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# 10. ANNEXES

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# ANNEX A

## The Cultural Landscape Register

The cultural landscape register which was prepared in the period between 2008 and 2012 has examined the entire area of the site currently nominated for being inscribed as World Heritage outside the fully developed and built-up settlement areas of the cities of Naumburg and Freyburg and sub-divided it into four partial areas:

- Goseck/Schönburg (29,5 km<sup>2</sup>)
- Bad Kösen/Flemmingen (41,9 km<sup>2</sup>)
- Wethau/the outskirts of Naumburg (13,8 km<sup>2</sup>)
- the region around Freyburg (81,6 km<sup>2</sup>)

Within these areas examined, a total of 3 029 cultural landscape elements within the main groups of:

- forest areas
- agricultural areas
- winegrowing areas
- settlement structures
- material production sites as well as
- traffic/infrastructure

have been examined, with their conditions being reviewed for evidence of their continued existence since the Middle Ages. Even though also individual building structures (e.g. village churches), small architectural objects, smaller settlement areas or deserted sites have been subject of the survey, the landscape elements of the land use represent by far the lion's share of the areas examined. Their state of conservation is determined, due to the particularities of this category, above all by their proven traditional continuity of usage and by the position as well as the geometry of their boundaries in the landscape: Even if the inven-

tory of trees, due to their natural life, and the composition of the species have changed several times until this very day, the actual mode of usage of the mixed deciduous forest has remained the same.

The assessment of the cultural landscape register has brought the following results:

- Elements examined (total) 3,029 of which:
- elements from the Early Middle Ages (600 – 1050): 118
- elements from the High Middle Ages (1050 – 1250): 720
- elements from the Late Middle Ages (1250 – 1500): 258

Apart from their chronological classification, these elements have been assessed under the aspect of the extraordinary universal value of the entire area for the era of the High Middle Ages and rated as follows:

- grade 3: genuine, intact substance exists and can be presented
- grade 2: genuine, intact substance exists, but is currently not visible
- grade 1: sites of the elements exist, but are reshaped in such a way that genuine, intact substance cannot be presented.

The perceptibility of the elements has also been taken into account for the assessment, again rated in 3 grades:

- grade 3: interesting under touristic aspects, well visible and perceptible
- grade 2: interesting under touristic aspects, perceptibility can be created
- grade 1: no potential as to perceptibility

When superimposing both assessment levels, the following results have been achieved:

Total elements recorded: 3029

- Category A: Elements as part of an extraordinary universal value: 910 (30.0 %)
- Category B: Elements supporting this extraordinary universal value (e.g. elements immediately following the Late Middle Ages) 219 (7.2 %)

Apart from the absolute number of elements, their distribution is of interest when looking at the protected area. The area around Bad Kösen/Flemmingen in the south-west as well as the region around the City of Freyburg in the north-west of the nominated protected property have the highest concentrations of such elements. It is those two sub-areas through which the most important old roads of the Middle Ages ran; their routes influenced the location of castles, (earth-)walls and built-up areas lastingly. Permanently forest-covered areas and little tilled sloping ground helped ideally preserve relics from the High Middle Ages. This makes it possible nowadays to notice a high density of such elements:

- ridge & furrow landscapes (e.g. Alte Göhle)
- deserted settlements (e.g. Lasan in the Maternenholz district)
- old pathways (e.g. south of Dobichau, Schenkenholz, Alte Göhle)
- boundary ditches (e.g. Neue Göhle, Katzenberg near Kukulau)
- fortifications (e.g. Haldecke near Freyburg, castle in a grove near Eila)
- vineyards (e.g. in the Mordtal forest near Schulpforta)
- quarries (e.g. on the “Rödel”)

The assessment of current aerial images gained from laser scanning has made an important contribution to the exploration of such elements and to supporting the analysis of cultural landscapes in recent years. In addition to the traditional terrestrial observation, such aerial images made minor nuances of about 30 cm on the ground within forests and in the open space visible. However, all traces of Middle Age elements in areas with arable land have been almost erased in the recent past as a result of soil cultivation measures over many centuries and especially as a result of the practice of deep ploughing during the recent decades.

**DER** **BAND 1**  
**BILDHAUER UND ARCHITEKT**  
**NAUMBURGER**  
**IM EUROPA DER KATHEDRALEN**  
**MEISTER**



**MICHAEL IMHOF VERLAG**



# ANNEX B

## History of Reception

### **The reception of Naumburg Cathedral and its High Medieval Cultural Landscape along the Saale and Unstrut from the beginning of the modern era to the present**

“Together with its immediate surrounding area, the old bishop’s town of Naumburg forms an island of art of the greatest possible attraction (...) where one can vividly comprehend at a glance, not only reflectively but also tangibly, the meeting and interaction of the great cultural powers, of principedom, the episcopate and monasticism.” Heinrich Bergner 1909

With Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel and the French President Nicolas Sarkozy as patrons, the State Exhibition of Saxony-Anhalt entitled “The Naumburg Master – Sculptor and Architect in the Europe of Cathedrals” was held in Naumburg from 29 June – 2 November 2011. In four months, this exhibition attracted just under 200,000 visitors from numerous European and non-European countries to Naumburg and the Saale-Unstrut region. With its exhibition venues in the cathedral precincts (St Mary’s Church, monastery buildings, cathedral, cathedral gardens, St Aegidi Chapel, cathedral graveyard), in the town of Naumburg (palace on market, Hohe Lilie Town Museum) and at the associated venues at Pforta Monastery, Neuenburg Castle, Rudelsburg Castle and Saaleck Castle, the exhibition linked central monuments in the region under discussion. The topic “The Cultural Landscape by the Saale and Unstrut in the High Middle Ages” presented in the monastery buildings and the exhibition section “Continued Reflections. Pictures and Stories about the Naumburg Master from Five Centuries” shown in the palace represent, together with the two-volume catalogue, the collection of essays and other works published on the same occasion, the latest part of the extremely significant and diverse reception of the history of the cultural landscape by the Saale and Unstrut in the High Middle Ages.

## Continuity and conditions

Together with the architectural testimonies to the era and the elements of the cultural landscape created in the High Middle Ages and exercising an influence right up to the present day, the links still existing to the history of the era in the Saale-Unstrut region are above all the establishments founded in the High Middle Ages which have been able to maintain their legal existence – even if in a modified form – and play a major role in preserving the cultural landscape and monuments of the region. Of primary importance here is the Naumburg cathedral chapter formed in 1028, which has been able to preserve most of the properties donated to the chapter and, above all, its cathedral chapter archives going back to the end of the tenth century as the “Region’s Memory”, this being despite the Reformation after 1564 and the associated replacement of the bishop by secular administrators and their successors. As early as 1734, the cathedral chapter acted in an extraordinarily responsible manner in relation to the preservation of the art treasures of the High Middle Ages. Faced with the decision of whether to demolish the partly damaged west rood screen of Naumburg Cathedral, the cathedral canons displayed their respect for the work of the Naumburg Master and decided that the two damaged northern Passion reliefs should be preserved and supplemented in wood by a local master cabinet maker. In conjunction with the cathedral chapter of the Merseburg bishopric and the chapter of the Zeitz collegiate foundation, the Naumburg chapter today exists in the form of a foundation under public law. But there must also be mention here of the towns of Naumburg and Freyburg as the owners of monuments dating from the High Middle Ages and as the representatives of continuity of interest, with their equally notable archives and their own town chronicles. The Naumburg Cathedral High School also has a tradition going back to the High Middle Ages – to the school at Naumburg Cathedral first mentioned in the 11th century. It has existed continually ever since, with the exception of the politically motivated compulsory closure between 1950 and 1991. Numerous pupils and teachers at this school have repeatedly contributed to the survival of the history of the High Middle Ages in this region, such as District Administrator Carl Peter Lepsius (1775 – 1853) or history teacher Bruno Kaiser (1872 – 1953). The princes’ school – now the Landesschule Pforta – was founded in 1543 by Duke Moritz of Saxony at Pforta Cistercian Monastery, after the latter had been closed three years previously, and took up the scholarly tradition of the monasteries in the region but also subsequently made its own very important mark in German and European educational history. Out of the numerous famous pupils of this school, let there be mention only of Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724 – 1806), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 – 1814), Leopold von Ranke (1795 – 1886) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844 – 1900). In view of its intellectual standard, the Landesschule Pforta is of the greatest significance far beyond the boundaries of the region up to the present day. Together with these surviving establishments, there is another particular case of “coupling” to the world of the High Middle Ages, namely a saga tradition that refers to numerous regional monuments and has remained alive through the course of time. While many sagas relating to the founder figure

complex can be attributed to modern efforts to interpret their unusual physiognomies and need not be considered further here, the genesis of the sagas encircling the Ludovingian dynasty, in particular, can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Three groups of tales can be differentiated here. In the first group connected with the historic personages of Count Ludwig the Jumper (deceased in 1123), Count Palatine Friedrich the Younger (murdered in 1085) and Countess Adelheid of Stade, the focus is on the history of the construction of Neuenburg Castle and the foundation of Zscheiplitz Monastery. The core of this tale probably already circulated in the early 12th century and was perhaps processed and put in a literary form at the court of Hermann I in about 1200. Related in the rich medieval chronicles which were written primarily in the Ludovingian family monastery of Reinhardsbrunn and in Erfurt, the now considerably embellished story of the murder of the Count Palatine became an established part of Thuringian history. The story was general knowledge in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Age and was also “pictured” for princely clients – as shown, for example, by the “Chronicle of the Saxons and Thuringians” written by Georg Spalatin and richly illustrated by Lukas Cranach the Older and his workshop in about 1520. As a result of numerous subsequent prints and literary versions, the saga [Penitence Cross] has remained alive to the present day. Much more recent local variations also include Goseck and the foundation of Schönburg Castle in the story. The second group of tales is concerned with the action of Landgrave Ludwig II of Thuringia (1140 – 1172) at Neuenburg Castle and the nearby piece of land called the “Edelacker” (noble field). It reflects the significance of the extensive development of the castle complex and the efforts of the landgrave to assert his territorial dominance. The third group of tales is based on a great variety of medieval sources relating to the life and work of Landgrave Ludwig IV (1217 – 1227) and his wife Elisabeth of Hungary (1207 – 1231, canonised in 1235). In the region, it is particularly Neuenburg Castle with its double chapel, together with the west choir and St Elisabeth Chapel in Naumburg Cathedral, which play a role, as early testimonies to the veneration of Saint Elisabeth. As shown by the decoration of the chapel in 2007 with glass windows designed by the Leipzig painter Neo Rauch, the reception of this group of tales is continued in contemporary art.

### **Scholars and artists from the Renaissance to the Late Romantic era and the beginnings of tourist development**

Of particular significance for awakening scholarly interest in the Saale-Unstrut region is the publication issued in Latin by Gregor Groitzsch *Libellus continens Salae fluvii descriptionem* in 1584, in which he describes his perceptions resulting from a trip taken downstream on the Saale from Orlamünde to Calbe before 1581. For the places by the river in the region under consideration – Saaleck, Rudelsburg, Kösen, Pforta Monastery, Naumburg (Cathedral, St George’s Monastery), Schönburg, Eulau, Goseck – this constituted the first description recording special features, history, ownership and architectural monuments, such as churches, castles, bridges or mills. The then largely preserved Rudelsburg Castle is emphasised as a particularly outstanding fortification. The founder statues in

Naumburg Cathedral are described, providing the oldest documentation of their plaque inscriptions. This work can be aligned with numerous treatises by Saxon court historiographers, such as Petrus Albinus (1543 – 1598), Johann Christian Schöttgen (1687 – 1751) or scholars working for the Naumburg cathedral chapter, such as Johann Zader (1612 – 1685), Johann Martin Schamelius (1668 – 1742) or Johann Christian Grubner (1698 – 1768), by whom major sources of the medieval history of the region were first inspected, placed in their historical context and sent for printing. Through the inclusion of rich illustrations in some of the publications, knowledge of the monuments and historic personages was able to be significantly enhanced among educated readers. As of the 1st quarter of the 17th century, the first and largely exact pictures of the town silhouettes of Naumburg and Freyburg are to be found, with pen drawings and etchings by Pieter Stevens (1610), Wilhelm Dilich (1627) and Caspar Merian (1650), subsequently followed by other artists who portrayed numerous motifs in the cultural landscape in the Saale-Unstrut region. From the multitude of portrayals, the oil paintings and drawings by the Saxon court painter Johann Alexander Thiele (1685 – 1752) should be emphasised in view of their high quality. With his pictures of, for example, the Kösen bridge with Schulpforta and Naumburg in the background (1741) and Schönburg Castle, he succeeded in dramatically presenting the region's historically significant buildings in their natural surroundings. Carl Benjamin Schwarz (1757–1813) also contributed to the increasing popularity of the region with his drawings and etchings of the Saale and Unstrut Valley published in 1786. In 1802, Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764 – 1850) and the painter Franz Catel (1778–1856) visited the Naumburg west choir and were very enthusiastic. Thereupon, the statues of Margrave Hermann and Margravine Reglindis adorned the cover of the almanac of the chronicles of the poet August von Kotzebue (1761 – 1819) for the year 1803 – the first colour portrayals of the founders. The “romantic” discovery of this cultural landscape saw its final breakthrough in 1848 with the book “The Picturesque Banks of the Saale” by the Dresden Professor Karl Heinrich Wilhelm Münnich, containing his contemporary lithographs and etchings.

However, the special perception of the landscape by the Saale and Unstrut with its exceptional monuments dating from the High Middle Ages is not only illustrated by pictorial sources. Friedrich von Hardenberg, who called himself Novalis from 1798 onwards and belonged to the group of Jena Romantics associated with Friedrich Schlegel, often walked and rode through the Saale Valley between Kösen and Weissenfels. He recorded his enthusiasm for the landscape of the Saale Valley, and for Goseck in particular, in October 1791 in letters and the prose sketch entitled “Walk to Goseck”. On a trip from Frankfurt/Oder to Frankfurt/Main, Heinrich von Kleist also wrote enthusiastically to his aunt on 13 March 1793: “From here, we travelled (...) via Weissenfels Castle on the banks of the splendid Saale to Naumburg. Auntie, I can barely describe to you the countryside I saw here. The countryside by the Saale is the most beautiful in the whole of Saxony. I never believed that there were such beautiful natural landscapes as those I have seen in pictures. There is a high rock outside Naumburg; an old castle stood on it.” On 17 April 1813, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749 – 1832) visited Naumburg Cathedral where he would have loved to taken some things

“by purchase, exchange or plundering”. He did not penetrate into the interior of the west choir but admired the Passion reliefs on the west rood screen. He saw them as “extremely remarkable. I cannot remember any similar”. Two years later, the German-Italian Johann Dominik Fiorillo (1748 – 1821), Professor at Göttingen University and founder of academic art history at German universities, enthused about the “divine meekness” of Margravine Reglindis and the “most beautiful Madonna face” of Margravine Uta, whom he took, however, to be the work of Sicilians. Friedrich Nietzsche, who spent his young years in Naumburg, was not impressed by the founders. The 13-year old was inspired, on the other hand, by outings to Schönburg Castle and to Goseck, as shown by his poem “Zur Schönburg marschierten wir lustig” (We marched merrily to Schönburg Castle) and a Goseck travel report dating from 1858. Not until later, at the end of the 1870s, did the philosopher fall under the spell of the Naumburg sculptures. According to the most recent research of Tilmann Buddensieg, he was the first person who “lent the founder statues, in a few powerful lines, a new form of expressive capacity in a world history perspective.” In the “Wanderer and His Shadow” (Aphorism 222), Nietzsche concluded from the unique physiognomy and gestures of the Naumburg founder figures that: “The Middle Ages are the time of the greatest passions. Neither antiquity nor our era has this expansion of the soul; its dimensions have never been greater [...]”. The medieval castles – like Schönburg and Goseck – and the monasteries inspired reflections on the past, and their magnificent integration into the landscape merged with the ideal concept of Arcadia. The Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm IV also enthused in 1853 about Neuenburg as the “mountain castle standing sky-high” above steeply sloping vineyards. The castles on the Saale, in particular, became a constitutive element in the sentiment of the time. With songs like that composed at Rudelsburg Castle “An der Saale hellem Strande” (“On the bright beach of the Saale”) (Franz Kugler, 1826) or the student song “Dort Saaleck, hier die Rudelsburg” (“Here Saaleck, there Rudelsburg Castle”) (Hermann Allmers, 1846), the castles of Rudelsburg and Saaleck gained national fame – equal to that of some castles in the Rheingau region – based on the very imposing position of the Saale holding. In the course of castle romanticism and the “Wanderbewegung” (hiking movement), they became ever more popular tourist destinations, leading to the creation of tourist infrastructure at the monuments. There is evidence of what was probably the first visitors’ tavern at Rudelsburg in 1824. Its landlord, Gottlieb Wagner, nicknamed Samiel, became famous beyond the borders of the region. In 1840, Schönburg Castle was called a “beauty spot” in view of its picturesque location but no tourist restaurant opened here until 1884. Kroppen valley with its numerous mills was also named as an excursion destination for Naumburg residents in 1848. Daniel Starke, the owner of a Naumburg brewery, erected a building with the Concordia tavern over a rock cavern by the Schellsitz ferry across the Saale “in a very pleasant position” in 1844. In 1883, the visitors’ tavern “Neue Welt” (with a rock cavern) was built at the entrance to the Kroppen valley. These two hostelries, which both still exist today, were linked by a promenade. Growing tourism is also illustrated by numerous drawings, paintings and etchings showing visitors to the High Middle Age monuments and travellers in the cultural landscape by the Saale and Unstrut.

# From national symbol to appropriation by the National Socialists

In the context of the German national movement, the medieval monuments also experienced an increase in political significance, since they were made the focus of the yearning for a national state, based on the supposed greatness and importance of the former medieval German Empire. It was probably for this reason that the founding of the first German Historical Society by Naumburg District Administrator Carl Peter Lepsius, namely the “Thuringian-Saxon Society for the Study of National Antiquity and Preservation of Its Monuments”, took place at Saaleck Castle in 1819. Towards the end of the Wars of Liberation, students from Jena, Halle and Leipzig often met at Rudelsburg Castle at Whitsun. So it was no accident that Rudelsburg Castle and the Hotel “Mutiger Ritter” in Kösen were chosen at the meeting-places of the Kösen “Senioren-Convents-Verband” in 1848, founded by more than 500 members of student corps and the oldest umbrella association of student fraternities in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Meetings of experts in German studies, called the “Kösener Vogelweiden”, were organised between 1852 and 1868 at the instigation of the Viennese Professor Franz Pfeiffer (1815 – 1868), the author of the first German history of literature, and they were greatly influenced by Karl August Koberstein (1797 – 1870), a teacher at the Pforta School. They focussed on a personage from the High Middle Ages, namely the minnesinger and epigrammatic poet Walther von der Vogelweide, who was at one time a member of the court of muses of Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia at Neuenburg Castle.

The enthusiasm for the Middle Ages and their glorification by large sections of the population made a decisive contribution to concern for the preservation of monuments and thus to the development of institutionalised care of historic monuments in the region, which had belonged to the Prussian province of Saxony since 1815. In 1843, the architect Ferdinand von Quast (1807 – 1877) was appointed as “Custodian of Historic Monuments in Prussia” and his assignments included travelling to and inspecting architectural monuments. Quast advocated extensive preservation of original building fabric, caution in reconstruction and differentiation between old and new. One of the early restoration programmes implemented under his supervision was that of the double chapel at Neuenburg Castle (1842 – 1853/55).

In his capacity as Chief Officer of Buildings, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781 – 1841) had already confirmed that extensive renovation of Naumburg Cathedral was necessary. However, it was not until 1874 that in-depth total restoration lasting four years was able to be implemented by County Inspector of Buildings Johann Gottfried Werner and Karl Memminger. Inspired by the interest shown in art by the monarch Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1840 – 1861), other architects also addressed the monuments in the region. From the mid-19th century onwards, the castles of Saaleck, Rudelsburg and Schönburg and the Pforte Cistercian monastery church underwent a variety of restoration and preservation work. The idea of restoring to the “original Middle Ages” the appearance of monuments which

had changed in the course of historical developments meant, firstly, systematic “purification”, i.e. removal of most of the Baroque decoration. Secondly, neo-Romanesque or neo-Gothic decoration was added, with sometimes more and sometimes less sensitivity or – as in the two choirs in Naumburg Cathedral – the original glass painting work was supplemented in large areas by newly designed glass windows.

The academic studies of the cultural landscape in the Saale-Unstrut region also experienced a huge upswing in this era. Commendable editions of source texts were produced, such as the Pforta Monastery books of documents published by Pforta teacher Paul Böhme or the first volume of the Naumburg Bishoprpic edited by Felix Rosenfeld. Together with the books of documents originating from the margraves of Meissen and landgraves of Thuringia, edited by Otto Posse, and the “*Regesta Diplomatica necnon epistolaria Historiae Thuringiae*“ compiled by Otto Dobenecker, major sources of information for the history of the Middle Ages in the Saale-Unstrut region were able to be furnished for academic research.

While the cornerstone for critical historical research into the founder figures by the Naumburg Master had already been laid with the essay by Carl Peter Lepsius “On the History and the Founders of Naumburg Cathedral” published in 1822, the growing discipline of art history was able to build in this context, above all, on the book “*The Pictorial Works of Naumburg Cathedral*” published by August Schmarsow in 1892. Since then, there has been a constant increase in the number of studies concerned with the problem of the Naumburg Master and his works and they quickly attracted worldwide attention in view of the unique nature of the ensemble. The connection recognised at an early date between the Naumburg sculptures and the development of French cathedral Gothic was contested by opinions which attributed the origins of the masterpieces to German art alone. Heated debates were additionally fired by gestures of national appropriation. In 1902, Emperor Wilhelm II (1859 – 1941) arranged for the production of complete plaster casts of both the founder figures and the west rood screen from Naumburg Cathedral and gave them as symbols of medieval German culture to the Bush-Reisinger Museum, which today belongs to Harvard University, while other casts went as gifts to Russia. The new medium of photography was of the greatest importance for the rapidly growing popularity of the figures. It was due, in particular, to Walter Hege’s photographs featuring clever angle positioning and lime-lighting in the book “*Naumburg Cathedral and Its Pictorial Works*”, which he published jointly with Wilhelm Pinder in 1925, that the founder figure of Uta became so enormously popular. The pictures of this figure were reminiscent of portrayals of contemporary UFA stars and triggered a huge wave of enthusiasm. Not only did Uta’s picture appear in numerous homes and on a wide range of accessories but her name was also given to an enormous number of newly born baby girls at this time (and until today). Uta became a German icon. The decision of the American Walt Disney (1901 – 1966) to use Uta as the model for the portrayal of his “wicked queen” in the “*Snow White*” cartoon film (1937) should be assessed with a certain critical detachment.

According to Thomas Gunzelmann, it was Otto Schlüter (1872 – 1959) and Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869 – 1949) who promoted at the beginning of the 20th century, through their profound study of the cultural landscape of the Saale-Unstrut region, a general sensitisation of thought relating to the essence and manifestation forms of an historic cultural landscape and the interaction between environment and man which shapes it. The settlement geographer Schlüter stands, on the one hand, for the creation of the concept of cultural landscape as an actual and visually perceptible shaping of the earth's surface created by man, while he was, on the other hand, the expert who also introduced this opinion into English-language research. Continuing scientific discussion of Schlüter's standpoint developed into the basis for today's UNESCO concept of cultural landscape. The conservative architect Paul Schultze-Naumburg, who came from Altenburg/Almrich near Naumburg, must be recognised as the early protagonist of cultural landscape as a subject of protection. His book series entitled "Cultural Works", which was published from 1901 to 1917, exercised a huge influence. The settlements, villages and individual monuments in the Saale-Unstrut region created before 1800 were seen by him as being exemplary in view of their harmony with the surrounding landscape and he referred to them repeatedly in his books as evidence of his opinion. He had the intention of "counteracting the terrible devastation of our land in all fields of visible culture". This constituted a vital theoretical superstructure for the concept represented by the "Bund Heimatschutz" (Association for Protection of the Homeland) – from 1913 German Association for Protection of the Homeland – of which Schultze-Naumburg was the first president from 1904. However, he emphasised alleged dependence of the character of the landscape on the regional character of its residents. From this idea, it was only a small step to his subsequent racist opinions. Schultze-Naumburg's manifest connection with National Socialism was not only limited to visits by the grandees of the Reich, such as Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler, to his splendid country home in Saaleck, which had already become famous before the 1st World War as a result of the Saaleck Workshops which he had opened there. Through his principle of photographic comparison of "good" and "bad", Schultze-Naumburg also became one of the intellectual fathers of the "Degenerate Art" propaganda exhibition in 1937. For their own purposes, the leaders of the Nationalist Socialist movement cleverly exploited the traditions of individual High Middle Age monuments in the Saale-Unstrut region, which large sections of the population saw in a positive light, and portrayed themselves as preserving and completing centuries-old continuity. Thus they founded at Neuenburg Castle a training centre for senior BDM leaders which existed until 1944/45. On Haineberg Hill opposite Neuenburg Castle, a huge complex was built for solstice celebrations and other events of a National Socialist character. Below the two castles of Saaleck and Rudelsburg, a memorial was built for Kern and Fischer, the two murderers of the German Foreign Minister Walther Rathenau who are buried here, and became after 1933 a parade ground for SS and SA groups. The tradition-rich Landesschule Pforte was turned into a National Political Education Centre (NAPOLA).



Only with difficulty but ultimately successfully was Naumburg Cathedral able to fend off National Socialist efforts to appropriate it. Nevertheless, the visitors' books, which are extremely informative for a study of the history of the time, contain many entries by personages bearing witness to the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis or playing a role in national culture politics. But Samuel Beckett, the author and subsequent Nobel Prize laureate from Ireland, also visited Naumburg Cathedral in 1937, according to his diary, and was enchanted by it. As the Second World War progressed, the legend which had meanwhile evolved around the founder figure Uta was increasingly exploited in the interest of the regime. The portrayal of Uta in 1944 as the patroness of the SS and Wehrmacht soldiers supposedly fighting for European culture is just one example of the enormous abuse of this unique sculpture by the National Socialists.

## The Saale-Unstrut region in the recent past

In comparison with other areas, the Saale-Unstrut region survived the last World War with little damage. Neither Freyburg nor Naumburg nor any of the outstanding monuments dating from the High Middle Ages in the surrounding area were seriously damaged by bombing or fighting during the last days of the war. The division of Germany resulting from the war brought the founder figure Uta a new level of meaning for a short while. Initially, each of the German states tried to emphasise its legitimacy as opposed to the other. Consequently Uta of Naumburg was used by both states on stamps or posters as a symbol of unity but governed by different ideologies. As part of the GDR, the cultural landscape of the Saale-Unstrut region shaped in the High Middle Ages experienced all the development phases through to reunification in 1990. The landscape and the cultural monuments did not remain untouched by the radical changes in ownership and social structures resulting from land reform, collectivisation of agriculture and thus extensive alteration of historically established field and meadow boundaries, repression of private initiative, suppression of free enterprise, permanent scarcities and a predominating historical concept which was not able to find many positive aspects in the era of "feudalism". Politically undesirable sections of the population moved away; there was a significant change from private to collective property with the negative consequences of the associated distribution of responsibility for buildings; cultural life had largely been cut off from international developments since 1961. However, as well as this negative picture, there were also numerous positive aspects, such as the replanting in the 1960s of many large vineyard areas by the Saale and Unstrut, which had been laying fallow since the onslaught of the vine louse or had been used for other purposes. On the academic side too, major developments were triggered by the exhaustive archaeological excavations at Naumburg Cathedral, the publishing of three epigraphic works on Naumburg Cathedral, the town and the county of Naumburg and the work of Ernst Schubert and other researchers which also en-

joyed international recognition. The very successful Staufer exhibition in Stuttgart in 1977 brought back an awareness of the significance of the Saale-Unstrut region and the Naumburg founder figures to a wider public in West Germany too, particularly through the presentations by Willibald Sauerländer. The historic preservation of Naumburg Cathedral, which was also a tourist attraction and an item of political prestige during the era of the GDR – as shown by the visit of Franz Josef Strauss in 1983 –, was ensured by government support. However, this does not apply to most of the other historic sites in the region. Despite all the efforts of the state agencies for the preservation of monuments and historic buildings, which did outstanding work in view of their limited resources and capacity in the years after 1945, signs of dilapidation were already becoming obvious at some sites at the beginning of the 1980s. As a result of penetrating damp, pigeon droppings and lack of interest on the part of the responsible parties, the Schulpforte monastery church seemed destined to go to rack and ruin. Neuenburg Castle too was closed to the public because of serious construction faults and any persons entering the grounds were threatened with prosecution. Nevertheless, despite political repressions and national isolation, there were committed men and women, such as those in Zscheiplitz or Freyburg, who took action for the dilapidated monastery church and for Neuenburg Castle and who, through their persistence and courage, made a decisive contribution to paving the way for political change in 1989.

The fall of communism and the newly forming political structures in the Federal State of Saxony-Anhalt after the unification of Germany brought major changes for the Saale-Unstrut region. The “Landesstiftung Dome und Schlösser”, a state foundation endowed by the State of Saxony-Anhalt, became the owner of Goseck Castle and Neuenburg Castle; the state itself and the re-established Schulpforta Foundation share the costs of preservation of the monastery church and monastery grounds; the town of Naumburg became the owner of the castles of Saaleck, Rudelsburg and Schönburg. Thanks to substantial subsidies from the state government, the federal government and the European Union, the major historical buildings by the Saale and Unstrut were able to be repaired within a very short time.

The uniting of most of the items to form the “Romanesque Route”, a project instigated by the State of Saxony-Anhalt in 1993, contributed to rapid establishment of tourism and gradual recognition of this region again in former West Germany, in Europe and beyond. This is shown by steadily growing numbers of visitors from many different countries. For years, Naumburg Cathedral has been the focus of tourist interest and again has such prominent advocates as the Italian author and Professor of Semiotics Umberto Eco, who said in an interview in 2004: “If I could choose to meet a female figure from art history, it would be Uta of Naumburg [...]” Innumerable structural measures undertaken in country districts and the development of areas hitherto not open to tourists, such as the new permanent exhibition at Neuenburg Castle, the Naumburg cathedral treasury vault, the Naumburg cathedral garden, the crypt in Goseck and the restructuring of the exhibition in the Bad Kösen Romanesque House, have all enhanced the attractiveness of the region. Support is also given by the growing

commitment of local residents and by active associations. From an academic viewpoint, the years since 1990 have been particularly fruitful for all the monuments in the region, as a result of the chairs re-established at the universities in Jena, Halle and Leipzig, the Historical Commissions that have also been re-established and the state agencies for preservation of historic monuments and archaeology. A highlight among the academic projects was undoubtedly the interdisciplinary research project on the Naumburg west choir, funded by the VW Foundation. It united eleven doctoral students from different universities and produced major new findings on history, art history, and preservation of historic monuments, polychromy and architectural research. The State Exhibition on the Naumburg Master mentioned above has already been able to present some of the principal findings to the general public. However, the primary merit of this exhibition was to display the European context of the High Middle Ages and identify the special significance of the Saale-Unstrut region.



# ANNEX C

## Letter of International Experts

# The outstanding significance of the Naumburg Cathedral and the cultural landscape on the rivers Saale and Unstrut

Naumburg Cathedral and the cultural landscape along the rivers Saale and Unstrut are an outstanding and representative example of a significant stage in human history, particularly of the High Middle Ages (1000 – 1300). This region represents a primordial example for a crucial development of European history at that time.

Nowhere else in the world such a high density of monuments and cultural landscape elements from the High Middle Ages has been preserved in such a small space in such a level of authenticity in its original spatial setting. The spirit of the High Middle Ages is perceptible here to an extent hardly found elsewhere.

The area along the rivers Saale and Unstrut developed into a melting pot of populations of different origins, Frankish, Thuringian, Saxon, Flemish, and Slavonic. This leads to a long lasting shaping of the landscape with ecclesiastical and secular powers seeking the rights of possession and representation. The characteristics of this high medieval colonization process are still perfectly recognizable: the foundation of churches, monasteries, castles and fortifications, the creation of cities, markets and villages along a widely ramified transport infrastructure, the repartition of woods, fields and meadows and technological facilities including hydraulic systems, mills and wine terraces.

The cultural landscape acquires special weight by the extraordinary quality of numerous individual monuments with unique characteristics in addition to a unique density. Three of the characteristics will be named here:

Naumburg Cathedral is the heart of the entire cultural landscape, as a unique testimony to medieval art and liturgy. The harmonic connection between architecture, sculpture and stained glass windows in the west choir of the cathedral counts among the most impressive creations of human creativity in the Middle Ages at large.

A similar high quality is found in the Cistercian monastery of Schulpforte which has preserved its entire cloister settlement, and unique church furnishings.

Of the highest significance for the chivalric and courtly cultures of this time is Neuenburg Castle established by the landgraves of Thuringia. It counts among the greatest Romanesque Castle complexes worldwide and preserves one of the most impressive spiritual testimonies to the life of Saint Elisabeth of Thuringia with its exceptional two-storey chapel.

Therefore, and based on a detailed scientific analysis we emphatically support the high medieval cultural landscape of the rivers Saale and Unstrut to be inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.



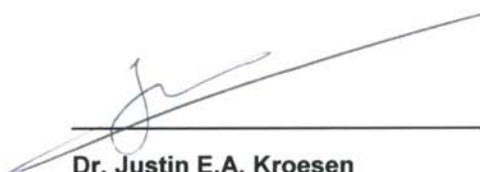
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# ANNEX D

## Expertise

# The Landscape of the Central Middle Ages on the Rivers Saale and Unstrut

Making comparisons with football, in particular when it comes to politicians, is often seen as an ingratiating and populist approach. Nevertheless, in the same spirit as the English fans sang in 1996, on the occasion of the European Cup being held in their country “football’s coming home”, so too would it be justified, in the context of entering the cultural landscape on the rivers Saale and Unstrut on the list of World Heritage sites, to say that here: “Cultural landscape’s coming home”.

It was in 1992 that UNESCO created the first international instrument for the appreciation and protection of cultural landscapes. These are understood to be interfaces between nature and culture, in which the network of historical relationships between man and his environment are expressed in both material and non-material terms.<sup>1</sup> The foundations for this concept, however, were first laid more than a hundred years ago, in the spiritual and intellectual interplay with and under the influence of the landscape on the Saale and Unstrut. This will be discussed further in the second part of this contribution, while the first consideration should be to appraise the significance of the cultural landscape in this region which has come down to us today. ■

## 1.1 Cultural landscape of the Rise of the Central Middle Ages

The High or Central Middle Ages in Europe was the time of a dramatic rise, a “take off”.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this was the growth in population, which, as well an

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- 1 Mechtild Rössler: World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A UNESCO Flagship Programme 1992–2006, in: *Landscape Research* 31/4 (2006), S. 333–353, here pp. 334f.
  - 2 Jacques Le Goff: *The High Middle Ages*. Frankfurt am Main 1992 (Fischer-Weltgeschichte 11), p. 17, for Germany Alfred Haverkamp: *Aufbruch und Gestaltung - Deutschland 1056 – 1273*, 2nd ed. Munich 1993.

improved system of organizing and working in agriculture, also certainly owes much to the optimum climate which prevailed in the central mediaeval period. The effect of this rise on the landscape was felt in particular in urban development, internal colonisation, and territorialisation, mutually inter-related processes differentiating both physical space and society. In terms of spatial structure, this rise took place throughout the whole of the European heartlands in two directions; expansion outwards and compaction inwards.

From the historical and cultural landscape perspective, the region of the application represents the natural link between two great basin landscapes, being the shortest route, formed and fashioned by the River Saale. The western, the Thuringian Basin, is regarded from the point of view of settlement as being old settlement land, while the eastern, the Leipzig Lowland Basin, is a colonisation region. In the Middle Ages, the west-east link through this area was the most important in Central Europe, and meeting it, in the region of the application, was another significant line of communication from the eastern part of Southern Germany. In the early mediaeval period, this area was the zone of contact between Slavic and German settlement, in which the strongest power factor, the Frankish-German Empire, had exerted its influence ever since the days when Charlemagne began to push eastwards. To describe this process, which continued in the Central Middle Ages, as eastern settlement or even eastern colonisation, is Germanocentric, and is therefore an overly short designation. It was part of a European-wide transformation process<sup>3</sup>, which led from the centres to the outlying areas, but which also took effect on the inner peripheries. Associated with this process was a population migration, and a wide-ranging and fundamental change in patterns of settlement and of structures of dominion. The instruments used to put this into effect, such as the establishment of towns and cities, the arrangement of planned villages and hamlets, the building of castles, and the founding of monasteries, are almost the same all throughout Europe. It is hardly an exaggeration to take the view that: *Never again has Europe seen such cultural and institutional uniformity as at that time.*<sup>4</sup>

The area around the confluence of the Saale and Unstrut now lies precisely in the transition zone from inner compaction to outer expansion. It is here that all the processes referred to were put into effect, a true focal point. Naturally, this did not come about in a matter of a few years, but in a cultural landscape deployment process spread over three centuries. This “deployment”, in other words the quest for the best location for the respective agent involved in each case, is demonstrated in action to striking effect in the relocating of the seat of the bishopric from Zeitz (the bishopric having been established there in 968) to Naumburg in 1028, or the conversion of Goseck Castle into a Benedictine monastery in about

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3 Eike Gringmuth-Dallmer: Die hochmittelalterliche Ostsiedlung in vergleichender Sicht, in: *Siedlungsforschung* 24 (2006), p. 99–122, here p. 100.

4 Anngret Simms: Core and Periphery in Medieval Europe: the Irish experience in a Wider Context, in: Smyth, William J. and Kevin Wehlan (Eds.): *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland presented to T. Jones Hughes*. Cork 1988, p. 22–39.

1050, or the rapid move of the Cistercian monastery founded at Schmölln in 1132 to Pforta in 1137. It is likewise possible to subsume under this concept the competition which prevailed throughout the entire period between the regional dominion holders, who thereby also incurred a cultural landscape contest with people and land as the reward.

To this extent, then, we are presented here with a model region for representing the spatial organisation of the Central Middle Ages, a region in which all the forces were at work which sought to establish and control the development of settlement, as well as the political and ecclesiastical organisational structures involved. The whole range of instruments of mediaeval land development, land exploitation, and the permeation of dominion and power are all clearly evident here, in a very confined and concentrated space. Next on the time-line comes the typical transition from kingly power, by way of church institutions as a regional instrument of dominion and development, to the rise of regionally competing powers with the simultaneous withdrawal of the might of the monarch, until the definitive victory and installation of the strongest of these regional forces. All this is concentrated in the period between the late 10th and late 13th centuries. These processes are characteristic of Central Europe, but there is hardly any other region in which they can be attested in such a confined space, and in such density and quality in terms of their testimony in physical structures and cultural landscape, as in this area.

It is a characteristic feature of almost all cultural landscapes in the world that they continue to develop, more dynamically or less so. They are made up of many elements of different intrinsic values and densities, and from different temporal strata, which are layered upon one another and merge into one another. A historic stratum which even today is still capable of shaping the overall image of the cultural landscape, or indeed dominating it, must therefore possess a very potent ability to express itself. In the region of the application, the cultural landscape has of course developed further since the Central Middle Ages, and new structures exerting effect on that landscape have also come into their own. Despite all this, the pattern of the cultural landscape that had its base in the Central Middle Ages remained stable, became more refined, and in later periods over and over again proved the inspiration for casting back specifically to that epoch which was so influential in the shaping of things to come.<sup>5</sup> The mediaeval elements of the cultural landscape on the Saale and Unstrut are still the elements which establish the identity of the region, even if they have undergone transformation in the interim and are now subject to reassessment.

The structures of the Central Middle Ages can today still be appraised with a very high degree of authenticity by way of the buildings and landscape ele-

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5 The fact that these relationships frequently had their darker sides, and the Middle Ages were used as an instrument for national and indeed nationalist ends, is set forth by Justus H. Ulbricht: *Burgen, Berge, Wälder, Dome – oder: in „deutscher Mitte“*, in: Heimatbund Thüringen and Landesheimatbund Sachsen-Anhalt (Eds.): *Deutsche Erinnerungslandschaften Rudelsburg, Saaleck, Kyffhäuser*. Halle (Saale) 1994 (Contributions to the Regional and Provincial Culture of Saxony-Anhalt 32), pp. 9–34.

ments which bear witness to them, due to the fact that, with regard to the territorial power of the house of Wettin, which held sway here since the late Middle Ages, this region remained peripheral. Prior to this, for 300 years it had played a hugely dynamic role, hotly contested and crucial for the key players, and, as a result, the landscape of the Central Middle Ages on the Saale and Unstrut has retained its force of expression in a truly unique manner. These processes can be readily compared in the context of other Ottonian bishopric foundations, such as Bamberg, founded in 1007 by Heinrich II, although there the physical structures which serve as witnesses are located substantially further away from one another, and have been more significantly overlaid by other forms due to the development of this foundation flourishing for a longer period.

Cultural landscapes, with their deep temporal stratification and the multiplicity and versatility of their spatial structures, are always extremely complex systems. They cannot be appraised in their entirety. Accordingly, one attempts to reduce the complexity by investigating the traces which particular functions of human effect have left behind in the region, such as settlement, agriculture, transport, or the exercise of dominion or practice of religion. This is a conventional methodical approach to the appraisal of historical cultural landscapes, but, because of the substantial effort involved, the tendency hitherto has been to employ the technique in small areas only. The applicants carried out an exhaustive inventory project of this nature in the years from 2008 to 2012 over a total area of some 167 km<sup>2</sup>, the largest cohesive region nationwide which had hitherto ever been investigated with this depth of penetration.

The function of the application region as a thoroughfare and bridge, which caused it to be referred to in the older literature as the “Saale gateway”, led to the creation of transport routes which, viewed collectively, are of very great historical importance, and which can still be appreciated today by virtue of the many cultural landscape relics associated with them. Both as small areas and when related to the application region as a whole, they and the relics they contain characterize the regional centres and their shifts: A cultural landscape is also always an expression of historical power relationships. The fact that the most important centres in the area, seen over the long term, did not by any means come into being in a power vacuum, is already evident from their names: Naumburg, which first made its appearance on the stage of history as *Numburgo* in 1028, means nothing other than “Neuenburg”, the “new castle or borough”. The complex of same name, founded in 1090, is indeed to be regarded as a castle in the meaning of a fortress, while the “-burg” element in Naumburg still had the meaning of an early urban settlement or borough.

So in what cultural landscape elements and structures do the processes of spatial organisation of the Central Middle Ages express themselves? It is not only the density – 720 still habitable elements from the period of the Central Middle Ages can even now be identified – or the high historical and art historical significance attached to the number of them. It seems above all to be the almost complete and exemplary manifestation of those elements, which mediaeval man could apply to the structuring of the region in terms of buildings and landscape, given the political, economic, and social circumstances which prevailed. They

gain an extraordinary universal value in this context, by way of their density, completeness, and the degree of preservation.

This begins with the settlements. Only in the rarest cases do individual elements of the settlements themselves derive from the Central Middle Ages. By contrast, it is almost always the ground plan and therefore the basic spatial structures, which in most cases are excellently preserved. The two urban settlements in the application region, Naumburg and Freyburg, can be taken as fine examples of the two town foundation phases of the Central Middle Ages, the Ottonian-Salic and the Hohenstaufen period.<sup>6</sup>

Naumburg represents, even if as a late example, the type of the newly-founded Ottonian bishop's town, which has been appraised as the first independent Central European town model.<sup>7</sup> This mandatorily includes the cathedral district as the centre, hemmed in by a "wreath of churches" by way of St Georg and St Moritz. This "spiritual" town was undoubtedly accompanied from the outset by a market settlement, from which the town of the ordinary citizens grew, clearly separated in ground plan. The trinity of the cathedral close, the town of the council and aldermen, and the old urban suburbs is still clearly recorded to this day in the layout of the town.<sup>8</sup> The structure of the town can be interpreted clearly here, as can only rarely be done, as the result of locational decisions taken in the days of dominion in the Central Middle Ages: Further evidence is the relocation of the seat of the bishop and the influx of merchants to this area from (Klein-)Jena.

Freyburg, in whose name the motto "town air brings freedom" shimmers through, and which thereby already reveals the typical model involved,<sup>9</sup> corresponds in ground plan to the type known as the foundation town. These towns were deliberately designed for economic development, but also with an eye to the strategic safeguarding of their respective territories. Here for the first time holistic planning concepts start to become clear in the town's ground plan. Since the 13th century a tendency has been identifiable in this context towards straight wall arrangements and sharp-edged corners<sup>10</sup>. Freyburg, laid out in 1190, repre-

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6 This, for example, is how Cord Meckseper: *Kleine Kunstgeschichte der deutschen Stadt im Mittelalter*. Darmstadt 1982, assigns this chronologically, but from which a typological differentiation can be derived, Heinz Stoob: *Kartographische Möglichkeiten zur Darstellung der Stadtentstehung in Mitteleuropa, bes. zwischen 1450 und 1800*, in: *Historische Raumforschung* 1 (1956), pp. 21–76, distinguishes between mother towns (up to 1150) and foundation towns (1150–1250), which adds a structural aspect to the temporal.

7 Erich Herzog: *Die ottonische Stadt. Die Anfänge der mittelalterlichen Stadtbaukunst in Deutschland*. Berlin 1964.

8 Last, even if critical, as far as the portion of the Middle Ages is concerned, Klaus Jestaedt: "Das deutsche Wunder", oder: *Wie mittelalterlich ist Naumburg an der Saale wirklich?*, in: Escherich, Mark, Christian Misch and Rainer Müller (Eds.): *Entstehung und Wandel mittelalterlicher Städte in Thüringen* 2007, pp. 214–240, here p. 220.

9 The "Free", symbolic of all town-held privileges, is a major determinant in the concept of the mediaeval town, the reason why the name "Free Borough" or "Free Town" is encountered more than 100 times in Europe, relating as a rule to foundation towns with regular outlines. What is probably the oldest foundation town in Germany, Freiburg i. Br., shares its name with Freyburg. In France, Italy, and Spain, the corresponding names are "Villefranche", "Francheville", "Villafranca", "Francavilla", "Vilafranca".

10 Meckseper: *Kleine Kunstgeschichte*, p. 75.

sents a very early example of this model in its grid layout, the rectangular market place, and the almost square town outline.

If the valleys and highlands of the application region are to be counted as land of old settlement, and the settlements themselves came into being in essence before the Central Middle Ages, they nevertheless still feature excellently preserved village structures which were first truly formed during this period. They do not yet exhibit the clear, uniform, and almost sterile image of the rural settlements of the adjacent territory to the east, the German East Settlement. Rather, they are an expression of the early German-Slav contact zone. And even if, in many of the settlements, there is a planned approach, and the intervention of the dominion power can be clearly identified in the layout, they are in fact more indicative of the process of relocation and expansion such as is typical of the whole region in the period of the rise of the Central Middle Ages.

An impressive example of this is the village of Flemmingen. Its name already indicates that in the period after 1130 Bishop Udo had planned and arranged for people from the area of Flanders or the Netherlands to be settled here, referred to in the sources as “Hollanders”, but who did not arrive in a wilderness bereft of settlements. They had to make arrangements with the inhabitants of an already existing settlement, which can still be interpreted today in the ground plan of the village. It consists of a horseshoe-shaped arrangement of farms roughly in the centre, with tangentially to this a regular array of other farms in the manner of a ribbon village. In this can be recognized the older Slav core settlement and the more recent Hollander colony. The two parts of the village were brought together in the organisation of the open farmland, which was divided up into regular longitudinal strips in the evolving system of the three-field economy. The ribbon village form is also encountered in Rossbach, the second Hollander settlement in the direct vicinity of Naumburg.

Circular patterns in different variants are the most striking shape of villages in this contact zone of Slav-German settlement. The circular arrangement of the farmsteads, which can assume all possible forms from a semicircle to a longitudinally-extended horseshoe shape, may hark back to Slavic traditions, but was then regularised in a process steered by a local dominion power.<sup>11</sup> Either predecessor settlements were rearranged, or two or more villages were merged into one farming community, such as can still be appreciated admirably today in the example of Gross-Wilsdorf (with Kleinwilsdorf). Other villages with well-retained round structures, in part just outside the application region, are Punschrau, Ebersroda, Müncheroda, or Niedermöllern.

Regular village shapes, historic longitudinal strip farming in the three-section (“Zelgen”) system, and the controlled integration of old established, immigrant,

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11 The discussion is not definitively concluded as to whether this already occurred in the Carolingian-Ottonian period, as proposed by Hans-Jürgen Nitz: *Grenzzonen als Innovationsräume der Siedlungsplanung – dargestellt am Beispiel der fränkisch-deutschen Nordostgrenze im 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert* (1991), in: Beck, Günther (ed.): *Historische Kolonisation und Plansiedlung in Deutschland* (Selected Works, Volume I), Berlin 1994 (Short geographical texts 8), pp. 137–170, here p. 163, or whether this involves regularisations in the Central Middle Ages in the course of the introduction of the three-field economy.

and acquired population groups, bear witness to the carefully planned development of the land, which could only be carried out by powers exerting dominion which were both active and effective. Sadly, the historic farmland structures have disappeared, initially in the course of the Prussian separation of the 19th century, and then due to the collectivisation in the former GDR. After the changes in 1989, the large block farms which had been created in this way still remain, and it is only in the peripheral areas, and in particular in the vicinity of the valley slopes, that older parcel and plot land patterns have survived.

It is specifically in those locations that today vineyards and former vineyard sites are to be found which are among the best historical vine cultivation structures which have come down to the present day in the whole of Germany. In their present incarnations they date back to the early New Age and the 19th century, but the cultivation areas themselves have been the site of vine growing since the Central Middle Ages. And in the history of viticulture in the application region, too, the concepts of the use of the land of the mediaeval dominion powers can again be seen. As elsewhere, the care of the vines was a particular concern of the monasteries of Goseck, Pforte<sup>12</sup>, St Georg and Zscheiplitz, but the secular powers contributed their share as well. The vineyard which can be proven as the oldest in the application region, which belonged to the Cistercians of Pforte, referred to in the mid-12th century as the “Köppelberg”, to the west of the monastery, is still in use today for producing wine. The Schweigenberge hills near Freyburg in particular are among the most significant vineyards in terms of the cultural landscape in the whole of Germany.

In the final analysis, the woodland-field distribution of the region also harks back in large part to the spatial organisation of the Central Middle Ages. The woodland area of the “Neue Göhle”, for example, still shows in aerial photographs the clear intrusion of the cultivated field systems of Ebersroda and Schleberoda<sup>13</sup>, whereby woodland edges were created which have remained stable to this day.

A part of the cultural landscape transformation of the period of the Central Middle Ages is also the harnessing of water to generate energy. This “agrarian revolution”, such as the rise of the towns, includes the exploitation of water power by mills. The monastery at Pforta, in what was an ideal location from the Cistercians’ point of view, in a fertile valley, away from settlements but close to a usable river, is a prime example of the skilled utilisation of water. As early as in the first Life of St Bernard there is a description<sup>14</sup> of the cutting of a canal to operate a mill at Clairvaux, and the Cistercians of Pforte acted in the same sense and spirit. A mill with a ditch is referred to as early as 1138, shortly after the monas-

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12 Last referred to in summary in Roland Fröhlich: *Die Zisterzienser und ihre Weinberge in Brandenburg*. Berlin 2010 (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser 30), pp. 69–89.

13 Holger Kunde: *Das Bamberger Eigenkloster Reinsdorf an der Unstrut*, in: *Bericht des Historischen Vereins Bamberg 132* (1996), pp. 19–50, here p. 34.

14 Winfried Schich: *Klosteranlage und Wasserversorgung bei den Zisterziensern*, in: Eburh, Ralf (Ed.): *Wirtschaft und Kulturlandschaft. Collected Contributions 977 – 1999*, Berlin 2007 (Library of Brandenburg and Prussian History 12), pp. 173 – 190, here p. 175.



tery itself was founded, referred to as the “Kleine Saale”, under Abbot Adilold in about 1180. For its time it was a huge undertaking in terms of water engineering, and still remains today.<sup>15</sup>

The rise of the Central Middle Ages is closely associated with the implementation of the use of stone in the construction of the buildings of the holders of power. This too is still expressed in the appearance of the landscape today, not only by the buildings themselves, which were built with the two well-suited materials of shell limestone and variegated or mottled sandstone, but also by the historic locations from which the materials were taken, the quarries. In some cases, the rock walls which were exposed in this way have become objects of art in their own right, as at the Blütengrund at the confluence of the Saale and Unstrut, albeit in the post-mediaeval period. The enormous demand for stone is still expressed today in the open-cast quarries, such as on the shell limestone high ground to the west of Kleinjena, or at various points near Schönburg and in the Kroppental valley, in the sandstone region.

It is in this stone that one of the most impressive relics of rural transport from the Middle Ages is to be found. A sunken road dug into the sandstone beneath the Schönburg marks the new course of the *Via Regia* from Naumburg to Leipzig, which came into being after the relocation of the bishopric. The different branches of this “High Way” can be identified in the landscape on the slopes by dense sunken roadway groupings, mostly covered by woodland, and on the high ground by remains partly preserved in the form of field tracks.

The most striking features in this cultural landscape to this day are the signs left of dominion. Castles (Saaleck, Rudelsburg, Neuenburg, Schönburg), monasteries (Pforte, Zscheiplitz, Goseck), and churches (Cathedral, Naumburg town churches, St Marien Freyburg) are the features which, as close-set markers of the land, were recognized early on as being plainly the key features of this region. Their density can to a large extent be credited to the circumstances dictated by nature. On the one hand, there was the function of a bridge between two basin landscapes, which since earliest times had caused the transport routes to be grouped closely together; on the other, there is the situation involving the mouths of the Saale and Unstrut. The areas surrounding the mouths of great rivers, in regions of high political and cultural continuity, have given rise to focal points and power centres in the cultural landscape context, with a high degree of stability over time, such as Lyon (Rhône-Saône), Mainz (Rhine-Main) and Koblenz (Rhine-Mosel), but the confluence of smaller rivers too has in most cases brought about the establishment of regional centres, of which the ultimate location often had to be negotiated first, as in our case between Kleinjena and Naumburg in the period around the turn of the millennium. And, finally, the valleys, the terraces rising above the valleys, and the mountains with their consistently steep slopes, were ideal locations for the buildings of the wielders of power of the time.

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15 Holger Kunde: *Das Zisterzienserkloster Pforte. Die Urkundenfälschungen und die frühe Geschichte bis 1236*. Cologne [inter alia] 2003 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Sachsen-Anhalts 4), pp. 192 ff.

Seen as a whole, however, it is the largely still undisturbed interaction of all the cultural landscape elements described in a closely circumscribed area, in which man has accepted what nature has offered, and has left his impression, both in terms of structures and in the landscape itself, which is specifically that of the Central Middle Ages, and so prolifically that the application region can truly stand as a model for the rise of the Central Middle Ages in Central Europe. ■

## 1.2 Birthplace of the Concept of the “Cultural Landscape”

At the turn of the 20th century, the cultural landscape of the Saale-Unstrut region inspired two men to ideas and considerations, without which our specific concern today with the cultural landscape as a result of the interaction between people and their environment in the course of history, which in certain cases has led to situations of value, worthy of preservation, would scarcely have been possible: Otto Schlüter and Paul Schultze-Naumburg. Both men, in their lives and work, are by no means without controversy. One, Schultze-Naumburg (born in Almrich (in the application region) in 1869; died in Jena 1949), in the mid-1920's, as a leading protagonist of National Socialist cultural policy, was equally ingrained with its racist mania; the other, Schlüter (born 1872 in Witten/Ruhr; died 1959 in Halle (Saale)), was indeed of German nationalist inclinations, but remained untainted by the “Third Reich”, faded into oblivion in Germany in terms of history as an academic discipline, at the latest with the paradigm change in geography in 1968; conversely, standard international works still frequently make reference to him. In this context, he stands as a symbol of the establishment of the concept of the cultural landscape as a materially and visually appreciable holistic representation of the surface of the earth, created by human beings. Paul Schultze-Naumburg, painter, architect, and publicist, is to be respected as the quintessential early protagonist of the cultural landscape as a matter worthy of protection.

The English-language Wikipedia is fairly clear in its articles on “Otto Schlüter” and “cultural landscape”: *He is credited with creation of the term cultural landscape which is one of the turning points of geographical history.*<sup>16</sup> Things are not quite so straightforward, however, because the term “cultural landscape” in the sense of the human transformation of the surface of the earth had already found its way into the technical

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<sup>16</sup> See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto\\_Schl%C3%BCter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_Schl%C3%BCter); last called up on 05.02.2013, and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural\\_Landscape](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_Landscape); last called up on 05.02.2013; both articles also make reference to Geoffrey J. Martin and Preston E. James: *All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas*. New York 1981, p. 177.

literature at the latest by 1885<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, Otto Schlüter was the man who introduced the concept of the cultural landscape into German geography, as a paradigm which was serviceable for decades, and, indirectly through the medium of Carl Ortwin Sauer in the 1920's, also into the English-speaking sphere.

Schlüter had already prepared his dissertation on the development of settlement in the lower Unstrut valley as early as 1896.<sup>18</sup> A few years later he refined his methodology and widened his area of investigation to what was then north-east Thuringia, thereby including the whole of the investigation region. In the process he developed a typology of the urban and rural settlements of the area in respect of their dependence on transport and population, whose principles are still valid today, and which have played a determinant part in promoting the development of historic-genetic settlement geography in Germany.<sup>19</sup> In 1906 he then formulated, in a programmatic arrangement, what geography was actually supposed to be concerned with. It was the “visible cultural landscape”, whose characterisation, contrary to the spirit of the age as exemplified by Friedrich Ratzel, had less to do with the basic elements of the natural space per se, but rather to consider man as a human being, and the factors rooted in the history of the human race.<sup>20</sup> In his view, the cultural landscape comes into being based on *all the effects which every age and every culture have exerted on the landscape, as a function of their abilities*. It is the *geographical expression of a culture*. In his understanding, the geographical expression is everything visible in the landscape. What is investigated is the material, the tangible. The *non-visible spiritual and intellectual things* are to be cut out of the circle of objects of research, but what are important are the *actions, reasons for movement, and purposes which tend to gain importance as factors in a holistic creation*.<sup>21</sup>

Schlüter's “object research”, the “morphology of the cultural landscape”, dominated German cultural geography until the 1960's, but rapidly lost ground in the course of the theoretical and methodological sea-change taking place in the discipline. This interpretation of the cultural landscape nevertheless diffused into numerous application-oriented neighbouring disciplines, such as landscape upkeep, art history, or the care of monuments<sup>22</sup> and thus, possibly unconsciously or without reflection, became the basis of the UNESCO concept of the cultural landscape. Schlüter's role as the founder of a school of cultural landscape re-

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17 Probably used for the first time in this sense and meaning in Josef Wimmer: *Historical Landscape Studies*. Innsbruck 1885, p. 70.

18 Otto Schlüter: *Siedlungskunde des Thales der Unstrut von der Sachsenburger Pforte bis zur Mündung*. Halle (Saale) 1896.

19 Otto Schlüter: *Die Siedelungen im nordöstlichen Thüringen*. Berlin 1903.

20 Otto Schlüter: *Die Ziele der Geographie des Menschen*. Munich 1906, in this connection

21 Otto Schlüter: *Die analytische Geographie der Kulturlandschaft*. Erläutert am Beispiel der Brücken, in: *Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society*, Special issue to celebrate the centenary of the Society, 1928. pp. 388 – 411, here pp. 391 – 392.

22 See Thomas Gunzelmann: *Die Erhaltung der historischen Kulturlandschaft: Angewandte Historische Geographie des ländlichen Raumes mit Beispielen aus Franken*. Bamberg 1987 (*Bamberg Economic Geography Studies* 4), pp. 36 – 40.

search<sup>23</sup>, as well as his role as a disseminator of this concept in the field of English-speaking and international geography, are acknowledged today in many current teaching books on the subject.<sup>24</sup>

The second main protagonist to be cited here, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, differed from Otto Schlüter on one crucial and ultimately fatal point. He emphasised the dependent nature of the character of the landscape on the folkish character of its inhabitants.<sup>25</sup> From this concept it was only a short step to his later racist views. In the first instance, however, Schultze-Naumburg is to be regarded as the leading exponent of the reform movement at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. The greatest influence was wielded at least in Germany by his series of books “Culture Works”, whose first editions spanned 1901 to 1917.<sup>26</sup> In these he espoused the view of *working against the horrendous devastation of our land in all sectors of visible culture*.<sup>27</sup> This formed a major theoretical superstructure to the concept of the “Homeland Protection Association” (from 1913 the “German Association for Protection of the Homeland”), of which Schultze-Naumburg was the first chairman from 1904.

In the series, there appeared in 1915/16, as numbers 7–9, three volumes under the collective title of “The Shaping of the Landscape by Man”. In the third edition of 1928 he then presented this at the beginning of the series, because this observation analysis appeared to him to be the best-suited for drawing attention to *the changing of the surface of the earth by the cultural works of humankind*. He maintained that *not one piece of the surface of the earth in Germany [should] look any longer the way it did before cultivation by the hand of man, for everything which we see about us, from forest to*

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- 23 Dietrich Denecke: Otto Schlüters Bedeutung für die Siedlungsgeographie, die Kulturlandschaftsforschung und die Landeskunde, in: Roubitschek, Walter and Günther Schönfelder (Eds.): Otto Schlüter (1872–1959) – Sein Wirken für die Geographie und die Leopoldina. Halle (Saale)/Stuttgart 2011, pp. 41–64
- 24 Only a few of the possible references: Ramesh Dutta Dikshit: Geographical Thought: A Contextual History of Ideas. New Delhi 2004, pp. 79–82; Geoffrey J. Martin and Preston E. James: All Possible Worlds: A History of Geographical Ideas. 2005, p. 175; Nicholas Clifford et al.: Key Concepts in Geography 2008, p. 288; John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan: The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Human Geography. Chichester 2011, pp. 77 and 83. William M. Denevan and Kent Mathewson: Carl Sauer on Culture and Landscape: Readings and Commentaries. Baton Rouge 2009, p. 46, even rebuke their colleagues for attributing the term Cultural Landscape to Carl O. Sauer: *Failure to read German may explain why so many geographers have not given Otto Schlüter the credit he deserves for this idea*.
- 25 This is determined under the general term Landscape as Nationalism Kai K. Gutschow: Schultze-Naumburg’s Heimatstil. A nationalist conflict of tradition and modernity, in: Gutschow, Kai K. et al. (Eds.): Tradition, nationalism, and the creation of image. Berkeley 1992, pp. 1–44, here p. 8, although this is not yet so clearly expressed in the “Culture Works”.
- 26 His international effect is minor, being largely restricted to the neighbouring countries of Austria and Sweden. His work has also hitherto received very little recognition in the field of international research. Lara Day (University of Edinburgh), who is currently preparing the first major work in English about him, says: *He appears only peripherally in English language considerations of 20th century art/architecture history and is usually employed as an example of National Socialist thinking* (E-mail of 13.02.2013).
- 27 Schultze-Naumburg, in the Foreword to the third edition of the Cultural Works, 1927; see Paul Schultze-Naumburg, Kulturarbeiten. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen, Vols. I–III, 3rd ed., Munich 1928, p. 7. His comprehensive term of “culture” is already clear here: He understood this to mean all interactions of man with his environment, and so came very close to the term “cultural landscape” as used by Otto Schlüter. In the “Cultural Works” he held to the programmatic title of his polemical treatise Paul Schultze-Naumburg: Die Entstellung unseres Landes, Halle (Saale), 1905.

field, from the meadow to the mill, is the work of man, or of nature tamed and altered by the hand of man. Unlike the geographer Schlüter, with whom, despite their physical proximity, he appears not to have been in correspondence, and who sought to analyse this process of change and systematically penetrate it, Schultze-Naumburg aimed to achieve an assessment of the results of this cultivation in the aesthetic respect, but from a moral viewpoint too. His concern was the harmony of the work of man with nature and its beauty, from which he derived a pretext for preservation. The highest level of harmony was achieved in his view from the middle of the 18th century, when the entire country had been transformed into a *smiling garden*. This putatively ideal state of the cultural landscape was in his view sustained until the middle of the 19th century, when industrialisation began to threaten this harmony with unreasonable interventions.<sup>28</sup> His idealised image of both landscape and architecture was formed by the age of Goethe, and in this phase of a *Neobiedermeier* movement around 1910 he was by no means alone in this view.<sup>29</sup> Schultze-Naumburg may be perceived as having discovered the cultural landscape as an object for protection. This was not yet in the sense in which UNESCO and the applicants understand the term today, as a cultural heritage, but as an aesthetic and pedagogic quality. He himself fell short of this fundamental intellectual step, due to his attributing the creation of the different cultural landscapes to the character of different peoples or even “races”. He therefore contributed in no small way to the perverting of the notions of protection of the homeland, originally intended to conserve culture, towards becoming a *xenophobic ideology*.<sup>30</sup>

It is therefore something of a tightrope walk, given the outcome described, to seek to distil something lasting from the works of Schultze-Naumburg. Even his early landscape images of the Saale landscape can to some extent already be interpreted as a *dangerous dream of the harmonious whole* and as a *painted image of a homeland protection ideology*.<sup>31</sup> Even without the ideological background of the constantly threatening “degeneration”, his method of comparison of “beautiful equals good” and “ugly equals bad” in architecture no longer holds true today. Nevertheless, it may be maintained that he was the first to recognize and propagate the value of the culturally shaped landscape and the need to protect it, as

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28 Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten*. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen, p.12f.

29 Norbert Borrmann: Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869 – 1949: Maler, Publizist, Architekt. Vom Kultur reformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker im Dritten Reich – ein Lebens- und Zeitdokument. Essen 1989, p. 12.

30 As in Willibald Sauerländer: Vom Heimatschutz zur Rassenhygiene. Über Paul Schultze-Naumburg, in: Schmolders, Claudia (Ed.) *Gesichter der Weimarer Republik. Eine physiognomische Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 32, 2000, pp. 32 – 50, here p. 33.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 36 ff., disagrees with Borrmann: Paul Schultze-Naumburg 1869 – 1949: Maler, Publizist, Architekt. Vom Kultur reformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker im Dritten Reich – ein Lebens- und Zeitdokument, in respect of whether one can separate the early life reformer from the later culture fighter. Another dissenting view: Roman Hillmann: *Die erste Nachkriegsmoderne: Ästhetik und Wahrnehmung der westdeutschen Architektur 1945 – 63*. Petersberg 2011, p. 33, who does not consider the view as being obligatory of his *development from the homeland protection movement to the National Socialist Homeland ideology*.

well as the value of its conscious further development, an idea which could also have been further deployed without racist ideology.<sup>32</sup> A decisive factor in this concept holding its own until the present day, however, was the change from an aesthetic-pedagogical assessment of the cultural landscape to a historical-cultural appraisal, and therefore one which can be subsequently scrutinised, a change which clearly came to fruition slowly, and not until long after Schultze-Naumburg.<sup>33</sup>

Undoubtedly, the homeland landscape around Naumburg contributed to the development of his analysis of the cultural landscape. The addition to his surname, with which he sought to elevate himself from the mass of “Schultzes”, shows his close bond with the region.<sup>34</sup> When he first set up independently as an architect and publicist in 1901, he did not choose Munich or Berlin, where he had previously directed art schools, as a place of domicile, but Saaleck (town of Naumburg). From the outset, he sought to add a qualitative element to an *inherently completely ready landscape, characterized by a beauty which is not all too often encountered in Germany*.<sup>35</sup> He was also aware of the historical and cultural landscape significance of this place, although, in the spirit of the age, he drew attention to its function as a border and barrier, and at the same time to its significance historically and in respect of the transport geography of this region.<sup>36</sup> He deliberately chose the site of the upper garden pavilion of his house, built in 1902, because of the view of Saaleck and Rudelsburg castles.<sup>37</sup> Three of his early and thoroughly monumental oil paintings, the “Triptychon” (1895), “Saale Landscape” (1899), and “Rainbow” (1900), portray Saaleck and Rudelsburg, and therefore his later place of residence. A substantial percentage of the example images in the work “The Shaping of the Landscape by Man” derive from the application region, although it must also be said that he also incorporated a number of negative examples. In the main, however, he finds positive examples, such as the vineyards near Freyburg, which *with their fantastic little houses produce such characteristic images that at least a few examples must be considered here*.<sup>38</sup> The Neuenburg too, the

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32 Diethard Kerbs: Vestigia terrent. Paul Schultze-Naumburg: Vom Lebensreformer zum Rassetheoretiker, in: Jahrbuch des Archivs der Deutschen Jugendbewegung 18 (1999), pp. 219 – 232, here p. 225, describes it as *pioneering work when he combined the protection of nature and the protection of ancient monuments. What concerned him was not purely nature, and not architecture alone, but the historically developed cultural landscape, in which both come together in a harmonious balance.*

33 The “discovery” of the “historic” cultural landscape first took place in Europe after the rise of the issue of safeguarding monuments, in the wake of the European Year of Protecting Monuments in 1975, at the beginning of the 1980’s, according to the earlier formulations by Gunzelmann: Die Erhaltung der historischen Kulturlandschaft, pp. 50 – 60.

34 Steffen De Rudder: Landschaft als kulturelle Konstruktion. Burgenromantik und Deutschtum bei Paul Schultze-Naumburg, in: Guerra, Max Welch (Ed.): Kulturlandschaft Thüringen. Weimar 2010, pp. 122 – 133, here p. 128, saw this landscape as *his strongest influence.*

35 Paul Schultze-Naumburg: Saaleck: Saaleck: Bilder von meinem Hause und Garten in der Thüringer Landschaft, Berlin-Westend 1927, p. 10.

36 Ibid., p. 12f.

37 Ibid., p. 12; Borrmann: Paul Schultze-Naumburg, p. 110ff. and 120.

38 Schultze-Naumburg, *Kulturarbeiten. Die Gestaltung der Landschaft durch den Menschen*, pp. 137ff, Illustrations 195 – 197.

Schönburg, and Saaleck Castle are presented as examples of the setting of tone and of integration into the landscape.<sup>39</sup> They later serve to provide him, by way of the symbolic strength of these castles, with an ideal image of the Thuringian landscape and therefore of the German landscape as a whole. This shows that the landscape is always also the image of the landscape kept in the head, and is therefore not only the material structure of the earth's surface, but also a spiritual and intellectual construct, which can be operationalized.<sup>40</sup>

In this context, the operationalisation of the cultural landscape of the Central Middle Ages around Naumburg does not first begin with Schultze-Naumburg. As with other comparable locations in Germany, it comes into its own with the romantic movement, and at this time finds its most effective impression on the public with Franz Kugler's<sup>41</sup> text of 1826, later to become a folk song, *On the bright banks of the Saale stand the castles proud and bold* (original title: Rudelsburg). It fell to Schultze-Naumburg to present this as a cultural landscape leitmotif, and at the same time to deform it with nationalism.

Despite these specifically German entanglements of love of the homeland and race mania in the first half of the 20th century, which were also manifested in the application region, it is also appropriate to note that it was here, at the beginning of the 20th century, that the decisive steps were taken towards today's understanding of the cultural landscape. Both the content concept as well as the appraisal of the cultural landscape as a value to be safeguarded were founded and established here.

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39 Ibid., pp. 52 – 55, 96, 99, Illustrations 81, 84, 86, 88, 163, 166.

40 Rudder: Landschaft als kulturelle Konstruktion. Burgenromantik und Deutschtum bei Paul Schultze-Naumburg, p. 123.

41 Franz Kugler, art historian (1808 – 1858), as one of the earliest State monument preservation officers in Germany, worked at the Prussian Ministry of Culture from 1843. He emerged long before Dehio as a forward thinker in the matter of “conserve rather than restore”; see Franz Kugler: Zur Erhaltung und Kunde der Denkmäler, in: Deutsches Kunstblatt 1 (1850), pp. 93 – 94, and Eberhard Grunsky: Konservieren als Prinzip denkmalpflegerischen Handelns. Ferdinand von Quast und einige Grundsätze der frühen Denkmalpflege in Preußen, in: Denkmalpflege in Westfalen-Lippe (2007), pp. 53 – 58, here p. 57. He was not blind to the national view, since in the time of the flowering of the appraisal of the Gothic as a “German form of structural art” he pointed to its origin in Northern France; see Günther Binding: Was ist Gotik? Eine Analyse der gotischen Kirchen in Frankreich, England und Deutschland 1140 – 1350. Darmstadt 2000, p. 24. He was also probably not uninfluenced by the Saale landscape.

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## List of abbreviations in the picture captions

ALK:	Automatisierte Liegenschaftskarte
CVMA:	Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi Deutschland, Potsdam, Berlin- Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences)
DstA Naumburg:	Domstiftsarchiv Naumburg (Naumburg Cathedral Chapter Archives)
FWE:	Förderverein Welterbe an Saale und Unstrut e.V
LBC:	Landesbibliothek Coburg (Coburg State Library)
LDA:	Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt
SBB:	Staatsbibliothek Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin State Library – Prussian Cultural Heritage)
SMB:	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin State Museums – Prussian Cultural Heritage)
SUT:	Saale-Unstrut-Tourismus e.V.
VDS:	Vereinigte Domstifter zu Merseburg und Naumburg und des Kollegiatstifts Zeititz

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