduin, ed. M. Félibien, *Histoire...*(note 1), p. LVI.


12 R. Grosse, Reliques du Christ et foires de Saint-Denis au XI^e siècle ; à propos de la Descriptio clavi et corone Domini, in: *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 87 (2001), p. 357-375.

Shortly after 1135, Abbot Suger (1122-1151) started to extend the Carolingian basilica by the present west front. He consecrated the famous ambulatory choir including the seven radial chapels in 1144. At the same time, he had the revered relics of the saint transferred from the old crypt to the choir behind the new martyr altar. The basilica-like longhouse was followed by the present Gothic structure almost one hundred years later.

The investigations carried out by the American archaeologist Sumner McKnight Crosby and the French architect Jules Formigé between 1938 and 1977 represent the main sources in respect of the architectural development of the basilica.¹³ Crosby primarily focussed on the buildings that preceded today's cathedral. The stone-by-stone excavation plan published posthumously was his great achievement. The structural remnants are preserved in an archaeological crypt.

The floor plan of the Carolingian church corresponds to a cross-shaped pilared basilica. The foundations represent a building of 64m length and 28m width. In the west there was a central portal framed by two alleged towers.¹⁴ Crosby uncovered several block bases of the central nave which was at least nine arcades long in the longhouse. Suger cites the marble columns which must have rested on these bases.¹⁵ These also include a shaft of Turkish marble of which several fragments were found during the urban excavations. The column fluted with spiralling grooves is obviously an ancient spolia.¹⁶ The central isle opens towards the east into an apse with circular crypt the ascending walls of which are largely preserved.

The reconstruction of the transept remains difficult. The pillars of a long rectangular crossing have not been identified yet. The plan shows only two transverse arms projecting slightly over the walls of the side isles. Recently, a western annex in the southern transverse arm has proven to be from the original building period. That is probably a rectangular altar room. Therefore, we have to imagine that the basilica had two transverse arms in eastern direction.

Today, research focuses on the eastern part of this basilica. Crosby was the first who tried to explain the complicated development of this section in 1942.¹⁷ This approach was based on the plans on the state of the crypt in the first half of the 19th century.  They show a polygonal block on the inside of which are two crooked recessed passageways amidst the otherwise Romanesque and early Gothic crypt. Crosby succeeded in identifying the structure as the eastern apse of the Carolingian basilica and interpreted the two arch-shaped passageways as the remnants of a related circular crypt.

The apse is followed by a three-nave extension in the east. Crosby thought that this part was the Hilduin crypt annexed in 832 which remained largely unchanged when Suger built the new choir in 1140. The 16m long central room of this extended structure turns towards the west and crosses the apse's

13 S. McK. Crosby, *The Abbey of St.-Denis, 475-1122*, New Haven 1942 ; idem, *The royal abbey of Saint-Denis from its beginnings to the death of Suger (475-1151)*, ed. P. Blum, New Haven 1987 ; J. Formigé, *L'abbaye royale de Saint-Denis : recherches nouvelles*, Paris 1960.

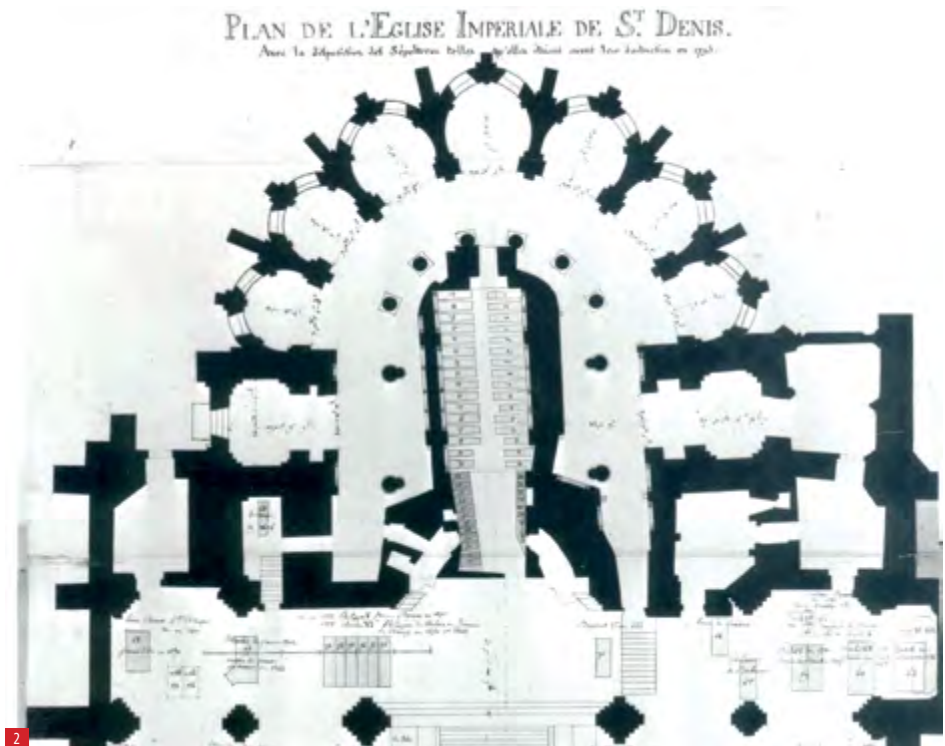
14 W. Jacobsen, M. Wyss, *Saint-Denis: essai sur la genèse du massif occidental*, in: *Avant-nefs et espaces d'accueil dans l'église entre le IVe et le XIIe siècle: actes du colloque international du CNRS, Auxerre, 17-20 juin 1999*, ed. C. Sapin, Paris 2002, S.76-87.

15 Abt Suger von Saint-Denis. *De consecratione*, annotated edition (56. Veröffentlichung der Abteilung Architekturgeschichte des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität zu Köln), ed. G. Binding, A. Speer, Köln 1995, p. 174-175.

16 M. Wyss, *Drei Säulenfragmente aus Marmor*, in: *799 - Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit* (Ausstellung Paderborn, 1999), Vol. 2, ed. C. Stiegemann, M. Wemhoff, p. 547-548.

17 S. McK. Crosby, *The Abbey...*(note 13)

Saint-Denis, Plan of the crypt in the year 1806, completed by the arrangement of the tombs ransacked in 1793 (Musée de l'Île-de-France à Sceaux)



apex. The two adjoining rooms are connected with the Suger ambulatory crypt in the east and lead towards the west in the direction of the doors which lead to the transept. A crossway runs in eastern direction passing the apse and linking the three barrel-vaulted rooms to each other.

The central room of this crypt was changed into a chapel still before the 13th century. In the process, the altar dedicated to St. Demeterius was placed in a recess opening from the circular crypt towards the west. A related sink basin is still fixed in the southern ashlar wall lining of the opened apse wall. As a consequence, the priest who celebrated at this altar was looking to the west to the former shrine. The chapel enclosed a well, and we know from historical sources that it provided pilgrims with miraculous water.¹⁸ The chapel served the Bourbons as a tomb from 1683. According to the oldest plan, the room was separated from the remaining crypt by the walled arches of the transverse isle and the low end in the east. A tunnel leading to the west connected it to the smaller “caveau des ceremonies” from where a staircase ascended to the Gothic crossing. The tomb was raided during the French Revolution. However, it was already repaired by Napoleon I.¹⁹ The flat eastern end was now replaced by a retracted apse. At the same time, the crypt underwent drastic restoration work. In the process, large parts of the capital sculptures were re-made and the entire stonework was removed several centimetres. Napoleon III. had commissioned Eugène Viollet-le-Duc to establish a second crypt below the crossing in 1859. The architect recognized the Carolingian apse during the excavation but nevertheless destroyed it to a large extent.

18 A. Lombard-Jourdan, La légende de consécration par le Christ de la basilique mérovingienne de Saint-Denis et de la guérison du lépreux, in: *Bulletin monumental*, 143 (1985), p. 237-269; S. Albrecht, *Die Inszenierung der Vergangenheit im Mittelalter. Die Klöster von Glastenbury und Saint-Denis*, München, Berlin 2003, p. 144-146.

19 J.-M. Leniaud, *Saint-Denis de 1760 à nos jours*, Paris 1996.



Saint-Denis, Carolingian apse, interior with a view to the east (according to Formigé)

In 1957, Formigé was given permission to remove the imperial crypt which had remained empty. Remnants of the circular crypt and the choir above were revealed in the demolition process on both sides of the apse opening. At the same time, the archaeologists Edouard Salin, Fleury and France-Lanord were commissioned with the excavation of the Merovingian tombs.²⁰ A pit which was uncovered beneath the high altar was immediately associated with the shrine. Formigé covered the excavation site with a ceiling of reinforced concrete and made a first attempt to interpret the archaeological find. In this, he completed the structure of the inner semi-circle of the apse and surrounded the tomb with an embankment of excavated material. ³ At the end of the work he uncovered a larger surface of the external wall of the Carolingian apse in the external crypt by breaking through the polygonal stonework.

Hoping to gain more detailed information about the structural form of the circular crypt, the internal apse was once again examined in 1974. After an unsuccessful search the responsible architect André Donzet returned to the plans which had been prepared at the beginning of the 19th century and reconstructed the interior wall of the passageway and the axial rectangular recess with the present flat brick wall. In order for the visitors to understand the apse better, he closed the round-arched wall opening with a wooden lattice door.

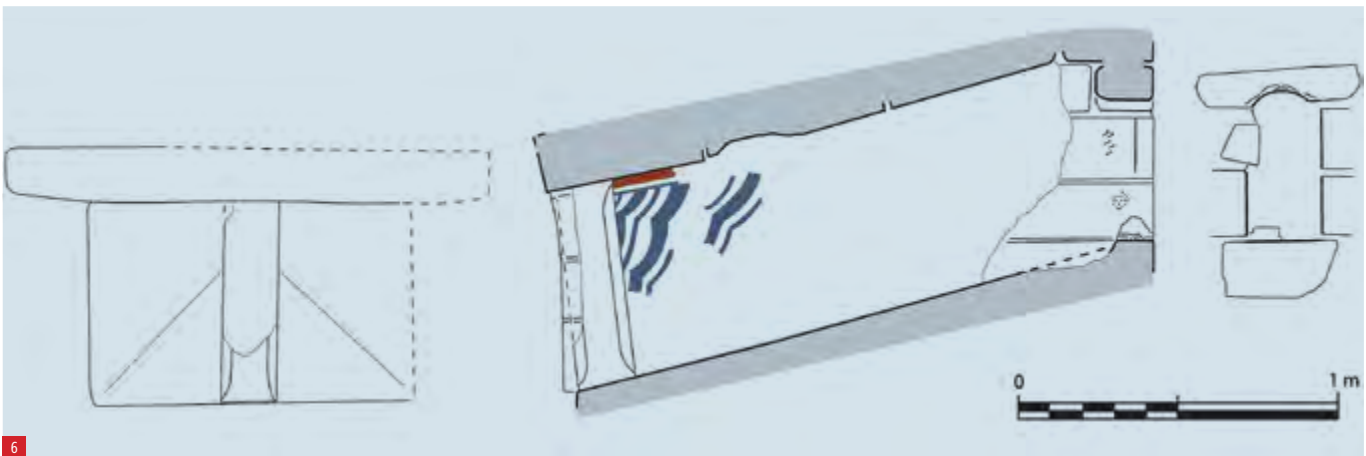
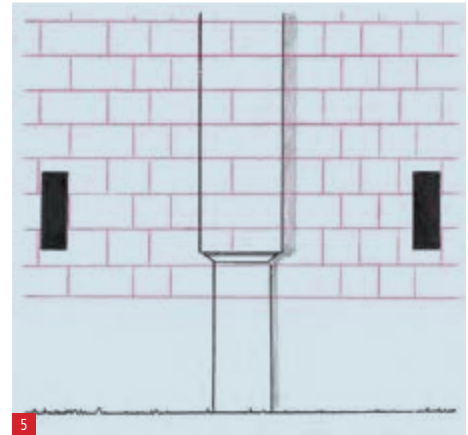
20 E. Salin, *Les tombes gallo-romaines et mérovingiennes de la basilique de Saint-Denis : fouilles de janvier-février 1957*, in: *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XLIV (1958) p. 1-88; M. Fleury, A. France-Lanord, *Les trésors...* (note 7).

New results of the investigation into the Carolingian crypt of Saint-Denis abbey

Saint-Denis, External view of the Carolingian apse with a wall projection (photograph by M. Wyss)



Saint-Denis, Reconstruction of the colour findings on the Carolingian apse's external wall (drawing by M. Wyss).



Saint-Denis, Carolingian annular crypt, drawing of the western window of the southern wall (photograph by M. Wyss).

Saint-Denis, Carolingian annular crypt, marbling of a soffit (photograph by O. Meyer)



The wall of the apse with a thickness of 1.80m has an elaborated ground-work of large ashlar. The ascending exterior wall is structured by means of wall projections similar to pilaster strips which widen towards the top by means of tongued impost. ⁴ The carefully hewn stonework is hardened with lime mortar and the caulks are smoothed out with crushed bricks according to ancient tradition. The new examinations showed that the wall was originally whitewashed and covered with a network of caulks that was painted red. ⁵ In this, the embellished caulks hardly take the stone setting underneath into consideration.

The circular passageway runs along the interior wall of the apse underneath the choir. It turns towards the outside on the western ends where staircases with three steps which are no longer in existence today ascended from a depth of 0.50m to the transept arms. The passageway is 1.30m wide and 2m high. Only two tiles which were uncovered of the original flat covering have been preserved, all other tiles were reconstructed by Formigé. A Confessio in the central axis of the church, the layout of which is no longer known, parting from the interior wall of the circular crypt towards the west must have led pilgrims to the shrine. Seven lancet windows lighted the passageway during the day. In addition, two small recesses for lamps are preserved between the windows. The soffits widening strongly towards the inside lead transversely up towards the outside and are covered with stone tiles. ⁶ Bevelled central pillars on the sides of the passageway support the lintels which are about 1m wide. The vertical rectangular opening in the external wall of the apse is only just 0.20m wide.

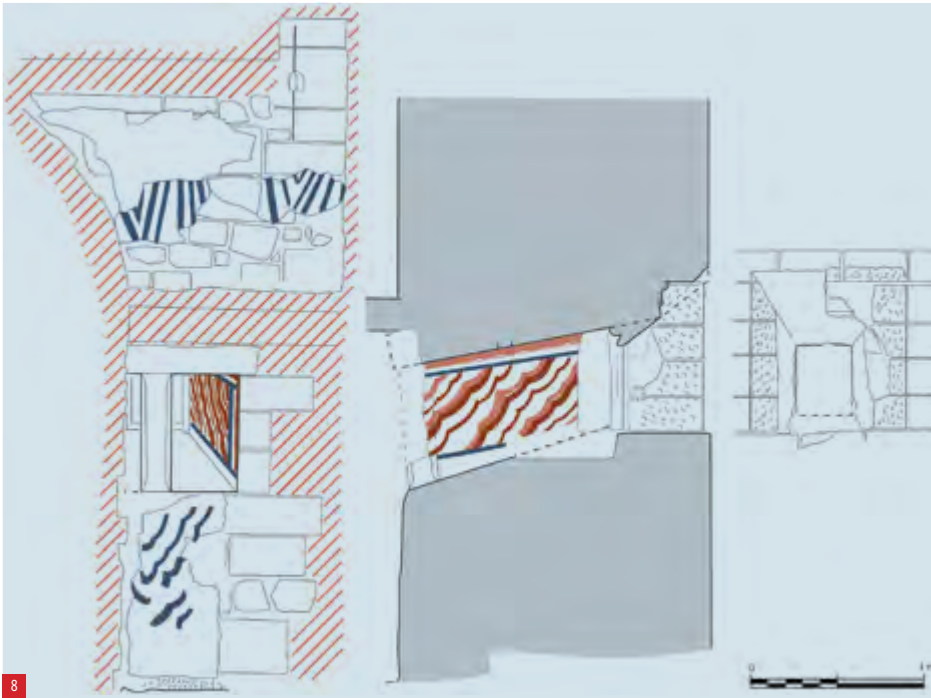
The windows are painted with marblings “al fresco” on the soffits and the tilts of ledges and ceilings. The red and grey veined sections are framed with a black band and a white bead and reel. ⁷ The interior wall of the apse is also adorned with marblings below the windows. ⁸

Remnants of wall plaster of a circulating drapery in shades of yellow and grey have been preserved in the choir. ⁹ The fragments, however, adhere to an unpainted layer of finely smoothed plaster which must have corresponded to the first colourless frame of the base area.

The apse shows signs of several restoration phases. All of the windows, for example, still preserved in the crypt, with the exception of the light shaft in the southwest, had been secondarily bevelled towards the outside. ⁸ The opened wall is plastered. Wooden frames evidenced in the form of imprints indicate windows which separated the two slanted soffits over the whole thickness of the wall.

Formigé discovered two bevels orientating towards the east-west above the draperies in the choir. ⁹ Therefore, the architect provided the apse with seven low windows in his reconstruction.²¹ The findings were omitted under the present ceiling. However, at a closer look it becomes obvious that the two bevels had also been processed afterwards. In addition, the threshold of the

21 J. Formigé, *L'abbaye royale...*(note 13), p. 61 and 162.



Saint-Denis, Carolingian apse, drawing of broken-through window with fresco painting in the ambulatory and the choir (drawing by J.-P. Marie, M. Wyss)



Saint-Denis, Carolingian choir, remnants of the painted drapery below the apse opening (photo by J. Mangin)



Saint-Denis, Carolingian choir, traces of the staircase on the northern wall (according to Formigé)



Saint-Denis, View from the south to the central room of the discovered apse (according to Formigé)



Saint-Denis, Central room of the chamber crypt (according to Formigé)

opening shows traces of severe wear and tear. Also the exterior wall of the Carolingian apse shows signs of demolition in the upper section. It has to be emphasized that the location is sealed stratigraphically by the polygonal jacket of the extended structure.

Furthermore, the northern wall of the apse shows traces of steps in the centre which ascended from above the floor of the choir towards the east. ¹⁰ Formigé interpreted the findings as a staircase assigned to the Suger choir.²² The stage-like elevated choir, however, possessed two lateral staircases but both were located on the western wall of the choir which crossed on the level of the eastern crossing piers. In addition, they were verified on the basis of the “St. Giles Mass” of the master of Saint-Gilles not before the 16th century.²³ So these steps in the semi-circle of the apse cannot be associated with the Suger choir. They must be older.

In 1952, Formigé started to demolish the tomb of the Bourbons in order to give the central isle its present appearance. During the excavation of the central room the well of the old Demeterius chapel from the late Middle Ages was uncovered. The groundwork of a smaller apse with an inscribed relic tomb was uncovered further to the east during the demolition of the contemporary apse²⁴. ¹¹ Although Crosby had doubts about the findings which he considered to be remnants of the grown soil²⁵, and even if it was a block of earth, the semi-circular shape may still be used as interior trench wall of a larger broken groundwork of an apse. The excavation which was unfortunately filled up again is only proven by photographs.

Crosby’s investigations of the crypt had previously shown that the two side rooms had had a straight eastern wall until the Suger choir was built.²⁶ The findings are also comprehensible with regard to the ascending stonework. However, researchers have been aware of the extensive restoration of the crypt until today so that their interest in a more detailed analysis of the ascending stonework was generally low. Today, the current investigations do not only give a more exact idea of the extent of these restorative interventions but also provide us with a point of reference for new considerations in respect of the structural development of this part of the building.

The appearance of the external crypt is characterised first by the barrel vaults which rest on blind arcades, second the two closed separating walls which are only disrupted by the western crossway and the two round-arched windows. ¹² The interior walls of the central room end in a straight line at the eastern end. Above it are the preserved soffits of two windows which open towards the outside. In accordance with Formigé we think that on this basis we can reconstruct a rectangular altar room.²⁷ The flat eastern end must have overlapped the excavated semi-circular apse.

The small columns of the two choir windows as well as the supports of the wall arcades are decorated with capitals. The Attic bases are furnished with angle leaves for the most part. Both belong to the 20s of the 12th century as

22 Ibid, p. 95-96.

23 W. Jacobsen, Liturgische Kollisionen im Kirchenraum: Sugers Neubau von Saint-Denis. Voraussetzungen und Folgen, in: Art, Cérémonial et Liturgie au Moyen Âge ; actes du colloque de 3e Cycle Romand de Lettres Lausanne-Fribourg, 24-25 mars, 14-15 avril, 12-13 mai 2000, ed. N. Bock, P. Kurmann, S. Romano, J.-M. Spiesser, Rom 2002, p. 191-210. The picture of the National Gallery in London, see M. Wyss, Atlas historique...(note 5), p. 79.

24 J. Formigé, L'abbaye royale...(note 13), p. 168-170.

25 “the entire mass was solid clay”, S. McK. Crosby, The royal abbey...(note 13), p. 90.

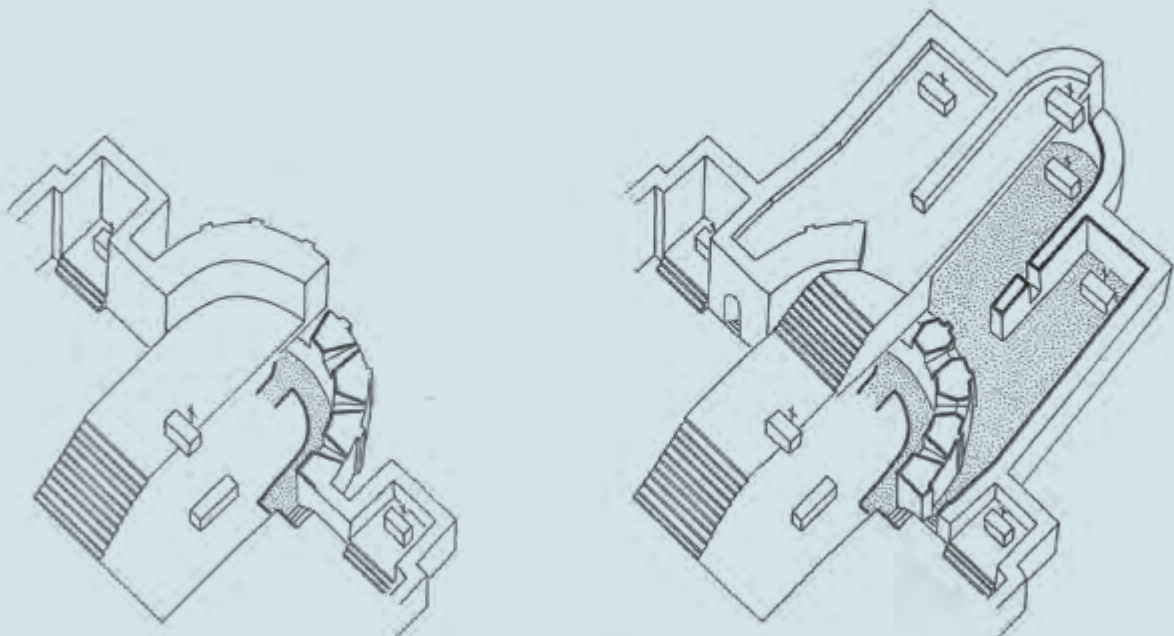
26 S. McK. Crosby, The Abbey...(note 13), p. 170-174.

27 J. Formigé, L'abbaye royale...(note 13), p. 157-177.

regards style. Almost all supports were replaced and completed during the restoration work. In the places where parts are still integrated in the original effective bond they provide evidence that they were placed in front of the two separating walls. Also the plain plinth panels prove to have been added afterwards. The stonework visible behind the arcades must be older at least in part. According to the stone processing and the building technique it can hardly be dated before the 11th century.

Crosby thinks that the stonework of the separating and framing walls transitions continuously from the groundwork to the ascending structure. The groundwork underneath the two separating walls could be examined again during recent building works. It turned out that the fractured stonework was enforced with a reddish mortar whereas the ashlar of the above separating walls was built with white mortar. As a consequence, the core stonework of the two separating walls has to be assigned to a first restoration phase.

The projecting wall arcades and the polygonal jacket of the apse as reinforcement of these separating walls have to be clearly considered as an even later vaulting of the three rooms.

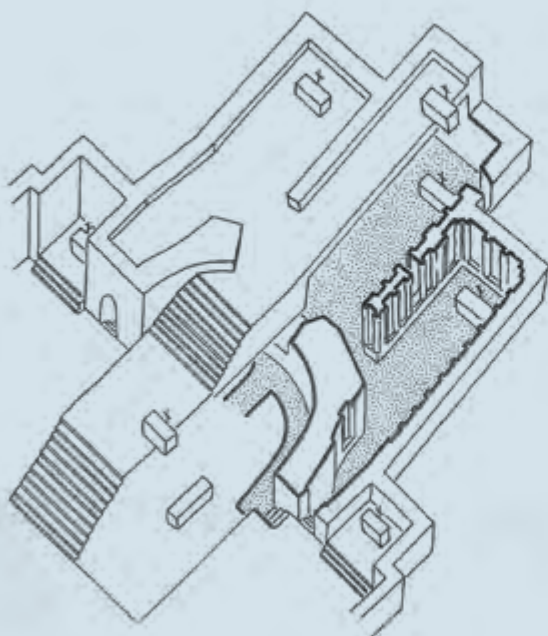


The presented observations are sufficient to suggest a relative sequence of the different building stages. An exact reconstruction of the room structure remains to be difficult. Therefore, the four sketches are aimed at stimulating a vision only. ¹²

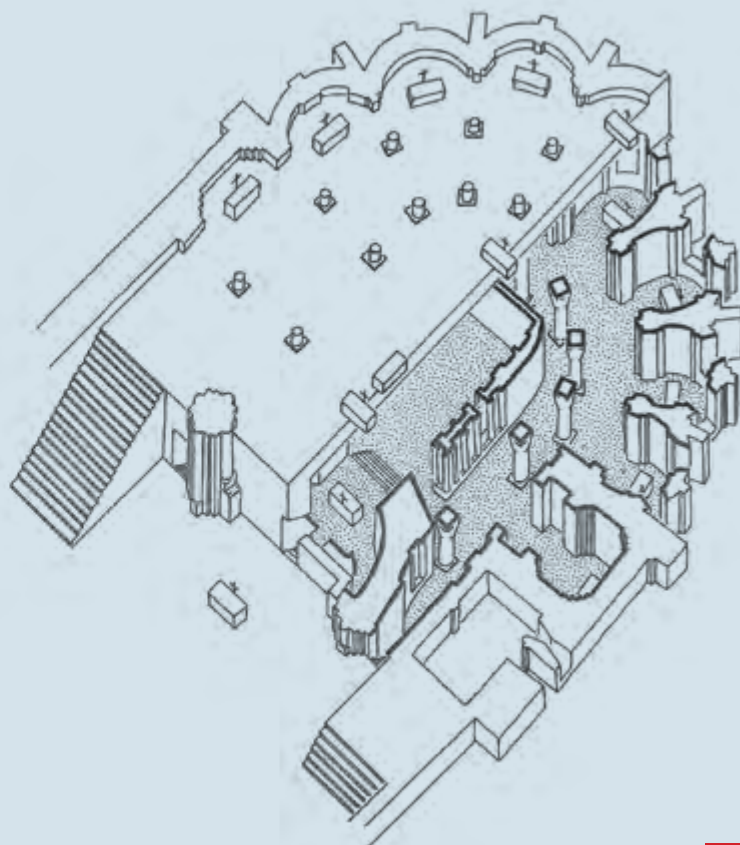
The Carolingian apse had a vaulted semi-circular dome according to the thickness of the walls. Based on the only slightly deepened circular crypt we have to think of the related choir as a podium which was elevated more than 1.50m. ¹³⁻¹ As the high altar was above the shrine half of the floor of the choir must have run from the apse towards the west. Two doors in the lateral walls of this podium led to the circular passageway of the crypt. The original furnishings can no longer be detected in the shrine.

Abbot Hilduin added a chapel to the apse in about 832 of which only the excavated groundwork is known. The four walls running in parallel are at the same distance from each other. Therefrom result three rooms of the same width. The central room ending with the apse is longer than the two flat-ending side rooms. The building enclosed the Fulrad apse in a U-shape and had doors which opened to the transverse arms along the walls between the

Saint-Denis, Reconstruction of the four building phases of the crypt: 1, Carolingian annular crypt; 2, chamber crypt of the 11th century; 3, 'chamber crypt around 1125; 4, Suger's ambulatory crypt of 1140 (drawings by M. Wyss).



13-3



13-4

main and the secondary apses. When the annex was built, the windows of the crypt could be broken through towards the outside. Allegedly, they faced an external ambulatory and offered pilgrims a view into the Confessio.

The remarkable thing is that the external crypt deviates from the axis of the basilica and orientates itself on the convent buildings in the south. In addition, it aligns with the eastern cloister section of which we know that it included the dormitory on the upper floor.²⁸ This angled orientation can best be explained by the structural contact with a dwelling house. In view of the liturgical constraints which forced the monks to daily perform the Liturgy of the Hours in the chapel, the connection of chapel and monks' dwelling house is self-explanatory or almost inevitable.

The suggestion that another storey was added to the Hilduin crypt had already been made by Léon Levillain in 1907, even if there is no archaeological evidence.²⁹ However, it was not before 1988 that Jan van der Meulen and Andreas Speer took up the idea again.³⁰ With the present status of the investigations the dating of the findings gained in the choir need to be left unanswered. Therefore, the question of a possible two-storey structure of the external crypt cannot be answered from the archaeological point of view with regard to the first restoration phase.

The crypt was re-built in the course of the 11th century. The building looks like a Romanesque three-chamber crypt with its two separating walls. ¹³⁻² To what extent the predecessor building had influenced the room structure we don't know. There are signs of first annexes in the area of the Carolingian apse. Based on a literary source it can be suggested that the windows of the circular crypt were reduced to an axial Fenestella, a small window.³¹ During this building phase at the latest, the apse in the choir had been opened and the so produced extension of the room was made accessible via a staircase.

In a second structural change the apse was polygonally jacketed and the three rooms were vaulted at the beginning of the 12th century. ¹³⁻³ The wall arcades carrying the vaults rest on banks the lower edges of which correspond to lowered inner level of 0.80m compared to the circular crypt. A further dismantling of the Carolingian apse could have involved the jacket.

28 The convent buildings, see M. Wyss, *Atlas historique...*(note 4) and M. Wyss, N. Meyer Rodrigues, *Nouvelles données archéologiques sur le cloître de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis*, in: *Utilis est lapis in structura : mélanges offerts à Léon Pressouyre*, ed. M. François, P.-J. Le Pogam, Paris 2000, p. 111-126.

28 L. Levillain, *L'église carolingienne de Saint-Denis*, in: *Bulletin monumental*, 71 (1907), p. 211-262.

30 J. van der Meulen, A. Speer, *Die fränkische Königsabtei Saint-Denis : Ostanlage und Kultgeschichte*, Darmstadt 1988. The authors reconstruct the Hilduin chapel in a first version of the Suger ambulatory choir. A critical discussion of what we feel is an unfounded view has to be dispensed with.

31 *The De detectione corporum sanctorum Dionysii, Rustici et Eleutherii*, in: M. Félibien, *Histoire...* written by Abbot Haymon of Saint-Denis after the opening of the martyr tombs in 1053 (note 1), p. CLXV-CLXXII, suggest a fenestella similar to the connection between the tomb and the external crypt. S. McK. Crosby, *The Abbey...*(note 13), p. 177, interpreted the place as evidence that the circular passageway had been walled.

Suger integrated both crypts in his new complex in 1140. ¹³⁻⁴ The frequently cited passage of the *De consecratione* describes the process as follows, “After consultation it was, however, determined that the vaulting which was uneven compared to the higher one and which ended above the apse where the relics of our holy Lord are kept, be removed up to the top end of the crypt to which it adjoined so that the upper end of this crypt offered a floor to those who came down on the two staircases [...]”.³² The old apse was only recently demolished for good. The floor was levelled to the height of the choir extension by means of the continuous stage wall between the crossing piers. At the same time, also the choir staircases were moved towards the outside against the wall of the transept. The high altar was also removed after the relics had been lifted. It must have been established some time later in front of the choir stage on the floor of the transept which was 3.50m below it.

Furthermore, Suger speaks about the building of the columns in the ambulatory and the radial chapels which have to serve the choir as sub-structures.³³ The eastern end of the chamber crypt had to be demolished when the ambulatory was added. Only the central room which still had the function of a chapel was closed again, most probably by means of a flat eastern wall.

The two exits of the circular crypt were definitely walled up in the course of the building of the eastern crossing piers. Maybe the access to the old *Confessio* was replaced by an axial passageway behind the high altar in the course of the same phase. The connection in the crypt between the *Confessio* and the central room must have been extended considerably when the chapel facing to the west was built. The elevated level of the altar room, however, requires a staircase of at least five steps in the crossway. The floor of the circular passageway and the altar niche were lowered to the level of the central room only in the tomb of the Bourbons.

We are convinced that our report has shown that the building history of the crypt of Saint-Denis was subjected to a very complex genesis. The architectural form was probably determined by the chapel of Hilduin. It revealed the Romanesque chamber crypt which with its slanted orientation still exists in the Suger choir.

332 Consulte siquidem decretum est illam altiori inequalem, que super absidem sanctorum dominorum nostrorum corpora retinentem operiebat remoueri, uoltam usque ad superficiem cripte, cui adherebat, ut eadem cripta superioritatem sui accedentibus per utrosque gradus pro pauimento offerret [...]. Quote and translation according to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis. *De consecratione*,... (note 15), p. 184-185.

33 Ibidem, p. 184-185.

DES TOMBES D'ABBÉS DANS LA NEF DE L'ÉGLISE – L'EXEMPLE DE SOUVIGNY

Deux doubles tombes d'abbés très similaires à Corvey et à Souvigny

Le problème des *Eingetieft Räume* a été d'abord évoqué par Uwe Lobbedey dans un article paru en 1986 dans les *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*. Le cas des tombes d'abbés de Corvey ¹ constitue quant à lui une bonne part du travail présenté en 2009 à Motovun en Croatie et publié en 2010 par Sveva Gai dans la revue *Hortus artium medievalium*.¹ Un grand nombre d'éléments matériels cités dans son texte présentent une telle similitude avec ceux que nous avons mis au jour dans l'axe du vaisseau médian de la nef de la priorale Saint-Pierre de Souvigny, dans l'Allier en France, que l'exercice de comparaison auquel nous allons nous livrer allait pratiquement de soi. Les circonstances historiques sont pareillement comparables.

Les tombes de deux abbés ont en effet dans les deux cas fait l'objet d'un aménagement au milieu de la nef de l'église monastique, à l'Ouest de la clôture du chœur, facilitant ainsi la vénération des corps saints par des pèlerins laïcs, avec un accès et une circulation avantagés par une situation rare même si elle n'est pas exceptionnelle. Cette position centrale mettait singulièrement en valeur tant l'aspect du monument funéraire/*memoria* de chacun de ces deux binômes abbatiaux depuis l'avant-nef, que les processions qui devaient avoir lieu alentour depuis le chœur des moines. Les deux couples d'abbés que sanctifient des miracles contés par les textes sont en outre morts à des dates

La tombe des abbés Liudolf et Druthmar dans la nef de l'abbatiale de Corvey (d'après S. Gai, HAM 16)



1 S. Gai, « La chiesa del monastero carolingio di Corvey in Westfalia: elementi architettonici dell'arredo interno dell'edificio di culto », *Hortus artium Medievalium*, 16, Zagreb-Motovun, 2010, p. 49-61 et tout particulièrement p. 51-53. On y trouve la référence des travaux d'U. Lobbedey.

fort similaires : 983 pour Liudolf de Corvey – 994 pour Mayeul de Cluny à Souvigny/1046 pour Druthmar de Corvey – 1049 pour Odilon de Cluny à Souvigny. L'aménagement enfin de leur tombeau/*memoria* commun fonctionne à partir d'une date presque identique : 1095 pour Souvigny/1100 pour Corvey où l'abbé Markward opère leur transfert depuis une tombe primitive. C'est là pourtant que se situe la limite de l'exercice de comparaison.

La double tombe sainte souvignyssoise est constituée en deux temps. Le premier correspond à la translation d'Odilon en 1063 par le légat pontifical Pierre Damien, le second à celle de Mayeul en 1095 par le pape Urbain II, dans un même et unique sarcophage. En fait de « chambres [funéraires] en contrebas », il n'est pas assuré que le premier aménagement ait été enfoncé dans le sol – le sarcophage paraît avoir été présenté plutôt au niveau du sol –, le niveau bas n'est attesté que pour le caveau qui le remplace et cause sa destruction vers 1150-1170. L'autel majeur est assez éloigné du monument funéraire dont nous avons pu cependant déterminer les relations fluctuantes avec la façade occidentale du chœur monastique ayant connu quatre états en moins d'un siècle. Au contraire de la chambre ouverte de Corvey, on construit à l'époque romane au-dessus du sarcophage une superstructure parallélépipédique sculptée, coiffée ensuite de gisants gothiques, avant l'élévation fin XIII^e-mi XIV^e siècle des reliques de Mayeul puis d'Odilon. La *memoria* vidée de son contenu continue cependant à faire l'objet de vénération, encore au XVII^e siècle – époque à laquelle disparaît la chambre de Corvey – et ce jusqu'à la Révolution en 1793.

Le quatrième et le cinquième abbé de Cluny inhumés à Souvigny

Mayeul décède à Souvigny en 994 après avoir passé 40 ans à la tête du monastère de Cluny, dont il est le quatrième abbé. Sous son abbatiat, vers 954, des moines clunisiens ont créé la communauté monastique dans l'ancienne *villa* offerte au monastère bourguignon vers 915-920. L'abbé défunt fait très rapidement l'objet d'un culte, un autel lui est dédié dès 998. En se fondant sur des arguments archéologiques Laurent Fiocchi suppose aujourd'hui que son sépulcre a été installé dans une des absidioles partiellement closes du chevet triabsidé, au sein du chœur des moines, comme le suggérait avec prudence Arlette Maquet en 2006.² Après un long abbatiat consacré notamment à la sanctification de Mayeul, son successeur Odilon vient volontairement mourir auprès de lui. En 1049, alors que l'abbaye-mère en est dépourvue, Saint-Pierre de Souvigny abrite les sépultures de deux abbés de Cluny.

L'aménagement des tombeaux des saints et de leur accès facilite l'afflux des fidèles désireux de bénéficier de leur intercession et des bienfaits de leur *virtus*. Sortir les corps saints du chœur liturgique pour favoriser et rationaliser leur culte est la solution adoptée tant à Corvey pour les abbés Liudolf et Druthmar qu'à Souvigny pour Saint Mayeul (Odilon avait été inhumé d'emblée dans la nef). On connaît d'autres lieux où ce choix a été également mis en œuvre à une époque comparable. Nous ne citerons ici qu'un cas de sépulture faisant l'objet d'un culte, dans l'axe, juste en avant de la clôture de

2 L. Fiocchi, « Evolution architecturale de la priorale Saint-Pierre jusqu'au XII^e siècle », dans P. Chevalier, S. Liégard et A. Maquet, 100 ans d'archéologie à Souvigny, Catalogue d'exposition, Musée de Souvigny, 2011 ; A. Maquet, Cluny en Auvergne, 910-1156, Doctorat d'histoire médiévale, Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2006.



Plan de la priorale Saint-Pierre de Souvigny en 1049, avec l'emplacement des sépultures initiales de Mayeul dans l'absidiole nord du chœur et d'Odilon dans la nef (L. Fiochi)

3 Cf. dom F. Pommeraye, *Histoire des archevêques de Rouen...*, Rouen, 1667, p. 263 : le clergé tenait « en singulière vénération » et encensait certains jours l'emplacement du saint archevêque Maurille « à cause que le grand autel de l'église précédente aurait été à cet endroit ». Elle a été fouillée en 1954 : G. Lanfry, *La cathédrale dans la cité romaine et la Normandie ducale*, in *Les cahiers de Notre-Dame de Rouen*, 1956, p. 8-19. Nous remercions Jacques Le Maho de nous l'avoir signalée.

4 Jotsald de Saint-Claude, *Vita Odilonis, Elevatio Odilonis*, J. Staub (éd.), MGH, t. 68, Hanovre, 1999, p. 297.

5 J.-P. Migne (éd.), *Patrologie Latine*, Paris, 1844-1864, t. 151, col. 430 c ; et H. Tripperet, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Prieuré conventuel de St Pierre et St Paul de Souvigny*, BnF, N.A.F. 3602, p. 26 v. Dom Tripperet indique qu'« on éleva ensuite un espèce de monument qui subsiste encore », au milieu de la nef.

chœur, en l'occurrence canonial : celui de la tombe du bienheureux évêque Maurille à la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Rouen, enterré près de l'ancien maître-autel d'avant l'agrandissement de l'édifice vers l'Est au XI^e siècle, soit une travée à l'Ouest du transept, au devant de la façade du chœur.³

Sous l'abbatit d'Hugues de Semur (1049-1109), on procède à Souvigny à une double translation des corps saints depuis leur sépulture initiale ² jusqu'à un lieu à la fois plus prestigieux et mieux adapté, favorisant et rationalisant leur culte – juste à l'Ouest du chœur liturgique des moines. Ces gestes forts sont magnifiés par la construction de structures qui seront progressivement transformées créant autour du tombeau un véritable écrin. Et l'édifice même évoluera ensuite en fonction de la tombe sainte. Le 11 août 1063, le cardinal Pierre Damien, légat pontifical, consacre la priorale Saint-Pierre rebâtie et transfère le corps de Saint Odilon.⁴ Il semble légitime de supposer que le sépulcre de l'abbé occupe une position éminente dans l'édifice dont il a amorcé les travaux de reconstruction, à un point nodal, au milieu de la nef. En 1095, le pape Urbain II procède à la translation de Mayeul qu'il extrait du chœur des moines.⁵ Ainsi, les saints abbés sont réunis matériellement, dans ce qui devient leur tombeau commun et qui transcrit dans la pierre le concept spirituel de binôme abbatial élaboré dans la seconde

moitié du XI^e siècle par leur successeur, Hugues de Semur. Les deux translations successives génèrent dans l'espace cultuel d'autres pôles mémoriaux, correspondant aux sépultures antérieures des saints,⁶ dont le souvenir perdue. On connaît maints exemples où la tombe primitive, vidée de son contenu, continue sous son nom d'origine à faire l'objet d'une station dans le cadre d'un pèlerinage.⁷ Ce sera, du reste, le cas à Souvigny dans le parcours de vénération mis en place après les élévations de reliques des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles.

Le tombeau de Saint Odilon

Le contenant choisi dans le troisième quart du XI^e siècle – un sarcophage de grès local – remploie deux éléments mérovingiens (VI^e siècle) dépareillés. La cuve aux parois assez épaisses est surbaissée.⁸ Son couvercle monolithe trapézoïdal à trois pans et revers plat est à la fois plus large et plus long.⁹ Pour assurer à Odilon – puis aux deux saints – une sépulture à la mesure de son prestige spirituel, les moines de Souvigny réutilisent deux moitiés de sarcophages « antiques ».¹⁰ Le couvercle est alors percé dans son pan sud d'une *fenestella* presque carrée (15 x 17 cm) permettant un contact direct avec les reliques ; la feuillure qui cerne l'ouverture indique qu'un couvercle (en bois ?) y était inséré. Une échancrure large de 22 cm entaille la cuve au contact de la *fenestella* ; le haut de sa paroi est fortement usé. Enfin l'ensemble est scellé par trois cerclages qui s'insèrent dans des rainures parallèles ménagées sur le couvercle ; les solides bandes en fer rompues et repliées lors des translations des XIII^e-XIV^e siècles subsistent sur les côtés et sous la cuve (l. 6 cm ; ép. 2 à 3 cm).

Le sarcophage, primitivement exposé à la hauteur du sol,¹¹ est entouré par un premier aménagement funéraire trapézoïdal.¹² Les longs côtés et les angles orientaux de son stylobate sont constitués de longs blocs de grès, disposés en équerre et creusés d'une rainure dans laquelle s'insèrent, selon le principe du chancel paléochrétien ou haut-médiéval, des plaques verticales épaisses de 10/12 cm, enduites et peintes comme le stylobate d'imitations de placages de marbre, veinés ou mouchetés, surtout verts et jaune orangé, et des panneaux ou bandeaux noirs, verts, rouges et jaunes, des drapés (*vela*), des feuillages sur fond blanc, etc.¹³ **3** L'accès des pèlerins se fait depuis l'ouest. La barrière trapézoïdale est remaniée très vite, au moment de l'implantation des deux files de piles composites qui créent trois vaisseaux dans la nef, dans les années 1070 ; on coupe et on arase alors partiellement la moitié ouest des longs côtés du chancel, ménageant deux accès au moins visuels vers le sarcophage auquel le pèlerin parvient toujours depuis l'ouest.

L'essor du culte d'Odilon a de profondes répercussions sur les dispositifs mettant en valeur le secteur de l'église qui abrite sa tombe et canalisant le flot des pèlerins, tout en protégeant au maximum la vie quotidienne des religieux qui en ont la charge. La barrière décrite plus haut cerne le tombeau et en défend un accès trop brutal, en lui offrant aussi un cadre coloré qui le signale de loin, en particulier pour le fidèle qui l'aperçoit depuis la porte de l'église. Mais Souvigny est avant tout une église monastique. Un autre élé-

6 On restitue désormais la tombe primaire de Mayeul au chevet (voir supra), dom Tripperet, qui écrit au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, situe la sépulture primitive d'Odilon dans le collatéral gauche, « du côté de midy » (alors qu'à l'évidence en 1049 le vaisseau était unique) et rajoute « on éleva dessus un tombeau assez simple » (H. Tripperet, op. cit., p. 22).

7 Pour des exemples anglais et français, voir J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West*, c. 300-1200, Oxford, 2000, p. 217, 219-220, etc.

8 2 m x 66 cm à la tête et 34 cm au pied pour 46 cm de hauteur à la tête et 39 cm au pied.

9 2,20 m x 80 cm à la tête et 50 cm au pied pour 18,5 cm d'épaisseur maximale à la tête.

10 Le remploi de sarcophages véritablement antiques, ornés parfois même de motifs païens, est assez courant depuis le haut Moyen Âge, cf. par exemple J. Crook, op. cit., p. 77-78 et 247 ; ou A. Dierkens, « Quelques réflexions sur la présentation des sarcophages dans les églises du haut Moyen Âge », in A. Alduc-Le Bagousse (dir.), *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation ? Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (I^{ve}-X^{ve} siècle)*, Tables rondes du CRAHM, 4, Caen, 2009, p. 279-287.

11 Ou légèrement au-dessus, peut-être disposé sur un socle maçonné, comme le sarcophage également mérovingien de saint Mazeran à Brou-Vernet dans l'Allier.

12 3,65 x 3 m à l'est et 2,76 m à l'ouest.

13 L'étude est menée par Emmanuelle Boissart, qui a examiné les enduits peints mis au jour autour du tombeau en 2002, cf. E. Boissart-Stankov, « Études archéologiques d'enduits peints : les exemples des chantiers de Cergy, Souvigny et Soissons », *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales*, 8, Auxerre, 2004, p. 40-41.



Evocation 3D du tombeau de Saint Odilon dans les années 1060 (© EN-SAM-ParisTech Cluny, équipe Gunzo)

ment majeur est alors implanté entre les piles qui séparent la sixième et la septième travée du vaisseau médian, le barrant juste à l'est du chancel funéraire pour mieux isoler le chœur des moines : une grille dont on a retrouvé le socle massif en blocs de grès (2,68 x 0,85 m), creusé d'une rangée de quatre petits encastresments circulaires. Deux portillons (l. 1,40 m), dont les vantaux s'ouvrent côté tombeau et se rabattent contre les piles¹⁴, sont ménagés dans la grille en bois soutenant peut-être des tentures, et offrent aux moines la possibilité de processionner entre ces piles et les angles du chancel.

Quelques années plus tard, on installe au-dessus de la tombe un baldaquin en bois, enduit et peint de faux marbres, reposant sur quatre poteaux carrés disposés aux angles de la barrière. La surface couverte par cet imposant *ciborium* est de 11,50 m². Concomitamment, la sixième travée du collatéral paroissial nord est isolée de la zone autour du tombeau par un muret. Un autel au titulaire inconnu est ensuite édifié 5 m à l'est dans le chœur liturgique, à la limite de la croisée du transept, dans l'axe de la nef ; son socle maçonné est longé en façade par trois colonnettes supportant l'avancée occidentale de la *mensa*.

Le grand *ciborium* brûle dans le dernier quart du XI^e siècle. Cet incendie, localisé mais qu'on perçoit également à l'est dans la dernière travée de la nef, impose une restauration du chancel funéraire et du muret de partition vers le vaisseau paroissial, ainsi que l'abandon de la grille de chœur qui a dû brûler elle aussi. C'est 3 m plus à l'est qu'est aménagée la nouvelle façade du sanctuaire. Il s'agit cette fois d'un muret maçonné et soigneusement enduit sur son parement, badigeonné au lait de chaux ; le parement ouest porte un dé-

14 La base des deux piles a été grossièrement retaillée à la refouille pour recevoir l'encastrement du battant ouvert à 90° de chaque ouverture et ménager un trou de crapaudine.

cor de faux marbres proche de celui de la clôture cernant le tombeau. On abandonne le bois pour un matériau pérenne, permettant en outre une harmonisation du décor coloré. La hauteur restituable de ce muret doit avoisiner un mètre. Étonnamment, sa face occidentale ne présente pas d'accès visible : le centre est même marqué par la présence, au revers du socle conservé, du négatif d'un emmarchement en bois (faisant office d'ambon ?).

On ignore tout des aménagements liturgiques internes du chœur des religieux, les recherches archéologiques n'ayant pas investi ce secteur. En revanche, dans la quatrième travée du haut-vaisseau de la nef, une empreinte rectangulaire située dans l'axe correspond au pied unique d'un autel de la Sainte-Croix destiné aux pèlerins et aux fidèles n'appartenant pas à la paroisse. Cet autel semble fonctionner du XI^e au XIII^e siècle. Dans le dernier tiers du XI^e siècle, l'autel de la paroisse est situé quant à lui dans la quatrième travée du collatéral nord, comme l'a attesté le négatif de son massif maçonné.

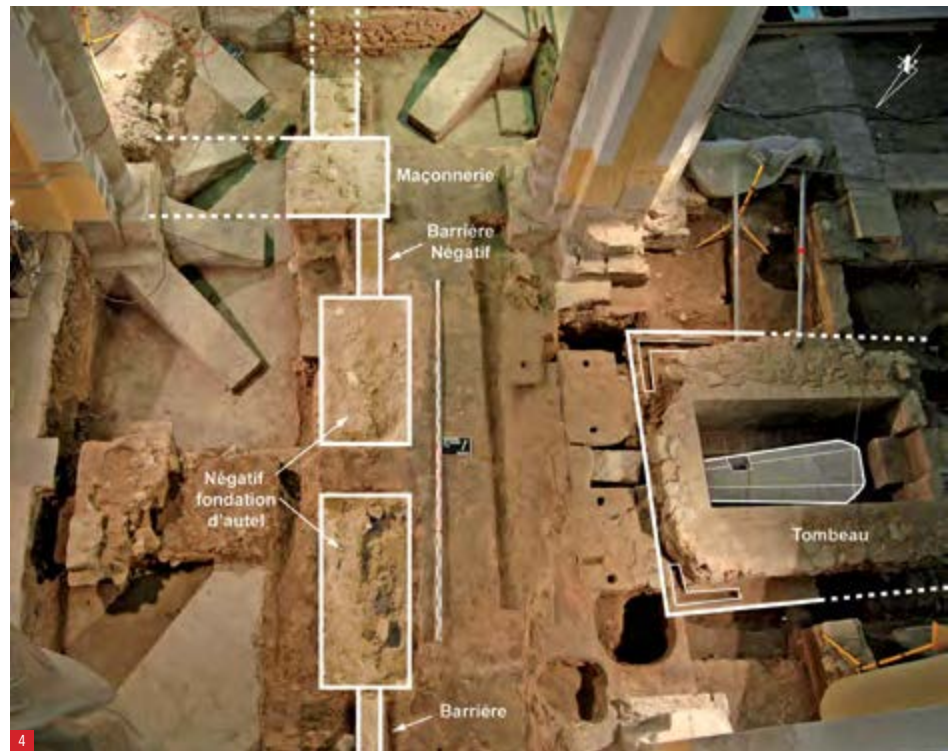
La réunion des deux abbés dans le sépulcre d'Odilon

En 1095, Urbain II transfère le corps de Saint Mayeul et le dépose dans le sarcophage entouré par le chancel funéraire rénové et repeint, où il va reposer pour quelques siècles avec son successeur. Les processions monastiques peuvent, pendant une période de plus d'un demi-siècle, faire le tour complet du tombeau. Autant qu'un éloignement souhaitable de la limite du chœur par rapport à un lieu de cortèges parfois bruyants ou dangereux comme l'incendie venait de le démontrer, c'est peut-être cette amélioration des circulations et des processions autour du tombeau qui motive ce recul du chœur, d'une demi-travée vers l'est.

La nef est agrandie des bas-côtés externes au tournant du XI^e et du XII^e siècle. Ces travaux s'achèvent par un terrassement et un rehaussement général du sol. Dans la dernière travée orientale de la nef, on crée alors un nouveau dispositif délimitant le chœur liturgique. On isole le vaisseau médian des collatéraux septentrionaux par une fine barrière (ép. 28 cm), faisant retour vers le sud pour constituer la nouvelle façade occidentale, là encore de forme inattendue. Cette façade reprend l'alignement de celle du deuxième chancel mais comporte un étroit accès central (60 cm) bordé par deux massifs d'autel quadrangulaires (environ 1,60 x 1 m), peut-être dédiés l'un à Saint Mayeul (au nord ?), l'autre à Saint Odilon (au sud ?). ⁴ Vers le sud, après un court segment de barrière mince, prend place un massif mesurant 1,38 m de largeur, dont la fonction n'est pas élucidée, puis au-delà d'un accès ouvrant sur le collatéral interne sud, la fine barrière fait un léger décrochement vers l'est et s'étend dans le bas-côté externe jusqu'au gouttereau – pour protéger l'accès des religieux vers le cloître. Comme pour la précédente ainsi que pour le monument funéraire et son éphémère baldaquin, l'enduit peint revêtant cette troisième clôture imite des placages de marbres colorés.

L'autel paroissial Saint-Nicolas occupe l'extrémité du bas-côté externe nord ; dans un second temps, on le coiffe d'un ciborium. Son implantation quelque

La tombe des abbés Mayeul et Odilon à droite et le tracé de la troisième barrière de chœur de Souvigny (DAO D. Vuillermoz)



Plan de la priorale Saint-Pierre de Souvigny vers 1160, avec l'emplacement du caveau abbatial roman (L. Fiocchi)



temps après l'élargissement de la nef conduit à obturer, par une maçonnerie soignée (ép. 40 cm), l'espace compris entre l'angle nord-ouest du chœur liturgique et la pile située à l'ouest.

Le tombeau abbatial double et la barrière de chœur du XII^e siècle

À la fin du chantier de reconstruction roman, dans les années 1160, on remodèle le tombeau ⁵ ; on creuse au même endroit un caveau (2,35 x 1,16 m ; pf. 0,95 m), construit en moyen appareil de grès, qui vient très exactement enserrer le sarcophage, placé en hypogée, presque 1 m sous le sol de la nef. La superstructure romane en caisson associée à cet état est inconnue, mais elle est contemporaine de la mise en place d'une nouvelle clôture de chœur monumentale, juste contre le tombeau, à l'est, au niveau de la première barrière de chancel, entre les deux piles séparant la sixième et la septième travée de la nef. Les colonnes engagées côté haut-vaisseau sont supprimées sur la hauteur nécessaire et deux passages latéraux, qui peuvent être fermés par une grille ou un battant de bois, permettent aux moines de circuler entre leur chœur et la tombe sainte, dans laquelle on descend par un escalier situé à l'ouest.

Comme à Cluny III vers 1120 où on lui restitue aujourd'hui 4,50 m de hauteur,¹⁵ cette clôture présente une impressionnante élévation : son mur haut de 2,50/2,70 m portant un couronnement sculpté en calcaire fin, rehaussé de peinture, culminait à plus de 3,50 m. La frise sommitale¹⁶ est un ensemble aujourd'hui incomplet d'une quarantaine d'éléments (h. 1,05 m ; l. 35 à 72 cm), exposés au Musée de Souvigny. Six d'entre eux représentent des personnages assis ou debout, mais la plupart forment une file d'arcades aux motifs décoratifs riches et variés. Ces plaques, travaillées en assez haut-relief sur un fond peu épais (3 à 14,5 cm), étaient accolées contre une mince maçonnerie au sommet du haut mur. Le décor formait par endroits des re-dents encadrés de colonnettes, probablement au-dessus des portes. L'ensemble était sommé par un entablement à cordon de perles ou de billettes.

Quatre sections différentes de la barrière ont été identifiées¹⁷. Une première, qu'il est tentant de restituer au sommet de la façade occidentale, est composée du Christ et du collège apostolique, scandée par des colonnettes. Les deux apôtres encadrant le Christ – Pierre et Paul – sont conservés ainsi que la tête d'un troisième. Des décrochements de 15 à 20 cm animaient cet ensemble et mettaient en valeur le Christ central bénissant. Quoi de plus naturel que de l'imaginer dans l'axe du haut vaisseau, à l'aplomb de la tombe sainte que surmontait un sépulcre parallélépipédique également sculpté ? Une autre série de personnages représente le miracle de Saint Grégoire le Grand, inspiré par un ange et surpris par un assistant : l'ange à gauche, le pape assis écrivant abrité par un voile qui fait retour à droite et un homme assis penché attentivement vers la gauche. On aimerait le voir au-dessus de l'accès ouvrant sur l'aile sud du transept, et de là vers la salle capitulaire et le cloître. Les deux derniers segments ont conservé davantage d'éléments et forment deux

15 Cf. N. Stratford et D. Walsh, « IV.3 (b) La clôture du chœur », dans N. Stratford, B. Maurice-Chabard, D. Walsh, *Corpus de la sculpture de Cluny – Les parties orientales de la Grande Église Cluny III*, 2 vol., Paris, Picard, 2011, p. 609-661 (celle de Souvigny est évoqué p. 654 et n. 93).

16 Elle était connue autrefois sous le nom de « tombeau de Mayeul » ou de « retable byzantin ». Voir N. Stratford, *La frise monumentale romane de Souvigny*, Musée de Souvigny, 2002.

17 Cf. P. Chevalier et A. Maquet, « Catalogue », *ibid.*, p. 123-164.

portions différentes d'arcature aveugle ; leur longueur restituable permet de les imaginer couronnant les retours latéraux nord et sud de la clôture jusqu'au grand transept. Mais ce sont là des hypothèses.

À peine 1 m à l'est, on aménage dans le chœur à la même date une plate-forme mesurant 4 x 4 m, légèrement convexe à l'ouest, dont les côtés reçoivent des stalles et sur laquelle on implante, à l'aplomb de son emplacement précédent, le socle maçonné d'un nouvel autel secondaire axial (l. est/ouest 1,04 m). Enfin, les grandes arcades des deux travées du haut vaisseau situées à l'ouest du chœur monastique sont fermées à la base par des barrières légères insérées dans des rainures creusées dans les bases et les fûts de piles de la nef. Ces fermetures – des grilles en métal ou en bois (?) – avaient environ 1,30/1,50 m de hauteur et canalisait les pèlerins autour du tombeau.

Le tombeau abbatial gothique à gisants

L'ultime phase d'aménagement est marquée, dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, par l'édification au-dessus du caveau roman d'un haut socle sur lequel reposent les gisants des abbés. La plate-forme des stalles est abandonnée, arasée et couverte d'une couche de glaise ; l'autel d'axe reste en usage jusqu'à une date indéterminée (les sols gothiques et modernes ont été nivelés au XIX^e siècle). Le sépulcre est encadré par une paire d'autels qui ferment les entrées du chœur. Cette refonte complète de la partie émergée du tombeau s'inscrit dans un mouvement général de rénovation des tombes anciennes que l'on personnalise en y plaçant des effigies idéalisées des défunts.¹⁸ On connaît l'existence de ce monument gothique par deux dessins exécutés sur place par dom Hilaire Tripperet au milieu du XVIII^e siècle, avec deux plans à main levée de l'église monastique.¹⁹ Les observations archéologiques, la restauration des gisants et ces anciens dessins permettent de reconstituer virtuellement le monument funéraire gothique qui comporte, sur un soubassement parallélépipédique, une table un peu saillante sur laquelle reposent les effigies des saints abbés, veillés à l'ouest par deux lecteurs assis. Il subsiste de ces lecteurs en ronde-bosse une tête aux cheveux ondulés, présentant le fort degré d'usure observé sur les reliefs des gisants, et les plissés souples de la base de leurs tuniques, portant des traces de dorure.

Les têtes des gisants sont situées à l'est, au-dessus du pied du sarcophage situé dans le caveau roman. Cette position inversée, non canonique, est purement cultuelle : elle symbolise l'accueil des pèlerins qui arrivent eux depuis l'ouest. Plus travaillée que les longs côtés nord et sud, la façade occidentale du socle est scandée par quatre colonnettes romanes, deux aux angles et les deux autres de part et d'autre de l'accès au caveau.²⁰ Ces colonnettes flanquaient antérieurement un groupe sculpté de la clôture de chœur du XII^e siècle, qui a par conséquent dû être partiellement démembré. Un dessin de dom Tripperet montre que la base des longs côtés du soubassement est longée par des frises sculptées de grecques et de rinceaux, elles aussi remployées, qui appartenaient probablement au tombeau roman. Deux oculi rectangulaires ajourent au moins le flanc sud, au ras du sol, afin de montrer et d'éclair-


18 Cf. W. Sauerländer, *La sculpture gothique en France (1140-1270)*, Paris, 1972, p. 18.

19 Dom H. Tripperet, *op. cit.*, planches I et III. Ces plans ont guidé l'implantation du sondage de 2001.

20 Les maçonneries occidentales du caveau roman sont entaillées pour installer le décor de façade plaqué à l'ouest du socle, puis confortées à la base par du mortier blanc, dans lequel les bases des colonnettes ont laissé leur empreinte.

rer l'intérieur du caveau, où l'on continue de descendre à l'ouest à travers un portillon, en empruntant l'étroit escalier de l'état précédent.²¹ Une baie symétrique ouvre à l'est, du côté du chœur monastique, permettant aux moines un contact visuel avec le sarcophage saint. Le monument étant appuyé contre le mur ouest de la clôture monumentale romane, cette baie implique au centre de la maçonnerie une ouverture, qui peut dater de la période précédente.

L'effigie la plus complète a été restaurée en 2003 à l'aide de plusieurs centaines de morceaux portant des traces de polychromie. L'abbé, mitré et crossé, gît sur une dalle, préservée à la tête sous le coussin revêtu d'un drapé plissé à crevures horizontales. Les cheveux forment une couronne assez rigide, recourbée sous la mitre et au-dessus des oreilles. Les yeux sont grand ouverts dans le visage ovale aux traits délicatement modelés avec force détails (rides, pattes d'oie, cernes). Le saint a revêtu une superposition de vêtements liturgiques dont le drapé s'organise en vagues peu profondes : longue aube plissée, rouge, retombant sur des sandales liturgiques brodées et laissant paraître les extrémités d'une étole frangée et passémentée ; tunicelle bleue à larges manches flottantes ; chasuble rouge à col brodé, en partie recouvert par un amict blanc. Décoré comme l'étole, le manipule pend à son poignet gauche, dont la main gantée se referme sur la hampe de la crosse (le crosseron a été brisé avant le XVII^e siècle). Il porte à la main droite qui repose sur un livre relié, gemmé et perlé, son anneau abbatial sur un gant orné d'un médaillon.

La seconde tête mise au jour en 2001 est jointive avec le tiers de gisant conservé jusque là au musée de Souvigny.²² Outre le bloc subsistant, nous avons retrouvé dans le caveau la tête et une pointe de la mitre de ce second gisant, mais plusieurs autres fragments inédits (le pied droit et des tronçons de la hampe de la crosse) avaient été recueillis en 1996 lors d'une opération d'archéologie préventive autour de l'escalier menant au cloître depuis le transept. Le visage, austère, repose sur un coussin lisse. On perçoit toutes les pièces du vêtement liturgique, moins ornementé : aube longue dépassant d'une dalmatique fendue plus courte, elle-même recouverte de la chasuble. Ses deux mains (disparues) étaient jointes sur la poitrine. La symétrie organisant le drapé assez géométrique sied bien à la sobriété générale. Les yeux sont ouverts dans un visage plus rond, aux maxillaires affirmés, au nez court et aux rides profondes. Pour la présentation actuelle,  inaugurée le 10 mai 2009, du tombeau restauré à sa place originelle, la moitié du second gisant a été complété par un élément sculpté. Les nez et les pointes brisées des mitres ont été remplacés.

Même si elles apparaissent stéréotypées et exemplaires, les deux figures sont nettement individualisées, tant dans leur visage et leur vêtue que dans leur gestuelle. Mais malgré des différences notables de physionomie et de traitement, les deux statues en calcaire fin, originellement peintes, sont l'œuvre d'un même atelier de sculpteurs. Toutes deux ont subi les atteintes du temps et de la dévotion des fidèles : les plis des chasubles, les fronts ridés et les décors brodés des mitres ont été fortement usés par le contact répété de milliers de mains de pèlerins. Dès 1267-1268, une nouvelle translation est autorisée

21 Le degré supérieur de l'escalier débouche sur un nouveau petit palier, pavé de carreaux de terre cuite, avant une marche plus large

22 W. Cahn, « Souvigny: Some Problems of its Architecture and Sculpture », *Gesta*, XXVII/1-2, 1988, p. 52-53.

Le tombeau abbatial gothique reconstitué dans l'église de Souvigny (P. Chevalier)



par le pape Clément IV ; elle n'a lieu que vers 1285, après une confirmation d'Honorius IV ; la châsse de Mayeul est placée dans la nef sur l'autel du saint situé devant le chœur²³. Par une bulle de 1341, le pape Clément VI autorise la translation d'Odilon qui est réalisée en 1345 : Roger, archevêque de Bourges, place le reliquaire du saint sur un autel proche de celui de Mayeul. L'ouverture à deux reprises du sarcophage à l'intérieur de l'espace restreint qu'offre le caveau après la construction du monument gothique paraît irréalisable. Il est plus plausible que les moines profitent de la rénovation du monument pour procéder – « à l'air libre » – à la première des deux élévations des reliques (la seconde ouverture difficile du couvercle cause son bris en trois morceaux, autour de la fenestella, suivi d'une réparation soignée).

23 Dom H. Tripperet, op. cit., p. 53.

Si l'on admet cette hypothèse, la sculpture des gisants gothiques coïnciderait avec la préparation de la translation de Saint Mayeul dans le second tiers du XIII^e siècle, l'opération devant être prévue de longue date.

Le pèlerinage du XV^e siècle à la Révolution française

En 1440, dom Geoffroy Chollet fait édifier une armoire aux reliques, dans le bras sud du grand transept, pour abriter les nouveaux bustes-reliquaires en argent des saints abbés qu'il fait réaliser et qui sont représentés sur les deux portes inférieures de l'armoire, Mayeul à gauche, Odilon à droite. L'évolution du pèlerinage et de ses modalités pratiques est sensible au cours de cette période. Les deux autels latéraux sur lesquels reposaient les châsses gothiques obturent complètement les communications avec la façade du chœur monastique. Les moines modifient donc leurs déplacements vers le tombeau et compensent probablement la disparition des portes occidentales en utilisant les accès latéraux qui desservent les ailes du grand transept. Les pèlerins empruntent un trajet long, hiérarchisé et complexe, avec des stations devant ou autour du tombeau, devant les deux autels et leurs châsses des XIII^e-XIV^e siècles, puis à partir du XV^e siècle devant l'armoire aux reliques. Accessible depuis la façade occidentale, dans l'axe du haut vaisseau, le tombeau vide marque le début du circuit dont l'armoire aux reliques constitue apparemment la fin.

Jusqu'à la Révolution on descend à certaines occasions sur le couvercle du sarcophage vide, devenu relique ; les pèlerins manifestent leur dévotion en émoissant les reliefs des statues gisantes, ou en récupérant des morceaux comme ceux des crosses. À la fin du XVII^e ou au XVIII^e siècle, alors que le chœur liturgique s'était rétracté vers l'est et que toute l'église – gisants compris – est badigeonnée de jaune et de blanc,²⁴ on installe encore, afin de protéger le tombeau et les gisants, mais surtout de canaliser pèlerins et fidèles, toujours nombreux, une barrière légère en fer forgé.²⁵ Cette ferveur, même si la résonance du pèlerinage n'est plus que locale ou micro-régionale, explique la *damnatio memoriae* révolutionnaire avec la force symbolique qui est celle de ce tombeau vide (comme celui du Christ).

En octobre 1792, la priorale est « rabaissée » au rang de paroissiale. La communauté des moines est dispersée en 1793, puis on fond les cloches, on fait disparaître les archives, on brûle reliquaires et reliques. Enfin, on détruit très méthodiquement le monument gothique à gisants qui demeurait le symbole, encombrant, le plus manifeste d'un culte assurément considéré comme obsolète. Les têtes décapitées et plus de 2 000 fragments des gisants sont jetés dans les remblais qui viennent combler le caveau, jusqu'au sondage archéologique entamé en 2001, le 2 novembre, jour des morts – une fête instituée par Saint Odilon. Ils ont aujourd'hui retrouvé leur place au-dessus du sarcophage,²⁶ dans la nef rénovée.

24 Cette bichromie de l'époque moderne a été rétablie dans la nef restaurée, rendue au culte en mai 2009.

25 « Le tombeau de saint Odile et de saint Mayeul dont les statues en pierre sont fermées par une petite grille de fer », Inventaire des biens du prieuré de Souvigny, février 1790, AD Allier, L 436, fol. 8v ; publié par C. Grégoire, « Documents pour servir à l'histoire du prieuré de Souvigny », Bulletin de la Société d'émulation du Bourbonnais, 2e série, t. 6, 1898, p. 104.

26 Grâce à la French Heritage Foundation.

HUBERTUS SEIBERT | Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

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KING, BISHOP, POPE | CORVEY ABBEY IN SEARCH OF ITS POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY ¹

Before 1150, an unknown Corvey monk made numerous corrections and significant additions to a manuscript of the chronicle by Thietmar of Merseburg² which existed in his monastery. At the end of book seven, where Thietmar mentions in a postscript the unique importance of Charlemagne for the Christian integration in Saxony through the foundation of dioceses, he makes the following supplementary note: „In this monastery (sc. Corvey) monastic discipline is flourishing for the first time in Saxony as will develop later in many places of our country; however, Corvey with its Vitus was not unjustly considered to be the head (*caput*) and the mother (*mater*) for all of us and in a sense to be the adornment of the whole country. Since he came to this country, Saxony in the German Empire has become a leader, because through intercessions and merits it always finds help in God, so we hope”³.

The unknown author allows a deep look into the conception of himself as Saxon and monk of Corvey. He proudly praises the superior importance of Corvey as the oldest monastery in Saxony, his *patria*. In addition to the old age he thinks that the unique supremacy of his monastery as *caput et mater* of all monasteries in the country is based on its patron, the martyr St. Vitus⁴. He is presented as the saint of all Saxony. He represents Corvey abbey and gives its convent a communal, collective identity⁵.

This brings us to our topic, namely the question of the specific profile of the Corvey monastery, its self-conception and the feeling of being a community⁶, i.e. its collective identity as a social group which expressed itself in its religious acts and reflected itself in its historiographic testimonials – in the form of external as well as internal perceptions⁷.

The aim of the following considerations is to examine the appealing assumption of Franz-Josef Arlinghaus that identity is „designed on the basis that a community reassures itself of the coincidence with its own values and the difference towards another group”⁸, on the example of the Corvey monastery.

Where and how did the Corvey abbot and monastery find their position in the political and religious world between the 9th and 13th centuries? What kind of ideas, values, thoughts and standards formed the basis of their sense of community? What kind of forms and means did they use in the development and maintenance of their identity?

In order to answer these questions I use different approaches, a spatial-gentile, a political-legal and a religious-medial. Our search for evidence of the political and religious identity of the monastery must begin with the function and importance of such central and ambivalent terms such as *patria* und *gens*, honor and *libertas* as well as *religio* and *patronus* for the abbot and the monastery.

I.

The foundation and development of Corvey is inseparably connected with the Christian conversion of the Saxons and the political integration of their *patria* as an independent *regnum* into the Frankish Empire.⁹ Much as the Corvey monks maintained of the Frankish-Carolingian tradition in the early days,¹⁰ the more strongly they emphasised the Saxon connection with their monastery from the beginning. From the Saxon origin of the first elected abbot after the separation from Corbie, Warin (831/33–856)¹¹, to the Saxon origin of almost all conventuals¹² to the lay donors and benefactors of the Saxon nobility¹³, the monastery saw itself as a Saxon-determined community to the core which was settled within the boundaries of the *regnum Saxoniae*.¹⁴ This deep Saxon self-conception of the monks is particularly documented in the historiographic works which were written in Corvey between the 9th and 12th centuries, the so-called founding chronicles¹⁵. Its primary function – in addition to memories and protection of remnants – was exactly to create a community and at the same time to confer an own identity on it.

The report written in Corvey after 845 (about 842/47 ?)¹⁶ on the relocation of the relics of St. Vitus from the west Frankish monastery Saint-Denis near Paris to Neu-Corbie (*Noua Corbeia*) in 836 suggests the founding of Corvey as „part of the Saxon conversion” whose belief had to be strengthened (*ad confirmandam fidem gentis suae*),¹⁷ St. Vitus appears as the guarantor and supporter of this successful mission, and he is said to have brought salvation to the *patria* and gens of the Saxons¹⁸. The last stage on his journey from Soest through the Saxon Empire (*regnum Saxonum*), „while many men and women of the population of the noble tribe of the Saxons accompanied us“ (*de nobilissimo Saxonum genere*),¹⁹ and his ceremonious burial in Corvey where many elegant men and women „from all over the land of the Saxons” (*ex omni regno Saxonum*) came to take part for reasons of piety and reverence for St. Vitus,²⁰ is described by the unknown author as an event for the monastery and pious Saxons which forms a sense of community and identity²¹. Vitus does not only prove to be the saint and patron of all Saxony²² but appears to be „a focal point for an individual Saxon consciousness.”²³

In the following period, Corvey grew more and more into its role as the leading monastery of the Saxon area, as is verified by the History of the Saxons written by the Corvey monk Widukind from 967/73. In two passages which are often cited, Widukind acknowledged the importance of Vitus, the patron of Corvey, for the political rise of the Saxons to gain sovereignty in the Empire and as mediators between the Ottonian ruling dynasty and God²⁴. The power of the Franks was getting weaker and weaker since the arrival of Vitus in Saxony. The Saxon affair had, however, experienced a rise which became a „burdensome size”²⁵. Widukind associates this judgement with a clear challenge to the addressee of his work, Ottos I.'s daughter Mathilde: „Revere such a powerful patron (*tantum patronum*) at whose arrival the „slave” Saxony was freed from Frankish tribute and became the ruler over many peoples.”²⁶

Widukind expressed and gave voice to the memory and self-conception specific to the group of his monastery in Corvey at least twice²⁷: when he addresses Mathilde in the „we“ form and asks her for assistance for his own monastery before her father Emperor Otto I. and his brother, Emperor Otto II.²⁸

Historical evidence from Corvey which are comparable with Widukind are almost completely lacking with regard to the following Salier epoch. The very scarce Corvey annals from the early Middle Ages, which were continued in the 11th century,²⁹ suggest the beginnings of a community feeling of the Corvey monastery when they talk about „our monastery“³⁰ and „ours“ (*nostri*)³¹ in individual annual entries. However, Saxon references are pushed almost completely into the background during the period ending in 1073 when foreign abbots from Lorsch and Echternach ruled in Corvey.³²

The failed attempt by King Henry IV. to permanently transfer Corvey to archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, his closest consultant in 1066³³, gave a strong impetus to the anti-Salier forces in the monastery and finally led to a radical political change of course in 1073³⁴. During this time of radical changes and new orientation, the monastery of Corvey obviously remembered its Saxon origin and its anchoring with regard to social and leadership aspects in this area. Since the great uprising of the Saxons in 1073 Corvey which sided with the church and Saxon opposition against Henry IV.³⁵ has repeatedly served as a neutral place for political gatherings and consultations to settle the conflict for both parties in the following period, at the end of August 1073³⁶ and mid January 1074 for example.³⁷

The importance of Corvey as one of the central places of assembly and political outskirts of the Saxons still remained, even under the new Saxon Duke Lothar of Supplinburg, as can be read in a letter from the distant city of Trier from 1120. In this letter, an unknown cleric from Trier tells his metropolitans that gatherings of the powerful had taken place in Corvey, a place in Saxony.³⁸ Here in Corvey, Lothar had his followers discuss Saxon affairs in 1106³⁹ and after his victory over Emperor Henry IV., he negotiated with Henry IV.'s followers „on peace and harmony within the Empire“ (*de pace et concordia regni*) at Welfesholz in February 1115.⁴⁰

However, the Saxon references of Corvey soon lost importance after 1150.⁴¹ The once spatial-gentile orientation of the monastery towards Saxony and the Saxons was now more and more overlapping and replaced by a growing regionalisation of the legal-political connections between Corvey and its closer noble church environment.⁴² All attempts made under the abbots Wibald (1146–1158), Konrad (1160–1189) and Widekind (1189–1203) to confront this development by means of intensifying the relationship with the Stauffer kingdom⁴³ were destroyed by the high indebtedness of the monastery and the aggressive expansion policy of the bishops of Cologne and Paderborn in the 13th century.⁴⁴

II.

These last remarks bring us to the next stop on our search: the political-legal area. Abbot and monastery of Corvey saw themselves as a religious community and a direct institution which were under special protection of king and pope and had no control of any episcopal supervision, teaching and jurisdiction between the 9th and 13th century. In order to understand the specific political legal identity of Corvey we have to consider three aspects. After an acknowledgement of the legal bases of its particular position we have to show how abbot and monastery expressed their self-conception and represented the same in public. Finally, we will have to examine the responses of the monastery to the violation of its honor and its *libertas* both of which were closely interrelated

The reputation and standing, i.e. *honor*, as well as the political legal status, i.e. *libertas*, of the abbot and monastery of Corvey were mainly based on two factors: on sovereign privileges and on numerous special rights and individual laws. The almost continuous series of almost a hundred royal diplomas and favours for Corvey starts with the so-called foundation charter of Emperor Louis the Pious from 27 July 823, which established the imperial immediacy of Corvey⁴⁵, and leads to the privilege of King Otto IV. from 1198.⁴⁶ This impressive gallery of sovereign titles is to be completed by about twenty papal privileges⁴⁷ by Hadrian II. from 872⁴⁸ up to Innozenz III. in 1203.⁴⁹ No other monastery – neither Fulda⁵⁰ nor Reichenau⁵¹ – was able to compete with this status – irrespective of all coincidences with deliverance.

Totally different political, legal and economic privileges such as a *plenissima immunitas*⁵², the king's duty of protection⁵³, the free right to vote,⁵⁴ market rights, minting and customs rights in places such as Corvey,⁵⁵ Höxter,⁵⁶ Marsberg⁵⁷ and Meppen⁵⁸ have characterised the unique status of Corvey as Imperial Monastery since its foundation by Louis the Pious in 823. In addition, King Conrad I. granted the unrestricted collection of the tithe by all monastic manors in 913.⁵⁹ Otto I. conferred the power of excommunication over all servants who settled down in the surroundings of the monastery to the abbots in 940.⁶⁰ Henry IV. forbade his royal successors to alienate monastic properties or to distribute them as fief in 1066.⁶¹ Henry VI. conferred the mining rights to the entire Corvey area in 1192.⁶²

In addition, individual German-Roman rulers granted special privileges to Corvey – at least temporarily – which they usually denied to other imperial monasteries. Louis the Pious gave the right of free barter with other land holders to the abbot in 823;⁶³ Charles III. and Arnulf of Carinthia conferred the exemption from military service in 887,⁶⁴ which was obviously revoked by Otto I. before 946 (?).⁶⁵ Conrad III. conceded the right of accepting free, half-free farmers and censuals in the monastic ministeriality to Abbot Wibald in 1147⁶⁶ and exempted Corvey from militia and servitium for king and empire in consideration of the empire's honour (*honor regni*).⁶⁷

Its unique – or according to Wibald eternal⁶⁸ – *libertas*, which served as a model and obligatory standard for other churches of the empire, including Herford,⁶⁹ Helmarshausen⁷⁰ or Kemnade⁷¹ was repeatedly demonstrated by the abbot and monastery of Corvey in a public and effective way. And its particular closeness to the king was sustainably proven by means of the continuous support of the king's and the empire's interests to an extent which exceeded by far the duties included in the *servitium regis*.⁷² This and its high reputation among the rulers were used many times to take influence on the contents of the sovereign diplomas. Friedrich Barbarossa, using particular formulations of Abbot Wibald, informed the addressees of his mandates in the title conflict between Corvey and Osnabrück in 1156/57 that Corvey belonged to such churches which were specifically – *specialiter* – under the imperial power.⁷³ And towards abbot, monastery and the vassals of Corvey, Friedrich admitted after 1160 that he did not only want to keep the honor of their – and our – church but increase it.⁷⁴

To what extent the political legal concepts and standards such as *honor* and *libertas* had an influence on the self-conception and identity of the abbot and monastery of Corvey and determined the same turns out particularly in times of conflict and crisis. Here we will focus on two cases in which the existence of the *honor* and *libertas* of Corvey was threatened.

When King Henry IV. pursued a new strategy on the sovereign control of Saxony in 1065 he bought himself the unalterable neutrality of important dukes by means of transferring ten imperial churches⁷⁵. With Lorsch and Corvey, he conferred even two of the most reputable imperial churches to Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen, his closest clerical consultant and confidant.⁷⁶ The monastery of Corvey, completely taken by surprise by the measures of the king,⁷⁷ owed the quick recovery of the reputation and dignity of Corvey to the massive, however, not unselfish commitment of its bailiff, Duke Ottos of Norheim.⁷⁸ The corresponding restitution charter of Henry IV. from 5 June 1066 – *hec libertatis nostra regalis tradicio ac confirmacio* – confirmed the renewed *libertas* of Corvey on the request of Abbot Sarachos, including the impressive addition which primarily forbade all future kings to transfer the ownership of Corvey property or to alienate the same.⁷⁹ Hermann of Salm, the royal opponent of the Salier since 1081 and supporter of reforms, interpreted the legal status of Corvey in a document of 1082 as *plenissima libertas* which included the general interdiction to alienate the monastery itself for all of his royal successors.⁸⁰

In addition to the *libertas* by imperial law, the political legal identity and the monastic self-conception of the monastery of Corvey was to a large extent based on its canonical exemption which was maintained and enacted publicly well into the 13th century. The abbots and the monastery had popes certify and confirm again and again the liberation of Corvey from the control of the bishop of Paderborn with regard to teaching, supervision and jurisdiction, which was for the time decreed and sanctioned by deed by Archbishop Liutbert at the council of Mainz in 888⁸¹, between 981⁸² and 1203⁸³. In cases of

doubt, the abbots of Corvey provided public evidence of their exempted position as is documented by a significant incident in 1191.⁸⁴ Abbot Widekind writes in a letter to the monastery that he received the ordination to become an abbot by Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg only after the exemption privileges of Corvey had been read in public and its *libertas* had been confirmed by all bishops present.⁸⁵

The bishops of Paderborn tried everything to weaken or even eliminate the exempted position of its temporarily overpowering clerical rival.⁸⁶ The first successful attempt to strengthen the position of the bishops at the expense of the monastery was typically made by King Henry II. His privilege for Corvey from 24 August 1002 did not only refuse the monastery the free selection of abbots, a prerogative which had been often certified since 823, but rather dictated for the first time service and lodging (*servitium et mansionatica*) which had to be offered to the bishops during their annual visits.⁸⁷ What that meant to church practice was experienced by the monastery for the first time in 1014. When Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn tried to claim his episcopal rights during a first visit to the monastery a scandal arose which ended with the eviction of the bishop⁸⁸. Emperor Henry II. responded with a powerful interference (*potestative mutavit*) in the monastic constitution, which culminated in the radical change of the monastic way of life practiced so far and the nomination of a new abbot from the reform monastery of Lorsch with its Gorzian characteristics.⁸⁹

The monastery continued to maintain its exempted status during the entire 11th and early 12th century - independent of the wording in the following royal privileges which time and again certified the Episcopal right of lodging and certain services during the visits.⁹⁰

The final transition to religious reform thinking took place when Corvey adopted the Hirsauer habits in 1090.⁹¹ Much more important was, however, that the transition offered the monastery the chance to take a new position in relation to the local bishop. With a deliberate renunciation of the draft (and intention) of Abbot Wilhelm of Hirsau, the version of the Hirsau habits used in Corvey dictated - after the canonic election by the friars - the self-investiture of the new abbot in the future.⁹² This symbolised the appointment of the abbot and confirmation in office under private law by the respective patron of the monastery. The legally relevant participation in the appointment of the bishop of the diocese was therefore not only limited to the consecration, he rather lost his right of interference and control in a central sector of the monastic constitution.⁹³

The new confirmation of the exemption of Corvey by the Pope which was finally achieved by abbot Wibald in 1148 (?) or 1152 did not last very long.⁹⁴ The massive loss of the royal protective functions under Emperor Friedrich II.⁹⁵ and the high indebtedness of the monastery⁹⁶ urged the abbots of Corvey to finally subject themselves to the protectorate (*tuitio*) and therefore the supervision of the archbishops of Cologne in August 1230⁹⁷ - including

all far-reaching consequences with regard to the maintenance of the own status and an independent policy.

III.

What added to the distinct *religious profile* of Corvey abbey as a spiritual community and far-reaching cultural site? I will discuss this question in my last chapter. The religious identity of Corvey was fed from three sources: its special religious form of life, its cultivation of memoria and memorial culture⁹⁸ and from the cult of Vitus, the patron saint.

In the course of the 9th century, a form of life developed in the oldest Saxon monastery which was committed to the same traditions, values and standards as were practised in such important Carolingian imperial convents such as Corbie, Fulda or Reichenau.⁹⁹ Prayer, the cultivation of knowledge and sciences as well as the exercise of feudal tasks characterised the daily routine of the monks. How strong this *vita religiosa* appealed to the Saxon nobility is verified by its generous commodities donations and the almost constantly high number of people joining the abbey until the middle of the 11th century.¹⁰⁰

The aristocratic convent of Corvey was able to defend its rather traditional monastic life¹⁰¹ which was based on *instituta patrum* such as the Rule of Benedict for a long time towards all innovations which were intended mainly by the Ottonian kings for reasons of reform.¹⁰² Emperor Henry II. was the first who after several attempts and the use of violence managed to introduce the new Gorzian Order, which was devoted to the King, in Corvey in 1015.¹⁰³ The monks who saw themselves completely at the mercy of the King (*traditi sunt fratres nostri Heinrico*)¹⁰⁴ – as the annalist of Corvey had phrased it already in 1009 – had a hard time accepting the massive interferences in the constitution of their monastery.¹⁰⁵

While the change of monastic life was really forced on the convent from outside in 1015, the introduction of the Hirsauer Order came from within – obviously upon the free will and the common decision of the abbot and the monastery.¹⁰⁶

The introduction of a new communal form of life was obviously associated with a second, incomparably significant event which put the religious identity of the monastery on a completely new basis: the ingeniously staged removal of the relics of St. Vitus which was propagated by annalists of Corvey as „rediscovery” on 9 July 1091.¹⁰⁷ This symbolic act resulted in a fundamental change with regard to the function and importance of the patron saint of Corvey. The former patron of the Saxon tribe and Ottonian empire¹⁰⁸, the heavenly apologist and personal saint of King Henry I.,¹⁰⁹ now – at the end of the 11th century – became the personal patron of the convent and highest representative of the monastery and was raised to the legal authority and corporate community medium of Corvey.

At first, the deep change which manifested itself in the older documents of the Corvey abbots and which not entirely coincidental start shortly before 1100¹¹⁰. Abbot Erkenbert (1107–1128) justified several of his documental orders between 1106 and 1120 by referring expressly to the protective and penal power of St. Vitus¹¹¹. On the basis of deliberate imitation of formal elements of the King's deed the legal contents of the deed were certified by means of a signum line – *Signum sancti Viti martyris* – and the monogram composed of the letters of the name Vitus¹¹². The position which was actually reserved to the royal auctoritas was now taken by the authority of the extremely holy Vitus who was addressed by the abbot and the convent as „our Lord” or „our patron”.¹¹³

The seven abbot's deeds of Corvey recorded only in a cartulary from the period until 1126¹¹⁴ had a second legal means of certification included in the seal¹¹⁵. The early Corvey seals showed the potent image of the saint which radiated its power and expressed the same for the whole world to see.¹¹⁶ The more recent abbot and convents seals of the 13th century include Vitus whose physical as well as spiritual presence is praised in an abbot's deed in Corvey abbey from;¹¹⁷ he is holding a palm in the right and a book in the left hand.¹¹⁸

The representations on the older monastic seals markedly correspond to the face design of the Corvey penny on which the patron saint appears as +S.VITVS+MARTYR also for the first time shortly before 1100.¹¹⁹ The intensive use of both media, seal and coin, poignantly shows how sustainably abbot and convent deduced their religious identity from the patron saint of their monastery¹²⁰. We have to interpret the seal and the coins as powerful means of creating an identity and self-assurance. They obviously produced a new feeling of community in the Corvey monastery of the 12th /13th century. This was also adopted by Wibald, the well-travelled new abbot from Lorraine, since 1146. He identified himself with the saint if he presented himself as the representative and assistant of his special patron saint.¹²¹

The abbot and the monastery had their lay servants take part in the communal effect and religious radiance of the patron saint. The abbots Markwart and Erkenbert founded four independent lay congregations of Vitus in Corvey, Goslar and two other places between 1081 and 1128¹²² which fraternized with the monastic community. The cohesion and community awareness were strengthened through regular gatherings and the annual feeding of the poor which was connected with a commemoration of the dead on the feast day of St. Vitus (sc. 15 June) which was their main task¹²³.

IV.

The question of the identity of the monastery of Corvey, i.e. the self-conception and community feeling provided us with a different and innovative access to the development of Corvey between the 9th and 13th centuries. Our search for ideas, values and standards which characterized and constituted

the profile of a religious community such as Corvey had to start in three different areas.

- 1) The historiographic works prepared in Corvey between the 9th and 12th centuries – such as the *Translatio sancti Viti*, the *History of the Saxons* by Widukind and the additions made in Corvey related to Thietmar of Merseburg – produce a lot of references between Corvey and Saxony and the Saxon population. Both are significant references with regard to the spatial and social location of the monastery and which gained considerable importance primarily in times of deep changes. The Saxon roots assumed a completely new quality and intensity throughout Saxony through the relocation of the relics of St. Vitus and his being raised to a saint.
- 2) Concepts and standards such as honor, the legally established *libertas* and the canonic exemption take a decisive influence on the political legal identity of the monastery of Corvey. The high rank of Corvey within the imperial structure, its significant prerogatives and its unique legal status were to be protected against all royal and episcopal attacks, to be increased authoritatively and to be represented time and again to the outside
- 3) With the Roman martyr Vitus, the monastery of Corvey possesses a potent and multi-functional saint. Vitus was raised to the personal patron saint of the convent and the highest representative of the monastery, the legal authority and corporate symbol of the community in Corvey from the 11th century. Not only does the convent distinguish itself markedly from other competitive churches through its representations on the own seal and face designs¹²⁴ but it expressed its own self-conception and adopted the identity-establishing function of its patron saint. It was exactly this profiled self-consciousness of the convent of Corvey which „characterized the community of (its) monks and held them together beyond the period of the High Middle Ages”.¹²⁵

Endnotes

1 The lecture version from 10 December 2010 remained largely unchanged and was completed by the necessary list of sources and notes.

In order to relief the notes structure we will use the following abbreviations: BM² = Johann Friedrich Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii I: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern 751–918*. According to Johann Friedrich Böhmer revised by Engelbert Mühlbacher and Johann Lechner. Innsbruck 1908; reprint incl. Additions by Carlrichard Brühl and Hans H. Kaminisky. Hildesheim 1966; Böhmer-Struve = Johann Friedrich Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii III. Salisches Haus: 1024–1125*. Second part: 1056 (1050) – 1125. Third section: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich IV. 1056 (1050) – 1106. 2nd delivery: 1065–1075, revised by Tilman Struve with the cooperation of Gerhard Lubich and Dirk Jäckel. Köln 2010; Erhard I/II = *Regesta Historiae Westfaliae accedit Codex diplomaticus*. Die Quellen der Geschichte Westfalens in chronologisch geordneten Nachweisen und Auszügen, begleitet von einem Urkundenbuche, revised and edited by Heinrich August Erhard. Vol. I: Von den ältesten Nachrichten bis zum Jahre 1125. Münster 1847, Vol. II: Vom Jahre 1126 bis 1220. Münster 1851; Germ. Pont. V/1 = *Germania Pontificia Vol. X/1: Provincia Maguntinensis. Pars V: Dioceses Patherbrunnensis et Verdensis, conguessit Hermannus Jakobs*. Göttingae 2003; JE/JL = *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum 1198*, revised by Philipp Jaffé. 2nd edition revised by Samuel Löwenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner and Paul Ewald. Leipzig 1885–1888; MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; MGH SS rer. Germ. = *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*; Wilmans I = Roger Wilmans: *Die Kaiserurkunden der Provinz Westfalen 777–1313*, kritisch, topographisch und historisch, nebst anderweitigen Documenten und Excursen. Vol. I: Die Urkunden des karolingischen Zeitalters 777–900. Münster 1867; Wilmans II = Roger Wilmans: *Die Kaiserurkunden der Provinz Westfalen 777–1313*. Vol. II: Die Urkunden der Jahre 901–1224. Part 1: Die Texte, revised by Friedrich Philippi. Münster 1881; WUB IV/1 = *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch Vol. IV: Die Urkunden des Bisthums Paderborn vom Jahr 1201–1300*. 1st section: Die Urkunden der Jahre 1201–1240, revised by Roger Wilmans. Münster 1874; WUB IV/2 = *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch Vol. IV: Die Urkunden des Bisthums Paderborn vom Jahr 1201–1300*. 2nd section: Die Urkunden der Jahre 1241–1250, revised by Roger Wilmans. Münster 1880; WUB IV/3 = *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch Vol. IV: Die Urkunden des Bisthums Paderborn vom Jahr 1201–1300*. 3rd section: Die Urkunden der Jahre 1251–1300, revised by Heinrich Finke. Münster 1894; WUB V/1 = *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch Vol. V: Die Papsturkunden Westfalens bis zum Jahre 1378*, part 1: Die Papsturkunden Westfalens bis zum Jahre 1304, revised by Heinrich Finke. Münster 1888; WUB Add. = *Westfälisches Urkundenbuch Fortsetzung von Erhard's Regesta Historiae Westfaliae. Additamenta zum Westfälischen Urkundenbuche*, revised by Roger Wilmans. Münster 1877.

2 Hartmut Hoffmann, *Mönchskönig und rex idiota*. Studien zur Kirchenpolitik Heinrichs II. und Konrads II. (MGH Studien und Texte 8), Hannover 1993, p. 151f. and 173–175; Wilhelm Stüwer: *Corvey*. In: *Benediktinerklöster in Nordrhein-Westfalen (Germania Benedictina 8)*. St. Ottilien 1980, p. 236–293, here p. 253.

3 Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung (Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon), ed. Robert Holtzmann (MGH SS rer. Germ., Nova Series 9), Berlin 1935, Liber VII, chap. 75, p. 491 l. 35 – 493 l. 3; *In hoc cenobio primo monastica disciplina in Saxonia floruit et postmodum pluribus in locis eius patrie, quorum omnium Corbeia non immerito caput et mater et quodammodo totius patrie decus cum suo Vito habetur: qui ex quo hanc venit in patriam, ex eo Saxonia in Teutonico regno principatur. Quia eius precibus apud Deum et meritis in omnibus, ut speramus, adiuvatur*.

4 The beginnings of Corvey, see in „Corveyer Thietmarinterpolationen“ Karl Heinrich Krüger: *Studien zur Corveyer Gründungsüberlieferung* (Publication of the Historische Kommission für Westfalen X; *Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung 9*). Münster 2001, p. 219–234, Corvey „as ‚main monastery‘ and Vitus as guarantor of Saxon supremacy“, see p. 233f.

5 Jürgen Straub: *Personale und kollektive Identität. Zur Analyse eines theoretischen Begriffs*. In: *Identitäten*, ed. Aleida Assmann and Heidrun Friese (Erinnerung, Geschichte, Identität 3). Frankfurt/Main 1999, p. 73–104; Idem.: *Identität*. In: *Handbuch der Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. Friedrich Jaeger and Burkhard Lieblich, Vol. 1: *Grundlagen und Schlüsselbegriffe*, Stuttgart 2004, S. 277–303, collective identity see p. 290–300; Lutz Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität. Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur*. Reinbek near Hamburg 2000.

6 Wolfgang Eggert: *Das Wir-Gefühl bei fränkischen und deutschen Geschichtsschreibern bis zum Investiturstreit*. In: idem., Barbara Pätzold (editor): *Wir-Gefühl und regnum Saxonum bei frühmittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibern*. Wien 1984, p. 13–179, esp. p. 15–19, 161f. and 167f.; Friedhelm Biermann: *Der Weserraum im hohen und späten Mittelalter. Adelsherrschaften zwischen welfischer Hausmacht und geistlichem Territorium*. (Publication of Institut für Historische Landesforschung der Universität Göttingen 49). Bielefeld 2007, p. 44–50: „Erfolgreiche Ottonen wecken sächsisches Selbstverständnis und Wir-Gefühl“.

7 Volker Scior: *Das Eigene und das Fremde. Identität und Fremdheit in den Chroniken Adams von Bremen, Helmholds von Bosau und Arnolds von Lübeck (Orbis mediaevalis. Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters 4)*. Berlin 2002, p. 23–27; Jan Stenger: *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike. Pagane Autoren und ihr Unbehagen an der eigenen Zeit (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 97)*. Berlin 2009, p. 21f.

8 Franz-Josef Arlinghaus: *Konstruktionen von Identität mittelalterlicher Korporationen – rechtliche und kulturelle Aspekte*. In: Markus Späth (editor): *Die Bildlichkeit korporativer Siegel im Mittelalter. Kunstgeschichte und Geschichte im Gespräch (Sensus. Studien zur mittelalterlichen Kunst 1)*. Köln 2009, p. 33–46, here p. 45.

9 Matthias Becher: *Rex, Dux und Gens. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des sächsischen Herzogtums im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert (Historische Studien 444)*. Husum 1996, p. 26–50 and 110–194; Joachim Ehlers: *Das früh- und hochmittelalterliche Sachsen als historische Landschaft*. In: *Papstgeschichte und Landesgeschichte. Festschrift für Hermann Jakobs' 65th birthday*, ed. Joachim Dahlhaus and Armin Köhne (supplement to *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 39*). Köln 1995, p. 17–36, esp. p. 23f. and 29f.; Josef Semmler: *Francia Saxonica oder Die ostfränkische Reichsteilung von 865/76 und die Folgen*. In: *Deutsches Archiv 46*, 1990, p. 337–374, esp. p. 338–343; the „norm-establishing significance of Corvey for Saxony“, see Ernst Schu-

bert: *Geschichte Niedersachsens vom 9. bis zum ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert*. In: *Geschichte Niedersachsens*, begründet von Hans Patze, Vol. 2, part 1: *Politik, Verfassung, Wirtschaft vom 9. bis zum ausgehenden 15. Jahrhundert* (Publications of Historische Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen XXXVI), ed. Ernst Schubert. Hannover 1997, p. 3–904, here p. 46–56.

10 Hans-Georg Stephan: *Studien zur Siedlungsentwicklung und -struktur von Stadt und Reichskloster Corvey (800–1670)*. Eine Gesamtdarstellung auf der Grundlage archäologischer und historischer Quellen. (Göttinger Schriften zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 26/1–3). 3 Vols. Neumünster 2000, Vol. 1, p. 19–23, 128–131 and 139–142; idem.: *Die Reichsabtei Corvey – Geschichte und Archäologie*. In: *Höxter. Geschichte einer westfälischen Stadt*, Vol. 1: *Höxter und Corvey im Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. Andreas König et al. On behalf of the city of Höxter, Hannover 2003, p. 80–153; here p. 80–83, 89f., 97–102; Gerd Althoff: *Der Corveyer Konvent im Kontakt mit weltlichen und geistlichen Herrschaftsträgern des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Der Liber vitae der Abtei Corvey*, ed. Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, Vol. 2: *Studien zur Corveyer Gedenküberlieferung und zur Erschließung des Liber vitae* (Publication of Historische Kommission für Westfalen 40; *Westfälische Gedenkbücher und Nekrologien 2/2*). Wiesbaden 1989, p. 29–38, esp. p. 29–33; Klemens Honselmann: *Initia Corbeiae. Der Erlebnisbericht der Gründung Corveys eines aus dem Sollingkloster Hetha gekommenen Mönchs von 822*. In: *Archiv für Diplomatik 36*, 1990, p. 1–9. Abbot Bovo I (879–890) used the sovereign visit to Corvey in 889 in order to stage its monastery as a memorial foundation „for the entire Carolingian dynasty“, according to Karl Heinrich Krüger: *Die älteren Sachsen als Franken. Zum Besuch des Kaisers Arnolf 889 im Kloster Corvey*. In: *Westfälische Zeitschrift 151/152*, 2001/2002, p. 225–244.

11 *Translatio sancti Viti martyris*. Übertragung des hl. Märtyrers Vitus. Revised and translated by Irene Schmale-Ott (Publication of Historische Kommission für Westfalen XLI: *Fontes minores 1*). Münster 1979, chap. 4, p. 44: *ex nobilissimo Francorum atque Saxonum genere; the origin of abbot Warin from the Frankish-Saxon noble family of the Ekbertiner-Cobbonen or Billinge*, see Reinhard Wenskus: *Sächsischer Stammesadel und fränkischer Reichsadel* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, third series 93). Göttingen 1976, p. 251f. and 284–286; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 83; Karl Heinrich Krüger: *Zur Nachfolgeregelung von 826 in den Klöstern Corbie und Corvey*. In: *Tradition als historische Kraft. Interdisziplinäre Forschungen zur Geschichte des früheren Mittelalters*, ed. Norbert Kamp and Joachim Wollasch, Berlin 1982, p. 181–196, here p. 182–185 and 188–195; Brigitte Kasten: *Adalhard von Corbie. Die Biographie eines karolingischen Politikers und Klostervorstehers (Studia humaniora 3)*, Düsseldorf 1986, p. 176–182 and 190–192.

12 Schmale-Ott: *Translatio sancti Viti* (wie Anm. 11), chap. 3, p. 40: *Augebatur tamen quotidie numerus monachorum ex nobilissimo Saxonum genere (...)*. A unique source for the determination of the regional origin of the Corvey monks from Saxony are the preserved entry lists of the convent from 9th century and early 12th century; Klemens Honselmann (editor): *Die alten Mönchslisten und die Traditionen von Corvey*. Part 1 (Publication of Historische Kommission für Westfalen X; *Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung 6*). Paderborn 1982, p. 22–29 for the period of 822–877; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 88, rightly urges a critical examination of the regional and social relations of the Corvey convent by means of

analysis of the name lists in combination with the donors and witnesses mentioned in the traditions.

13 They provide the oldest written traditions to the monastery from the period between 822 and 1037, Honselmann: *Mönchslisten* (see note 12), p. 83–166, and the list of benefactors in *Liber vitae* from about 1158, Honselmann, p. 167–179. In general see Wolfgang Metz: *Corveyer Studien. Die älteren Traditionen und ihre Personen. Part 1.* In: *Archiv für Diplomatik* 34, 1998, p. 157–230; idem.: *Corveyer Studien. Die jüngeren Traditionen und das Wohltäterverzeichnis. Part 2.* In: *ibidem* 35, 1989, p. 255–296; Stephan, *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 82, counts about 400 private property donations to Corvey in approx. 300 places between 822 and 875.

14 MGH *Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger, Vol. 1: Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren*, ed. Paul Kehr, Berlin 1932–1934, No. 26 (840), p. 32 l. 15: *traditae fuerant (sc. res) infra fines regni Saxoniae*; using the foundation charter of Louis the Pious of 823, ed. Wilmans I, No. 7, p. 19: *traditae fuerint infra ipsos supradictae Saxoniae fines*; also MGH *DD LdD* 112 (844–850), p. 262 l. 2: *ad monasterium in Saxonia situm Corbeia vocabulo*; and 132 (870), p. 184 l. 15: *ad monasterium situm in Saxonia, quod nuncupatur Noua Corbeia*; Krüger, *Studien* (see note 4), p. 95 and 235.

15 The fundamental study of Krüger, *Studien* (see note 4), p. 21–293, subsumes here the „foundation memoria in the King's Deeds of Corvey of the 9th century“, the tradition of the main monastery of Corbie (sc. the abbots vitae of Paschasius Radbertus), the relocation of sancti Viti, the Corvey Easter annals, the History of the Saxons by Widukind of Corvey as well as the foundation chronicle of the 12th century.

16 Schmale-Ott: *Translatio sancti Viti* (see note 11), p. 20–27; Krüger, *Studien* (see note 4), p. 84–88, in contrast pleads for a period of writing between 842 and „the end of the 60s of the 9th century“ (88); finally for further information see Hedwig Röckelein: *Reliquientranslationen nach Sachsen im 9. Jahrhundert. Über Kommunikation, Mobilität und Öffentlichkeit im Frühmittelalter* (Supplement of *Francia* 48). Stuttgart 2002, p. 100–108, p. 102 for dating after 845.

17 Schmale-Ott: *Translatio sancti Viti* (see note 11), chap. 5, p. 48, also chap. 4, p. 46: abbot and convent of Corvey had expressed the wish to have a saint „to increase the Christian cult“ already around 830/31, and p. 14; Röckelein: *Reliquientranslationen* (see note 16), p. 174f.

18 Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 93; the function, significance and effect of St. Vitus in Saxony, see also Hedwig Röckelein: *Der heilige Vitus. Die Erfolgsgeschichte eines Importheiligen*. In: „*Heiliges Westfalen*“. Heilige, Reliquien, Wallfahrt und Wunder im Mittelalter, ed. Gabriela Signori (Religion in der Geschichte. Kirche, Kultur und Gesellschaft 11). Bielefeld 2003, p. 19–29 and 242–244, esp. p. 24f.

19 Schmale-Ott: *Translatio sancti Viti* (see note 11), chap. 27, p. 60; course of the journey and their stations in detail, see Röckelein: *Reliquientranslationen* (see note 16), p. 266–280, the last stage from Soest, p. 277–280.

20 Schmale-Ott: *Translatio sancti Viti* (see note 11), chap. 27, p. 62: *qui (sc. noble men and women) ex omni regno Saxonum propter religionem et reverentiam beatissimi martyris Viti (...) convenerunt*; Röckelein: *Reliquientranslationen* (see note 16), p. 279f., 339f., 358 and 364.

21 The Saxon nobility as addressees of the „*Vitus cult*,

its virtues and miracles“, see Röckelein: *Reliquientranslationen* (see note 16), p. 177, 339 and 364.

22 In this way or maybe by the own hand of Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronik* (see note 3) *liber VI*, chap. 66, p. 357 l. 17f.: (...) *pueri (sc. Vitus) Saxonie patroni, qui in Nova Corbeia requiescit*; Thietmar's relationship with St. Hoffmann: *Mönchskönig* (see note 2), p. 165f. and 173f.

23 Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 93.

24 *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei* (*Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri III*), ed. Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann (MGH *SS* rer. Germ. 60). Berlin 1935, *Liber I*, chap. 33, p. 46 l. 9–15; and chap. 34, p. 48 l. 6–19; Karl Heinrich Krüger: *Dionysius und Vitus als frühottonische Königsheilige. Zu Widukind 1, 33*. In: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 8, 1974, p. 131–154, here p. 134–139 u. 152–154.

Widukind and his historiographic work, also see Klaus Naß: *Widukind von Corvey*. In: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Author's encyclopaedia*, created by Wolfgang Stammer, continued by Karl Langosch. Second revised edition, ed. Burghart Wachinger. Vol. 10, Berlin 21999, Sp. 1000–1006, incl. further information.

25 *Widukind von Korvei, Sachsengeschichte* (see note 24) I, chap. 34, p. 48, l. 6–13; Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 167, 170 (quote) and 176–178; Matthias Becher: *Vitus von Corvey und Mauritius von Magdeburg: Zwei sächsische Heilige in Konkurrenz*. In: *Westfälische Zeitschrift* 147, 1997, p. 235–249, p. 241–243.

26 *Widukind von Korvei, Sachsengeschichte* (see note 24) I, chap. 34, p. 48 l. 13–15: *Colito itaque tantum patronum, quo adveniente Saxoniam ex serva facta est libera et ex tributaria multarum gentium domina*. Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 162 and 170; Althoff: *Corveyer Konvent* (see note 10), p. 37f.

27 *Widukind von Korvei, Sachsengeschichte* (see note 24), III, chap. 2, p. 106 l. 2–4: *Hic (sc. Abt. Bovio III.) erat vir sapiens ac clarus, a Deo nobis ostensus, non concessus; liber II*, chap. 35, p. 95 l. 2; Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 176: „In his work he presents most of all the group memory of the leading Saxons“. The community feeling in Widukind, generally see Eggert: *Wir-Gefühl* (see note 6), p. 80–87, see passage on p. 85.

28 *Widukind von Korvei, Sachsengeschichte* (see note 24) I, chap. 34, p. 48 l. 15–19: *Neque enim talis ac tantum summi Dei amicus tui gratia (sc. Mathilde) indiget, nos vero famuli ipsius indigemus. Unde ut eum possis habere intercessorem apud caelestem imperatorem, habeamus te advocatum apud terrenum regem, tuum scilicet patrem (sc. Otto I.) atque fratrem (sc. Otto II.)*. Eggert: *Wir-Gefühl* (see note 6), p. 84f.

29 *Die Corveyer Annalen. Text revision and comments* by Joseph Prinz (Publications of Historische Kommission für Westfalen X; *Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung* 7). Münster 1982, p. 6–8; Krüger: *Studien* (see note 4), p. 125–132, 139–144 and 154f.

30 Prinz: *Corveyer Annalen* (see note 29) ad a. 1036, p. 126: *et mortalitas in nostro monasterio facta*; ad a. 1059, p. 130.

31 Prinz, *Corveyer Annalen* (see note 29) ad a. 929, p. 112; ad a. 1009, p. 122: *Traditi sunt fratres nostri Heinricho*; ad a. 1045, p. 128; see Eggert: *Wir-Gefühl* (see note 6), p. 79 incl. annotation 441.

32 Eckhard Freise: *Corvey im hochmittelalterlichen*

Reformmönchtum. In: Schmid, Wollasch (editor): *Liber vitae* (see note 10), p. 87–106, here p. 99: apart from Rothard (1046–1056) none of the abbots holding office came from Saxony between 1014 and 1073.

33 After (moderate?) protests by Abbot Sarachos and Duke Otto of Norheim, the Corvey bailiff, Henry IV. restituted the temporarily suspended libertas of Corvey as imperial abbey in June 1066: MGH *Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* Vol. 6: *Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV.*, revised by Dietrich von Gladiss and Alfred Gawlik, Hannover 1941–1978, No. 179, p. 234 l. 40f.: (...) *illud sanctum locum donantes libertate*; Hans Heinrich Kaminsky: *Studien zur Reichsabtei Corvey in der Salierzeit* (Publications of Historische Kommission für Westfalen X; *Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung* 4). Köln 1972, p. 75–78; now Hubertus Seibert: *Geld, Gehorsam, Gerechtigkeit, Gebet. Heinrich IV. und die Mönche*. In: Heinrich IV., ed. Gerd Althoff (Vorträge und Forschungen 69). Ostfildern 2009, p. 269–330, esp. p. 308–310 and 313f.; Böhmer-Struve Nr. 445; see also on p. 222 incl. annotations 75–78.

34 That Corvey was devoted to the King in the late Ottonian-Salier period between 1066/73 is manifested by means of 18 witnessed and 92 probable stays of the King: see Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 80–82; John W. Bernhardt: *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought, fourth series 21). Cambridge 1993, p. 195–203; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 83f.

35 Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 81–94; Biermann: *Weserraum* (see note 6), p. 52f. The loss of the profitable title right of Osnabrück which King Henry IV. had bestowed to bishop Benno of Osnabrück by means of a judgement by an episcopal synodal court, MGH *DD H IV*. 303 (1078), 309 and 310 (1079), deepened the anti-royal attitude of the convent in the following years: Kaminsky: *Studien*, p. 85f. and 158; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 145; Seibert: *Geld* (see note 33), p. 302f., each incl. further information.

36 Lampert von Hersfeld, *Annales* ad a. 1073, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (MGH *SS* rer. Germ. 38). Berlin 1894, p. 162, l. 2–8; Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 81; Böhmer-Struve No. 655, p. 139 incl. further information.

37 Lampert von Hersfeld, *Annales* (see note 36) ad a. 1074, p. 173 l. 18–30; Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 82; Böhmer-Struve No. 677, p. 148.

38 Letter of an unknown archdeacon of Trier to Archbishop Bruno of Lauffen, quoted according to Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 120: (...) in Corveia, quo in loco frequentem Saxoniam proceres conventum habituri sunt.

39 The Princely Council is not mentioned in the Corvey annals, Prinz, *Corveyer Annalen* (see note 29), p. 58 and 134f.; Johann Friedrich Böhmer: *Regesta Imperii IV: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Lothar III. und Konrad III. Part 1: Lothar III. 1125 (1075)–1137*, revise by Wolfgang Petke. Köln 1994, p. 7f.

40 Klaus Nass (editor): *Die Reichschronik des Annalista Saxo* ad a. 1115 (MGH *Scriptores* 37). Hannover 2006, p. 552, l. 6–8; Böhmer-Petke, *Regesten* (see note 39), No. 41; Kaminsky: *Studien* (see note 33), p. 120.

41 The last significant gathering of the dukes in Corvey took place in the middle of May 1129; there the King and Lothar III. reconciled with Archbishop Friedrich of Cologne, *Annalista Saxo, Reichschronik* (see note 40) ad a. 1129, p. 591 l. 10f.; Böhmer-Petke: *Regesten* (see note 39), No. 189.

42 In general see Bernd Schneidmüller: *Regionale*

Identität und soziale Gruppen im deutschen Mittelalter. Zur Einführung. In: Regionale Identität und soziale Gruppen im deutschen Mittelalter, ed. Peter Moraw (Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung supplement 14). Berlin 1992, p. 9–13.

43 Freya Stephan-Kühn: Wibald als Abt von Stablo und Corvey und im Dienste Konrads III. Köln 1973, p. 56–81, 311–362 and 390–395; Franz-Josef Jakobi: Wibald von Stablo und Corvey (1098–1158). Benediktinischer Abt in der frühen Stauferzeit (Publication of Historische Kommission für Westfalen X; Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung 5). Münster 1979, p. 105–188; Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 85f. Scientific investigations with regard to the history of Corvey after the death of abbot Wibald († 1158) have recently not been carried out so that one has to refer to the outdated article of Heinrich Sindern: Kloster Corvey. Beitrag zur inneren und äußeren Geschichte des Klosters von 1160–1255. Münster 1939.

44 Stüwer: Corvey (see note 2), p. 258–260; Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 86f.; *ibidem.*: Grundzüge der Entwicklung Corveys vom Markt zur Stadt vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert. In: König: Höxter (see note 10), p. 281–305, esp. p. 287 and 301–304; *vgl.* also p. 223 incl. annotation 95–97.

45 Wilmans I, No. 7, p. 18–21; BM² No. 779; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 18f.

46 Wilmans II, No. 257, p. 359f.

47 A complete critical overview of the provable relationships of Corvey to the Roman Church until 1196 is now offered by Germ. Pont. V/1, No. *1–170, p. 79–170.

48 JE 2947 (872, Oct. 15), ed. Erhard I, No. 19, p. 23; Germ. Pont. V/1, No. 8, S. 81f. incl. Relevant literature.

49 WUB V/1, No. 190 (1203, Dec. 12), p. 87; re-edited: Die Register Innocenz' III. Vol. 6, 6. Pontifikatsjahr, 1203/1204. Texte und Indizes, revised by Otmar Hageneder et al. (Publications of the Historisches Institut with Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rome Department II. Sources, Series 1, Vol. 6). Vienna 1995, No. 185 (187), p. 308 incl. further information.

50 Der Codex Eberhardi des Klosters Fulda, ed. Heinrich Meyer zu Ermgassen. Vol. 1 (Publications of Historische Kommission für Hessen 58). Marburg 1995, p. 3–6 (List of papal charters) and p. 112–115 (List of royal charters).

51 Rudolf Pokorny: Augiensia. Ein neu aufgefundenes Konvolut von Urkundenabschriften aus dem Handarchiv der Reichenauer Fälscher des 12. Jahrhunderts (MGH Studien und Texte 48). Hannover 2010, p. 151–173: Tabular overview of royal and papal charters for Reichenau 724–1207, comprises of 95 royal and 28 papal charters, including Deperdita and forgeries.

52 MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger. Vol. 3: Die Urkunden Arnolfs, ed. Paul Kehr. Berlin 1940, No. 3 (887, Dec. 11), p. 7 l. 8–10: ut utrumque cenobium (sc. Herford and Corvey) cum omnibus ad ea pertinentibus plenissime immunitatis securitate fruatur. Since its founding in 823, Corvey has possessed talem immunitatem (...), qualem omnes ecclesiae in Frantia habent, Wilmans I, No. 8, S. 23.

53 Conferred by Louis the Pious for the first time on 27 July 823, Wilmans I, No. 8, p. 22–24, here p. 23: nostra tuitione et defensione constitueremus; BM² No. 780.

54 This significant prerogative was conferred to the

convent already with its founding charter by Louis the Pious for the first time on 27 July 823, Wilmans I, No. 7, p. 20; BM² No. 779.

55 The establishing of a market in Corvey and the grant of minting in 833 was justified by Louis the Pious on the basis that the region was lacking a trading centre: Wilmans I, No. 13 (833, June 1), p. 40: Insuper etiam, quia locum mercationis ipsa regio indigebat, monetam nostrae auctoritatis publicam ultra ibi semper inesse Christo militantibus proficuum statuimus. BM² No. 922; Wolfgang Metz: Corveyer Studien. Part III. In: Archiv für Diplomatik 36, 1990, p. 11–43, esp. p. 28–30; Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 82.

56 The Corvey market in Höxter was mentioned for the first time in 1115, Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), U. 5 (1115 VI 11), p. 250: ego Erkenbertus gratia dei abbas (sc. Abbot Erkenbert of Corvey), sed nihil utilitatis considerans esse in foro, quod adiacet ponti in Hugseli (...). Andreas König, Holger Rabe, Gerhard Streich: Der Brückenmarkt im 12. Jahrhundert. In: König (editor): Höxter (see note 10), p. 154–169, esp. p. 154–161.

57 King Louis the Child conferred the market rights to Corvey in 900 in Horhusen (today city of Marsberg), MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger Vol. 4: Die Urkunden Zwentibolds und Ludwigs des Kindes, ed. Theodor Schieffer. Berlin 1960, No. 6 (900, Oct. 12), p. 103 l. 20–22: in villa Horohusun nuncupata publicum eis liceat habere mercatum et monetam et ibi potestatem habeant accipiendi teloneum; Leopold Schütte: Die Corveyer Herrschaft über Horhusen/Marsberg. In: Marsberg – Horhusen. Stadtgeschichte aus 11 Jahrhunderten, hg. vom Marsberger Heimatbund. Marsberg 2000, p. 87–108.

58 King Otto I. gave the market ban, including customs and minting to Corvey on 30 May 946 in Meppen and put the furture market on the same level with the other trading centres in the Empire, MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 1: Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I., ed. Theodor Sickel. Berlin 1879–1884, No. 77, p. 157 l. 21–24: mercatum vero constituent (sc. Abbot and convent) publicum (sic!) in illis ubicumque abbati placuerit locis pacemque firmissimam teneant aggredientes et regredientes et ibi manentes eodem modo, sicuti ab antecessoribus nostris regibus iam pridem aliis publicis mercatorum locis concessum erat; ferner MGH D O I. 73 (945, Dec. 29): bestowal of minting and customs in Meppen for the first time.

59 King Conrad I. forbade the bishops to collect the tithe from the manors in Corvey, MGH D Ko I. 14 (913, Febr. 3), p. 14 l. 24f.: et ut a nullo episcopo de dominicalibus mansis eiusdem monasterii decimae exigantur; Metz: Corveyer Studien 3 (see note 55), p. 15.

60 MGH D O I. 27 (940, Apr. 19), p. 114 Z. 12–14: banum habeant (sc. the abbots of Corvey) super homines qui ad prefatum coenobium et ad civitatem circa illud debent constructam confugere et in ea operari; the abbot or his representative (bailliff) had the exclusive judicial power (judicialia potestas ..., quem burgban vocant) over these dependents.

61 MGH D H IV. 179 (1066, June 5), p. 234 l. 41–235 l. 2: ut nullus successorum nostrorum ipsas res, que iure ac legitime pertinere videntur, aut in beneficia dare aut alio iniuste vertere presumat; the abbot of Corvey had the unlimited power of disposition over all monastic property. Kaminsky. Studien (see note 33), p. 77.

62 Wilmans II, No. 247 (1192, Oct. 21), p. 343–345; Sindern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 15.

63 Wilmans I, No. 7, p. 21: ut licentiam habeant rectores huiusce monasterii, cum quibuslibet hominibus liberis res et mancipia commutare; No. 8, p. 24; MGH D LdD 26 (840, Dec. 10), p. 32 l. 27–29; Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 82.

64 The (slightly restricted) relief from the military service granted to Corvey by King Charles III. is based on a lost privilege of Louis the Pious, MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger Vol. 2: Die Urkunden Karls III., bearb. von Paul Kehr. Berlin 1936–1937, No. 158 (887, May 7), p. 257 l. 3f.: ut neque abbates illius loci neque homines eorum cuiuscumque conditionis in expeditionem umquam ire deberent; MGH DD Arn 3 (887, Dec. 11), p. 7 l. 12–15, and 155 (897, June 21), p. 236: King Arnulf forbade bishops, abbots and dukes as well as all great and royal office holders to force the monastic followers to go on military trips or to make any other contributions. Metz: Corveyer Studien 3 (see note 55), p. 23–25.

65 Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 26: "The relief from levy which was granted several times by the Carolingians is missing from the royal charters from 900, it was obviously not respected by the Ottonians: abbot Bovo III. took part in a campaign to France in 946".

66 MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 9: Die Urkunden Konrads III. und seines Sohnes Heinrich, revised by Friedrich Hausmann. Wien 1969, No. 181 (1147, March 19/ca. 23), p. 328 l. 1–3: sed et se ipsos (sc. Freie) in proprietatem ipsius ecclesie ad ius ministerialium tradere liceat et de infimo ordine videlicet de litis aut de censuariis facere ministeriales abbas potestatem habeat. Knut Schulz: Reichsklöster und Ministerialität. Gefälschte Dienstrechte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Ursachen und Absichten. In: Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Karl Bosl on his 80th birthday, ed. Ferdinand Seibt, Vol. 2. Munich 1988, p. 37–54, here p. 53.

67 MGH D Ko III. 182 (1147, March 19/ca. 23), p. 330 l. 3–7: Sane ad prefata duo loca (sc. the imperial monasteries of Kemnade and Fischbeck given to Corvey) neque militia neque ullum servitium nobis aut regno debebatur, et quoniam Corbeiensi monasterio tam in militia quam in servitio ad honorem regni et defensionem sancte ecclesie dignitas collata est, nos iudicio principum ad coronę nostrę augmentum, ..., manere decernimus.

The transfer of the two imperial monasteries included, however, the exemption from any kind of imperial service, but „inofficially“ abbot Wibald was obliged to pay some kind of „compensation“ to the King. This sum – and therefore the amount of the imperial service (servitium) – was finally determined at 6 Mark as part of repeated assignment of Kemnade to Corvey, see Friedrich Hausmann in his preliminary remark of the edition MGH D Ko III. 245 (1147, March 19/ca. 23 – 1151, March after 18), p. 427 (quotations) and p. 429 l. 4 – 6: ut pro augmento prefati monasterii (sc. Kemnade), quod ecclesie Corbeiensi in perpetuam possessionem tradidimus, ad debitum regis servitium VI marce aut servitium VI marcarum regno de abbacia Corbeiensi persolvantur (...). For the entire event, see Stephan-Kühn: Wibald (see note 43), p. 112–114; Jakobi: Wibald (see note 43), p. 88 and 93–95; lastly Holger Rabe: Die Übertragung der Abteien Fischbeck und Kemnade an Corvey (1147–1152). In: Westfälische Zeitschrift 142, 1992, p. 211–242.

68 MGH D Ko III. 181, p. 326 l. 40: eumque (sc. Corvey) perpetua libertate donantes; Wibald von Stablo used the charter of Conrad III. as a model for the imperial monastery of Herford which was subjected to Corvey from 1147 the dictate of which are traced back to Wibald, MGH D Ko III. 179, p. 3232 l. 16f.

69 MGH D Arn 3 (see note 52); charter of King Hermann of Salm from 1082 (see note 80); Martin Kroker: Kaiser, Könige und fromme Frauen. Das Reichsstift Herford in ottonischer, salischer und staufischer Zeit. In: Fromme Frauen und Ordensmänner – Klöster und Stifte im heiligen Herford, ed. Olaf Schirmeister (Herforder Forschungen 10). Bielefeld 2000, p. 77–126, esp. p. 84f., 88, 103 and 105f. (in respect of 1082).

70 Emperor Otto III. raised Helmarshausen to the status of imperial abbey and granted freedom from Corvey: MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 2/2: Die Urkunden Ottos des III., revised by Theodor Sickel. Hannover 1893, No. 256 (997, Oct. 8), p. 674 l. 11f.: Et idem cenobium libere fungatur, sicut Nova Corbeia, and the authentic confirmation charter D O III. 356 (–1000, Apr. 21), p. 785f.; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 46; Eckhard Freise: Adelsstiftung, Reichsabtei, Bischofskloster – Konvent der Kalligraphen, Künstler und Fälscher. Zur Geschichte der Äbte und Mönche von Helmarshausen (997–1196). In: Helmarshausen. Buchkultur und Goldschmiedekunst im Hochmittelalter, hg. von Ingrid Baumgärtner. Kassel 2003, p. 9–44, esp. p. 17–19.

71 MGH DD Ko III. 182 (1147, March 19/ca. 23), p. 330 l. 25–27, and 245 (1147, March 19/ca. 23–1151, March after 18), p. 429 l. 32–34: cellę Kaminadę damus ac decreto in perpetuum valituro confirmamus eandem libertatem, quam habet Corbeienſe monasterium; Jakobi: Wibald (see note 43), p. 149; Rabe: Übertragung (see note 67), p. 241.

72 The high commitment of abbot and convent of Corvey to serve the Empire is most of all acknowledged by the privileges granted by Henry IV. and Conrad III. and the mandate of Friedrich Barbarossas, Wilmans II, No. 247 (1192, Oct. 21), p. 344: ratione quoque multorum obsequiorum a monasterio Corbeienſi nostre magnitudini collatorum (...); MGH D Ko III. 182 (1147, March 19/ca. 23), p. 329 l. 33–35: quod nos propicia serenitate fidem labores et constantiam fidelissimi nostri nobisque carissimi Wiboldi Corbeienſis abbatis intuentes (...); MGH D F I. 175 (1157, July), p. 297 l. 40f.: quam pro persona, quę ibi preest (sc. Abbot Wibald), quę diu et multum imperio servivit; Sindern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 15–21.

73 MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 10: Die Urkunden Friedrichs I., revised by Heinrich Appelt et al., 4 parts, Hannover 1975–1990, No. 155 (1156, Dec. 25 – 1157, Jan. 23), p. 266 l. 34–37: pietatis nostre est propositum et omnibus ecclesiis dei maximeque his, quę imperiali specialiter ditionis subesse noscuntur, iura et possessiones earum conservare humanitatis nostre est intentio. MGH D F I. 175 (1157, July), p. 297 l. 40: pro ecclesia Corbeienſi, quę ad ius imperii nostri spectat.

74 MGH D F I. 1027 (ca. 1160–1189), p. 318 l. 32 – 34: idcirco honorem ecclesię vestre immo nostre et iura a predecessoribus nostris et nobis ei collata non solum conservare, verum etiam augere nostre serenitatis studebit clementia.

75 For the entire event, including detailed discussion of the sources and older literature, see Seibert: Geld (see note 33), p. 308–315; lastly summarised in Böhmer-Struve No. 386 (Polling), 388 (Kempten), 389 (Rheinau), 395 (Niederaltaich), 399 (Malmedy), 400 (Kornelimünster), 401 (Vilich), 409 (Benediktbeuern), 414 (Corvey) and 415 (Lorsch).

76 MGH DD H IV. 168 (1065, Sept. 6: Corvey), p. 218 l. 17–27: ... abbatiam Chorbeia (...) in proprium dedimus atque tradidimus (...), (...) ut predictus Adalbertus eiusdem sedis (sc. Hamburg-Bremen) archiepiscopus sui successores eandem (...) liberam et de hac abbatia potestatem habeant tenendi constituendi vel quicquid ad communem utriusque ecclesię utilitatem voluerint faciendi; and 169 (1065, Sept. 8: Lorsch); Thomas Vogtherr: Die Reichsabteien der Benediktiner und das Königtum im hohen Mittelalter (900–1125) (Mittelalter-Forschungen 5). Stuttgart 2000, p. 43–45; Sabine Borchert: Herzog Otto von Northeim (about 1025–1083). Reichspolitik und personales Umfeld (Publications of Historische Kommission für Niedersachsen und Bremen 227). Hannover 2005, p. 62–68; now see Seibert, Geld (see note 33), p. 308–310 and 313f., and Böhmer-Struve No. 414.

77 The protest against the loss of libertas in Corvey was obviously quite moderate especially as the monastic annals – Prinz: Corveyer Annalen (see note 29), p. 24 and 130 – do not mention any kind of response of the monks, Krüger: Studien (see note 4), p. 193f. and 309; Seibert: Geld (see note 33), p. 314 incl. annotation 302.

78 Lampert von Hersfeld, Annales (see note 36) ad a. 1063 (sic!), p. 90 l. 13–17: Tum Otto dux Baioariorum ad prohibendum tantum nefas divino spiritu animatus, multis conatibus circumquaque explicitis, vix et aere obtinuit, ut tam abbati quam monasterio Corbeienſi suus honor, sua dignitas incolumis servaretur. Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 76f.; Borchert: Herzog (see note 76), p. 65f.; Seibert: Geld (see note 33), p. 314.

79 MGH D H IV. 179, p. 235 l. 5 (quote); prohibition to transfer, see note 61 above.

80 Privilege of King Hermann of Salm granted to Corvey (and Herford) of 3 August 1082, ed. MGH DD H IV. (see note 33), part 2, Weimar 1959, No. 1, p. 678 l. 21–23: ut utrumque cenobium, Corbeienſe videlicet monachorum (...), cum omnibus ad ea pertinentibus sub apostolica et imperiali tuicione nostra plenissime libertatis iure fruatur.

81 Archbishop Liutbert of Mainz confirmed the exemption from all duties to the bishops of the diocese, amongst others, to abbot Bovo III. of Corvey, ed. Mainzer Urkundenbuch Vol. 1: Die Urkunden bis zum Tode Erzbischof Adalberts I. (1137), revised by Manfred Stimming. Darmstadt 1932, No. 167, p. 99–103, here p. 101; better edition by Heinrich Büttner: Erzbischof Liutbert und die Rechtsstellung der Klöster. In: Landschaft und Geschichte. Festschrift für Franz Petri on his 65th birthday on 22 February 1968, ed. Georg Droegge. Bonn 1970, p. 104–115, p. 113–115 (edition including prove of previous charters), p. 114: nos humiliter tantis auctoritatibus subscribendo confirmamus, ut nullus episcopus Padrabrunnensis aliquam ex eis vel accipiat vel exposcat portionem neque vel in his, qui regiminis locum tenent, vel in ipsiſ congregationibus (sc. Corvey and Herford) aut in ipsiſ coenobiis potestatem obtineant neque ipsorum dominatione potiatur ulla neque in clericis neque in famulis et in omnibus, quę cumque ad monasteria ipsa videntur habere possessiones respectum (...). Nec ad ipsa monasteria vel cellas eorundem vel ipse per se episcopus vel economus eius vel archipresbyter aut archidiaconus illius, seu quęlibet ex eius agentibus persona potestatem habeat accedendi, nisi forte necessitatis causa vel dilectionis gratia vocatus advenierit (...). Lastly, see Germ. Pont. V/1, No. 10, p. 83f., incl. further information, and Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 81.

82 Pope Benedict VII. subjected Corvey to the exclusive papal jurisdiction on 2 April 981 and forbade the bishops to exercise any kind of jurisdiction in the monastery or to celebrate Holy Mass without the abbot's consent: JL 3806, ed. Papsturkunden 896–1046, revised by Harald Zimmermann. Vol. 1: 896–996 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 174). Wien 1989, No. 264, p. 519f.; here p. 520 l. 3–5 and 6–8: Et ideo omnem cuiuslibet ecclesie sacerdotem in prefato monasterio ditionem quamlibet habere et auctoritatem preter sedem apostolicam prohibemus, ita ut nisi ab abbate monasterii fuerit invitatus nec missarum solempnia ibidem quispam presumat celebrare omnimodo. Germ. Pont. V/1, No. 15, p. 86f.

83 WUB V/1, No. 217 (1208, April 30), p. 102; now re-edited: Die Register Innocenz' III. Vol. 11, 1. Pontifikatsjahr, 1208/1209. Texte und Indizes, revised by Otmar Hageneder and Andrea Sommerlechner. (Publications of Historisches Institut with Österreichisches Kulturinstitut in Rome Department II Sources, Series 1, Vol. 11). Vienna 2010, No. 70 (74), p. 92: Cum ergo monasterium vestrum ab omni iurisdictione cuiuslibet episcopi preterquam summi pontificis sit exemptum (...); the special relationship of Corvey with the Apostolic See, see also the mandate of Innozenz III. of 1208, ed. WUB IV/1, No. 31 (1208, May 3), p. 22, re-edited in the same source, No. 69 (73), p. 90: ad monasterium Corbeienſe, quod etiam est Romane ecclesię speciale; see also Peter Wiegang: Kurie und Kloster im welfisch-staufischen thronstreit. Zur Exemptionspraxis Innocenz' III. im mitteldeutschen Raum. In: Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung 111, 2003, p. 104–145, here p. 129–134. The extreme position of Corvey which manifests itself also in the papal honouring of the abbot to wear the pontificals such as dalmatic, andals (981 for the first time), mitre (1162) and gloves (1203) as well as a ring (1162, 1203) was also confirmed by Eugen III. 1152, Hadrian IV. 1155, Victor IV. 1162, Lucius III. 1184 and Innozenz III. 1203 once again, see Germ. Pont. V/1, No. *119 (1152), 149 (1155), 163 (1162) and 166 (1184); Erhard II, No. 301 (1155), p. 79–81; WUB V, No. 123 (1162), p. 45–47; WUB V, No. 146 (1184), p. 60; WUB IV/1, No. 12 (1203), now, see Die Register Papst Innocenz' III. (see note 49), No. 186, p. 309; see also Sindern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 32–38.

84 Erhard II, No. 516 (1191, July 21), p. 218f.

85 Erhard II, No. 516, p. 219: Sed ne quid, quod ad cautelam et suam (sc. Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg) et nostram spectaret, ommitteretur, quia exemptam ecclesiam nostram a iurisdictione omnium episcoporum nondum ex instrumentis nostris cognoverat, exemptionis nostre exhiberi sibi privilegium postulavit. Quod cum in audientia Mersburgensis Everhardi, Nuwenburgensis Bertholdi, Brandenburgensis Alexi, Missinensis Thiderici episcoporum, abbatum et diversarum ecclesiarum prelatorum, in ecclesia quę Godesgenathe dicitur, publice fuisset recitatum, ecclesię nostre libertas ab omnibus est comprobata. This – publicly confirmed – libertas obviously consolidated the special honor of abbot and convent of Corvey.

86 Hans Jürgen Brandt, Karl Hengst: Geschichte des Erzbistums Paderborn. Part 1: Das Bistum Paderborn im Mittelalter. Paderborn 2002, p. 58–61, 76–81, 83–85, 90f., 96–98, 101–103, 260–262 and 275f. incl. further information; the – temporarily amicable – relationships among the abots Markward and Erkenbert, see Gabriele Meier: Die Bischöfe von Paderborn und ihr Bistum im Hochmittelalter (Paderborner Theologische Studien 17). Paderborn 1987, p. 45–49, 74, 77f., 80, 90, 151–154 and 156–158. Lastly see Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 81; and Biermann: Weserraum (see note 6), p. 491f.

87 MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 2: Die Urkunden Heinrichs II. und Arduins, revised by Harry Bresslau et al., Hannover 1900–1903, No. 12 (1002, Aug. 24), re-edited by Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 240f., incl. verification of previous charters, here p. 241: *Episcopis vero, quibus servitium et mansionatica debent, tempore circuitus sui secundum scripta sua singulis annis persolvant*. As regards contents, this passage reminds of MGH D LdD †178 (853, May 22), p. 256 l. 25–27. The missing confirmation of the free abbot's election right, see Prinz: Corveyer Annalen (see note 29), p. 46; Stüwer: Corvey (see note 2), p. 248.

88 According to the *Vita Meinwerici episcopi Patherbrunnensis* which did not come into existence before the middle of the 12th century, ed. Franz Tenckhoff (MGH SS rer. Germ. 59). Hannover 1921, chap. 145, p. 76 l. 29–77 l. 2; here quoted from the new edition by Guido M. Berndt (editor): *Vita Meinwerici episcopi Patherbrunnensis – Das Leben Bischof Meinwerks von Paderborn*. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar (Mittelalter-Studien 21). München 2009, chap. 142, p. 176 l. 27–30: *Sed cum delicię rigorem exolvissent disciplinę, Meinwericus episcopus factus ad eam (sc. Kloster Corvey) venerat, ut secundum canonicam auctoritatem corrigeret, quod irregulare inibi animavererat. Sed expulsus cum grandi sua suorumque iniuria regem Heinrichum adit*. Already Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 52f. rightly saw a connection between the visit of Meinwerk and the episcopal plan to eliminate the extreme status of Corvey; lastly see Krüger: Studien (see note 4), p. 190–192. The second visit of Meinwerk in Corvey in 1017 (?) when he encouraged the monks to obey to their clerical superiors (*de subiectorum obedientia*) and inculcated the same that they respect the honour of the Episcopal See (*et decere eos honorem deferre sedi*), *ibidem*, chap. 142, p. 178 Z. 4–11.

89 Die *Annales Quedlinburgenses* ad a. 1014, ed. Martina Giese (MGH SS rer. Germ. 72). Hannover 2004, p. 543 l. 4–13, and ad a. 1015, p. 546 Z. 3–8 (quote line 5f.); see below p. 223 incl. annotation 103.

90 MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 4: Die Urkunden Konrads II. Mit Nachträgen zu den Urkunden Heinrichs II., ed. Harry Bresslau. Hannover 1909, No. 17 (1025, Jan. 22), p. 20 l. 15f.; MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 5: Die Urkunden Heinrichs III., ed. Harry Bresslau (f) and Paul Kehr. Berlin 1926–1931, No. 6 (1039, Sept. 3), p. 8 l. 29–31; MGH D Hermanns von Salm No. 1 (see note 80), p. 678 l. 35–37; MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 8: Die Urkunden Lothars III. und der Kaiserin Richenza, ed. Emil von Otenthal and Hans Hirsch. Berlin 1927, No. 13 (1128?), p. 16 l. 43f.; according to Böhmer-Petke, Regesten (see note 39), No. 159 it is an „unfulfilled recipient draft“ (p. 102).

91 Klemens Honselmann: Corvey als Ausgangspunkt der Hirsauer Reform in Sachsen. In: Westfalen 58, 1980, p. 70–81, here p. 72 and 80; Freise: Corvey (see note 32), p. 105.

92 This central monastic text is now available in an exemplary critical version after decades of preparatory work: Willelmi abbatiss Constitutiones Hirsaugienses, adiuvante Candida Elvert O.S.B. recensuit Pius Engelbert O.S.B. (Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum XV/1–2). Siegburg 2010, Vol. 2, liber II, chap. I: *De electione speciali et ordinatione domini abbatiss*, p. 9–13; the taking of office of the abbot (sc. self-investiture) – instead of the self-practised appointment to an office in Hirsau by the local bishop – is confirmed by means of a total of seven manuscripts among which is the former Corvey copy which is today kept in the Erzbischöflichen Akademischen Bibliothek (archiepiscopal

academic library) in Paderborn, here p. 12 l. 2: *accedit (sc. the abbot) ad principale altare et accipit inde per se pastorem baculum*.

Prioritising of self-investiture in some of the monasteries such as Pegau, Admont and Kremsmünster which had been reformed in accordance with Hirsau, see for further information in Hubertus Seibert: *Abtserhebungen zwischen Rechtsnorm und Rechtswirklichkeit. Formen der Nachfolgeregelung in lothringischen und schwäbischen Klöstern der Salierzeit (1024–1125)* (Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 78). Mainz 1995, p. 195f. Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 96 interprets the self-investiture of the abbot of Corvey as an expression of opposing the right of the bishops to appoint abbots as an attempt to renew the extreme position. The objections of the editor of the re-edition, P. Engelbert, Vol. 1, p. LXXVII: „The assumption that in the monasteries the (sc. constitutional manuscripts) of which contained the self-investiture passage the free investiture of abbots was possible has to be denied. (...) The phrasing of the investiture in the (sc. seven mentioned manuscripts) has nothing to do with the reality in the respective monasteries but is only a reflex of an earlier development stage of the Constitutions which, however, led to nothing“, has to be discussed in more detail.

93 Generally see Seibert: *Abtserhebungen* (see note 92), p. 343f. and 396f.

94 Germ. Pont. V/1, No. *780 (1148), p. 110 and No. *119 (1152), p. 121f.; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 96, pleads for 1148. In a letter to Pope Eugen III. the prior of Corvey, Walter, expressed the expectation and hope of the convent that the (exempt?) status of Corveys is reinstated by the new abbot, Wibald of Stablo, ed. *Annalium Corbeiensium continuatio saeculi XII et Historia Corbeiensium monasterii annorum MCXLV–MCXLVII cum additamentis* (Chronographus Corbeiensis), revised and translated by Irene Schmale-Ott (Publications of Kommission für Westfalen 41; Fontes minores 2). Münster 1989, p. 94: *cuius (sc. Wibalds) religione ac prudentia Corbeiese monasterium ad pristinum suę dignitatis statum reformari possit*.

95 Sondern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 18; Stüwer: Corvey (see note 2), p. 258; the last royal donations to Corvey and the withdrawal of the Stauffer from the north of the Empire, see Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 86f. The only favour rendered by Friedrich II. to Corvey included his release of the spolia and regalian rights: MGH Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser Vol. 14/2: Die Urkunden Friedrichs II. 1212–1217, revised by Walter Koch. Hannover 2007, No. 361 (1216, May 12), p. 377–379.

96 Sondern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 12–14; Stüwer: Corvey (see note 2), p. 258f.

97 WUB IV/1, No. 180, p. 120: *Item bona abbatiss et ecclesie sue et suorum ministerialium et castrensiarum tam in oppidis quam in villis et hominibus et aliis ad eum et ipsos pertinentibus ab exactionibus et quibuslibet iniuriis salva erunt et in nostra tuitione (sc. the Archbishop of Cologne) consistent; this mutual confederatio which is directed against everyone – save the Empire – takes up the protection agreement (fedus) entered into by both churches on 4 July, Erhard II, No. 570, p. 255f.; see also Claudia Garnier: *Amicus amicus, inimicus inimicus*. Politische Freundschaft und fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jahrhundert (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 46). Stuttgart 2000, p. 298f.; the alliance of Corvey with the church of Cologne, see Sondern: Corvey (see note 43), p. 22–29; Biermann: *Weserraum* (see note 6), p. 508 and 510–512; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 87.*

98 The loss of the older necrologies is in part compensated through the fraternisation book including a list of benefactors which had been started in about 1158: *Der Liber vitae der Abtei Corvey*. Einleitung, Register, Faksimile, ed. Karl Schmid und Joachim Wollasch (Publications of Historische Kommission für Westfalen 40; Westfälische Gedenkbücher und Nekrologien 2/1). Wiesbaden 1983; Franz Josef Jakobi: *Konvent und Konventsgedenken in Corvey*. In: Schmid, Wollasch: *Liber vitae* (see note 10), p. 61–80.

99 The charter of Ludwig the German for Corvey and the nunnery of Herford subordinated to it which was forged in Corvey (?) before the middle of the 10th century mentions for the first time that its monks had been obliged to live their life according to the example of Corbie, MGH D LdD †178 (853, May 22), p. 256 l. 10–13: *quod pi memorii genitor noster Hludouicus imperator ambo h c monasteria construi iussit ad normam videlicet precipuorum in Gallia monasteriorum, Novam utique Corbeiam ad similitudinem Antiquę Corbeie, Herifordense vero cenobium ad exemplum monasterii sanctimonialium in Suessionis civitate consistentium*. This passage was included in the authentic charter of both monasteries under Conrad II. – MGH D Ko II. 10 (1025) for Herford – at the latest and was time and again confirmed, MGH D H III. 67 (1040), MGH DD Ko III. 179 (1147) and 181 (1147).

100 Honselmann: *Mönchlisten* (see note 12), p. 22–42; Metz: *Corveyer Studien* (see note 13) *passim*.

The significantly decreasing number of entries in the monastery after the death of Abbot Druthmars in 1046 – there had been only 22 entries between 1050 and 1080: see Honselmann, p. 43f. – was interpreted by researchers as a sign of crisis, see Prinz: *Corveyer Annalen* (see note 29), p. 57. The convent itself ascribed „the deterioration of monastic life“ obviously to the loss of the old tithe right Corvey held in the dioceses of Bremen, Osnabrück and Paderborn according to the explanation given in the charter by King Hermann of Salm of 1082 based on the Corvey dictate (see note 80), p. 678 l. 34f.: *aliter enim in dei servicio persistere non poterunt, cum prebenda eorum ex maiori parte de decimis constituta sit*; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 91.

101 *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (see note 89), ad a. 1014, p. 543 l. 6f.: *plures illorum (sc. the Corvey monks) instituta patrum defendentes; Lampert of Hersfeld praised the form of life in Corvey in the late 11th century when he characterises the new Abbot Ruthard of Hersfeld as Corbeiensis disciplinae monachus*, see Lampert von Hersfeld, *Annales* (see note 36) ad a. 1059, p. 76 Z. 31.

102 Widukind's criticism of the reform monkhood of his time, see Widukind von Korvei, *Sachsengeschichte* (see note 24) liber II, chap. 37, p. 98; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 26; Stüwer: Corvey (see note 2), p. 245; Stephan: *Reichsabtei* (see note 10), p. 138.

103 *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (see note 89) ad a. 1014, p. 543 l. 4–13: *Hoc anno imperator Corbeiam venit ad visitandos fratres, quorum vita sibi displicuit, et eam imperiali auctoritate corrigere voluit. Unde plures (...) plus iusto contra ius imperii saevientes, (...), sed sine consilio rebelles male parant pugnam. (...) XVII tamen ex illis capti custodiae traduntur, caeteri vero imperatoris iussa sectantur; und ad a. 1015, p. 546 l. 3–8: *Imperator igitur iterum Corbeiensis invisens privilegia et consuetudines aliquas priorum, quas CCXXX et IX annos Ludovico pio dante habuerant, potestative mutavit et amoto monasterii patre ignotum et bonum fortasse illis adduxit, qui (...) errata corrigere et devios sanctae regulae tramitem cautius incedere**

doceret. The motives and political intentions of Heinrich and individual events, for details see Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 49–53; Hoffmann: Mönchskönig (see note 2), p. 29–31 and 40; Hubertus Seibert: Herrscher und Mönchtum im spätottonischen Reich. Vorstellung – Funktion – Interaktion. In: Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?, ed. Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Mittelalter-Forschungen 1). Stuttgart 2001, p. 205–266, here p. 262f.; Krüger: Studien (see note 4), p. 184–187 and 192f.

104 Prinz: Corveyer Annalen (see note 29) ad a. 1009, p. 122, and p. 46: „(...) the note in the Corvey annals which was probably deliberately obscured” refers to the flying visit of Heinrich II. in March 1009 and its reform plan; affirming, see Hoffmann: Mönchskönig (see note 2), p. 31 incl. annotation 43.

105 Annales Quedlinburgenses (see note 89) ad a. 1015, p. 546 l. 12–14: Sicque factum est, ut pauci admodum superessent, caeteris seculo miserabiliter vagando occupatis, sed multis iterum dei gratia conversis placuit se subdere regulae quam vana diligere. Thietmar von Merseburg, Chronik (see note 3) liber VII, chap. 13, p. 412 l. 26–32.

106 The internal annals omit this important event, see Prinz: Corveyer Annalen (see note 29), p. 24, 86 and 131; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 95f.

107 Annalium Corbeisium continuatio (see note 94) ad a. 1090, p. 48 l. 14–16: Hoc anno cum dubitaretur, an apud nos esset corpus preciosi pueri et martiris Viti Domnus Marwardus abbas cum senioribus inquirens cum omnibus pene membris suis eum invenerunt VII. idus Iulii; Annalista Saxo, Reichschronik (see note 40) ad a. 1091, p. 483 l. 17f.; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 106; Karl Heinrich Krüger: Die Corveyer Patrone und ihre Altäre nach den Schriftzeugnissen. In: Westfalen 55, 1977, p. 309–345, here p. 314 and 339f.

108 Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 95; Becher: Vitus (see note 25), p. 238 and 241–243, and p. 220 above incl. annotation 22 and 23.

109 MGH D H I. 3 (922, Apr. 22) für Corvey, p. 41 l. 31f.: et sanctis martiribus nostris advocatis et intercessoribus Stephano atque Uito fideliter servientibus; Krüger: Studien (see note 4), p. 267.

110 The eight charters were critically edited for the first time by Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), U. 1–8, p. 241–259; their manuscript tradition, see Hoffmann: Bücher (see note 92), p. 48–51, the production of the Corvey scriptorium between 1120 and 1158, see p. 52–66.

111 Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 121 and U. 5 (1115 VI 11), p. 251: Quę ut rata ecclesię nostrę maneat, auctoritas sacratissimi Viti ipsiusque sigilli immunitas hec scripta corroborat.

112 U. 3 (1111–1125), Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 128, 245 and 247; U. 6 (1118 XII 31), p. 124 and 251f.; U. 7 (1120 V 15), p. 126 and 253f.

113 U. 7 (1120 V 15), Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 126 and 254: firmamus domini nostri sancti Viti sigillo; U. 3 (1111–1125), Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 128 and 246f.: hec conventionis karta patroni nostri sancti VITI sigillo corroboretur; U. 6 (1118 XII 31), p. 124 and 252: sigillo sancti Viti patroni nostri munimus; U. 8 (1126 V 10), p. 130 and 257: sigillo patroni nostri SANCTI VITI roboramus.

114 See note 110.

115 Fort he first time in U. 2 (1081–1107), Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 244: Et ut hec tradicio firma et inconvulsa permaneat, sigillo sancti VITI signata et corroborata est; and U. 3 (1111–1125), p. 246f.: hec conventionis karta patroni nostri sancti VITI sigillo corroboretur.

116 Manfred Groten: Vom Bild zum Zeichen. Die Entstehung korporativer Siegel im Kontext der gesellschaftlichen und intellektuellen Entwicklungen des Hochmittelalters. In: Späth (editor), Bildlichkeit (see note 8), p. 65–85, here p. 70f.

117 Erhard II, No. 514 (ca. 1190), p. 217: ob piam deuotionem beati Viti martyris, cuius tam corporali quam spirituali presentia Corbeiensis dedicata est ecclesia.

118 Heinrich Königs: Der hl. Vitus und seine Verehrung. Beiträge zur Vitus-Forschung anlässlich der 1100-Jahrfeier der Vitus-Translation von St. Denis nach Corvey 836–1936. Münster 1939, p. 69.

119 Peter Ilisch: Corveyer Münzen des Mittelalters. In: König (editor), Höxter (see note 10), p. 170–184, esp. p. 174 and 182 fig 2, dates the coin which was found in Estonia and depicts the head of a abbey patron saint to the time before 1089. The next preserved Corvey coins presenting the patron saint of the monastery originate from the time of Abbot Hermanns I. of Holte (1223–1254) at the earliest, idem.: Kleine Corveyer Münzgeschichte. Paderborn 1999, p. 8–10.

120 The identity-establishing function of the patron saint fort he monastic community, see Andrea Stieldorf: Recht und Repräsentation. Siegel und Siegel-führung in mittelalterlichen Frauenkommunitäten. In: Späth (editor), Bildlichkeit (see note 8), p. 167–183, esp. p. 175 and 182.

121 According to Abbot Wibald in his letter tot he convent of the Vitus monastery in Mönchengladbach, Germany, from the year 1151, ed. Philipp Jaffé: Wibaldi epistolae. In: Monumenta Corbeiensia (Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum 1). Berlin 1864, ND Aalen 1964, No. 332, p. 463: cuius (sc. Vitus) nos, quamvis indigni Deo tamen sic ordinante, vicarii existimus, cuius ut patrocinio sublevemur et fidem congrua devotione sectemur, confidentissime expectamus. Dazu Röckelein: Vitus (see note 18), p. 27.

122 WUB Add. No. 26, p. 29f.; Kaminsky: Studien (see note 33), p. 135; Joachim Wollasch: Die Corveyer Bruderschaften im hohen Mittelalter. In: Schmid, Wollasch (editor): Liber vitae (see note 10), p. 107–123, incl. Edition with netries of personal names.

123 Wollasch: Bruderschaften (see note 122), p. 109f.: the primary tasks of the Vitus fraternity in Corvey founded by Abbot Erkenbert included the feeding of the poor at Whitsun which was associated with a commemoration of the death; see Stephan: Reichsabtei (see note 10), p. 92.

124 Arlinghaus: Konstruktionen (see note 8), p. 33: „The representation of the identity (had to be) expressed rather by means of being different from others than in congruence with the own self-conception”; and p. 43: “(...) the seal seemed to have been not exclusively but still primarily subscribed to the difference towards others”; Stieldorf: Recht (see note 120), p. 175.

125 Krüger: Studien (see note 4), p. 318.

"I can imagine a time in which our religious terms must seem as strange as the spirit of the knight seems to us", wrote Georg Lichtenberg in one of his *Sudelbücher* („waste books"). To transfer this statement from the Enlightenment period to our modern world enables me to make 3 comments on my topic and the aim of this conference.

1. According to this, we have to dismiss the implicit importance of occidental monkhood, even the mediaeval history in the common perception of history if we realise that the typical terms, ethical paradigms and dogmatic principles of Christianity seem „strange" to many people of the modern world – irrespective of the return to religion, on the one hand, and – according to the political scientist Alain Mink – the current New Middle Ages, on the other.
2. Convent, church and monastery buildings are popular crime scenes. And book titles on „monkhood" naturally show pictures of cloisters on the cover. So does the brilliant work of Bernhard Schütz „Klöster - Kulturerbe Europas" which is appropriate for this conference. The introduction is rather disillusioning: „The intension of this book is not to honour the spiritual life of monkhood... but also of architecture and (...) even art ". That means, the title of the book is half misleading and the spiritual life of the monks – in as much as a desideratum.
3. History works with a – to use the words of Otto Gerhard Oexle – „divided" picture of the Middle Ages: an enlightened and a Romanesque one. But this is not all. The claim of „mediaeval studies in the 21st century", also pursued at this university, and the national and European instrumentation of mediaeval history are completed by a new, an ethnographic aspect. This invites us to look at our purportedly own from a different perspective and understand, and it turns the interrelations, i.e. the social and cultural connections, into a tracer path which leads to cross-border, i.e. own regional structures.

All three observations, comments indicate that the topic of „Corvey" addressed here is not a matter of course and that the pursuit of the format of the monastic landscape is probably an effective means of perceiving self-conception and functioning of monastic communities in a contemporary way.

I see „landscape of monasteries" as specific regional structures which can be addressed according to the current state of research by means of different methodologies.

At first, I would like to follow some routes of a monastery landscape with regard to Corvey which have been presumptuous so far. Then I will pursue exemplary intersections and chronological layers of the history of the Corvey convent as a layered space within a landscape of monasteries. However, I will not focus on functional-institutional aspects alone but rather also on the history of knowledge and the Order of the Corvey convent. Finally, I will make retrospective assignments to a monastic landscape of Corvey.

I: Landscape

„Landscape” is everywhere. Every day we come across terms like industrial landscape, football and university landscape as well as church and cultural landscape. And now we also have monastic landscapes. The most different circumstances are inflationary „turned into a landscape”- this is Babylonian language confusion.

Now we have also monastic landscapes. Looking into present bibliographies you will find monastic landscapes in Mecklenburg as well as in Bavaria, Silesia, Lower-Saxony, Westphalia and Saxony-Anhalt or in individual cities and urban landscapes. Monastic landscape – a profession which obviously attracts many parties and is also encouraged by a „spiritual tourism” as a specific standard of the regional structure.

If you pursue a professional and cultural orientation you have to keep in mind that the category „region” did not become the new reflected paradigm in German history, for reasons of ideological abuse, before the 1980s or the terms „cultural landscape” or „associative cultural landscape” were integrated in the programme of the UNESCO World Heritage Commission during that period.

In mediaeval studies, this methodological opening leads to the spatialisation of social and cultural relationships, to reach research, whether in relation to communities or the sovereignty. And geography as a historical spatial science tries to reconstruct defined spatial structures of cultural landscapes. Both disciplines meet at the point of where religion and development of a cultural landscape interact leading to spatial structures of religious characteristics in settlement research as well in the research of holy orders.

Accordingly, „monastic landscapes” are for now a specific appearance, a type of „cultural landscape” with particular motives (Schenk, Römer, Felten) as it is made comprehensible as the memory of a landscape, for example, as a result of the Cistercian forms of agricultural economy.

Therefore, we can apply *two models* to Corvey, the abbey and the settlement area of Corvey in the proximity.

The *first model* includes the dynamics and the exclusivity of the church and abbey buildings established under the Carolingian-west Frankish sovereignty as a central place as well as their related findings with regard to the local history, parish, market, and history of infrastructure and cultural landscape. Based on extensive evidence, they emphasise basic transfer processes of European history in respect of which the spatial structure, which had been shaped by late antiquity and west-Franconia up to then and on which cultural transfer processes had been oriented in a dominant way, was challenged into a radical change. The functionally integrated early urban settlement area of the „terra Corvey” becomes the memory in the landscape,

an exclusive area of temporarily significant intercontinental changes of the world around 1000 exactly because of its limited duration, i.e. due to its stagnation.

A *second model* methodically pursues cultural transfer processes on the basis of a chronological profile in order to identify, for example, monastic-religious landscapes, a monastic landscape for Corvey

The construction and even the comparison of monastic landscapes beyond the research of historical regions and cultural landscape is a relatively young and at the same time methodologically vital approach to describe the history of monks, holy orders and abbeys - across the epochs. (Röckelein)

The founding of a monastery plays an important role with regard to the determination of a monastic landscape, followed by the intention of the benefactor and the intensity of memorial culture.

In order to comprehend the characteristic features of a monastic landscape you have to pursue the significant factors on the basis of which monasteries and dioceses were established and maintained, on the one hand, as well as the radiance of the *Vita Religiosa* in the diverse forms of monastic life, on the other (Johannek). This approach links the topic of the constellations of evangelisation and Christianisation (Schich) with the appeal of a differentiating monkhood to the social environment - with a different effect and intensity across the centuries related to a change of church and constitutional law as well as in the history of confession and civilization.

To elaborate a monastic landscape for Corvey according to this model would imply to survey the following space-defining communication processes and factors of the monastic identity throughout Europe as well as in time-space layers - and taking into consideration the coincidence of tradition - to construe a profile of the monastic landscape.

In fact, monastery research has not come far yet in this case. In most cases, the founding of abbeys and dioceses or convents and the social characteristics of the diocese becomes the significant indicator and part of the description of a monastic landscape. This timeline is joined by an unconventional spatial effect of the convent's monastic culture, its form of communication. The monastery books which currently exist in Germany consistently refer to a „monastic landscape” and structure their data by administrative and federal classification. This also applies to Corvey and the renowned Westphalian book of monasteries with all its volumes:

The doyen of Westphalian local history, Peter Johannek, mentions the methodological challenges with regard to the determination of a monastery landscape in the Westphalian book of monasteries - and addresses the space-defining inadequacies of the definition of space according to the book as a deficit (Vol. 3, p. 155 ff.). Westphalia refers to the part of the country of the

present state of North Rhine-Westphalia which together with the Prussian province of Westphalia developed its extension only after 1815. In the Middle Ages and in the early modern times „Westphalia” referred to a much larger geographical area which included large parts of the present state of Lower Saxony and North Hesse.

For Corvey and the question of its monastic landscape this means: the Westphalian book of monasteries represents an established data basis in respect of the world of monasteries for the present Westphalia alone. However, neither does this apply to the adjoining Lower-Saxony nor to Hesse. The regional structure taken as a basis also cuts through cultural and social relationships of mediaeval convents in this larger Westphalia in its own way. In other words, the authors of the Westphalian book of monasteries act on unequal definitions of space, also with regard to the monastic landscape. This means that a monastic landscape of Corvey is – and I say that with due respect for the achievements especially of the Westphalian book of monasteries – largely a research desideratum if we talk about forms of monastic communication and interaction. Or in other words, the spatial structure determines a monastic landscape – and therefore also the rationalist interest of this kind of investigations.

Hedwig Röcklein chose a different way in this new field of monastery research. In order to compare the early mediaeval monastic landscapes of Saxony and Bavaria, she based the description of the importance of the convents on the regional boundaries of the duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, and thus integrated the political dynastic relationship, i.e. the intention of the aristocratic founding family, in her observations. As a result she does not qualify the duchies alone as monastic landscapes. She rather qualifies new realms where she finds overlapping and contact zones between the named main landscapes of Mainfranken, Hesse and Thuringia as the catchment areas in view of the non-simultaneous process of Christianisation, thereby explaining discrepancies.

Another model of spatial structure and the description of monastic landscapes for Corvey and Dalheim is neither based on the state nor the duchy but on the Hochstift region of Paderborn, i.e. an ecclesiastical administrative spatial structure. The rivalry between the bishops and the abbots of Corvey, which is impressive alone with regard to its duration, should not be taken into consideration if in this case the profile of the monastic landscape is based on the number, the density of the monasteries. Also in this case a region which is not congruent in the world of the monasteries is assumed as a statistical factor and distribution continuity becomes the primary standard for a monastic landscape.

In view of the occasion I would like to remind you of the national exhibition in Corvey in 1966. In the respective catalogue it is not only the importance of the Upper Weser region for Corvey which is emphasised by the Min-

ister-Presidents of Lower-Saxony, Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia. More so they argue for the need for historical re-orientation for the citizens of the young federal states in the recently established Federal Republic of Germany – not for a monastic landscape. In other words: those initiatives were fruitful. Today, their space-defining guidelines and levels of interpretation have themselves become a part of history.

Meanwhile we have to conclude that the present Westphalia is only one of many opportune possibilities for describing and analyzing a Westphalian monastic landscape and that the qualification of a type of „monastic landscape” orientates itself on it to add density, multitude and distribution of clerical institutions in a particular political administrative region to the founding data. This model conveys rather uniform regions in the scope of the political understanding of spatial structure.

It is a different thing to describe diachronic and synchronic interdependencies for communities and the reach of their monastic forms of existence and identities, of affiliation, loyalty, cultural interrelations and hierarchies of knowledge systems – if possible in time layers and changed historical contexts in order to evaluate the durability of an institution just as one factor of many in the determination of monastic landscapes.

What does this mean for the investigation example of „Corvey”? First, it implicates that one should look upon the convent of Corvey – beyond its canonical relationship with the environment – not as a statistical factor across the centuries and its structure of relationships not as being integrated in a uniform region. (Schmidt, Klosterbuch, Vol. 3, p. 100). Instead, the historical conclusion will be that the monks acted on their monastic self-conception of the respective time, responded differently to external influences, monastic or secular, on the basis of which „monastic landscapes” can be described as composed systems, as an accumulation of unequal spatial influential factors in continuity and disruptions in the face of the cultural differentiation from the Middle Ages to the modern times. In such a type of monastery landscape, monastery research would become an integral part of European history of interrelation or historiography.

II

Such a description of a monastic landscape of Corvey remains a future project for the comparative research of holy orders. In the following I would like to present only some parameters and factors.

If you agree with the American mediaeval scientist Caroline Byman, recent German research is characterised by the fact that the old holistic understanding of a territorially rooted culture has been gradually replaced by a process-like conception of culture. Accordingly, a monastic landscape of Corvey could be accounted for.

The aim of the structural element of this monastic landscape is to locate the interconnectedness of Corvey with its gradually joining daughter monasteries related to Propstei occupations and its functions as a parish church and patronate beginning with the founding initiative and the exceptionally long-term transfer relationship with Corbie.

This results in a condensed realm astride of episcopalities and political spheres in the permanently used hubs, for example, of Marsberg, Meppen, Viesbeck, Gröningen, Jakobsberg, Helmershausen, Bursfelde, Pegau, Marienmünster, Kemnade, Fischbeck, Tom-Roden and Godelheim from the 9th to the 12th century. The structure remained in effect throughout the 17th century because the abbots of Corvey continuously provided the provosts in Marsberg and Meppen, amongst others.

This level of the monastic landscape also includes that of the abbots of Corvey – rather in the 11th/12th century – occasionally assumed double functions such as in Limburg a. d. Haardt or Lorsch or Stablo, and only in some cases were appointed to the Episcopal throne, which is why chronologically dominant cross structures between order and church regime and the corresponding spatial effects are hardly brought about.

A similar interpretation can be derived from the reluctance or refusal of Corvey towards the monastic reform movement of the High and Late Middle Ages. The involvement of Corvey in the Bursfelder Reform, the presidency of which was occasionally held by the abbots of Corvey, is rather an indication of the declining appeal of a very small convent in about 1500 in view of the persistent refusal of the convent and the defended social exclusivity, than evidence of a pursued spatial effect of its monastic culture.

The convent remained within this institutional system of monastic, pastoral and canonical responsibilities for the next few centuries.

With regard to the period of about 1500, the mentioned indicators such as refused communication and low activity of the convent reflect a phase of shrinking of the monkhood which, however, experienced regeneration in another area.

This non-simultaneousness is part of the monastic landscape of Corvey and it remains one of its structural characteristics in an environment which has changed in terms of confession and territory since the 16th century and a restructured educational landscape as well as Catholic monastic culture in Europe to which the abbots of Corvey resumed communication not before the 18th century.

Let us now integrate such factors which represent the tradition of the monastic identity, i.e. seclusion, mission and social work, liturgy, book culture, in short spirituality into this roughly sketched institutional-functional spatial structure of the monastic landscape of Corvey. This results roughly in a time

phase between the 9th and 12th centuries in the light of research which is impressively evidenced in the Westphalian book of monasteries and – according to changed criteria – a phase from the late 17th century to the late 18th century.

The first phase is characterised by the interspersed Christianisation in the expanded Carolingian Empire and the successful reform of the Benedictine Order. This meant for Corvey that it was to adopt the monastic habits according to the example of Corbie, the pastoral care of the neighbouring convent which was devoted to the king, a mission directed to the outside. In this context, Corvey is part of an aristocratic-political-ecclesiastical authority structure and of a significant east-west integration process.

The monastic culture is shaped by the connection to tradition – evidenced by the relocation of relics and liturgical and missionary impulse, still more so connected to the adoption and maintenance of the typical Frankish-Saxon book illumination which was developed in Corbie and continued in the exemplary tradition of Corvey in respect of the production of Gospel books during the Ottonian period – according to Ms Mütterich. To date, clear evidence of Corvey being in the possession of an own scriptorium, book illuminators and book binders, is, of course, missing.

The early epoch-defining book culture of Corvey and its aesthetics is in line with the importance of the convent, and a time-specific understanding of salvation and a world order at that, in which the Benedictine monkhood held and protected its ascetic and spiritual values related to the self-conception as a guarantee for salvation and the leading role in church and empire. The Gospel of Prague of the chapter library, for example, of the late 9th century had been brought from Corbie to the convent of Corvey and bishops originating from Corvey obviously took the Gospel with them to Prague in the 10th century. This book culture turns into evidence of a time-dependent communication space of the convent of Corvey and its missionary and church organisation which reached far across the boundaries of the empire.

The activity of book illumination ceased in Corvey in the 11th century and was taken over by Helmershausen in the 12th century. Disruptions are obviously part of the profile of the monastic landscape as can also be derived from the fraternity book of Corvey abbey which was designed to reach into a wide sector in about 1158. The fraternity book is a significant source of convent history. If read with regard to the spatial effect of the convent, the pages which show in part little or no entries prove that the social networking and the spatial effect of Corvey had weakened.

In addition to these observations I would like to point out the symbolism of the abbot seal. It shows the abbot with the „book“, the sign of evangelisation and scholarship, like a bishop. This self-conception is still conveyed by the seal images of the 13th and 14th century (Corvey cat. p.809) but after that the convent lost exactly this quality as well.

This phase has belonged to the period of monastic plurality and knowledge culture since the 12th century. If you adopt the diagnosis of Joachim Ehlers with regard to the differing spirit of innovation as regards structure and the lacking mobility of the spiritual elite of the east Frankish Empire compared with France this also applies to Corvey in the 13th/14th century so that we observe a knowledge differential as characteristic of the monastic landscape. The Benedictines of Corvey obviously did not contribute to the monastic intensification of knowledge and intellectualisation in a permanent and continuous way, even if the convent as a historical place was of interest. The famous Cicero Code which, according to Hartmut Hofmann, was also not produced in Corvey, is not immediately understood as evidence of a monastic educational concept domiciled on the convent of Corvey but rather as evidence of a person-specific Benedictine leadership elite such as was represented by Willibald of Stablo in his traditional communication with the Maas region.

Finally, the reformation in the 16th century does not mark a turning point for the convent of Corvey. Not even with regard to the history of education and knowledge. The historians of the 16th century speak about the library of Corvey as a „faded” greatness. And the peripheral location of Corvey in the polycentric and polyconfessional internal system of the empire gives no noticeable new impetus to the monastery with regard to the traditional monastic landscape. These can only be found in the 18th century, mainly revealed through the research carried out by Hermann Josef Schmalors in the field of the history of knowledge and libraries.

The outstanding abbots of Corvey acted rather as a traditional reservoir for the monastic heritage when they, for example, acquired the mediaeval book inventory of the monastery of Bursfelde which was in line with the times during this. In this way, Corvey not only compensated the loss of its own library. One rather brought to mind one's own past; it is obvious here that legitimisation was done on the basis of historical material of cultural evidence in the form of monastic books. Completed by courtly and representative personal library inventories, a monastic scholarship of aristocratic reading culture and a place of sparse reference of monastic culture with a weak connection to the regional universities in the mainly Catholic Westphalia developed temporarily in the convent.

The catching up and opening was congruent with the appealing effect Corvey had on travellers with an interest in denomination. The recourse to history pursued by the abbots and the travellers naturally aimed at the monastic landscape of Corvey from the original period, and which, of course, lost its monarchic identity in the course of the change into a diocese in 1774 altogether.

This end would then mark the beginning of the description of a new layer of the „monastic landscape of Corvey” which had been conferred its own signatures in view of the historical and political re-appropriation in the 19th

century and – until today – has related and linked The Middle Ages and the modern times in its own interpretation of meaning.

Conclusion

In a time when The Middle Ages is becoming something like a strange world and the ethnographic view reveals the independence of the old in its entirety, Corvey seems to me - even in view of solid research- on the whole like a virgin territory of memories. As a virgin territory if we intend to evidence interrelations as a basic idea of European history and of the occidental monkhood.

Monkhood realised diverse and, to a large extent, effective spatial factors, also in the form of side-effects, in the „heteronomy of purposes” (Friedrich Prinz). They form the actual reservoir of the description of specific monastic landscapes and their reach.

If you try to designate a monastic landscape such as Corvey by functional characteristics a political spatial category proves to be generally unsuitable, insofar as other questions are to be answered and not just the distribution density of monasteries and transfer processes.

If you stack the characteristics of function and cultural memory in the form of descriptive levels of a monastic landscape of Corvey – taking into consideration the coincidence of tradition – an intensive phase of distinct Benedictine monkhood related to its elitist function in the church, the empire and the missionary work is revealed between the 9th and 12th century. The epoch-defining wealth of the monastic culture of Corvey falls into this early phase. This is related to the important evidence of the „terra corvey” as an interface of transcontinental processes of change in the world in around 1000 which had been visualised and made perceivable in a unique way – evidenced in the significant architectural structure as authentic proof of a monastic identity which had been communicated internally and externally with an unequal and non-simultaneous reach.

Georg Lichtenberg writes: „I can imagine a time in which our religious terms must seem as strange as the spirit of the knight seems to us.” If you want to maintain its enlightening impulse, modern monastery research will be intensified and the Imperial Abbey of Corvey will be emphasised more than ever before as regards memory-political aspects as a unique monastic place of memory, expanded by the evidence of transcontinental interrelations and changes. This is what I wanted to remind you of.

THE IMPERIAL ABBEY AND THE DESERTED TOWN OF CORVEY

Aspects of the development of a unique medieval urban landscape in the heart of Europe

Imperial monasteries belonged to the most distinguished instruments of power of the Carolingian dynasty. At that time they reached their greatest heyday and in many regions they surpassed even the bishoprics in significance. Corvey was by far the most important Carolingian monastery foundation in the northeast of the Frankish Empire with a longer-term unique radiance towards Northern and Eastern Europe. This fact was directly or indirectly due to the bishops and abbots, who came from the convent or had been closely related to it and to the *Billinge-Ekbertiner* who played a prominent role in Engern and *Westphalia* and supplied a long line of abbots. In this the extraordinarily close connection between nobility and empire, between Saxony and the Frankish Royal Abbey as a common family foundation of the Carolingians at the zenith of their power and beyond manifests itself in a particular way. This distinguishing position of Corvey ahead of other highly important imperial abbeys becomes apparent by means of an unusually large number of royal privileges, but also as early as 826/831 when missionaries were sent to the Nordic archdiocese of Hamburg along the disputed border to the Danes and Slavs under Saint Ansgar, teacher at the Corvey monastery school, who was canonized at a later date.

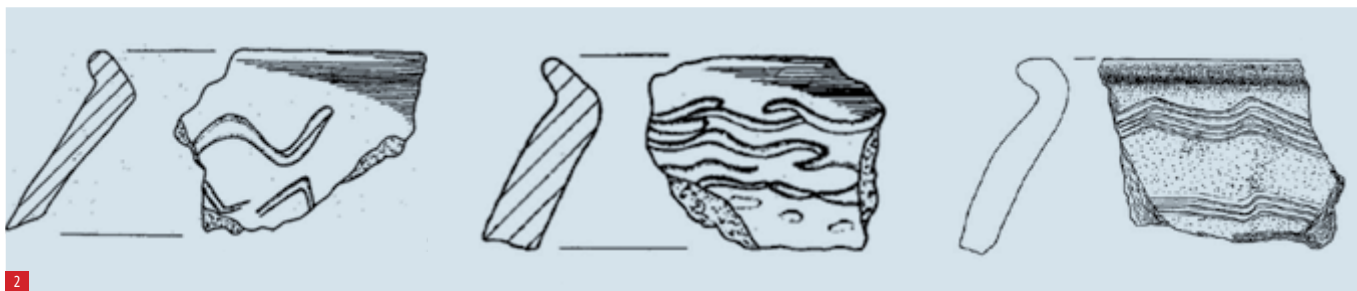
The Abbey of Corvey: Geographical position and buildings

Corvey is situated in the *Weserbergland* on the western bank of the river Weser in a valley enlargement which has been settled since pre-historical times.

1 The spacious settlement areas between the bent of the river Weser in the east and the branches of the mouth of the *Bollerbach* in the west formed a genetic unity with regard to the settlement from early history to the 12th/13th century. Even if all periods are not provable equally well in archaeological respect at present, a permanent settlement of small areas can, however, in the end be given proof of since the first settlement of farmers and cattle breeders in the Neolithic period (4th/5th millennium B.C.). The backflow of refugees after the disastrous invasion of the Vikings in 845 in the area of the *Niederelbe* and in *Nordalbingien* and the destruction of the *Hammaburg* has been archaeologically tangible in terms of facts for some years and for the first time by means of inspections of the terrain and excavations at early medieval finding places in the *Solling*, in the deserted town of *Smitheredeshusun* and probably in “settlements of refugees” nearby. **2**

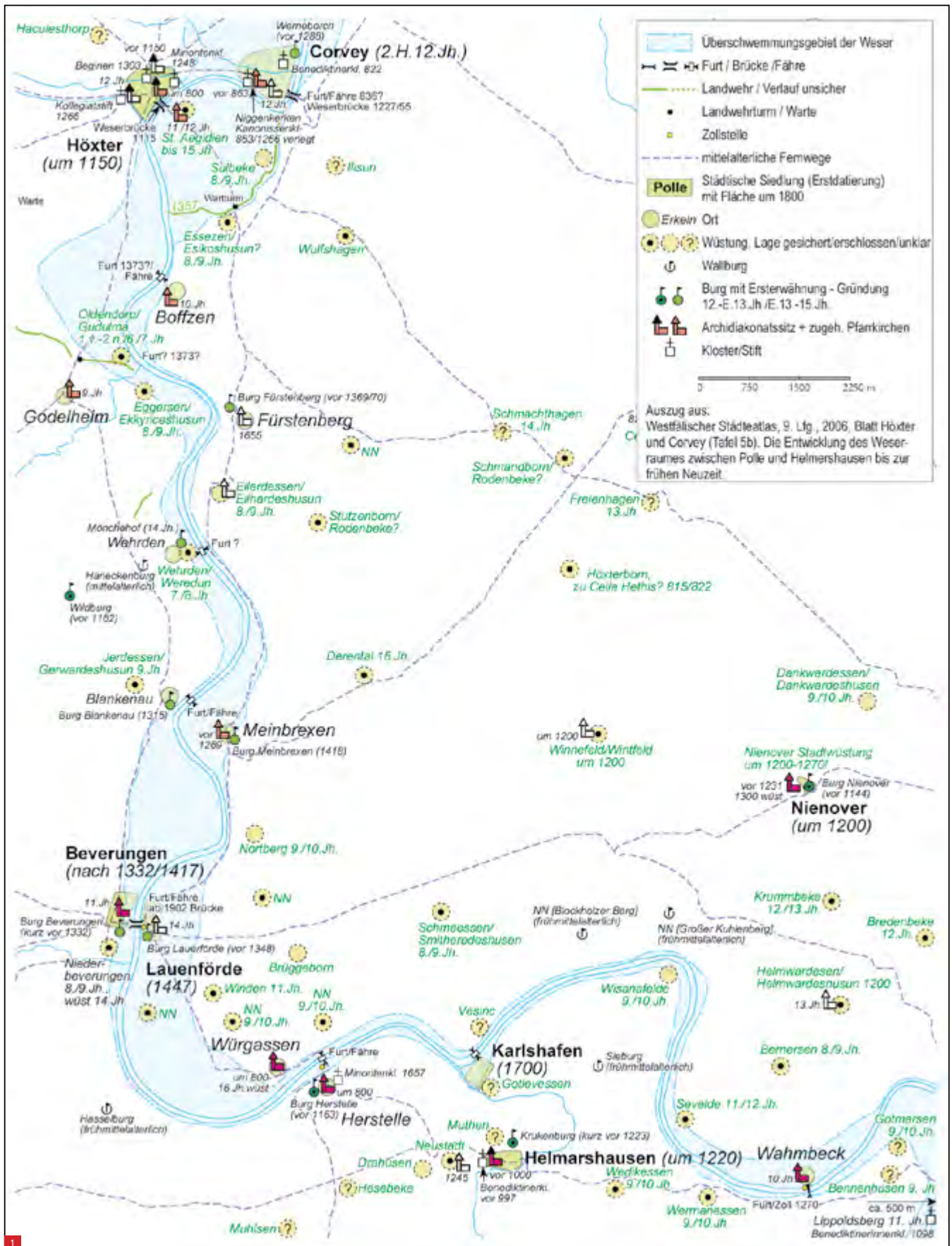
Finding places (fig. 1) and strange objects from Carolingian times found in the area between the royal palace of Charlemagne in Herstelle and Neuhaus in the Solling, from the environs of the presumed first place of the monastery foundation “Hethis” of the monks of Corbie (815 to 822).

Traditionally, the monks of Corvey regarded Charlemagne as the spiritual father of their monastery foundation. Irrespective of some few already existing



Corvey and Höxter with their surroundings, synoptic-historical map description of the development from the Early Middle Ages till 1800

(Extract from Koch, König, Stephan 2006, plate 5b; cartography Thomas Kaling)



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smaller monasteries, built after the establishment of bishoprics and first parishes in Saxony, Charlemagne had presumably pursued the plan to found a model monastery for Saxony. His sudden death in 814 allowed initially only a modest personal initiative of the imperial abbey of Corbie. Economically, the equipment was rather modest at the beginning as aid supplies of food and other goods, necessary for the Cella, suggest. An acute famine extending nearly over the whole empire, the exposed location of the Cella in the *Hochsolling* and logistic problems with regard to the transport of goods might, however, have been decisive reasons for the dislocation.

Thereupon, the convent of *Hethis* decided, with the consent of Abbot Adalhard of Corbie and the assistance of his half-brother Wala, the transfer and the new foundation in the valley of the river Weser in 821/822. In the vitae of the founders of the monastery, written shortly afterwards, the new location is described euphorically as biblical ideal landscape, as “Egypt abounding in water”. On the famous consecration tablet, designed in the manner of antiquity, from the entrance hall of the oldest monastery church it is compared to the heavenly Jerusalem of the St John’s Apocalypse. The wording: “CIVITATEM ISTAM/TU CIRCUMDA D(OMI)N(E) ET/ANGELI TUI CUSTO/DIANT MUROS EIUS” (Take care of this town my Lord and let your angels be the guardians of its walls) can primarily be meant in a metaphoric sense. In reality, it can also be referred to the convent, the location and the role of the monastery in Saxony.

Emperor Louis the Pious transferred the ownership of the *villa regia in loco Hucxori* with the surrounding areas to the Benedictines of New Corbie by means of a royal document in 823. Obviously, he donated to them important relics of the arch-martyr St Stephen from the palace chapel in Aachen, who from this time on became patron saint of the abbey church. In the 13th century, probably dating back from much older (oral?) tradition and previous conditions, the district of Hörter (*Mark Hörter*) is described as a coherent area which is bounded by the river Weser in the east. Brenkhausen and Albaxen were situated in the north, Lütmarsen in the west and Godelheim as well as Maygadessen, places which both, as can be proved, had existed in the 8th/9th century in the south. The designation *Hucxori* points to an advanced age which still refers to the time before the extension of the country in the 8th century. It designated presumably a settlement district to which both the area of the later historical town of Hörter and the area of the monastery of Corvey belonged.

In the valley of the river Weser and in the west of the Weser a very dense settlement with numerous localities had developed in the 8th/9th century. Probably in close causal connection with the rapid rise of the Imperial Abbey of *Corbeia Nova*, which was founded in 822 and was granted the first privileges of holding markets and minting coins ³ on the right side of the Rhine in 833, more extensive settlement areas emerged in the environment in Carolingian times. They were grouped partly loosely, partly more densely in a spacious area between the fords of the river Weser near Corvey and Hörter.



The privilege of Corvey of minting coins and levying duties, dating back to 833 (after the original in the *Hauptstaatsarchiv* of Münster, compare König, Rabe, Streich 2003)

ter at a length of approximately 2 kilometres in the east-west and 200 to 500 metres in north-south direction. As a result of the foundation of the imperial monastery of Corvey within two or three generations, one of the largest settlement agglomerations of Middle and Northern Europe in later Carolingian times thus had developed. ⁴

The flat building ground in the valley of the river Weser which was flood-free to a large extent and also statically appropriate offered excellent conditions for the construction of the facility. The area of the monastery complex of Corvey, which had probably been fortified in the late 9th century, but certainly before 940, amounted to approximately 7 to 8 hectares on a long rectangular, very evenly pronounced ground plan. Its main features are probably still preserved in the entire baroque complex, only the palace garden in the north was newly added at that time. Not only a far-reaching correspondence of the limits of the early medieval monastery with later conditions justifies the observable supra-regional tenacity by means of which traditional ecclesiastical boundaries of immunity, once determined, were maintained, but also the distribution of finds and results of the 9th/10th century almost in the entire monastery district and scarcely beyond it. Among the archaeologically examined soil explorations and the scientific prospections, missing deviating large-scale linear findings point in the same direction.

The complex, conceived strictly and in an exemplary manner, – with angular corners, which are rather unusual for an early medieval fortification – reminds strongly of the “plan of St Gallen“, which is regarded more as an ideal plan than a building plan for a large Benedictine monastery by recent research relating to the history of architecture and art. This plan was elabo-

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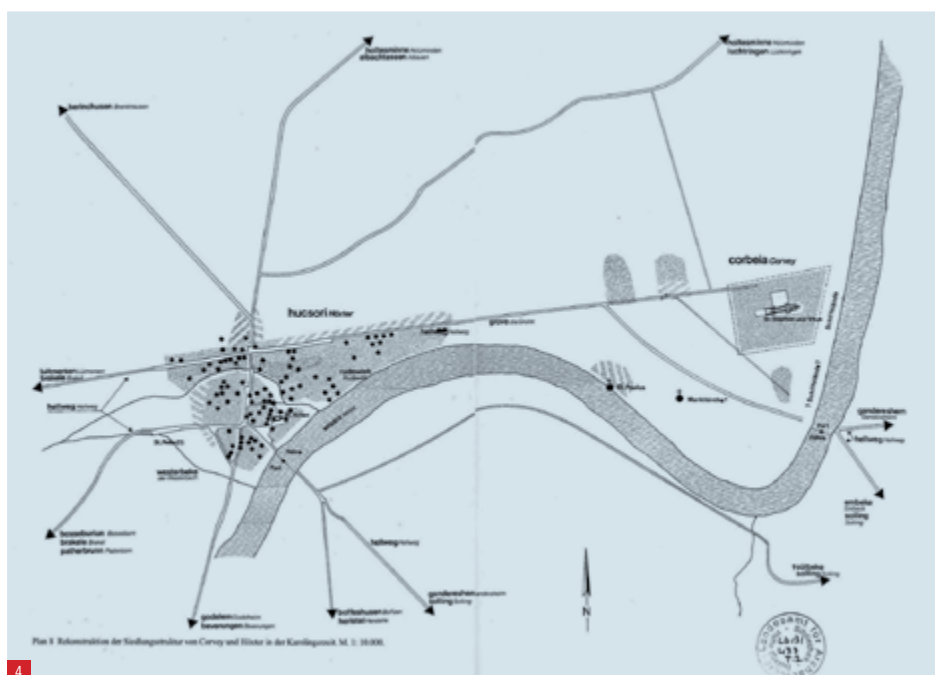
rated shortly after 820/822, probably in 829/830 in the monastery of Reichenau as model plan for the new building in the neighbouring St Gallen. In this connection it has to be considered that Corvey was built shortly after the reform synod of Aachen in 817, which procured new guidelines for the ecclesiastical and monastic systems in the Occident, valid for centuries. In this context the programmatic name adopted from West Franconia is to be referred to, which was to emphasize the extremely close ties with the tradition of Corbie. Corbie was not only one of the most important royal monasteries of those days but also one of the traditional spiritual centres of the Frankish-Merovingian imperial church with one of the largest libraries of that time. Unlike other monasteries, Corbie obviously cultivated not only the Christian tradition of the Early Fathers but the liberal arts, including historiography (such as the annals of Tacitus which were taken away from Corvey to Rome in the 15th century), classical philosophy and literature of surveyors, mainly in editions of the late antiquity, constituted another focal point of activity. Even in the high middle ages the library of Corbie, consisting of approximately 500 works covering a wide range of subjects as regards contents, was not bad at all compared to the Library of the Vatican, which was only about twice as large.

Written records, archaeological investigations and scientific prospections prove, especially in the northwest and south of the abbey church of Corvey, a partly densely built-up area respectively give an idea of it. Compared to the areas of most early medieval monastery immunities in Central Europe, the area was unusually large and surpassed by far even those of the majority of the German fortified cathedrals in Carolingian times. Other parts of it were used as gardens and yards. This division corresponds to the requirements of an important imperial abbey of the Benedictines in Carolingian times, as testified by the plan of St Gallen and the statutes of Adalhard in respect of Corbie as well as those of Wala referring to Bobbio in North Italy.

The investigations, carried out between 1988 and 1992, show exemplarily the extraordinarily large potential of historical-archaeological statements in the spacious monastery district of Corvey: In the southeast near the river Weser an early medieval shipping pier and working quarters could be registered. They were used as places of transshipment and working areas during the construction of the monastery in the course of two or three generations. Possibly some larger wooden buildings were existing, parts of timber sill beam constructions on stone foundations, a Frankish-Mediterranean method of building according to the Roman tradition, which was still unusual at that time in Saxony, are guaranteed. Even partly roofed working places can be given evidence of directly on the banks of the river Weser on which building material and various goods and material could be delivered at favourable costs and effectively. Although only a very small section was included when searching for the late medieval abbot's castle, many of the most important trades of craftsmen, absolutely necessary for the building of a monastery, are, however, archaeologically provable.

Thus masons' buckets and possibly bricks of a limekiln were found. Also waste of stonemasons resulting from the treatment of red sandstones coming from the near Solling as well as chips originating from the treatment of wood and the paddle of a boat have been preserved in the Carolingian bay of the river Weser. Furthermore, forging slacks, relics of the treatment of non-ferrous and precious metal (among them book locks) and non-ferrous as well as goldsmiths' ovens were found. ⁵ On the basis of small crucibles the processing of enamel is possibly tangible, in any case the treatment of glass is, however, proved due to harbours, melts and a coloured antique fragment of a mosaic to colour the glass flux. The workshops of Carolingian times were given up after the end of the first comprehensive building phase of the monastery, presumably even before 900 and possibly in the context of the completion of the Westwork in 885, or perhaps of the somewhat younger western atrium in front of the abbey church. Additional facilities for the treatment of lime and bell-casting pits of late Carolingian but also Romanesque times were found in the atrium in front of the abbey church.

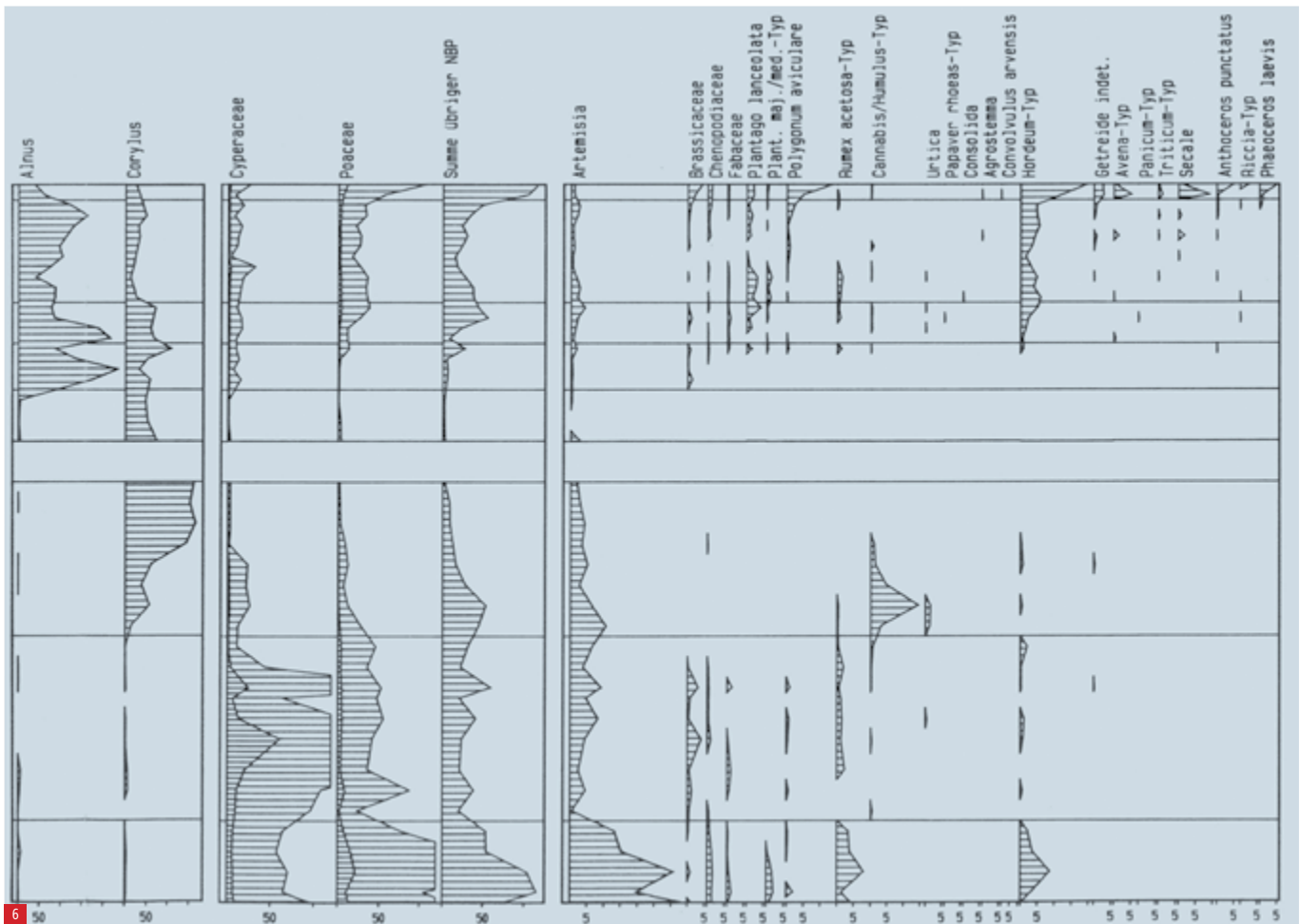
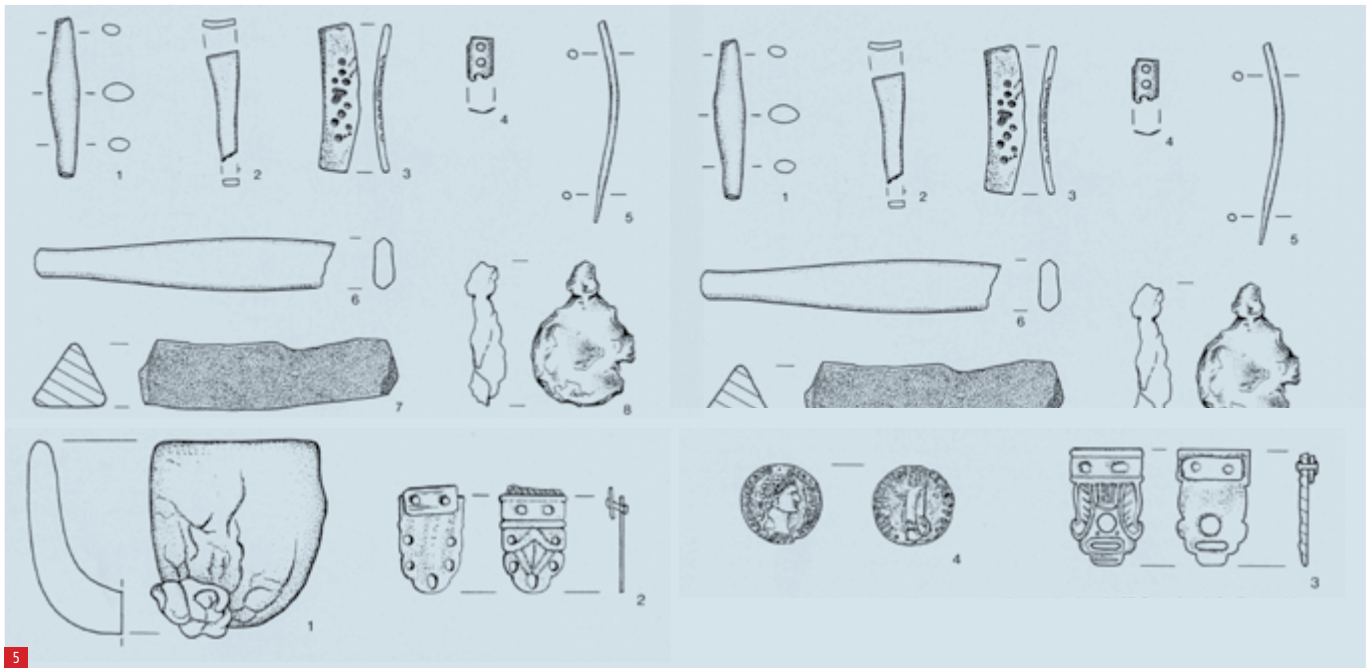
Fruit stones testify the early medieval horticulture; unusual for this early time are grape-seeds, which document the oldest viticulture on the right bank of the Rhine in non-Roman Germany. Peach stones point to the cultivation of Mediterranean fruit varieties, which the monks of Corvey certainly brought from Corbie and which was anything but usual for Saxony and Northern Europe. ⁶ In the east and in the west of the immunity of the abbey extensive early and high medieval solid constructions become apparent along the artificial water canal of the "Grube" in the archaeological findings. Among them are a complex heating system for the enclosure of the monks, the monastery kitchen respectively the kitchen of the abbot, a large bakehouse, used for centuries, presumably also the brewery of the monastery and



Corvey and Höxter in the 9th century
(after Stephan 2000)

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5 Selected objects found and findings from the Carolingian area of workshops in Corvey

6 Finds of plants and pollen diagram of the pier of Carolingian times in Corvey (after Schütz 1997 and Stephan 2000, 2010)

other buildings of utility. ⁷ ⁸ In the east the novitiate and the hospital of the monks are to be assumed. In the southeast there were probably the hospitals of the laymen or the poorhouse, the hospital for the noble guests with own chapels and, due to the documented royal stays in 889 and 913, the royal auditorium with chapel, presumably from about 900 onwards. Considering the uniquely large number of early royal charters and privileges, which document the special nearness of the imperial abbey of Corvey to the king and its great importance in the structure of the Saxon tribe as a place of diets and meetings of princes until 1203, an impressive and well equipped area for noble guests may be assumed.

About 40 metres to the northwest next to the abbey church on the edge of an extensive graveyard area with unusually numerous burials in stone-plated graves, there was the Martini chapel of the ministerial officials with an own graveyard, which had allegedly been equipped as a (pre-?) Romanesque tri-conch construction (central building) of a width of supposedly 11,9 metres. Possibly, it was originally the chapel of the former duchy or royal court hucxori with the traditional Frankish patron saints, which could be used as the first church prior to the completion of the abbey church. In Corbie the impressive basilicas of St Stephen and St John the Baptist were located somewhat displaced in front of the west axis of the abbey church St Peter. Without targeted excavations of large areas the complex infrastructure of the monastery can, however, not sufficiently be clarified in the course of its more than 800 years old development prior to the Baroque new building. This is also true of the royal palace to be exploited, which alone registered probably far more than 100 royal visits since the visit of King Arnulf in the year 889 until the early Staufer period. Altogether, a unique treasure of the early and high medieval history of monasteries, settlement and culture in Europe has been preserved in the areas without Baroque buildings in the underground of the monastery and deserted town.

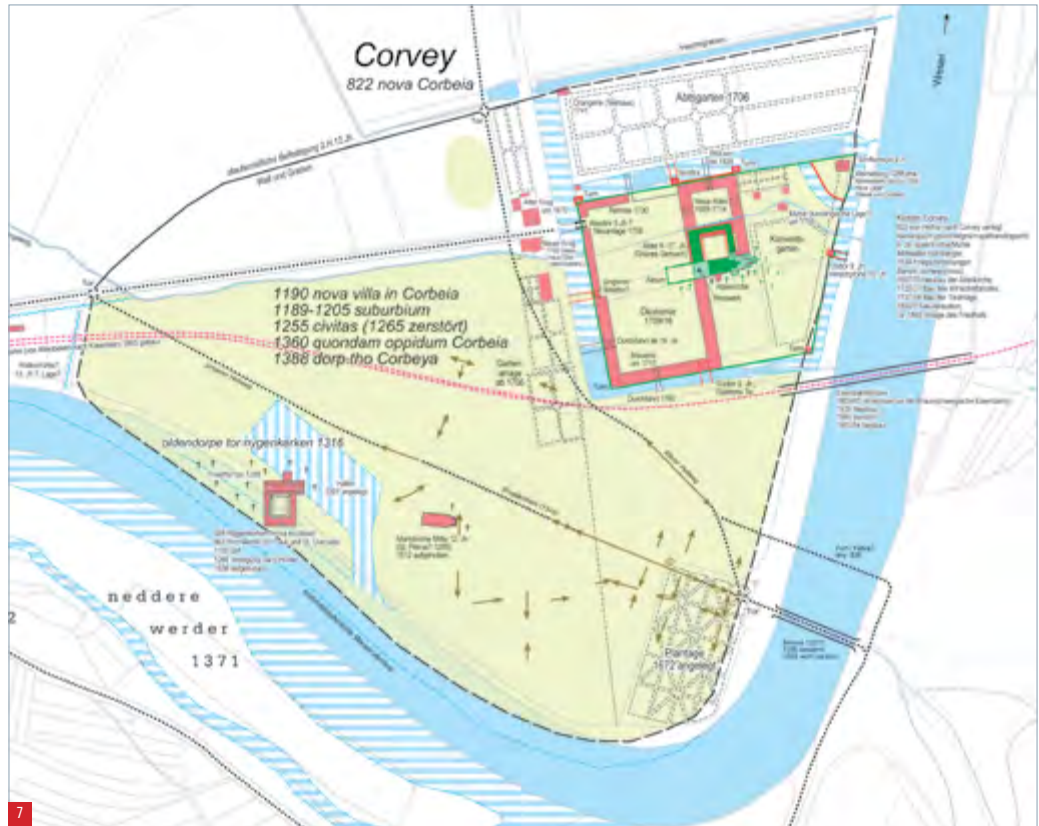
The Monastery Church as central building

Up to now, only the monastery church has been completely excavated and intensively researched. Small parts of the medieval enclosure and the extraordinarily spacious graveyards which were arranged architectonically complex according to sources of the 12th century, prospections and first soil explorations are rudimentarily tangible. The graveyards were grouped particularly in the south, west and east around the abbey church including a gate chapel from 1152, as can be evidenced. This strikingly central position, the special size and the conspicuous emphasis constitute a very essential element of Medieval-Christian and especially monastic spirituality and mentality. They document and emphasize evidently the literally and directly central importance of the memory of the dead and the care for the deceased, which constituted one of the most important legitimate concerns of Benedictine monasticism.

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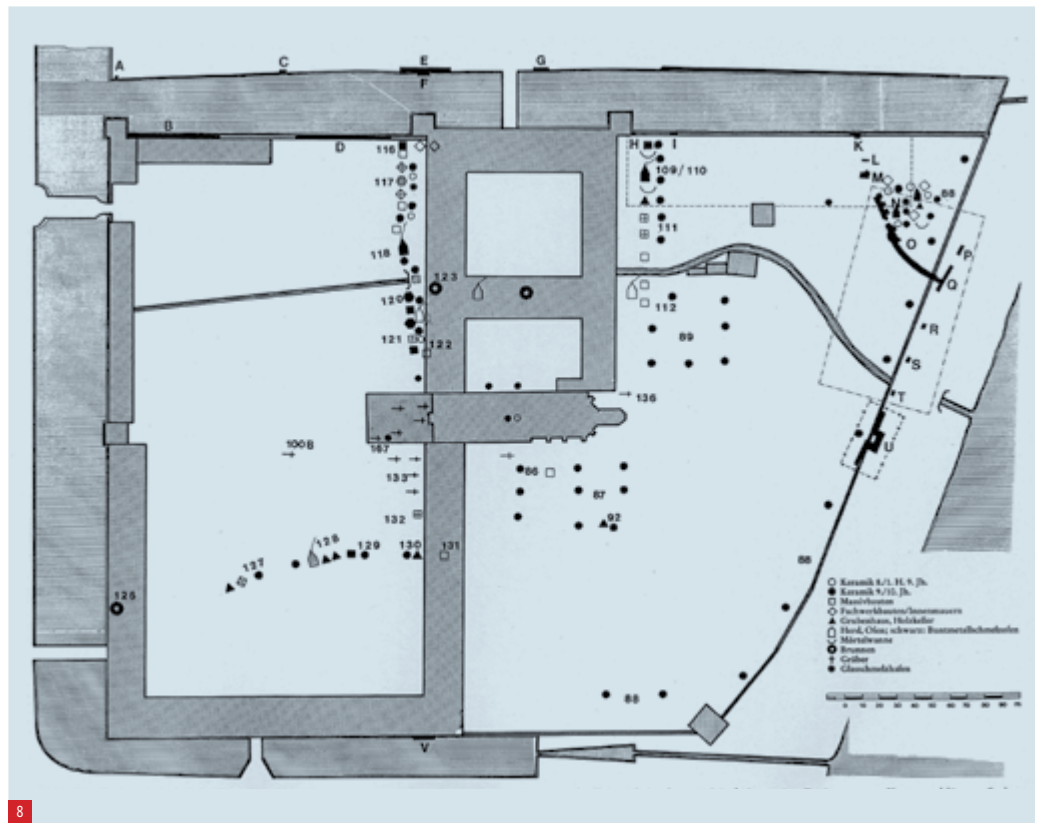
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Layout plan of the monastery district of Corvey, the most important historical data of settlement and archaeological proofs of medieval streets (arrows) in the deserted town of Corvey (extract from Koch, König, Stephan 2006, plate 2)



7

Archaeological explanations regarding the canal construction in front of the western façade of the enclosure of the monastery of Corvey: findings of early and high medieval buildings of utility, presumably of the abbot's residence, kitchen, brewery etc.



8

Almost exactly in the axial middle, in any case in the east-west middle axis of the immunity of the monastery, a simple, long narrow and basilica-like original building of middle size with a rectangular choir of 8,5 metres length and the width of a central aisle was erected from August 822 on. It was made of stone and thus was a speciality in Northern Germany. The thickness of the walls was, however, strikingly small in the same way as in some Carolingian buildings (the east wall was only 51 centimetres wide at the choir!). With an inside width of about 2,5 metres the aisles were extremely small. In contrast, the decoration not only with wall paintings but also with floor tiles and wall incrustations made of precious exotic stones such as green porphyry, slates, white marble and coloured glass must have been an enormous speciality in Saxony and Northern Europe. In the west a particularly large and extensively equipped atrium with two wells was situated in front. The building, probably shaped like a triumphal arch according to the Roman archetype, was decorated by the still existing consecration tablet. Thus, a highly complex, fastidious and ambitious building programme for the central area of the monastery church had been tackled early.

By renovating the eastern parts of the abbey church for the rapidly growing convent and for the presentation of the beneficial relics of the new co-patron St Vitus, transferred solemnly from Saint-Denis near Paris to Corvey in 836, the Benedictines altered the basilica, maintained in the central building in the nave, into a multipartite complete ensemble as late as in the century of foundation. Thus a highly representative large church of a length of more than 89 metres with the western building, called also "Westwerk" (873-885), was built within approximately two generations only, similar to those of the important bishoprics of the Frankish Empire. It is the only preserved example of this new building type in respect of the development of church building in the Occident.

Including the long-stretched atrium, the west end of which has, however, not yet been archaeologically recorded, the architectural entire complex might have been approximately 120 to 130 metres long. As far as the integration of extensive older building parts into the enlargement of the abbey church is concerned, one can speak, in a narrower sense, about a well thought-out, extremely economical use of resources in accordance with the monastic spirit of the Benedictines. The atrium, preserved until about 1600 and used among others for judicial hearings, included the *Remakluskapelle* (chapel of Remaklus) newly built or equipped by Abbot Wibald around 1150 as well as the abbot's palace on the northern side in front of the enclosure of the monks and the most important buildings of utility. The monumental building framework was located, similar to the Hippodamian system as in the case of a Roman military camp or an antique town, strikingly central in the central axis of the monastery immunity. Apart from the re-buildings in the transept, new paintings in the abbey church and particularly the architectural reshaping of the now Romanesque-like west front into a bell tower, lower in the middle, provided with eaves and flanked by elevated towers shortly after 1100

or around 1150, the late Carolingian abbey church remained basically unchanged until the Baroque new building in 1666.

All these features are strong architectural indications for the early heyday but also for the declining economic resources of Corvey already under the Ottonians and at the latest in Salic times. The rich equipment and the privileged position as well as the uniquely large property of an ecclesiastical institution in Northern Germany until about 1000 represented a solid basis for the manifold and great tasks of the Benedictine monastery in Church and Empire until the Staufer period. In the Early and High Middle Ages Corvey possessed approximately 3000 to 5000 hides of land, mainly organized on a large scale in probably approximately 100 manors with partly extensive own land and several thousands of dependent jobs of peasants. In addition, Corvey owned more than 100 churches and chapels; it had extensive claims of tithes, profits from markets, handicraft, mines and trade, furthermore from current donations of the faithful.

Similar to Corbie, in Corvey a special intellectual attitude had developed, rudiments of which can be defined by means of the pictorial programme of the painting of the Westwork and in the medieval library of this mother abbey, which can almost be reconstructed. The latter was determined by the special cultivation of late classical literature of the "artes liberales" and a pointed cosmopolitan view which, to a high degree, included the distaste for radical ecclesiastical reforms and excessively one-sided ascetically minded trends of monasticism. Until the 12th/ 13th century the noble birth was an unwritten prerequisite for the admission to the monastery and even around 1150 boys of the higher nobility, for example of the counts of Schwalenberg and Everstein, attended the (outer) monastic school.

Especially the conservation of the western building of the abbey church St Stephen and Vitus represents a highly impressive monument of the Benedictine tradition of medieval Corvey, in spite of the new construction of the other building parts of the monastery in the Baroque period. The western building and the new church document the ecclesiastical-spiritual currents of Catholicism after the Tridentine reforms and, in a way similar to that in the residence of the abbot, a connection to the medieval monastic time which was felt worth imitating and to have been glorious.

Additional sacral buildings in the deserted town of Corvey

Apart from the abbey church, several additional sacred buildings are to be supposed for Carolingian times. At a distance of about 500 metres from the abbey, the formerly important canon monastery *St Paul in Niggenkerken* with the St Paul's Church was built on the banks of the river Weser not far away from the Hellweg in 863 at the latest. The patronage of this church is rather likely due to an older *Petrikirche* (Church of St Peter) nearby. This new foundation, which was given the characteristic designation of nova ec-

clesia, was probably used for the education of worldly priests and missionaries as well as the central pastoral care in Corvey and its wider personnel environment.

Despite of extensive destructions in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, still impressive last remains of monastic buildings are preserved in the harbour of the river Weser. According to present first indications, the collegiate church of St Paul must have been more than 45 metres long and approximately 19 metres wide. The east choir remains indistinct; according to reports of the 19th century, in the west there might have been a twin- or three-tower façade (alternatively a crossing tower). An outer crypt in the very rare style of a one-column crypt, which was attached to the church, represented a speciality. It had probably been attached to the church in the 11th century which, based on building features, had already existed at that time. Possibly, it served the special veneration of the relics of St Liuttrudis which explains early ledgers with inscriptions of exclusively female names of the 9th to the 11th century in the graveyard area, constituting an enormous rarity in Central Europe. Still today an area, approximately 25 metres wide and limited to the west by a wall, with skeletons oriented to the east-west is probable. In addition, there were graves with slabs in the western part of the collegiate church. The enclosure was obviously on the southern side where the western wall, consisting of a width of 12 metres, of the east wing has probably been cut. The walls in the area of the church, comprising a thickness of approximately 1,2 to 1,6 metres are distinctly thicker than those of the Carolingian Abbey Church of Corvey, except for the Westwork.

Secular settlement areas outside the monastery district

According to the present state of knowledge, in Carolingian-Ottonic times the profane settlement areas outside the monastery district were relatively small-scaled. Even if numerous economic facilities and dependants working and living in the monastery area are to be expected, as described in the statutes written for Corbie (*Corbeia Aurea*) by Adalhard of Corbie in 822, there were obviously permanent settlements of laymen in the immediate environment, too. These were situated along the presumed way from the southern gate of the monastery towards the ford of the river Weser and in the west between the monastery and the collegiate church *Niggenkerken*. The purely economic functions were concentrated further to the west in the area of the later historical town of Höxter. Between both settlement agglomerations there was a gap of about 500 metres. Numerous monastery courtyards at a distance of about one to three travelling days belonged to the wider surroundings.

After Otto the Great had awarded the extensive privilege of sovereignty to Abbot Folkmar in 940, the monastery district of Corvey was presumably the central large-scale fortification for the surrounding area in the three districts Augau, Nethegau and Wethigau and certainly for the extensive manorial estate of Corvey in particular. According to reliable written and archaeologi-

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cal sources, the total number of settlements amounted at that time to 200 to 250 places with about 5 to 40 courtyards each. Starting out from a relatively low number of 10 courtyards for each place altogether, hypothetically 2.000 to 2500 courtyards or approximately 8.000 to 10.000 people could be numbered, excluding the inhabitants of Höxter and Corvey.

The settlement areas immediately in the west and north of the 8 hectares large monastery district, comprising to a large extent only single courtyards and groups of houses, experienced an upward development around 1100. The built-up area in front of the immunity of Corvey expanded on an area of approximately 15 to 20 hectares. With an area of approximately 40 to 50 hectares the settlement agglomeration of Höxter-Corvey belonged to the largest early municipal complexes of Central Europe at that time. According to archaeological explanations, immediately in the northwest in front of the imperial monastery of Corvey only larger sporadically settled regions were settled flat-spread around 1100. The settlement agglomeration around Corvey thus reached a new stage of development in Late Salic times when monastic life was at its height. This development possibly received strong impulses from more developed regions of the Rhineland, Western Europe and Italy where the roots of the completely developed constitutional town of the Occidental Middle Ages had grown in local associations of that time. Connections with these regions existed merely on account of the network of relations of the royal abbey of Corvey expanding over the whole Empire or, in a modern sense, all Europe and due to the imperial service to be rendered including the participation in military expeditions as well as in expeditions towards Rome.

Presumably since Carolingian times, at least however from about 1000 to 1300, Corvey respectively Höxter was not an insignificant mint in Saxony respectively Northern Germany. Finds of coins of the 11th and early 12th centuries, above all in the expanse of the Baltic Sea, give evidence of it. Without real needs, the imperial abbey of Corvey would not have applied, as early as 900, for the early granting of the privileges of holding markets, coining mints and levying duties in Marsberg/Horhusen, an important early industrial mining place in the Rhenish Slate Mountains, and in Meppen, a central place in the Northern part of Corvey, not far from the Netherlands. The missing proof of coins, dating back to the time before the turn of the millennium and the relative rarity up to approximately 1050 and between 1150 and 1220, can probably be attributed to the fact that exclusively anonymous imperial coins or later, temporarily, mainly stamps after the example for instance of the anonymous *Sachsenpfennige*, the pfennigs of Goslar or Dortmund respectively the *Sancta-Colonia-Denare* of Cologne and Soest were distributed. The coins are mainly characterized by sculpturally well-designed coin pictures and can, in my opinion, be regarded most probably as proofs of the availability of capable goldsmiths and artist craftsmen in the immediate surroundings of the imperial abbey of Corvey until approximately 1250/1300, admittedly irrespective of the possibility of central minting workshops. About 1150 the currency of Höxter (still) had a considerably

great scope of application. In the 13th century the *Monetarius* family belonged to the leading families qualified to be elected as councillors.

Fortifications

On account of the position in the flat area of the valley of the river Weser, untypical for fortifications of the Early Middle Ages in the Weserbergland, effective facilities of protection in Corvey could be provided artificially with considerable efforts only. Owing to the proximity of the river Weser, a water-bearing moat could be built and maintained with justifiable expenditures while sealing the underground sufficiently with clay (as in the case of a Baroque moat). At the same time, an extensive fish-farming was possible which, due to the obligation to fast, was important for medieval monasteries. Such a double use might explain why fish-ponds are not proved for medieval Corvey and its surroundings. Therefore it is most probable that at least parts of the monastery walls, cut in the fifties of the 19th century and once more in 1990, date back to the Early and High Middle Ages. The sealing of the ground in the north-eastern corner of the monastery district in the later 9th century, first used intensively for handicraft purposes and probably partially open at least towards the river Weser, might be immediately connected with it. Possibly, the importance of the extensive fortifications diminished clearly because the external threats by Hungarians and Normans grew less after the victory on the *Lechfeld* in 955 and particularly since the final incorporation of Hungary and Scandinavia into the Christian Occident in the course of the 11th century. The character of the monastery district of Corvey as a fortified area of immunity is, however, far more distinctly testified than before, on the one hand due to the position of the burgrave or town count beginning in 1106, on the other hand probably on account of the repeatedly evidenced presence of distinguished servants who were familiar with the appointments at the court of the (prince-) abbot and certainly not least with military tasks.

The character of the monastery district capable of defending is furthermore documented till 1146 when an attack could be repelled. To maintain the defences even in case of diminishing external threats had proved to be advisable several times, for example during the raid of Abbot Gunther of Hersfeld, who was loyal to the Emperor and had assaulted the monastery and dislodged the monks, at least that part of the convent willing to make reforms, in 1102. The Benedictines of Corvey were able to return in the following years only.

The monastery of tom Roden

According to the archaeological finds since about 1150 or perhaps shortly after the great papal confirmation of the possession in 1155, the Benedictine provosty tom Roden, initially referred to as "ecclesia" in 1184, might have been built only 1 kilometre to the northwest of Corvey in a low ground; the provost is tangible in 1244 for the first time. In accordance with the excava-

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tions, the entire construction was equipped rather fastidiously as a complete small Benedictine monastery with an expensive water supply and discharge as well as a hot-air heating and tiled stoves as early as 1150 to 1200. The church, a flatly roofed pillar basilica comprising three aisles without a transept and with a mighty cube-shaped western tower according to Westphalian tradition, was 46,8 metres long and 15,2 metres wide. After the example of Corvey, the enclosure was added in the north. Entrances for laymen were planned in the south by means of a porticus and through the tower. This building phase is closely related to building III of the *Petrikirche* (church of St Peter) in Höxter.

The rich deposits of finds in tom Roden foreshadow in conformity with the sporadically written tradition that the decline of the provostry took place, probably in connection with the monastic and economic decay of the mother abbey of Corvey, in the second half of the 13th century as well, at the latest, however, in the early 14th century after the testified destruction of 1324. In the Late Middle Ages there was presumably only a titular provostry left which together with the church (Maria Magdalena) and perhaps parts of the enclosure existed at least till 1532. Somewhat remote in the southwest there was a larger stone building, up to the present only tangible in the findings of the surface. It was probably a hospital at the main entrance to the monastery, alternatively the house of the provost or the porch. The pathological findings from the graveyard in the south of the church are strange. They speak against the burial of monks and in favour of the care for a poor population of laymen of both sexes or also of lay brothers, who were subject to heavy physical burdens. Medical work in the monastery is provable by means of medical tools in the same way as the production of book covers and writing on wax tablets (slate-pencils), moreover presumably the care for boys of rank at school or during their novitiate (find of a miniature aquamanile). Thus the trace of a concrete idea of monastic life can be gained, which allows drawing certain conclusions from the conditions in Corvey.

The Civitas Corvey: Medieval urban structure of European order

In the secular field the development of Corvey received once more a strong rise, above all in the second half of the 12th century. The settlement in front of the monastery gates was completely restructured on a large scale, obviously in the course of the planned relocation of the main street to the southern part of the new town, directly towards the ford and the (new) bridge mentioned in 1255 (in 1348: *Bruggestrate*). Obviously, the bridge, which according to a dendro-chronological date had probably existed or been built in 1227/1228, was temporarily the only fixed crossing over the river Weser. On account of many heavy services and financial aids, in 1247 the abbot allowed the citizens of Höxter to build (once more) a bridge (which might have been partially destroyed before by breaking up of ice) and to repair or to reconstruct it without a special permission when being damaged, instead of using the ferry service which had been in operation by that time. The old junction of the Hellweg, which led obliquely from the entrance of the mo-

nastery in the west to the crossing of the river Weser, lost its former importance just as much as the north-south-road of the time around 1100 in front of the western façade of the monastery district. Wide and straight, at least partially paved roads were built. Particularly the Hellweg, about 900 metres long and 12 to 15 metres wide in the municipal area, is testified impressively with unusually expensive pavements, ditches with bridges as well as shoulders for carts, on a length of several hundred metres in prospections and in sections by means of excavations. In its entirety, it is a unique monument of Occidental road building of the High Middle Ages. In the 16th century the relics of the town of Corvey with ramparts and moats of the fortifications, ruins of the town churches and other “distinguished” and public buildings, paved streets and wells still formed an extensive, impressive site of ruins (Letzner 1590, 1604). In case of large inundations of the river Weser in the 19th century secular and sacral foundations of buildings, fire-places, complete streets lined with houses and parts of the graveyard and the ecclesiastical area of Niggenkerken were flushed several times to a large extent.

Numerous cellars of wood and stone, mainly tangible so far, however, only by means of prospections and partial excavations of the years 1970 to 1990, single Romanesque stone buildings (rear houses of stone) as well as stone wells testify the municipal building up in front of the imperial abbey of Corvey. According to the excavations in the area of the choir, the market church (St Petri?) is to be pointed out particularly as a representative basilica comprising three aisles without a transept, probably of a length of about 45 to 50 metres and a width of 17,6 metres. The thick quarry-stone walls of the Romanesque basilica equipped with apses, which was renovated at least once in the eastern part, must have been built as a large new parish church of the market town of Corvey in the first half or in the middle of the 12th century at the latest.

In the 12th or early 13th century Corvey developed into a town in a legal sense (1189–1203: *nova villa*, *suburbium* and *civitas*; 1190: *nova villa*, *subject to payment of duties already*). The council and the bridge across the river Weser as well as the character as constitutional town (*civitas*) are testified in 1255. In the Staufer period the term “*nova villa*” marked not only the newly built settlement but also localities with the functions of a market or town living on commerce and trades, especially in a transitional stage or an early period. Even the completely neutral designation “*villa*” for settlement is occasionally found with regard to markets and towns still in the 13th century; among them are large and important towns like Freiburg and Lübeck. The *Swabian code of laws* defines towns as settlements in which a market is held. That accounts for the well-known term “*villa forensis*” in the 12th/13th centuries. In the present case *civitas* and *suburbium* might designate the older parts of settlement of Corvey. The *civitas* is undoubtedly the fortified and, in legal respects, extraordinarily protected area of the immunity of the monastery (comparable with cathedral close/fortified cathedral in bishopric towns). *Suburbium* means most probably the settlement areas in the bent of the river Weser at Corvey outside the monastery district, which had already existed

before the restructuring of the town dating back to the Staufer period. Even in the fortified *civitas* of the Early and High Middle Ages, the monastery precincts, more extensive renovations and rebuilding measures might have been taken in the late 11th century as well as in the 12th and 13th centuries. There are quite suitable testimonies from the only relatively short government of Abbot Wibald (1146 to 1158). The fires of the monastery in 1200 and 1242 and possibly the pillages in 1178 and 1265 will have involved architectural activities.

The fortified inner area of the towns of Höxter and Corvey amounted to almost exactly 100 hectares all together between 1150 and 1265, thus surpassing all towns in the further region and, in addition, the majority of the towns in Central and Northern Europe. This dimension corresponded approximately to the area of a large Occidental town of the High Middle Ages such as Lübeck and was twelve times as large as the count's residency of Nienover nearby. It must be added that considerable reserve areas were used for gardening or were built up only sporadically. Larger parts of the newly marked out municipal area of Corvey in the north and west became deserted around 1200 already, possibly after two larger pillages or fires in the years 1178/1179 in the course of the struggle for power between the adherents of the Staufer dynasty respectively Archbishop Philipp of Cologne and Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony, and in 1200. Another considerable impairment of the economic resources resulted from the dissipation or usurpation of estate of the monastery and revenues and was due to the dual election of the abbot in 1215/1216.

The very early formation of pre-urban or urban structures within the Central European frame and the continuous further development on all levels of the early Occidental system of markets and towns even in the High Middle Ages is obviously closely connected with the great importance and, in spite of all crises, unusually firm and solid economic and social position of the imperial abbey of Corvey. Its incorporation into various ecclesiastical and political networks in Saxony, the Frankish-German Empire, the Imperial Church, the order of the Benedictines and the Roman Church respectively the Roman Curia became loose in the course of the second third of the 13th century only.

The decline of Corvey in the Late Middle Ages and in Early Modern Times

The decline of the imperial abbey of Corvey, which announced itself in the second half of the 12th century and started rapidly in the 13th century, originally reflects the Imperial history and the European history. The highly unfortunate conflicts between the Staufer and the Popes as well as the establishing kingdoms of Western Europe and a new knightly, ecclesiastical and civil mentality deprived the traditional large Benedictine monasteries of their intellectual and religious attractiveness at long term and changed decisively the economic and social character of the Occident. The traditional imperial church decayed and the Staufer gave up their imperial politics in Lower Germany. The constitution and development of a secular and religious sov-

ereignty had been sanctioned under imperial law. Without the protection of the king, especially the imperial monasteries were endangered as for example the transfer, forced by the archbishop of Mainz in 1226, and the subsequent dissolution of the famous venerable Benedictine abbey of Lorsch and its transformation into a Premonstratensian provostry show emphatically. In general, the imperial abbots and the Benedictine monasticism as protagonists of older Early and High Medieval structures in church and empire were, as usually, the losers.

The destruction and depopulation of the town of Corvey took place not without reason in the middle of the time of culminant fights for the predominance in the expanse of the river Weser during the Great Interregnum (1256 to 1273) by Bishop Simon of Paderborn of the House of the Noblemen of Lippe. Certainly, the Archbishops of Cologne did great harm to the imperial abbey, too, at long term.

The competitive situation between Corvey and Höxter might have come to a head, because the advancing displacement of the trade on the Hellweg became increasingly noticeable in the area of the river Weser already in the second half of the 13th century. This east-west country route had presumably been the decisive factor for the long-distance trade of the market area of Höxter-Corvey since the 9th/10th century. After the economic emphasis had been shifted from Lower Germany to the northeast in the direction of the Baltic area and with the rise of the sea trading towns at the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, a stage of decline began in many towns of Westphalia, above all alongside the Hellweg and in the southeast. Neither Corvey nor Höxter could escape from this downward trend. In addition, both towns were caught up more and more in the wake of dependency on the neighbouring states, which on their part founded and supported increasingly own castles, markets and towns.

The dramatic downward trend of the monastery of Corvey is marked by the loss of estates and destructions in the course of feuds and struggles for power which could no more be compensated for by a reconstruction: One half of the town of Marsberg and the castle of Lichtenfels had to be conveyed to the Archbishop of Cologne in 1230, one half of the town of Volkmarsen and the *Amt Kogelenberg* around 1300. Additional towns and castles as well as complexes of estates became part of the sphere of influence of the prince-bishopric of Paderborn under the reign of Bishop Simon (1252 to 1259, 1266 to 1275). In spite of temporarily stubborn defensive combats, further valuable possessions of Corvey, among them castles, towns and monasteries, came into the power of disposal of the counts of Waldeck, the bishops of Münster, the counts of Everstein and von Dassel, the noblemen of Homburg and Lippe, after that on a long-term basis to the Dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and of other magnates.

As early as 1233 a provincial committee was appointed to control the economic and political activities of the prince-abbot of Corvey. In April 1265

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the Dukes Albrecht and William of Braunschweig-Lüneburg acquired the protective office of a bailiwick (*Schutzvogtei*) for the town of Höxter. The abbey was once again heavily damaged by means of the devastation of the town of Corvey, carried out some months later during an act of revenge and at least partially of the monastery (which had been burnt down in 1242 already). The decline and the low power of self-assertion of abbot and convent manifest themselves by the relocation of the monastery of *Niggenkerken* to Höxter against the will of the abbey on the 4th April 1266. Finally, the Benedictine abbey of Corvey was at the mercy of the neighbouring powers. About 1294 a purposive coalition, consisting of the counts of Schwalenberg and the noblemen of Brakel-Asseburg, devastated the spacious, formerly excellently extended residence and castle of the abbot on the Brunsberg together with the Bishop of Paderborn and the inhabitants of Höxter. The demolition of the castle through the inhabitants probably occurred in the course of one of the agreements of public peace, repeatedly verified for these years and encouraged by King Rudolf of Habsburg.

Until the middle of the 14th century the monastery of Corvey once more handled an extensive programme of building castles, now mainly in a strictly limited area between Holzminden and Beverungen, to consolidate the territorial sovereignty on the upper Weser, which to a large extent could, however, no longer be realized independently by it. Moreover, the new castles appear considerably more modest, at least relating to space, than in the decades around 1160 to 1240. The introduction was marked by the fortification in the northeast of the walled-in monastery area, transmitted as *Werneborch* for the years 1288/1295, which follows favourably the existing walls in the east and north of the monastery in terms of defence purposes. Along the narrower sphere of influence on the river Weser additional castles were built and castle tenures were established, which served to set up or to strengthen the territorial sovereignty of the imperial abbey of Corvey developing on a narrow space. In 1314 or even around 1300 the abbot of Corvey built together with the bishop of Paderborn the castle of Blankenau, which later on protected the southern border of the monastic territory on the Weser and represented the most important abbot's residence for a longer period. Somewhat later the Tonenburg, mentioned in 1331 for the first time, was probably constructed directly on the river Weser near Corvey, in the north of Höxter. The inhabitants of Höxter were soon able to obtain the rights of disposal for this castle, which was dangerously near to the town. A large and important castle with forecastle, market and town in later years was the castle in Beverungen, developed since 1331 at the latest together with the bishop of Paderborn and afterwards with the noblemen of Brakel. For Corvey this castle went lost to a large extent in the 15th century. As most recent castle Fürstenau is handed down in the middle of the 14th century where the monastery founded a town at the same time in 1348. This admittedly stuck in the bud, probably in the same way as the market of Beverungen at the beginning. In 1394 the abbot of Corvey got into pawn possession of a quarter of the town of Holzminden which he lost, however, to the Guelfs around 1500.

After the material and political tours de force of the 14th century due to pledges and contractions of debts, the monastery of Corvey finally lapsed into political insignificance. From 1434 on it regularly had to conclude contracts of protection with the Dukes of Braunschweig, the Landgraves of Hesse and later on with the noblemen of Lippe, too. According to the admittedly sparse written testimonials evaluated so far, the spacious town-like area of the walled-in district of immunity of the imperial abbey of Corvey had been to a high degree neglected in constructional respect in the decades around 1400 already and was inhabited by few aristocratic monks and servants only. Several raids on the monastery and the Werneburg in situ, including pillages and damages caused by fire, are transmitted for the 14th and 15th centuries. Consequently, the existing fortifications were efficient as protection in a limited way only. Considering the economic circumstances, which became more and more critical, and the way of life of the monks resembling rather that of canons, it is not very surprising that Corvey was deprived of the exemption, the discharge from the episcopal diocesan force and the immediate subordination to the Papal See, for a long time in 1400.

In the 15th century only few monks and probably a very small number of servants still lived in the spacious monastery district. The abbot mostly resided in the castle of Blankenau (Koch, König, Streich 2012). According to few written news about a village of Corvey (1388, 1416, 1480) or Oldendorp near Niggenkerken (1316) as well as a village near the market church, the deserted town can be imagined to have been a spacious scenery of ruins with the two large Romanesque and Pre-Romanesque churches, the market church and the collegiate church *Nova Ecclesia St. Pauli*, which were presumably maintained only temporarily. In addition, these areas might have been interspersed with some few houses and only partially been used as gardens, orchards, pastures and arable land.

At the beginning of the 16th century several far-reaching changes occurred to the monastery of Corvey and other religious institutions. In 1505 Abbot Franz von Ketteler (1504 to 1547), who had just been newly elected and was ready to carry out reforms, succeeded in affiliating with the Congregation of Bursfelde. He subordinated the monastery of Corvey to an obligatory observance in order to fight against the moral and, at the same time, economic misery of the convent and the abbot. At that time, only five monks were reputed to be left in the monastery. Among them was Johannes von der Lippe as last provost of the monastery of tom Roden. During the same period, the provostry of the collegiate church of St. Paul and Peter was dissolved, too. In the following decades the monastery and the territory of Corvey recovered slowly, even in economic respect, from the crises and symptoms of decline of the Late Middle Ages. This had, however, to be paid for by the final alienation of important outguards such as Marsberg and Volkmarsen to the archbishop of Cologne in 1507.

The Renaissance chronicler Johannes Letzner records in his *Chronicle of Corvey* (1590), which is highly informative with regard to our knowledge of the Pre-Baroque monastery complex, that, because of the growing need of the free imperial abbey and the urgent necessity, many useful and comfortable buildings had been built and numerous old buildings been pulled down in the past 30 years. To sum up he reports: “The buildings of this frequently mentioned monastery are, however, partly old and partly new. And there are quite a lot so that it can be considered as an imposing town from the outside” (chapter 6). The dangers and repeated heavy pillages and destructions of the monastery in the Thirty Years’ War, in the course of which the relics of St Vitus and the library got lost to a large extent, signaled the final decline of old Corvey.

Outlook concerning the special historical and archaeological importance of Corvey

After the first beginnings (presumably in the Solling nearby in the years between 815 and 822) the Benedictine model monastery “corbeia nova” was founded after the example of the highly important imperial abbey of Corbie in the Frankish nucleus in the northeast of France in August 822. Due to the close cooperation between emperor, church and Saxon aristocracy, Corvey rapidly developed into a nursery of Christian faith and of the Frankish imperial culture with effects on vast parts of Europe. On account of the temporal and personal propinquity to the reform synod of Aachen of 817, which set the foundation for the monastic world of the Occident, the reestablishment by means of élites of the Carolingian empire caused a unique situation.

Perfect ideas of a large-scale monastery of Carolingian times, as transmitted in the statutes for Corbie and Bobbio in Northern Italy as well as the plan of St Gallen for just these years, could be realized to a large extent without reservation on the basis of the favourable area available. At present, there is not a second place known in the Occident in which a construction has been materialized in such a generous, widely foresighted style and dimension as in Corvey. The mere entire disposition of the monastery site with the monastery district, which is nearly 8 hectares large, approximately rectangular and surrounded by a wall and moat, has a unique effect in the age of the Early Middle Ages. So far, only very small parts of the monastery have been excavated, except for the centrally located abbey church. Unusually wide areas are, however, available for future investigations because the Baroque construction shows, to a large extent, a different disposition, apart from enclosure and church. Archaeological explanations, extensive scientific prospectings and written documents show outlines and first details of the complex development of the monastery in terms of architectural and functional history and not least its high valence as thesaurus mainly of the Early and High Medieval history of Europe in the fields of culture and settlement.

The particular spirituality of Corvey, which continued to be effective in some way for nearly a millennium till the dissolution of the monastery (1794) and the bishopric (1821) and was marked in the Early Middle Ages already, was tied into the noble world of the old European society and, to a large extent, cosmopolitan in a positive sense. This mentality resulted, even in the High, above all however in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, temporarily in violent disputes, criticism and serious crises. The central role of the monks of Corvey in the event of the incorporation of Saxony into the Christian Occident and its emancipation, the maintenance of basic values of the heyday of the Carolingian imperial culture, going back to antiquity, at the time of the dissolution of the Frankish Empire and particularly during the rise of the East Frankish or Ottonic-German monarchy as well as the expansion and effect in the course of the early mission of Scandinavia (Haithabu, Ribe, Birka) and Bohemia (St Veit Cathedral in Prague) may be referred to as excellent achievements of the monks of Corvey.

In the last decades, the medieval cultural landscape in the neighbouring and more distant vicinity of Corvey could be spaciouly revealed to a considerable, rather unique extent all over Europe by means of prospections. The ascertainment that a dense network of rural settlements was developed in the 8th/9th century and that demographic and economic climaxes were reached in Carolingian times and in the Staufer period, ranks among the main results. In the Late Middle Ages serious crises followed, which can be proved impressively by means of hundreds of deserted villages and fields wooded up to the present.

Deepened case studies, covering various subjects and including extensive excavations in suitable places which are available excessively, belong to the future agenda by all means. On account of the suspenseful territorial history, the Weserbergland shows a singular wealth of deserted towns of the 13th/14th century in Central Europe. Corvey belongs to this context, too. It surpasses, however, by far all other places not only in greatness (55 hectares) but particularly in the complexity of development and structures. Different from the important commercial centres (and the territories) of the Early Middle Ages at the North Sea, the Baltic Sea and in the Slavic countries, which had been deserted, Corvey with its accessory spacious settlement areas, had prematurely in advance developed nearly all features of the late medieval town, apart from the charter of a town. In the deserted town of Corvey and the town of Höxter, closely connected to it, all stages of development of European towns can be reconstructed exemplarily since the early granting of customs law and the right of minting coins to the monks of Corvey in 833. Until the destruction during the interregnum in 1265, the history of Corvey is closely linked to the Frankish and Roman-German imperial history. Finally, this tie has an after-effect till the Napoleonic time but, as in common use in Germany, the regional ties come to the fore since that time.

Final remarks

A reference apparatus is dispensed with here in favour of the legibility. Instead, I refer above all to the most important, more recent works containing extensive bibliographic references. A more detailed version of this contribution, including the development of the town of Höxter, is forthcoming (Stephan 2013). Particularly, the history of the town of Höxter (König, Rabe; Streich 2003; Koch, König, Streich 2012) the map sheet Höxter and Corvey of the *Westfälischer Städteatlas* (Koch, König, Stephan 2006) and the works of the author about Corvey and the further environments (Stephan 2000, 2010) may serve as starting point for deeper reading. In addition, the volumes about the central exhibition of the Land of North Rhine-Westphalia „Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum” in Corvey in 1966 can still be referred to (Kunst und Kultur 1966; Stoob 1970). Among the extensive historical literature only the works about the traditions of Corvey and the lists of monks as well as the foundation history of Corvey and details about Corvey in Salic times may be pointed out vicariously for many other titles (Honselmann und Schütte 1982, 1992; Kaminsky 1972; Krüger 2001).

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Dr Walter Berry. American art historian and archaeologist, Walter Berry has worked in France since the 1970s, notably on sites in Southern Burgundy. Between 1993 and 1998 he was responsible d'opération for the Reims cathedral group archaeological research project. Currently chercheur associé with UMR 5594 (CNRS – Université de Bourgogne), he is preparing an annotated data base for the documentation of K.J. Conant's excavations at Cluny.

Dr Pascale Chevalier, Archéologue & historienne de l'art | Maître de conférences en Histoire de l'Art et archéologie médiévales, Université Blaise-Pascal (Clermont-Ferrand II) – rattachement CNRS, UMR 6298-ARTEHIS, Dijon

Domaines de recherche

Architecture et liturgie paléochrétienne, protobyzantine et haut-médiévale dans les Balkans ; architecture religieuse médiévale et aménagements liturgiques en Auvergne, Velay, Bourgogne, etc. Responsable de plusieurs chantiers archéologiques programmés depuis 1994. En particulier :

- Direction de 3 missions archéologiques sous l'égide du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : en Croatie, Bale (1998-2001) et Salona (2002-06) avec l'Ecole française de Rome ; en Albanie, Byllis (depuis 2003) avec l'Ecole française d'Athènes.
- Co-direction avec S. Bully de la fouille du Palais épiscopal de Saint-Claude (1998-2000), direction de l'étude de la crypte de la cathédrale de Clermont (1999-2005), de la fouille du prieuré clunisien de Souvigny (2001-09) et de celle de la crypte de Saint-Pierre du Mont (2010-12)

Coordination du PCR « Le chantier médiéval à travers sept sanctuaires romans d'Auvergne » (2002-05) ; participation à l'ACR sur la « Morphogenèse de l'espace ecclésial au Moyen Âge » (2002-09) et au PCR sur le « Baptistère Saint-Jean du Puy-en-Velay » (2006-12) ; co-direction avec C. Sapin du projet ANR Corpus architecturae religiosae europeae IV-X saec. (2008-11). Expert de la CIRA (Commission interrégionale pour la recherche archéologique) Sud-Est (PACA/ Languedoc-Roussillon/Corse)

Dr Otfried Ellger has been working as a scientific expert with LWL-Archäologie focussing on church archeology, archaeological architecture and monument inventory since 1988. This appointment was preceded by a course of study in history, art history, traditional archaeology and historical ancillary sciences in Münster and Freiburg as well as a thesis and a final practical training at the department for the Middle Ages of the Westfälisches Museum für Archäologie (today LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen).

Dr Matthias Exner has been employed as a scientific assistant by the Bavarian state office for the preservation of historic monuments since 1992, where he assumed the function of head of the department for the documentation of settlements and cultural landscapes in 2008 (department for the registration and research of monuments). In addition, he has been a member of the German national committee of ICOMOS since 1994, in which function he organizes and publishes international symposiums. Apart from his lectureship at the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich, which he has had since 1998, he has been a board member of the Verband Deutscher Kunsthistoriker (Federation of German Art Historians) since 2009 and a board member of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft (German Art Studies Association) since 2011.

Professor Dr Andreas Hartmann-Virnich has held a chair in art history and medieval archaeology at Université de Provence in Aix-en-Provence since 2006 and is a member of Laboratoire d'Archéologie Médiévale et Moderne Méditerranéenne LA3M, Aix-en-Provence. His years of research focus on architectural research and project management, especially in respect of Romanesque and Gothic church buildings and monastery complexes, architectural technology and architectural sculpture in Southern France as well as architectural research projects in Syria (citadel of Damascus) and Armenia (Early Christian basilica of Ezeruyk).

Professor Dr Heinz-Dieter Heimann

- 1972 studies of German language and literature as well as history at the Ruhr University of Bochum
- 1978 academic assistant at the chair of medieval history of the Ruhr University of Bochum (Prof. Dr Ferdinand Seibt)
- 1981 doctorate and title Dr phil.; Title of the thesis: "Zwischen Böhmen und Burgund. Zum Ost-Westverhältnis innerhalb des Territorialsystems des deutschen Reiches im 15. Jahrhundert". (Published in 1982)
- 1988 habilitation at the faculty of history of the Ruhr University of Bochum; Title of the habilitation treatise: "Hausordnung und Staatsbildung. Innerdynastische Konflikte als Wirkungsfaktoren der Herrschaftsverfestigung bei den wittelsbachischen Reinpfalzgrafen und den Herzögen von Bayern im Spätmittelalter". (Published in 1993)
- 1989 Venia legendi for the subject „Medieval history and comparative regional history“
- Research associate and private lecturer at the chair of medieval history at the Ruhr University of Bochum
- 1991 to 1993 lectureships and visiting professorships at the Ruhr University of Bochum, the universities of Hannover, Paderborn and Potsdam
- Since 1994 Professor of medieval history at the university of Potsdam

Dr Jacques Le Maho, chargé de recherches au CNRS, CRAHAM-Université de Caen (France), UMR 6273. Archéologue et historien, directeur des fouilles de l'abbaye Saint-Georges de Boscherville et de la cathédrale de Rouen, membre du groupe d'étude de l'abbaye de Jumièges dirigé par James Morganstern (université de l'Ohio, USA).

Professor Dr Saverio Lomartire. Après sa thèse chez l'Université de Pavie (tutor prof. Adriano Peroni) sur les chantiers et la sculpture de la cathédrale de Plaisance et de l'abbatiale de Saint Michel-de-la-Cluse, il a conduit des recherches sur la peinture médiévale chez l'Université de Lausanne (tutor prof. Carlo Bertelli). Il a été chargé de séminaires et de courses près les Universités de Pavie et de Macerata et après il a été chef curateur des Musées de la Ville de Pavie. A partir du 2001 il est devenu "professore associato" d'Histoire de l'Art Médiéval chez l'Università del Piemonte Orientale à Verceil. Il travaille surtout sur les domaines de l'architecture et de la sculpture du haut moyen-âge à l'époque romane (avec quelques études sur le gothique), mais aussi sur la peinture et les arts somptuaires. Il a dédié plusieurs études aux artistes itinérants lombards (Commacini, Campionesi, Antelami) et aussi au rapport entre épigraphie, architecture et image au moyen-âge.

Professor Dr Federico Marazzi (Rome 1962), BA (Rome "La Sapienza") Phd (Turin), is Associate Professor of Medieval and Christian Archaeology at the "Suor Orsola Benincasa" University (Naples - Italy). He has also been fellow of the Deutsches Historisches Institut in Rome and has been teaching courses in other Italian (Palermo, Bologna and Milan) and foreign (Copenhagen, Michigan USA, Tunis) Universities. He is presently member of the Board of the Italian Society of Medieval Archaeology.

Professor Dr Christian Sapin

- Archéologue & historien de l'art
- Directeur de recherche au CNRS
- Directeur du Centre d'Etudes médiévales d'Auxerre
- Chargé de cours aux universités de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté et Liège (Belgique)

Responsable de nombreux chantiers archéologiques depuis 1975 en France (en particulier Groupe épiscopal d'Autun, ancienne église Saint-Clément de Mâcon, L'ancienne abbaye Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, Notre-Dame sous Terre du Mont-Saint-Michel, La crypte de Saint-Quentin) et en Belgique (abbaye Saint-Gérard).

Dr Hubertus Seibert was scientific assistant or research assistant respectively at the Institute of History at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz until 1994. He has been a senior lecturer at the Institute of History, Department of Medieval History, at the Ludwig Maximilians University of Munich since 2000. There are numerous publications on the history of monkhood and medieval churches, about the history of the nobility (counts of Schweinfurt and Northeim, Welfs, Stauffers, Wittelsbach) and on the Roman-German Empire in the Middle Ages, on the history of Bavaria and Austria between the 10th and the 14th centuries as well as on the Rhenish regional history between the 16th and 20th centuries.

Professor Dr Hans-Georg Stephan has held a chair in medieval and modern archaeology at the Institut für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologien Europas (Institute for Art History and Archaeologies of Europe) at Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg since 2004. His years of research and numerous publications focus on interdisciplinary and practical archaeological research in the 1st and 2nd millennium after Christ in Central Europe as well as the medieval history of settlement and landscape, urban topography and architectural history, material culture (ceramic and glass), economic history (especially pottery, metallurgy, glass production) and archaeometry.

Professor Dr Matthias Untermann, art historian and archaeologist specialized in the Middle Ages, doctorate in Cologne in 1984, habilitation in Freiburg (Breisgau) in 1998; research associate of the state monument preservation office (Landesdenkmalamt) of Baden-Württemberg from 1985 to 1999, professor of European art history at the Ruprecht-Karl-University of Heidelberg since 2000; numerous books and essays published on the architecture of medieval orders, on town archaeology and medieval urban studies.

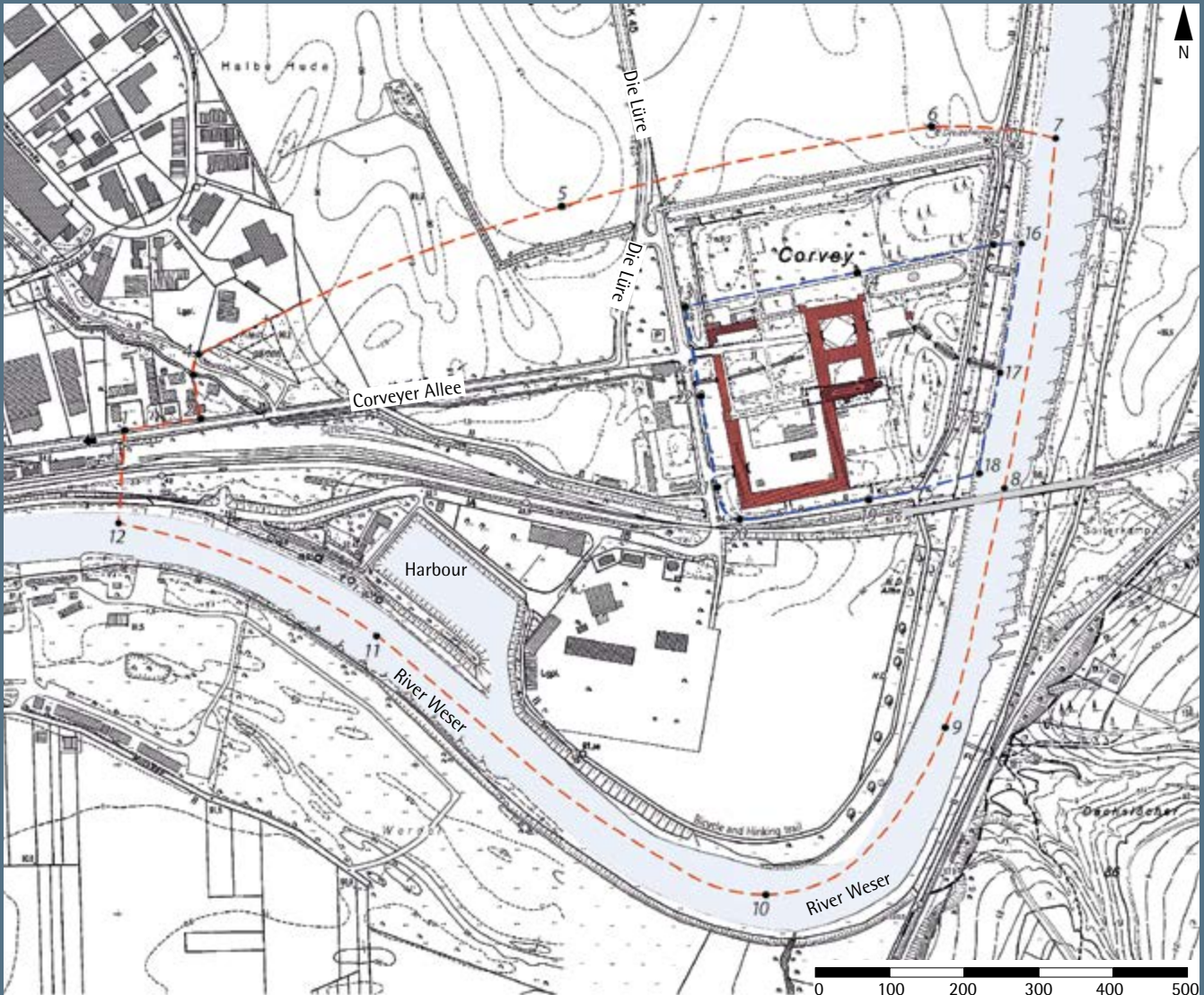
Dr Michael Wyss took a course of studies at the University of Paris 1 under the supervision of Léon Pressouyre. He has taken part in the research of urban archaeology of Saint-Denis since 1982 and is the director of the scientific publications with regard to the excavations, starting with the "Atlas historique de Saint-Denis, des origines au XVIIIe siècle" in 1996. As an architectural researcher and art historian, he also actively works in the area of the basilica and the former abbey.

Material accompanying the application: Maps and pictures

THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK AND THE CIVITAS CORVEY



1. BORDERS OF THE NOMINATED WORLD HERITAGE SITE AND BUFFER ZONE





The buffer zone around the Carolingian Westwork and the Civitas Corvey is defined by the archaeological monument, deserted medieval town of Corvey, and the northern part of the archaeological monument of the monastery of Corvey, which both do not belong to the nominated site. Together they surround the town in front of the monastery's ga-

tes, which was fortified in the 12th century and later deserted. This zone is supplemented by some areas in front of the former town fortifications which have not or only scarcely been built on, as well as the banks and the course of the River Weser up to the middle of the river in front of the archaeological monument mentioned.

Scale/Maßstab 1:7.500

Source Plan/Kartengrundlage: Abstract of the Cadastral Land Register

Borders of the nominated World Heritage Site and buffer zone

	Nominated property	12 ha
	Buffer zone	69 ha
	Total	81 ha

Source: LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen. Copyright Kreis Höxter, Topographical Basis: 1:5000



Coordinates in WGS84 (EPSG:4326)					
Points	North	East	Points	North	East
1	51°46'39,85	9°23'45,86	12	51°46'35,84	9°23'45,42
2	51°46'40,37	9°23'51,16	13	51°46'45,10	9°24'25,17
3	51°46'42,23	9°23'50,70	14	51°46'46,52	9°24'37,21
4	51°46'43,15	9°23'51,11	15	51°46'47,70	9°24'46,78
5	51°46'49,47	9°24'16,55	16	51°46'47,75	9°24'48,75
6	51°46'52,83	9°24'42,53	17	51°46'42,15	9°24'47,20
7	51°46'52,32	9°24'51,16	18	51°46'37,80	9°24'45,69
8	51°46'37,13	9°24'47,45	19	51°46'36,69	9°24'37,92
9	51°46'26,79	9°24'43,25	20	51°46'35,86	9°24'28,86
10	51°46'19,57	9°24'30,60	21	51°46'37,24	9°24'27,31
11	51°46'30,93	9°24'03,44	22	51°46'41,20	9°24'26,20

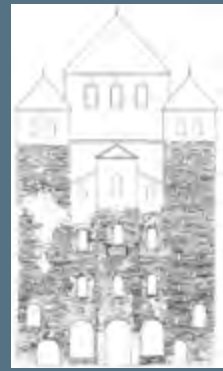
2. THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK



The Westwork of Corvey in Höxter on the River Weser is one of the rare Carolingian structures the main parts of which have been preserved and, furthermore, it is the only preserved example of the westwork building type from that time. It combines innovation and recourse to ancient models on a high level and as a building type has considerably influenced western architecture until the end of the Romanesque period. The originally preserved vaulted hall with columns and pillars on the ground floor as well as

the main room encircled by galleries on three sides on the upper floor make Corvey one of the most significant examples of the "Carolingian Renaissance". This especially applies to the documented original artistic decoration of the still existing elements on the ground floor and especially on the upper floor, including life-size stucco figures and mythological friezes presenting the only known example of wall paintings of ancient mythology with a Christian interpretation in Carolingian times.





Westwork,
Reconstruction

1 Carolingian
inscription tablet

„CIVITATEM ISTAM
TV CIRCVM DA D(omi)NE ET
ANGELI TVI CVSTO
DIANT MVROS EIVS“



1

„Take care of this city my Lord and let your
angels be the guardians of its walls.“

2 West façade of the
Carolingian Westwork in
1963

3 Entrance hall in 1963

4 Façade of the Carolin-
gian Westwork in 2008



2



3

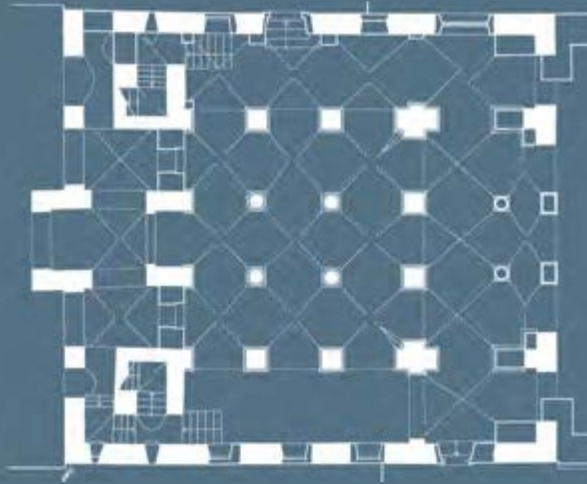






GROUND FLOOR OF THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK

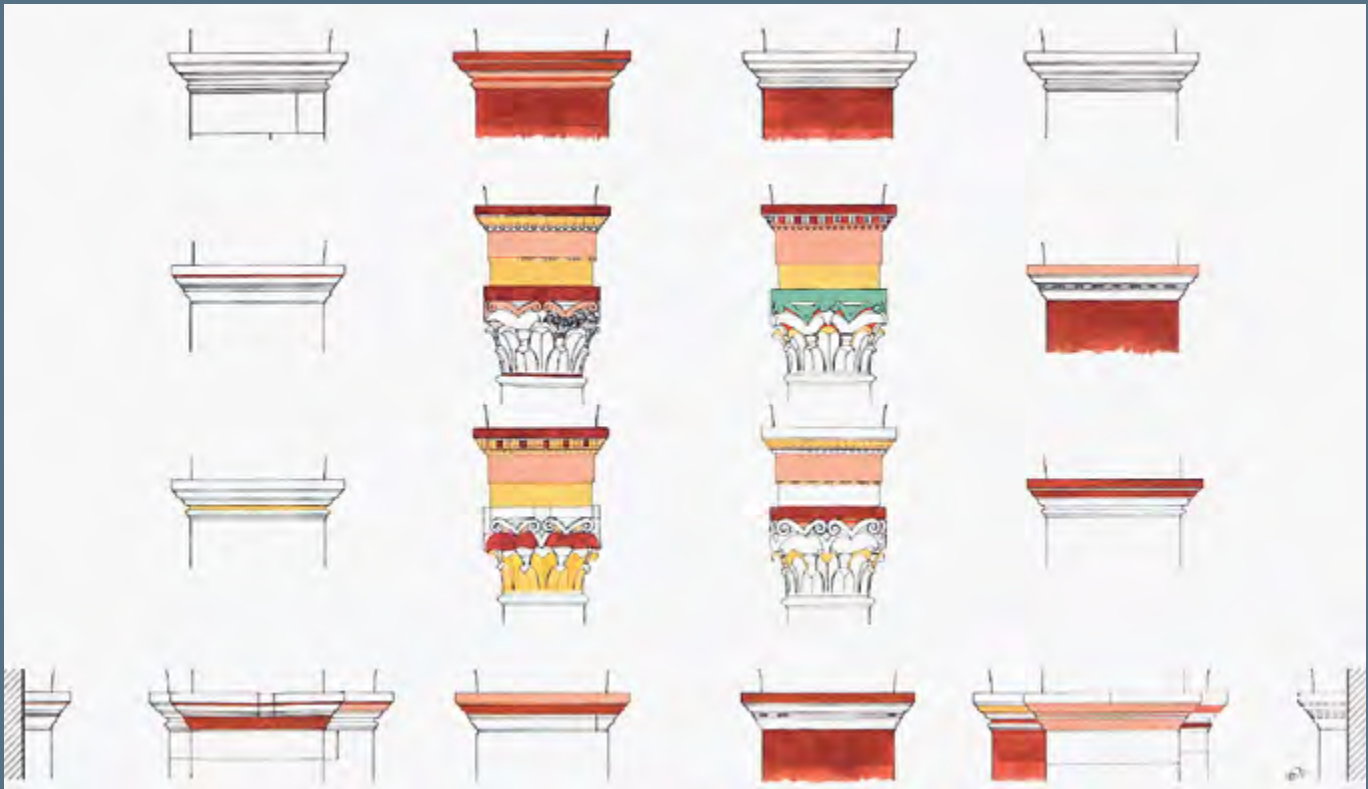
Former abbey church –
Westwork – ground floor
Plan of existing condition



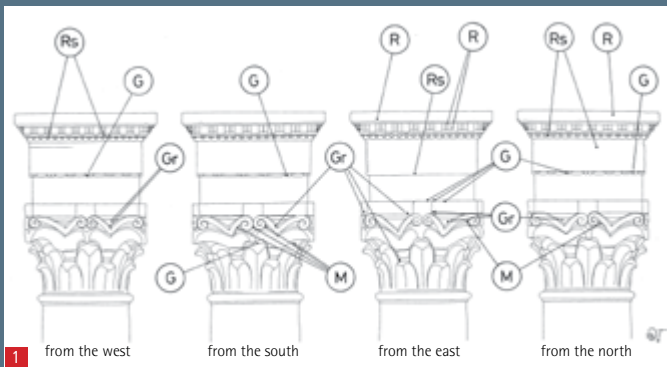
Portico in the ground floor,
towards the southeast



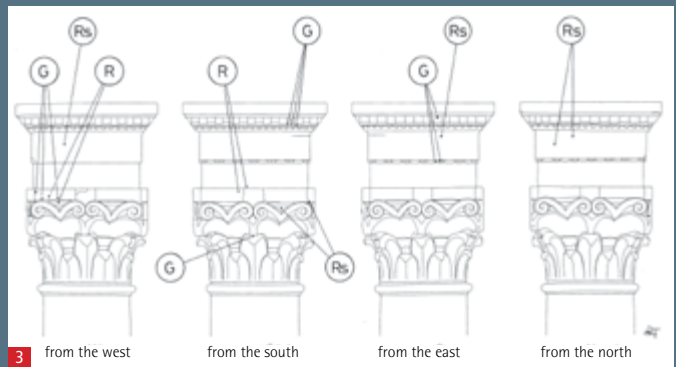
Portico in the ground floor, towards the south



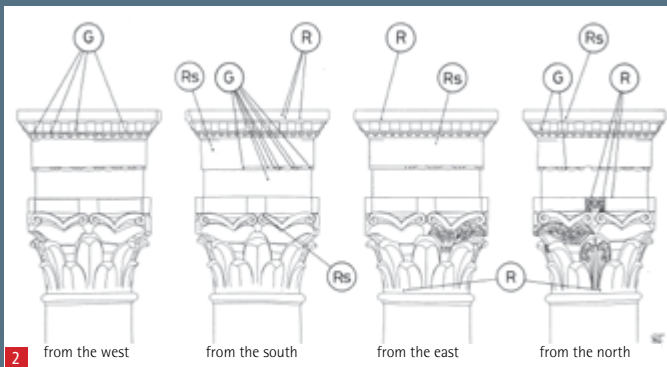
Colour decoration of the pillars towards the west on the ground floor



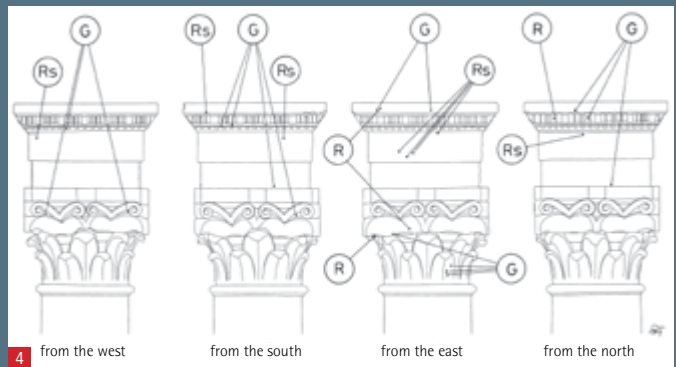
1 from the west from the south from the east from the north



3 from the west from the south from the east from the north



2 from the west from the south from the east from the north



4 from the west from the south from the east from the north

GROUND FLOOR

1 Colour traces on the northwest column

3 Colour traces on the northeast column

2 Colour traces on the southwest column

4 Colour traces on the southeast column

Drawings by Frohnert

KEY TO THE CAROLINGIAN PAINT RESIDUES

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| (B) Azurite blue | (RH) Hematite/iron oxide red |
| (Gr) Malachite green | (M) Red lead |
| (R) Oxide red | (G) Ochre yellow |
| (Rs) Pink made up of oxide red and lime white | (S) Black |



5

5 Find of the Carolingian painting on the ground floor of the southern nave, eastern arcade, soffit on the southern side



6

6 Drawing of the find by Goege



7

7 Find of the Carolingian painting on the ground floor of the southern nave, eastern arcade, soffit on the northern side with surrounding edging strips



8

8 Drawing of the find by Goege



9

9 Find of Carolingian painting in the north-eastern corner of the ground floor, south aisle, acanthus frieze

10 Reconstruction of the acanthus frieze by Buchholz



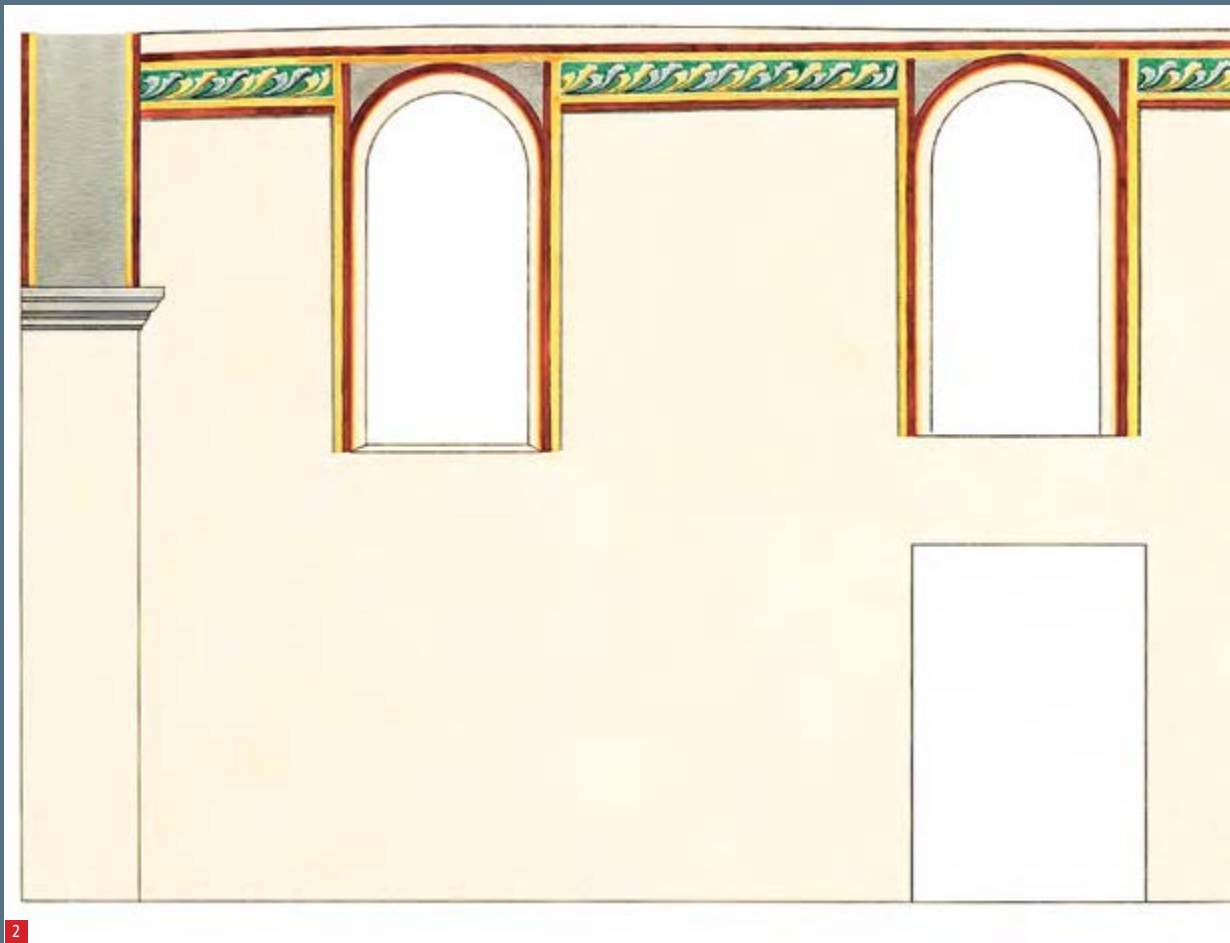
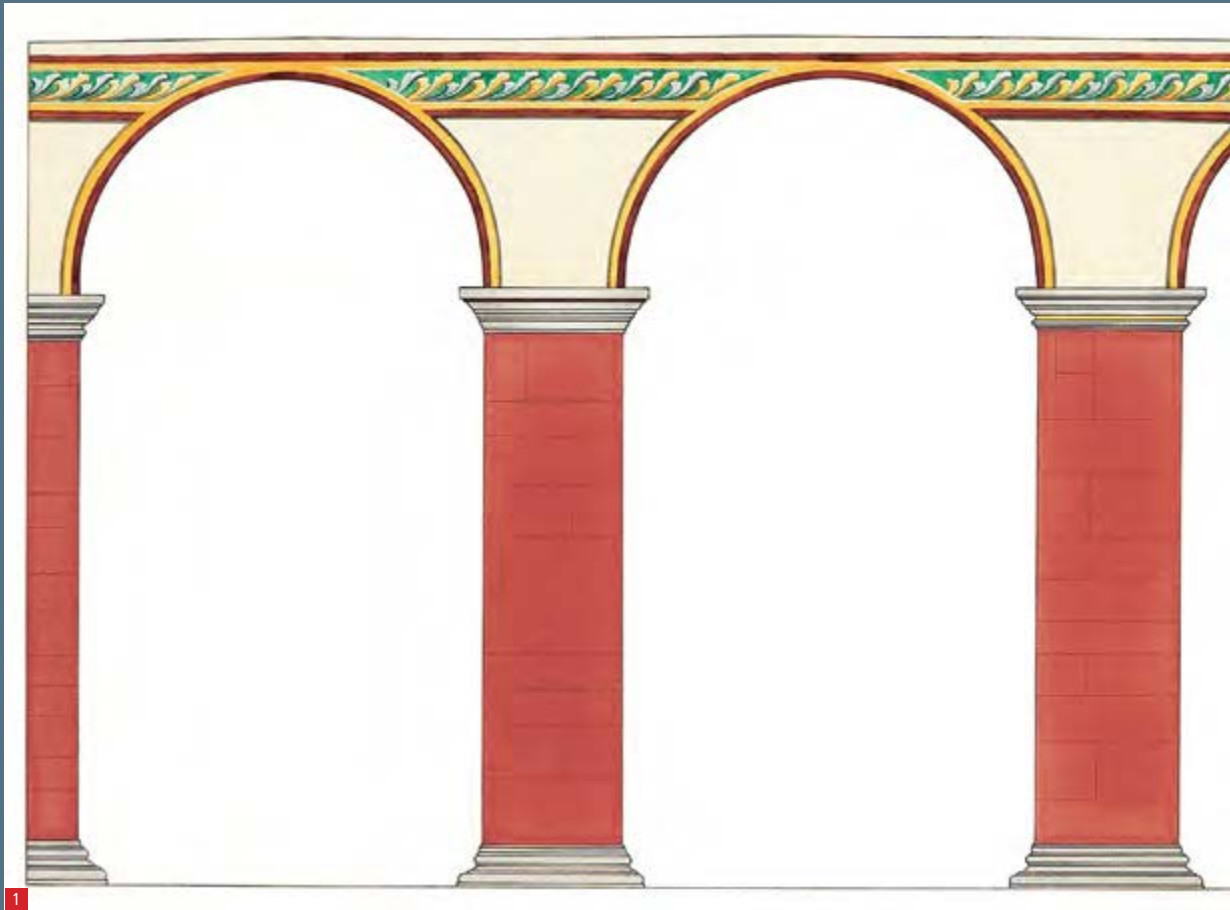
10

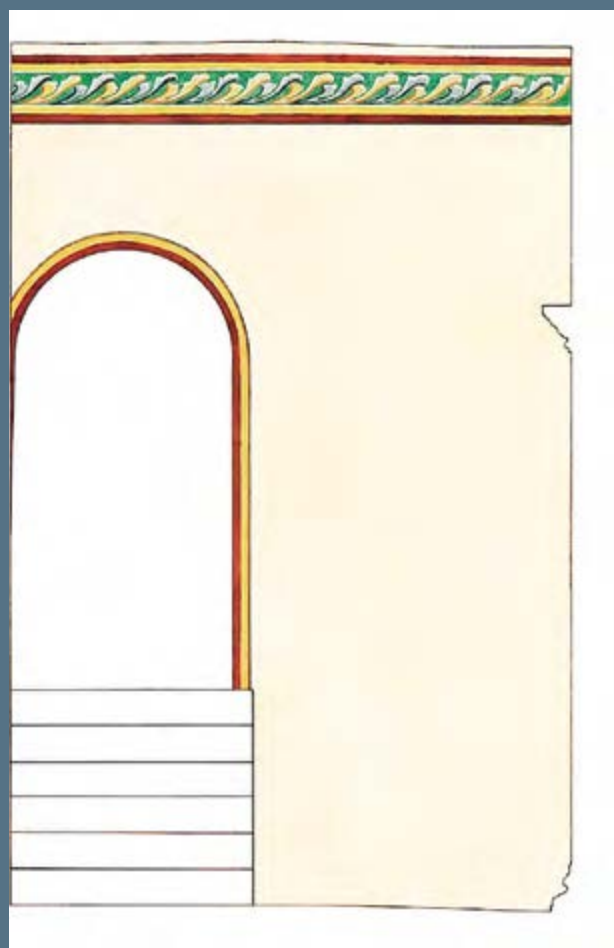
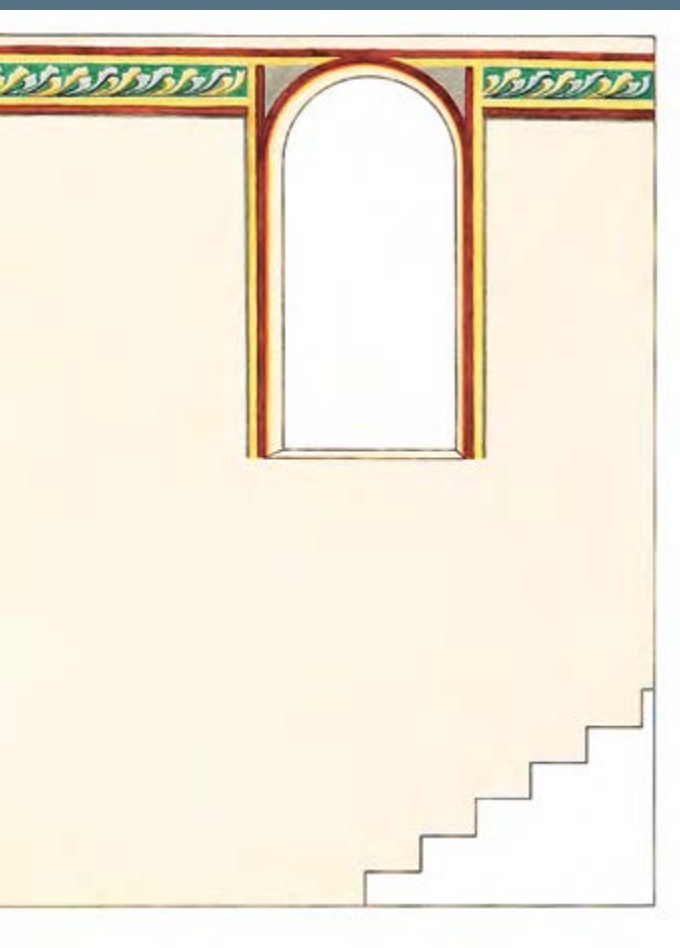
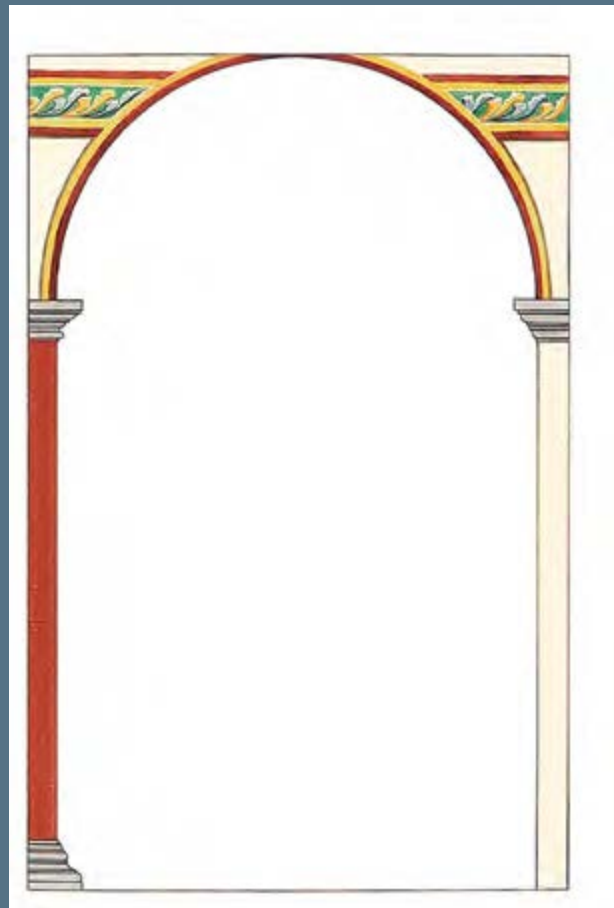
GROUND FLOOR

1 Southern aisle on the north side
Reconstruction by Buchholz

2 Southern aisle on the south side
Reconstruction by Buchholz

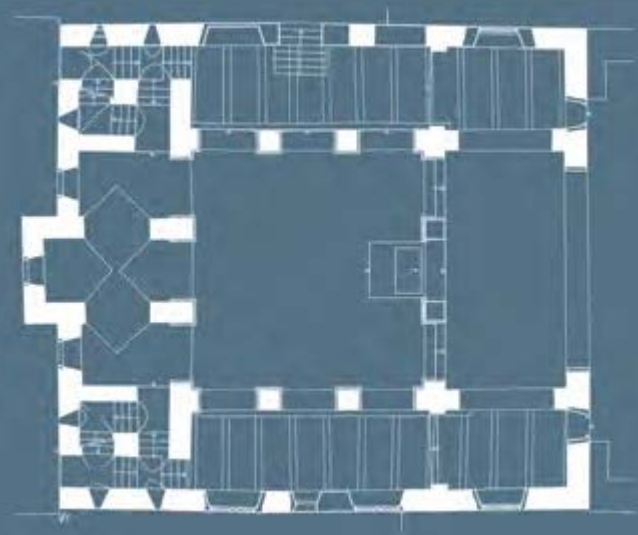
The grey areas in the drawings show parts which used to have coloured decorations, the fragmentary findings of which are, however, not sufficient for a reconstruction.



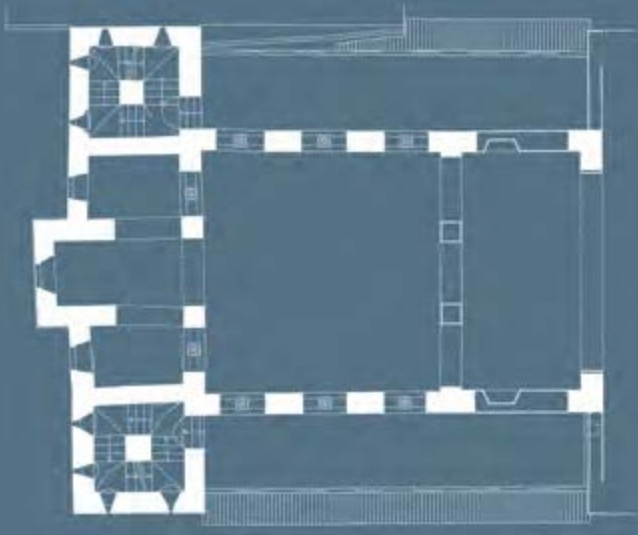


UPPER FLOOR AND GALLERY OF THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK

Upper floor – Plan of existing structure



Gallery floor – Plan of existing structure



View into the upper floor and gallery



St John's choir in the year 1989





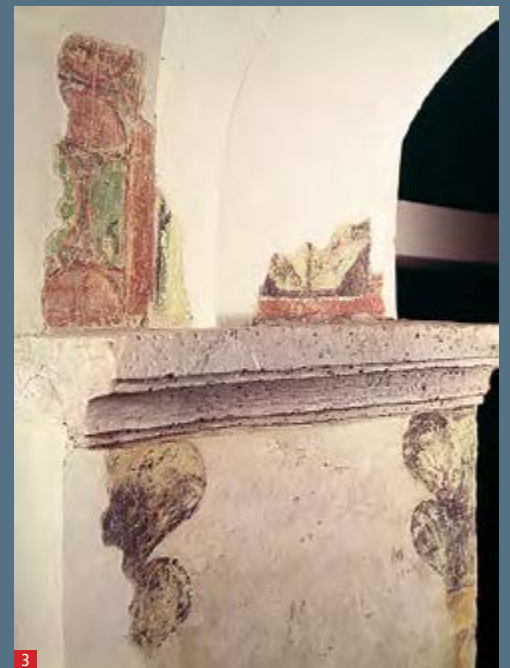
1 Reconstruction of the Carolingian upper floor towards the northwest
Drawing by Buchholz

2 Good find of the frieze with addorsed semi-circles. South gallery, east arcade, west side

3 Soffits with rudiments of frieze, north gallery



2



3



1 Middle soffit arch of the west arcade, upper floor

2 Detailed view



3 Detail of the northern fragment in the middle soffit arch of the west arcade, upper floor





4 Vault of the west room with the figurative scenes from the sea creature frieze

5 Fragment of the south side, western gallery, southern arcade

6 Best find of the frieze with addorsed semi-circles, west side of the east arcade, north gallery

7 Soffits with rudiments of frieze on the east side of the eastern arcade

8 Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the sea creature frieze on the upper floor of the west room (pages 28/29)



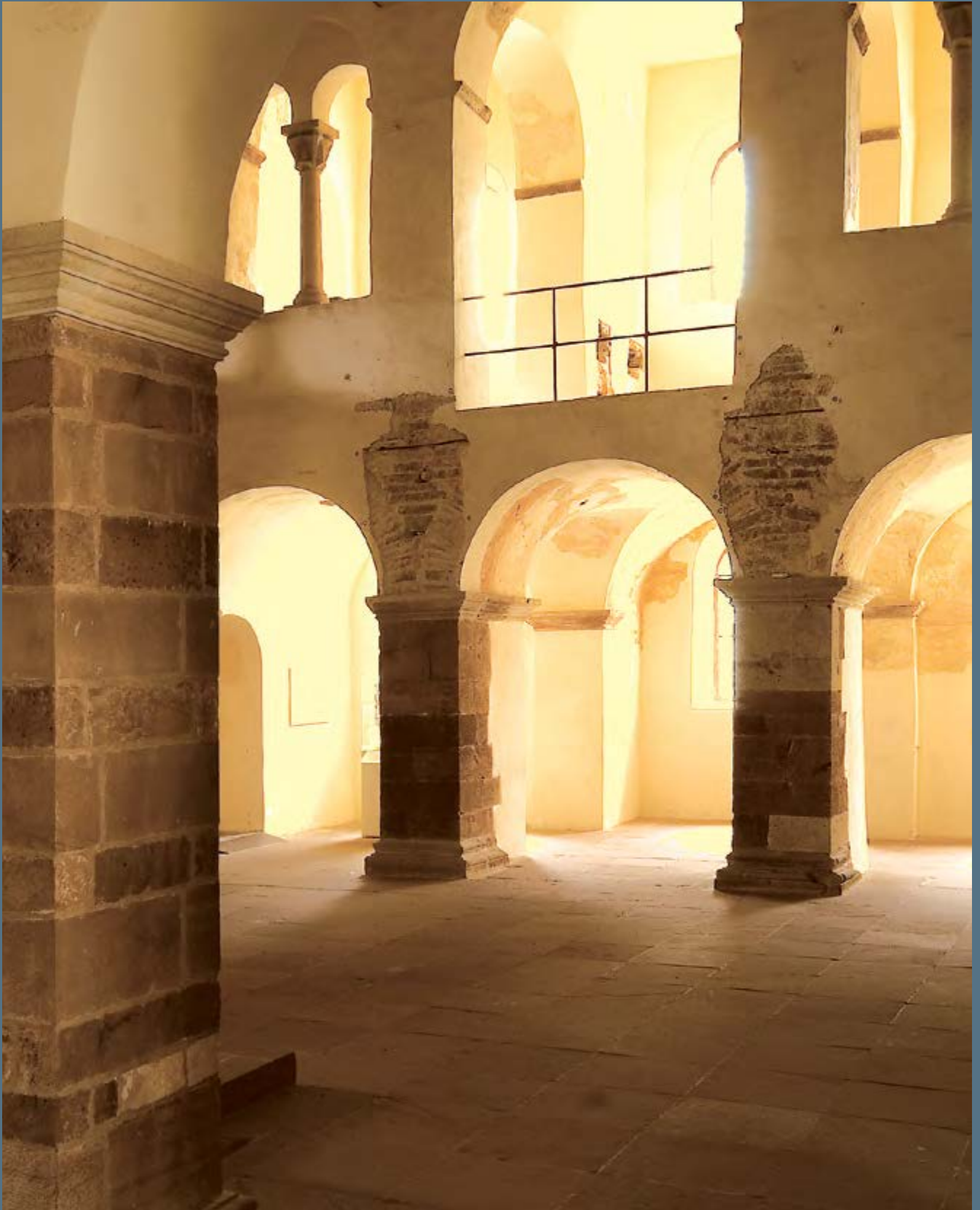
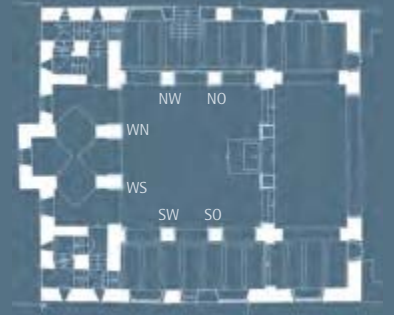


SINOPIAS AND STUCCO FIGURES IN THE CAROLINGIAN WESTWORK

Sinopia = preparatory background drawing with red ochre pigment



Upper floor, reconstruction
of the Carolingian state
with location of the sino-
pias

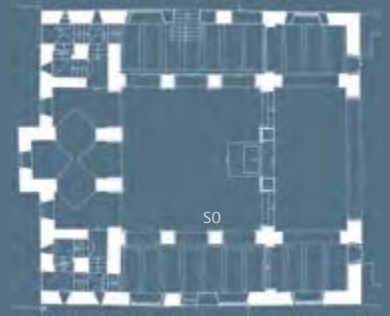


1 South wall of the upper floor, eastern sinopia

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the eastern sinopia
Drawing by Schneider





2



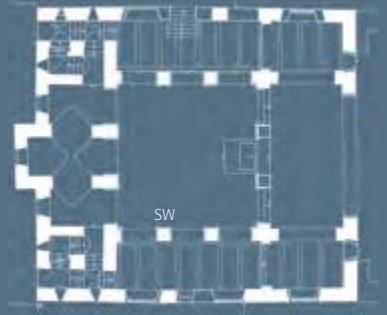
3

1 South wall of the upper floor, western sinopia

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the western sinopia
Drawing by Schneider





2



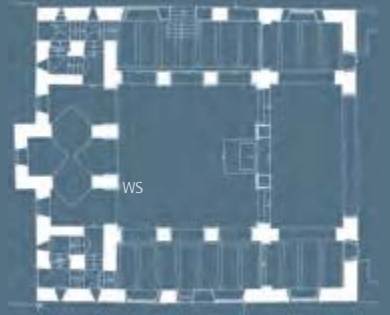
3

1 West wall of the upper floor, southern sinopia

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the southern sinopia
Drawing by Schneider



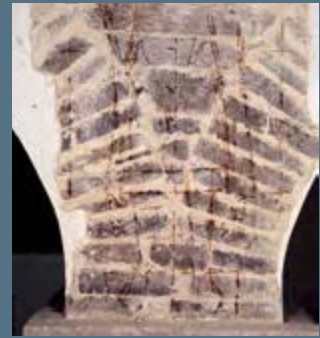


2



3

West wall | northern sinopia

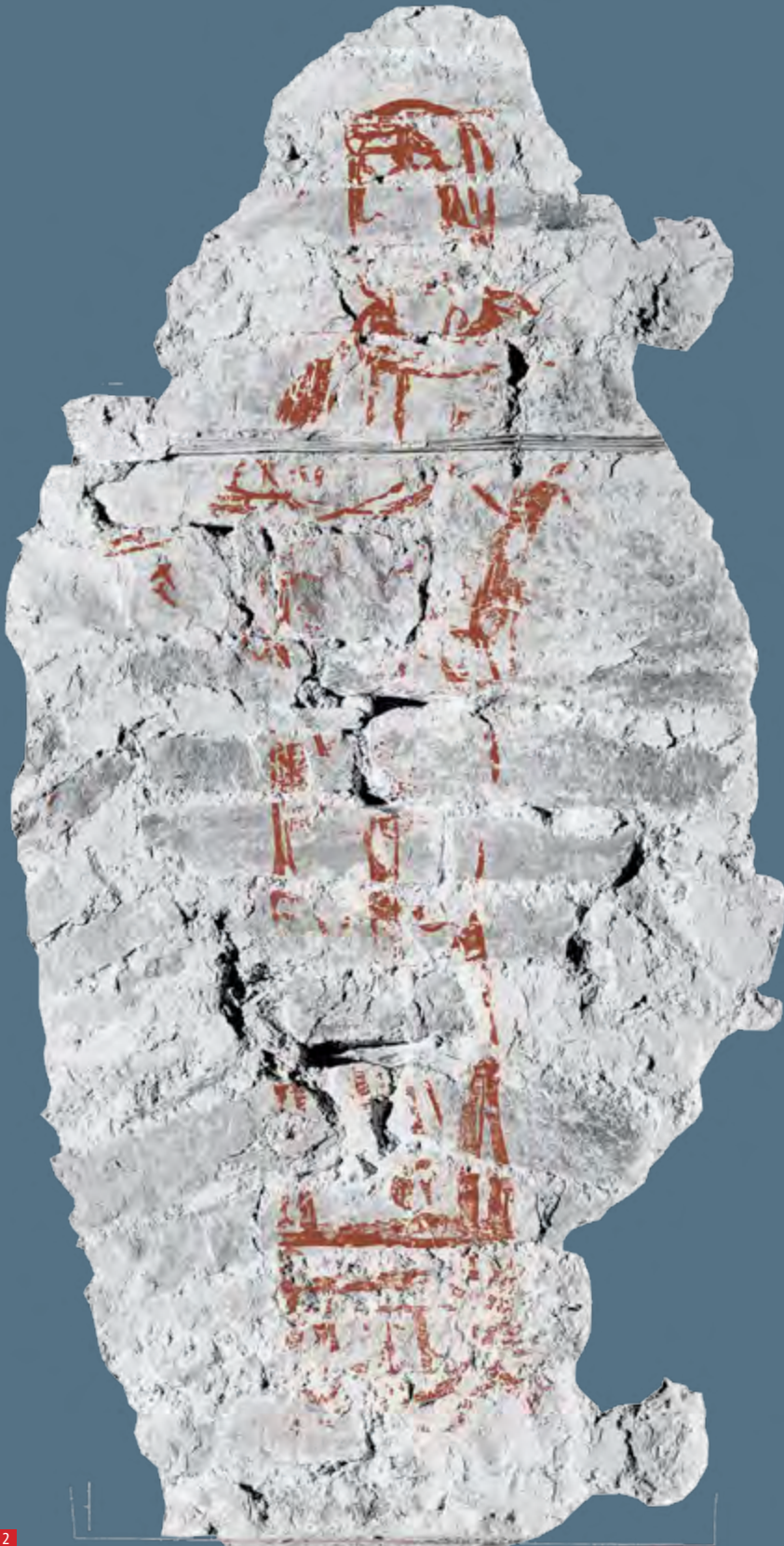
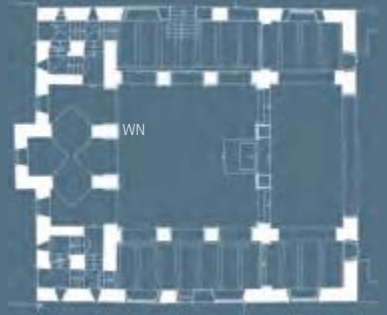


1 West wall of the upper floor, northern sinopia

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the northern sinopia
Drawing by Schneider





2



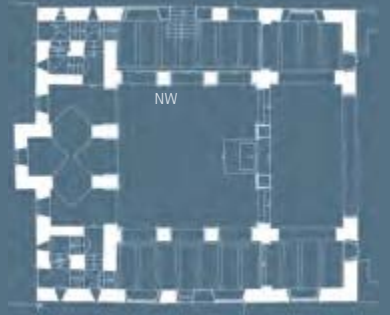
3

1 North wall of the upper floor, western sinopia

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the western sinopia
Drawing by Schneider





2



3

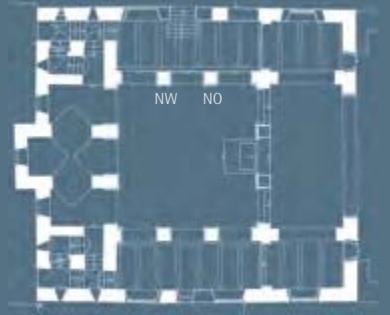
1 North wall on the upper floor, eastern sinopia

Drawing of the sinopia with attributed stucco fragments applied to it

2 Superimposition of outlines of sinopia over photograph of the masonry

3 Drawing of the eastern sinopia
Drawing by Schneider





2



3

3. THE CAROLINGIAN ABBEY CHURCH

Reconstruction of the Carolingian abbey church in the state of the 2nd half of the 9th century

Model construction: Hanne-
mann 1999



The importance of Corvey as an imperial abbey since Carolingian times is also reflected in the Early Medieval church which was replaced by the existing new baroque building in 1667, the floor plan of which is, however, only documented in plans from 1596 and 1663. It can be reconstructed with all essential features according to the excavations made in 1974/75 and the traces of construction preserved at the

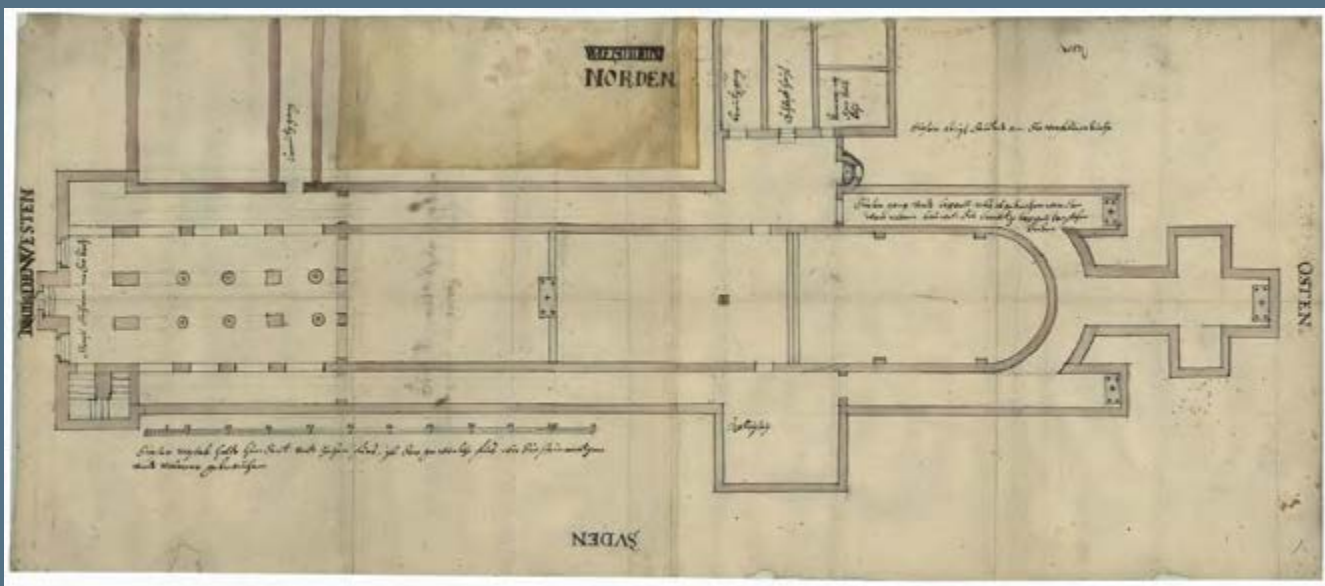
Westwork. It is a three-nave basilica with an originally simple rectangular choir and a tunnel crypt for the mortal remains of St Vitus who was transferred from Saint-Denis near Paris in 836. The church, the building of which was started in 822 and which was consecrated in 844, existed without any major changes to the structure – apart from an extension of the choir in about 870 – until 1665.



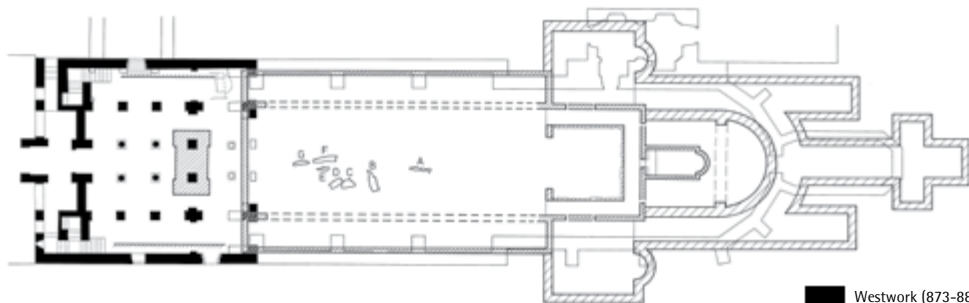
Abbey Church of Corvey | Reconstruction of the building phases

Reconstruction of the Carolingian abbey church in the state of the 2nd half of the 9th century

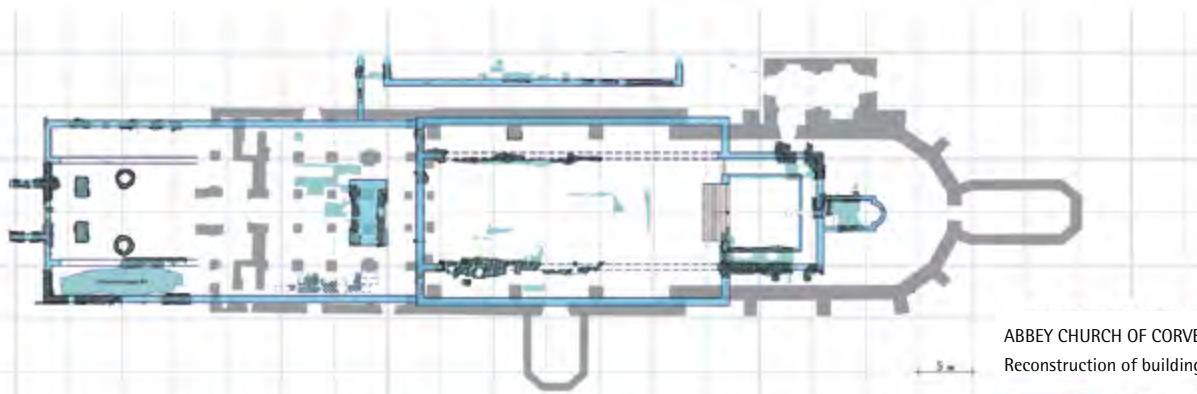
Model construction: Hanne-
mann 1999



Ground-plan drawing of the church before its destruction, made prior to the beginning of the new construction in 1663 or 1665

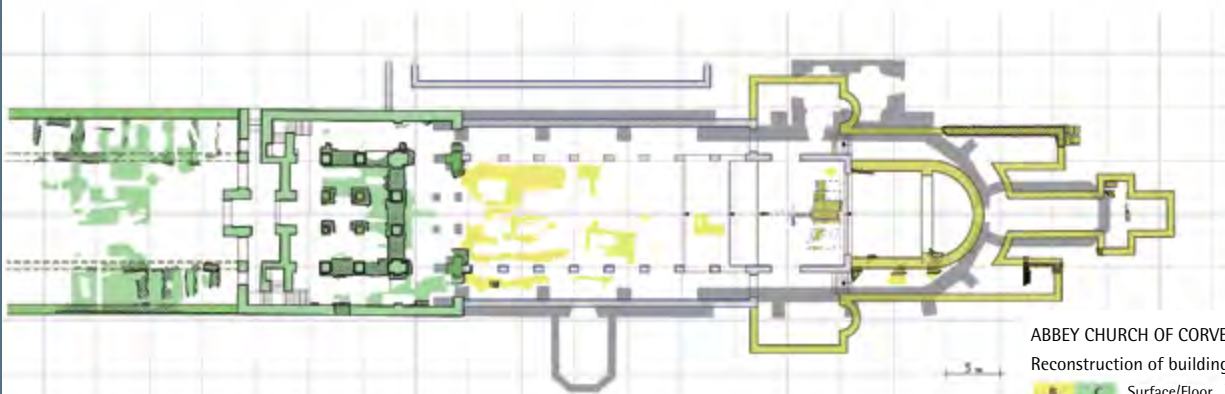


- Westwork (873-885), existing
- Carolingian I (822-844), excavated
- Carolingian II (after 870), excavated
- Baroque (1667-1671, 1717/18), existing



ABBEY CHURCH OF CORVEY
Reconstruction of building phase A

- Surface/Floor
- Foundation/Foundation edge
- Excavation pit
- Grave
- Reconstructed wall
- Steps
- Existing building



ABBEY CHURCH OF CORVEY
Reconstruction of building phase BC

- Surface/Floor
- Foundation/Foundation edge
- Excavation pit with limit of findings
- Grave with limit of findings
- Reconstructed wall
- Continuation of phase A
- Steps
- Existing building

FINDINGS OF EXCAVATIONS

Outer Crypt

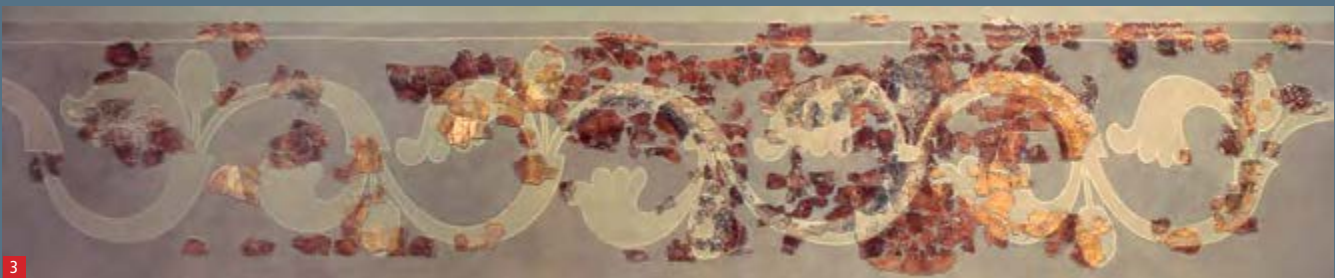


1

1 Outer crypt, painted plaster at the lintel position from the north



2



3

2 + 3 Outer crypt, arranged fragments of the wave tendril ornament

4 Detail of the wave tendril, grapes (left), circular blossom (right)



4



5 Sprout of tendril (left) and fragments of the marginal strip (right)



5





8

6 Fragments of wall plaster of the outer crypt with meander

7 Ceiling of the upper floor of the outer crypt, fragments with clearly visible colour remains



9

FINDINGS OF EXCAVATIONS

Friedgarten (churchyard), choir, Westwork und nave



1 Excavation trenches with foundations of the cloister in the *Friedgarten* (churchyard)



2 Carolingian and Romanesque finds in the choir of the church



3 Carolingian foundations and baroque burials in the Westwork



4 View of excavation finds in the nave of the abbey church



1

1 Southern part of the Carolingian atrium



2

2 Northern part of the Carolingian atrium

4. CIVITAS CORVEY – THE CAROLINGIAN MONASTERY DISTRICT



The enclosed area of the monastery district, which was fortified in 940 at the latest, amounted to approximately eight hectares in the form of a rectangle bevelled by the course of the River Weser in the east. Its essential features are still preserved below the entire baroque complex. As the ground-plan of the old church with its attachments of the western and eastern cloister wings clearly shows, the monastic precinct was located in the north of the church.





1



2

1 Dreizehnlindenkreuz
(field cross)

2 Promenade on the banks
of the River Weser

3 Castle square



3



1

1 Corvey, castle courtyard

2 Friedgarten (churchyard)

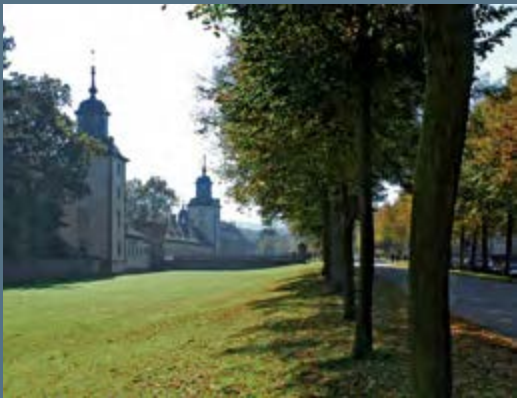
3 present graveyard



2



3



View from the west to the gate and the northwest corner of the former monastery district, in front the foundations of the baroque monastery inn. In the foreground the area of settlement of the High Middle Ages (mainly 11th/12th century).



1

Wall of the abbots' castle with pillars for the inner ramparts of the time around 1300 and the area of the Carolingian workshops behind from the main building period of the monastery.



2

OVERVIEW PLAN OF THE ENTIRE GEOMAGNETIC MEASUREMENT IN CORVEY



- 1 Southern garden
- 2 Garden
- 3 Friedgarten (churchyard)
- 4 Domänenhof (farmyard)
- 5 Path
- 6 Castle square
- 7 Park 1
- 8 Park 2
- 9 Woodland 1
- 10 Werneburg
- 11 Woodland 2
- 12 Bend of the River Weser
- 13 Town moat
- 14 The monastic ruin „tom Roden“ is further to the north outside the plan

MAGNETIC PROSPECTION

Areas











MAGNETIC PROSPECTION

Measured plan with anomalies



Measurement by Waldemar Buchmüller, Philipp Vollmer,
Johannes Müller-Kissing, Beate Sikorski; June 2010

ANOMALIES

-  Modern disturbance
-  Modern pipeline
-  Modern path
-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Ground plan of building
-  Anomaly
-  Pit
-  Cesspool

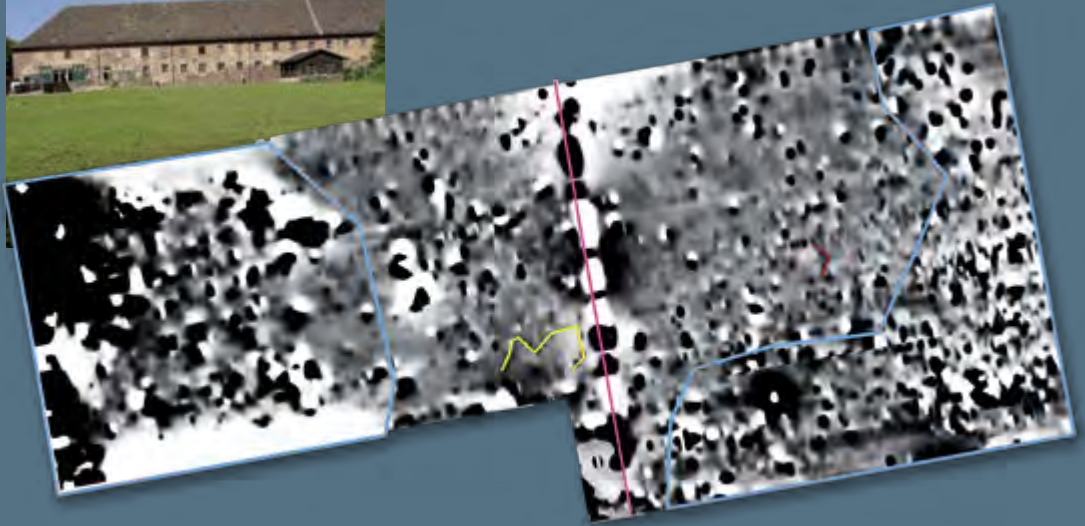
Area 1
Southern garden

Photo:
View from the east



ANOMALIES

- Modern disturbance
- Modern pipelines
- Stone buildings/walls
- Ground plan of building



0 20 metres

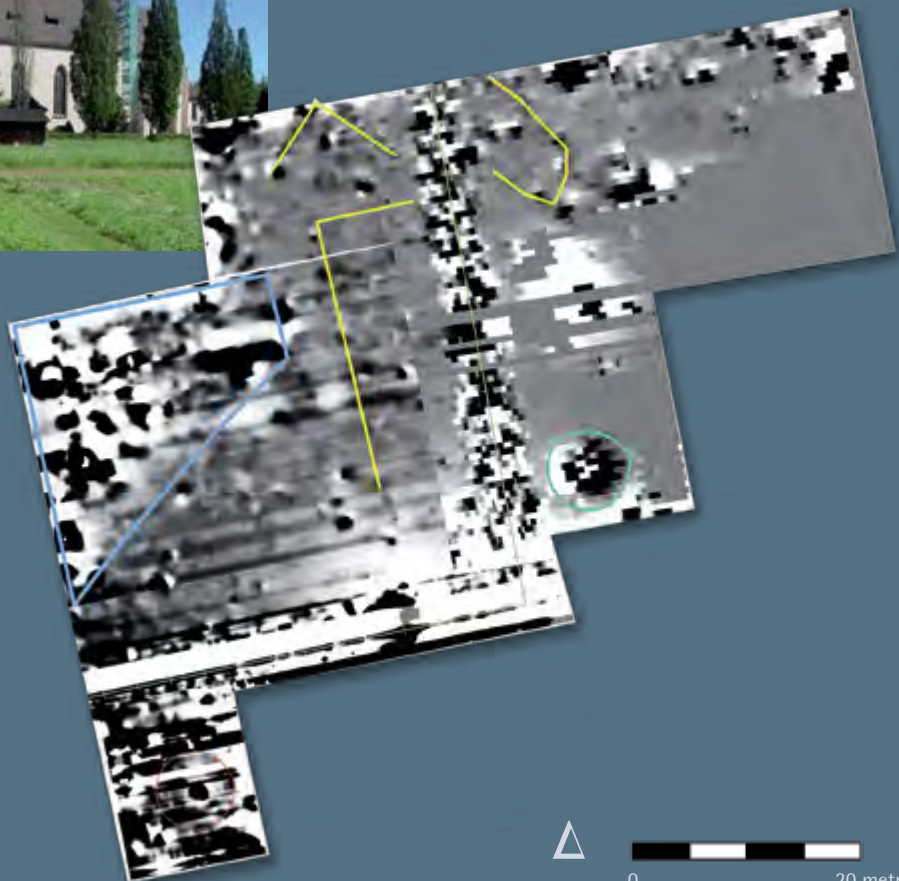
Area 2
Garden

Photo:
View from the west to the
northeast



ANOMALIES

- Modern disturbance
- + Modern Path
- Ground plan of building
- Anomaly
- Cesspool



0 20 metres



Area 3
Friedgarten (churchyard)

Photo:
View west to east



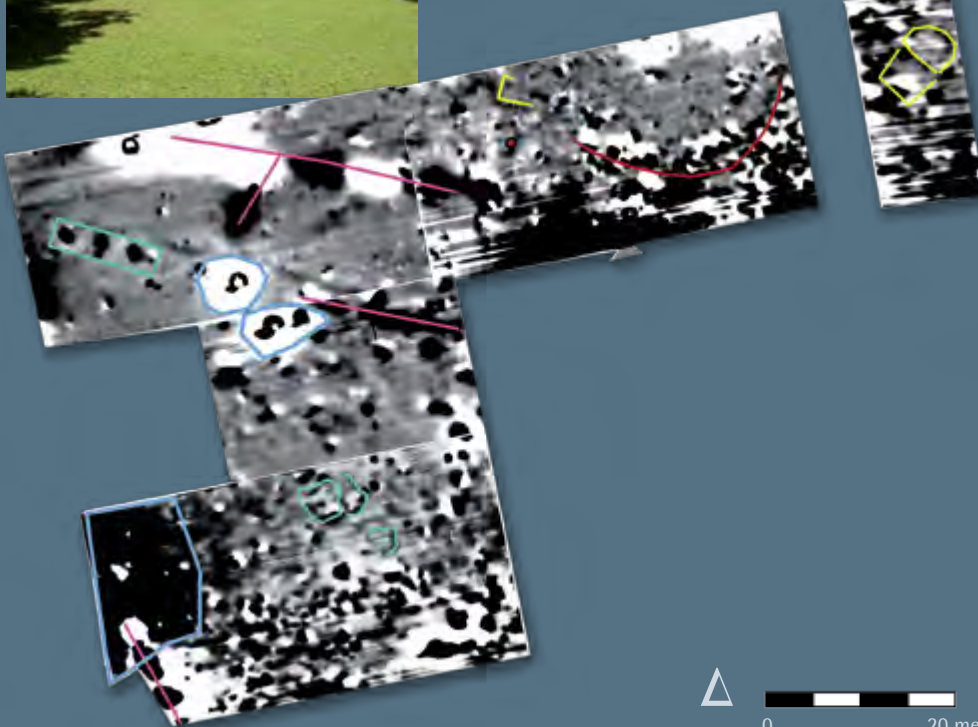
ANOMALIES

— Modern disturbance



Area 4
Domänenhof (farmyard)

Photo:
View north to south



ANOMALIES

- Stone buildings/walls
- Modern disturbance
- Ground plan of building
- Anomaly
- Modern pipelines



Area 5
Path

Photos
left: view east to west
right: view west to West-
work



ANOMALIES

- Modern disturbance
- Pit



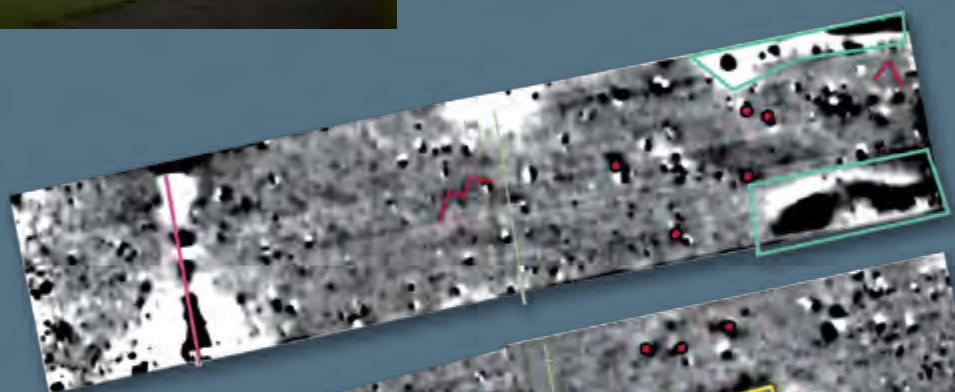
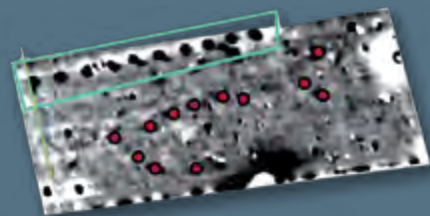
Area 6
Castle square

Photo:
View from the southwest
towards the castle



ANOMALIES

- Pit
- Stone buildings/walls
- + Modern Path
- Modern tubes
- Ground plan of building






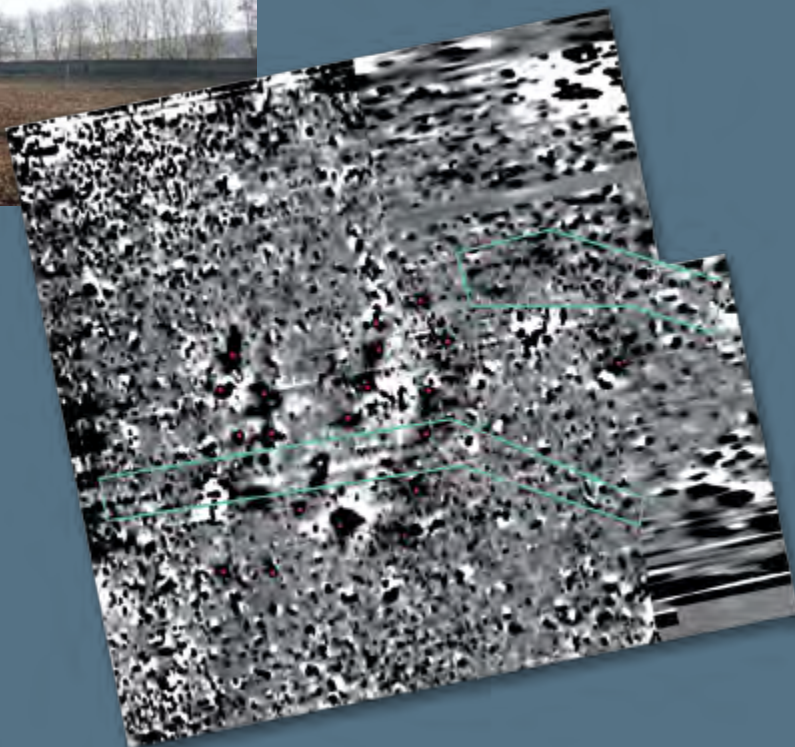
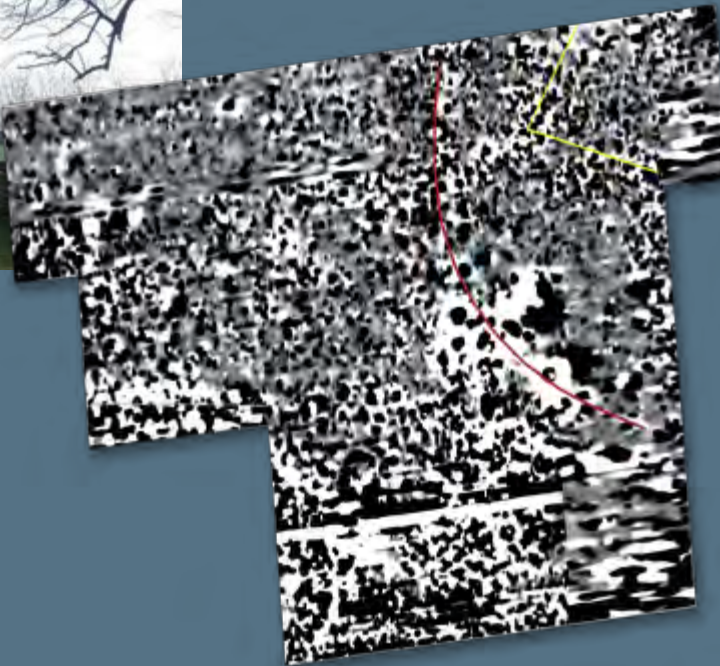


Area 10
Werneburg

Photo:
View from the south to the
northeast

ANOMALIES

-  Modern Path
-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Ground plan of building



Area 11
Woodland 2

Photo:
View from the west to the
northeast

ANOMALIES

-  Anomaly
-  Pit





Monastery complex and deserted medieval town of Corvey in the digital terrain model, including the geomagnetic anomalies, without the highlighted geomagnetic survey photographs.

Structures such as cavities, paths, the late medieval town fortifications, the late medieval

Werneburg and the fortification dyke are clearly to be seen in the terrain model. They are in line with the results of the geomagnetic measurements. The remaining structures such as "older" roads, ground plans, stone buildings/walls, possible gate situation within the moat are only visible in the geomagnetic survey photograph.













Digital terrain model, including detailed view of the monastery area. The fortification of the *Werneburg* (stone buildings/walls in the east) is vaguely visible in the form of a semi-circular structure. The findings are clearly visible in the geomagnetic survey photograph. Furthermore, individual cavities and the modern roads are to be seen. Some geomagnetic anomalies can be examined in more

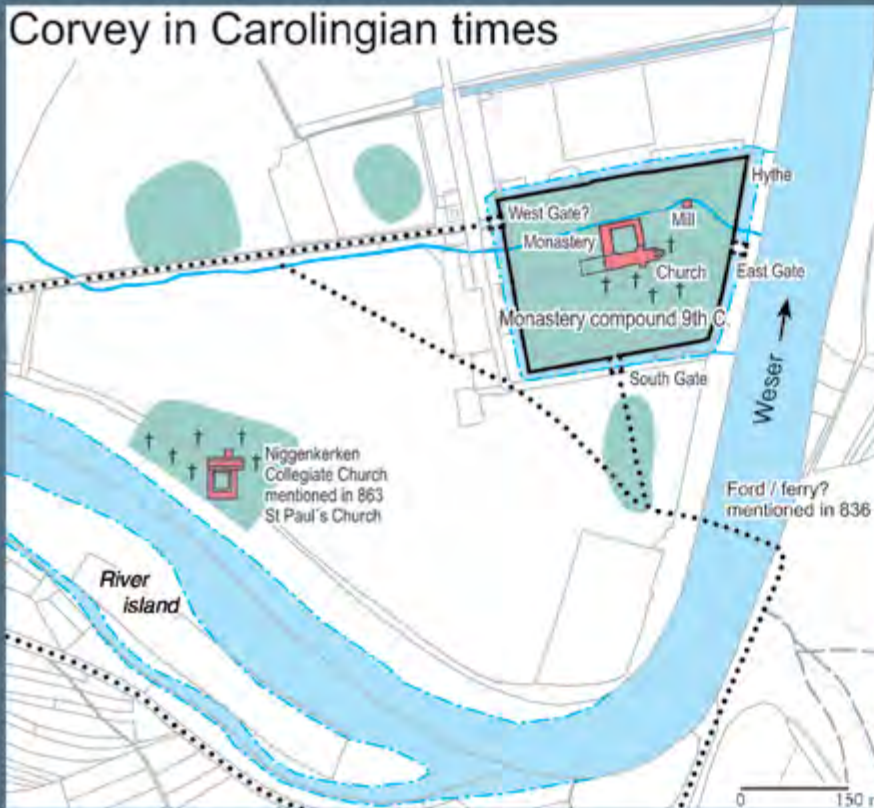
detail in the area 4 - *Domänenhof* (geomagnetics) based on archaeological analyses. The semi-circular structure (stone buildings/wall in the southwest) showed wall remnants in a depth of 0.15 cm below ground level from which a massive sandstone building can be assumed. Bone fragments found north of it in the drill-rod could be dated in 680-890 AD and could be part of a graveyard

area. A 13 cm-thick lime layer was found in the area 6 - castle square which is situated north of the area 4 - *Domänenhof* (geomagnetics), which provides evidence of a lime mortar pit. The last mentioned structures, the ground plans and the older roads are only visible in the geomagnetic survey photograph.

GEOMAGNETIC ANOMALIES

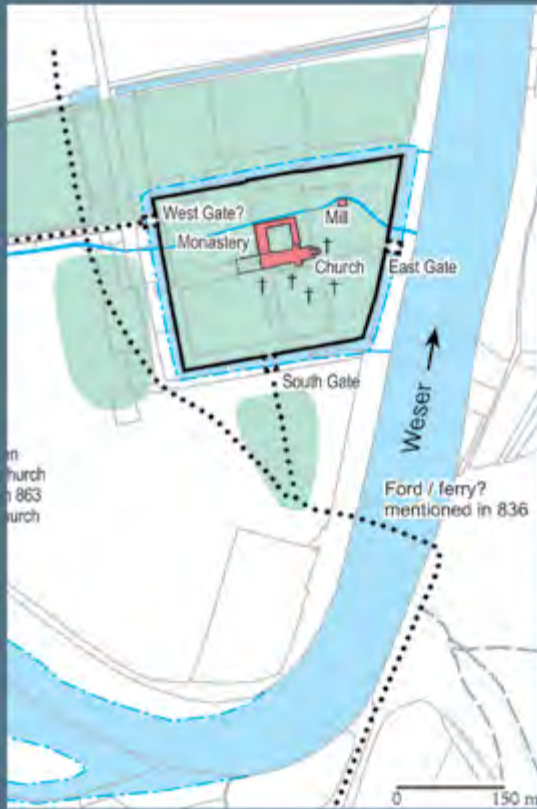
-  Pit
-  Path
-  Structure of the Bronze Age
-  Possible location of gates
-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Town moat
-  Fortification dyke
-  Town moat
-  Ground plan of building
-  Cesspool

5. DESERTED MEDIEVAL TOWN OF CORVEY



The buffer zone around the Carolingian West-work and the Civitas Corvey is defined by the archaeological monument of the deserted medieval town of Corvey and the northern part of the archaeological monument of Corvey abbey,

which do not belong to the nominated site, and which together comprise the medieval town in front of the monastery gates which was fortified in the 12th century and later deserted.



Settlement area:

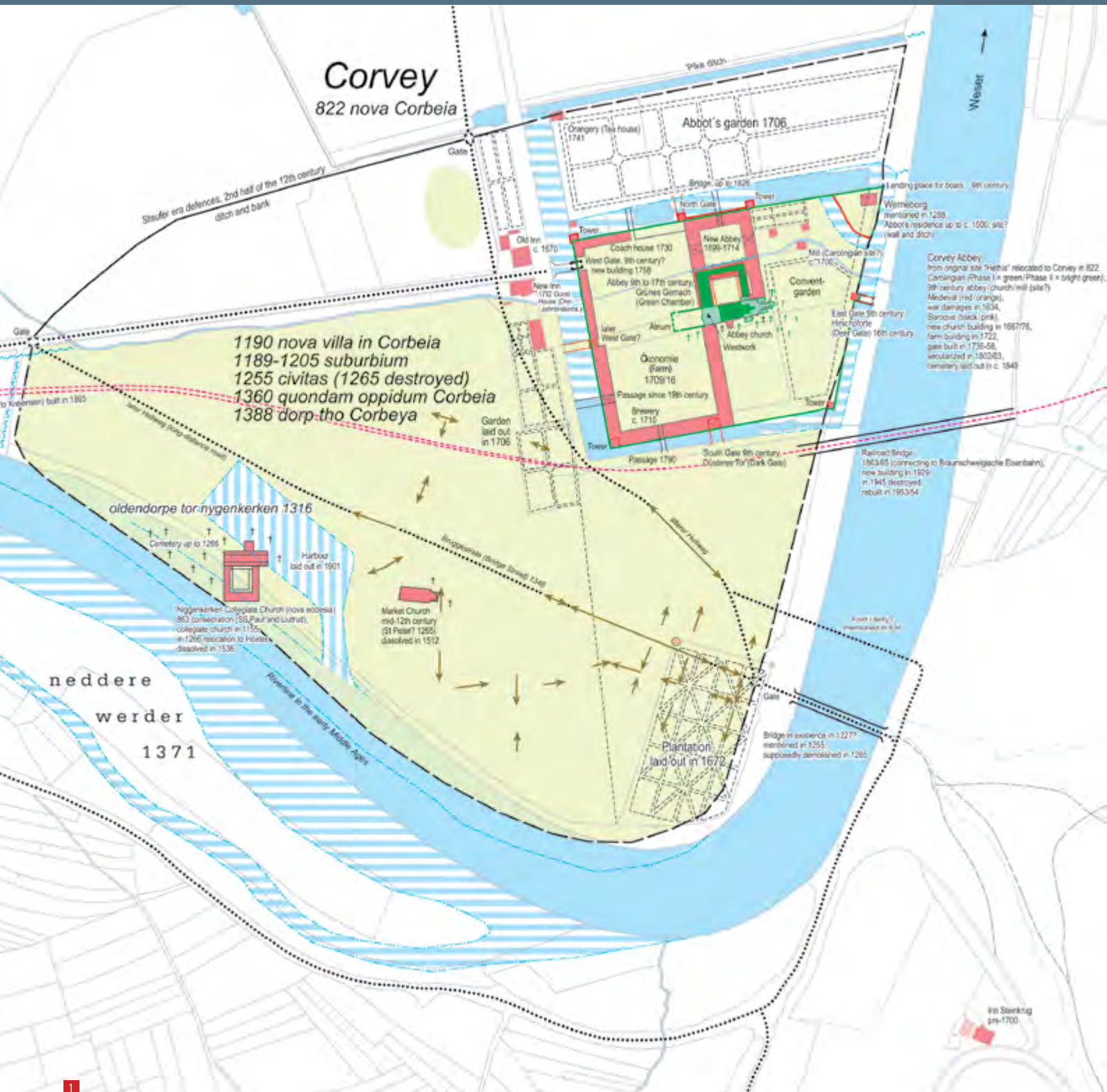
- Carolingian
- c. 1100
- c. 1150-1200
- c. 1250
- c. 1300-1350

- Long-distance road
- Wall / earthworks
- Growth phases

Section of the map showing the stages of development of Höxter-Corvey (general map attached to the end of the volume) Draft by M. Koch, A. König, H.-G. Stephan. Drawing: Thomas Kaling

1 Section of the map showing the stages of development of Höxter-Corvey (general map attached to the end of the volume)
 Draft by M. Koch, A. König, H.-G. Stephan.
 Drawing: Thomas Kaling

(from: Westfälischer Städteatlas, Lieferung IX, Nr.4, 2006, Plate 2)





2

2 Bend of the River Weser at Corvey



3

3 Aerial view of the bend of the River Weser at Corvey



1 Deserted medieval town of Corvey, the Bruggstrate (course of the *Hellweg*) just before the former Weser bridge. View from the south. Underneath the partially

excavated 13th century road of upright Solling sandstone slabs the paving from the 12th century of horizontally arranged small sandstone slabs is visible. At the high-

est point of the slightly convex central lane for on-coming traffic deep ruts have been formed by long-distance freight wagons. In the background is the

northern ditch alongside the road and the lateral stone road for pedestrians and small carts.



2 Deserted medieval town of Corvey. Detail of a stone cellar foundation of the late 12th century north of the market church, destroyed during the plundering on St

Alexander's Day, July 1265. View from the west into the small cellar on the north-western edge with partially removed rich quarry stone filling (new red sandstone).

3 View from the west into the small quarry-stone cellar immediately west of the presumed Romanesque market chapel. Detailed quarry-stone clay walls (new red sandstone) partly

laid in oblique hardcore technique. In the centre of the picture there is a rudiment of two window openings in the form of small obliquely terraced slabs of new red sandstone.



1



2



3

1 Deserted medieval town of Corvey. Aerial view on the choir of the triple-aisled Romanesque market church of Corvey.

2 Graveyard of the former market church, view of burials of young persons and adults immediately north of the aisle (12th and 13th centuries)

3 Detail of a skeleton



4 View from the southeast of the presumed west end of St Paul's collegiate church in Niggenkerken (founded just before 863), stone slab tomb in the cen-

tre, further foundations of the church and precinct as well as pillar base (Romanesque or older) in the background.

5 View towards the west end of the nave of the collegiate church on the inter-face with the west tower and west front.

OVERVIEW PLAN OF THE ENTIRE GEOMAGNETIC MEASUREMENT IN CORVEY

- 1 Southern garden
- 2 Garden
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- 8 Park 2
- 9 Woodland 1
- 10 Werneburg
- 11 Woodland 2
- 12 Bend of the River Weser
- 13 Town moat
- 14 The monastic ruin „tom Roden“ is further to the north outside the plan






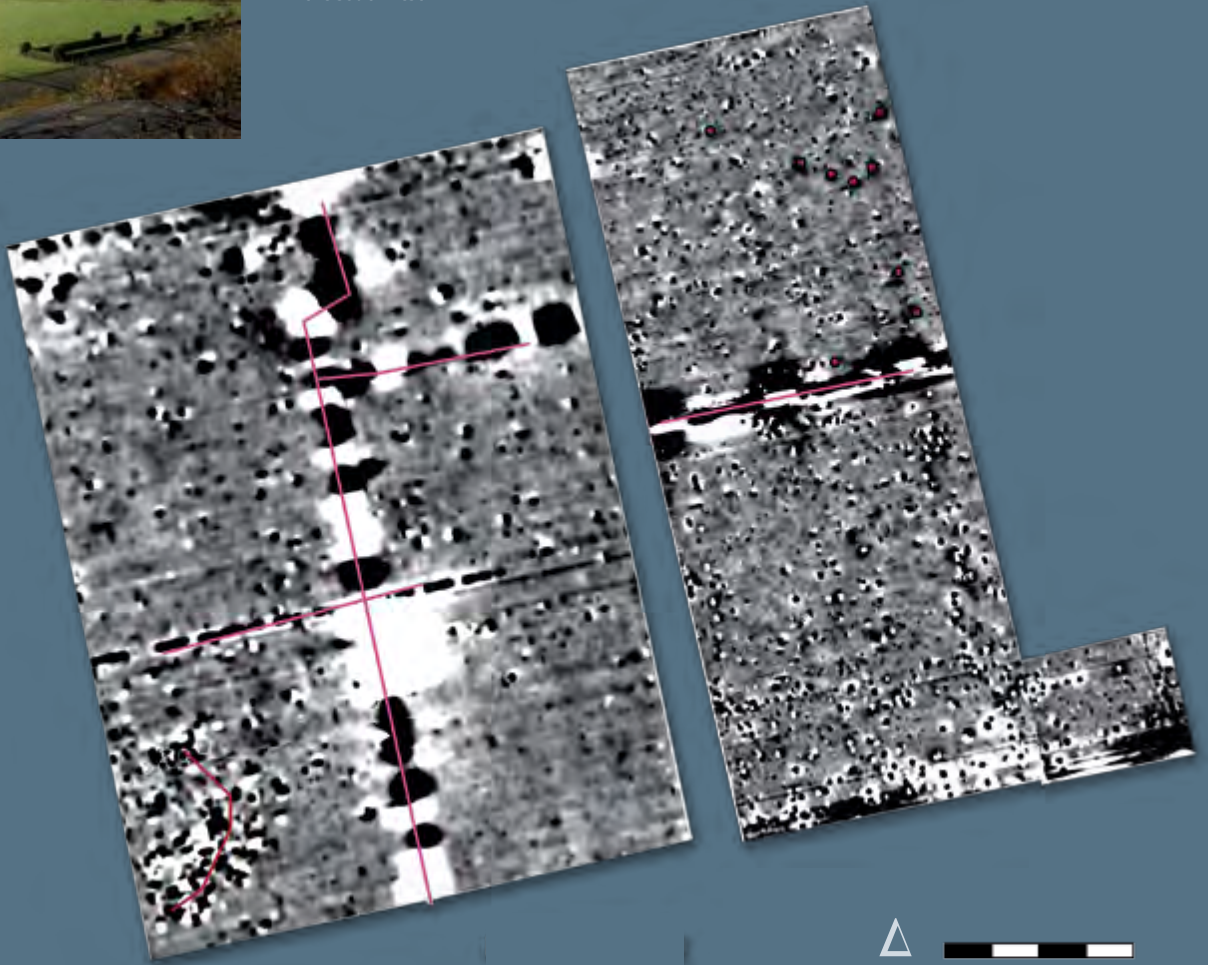


Area 7 + 8

Photo:
View from the northwest to
the southwest

ANOMALIES





-  Modern pipelines
-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Pit

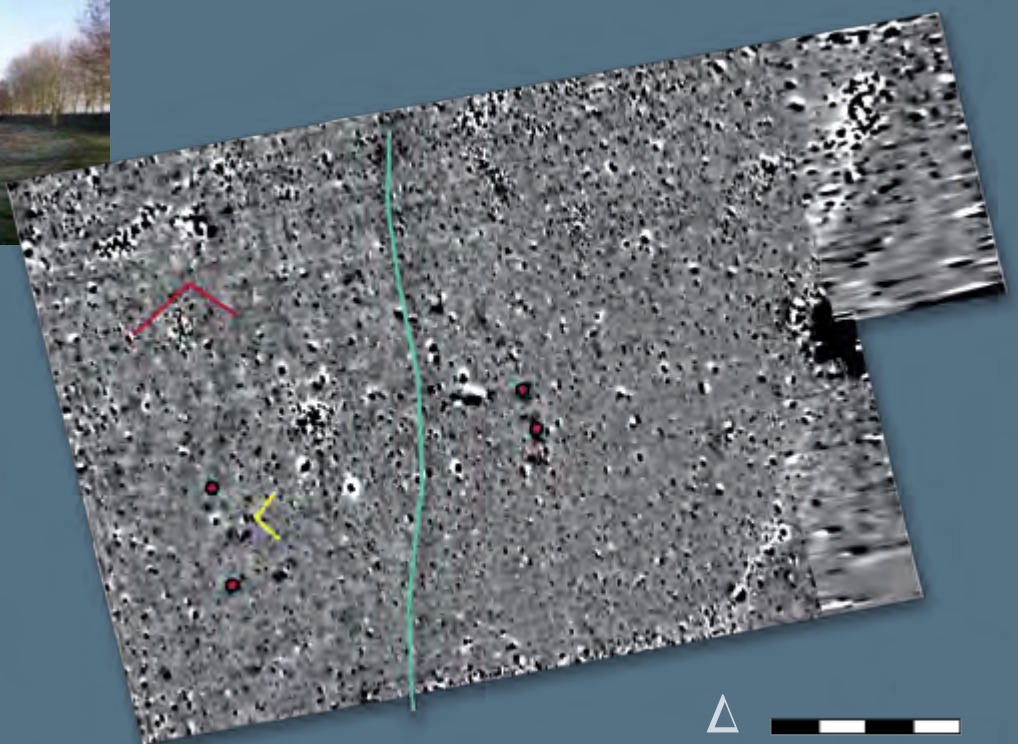


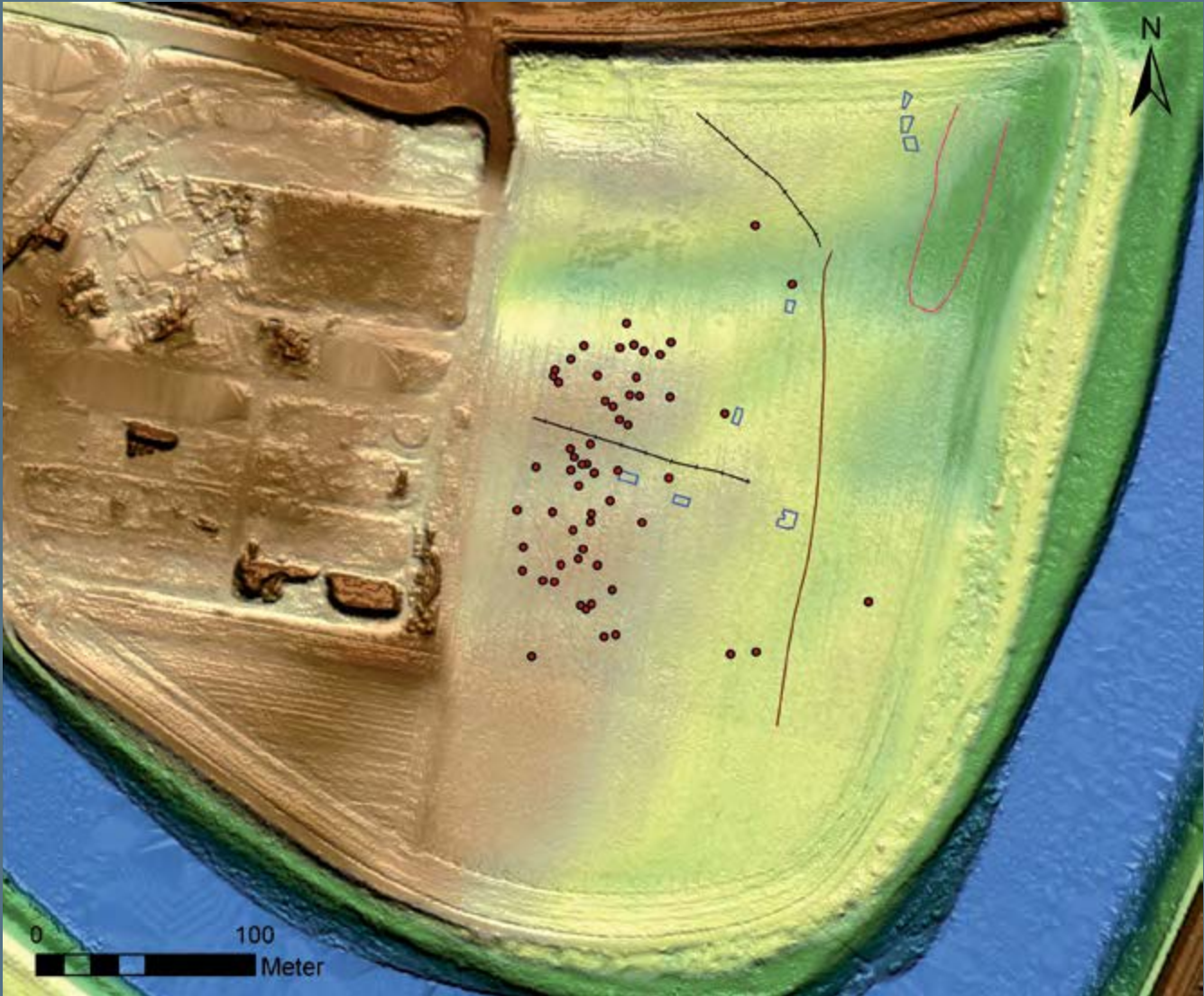
Area 9
Woodland 1

Photo:
View from the south to the
northeast

ANOMALIES

-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Ground plan of building
-  Anomaly
-  Pit





Digital terrain model of a subarea of the deserted town (bend of the River Weser), including the most important geomagnetic anomalies. The terrain model shows slightly elevated individual cavities in three possible settlement areas. Another structure can be dated in the late Bronze Age (1300-1010 B.C.) based on archaeological analyses. House structures are only discernible in the geomagnetic survey photograph and can be dated between

the 11th and the 13th centuries AD based on drill-bores. Two "paved" paths (older and younger *Hellweg*) could be verified by means of further archaeological analyses, and can be seen clearly in the geomagnetic survey photograph. They were found as a stone layer in the drill-rod at a depth of -75 to 90 cm. The ditch can also be dated between the 11th and 13th centuries and is clearly visible in the geomagnetic survey photograph.

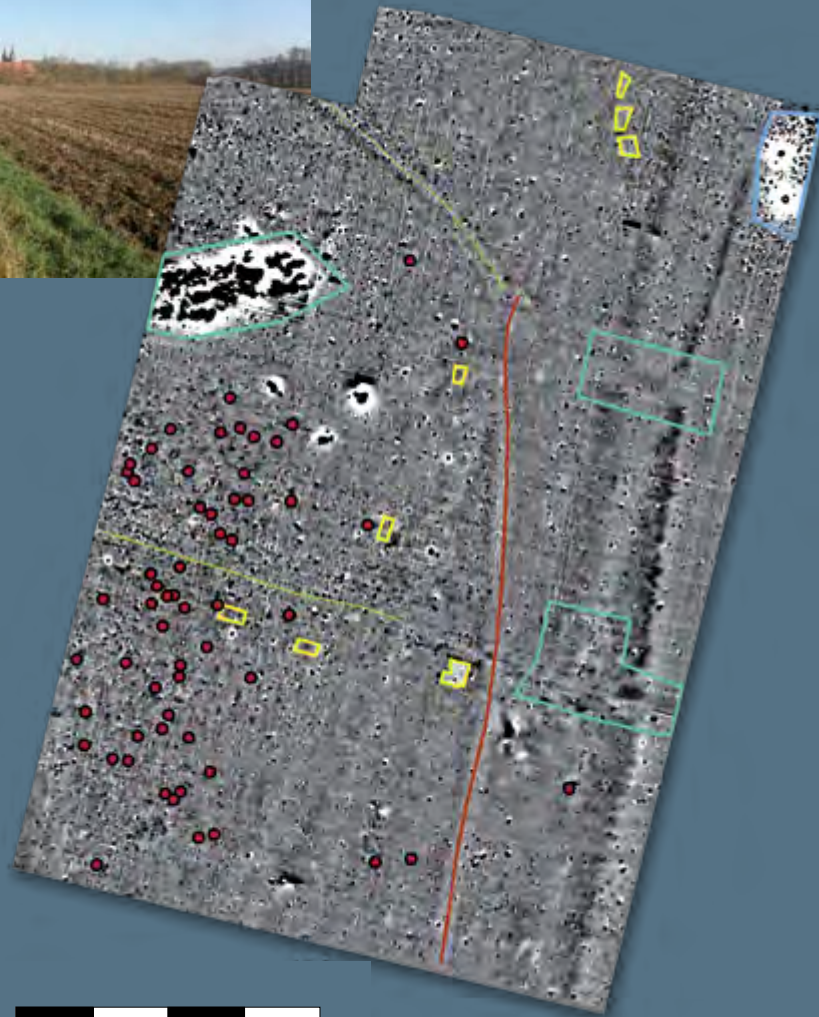
GEOMAGNETIC ANOMALIES

- Pit
- Path
- Structure of the Bronze Age
- Possible location of gates
- Stone buildings/walls
- Town moat
- Fortification of dyke
- Town moat
- Ground plan of building
- Cesspool



Area 12
Bend of the River Weser

Photo:
View from the west to the
northeast



ANOMALIES

- Modern disturbance
- Modern pipelines
- + Modern path
- Stone buildings/walls
- ▭ Ground plan of building
- ▭ Anomaly
- Pit

0 100 metres



Subareas of the deserted medieval town in the digital terrain model, including the late medieval moat construction of the town of Corvey and the adjoining late medieval defensive dyke which runs along the eastern part of the monastery ruin "tom Roden" in northern direction. The for-

tification of the town can be clearly seen in its total width in the digital terrain model as well as the fortification dyke. The possible gate situation of the town fortifications as well as the housing structure are only visible in the photograph of the geomagnetic survey.

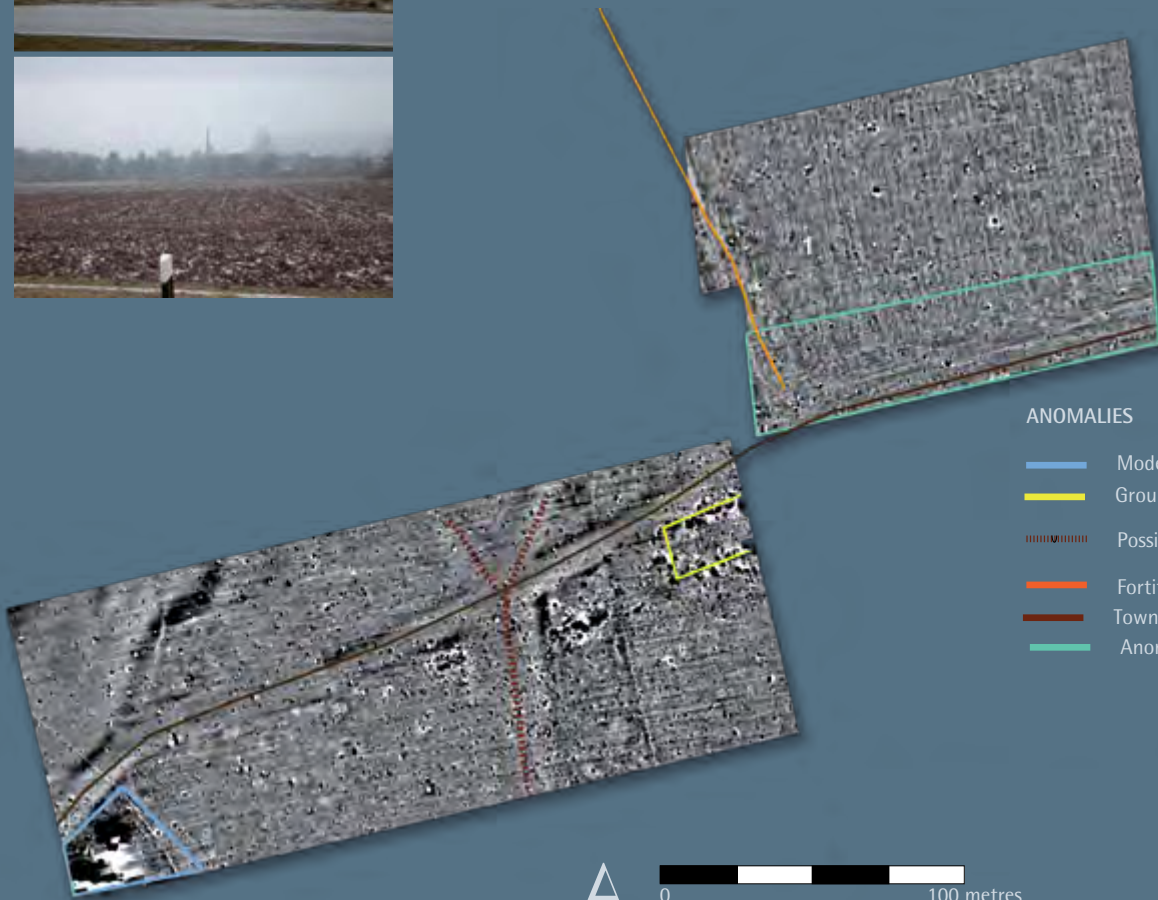
GEOMAGNETIC ANOMALIES

-  Pit
-  Path
-  Structure of the Bronze Age
-  Possible location of gates
-  Stone buildings/walls
-  Town moat
-  Fortification of dyke
-  Town moat
-  Ground plan of building
-  Cesspool



Area 13
Town moat

Photos:
View from the east to the
areas 13-1 and 13-2



6. HISTORICAL PLANS



Corvey and its surroundings
Map of 1674





Explicatio

des Schlosses

A. des östlichen Theils des Schlosses mit dem
 Hofraum, Hofraum, Garten und Hofraum
 gemessen 1024. 178. 2

B. des westlichen Theils des Schlosses
 Hofraum, Hofraum,
 Hofraum und Hofraum 2. 84. 90

C. des südlichen Theils des Schlosses
 Hofraum, Hofraum,
 Hofraum 2. 61. 12

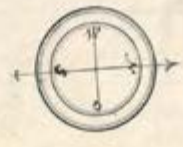
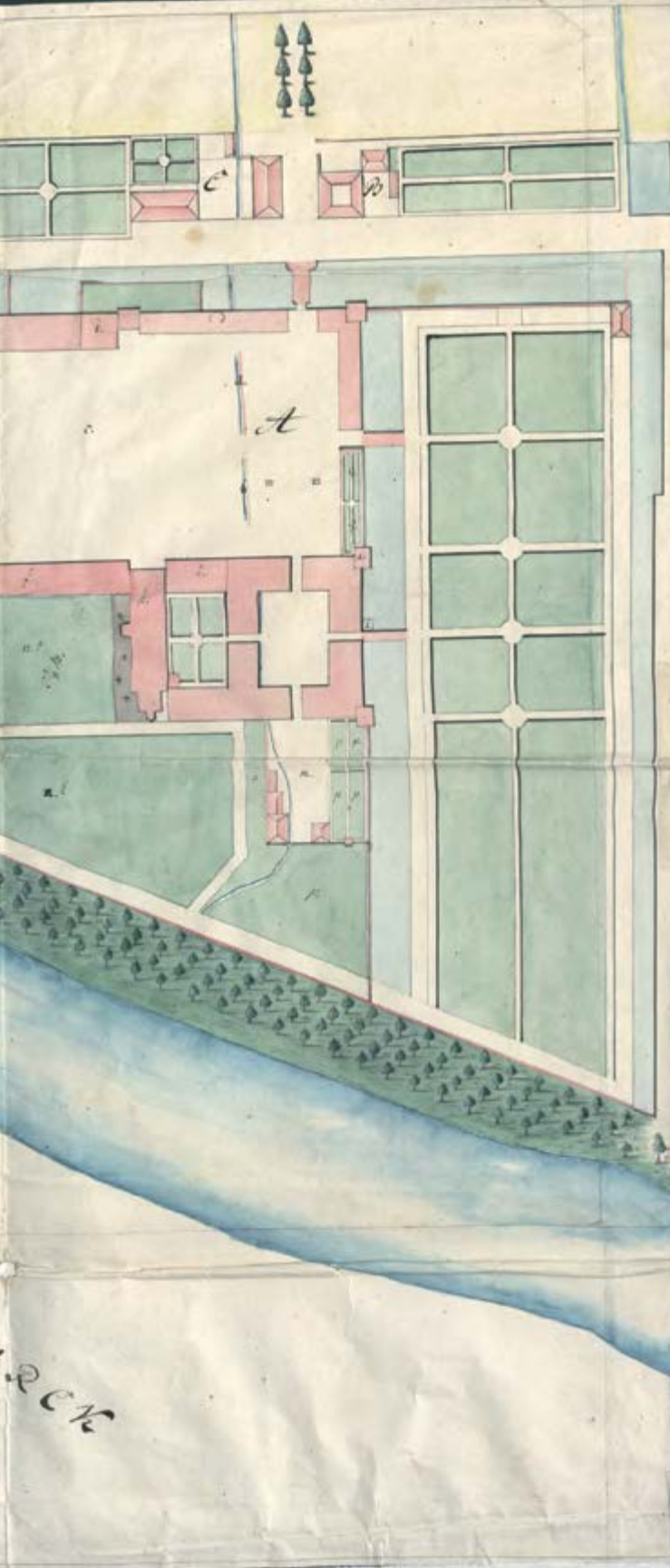
D. des nördlichen Theils des Schlosses
 Hofraum 9. 02. 10

E. des östlichen Theils des Schlosses
 Hofraum, Hofraum 25. 1. 81

Summa 1024. 178. 2

L. u. C. A. T. R. A. N. G. E. R. = F. U. D. N. A.

Geometrical ground plan of Corvey castle. Plan of 1798 by Georg Sigismund Kerl

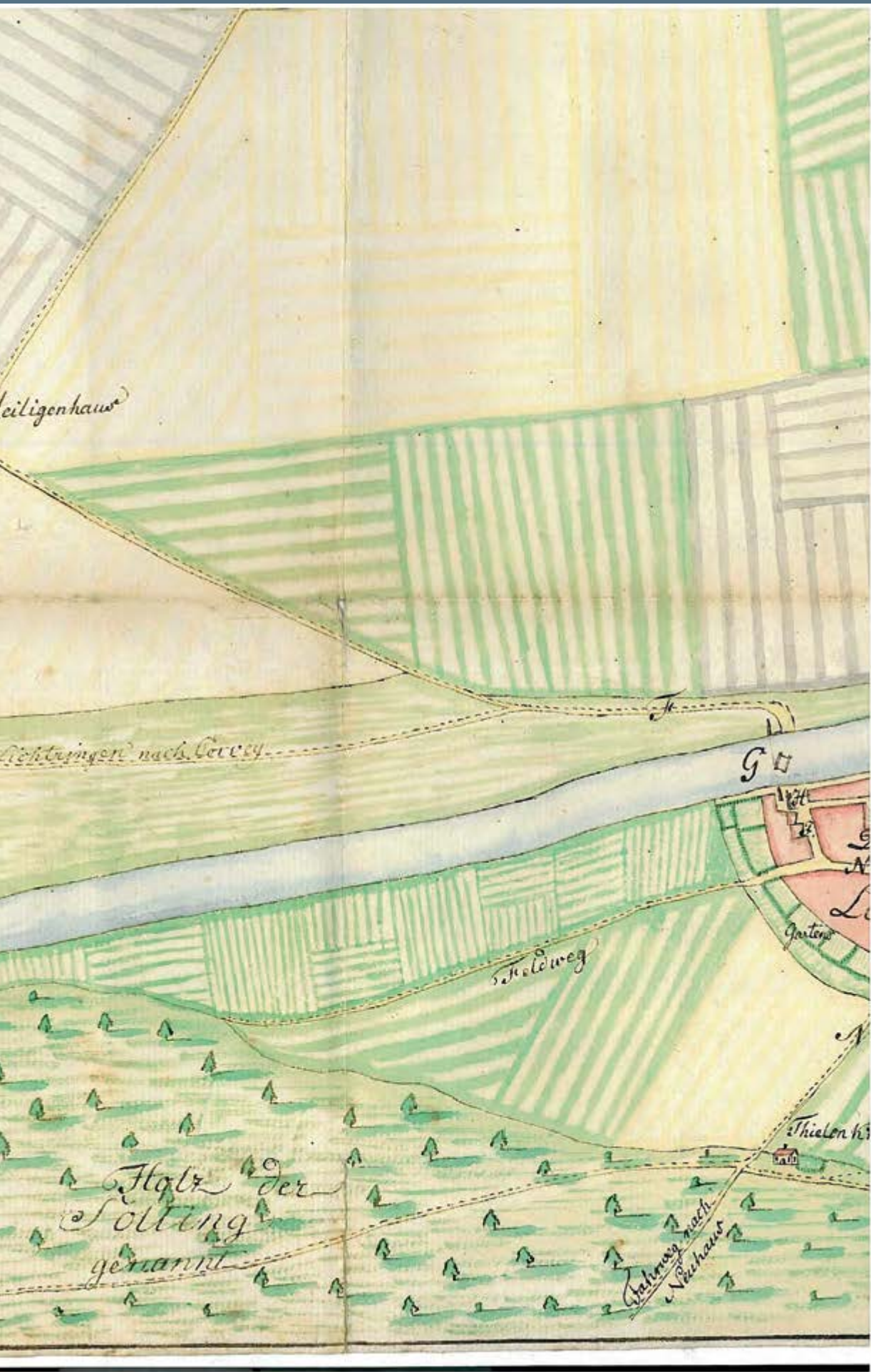


Gronsbischer Grundriß
 des hochwürdigsten
 STIFTS CORVEY
 mit zugehörigen Gärten, der Partaja,
 Garten, Buchdruck, und Wasser-Röhre
 aus DESTERL. S. HOCH-
 FÜRSTLICHEN GNADEN
 FERDINAND BÖSCHOTT
 zu CORVEY
 des H. R. DESTERL. FÜRSTEN
 aufgenommen und aufgetragen
 Georg Sigismund Kirc
 Anno 1795

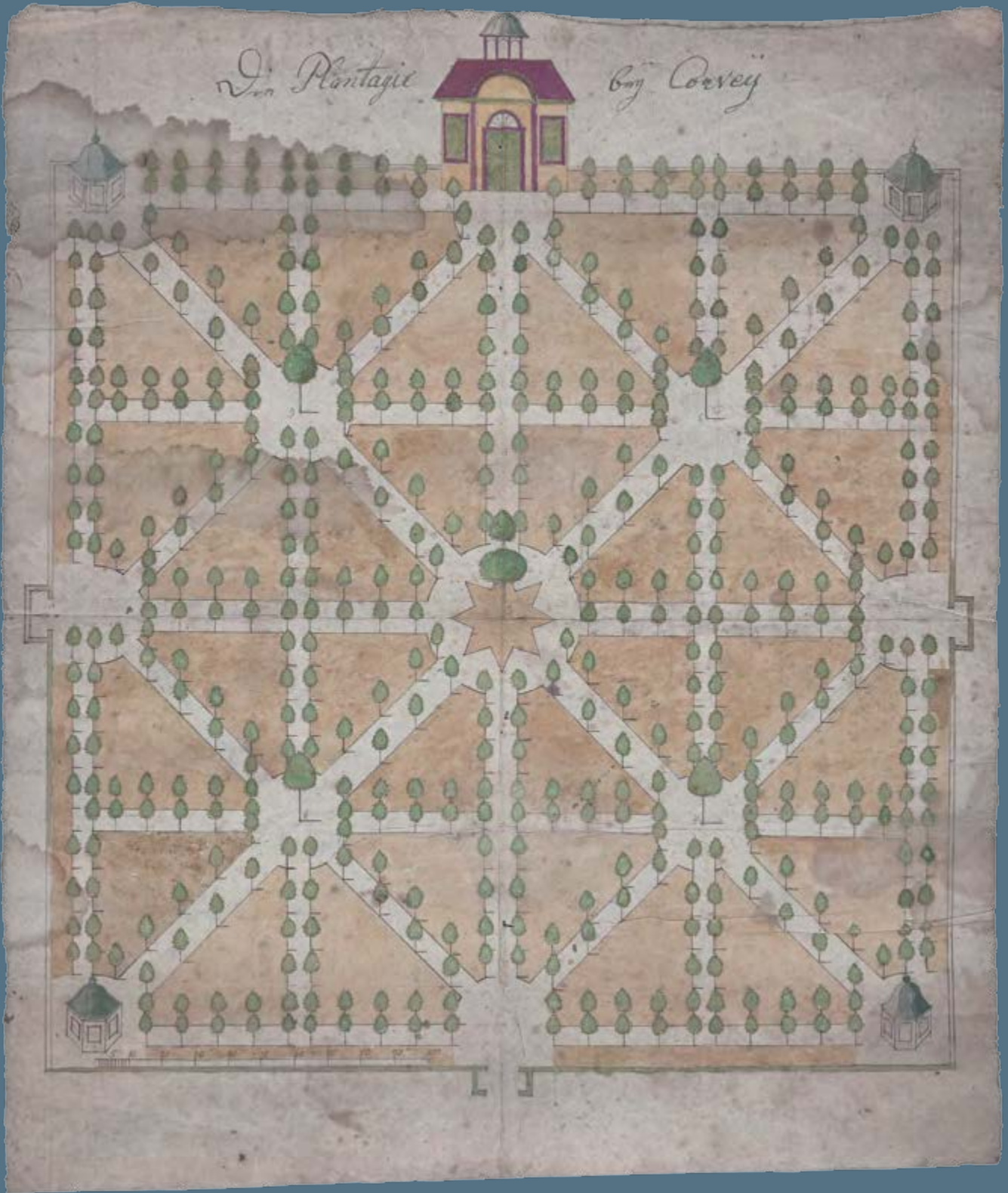


Reck

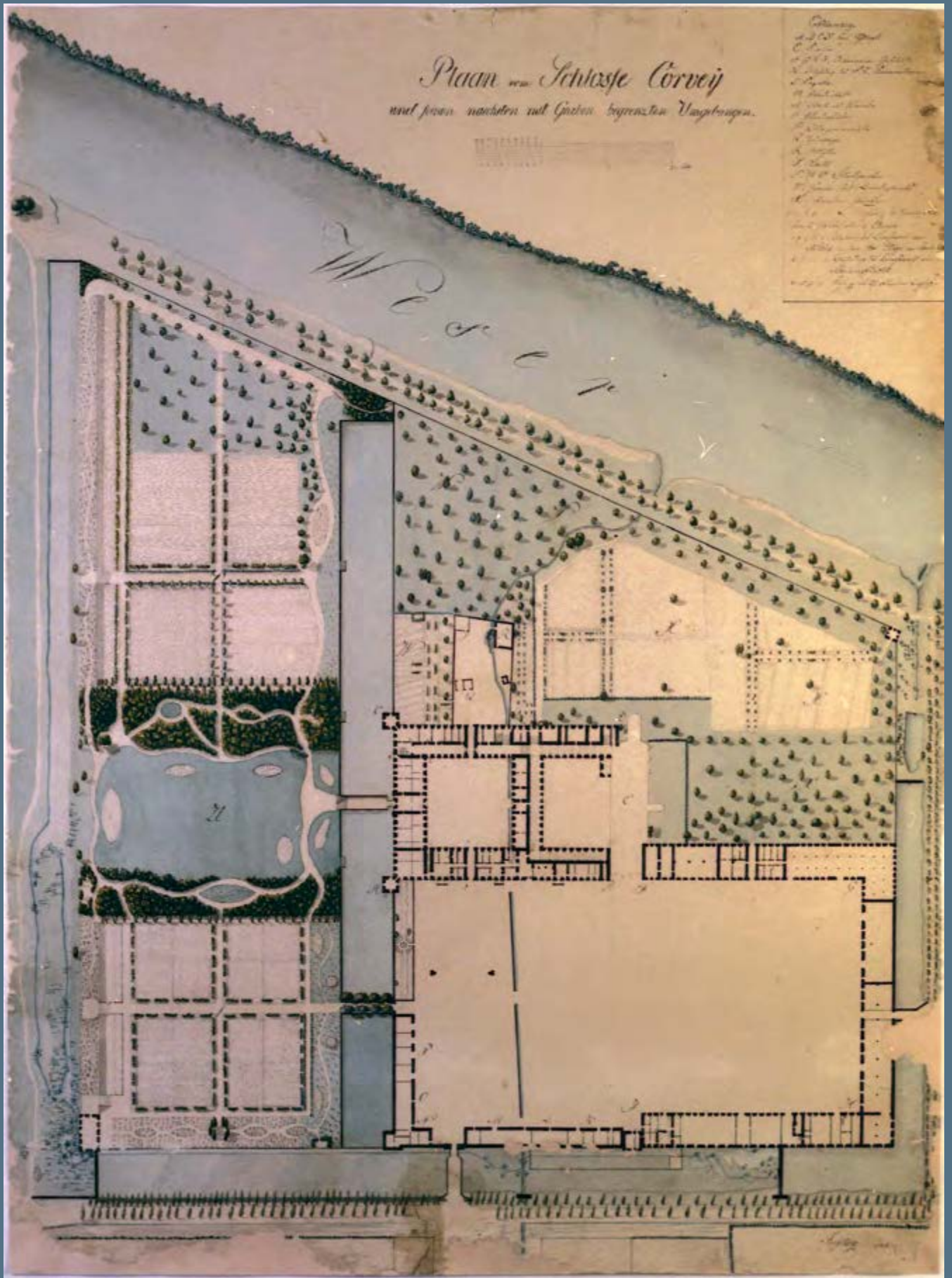




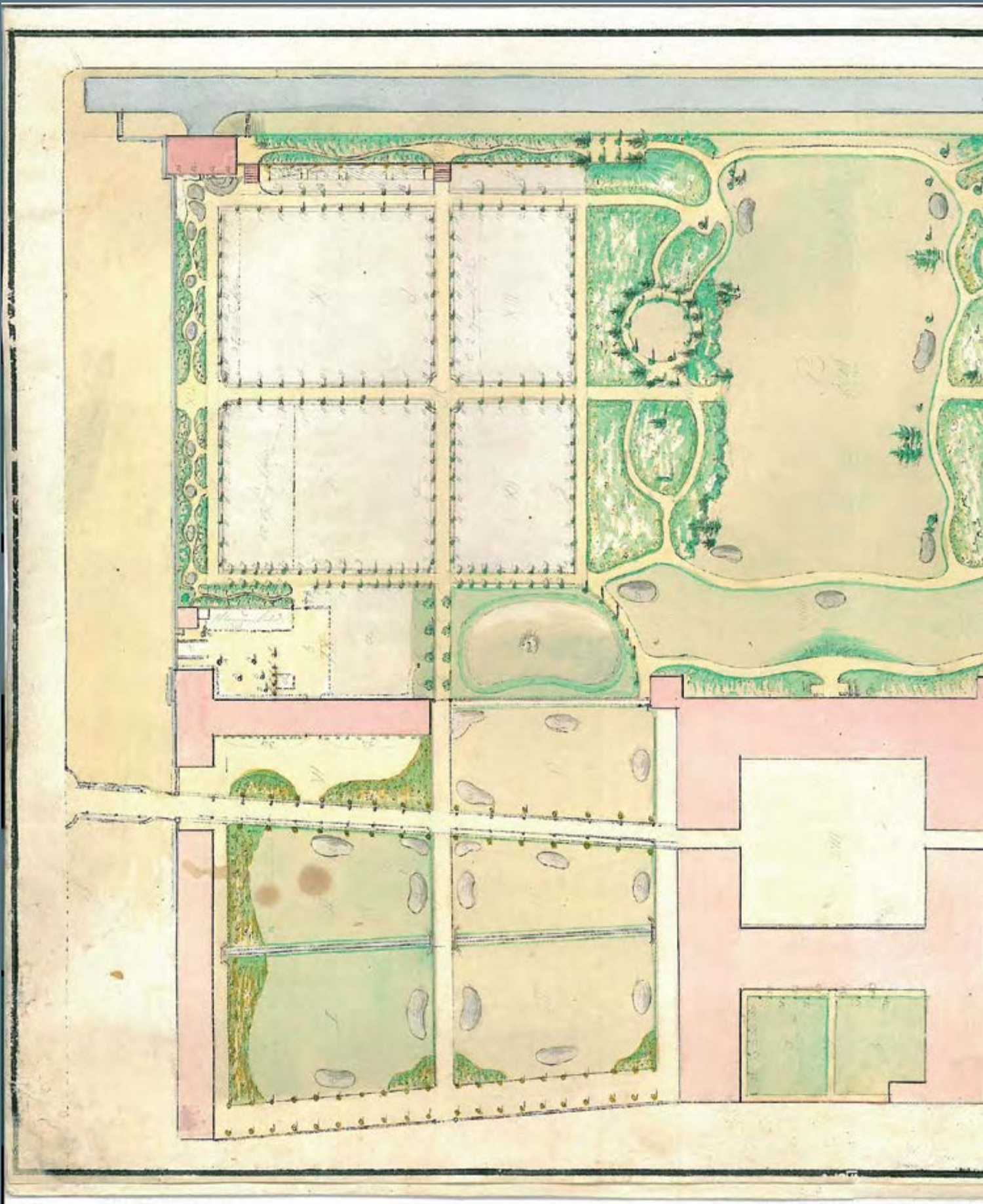
Corvey and the bend of the River Weser in 1790



The plantation on a plan of 1680



Plan of Corvey castle in 1789



7. HISTORICAL VIEWS

WP = Jochen Luckhardt: Westfalia Picta Vol. V, Kreis Höxter – Kreis Paderborn. Bielefeld 1995

Agnes Countess Mengersen
Corvey viewed from Höxter, around 1860 (WP 485)



The location of the monastery of Corvey in the bend of the River Weser has appealed to painters and illustrators for centuries. Surrounded by the extensive fields of the Weser floodplain, the monastery is framed in the background by the green hills of the Solling close to the banks of the River Weser in the east.

The extensive, clear lines of the river and the fields as well as the elongated buildings of the monastery are vertically accentuated by the dominating twin-tower façade of the Westwork which promises rewarding subjects for paintings, photographs and perspectives from all cardinal points.

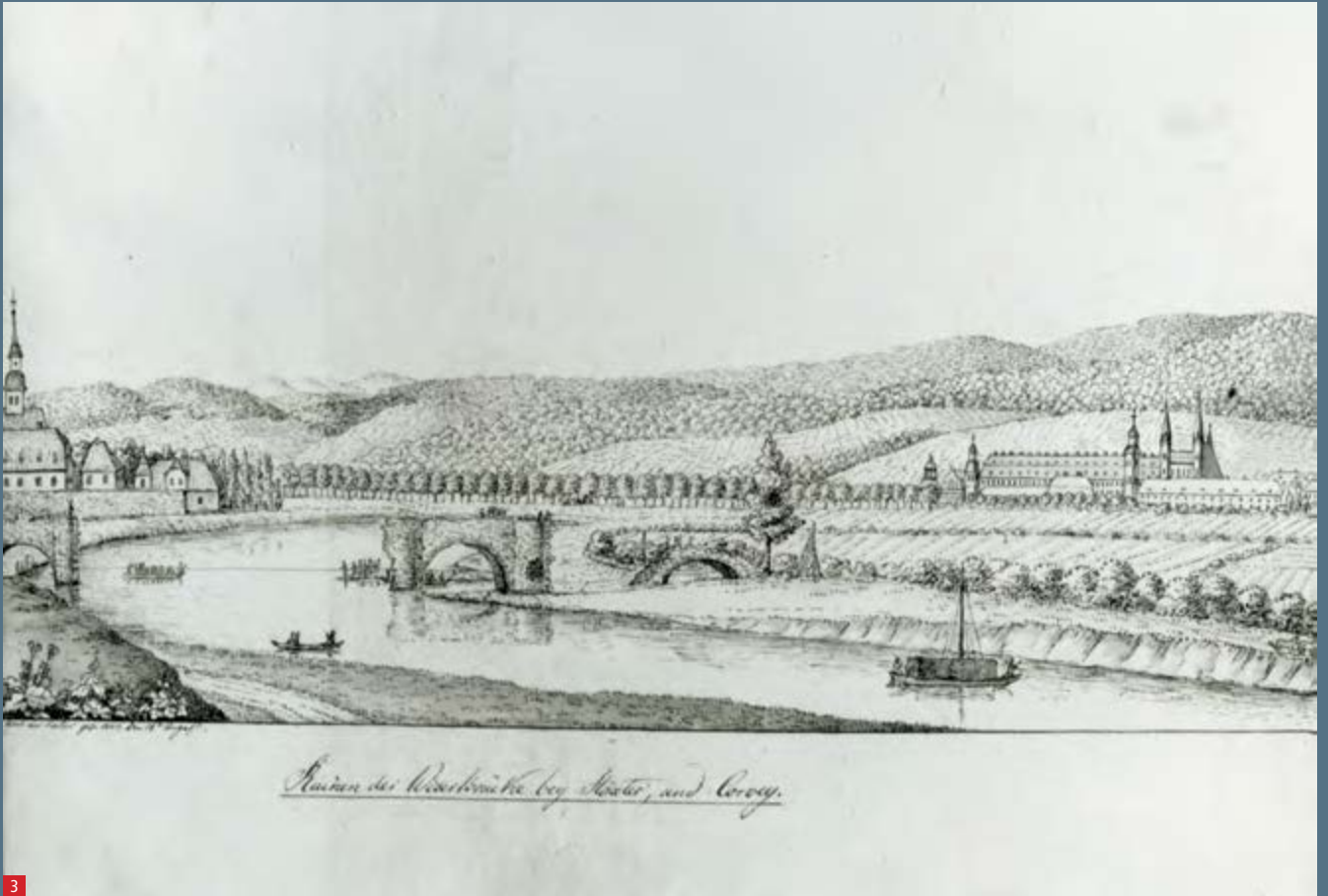


CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHWEST

Viewed from the southwest, Corvey is often depicted with the River Weser in the foreground and centre and the town of Höxter on the left, while the monastery complex is on the right in front of the slopes of the *Solling*. The prominent location for artists

to catch this perspective is the eastern margin of the *Ziegenberg* where the *Rodeneckturm* (Rodeneck tower) was erected in 1883 – certainly with reference to this view. From greater distance a similar effect is gained from the *Wildburg* and the *Brunsburg*.





3



4

1 View by Renier Roidkin 1720/30 (WP 381)

2 L. Besemann, engraver, end of 18th century (WP 389)

3 Georg Ludwig Friedrich Wilhelm Count of Münster, 1801, (WP 392)

4 Georg Stietz/Ludwig Schütze, after 1832 (WP 403)

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHWEST

1 Theodor Müller, c. 1880 (WP 418)

2 Friedrich von Mengersen, c. 1820/30 (WP 472)





3

3 Agnes Countess Mengersen, c. 1860 (WP 485)

4 Franz Tonnellier, 1880 (WP 452)



4

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE NORTHWEST

From the *Tanzplatz* above the vineyard on the *Räuschenberg* the view to the monastery in front of the circle of the *Solling* hills range opens up.



1 Wenderoth/Gray, 1838
(WP 474)

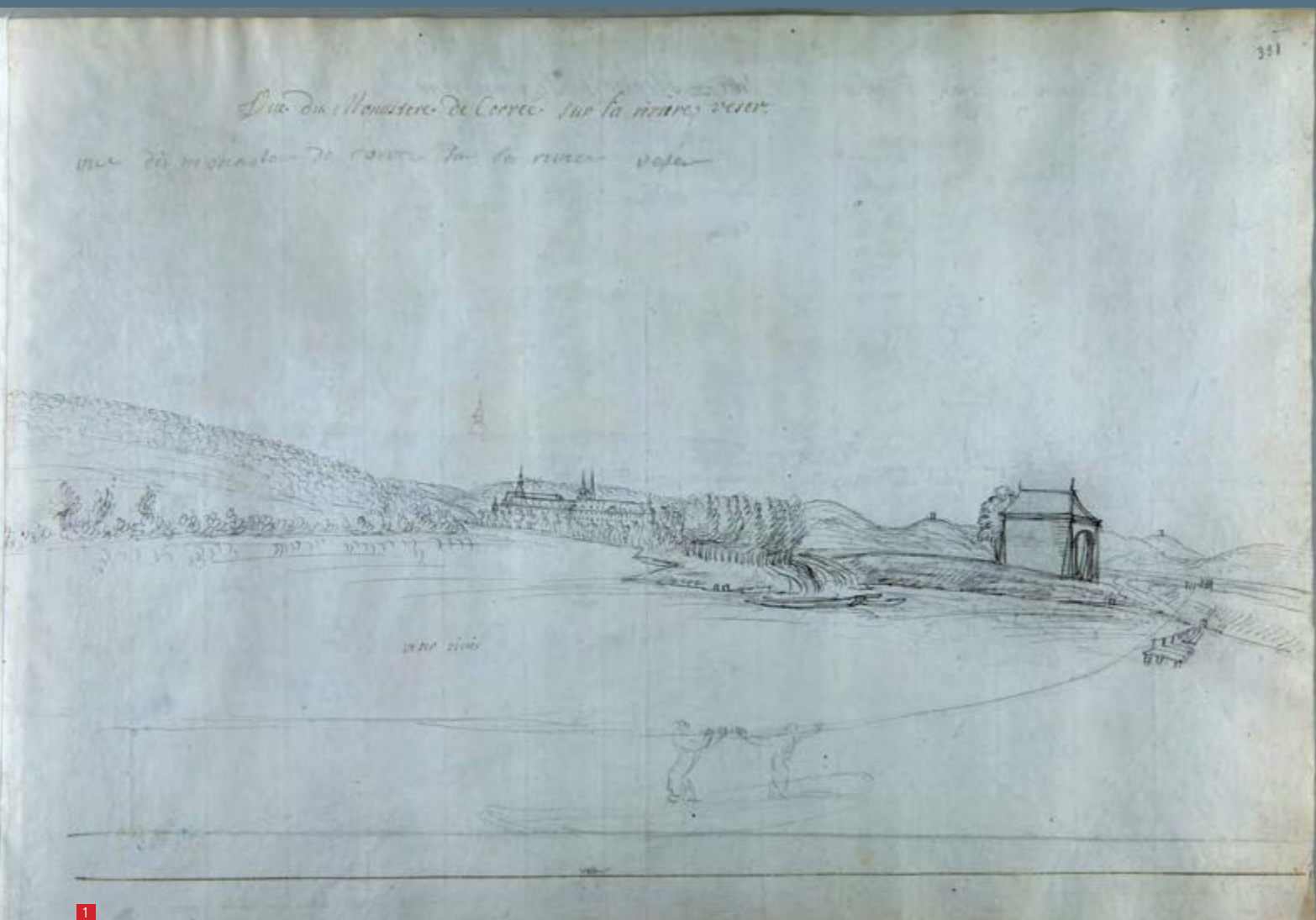
2 Franz Hoffmann-
Fallersleben, 1918



3 Franz Hoffmann-
Fallerleben, 1924

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE NORTHEAST

The view from the northeast in the opposite direction of the view to the southwest offers the possibility of showing the town of Höxter on the right or in the distance, while Corvey can be seen further to the left or in the centre of the picture.



1

1 Renier Roidkin,
1720/30 (WP 469)



2



3

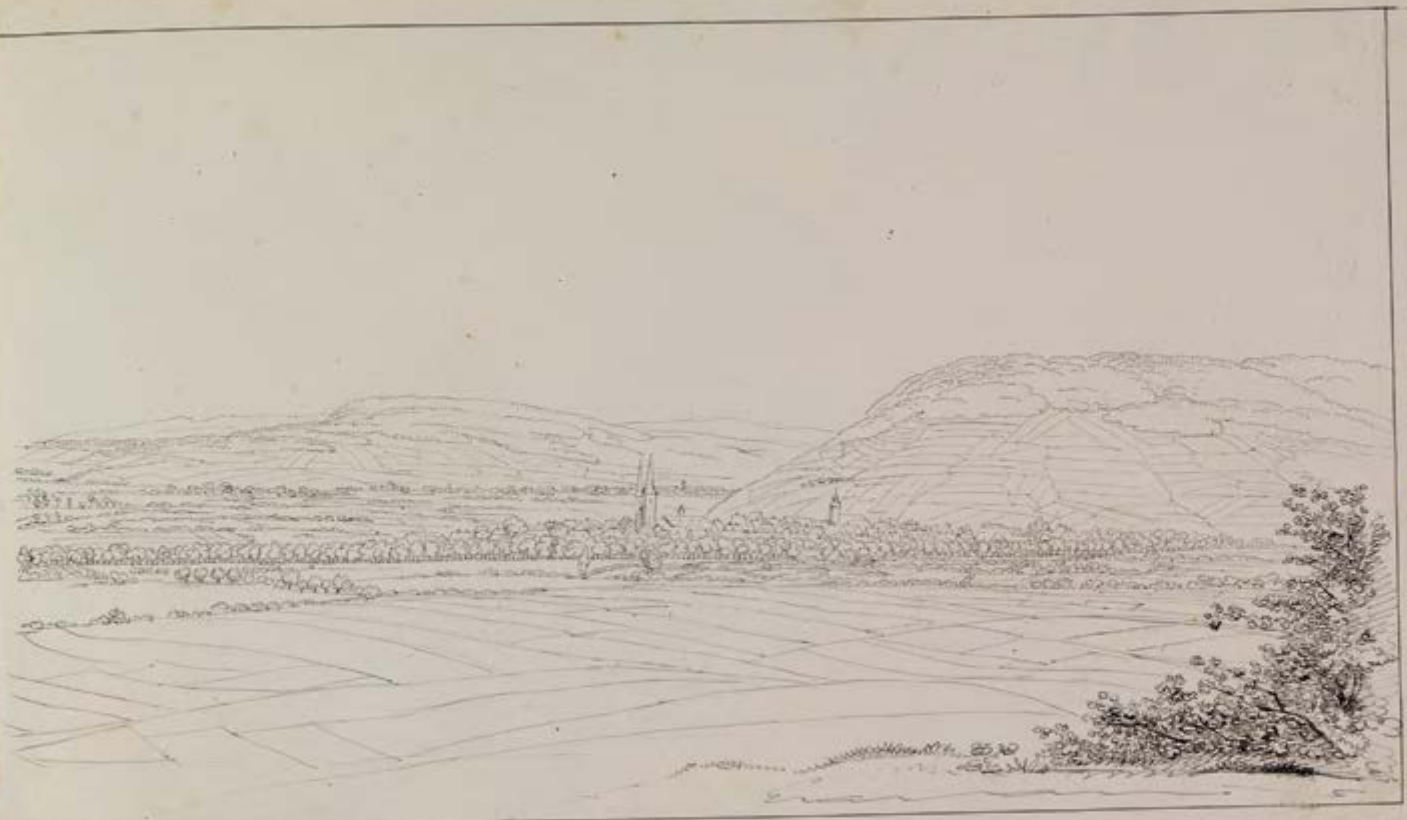
2 P. Johann Friedrich Weitsch, 3rd quarter of 18th century, (WP 466)

3 Marie Bartels, 1859 (WP 481)

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE NORTHEAST



1 Friedrich Fleischmann,
Sketchbook „Reise von Lon-
don zurück nach Nürnberg“
1814 (WP 396)



Holmünden

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHEAST

Although the Westwork turns its back on one, the view from *Steinkrug* in the southeast was the most popular view among artists of the 19th and 20th centuries, probably due to the close proximity to the monastery, and certainly aided by the establishment of an inn around 1800.

1 Wilhelm Riefstahl, 1857 (WP 478)

2 Engraving by Henry Winkels according to a drawing by Carl Schlickum in the work „Das malerische und romantische Westphalen“ by Ferdinand Freiligrath and Levin Schüeking, 1st edition, 1841 (WP 475)





3

3 Theodor Müller, 1880
(WP 495)

4 Steel engraving by Schlic-
kum, in the work „Das maler-
ische und romantische West-
phalen“ by Ferdinand Freili-
grath and Levin Schücking,
2nd edition, 1872 (WP 490)



4

CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHEAST

1 Franz Hoffmann-
Fallerleben, 1915

2 Marie Bartels, 1859
(WP 480)



3 Marie Bartels, 1860
(WP 482)



4 Marie Bartels, 1860
(WP 483)



CORVEY VIEWED FROM THE SOUTHEAST



1

1 Marie Bartels, 1864
(WP 488)



2



3

2 Th. Albert, in: Alexander Duncker: Die ländlichen Wohnsitze, Schlösser und Residenzen... Berlin 1860 (WP 487)

3 Illustrierter Deutscher Kalender 1891 (WP 500)

8. HISTORICAL POSTCARDS

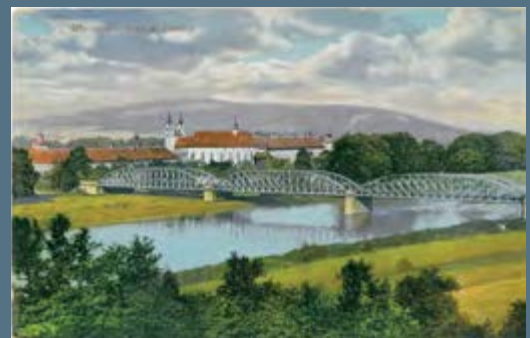
Collection Viktor Duke of Ratibor

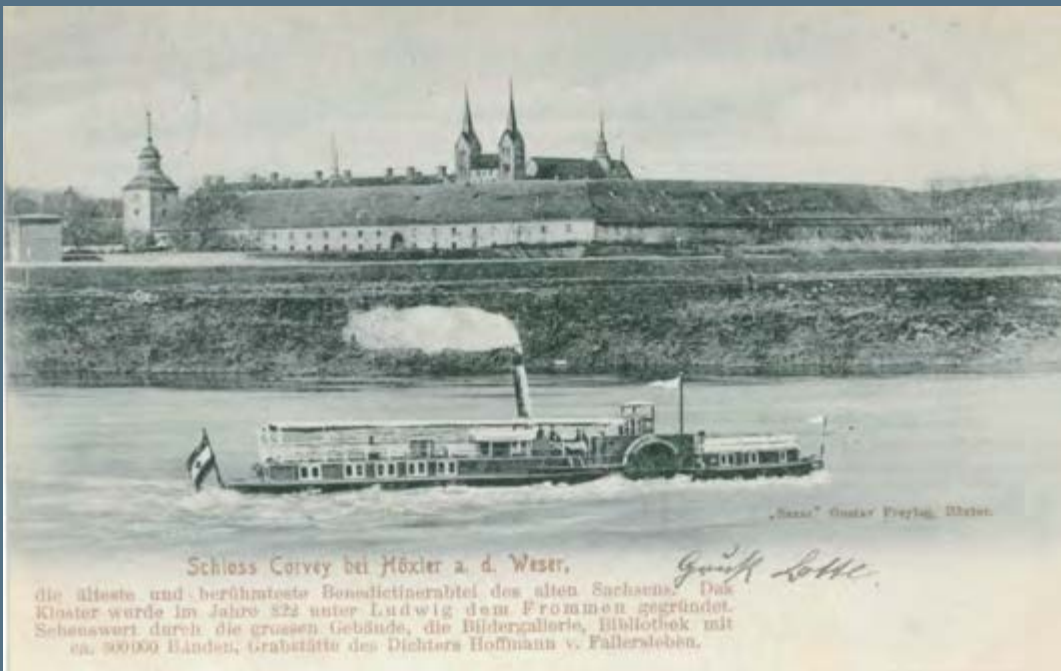


GRUSS aus CORVEY.



am 12. Mai 1900
Ihr. Liebster!
Die Besichtigung des Schlosses
am Hauptort des Landes auf dem
Bergort durch Frau Liebster
am letzten September von Jellner
und 2 weiteren Personen besichtigt







Corvey bei Hövel

Hotel Dreizehnlinden

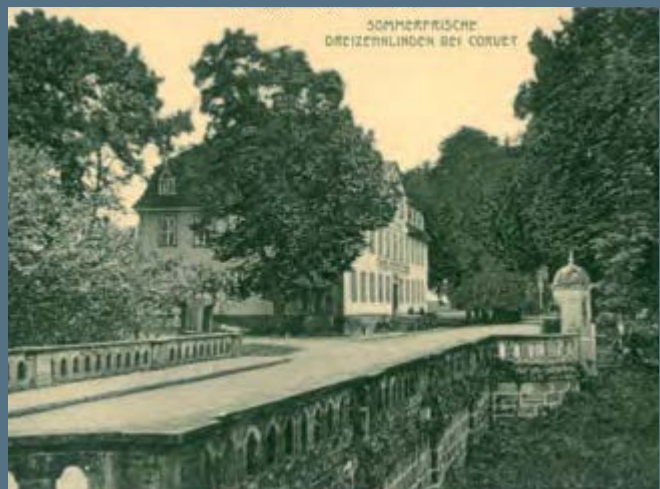


Dreizehnlinden bei Corvey



Schloß Corvey bei Hövel v. d. Weser

Am Bruchthaldees Brunnen

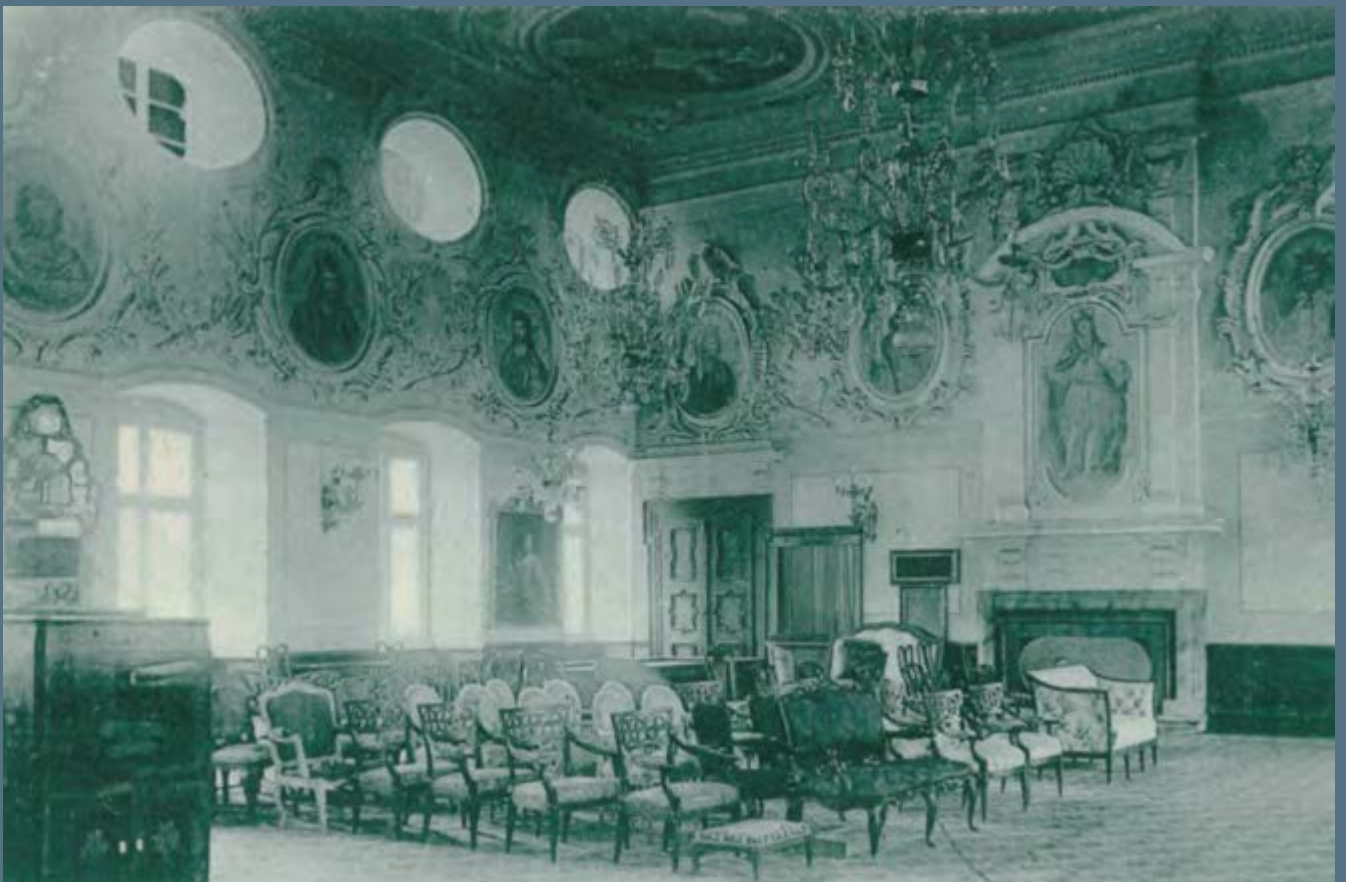


SOMMERFRISCHE
DREIZEHNLINDEN BEI CORVEY



Corvey a. Weser bei Höxter. Der Dichter Hoffmann v. Fallersleben in seinem Arbeitszimmer. (Nach einer Original-Aufnahme)





SCHLOSS CORVEY b. Höxter a. d. Weser.



Schloss Corvey

Schloß Corvey
Eingang



CORVEY





Corveyer Thor.
Schloß Corvey bei Höxter a. d. Weser.
(Lebhafter Touristenverkehr.)



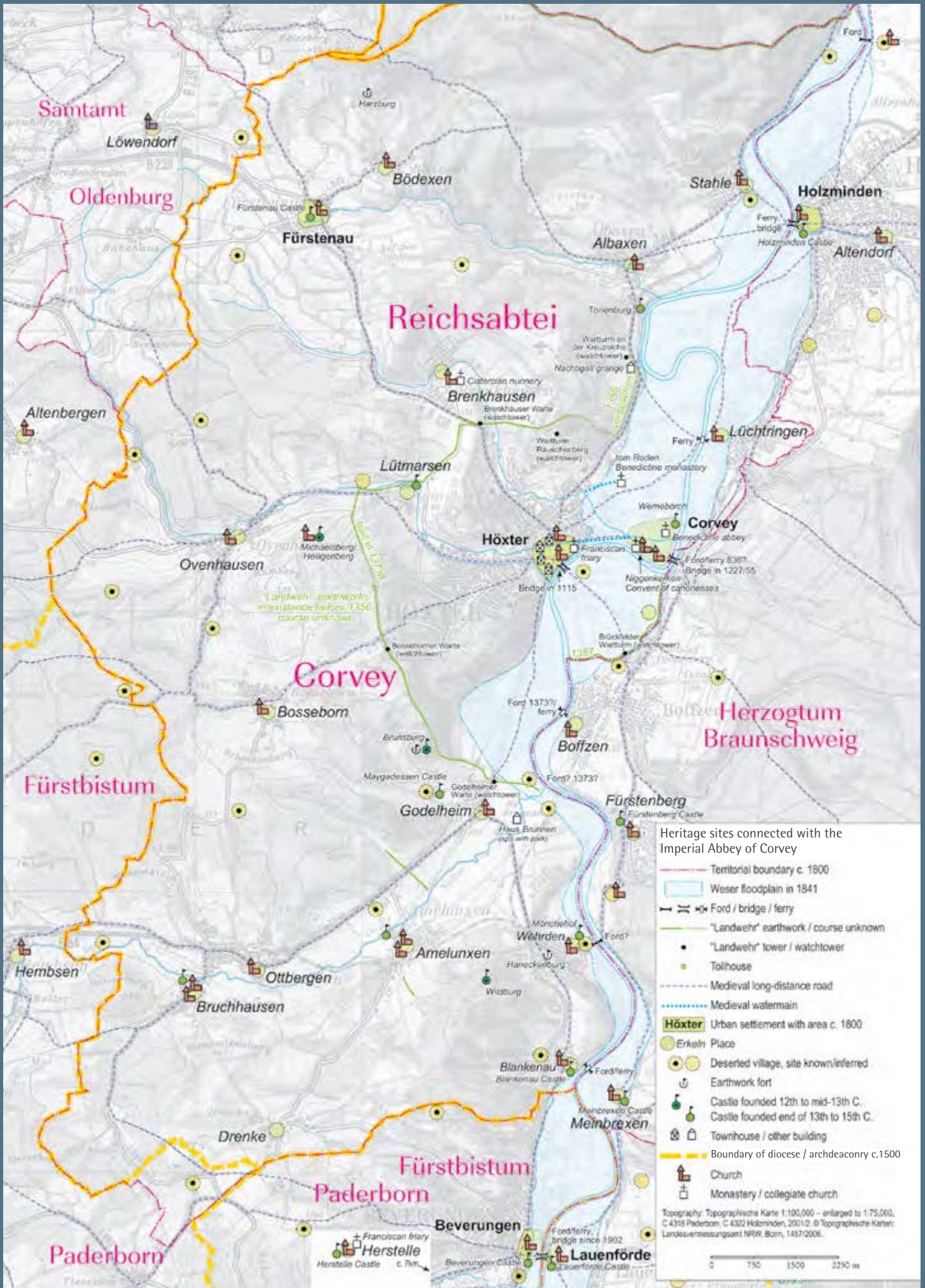
Schloß Corvey a. d. Weser

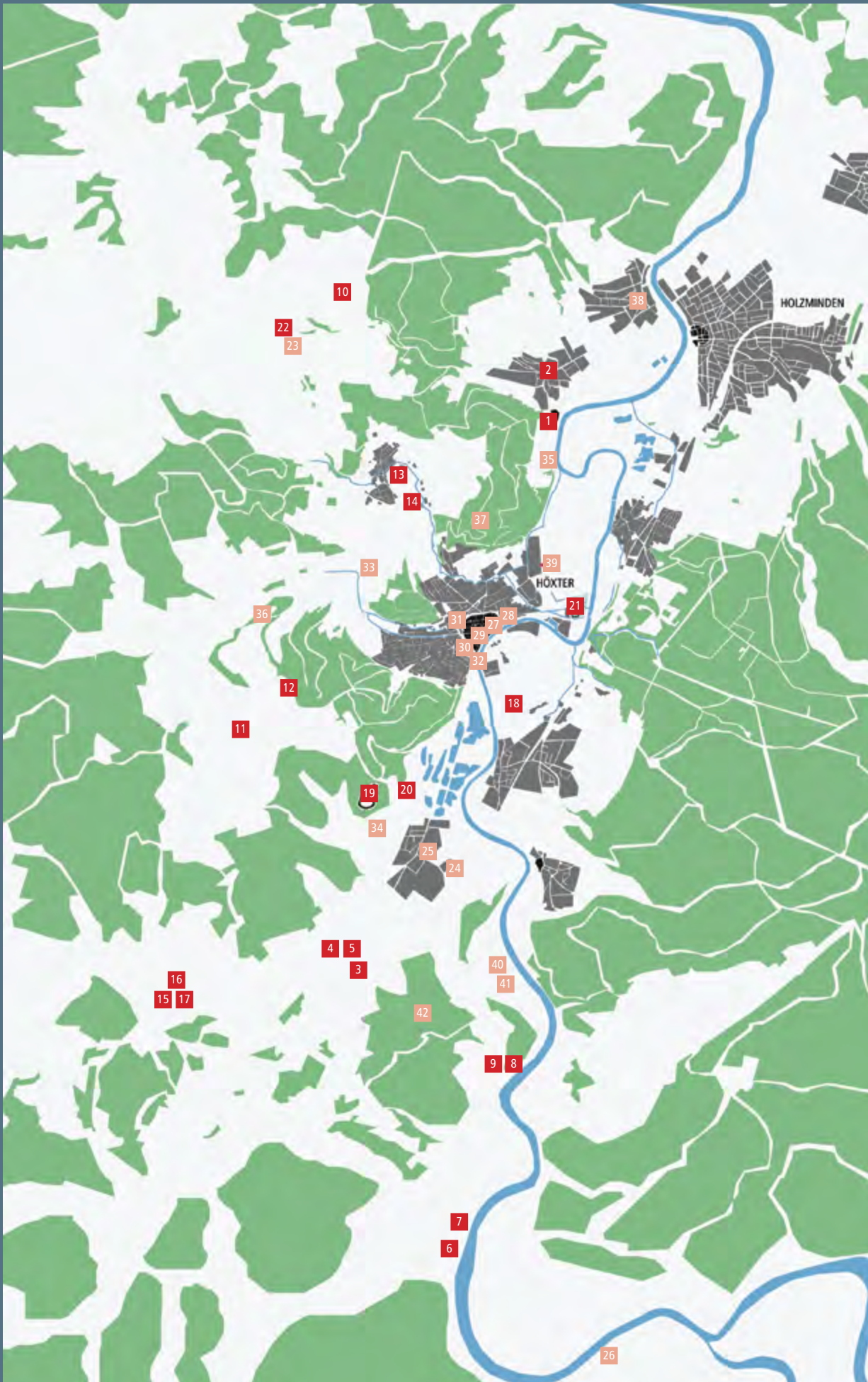


Oscar Herrnsdorf, Kolonialwaren, Dresden-N.
Serie Höxter a. W.

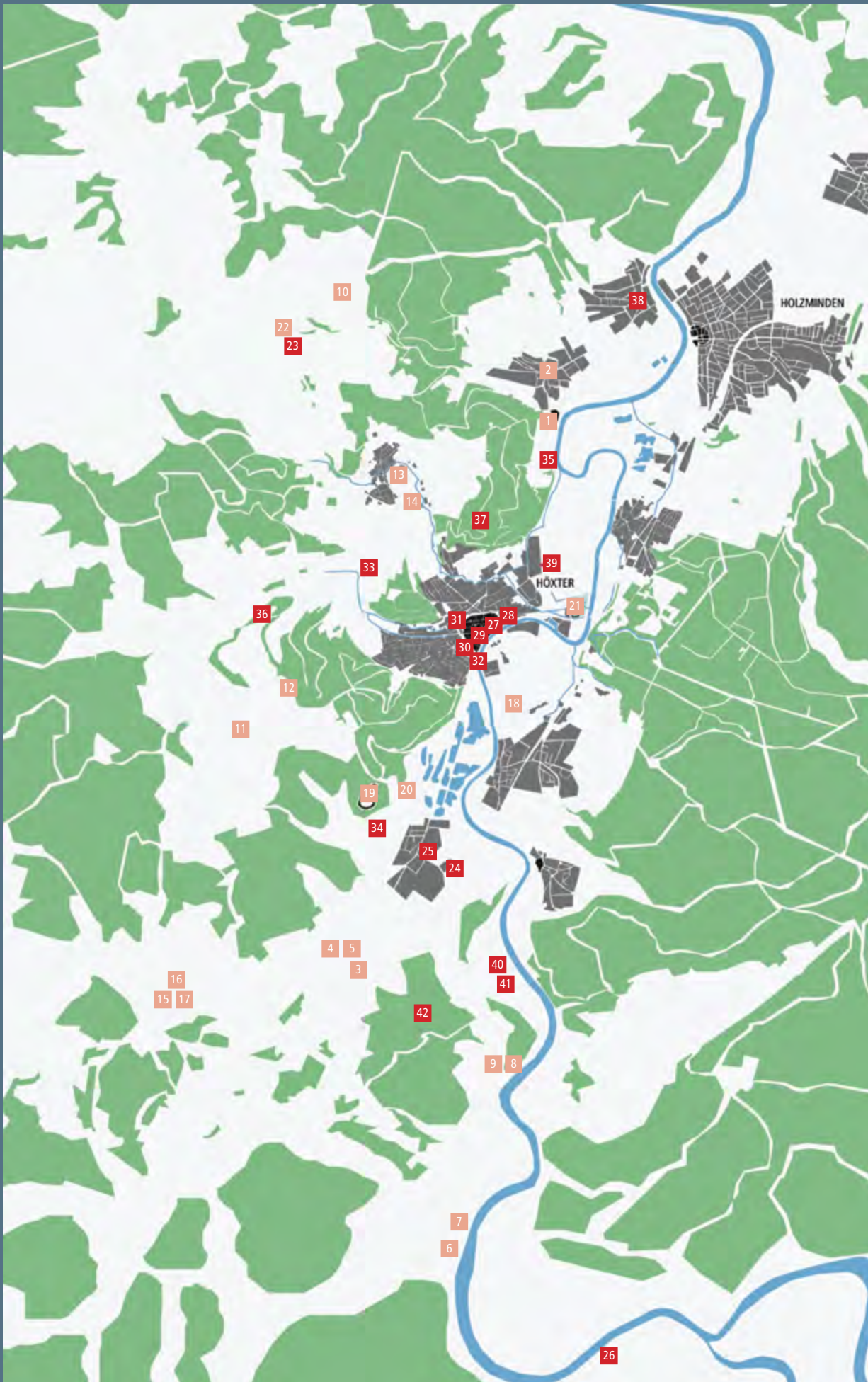
Schloß Corvey.

Conradstrasse 22 Rudolfstr. 1 Grossenhainer Strasse 129





	Place	Object	Foundation / first mention	Date of structures visible today	Relation to Corvey	Accessibility
1	Albaxen	Tonenburg	About 1315	About 1315	Built under abbot Rupert von Tomburg	
2	Albaxen	St Dionysius Catholic church	Probably 9 th century, archaeological date 1200, mentioned in 1231	1697	Medieval church patron of Corvey; Baroque church built by abbots of Corvey	
3	Amelunxen	Ev. Georgskirche Protestant church	Probably 9 th century, excavated 12 th century, mentioned in 1231	12 th century	Church built by abbots of Corvey	
4	Amelunxen	Estate with manor-house	9 th century	16 th century	Lands in this place are mentioned in the early lists of donations to Corvey abbey at the place; today's estate with manor-house from the 16 th century (inscription 1558)	Privately owned, restricted public access
5	Amelunxen	St Peter und Paul Catholic church	1818-1822	1818-1822; Organ 1681	Built by bishop Ferdinand von Lüninck of Corvey; inside the present organ works of the former choir organ of Corvey, by Andreas Schlüter, 1681	
6	Beverungen	Castle	Mentioned in 1331	About 1331	Built together with the Bishop of Paderborn	
7	Beverungen	St Johann Baptist Catholic church	Mentioned at the end of the 11 th century	1682-98	Patronage belonged to Corvey, incorporated in 1332; today's church building of 17 th century	
8	Blankenau	St Josef Catholic church	Before 1714	1714	Portal with coat of arms of abbot Maximilian von Horrich of Corvey (inscription 1714)	
9	Blankenau	Castle	1315	1315; beginning of 18 th century	Laid out by abbot Rupert von Tomburg, built together with the Bishop of Paderborn, part of the Corvey estate 1818 – 2007	Privately owned, restricted public access
10	Bödexen	St Anna Catholic church	Probably 9 th century, mentioned in 1231	1683	Patronage belonged to Corvey; Leesch assumes that it was a daughter church of Fürstenuau since the 16 th century, independent parish 1766-1811 and from 1825 on; today's church built by Corvey abbots in the 17 th century, expanded in 1923	
11	Bosseborn	Mariä Himmelfahrt Catholic church	Before 1620	1726	Separated from the parish of Heiligenberg-Ovenhausen before 1620; portal with coat of arms of abbot Carl von Blittersdorf of Corvey, estimated date 1726	
12	Bosseborn	Embattled tower	Probably 2 nd half of 14 th century	1900	Present Bismarckturm stands on the foundations of the medieval watch-tower	
13	Brenkhausen	Cistercian monastery	Founded in Ottbergen in 1234, here since 1246/47, parish church mentioned in 1231	1246-1320; End of 17 th century, beginning of 18 th century	Founded by abbot Hermann von Holte of Corvey in Ottbergen (then moved to Brückfeld near Höxter, then to Brenkhausen); present monastery buildings originate from the rebuilding in the 13 th century and Baroque times, neo-Gothic church tower	
14	Brenkhausen	Embattled tower	Probably 2 nd half of 14 th century	Probably 2 nd half of 14 th century	Present tower dates back to the late Middle Ages	
15	Bruchhausen	Late medieval castle and Baroque manor-house		Late-Gothic, probably older	The Lords of Bruchhausen were vassals of Corvey since the 12 th century; late medieval castle, including courtroom of the "Feme" (timber-framed, 1687/88), next to the Baroque manor-house with service buildings	
16	Bruchhausen	Ev. Laurentiuskirche Protestant church	Mentioned in 1231	16 th century	Noble patron of the church; daughter church of Amelunxen before 1432, then separated; present church building probably mostly (late?) medieval, extended in 20 th century	
17	Bruchhausen	Mariä Himmelfahrt Catholic church	1699	1699	Endowed by abbot Florenz von dem Velde of Corvey, extended in 1937	
18	Brückfelde	Embattled tower	Mentioned in the 14 th century	Changed in the 15 th century	Present building differs substantially from other watch-towers, possibly due to changes made in the 15 th century	
19	Brunzburg	Castle	Mentioned in 1198	Before 1200	Abbot Widukind builds or rebuilds seven fortresses, such as the Brunzburg; largest castle in the Weser region about 1200; already destroyed at the end of the 13 th century; wide moats and rifts, ramparts and traces of buildings (foundation areas, debris hills) are visible today	Can be reached by a 30-minute walk
20	Brunzburg	Battle of Brunzburg	775		Legend of Charlemagne's idea to found Corvey, according to a painting by Hieronimus Sies, (see illustration on pages 130-131)	
21	Corvey	Grube and Schelpe	9 th or probably end of 12 th century	1482	Water supply for the monastery and the town of Corvey and the town of Höxter; a building in parallel to the canal of the <i>Grube</i> within the walled town area of Höxter exists in the 9 th century; Stephan assumes a redirection of the <i>Schelpe</i> into the canal of the <i>Grube</i> as early as in the 12 th century	
22	Fürstenuau	St Anna Catholic church	14 th century	1519	Patronage held by Corvey; vicar mentioned in 14 th century (before that, situation unknown), then daughter church of Bödexen, separated from it in 1603, several building stages, tower 1519 (inscription), transepts 1924/25; Castle from 1346-48, with Baroque estate farm on its grounds	



	Place	Object	Foundation / first mention	Date of the structures visible today	Relation to Corvey	Accessibility
23	Fürstenuau	"Princely manorhouse" (with chapel of St Sturm of Fulda)	1323	Estate built in 1758	Official residence of a bailiff of Corvey until the 17 th century; also called "Corveyer Klosterhof" (Corvey monastic estate)	
24	Godelheim	Haus Brunnen	1746	1746	Mineral spring and summer residence of Prince-Abbot Caspar von Boeselager	Privately owned, restricted public access
25	Godelheim	St Johannes Baptist Catholic church	Probably 9 th century, archaeological date 12 th century, mentioned in 1231	11 th -century hall changed to late-Gothic style, Romanesque west tower, choir 1962	Hall church, high altar dated c. 1727; tower 12 th century, Gothic nave, substantial alteration of the choir about 1700 and 20 th century	
26	Herstelle	Castle and monastery area	797	1798, 1826-32	Winter camp of Charlemagne, legendary location of Karlsstein (?), castle possibly extended at the end of the 12 th century, official residence of the bishops of Paderborn, alternating monastery communities since the 17 th century	Privately owned, restricted public access
27	Höxter	Ev. Kilianikirche Protestant church	Archaeological date 800	1 st half of 12 th century	Most important antipode to Corvey	
28	Höxter	Former Franciscan friary with Marienkirche	1248	About 1250-1283	Built by abbot Hermann von Dassel on Corvey property	
29	Höxter	Stadthof Marktstraße 21	Mentioned in the 13 th century	1564 and 1570/71	Vassal estate of Corvey abbey, seat of the noble family of Amelunxen, (deanery since 1796)	
30	Höxter	Stadthof Westerbachstraße 31-37	Archaeological date 13 th century	1512, 1515, 1582-85	Town estate of the provost of Niggenkerken monastery before 1512, then vassal estate of Corvey abbey, owned by several chancellors, noble seat of Heisterman-von Ziehlberg with Jacob Pins forum	
31	Höxter	Stadthof Möllingerstraße	Archaeological date 13 th century	1594-1610 and further dates	Vassal estate of Corvey abbey, first owned by the Knights of Meingodessen, Renaissance, noble seat of Uffeln, today Magistrate's Court	
32	Höxter	Stadthof Stummrigstraße	Archaeological date 13 th century		Vassal estate of the Dukes of Braunschweig (possibly formerly Corvey), noble seat of the von Hakes; stone building at rear archaeologically dated to mid 13 th century, front house dendrochronologically dated 1341	
33	Lütmarsen	Estate	Mentioned in the 12 th century, manor-house/castle probably about 1500	Renovated about 1800	Present manor-house with Renaissance portal and three tower remnants	Privately owned, restricted public access
34	Maygadessen	Castle/manor-house with service buildings	Before 1490	Manorhouse 1850/51, Service buildings 1800 and other dates	Temporarily and partially deserted site (settled already in prehistoric times); service buildings of the late medieval Brunsburg castle; late medieval lowland castle of the nobility of the monastery; today's manor-house of 1851, moat from Renaissance times or older	
35	Nachtigall	Outwork with shepherd's house	17 th century	about 1700	Outwork with shepherd's house about 1700; stone with coat-of-arms of an abbot of Corvey	Privately owned, restricted public access
36	Ovenhausen-Heiligenberg	St Michael and St Maria Salomé Catholic chapel	1078	1693	Patronage held by Corvey; built by Corvey monks in 1078, after that parish church for Ovenhausen, Lütmarsen, Bosseborn amongst others, pilgrimage church since the early 15 th century; new building of 1693 (j)	
37	Räuschenberg	Embattled tower	Probably 2nd half of 14 th century	Rebuilt in the 1960s	Today's tower almost completely rebuilt with the old material in the 1950s	No access
38	Stahle	St Anna Catholic church	Mentioned in the 14 th century	1697	Patronage held by Corvey; the chapel is mentioned as a daughter church of Albaxen for the first time in the 14 th century, separated in 1669; Baroque church built by Corvey abbots	
39	tom Roden	Provosts' church with the church of St Maria Magdalena ad Novale	Mid-12 th century; abandoned and deserted in 1538	Base walls rebuilt in 1990/91 after excavation between 1976-80	Benedictine provosts' church dependent on Corvey	Archaeological zone is accessible at all times
40	Wehrden	Mansion	1696-99	1699; 19 th /20 th century	Mansion built by Ambrosius von Oelde; Corvey feudal entitlement of the Prince-Abbot Wolff-Metternich of Paderborn; inside are kept parts of the Corvey archives	Privately owned, restricted public access
41	Wehrden	Catholic church Zur hl. Familie	1698	1698	Consecrated by Prince-Abbot Florenz von Corvey	
42	Wildberg	Castle	about 1160-90		Abbot Konrad built the Wildburg which was abandoned in favour of the Brunsburg according to dated ceramic finds; a wide moat and cellar remnants are visible today	Can be reached by a 30-minute walk



Johannes Gigas: Map of the territory of the monastery of Corvey from 1620

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster

OCCIDENS

CORBEIENSIS DIOECESIS, PRO

ut nunc est, descriptio
nova

Authore

Joanne Gigante D. Medico
et Mathematico.

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ORIENS
Gemeine vñren gubne

MARIENMUNSTER
Abbat. Ord. S. Bened.

OLDENBURG
comitatus coniunctim
aqueus forte a Palat.
et Lippensi captus.

SUALLENBERG
olim comitatus, nunc
Lippensi comiti et
Paderbornensi Episcopo
coniunctim parat. nunc
in illi tribus par-
tibus.

VORDEN



Oldenburg

Collerbeck

Ampt

Sualen
berg

Bromeberg

Louerdorp

Saumer

Valken
flecht

Keterberg

Korstenowe

Ampt

Poll

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parat.

BRENCKHUSEN
Abbat. Vni. S. Bened.

Bokaten

HOXER

TONENBURG

Alhaxen

CORVEI abba
Imperialis et li-
bera S. Benedicti

Lachringen

Stael

Kikensten

HOLTZMINDEN



VORST

In hac silva prima
Corticia fundata.



2

3

STIS





Hieronymus Sies: The Battle of Brunnsberg in 775.
Oil painting from 1704, Museum Hörter-Corvey

7.a Photographs and audiovisual image inventory and authorization form

Historic and current photographs of the nominated property in printed form can be found in the volume "Material accompanying the application: Maps and pictures". Current photographs in digital form including the print authorization can be found in the DVD inside the rear cover of this volume.

1. Aerial views, General views of the monastery

- 1 001 Aerial view
- 1 002 General views of the monastery

2. Westwork

- 2 001 Westwork outside: general views
- 2 002 Westwork outside: details
- 2 003 Westwork interior: ground floor
- 2 004 Westwork interior: upper floor

3. Church house

- 3 001 Church outside
- 3 002 Church inside

4. Civitas: Area of the former Monastery and the present Castle

- 4 001 buildings and yards on the archaeological area of the former Civitas
- 4 002 Courtyard and cloister
- 4 003 Borders of the Civitas

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
1 001 01	tif	Aerial view	06/2010	Baoquan Song, Bochum	Baoquan Song, Bochum	Ruhr-Universität Bochum Faculty of History Am Bergbaumuseum 31 44791 Bochum Tel.: 0234-32-22551 Baoquan.Song@ruhr-uni-bochum.de	Yes
1 002 01	tif	View from southwest	04/2005	Henning Fischer, Höxter	Henning Fischer, Höxter	Henning Fischer Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-8101 h.fischer@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 02	jpeg	View from the Heiligenberg into the valley of the River Weser	05/2011	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-1120 m.koch@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 03	jpeg	View across the ruins of the monastery of tom Roden towards Corvey	04/2005	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch, Höxter	Michael Koch Stadt Höxter 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 963-1120 m.koch@hoexter.de	Yes
1 002 04	tif	View from the south		Beate Sikorski, Bochum	Beate Sikorski, Bochum	Ruhr-Universität Bochum Faculty of History Am Bergbaumuseum 31 44791 Bochum Tel.: +49 234-32-23382 fs-archaeologie@rub.de	Yes
2 001 01	tif	Westwork, view from northwest	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Schloss Corvey 37671 Höxter Tel: +49 (0)5271 694010 Fax: +49 (0)5271 694400 empfang@schloss-corvey.de	Yes
2 001 02	tif	Westwork, view from the west	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 001 03	tif	Churchyard	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 001 04	tif	Church view from the south	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 002 05	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 002 06	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade: inscription tablet	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
2 002 07	tif	Westwork, detail of the façade: inscription tablet	um 1995	LWL-Fotoabteilung	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Fürstenbergstr. 15 48147 Münster Tel.: + 49 (0)251 591-4036 Fax: + 49 (0)251 591-4025 dlbw@lwl.org	Yes
2 003 01	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 02	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 03	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 04		Westwork, ground floor towards the southeast	um 1995	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 003 05	tif	Westwork, ground floor	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 01	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the west	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 02	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the southeast	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 03	tif	Westwork, upper floor, view to the south	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 04	tif	Westwork, south wall of the upper floor, eastern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 05	tif	Westwork, south wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 06	tif	Westwork, west wall of the upper floor, southern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 07	tif	Westwork, west wall of the upper floor, northern sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 08	tif	Westwork, north wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 09	tif	Westwork, north wall of the upper floor, western sinopia	1995	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 10	tif	Westwork, upper floor, vault of the west room with figurative scenes	01/2007	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 11	tif	Westwork, soffit arch of the west arcade, upper floor	12/2006	A. Brückner, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 12	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	12/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 13	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes

Id. No	Format	Caption	Date of Photo (month/ Year)	Photographer	Copyright owner	Contact Details of Copyright name address tel/ fax eMail	Non exclusive cession of rights
2 004 14	tif	Westwork, Ulysses and Scylla, scene from the Sea Creature frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 15	tif	Westwork, figurative frieze in the west room of the upper floor	10/2006	Schnabel, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 16	tif	Westwork, upper floor, fragment of the southern arcade, western gallery	12/2006	Renvert, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 17	tif	Westwork, upper floor, best finds of the frieze of sloped semicircles	11/2006	Goege, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
2 004 18	tif	Westwork, upper floor, soffits with rudiments of frieze, north gallery	12/2006	Goege, Münster	LWL, Münster	LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts und Baukultur in Westfalen Addresses see above	Yes
3 001 01	tif	Graveyard	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
3 002 01	tif	Interior of the church	05/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 01	tif	Castle of Corvey, view from northwest	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 02	tif	Castle of Corvey, view from the west: Civitas	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 001 03	tif	Castle of Corvey, castle square: Civitas	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 002 01	tif	Courtyard of the castle	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 002 02	tif	Cloister	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 01	tif	Castle of Corvey, ditch on the west side, view to the south	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 02	tif	Promenade on the banks of the River Weser; border of the Civitas	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 03	tif	Field cross Dreizehnlinden near the banks of the River Weser; border of the Civitas	07/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes
4 003 04	tif	The Corveyer Allee, view to the west	10/2007	Peter Knaup, Paris	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH	Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH Addresses see above	Yes

ICOMOS

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON MONUMENTS AND SITES
CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES MONUMENTS ET DES SITES
CONSEJO INTERNACIONAL DE MONUMENTOS Y SITIOS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОВЕТ ПО ВОПРОСАМ ПАМЯТНИКОВ И ДОСТОПРИМЕЧАТЕЛЬНЫХ МЕСТ

H. E. Mr Michael Worbs
Ambassador, Permanent Delegate
Permanent Delegation of Germany to
UNESCO
Maison de l'UNESCO
Bureau MS1.18
1, rue Miollis
75732 PARIS Cedex 15

Our Ref. GB/MA 1447

Paris, 27 September 2013

World Heritage List 2014 **Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey (Germany)**

Dear Sir,

ICOMOS is currently assessing the nomination of Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey as a World Heritage site and we thank you for your assistance with the recent mission to the property.

We would like to ask for clarifications with regard to a number of aspects relevant to the nomination.

Therefore we would be pleased if the State Party could consider the following points and kindly provide additional information:

1 According to the management plan, the District of Höxter, the Town of Höxter and the Duke of Ratibor founded the "Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey GmbH" to manage visitors. Neither in the nomination dossier nor in the management plan is mentioned whether the Parish of St. Stephanus and Vitus and/ or the Diocese of Paderborn are included in this body. Additionally, no overall management body neither any existing or drafted formal agreement encompassing all relevant owners and competent authorities is mentioned in the nomination dossier or in the management plan. Could the State Party provide information on this issue?

2 The nomination dossier and the management plan inform about the type and level of protection enjoyed by the nominated property and the buffer zone. However, no map illustrating the layers of legal protection for the various components of the nominated property and of the buffer zone has been provided. Could the State Party provide a detailed map of existing protection designations in relation to the boundaries of the nominated property and of buffer zone.

3 Both the nomination dossier and the management plan mention several planning provisions enforced for the area where the nominated property is located. However, specific measures contained in these plans or by-laws are not described. Additionally the management plan (p.27) mentions the need to revise the existing spatial planning tools at the various levels. Could the State Party provide detailed information concerning the specific planning and by-law provisions currently in force, those in need of revision and the timeline to complete the revision process. It would be useful to know which are the current development provisions, and their state of advancement, in term of wind energy exploitation for the area.

4 The management plan describes the rationale at the base of the delineation of the boundaries of the nominated property and the buffer zone. Whilst it seems clear how they have been defined in general, could the State Party provide more information regarding the reasoning that has guided the delineation of the northern border. More information about the distribution of the archaeological findings (with specification of those excavated and those resulting from other forms of investigation) concerning the deserted village of Corvey would be useful as well.

5 Due to its location, floods may be considered among the major threats for the nominated property. The nomination dossier and the management plan state that, following works already carried out in the area, the Weser flooding area in the vicinity of the nominated property has been redefined and today it would be spared from flooding in case a centenary flood event occurred. However, the height of the grounds where the major attributes of the nominated property are located is only slightly higher than the surrounding centenary flooding area (less than one meter). Considering the increasing unpredictability and frequency of extreme weather events, could the State Party information on whether the competent authorities have developed disaster scenarios for bicentenary and five-hundred-year flood events and elaborated disaster mitigation measures so as to diminish the possible damages that could be caused by those disaster events. The management plan informs (p.89) that the Weser flood action plan contain appropriate mitigation measures but does not provide a detailed description. It would be equally useful to receive more information on this point.

6 Neither the nomination dossier nor the management plan mentions whether the local communities have been involved in the nomination process. However this aspect constitutes the base for any sustainable conservation and enhancement programme of complex properties and is always regarded as a fundamental aspect by UNESCO. It would be therefore useful to understand better how the State Party and the actors that have promoted this nomination have addressed this issue.

7 The management plan describes an ambitious conservation and enhancement programme for the nominated property and its buffer zone. However, no information on the budget and the existing or possible sources of funding for the implementation of such a programme has been included. Could the State Party provide information on whether the some advancement has been made in delineating a budget and a fund raising programme to cover the activities foreseen by the master plan mentioned in the dossier and by the management plan.

We will look forward to your responses to these points which will be of great help in our evaluation process.

ICOMOS has no obligation to contact States Parties during the evaluation process. However, with a view to being as transparent as possible, ICOMOS has agreed to approach States Parties in specific cases. This does not prejudice the ICOMOS recommendation on the nomination and should be considered as preliminary information. It also does not prejudice the World Heritage Committee's decision.

We would be grateful if you could provide ICOMOS and the World Heritage Centre with the above information by **5 November 2013**.

We thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

Yours faithfully



Regina Durighello
Director
World Heritage Unit

Copy to Dr Claudia Konrad, Schloss Corvey
UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Answers to questions 1, 4, 6 and 7

Additional Information

Answer to question 1

A steering committee supervised by the Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport of North Rhine-Westphalia as the superior authority for preservation of monuments of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia has been established for the preparation of the nomination for inscription and the management plan. This steering committee comprises the following members:

Ludger Eilebrecht	Parish-dechant, representative of the owner of the Parish St. Stephanus und Vitus within the Pastoralverbund Höxter, Höxter
Viktor von Ratibor	Owner, Höxter
Dr. Birgitta Ringbeck	Foreign Office, Berlin
Dr. Thomas Otten	Ministry for Building, Housing, Urban Development and Transport, Düsseldorf
Marianne Thomann-Stahl	District President, Detmold district government
Friedhelm Spieker	District Administrator, district of Höxter
Alexander Fischer	Mayor, city of Höxter
Dr. Barbara Rüschoff-Thale	Head of Cultural Affairs of Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe (Regional Association)
Emanuela von Branca	Diocese architect, Diocese of Paderborn
Prof. Dr. Christoph Stiegemann	Director of the archiepiscopal diocese museum of Paderborn
Dr. Claudia Konrad	Manager of the Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH, Höxter

The task of the steering committee includes the coordination of the application process and the corresponding management requirements. The steering committee remains in place until the foundation planned on page 113 of the management plan has been established or the already existing Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH has been restructured to such an extent that it is able to assume further tasks associated with the management of a world heritage site, in addition to the museum and events activities. The first step in this direction has already been done: The Parish of St. Stephanus and Vitus has become a co-opted member of the boards of Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH. It is planned that the steering committee will assume the function of an advisory board upon the establishment of the foundation or the re-structuring of Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH.

Answer to question 4.

Your query in respect of the historical northern boundary of the monastery complex (core zone) is surely based on a mistranslation in the nomination document. The English version describes that the northern section of the ditch passes the castle in northerly direction: “The baroque ditch, which has subsequently been backfilled in part, **passing by the present castle in a northerly direction**, was preceded by a medieval ditch running in the same direction [...]” (Nomination for inscription, p. 29, see also: Management plan, p. 138). However, it has to be read: “The baroque ditch, which has subsequently been backfilled in part, **passing north of the present castle**, was preceded by a medieval ditch running in the same direction [...]”. This ditch runs from east to west.

With regard to the buffer zone dating from the area of the deserted town of Corvey, the northern boundary is clearly marked by the Hechtgraben (former city moat, see Management plan, p. 140), the above-ground preserved remnants of the city wall and the course of the rampart and moat, revealed by geomagnetic prospection, in the northwest. No excavations have been made so far in the area of the deserted town north of the monastery grounds; and also the results of the geomagnetic prospection have not shown any significant indicators for a settlement. There are no pieces from the Carolingian period among the ceramic surface findings. Manuring scatters set in not until the 11th/12th century. At the time of the city of Corvey (second half of the 12th century until 1265) this area was obviously not settled and was probably used as a garden area within town.

Additional Information

Answer to question 6

The citizens of the city of Höxter as well as of the district of Höxter and of the Weserbergland have enthusiastically accompanied the nomination of the Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey under the title „Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage“. The following initiatives have been organized and coordinated by the „**Arbeitskreis Weltkulturerbe**“ (**World Cultural Heritage Work Group**) which was founded by the citizens of Höxter:

- 70,000 citizens signed a petition in order to document their support of the application;
- 10,000 car stickers reading „Ja! Weltkulturerbe Corvey“ (Yes! World Cultural Heritage Corvey) were printed and distributed;
- A westwork made of marzipan is sold by the local bakery; the proceeds are used for the funding of the activities initiated by the work group;
- A monument rally for locals and tourists strengthens the awareness, especially for the archaeological heritage in Corvey;
- Voluntary guided tours between Höxter and Corvey in respect of the history of the once separated cities are offered;
- The citizens were actively involved in forums for the preparation of the preservation statute by means of which the access to the support programme for urban development was enabled (see question 7);
- A wide public participated in the professional symposia in respect of the preparation of the application which always included a public lecture;
- The association of the museum, the „Kulturfreunde Corvey“, organized several competitions for children and young adults (painting, journalism and photography contests);
- A secondary modern school in Höxter and the UNESCO-Projektschule in the neighbouring city of Holzminden have organized literature seminars under the title: „Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage“;
- The Baker's Guilds of Höxter and Holzminden have sold a „Corveyer Klosterbrot“ (Corvey abby loaf) (approx. 20,000 loafs)
- The Werbegemeinschaft Höxter developed T-Shirts which are sold in the museum shop;
- The managing director of the Kulturkreis was and is invited by numerous societies (e.g. the historical society) and political panels, Rotary Club, Lions Club and many more from the East Westphalian region and the Weserbergland, which were partly covered in the media;
- Resolutions which document the unanimous commitment towards Corvey as potential world heritage site were passed by the municipal councils of Höxter and Holzminden and by the Regional Council of East Westphalia in the scope of meetings held in Corvey.

District of Höxter

- Postage stamp reading “der Kreis Höxter unterstützt Corvey auf dem Weg zum Weltkulturerbe” (the district of Höxter supports Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage);
- Participation in the signature campaign;
- Request for guided tours in respect of “Corvey auf dem Weg zum Weltkulturerbe” (Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage);

City of Höxter

- Outgoing emails include the westwork logo with the capture “Corvey auf dem Weg zum Weltkulturerbe” (Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage);
- Preparation of a series for the federal official gazette “Huxaria” with about 50 issues under the topic, “Corvey in Geschichte und Gegenwart” (Corvey - Past and Present) ;

Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey gGmbH

- Invitation of “Multipliers”
 - Together with the adult education centre: book presentation of Dr. Norbert Lammert, President of the Bundestag, and of Petra Gerster, TV presenter;
 - Thanksgiving reception of the two environment ministers of the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia and Lower-Saxony in Corvey;
 - Chamber of Commerce and Industry/Tourism committee (lecture of the manager, including discussion, guided tour through the westwork);
 - Landkreistag NRW (lecture of the manager, including discussion, guided tour through the westwork);
- Activities in respect of the St. Vitus celebration
 - Invitation of the World Heritage Education work group of the vice-general secretary of the German UNESCO commission, with representatives of already existing world heritage sites;
 - Offers of special guided tours under the topic, “Corvey auf dem Weg zum Weltkulturerbe” (Corvey on its way to becoming World Cultural Heritage);
 - Special programmes for children under the same topic (creating a westwork, painting dolphins etc.);
 - Issuing of the “Corveyer Depesche” (circulation 250,000 from funds of the EFRE programme);

- Participation of the manager of the Kulturkreis in the annual meeting 2012 and 2013 of the UNESCO-Welterbestätten Deutschland e.V. in order to make contact with already existing world heritage sites and especially to exchange information with regard to museum education and tourism.

- Exhibitions
 - “1.000 Jahre Wissen” already described in the management plan on p.95;
 - “UNESCO-Museumskoffer” I (2011) and II (2012) in cooperation with the Faculty of Arts of Paderborn university;

 - “Daily Painting”, paintings on the subject Corvey in cooperation with the Faculty of Arts of Paderborn University;

 - “Welterbestätten in Deutschland” , photographic documentation in cooperation with the UNESCO-Welterbestätten in Deutschland e.V.;
 - “Corvey im Fokus”, a common concept of the city of Höxter, LWL and Kulturkreis: A presentation of the most recent research technologies, such as the prospection methods (geomagnetic, airborne laser scanning etc.) which provide further information, amongst others, on the archaeological monument “Civitas Corvey”. The 21 tables showing the archaeological findings are to be presented in Düsseldorf (Landtag), then in Münster (LWL), and possibly in the federal state representation of North Rhine-Westphalia in Berlin during the winter months.

Additional Information

Answer to question 7

The cost of the preservation measures described in the Management Plan and the implementation cost of the Master Plan in respect of the economic value of the buffer zones amount to approx. 30 million Euros. An exact schedule and financial plan is being prepared. The following support programmes are available for funding:

1. Urban Development Programme of the national and state governments

The city council of Höxter passed the **statutes of the city of Höxter in respect of the preservation of the urban particularities in the areas of the old city/direct surroundings, Corvey and Corveyer Allee** with regard to the area of the historic city centre of Höxter, pursuant to section 172, sub-section 1, no.1 of the Baugesetzbuch (Town and Country Planning Code) (Höxter preservation statutes, see annex for map) on its meeting on 21 July 2011.

The preservation statutes establish a requirement for an authorisation for the demolition, reconstruction or modification of structures (including parts of structures) which are not subject to the provisions of the Denkmalschutzgesetz (Monuments and Historic Buildings Act). The requirement to obtain an authorisation also applies to projects which do not require an authorisation according to the Landesbauordnung (State Construction Ordinance) or which are not subject to the provisions of the design statutes of Höxter.

In addition to the old city and its direct surroundings, the territorial scope of the preservation statutes also includes

- the area of the former monastery grounds of Corvey,
- the area of the former city of Corvey (deserted medieval town) up to the bend of the River Weser near Corvey and
- the area of Corveyer Allee from the junction into Bismarckstraße up to the former monastery grounds of Corvey.

The preservation statutes set out the conditions for being eligible for the support programme „Städte-baulicher Denkmalschutz“ (Protection of Urban historical Monuments) for the protection and preservation of the historical city centres with buildings of historic importance and therefore also to the financial aids needed for the world heritage site.

2. World Heritage Programme of the national government

The Ministry for Transport, Construction and Urban Development has provided a total of approx. 220 million Euros in respect of the “Promotion of investments in the national UNESCO World Heritage Site” between 2009 and 2014. The support programme provides investments which are urgently needed for the preservation of the world-class historical sites and assists the communities in their development according to world heritage standards. It can be expected that this programme will be continued after 2014.

3. "National wertvolle Kulturdenkmäler" (Valuable national cultural monuments) Programme of the national government

The "National wertvolle Kulturdenkmäler" Programme was initiated in order to support the preservation of historical monuments, archaeological monuments and historic parks and gardens which represent national events or the development of the German cultural landscape in an extraordinary way. Between 1950 and 2012, more than 600 cultural monuments could be preserved and restored with approx. 342 million Euros out of this programme's funds. In 2013, subsidies in the amount of approx. 9 million Euros are available for this programme.

Answers to the questions 2, 3 and 5

High water levels in the Corvey area

The water levels of the flooding scenarios HQ100 and HQ extreme are being revised and updated by the Detmold district government in the scope of the Flood Risk Management Guideline (HWRM-Richtlinie). With regard to this guideline, HQ extreme corresponds to an event that represents a 1000-year water level. 200-year high water levels or 500-year high water levels are not revised.

The information used up to now is partly based on 100-year-old documents.

Condition at HQ 100 (according to HWRM-Richtlinie, as at Dec. 2012)

A 100-year water level affects only parts of the open spaces within the monastery grounds surrounded by walls in the area of the physical structure of Corvey. Water levels ranging from 0 to 1-2m above ground are to be expected.

Condition at HQ extreme (as at Dec. 2012)

With regard to extremely high water levels, structural elements of the agriculturally used manor area of Corvey are affected and reach the southern external wall and the eastern annex of the monastery church. The water level rises to 2-4m above ground in the lowest open space area.

Flood protection plans

An alarm and operation plan has been prepared for max.100-year events so far. Since no physical structures in the Corvey area are affected by such an event no protective measures have been planned.

If new information is gained by the competent authorities during the preparation of the flood risk management plans by the end of 2015 the corresponding protective measures will be provided. Suitable preventive measures will then be initiated to avoid negative impacts of flooding and to minimise damages.

(see enclosed map excerpts)

1. Primary and municipal planning in the area of the former Corvey monastery grounds
2. Development objective with regard to the use of wind power and planning status

ad 1.

The following gives an overview of the above mentioned plans and possible intended changes:

Regional development plan – assignment plan (1995)	
Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
No specific goals for the former monastery grounds	Intended change or realignment of the procedure (see regional development plan [2013 draft])
Regional development plan / realignment draft (2013)	
Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
Outline as “Important cultural landscape area `Weser – Höxter – Corvey`” – Development subject to preserving the unique value of the cultural landscape – Maintaining the important elements and structures Protecting the important archaeological monuments and find sites of the region	Finalisation of realignment procedure: 2014

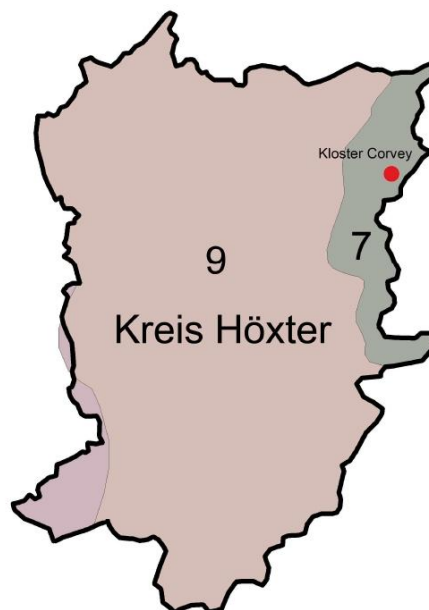


Abb.: Regional development plan North Rhine-Westphalia (draft) - excerpt: cultural landscapes and cultural landscape areas (district of Höxter)

7 = Important cultural landscape area **"Weser – Höxter – Corvey"**

9 = Cultural landscape **"Weserbergland – Höxter"**;

(Registration of the site **"Corvey abbey"** by city of Höxter)

ad 2.

In the municipal area of Höxter there are currently two areas which can be used for wind power - outlined in the land development plan as areas to be used for wind power (see land development plan of the city of Höxter in the annex):

<u>District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Area</u>
<u>Bosseborn</u>	5.5km southwest of Corvey <u>Northeast of the town of Bosseborn</u>	<u>43 ha</u>
<u>Fürstenau</u>	8.2km northwest of Corvey <u>Southwest of the town of Fürstenau</u>	<u>30 ha</u>

The height of the plants was limited to max. 100m above the natural terrain based on a text description in respect of the extent of the structural use for both areas. Wind energy plants have already been built in both areas.

The other areas of the city of Höxter have been excluded from the building of wind parks (concentration effect).

In its meeting on 13 Feb.2013, the Committee for Planning and Environment of the council of the city of Höxter resolved the initiation of the 8th change of the land development plan. The change of the land development plan aims at the outline of additional areas for the use of wind power and to increase the general extent of use currently assigned (Plant height: max. 100m above the natural terrain).

In a first step, the possibilities of expanding the use of wind power in the municipal area were investigated based on a site potential analysis elaborated for the cities of the district of Höxter and a wind power potential study presented on a federal state level.

Considering the important planning criteria (especially the distance to areas worthy of protection in respect of the adequate consideration of aspects such as noise development, shadow casting and ecological concerns) potential areas were selected as suitable sites for the use of wind power. These are

- in the district of Bosseborn
the area northeast of the town of Bossenborn north of district road 18
opposite of the existing special area „wind power utilization “ – size: approx. 55 ha
- in the district of Fürstenau
the area south of the town of Fürstenau, including the existing special area **“wind power utilization“** in the southwest – size: approx. 95 ha

(see plan **“Preliminary draft of the 8th change of the land development plan of the city of Höxter“** in the annex)

In addition, a greater overall height of the wind energy plants is to be enabled in the existing special areas for wind power utilization northeast of the town of Bosseborn and southwest of the town of Fürstenau.

The early involvement of the public according to section 3 subsection 1 BauGB (Town and Country Planning Code) was initiated from 1 July 2013 until 31 July 2013. No statements were made by the public.

In the further process, a visualisation has been made for the planned expansion of the area near Fūstenau. It turned out that the intended planning does not affect the former monastery grounds – the new plants will not be visible from Corvey.

With regard to the planned changes or expansion of the area near Bosseborn no visualisations have been made so far. Especially the intended increase of the extent of use is therefore subject to the confirmation of compatibility, especially regarding the former monastery grounds of Corvey.

Presently, the draft of the change in the land development plan and the corresponding draft of the development plan are being prepared.

Enclosure

- General map “Höxter-Corvey – plans and relationships”
- Land development plan of the city of Höxter
- Preliminary draft of the 8th change of the land development plan of the city of Höxter

Regional plan –Paderborn-Höxter section (assignment plan 2007)

Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
<p>Text description of urban and cultural objects, e.g.:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Corvey, castle/former monastery grounds <p>No specific goals for the former monastery grounds</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Establishing the westwork and Civitas Corvey as an architectural monument which is worthy of protection and a feature of the landscape – Outline of important view perspectives – Formulation of goals and principles in respect of the keeping free of the view perspectives <p>Initiation of the change procedure following the finalisation of the realignment of the regional development plan</p>

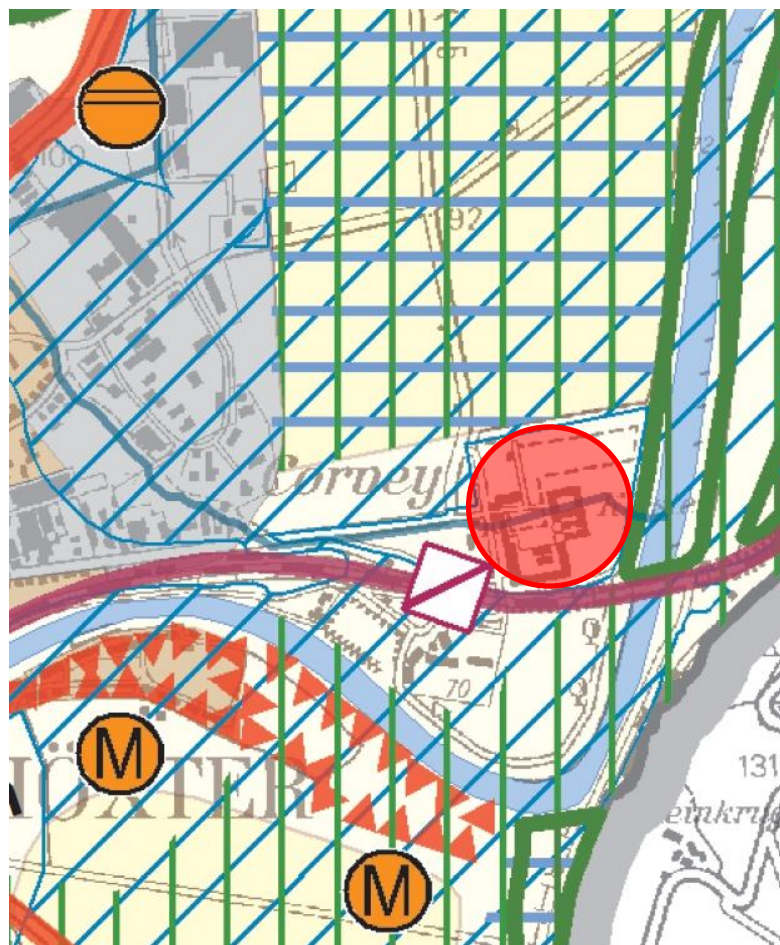


Fig.: Regional plan for the government district of Detmold –Paderborn-Höxter section (excerpt)

Land development plan (2005)
 (see also the map "Höxter-Corvey – plans and relationships" in the annex)

Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
Outline of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – former monastery grounds as "Special cultural area " – surrounding area mainly as "Agricultural area" – communicated integration of the archaeological monument 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Outline of important view perspectives – Text description in support of the keeping free of the view perspectives Initiation of the change procedure following the finalisation of the realignment of the regional development plan

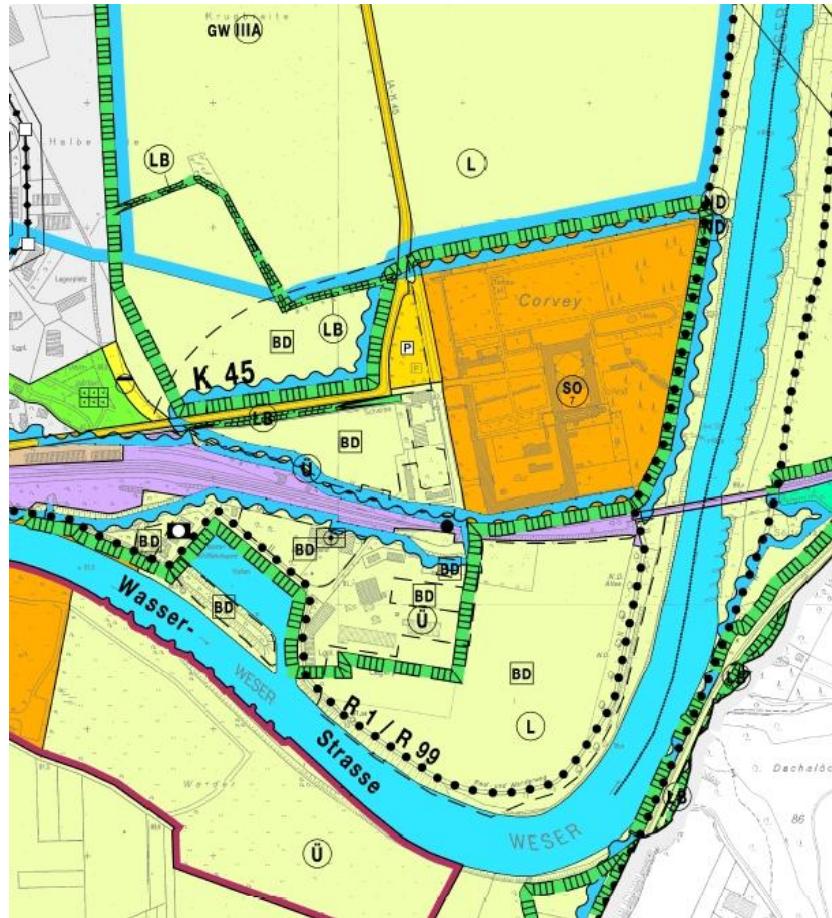


Fig.: Land development plan of the city of Höxter (excerpt)
 SO 7: Special "cultural" area

Obligatory urban land-use planning
 (see also the map "Höxter-Corvey – plans and relationships" in the annex)

Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
general	Alignment with the outline in the land development plan Initiation of the change procedure following the finalisation of the realignment of the regional development plan
<p>B-Plan No. 8/50 (legally binding since 16 March 2000) Assignment of an "Agricultural area" to protect the landscape southwest of the former monastery grounds from building development</p>	Currently no changes intended

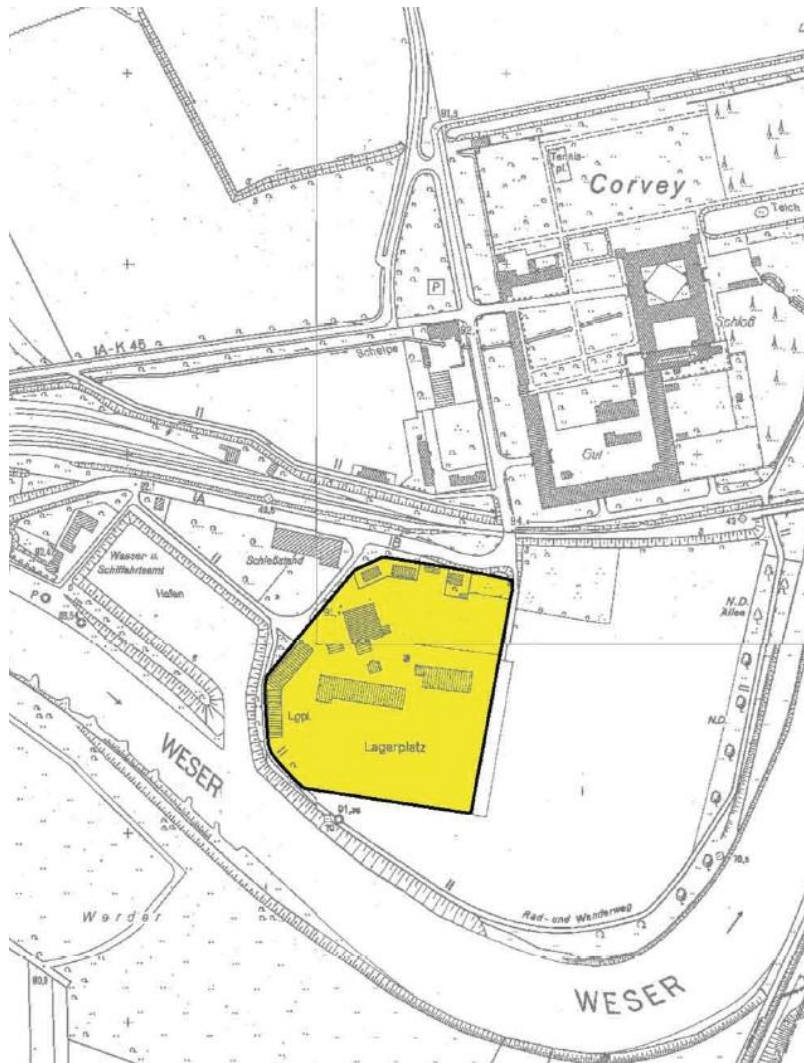


Fig.: Development plan no. 8/50 – area of application

Design statutes (resolution from 29 Sept.1988) (see the map "Höxter-Corvey – plans and relationships" in the annex)	
Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
Preserving the characteristic appearance of the old city of Höxter, of Corveyer Allee and the former monastery grounds of Corvey – Decree of design regulations for all properties within the area of application	Currently no change intended
Preservation statute (resolution from 21 July 2011 – revised version of the preservation statutes from 18 Dec.1986) (see the map "Höxter-Corvey – plans and relationships" in the annex)	
Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
Prior approval with regard to the demolition and change of buildings worthy of preservation Revision 2011 – change of the spatial area of application: Integration of – the area of the former monastery grounds, – the area of the former town of Corvey (deserted town) up to the bend of the river Weser near Corvey, – the area of Corveyer Allee from the junction of Bismarckstraße to the former monastery grounds of Corvey	Currently no change intended

Local landscape plan–
local landscape plan no. 1 “Weser valley, including Fürstenauer Bergland” (assignment plan 2006)

Planning object /planning goal	Intended change
<p>The former monastery grounds of Corvey is situated outside of the area of application of the local landscape plan no. 1 “Weser valley, including Fürstenauer Bergland”.</p> <p>The adjacent areas to the north, west and south have been assigned as landscape conservation area.</p> <p>In addition, the surroundings of the former monastery grounds include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – a natural monument (two large-leaved linden) – two protected landscape elements (flood channel and flood hollow and section of the flowing waters of the Schelpe) – shorelines for water protection purposes and east of the former monastery grounds – groves 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Outline of important view perspectives – Text description in support of the keeping free of the view perspectives <p>Initiation of the change procedure following the finalisation of the realignment of the regional development plan</p>

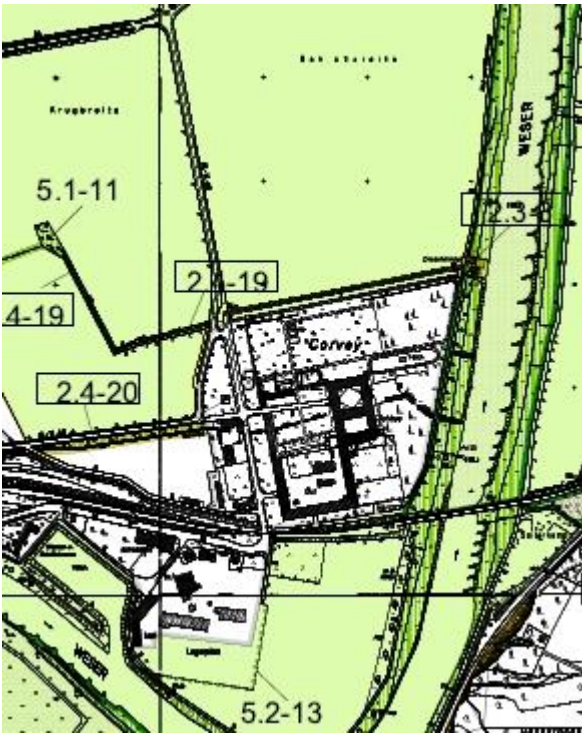


Fig.: Local landscape plan no.1 “Weser valley, including Fürstenauer Bergland” (excerpt)

[Flächennutzungsplan der Stadt Höxter]

Land development plan of the city of Höxter

Plan drawing

(effective since 12 January 2005 with integration of 1st change and 4th change, effective since 13 April 2011/14 March 2012)

Legend

Outline areas of the existing special areas “wind energy utilization” in the districts of Bosseborn and Fürstenau

[Übersichtskarte]

General map

District of Höxter

Corvey abbey

[Vorentwurf]

Preliminary draft

Excerpt

Preliminary draft

8th change of the land development plan of the city of Höxter

Folio 1

Areas for wind energy utilization in the district of Bosseborn

Legend

Outline area of the existing special area “wind energy utilization”

Potential areas for wind energy utilization

[Vorentwurf]

Preliminary draft

Excerpt

Preliminary draft

8th change of the land development plan of the city of Höxter

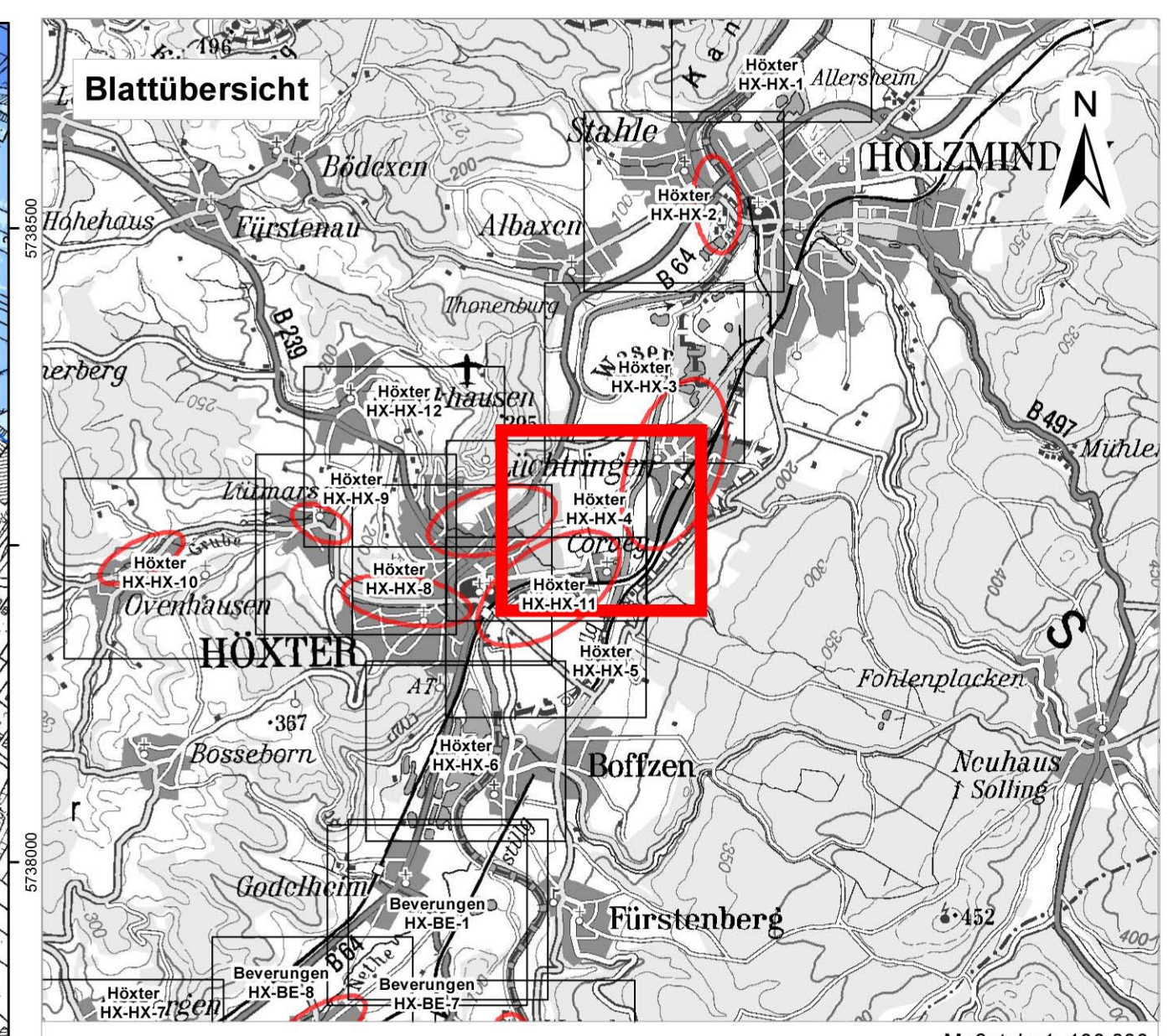
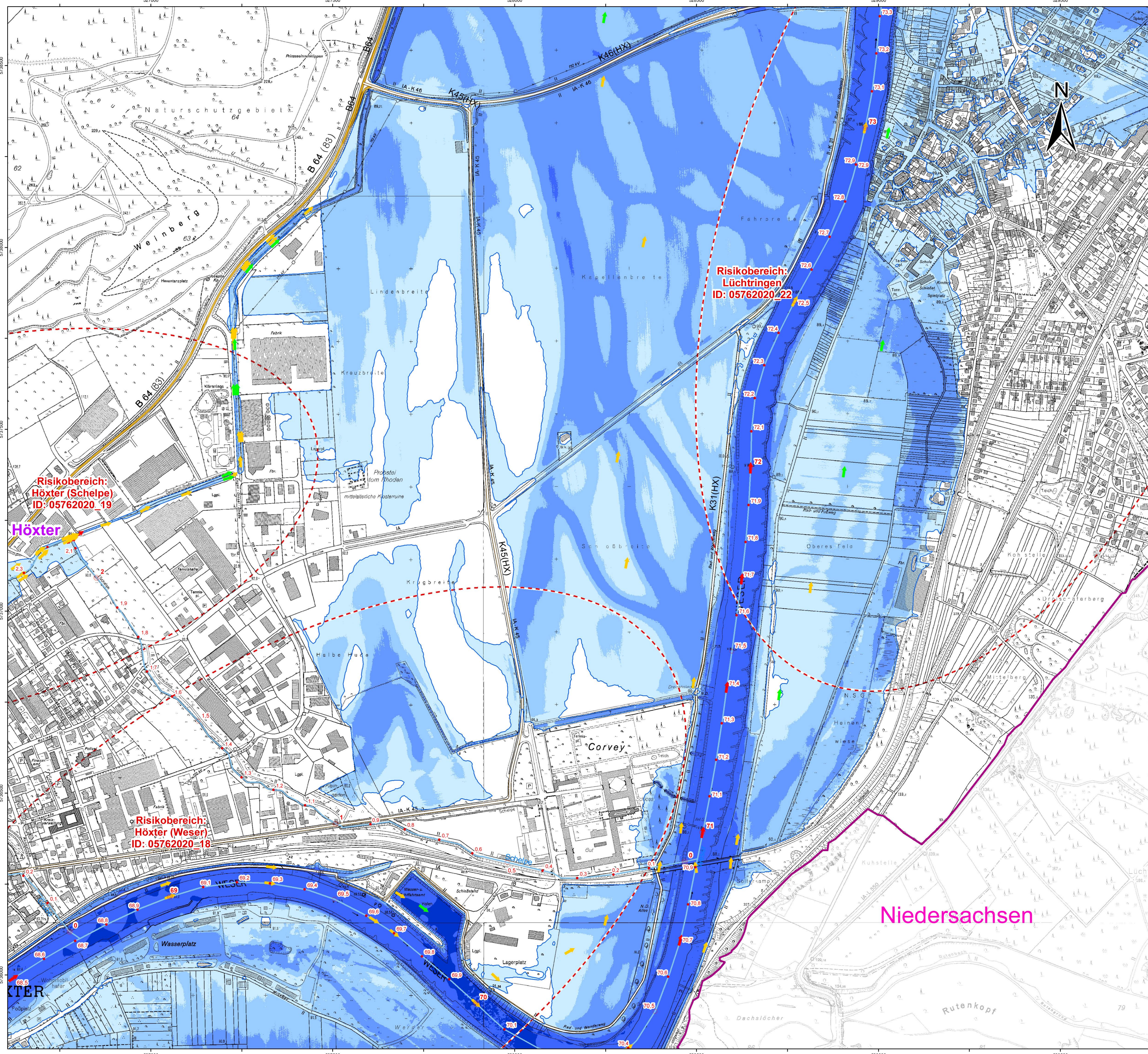
Folio 1

Areas for wind energy utilization in the district of Fürstenau

Legend

Outline area of the existing special area “wind energy utilization”

Potential areas for wind energy utilization



Legende

- Überschwemmungsgrenze der Gebiete ohne technischen Hochwasserschutz
- Risikobereich
- Wassertiefen - Gebiete ohne technischen Hochwasserschutz
 - 0 - 0,5 m
 - 0,5 - 1 m
 - 1 - 2 m
 - 2 - 4 m
 - > 4 m
- Wassertiefen - geschützte Gebiete
 - 0 - 0,5 m
 - 0,5 - 1 m
 - 1 - 2 m
 - 2 - 4 m
 - > 4 m
- Fließgeschwindigkeiten
 - > 0,2 bis 0,5 m/s
 - > 0,5 bis 2 m/s
 - > 2 m/s
- Hochwasserschutzanlagen
 - Deiche, Wände, Stauhaltungsdamme, Sperrbauwerke
 - Mobile Elemente
 - Gesteuerte Flutpolder / Hochwasserrückhaltebecken
- Sonstiges
 - Sonstige Gewässerflächen
 - Kreis- und Landesgrenze
 - Gemeindegrenze
 - Pegel
 - Abströmung
- Gewässerstationierung
 - Hundertmeterpunkt
 - Fünfhundertmeterpunkt
 - Kilometerpunkt

200 100 0 200 Meter

Bezirksregierung Detmold

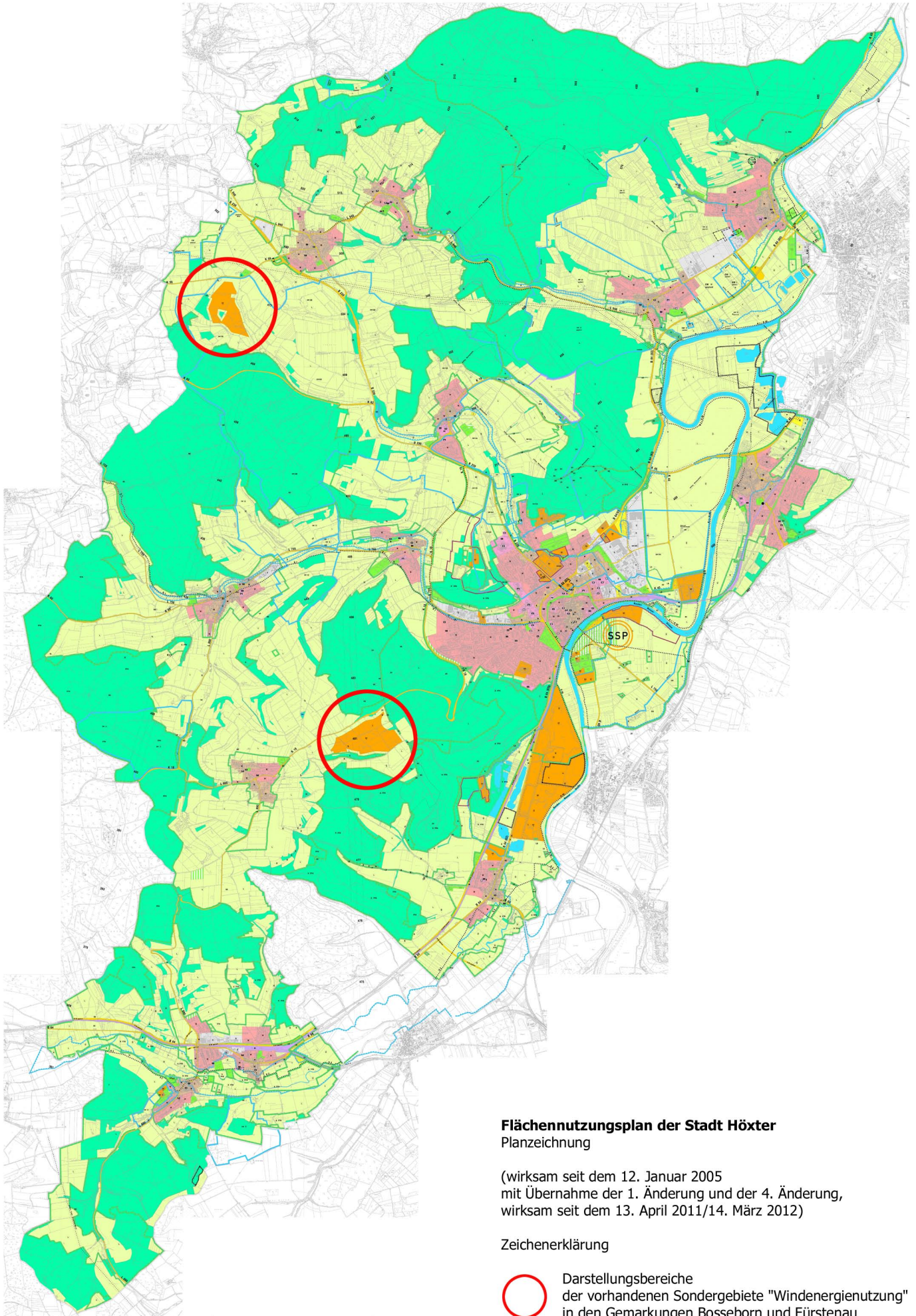
EG-Hochwasserrisikomanagement-Richtlinie
Hochwassergefahrenkarte
ME 2 Höxter

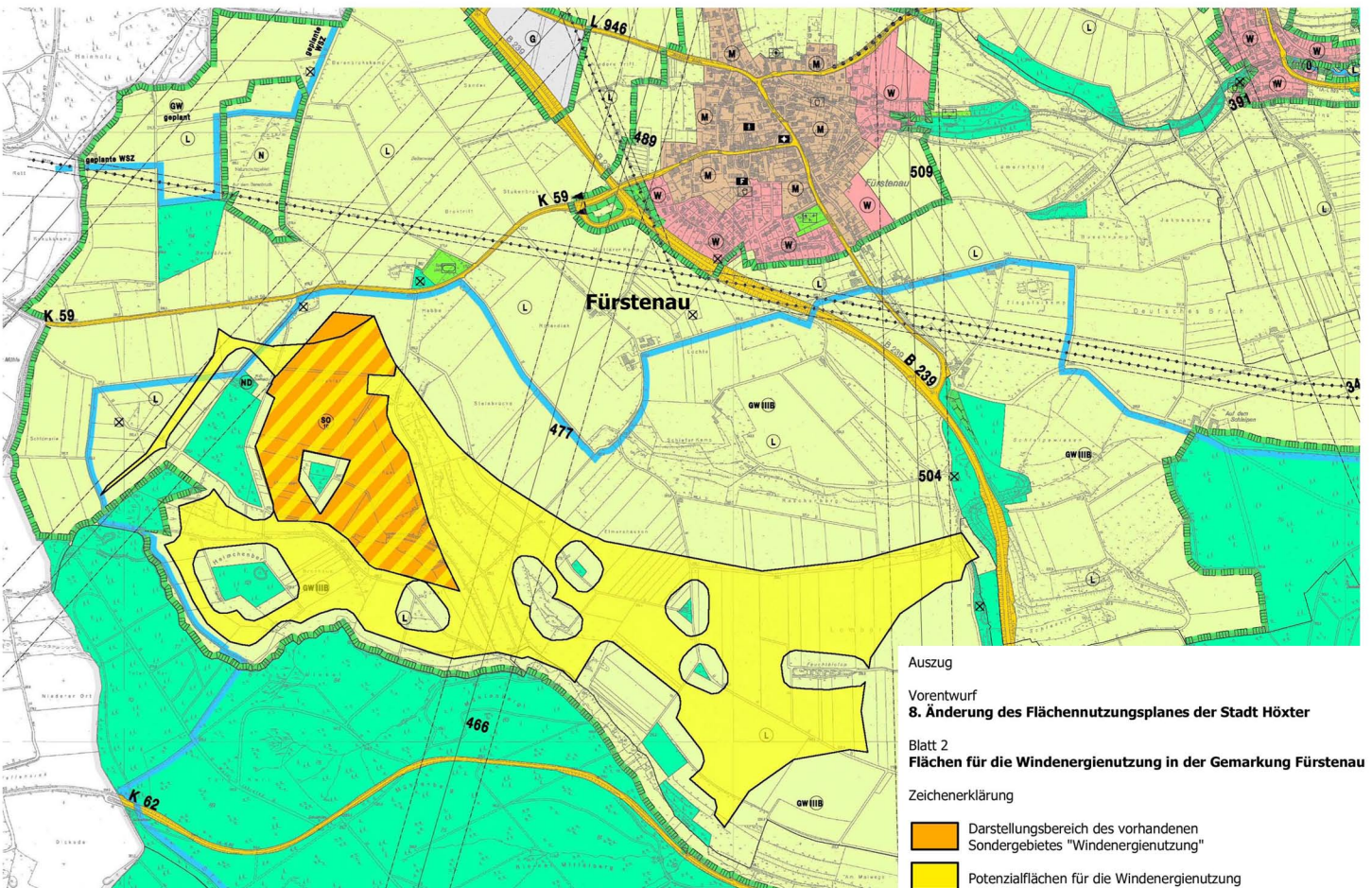
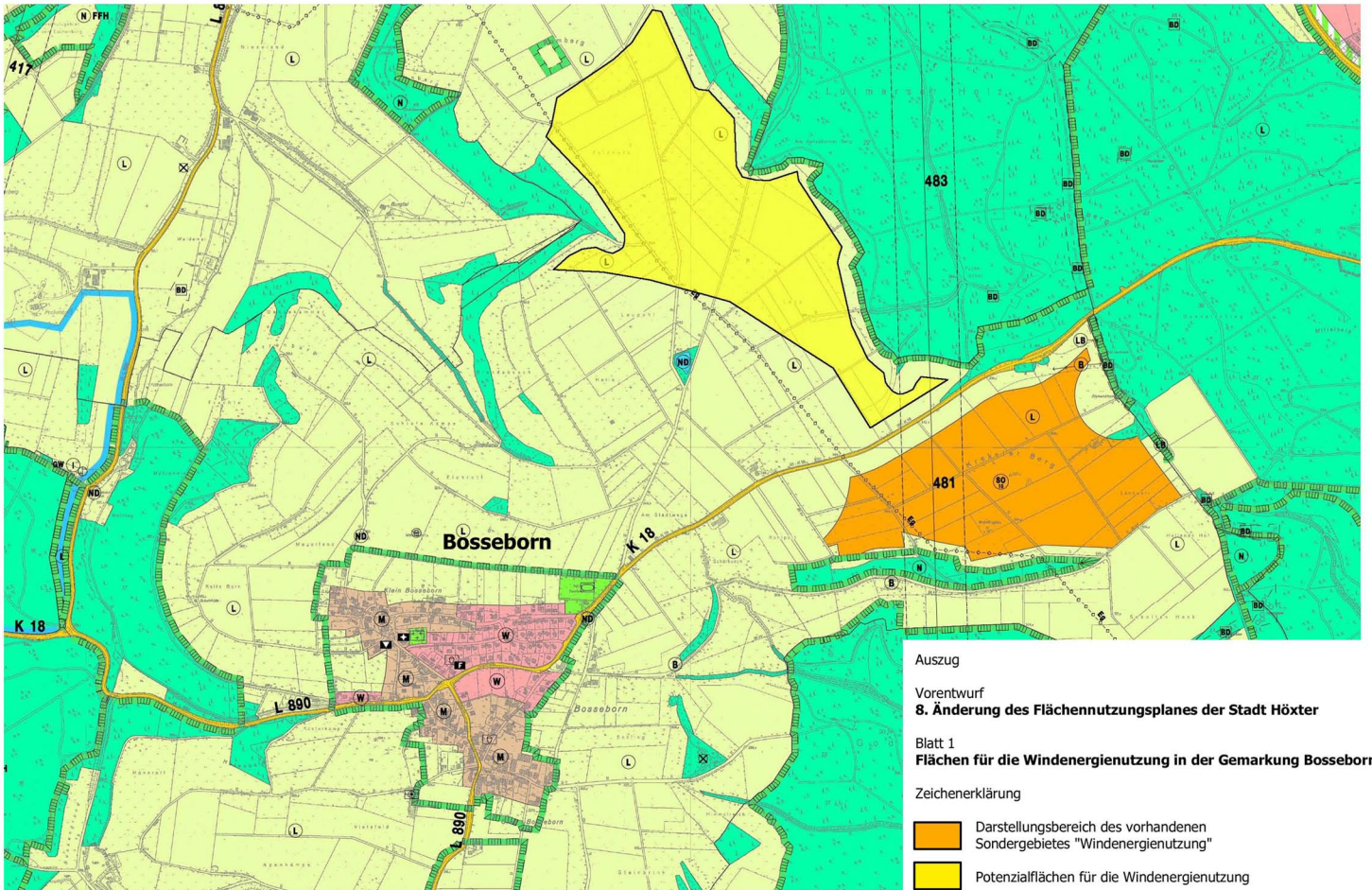
Flussgebietseinheit: **Weser NRW**
 Teileinzugsgebiet: **Weser**

Hochwasserszenario: **HQ100**

Maßstab 1 : 5.000	06.12.2012	Höxter HX-HX-4
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Auswärtiges Amt, 11013 Berlin

ICOMOS International
Ms Regina Durighello, Director
World Heritage Unit
Ms Gwenaëlle Bourdin,
WH Programme Senior Specialist
49 -51, rue de la Federation
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10117 Berlin

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BEARBEITET VON
Dr. Birgitta Ringbeck

REFERAT:603-9

Birgitta.ringbeck@diplo.de
www.auswaertiges-amt.de

BETREFF **World Heritage List 2014**
HIER **Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey (Germany)**
BEZUG Additional Information II, your letter of 12.12.2013
ANLAGE 4
GZ 603-9-/611.34

Berlin, 26.2.2014

Dear Ms Durighello, dear Ms Bourdin,

please find attached the statement and 3 annexes answering your questions submitted in December 2013.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Yours faithfully

(Dr. Birgitta Ringbeck)

Ref.: 611.34
Author: MR'in Dr. Birgitta Ringbeck

Berlin, 26 February 2014
HR: 4784

Statement

Subject: Application for Inscription of Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey on the World Heritage List
here: Request by ICOMOS International for additional information from 12 December 2013

Question 1:

The owner of the monument *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* is the parish of St. Stephanus and Vitus. The owner of the archaeological monument *Civitas Corvey* is the Prince of Ratibor.

The right of property in Germany is particularly protected under article 14 GG (German Constitutional Law) and designates the control of a natural or legal person over an object. Therefore, the management authority of the nominated property lies with the owners.

Question 2:

The representatives for the World Heritage of the Standing Conference of Ministers of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Länder in the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Birgitta Ringbeck, officially submitted the letter from ICOMOS International with the request to ensure that buildings or developments in neighbouring communities in the territory of the State of Lower Saxony will not have any negative effect on the nominated World Heritage Site to the State of Lower Saxony with the request that this be taken into account on 16 January 2014. The competent authorities and the neighbouring communities of Hörter in the territory of the State of Lower Saxony will be informed by means of a decree issued by the Ministry of the Interior of Lower Saxony and will be notified that the World Heritage Site and its visual qualities is to be taken into consideration in future planning projects. The City Council of Hörter, in whose territory the World Heritage Site is situated, and the City Council of Holzminden, which is only separated from Corvey by the river Weser, already declared their joint support of the nominated World Heritage Site in a joint meeting in the Emperor's Room of Corvey Castle, on 5 July 2011 (see annex 1)

Question 3:

The *Carolingian Westwork and Civitas Corvey* are recorded in the monument register of the city of Hörter according to sections 2 and 3 DSchG NW (Monument Protection Act) and preserved. Measures on or in the surroundings of the monument are subject to authorisation according to section 9 DschG NW. In addition, the regulations of the

planning law, amongst others, and of the landscape protection apply with regard to the management of the nominated property (see (explanations in the application dossier, p. 42 and 43; Management Plan, p. 47-51). The legal protection of the nominated property, as described in the Management Plan, is existent and does not need any further formal confirmation or implementation.

Carolingian Westwork / church buildings measures

Measure	Budget	Period
Constructional physical expertise of church and Johannis chancel, climate-controlling simulation models	43,000.00 €	2013 - 2014
Renovation of cover plates of external walls of the atrium, renovation of dry-stone walls	17,500.00 €	2013 - 2014
Securing of the Carolingian stuccos in the towers	35,000.00 €	2013 - 2014
Positioning of measuring bolts to monitor the tilt of the towers	5,000.00 €	2014 - 2019
Gargoyles on the towers	6,000.00 €	2014
Analysis of wall paintings (microbiology)	5,000.00	2013 – 2014

Castle buildings / abbey, buffer zone measures

Measure	Budget	Period
Castle building / abbey: restoration of sandstone roofs and facades	€650,000	2014 - 2015
Castle restaurant: relocation of delivery entrance to the back	€80,000	2014 - 2015
Castle building / abbey: restoration of entrance portal, including gate and bridge	€30,000	2015 - 2016
Dreizehnlindenhaus, sustainability, roof sealing	€50,000	2015 - 2016
Estate buildings, restoration of sandstone roofs	€620,000	2015 - 2017
Castle walls, conservation measures	€120,000	2015 - 2017
Outwork and stables: restoration of sandstone roofs and facades	€740,000	2016 - 2018

The implementation of further measures of the master plan as part of the Management Plan depends largely on the Inscription on the World Heritage List. The Inscription on the World Heritage List offers access to the “Investment Program for National World Heritage Sites” of the federal government. This program will be continued according to the coalition agreement in respect of the 18th legislation period of the German Bundestag. The new

formation of the Federal Government took place on 17 December 2013, the budget with the corresponding funding programs will not be passed before Spring 2014. A schedule, including budget for the implementation of further measures as described in the master plan will therefore not be elaborated and presented before the middle of 2014 at the earliest.

Questions 4 and 5:

Höxter City and Höxter District Councils are jointly considering a possible redesignation of areas for wind parks. To this purpose, the planning law requirements have to be created by means of a change of the existing land development plan in the version from 12 January 2005 according to the provisions of the German Building Code, part 1, urban land-use planning. During the process, two areas in the territory of the city of Höxter were identified which may fulfil the respective requirements.

A prerequisite for the approval to use the same for wind parks is that these do not negatively affect the unique universal value of the nominated world heritage site and its buffer zones, the protection of which as public interest is outlined in the land development plan. Based on a visualisation of the planned wind parks, an analysis is being carried out in order to determine whether the unique universal value of the world heritage site is endangered. In mid-January 2014, corresponding photo simulations were submitted to the Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe as the responsible body for the Office of Monument Conservation for its opinion.

Map 1 (annex 2) shows the potential and existing wind power plants in Fürstenau. With regard to the visual qualities of the nominated World Heritage Site, 3 of 8 planned new locations for wind turbines have been cancelled in view of the visual integrity of the potential World Heritage Site Carolingian Westwork; the location of a fourth wind turbine has been postponed. Map 2 (annex 3) shows the potential areas in Bosseborn. The investigation with regard to the safeguarding of the visual qualities of the nominated World Heritage Site is still underway.

In the scope of its planning competence, Höxter City makes the decision itself as to whether areas for wind parks are approved or given up. Höxter City will use all available opportunities to protect the unique universal value of the nominated world heritage site and to avoid all negative effects on the visual qualities, especially with regard to the historical monument "Carolingian Westwork".

Common declaration of the city councils of Höxter and Holzminden in respect of the Corvey World Heritage Nomination

Today in the Emperor's Room of Corvey Castle, on the occasion of their first joint event, the councils of the cities of Höxter and Holzminden declare that they give their unlimited support to the Nomination for the Inscription on the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List.

The former actual imperial abbey of Corvey was the cultural centre of the entire Upper Weser region for many centuries and its importance went far beyond. As an educational institution for young monks, as a scriptorium of important traditions, as a library for the safe-keeping of intellectual achievements and as a place of pilgrimage for Christian believers, Corvey was the central place of early Christianity in the Saxon part of the developing German Empire. From here, missions had been sent which brought the Christian belief to large parts of northern Europe. Innumerable visits of emperors and kings, but also the correspondence with many intellectuals of the clerical as well as of the secular Western World, bear witness to the extraordinary position of Corvey.

The westwork of the abbey church is a sign of this past which is still visible today. It is considered to be the last well preserved one of its kind and therefore assumes a special architectural status. This westwork as an example of outstanding early architecture is not only visible from afar but is also said to be the oldest preserved building of our region. The only known example of wall paintings of antique mythology in Christian re-interpretation is as singular as the preserved remnants of life-size stucco figures on the walls of the west choir, and the pillars with Corinthian capitals according to antique models in the entrance hall.

The special achievements of the library, the scriptorium and the monastery school led to the development of the Civitas Corvey which was a trading centre but also a centre of religious and cultural activities. Civitas Corvey is one of the largest late Romanesque urban plans which are archaeologically demonstrable. The abbey and the Civitas as an archaeological monument illustrate the size and the elements of one of the most remarkable late Romanesque settlement sites.

The almost 1,200-year-old history of Corvey obligates us and at the same time drives us to cause future generations to deal with this early Benedictine abbey, which is particularly important for Northern Germany. The originally preserved structure of the westwork and the monastery district, a former stronghold and protected as an archaeological monument, are outstanding with regard to the location and the overall context/coherence and have to be preserved.

We, the councils of Höxter and Holzminden do everything possible to make this great past visible and an experience.

Therefore, all necessary steps are to be initiated in order to make a successful world heritage application. We would like to thank all persons who were involved in and elaborated the contents of the world heritage application in the past few months. We invite the entire population of both our cities as well as the entire region to visit Corvey, to obtain information about the efforts made with regard to the world heritage nomination and to support the same actively.

May this day today be another step on the road to a successful world heritage application from Corvey.

For the councils of the cities of Höxter and Holzminden

Corvey, 5 July 2011

Alexander Fischer

Mayor of the city of Höxter

Jürgen Daul

Mayor of the city of Holzminden

INVITATION

The cities of Höxter and Holzminden kindly invite you
to the

second joint entrepreneurs meeting
of the cities of
Höxter and Holzminden

on Thursday, 29 March 2012
at 7.00 p.m.
in Schloss Corvey, 37671 Höxter,
-Geweihtag-

The first joint meeting of entrepreneurs from the cities of Höxter and Holzminden in Fürstenberg last May was intended as a launch event for future subsequent meetings of representatives of our domestic economy.

In 2014, the World Heritage Committee will decide on the Inscription of Corvey on the World Heritage List. And what could be more appropriate than to hold the second joint meeting in Corvey, the outstanding place of architecture, culture and history, to learn more on the spot and to force a closer touch with the place.

Program:

- 1) Welcoming address by Viktor Prince of Ratibor and Corvey
- 2) Welcoming address by Alexander Fischer, mayor of the city of Höxter
- 3) Presentation of the world heritage process of Corvey by Dr. Claudia Konrad, managing director of Kulturkreis Höxter-Corvey

Finally, while enjoying beverages and snacks, you will have the opportunity to exchange the impressions gained with others and to get to know other participants.

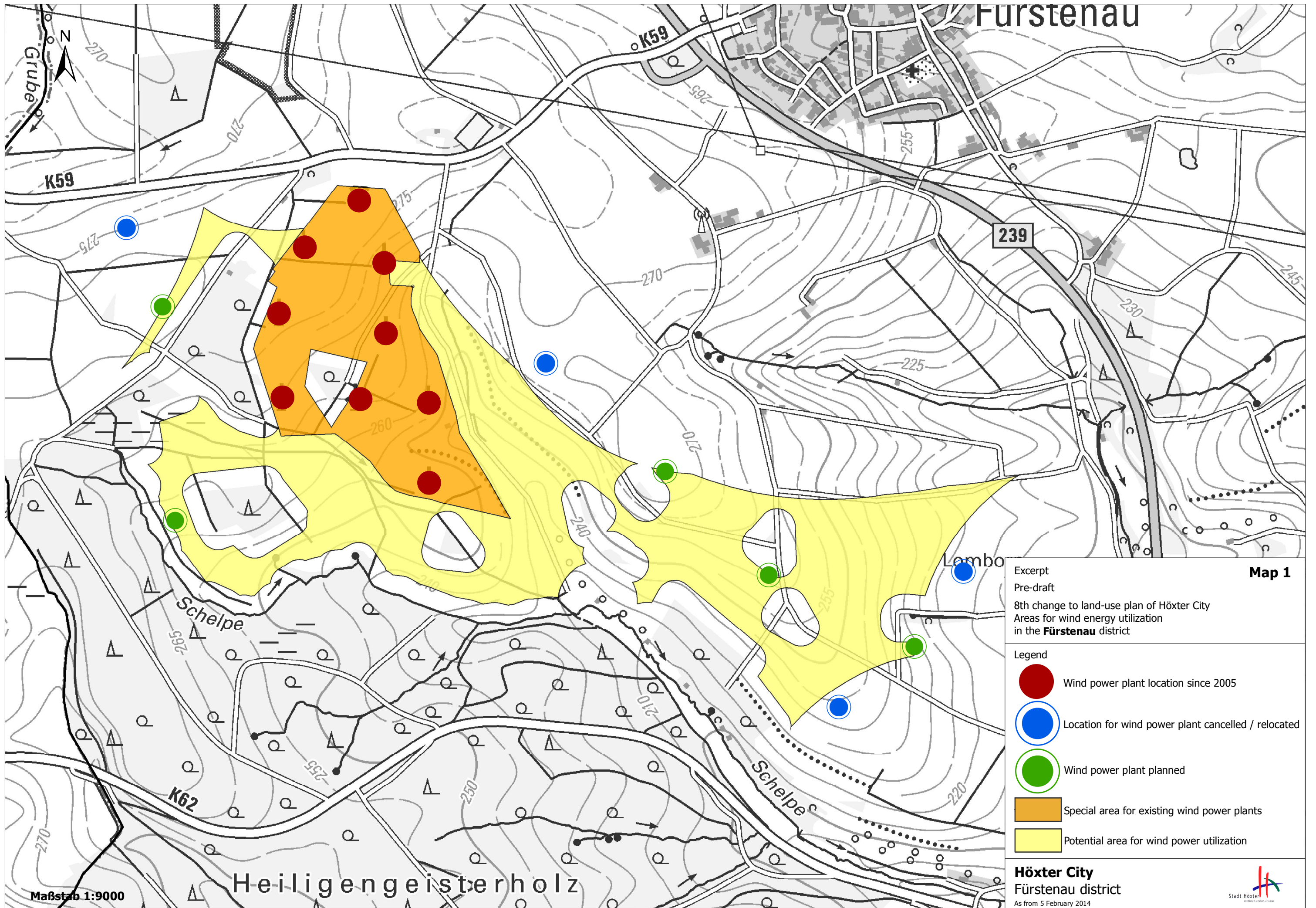
Signature
Alexander Fischer
Mayor of the city of Höxter

Signature
Jürgen Daul
Mayor of the city of Holzminden

Please reply by 22 March 2012.

Phone: 05271-963 1003
Or email: u.krekeler@hoexter.de

Phone: 05531-959 205
or email: vorzimmer@holzminden.de




Map 1

Excerpt
Pre-draft
8th change to land-use plan of Höxter City
Areas for wind energy utilization
in the **Fürstenuau** district

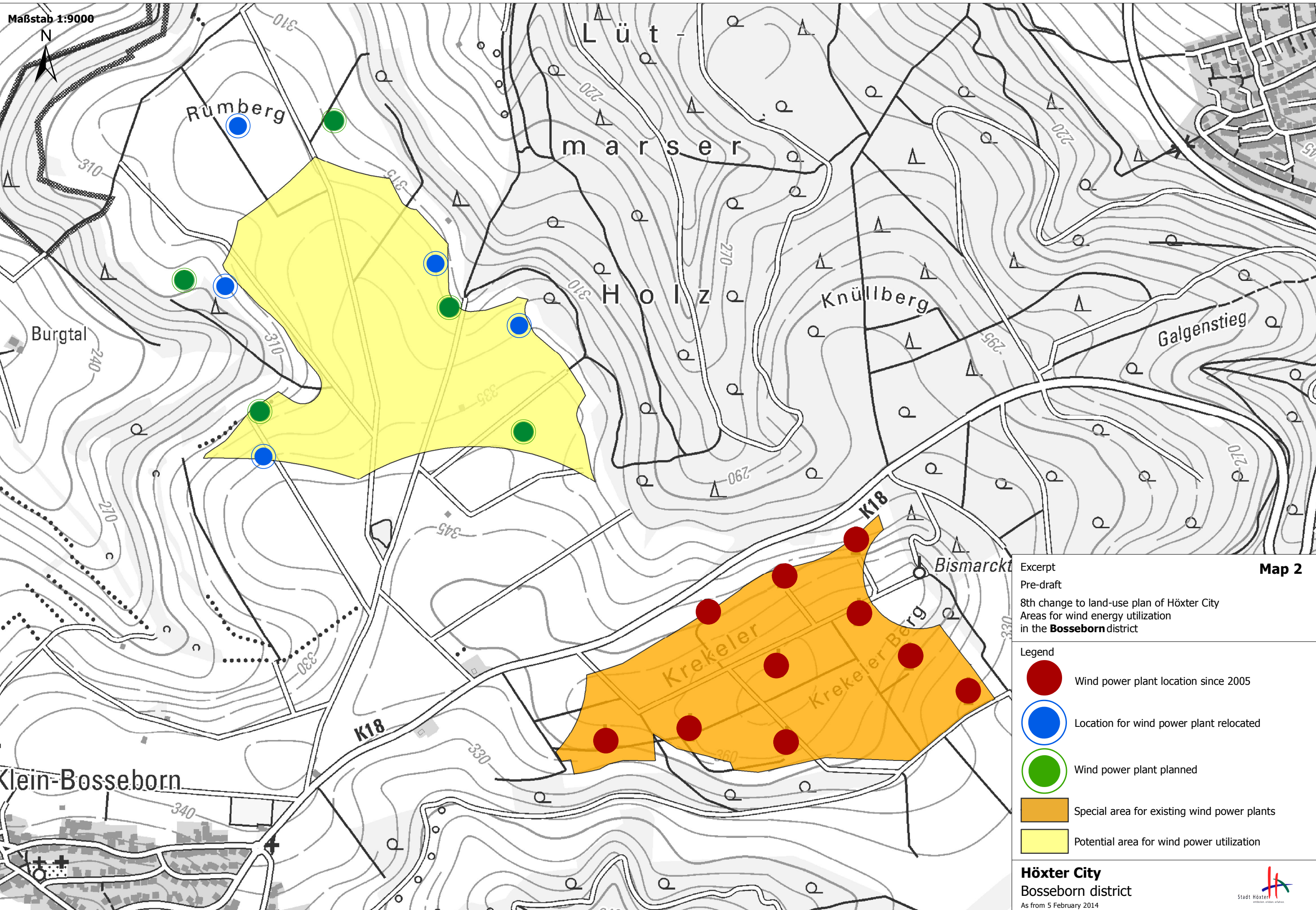
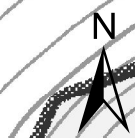
Legend

- Wind power plant location since 2005
- Location for wind power plant cancelled / relocated
- Wind power plant planned
- Special area for existing wind power plants
- Potential area for wind power utilization

Höxter City
Fürstenuau district
As from 5 February 2014








Maßstab 1:9000



Excerpt
Pre-draft
8th change to land-use plan of Höxter City
Areas for wind energy utilization
in the **Bosseborn** district

Map 2

- Legend
-  Wind power plant location since 2005
 -  Location for wind power plant relocated
 -  Wind power plant planned
 -  Special area for existing wind power plants
 -  Potential area for wind power utilization