

A photograph of a stone archway in a building. The arch is made of dark, textured stone blocks. Above the arch, there are wall paintings in shades of white, yellow, and brown. The archway is set against a light-colored wall. The floor is made of large, dark stone tiles.

MATTHIAS EXNER

The Contribution of Wall Painting to Corvey's Outstanding Universal Value

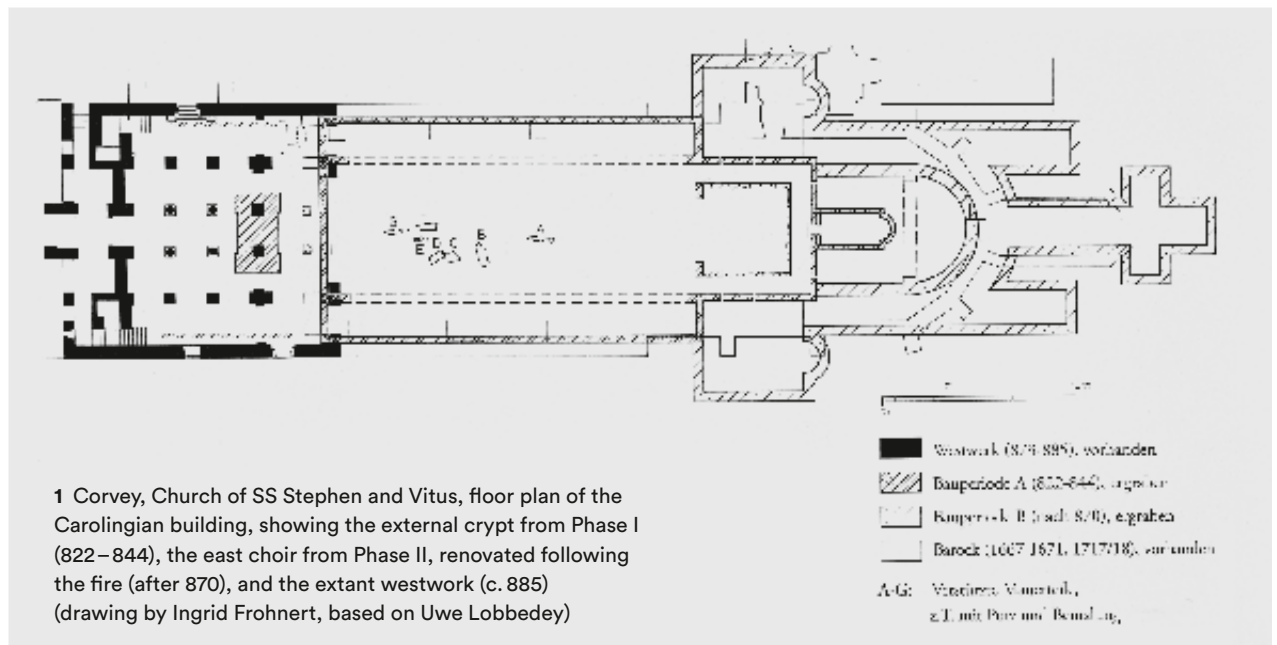
The former Imperial Abbey of Corvey offers art historians a great many insights into the world of the Carolingians. These include highly illuminating findings on the history of Carolingian wall painting whose significance can hardly be overstated.¹ A rich body of material data substantiates the site's outstanding universal value, which was acknowledged in 2014 when Corvey was added to the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites.

Research history and material overview

Within the more broadly defined World Heritage complex at Corvey consisting of the Roman *civitas* and Carolingian monastery, the monastic church of SS Stephen and Vitus best conveys the wealth and variety of early mediaeval wall painting. The material evidence found in the different parts of the building represents all the different stages of its Carolingian history (fig. 1), and its westwork is one of the few monuments of the Carolingian era whose above-ground masonry has largely survived. For scholarship, however, the mural fragments excavated in the church's eastern part, especially in and around the two-storey outer-crypt, are equally informative. It took a good fifty years for the plethora of relevant finds to be identified, re-

covered, organised, sketched, analysed, conserved, described – and understood. One scholar devoted her entire career to this great task, starting with the excavations and discoveries made in the course of the extensive restoration work that began in the 1950s.² If Corvey's early mediaeval murals are now exceptionally well documented, more so than almost any other painting of their ilk, it is thanks to the energy and tenacity of Hilde Claussen, whose efforts have been of incomparable value for our understanding of the site.³ Following her early preliminary reports in the specialist press,⁴ the much-acclaimed 1966 exhibition on Corvey provided an initial milestone.⁵ Additional, in-depth research into numerous individual aspects of the site was carried out in the 1970s and 1980s.⁶ The subsequent discovery of fragments of figural stuccowork⁷ yielded further studies and, eventually, a monumental compendium published in 2007.⁸ Claussen made Corvey her life's work, providing a firm basis for establishing the “outstanding universal value” that distinguishes Corvey from other key landmarks of mediaeval monumental painting. I would like to single out four points that seem to me particularly significant in this regard:

1. The two mural complexes in Corvey have been more accurately and reliably dated than most other monuments from this period. Thanks to this relative certainty, Corvey



Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, upper storey, quadrum, western arcades
View to the north on painted intrados surfaces (873–885)

has become a fixed reference point for the history of monumental painting in the Carolingian era.⁹

2. Corvey is the sole reliably researched and documented source on Carolingian methods of constructing and painting flat and vaulted plaster ceilings.¹⁰

3. The westwork provides the only evidence that the iconographic programmes of Carolingian sacred spaces incorporated secular classical imagery. This crucial evidence greatly enriches our picture of the Carolingian “Renaissance” and its achievements.¹¹

4. Sinopie and stucco fragments from the westwork provide the most decisive evidence for large-scale Carolingian sculpture north of the Alps. They constitute eloquent proof for the close conceptual and technical coordination of monumental painting and stucco sculpture in the decorative systems of contemporary spaces.¹²

To examine these four aspects of Corvey’s importance in more detail, we must distinguish between three major material corpora:

1. The painted fragments from both storeys of the small apsidal outer crypt;
2. The decorative system of the westwork with the remnants of a cycle in the western side gallery depicting sea creatures, including a scene from the *Odyssey*;
3. Sinopie and fragments of the Carolingian stucco figures that grant insight into the westwork’s iconographic programme and technical execution.

Rather sparse evidence testifies to two additional verifiable systems of ornamentation in the choir.¹³ Modest discoveries in the corridor crypt¹⁴ and the polychromy evident in the architecture of the western portal complex¹⁵ complete the corpus. Carolingian findings from the nave are relatively unspectacular, because the building was thoroughly replastered in the Romanesque period.¹⁶ Since the Romanesque building retained the same floor level as its Carolingian predecessor, it is perfectly plausible that the relevant archaeological strata in this area were mostly lost.¹⁷

Dating and contextualisation of the wall paintings

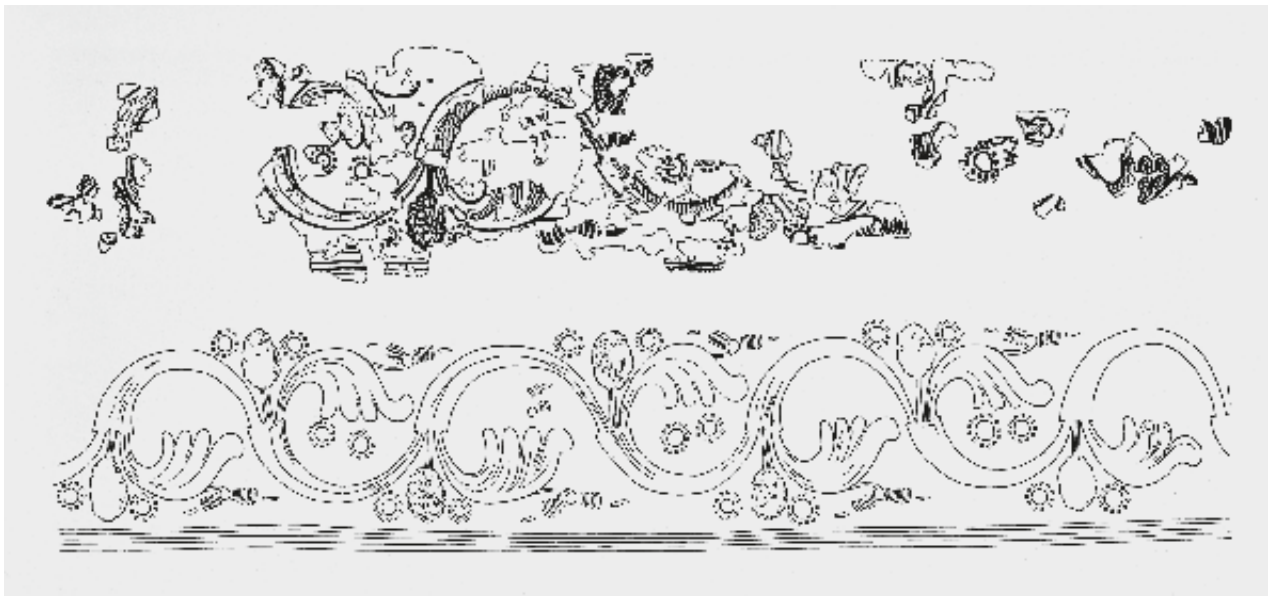
At Corvey, the dating of the various construction phases and fragments of painting is unusually conclusive and uncontroversial, based as it is on a clear correlation between architectural remains and written sources. The original

form of the choir – a rectangular design with a corridor crypt and an external crypt abutting it to the east – belongs to the first church, begun in 822 and consecrated in 844. The significant boost to both religious life and economic activity occasioned by the translation of the bones of the holy martyr Vitus to Corvey in 836 fits neatly into the chronology of this first phase (Phase I).¹⁸

Some ten thousand mural fragments were excavated in various archaeological campaigns. Of these, around seven thousand can be assigned to the cluster of materials relating to the choir, nave, and crypts alone, with a clear preponderance from the eastern parts associated with building Phase I (fig. 1). The largest and most coherent group consists of the mural fragments from the area of the external crypt, where they were found in a state of collapse.¹⁹ Lightning caused a fire in the choir and led to the crypt’s abandonment and demolition in a second phase (Phase II) beginning in 870. This provides a reliable terminus ante quem for the painting; it has been possible to narrow down the chronology further on the basis of studies of the plastering and painting techniques. Meticulous reconstruction of the production process suggests that the painting fragments discovered in the first outer crypt and the related pieces of plasterwork from the choir may be reliably dated to the construction phase ending around 844. In view of the controversies related to the dating of other major works of Carolingian wall painting, such as those in Müstair, Brescia, and Lorsch, such precision is already a major achievement.²⁰ Located chronologically after a console frieze in the Einhard Basilica in Steinbach in the Odenwald, and before a meander frieze in the Alperger Chapel in Goldbach on Lake Constance, Corvey’s place has been firmly established in the short sequence of dated works from the first half of the ninth century.²¹

The Phase II remains in the eastern sections of the building and the nave can be dated even more precisely, since it has been ascertained that they are connected to structural alterations that took place between 870 and 873 – that is, between the choir fire, which is recorded in the *Annals of Corvey*, and the start of the westwork construction programme.²²

Written sources also play a key role in establishing the dating for the enormous inventory of painting finds from the westwork: construction began in 873, and the edifice was consecrated in 885.²³ What we know about the process of producing these paintings, moreover, tells us that they must have been complete at the time of the final con-



2 a–c Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, tendril frieze from the lower level of the external crypt dating from Phase I (in or around 844): find (a; Corvey, Museum), tracing (b), and reconstructive drawing (c; Gerald Großheim)

secration. Our understanding of the technical and design requirements suggests that they were created at the same time as the monumental stucco figures, whose place in the construction timeline can be duly verified (see further below). The firm dating of the westwork painting to the late Carolingian period provides an indispensable control case for our understanding of developments in ninth-century painting, writ large. Indeed, without Corvey’s reliable dating to the end of the century, it would scarcely be visible how far stylistic dynamics understood on the basis of book painting also hold for monumental painting. Some

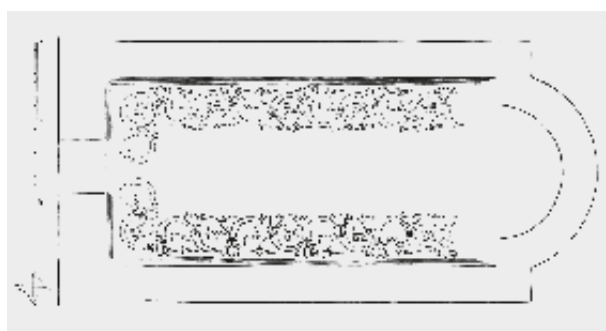
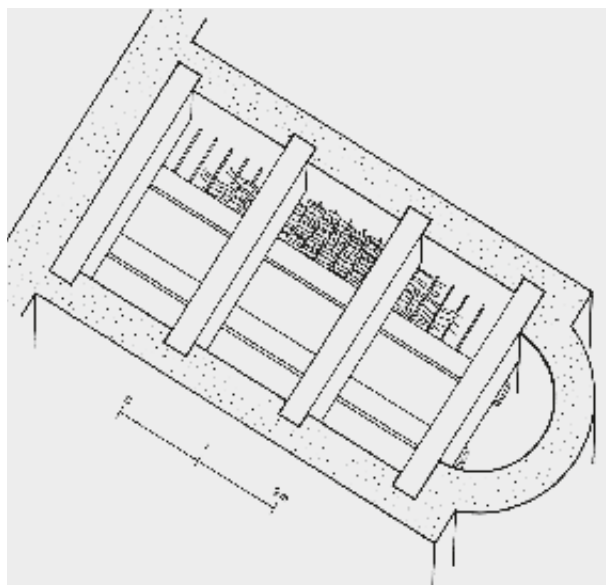
conclusions that follow from recognising this connection will become clear through the more detailed discussion of the finds in the following sections.

The phenomenon of painted ceilings

The painted fragments from the outer crypt presented a puzzle that took years to resolve. I would argue that the most dramatic outcome of this sustained effort is the differentiation of the finds into three separate groups. Rem-

nants of surface colouring discovered in situ at the foot of the excavated crypt walls make it possible to assign one group of fragments to a frieze at the upper terminus of the plastered masonry wall.²⁴ This group can be said to represent the norm for early medieval wall decoration. Those pieces featuring traces of patterns or lines provide evidence of a perspectival meander on what was otherwise evidently a monochrome, ochre-coloured ground. This type of meander is often documented as a wall terminus below ceilings. The closest historical example would most likely be the older discoveries from the first phase of construction made in the chapel in Goldbach near Überlingen donated in the 840s by Count Alpger.²⁵ Since its walls were raised higher in the Ottonian period, the Carolingian frieze no longer forms the upper terminus but appears as an isolated area – now visible within the layer of Ottonian painting – recognisable by its somewhat greater intensity of colour. The meander is accompanied by a dedicatory inscription or *titulus*, whose verses were composed by Walahfrid Strabo, one of the most prominent writers of the Carolingian period. In 838 he returned from the court of Aachen to Reichenau, where he served as abbot, and his death in 849 represents the *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Goldbach meander. There is no possibility to compare the two motifs, however, as the Corvey meander has not as yet been reconstructed.²⁶ The Goldbach meander is completely consistent with forms known from Mals in South Tyrol that date from the first half of the ninth century and from Augsburg Cathedral at the turn of the first millennium.²⁷ These are derivatives of antique or late antique motifs used throughout the Holy Roman Empire, in a range of different contexts, by early mediaeval artists and craftsmen. A common feature of all three examples, however, is that they form the upper terminus of the wall below the ceiling, providing us with reliable indicators for the original context of the Corvey fragments within a greater ornamental scheme.

The accompanying ceiling find is rather more exciting: based on the imprints of wickerwork on their reverse, some 890 fragments could be assigned to a flat plaster ceiling, whose surface was framed on both sides by a frieze of sinuous vine tendrils (figs. 2 a–c). The vine, of course, is another classical motif, but it provides far more scope for technical and stylistic differentiation than the meander.²⁸ The colouring of the vine, which alternates between ochre and grey on a dark back ground, already indicates a painterly approach also evident in the delicate



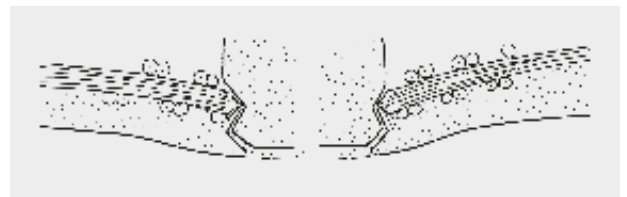
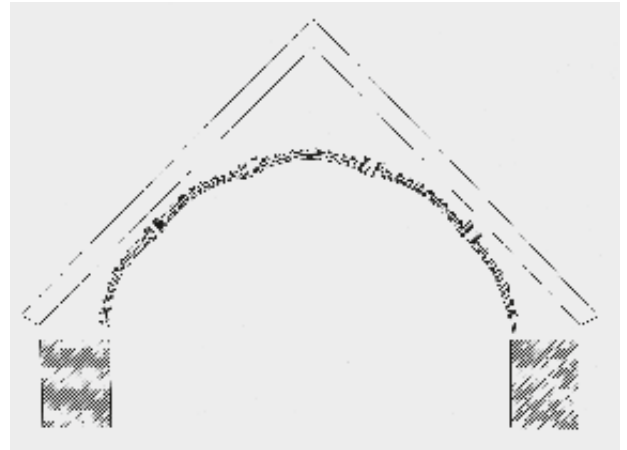
3 a–b Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, external crypt from Phase I, reconstruction of the flat ceiling in the lower level, top view (a) and bottom view (b; drawing by Gerald Großheim)

drawing of the individual forms and the naturalistic modelling of the grapes. The naturalism does not quite attain the confident practice found at Müstair, in Graubünden, where birds come to peck at the grapes.²⁹ North of the Alps, however, the frieze from Corvey undoubtedly supplies one of the most sophisticated examples of vegetal ornament in ninth-century wall painting, imbued with a thoroughly classical understanding of the organic qualities of branching, twining tendrils. This is particularly evident when the Corvey finds are juxtaposed with the eighth-century wall painting depicting comparable motifs recently reconstructed from finds excavated at the Palatine Chapel of the Agilolfing dukes below Niedermünster Abbey in Regensburg. This vine shows a much simpler variant of the snaking tendril, without the play of colour and curves.³⁰

While the pattern of the vine is significant, even more important is the evidence that allows for reconstruction of the working processes that enabled the Carolingians to equip smaller rooms with flat painted plaster ceilings. Nowhere else is the construction of such ceilings so well documented. Planks were nailed to the beams; the planks supported an armature of reeds plaited around rods, which carried the plaster in turn (figs. 3 a–b).³¹ The Corvey model allows us to interpret older, less carefully analysed excavation finds and build a richer basis upon which to reconstruct Carolingian architecture. The importance of establishing the construction methods for plaster ceilings at Corvey reaches far beyond the specific site, adding an extra dimension to the questions we bring to archaeological excavation.

If the second group of finds is indispensable, the third is a sensation. It comprises some six hundred fragments, whose surfaces were severely abraded and damaged. The pieces are distinguished by different mortar colouration, concave or spherical curvature in the majority of cases, major fluctuations in the thickness of the mortar, and marked grooves along some of the edges. All the features of the fragments were sketched and a painstaking inventory was made. This finally provided a basis for the reconstruction of a ceiling with segmental vaulting (figs. 4 a–b), composed of sections of latticework strips for which there must have been corresponding grooves in the supporting beam structure.³² No previous finds had suggested the existence of such forms in Carolingian architecture.

While nothing prior to the work at Corvey allowed for the supposition that the Carolingians used this method of vault construction, it was certainly never implausible. Provincial Roman architecture north of the Alps demonstrates equivalent structures, and the pool of surviving late antique architectural features to draw upon must have been infinitely richer in Carolingian times. Hilde Claussen referenced a similar find excavated at the Roman villa of Ahrweiler, which is known as a veritable pattern book of late antique design—including important prototypes for the finesse in Carolingian painting.³³ It has been established that the design at Ahrweiler included multiple storeys. According to the antique model, then, the fragments of mortar in the third Corvey group, with their distinctive pink colouring, must have been part of a second room with a vaulted ceiling, above the flat-roofed crypt. This second storey collapsed and came to rest in the debris above the



4 a–b Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, external crypt from Phase I, reconstruction of the vaulted ceiling in the upper level, section (a) and detail showing joint in the plasterwork (b; drawing by Gerald Großheim)

flat ceiling with the scrolling vine. The finds imply that the second storey of the outer crypt was, on the level of the choir. This recognition has far-reaching consequences for our conception of the structural variety of Carolingian crypts, but also witnesses an antique quotation that profoundly enriches the canon of contemporary architectural form and building engineering active in how we conceive of the Carolingian Renaissance. Even though the discoveries do not clarify how the vault was joined to the roof frame, we now have a model that prompts entirely new questions about other sites as well.

Doubtless, comparable discoveries have already been excavated here and there, without their significance being recognised or understood. Some of the fragments from the Nazariusbasilica in Lorsch dug up by Friedrich Behn around 1930, for instance, might indeed have lent themselves to such an interpretation, but the loss of the original materials makes this impossible to verify.³⁴ The way that excavated fragments of painted wall plaster were handled until very recently has, broadly speaking, been downright reprehensible. In many places, anything that was white-washed was typically not deemed worthy of preservation – thus ignoring its significance for a whole system of dec-



5 Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, west and north walls of the *quadrum* (873–885)

oration. By contrast, during the Paderborn Cathedral excavation, Claussen was able to draw significant conclusions just from examining the ratio of white to coloured fragments in the same mortar group.³⁵

Despite their reduced condition, the remnants of the upper-storey ceiling at Corvey similarly allow us to understand the decoration that originally defined the space. The ceiling painting consisted of a two-dimensional design of addorsed semicircles, another motif from late antiquity that flourished in a range of different contexts in mural painting and book illumination in the Early Middle Ages. Claussen cited the hypogeum of Santa Maria in Stelle near Verona and a burial chamber in Tomis (Constanța) in Romania as evidence for the pattern's roots in

late antiquity, but many other examples could have served the same purpose.³⁶ A section of the southern apse of the monastic church in Müstair offers a good example from the Carolingian period.³⁷ The motif was not limited to Carolingian monuments: it is regularly attested in the Ottonian period as well, in Galliano, Aachen, Augsburg, and Hildesheim.³⁸ The finest Ottonian example is undoubtedly the section of framing around the apse of San Vincenzo in Galliano. Overall, it is clear that the plainer fragments from Corvey, with their geometric clarity, reflect provincial Roman models. The pervasive presence of this motif over centuries is powerful evidence for the influential presence of the monuments still standing from late antiquity.



6 Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, west and north walls of the *quadrum*. The illustration reconstructs the original polychromy from the surviving remnants of painting (drawing by Iris Buchholz).

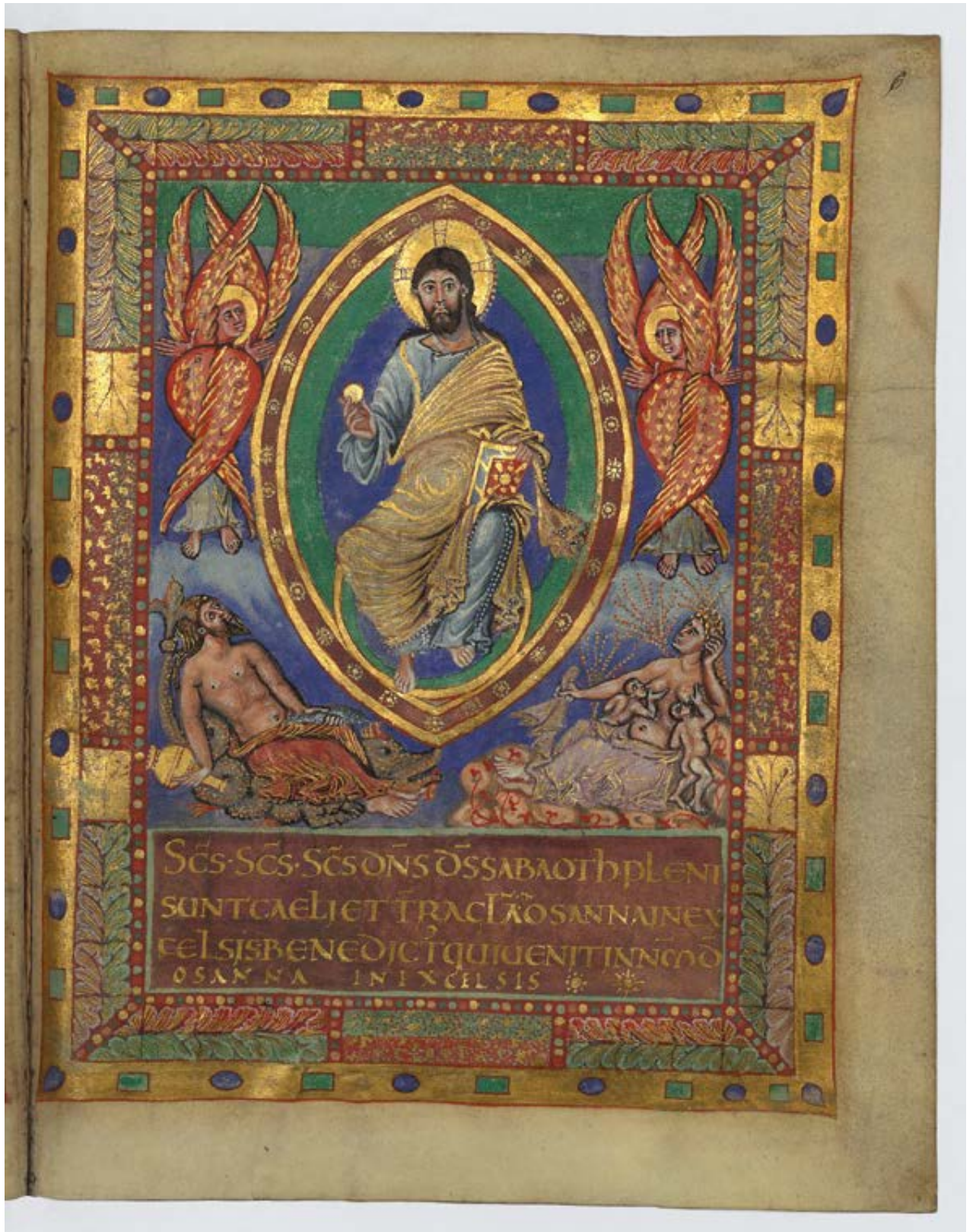
The wall paintings in the westwork: Iconography and style

The Corvey westwork and the evidence of painting found there undoubtedly represent one of the most impressive testimonies to the visual impact of painted interiors in the Carolingian period (fig. 5). North of the Alps only the group of paintings surviving in the crypt of Saint-Germain in Auxerre offers comparable complexity and density.³⁹ A juxtaposition of this West Frankish example and a monument of similar status from the Kingdom of the East Franks would be particularly valuable, but the Corvey finds are divided into too many small pieces and too scattered across the huge space to be able vividly to convey

their original spatial effect without the help of reconstructive drawings.⁴⁰ Only the westwork's side rooms and galleries yielded large areas of painting. The walls in the *quadrum*, on the other hand, were so thoroughly stripped of their original plasterwork – at the latest during the renovation instigated by Abbot Theodor von Beringhausen (r. 1585–1616) around 1600 – that hardly any paintwork could be recorded there. What we know of their polychromy and see in the drawing published by Claussen and Skriver is primarily based on the information obtained when the walled-up double arcades were reopened and uncovered. As the painted ornamentation can be seen as a continuation and enhancement of the architectural structures, with painted columns covering the masonry on the



7 Sacramentary fragment from Metz, c. 869/70, fol. 5v,
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141



8 Sacramentary fragment from Metz, c. 869/70, fol. 6r,
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141

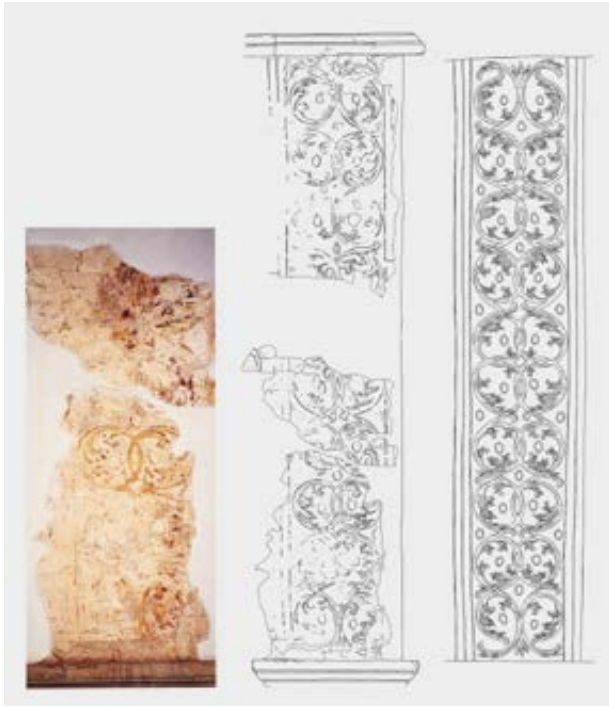


9 Crucifixion and Martyrs Procession from St Maximin in Trier, c. 890–900, today Trier, Bischöfliches Museum

corners of the double arcades, it may be assumed that the features exposed in the intrados recurred in the walls' larger surfaces (fig. 6). The information compiled in the drawing may thus be considered to have been proposed by analogy.

Communicative as the reconstruction is, our picture of the space remains incomplete. One would expect to find further figurative paintings, at least in the spandrels between the upper arcades and in the window area. The idea that the *quadrum* itself might have contained no images apart from the stucco figures, when even the less important rooms were decorated with figurative paintings, can be factored out of the equation. In fact, the lost ceiling should almost certainly be included in deliberations when we try to determine the range and iconography of the Carolingian paintings beyond the records that have been visualised thus far. The motifs presumably articulated a progression,

moving upward in hierarchical order. There can be no doubt that in exegetical terms the programme was very broad in scope, given that the western side rooms featured secular scenes and cosmological elements. We must consider this when addressing the contested interpretation of the monumental stucco figures on the lowest level. These were certainly parts of a greater whole, likely oriented around a Christological focal point higher up in the space. To my mind, the most compelling suggestion remains that the room staged a *hierarchia caelestis*, the heavenly hierarchy invoked in the liturgy and visualised in contemporary sacramentary illumination. The lowest level of such a hierarchy invariably comprised the holy virgins and the martyrs, with the prophets above them, followed by the apostles, and the angels at the very top – as portrayed in a surviving fragment of the Sacramentary of Charles the Bald from Metz (fig. 7).⁴¹ This



10 a–c Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, west wall, intrados of the northern arcade, tendril frieze (873–885): find (a), tracing (b), and reconstructive drawing of reconstruction (c; drawing by Gerald Großheim)



11 a–c Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, west wall, intrados of the central arcade, acanthus frieze (873–885): find (a), tracing (b), and reconstructive drawing (c; drawing by Gerald Großheim)

marginally older parallel from the West Frankish court school of Charlemagne’s bibliophile grandson evinces both the requisite focus on a Christological centre as well as the cosmological dimension, evident here in the personifications of Earth and Water included in the image of Christ Enthroned (fig. 8).⁴²

This interpretation also accords best with the costuming details of the surviving stucco figures, which have their closest parallels in the four male and female martyrs from St Maximin in Trier (fig. 9).⁴³ After failed attempts to identify the four male and two female saints from Corvey – which probably belonged to an original group of four as well – with specific saints, and more particularly saints whose relics were preserved in Corvey,⁴⁴ it seems to me that, in light of the Carolingian sources, they should most likely be treated as representatives of the ranks of martyrs and virgins. In terms of wall painting, besides the knee-length tunics of the men, it is the veils of the ladies that find their most important parallel in Trier. It may be a coincidence that there were evidently two groups of four in Corvey, just as in Trier, but it is a felicitous one.

Any identities ascribed to the figures must ultimately remain speculative. I will therefore abstain from further conjecture and return to the facts relating to the body of extant evidence. Not only does Corvey preserve one of the most extensive collections of Carolingian architectural painting – on par with Lorsch Abbey – but it also presents an almost inexhaustible repertoire of floral and geometric ornamentation. This is rooted in provincial Roman variants of late antique painting, and thereby stands in the same tradition as the survivals from the eastern part of the building treated above. Relative to the older Corvey finds, however, the western paintings feature a much wider canon of forms, greater variety, and a distinctly more colourful palette. The amplification of diversity and ornamentation in the motifs should not be mistaken for a greater understanding of classical form. Two examples clarify this caution. The soft flow and organic fleshiness of the vine spiralling along the ceiling of the lower level of the outer crypt are nowhere to be found among the artfully constructed friezes of acanthus and coiling tendrils in the intrados of the westwork arcades (figs. 10 a–c; 11 a–c).⁴⁵ A comparison with similar intrados motifs in the crypt of



12 Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, south gallery, intrados of the east arcade (873–885)



13 Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, north gallery, intrados on east side of the central arcade (873–885)

Saint-Germain in Auxerre also underlines the stylistic change distinguishing the late Carolingian phase in Corvey from the older monuments of the Carolingian Renaissance.⁴⁶ The sculptural effect produced by the sumptuous white highlights in the West Frankish work is foreign to the late Corvey vines.

The difference that time makes to style becomes even more evident when we look at the architectural painting in the westwork. There, the greatest possible wealth of forms and colours was deployed throughout, with lavish use of costly blue and green pigments, yet the result falls some way short of the painterly refinement of the Lorsch gatehouse (*Torhalle*), for example, and its fidelity to classical models (figs. 12–13).⁴⁷ The differences begin with the vibrant colours of the impost mouldings, which rely on contrast – while in Lorsch nine different shades of red and ochre were used to model the cornice of an impost, with varying degrees of white highlights lending a sculptural form to the moulding. They extend to the counterintuitive position of Corvey’s painted columns, which seem to wrap around the edges of the piers. Instead of conveying an il-

lusion of light and shadow, their shafts are articulated by symmetrical iridescent stripes, whereas in Lorsch a mottled effect based on classical precedent suggests the use of valuable stone. Such details are indicative of a shift in style, a change of conception that is perfectly in keeping with developments also evident in ninth-century manuscripts. No other site provides as fine an example or gives as clear an idea of late Carolingian wall painting as the Corvey westwork. Taken in concert with manuscript illumination, the site is key to our understanding of Carolingian painting as a whole.

The cycle of sea creatures in the vaults adjoining the *quadrum* to the west informs our picture of the Carolingian period even further. Because the underpainting is only dimly visible in faint remnants, our knowledge of the extensive repertoire of ship scenes and dolphin and dragon riders must rely on Gerald Großheim’s tracings and reconstructive visual aids, which represent early attempts to decipher the programme.⁴⁸ The springpoints of the vaults, above the impost blocks, feature real and fabulous marine life, including a siren, sea creatures with cupids on their



14 a–b Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, western side gallery, Odysseus fighting Scylla, with siren and sea goat (c. 885): find (a) and tracing (b; drawing by Gerald Großheim)

backs, and two ship scenes. The north wall played a key role in determining interpretation of the cycle: here we can clearly identify Odysseus's battle with the sea monster Scylla, flanked on the right by a bird-like siren with harp and a sea goat (figs. 14 a–b).⁴⁹ As Hilde Claussen has shown, in view of the known iconographies of classical antiquity and the High Middle Ages, the imagination of this scene at Corvey is highly unusual. One would dearly

like to know more of the tradition that rendered Odysseus, wielding a spear, standing not in the bows of his ship but on the tail of the sea monster, which already squeezes one of his companions against its side above the girdle of dogs straining at its waist. Despite the literary tradition that informs them, Corvey's mythological scenes stand alone between the pictorial records of late antiquity and the Romanesque period.⁵⁰



15 a–b Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, sinopias of monumental stucco figures, south wall, presumably two male saints (c. 885)

The isolation of Corvey's seascape is conceptual as well as pictorial. The central maritime motif appears also in the twelfth century – for example, in the intrados of the choir in the Romanesque chapel of St Ulrich in Müstair Abbey. But by that time, the link with Homer's Odysseus had been lost.⁵¹ Even the well-known example of a plinth populated by sea creatures in the apse of the church of St James (Jakobskirche) at Tramin in South Tyrol is limited to a roster of fabulous creatures.⁵² Neither example shows any discernible reference to the exegetical tradition exercised at Corvey, wherein the world is described as a ghastly sea that the Christian seafarer must navigate with virtue and chastity. Documented since patristic times, the relevance of this

metaphor for the mediaeval reception of antiquity in the scholarly circles of the Carolingian period is attested by Dungal of Saint-Denis, who employed it in his letters.⁵³ The remains of Corvey's wall paintings are the only proof we have that the ideas expressed in Dungal's pious and bookish correspondence were not just literary fiction but were also reflected in Christian iconographic programmes of almost encyclopaedic scope. Indicating both the range of the Carolingian Renaissance and the depth to which it explored the central themes of Greek mythology, the Corvey murals are worthy counterparts to the period's systematic transcriptions of classical authors and the copies of related picture cycles in manuscripts of the time.⁵⁴



16 a–b Corvey, Church of SS Stephen and Vitus, westwork, *quadrum*, sinopias of monumental stucco figures, west wall, presumably two female saints (c. 885)

Stucco figures and the building process

One of the great controversies of early mediaeval scholarship in the post-war period concerned the role of monumental sculpture in the space of Carolingian churches.⁵⁵ Putative references to monumental sculptures made of stone and wood generally did not hold up once the criteria used for dating were exposed to critical scrutiny.⁵⁶ The last twenty years have seen a great deal of progress on this question. For example, archaeologists have recently confirmed the later dating of one of the disputed pieces, the “Sola Relief” from Solnhofen in Middle Franconia, which

art historians had placed in the early eleventh century.⁵⁷ But Corvey has played an essential role in setting new terms for approaching the problem of Carolingian monumental sculpture. Thanks to the spectacular discoveries at Corvey, the extreme care with which they were documented and analysed, and the further research this has fuelled, we now have a comparatively firm chain of evidence documenting the more or less monumental sculptures of the early medieval period, and clearly indicating the pre-eminent role that stucco figures played in Carolingian architectural ornamentation. The Corvey finds precipitated sensitivity to new types of evidence and methods, which bear fruit in other contexts. Attention to the Corvey

stucco, for instance, may have inspired the identification of a stucco-covered monumental figure of St Peter Enthroned in fragments preserved from an old excavation beneath Niedermünster Abbey in Regensburg. Stratigraphic analysis suggests that this figure must have belonged to the old Palatine Chapel of the Agilolfing dukes dating from the mid-eighth century.⁵⁸

I have already discussed the difficulties involved in interpreting or even identifying the six stucco figures that can be verified in Corvey. However, it is beyond question that the Corvey sinopie and stucco fragments have completely revolutionised research and played a significant part in informing our knowledge of production methods and work procedures in the Early Middle Ages. On three of originally four walls on the first floor of the westwork, red brush drawings of almost life-size figures were found directly applied to the masonry of the arcade spandrels (figs. 15 a–b; 16 a–b). Hilde Claussen was able to assign excavated fragments of stucco to them – prior to the confirmation of the original sinopie, these fragments had been considered Romanesque.⁵⁹ The red brush drawings on the reddish stone are scarcely visible. That they are relatively legible in illustrations today is due to their painstaking graphic inventory and separate photographic records of the wall profile and drawing. The evidence indicating how the

monumental figures were anchored to the wall using oak pegs is so far unique.⁶⁰ It is reasonable to infer that the nails and bone pegging verified elsewhere were not sufficient to support the weight of the figures, which were rendered in very high relief.⁶¹ The studies conducted by building researchers analysing the wooden pegs and the grooves they left in the masonry joints have played an important role in determining when the figures and surrounding painting were originally created. It has been established that the wooden pegs were inserted into the mortar while it was still soft and malleable, meaning that the consecration date of 885 also applies to the cycle of figures – and also to the wall paintings, since stuccoists and wall painters would have operated in tandem here, as evidenced by the intersecting traces of their work.⁶² Such insights into workshop practices are unique for the ninth century. The firm evidence of Corvey permits a rare opportunity to hypothesize how early mediaeval building construction was organised, with artists and craftsmen working side by side on the parallel production of wall paintings and stucco figures. Thinking through construction technique opens new perspectives on practices of ornamentation in Carolingian churches that could enable us to reconsider monuments we thought we knew – all the way to the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen.⁶³

ABSTRACT

Der Beitrag der Wandmalerei zum »Outstanding Universal Value« von Corvey

Die Übersicht über die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse zum Dekorationssystem der Klosterkirche Corvey in karolingischer Zeit versucht den Beitrag der Wandmalerei zum Outstanding Universal Value der Welterbestätte herauszuarbeiten. Dabei stehen vier Gesichtspunkte im Fokus, die aus einem internationalen Blickwinkel von besonderer Relevanz für die Forschung sind. So verdanken wir Corvey die Kenntnis zweier Wandmalereikomplexe, die besser und zuverlässiger datiert sind als die meisten anderen Denkmäler dieser Epoche. Dadurch konnten sie zu festen Ankerpunkten für eine Geschichte der karolingischen Monumentalmale-

rei werden. Zudem bietet Corvey die einzige zuverlässig untersuchte und dokumentierte Quelle für unsere Vorstellung von der Konstruktion flacher wie gewölbter Putzdecken in karolingischer Zeit und deren malerischer Gestaltung. Speziell das Westwerk mit den Resten seiner Ausmalung ist es, das den einzigen Nachweis für die Berücksichtigung von Elementen der profanen antiken Ikonografie in den Bildprogrammen karolingischer Sakralräume liefert, was unsere Vorstellung von den Errungenschaften der karolingischen Renaissance um eine entscheidende Facette bereichert. Nicht zuletzt erlauben die dort aufgedeckten Sinopien monumentaler Stuckfiguren den wichtigsten Beleg für eine Großplastik aus karolingischer Zeit nördlich der Alpen und zugleich den aussagekräftigsten Nachweis für die enge konzeptionelle wie handwerkliche Synthese von Wandmalerei und Stuckplastik in den Dekorationssystemen dieser Epoche.

- 1** This essay is a revised and expanded version of a presentation, entitled “Odysseus und die Heiligen: Zur Rolle Corveys für die Erforschung der karolingischen Wandmalerei”, given on 10 December 2010 as part of Paderborn University’s “Die Reichsabtei Corvey” symposium. An abbreviated version was presented on 26 November 2019 at the ICOMOS conference in the monastic church of Corvey. A former version of the text was printed as Matthias Exner, “Odysseus und die Heiligen: Zur Rolle Corveys für die Erforschung der karolingischen Wandmalerei”, in Claudia Konrad (ed.), *Corvey: Eine karolingische Reichsabtei aus internationaler Sicht* (Höxter, 2013), pp. 97–115. I thank my dear colleague Beatrice Kitzinger, Princeton University, for her help in revising the English translation.
- 2** See overview under Hilde Claussen, Corvey (Höxter-), in Hilde Claussen/Matthias Exner, “Abschlußbericht der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für frühmittelalterliche Wandmalerei”, *Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung* 4 (1990): 261–290, here: 261–268. Claussen later revised her dating of the excavated nave frieze mentioned in this report and assigned it to the Romanesque period.
- 3** For an appraisal of Claussen’s life’s work, see Ulf-Dietrich Korn, “Nachruf auf Hilde Claussen”, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 63 (2009): 270–277. Poor health prevented Claussen from preparing the synthesis of her work that would prove so enriching for historians and archaeologists. It is thanks to Anna Skriver and her considerable dedication that the fruits of Claussen’s scholarly labours were finally brought to publication. See Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8).
- 4** Hilde Claussen, “Karolingische Wandmalerei im Westwerk zu Corvey”, *Kunstchronik* 17 (1964): 173–176.
- 5** Hilde Claussen, “Raumfassung des Westwerks”, in *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800–1600: Ausstellung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Corvey 1966*, exh. cat. (Münster, 1966), vol. 2, pp. 645–650.
- 6** Hilde Claussen, “Karolingische Wandmalereifragmente in Corvey: Vorbericht über neue Funde; Mit einem Beitrag von Gerald Großheim”, *Westfalen* 55 (1977): 398–408; Hilde Claussen, *Kloster Corvey* (Munich, 1985); Uwe Lobbedey/Hilde Claussen, “Corvey, église abbatiale”, in *Saint-Germain d’Auxerre: Intellectuels et artistes dans l’Europe carolingienne; IX^e – XI^e siècles* (Auxerre, 1990), pp. 238–253; Hilde Claussen, “Les frises d’acanthé et géométriques du Westwerk de Corvey”, in Christian Sapin (ed.), *Édifices et peintures aux IV^e – XI^e siècles*, Actes du 2^e colloque C.N.R.S., Archéologie et enduits peints, Auxerre 1992 (Auxerre, 1994), pp. 99–113.
- 7** Hilde Claussen, “Karolingische Stuckfiguren im Corveyer Westwerk: Vorzeichnungen und Stuckfragmente”, *Kunstchronik* 48 (1995): 521–534; Hilde Claussen, “Vorzeichnungen und Fragmente karolingischer Stuckfiguren: Neue Funde im Corveyer Westwerk”, in Matthias Exner (ed.), *Stuck des frühen und hohen Mittelalters: Geschichte, Technologie und Konservierung*, ICOMOS Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 19 (Munich, 1996), pp. 61–71; Hilde Claussen, “Karolingische Sinopien und Stuckfragmente im Corveyer Westwerk”, in Joachim Poeschke (ed.), *Sinopien und Stuck im Westwerk der karolingischen Klosterkirche von Corvey* (Münster, 2002), pp. 9–48.
- 8** Hilde Claussen/Anna Skriver, *Die Klosterkirche Corvey*, vol. 2, *Wandmalerei und Stuck aus karolingischer Zeit*, Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen 43.2 (Mainz, 2007).
- 9** An overview can be found in Claussen/Exner 1990 (see n. 2): 261–290 and in Matthias Exner, “Die Wandmalerei im Reich der Karolinger”, *Kunsthistorische Arbeitsblätter* 4 (2002): 5–16.
- 10** See Hilde Claussen, “Bemalte Putzfragmente einer Flachdecke und eines Gewölbes mit Flechtwerk: Grabungsfunde aus der karolingischen Klosterkirche Corvey”, in Martin Jordan-Ruwe/Ulrich Real (eds.), *Bild- und Formensprache der spätantiken Kunst: Hugo Brandenburg zum 65. Geburtstag*, Boreas 17 (Münster, 1994), pp. 295–303; see also Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 25–37, 44–56.
- 11** See Hilde Claussen/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 Hagen Keller/Nikolaus Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas, Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin/New York, 1994), pp. 341–382; see also Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 156–183.
- 12** See Exner 1996 (see n. 7); Poeschke 2002 (see n. 7); see also Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 355–388, here: p. 359.
- 13** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 21–22, 56–57 with fig. 52.
- 14** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), p. 22.
- 15** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 124–125.
- 16** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 21–22, 58–64. On the fragments of a twelfth-century medallion frieze running round the nave that were also initially regarded as Carolingian, see *ibid.*, pp. 68–78.
- 17** The presentation of these findings in Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8) is so systematic and lucid that I will refrain from offering a comprehensive survey of my own here. Instead, I will endeavour to outline the specific role that Corvey played in shaping our view of Carolingian wall painting based on the hypotheses proposed at the start of this essay.
- 18** For an overview of the relevant written sources and the specific evidence they provide, see Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 2–5; see also Karl Heinrich Krüger, “Zur Geschichte des Klosters Corvey”, in Sveva Gai/Karl Heinrich Krüger/Bernd Thier (eds.), *Die Klosterkirche Corvey: Geschichte und Archäologie, Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen* 43.1.1 (Darmstadt, 2012), pp. 19–104, including an appendix of source material.
- 19** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), p. 26, fig. 16. On the technical achievements demonstrated by this complex as well as its wealth of motifs, see “The phenomenon of painted ceilings” below.
- 20** See Exner 2002 (see n. 9); Matthias Exner, “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, 19–20 ottobre 2006, Novalesa, 21 ottobre 2006* (Spoleto, 2007), pp. 353–384; Matthias Exner, “Das Bildprogramm der Klosterkirche im historischen Kontext”, in Jürg Goll/Matthias Exner/Susanne Hirsch (eds.), *Müstair: Die mittelalterlichen Wandbilder in der Klosterkirche* (Müstair/Zürich, 2007), pp. 83–113, here: pp. 107–109.
- 21** Steinbach (Michelstadt), Einhard Basilica (824–827): Friedrich Oswald/Leo Schäfer/Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München 3 (Munich, 1966–1971), pp. 320–322; Claussen/Exner 1990 (see n. 2), pp. 283–285; Werner Jacobsen/Leo Schäfer/Hans Rudolf Sennhauser, *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten: Katalog der Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang der Ottonen; Nachtragsband*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München 3 (Munich, 1991), p. 399; Thomas Ludwig, “Die Einhard-Basilika in Steinbach im Odenwald”, in Matthias Exner (ed.), *Wandmalerei des frühen Mittelalters: Bestand, Maltechnik, Konservierung*, ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 23 (Munich, 1998), pp. 67–74; Stefan Schopf, “Die Wandmalereien der Einhardsbasilika in Steinbach: Untersuchungen zum Bestand an historischen Putzen, Fassungen und Malschichten”, in *ibid.*, pp. 75–83. Goldbach (Überlingen), Sylvesterkapelle, Phase I (c. 840–849): Helmut F. Reichwald, “Die Sylvesterkapelle in Goldbach am Bodensee: Bestand – Restaurierungsgeschichte – Maßnahmen – Technologie”, in *ibid.*, pp. 191–218; Matthias Exner, “Walahfrid Strabos

- Verse für Goldbach: Zur Erstaussattung der karolingischen Sylvesterkapelle”, in Wolfgang Augustyn/Iris Lauterbach (eds.), *Rondo: Beiträge für Peter Diemer zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich, 2010), pp. 18–32; Caroline Schärli, “Schrift als Teil der Architektur: Rekonstruktion und Analyse des karolingischen Titulus der Sylvesterkapelle in Goldbach im Kontext raumfassender Monumentalinschriften der Spätantike und des Frühmittelalters”, *Iconographica* 14 (2015): 9–43.
- 22** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 2, 22–23, 58–64; see Josef Prinz, *Die Corveyer Annalen: Textbearbeitung und Kommentar*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Westfalen 10; Abhandlungen zur Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung 7 (Münster, 1982), pp. 32 and 106; Krüger 2012 (see n. 18), p. 57.
- 23** Krüger 2012 (see n. 18), p. 27.
- 24** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 27–28, 49–51 with figs. 17–18, 46.
- 25** See Exner 2010 (see n. 21); Schärli 2015 (see n. 21).
- 26** Nor can attempts to identify stylistic relationships or developments based on different forms of meander generally be considered successful.
- 27** Exner 2010 (see n. 21), pp. 26–27 with figs. 3–5; on Augsburg, see Matthias Exner, “Der Augsburger Dom – ein verkannter Großbau der ersten Jahrtausendwende: Neue Befunde zu Architektur und Dekoration”, [9.] Von der bauzeitlichen Ausmalung zur romanischen Neufassung: Die Wandmalereien in ihrem historischen Kontext, in *Jahrbuch der Bayerischen Denkmalpflege* 64/65 (2010/2011) (Munich/Berlin, 2012), pp. 38–56, here: pp. 40–41.
- 28** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 29–32, 47–49 with figs. 19–26.
- 29** Exner 2007 (see n. 20), pp. 83–113, figs. 61–62.
- 30** Probably third quarter of the eighth century: Anna Skriver, “Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereifragmente im Niedermünster”, in Eleonore Wintergerst, *Die Ausgrabungen unter dem Niedermünster zu Regensburg III: Befunde und Funde der nachrömischen Zeit; Auswertung*, vol. 2, Münchner Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 66 (Munich, 2019), pp. 309–423, here: pp. 311–314 with figs. 5 and 73–74.
- 31** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), figs. 20, 44–45.
- 32** Claussen 1994 (see n. 10), pp. 295–303; Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 33–37, 51–56 with figs. 27–28, 31–32, 47–51.
- 33** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), p. 36 with fig. 33; on the context, see Rüdiger Gogräfe, “Die Wand- und Deckenmalereien der villa rustica ‘Am Silberberg’ in Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler”, *Berichte zur Archäologie an Mittelrhein und Mosel* 4 (1995; = *Trierer Zeitschrift*, supplement 20): 153–239; for a broader overview of the material, see Rüdiger Gogräfe, *Die römischen Wand- und Deckenmalereien im nördlichen Obergermanien*, Archäologische Forschungen in der Pfalz 2 (Neustadt an der Weinstraße, 1999).
- 34** Friedrich Behn, *Die karolingische Klosterkirche von Lorsch an der Bergstraße nach den Ausgrabungen von 1927–1928 und 1932–1933* (Berlin/Leipzig, 1934); see also Matthias Exner, “Die Reste frühmittelalterlicher Wandmalerei in der Lorsch Torhalle: Bestand, Ergebnisse, Aufgaben”, *Kunst in Hessen und am Mittelrhein* 32/33 (1992/93): 43–63; 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*, exh. cat. Kloster Lorsch 2011–2012 (Petersberg, 2011), pp. 312–329, here: p. 323.
- 35** Hilde Claussen, “Die Wandmalereifragmente”, in Uwe Lobbedey, *Die Ausgrabungen im Dom zu Paderborn 1978/80 und 1983*, Denkmalpflege und Forschung in Westfalen 11 (Bonn, 1986), vol. 1, pp. 247–279, here: p. 249.
- 36** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 34–35 with figs. 29–30 and further sources.
- 37** Exner 2007 (see n. 20), p. 86 with fig. 65.
- 38** Galliano, San Vincenzo (c. 1007–1018): Marco Rossi (ed.), *Galliano, pieve millenaria* (Sondrio, 2008), figs. pp. 165–168. Aachen, cathedral, ambulatory of the octagon, gallery, window scuncheon (early ninth or late tenth century): Matthias Exner, “Ottonische Herrscher als Auftraggeber im Bereich der Wandmalerei”, in Gerd Althoff/Ernst Schubert (eds.), *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, Vorträge und Forschungen 46 (Sigmaringen, 1998), pp. 103–135, fig. 7. Augsburg, cathedral, transept, upper frieze terminus (early eleventh century): Exner 2012 (see n. 27), pp. 38–56, here: pp. 41–42. Hildesheim, St Michael, crypt (c. 1015): Michael Brandt/Arne Eggebrecht (eds.), *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, exh. cat. Hildesheim 1993 (Hildesheim/Mainz, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 535–536, cat. no. VIII-12.
- 39** Auxerre, formerly Abbey of Saint-Germain, crypt (probably prior to 857): Christian Sapin, “Le décor des cryptes”, in *Saint-Germain d’Auxerre: Intellectuels et artistes dans l’Europe Carolingienne; IXe–XIe siècles* (Auxerre, 1990), pp. 121–139; Emmanuelle Cadet/Christian Sapin, “Les peintures de Saint-Germain d’Auxerre, nouvelles recherches 1986–1996”, in Exner 1998 (see n. 21), pp. 87–98; François Heber-Suffrin, “Iconographie et programmes”, in Christian Sapin (ed.), *Peindre à Auxerre au Moyen Âge: IXe–XIVe siècles* (Auxerre, 1999), pp. 104–153; Exner 2002 (see n. 9), pp. 13–14.
- 40** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), p. 91, fig. 89 and folding plate IV (Buchholz drawing). The visualisation project initiated by Christoph Stiegemann, which was presented during the conference, is very promising in this respect.
- 41** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141 (sacramentary fragment from Metz, c. 869/70), fol. 5v: Florentine Mutherich, introduction to *Sakramentar von Metz: Fragment, Codices Selecti* 28 (Graz, 1972), pp. 28–29; Wilhelm Koehler (†)/Florentine Mutherich, *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen*, Die Karolingischen Miniaturen 5 (Berlin, 1982), pp. 165–174 with pl. 43a; Marie-Pierre Laffitte/Charlotte Denoël, *Trésors Carolingiens: Livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, exh. cat. Bibliothèque Nationale de France 2007 (Paris, 2007), pp. 117–119, no. 18.
- 42** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 1141, fol. 6r: Koehler/Mutherich 1982 (see n. 41), pl. 43b.
- 43** Trier, Bischöfliches Museum (c. 890–900): Matthias Exner, *Die Fresken der Krypta von St. Maximin in Trier und ihre Stellung in der spätkarolingischen Wandmalerei*, Trierer Zeitschrift 10 (Trier, 1989), pp. 123–139 with pl. IV–V, figs. 10–19.
- 44** See Joachim Poeschke, “Herrscher oder Heilige? Zur Deutung der Sinopien von Corvey”, in Poeschke 2002 (see n. 7), pp. 49–58, here: pp. 54–55. The outcome of the discussion at the Münster symposium is not included in the proceedings.
- 45** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 88–89, 184–193, 209–221 with figs. 83–84, 198–206, 235–245.
- 46** Auxerre (see n. 39), confessio and oratory of St Stephen: Cadet/Sapin 1998 (see n. 39), figs. 124, 126.
- 47** Corvey, westwork, upper level, impost: Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 87, fig. 82; ground level, pillar: *ibid.*, p. 109, fig. 115; upper level, pillar: *ibid.*, p. 199, fig. 220; gallery arcades: *ibid.*, pp. 234–258. – On the architectural painting of the gatehouse (*Torhalle*) in Lorsch, see Claussen/Exner 1990 (see n. 2), pp. 270–274; Exner 1992/93 (see n. 34); Hans Michael Hangleiter/Stefan Schopf, “Untersuchung historischer Oberflächen und Farbigkeiten in der Lorsch Torhalle”, in Exner 1998 (see n. 21), pp. 17–34; Exner 2011 (see n. 34), pp. 312–318.

- 48** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 156–183, 258–276 with figs. 181–184, 297–327.
- 49** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 182–183, 298–312.
- 50** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 161–183.
- 51** Claussen/ Staubach 1994 (see n. 11), pp. 341–382, figs. 99–101; Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 178–179 with figs. 193–194; on the discoveries in Müstair, see Jürg Goll, “Müstair – Ulrichs- und Nikolauskapelle: Baugeschichte – Bauweise – Baudekor”, in Norbert Börste/ Stefan Kopp (eds.), *1000 Jahre Bartholomäuskapelle in Paderborn: Geschichte – Liturgie – Denkmalpflege* (Petersberg, 2018), pp. 84–91, here: pp. 89–90 with fig. 8.
- 52** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 182–183 with figs. 196–197; see the colour illustration in Otto Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei* (Munich, 1968), pl. XXXIII.
- 53** Dungal of Saint-Denis, Epistola 6 (prior to 814): Ernst Dümmler (ed.), *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolae 4 (Hannover, 1895; repr. 1978), p. 581; see Claussen, in: Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 163–164.
- 54** For an overview, see Florentine Mütterich/Joachim E. Gaehde, *Karolingische Buchmalerei* (Munich, 1976), pp. 7–18, 26–29, 63–65, 68–71, 88–89; Florentine Mütterich, *Studies in Carolingian Manuscript Illumination* (London, 2004), pp. 98–117, 118–146, 147–265, 294–301.
- 55** 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 (Spoleto, 1955), pp. 355–519; for an overview, see the volumes documenting three Heidelberg colloquia in the period from 1968 to 1972: *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur*, vols. 1–3 (Mainz, 1969–1974).
- 56** See Victor H. Elbern’s review of Christian Beutler, *Bildwerke zwischen Antike und Mittelalter: Unbekannte Skulpturen aus der Zeit Karls des Großen* (Düsseldorf, 1964) in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 28, no. 3 (1965): 261–269.
- 57** Munich, Bavarian State Archaeological Collection, stucco relief from the Sola basilica – see Matthias Exner, “Zur Stuckplastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters”, in Exner 1996 (see n. 7), pp. 9–16 with fig. 10; see also Christian Later, *Die Propstei Solnhofen im Altmühltal: Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte der Kirche, zur Inszenierung eines früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Heiligenkultes und zur Sachkultur*, Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Materialhefte zur Bayerischen Archäologie 95 (Kallmünz/Opf., 2011), pp. 143–189.
- 58** Munich, Bavarian State Archaeological Collection, see Peter Turek/ Stefan Achterkamp, “Stuckfragmente aus dem Regensburger Niedermünster. Dokumentation der Befundbeobachtungen”, in Wintergerst 2019 (see n. 30), pp. 257–307.
- 59** Claussen 1995 (see n. 6); Claussen 1996 (see n. 6); Claussen 2002 (see n. 6); Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 353–450, here: pp. 395–423, listing of the stucco fragments; a partial assembly of individual fragments on a copy of the preliminary sketch (*ibid.*, figs. 464–465) was first illustrated in Christoph Stiegemann/Matthias Wemhoff (eds.), 799: *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit; Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn*, exh. cat. Paderborn 1999 (Mainz, 1999), vol. 2, pp. 576–577, cat. no. VIII.58 (Hilde Claussen).
- 60** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 424–450.
- 61** On the fixing methods observed elsewhere, see Matthias Exner, “Art: Stucchi”, in Enrico Castelnuovo/Giuseppe Sergi (eds.), *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, vol. 2, *Del costruire: Tecniche, artisti, artigiani, committenti* (Turin, 2003), pp. 655–673, here: pp. 657–659; Matthias Exner, “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 (ed.), *Stucs et décors de la fin de l’antiquité au moyen âge (Ve–XIIIe siècle): Actes du colloque international tenu à Poitiers du 16 au 19 septembre 2004*, Bibliothèque de l’Antiquité Tardive 10 (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 325–337, here: pp. 327–329.
- 62** Claussen/Skriver 2007 (see n. 8), pp. 429–430.
- 63** On possible analogies to a lost stucco feature in the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen, see Exner 2006 (see n. 61), pp. 330–331.

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1–4 b, 6, 10–16 b LWL-Denkmalpflege, Landschafts- und Baukultur in Westfalen, Münster

1 Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 25, fig. 15

2 a–c Claussen/Skriver 2007, pp. 29–30, figs. 19 and 22 a–b

3 a–b Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 29, fig. 20 and p. 32, fig. 26

4 a–b Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 36, fig. 32 and p. 53, fig. 49

5 Kath. Kirchengemeinde St. Stephanus und Vitus Corvey, Foto: Kalle Noltenhans

6 Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 91, fig. 89 + fold-out plate IV

7 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

8 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

9 Museum am Dom Trier, Foto: Rudolf Schneider

10 a–c Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 88, figs. 83 a–c

11 a–c Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 89, figs. 84 a–c

12 Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 95, fig. 96

13 Claussen/Skriver 2007, p. 238, fig. 269

14 a–b Claussen/Skriver 2007, pp. 158–159, figs. 182 a–c and 183

15 a–b Claussen/Skriver 2007, pp. 361/363, figs. 448 and 450

16 a–b Claussen/Skriver 2007, pp. 366–367, figs. 453–454