

(S. 139 ff.) insbesondere Kapellenanbauten an beiden Seitenschiffen (S. 151 ff.) und die Veränderung der Turmes zu seiner charakteristischen Doppelspitze (S. 154 ff.) im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert zu nennen sind. Der hier gegenüber den ersten Kapiteln deutlich stärker summarischen Betrachtung merkt man den Forschungsschwerpunkt der Autors im Früh- und Hochmittelalter an.

Abschließend sollen noch einige Bemerkungen zur soliden Publikationsform folgen, die mit einer ausführlichen deutschen Zusammenfassung (S. 186-191) und einem Register um Benutzerfreundlichkeit bemüht ist. Dem dient weniger die Anordnung des als Anhang gedruckten, ausführlichen und materialreichen Anmerkungsapparates (S. 160-180), da hier manche Diskussion geführt wird, die man gerne neben dem Text lesen würde. Ausgesprochen nützlich zum Verständnis sind – trotz ihres teilweise hypothetischen Charakters – die Rekonstruktionszeichnungen, die bezüglich der vorsalischen Zustände angemessen vorsichtig nur als Massenmodelle gezeigt werden (S. 194-200). Man vermißt jedoch einen Grundriß mit einer Übereinanderprojektion zumindest der karolingischen und der hochmittelalterlichen Baugestalt, der manche Ausführungen im Text schneller verständlich machen würde und von Stöver selbst bereits an anderem Ort publiziert wurde<sup>4</sup>.

Insgesamt ist die Dissertation von Jos Stöver ein wichtiges und intelligentes Buch, das die schriftlichen und bildlichen Quellen sowie die schwierig dokumentierten Grabungen genau und umsichtig auswertet. Daß das Stückwerk der beweiskräftig überlieferten Fakten zu einer Gesamtheit im Sinne einer Baumonographie gefügt wurde, ist eine nicht zu unterschätzende Leistung, zumal damit ein bedeutender Bau erstmals genauere Konturen angenommen hat. Sicherlich wird man über die eine oder andere Überlegung des Autors anderer Meinung sein können, jedoch bietet erst seine Arbeit die Grundlage zur Diskussion. Als Wiederentdeckung eines schon Jahrhunderte untergegangenen, wichtigen Bauwerks besitzt das Buch exemplarischen Wert. Man darf auf die kommenden Arbeiten des Projektes gespannt sein.

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<sup>4</sup> R. J. STÖVER: Willibrord's Cathedral. An investigation of the First Phases of the Construction of the Salvatorkerk in Utrecht, in: *Utrecht, Britain and the Continent (Transactions of The British Archeological Association Conference XVIII)*, hrsg. von E. de Bièvre; o.O. [Leeds] 1996, Fig. 3.

**Klaus Hardering: Die Abteikirche von Klostersath. Baugeschichte und Bedeutung.** (De abdijkerk van Rolduc. Bouwgeschiedenis en betekenis) (*Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën Deel XVIII*), Utrecht/Alphen aan den Rijn: Clavis 1998; 224 S., 175 Abb., 4 Farbabb.; ISBN 90-75616-0606; Hfl. 69,50 (To be ordered from Clavis, Postbus 1521, 3500 BM UTRECHT, The Netherlands.)

The abbey church of Klostersath (Rolduc in Dutch) is situated near Kerkrade, a township some 30 km to the east of Maastricht, in the Dutch province of Zuid-Lim-

burg. In spite of a Gothic rebuilding of the choir, Baroque transformations of the interior and drastic nineteenth- and twentieth-century restorations that undid both the Gothic and Baroque alterations and added a few peculiarities of their own, the building is still more or less the Romanesque building, that was erected in various phases between 1106 and 1224. This church is remarkable because of its trefoil crypt, the pseudo-transepts of the nave, the singular westwork and last but not least, the Romanesque capital sculpture, that can be paralleled with sculpture in northern Italy. Moreover, and this makes the church even more unique, the so-called *Annales Rodenses*<sup>1</sup>, that chronicle the history of Kloosterrath from its foundation by Ailbert of Antoin in 1104 until the year 1157, provide a fairly detailed account of the various building campaigns in these years. Although the church has, already from the nineteenth century onwards, attracted a great deal of scholarly interest, no monograph was devoted to this fascinating building until the publication of Klaus Hardering's 1998 Leiden dissertation. This book provides the reader with a well researched and well written account of the chronology of the various building phases of the abbey church of Kloosterrath, as seen against the political and religious aspirations of the various patrons.

Rather than starting at the beginning, i.e. the foundation of the abbey and then working his way to the present, Hardering commences his monograph with detailed descriptions of the nineteenth-century restorations carried out between 1853 and 1900 by the architect Pierre Cuypers (Chapter II), the restoration of the westwork by Jos Cuypers (1931-1932) (Chapter III) and the redecoration of the church by the painter Matthias Goebbels between 1895-1902/04 (Chapter IV). Goebbels may not be very famous today, but he was responsible for the painted decoration of a great number of churches in Cologne, the Rhineland and beyond, of which, due to war damage and changes in taste, very little has survived. This alone would justify the fact that Hardering pays a great deal of attention to the paintings, which, as his investigations have borne out, were quite unique and probably represent the best of Goebbels' oeuvre. The programme was a learned theological one, centring on Christ as a teacher, a theme that was particularly apt as the abbey of Kloosterrath by this time had become a seminary. Goebbels' work, which Hardering characterizes as having a 'feierliche Strenge und Distanziertheit' was much indebted to the compositions of contemporary artists and to Early Christian and Romanesque wall paintings. This may at first seem straight-forward, as the paintings were after all intended to recreate the interior of a Romanesque building, but Hardering shows that there was also a programmatic aspect to the use of a medieval style in the Kloosterrath paintings, as church councils at this time condemned too much naturalism and explicit anatomy. The stylized Early Christian and Romanesque paintings were not only considered to be chaste, they were also thought to represent the true Christian spirit.

<sup>1</sup> For the most recent edition cf. L. AUGUSTUS & J.T.J. JAMAR: *Annales Rodenses. Kroniek van Kloosterrade. Tekst en vertaling (Publikaties Rijksarchief Limburg nr.3)*, Maastricht 1995.

Having established which parts of the church are still medieval and which parts should be ascribed to the later restorations, Hardering proceeds to analyse the different parts of the church building. In chapter V he deals with crypt, choir and transept, chapter VI is concerned with the nave, and the final chapter (VII) focusses on the westwork. He starts each analysis with a critical survey of the existing literature, then moves on to problems of dating, the iconographical and iconological content and the historical context of each building phase, thereby establishing connections between the church and the local families that acted as the abbey's advocates. This is in fact one of the main themes of the book, „Über die Darstellung der einzelnen Bauphasen hinaus, gilt es die Rezeption bestimmter Architekturformen vor allem auch in Verbindung mit den historischen Ereignissen zu sehen, um somit durch eine gewissermassen gesamtheitliche Betrachtung die historisch-politische Dimension der von den Bauherren offenbar bewußt gewählten Bauformen hervorzuheben. Denn auch in der Rangstufe unter den großen Bischofs- oder vornehmen Stifts- und Abteikirchen des Reiches ist die Architektur in der Wahl der Formen für den adeligen Bauherrn oder Klostervogt ein wichtiges Ausdrucksmittel zur Repräsentation und auch Legitimation seiner Stellung innerhalb der festgefügteten Hierarchie des Reiches“ (p. 15).

Usually the crypt is held to be the oldest part of the existing church. The *Annales Rodenses* record that in 1104 Ailbert of Antoin, with the help of the counts of Saffenberg, founded a church on the site that was later to become the abbey of Klosterath. In 1106 a presbytery was erected in stone, with stone vaults. The rest was to be built later. In 1107 the powerful Embrico of Mayschoss joined the small community and more or less took over the leadership. He had the presbytery pulled down and, as phase one in the building of a much larger and prestigious building, started the construction of a crypt on its site. At the same time the foundations were laid for the rest of the church, „scemate longobardino“. The crypt was consecrated in 1108.

On the whole, previous scholars have held the trefoil parts of the present crypt to be the crypt consecrated in 1108. The western part was thought of as a later extension. The crypt as we see it today is however quite a complicated structure. In the trefoil part several of the shafts are much thinner than the others and only one capital fits these slender shafts. This capital differs, both in style and structure, from the remainder of the capital sculpture here, that consists of both Corinthian-inspired capitals and block capitals. Four of the shafts in the crypt are decorated with chevrons and other ornaments and are supported by bases in the form of lions and other quadrupeds. These shafts alternate with undecorated shafts.

According to Hardering, the slender shafts and capital are remains of the 1106 presbytery. The capitals in the western part date to the early thirteenth century. For the remainder Hardering proposes two different phases. He dates the 'Corinthian' capitals to the building phase documented in the *Annales*, i.e. to 1108. In his opinion, the crypt at this time did not have the trefoil plan we see today, but can only have been a standard three-aisled hall crypt. Convincing evidence for the absence of the trefoil at this stage is provided by the existence of former doorways on either side of

the choir, that were later blocked by the north and south arms of the trefoil. According to Hardering the placement of doorways in this position was intended as a conscious imitation of the east end of Cologne cathedral (alter Dom), as the counts of Saffenberg were the advocates of the Cologne cathedral chapter, and had been so for centuries. For the capitals that go together with the decorated shafts and animal bases, he suggests a provenance from a rebuilding of the crypt that is not documented by the *Annales*. As the *Annales* come to a halt in 1157, this provides him with a *terminus post quem*. Hardering suggests that these shafts, together with their capitals and bases, came from a baldachin-like western extension of the crypt, built in the 1160's to mark the grave of the founder Ailbert of Antoin, whose remains would have been situated in a confessio in the west wall. Ailbert had incidentally left the community after a quarrel with Embrico in 1111 and had died in Sechtem near Bonn in 1122. Here he was buried, in spite of his wish to find his final resting place in Klostersrath, and to the great dismay of the community. In the 1160's, so Hardering presumes, the canons of Klostersrath were actively trying – without success – to get the remains of their founder back, and in his opinion the writing of the *Annales*, that deal extensively with the figure of Ailbert of Antoin in an almost hagiographic manner, should also be set against this background. The westward extension of the crypt would also have provided the counts of Limburg, who – due to Henry II of Limburg's marriage to Mathilda of Saffenberg – had succeeded the counts of Saffenberg as advocates of the church in 1136, with a suitable family mausoleum, distinct from that of the Saffenbergs who were buried in the eastern part of the crypt. In the early thirteenth century the crypt was once more rebuilt and only at this point did it receive its present trefoil form. In Hardering's view this rebuilding implied the reshuffling of all the columns and capitals to the positions they hold today. He further argues that the model for the trefoil was the trefoil east end of the church of Our Lady in Roermond, founded in 1218 by the count of Gelre, who obviously intended it to be his family mausoleum.

Although this last idea seems to be very plausible indeed, the idea that the crypt was already extended to the west in the 1160's is – in my opinion – dubious, for it implies that the Corinthian type of capitals and the four decorative block capitals in the eastern parts of the crypt constitute two separate groups, which is not evident from the style. I would have liked to have seen these two groups thoroughly analysed, rather than just stated, for even though the basic form of these capitals may be different, stylistically they seem to go together quite well. On both types the same little tight curl can be seen and both types have the same decorated neck rings, with heavy beading or a roped moulding. Hardering sees the four block capitals as the immediate precursors of the capitals in the two Maastricht churches (i.e. St. Servatius and Our Lady) and this provides him with a date before 1167, the date by which sculptors previously working at the church of St. Servatius are said to have already been working at the Wartburg in Thuringia. However, the Klostersrath capitals are not by the same workshop as the capitals in Maastricht and if they are the precursors of these capitals, why date them in exactly the same period? That this idea is not really

very well worked out can be demonstrated by the fact that Hardering mixes up the capitals of St. Servatius' and Our Lady's. The capital shown in plate 99 is not to be found on the ground floor of the westwork of St. Servatius (there is in fact no capital sculpture there), but in the choir ambulatory of Our Lady's. I also harbour doubts concerning the 1106 date for the slender shafts and the one capital that seems to go with them. Why should the choir erected by Ailbert of Antoining have had freestanding shafts? Does this not seem far too splendid for a man who was content to live like a hermit, and whose church was pulled down two years later because it was not prestigious enough? Should not the fire that is known to have destroyed the abbey buildings in 1123 have been taken into consideration? The capitals and decorative bases again receive short thrift in the chapter dealing with the nave, even though these sculptures are of great interest in view of the close parallels with sculpture both in northern Italy and in the cathedrals of Speyer, Mainz and Worms. This is a great pity, as this sculpture deserves attention. In his 1993 Cologne dissertation, Holger Mertens even stated that a thorough study of the Klosterrath capital sculpture was very much a 'desideratum'.<sup>2</sup>

The *Annales* tell us that building at Klosterrath stopped in 1111, when Ailbert left the community, and was not resumed until later. The choir was dedicated in 1130, after which the transept was built and vaulted and dedicated in 1138. Work then moved onto the nave, the walls of which were already standing up to the height of a man. The three easternmost bays were built by 1143, and of these the two nearest the crossing were even vaulted. Subsequently the third bay was completed and by 1153 the roof was built and tiled. Analysis of the building itself reveals that during the vaulting of the first two bays of the nave there was a change of plan. Instead of the normal basilican plan that can be seen in the easternmost bay, the second bay was built in the form of a pseudo-transept i.e. a non-projecting transept. Hardering argues that this form was derived from the church of St. Mary in Utrecht, consecrated in 1138, as the abbey of Klosterrath had – in his opinion – very close relations with Utrecht. There were several Augustinian daughter houses of Klosterath in the diocese and Gozewijn, son of the Utrecht bishop Hartbert, not only gave the abbey some lands in the vicinity of Schalkwijk, but also joined the community in 1137. In the very same period the counts of Limburg became the advocates of the abbey of Klosterrath. They had married into the family of the counts of Gelre, who were the advocates of the church of St. Mary in Utrecht. The counts of Gelre belonged to the Flamenses family, the family from which Ailbert of Antoining was also said to have descended. According to Hardering, the pseudo-transepts were used as a 'Signaturmotiv' to indicate the power of the Flamenses family, and for this reason they recur also at the

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2. H. MERTENS: Studien zur Bauplastik der Dome in Speyer und Mainz. Stilistische Entwicklung, Motivverbreitung und Formenrezeption im Umfeld der Baumaßnahmen des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts (*Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhheinischen Kirchengeschichte, Band 76*); Mainz 1995, S. 235.

Cistercian abbey church of Heisterbach, founded by the Cologne archbishop Philip of Heinsberg, who was also a descendant of the Flamenses family.

There is a large gap between the completion by 1153 of the first three bays of the nave and the construction of the westwork from circa 1200 onwards. It is precisely in this period that Hardering projects the already-mentioned westward extension of the crypt in the 1160's. However, there are various ways of filling this gap. The abbey buildings for instance could have been erected in this period, as is shown by the remaining capitals, that were reused by Cuypers in a reconstructed cloister wing on the north side of the church. Hardering does not mention these capitals at all.

While crypt and nave of the Klostrath church have often been studied in the past, with various results, the westwork received no such attention. It was of course built after the completion of the *Annales*, and so a contemporary account of the building is lacking. It is also the most heavily restored part of the building. Hardering is therefore the first author to study this part of the building in depth. In his opinion, construction started circa 1200 and work was completed by 1209. After a detailed analysis of the existing fabric and the evidence provided by old photographs, he concludes that once again, there was a change of plan during construction. According to Hardering the westwork started off as a reduced copy of the westwork of the church of St. Servatius in Maastricht, as the advocacy over this church was usually held by the duke of Lower Lotharingia, a title to which both the counts of Limburg and Brabant aspired. The scale was of course much smaller and unlike the Maastricht westwork, the Klostrath structure was built over a crypt-like ground floor. When in 1204 the church of St. Servatius came into the hands of the duke of Brabant, who was the political rival of the count of Limburg, it lost its significance as a model for the Klostrath westwork. As a result the plan was changed and the westwork was completed in a form similar to that of the westwork of the abbey church of Sint-Truiden (Belgium), the advocacy of which had been held by the Limburgs for generations. After the dedication of the westwork, the fourth bay of the nave was completed as a pseudo-transept and the crypt and choir were rebuilt. The final consecration took place in 1224.

Hardering concludes with the remark that „Obwohl der Abtei von Klostrath auf Reichsebene und selbst in Niederlothringen nur eine eher untergeordnete Rolle zukam und sie lediglich als Hauskloster der Herzöge von Limburg Bedeutung erlangte, zeigt sich, daß die jeweiligen Kloströvögte als Bauherren oder Stifter offensichtlich maßgeblich an der Wahl der Bauformen beteiligt waren und diese zur Darstellung ihrer Machtposition und ihres Selbstverständnisses einsetzten“ (p. 183). Although I do not seriously want to challenge this idea, it should be noted that Hardering, throughout his study, makes no attempt whatsoever to consider others than the abbey's advocates as possible influences on the various designs of the building.

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