European Heritage on the Global Stage

Aachen Cathedral, West German Cultural Diplomacy and UNESCO World Heritage

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To my grandparents,
who introduced me to the world of Early Christian archeology and history.

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Acronyms

AA : Auswärtiges Amt (FRG Foreign Office)

AKE : Ausschuss für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung (Committe for Art and Adult Education)

AN : Aachener Nachrichten

AVZ : Aachener Volkszeitung

AZ : Aachener Zeitung

BMELF : Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten (Federal Ministry of Food and Agriculture)

BMF : Bundesfinanzministerium (Federal Ministry of Finance)

BMI : Bundesministerium des Innern (Federal Ministry of the Interior)

CDU : Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)

DNK : Deutsches National-Komitee für Denkmalschutz (German National Committee for Heritage Conservation)

DUK : Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission (German UNESCO Commission)

CoE : Council of Europe

EC : European Community

EU : European Union

FRG : Federal Republic of Germany

GDR : German Democratic Republic

ICCROM : International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

ICOM : International Council of Museums

ICOMOS : International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN : International Union for Conservation of Nature

KMK : Kultusministerkonferenz (Cultural Ministers Conference)

LVR : Landschaftsverband Rheinland

NRW : Nord-Rhein Westfalen (North Rhine Westphalia)

SPD : Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)

UAMD : Unterauschuss zu Museen und Denkmalpflege (Subcommittee on Museum and Heritage Conservation of the AKE)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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Introduction

In September of 1978, the Aachen Cathedral found itself propelled on the global stage following its inscription on the first-ever United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage List during the 2nd World Heritage Committee Session in Washington. The status of the Aachen Cathedral as the first German World Heritage site has become a matter of local pride today, but few outside Aachen are aware of it. When asked about the first German site on the List, most name iconic sites such as the Cologne Cathedral or the Roman monuments of Trier. Despite being of lesser religious significance than the Cologne Cathedral and less ancient than the Trier monuments, the Aachen Cathedral site's strength lay in the combination of a decades-long construction of a European Charlemagne memory with an exceptional Carolingian monument. This transpired in the 1978 Aachen Cathedral nomination file. Its author concluded his justification for inscription as follows:

> It is in the church of Charlemagne that his legacy is understood and cultivated as a commitment to European union. [1]

This dissertation argues that the Aachen Cathedral's nomination to the World Heritage List as a symbol of European union was the result of the intersection and concurrence of cultural diplomatic strategy of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and local political self-representation of the city of Aachen. This study is part of the research project "Knowledge of the World-Heritage of Mankind- UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Cosmopolitanization of Collective Memory" hosted by the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz between 2013 and 2016. The historical study of the early years of the UNESCO World Heritage projects connects five case studies, thus inscribing the project in the rapidly evolving field of the history of UNESCO and World Heritage.[2]

Several hypotheses guided my dissertation research within the project. The first was that the Aachen Cathedral site's representation as intrinsically European was the result of a local construction of the second half of the 20th century involving intellectual, religious, and political elites. Aachen is a place in which the link between history and memory is cultivated through

[1] Hermann Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File." (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[2] See the description of the research project: IEG, "Knowledge of the World - Heritage of Mankind: The History of UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage," Leibniz Institute of European History. Accessed January 4th, 2023, https://www.ieg-mainz.de/en/research-project/Knowledge_of_the_World.

cultural, religious, and political action that create and recreate a shared public memory of Charlemagne. The Aachen Cathedral site has become a *lieu de memoire* in the sense worked out by the French historian Pierre Nora.[3] The intersection of European memory, material heritage, and local cultural politics at the Aachen Cathedral is a central object of this study.

A second hypothesis was that the 1978 Aachen Cathedral nomination to the UNESCO World Heritage fit into a broader effort of West German conservation experts and diplomats to redefine FRG heritage as historically European. Germany's Nazi past and the state of national division led the FRG to avoid national characterizations and focus on European narratives in international heritage projects. German participation in the UNESCO World Heritage List in the 1970s and 80s thus inscribed itself in a wider West German search for a European identity and the development of new diplomatic strategies of self-representation in the world. The final hypothesis was that the parallel development of heritage projects at the Council of Europe (CoE) and UNESCO in the 1960s and 1970s led to the transfer and exchange of founding ideas, texts, and experts. In this context and in the absence of a European heritage list in the 1970s and 1980s, the UNESCO World Heritage List became a space for western European states to define European heritage to the world.

Charlemagne in Aachen: A Millenary Presence

On January 18th, 814 Charlemagne died in his Aachen palace. He was buried in his palace chapel on the same day. One thousand two hundred years later, his memory is still alive and well in Aachen, to which the many local events organized in memory of his death in 2014 can attest.[4] Although Aachen is by far not the only town to claim a direct lineage to Charlemagne, it has successfully established itself as the city of Charlemagne in the German context. The town's social, political, cultural, and religious life centers around the best-preserved structures of the Carolingian palace: the cathedral and the City Hall, as well as the *Katschhof* square separating them.[5] The

[3] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989), 7–24; Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris, Gallimard, 1984).
[4] Stadt Aachen, "Karl der Große 2014 | Macht, Kunst, Schätze – 3 Ausstellungen in Aachen," Karl der Große 2014, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.karldergrosse2014.de/.
[5] Despite several other sites being linked to the emperor, Aachen has become the most present in German imaginations. See for example Werner Jacobsen *Die Pfalzen Karls des Großen: Revisionen und neue Fragen*, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 2017); D. W. Rollason, *The Power of Place: Rulers and Their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities, and Holy Places* (Princeton: University Press, 2016).

octagonal chapel standing in the center of the Aachen Cathedral today is a unique legacy of Carolingian era architecture. It is also the first German World Heritage Site inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978 and the primary object of this study.

Aachen has been the object of prolific local historical research since the 19th century. On top of historical research produced at the RWTH Aachen University and the Aachen City Archive, there are two active historical organizations in Aachen, the *Aachener Geschichtsverein* since 1879 and *the Geschichtsverein für das Bistum Aachen* since 1990, that regularly publish new works in local history.[6] One series directed by then city archive director and chair of the *Aachener Geschichtsverein,* Thomas R. Kraus, stands out for its longue durée perspective on the city's history. From 2011 to 2018, he led a monumental undertaking aimed at retelling Aachen's history from its beginnings to the present, titled *Aachen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,* which was published in several edited volumes up to the early 19th century.[7] This dissertation based itself on the rich literature produced by historians of Aachen to reconstruct the local historical context of the Aachen Cathedral heritage site.

Recent archaeological research, most prominently represented by city archeologist Andreas Schaub, has uncovered sites of pre-Carolingian occupation in Aachen, going back to the neolithic period.[8] The presence of an urban settlement since antiquity is attested in the current city

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In France or Italy, Charlemagne is associated with the invention of school in popular culture. For example "Pourquoi dit-on que Charlemagne a inventé l'école ?" France Culture, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceculture/podcasts/le-pourquoi-du-comment-histoire/pourquoi-dit-on-que-charlemagne-a-invente-l-ecole-7848981.

[6] See publication series: Aachener Geschichtsverein (ed.)*, Zeitschrift Des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* (Aachen, 1879*);* Geschichtsverein für das Bistum Aachen ed., *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen,* (Neustadt, 1992).

[7] The last volume of the series was published in 2018. Following Thomas R. Kraus's passing in 2019, it is unclear if the publication was continued. See Thomas R. Kraus (ed.), *Aachen. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, *Bd. 1: Die natürlichen Grundlagen. Von der Vorgeschichte bis zu den Karolingern* (Aachen - Aachener Geschichtsverein e. V. 2011); Thomas R. Kraus (ed.), *Aachen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. - Bd. 2: Karolinger - Ottonen - Salier 765-1137*, (Aachen, 2013) ; Thomas R. Kraus (ed.), *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 3.1 1138 - 1500 Stadtwerdung - Ereignisse* (Neustadt an der Aich: VDS - Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2014); Thomas R. Kraus (ed.), *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd 3.2 Lebensbereiche: 1138 - 1500. Vol. 3/2*.(Neustadt an der Aich: VDS - Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2015). Thomas R. Kraus and Frank Pohle (eds.), A*achen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Band 5: Von der Reichsstadt zur "bonne ville": Aachen zur Zeit der Französischen Republik und unter Kaiser Napoleon I. (1792-1814), (*Verlag: Schmidt, Neustadt a. d. Aisch 2018).

[8] Late Neolithic rests were found on the Lousberg in the vicinity of Aachen's current city center. See Andreas Schaub and Kathrin Nowak, "Vorrömische Spuren im Dombereich," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. Harald Müller, Clemens Bayer, and Max Kerner (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2014), 13–18; Daniel Schyle and Markus Pavlovic, "Die Vorgeschichte bis zur spätkeltischen Zeit," in *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 1. Die natürlichen Grundlagen : von der Vorgeschichte bis zu den Karolingern*, ed. Thomas R. Kraus, Beihefte der Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins 7–9 (Aachen: Stadt Aachen Mayersche Buchhandlung, 2011), 203–28; Daniel Schyle and Jürgen Weiner, *Der Lousberg in Aachen: ein*

center. Roman presence, especially during Tiberian times, led to an urbanized organization that included inhabitants of a certain wealth and the construction of baths used by the roman military.[9] Following the fall of the Roman Empire, the Roman roster of the urban area was maintained, but the city's main attraction, the baths, were abandoned in the fourth century. The settlement was in continuous use until Merovingian times when the first surviving written indication of Aachen's existence is found in the records of King Pippin's visit to his villa of *Aquae Granni* in 765. Pippin, Charlemagne's father, stayed for long periods in Aachen, which suggests the presence of a church and a villa sizeable enough to host the king and his court for several months.[10]

Like his father, Charlemagne had numerous palaces and villas, where he stayed depending on the time of year and the political situation. Charlemagne's first documented visit to Aachen occurred shortly after he became king during the winter and Easter of 768-69. By the time Charlemagne decided to return to Aachen, he had expanded his kingdom significantly—to Spain and Italy in the south, to Aquitaine in the west, to Bavaria in the east. And in the north, he would soon beat the Saxons.[11] Aachen became his sole winter residence from 794 onwards before becoming his principal year-round residence after 806. This allowed Charlemagne to centralize

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jungsteinzeitlicher Feuersteintagebau mit Beilklingenproduktion, Rheinische Ausgrabungen, Band 66 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2010).

[9] Archeological research in the center of the city has found multiple indications of Roman use, see Raban von Hähling and Andreas Schaub, *Römisches Aachen: archäologisch-historische Aspekte zu Aachen und der Euregio* (Regensburg: Schnell + Steiner, 2013); Christoph Keller, *Archäologische Forschungen in Aachen. Katalog der Fundstellen in der Innenstadt und in Burtscheid* (Mainz, 2004); Andreas Schaub, "Die römerzeitliche Besiedlung im Dombereich vor dem Bau der Thermen," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. Harald Müller, Clemens Bayer, and Max Kerner (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2014), 19–28; Andreas Schaub et al., "Kelten, Römer, Merowinger," in *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 1. Die natürlichen Grundlagen : von der Vorgeschichte bis zu den Karolingern*, ed. Thomas R. Kraus, Beihefte der Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins 7–9 (Aachen: Stadt Aachen Mayersche Buchhandlung, 2011), 229–440.

[10] Researchers claim to have found a Merovingian church under the Cathedral, see Heinrich Bogner, *Die Grundrissdisposition der Aachener Pfalzkapelle und ihre Vorgänger* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1906); Hans Christ, *Die Kapelle des pippinischen Königshofes in Aachen*, Erw. Sonderdr. (Aachen: Volk, 1965); Ruth Maria Plum, *Die merowingerzeitliche Besiedlung in Stadt und Kreis Aachen sowie im Kreis Düren* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2003); Frank Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen zweihundert Jahre archäologische und bauhistorische Untersuchungen* (Darmstadt: von Zabern, 2015), 97–108; Sebastian Ristow, "Archäologie des Aachener Domes zwischen spätantiker und ottonischer Zeit (400-1000)," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. Harald Müller, Clemens Bayer, and Max Kerner (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2014), 43–80; Schaub et al., "Kelten, Römer, Merowinger."

[11] There are numerous biographies of Charlemagne dating back to the 9th century. See for example Alessandro Barbero, *Charlemagne: Father of a Continent* (University of California Press, 2004); Matthias Becher, *Karl der Große*, 7. (München: C.H. Beck, 2021); Eginhard, *La Vie de Charlemagne: Suivie des Lettres d'Eginhard*, ed. François Guizot and Alexandre Teulet (Clermont-Ferrand: Editions Paléo, 2010); Johannes Fried, *Karl der Große : Gewalt und Glaube : eine Biographie*, 1. (München: C.H. Beck, 2018); Max Kerner, *Karl der Große: Entschleierung eines Mythos* (Köln: Böhlau, 2001); Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011); Georges Minois, *Charlemagne* (Librairie Académique Perrin, 2014). Aachen was never the only residence of Charlemagne. See Jacobsen, *Die Pfalzen Karls des Großen*.

his political power to a certain extent, as Carolingian nobles were encouraged to come and stay in Aachen to acquire specific privileges. After Charlemagne obtained imperial status in Rome in 800, he also received diplomatic delegations in Aachen from as far as the Middle East. Through the presence of the court, Aachen became a center of cultural and intellectual life. Surviving materials, such as books, art, and architecture, testify to a period that historians have dubbed Carolingian Renaissance.[12]

As the emperor's visits became more regular and his stays longer, Pippin's villa was replaced by a palace, whose construction lasted until the early 800s. Little is known about everyday life in the palace. The sleeping and living quarters have yet to be identified, but archeological evidence suggests the presence of larger cemeteries and domains in Aachen's suburbs, which served the growing population. Charlemagne's palace followed an East-West orientation instead of the original Roman grid and formed a square in the center of the urban area. The two main buildings of the palace, the Aula Regia and the Chapel dedicated to Maria faced each other on the extremities of an open square.[13] The Aula Regia, the palace's political center, was composed of a main oblong room used for ceremonial purpose and flanked by towers leading to several higher levels. It is believed to have been modeled on the neighboring late antique Trier Basilica. Although

[12] Charlemagne's diplomatic exchanges became the object of interest in the 2000s, see Wolfgang Dreßen, ed., *Ex oriente: Isaak und der weiße Elefant; Bagdad, Jerusalem, Aachen; eine Reise durch drei Kulturen um 800 und heute ; eine Ausstellung im Rathaus, Dom und Domschatzkammer Aachen vom 30.6. - 28.9.2003* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2003); Jeff Sypeck, *Becoming Charlemagne: Europe, Baghdad, and the Empires of A.D. 800* (New York: Harper, 2007).
On the Carolingian Renaissance, see for example: Peter Godman, ed., *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*, 1. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985); Ludwig Falkenstein, "Aula renovata. The Carolingian Court before the Aachen Palace," *Historische Zeitschrift* 247, no. 3 (1988), 664–65; Erna Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance: Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kultur des frühen Mittelalters* (Wien: Österr. Schulbücherverlag, 1924); Alfredo Romagosa, "The Carolingian Renaissance and Christian Humanism," *Logos* 6, no. 4 (2003), 136–49; G. W. Trompf, "The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 1 (1973), 3–26; Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship.*, The Birkbeck Lectures (London: Methuen, 1969).
[13] Aachen archeology in the 20th century has led to a better comprehension of the Carolingian palace construction and its surroundings. See for example Günther Binding, *Die Aachener Pfalz Karls des Großen als archäologisch-baugeschichtliches Problem* (Köln: Rheinland-Verl., 1997); Heinz Cüppers and Walter Sage, eds., *Aqvae Granni: Beiträge zur Archäologie von Aachen* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982); Keller, *Archäologische Forschungen in Aachen*; Landschaftsverband Rheinland, ed., *Spurensicherung -Archäologische Denkmalpflege in der Euregio Maas-Rhein: Ausstellung, Aachen, Krönungssaal im Historischen Rathaus, 14. Juli bis 13. September 1992.* (Mainz am Rhein: Von Zabern, 1992); Harald Müller, Clemens Bayer, and Max Kerner, eds., *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte* (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2014); Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*; Frank Pohle, "100 Jahre Aachener Domgrabung. Erich Schmidt und seine archäologischen Forschungen im Aachener Pfalzgebiet," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 10 (2010 2009), 21–70; Ristow, "Archäologie des Aachener Domes zwischen spätantiker und ottonischer Zeit (400-1000)"; Andreas Schaub, ed., *Gläserne Grabungen: 10 Jahre neue Stadtarchäologie Aachen 2006-2016*, Aachener Beiträge zur Baugeschichte und Heimatkunst 9 (Neustadt an der Aisch: VDS, Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2018).

only the bases of the building have survived today, they still form the political center of Aachen, as the town hall was built on top of it in the Middle Ages.[14]

The Maria chapel, which was constructed around 800, was described by Einhard as one of the most important building projects of Charlemagne's reign.[15] Research has shown that the plan of the chapel's interior was made with thoroughly thought-through geometrical and numerical symbolism. Historians believe that the architects of the chapel referred to Holy Jerusalem, although the building also recalled Byzantine examples such as the churches of Ravenna. The octagonal thirty-meter-high building was flanked by additional side chapels. Its architects relied on complex techniques, such as an inner anchor installed within its walls to allow it to stand without buttresses.[16]

In addition to its striking architecture, the building was richly decorated with unique accessories, like its massive bronze doors and railings, which were made on site. Materials were also reused from Roman sites, for which Charlemagne had the authorization of the pope.[17] The combination of symbolic references, expensive materials, and complex building techniques made

[14] See Georg K. Helg and Jürgen Linden, *Vom Kaiserglanz zur Bürgerfreiheit: Das Aachener Rathaus - Ein Ort geschichtlicher Erinnerung*, (Aachen: Shaker, 2006).

[15] See Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne. Éditée et traduite par Louis Halphen* (France: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1923), 51.

[16] See for example Eugene W. Kleinbauer, "Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen and Its Copies," *Gesta / International Center of Medieval Art.*, 1965, 2–11; Axel Hausmann, *Kreis, Quadrat, und Oktogon: Struktur und Symbolik der Aachener Kaiserpfalz* (Aachen: Meyer & Meyer, 1994); Carol Heitz, "D'Aix-la-Chapelle à Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, rotondes mariales carolingiennes et ottoniennes," in *Marie, l'art et la société. Des origines du culte au XIIIe siècle*, ed. Association Culturelle de Cuixà, 1994, 5–11; Müller, Bayer, and Kerner eds., *Die Aachener Marienkirche*; Lydia Konnegen, Anke Naujokat, and Frank Pohle eds., *Dom zu Aachen: Architektur und Geschichte* (Aachen: Geymüller Verlag, 2014); Jan Pieper, *Thron und Altar, Oktogon und Sechzehneck : die Herrschaftsikonographie der karolingischen Pfalzkapelle zu Aachen*, 1. (Aachen: Geymüller, Verlag für Architektur, 2017); Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*; Hans-Karl Siebigs, *Der Zentralbau des Domes zu Aachen: Unerforschtes und Ungewisses* (Worms: Wernersche, 2004).

[17] Researchers have found that the bronze doors were made on the spot. The pope had allowed Charlemagne to reuse objects found in Ravenna. Two bronze elements found at the entrance, for example, are antique bronzes. The marble from the 'Charlemagne throne' is thought to have come from the stairs of the holy sepulcher in Jerusalem. See Hermann Fillitz, "Die Bronzetüren des Aachener Münsters," in *Thesaurus mediaevalis. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schatzkunst des Mittelalters.*, ed. Hermann Fillitz, Franz Kirchweger, and Werner Telesko (Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2010), 209–16; Erik Lipperts, "Ein Würdezeichen kaiserlicher Macht? Die Aachener Bronzen und ihre Beurteilung in der historischen Forschung," in *Der Aachener Dom als Ort geschichtlicher Erinnerung. Werkbuch der Studierenden des Historischen Instituts der RWTH Aachen.*, ed. Max Kerner (Köln, 2004), 27–44; Albrecht Mann, "Renovatio Romani Imperii: Gedanken Zur Karolingischen Antikenfortsetzung in der Aachener Palastarchitektur," in *Celica Iherusalem. Festschrift Für Erich Stephany*, ed. Clemens M. M. Bayer, Theo Jülich, and Manfred Kuhl (Köln, 1986), 311–26; Harald Müller, *KarlsThron: Monument und Mythos* (Stuttgart, 2021); Katharina Pawelec, *Aachener Bronzegitter: Studien zur karolingischen Ornamentik um 800*, Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 12 (Bonn, 1990); Pieper, *Thron und Altar, Oktogon und Sechzehneck*; Sven Schütte, "Der Aachener Thron," in *Krönungen. Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, vol. 1 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), 213–22; Sven Schütte, "Forschungen zum Aachener Thron," in *Dombaumeistertagung in Aachen 2009. Vorträge zum Aachener Dom*, ed. Helmut Maintz (Aachen: Thouet, 2011), 127–40.

for the Chapel's exceptional nature. Local medieval history professor Harald Müller, among others, has published extensively on Carolingian Aachen. His particular focus on the history of the Aachen Cathedral and his recent monograph on the history and memory of the Charlemagne throne underlines the symbolic place of the site and its relics in local history writing.[18]

Following the end of Louis the Pious' reign in 840, Aachen progressively lost its status, while the Norman invasions of the 880s led to its downfall. The palace was abandoned, and the urban settlement shrank significantly.[19] In the meantime, Charlemagne's religious and political legend survived and thrived in texts.[20] Although the status of Aachen as the center-point of the empire was ephemeral, it had long-term consequences on the future of the settlement, overwhelmingly because of its ongoing material link to Charlemagne. The chapel became the mausoleum of Charlemagne following his death in 814, enhancing the sacrality of the Maria Church in Aachen. In early medieval times, sepulchers in a privileged sacral space were highly symbolic, providing that space with an increased significance. The scholar of late antique Christianity Yvette Duval described it as follows:

> Souvent de telles tombes sont implantées dans des emplacements de choix au sein des nécropoles ou des catacombes, ou en sens inverse elles confèrent par leur présence et leur apparence ce caractère privilégié au lieu qui s'organise autour et en fonction d'elles.[21]

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[18] Müller, KarlsThron. On life in Aachen in Carolingian time, see Dietrich Lohrmann, "Das geistige Leben in Aachen zur Karolingerzeit," in *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 2. Karolinger - Ottonen - Salier : 765 - 1137*, ed. Thomas R. Kraus (Aachen: Stadt Aachen Mayersche Buchhandlung, 2013), 409–70; Harald Müller, "Karolingisches Aachen," in *Krönungen. Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, ed. Mario Kramp, vol. 1 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2000), 223–32; Harald Müller et al., "Pfalz und vicus Aachen in karolingischer Zeit," in *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 2. Karolinger - Ottonen - Salier : 765 - 1137*, ed. Thomas R. Kraus (Aachen: Stadt Aachen Mayersche Buchhandlung, 2013), 1–408.

[19] On the history of Aachen following the Carolingian period, see Franz-Reiner Erkens, "Aachener Geschichte zwischen Karolingern und Staufern: Entwicklungen - Prägungen - Formierungen (911-1137)," in *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 2. Karolinger - Ottonen - Salier : 765 - 1137*, ed. Thomas R. Kraus (Aachen: Stadt Aachen Mayersche Buchhandlung, 2013), 471–584; Theo Kölzer, "Schwindendes Zentrum: Aachen und die Karolinger nach Karl dem Großen," in *Karl der Große, Charlemagne. Orte der Macht. Essays*, ed. Frank Pohle (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014), 392–99; Sebastian Ristow, "Aachen and Cologne in Carolingian and Ottonian Times and the Viking Raids," in *New Aspects on Viking-Age Urbanism, c. AD 750-1100*, ed. L. Holmquist, S. Kalmring, and C. Hedenstierna-Jonson, (2016), 177–87.

[20] On the legend of Charlemagne in the Middle ages, see Bernd Bastert, *Karl der Große in den europäischen Literaturen des Mittelalters: Konstruktion eines Mythos* (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 2004); Philippe Dollinger, "La légende de Charlemagne dans l'Allemagne médiévale," *Journal des Savants* 3, no. 1 (1953), 107–20; Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Karl der Große in Renaissance und Moderne : zur Rezeptionsgeschichte und Instrumentalisierung eines Herrscherbildes* (Berlin: Akad.-Verl., 1999); Robert Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'Empire germanique médiéval* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1950); McKitterick, *Charlemagne*; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Karl der Große lebt weiter : das Bild des ersten Karolingerkaisers vom Mittelalter bis heute," in *Das Reich Karls des Großen*, ed. Matthias Becher (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011), 115–27.

[21] "Les sépultures chrétiennes accueillies dans un édifice consacré sont parfois d'apparence, de dimensions modestes, mais leur seule situation dans l'église (ou tout près d'elle) constitue le privilège le plus recherché par les fidèles."

In Aachen, the tomb of Charlemagne, played a central role in making the octagonal chapel into a "privileged" space.

The sacralization of Charlemagne started with the re-discovery of his tomb by Emperor Otto III in 1000. Tales of the intact body of the sitting emperor in his burial chamber, nearly two centuries after his passing, fueled the legends. Otto first removed relics from Charlemagne's body but ultimately his entire corpse was taken from his sepulcher and presumably put into the *Karlsschrein.*[22] The subsequent loss of the place of Charlemagne's original grave has since attracted endless curiosity from the public and historians alike, an interest that continues even today.[23]

Yvette Duval, "L'inhumation privilegiée, pour quoi?," in *L'inhumation privilegiée du IVe au VIIIe siecle en occident. Actes du colloque tenu à Créteil les 16-18 mars 1984*, ed. Yvette Duval and J.-Ch. Picard (Paris: De Boccard, 1986), 251. See also Yvette Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: l'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1988).

[22] Einhard tells us of a simple burial on the same day at the church but does not offer enough details on tomb. See Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne. Éditée et traduite par Louis Halphen*, 86–89.
Otto III came to Aachen in 1000 and discovered Charlemagne sitting in his throne, his body untouched except for the tip of his nose. He was subsequently buried in the Cathedral. See Yasmin Doosry, "'Kaiser Otto III. in der Gruft Karls des Großen'. Das Programmbild des Germanischen Nationalmuseums," in *Geschichtsbilder. Die Gründung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums und das Mittelalter*, ed. Jutta Zander-Seidel and Anja Kregeloh (Nuremberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum Abt. Verlag, 2014), 76–87; Ludwig Falkenstein, *Otto III. und Aachen* (Hannover: Hahn, 1998); Eliza Garrison, "Otto III at Aachen," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3, no. 1 (January 1, 2011), 83–137; Matthew Gabriele, "Otto III, Charlemagne, and Pentecost A. D. 1000: A Reconsideration Using Diplomatic Evidence," in *The Year 1000. Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. M. Frassetto (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 111–32; Knut Görich, "Otto III. öffnet das Karlsgrab in Aachen: Überlegungen zu Heiligenverehrung, Heiligsprechung und Traditionsbildung," in *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im Ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1998), 381–431; John Francis Moffitt, *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne: The Lord-in-Majesty Theme in Early Medieval Art and Life* (Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co, 2007).

[23] On the ongoing search for Charlemagne's grave in Aachen, see Clemens M. M. Bayer, "Das Grab Karls des Großen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 115 (2014 2013), 273–94; Viola Belghaus, "Intravimus ergo ad Karolum: Grab, Reliquien und Reliquiare Karls des Großen.," in *Charlemagne et les objets: Des thésaurisations carolingiennes aux constructions mémorielles*, ed. Philippe Cordez (Peter Lang, 2012), 169–208; Helmut Beumann, "Grab und Thron Karls des Großen zu Aachen," in *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Helmut Beumann and Wolfgang Braunfels, vol. 4 (Düsseldorf, 1967), 9–38; Joseph Buchkremer, "Das Grab Karls des Großen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 29 (1907), 68–210; Heike Drechsler, "Überlegungen zur Grablege Karls des Großen und Ottos III. im Aachener Münster," *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999), 129–56; Georg Dunnwald, "Dombaumeister sucht Kaiser Karls Grab," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 28th, 2010. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/dombaumeister-sucht-kaiser-karls-grab/3093356.html; Fernand de Mély, "Le tombeau de Charlemagne à Aix-la-Chapelle," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 59, no. 5 (1915), 342–62; Johannes Ramackers, "Das Grab Karls des Großen und die Frage nach dem Ursprung des Aachener Oktogons," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 75 (1955), 123–53; Elke Silberer, "Aachener Dom: Grab von Karl dem Großen bleibt verschollen," *Spiegel*, May 19th, 2010. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/aachener-dom-grab-von-karl-dem-grossen-bleibt-verschollen-a-695574.html; Heinrich Wismann, *Grab und Thron Karls des Großen zu Aachen. Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Herkunft des Westbaues des Münsters zu Aachen und der karolingischen Westwerke* (Heidelberg, 1933).

Aachen historians, especially Werner Tschacher, have shown how these material testimonies of Charlemagne have been used for religious-political legitimation starting in the Middle Ages. From the tenth century onwards, Ottonian kings brought a new political presence to Aachen and its Maria Church. Otto I launched a several-centuries-long tradition of crowning German kings in Aachen, which saw more than 30 kings visiting the ancient palace before the sixteenth century. Through the ritual, these kings put themselves in direct continuity with Charlemagne. During the coronation, symbolic objects linked to Charlemagne, such as the so-called "Charlemagne throne" in the palatine chapel, were at the center of attention. The political role of the relics allowed the city to gain many advantages in the Middle Ages. During Barbarossa's reign, for example it acquired the status as a *Reichstadt*, a market right, and the privilege to construct city walls.[24]

In parallel, major Christian relics held at the Maria church rose in importance. From the 9th century onwards, a regular pilgrimage to the Aachen church was organized. It was eventually ritualized into the 7-Year pilgrimage, *Aachenfahrt*, in the late Middle Ages. This major pilgrimage brought masses of Christians to Aachen and has persisted today. Although not directly linked to the historical figure, the relics were part of the church's treasury which Charlemagne had funded. Two local historians, Dieter Wynands and Herta Lepie published extensively about the *Aachenfahrt*. Herta Lepie, because of her role as the head of the Aachen Cathedral treasury, offers an art historical and material perspective to her study of the pilgrimage that underlines the importance of the relics present within the Aachen Cathedral.[25]

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[24] See Werner Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft. Eine Verfassungsgeschichte (ca. 800-1918)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010). On the Aachen Coronations, see Max Kerner, "Könige in Aachen. Zur Geschichte ihrer Krönungen," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche. Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, Harald Müller ed. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 251–56; Mario Kramp, ed., *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen, Geschichte und Mythos*, 2 vols. (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2000); Aloys Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königs-Krönungen zu Aachen 813-1531* (Bonn: K. Schröder, 1924).
On Aachen's medieval life, see Thomas R. Kraus, *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 3.1.*; Thomas R Kraus, ed., *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd 3.2*.

[25] On the history of the Aachenfahrt and its cultural impact, see Andreas Gormans, Alexander Markschies, and Frederike Eyhoff, eds., *Venite et videte: Kunstgeschichtliche Dimensionen der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt : Beiträge einer wissenschaftlichen Tagung des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte der RWTH Aachen in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bischöflichen Akademie des Bistums Aachen*, (Aachen: Einhard Verlag, 2012); Herta Lepie, *Die Aachenfahrt*, (Pulheim: Rhein-Eifel-Mosel-Verlag, 1986); Herta Lepie and Georg Minkenberg, *Der Domschatz zu Aachen*, 2. Auflage (Regensburg: Schnell Steiner, 2015); Birgit Lermen and Dieter P. J. Wynands, eds., *Die Aachenfahrt in Geschichte und Literatur* (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1986); Dagmar Preising, ed., *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt: Bildzeugnisse und Dokumente: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Burg Frankenberg, Aachen: Abteilungsführer und Katalog zur Sonderausstellung 14 Juni bis 30. August 1993* (Aachen: Museen der Stadt Aachen, 1993); Heinrich Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt* (Aachen: Volk, 1951); Andrea Tunger, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt im Spiegel der Kunst* (Aachen: Ed. Sinfonia Sacra e.V., 2014); Dieter P. J. Wynands,

The two central political and religious rituals of medieval and early modern Aachen—the coronations, and the pilgrimage of Aachen—made extensive use not only of the movable relics but also of the architectural remains of the ancient palace of Aachen for their symbolic association with Charlemagne. The rituals took place nearly entirely within the space of the ancient palace. It involved carefully planned out stops between the ancient *Aula Regia* and the palace chapel, the latter of which served as both the site of coronation and the pilgrimage church.

Charlemagne's continuous presence and evolution in Aachen is an example of "cultural memory" as described by the historian of memory and heritage Jan Assman:

> Das kulturelle Gedächtnis ist das Gedächtnis späterer Generationen, die nicht über eine eigene, sondern nur über eine vermittelte Erinnerung verfügen. Das kulturelle Gedächtnis muss, um die Erinnerung zu bewahren, das Gedenken ritualisieren; es muss Traditionen stiften, um dem Vergessen vorzubeugen.[26]

The memory of Charlemagne in Aachen was constantly re-actualized and depended on the city's material heritage. The end of the coronations in Aachen in the sixteenth century lowered its symbolic significance and dampened political interest in the city for centuries. Aachen's local cult of Charlemagne continued despite religious conflicts. The city evolved into an active industrial town. It also made use of its bath tradition for tourism. Occasionally, the city managed to position itself for an important political role through its geographical position at the crossroads of several European great powers, such as when it hosted the peace treaties of 1668 and 1748.[27]

The 19th and 20th centuries saw a renewed political interest in Aachen's Charlemagne. The Napoleonic regime markedly used the historical emperor for political legitimization during the occupation of the city, focusing again on his primary and secondary relics.[28] Later the Prussian

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Geschichte der Wallfahrten im Bistum Aachen (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1986); Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt : Kontinuität und Wandel eines mittelalterlichen Reliquienfestes* (Siegburg: Rheinlandia-Verl., 1996); Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Zur Geschichte der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt* (Aachen: Einhard-Verl., 2000).

[26] Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis : Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München : C.H. Beck, 1992), 2.

[27] Aachen historians have studied a variety of economic, social, and religious questions on the 17th-19th centuries. See for example Claudia Erdmann, *Aachen im Jahre 1812 : wirtschafts- und sozialräumliche Differenzierung einer frühindustriellen Stadt* (Stuttgart: Steiner-Verlag-Wiesbaden-GmbH, 1986); Thomas R. Kraus and Frank Pohle eds., *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 5.* ; Herbert Lepper, ed., *Sozialer Katholizismus in Aachen: Quellen zur Geschichte des Arbeitervereins Zum Hl. Paulus für Aachen und Burtscheid 1869-1878*, (Mönchengladbach: B. Kühlen, 1977); Walter Schmitz, *Verfassung und Bekenntnis : die Aachener Wirren im Spiegel der kaiserlichen Politik (1550 - 1616)* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1983); Jörg Wiesemann, *Steinkohlebergbau in den Territorien um Aachen 1334-1794* (Aachen, 1995).

[28] On Charlemagne and Aachen under French occupation, see for ex : Erdmann, *Aachen im Jahre 1812*; Viktor Gielen, *Aachen unter Napoleon* (Aachen: Mayer, 1977); Simone Maria Kaiser, "Des Kaisers neue Kleider. Wiederbelebung, Reinkarnation und Asche Karls des Großen unter Napoleon Bonaparte," in *Karl der Große. 1200 Jahre Mythos und Wirklichkeit*, ed. Hessischen Landesmuseum Darmstadt, Pinsker, Bernhard and Zeeb, Annette (Petersberg: Michael

empire followed suit through symbolic state visits, sponsored historical research, and cultural politics around the site of the ancient Carolingian palace. Local historians Lydia Konnegen and Frank Pohle especially highlighted the research and restoration work that surrounded the Aachen Cathedral in the late 19th and early 20th century in connection with this renewed interest. [29]

Under the Nazis, Charlemagne was first decried as a *Saxenschlächter,* a murderer of Saxons, and *Frankenkönig,* a French king, before he was rehabilitated in 1937. From then on, the Nazi regime used the myth of Charlemagne to justify their military expansion into Europe, culminating in the creation of the Franco-German SS Charlemagne battalion in 1944. [30] However, the cultural memory of Charlemagne in Aachen managed to escape close association with the Nazis partly because of its Catholic imprint and the absence of its material relics. Hidden away

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Imhof Verlag, 2014), 131–56; Thomas R. Kraus, *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne: Aachen in französischer Zeit, 1792/93, 1794-1814 : Handbuch-Katalog zur Ausstellung im "Krönungssaal" des Aachener Rathauses vom 14. Januar bis zum 5. März 1995* (Aachen: Verlag des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, 1994); Thomas R. Kraus and Frank Pohle eds., *Aachen: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 5.;* Josef Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrten zwischen Franzosenzeit und Nationalsozialismus* (Aachen, 2010); Michael Rowe, "A Tale of Two Cities: Aachen and Cologne in Napoleonic Europe," in *The Napoleonic Empire and the New European Political Culture*, ed. Michael Broers, Peter Hicks, and Agustin Guimerá, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012), 123–31; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft* ; Werner Tschacher, "«Sire! À votre entrée dans ce temple auguste, les cendres de Charles se raniment… » Die Funktion Karls des Großen und Aachens für die Symbolpolitik Napoleons," in *Napoleon am Rhein: Wirkung und Erinnerung einer Epoche*, ed. Jürgen Wilhelm, Jürgen Wilhelm (Köln: Greven Verlag, 2012), 37–58 ; Frank Pohle, Kathrin Steinhauer, and Karlsverein-Dombauverein, *Der Aachener Dom in französischer Zeit: 1794-1815* (Aachen 2016).

[29] On Prussians in Aachen, see Rüdiger Haude, *"Kaiseridee" oder "Schicksalsgemeinschaft": Geschichtspolitik beim Projekt "Aachener Krönungsausstellung 1915" und bei der "Jahrtausendausstellung Aachen 1925"* (Aachen: Verl. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins, 2000); Lydia Konnegen, "Von der Restaurierung zur Konservierung - Die karolingische Marienkirche im Licht der Denkmalpflege des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen. Material - Bautechnik - Restaurierung*, ed. Eva-Maria Beckmann and Ulrike Heckner (Worms: Werner, 2012), 63–72; Lydia Konnegen and Frank Pohle, "Die Domgrabungen der Jahre 1843 und 1861: Kommentierte Edition der Grabungsprotokolle," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 12 (2013/2014); Pohle, "100 Jahre Aachener Domgrabung. Erich Schmidt und seine archäologischen Forschungen im Aachener Pfalzgebiet"; Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*; Jenny Shaffer, "Restoring Charlemagne's Chapel: Historical Consciousness, Material Culture, and Transforming Images of Aachen in the 1840s," *Journal of Art Historiography* 7 (Dec. 2012), 1–38; Ulrike Wehling, *Die Mosaiken im Aachener Münster und ihre Vorstufen* (Köln Pulheim: Rheinland-Verl., 1995); Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft.*

[30] Charlemagne was branded as a 'Sachsenschlächter' before being picked up by Nazi propaganda from 1939. See "Privatbrief zur NS-Pressekampagne ‚Sachsenschlächter Karl" in Kramp, *Krönungen*, 873–74.

On Nazis and the Charlemagne myth, see Alain Brose, "Charlemagne dans l'idéologie national-socialiste," *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 93, no. 3 (2015), 811–42; Janus Gudian, "Karl der Große im NS-Geschichtsbild," in *Das Erbe Karls des Großen 814 - 2014*, ed. Dirk Callebaut and Horst van Cuyck (Gent, 2015), 383–90; Janus Gudian, "Porzellan und Propaganda - Karl der Große im NS-Geschichtsbild," in *Erinnerungswege. Kolloquium Zu Ehren von Johannes Fried*, ed. Janus Gudian et al. (Stuttgart, 2018), 223–40; Kerner, *Karl der Große*; Jean Mabire, *La division Charlemagne : sur le front de l'Est 1944 - 1945* (Paris: Grancher, 1998); Schneidmüller, "Karl der Große lebt weiter"; Walter Zöllner, *Karl oder Widukind? Martin Lintzel und die NS-"Geschichtsdeutung" in den Anfangsjahren der faschistischen Diktatur*, Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg 10 (Halle a. d. Saale, 1975); Karl Ferdinand Werner, *Karl der Große oder Charlemagne? von der Aktualität einer überholten Fragestellung ; vorgelegt am 17. Februar 1995* (München: Beck, 1995).

from 1939 onwards, along with other treasures of the cathedral, they were of little use to Nazi war propaganda and only returned to Aachen after the end of WWII.[31]

In the period immediately after WWII, Germany stood in a most unfavorable position. On the national level, it was an occupied and divided country. On the international level, it had lost all credibility. In 1945, German territories were occupied by the allied forces and subsequently divided into four zones, the US, UK, French and Soviet zones which would continue until 1949. Aachen became part of the United Kingdom occupation zone and subsequently joined the North-Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) state created by the British occupation forces in 1946. The Aachen Cathedral still stood at its center, having survived the allied bombings and the famed "Battle of Aachen" relatively unscathed.[32]

Germany was indefinitely divided into two blocks in 1949 with the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany in the West and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the East, which corresponded to the Soviet zone. The FRG was, as its name suggests, a federal political system. On the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949, historian Alfred Grosser has observed:

> La République Fédérale, de son coté, est le seul Etat en Europe qui n'ait pas été fondé sur l'idée de nation, mais sur une éthique politique : le double rejet d'Hitler dans le passé et de Staline dans le voisinage.[33]

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[31] In 1937, thousands braved the NS regime and participated in a prohibited Christian procession in Aachen. Despite these isolated acts, locals took part in Jewish persecution and NS political life. On Catholic politics and NS Regime in Aachen, see Holger A. Dux, *Das war das 20. Jahrhundert in Aachen*, (Gudensberg-Gleichen: Wartberg-Verl., 2001), 41; Paul Emunds, *Der stumme Protest* (Aachen: Peter Basten, 1963); Josef Lambertz, *Meilensteine der Geschichte des Aachener Domes* (Aachen, 2008), 85–99; Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrten zwischen Franzosenzeit und Nationalsozialismus*; Günter Plum, *Gesellschaftsstruktur und politisches Bewusstsein in einer katholischen Region: 1928 - 1933; Untersuchung am Beisp. d. Regierungsbezirks Aachen* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1972); Michael Römling, *Aachen: Geschichte einer Stadt* (Soest: Tertulla-Verlag, 2007), 277–87; Wynands, *Zur Geschichte der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*, 30 f.
On Aachen under Nazi rule, see Elmar Gasten, *Aachen in der Zeit der nationalsozialistischen Herrschaft: 1933-1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1993); Leo Haupt, "Nationalsozialismus in Aachen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 98/99 (1993), 609–33; Ralph J. Jaud, *Der Landkreis Aachen in der NS-Zeit : Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in einem katholischen Grenzgebiet 1929-1944* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997); Lambertz, *Aachener Heiligtumsfahrten zwischen Franzosenzeit und Nationalsozialismus*; Thomas Müller, *Zwangsarbeit in der Grenzzone: der Kreis Aachen im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Aachen: Shaker, 2003); Römling, *Aachen*; Werner Tschacher, "'All this trouble for those damned old bones!' Aachener Mythen um Karl den Großen zwischen Dekonstruktion, Transformation und Persistenz," in *Eloquentia Copiosus. Festschrift für Max Kerner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Lotte Kery ed. (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2006), 81–99.

[32] See Robert W Baumer. *Aachen: The U.S. Army's Battle for Charlemagne's City in World War II* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2023).

[33] He compares it to France where "la Nation est au centre de tout." Alfred Grosser, "Preface," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, ed. Dominique Herbet et al., (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 20.

One consequence of rejecting the Nazi past and its communist neighbor was the FRG's turn to western Europe. The division lasted until 1990, when the two Germanys were reunited under the name of the Federal Republic of Germany.[34]

Recognizing this particularity of the FRG helps contextualize the construction of a political European Charlemagne myth in Aachen. Following the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany, Aachen became the westernmost city of West Germany. Because of its geographic situation, Aachen elites attempted to establish its European character in parallel to growing national political efforts for European integration. [35] Three major historical European Charlemagne narratives cohabited in Aachen during the second half of the 20th Century: *Abendland,* Franco-German Europe, and the tri-national region between Maas and Rhine.[36] The Christian conservative idea of *Abendland,* translated as "Occident" in English, gained significant popularity in West German Christian conservative milieux in the 1950s and 60s before seemingly fading out in the 1980s.[37] In Aachen, the Christian idea of Europe turned Charlemagne into the father of the

[34] See Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in der Ära Adenauer: Aussenpolitik und innere Entwicklung, 1949-1963* (Darmstadt : Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983).
On the FRG context of national divide, see Heinrich August Winkler, "Nationalismus, Nationalstaat Und Nationale Frage in Deutschland Seit 1945," in *Nationalismus — Nationalitäten — Supranationalität*, ed. Hartmut Kälble (Stuttgart, 1993), 2–33.

[35] On the immediate Post War in Aachen, see the following exhibition catalogue, Frank Pohle, ed., *Der Krieg ist aus: Politik, Alltag und Medien in Aachen: Begleitband zu den Ausstellungen im Centre Charlemagne, Couven Museum und Internationalen Zeitungsmuseum anlässlich des 75. Jahrestages des Endes des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (Aachen: Kulturbetrieb der Stadt Aachen, 2019).
On Aachen as a European city and local self-representation, see Heinz Malangré, *Aus Trümmern zur Europastadt. Aachen von 1945 bis 2005* (Aachen, 2005); Bernhard Poll, "Aachens europäische Bedeutung," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1977.

[36] On a communal Franco-German Europe, see Corine Defrance and Ulrich Pfeil, eds., *Le traité de l'Elysée et les relations franco-allemandes: 1945 - 1963 – 2003* (Paris: CNRS Éd, 2005); Corine Defrance et al., eds., *Wege der Verständigung zwischen Deutschen und Franzosen nach 1945: zivilgesellschaftliche Annäherungen* (Tübingen: Narr, 2010); Corine Defrance, Tanja Herrmann, and Pia Nordblom, *Städtepartnerschaften in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020); Tanja Herrmann, *Ein Baustein der deutsch-französischen Versöhnungsgeschichte? Die Städtepartnerschaft Wolfsburg – Marignane* (Wolfsburg, 2011).

[37] On *Abendland* and political Catholicism in the plans of a European community, see Jacques Boussard, *Die Entstehung des Abendlandes: Kulturgeschichte der Karolingerzeit* (München: Kindler, 1968); Vanessa Conze, *Das Europa der Deutschen : Ideen von Europa in Deutschland zwischen Reichstradition und Westorientierung (1920 - 1970)* (München: Oldenbourg, 2005); Friedrich Dessauer, *Reflexionen über Erbe und Zukunft des Abendlandes* (Köln: Westdt. Verl., 1956); Irene Dingel, "Der Abendlandgedanke im konfessionellen Spannungsfeld. Katholische und evangelische Verlautbarungen (um 1950/60)," in *Auf dem Weg nach Europa. Deutungen, Visionen, Wirklichkeiten*, ed. Irene Dingel and Matthias Schnettger (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 215–36; Johannes Großmann, *Die Internationale der Konservativen, Transnationale Elitenzirkel und private Außenpolitik in Westeuropa seit 1945* (München: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2014); Philipp W. Hildmann, ed., *Vom christlichen Abendland zum christlichen Europa: Perspektiven eines religiös geprägten Europabegriffs für das 21. Jahrhundert*, (München: Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung, Akad. für Politik und Zeitgeschehen, 2009); Jochen-Christoph Kaiser, "Protestanten in der CDU und die Europaidee nach 1945," in *Die europäische Integration und die Kirchen, Teil 2*, ed. Irene Dingel and Heinz Duchhardt, (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 135–52; Wolfram Kaiser, *Christian Democracy and the Origins of European*

Abendland, a discourse reinforced by religious-political memorial practices, the most famous of them being the Charlemagne Prize.[38]

The 1978 inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List corresponds to a broader period of change in West Germany. Historian Hartmut Kaelble, among others, has penned the 1970s as a turning point of European history, a period oscillating between political and economic crisis and (post)modernity.[39] In the 1970s, the FRG's Ostpolitik paved the way for the international Helsinki Agreement in 1975. In parallel, the FRG reexamined its cultural diplomacy to better its presence in the cultural realm.[40]. This period was also a turning point for international heritage conservation with the beginning of UNESCO World Heritage and the organization of the Council of Europe's 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year.

Union (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Patrick Pasture, "Catholic and Christian Democratic Views on Europe Before and After World War II: Continuities and Discontinuities," in *Christian Democracy Across the Iron Curtain. Europe Redefined*, ed. Piotr H. Kosicki · Sławomir Łukasiewicz (Springer, 2018); Axel Schildt, *Zwischen Abendland und Amerika: Studien zur westdeutschen Ideenlandschaft der 50er Jahre* (De Gruyter 1999).

[38] On Charlemagne Prize history, see Franco Bettin, ed., *50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen: 1950 - 2000 ; die Auszeichnung für die Verdienste um die* europäische Einigung ; Geschichte des Aachener Bürgerpreises (Aachen: Stiftung Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen, 2000); Christian Bremen, *Die Geschichte des Internationalen Karlspreises der Stadt Aachen : Kurt Pfeiffer und das Karlspreisdirektorium in der prägenden Phase von 1949 bis 1960,* (Essen: Klartext, 2019); Helmut Reuther, *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen : Zeugnis europäischer Geschichte, Symbol europäischer Einigung ; eine Dokumentation 1950 - 1993* (Bonn: Transcontact Verlagsges., 1993).

[39] Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, "Der Epochenbruch in den 1970er-Jahren: Thesen zur Phänomenologie und den Wirkungen des Strukturwandels „nach dem Boom"," in Doering-Manteuffel et al. eds*, Konturen von Ordnung: Ideengeschichtliche Zugänge zum 20. Jahrhundert* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019), 424–42; Anselm Doering-Manteuffel and Lutz Raphael, *Nach dem Boom. Perspektiven auf die Zeitgeschichte seit 1970* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); Hartmut Kaelble, "The 1970s in Europe: A Period of Disillusionment or Promise" (The 2009 Annual Lecture, London: German Historical Institute, 2009). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.ghil.ac.uk/fileadmin/redaktion/dokumente/annual_lectures/AL_2009_Kaelble.pdf; Poul Villaume, Rasmus Mariager, and Helle Porsdam, eds., *The "Long 1970s": Human Rights, East-West Détente and Transnational Relations* (London New York: Routledge, 2016); Andreas Wirsching et al., "The 1970s and 1980s as a Turning Point in European History?," *Journal of Modern European History* 9, no. 1 (April 1, 2011), 8–26.

[40] "Zwischenbericht der Enquete-Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik" (September 22, 1972), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Bericht der Enquete Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik gemäss Beschluss des Deutschen Bundestages vom 23. Februar 1973." (Report, 1977), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Auswärtige Kulturpolitik, Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Bericht der Enquete Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik des Deutschen Bundestages" (Report, Bonn, approx 1977), B336/408, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

On FRG Ostpolitik, see Stefan Creuzberger, *Westintegration und neue Ostpolitik : die Aussenpolitik der Bonner Republik*, (Berlin : be.bra, 2009); Carole Fink and Bernd Schäfer, eds., *Ostpolitik, 1969 - 1974: European and Global Responses* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009); Nicholas Piers Ludlow, ed., *European Integration and the Cold War: Ostpolitik-Westpolitik, 1965 – 1973* (London: Routledge, 2007); Wilfried Loth, "Germany between Ostpolitik and European Integration," in *Europe in the International Arena during the 1970s: Entering a Different World* ed. Antonio Varsori and Guia Migani, Euroclio Études et Documents 58 (Bruxelles: Lang, 2011), 55–70.

UNESCO World Heritage intersects with European Heritage in the second half of the 20th century

The starting point of this dissertation is the first UNESCO World Heritage List. 1978 marked the end of a decade of preparation work at UNESCO and the start of decades of development for the World Heritage List, which has passed the symbolic number of a thousand sites in 2014 and continues to grow exponentially.[41] This research studies the decade preceding the release of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and the period of 1972 to 1992, often called the first phase of World Heritage. A contribution to the field of heritage studies, it is also an addition to the growing historiography on international organizations.

Broadly speaking, heritage can refer to anything inherited from the past. For the purposes of this study of the Aachen Cathedral as a World Heritage site, the UNESCO definition of cultural heritage serves as a useful starting point. According to Article 1 of the 1972 World Heritage Convention, cultural heritage is defined as:

> monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations (…) groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings (…) sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites.[42]

UNESCO has expanded this definition since 1972 through the addition of its 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage convention. Also called living cultural heritage, intangible heritage corresponds to "the practices, expressions, knowledge and skills that communities, groups and sometimes individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage."[43] This dissertation engages indirectly with intangible heritage through its study of ritual and events surrounding the Aachen Cathedral. Historic artefacts and museum objects that are mobile tangible heritage are also included in this study as they play a memorial role in rituals and exhibitions in Aachen. They were also named in the World Heritage inscription of the Aachen Cathedral site in 1978.

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[41] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "World Heritage List," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year.
See "World Heritage List reaches 1000 sites with inscription of Okavango Delta in Botswana" *UNESCO News*, June 22nd, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1159.

[42] See UNESCO glossary: "Cultural Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/glossary/224.

[43] See UNESCO glossary: "Intangible Heritage," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/glossary/40.

The roots of institutionalized heritage conservation go back to the 19th century. The first German heritage conservation laws appeared in the second half of the 19th century. Pioneers of German-speaking heritage conservation, such as Georg Dehio and Alois Riegl, still influence German heritage conservation to this day.[44] Despite the national orientation of heritage conservation in the 19th and early 20th centuries, these movements have set the stage for international cooperation on heritage conservation and the construction of shared expertise.[45] In this regard, historian Astrid Swenson's work on "the rise of international heritage" is groundbreaking, as she examines international cooperation and organization of cultural heritage conservation in the 19th and early 20th century. Her study of networks, translation, and institutionalization of heritage conservation shows the connection between 19th and 20th century movements with current international heritage programs.[46]

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[44] On German heritage conservation, see Egon Althaus, *Sicherung und Erhaltung historischer Bauwerke: Denkmalpflegerische Grundsätze und materielle Möglichkeiten* (Berlin: Springer, 2001); Adrian von Buttlar et al., eds., *Denkmalpflege statt Attrappenkult: Gegen die Rekonstruktion von Baudenkmälern – eine Anthologie* (Basel/Berlin/Boston: Birkhäuser, 2011); Georg Dehio and Alois Riegl, *Konservieren, nicht restaurieren: Streitschriften zur Denkmalpflege um 1900*, ed. Marion Wohlleben and Georg Mörsch, Bauwelt Fundamente, 80 (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1988); Michael Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität : zur politischen Geschichte der Denkmalpflege in Deutschland* (Dresden: Thelem, 2008); Michael S Falser, Wilfried Lipp, and Andrzej Tomaszewski, eds., *Conservation and Preservation: Interactions between Theory and Practice: In Memoriam Alois Riegl (1858-1905), Proceedings of the International Conference of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for the Theory and the Philosophy of Conservation and Restoration, 23-27 April 2008 (Vienna, Austria)* (Firenze: Polistampa, 2010); Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jan Friedrich Hanselmann, *Die Denkmalpflege in Deutschland um 1900: zum Wandel der Erhaltungspraxis und ihrer methodischen Konzeption,* Europäische Hochschulschriften (Frankfurt am Main ; New York: P. Lang, 1996); Wilfried Lipp and Michael Petzet, eds., *Vom modernen zum postmodernen Denkmalkultus? Denkmalpflege am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts,* (München: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege: Vertrieb, Karl M. Lipp Verlag, 1994); Georg Lill, ed., *Die Kunstpflege: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Pflege deutscher Architektur und Kunst* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1947); Winfried Speitkamp, *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte: Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871-1933* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

[45] See for example Paul Betts and Corey Ross, eds., *Heritage in the Modern World: Historical Preservation in Global Perspective* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press., 2015); John Delafons, *Politics and Preservation: A Policy History of the Built Heritage, 1882-1996* (London ; New York: E & FN Spon, 1997), Melanie Hall, ed. *Towards World Heritage : International Origins of the Preservation Movement, 1870-1930* (Ashgate, 2011).

[46] See Astrid Swenson, "'Heritage', 'Patrimoine' und 'Kulturerbe': eine vergleichende historische Semantik," in *Prädikat "Heritage": Wertschöpfung aus kulturellen Resourcen*, ed. D. Hemme, M. Tauschek, and R. Bendix (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007), 53–74; Astrid Swenson, "Zwischen Region, Nation und Internationalismus. Kulturerbekonzepte in Frankreich, Deutschland und England um die Jahrhundertwende," in *Im Herzen Europas : nationale Identitäten und Erinnerungskulturen*, ed. D. Altenburg, L. Ehrlich, and J. John (Köln: Böhlau, 2008), 81–103; Astrid Swenson, "The Law's Delay? Preservation Legislation in France, Germany and England, 1870-1914," in *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of the Preservation Movement 1870-1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 139–54; Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Astrid Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," in *Rewriting German History: New Perspectives on Modern Germany*, ed. J. Rüger and N. Wachsmann (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 29–51; Astrid Swenson, "The First Heritage International(s): Conceptualizing Global Networks before UNESCO," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 13, no. 1 (2016), 1–15.

Swenson's work on international heritage conservation inscribes itself in a broader field of studies on internationalism and international organizations in the 19th and early 20th century. The history of the first international organizations offers an important historical and structural background to the emergence of post-WWII international organizations that were built on their ashes. Focusing on organizations ranging from the League of Nations to Freemasons, historians interrogate issues such as labor rights, health, environment, and the organization of international conferences.[47] Inscribed in a colonial context, early international organizations centered around European actors without the aim of global representation. Internationalism added another layer of political belief and action but did not erase these international organizations' national orientation. On the contrary, the national played a central role in the function of early internationalism and continued to do so in post-WWII institutions. [48]

Following WWII, numerous international organizations were created in Western Europe and the US, often based on their predecessors, while communist counterparts also started developing their own.[49]Among these, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO, is the focus of this study. UNESCO was created in London in 1945 before moving its headquarters to Paris the following year. Over the following decades the

[47] See for example Michael Geyer and Johannes Paulmann, eds., *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1880s to the First World War* (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2001); Madeleine Herren, ed., *Networking the International System : Global Histories of International Organizations* (Cham Heidelberg New York: Springer, 2014); Martin Kintzinger et al., eds., *Internationale Organisationen seit 1865: Eine Globalgeschichte der internationalen Ordnung* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2012); Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations: From 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 2009); David Rodogno, Bernhard Struck, and Jakob Vogel, eds., *Shaping the Transnational Sphere. Experts, Networks, and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s* (Oxford; New York, 2014).

[48] For example, see Joerg Fisch, "Internationalizing Civilization by Dissolving International Society. The Status of Non-European Territories in Nineteenth-Century International Law," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1880s to the First World War*, ed. Michael Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2001), 235–57; Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, "Nationalism and the Quest for Moral Universalism. German Freemasonry 1860-1914," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1880s to the First World War*, ed. Michael Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2001), 278–82; Madeleine Herren, "Governmental Internationalism and the Beginning of a New World Order in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *The Mechanics of Internationalism. Culture, Society, and Politics from the 1880s to the First World War*, ed. Michael Geyer and Johannes Paulmann (Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2001).

[49] Historical research takes different approaches to these highly complex institutions, see for example Roland Burke, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights* (Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*, 2004; Sandrine Kott, "International Organizations- A Field of Research for a Global History," *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 8 (2011), 4466–4500; Wilfried Loth, ed., *The Making of Détente: Eastern and Western Europe in the Cold War, 1965 – 75* (London: Routledge, 2008); Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations*; Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, "World Politics: Continuity and Change since 1945," in *Thinking about Global Governance. Why People and Ideas Matter*, ed. Thomas G. Weiss (London: Routledge, 2011), 101–19.

organization became renowned for its missions to further human rights, peace, education, development, and most recently heritage. A General Conference of UNESCO is held bi-yearly and attended by representatives of member states and observers. Each member-state has one vote. The Conference sets the programme, budget, and elects members of the Executive Board. The organization is led by a Director General assisted by a Secretariat who apply UNESCO policies.[50]

UNESCO as a study object has attracted many historians, whose work this dissertation uses as a starting point. Historian Chloe Maurel is a central figure in UNESCO historical studies, as she was the first to offer a detailed source-based retelling of the first thirty years of the institution. Her work offers a compelling narrative which underlines the administrative processes and tensions of the institution. She has also studied specific events and projects, with a particular interest in East-West relations.[51] Maurel's work is part of a growing field interested in studying UNESCO politics as part of the postwar global order. Studies on UNESCO diplomacy during the Cold War and the imbalance of political power that accompanied the decolonization process offer a critical perspective on UNESCO's work.[52]

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[50] See Singh, J. P. *United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Creating Norms for a Complex World* (Routledge, 2011), 37–71.

[51] Chloé Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO: Les Trente Premières Années, 1945-1974* (Paris: Harmattan, 2010) ; Chloé Maurel, "L'Unesco, entre abolition et préservation des frontières culturelles," *Hypothèses* 8, no. 1 (2005), 119–29; Chloé Maurel, "Linguistic Rivalries and Effort of the Promotion of French at the UNESCO of 1945-1970," *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 40–41, no. June-Dec (2008), 77–100; Chloé Maurel, "Le rêve d'un « gouvernement mondial » des années 1920 aux années 1950. L'exemple de l'Unesco," *Histoire@Politique* 10, no. 1 (2010), 9–9; Chloé Maurel, "From the East-West Major Project (1957) to the Convention on Cultural Diversity (2007)," *Eurolimes. Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies Oradea-Debrecen,* 9 (2010), 76; Chloé Maurel, "L'Histoire de l'Humanité de l'UNESCO (1945-2000)," *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences Humaines* 22, no. 1 (2010), 161–98; Chloé Maurel, "L'UNESCO entre européocentrisme et universalisme (1945-1974)," *Les cahiers Irice* 9, no. 1 (2012), 61–72; Chloé Maurel, "L'action de l'Unesco dans le domaine de la reconstruction," *Histoire@Politique* 19, no. 1 (2013), 160–75; Chloé Maurel, "L'histoire générale de l'Afrique de l'Unesco. Un projet de coopération intellectuelle transnationale d'esprit afro-centré (1964-1999)," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 215, no. 3 (2014), 715–37; Maurel, "Jeux d'influence et rivalités internationales au sein de l'UNESCO naissante. Rapport d'un diplomate français à son gouvernement, au sujet de l'UNESCO (fin 1946)," *Parlement[s], Revue d'histoire politique* 29, no. 1 (2019), 211–24; Maurel, "Tensions à l'Unesco autour du centenaire de Lénine. Les enjeux d'une commémoration (1970)," *Relations internationales* 182, no. 2 (2020), 61–79; Chloé Maurel, "Le projet Unesco des « Routes de la Soie » (1988-1997). Entre science, tourisme culturel et politique," *Relations internationales* 186, no. 2 (2021), 115–33.

[52] See for example Poul Duedahl "Changing the Concept of Race: On UNESCO and Cultural Internationalism," in *Global Intellectual History*, 7:4 (2022), 801-821 ; Ilya V. Gaiduk, "L'Union soviétique et l'UNESCO pendant la guerre froide," in *60 ans d'histoire de l'UNESCO : actes du colloque international, Paris, 16-18 novembre 2005*, ed. UNESCO (Paris: UNESCO, 2007), 281–86; Corinne Geering, *Building a Common Past: World Heritage in Russia under Transformation, 1965–2000* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019); Sandrine Kott, *Organiser le monde: Une autre histoire de la guerre froide* (Paris: SEUIL, 2021); John W Morgan. *Cultural Cold Wars and UNESCO in the Twentieth Century* (Routledge, 2025); Louis Porter, "Cold War Internationalisms: The USSR in UNESCO, 1945-1967" (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill University Libraries, 2018); Todd Shepard, "Algeria, France, Mexico, UNESCO. A Transnational History of Anti-Racism and Decolonization, 1932–1962," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011), 273–97; Laura Elizabeth Wong, "Relocating East and West. UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values," *Journal of World History* 19 (2008), 349–74.

Historian Poul Duedahl's recently edited volume *A History of UNESCO* completes Maurel's approach as it focuses less on the centralized general history of the institution and more on the history of specific UNESCO programs in a global perspective.[53] Projects include post-war reconstruction in Japan, the production of textbooks in Mexico, creation of an education system in postcolonial Congo and includes UNESCO's heritage projects. This publication shows that looking closer into the negotiation process behind ambitious UNESCO projects offers a more complex image of the international organization's work than just looking at UNESCO's institutional history.[54] This dissertation aims to add to this effort through the study of the history of West German World Heritage participation.

The World Heritage Program has become the most publicized action of UNESCO today. UNESCO released its World Heritage Convention in 1972 and launched a World Heritage List in 1978. These developments inscribed themselves in a period of "heritage boom" described by David Lowenthal but had a long prehistory at UNESCO.[55] Several historians, have researched the early UNESCO efforts to safeguard monuments in the 1950s and 1960s. [56] The Nubia monuments campaign has been a major focus of historians and archeologists, such as Lynn Meskell and William Carruthers for example.[57] Recent publications by historians Andrea Rehling and Elisa

[53] Poul Duedahl, ed., *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts* (Houndmills, Basingstoke New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Poul Duedahl, "Selling Mankind: UNESCO and the Invention of Global History, 1945-1976," *Journal of World History* 22, no. 1 (March 2011), 101–33.

[54] Other recent studies include Charles Dorn. "A New Global Ethic: A History of the United Nations International Environmental Education Program, 1975-1995." *Foro de Educación*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2020), 83–108. Ray Edmondson et al (eds.) *The UNESCO Memory of the World Programme : Key Aspects and Recent Developments*. (Springer International Publishing, 2020); Aigul Kulnazarova and Poul Duedahl, "UNESCO's Re-Education Activities in Postwar Japan and Germany: Changing Minds and Shifting Attitudes towards Peace and International Understanding." UNESCO Without Borders, eds. Aigul Kulnazarova and Christian Ydesen, vol. 172, Routledge, 2017, 52-74; Maren Elfert, "Six Decades of Educational Multilateralism in a Globalising World: The History of the UNESCO Institute in Hamburg," *International Review of Education*, vol. 59, no. 2 (2013), 263–87.

[55] See David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996) ; Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal, *The Politics of the Past* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[56] On UNESCO heritage conservation efforts and the campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s, see for example Aurelie Elisa Gfeller and Jaci Eisenberg, "UNESCO and the Shaping of Global Heritage," in *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*, Poul Duedahl (Basingstoke UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 279–99; Maurel, "L'action de l'Unesco dans le domaine de la reconstruction"; Chloé Maurel, "Le sauvetage des monuments de Nubie par l'Unesco (1955-1968)," *Égypte/Monde arabe* 10, no. 1 (2013), 255–86; Andrea Rehling, "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit. Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes," *Zeithistorische Forschungen* 8 (2011), 414–36; Benedetta Serapioni, "Reflecting on Diplomacy of Culture: UNESCO's First Mission to the Holy Land, 1957–1960," *Jerusalem Quarterly*, no. 71 (2017), 132–42.

[57] Paul Betts, "The Warden of World Heritage: UNESCO and the Rescue of the Nubian Monuments," in *Heritage in the Modern World : Historical Preservation in Global Perspective*, Corey Ross and Paul Betts eds. (Oxford, 2015), 100–125 ; William Carruthers, *Flooded Pasts: UNESCO, Nubia, and the Recolonization of Archaeology* (Cornell

Gfeller are particularly useful to this study because of their historical approach to UNESCO World Heritage through archival sources.[58]

Histories of the World Heritage Program at UNESCO are often produced by members of the organization. Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, both major figures of the UNESCO World Heritage Center, retrace the history of the creation of World Heritage through its actors in their book *Many Voices, One Vision*. Their access to internal UNESCO proceedings allowed them to carry out interviews with many central actors of the early World Heritage Program, that are invaluable to researchers today.[59] Recently, Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel, current chief of the Europe and North America Unit at the World Heritage Centre, published a volume on the history of World Heritage from 1945 to 1992 titled *La fabrique du patrimoine de l'humanité* .[60] Anatole-Gabriel widens the reach of her research by including four case studies - Cairo, Teotihuacán, Ellis and Liberty Islands and Angkor. This allows her to include discussions on the making of meanings and cultural politics both at UNESCO and on a local level. This dissertation similarly aims to bring together the local and international realms but only presents one in-depth case study: the Aachen Cathedral World Heritage site.

University Press, 2022); Christina Luke and Lynn Meskell, "New Deals for the Past: The Cold War, American Archaeology, and UNESCO in Egypt and Syria." *History and Anthropology*, vol. 34, no. 2 (2023), 194–214.

[58] See Aurelie Elisa Gfeller, "Preserving Cultural Heritage across the Iron Curtain: The International Council on Monuments and Sites from Venice to Warsaw, 1964–1978," in *Geteilt – Vereint! Denkmalpflege in Mitteleuropa Zur Zeit Des Eisernen Vorhangs Und Heute*, Ursula Schädler-Saub and Angela Weyer eds. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 115–21; Gfeller and Eisenberg, "UNESCO and the Shaping of Global Heritage"; Aurélie Élisa Gfeller, "The Authenticity of Heritage: Global Norm-Making at the Crossroads of Cultures," *The American Historical Review* 122, no. 3 (June 1, 2017), 758–91; Rehling, "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit. Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes"; Andrea Rehling, "UNESCO World Heritage and Global Publics between 'Mankind', Global Minds, and World Opinion," in *Global Publics: Their Power and Their Limits, 1870-1990*, ed. Edited by Valeska Huber and Jürgen Osterhammel, Studies of the German Historical Institute, London (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 285–312.

[59] Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, *Many Voices, One Vision: The Early Years of the World Heritage Convention* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).
See also Christina Cameron, "From Warsaw to Mostar: The World Heritage Committee and Authenticity," *APT Bulletin* 39, no. 2/3 (2008), 19–24; Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "The Shift towards Conservation: Early History of the 1972 World Heritage Convention and Global Heritage Conservation," in *Understanding Heritage*, vol. 1 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013), 69–76; Mechtild Rössler, "Weltkulturerbe und Globalisierung : Vom Weltwunder zum Erbe der Menschheit," in *Welt-Räume : Geschichte, Geographie und Globalisierung seit 1900*, Iris Schröder and Sabine Höhler eds. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2005), 235–57; Mechtild Rössler, "World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A UNESCO Flagship Programme 1992 – 2006," *Landscape Research* 31, no. 4 (October 1, 2006), 333–53; Mechtild Rössler, "The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 4–5 (July 1, 2010), 369–70.

[60] Isabelle Anatole-Gabriel Vinson, *La fabrique du patrimoine de l'humanité: l'Unesco et la protection patrimoniale, 1945-1992.* (Paris, France: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016).

Micro-level studies on specific World Heritage sites inform this case study. They allow the underscoring of the World Heritage Program's local context, one that is often occluded in studies focusing on the institution UNESCO in Paris. The approach of micro-level studies varies from site to site; however, most focus on site management, community engagement, urbanism, and local political conflicts.[61] Art historian Michael Fraser, also involved at UNESCO, has published numerous pieces on the World Heritage site of Angkor-Wat in Thailand, for example.[62] Using the Aachen Cathedral World Heritage Site as the starting point, this dissertation interweaves local, national, and international contexts. The "glocal" Aachen Cathedral site illustrates the multilayered influences involved in the making of the UNESCO World Heritage List.[63] Anthropologist Chiara de Cesari has shown, for example, non-state actors' role in shaping heritage practice and discourse, especially in the case of state failures.[64] These in-depth studies on one specific site reveal the different actors and power dynamics involved in the inscription and management of a single site and how these might diverge from the image UNESCO usually projects.

Experts are involved at all levels of UNESCO World Heritage. These heritage practitioners, mostly designated by the state, are defined by UNESCO as "those who are actively engaged in activities relating to heritage, for example academics, site managers etc."[65] The main experts in this dissertation are German heritage conservation practitioners, an overwhelmingly older, white, male demographic hailing from the traditionally catholic southwestern regions of West Germany.[66] Some experts involved in World Heritage have produced critical publications on their own work at UNESCO. Anthropologist Christoph Brumann, for example, analyzes personal experience at

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[61] David Berliner and Manon Istasse, "Les hyper-lieux du patrimoine mondial," *Gradhiva*, no. 18 (2013), 124–45; Christoph Brumann and David Berliner, *World Heritage on the Ground: Ethnographic Perspectives*, 2016.

[62] Michael Falser, ed., *Cultural Heritage as Civilizing Mission: From Decay to Recovery: Proceedings of the 2nd International Workshop on Cultural Heritage and the Temples of Angkor* (Chair of Global Art History, Heidelberg University, 8-10 May 2011), (Cham Heidelberg New York: Springer, 2015); *Michael Falser, Angkor Wat: A Transcultural History of Heritage* (Berlin: De Gruyter., 2020); Michael Falser, *Angkor in Cambodia : From Jungle Find to Global Icon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

[63] Victor Roudometof, "The Glocal and Global Studies," *Globalizations* 12, no. 5 (September 3, 2015), 774–87.

[64] Chiara De Cesari, "Heritage beyond the Nation-State?: Nongovernmental Organizations, Changing Cultural Policies, and the Discourse of Heritage as Development." In *Current Anthropology* 61:1 (2020). 30–56.

[65] See UNESCO glossary "Heritage Practitioners." UNESCO World Heritage Center. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/glossary/256

For a more thorough definition of experts in international organizations, see Annabelle Littoz-Monnet, "Experts." *The Oxford Handbook of International Political Sociology*, Oxford University Press, (2025). Accessed August 18th, 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198854708.013.40.

[66] Sophia Labadi has looked at gender imbalance in World Heritage. See Sophia Labadi, "World Heritage and Gender Equality," in *World Heritage and Sustainable Development,* Peter Bille Larsen and William Logan eds. (Routledge, 2018), 87–100.

UNESCO through an anthropological lens, to offer a compelling image of the actors, structures, and power dynamics at work in the UNESCO World Heritage program.[67] Such publications can be used both as source material and scholarly literature. Similarly, Luke James, once an Australian expert representative at UNESCO, recently published a book on the politicization of experts in the UNESCO World Heritage arena. James describes UNESCO World Heritage as a "Faustian bind" between protection and prestige in which experts act as "burnishers, brokers and beneficiaries."[68] Recognizing the multiplicity of roles played by experts within international organizations allows to interrogate their actions and motivations within the UNESCO World Heritage Program.

Certain research topics on World Heritage, such as tourism, have gained special traction in heritage research in the last decades.[69] Among those, the issue of sacral sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List is of special interest to this dissertation as it showcases the specific challenges faced by living religious sites such as the Aachen Cathedral. Religious studies scholar Clizia Franceschini recently published a book titled *UNESCO, Religious Cultural Heritage and Political Contestation,* which thematizes the specificity of tangible and intangible religious heritage in UNESCO World heritage. She points out the specific combination of cultural and spiritual values found at sacral sites and the challenges such objects face in World Heritage. She then discusses the conjunction of political and religious, through the example of three contested sites: Hebron, a

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[67] See Christoph Brumann, "Unser Aller Kulturgut: Eine Ethnologische Annäherung an Das UNESCO-Welterbe," *Sociologus Sociologus* 61, no. 1 (2011), 19–43; Christoph Brumann, *Multilateral Ethnography : Entering the World Heritage Arena* (Halle/Saale: Max Planck Inst. for Social Anthroplogy, 2012); Christoph Brumann, "Shifting Tides of World-Making in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: Cosmopolitanisms Colliding," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, no. 12 (October 15, 2014), 2176–92; Christoph Brumann, *The Best We Share: Nation, Culture and World-Making in the UNESCO World Heritage Arena* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2021).
See also Enrico Bertacchini et al., "The Politicization of UNESCO World Heritage Decision Making," *Public Choice Public Choice* 167, no. 1–2 (2016), 95–129; Enrico Bertacchini, Claudia Liuzza, and Lynn Meskell, "Shifting the Balance of Power in the UNESCO World Heritage Committee: An Empirical Assessment," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23, no. 3 (May 4, 2017), 331–51; Lynn Meskell, "States of Conservation: Protection, Politics, and Pacting within UNESCO's World Heritage Committee," *Anthropological Quarterly* 87, no. 1 (2014), 217–43; Lynn Meskell, "Transacting UNESCO World Heritage: Gifts and Exchanges on a Global Stage," *SOCA Social Anthropology* 23, no. 1 (2015), 3–21; Lynn Meskell, "Gridlock: UNESCO, Global Conflict and Failed Ambitions," *World Archaeology* 47, no. 2 (March 15, 2015), 225–38; Lynn Meskell et al., "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: Decision-Making, States Parties and Political Processes," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 5 (May 28, 2015), 423–40; Marie-Theres Albert and Birgitta Ringbeck, *40 Years World Heritage Convention: Popularizing the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage.* (Berlin ; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).

[68] Luke James, *Experts in the World Heritage Regime: Between Protection and Prestige* (Springer Nature Switzerland, 2024), 18f.

[69] See for example Laurent Bourdeau, Maria Gravari-Barbas, Mike Robinson (eds.), *World Heritage Sites and Tourism: Global and Local Relations*. (Routledge, 2016); Michael A. Di Giovine, *The Heritage-Scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism, (*Lexington Books, 2009); Takamitsu Jimura, *World Heritage Sites: Tourism, Local Communities and Conservation Activities* (CABI, 2019); Michael Stausberg, *Religion and Tourism:Crossroads, Destinations and Encounters* (London: Routledge, 2011).

monument series in Kosovo and Preah Vihear in Cambodia.[70] Sacred and secular views of a religious site can combine or clash depending on the context. Certain rituals such as pilgrimages are moments of heightened tensions. [71] Although the Aachen Cathedral case is less contested than the sites used by Franceschini, the intermeshed political and religious values of sacred heritage sites are an important aspect of this study.

Through its structure, the UNESCO World Heritage Program is inherently national, as Gregor J. Ashworth confirmed when he wrote: "the rhetoric is global: the practice is national." [72] Recently national level studies have grown in the World Heritage study field. Historians Corinne Geering and Marie Huber have offered compelling longue durée studies centered on national participation of the USSR and Ethiopia respectively at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.[73] One recent German-speaking publication on UNESCO World Heritage by Constanze Metzger, focuses on the German participation in the Convention and List. In this study, Metzger takes the transnational cultural diplomacy of Germany at UNESCO as a starting point to examine the history of the creation of the World Heritage Convention and List. [74] With its study of FRG participation in international heritage, through the prism of European heritage, this dissertation contributes to a growing understanding of what remains one of the strongest political forces in UNESCO World Heritage: nation-states.

Since its inception, the World Heritage Convention and List has grappled with accusations of Eurocentricity. In 1999, a report of the World Commission on Culture and Development

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[70] Clizia Franceschini, *UNESCO, Religious Cultural Heritage and Political Contestation: Conflict of Values or Values in Conflict?* (Springer, 2024).

[71] Ernst van Den Hemel, Oscar Salemink, and Irene Stengs (eds.), *Managing Sacralities: Competing and Converging Claims of Religious Heritage* (Berghahn, New-York, 2022).

For case studies on sacral sites, see for example G. Alexopoulos, "Management of Living Religious Heritage: Who Sets the Agenda? The Case of the Monastic Community of Mount Athos," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 15, no. 1 (2013), 59–75; Mark Patrick McGuire, "What's at Stake in Designating Japan's Sacred Mountains as UNESCO World Heritage Sites? Shugendo Practices in the Kii Peninsula." In *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 40, no. 2, (2013), 323–54; Clara Rellensmann, *Appropriating Sacred Spaces: Heritage Politics in Myanmar,* (Springer, 2024).

[72] Gregory J. Ashworth and Bart J.M. van der Aa, "Strategy and Policy for the World Heritage Convention: Goals, Practices and Future Solutions," in *Managing World Heritage Sites*, ed. A. Leask and A. Fyall (London: Elsevier, 2006), 148.

Found in Bruno S. Frey and Lasse Steiner, "World Heritage List: Does It Make Sense?," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 17, no. 5 (November 1, 2011), 555–73.

[73] See for example Geering, *Building a Common Past*, 2019; Marie Huber, *Developing Heritage – Developing Countries: Ethiopian Nation-Building and the Origins of UNESCO World Heritage, 1960–1980*, (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020).

[74] Constanze Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen : Deutschlands transnationale Kulturpolitik zur Welterbekonvention der UNESCO*, Springer (Wiesbaden, 2023).

described the UNESCO World Heritage List as "conceived, supported and nurtured by the industrially developed societies, reflecting concern for a type of heritage that was highly valued in those countries."[75] Archeologist Lynn Meskell has further argued, that the categories and criteria of UNESCO World Heritage advantage Western member-states over other member states during the nomination and inscription process.[76] Through its focus on experts as bridges between UNESCO and the Council of Europe, this dissertation reexamines and reaffirms these claims. The provincialization of Europe that accompanied this process is a starting point of this study.[77] West German participation on the World Heritage List in the 1970s and 80s, showcases how western European actors at UNESCO tried to redefine their place in this changing balance of global powers between this East-West divide and the wake of a postcolonial order. It draws a dynamic image of a "western Europe" whose self-understanding in the world was in constant renegotiation.

UNESCO has been trying to rectify its European bias since the 1990s. The first major step was the addition of the Cultural Landscapes site category, followed shortly after by the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity. Christoph Brumann and Aurelie Gfeller have shown in their recent work on cultural landscapes how European actors coopted this initiative meant to diversify the list and profited the most from the changes put in place at the Committee.[78] Debates on authenticity of heritage at UNESCO have been discussed by UNESCO experts Christina Cameron, Aurelie Gfeller and Michael Falser.[79] The debates ultimately resulted in the release of a separate UNESCO

[75] Frey and Steiner, "World Heritage List," 563–65.
See also Marie-Theres Albert and Birgitta Ringbeck, *40 Jahre Welterbekonvention: Zur Popularisierung eines Schutzkonzeptes für Kultur- und Naturgüter*, (De Gruyter, 2015); Bruno S Frey and Paolo Pamini, "Making World Heritage Truly Global: The Culture Certificate Scheme," *OES Oxonomics* 4, no. 2 (2009), 1–9; Tim Winter, "Beyond Eurocentrism? Heritage Conservation and the Politics of Difference," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, no. 2 (February 17, 2014), 123–37.

[76] "Within the discourse of global heritage there is little room for specific cultural, political or religious positions that divert from Western, secularist viewpoints." Lynn Meskell, "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archeology," *Anthropological Quarterly* 75 (2002), 564.
See also Lynn Meskell, *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Lynn Meskell et al. "Multilateralism and UNESCO World Heritage: Decision-Making, States Parties and Political Processes." In *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, vol. 21, no. 5 (2015), 423–40.

[77] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton University Press, 2007).

[78] Christoph Brumann and Aurélie Élisa Gfeller, "Cultural Landscapes and the UNESCO World Heritage List: Perpetuating European Dominance." In *International Journal of Heritage Studies,* vol. 28, no. 2 (2022), 147–62.
See also Kristal Buckley, "Thirty Years of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Critical Review." In *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Landscape Heritage in The Asia-Pacific*, Kapila D. Silva, Ken Taylor, David S. Jones eds. (Routledge, 2023), 60–77.

[79] See Cameron, "From Warsaw to Mostar"; Gfeller, "The Authenticity of Heritage"; Michael S. Falser, "Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 – 30 Jahre »Authentizität« im Namen des kulturellen

Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. The UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List was launched in 2008 and grew exponentially. Although it is not as Europe-focused as its 1978 counterpart, the list faces its own challenges of representation.[80] The World Heritage Program still faces difficulties today. Heritage scholar Sophia Labadi, among others, has relentlessly studied these shortcomings in the 21st century, specifically in questions of development, social justice, gender and urban heritage.[81] This dissertation uses the studies on eurocentrism at UNESCO to shift the perspective to UNESCO's role in the construction of a European Heritage between the 1960s and 1980s.

Like the World Heritage concept, European Heritage was a political construction of the second half of the 20th century. Although rarely a part of Europeanization studies, UNESCO played a central role in European cultural politics. Iris Schroeder has convincingly presented UNESCO headquarters in Paris as a European *lieu de memoire*.[82] While European heritage ideas and sites permeated UNESCO's World Heritage program from the start, the UNESCO List has since its creation become a major tool of advertisement for European heritage, over the still little-known European Heritage Label launched by the European Union (EU) in 2013.[83]

European-level heritage conservation involves multiple institutions whose control shifted over time. While today the EU controls most heritage actions, in the 1960s and 70s, the Council of Europe was the main organization tasked with developing European heritage and European cultural policies more broadly. Created in 1949, the Council of Europe established its headquarters in Strasbourg. The organization is not to be confused with the institutions of the European

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Erbes der Welt," *Kunstgeschichte*, May 6, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/121.

[80] See UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage List: UNESCO, "UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices," UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists.

[81] See Sophia Labadi and Colin Long (eds.), *Heritage and Globalisation*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010); Sophia Labadi and William Logan (eds.), *Urban Heritage, Development and Sustainability: International Frameworks, National and Local Governance* (Routledge, 2016) ; Sophia Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value : Value-Based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions (*AltaMira Press, 2013) ; Sophia Labadi, *Rethinking Heritage for Sustainable Development* (UCL Press, 2022) ; Sophia Labadi, "A Review of the Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List 1994-2004." In *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 7, no. 2, (2005), 89–102.

[82] Iris Schröder, "Die UNESCO und das Welterbe als künftiger europäischer Erinnerungsort," in *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 3 - Europa und die Welt*, ed. Pim den Boer et al. (München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 281–88 ; Iris Schröder, "Der Beton, die Stadt, die Kunst und die Welt. Der Streit um die Pariser UNESCO-Gebäude," *Zeithistorische Forschungen/Studies in Contemporary History* 7, no. 1 (2010), 7–29.

[83] European Commission, "European Heritage Label Sites." Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://culture.ec.europa.eu/node/237; Tuuli Lähdesmäki et al., *Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union: The European Heritage Label* (London ; NY: Routlege, 2020).

Community (EC) and later European Union; its membership and leadership is independent of both the EC and the EU. The CoE shared interests and communicated with UNESCO on education, science, human rights, democracy, and culture, but its influence was mostly limited to western Europe. Following the release of the 1954 European Cultural Convention and the creation of a Council for Cultural Co-operation in 1961, the organization launched expert discussions on architectural heritage conservation and participated in select UNESCO Campaigns in the 1960s. In the following decade, the CoE launched a major action, the 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage, which was accompanied by the release of the Amsterdam Charta. Although some of its responsibilities were transferred to Brussels in the 1980s, the organization remains in constant dialogue and competition with the EU to this day.[84]

Similarly to UNESCO, research on the Council of Europe and its heritage actions tend to consist of internal publications from experts involved in the organization. This is exacerbated by limited access to the CoE archives. One recent publication has been especially helpful to understand the history of the 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage: the 2015 publication titled *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*́ directed by heritage historians Michael Falser and Wilfrid Lipp.[85] This German-speaking initiative includes several articles that help reconstruct the specific German context of the 1975 CoE Year. Architect Maren Fürniß' article stands out because of its compelling retelling of the year through its major events, program and the actors involved in the planning in the FRG.[86] This publication serves as a primary source as well, since many contributors also took part in the CoE Year in 1975. Falser, who is also a German expert at UNESCO, embodies the interconnection of UNESCO and European heritage initiatives.

Historian Oriane Calligaro has studied European cultural politics extensively, with a special focus on heritage and memory politics. She has shown the tension that arose in cultural

[84] See Martyn Bond, *The Council of Europe: Structure, History and Issues in European Politics* (London: Routledge, 2013); Marina Kolb, *The European Union and the Council of Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) ; José María Ballester, ed., *The Council of Europe and Cultural Heritage 1954-2000: Intergovernmental Work, Basic Texts* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2001).

[85] Michael S. Falser and Wilfried Lipp, eds., *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*́(Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015).

[86] Maren Fürniß, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*́, eds. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 73–85.

politics between the EU and the Council of Europe at the end of the twentieth century.[87] Her article *The True Euresco,* authored with historian Kiran Patel, a major figure of European cultural politics studies, interrogates the Council of Europe's interconnection with other international organizations, most prominently UNESCO, through the prism of heritage conservation and the 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage.[88] This dissertation takes a similar approach but broadens the research by focusing on European heritage at UNESCO.

Starting in the 1990s, European heritage politics at the Council of Europe and later the European Union led to several new initiatives, such as the yearly European Heritage Day inspired by its French counterpart. These actions culminated in the creation of the Europea Heritage Label in 2013 and the organization of a new European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 spearheaded by Germany.[89] EU heritage diplomacy in the 21st century has been the object of a multiyear research project led by art historian Tuuli Lähdesmäki. The multiple publications produced by the project since 2021 cover a wide range of subjects on European heritage and European institutions within the framework of critical heritage studies, such as discussions on Dissonant Heritages and Memories in Europe.[90] One publication by Lähdesmäki is of particular interest to this dissertation as it addresses the place of Christian heritage in European heritage diplomacy. In the article, Lähdesmäki stresses how earlier European heritage initiatives around Christian heritage aimed at

[87] Oriane Calligaro, "Quelle(s) culture(s) pour l'Europe ? Les visions contrastées du Conseil de l'Europe et de l'Union européenne de 1949 à nos jours," *Politique européenne* 56, no. 2 (2017), 30–53; Oriane Calligaro and François Foret, "La mémoire européenne en action. Acteurs, enjeux et modalités de la mobilisation du passé comme ressource politique pour l'Union européenne," *Politique européenne* 37, no. 2 (2012), 18–43 ; Calligaro, *Negotiating Europe. EU Promotion of Europeanness since the 1950s*, First edition. (New York: Springer, 2013) ; Oriane Calligaro, "From 'European cultural heritage' to 'cultural diversity'? The changing core values of European cultural policy," *Politique européenne* 45, no. 3 (2014), 60–85 ; Oriane Calligaro, "La politique européenne de la culture. Entre paradigme économique et rhétorique de l'exception," *Politique européenne* 56, no. 2 (2017), 8–28.

[88] Kiran Klaus Patel and Oriane Calligaro, "The True 'EURESCO'? The Council of Europe, Transnational Networking and the Emergence of European Community Cultural Policies, 1970–90," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 24, no. 3 (May 4, 2017), 399–422.

[89] On the current European framework for cultural heritage, see European Commission: Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, *European framework for action on cultural heritage*, Publications Office, 2019. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2766/949707.

[90] EU Heritage Diplomacy and the Dynamics of Inter-Heritage Dialogue (HERIDI). See Tuuli Lähdesmäki et al. (eds.), *Dissonant Heritages and Memories in Contemporary Europe* (Springer Nature, 2019) ; Tuuli Lähdesmäki,et al. (eds.) *Politics of Scale: New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies* (Berghahn, 2019). Tuuli Lähdesmäki et al. (eds.), *Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union*; Tuuli Lähdesmäki et al. (eds.), *Heritage Diplomacy: Discourses, Imaginaries and Practices of Heritage and Power* (Routledge, 2024).

unifying Europe, have had the unintended consequence of strengthening current extreme right-wing views of European culture as inherently Christian. [91]

Making the *Pater Europae* in Postwar Aachen: Heritage Meets West German Cultural Politics

In 2015, historian Marnix Beyen introduced the concept of the "Triangular Relationship" of memory in the edited volume *Local Memories in a Nationalizing and Globalizing World*. Beyen presents memory as negotiation in a triangular relationship between the local, national, and transnational realms. He warns against the trope of "interpreting the evolution of memory merely through the lens of modernization, according to which the local would have been gradually transcended by the national, which itself would afterwards be replaced by more globalizing or at least transnational patterns."[92] In this study of the Aachen Cathedral as a site of Charlemagne's memory, Beyen's approach allows for the retention of intricate national and international connections without forgoing the continuous role of local agency in the ascription of meaning to the site. The Aachen Cathedral further provides a case for what Beyen calls "local appropriation of and resistance to both the nationalizing and globalizing tendencies of memory-construction."[93]

This dissertation analyzes the history of the Aachen Cathedral World Heritage site by using Beyen's "triangular relationship" in interaction with several additional concepts. The first half of the dissertation, a micro-study of the Aachen Cathedral site in its local context, relies heavily on the concepts of "Authorized Heritage Discourse," a local Europe, and a European *lieu de memoire*.[94] The second half of the work resituates the World Heritage site in its international context and studies West German participation in the heritage projects of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. In this macro-level institutional history, West German multilateralism, heritage diplomacy, interorganizational transfers, and expertise drive the interpretation of the sources.[95]

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[91] Tuuli Lähdesmäki, "The Role of Christianity in the European Union's Heritage and History Initiatives." In *Journal of European Studies*, vol. 52, no. 3–4 (2022)170–86.

[92] Beyen, "Introduction: Local, National, Transnational Memories: A Triangular Relationship," in *Local Memories in a Nationalizing and Globalizing World*, ed. Marnix Beyen and Brecht Deseure (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 6.

[93] Beyen, 6.

[94] See Heinz Duchhardt. "Europäische Gedächtnisorte" in *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte*. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill | Schöningh, 2014), 63–68 ; Reinhard Johler, "Local Europe. The Production of Cultural Heritage and the Europeanisation of Places." *Ethnologia Europaea*, vol. 32, no. 2 (2002), 7–18; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2006).

[95] See Dominique Herbet et al. (eds), *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue* (Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2016) ; Wolfram Kaiser and Kiran Klaus Patel, "Multiple Connections in European Co-Operation:

Authorized Heritage Discourse meets Charlemagne Memory in Postwar Aachen

Heritage scholar Laurajane Smith detaches heritage sites from their traditional presentation as inanimate objects and presents them as the result of a discursive process, arguing that the meanings ascribed to the site are constructed and change over time.[96] Heritage scholars Watson and Waterton have explained Smith's "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD) as follows:

> Heritage is thus more than a collection of objects or a set of aesthetic judgements; it is a discursive process within which an authorized version of the past emerges (….) This discourse is authenticated by the very objects it venerates, and its dominance is underwritten by the powerful and mediating institutions of the state, and by culturally conditioned deference to professional expertise.[97]

The Aachen Cathedral and its Charlemagne relics were integral parts of the local political-cultural process that redefined Charlemagne memory in the second half of the 20th century. Viewed from the lens of the linguistic turn, where language does not refer to things but signifies them through human agency, the notion of an Authorized Heritage Discourse suggests that the object of study, the heritage site Aachen Cathedral, is a narrative that needs to be analyzed. In an article on the linguistic dimension of heritage construction, heritage and tourism scholar Mathieu Dormaels states:

> Understanding heritage phenomena thus depends not merely on their utterance and the mastery of their language production, but also on knowledge of the social, cultural, and historical context of this (language-based) production. [98]

This dissertation interrogates the meanings ascribed to the site and analyzes the cultural-historical context behind their discursive elements to show how they transformed the Aachen Cathedral into a European *lieu de memoire.*[99]

International Organizations, Policy Ideas, Practices and Transfers 1967–92," *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire* 24, no. 3 (May 4, 2017), 337–57 ; Annabelle Littoz-Monnet (ed.), *The Politics of Expertise in International Organizations : How International Bureaucracies Produce and Mobilize Knowledge,* Routledge (London, 2017) ; Tim Winter, "Heritage Diplomacy: Entangled Materialities of International Relations." In *Future Anterior*, vol. 13, no.1(2016), 17–34.

[96] See Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

[97] Emma Waterton and Steven Watson, "Introduction: A Visual Heritage," in *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*, ed. Emma Waterton and Steven Watson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 3.

[98] Mathieu Dormaels, "The Concept behind the Word: Translation Issues in Definitions of Heritage," in *Understanding Heritage: Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, ed. Marie-Theres Albert, Roland Bernecker, and Britta Rudolff, Heritage Studies 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 108–9.
See also Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

[99] The dissertation uses *Diskursanalyse*. See for example Niels Akerstrøm Andersen, *Discursive Analytical Strategies : Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann* (Bristol : The Policy Press, 2003); Marian Füssel and Tim Neu, "Diskursforschung in der Geschichtswissenschaft," in *Diskursforschung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Johannes Angermuller et al. (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2014), 145–61; Richard C. M. Mole, *Discursive Constructions of Identity in European Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

As the city's most ancient and imposing buildings, the Maria Church and Aula Regia (now Aachen City Hall) have shaped the city since the Middle Ages. In their study on heritage and public memory, heritage scholars Tim Benton and Clementine Cecil explain how a community can develop a memory around a space, despite having no direct personal experience of that memory:

> But a place where memories have been rehearsed (…) can also prompt the recall of these memories. Monuments and heritage sites can work in this way as memory prompts. Similarly, places and things associated with events of which we have no direct experience can come to prompt powerful personal memories composed in part of stories (or history) we have learned but moralized and internalized by the imagination as if part of our own experience.[100]

The Aachen Cathedral is over 1200 years old but remains an active space of rehearsed collective memory through a multiplicity of repeated events associating Charlemagne memory with the site of the ancient Carolingian palace. The ancient Carolingian palace site marks the geographical center of Aachen's urban organization. The spaces surrounding the palace are at the core of the city's social and political life, used for assemblies, markets, and religious festivities. These lived experiences and embodied practices give the Aachen Cathedral an exceptional status in local imaginations.[101]

The materiality of heritage thus comes into focus in this study and particularly the question of its relation to memory.[102] In a study on museum objects, art historian Annie Coombes argues that a "cultural object can never be an empty vessel waiting to be filled with meaning but rather is a depository replete with meanings that are never immanent but contingent."[103] In Aachen, the material relics used for European narratives by local, national, and international elites were not empty voids. Over the centuries, the cathedral and its treasury were constantly filled with meanings that layered and evolved with time. They thus played the role of traditional religious relics for

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[100] Tim Benton and Clementine Cecil, "Heritage and Public Memory," in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*, ed. Tim Benton (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2010), 23.

[101] "More materialist conceptions of place as locale within history and geography speak to the constitutive making of place as a consequence not just of emotional attachments in and to a setting, but because of the importance of the lived experiences and embodied practices there, and not somewhere else." Charles W.J. Withers, "Place and the 'Spatial Turn' in Geography and in History," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 4 (October 2009), 658.
The spatial turn has identified space as a social construct. Henri Lefebvre presented the process of production of space as being the result of the interaction of 'social practice', 'representations of space' and 'representational space', see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Malden (USA), Oxford (UK): Blackwell Publishing, 1991).

[102] The Material Turn in international history often focuses on mobile materiality and economic exchanges, circulation of goods, collection and knowledge, See Giorgio Riello, "The 'Material Turn' in World and Global History." In: *Journal of World History*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2022), 193–232.

[103] Annie E. Coombes, "The recalcitrant object: culture contact and the question of hybridity," in *Colonial discourse / postcolonial theory,* eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme and Margaret Iverson (Manchester University Press, 1996), 92.

Charlemagne: extending the presence and memory of the dead, as well as enriching them with new meanings. [104]

Rituals conferred special significance on the buildings of the ancient palace, especially the Church of Aachen. They were an integral part of the "process of heritage" described by heritage scholar David Crouch in his reflections on the link between performance and heritage:

> Heritage becomes signified; produced and constituted in cultural contexts; communicated in cultural mediation; consumed, further reified, and 'held onto' as a sense of belonging. Heritage is, by such means, ritualized in cultural practice, inscribing a particular world view that is circulated in mediated popular culture. [105]

Here, Crouch expands on the constructive idea of heritage coined by Laurajane Smith. In the city of Aachen, the ancient palace and the Maria Church were, and still remain, at the center of social, cultural, and political activity. The process of production of the heritage site Aachen Cathedral started in the Middle Ages and is still evolving. Using the premise of Crouch and Smith's insights, this dissertation shows how political, cultural, and religious performance and discourse recreated this sense of belonging around the Aachen Cathedral as a heritage site after World War II by producing new European meanings associated with the same Carolingian space.

The dissertation underlines the central role of Aachen's political, religious, and intellectual elites in the construction of European narratives surrounding material relics of Charlemagne and the Aachen Cathedral in the second half of the 20th century. The influence of elites in the adoption of these narratives, however, needs to be somewhat downplayed. Marnix Beyen in his book *Local Memories in a Nationalizing and Globalizing World*, convincingly argues against the notion that elites are the sole actors shaping the imagination surrounding a heritage site:

> People so it suggests, identify with other people not simply because they are told to do so by intellectuals and political leaders, but also because they simply live in the same spaces, and share—at least partly—the same spatial and material frames of references…. Because of its materiality and its sheer presence, the local mnemonic framework cannot simply be downsized by memories which are constructed at a higher level. Rather, it serves as the context in which these larger memories are articulated. [106]

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[104] David Bouvier explains "La relique prolonge la présence et le souvenir du mort et les enrichit parfois d'une efficacité nouvelle. " David Bouvier, "Reliques héroïques en Grèce archaïque : l'exemple de la lance d'Achille," in *Les objets de la memoire: Pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte*, ed. Philippe Borgeaud and Youri Volokhine (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 73.

[105] Crouch states that the process of heritage can be reconstructed "through an engagement with performance and performativity." David Crouch, "The Perpetual Performance and the Emergence of Heritage," in *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*, ed. Emma Waterton and Steven Watson, Reprint, Heritage, Culture and Identity (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 57–58.

[106] Marnix Beyen, "Introduction: Local, National, Transnational Memories: A Triangular Relationship, 7–9.

In Aachen, the space of the ancient Carolingian palace serves as a memory prompt. Local acceptance of these evolving narratives relies on the visual and social markers of the site visible in everyday life in Aachen.

On the receiving end of the narratives surrounding the Aachen Cathedral site in the second half of the 20th century were local inhabitants, the German public, and even the international realm. The cathedral was and remains a major tourist attraction in the region. The visitor needs signifiers—visual, performative, or written messages that offer a narrative of that space. Watson has described the interrelation of tourism and cultural production in his study on heritage and tourism in Rhodes:

> Heritage is thus produced within dynamic process of cultural production that select and present objects and embed them in the representational practices associated with tourism. As heritage attractions they in turn become the very media through which culturally important values are displayed and consumed, especially where these are associated with nation building and identity.[107]

The Aachen Cathedral site thus becomes the media that transmits local cultural narratives, not only to its inhabitants but also to visitors, be they politicians, representatives of the press, or regular tourists. The recent addition of a European *Charlemagne Route* and a *Centre Charlemagne* in the space of the ancient Carolingian palace embodies the continuity of the local effort for representation through a European Charlemagne and reinforces the transmission of these meanings to visitors of the historic center of Aachen.[108]

The Search for European Roots in Postwar West Germany

The 1978 "commitment to European union"[109] found in the Aachen Cathedral nomination file to the UNESCO World Heritage List reflected contemporary political narratives in and on

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Silberman also states: "This sense of identity and community cannot be imposed through outside instruction, nor can a body of value-neutral facts, dates and figures, conveyed by a specialized interpreter provoke and inspire visitors or local residents to see heritage sites as "vessels of value" and that are more than just statically conserved relics." Neil A. Silberman, "Heritage Interpretation as Public Discourse: Towards a New Paradigm," in *Understanding Heritage: Perspectives in Heritage Studies*, ed. Marie-Theres Albert, Roland Bernecker, and Britta Rudolff (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 30.
On Memory and Heritage see also Robert Belot, *Memory and Heritage as Geopolitical Actors and Markers*. (Nomos KG, 2024).

[107] Steve Watson, "Constructing Rhodes: Heritage Tourism and Visuality," in *Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past*, ed. Emma Waterton and Steven Watson, Reprint, Heritage, Culture and Identity (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 249.

[108] "Centre Charlemagne. Neues Stadtmuseum Aachen. Startseite," Centre Charlemagne. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://centre-charlemagne.eu/; "Route Charlemagne Aachen," Route Charlemagne, Aachen. Accessed December 15, 2022, https://www.route-charlemagne.eu/Startseite/index.html.

[109] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File." (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

Aachen as well as a wider West German search for historical roots in the context of European construction. This dissertation offers a constructive perspective on the use of material culture and medieval history for the making of European identity in the second half of the 20th century from a West German perspective.

Historiography situates the beginning of a search for European identity in the 19th century parallel to the making of national identities.[110] In the second half of the twentieth century, the preoccupation with European identity mirrored the search for national identities. Despite having been developed for the national context, Benedict Anderson's "Imagined Communities" can be applied to the European case.[111] Within this search, discussions of a shared culture took a central symbolic and legitimizing role.[112] Intellectuals actively participate in the construction of European culture alongside politicians and their publications on European culture and history inscribe themselves in contemporary European politics. Research by historians Kiran Patel, cultural sociologist Monica Sassatelli, and political anthropologist Cris Shore, among many others, offer a compelling overview of the history of European Cultural Politics. [113] The history of European construction from the perspective of culture situates the motivations of local, national, and international politicians coming to honor a European Charlemagne in Aachen in an international political context. This dissertation interrogates the use of medieval history and heritage for the construction of contemporary political European identity and memory in Aachen as part of a wider search for the founding myths of Europe. [114]

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[110] On early European ideas, see for example : Pim den Boer, Peter Bugge, and Ole Wæver, *The History of the Idea of Europe* (Milton Keynes : London ; New York: Routledge, 1995); Georges-Henri Soutou, *Europa !: Les projets européens de l'Allemagne nazie et de l'Italie fasciste* (Paris: Tallandier, 2021).

[111] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 1991.

[112] For discussions on European identity, culture and values, see for example Antoine Fleury and Lubor Jílek, (eds.), *Une Europe malgré tout, 1945 - 1990: contacts et réseaux culturels, intellectuels et scientifiques entre Européens dans la guerre froide* (Bruxelles: Lang, 2009); Robert Frank, ed., *Les identités européennes au XXe siècle : Diversités, convergences et solidarités* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014); Hans Joas and Klaus Wiegandt (eds.), *The Cultural Values of Europe*, trans. Alex Skinner (Liverpool: Univ. Press, 2008); Wolfram Kaiser, "One Narrative or Several? Politics, Cultural Elites, and Citizens" in *Constructing a 'New Narrative for Europe,'* National Identities 19, no. 2 (2017), 215–30; Wolfram Kaiser, Stefan Krankenhagen, and Kerstin Poehls (eds.), *Exhibiting Europe in Museums: Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives, and Representations* (Berghahn Books, 2014); Raïssa Mézières, "Les intellectuels français et l'idée d'Europe*," Bulletin de l'Institut Pierre Renouvin* 32, no. 2 (2010), 177–86.

[113] On European cultural politics, see Oriane Calligaro, *Negotiating Europe*; Kiran Klaus Patel, *The Cultural Politics of Europe: European Capitals of Culture and European Union since the 1980s* (Oxfordshire; New York: Routledge, 2013); Monica Sassatelli, *Becoming Europeans. Cultural Identity and Cultural Policies* (Basingstoke UK: Routledge, 2009); Cris Shore, *Building Europe. The Cultural Politics of European Integration* (London: Routledge, 2000).

[114] On myth, see Joachim Ehlers, *Charlemagne, l'Européen entre la France et l'Allemagne. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris le 6 octobre 2000* (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001); Monika Mokre, Gilbert Weiss, and Rainer Bauböck

The concept of *lieu de memoire* was pioneered by French historian Pierre Nora in the 1980s as part of wider transformations in memory studies. It identifies how heritage sites and cultural relics, but also abstract and immaterial objects, become a *Lieu de Memoire* when invested by the collective.[115] Tim Benton presents Nora's work as follows:

> *N*ora distinguishes three kinds of memory: archival. memory as individual duty and alienated memory. The ironic and paradoxical observation that memory can be archival stems from the fact that Nora believed that historians have appropriated memory. But memory also lies with the individual, to take possession, alone or in groups, of memories which connect the public sphere and private experience.[116]

This definition can be expanded from a national interpretation to include a European dimension, as shown by the three-volume opus on *Europäische Erinnerungsorte* published by Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, and Georg Kreis in the early 2010s. The Aachen Charlemagne Prize was included in the publication as a European *lieu de memoire,* highlighting both the success of the city's locally driven European Charlemagne politics and the intellectual legitimization of Aachen's political European identity.[117] Through its focus on Aachen's European Charlemagne memory this work inscribes itself in the hyper dynamic field of European Memory studies. [118]

(eds.), *Europas Identitäten Mythen, Konflikte, Konstruktionen* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 2003); Bo Strath, (ed.), *Myth and Memory in the Construction of Community : Historical Patterns in Europe and Beyond* (Bruxelles; New York: Peter Lang, 2000); Rudolf Speth and Edgar Wolfrum (eds.), *Politische Mythen und Geschichtspolitik : Konstruktion, Inszenierung, Mobilisierung*, Cahiers du Centre Marc Bloch 7 (Berlin, 1996).
On heritage and myth, see for example : Tuuli Lähdesmäki, "Founding Myths of EU Europe and the Workings of Power in the EU Heritage and History Initiatives." *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 22, no. 5–6, (2019), 781–98 ; Sneška Quaedvlieg-Mihailović and Rupert Strachwitz (eds.), *Heritage and the Building of Europe* (Berlin: Maecenata, 2004).
See also Brigitte Buettner and William J. Diebold (eds.) *Medieval Art, Modern Politics* (De Gruyter, 2025) ; Jennifer M. Feltman, and Sarah Thompson (eds.), *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Routledge, 2019).

[115] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire." *Representations*, no. 26 (1989), 7–24. Huang Yanhong, "'*Les Lieux de Mémoire*' and Pierre Nora's Writing of French National History." *Chinese Studies in History* 53-2 (2020), 150–70.

[116] Tim Benton, ed., *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 2010), 22–24.

[117] See Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, and Georg Kreis, eds., *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 1. Mythen und Grundbegriffe des europäischen Selbstverständnisses* (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2011); Pim den Boer et al., eds., *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 2. Das Haus Europa* (Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011); Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, and Georg Kreis, eds., *Europäische Erinnerungsorte 3. Europa und die Welt* (Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2012).

[118] See Mareike König and Rainer Ohliger (eds.), *Enlarging European Memory : Migration Movements in Historical Perspective* (Thorbecke, 2006); Christina Kraenzle and Maria Mayr (eds), *The Changing Place of Europe in Global Memory Cultures: Usable Pasts and Futures* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); Małgorzata Pakier et al. (eds.), *A European Memory? Contested Histories and Politics of Remembrance* (Berghahn Books, 2010); Aline Sierp, *History, Memory, and Trans-European Identity: Unifying Divisions* (Routledge, 2014); Mano Toth, *European Memory and Conflicting Visions of the Past* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

In West Germany, the 1970s were a turning point for memory studies because of the beginning of Holocaust commemoration. [119] The *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* process took memorial, cultural and legal forms of deconstruction and reconstruction of German collective memory. [120] Memory studies on post-War Germany concentrate on conquering the recent past of Nazi perpetration and, since 1990, problems of integrating GDR memory. Less in the spotlight, was the connected search for unsoiled historical figures offering of a different narrative of German identity, which sometimes required drawing from the distant past. In their essay "Memorialization in Germany from 1945," Bill Niven and Chloe Paver observed that "by and large West Germany did eschew nationalistic traditions of memorial-building."[121] They also observed the coexistence of competing memory discourses, serving local interests in specific sites that had injected an international spirit into preexisting rituals. Memorialization of premodern historical figures has been sparsely studied so far. Niven and Paver's major publication, for example, only devotes one chapter to the memory politics of a premodern historical figure. Focusing on Luther memorialization, it uncovers FRG and the GDR struggle for control, through ritual, exhibition practices and political intervention. [122] In this light, this study of the European revival of

[119] See Patrick H. Hutton, *The Memory Phenomenon in Contemporary Historical Writing: How the Interest in Memory Has Influenced Our Understanding of History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 40–42, 120–22.

[120] On *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in Germany, see Bernd Faulenbach, "Die doppelte 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung'. Nationalsozialismus und Stalinismus als Herausforderung zeithistorischer Forschung und politischer Kultur," in *Die geteilte Vergangenheit. Zum Umgang mit Nationalsozialismus und Widerstand in beiden deutschen Staaten*, ed. Jürgen Danyel (Potsdam: Leibniz-Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam (ZZF), 2017), 107–24; Torben Fischer and Matthias N. Lorenz (eds.), *Lexikon der "Vergangenheitsbewältigung" in Deutschland: Debatten- und Diskursgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus nach 1945* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2007); Katrin Hammerstein et al. (eds.), *Aufarbeitung der Diktatur - Diktat der Aufarbeitung? Normierungsprozesse beim Umgang mit diktatorischer Vergangenheit* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2009); Jonathan Simon Kaplan, *Diplomatie der Aufarbeitung : das Ministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten der DDR und die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit* (Leipzig: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2022); Jörg Musiol, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in der Bundesrepublik : Kontinuität und Wandel in den späten 1970er Jahren* (Marburg: Tectum-Verl., 2006); Peter Reichel, *Vergangenheitsbewältigung in Deutschland : die Auseinandersetzung mit der NS-Diktatur von 1945 bis heute* (München: Beck, 2001).
Aleida Assmann has studied the interaction of trauma, memory and postwar identity, see Aleida Assmann, *Geschichtsvergessenheit - Geschichtsversessenheit : vom Umgang mit deutschen Vergangenheiten nach 1945* (Stuttgart : Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1999); Aleida Assmann, *Shadows of Trauma: Memory and the Politics of Postwar Identity* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016) ; Wulf Kansteiner, "Losing the War, Winning the Memory Battle: The Legacy of Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust in the Federal Republic of Germany" in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe, eds.* Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu (Duke 2006).

[121] See William John Niven and Chloe E. M Paver, *Memorialization in Germany since 1945* (Basingstoke England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3, 8–9.

[122] See Ulrike Zitzlsperger, "Martin Luther - Rebel, Genius, Liberator: Politics and Marketing 1517-2017," in *Memorialization in Germany since 1945*, ed. William John Niven and Chloe E. M Paver (Basingstoke England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 341–50.

Charlemagne in Aachen helps broaden the already well-developed panorama of studies on German collective memory and history politics in the second half of the 20th century.[123]

The political search for collective identity in ancient history, as observed in Aachen involves not only memorialization but also "*Geschichtspolitik."* Within this concept, historian Edgar Wolfrum differentiates *Geschichtsbewusstsein* as the orientation of a person, group, or society towards its past and its influence on present action and *Geschichtskultur* as its practical articulation.[124] Despite its outward political characteristics, *Geschichtspolitik* is the result of the involvement of both politicians and the intellectual community. Historian Heinrich August Winkler affirmed:

> Die Rolle der Geschichtswissenschaft bei der Entstehung von Geschichtspolitik auch in der gestiegenen Form von Mythen, war, nicht nur in Deutschland, beträchtlich. Wenn die Geschichtswissenschaft eine geschichtspolitische Instrumentalisierung von Geschichte kritisiert, begegnet sie meist auch sich selbst.[125]

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[123] Several studies look at the European construction of Charlemagne, see Werner, *Karl der Große oder Charlemagne?*; Kerner, *Karl der Große*; McKitterick, *Charlemagne*; Klaus Oschema, "Ein Karl für alle Fälle: historiografische Verortung Karls des Großen zwischen Nation, Europa und der Welt," in *Europäische Erinnerung als verflochtene Erinnerung : vielstimmige und vielschichtige Vergangenheitsdeutungen jenseits der Nation*, ed. Gregor Feindt et al. (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2014), 39–64.
On Memory of the Middle Ages, see Gerd Althoff, *Die Deutschen und ihr Mittelalter: Themen und Funktionen moderner Geschichtsbilder vom Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992); Michael Borgolte, *Unaufhebbare Pluralität der Kulturen?: zur Dekonstruktion und Konstruktion des mittelalterlichen Europa* (München: Oldenbourg, 2001); Mette Birkedal Bruun and Stephanie Glaser, eds., *Negotiating Heritage: Memories of the Middle Ages* (Turnhout : Abingdon: Brepols, 2008); Robert John Weston Evans and Guy P. Marchal, eds*., The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*, (Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Gregor Feindt et al., eds., *Europäische Erinnerung als verflochtene Erinnerung: vielstimmige und vielschichtige Vergangenheitsdeutungen jenseits der Nation* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014); Hans-Werner Goetz et al. (eds.), *Geschichtsvorstellungen: Bilder, Texte und Begriffe aus dem Mittelalter: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Goetz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Wien: Böhlau, 2012).
[124] Edgar Wolfrum, "Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949-1989. Phasen und Kontroversen," in *Umkämpfte Vergangenheit: Geschichtsbilder, Erinnerung und Vergangenheitspolitik im internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Petra Bock and Edgar Wolfrum, Sammlung Vandenhoeck (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 57–58.
[125] Heinrich August Winkler (ed.), *Griff nach der Deutungsmacht: zur Geschichte der Geschichtspolitik in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2004), 13.
See also Petra Bock and Edgar Wolfrum (eds.), *Umkämpfte Vergangenheit: Geschichtsbilder, Erinnerung und Vergangenheitspolitik im internationalen Vergleich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichtspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland : der Weg zur bundesrepublikanischen Erinnerung 1948 - 1990* (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges.,1999); Edgar Wolfrum, *Geschichte als Waffe : vom Kaiserreich bis zur Wiedervereinigung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2001); Edgar Wolfrum, "Das westdeutsche Geschichtsbild entsteht. Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus und neues Staatsbewußtsein in den 60er Jahren," in *Demokratisierung und gesellschaftlicher Aufbruch. Die sechziger Jahre als Wendezeit in der Bundesrepublik*, ed. Matthias Frese, Julia Paulus, and Karl Teppe (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2003), 227–46; Edgar Wolfrum, "Geschichtsbilder im politischen Diskurs. Eine Skizze," in *Die Sprache des Politischen in actu. Zum Verhältnis von politischem Handeln und politischer Sprache von der Antike bis ins 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Angela Benedictis et al. (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2009), 209–28.

The intellectual community thus remains central in legitimizing political narratives around a historical figure or event. Winkler takes the example of the memorialization of the 1871 German unification, which, when stripped of its military attributes, offered a chance to celebrate German unity.[126] The use of 1871 for German history politics mirrors the use of Charlemagne's empire for German European history politics in Aachen in the second half of the 20th century. European memory and history offered a new narrative to West German politicians and intellectual elites who wanted to distance themselves from the ethnonational discourse of the Nazi era.

Although highly specific to its local context, this study of the Aachen Cathedral carries the value of being transferable. Aachen inscribed itself in a wider municipal movement to rebrand towns through European historical narratives. Cultural anthropologist Rheinard Johler has labeled these efforts as "Local Europe" which results in "simultaneously localising the 'European' and Europeanising the 'local'."[127] In Post War Germany, where the need to redefine local identity was acute following the Nazi regime's collapse, Aachen was not an exception in its search for Europeanness.[128] The city of Mainz, for example, has chosen to underline its historical link to another medieval figure, Johannes Gutenberg. One can visit several Gutenberg-related sites throughout the old city center, including the historic Gutenberg Museum, which offers an in-depth look at the history of printing. The Mainz university, one of the biggest in Germany, also carries his name.[129] The historical figure allows Mainz to transcend national historical self-representation to include Franco-German and European narratives. As is the case with Charlemagne, Mainz shares its claims to Gutenberg with other towns, such as Strasbourg.[130]

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[126] He calls these "bessere, aber verschüttete Traditionen." Winkler, *Griff nach der Deutungsmacht*, 9.
See also Konrad Hugo Jarausch and Michael Geyer (eds.), *Shattered Past Reconstructing German Histories*, Course Book (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[127] Kiran Klaus Patel, "Introduction," in *The Cultural Politics of Europe*, 5 ; Reinhard Johler, "Local Europe."

[128] See for example Anita Ziegerhofer, Michael Kissener, and Jan Kusber, eds., *Zwischenräume: grenznahe Beziehungen in Europa seit den 1970er Jahren* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2011).

[129] See "Website of the Gutenberg Museum," Gutenberg-Museum, Mainz. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.mainz.de/microsite/gutenberg-museum-en/index.php; "Welcome to JGU!," Johannes Gutenberg Universität Mainz, accessed December 15, 2022, https://www.uni-mainz.de/eng/; "Stadtspaziergang: Auf den Spuren Gutenbergs," Landeshauptstadt Mainz. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://mainz.de/medien/internet/downloads/Stadtspaziergang_Auf_den_Spuren_Gutenbergs_2015.pdf..

[130] Thomas Williams, "The Local Past in a Contested Borderland: Commemoration in Strasbourg Between France, Germany and Europe," in *Local Memories in a Nationalizing and Globalizing World*, ed. Marnix Beyen and Brecht Deseure (London: Palgrave Macmillan London, 2015), 115–36.

West German Multilateralism through Expertise in Interorganizational Transfers

Following the 1949 creation of the FRG, the state rapidly attempted to integrate into the international community.[131] The economic well-being of the FRG and its display of political goodwill proved sufficient for it to rejoin the international order. The state joined UNESCO in 1951 and became a founding member of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. The FRG used the European political, economic, and cultural project to reaffirm its existence as an integral part of the Western European community. The West German state paid close attention to its representation in the international realm and was especially careful not to harbor imperialist ambitions. Historian Helene Miard-Delacroix has described how the FRG substituted "Germany" with "Europe" "pour réclamer sans trop revendiquer pour soi. "[132] The FRG went to great lengths to avoid taking direct leadership and focused on multilateralism in the international political arena, which Historian Johannes Paulmann has termed "Haltung de Zurückhaltung."[133] This process was not without struggle as the state had to contend with an evolving relationship with its reluctant neighbor, the GDR. It also built privileged political and economic relationships with the United States, dubbed the "Atlantic Alliance," which at times diverged or conflicted with the interests of other nation-sates of the growing European community, putting its partnership with France at stake, for example.[134]

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[131] Jerome Vaillant writes : "Elle [la RFA] a eu le souci constant de retrouver sa place dans le concert des nations. (…) Pourtant les alliés occidentaux - Etats-Unis, Grande-Bretagne et France-, tous partenaires qu'ils fussent, n'ont pas manqué, au besoin, de rappeler à l'Allemagne son "passe récent", une formule alors usuelle pour évoquer la période nazie et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, pour la faire, au besoin, rentrer dans le rang. " Jérôme Vaillant, "Postface," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, ed. Dominique Herbet et al. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 277–78.

[132] Hélène Miard-Delacroix, "Entre retenue et affirmation de soi. Le cas des relations gouvernementales germano-americaines entre 1961 et 1990," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, ed. Dominique Herbet et al. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 38.

[133] Johannes Paulmann, *Die Haltung der Zurückhaltung : auswärtige Selbstdarstellungen nach 1945 und die Suche nach einem erneuerten Selbstverständnis in der Bundesrepublik ; Kaisen-Lesung am 22. Mai 2005 im Rathaus zu Bremen* (Bremen: Wilhelm-und-Helene-Kaisen-Stiftung, 2006).

Miard-Delacroix concurrs : "Comme on l'a vu, la retenue prit des formes variées et elle s'exprima de plus en plus dans la recherche de solutions communes avec les autres Européens. Cette recherche d'appuis et d'un ancrage systématique dans le multilatéralisme est une caractéristique de la politique étrangère allemande qui demeure aujourd'hui." Miard-Delacroix, "Entre retenue et affirmation de soi. Le cas des relations gouvernementales germano-americaines entre 1961 et 1990," 43.

Stefan Martens insists on the FRG's multilateralism : "La clé de voute de cette puissance est l'orientation multilatéraliste, car l'Allemagne se caractérise, depuis 1949, par l'application des règles du jeu du multilatéralisme, de l'intégration et de la coopération." Stefan Martens, "L'Allemagne unifiée, une puissance aux pieds d'argile," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, eds. Dominique Herbet et al. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 46.

[134] See Christian Bremen and Klaus Schwabe, eds., *Amerika, Deutschland und Europa von 1917 bis heute: Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Klaus Schwabe*. Band 2 (Aachen: edition_aixact "zeitgeschehen," 2022); William Glenn

Despite these efforts to overwrite the national with a political orientation toward Europe, the European Union is intrinsically national because of its political structure.[135] This created the paradox of a national state clamoring for European identity at UNESCO, one that can be observed clearly in the case of the Aachen Cathedral, a German-made European heritage site. In this study, German cultural diplomacy takes the forefront. Since the 1950s, the West German state negotiated bilateral treaties with individual states and partook in multilateral relations. [136] West Germany had to negotiate specific challenges in the international system, in part due to its federal structure, in which the responsibility for culture fell on individual federal states.[137] Johannes Paulmann's edited volume *Auswärtige Repräsentationen: deutsche Kulturdiplomatie nach 1945* offers a snapshot of the various mediums used by West German cultural diplomacy: art exchanges, theater plays, ballets, exhibitions, and cultural institutes.[138] Constanze Metzger's study on the FRG at UNESCO demonstrates that cultural heritage was also utilized by West German diplomats in their efforts to promote internationalism and multilateralism. [139] This heritage diplomacy, as described by sociologist Tim Winter, integrates "the role cultural heritage and material culture play as nonhuman actors in modern diplomatic relations"[140] in the study of international relations. This

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Gray, *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2003); Johannes Grossmann and Hélène Miard-Delacroix, *Deutschland, Frankreich und die USA in den "langen" 1960er Jahren: ein transatlantisches Dreiecksverhältnis* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2018); Christof Mauch and Kiran Klaus Patel, eds., *The United States and Germany during the Twentieth Century: Competition and Convergence* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Kiran Klaus Patel and Kenneth Weisbrode, eds., *European Integration and the Atlantic Community in the 1980s* (New York, NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2013); Andreas Rödder and Wolfgang Elz, eds., *Deutschland in der Welt: Weichenstellungen in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010); Gregor Schöllgen, *Die Macht in der Mitte Europas : Stationen deutscher Aussenpolitik von Friedrich dem Großen bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Beck, 1992).
On French Europeanization in the 1970s, see Aurélie Élisa Gfeller, *Building a European Identity: France, the United States, and the Oil Shock, 1973-74* (New York Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012).

[135] As Alfred Grosser has put it, the European Union "est celle des Etats plus que celle du transnational ou du supranational. " Grosser, "Preface," 19.

[136] See for example Weth Burkard, *Deutsch-Sowjetische Kulturbeziehungen 1955 - 1975 : Kulturpolitik im Kalten Krieg* (Aachen: Shaker, 2014); Corine Defrance, "La politique culturelle extérieure de la RFA au service de la diffusion d'une nouvelle image de soi a l'étranger (1949-1969)," *Revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande* 40 (2008); Elise Lanoe, "Entre rayonnement et retenue : la politique culturelle extérieure de l'Allemagne," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, eds. Dominique Herbet et al. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 209–17.

[137] Jean-Louis Georget explains that the "complémentarité entre les institutions fédérales et leurs déclinaisons régionales a été mise à mal par l'entrée de l'Europe dans le jeu politique allemand" Jean Louis Georget, "Les Länder et la construction européenne : le long chemin pour la reconnaissance des acteurs régionaux comme acteurs de la construction européenne," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, eds. Dominique Herbet et al. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 132.

[138] Johannes Paulmann, ed., *Auswärtige Repräsentationen: deutsche Kulturdiplomatie nach 1945* (Köln: Böhlau, 2005).

[139] Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen.*

[140] Tim Winter, "Heritage Diplomacy: Entangled Materialities," 23.

dissertation is situated within the approach of New Diplomatic History, studying cultural practices and discourses not simply as manifestations of higher political ideas, but as constitutive of and an integral part of diplomatic work itself. [141]

The central function of experts in this project bypasses traditional approaches to professionalization in diplomacy. Archeologist Neil Silberman situates the start of expert influence in the 20th century "with the regularization of antiquities and monument services and the formulation of international charters and conventions that enshrined expert opinion as authoritative."[142] Within the context of West German cultural diplomacy, this study focuses on heritage conservation experts at the CoE and UNESCO. As Smith's concept of AHD has shown, experts play a central role in constructing a heritage site. This can create tensions around specific heritage site as explained by Watson and Waterton in their work on heritage and communities:

> Heritage, wherever found and investigated, here yields important insights on the nature of professionals in relation to communities, the power that is derived from the 'authentifying expert' in practice, and the power of states and elites in molding not only heritage itself but heritage practices around its own agendas and concerns rather than those of the communities who are putative beneficiaries of such attention.[143]

Here communities are presented "as subject to management and preservation"[144] by experts. These "authentifying experts," the main actors of this dissertation, are also the result of a social construct. Political scientist Matthias Kranke describes expertise as "an inherently relational attribute – that is, a social status accorded to actors for their superior command of specialist knowledge relative to other actors making similar claims."[145]

Although experts often try to separate their intellectual role from a political one, their actions and ideas are informed by the political. In his discussion on critical theory, Homi Bhabha

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[141] Tessa de Boer et al., "Provincializing "New" Diplomatic History: An Interdisciplinary Manifesto," in Diplomatica, 2025. Accessed August 14th, 2025, https://doi.org/10.1163/25891774-bja10148.

[142] Silberman, "Heritage Interpretation as Public Discourse : Towards a New Paradigm," 27.
See also: Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

[143] Emma Waterton and Steve Watson, "Heritage and Community Engagement: Building a New Agenda," in *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation?*, ed. Emma Waterton (London: Routledge, 2011), 10.

[144] "That is, community or group identity becomes the object of regulation through the heritage management process, not only reinforcing the power differentials in community-expert relations, but also ensuring the legitimacy of essentialist notions of 'community' and their continual misrecognition." Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," in *Heritage and Community Engagement: Collaboration or Contestation?*, ed. Emma Waterton (London: Routledge, 2011), 12–22.

[145] Matthias Kranke, "Exclusive expertise: the boundary work of international organizations." *Review of International Political Economy*, *29*(2) (2020), 453–476.
See also discussion on "epistemic communities" in David Demortain. "Experts and the Production of International Policy Knowledge: Do Epistemic Communities Do the Job?" In: Annabelle Littoz-Monnet (ed.) *The Politics of Expertise in International Organizations* (United Kingdom, 2017), 76–92.

has argued that colonial domination can be transposed to a postcolonial moment, in which, independently of the will of the expert, or "intellectual" himself, theory and politics should be seen in relation.[146] Expertise within international organizations in the second half of the 20th century is intermeshed with the political, as historians Wolfram Kaiser and Kiran Patel have shown in their studies of transnational experts in the development of European cultural policies.[147]

West German experts of cultural heritage in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s acted as diplomatic actors for the West German state but also fulfilled a function at UNESCO. Christina Boswell, a political scientist, identifies two uses for expert knowledge within international organizations: an instrumental role in helping the organization apply its ideas, and a symbolic role in legitimizing its actions.[148] A recent publication directed by political scientist Annabelle Littoz-Monnet situates experts within the web of actors of international bureaucracies. Littoz-Monnet expands on Boswell's two roles to include "informing and guiding policy," "legitimizing action," "depoliticizing action," "substantiating policy position," and "minimizing institutional insecurity."[149] This dissertation examines the actions of early German experts within the UNESCO World Heritage program through this lens.

To expand on Beyen's triangular relationship of memory, this research adds horizontal mobility to the local, national, and international realm. The concept of interorganizational transfer is particularly useful for historians of international organizations. In 2018, historians Wolfram Kaiser and Kiran Patel explored cooperation and competition between international organizations in Europe in an edited volume titled *Multiple Connections in European Cooperation: International*

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[146] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994), 45-48.

[147] Kiran Klaus Patel, "Integration through Expertise: Transnational Experts in European Cultural Policies," in *The Cultural Politics of Europe: European Capitals of Culture and European Union since the 1980s*, ed. Kiran Klaus Patel (Oxfordshire ; New York: Routledge, 2013), 72–92. Wolfram Kaiser and Johan Schot, eds., *Writing the Rules for Europe. Experts, Cartels, and International Organizations* (Londen: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)
On expertise in World Heritage, see Luke James, "The Symbolic Value of Expertise in International Heritage Diplomacy," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 13, no. 1 (2016), 83–96; Luke James and Tim Winter, "Expertise and the Making of World Heritage Policy," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 23, no. 1 (January 2, 2017), 36–51; Rodogno, Struck, and Vogel, *Shaping the Transnational Sphere* ; Julia Röttjer, "International Experts – National Martyrdom – Socialist Heritage: The Contribution of the Polish People's Republic to the Early UNESCO World Heritage Program," in *Heritage under Socialism. Preservation in Eastern and Central Europe, 1945–1991*, ed. Eszter Gantner, Corinne Geering, and Paul Vickers (New York Oxford, 2021), 159–212.

[148] Christina Boswell, "The Political Functions of Expert Knowledge: Knowledge and Legitimation in European Union Immigration Policy." In : *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (4) (2008), 471–88. Christina,Boswell, "The Role of Expert Knowledge in International Organizations." In Annabelle Littoz-Monnet (ed.) *The Politics of Expertise in International Organizations*, (Routledge, London, 2017), 19–36.

[149] Annabelle Littoz-Monnet (ed.), *The Politics of Expertise in International Organizations*, 7-9.

Organizations, Policy Ideas, Practices and Transfers. They identified three central vectors in horizontal transfers between international organizations: ideas, actors, and institutions. Certain criteria, such as "the overlap of membership and the similarity of institutional set-up and political orientation"[150] facilitate these transfers and exchanges. In the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, FRG heritage experts often acted alone despite reporting to the foreign office. The resulting strengthened impact of heritage experts on international projects are the objects of this research. This dissertation examines transfers of knowledge and practices of conservation between UNESCO and Council of Europe heritage conservation projects, through direct institutional collaboration, shared expert participation and exchanges of information.

Sources

This dissertation belongs to the research project "Knowledge of the World-Heritage of Mankind- UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage: Cosmopolitanization of Collective Memory," which approached the history of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and List through the medium of written archival sources. This study of the Aachen Cathedral as a World Heritage Site employs archival material from Aachen, the Rhine region, federal FRG institutions, and international organizations to reconstruct FRG participation in international heritage projects of UNESCO and the Council of Europe between roughly 1960 and 1990.

This dissertation engages with narratives surrounding the Aachen Cathedral and other mostly medieval German heritage sites. The starting point of my research was the 1978 Aachen Cathedral file to the UNESCO World Heritage List. Discourse analysis is essential to approach European narratives and their evolution at the Aachen Cathedral. The study of cultural-religious-political rituals and events in Aachen, uncover social and symbolic practices surrounding the Aachen Cathedral, such as the use of space, speech and image. My dissertation is particularly interested in the interplay of the aforementioned discourses and practices. Actors constituted another focus of archival research for this dissertation. Archival materials related to experts involved in World Heritage showcase the complexity of their professional ties that span the local, national and international realm and facilitate the diffusions of ideas and information. In this dissertation, the proactive role of a handful of West German Experts representatives stands out, but diplomats and

[150] They use these criteria to justify their focus on western Europe. Wolfram Kaiser and Kiran Klaus Patel, "Multiple Connections in European Co-Operation," 337–57.
See also Matthias Kranke, "Exclusive expertise."

administrators also play a role. At UNESCO, administrators navigate the national and international realm, trying to bring together the aims of the organization with those of the individual nation-states involved. I study how institutional arrangements are negotiated and have evolved over time specifically from the perspective of West German sources. This research's actor-centered approach uncovers the interrelated institutionalization of UNESCO and Council of Europe heritage projects.

Local Aachen archives were essential to this study, as cultural-political elites of Aachen and especially local heritage conservators play a central role in the first two chapters of the dissertation. The Aachen Cathedral archives allowed for a precise examination of the conservation and research at the Aachen Cathedral in the second half of the 20th century. The *Domarchiv,* within the *Bistumsarchiv* Aachen, offered documentation on the process of Aachen's World Heritage nomination, contact with Aachen, and site management.[151] Additional files on Aachen Cathedral conservation contained regular reports on restoration and conservation work. The reports of tri-annual meetings on the conservation and restoration of the Aachen Cathedral were especially helpful for identifying the practical and financial challenges of local conservators and their strategies to remedy those, in part through national and international intervention.[152]

The collection of the *Domarchiv* provided access to local and national articles, personal correspondence, prints of speeches, and other materials. These were central for understanding the public discourse around the Aachen Cathedral and specific events in Aachen. Two major daily newspapers, the *Aachener Nachrichten* (AN) and the *Aachener Volkszeitung* (AVZ) contained numerous articles on political visits and their stops at the cathedral, as well as information on cultural exhibitions and conservation projects. Many of these documents were those kept by local *Domprobst* and conservator Erich Stephany, whose work covered most of the second half of the twentieth century.[153] The extensive collection offered a partial snapshot of the political, religious, and cultural life of Aachen. It was particularly helpful for identifying the role of Aachen's political and religious elites in the local efforts to build a European Charlemagne around the Aachen

[151] "Domkustos (Stephany). Der Aachener Dom in der Liste des Unesco zum kulturellen Welterbe 1978" (File, Aachen, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[152] See for example "Domkustos. Bauausschuss. Berichte 1961 und 1963 u DBM Kreusch mit Fotos" (Aachen, 1963 1958), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Dombaukommission Protokolle 2000-2003" (File, Aachen, 2003 2000), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.24, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[153] See for example "Domkustos (Stephany) Zeitungsausschnittsammlung : Aachen Baudenkmaler und Ereignisse. 01.03.-25.08.1978 I" (File, Aachen, 1978), Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Domkustos (Stephany) Der Aachener Dom Presse 1962-1968" (File, Aachen, 1968 1962), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Cathedral. The *Domarchiv* further kept an extensive record of cultural and religious events organized by the Aachen Cathedral. The detailed records pertaining to exhibitions, such as the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition, and the files on the yearly Saint Charlemagne celebrations, were central for uncovering the interplay between religion, politics, and culture in Aachen. Documents included transcripts of speeches and sermons, reports of planning meetings of exhibitions, and news reports from the events.[154]

The Aachen *Stadtbibliothek*, or City Library, made local newspapers available to the public. Local magazines such as the anarchist *Klenkes*, the church newspaper *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, and the magazine *Aachener Bilder und Berichte*, offered an alternative view of local political events.[155] The library also held numerous local publications, such as the yearly heritage conservation reports on the Aachen Cathedral, which offered a summary of the work of conservators. As the scope of the dissertation extends into the present, online sources were helpful to this study. Both local daily newspapers, the *Aachener Nachrichten* (AN) and the *Aachener Volkszeitung* (AVZ), have merged to become the *Aachener Zeitung (AZ).* The online *Aachener Zeitung* holds articles dating back to the mid-1990s, which greatly facilitated the reconstruction of the history of the World Heritage Site Aachen Cathedral in the 21st century.[156] On a similar note, the Charlemagne Prize website provided access to German language versions of speeches given by all participants for every year of its existence until it was redesigned in Spring of 2025.[157] This was conducive to tracing the long-term evolution of European Charlemagne narratives in ritual speeches. The Aachen Mayor's speeches, for example, expose local changes in European political foci.

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[154] On Aachen Cathedral exhibitions see for example "Domkustos (Stephany). Entwurf zur Ausstellung 'Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr' Villa Huegel 1955" (File, Aachen, 1955), Domarchiv A 9.1.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Domkustos (Stephany) Ausstellung 'Karl der Große' in Aachen 26.06.1965-19.09.1965 I. Teil" (File, Aachen, 1965 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On the Karlsfest, see for example "Domarchiv (Stephany) Karlsfeste 1977-1983" (File, Aachen, 1983 1977), Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[155] See for example "Klenkes 1982" (Magazine collection, Aachen, 1982), Dz Klen, Aachen Stadtbibliothek; "Aachen Bilder und Berichte 26-42" (Magazine collection, Aachen, 1974 1970), Dz Aach, Stadtbibliothek Aachen; "Kirchenzeitung fur das Bistum Aachen" (Magazine collection, Aachen, 1975), Zt 17 30.79 1975, Stadtbibliothek Aachen.

[156] See "Aachener Zeitung: Aktuelle Nachrichten & Informationen," Aachener Zeitung. Accessed October 8, 2022, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/.

[157] "Preisträger/-innen," *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen*. August 25th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger-innen/alle-preistraeger.

The Aachen City archives should have been an integral part of the research for this dissertation. They would have offered a better focus on Aachen's political actors and an alternative understanding of the interactions between city, the Aachen Cathedral, and UNESCO. They would also have allowed a better grasp on the relationship between the city's heritage conservation and the UNESCO World Heritage site. At the time of my archival research, however, a recent relocation of the archive and staffing issues restricted access to most archival material from the second half of the 20th century. The archival landscape is rapidly evolving as some personal archives, such as the one of city conservator Leo Hugot, are being inventoried and organized.[158] Although interviews were not within the scope of this study, informal discussions with local heritage conservators such as *Dombaumeister* Helmut Maintz, were helpful for understanding the current context of heritage conservation in Aachen.[159]

Several regional archives were useful to this dissertation. The Regional Nord-Rhein-Westfalen (NRW) archives offered access to pre-1960s documents on the Aachen Cathedral's conservation and allowed to reconstruct 19th and early 20th century work on the heritage site and the region's financial involvement.[160] The regional *Rheinland-Pfalz* archives in Koblenz hold the professional archives of Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, a central expert for West German international heritage conservation of the 1960s and 1970s. The regional archives gave access to detailed files on Bornheim's participation in international heritage conservation projects, such as the 1966 German exhibition for the 1964 UNESCO Campaign.[161]

Federal archives allow retracing the path of administrators, experts, and diplomats involved in international heritage conservation, but who only appear as contact points in the international organization archives. Two archives that stand out in this study are the *Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amtes* PAA and the *Bundesarchiv Koblenz*. The files contained within allow for interested accounts of national-level discussions around international heritage projects through

[158] The author visited Aachen several times between 2014 and 2016. On Leo Hugot, see Christian Raabe and Heinz Günter Horn, eds., *Leo Hugot: Der Mensch. Seine Zeit. Sein Nachlass*, Scriptorium Carolinum, Bd. 2 (Kolloquium zum 30. Todestag von Dr. Leo Hugot, Aachen: Geymüller, Verl. für Architektur, 2014).

[159] The author met with Dombaumeister Helmut Maintz on May 3rd, 2016 for an informal discussion.
Additional stakeholders of Aachen conservation participated in a workshop titled "Aachen Cathedral World Heritage: Historians and Practitioners in Dialogue" organized by Dr. Andrea Rehling from the IEG Mainz UNESCO World Heritage Research Group in Aachen in December of 2013.

[160] See for example "Münsterkirche zu Aachen" (File, Aachen, 1935 1926), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16633, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.

[161] See for example "UNESCO Angelegenheiten" (File, 1975 1960), Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Entwurf Konvention Kulturgut" (File, 1972 1964), Bestand 910 Nr. 7838, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

meeting reports and correspondence between different institutions in the FRG. The *Bundesarchiv* in Koblenz holds several files on post-war Aachen Cathedral conservation because the Cathedral received special funding for its reconstruction. These files complete the overview of the financial players involved in the site's conservation. Additionally, the meeting reports of the *Kultusministerkonferenz* (KMK), which coordinated architectural heritage conservation through the *Unterauschuss für Museen und Denkmalpflege*, allow for identifying the trends, priorities, and changes in West-German international heritage participation over the 1970s. In this timeframe, a major set of files accessed at the *Bundesarchiv* pertained to the German organization of the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year of the Council of Europe. The *Bundesarchiv* also hosts the archives of the German UNESCO Commission as well as files of the German Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which offer a window into the inner workings of these national branches.[162]

The *Auswärtiges Amt* (AA) is the direct interlocutor of UNESCO; its archives (PAA) contain numerous files on UNESCO and its World Heritage program. The files on UNESCO World Heritage contain reports of West German experts and diplomatic representatives sent to the World Heritage Committee meetings. The AA also coordinated with all the national and regional institutions involved in international heritage projects. Its archives hold the correspondence between the different diplomats, administrators, politicians, and experts.[163] Although the GDR only joined the World Heritage convention in 1989, it participated in several of the preceding campaigns of UNESCO for heritage conservation, which can be found in the archive.[164]

The PAA was also helpful for the study of events in Aachen. A detailed folder on the bilateral Franco-German Consultations in Aachen in 1978 between President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt contained drafts of speeches, organizational documents, press reports, and diplomatic office notes and reports. These showed the omnipresence of Charlemagne narrative and symbolism in the Aachen visit of both heads of state. Another PAA file followed the creation

[162] See for example "Dom zu Aachen" (File, 72 1957), B106/33148-33149, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Sitzungen des Unterauschusses für Museen und Denkmalpflege Bd.5" (File, 1980 1977), B304/6961, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Deutsche UNESCO Kommission" (File, 1976 1975), B336/331, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[163] See for example "Bewahren und Gestalten. Deutsche Denkmalpflege" (File, 1967 1966), B95 1213, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Deutsche UNESCO Kommission" (File, 1975 1965), B91 499, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Konvention Schutz des Kultur und Naturerbes der Welt Band 1-2" (File, 1977 1972), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[164] See for example "Welterbekampagne Nubien DDR" (File, 1983 1982), M 85 MfAA ZR 4208/13, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

process of the Rhine-Maas Euroregion in the 1970s. Because of its international ambitions, the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne Exhibition in Aachen also appears in the archives, offering a diplomatic view of this cultural event involving the Vatican and the USSR.[165]

In this study, the relevant international organization archives were the Archives of the United Nations Education Science Culture Organization (UNESCO), the Council of Europe, and the International Committee of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The Council of Europe archive had restricted its public access at the time of this study, but the archives of UNESCO and ICOMOS allowed access to documents ranging from the 1960s to the 1990s and sometimes the 2000s. The organization and state of conservation of these archives varied from one file to another. The ICOMOS Documentation Center was in the process of reorganization following a move. Meanwhile, the UNESCO archive relies on an internal database to which visitors don't have direct access, creating obstacles to research. Despite these limitations, all three international organizations offer well-developed online archives. In the case of the Council of Europe, official documents, including meeting reports and documents linked to heritage policies, such as the different heritage Charters and Conventions, are posted on their portal.[166] Similarly, ICOMOS offers online access to select official documents, such as their newsletter from the 1970s and 1980s, ICOMOS meeting reports, and expert presentations. UNESCO's online archive and digital library are the most developed of the three. It contains the official reports of the World Heritage Committee meetings and offers access to documentation for each site inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Numerous publications, especially the newsletters of UNESCO are also available on the database.[167]

At the UNESCO Archives in Paris, the World Heritage file of the Aachen Cathedral was the starting point of this dissertation. This file complemented the one on World Heritage held by

[165] See for example "Euregio Rhein Maas im deutsch-belgisch-niederlaendischen Grenzgebiet" (File, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Ausstellung Karl der Große Aachen" (File, 1966 1965), B97 50, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Deutsch-Frz Gipfeltreffen 14 u. 15.9.1978, Aachen" (File, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[166] See for example Council of Europe. Treaty Office. "European Cultural Convention (ETS No. 018)," 1954. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list. ; "Council of Europe Portal. "Most Relevant Documents of UNESCO Concerning Cultural Heritage." Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/herein-system/unesco.

[167] See ICOMOS and UNESCO websites "Search Home," Bibliographic Database of the Conservation Information Network, accessed January 9, 2023, https://bcin.info/vufind/; "Welcome to the ICOMOS Open Archive: EPrints on Cultural Heritage," ICOMOS Open Archive. Accessed January 9, 2023, https://openarchive.icomos.org/; "Accueil - UNESCO Bibliothèque Numérique," UNESDOC Bibliothèque Numérique. Accessed January 9, 2023, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/.

the Aachen *Domarchiv.* It documents the long-term evolution of management questions around the World Heritage site but only offers a partial picture. Only the official information transferred by the FRG or Aachen to UNESCO are contained in the archives.[168] Complementing it, the general files pertaining to the Federal Republic of Germany in World Heritage between 1972 and 1990 were central to the investigation. These allowed for an overall view of the West German participation and also brought up challenges invisible in individual site files, such as the questions of financial participation in the program in the 1980s. The exchanges between UNESCO administration and FRG representatives also allow the identification of the individuals acting for the organization.[169] A final group of UNESCO files documented the interactions between UNESCO and other organizations such as the Council of Europe and ICOMOS. These allowed for an internal view on the circulation of expertise and information between the different international organizations from a UNESCO perspective.[170]

At ICOMOS, access to administrative documents and meeting reports was restricted, but the individual files of German World Heritage sites were available. These files offered a history of the site's inscription and management in a very systematic chronological approach that allowed for a complete overview of the site's nomination, inscription, and management to the present. Each file contained site management reports, publication on the site, epistolary exchanges with ICOMOS and UNESCO, reports of expert visits to the site, any changes to nominations, and documents on local conservation disputes. This study consulted the files of the sites inscribed between 1978 and 1991, starting with the Aachen Cathedral, focusing on the evolution of narratives in nomination files and their ICOMOS reviews.[171] The organization regretfully did not keep files for sites, such as Marburg, whose nomination failed.

Limited access to recent archival sources and the sheer number of unsorted administrative documents presented a challenge of archival research in this project, especially in the files from

[168] "Germany Aachen Cathedral 1978 N.3" (File, n.d.), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[169] See for example "World Heritage Germany - General. Part I up to 31.12.92" (File, 1992), 502.7 (43), UNESCO Archives; "Federal Republic of Germany. Part I up to 30.9.89" (File, 1989 1978), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15), UNESCO Archives.
[170] See for example "Protection Des Centres Monumentaux d'un Intérêt Européen - Relations Avec Le Conseil de l'Europe. Part I - up to 31.12.63" (File, 1963 1962), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; "Council of Europe - Meetings from 1968 Onwards. Part Ia up to 31.12.1978" (File, 1978 1972), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68," UNESCO Archives.
[171] See for example "République Fédérale d'Allemagne 3 Cathédrale d'Aix-La-Chapelle" (File, 2013 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center; "R.F.A. Allemagne. Ville Hanseatique de Lübeck" (File, 2013 1983), R.F.A 272 Rev, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, some collections could only be set aside entirely for future research. Documents viewed at the *Mediatheque du Patrimoine*, the French national heritage archive and library, for example, were meant to offer a comparative view of the same events through French expert representatives and administrators.

Dissertation Roadmap

This dissertation is organized into four chapters. They proceed from the local context to the international realm. The first half of the dissertation takes the Aachen Cathedral heritage site as a point of departure, before widening the view to Aachen's European cultural politics in the second half of the twentieth century. The second half of the dissertation turns to a study of West German participation in international heritage projects, starting with UNESCO and Council of Europe projects from the 1960s and then focusing on UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and List from 1972 to 1992.

In the first chapter of this study, the Aachen Cathedral stands in the limelight. The chapter follows a chronological approach to the history of the heritage site from the 19th to the 21st century but distances itself from a positivist story of the site that rises from local, to national, European, and finally global standing. Instead, it shows that layered local, national, and international interests vested in the Aachen Cathedral conservation, were present from the start of its transformation into a heritage site in the 19th century. The site's mobile and immobile Carolingian heritage concentrated political and intellectual attention in Aachen. Over the centuries, interests repeatedly collided and harmonized depending on the contemporary political context and local needs. Following the top-down inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the chapter shows how locals appropriated the World Heritage label for their own symbolic, economic, and political gains. The local and the global site evolved separately, while local imaginations deviated from and collided with UNESCO's presentation, which has remained moored to its 1978 inscription.

The second chapter expands the field of vision to the city of Aachen and its memorial politics of a European Charlemagne in the second half of the 20th century. The chapter focuses on the role of political-religious rituals in the making of a European Charlemagne. Despite distinct interests, local, national, and international actors collaborated in Aachen. They used recurring European narratives interwoven with the historical site and relics of the Carolingian palace as a

strategy of identity construction. Locals hoped to recenter the city in the contemporary European political context through the intermediary of Aachen's Carolingian heritage. National FRG politicians were interested in pushing for European identity and culture because of the difficulty of national representation in the international realm at the time. International actors in Aachen used the historical Charlemagne to advance contemporary political agendas. In the process, multiple meanings of Europe were ascribed to the historical emperor and cohabited in Aachen: the idea of a Christian Occident or Abendland, the vision of a tri-national region at the historical heart of Europe, and a Franco-German ancestor of Europe.

Because the Cathedral concentrated the most material relics of Charlemagne in its treasury and architecture, it became a central object of interest to these rituals and events. The chapter focuses on the involvement of Aachen Cathedral authorities in local cultural European politics around Charlemagne. Cathedral representatives inscribed themselves and offered additional legitimization in local European Charlemagne initiatives through loans of objects for city rituals, sermons coinciding with political events, and their own religious-cultural initiatives. Cultural-historical exhibitions became a weapon to inscribe local European narratives in a broader political context in Aachen. Cathedral-city collaboration in European cultural politics through exhibition culminated in the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition. The exhibition marked decades of future European narratives around the Aachen Cathedral and its relics, which transpired in the 1978 UNESCO Aachen Cathedral nomination.

The third chapter departs from Aachen but retains a focus on interorganizational transfers. It studies the relationship between UNESCO and the CoE in cultural heritage conservation matters in the 1960s and 1970s. Although direct communication was the starting point of exchanges between both organizations, the chapter shows the additional connections that appear through the prism of national actors involved in international organizations. The omnipresence of one conservator in the West German international heritage actions clearly displayed the interorganizational links. Experts concentrated knowledge of international conservation programs and allowed for horizontal transfers of ideas and approaches to heritage between the organizations.

Through its national focus on the FRG, the chapter is also interested in vertical transfers and influences. It shows how international actions coincided with and fueled local interest and systemic change on the national level in questions of heritage conservation. One specific project demonstrates that transfers went both ways: the west German UNESCO historic town working

group. The group started in the FRG as a UNESCO Germany working group interested in European comparative cases but quickly became significant to both the CoE and UNESCO Paris. The subsequent creation of a European working group on historic town centers at UNESCO and the 1976 Recommendation derived from it show the potential impact of a national initiative for European heritage on the global stage.

The fourth and final chapter returns to the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and List. The chapter looks at the inscription strategies and challenges encountered by FRG expert representatives at UNESCO in the first phase of World Heritage, before 1992. Through the internal debates around the ratification of the Convention between 1972 and 1976, the chapter uncovers the FRG's reasons for joining the list. The FRG was preoccupied with postcolonial concerns: the political diplomatic response towards expectations of non-European states and the belief that the FRG had an exemplary role to play in World Heritage because of the superiority of European traditions of conservation. The Aachen Cathedral inscription on the first UNESCO World Heritage List as a pilot project in 1978 embodied these hopes for exemplarity.

The West German inscriptions on the UNESCO List during its first decade however paint a different image of the state's participation in World Heritage. The FRG did little to follow the political interests of non-European states and entirely ignored natural heritage discussions. Instead, the state focused on its own inscriptions. The belief that nominations would be more successful if Europeanized and fear of Eastern European hegemony at the World Heritage Committee drove FRG representatives towards European collaboration. This "commitment to European union" was only partly successful at UNESCO, in a List fraught with national competition. FRG representatives instead found themselves facing very national problems of memory politics, financial participation, and site management and reconstruction. Illustrating that the FRG's European focus was motivated by its own political context, the FRG's reunification with the GDR in 1990 was the occasion of a (partial) return to the national at UNESCO with the symbolic inscription of the joint site of Potsdam.

1. Charlemagne's Chapel: The Making of a World Heritage Site in the 19th and 20th centuries

In his 2015 publication *Die Erforschung der Karolingischen Pfalz*, historian Frank Pohle started his introduction with the following statement:

> Der hohen symbolischen Bedeutung der Aachener Pfalz als dem Machtort Karls des Großen schlechthin ist es wohl auch zu verdanken, dass das bauliche Erbe des ersten abendländischen Kaisers des Mittelalters in bedeutenden Teilen gepflegt wurde.[172]

Without naming it directly, Pohle points to the only Carolingian building still standing in Aachen today: the Octagon of the Aachen Cathedral. Pohle thoroughly researched the over 200-year-old history of archaeological research and conservation of the Carolingian palace in Aachen. He argues that its role as Charlemagne's mausoleum allowed the Carolingian building to remain intact until present times. Today, the chapel is one of the best-preserved examples of Carolingian architecture. The building technique offers valuable information to historians and archaeologists, who studied it extensively in the nineteenth and twentieth century. This exceptional conservation status justified the church's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978.

The chapel dedicated to Maria was constructed using the emperor's personal funds. Tied to Charlemagne from its inception, the chapel became a material testimony of Charlemagne presence in the city. His inhumation in the chapel in 814 only strengthened the bond between the chapel and the historic emperor. From then on, the building became his mausoleum. The physical link to Charlemagne's body conferred the religious place an additional "aura sacra."[173] From the Middle Ages, the Maria chapel was the center of a Charlemagne cult and thus remained at the heart of Aachen's political and sacral life. The importance of Charlemagne's body for his cult and political memory, the mystery of the original location of his tomb and Charlemagne's role in the

[172] Pohle, Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen, 2.

[173] Contemporaries, like Einhard, depicted the chapel as a personal project of Charlemagne, for which he helped plan and paid for. See Eginhard, *La Vie de Charlemagne*, 33.
On the question of aura sacra and the practice of inhumation in early Christian churches, see the work of historian Yvette Duval : Duval, "L'inhumation privilegiée, pour quoi?," 251; Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme: l'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle*.
See also Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space.," in *Defining the Holy : Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), 1–23; Sebastian Scholz, "Bestattung in und an Kirchen," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte*, ed. Clemens Bayer, Max Kerner, and Harald Müller (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014), 225–35.

chapel's foundation explain later reluctance to tamper with the original substance of the building.[174] Despite multiple additions of side chapels between the 12th and the 18th century and several redecorations of the interior since the Middle Ages, the Carolingian chapel's architecture and some of its ornamentation remained nearly untouched. All the additions were built surrounding the octagonal chapel placing it in the center of the building complex and still allowed for the chapel to be visible from the outside.[175] Over time, the chapel's history of construction, its special place in the city, and the relics it held gradually transformed the ancient palace chapel and mausoleum into a relic of Charlemagne in its own right.[176]

The Aachen Cathedral first became a cathedral under Napoleonian rule in the 19th century and then again in 1931. Over the centuries, it has been given many names: *Münster zu Aachen*, Saint Maria Church, Palace Chapel, Charlemagne Chapel, Octagon, etc. [177] Werner Tschacher has shown how the Aachen Cathedral attracted international attention from the Middle Ages for its historic link to Charlemagne. In 19th century Aachen, under French occupation and then under Prussian rule, the Cathedral's material and memorial link to Charlemagne was used for political legitimization. From the 19th century onward ambitious restoration projects and archaeological searches were launched in and around the Aachen Cathedral.[178] These continued into the 20th and

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[174] Emperor Otto the 3rd developed a keen interest for Charlemagne's Aachen burial place. See Görich, "Otto III." Edith Ennen, "Aachen im Mittelalter, Sitz des Reiches - Ziel der Wallfahrt - Werk der Bürger," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 86–87, Festschrift zum 100jährigen Bestehen (1981), 457–87; Falkenstein, *Otto III. und Aachen*; Dietmar Flach, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassung und Verwaltung des Aachener Reichsgutes von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1976); Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*; Görich, "Otto III."; Moffitt, *The Enthroned Corpse of Charlemagne*; Frank Pohle, "1000 Jahre Archäologie auf der Suche nach dem Grab Karls des Großen," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte* (Regensburg, 2014), 81–93; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft*.

[175] The Carolingian octagon is now surrounded by six chapels built between the 12th and 18th century. See Ulrike Heckner and Eva-Maria Beckmann, *Die karolingische Pfalzkapelle in Aachen. Bauforschung-Bautechnik-Restaurierung* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2012).

[176] For discussions on a reliquary becoming a relic, see Philippe Cordez, "Les reliques, un champ de recherches. Problèmes anciens et nouvelles perspectives," *Bulletin d'information de la Mission Historique Française en Allemagne* 43 (2007), 102–16; Rachel Guidoni, "Entre relique et reliquaire: L'exceptionnelle momie de Gling Rinpoche (1903-1983)," in *Les objets de la mémoire pour une approche comparatiste des reliques et de leur culte*, ed. Philippe Borgeaud and Youri Volokhine (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 193–94.

[177] For a discussion on the status of the Maria chapel as a palace chapel in Carolingian times, see Lioba Gets, "St. Marien als 'Pfalzkapelle'? Eine alte Frage erneut gestellt," in *Die Aachener Marienkirche: Aspekte ihrer Archäologie und frühen Geschichte* (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2014), 209–14.
In the 1978 justification of the nomination file for the inscription to the UNESCO World Heritage List, the author used the term 'palace chapel' seven times while the "Aachen Cathedral" is only mentioned twice. Wilhelm Fabricius, "Aachen Cathedral nomination file." (Paris, March 31, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[178] Josef Buchkremer, *Dom zu Aachen; 100 Jahre Denkmalpflege am Aachener Dom*, Beiträge zur Baugeschichte 3 (Aachen: Metz, 1955); Keller, *Archäologische Forschungen in Aachen*; Walter Maas, *Der Aachener Dom*

then 21st century with some interruptions during World War I and II. Church authorities used the site's exceptional architecture and historical relics to obtain funds for the restoration program. In the second half of the 20th century, the *Dombaumeister*, or Cathedral conservator, became a central figure of conservation and archeological work on the Aachen Cathedral. [179] The cathedral was and remains at the center of attention for heritage conservators, urbanists, and archeologists.

The Aachen Cathedral's inscription on the first UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978 reflected the longstanding local, national and international importance of the monument. It also highlighted the central role of local experts in attracting international attention to the site. In this case, regional conservator Georg Mörsch led the selection and nomination process. Following the 1978 inscription, local conservators realized the symbolic and practical advantages of such a status in their widespread efforts to gather financial help for conservation of the site. The Aachen Cathedral's status as the first German World Heritage site subsequently became a matter of local pride celebrated in signage, events, and publications. In parallel, however, locals felt a growing divide between their imagination of the historic complex of Charlemagne's palace and UNESCO's vision of the Aachen Cathedral as a standalone monument.

This chapter reconstructs the conservation and restoration projects undertaken at the Aachen Cathedral from the 19th to the 21st century, through existing literature and local archival sources. It interrogates how local actors navigated the overlapping meanings of the Aachen Cathedral as a sacral space, a memorial space for Charlemagne and a heritage site. How did the local, national and international meanings of the site interact and how did they influence the concrete conservation and research at the Aachen Cathedral?

(Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013); Müller, Bayer, and Kerner, *Die Aachener Marienkirche*; Pohle, "100 Jahre Aachener Domgrabung. Erich Schmidt und seine archäologischen Forschungen im Aachener Pfalzgebiet"; Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*; Herbert Philipp Schmitz, *Robert Cremer: Erbauer der Technischen Hochschule und Restaurator des Münsters zu Aachen* (Aachen: Verlag Aachener Geschichtsverein, 1969), 40–103; Shaffer, "Restoring Charlemagne's Chapel "; Michel Sot, "Le palais d'Aix: Lieu de pouvoir et de culture," in *Le monde carolingien : Bilan, perspectives, champs de recherches : actes du colloque international de Poitiers, Centre d'Études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 18-20 novembre 2004*, Wojciech Falkowski and Yves Sassier eds. (Turnhout, 2009), 243–61.

[179] In certain projects the *Dombaumeister* collaborates with other experts. The treasury of the Cathedral for example is under the responsibility of other conservators. See the *Dombaukomission* files at the Aachen Cathedral archive "Dombaukomission," A 3.1.2., Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Dombaumeister Helmut Maintz, for example, regularly mentions his catholic identity and the role of the Aachen Cathedral as a religious space. See Helmut Maintz, *Die Grund- und Aussensanierung 1986 bis 2006*, vol. 10, Karlsverein-Dombauverein (Aachen: Thouet, 2008), 10.

The first part of this chapter reconstructs the (inter)national competition for Charlemagne memory that surrounded the Maria chapel from the 19th century onwards, as Napoleon and later Prussia tried to assert their political power in Aachen. The large restoration and conservation actions launched in and around the site in the 19th and early 20th century were focused on the Carolingian history of the site. In the second half of the 20th century, the Cathedral became a local symbol of resilience and received formal national protection, but locals also vied for international support for the restoration and research projects at the Cathedral. The sub-chapter studies the post WWII projects in and around the Aachen Cathedral and shows how local conservators navigated local, national and international interests in the site to vie for financial support.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the Aachen Cathedral's 1978 inscription on UNESCO's World Heritage List. It studies the nomination file prepared by the Aachen native, regional conservator, and expert representative at UNESCO Georg Mörsch, to show that European narratives dominated the file. Immediately following the inscription, the FRG worked with UNESCO to attract attention to the Aachen Cathedral through an international journalist tour. Media reports on the inscription offered a more wide-ranging reception focusing at times on European meaning but also on local preoccupations.

The third part of the chapter examines the evolution of the site after it became a World Heritage Site. Although the practical cathedral conservation continued to be a local affair, Church authorities used the symbolic power of the UNESCO World Heritage status to obtain restoration funds and raise awareness. The chapter shows how, as the financial advantages of the World Heritage site status became prominent, the city and church had to account for increasing national and international interference, which at times collided with local imaginations of the site, especially from the 2000s.

1.1. A Site of (Inter)National Importance: Restoration, Conservation and Research at the Carolingian Octagon from the 19th Century onward

The following sub-chapter offers a rapid overview of 150 years of conservation and research work on the Aachen Cathedral. The UNESCO World Heritage inscription was not the culmination of a long-term shift from local to national and then international investment in the site. On the contrary, international involvement in the 19th century contributed to the transformation of the Maria Chapel into a heritage site in the first place. The site continuously overlayed international,

national, and local preoccupations since the 19th century in what Beyen describes as a triangular relationship. [180]

1.1.1 Searching for Charlemagne: Political Legitimization, Archeology and Conservation intertwined under French and Prussian Rule

The 19th century marked a turn in the life of the Maria Church of Aachen as it became the stage of a Franco-German struggle for Charlemagne memory. Aachen was on the front line when Napoleonic troops invaded the Rhine region in 1794. [181] In anticipation of the arrival of the French, Aachen's imperial insignia, used for coronations of German kings, had been brought to Paderborn, and later Vienna, for their safeguarding.[182] The city's carefully maintained link to Charlemagne memory turned out to be useful under French occupation. Indeed, during his reign, Napoleon made the Carolingian emperor a central ancestral figure for his empire. [183] Between 1794 and 1815, the French thus used the site to establish political-historical connections to Charlemagne. In 1802, Aachen became a capital of the Roer department at the expense of its traditional competitor Cologne, while its Maria Church became a cathedral with a French bishop at its head.[184]

Napoleonic Charlemagne memory clashed with the Aachen's Charlemagne cult at times. Because of its Christian character, for example, the French occupiers prohibited the traditional *Karlsfest* or Saint Charlemagne Day at the beginning of the occupation. Another consequence of

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[180] Beyen warns against the trope of " interpreting the evolution of memory merely through the lens of modernization." Beyen, "Introduction: Local, National, Transnational Memories: A Triangular Relationship," 6.
Dr. Bart Zwegers concludes his overview of the history of the conservation of the Maria Church since the 19th century by describing the site's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List as the "summit" of its internationalization. I depart from this interpretation. See Bart Cornelis Zwegers, *Heritage in Transition: Global and Local Challenges in Germany and the United Kingdom, 1970-2010* (Doctoral Thesis, Maastricht, Maastricht University, 2018), 77.

[181] French troops had already occupied the city in 1792-93. This time however they would rule over the city for the following 20 years. See Gielen, *Aachen unter Napoleon*. Kraus, *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne*; Kraus, A*achen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, Band 5*; Thierry Lentz, "Napoleon and Charlemagne," *Napoleonica. La Revue* 1, no. 1 (2008), 45–68 ; Jakob Torsy, *Geschichte des Bistums Aachen während der französischen Zeit (1802-1814)* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1940); Jürgen Wilhelm, *Napoleon am Rhein : Wirkung und Erinnerung einer Epoche* (Köln: Greven, 2012).

[182] The imperial insignia never returned to Aachen's dismay. The city exhibits 20th century copies of the lost insignia, see Helg and Linden, *Vom Kaiserglanz zur Bürgerfreiheit*, 139–54, 228–38; Walter Maassen, "Rechtsgutachten über die „Reichskleinodien"aus Aachen," in *Recht und Unrecht - 1200 Jahre Justiz in Aachen* (Aachen: AKV Sammlung Crous GmbH, 2015), 214–21; Werner Tschacher and Dirk Tölke, *Denkmäler der Geschichte: die Nachbildungen der Reichskleinodien im Krönungsfestsaal des Aachener Rathauses* (Aachen: Klenkes, 2002).

[183] After the Revolution Napoleon had at first concentrated on using antique Roman and Greek symbolic for his reign, he then turned to Charlemagne. He presented himself as the direct heir of Charlemagne to legitimize the expansion of his empire towards the north. See Oschema, "Ein Karl für alle Fälle"; Lentz, "Napoleon and Charlemagne"; Tschacher, "Sire!"; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft*, 199–243.

[184] See Klaus Friedrich, *Marc Antoine Berdolet (1740 - 1809); Bischof von Colmar, erster Bischof von Aachen ; sein Leben und Wirken unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner pastoralen Vorstellungen* (Mönchengladbach: B. Kühlen, 1973); Gielen, *Aachen unter Napoleon*; Kraus, *Auf dem Weg in die Moderne*; Rowe, "A Tale of Two Cities."

the French interest in local historical heritage was the looting of many of the city's most valuable treasures. This looting inscribed itself in a deliberate and widespread action by the Napoleonic regime in the occupied regions of the Rhine and other parts of the empire aimed at filling the Paris museums.[185] Cathedral treasures such as the porphyry columns, the Proserpina Sarcophagus where Charlemagne was believed to have been buried until 1165, the bronze statues of a Pine and a Bear or Lupo were all brought to Paris. The French also launched archaeological searches in the floors of the Octagon looking for the tomb of Charlemagne, in vain.[186] These relics were sometimes replaced by Napoleonic symbols. Inhabitants were particularly displeased, for example when the medieval Charlemagne statue on the fountain of the marketplace was replaced by a Napoleon statue and taken to Paris. [187]

After the departure of the French in 1814–15, Aachen came under Prussian rule. The Maria Church was left in a poor state of conservation and was demoted from its status as a cathedral in 1821. Despite Prussian efforts for the return of the loots from Paris, some objects remained missing. The Octagon columns became a symbol of this absence as they were only partially reintegrated in the 1840 and some can still be found in the Louvre today. Local conservators regularly reignite the debate of their return.[188] When Victor Hugo visited Aachen in the 1840s, he was thoroughly disappointed with the inner state of the church and only noted the *Carlo Magno* plaque installed by the French in the center of the Octagon.[189] Due to its geographical position and religious background, the Prussian empire found it difficult to integrate the Rhineland regions and their Catholic traditions. Over time however, Prussian rulers became interested in the political memory

[185] Art Historian Benedicte Savoy has thoroughly researched the napoleonic lootings and subsequent efforts to retrieve the objects, see Bénédicte Savoy, *Patrimoine annexé : les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800* (Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2003).

[186] Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 20–22.
The so-called 'Proserpina sarcophagus' was abandoned in a corner of the church of Aachen for centuries, before being rediscovered as belonging to Charlemagne in the 18th century. See Helmut Jung, "Der Persephonesarkophag Karls des Großen," *Jahrbuch Des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts* 117 (2002), 283–312.

[187] Tschacher, "Sire!"

[188] Brigitte Buettner, "The Columns from 'the Tomb of Charlemagne' between Aachen and the Louvre: A Modern Spoliation Saga."in *Gesta,* vol. 63, no. 2 *(Fort Tryon Park, N.Y*, 2024*.)*, 169–203.
In the 1960s, Conservator Felix Kreusch "found" several Aachen columns in the Louvre, see Felix Kreusch, "Neues über die Aachener Säulen im Louvre in 1968" (Report, Aachen, 1968), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Bauausschuss Sitzung am 26.4.1968" (Report, Aachen, April 26, 1968), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, *Kapitelle und Bronzebasen aus Aachen*, vol. XVIII, *Cahiers Archeologiques*, 1968.

[189] The Rococo decoration particularly elicited his disdain. Hugo was also impressed by the Barbarossa Chandelier. See Victor Hugo, *Le Rhin. T. 1* (Paris, 1858), 104–5. Accessed August 25th 2025, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k406186s.

of Charlemagne as a tool of inclusion of the Rhine regions, despite his image as a *Saxenschlächter*.[190]

From the 1840s onwards, the Octagon was subjected to an ambitious program of restoration under Prussian financial and scientific sponsorship. Ordered by King Friedrich Wilhelm the IVth in 1942, the first restorations took place under appraisal of the newly created Prussian *Konservator der Kunstdenkmaeler,* cultural heritage conservator, Ferdinand von Quast, and under the direction of the *Landbauinspektor*, building or construction inspector, Johann Peter Cremer, the restorations attempted to return the chapel to its former glory. [191] A major project of the 1870s, for example, aimed at recreating the Carolingian mosaic of the chapel cupola, which had been covered by later medieval decorations and stucco. The work involved making and installing a giant mosaic on the cupola of the octagon, inspired by the early-Christian Ravenna style. The result of this work gave the chapel its characteristic neo-Carolingian interior décor still visible today. Some of the choices made for the church in the 19th century, however, led to new conservation challenges. The Gothic chapel, for example, was dangerously fragilized by the 19th century restorations on the building, which cut through the medieval anchor holding the chapel together, while trying to replace the stained-glass windows.[192]

Following the Romantic passion for ruins of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Maria Chapel restorations inscribed themselves in a larger western European movement for the restoration and reconstruction of medieval monuments. In the Rhine regions alone, several other

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[190] Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis*, 244–310.
On the Relationship between Cologne and Prussia, see Stefan Lewejohann and Johannes Ralf Beines, eds., *Achtung Preußen! Beziehungsstatus: kompliziert* ; *Köln 1815 - 2015 ; Begleitband zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung des Kölnischen Stadtmuseums vom 29. Mai 2015 bis 25. Oktober 2015* ; *danke Berlin, 200 Jahre Preußen am Rhein* (Mainz am Rhein: Nünnerich-Asmus-Verl, 2015).

[191] See Lydia Konnegen, "Opere mirabili constructa. Ein kurzer bauhistorischer Abriss zum Aachener Dom," in *Dombaumeistertagung in Aachen 2009. Vorträge zum Aachener Dom*, vol. 13 (Aachen: Thouet, 2011), 34–35 ; Lydia Konnegen, "Dem Stil der Gotik verpflichtet - Die Neubelebung der Chorhalle im 19. Jahrhundert" in: *"Sie glänzte wie ein kostbarer Edelstein, wie ein kristallklarer Jaspis": 600 Jahre Aachener Chorhalle,* Schriftenreihe des Karsverein-Dombauvereins, 16 (Aachen 2014), 74-87.

[192] Konnegen, "Von der Restaurierung zur Konservierung "; Shaffer, "Restoring Charlemagne's Chapel : Historical Consciousness, Material Culture, and Transforming Images of Aachen in the 1840s"; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft*, 274–83; Wehling, *Die Mosaiken im Aachener Münster und ihre Vorstufen*, 50–114.
Archival sources on the 19th century restorations of the Aachen Cathedral, see "Restaurationsarbeiten im Dom zu Aachen Bd. 1-11" (Aachen, 1866-1927), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16617-166127, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland ; "Reparaturen an der Cathedralkirche in Aachen Bd.1-2" (Aachen, 1817-1853), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16628-16629, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.
The Gothic chapel is the object of continuous worries about its stability, see Gisbert Knopp, ed., *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung: Baugeschichte, Bauforschung, Sanierung*, Arbeitsheft der rheinischen Denkmalpflege 58 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002).

medieval religious sites, such as the Cologne and the Speyer Cathedral underwent substantial restorations in the second half of the 19th century. [193] Locals supported the restauration work through associations, the so-called *Dombau Vereine*. In Aachen, the *Karlsverein zur Restauration des Aachener Münsters* or Charlemagne association for the Restoration of the Church of Aachen was created in 1847. In Cologne, a similar *Dombauverein* was created a few years earlier, in 1842.[194] In France, similar restorations and reconstruction projects took place from the 1830s onwards. Architect Viollet le Duc has become the most famous figure of the French restoration movement, his work from 1830s to the 1870s included many medieval religious monuments, such as the Vezelay Abbey, Notre Dame de Paris, the Basilica of Saint Denis, the Lausanne Cathedral and the Sainte-Chapelle. [195] In Victorian England, the widespread restoration of medieval churches was also accompanied by the construction of new medieval-style architecture, dubbed the "Gothic Revival" period. [196]

Like the French before them, Prussian authorities also initiated archeological research in and around the Aachen site. In 1843 and 1861, the Berlin Royal museums launched two searches inside the Maria Church under the direction of its director Ignaz Maria von Olfers, in search of the Charlemagne tomb.[197] Several searches around the church followed in the remainder of the 19th century under the direction of stonemason Johannes Baecker and architect Karl Schmitz. [198] Between 1910 and 1914–15, state *Baubeamter* or conservator Erich Schmidt then launched

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[193] See Astrid Swenson, "Cologne Cathedral as an International Monument," 29–51 ; Dethard von Winterfeld, "Zweieinhalb Jahrhunderte Denkmalpflege am Dom zu Speyer," in : *ICOMOS – Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* Bd. 3 (1991), 23f.
For a history of heritage conservation in the 19th century, see Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: a History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity*. Routledge, (2013); J Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Routledge, 2018); Winfried Speitkamp, "Heritage Preservation, Nationalism and the Reconstruction of Historical Monuments in Germany during the Long Nineteenth Century." in *Kunstiteaduslikke Uurimusi*, vol. 23 (2014), 37–54.
[194] On the *Karlsverein* in the 19th century, see Shaffer, "Restoring Charlemagne's Chapel," 27–38. "Verein zur Restauration des Aachener Münsters" (Aachen, 1891 1847), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16634, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.
On the Cologne Dombauverein, see Kathrin Pilger, *Der Kölner Zentral-Dombauverein im 19. Jahrhundert : Konstituierung des Bürgertums durch formale Organisation* (SH-Verlag, 2004).
[195] Laurence de Finance and Jean-Michel Leniaud, *Viollet-Le-Duc : les visions d'un architecte* (Cité de l'architecture & du patrimoine, 2014).
[196] Gothic Revival spread in Europe and beyond, see Timothy Brittain-Catlin et al. (eds.), *Gothic Revival Worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin's Global Influence (*Leuven University Press, 2016); Alex G. Bremner et al. (eds.) "The Gothic Revival Beyond Europe." *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Medievalism* (Oxford University Press, 2020); Romuald Kaczmarek and Agata Kubala, *The Greek and Gothic Revivals in Europe 1750-1850* (Brepols Publishers, 2024).
[197] Konnegen and Pohle, "Die Domgrabungen der Jahre 1843 und 1861"; Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 23–37.
[198] Pohle, "1000 Jahre Archäologie auf der Suche nach dem Grab Karls des Großen," 81-94.

extensive archeological excavations. Schmidt's excavations focused on the interior of the Octagon. Like others before him, he tried to find the tomb of Charlemagne in vain, but he uncovered several notable burials in the church, including the tomb of Saint Desiderius and Otto III. He also found indications of the presence of anterior buildings.[199] Schmidt's work was interrupted by the onset of WWI and never led to any publication. Additional searches and restoration projects took place following the end of WWI, without outstanding results.[200]

1.1.2. A National Site with European Importance: Aachen Cathedral Conservation and Research after WWII

Aachen, a border city, was a piece on the chessboard during both World Wars. During World War II, Aachen was subjected to bombing because of its industrial activity and its geographical position. Conservation and restoration projects on the Aachen Cathedral were continuous and multi-fold in the second half of the 20th century, but conservators first focused on reversing the heavy war damage inflicted on Aachen's historic center at the center of which stood the City Hall.[201] The City Hall was on the forefront of Aachen Mayor Albert Maas' preoccupations. In his

[199] Schmidt did not actually believe that Charlemagne was buried inside the church since he had forbidden such burials during his reign, see Pohle, "100 Jahre Aachener Domgrabung. Erich Schmidt und seine archäologischen Forschungen im Aachener Pfalzgebiet"; Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 38–45 ; Mély, "Le tombeau de Charlemagne à Aix-la-Chapelle."
Papers of provincial Conservator Clemens on the 1910-15 searches show that the *Karlsverein* was involved in financing the searches and that Prussian authorities were interested in Carolingian discoveries. See "Ausgrabungen im Münster zu Aachen Bd. 1" (Aachen, 1910-1916), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16839, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.

[200] Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 44–47.
On *Karlsverein* and conservation in the 1920s-30s, see "Restaurationsarbeiten im Dom zu Aachen Bd. 11" (Aachen, 1918-1927), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16627, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland; "Münsterkirche zu Aachen"(File, Aachen, 1926-1935), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16633, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland; "Denkmalpflege in Aachen" (Aachen, 1931-1944), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16819, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.

[201] See August Brecher, Neubeginn auf Trümmern: erste Nachkriegsjahre im Bistum Aachen 1945-1950 (Aachen: Einhard, 1995), 107–14 ; Fischer, "Die Neuplanung Aachens nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg" in *Das alte Aachen. Seine Zerstörung und sein Wiederaufbau*, ed. Albert Huyskens (Aachen: Aachener Geschichtsverein, 1953); Helg and Linden, *Vom Kaiserglanz zur Bürgerfreiheit*; Hans Hoffmann, *Aachen in Trümmern. Die alte Kaiserstadt im Bombenhagel und danach* (Düsseldorf, 1984); Philipp Kerz, "Zerstörung und Wiederaubau des alten Rathauses in Aachen," in *Aachen zum Jahre 1951*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege (Rheinischer Verein f. Denkmalpflege u. Heimatschutz, 1952), 141–50; Helmut Kirsch, "Verkehrliche Entwicklung der Stadt Aachen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," in *Strassen- und Verkehrsgeschichte deutscher Städte nach 1945. Teil: Stuttgart - Aachen - Bayreuth*, ed. Helmut Kirsch (Bonn: Kirschbaum, 1996), 62–112; Malangré, *Aus Trümmern zur Europastadt. Aachen von 1945 bis 2005*, 68–74; Mathilde Röntgen, "Das gotische Rathaus zu Aachen," in *Das alte Aachen. Seine Zerstörung und sein Wiederaufbau*, ed. Albert Huyskens (Aachen, 1953), 112–14; Axel Sowa and Ariane Wilson (eds.), *Aachen nach 1945 Fakten und Debatten zum Wiederaufbau* (Aachen, 2013).

1950 Charlemagne Prize speech, he described the ruins of the City Hall as a symbolic representation of "was aus Europa durch die furchtbaren Kriege geworden ist." [202]

Post-World War II pictures of Aachen's city center show the cathedral standing relatively unscathed amid ruins. Although the church still needed substantial repairs, the cathedral's miraculous survival, thanks to a group of young firemen and women, became a local tale of heroism.[203] The cathedral also gained renewed importance as a cultural and social space in Aachen because of the void left by destruction of the city's Couven Museum.[204] The city and the cathedral's movable treasures had been classified into three levels of importance and taken to protection inland at the beginning of the war. After WWII, the cathedral lobbied the American military governing bodies for the return of the cultural artifacts. The first group of objects was repatriated from Siegen in May of 1945.[205]

In the following decades, local conservators actively continued their research on the cathedral and the historic palace of Charlemagne while also performing multiple restoration projects on the building and its relics. The financial burden of Aachen Cathedral conservation projects was shared mainly among the Catholic Church, the Regional Cultural Ministry, and the Federal State. In the

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[202] Albert Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Speech, 1950. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/richard-nikolaus-graf-coudenhove-kalergi-1950/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen.
Albert Maas (1888-1970) was a CDU politician and mayor of Aachen from 1946 to 1952. See Claudia Conrads, *Die Christlich-Demokratische Union in Aachen : von der Gründung zur bis Konsolidierung*. Dissertation (Bonn University, 2006). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://bonndoc.ulb.uni-bonn.de/xmlui/bitstream/handle/20.500.11811/2470/0872.pdf.

[203] On the protection of the Aachen Cathedral during the war, see Hans Hoffmann, *Aachens Dom im Feuersturm: die tausend Kriegsnächte der Mädchen und Jungen der Domwache 1941-1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1984); Römling, *Aachen*, 291; Karl Schein and Roland Wentzler, "*Hoffnung und Gewissheit": Aachens Dom und Domschatz in Kriegs- und Nachkriegszeit : Dokumente und Berichte*, vol. 8, Schriftenreihe Karlsverein-Dombauverein (Aachen: Thouet, 2006), 8,35,54,91 ; Engels, "Letter to Interior Minister Höcherl" (Letter, Aachen, February 1, 1965), B106/33148, Bundesarchiv Koblenz. Sends a copy of his publication on the "Feuerlöschergruppe" safeguarding of the Cathedral.
On Postwar restorations, see; Buchkremer, *Dom zu Aachen; 100 Jahre Denkmalpflege am Aachener Dom*, 99–101; Felix Kreusch, "Die katholischen Kirchen," in *Das alte Aachen, seine Zerstörung und sein Wiederaufbau* (Aachen: Aachener Geschichtsverein, 1953), 9–19; Lill, *Die Kunstpflege*, 103–4.

[204] On the importance of the historic center of Aachen in its urban context, see Wilhelm K Fischer, "Die Neuplanung Aachens nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg," 160–61.

[205] Felix Kütgens, "Kunschutz in Aachen," in *Aachen zum Jahre 1951.*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege (Neuss, 1952), 81–88; Schein and Wentzler, *Hoffnung und Gewissheit*, 8:59–71; Tschacher, "„All this trouble for those damned old bones!" Aachener Mythen um Karl den Großen zwischen Dekonstruktion, Transformation und Persistenz"; Werner Tschacher, "Karl der Große: Aachens dienstbare Leiche," in *Die dienstbare Leiche: der tote Körper als medizinische, soziokulturelle und ökonomische Ressource. Proceedings zum Kick-off Workshop des Aachener Kompetenzzentrums für Wissenschaftsgeschichte der RWTH Aachen University (15.-16. Januar 2009)*, Dominik Kirk, Studien des Aachener Kompetenzzentrums für Wissenschaftsgeschichte 5 (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2009), 29–35. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.uni-kassel.de/upress/online/frei/978-3-89958-664-0.volltext.frei.pdf.
A small pilgrimage took place in honor of their return in 1945, see Brecher, *Neubeginn auf Trümmern*, 83.

immediate postwar, the site was given the status of a "monument of national importance," which provided federal relief from the Interior Ministry for its restoration.[206] For example, in 1958, the 300 000 DM budget for restoration and conservation was divided as follows: 160 000 DM from the Cultural Ministry of North Rhine Westphalia, 30 000 DM from the Regional Fund for *Grenzzonnen*, 10 000 DM from the *Karlsverein*, 60 000 DM from the Church and 40 000 DM from the Federal Ministries.[207] In the 1960s and 1970s, the yearly budget for conservation rose from about 200 000 DM to reach a high point of 380 000 DM in 1963 before stabilizing around 150 000 DM between 1966 and 1972. The Church and regional Cultural Ministry generally carried a third of the whole budget each. The city of Aachen contributed around 5000-10000 DM a year. The cathedral received exceptional *Grenzlandfonds*, a regional fund for border zones until the 1970s.[208]

The city of Aachen participated financially through the intermediary of the *Karlsverein zur Restauration des Aachener Münsters.* A century after its creation, the "Charlemagne association" still actively raised funds for conservation projects and participated in the decision-making on conservation matters of the cathedral.[209] Because of the joint financial participation, from 1948 onwards, a regular meeting took place with an overview committee composed of representatives

[206] Post WWII, the BMI identified a dozen "*National wertvolle Kulturdenkmäler*", or monuments of national importance and financially supported their restoration. The program started in 1950 but continues until today. It widened its scope in 2014. See 2014 rules Jeannette Wurmseher and Gerhard Stolper, "Fördergrundsätze für das Denkmalpflegeprogramm 'National wertvolle Kulturdenkmäler' der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (BKM)" Documents, (Bonn ; Stuttgart, September 1st, 2015). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.bva.bund.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/Aufgaben/ZMV/Zuwendungen_national/Zuwendungen_Migration/bkm_denkmalpflege_foerdergrundsaetze.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=2.

[207] See "Stizung des Bauausschusses" (Report, Aachen, January 16, 1958), 5, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[208] See "Finanzierung Bundes- und Landesregierung." (Aachen, 1948-1969), Domarchiv A 10.1.17a, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. "Sitzung der Baukommission am 9.3.1977" (Report, Aachen, March 9, 1977), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. End of *Grenzlandfonds*. Participation from the Federal State amounted to 30-40 000 DM a year. See "Dom zu Aachen," (File, 72 1957), B106/33148-33149, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[209] In the 1920s and 30s, the association organized lotteries (1926-27), took part in conservation projects (1930-33) and additional funds negotiations with different representatives (NSDAP from 1934). See "Münsterkirche zu Aachen" (File, Aachen, 1926-1935), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 16633, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland.
On post-WWII *Karlsverein* participation, see "Karlsverein" (Aachen, 1963-1976), Domarchiv A 10.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Karlsverein" (Aachen, 1977-1985), Domarchiv A 10.1.68a, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 1974, the *Karlsverein* took part in the choice of the next *Dombaumeister* see Erich Stephany, "5. Besprechung über wichtige Fragen am 28.1.1974" (Report, Aachen, January 28, 1974), 3, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Today the association is called 'Karslverein-Dombauverein', see their website "Startseite. Karlsverein – Dombauverein. Dem Erbe verpflichtet seit 175 Jahren," Karlsverein. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.karlsverein.de; Robert Esser, "Bald 3000 Mitglieder helfen dem Dom," *Aachener Nachrichten*, July 25th, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/bald-3000-mitglieder-helfen-dem-dom/3367370.html.

from the Cultural Ministry and the Federal Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium des Inneren* or BMI), as well as local Church, City and *Karlsverein* representatives. On these occasions, the *Dombaumeister* discusses all the work he has accomplished, while the committee approves future conservation plans.[210]

Architect Hans Königs became the most visible figure of the challenging reconstruction of the immediate post-war. He became Aachen's city conservator in 1953.[211] At the Aachen Cathedral, conservators focused on preparing the cathedral for the first Aachen pilgrimage since the end of the war in 1951. *Dombaumeister* Joseph Buchkremer (1917-1949) and his follower Felix Kreusch (1949-1974), oversaw urgent repairs in the immediate postwar.[212]

In the 1950s, Kreusch, alongside his assistant Leo Hugot launched archaeological searches in the Aachen Cathedral and its surrounding city center, but these were not a priority at the time. Aachen city archaeology was under the directions of Wilhelm Lehmbruck until the city dropped its archeology plans and office in 1958.[213] The cathedral then collaborated with the regional

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[210] The meetings started in 1948, see Brecher, *Neubeginn auf Trümmern*, 110.

[211] Ludwina Forst, *Königs Weg: auf den Spuren des 1. Aachener Stadtkonservators Hans Königs, 1903-1988*, 1. Aufl (Aachen: Thouet, 2008); Hans Königs, "Denkmalpflege und Wiederaufbau," in *Aachen zum Jahre 1951*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege (Neuss, 1952), 91–106.
Werner Dümmler, "Als Denkmalpflege noch von etwas Suppe abhing," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 5, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Die Denkmalpflege ist in erster Linie ein Pferdehandel," *Aachener Nachrichten*, August 5, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8., Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[212] Lydia Konnegen, "50 Jahre Denkmalpflege am Aachener Dom: Zum 150. Geburtstag von Joseph Buchkremer (1864-1949)," in *"Sie glänzte wie ein kostbarer Edelstein, wie ein kristallklarer Jaspis" : 600 Jahre Aachener Chorhalle*, vol. 16 (Aachen: Karlsverein-Dombauverein, 2014), 98–109; Felix Kreusch, "Wiederaufbau des Domes und geschichtliche Funde," in *Aachen zum Jahre 1951*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege (Neuss, 1952), 106–15; Kreusch, "Die katholischen Kirchen," 12–19; Erich Stephany, "Zur Verglasung der Chorhalle am Aachener Dom," in *Aachen zum Jahre 1951*, Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege (Neuss, 1952), 116–24.
Repairs of war damages continued into the 1960s, see "Wiederaufbau der Domkuriengebäude zu Aachen (Grenzlandhilfe 1956)." (Aachen, 1957), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 18768, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland; "Staatsbeihilfen zur Denkmalpflege" (Aachen, 1939-1952), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 21734, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland; "Erhaltung der Altertümer und Kunstdenkmäler in der Stadt Aachen, insbesonders der Münsterkirche" (Aachen, 1948-1952), Regierung Aachen BR 0005, Nr. 21731, Landesarchiv NRW Abteilung Rheinland; Felix Kreusch, "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 16. Januar 1958. Erläuterungsbericht für die Instandesetzung des Aachener Domes, Baujahr 1958/1959." (Report, Aachen, February 20, 1958), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Uberlegungen über die Einrichtung der Chorhalle des Aachener Doms. Bauausschuss Sitzung des 26.4.1968." (Report, Aachen, December 3, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Joseph Buchkremer (1864-1949) was an Aachen architect and cathedral conservator. Albert Huyskens, "Unserem Ehrenmitglied Dombaumeister Professor Dr.-Ing. h. c. Joseph Buchkremer (gest. 11. 1. 1949) zum Gedächtnis." *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, Bd. 62 (1949) 104–11.
Felix Kreusch (1904-1985) was an Aachen architect, art historian and cathedral conservator. See Ahmed Peter Kreusch, "Nachruf für Dr. Felix Kreusch zum 25. Todestag am 4. November 2010." In: *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen*, 10, (2009/2010), 309–322.

[213] Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 52–57.

organization *Landschaftsverband Rheinland* (LVR), whose Aachen office replaced the city archaeology from 1959 until 1968.[214] The focus of these searches was the Carolingian palace, as a *Generalanzeiger* article stated in June of 1965:

> Gleichzeitig verspricht man sich von den kommenden Grabungen neue Spuren aus karolingischer Zeit, die noch fehlende Teile im Bild der Kaiserpfalz ergänzen und vielleicht auch Auskunft über den Palast des Kaisers erbringen.[215]

Restoration projects and archaeological research led to renewed discussions on the building's construction history. In preparation for the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne Exhibition, a model of the Carolingian palace was made based on recent research.

Besides the archeological searches, *Dombaumeister* Kreusch continued the restoration and conservation efforts in the 1960s. 1963 saw the reconstruction of the southern tower chapel, destroyed by bombing during WWII, in preparation for the 1965 pilgrimage. Following 1965, Kreusch launched the ambitious project of the stabilization and new arrangement of the cathedral's Choir Hall and undertook the replacement of the heating system.[216] In 1969, a new Choir school

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Mention of the 1951 searches inside the Aachen Cathedral in "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 28 März 1969" (Report, Aachen, March 28, 1969), 2, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On postwar city archaeology, see also Keller, *Archäologische Forschungen in Aachen*, 23–27.

[214] Felix Kreusch, "Bericht über die baugeschichtlichen Forschungen am Aachener Dom Stand 1964" (Report, Aachen, December 1, 1964), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Prof. Dr Petrikovits, "Letter to Generalvikar Dompropost Müssener" (Letter, Aachen, October 16, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung des Dombauausschusses am 19.12.1962" (Report, Aachen, December 19, 1962), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Horst Pomsel, "Programme für viele Jahre. Erforschung der Kaiserpfalz. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft gibt Geld für Ausgrabungen in Aachen" (Aachen, July 18, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Cüppers and Sage, *Aqvae Granni*, 77–110; Harald Koschik, "Archäologsiche Denkmalpflege im Rheinland," in *Spurensicherung - Archäologische Denkmalpflege in der Euregio Maas-Rhein*, ed. Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1992), 319–20.

[215] "Ein Quellheiligtum. Neue Erkenntnisse über Aachen in römischer Zeit," *Generalanzeiger Oberhausen*, June 23, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Deutsche Presse-Agentur (dpa), "Neue Karolingische Funde vor dem Aachener Dom" (Article, February 16, 1965), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Uberraschender karolingischer Fund. Schon Karl der Große lies das Atrium des Aachener Domes umbauen" (Article, February 18, 1965), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[216] On the state of the *Chorhalle* in 1964, see "Schäden am Dom. Hält das Verankerungssystem?" (Article, June 1964), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See reports on the conservation work at the Cathedral "Sitzung des Dombauausschusses am 15.1.1964" (Report, Aachen, January 15, 1964), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Bauausschuss Sitzung am 20.1.1965" (Report, Aachen, January 20, 1965), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Bauausschuss Sizung am 18.2.1966" (Report, Aachen, February 18, 1966), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Dombauausschuss Sitzung 2.6.1967" (Report, Aachen, June 2, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Besprechung des Landesmuseumsdirektor Petrikovits mit Dompropost Müssener am 25.11.1967 in Aachen" (Report, Aachen, November 16, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Uberlegungen über die Einrichtung der Chorhalle des Aachener Doms" (Aachen, March 12, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Bericht über die Bauarbeiten am Aachener Dom seit dem 4.3.1966" (Report, Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.9, Bischöfliches

building on the Katschhof replaced the small Aachen Cathedral *Dombauhütte* through which several specialized workers, mostly stone cutters, carried on the restoration projects on the historical building.[217] From 1967, architect Leo Hugot directed archeological searches within the cathedral grounds.[218] Hugot emerged as a central figure in local heritage conservation when he became city conservator in 1969. His prominence illustrates the ongoing interrelation of city and cathedral conservation in Aachen for mobile, archaeological and architectural heritage.[219]

The 1960s were also a moment of renewed attention to historical heritage around the Aachen Cathedral. The ambitious plans of the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne Exhibition accompanied debates on the conservation of historical heritage in the city center. A 1966 article in the *General Anzeiger*, offered some information on the Aachen plan:

> Ein Beispiel : die Kaiserstadt Aachen stellte einen Plan für die Sanierung der Stadt rund um den Marktplatz auf. Zwölf Baudenkmale wurden auf die Abbruchliste gesetzt.(...) Wieviel am Ende erhalten bleibt, ist eine Frage der laufenden Verhandlungen.[220]

The urban renewal plans ultimately led to the creation of a pedestrian area within the historic center from 1972.[221]

Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Leo Hugot, "Letter to Kreusch" (Letter, Aachen, July 13, 1970), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[217] The *Dombauhütte* on the *Katschhof* had been created in 1956 "Neue 'Werkbude' für Steinmetze des Domes," *Aachener Volkszeitung* (November 16, 1956), Domarchiv A 11.2.5, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Steinmetzarbeit im Domschatten" (Article, Aachen, September 23, 1960), Domarchiv A 11.2.5, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

The *Dombauhütte* was dissolved in 1969. The plans for a modern building for the Choir school led to animated discussions on the *Katschhof,* a parking lot at the time. See "Kapitelsitzung am Montag, den 28. April 1969." (Report, Aachen, April 28th, 1969), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Letter to Domkapitel. Verkauf von Baufragmenten des Domes durch Steinmetze der Dombauhütte." (Letter, Aachen, July 3, 1969), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 28 März 1969," (Report, Aachen, March 28, 1969), 3-4, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Nowadays the Cathedral again houses a *Dombauhütte* in its buildings, see "Dombauhütte Aachen," Dombauhütte Aachen. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://dombauhuette-aachen.de/.

[218] See "Kriminalist auf historischen Spuren. Architekt Hugot entwirft Pfalzmodell für die Karlsausstellung," *Aachener Nachrichten*, November 7, 1964, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. Leo Hugot, "Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Aachen.," in *Aquae Granni. Beiträge zur Archäologie von Aachen* (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1982), 116–73.

New geological and archaeological conclusions in the Choir "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 28 März 1969," (Report, Aachen, March 28, 1969), 2-3, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[219] Leo Hugot (1925-1982) was an architect and Aachen conservator. See Raabe and Horn, *Leo Hugot*.

[220] Gerd Hoffmann, "Denkmalpflege – Stiefkind der Kulturarbeit. Mangelnde Koordinations frisst Steuergelder. Kölner Unesco-Ausstellung und was dahinter steckt kritisch betrachtet. Sind Allerweltstädte das Ziel unserer Bau und Kulturpolitik?," *General Anzeiger*, January 20, 1966, Bestand 910 Nummer 9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[221] The city and Church had several exchanges about the plans on the *Münsterplatz.* See Erich Stephany, "Sitzung des Bau-Ausschusses am 16. Februar 1972" (Report, Aachen, February 16, 1972), 3, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Oberstadtdirektor Fischer, "Letter to Domkapitel. Heiligtumsfahrt." (Letter, Aachen, April 28, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Letter to Domkapitel. Umgestaltung des Münsterplatzes." (Letter, Aachen, June 14, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches

In the 1970s, the Aachen Cathedral needed to stabilize the shaking 14th century Choir Hall, which led to financial worries.[222] The cathedral's special status as a heritage site of national interest, however, reassured its conservators of the probability of receiving state support, as shown in a 1971 report:

> "Da es sich bei dem Dom um ein nationales Baudenkmal handelt, dürfte das staatliche Interesse daran dauernd bestehen bleiben."[223]

Following Kreusch's retirement in 1974, Hugot became *Dombaumeister.* He took over the restoration of the Choir Hall and other projects launched in the cathedral in the early 1970s.[224]

Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Niederschrift über die Besprechung betr. Fussgängerzone Münsterplatz" (Report, Aachen, August 13, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Letter to Dr Hugot. Münsterplatz" (Letter, Aachen, May 24, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Letter to Dr. Hugot. Erneuerung des Pflasters im Dombereich" (Letter, Aachen, April 27, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

In 1972, retired European leaders loved the plan when they visited the town and saw the Cathedral treasury exhibition at the City Hall. See "Münsterplatz nur für Fussgänger?," *Aachener Nachrichten*, July 1, 1972, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Wird auch der Münsterplatz Fussgängerzone?," *Aachener Nachrichten*, July 1, 1972, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Werner Dümmler, "Fussgängerbezirke werden ausgeweitet. Sitzt das Domkapitel auf den Plänen?," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, July 1, 1972, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Pedestrian friendly conceptions intensified in the 1980s and 1990s. See Juergen Kunow, Wilfried Maria Koch, and Jean-Marc Leotard, "Tatort: Stadt. Städtebauliche Entwicklung und Belange der Bodendenkmalpflege.," in *Spurensicherung - Archäologische Denkmalpflege in der Euregio Maas-Rhein*, ed. Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1992), 197; Kirsch, "Verkehrliche Entwicklung der Stadt Aachen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," 96–102.

[222] "Pfeiler gehen aus den Fugen. Neues Verankerungssystem für die Domhalle ist nötig" (Article, January 20, 1968), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Die innere Umgestaltung des Domes. Sinn und Ziel der jetzt begonnen Bauarbeiten im Dom des Chores," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, February 17, 1968, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[223] "Es geht dabei um den immer noch nicht abgeschlossenen Wiederaufbau und die Sicherung der Substanz; ähnlich liegt die Frage beim Kölner Dom." "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 16.3.1971" (Report, Aachen, March 16, 1971), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[224] Archeological searches in Ungernkappelle and Atrium. "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 18.2.1972" (Report, Aachen, February 18, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. Ongoing repairs of war damage revealed Carolingian remains during stair renovation "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 12.1.1973" (Report, Aachen, January 12, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

The *Chorhalle* repairs were especially complicated and expensive. On the challenges of conservation in the following years, see "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 16.3.1971"(Report, Aachen, March 16, 1971), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 13.3.1970" (Report, Aachen, March 13, 1970), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Instandesetzung des Aachener Domes. Bauaubschnitt 1972" (Report, Aachen, July 5, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Felix Kreusch, "Letter to Domkapitel" (Letter, Aachen, June 21, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen. 25.4.1973" (Report, Aachen, April 25, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen 6.6.1973" (Report, Aachen, June 6, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Erich Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen 9.8.1973" (Report, Aachen, August 8, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Dombaukommission 1973-1974" (Aachen, 1974 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.15, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Prof Dr. Hilger, "Letter to Dompropost Müllejans. Restaurierung der gotischen Chorhalle des Aachener Doms" (Letter, Bonn, July 28, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Niederschrift über die Sitzung des engeren Vorstand des Karlsverein

After the *Landschaftsverband Rheinland*'s Aachen Bureau was dissolved, Hugot continued leading archeological searches in and around the cathedral, focusing on the historical atrium and the *Ungarnkapelle*. In his capacity as both a city and cathedral conservator, Hugot closely interwove local research efforts on the Carolingian historic palace in the 1970s.[225]

In the 1970s, cathedral authorities launched an ambitious new construction project: a vault and new exhibition space to house the cathedral treasury. Organizers wanted to make Aachen a *Modell* for other museums in West Germany. Aachen Cathedral conservators started to venture on the international level of the European Community and UNESCO in parallel. They argued that the vault project conformed with the UNESCO 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which the FRG had ratified but was late in fulfilling and that it would serve as "'Modellbau' für alle Museen in Deutschland."[226] The project was expensive, so cathedral authorities insisted on the treasury's exceptionality, touting the "Einmaligkeit und Bedeutung des Aachener Domschatzes in der deutschen und europäischen politischen und kulturellen Tradition"[227]

Aachen conservators were aware of the cathedral's symbolic importance and used it to their advantage to obtain financial help. Locals successfully rallied new participants to the budget, and the European Community offered exceptional but seemingly unreliable financial help for the construction of a treasury bunker. In 1973 for example, the European contribution was suddenly

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zur Wiederherstellung des Aachener Doms. 13.9.1978 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, September 13, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Leo Hugot became *Dombaumeister* in 1974, see "Sitzung der Baukommission, Aachen 4.4.1974" (Report, Aachen, April 4, 1974), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[225] Raabe and Horn, *Leo Hugot*.
See also Wilfried Koch, "Neue Aspekte zur Bau und Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalterlichen Aachen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 98/99 (93 1992), 135.

[226] "Luftschutzanlage als "Modellbau" für alle Museen in Deutschland" Dr. Borger, "Letter to Stephany" (Letter, Cologne, February 3, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
"Es besteht Zweifellos ein Interesse daran, etwa Aachen zu einem Modellfall zu machen " "Sitzung des Bauausschusses am 16.3.1971" (Report, Aachen, March 16, 1971), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen. 25.4.1973"(Report, Aachen, April 25, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen 6.6.1973"; Stephany, "Besprechung über dringende Fragen 9.8.1973"(Report, Aachen, June 6, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[227] Dr. Ing. Ehm, "Bauliche Schutzmassnahmen für den Aachener Domschatz" (Bad Godesberg, August 6, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

cancelled, and the region had to jump in, which delayed construction.[228] After the construction ended, the *Kultusminister Konferenz* or KMK listed it in its UNESCO program in 1980.[229]

Even with forays into the international realm, Aachen cultural elites focused on local issues. In July of 1978, Aachen received a regional prize for the conservation of its historic center, which coincided with the celebrations of the reconstruction of the City Hall's *Granusturm* 35 years after its complete destruction from bombing during WWII.[230] Local newspapers celebrated the prize. The local AVZ clamored that Aachen's win represented a "Sieg über die Betonromantik." [231] In parallel, but relatively unnoticed by locals, the nomination and inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the new UNESCO World Heritage List as the first West German site unfolded between March and September of 1978. Aachen political and religious elites navigated the sometimes conflicting but often overlapping interests to obtain funds and expertise in the conservation and study of their Aachen church. They would continue to do so following the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978.

1.2. Pilot Object Aachen Cathedral: Inscription on the 1978 UNESCO World Heritage List

1978 marked the beginning of the UNESCO World Heritage List. West Germany ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1976. Shortly after the first World Heritage Committee session organized by UNESCO took place in Paris in June of 1977.[232] After a several-months-long

[228] Erich Stephany, "Sitzung des Bau-Ausschusses am 16. Januar 1973" (Report, Aachen, January 16, 1973), p.3, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[229] "Bisher sei der Oberrieder Stollen als einziges unter Sonderschutzes stehendes Objekt in der Bundesrepublik der Unesco gemeldet worden. (…) Im Schutzraumbauten habe der Bund den Bunker für den Aachener Domschatz gefördert." Rädle, "Unterausschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege. Niederschrift der 25. Sitzung des UA am 27.-28.11.1980 in Mainz" (Report, Bonn, January 30, 1981), B 304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[230] *Turmhelme für das Aachener Rathaus. Bericht des Arbeitskreises Rathaus zum Wiederaufbau der Rathausturmhelme*. (Aachen: J.A. Mayer, 1977); "Den Granusturm mit Freibier begossen. Die Aachener Bürger feierten Richtfest," Aachener Nachrichten, August 15, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Der Granusturm mit neuem Helm," Aachener Volkszeitung, July 28, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[231] "Ein Sieg über die Betonromantik," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, July 5, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Gisela Stein, "Dies schönste im ganzen Land: Aachen erhält ersten Preis für Stadtgestaltung," *Aachener Nachrichten*, July 5, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Werner Dümmler, "Aachen dient dem Land als Beispiel um das neue Gesetz zur Denkmalpflege," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, July 20, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[232] The discussions of expert representatives at the World Heritage Convention focused mostly on the 'justification criteria' for the inscription of a site on this List, which ICOMOS had prepared for the occasion. See UNESCO, "First Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (Report, Paris, October 17, 1977), UNESCO Archives. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf.

application process, West German representatives succeeded in inscribing the Aachen Cathedral on the first UNESCO World Heritage List. The site became one of twelve "pilot-projects" in 1978.

This sub-chapter reconstructs the nomination process of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List, through the prism of its leading actor, regional conservator Georg Mörsch, who was the West German expert representative at the World Heritage Committee from 1977 to 1980. In its justification for inscription, the Aachen Cathedral nomination file for UNESCO's World Heritage List focused on the octagonal chapel's singular architecture and history, but its author also weighed in on the site's importance for European history and identity. This top-down process adopted local European narratives of the Aachen Cathedral and Charlemagne but despite the successful inscription, the local European narratives surrounding the site were erased during the inscription process. However, this did not directly impact the reception of the inscription in the FRG, underlining the divide between international, national and local spheres in World Heritage sites. In Aachen, local European narratives persisted and were amalgamated with the UNESCO World Heritage status of the Cathedral.

1.2.1. Aachen Cathedral World Heritage Site: European narratives in the 1978 Nomination

In the process leading to the Aachen Cathedral's inscription on the first UNESCO World Heritage List, one central actor emerges, Conservator Georg Mörsch.[233] Mörsch had chosen the Aachen Cathedral as *Modell* to represent West Germany on the first list. The decision was a top-down initiative from the representative and federal institutions, but Aachen Cathedral and city authorities cooperated willingly with Mörsch.

Two letters to the mayor of Aachen, Kurt Malangré, shed light on Mörsch's interaction with Aachen in the nomination process and why he chose the Aachen Cathedral. Mörsch sent a first letter to Aachen Mayor Malangré on February 22nd of 1978, where he informed him of the decision of the KMK and the BMI to nominate the Aachen Cathedral. He presented the UNESCO World Heritage project in a very positive light, using terms like: "ideeelen Eigentum der gesamten Menschheit," "weltweite Zusammenarbeit" etc. He explained that each state needed to bring a pilot project for the next Committee Session in Washington in September 1978. He depicted

[233] Prof Dr. Georg Mörsch (1940-) is heritage conservator from Aachen. He worked as Rhineland conservator from 1968 to 1979 before become becoming professor of historic monument preservation at the ETH Zurich from 1980 to 2005. "Prof. em. Dr. Georg Mörsch" in ETHZurich. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://ethz.ch/en/the-eth-zurich/organisation/who-is-who/retired-professors/details.Nzc3MDg=.TGlzdC80MDEsMTk1NzY4MzcwOQ==.html.

participation in the first list as a way to improve the justification criteria and the application of the World Heritage List. Mörsch told Malangré that he chose the Aachen Cathedral as an "exemplary object" and because the site had "global significance."[234] The Aachen Cathedral, he thought, could be a good base for discussions within the World Heritage Committee because of its scientific and pedagogic value.

The letter to Malangré further showed that Georg Mörsch had personal reasons to focus on the Aachen Cathedral rather than other inscription worthy sites in West Germany. He asked the mayor to keep the news of the nomination from the press stating:

> Inbesondere könnte die Tatsache, daß ich selbst gebürtiger Aachener bin, zu Mißverständnissen führen.[235]

One cannot exclude the possibility that Mörsch, a native of Aachen, was trying to push for local interests by bringing the site on the World Heritage List as the first West German site. However, the choice of the Aachen Cathedral in 1978 might have been a practical one first. The city was geographically part of his responsibility as a Rhineland conservator, and Mörsch had worked in Aachen recently. He was present at the 1975 and 1977 *Dombaukomission* meetings on the conservation of the Aachen Cathedral.[236] In 1965, Mörsch had participated in the organization of the Council of Europe exhibition on Charlemagne in Aachen, one of the first major historical exhibitions in Germany, which took place in the City Hall and the cathedral. The success of the exhibition probably suggested to Mörsch that the site, with its international significance, would fit well in the World Heritage List. The numerous local and national European narratives associated with Charlemagne during the event probably influenced the text of his 1978 nomination file.[237]

His previous links to the city and the cathedral enabled Mörsch to write the nomination file for the Aachen Cathedral site in the short time frame allocated by the AA. On March 9th, 1978, Georg Mörsch sent the completed nomination file for the Aachen Cathedral to the AA.[238] Only

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[234] Georg Mörsch, "Letter to Mayor Malangré" (Letter, Bonn, February 22, 1978), Domarchiv 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[235] Mörsch, "Letter to Mayor Malangré" (Letter, Bonn, February 22, 1978), Domarchiv 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[236] "Sitzung der Dombaukommission 3.3.1975, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, March 3, 1975), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung der Baukommission am 9.3.1977, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, March 9, 1977), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[237] Mörsch's name appears in the catalog of the 1965 Charlemagne Council of Europe exhibition in Aachen: Wolfgang Braunfels, ed., *Karl der Große : Werk und Wirkung.* (Aachen: Stadtverwaltung, 1965), XV.
[238]Georg Mörsch, "Letter to Dr. Wellhausen (AA). Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt." (Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1978), B106/59649, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

then did he send a copy to Mayor Kurt Malangré in Aachen. He did not contact the cathedral conservators directly at the time; Malangré transferred the letters.[239] Several challenges met the Aachen Cathedral nomination process. The FRG was late in revising and completing the March 30th nomination file and was thus marked as a site worthy of inscription but incomplete during the World Heritage Bureau Session in June of 1978. Ultimately, West Germany handed in two nomination files to UNESCO for the Aachen Cathedral in 1978, the first on March 31st and a later revised version on June 20th.[240]

The text of both nomination files of the Aachen Cathedral only differed slightly from one another. I have chosen to focus on the nomination file of June 20th because it is the one that was used for the inscription of the site at the second session of the World Heritage Committee in September 1978. The nomination files for the Aachen Cathedral prepared by Mörsch each exist in three versions: an original version written in German, a translation in English provided by the AA for submission to UNESCO, and finally, a UNESCO or ICOMOS translation in French. The English version is slightly different from the original German text, but it is the nomination file that was handed to UNESCO by the AA for the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the World Heritage List. The file thus represents what the FRG chose to bring to the global stage to be reviewed by ICOMOS experts and the World Heritage Committee and is the object of our study.[241]

The Aachen Cathedral file followed the nomination guidelines prepared by ICOMOS in 1977 and sent to the member-states in January of 1978, in accordance with the decisions of the first World Heritage Committee Session. The nomination template was divided into two main parts:

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[239] Georg Mörsch, "Letter to Malangré. Betr. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Kurt Malangré, "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Aachen, March 7, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[240] The FRG sent additional documents in July, maps and images, to complete the file. See Gründel, "Letter to Anne Raidl (UNESCO). Nomination of the Aachen Cathedral for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, July 11, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hiroshi Daifuku, "Letter to Gründel (FRG Representative at UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, July 25, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Fabricius, "Letter exchange between AA and Fabricius (FRG representative at UNESCO) about lost Aachen Cathedral diapositives" (Letters, Bonn, 10 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Hans Caspary et al., *Weltkulturdenkmäler in Deutschland: deutsche Denkmäler in der Liste des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt, eine Ausstellung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS und der Deutschen UNESCO-Kommission in Zusammenarbeit mit der Dresdener Bank*, ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 3 (München: ICOMOS : Vertrieb, K.L. Lipp, 1991), 7.

[241] ICOMOS, the AA, the Aachen Cathedral and UNESCO hold both nomination file versions in their archives. See Fabricius, "Aachen Cathedral nomination file" (Paris, March 31, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File." (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center. On the importance of language in heritage see Swenson, "'Heritage', 'Patrimoine' und 'Kulturerbe': eine vergleichende historische Semantik."

the presentation of the site and the justification for the inscription. The presentation part of the file contained practical information - the exact localization of the site, its juridical status, maps, plans, photos, and a bibliography. Member states had to "identify" the site with a "description" and a "history of the site," followed by a description of its "state of" and the "means for [its] preservation/conservation." The state had to provide a "justification for inclusion in the World Heritage List" in the second and final part of the nomination. In the case of a cultural site, the justification followed six criteria the World Heritage Committee had previously agreed upon. [242]

The Aachen Cathedral's thirteen-page nomination file exhibited what the author of the nomination, Georg Mörsch, saw as valuable to mention in the presentation of the site to UNESCO. Narratives of the site's history and conservation state and justifications for its inscription on the World Heritage List show that the technical exceptionality of the architecture and conservation of the 8th century Octagon chapel at the heart of the Aachen Cathedral was not the only reason. Instead, its historical and political importance as a space intimately linked to the memory of Charlemagne and European history played a central role in the choice of inscription. The presentation of the Aachen Cathedral first offered the localization and status of the site. A short description followed, in which the author focused solely on Carolingian history, using the terms "Octagon" or "palace chapel" to designate the center of the Aachen Cathedral. Mörsch glossed over the later history and focused on the Octagon as the sole object worthy of description for inclusion on the List. Instead, he connected the Carolingian chapel to the only other building of the Charlemagne palace still standing in Aachen, the current City Hall.[243]

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[242] UNESCO, "Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. First Session Unesco, Paris, 27 June - 1 July 1977. Final Report" (Report, Paris, October 17, 1977), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf; UNESCO, "World Heritage Committee (First Session) Paris, 27 June - 1 July 1977. Issues Arising in Connection with the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" (Report, Paris, June 9, 1977), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-4e.pdf.
This division has lived on until today in nomination files, with the addition of a third central component since 2005: the management plan. Birgitta Ringbeck, *Management Plans for World Heritage Sites: A Practical Guide* (Bonn: Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, 2008), 6.
Justification criteria for cultural sites have changed over time. The first justification criteria can be found in the guidelines of the first committee session. Natural sites follow their own set of criteria established and verified by IUCN. UNESCO, "World Heritage Committee (First Session) Paris, 27 June - 1 July 1977. Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee" (Report, Paris, June 30, 1977), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77a.pdf.
[243] He wrote: "The Octagon with cupola of the Palace Chapel which Charlemagne had built in his favourite residence, Aachen, from about 790-800, constitutes the well-preserved core of Aachen Cathedral. The affinity of this central edifice to other major parts of the Carolingian complex of buildings, in particular the Coronation Hall (aula regia), which is today's City Hall, continues to be clearly visible. Over the centuries a number of additions have given the

The author only mentioned the later additions to the Carolingian chapel to argue that they did not interfere with the Carolingian building and to underline the chapel's exceptional state of conservation. In reality, the modifications to the chapel made during the Middle Ages and the modern era had a tremendous impact on the edifice of the Aachen Cathedral as a whole. The interior decoration of the Carolingian chapel was entirely transformed several times since the medieval period. The additions of new chapels generally respected the integrity of the original Octagon, but they completely changed the exterior visual appearance of the church. They surround the Octagon entirely, a fact Mörsch only mentions in passing.[244]

In the next part of the presentation, the history of the site, Mörsch kept his focus on the Carolingian history of the Aachen Cathedral as a palace building. This time, however, he incorporated a political narrative centered on the historical figure of Charlemagne.

> By building this church which his contemporaries considered to be a "miracle," Charlemagne gave empathic expression to his claim to dominion over Western Europe; this construction was to lend added weight to his claim to equality as Emperor of the West with the East Roman Emperors and their imperial churches. [245]

Mörsch used superlatives and the direct action of "building" to insist on the links between the empire of Charlemagne and the symbolic meaning of the chapel. The "Europe" described in relation with Charlemagne was not a neutral term in 1978. The recurring political-geographical terms "Western Europe," "the West," and later in the nomination also "Occident," were reinforced by a clear reference to an opposing and/or competing "East." [246] This insistence on an East-West dichotomy echoed post-war Germany's international political context, one reinforced by Aachen's geopolitical position as the westernmost city in the western part of a divided Germany. Further in the nomination, Charlemagne was depicted as a unifier of the West at a time when West Germany was trying to be a motor of the construction of a Western European community.[247] The presence of terms such as "West" and the "Occident" in the file hinted at a tradition of historical writing in

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Palace Chapel its present appearance. The Carolingian core has remained unchanged." Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center, 2.

[244] Another outstanding chapel flanks the octagon: the Gothic choir built in the 14th century without buttresses is also a prestige building inspired by the Sainte Chapelle in Paris. Knopp, *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung*.

[245] He links the Coronation Hall and Cathedral: "The main buildings of the Imperial Palace area were the Coronation Hall (aula regia) today's City Hall and the Palace Chapel – now Aachen Cathedral." Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center, 3.

[246] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[247] Wilfried Loth has worked extensively on West German participation in the European Construction in a divided context. See Loth, *The Making of Détente*; Loth, "Germany between Ostpolitik and European Integration."

the Federal Republic of Germany, where the European idea converged with the distinctly Christian conservative and decidedly anti-communist political notion of *Abendland*. Mainly concentrating on the Middle Ages, the historians of *Abendland* searched for the origins of a Christian (western) Europe, while pushing for its political unity in the present. Charlemagne became a historical figurehead of the *Abendland* movement in post-war West Germany. [248]

The history of the site in the nomination file also included the early modern history of the cathedral and its national political importance. It, however, kept it short, noting that: "As the "First Church of the Empire" the Palace Chapel of Charlemagne… served as the coronation church of German Kings."[249] This was the only place in the nomination where the term "German" was used. This absence was not accidental. West German representatives were careful to keep any national or nationalistic discourse at bay because of the recent National Socialist past and Germany's current political division.

A description of the state of preservation and the conservation of the Aachen Cathedral followed. The author listed the restorations made on the building between 1825 and 1912. These restorations started following the destruction and pillage of the church under Napoleonic occupation. They focused solely on the Carolingian appearance of the Aachen Cathedral. Mörsch did not mention any of the restoration work that had taken place after 1912, which prompted UNESCO to demand more details on this question. [250] The presentation of the site centered around the Carolingian history and identity of the Aachen Cathedral. It set the stage for the second and final part of the nomination: the justification.

According to Mörsch, the Aachen Cathedral fulfilled all six of the criteria for inscription established by the World Heritage Committee in 1977. These were: (1) unique artistic or aesthetic

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[248] On the German turn to the West and the *Abendland* idea, see Conze, *Das Europa der Deutschen*; Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? : Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Manfred Görtemaker, *Deutschland und der Westen : Gedanken zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: be.bra Wissenschaft Verlag, 2016); Hildmann, *Vom christlichen Abendland zum christlichen Europa*; Schildt, *Zwischen Abendland und Amerika*.
There are countless publications from the 1950s and 1960s on Carolingians and *Abendland*. See for example Boussard, *Die Entstehung des Abendlandes*.

[249] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[250] UNESCO Stulz, "Letter to Fabricius (AA UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, May 19, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
On the 19th century restoration work, see Konnegen, "Von der Restaurierung zur Konservierung - Die karolingische Marienkirche im Licht der Denkmalpflege des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts"; Shaffer, "Restoring Charlemagne's Chapel : Historical Consciousness, Material Culture, and Transforming Images of Aachen in the 1840s"; Wehling, *Die Mosaiken im Aachener Münster und ihre Vorstufen*.

achievement, (2) considerable influence on subsequent developments, (3) be unique, rare, or of great antiquity, (4) most characteristic example of a type of structure, (5) characteristic example of a significant style of architecture, method of construction or form of town-planning or traditional human settlement that is fragile or vulnerable, (6) association with ideas or beliefs, events or people of outstanding historical significance.[251] For criteria 1, 2, and 6, Mörsch underlined the European significance of the site through its Carolingian history. Indeed, the justification featured the highest concentration of references to "Europe" in the entire file. The word "Europe" appeared four times on one page, whereas "Germany" or "German" did not appear a single time.[252]

In criteria 1 and 2, references to Europe were in line with the Council of Europe's art historical narratives. Mörsch focused on the Carolingian history of the site and accompanied his European narrative with technical art historical and architectural vocabulary. He first described the Chapel as "a decisive influence on the development of a new, flourishing culture in post-Classical Europe."[253] Through the expression "post-Classical Europe," Mörsch referenced another major European political-historical narrative rooting European culture in Roman antiquity, or classical Europe. But in this text, he insisted on the cultural achievements of a later period, the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. With medieval and antique Europe identified as the formative moments for "European" culture, ensconcing Aachen's status as the birthplace of the Carolingian Renaissance also insisted on not simply Aachen's cultural importance, but the central role it played in bridging medieval Europe to Roman antiquity.[254]

In the second criterion, Mörsch described the Aachen Cathedral as "part of the most valuable architectural heritage of Europe."[255] The choice of this expression places the author in his immediate professional context. It referred to the work on European Heritage of the Council of

[251] UNESCO, "World Heritage Committee (First Session) Paris, 27 June - 1 July 1977. Operational Guidelines for the World Heritage Committee" (Report, Paris, June 30, 1977), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide77a.pdf.
[252] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[253] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[254] The revival and renewal of literature, art and architecture thought to have begun with the reign of Charlemagne in Aachen was penned as a "Carolingian Renaissance." Although it dated back to the 1920s, it was widespread in academic narratives of Carolingian history from the 1970s onwards. See for example Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance*; Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance*; Trompf, "The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance"; Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship.*
[255] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

Europe and its European Architectural Heritage Year, which took place between 1973 and 1975, to spread the concept and push for better conservation of European architectural heritage. Mörsch had taken part in the work of the *Deutsche Nationale Kommission (DNK)*, a national commission of experts, politicians, and administrative actors, who organized symposia and other events, proposed several exemplary cities, prepared publications, and exhibitions for the Council of Europe event.[256] This choice of words underlines the entanglement of the international projects of heritage conservation of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Ideas of heritage circulated from one to another through the mediation of experts who, as in the case of Mörsch, were often involved in both organizations.

Criteria 6, the last criteria of the justification on the historical signification of the site, focused on Charlemagne. It insisted on the cultural and unifying role of the emperor during his reign, obviating the belligerent and violent history of the construction of his empire, and by implication sidestepping the memory of Germany's recent imperial ambitions and the consequences these had for the European continent.[257] Mörsch used the geo-political marker "Central Europe," to underline the present divisions and the efforts for reconciliation through West German Ostpolitik in the previous decade.[258] In the last sentence of the justification, the author then concluded the nomination file with a strong European message:

> It is in the church of Charlemagne that his legacy is understood and cultivated as a commitment to European union.[259]

Here, Mörsch brought together two timeframes: the distant past and the present. The sentence described the site as the "church of Charlemagne" rather than by its official name Aachen Cathedral. Following this explicit evocation of the distant Carolingian past, the author resituated the site in its present political context. He described the site's conservation and the cultivation of

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[256] Mörsch participated in working groups of the German National Commission preparing the 1975 Council of Europe Year for Architectural Heritage. See DNK, "Ergebnisniederschrift der dritten Sitzung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees zur Vorbereitung des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres 1975 am 11.6.1974 in Berlin" (Report, Berlin, June 1974), B106/30781, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; DNK, "Sitzung des Redaktionskomitees" (Report, München, July 5, 1974), B 106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; DNK, "Arbeitsgruppen Mitglieder Stand 15.4.1975" (Report, April 1975), B 106/30801, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[257] "More than any other site or building, the Palace Chapel at Aachen reflects the conception of spiritual and political renovation and unifications with Charlemagne translated into practice" Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[258] On German Ostpolitik, see Creuzberger, *Westintegration und neue Ostpolitik*; Fink and Schäfer, *Ostpolitik, 1969 - 1974*; Loth, "Germany between Ostpolitik and European Integration"; Ludlow, *European Integration and the Cold War*.

[259] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

Charlemagne political-sacral memory in Aachen as a "commitment to European union." For this he drew from local European narratives. In 1965, Professor Francois Ganshof, for example, used similar narratives in his opening statement for the CoE Charlemagne exhibition. The historical narrative of Charlemagne in the justification served the interest of local and national politics of Europe that reimagined West Germany as a pivotal player in a postwar European political community.

> (…) hier, in der wunderbaren Kirche, die er erbauen liess, in der er gebetet hat, wo er seinen Nachfolger krönte und wo er begraben wurde, empfinden und verstehen wir besser als an jedem anderen Ort seine Grösse und seine wichtige Rolle in der Geschichte und Kultur Europas [260]

Here, the church serves as a visual proof or marker of Charlemagne's European identity. Mörsch's previous experience in Council of Europe projects and as a regional conservator in charge of Aachen influenced his choice of narratives in the Aachen Cathedral site nomination on the first World Heritage List. The endurance of this idea becomes apparent in regional conservator and representative to UNESCO Hans Caspary's 1990 speech, where he described the inscription of Aachen into the World Heritage List as a "commitment to Europe." [261]

Mörsch's European narrative in this nomination was ultimately erased by ICOMOS and never appeared at UNESCO. The text for the Aachen Cathedral justification criteria was re-written by an anonymous ICOMOS representative. The francophone reviewer offered his own version of the justification. He agreed that Aachen fulfilled criteria 1, 2, and 6 of the World Heritage List, but he changed the precise justifications. He repeated the Carolingian focus of the nomination, but further developed the art historical and architectural narrative, using technical vocabulary such as "vaulted structure" or "prototypes." Most noticeable is the distinction in the use of geographical markers and descriptions, as the reviewer left out Europe entirely from the justification and preferred more politically neutral markers such as "North of the Alps." [262] In criterion 6, the reviewer nevertheless retained the peaceful, unifying narrative around Charlemagne:

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[260] "Karl der Große und sein Vermächtnis. Die Festrede von Prof. Francois L. Ganshof zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[261] Hans-Dieter Klein, "Das Land springt für die EG ein. Zöpel macht Zusage," *Aachener Nachrichten*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
Hans Caspary a conservator in Mainz for the state of Rhineland-Palatinate. He was the main German expert representative at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee from 1983 to 2001. See Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Oral Archives: Hans Caspary," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 11, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/oralarchives/hans-caspary/.

[262] ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N.3" (Review, Paris, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

> The construction of the chapel of the emperor at Aix symbolized the unification of the West and its spiritual and political revival under the aegis of Charlemagne.[263]

The reviewer replaced Europe with "the West," although the term was also politically charged. ICOMOS concluded the justification text with a more national overtone as it mentioned the "Germanic emperors" and Aachen Cathedral's role as a crowning church of German kings.[264]

The differences between the original justification and the ICOMOS justification expose the multivalence of the actors and discourses of World Heritage. The justification of the Aachen Cathedral shows competing attempts to control or construct the meaning of the place at a global level. In this case, West Germany's attempt to translate the Aachen Cathedral as a European birthplace was not followed by ICOMOS, which deliberately omitted the term "Europe" from its criteria description and brought a national focus back into the text.

The European narratives surrounding the site remained in West Germany, despite the ICOMOS rebuke in the file review. This was not uncommon in UNESCO World Heritage, especially in the very top-down first phase of the list. The self-presentation of a site often redacted by the state's expert representative was meant for a global audience of experts and diplomats. As such it did not have to match local realities. In Aachen's case, the expert adopted local European narratives, because he was a local himself and because he thought that they could be of use to market the site in the international realm. The changes made by the ICOMOS expert who reviewed the file meant that UNESCO would not use these narratives to present the site to its global audience, but it did not negate the uses of such narratives on the local and national level. On the contrary, in the decades following the inscription, the global dimension of the site layered itself onto the other meanings associated with the Aachen Cathedral.

1.2.2. "Weltruhm" [265] for the Aachen Cathedral? Media Reception of the 1978 inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List

Until the official inscription publication by UNESCO, the nomination process of the Aachen Cathedral on the World Heritage List had been relatively secretive. Still, in May 1978, local Aachen newspaper AVZ published an article titled "Aachener Dom kommt in UNESCO-

[263] The reviewer appears to be francophone as he uses Aix-la-Chapelle instead of Aachen in the English version of the justification. ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N.3" (Review, Paris, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[264] On Aachen coronations, see Kerner, "Könige in Aachen. Zur Geschichte ihrer Krönungen"; Kramp, *Krönungen*; Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königs-Krönungen zu Aachen 813-1531*.
[265] "Aachener Dom kommt in die UNESCO-Liste. Als Objekt der Weltgeltung," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 24, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Liste"[266] indicating that the news of the nomination had been leaked to the press despite Mörsch's expressed wishes. The article presented the inscription as a fait accompli, showcasing high confidence in the success of the nomination mixed with limited knowledge of the inscription process. The nomination process met several administrative delays and technical difficulties. Ultimately, the Aachen Cathedral was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List during the second session of the World Heritage Committee meeting in Washington on the 8th of September 1978. On the list, the Aachen Cathedral stood as the only western European site alongside an eclectic group of 11 sites, that included the historic city center of Quito, the Galapagos Island, the historic center of Krakow, the Island of Goree and Yellowstone National Park.

UNESCO administrator Gerard Bolla met the FRG state representatives at the end of September of 1978 to inform them of the details of the inscription and at the same time, UNESCO sent out a press release with the information on the 12 inscriptions on the World Heritage List.[267] In the FRG only a handful of local or specialized newspapers reported the creation of the List. Local reactions to the inscription were subdued since the List was still widely unknown in West Germany at the time and because the initiative came from the federal level. Aachen's two main newspapers, the *Aachener Nachrichten* (AN) and the *Aachener Volks-Zeitung* (AVZ), reported the news on October 25th, 1978. The AN chose to showcase the local importance of the site before widening to the national and international dimensions of the Aachen Cathedral:

> Daß der Aachener Dom zu den schönsten Bauwerken der Stadt zählt, bezweifelt – zumal von den Aachener- kaum jemand. Daß er zu den wertvollsten Kunstdenkmälern Deutschlands gehört, wissen viele. Wie weit der Dom aber auch über die Landesgrenzen hinaus bekannt ist und als Kunstwerk geschätzt wird, dokumentiert jetzt die UNESCO, die den Aachener Dom als erstes deutsches Bauwerk unter ihre Fittiche nahm.[268]

The author depicted the inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a well-deserved recognition of the site's exceptionality but seemed almost surprised by the sudden international attention on the site. Through the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the List, UNESCO mainly recognized the architectural and historical value of the building and its treasury,

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[266] The article underlined that it would not change the financial situation of the Cathedral. "Aachener Dom kommt in die UNESCO-Liste. Als Objekt der Weltgeltung" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 24, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[267] "Internal memo on call from Bolla (UNESCO)" (Report, Bonn, September 26, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; UNESCO Press Information, "12 Sites Voted for Inclusion in First World Heritage List Ever Compiled." (Press report, Paris, September 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[268] Arno Sommer, "Aachener Dom als Kulturgut," *Aachener Nachrichten*, October 25, 1978, in Josef Lambertz. *Der Aachener Dom in Zeitungsberichten 1947-1979*. Aachen, 2005.

but indirectly it also gave legitimacy to the historical link between the building and Charlemagne. The article insisted that the historical meaning of the site as Charlemagne's mausoleum had been a major reason for its inscription.

Both articles by the AN and AVZ entirely bypassed the European dimension of the site. Instead, they explained the World Heritage project, listing the other sites inscribed on the List and retelling part of the inscription process. The AN mentioned Mörsch's collaboration with Aachen Cathedral conservators and that they had to assemble the documentation in "Windeseile." [269]

While local news catered to more practical local preoccupations, other news outlets presented their own narratives around the Aachen Cathedral inscription. In November of 1978, the specialized newspaper *Denkmalschutz Informationen*, edited by the German National Committee for Heritage Conservation, published an article on the inscription on its first page. The author pointed to the link of the Aachen Cathedral with Charlemagne as the reason for the inscription.

> In der beigegebenen Dokumentation wurde unterstrichen, daß der Aachener Dom als Pfalzkapelle Karls des Großen allen oben aufgeführten Kriterien in hervorragender Weise Genüge tut. Dies war auch die Meinung der 2. Sitzung in Washington, welche die Aufnahme des Aachener Doms einstimmig beschlossen.[270]

The identification of the site first and foremost as the palace chapel of Charlemagne seemed to be the norm at the time, not only in the nomination but also in the press. The author especially insisted on the role of expertise in the World Heritage Committee. When describing the nomination process of the Aachen Cathedral, they focused on the role played by Georg Mörsch in the inscription. The article also retold the history of the World Heritage List, presenting it as a way of strengthening the feelings of international responsibility of the states participating in the World Heritage Convention.

The FRG press office released a press notice on the Aachen Cathedral inscription on November 1st, 1978. The French version of the notice, the "Bulletin," presented the selection process of the Aachen Cathedral before recounting its inscription:

> Le chox [sic.] s'avéra beaucoup plus délicat lorsqu'il fut question de choisir en Europe l'un des témoins historiques "universels" de l'Occident. (…) La cathédrale de Charlemagne satisfait à tous les critères fixés par l'Unesco. Par conséquent, les délégués qui se retrouvaient en assemblée à

[269] Sommer.
The AVZ article hoped that this inscription would help improve the site's federal and regional budgets and encourage donations. Werner Dümmler, "Der Dom, ein Erbe für alle Menschen : Jetzt müssen bald die Gelder kommen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, October 25, 1978.
[270] Deutsches Nationalkomitee für Denkmalschutz, "Aachener Dom in der UNESCO-Liste des kulturellen Welterbes," *Denkmalschutz Informationen*, November 1978, Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

> Washington ont adopté à l'unanimité cette proposition et retenu le site allemand, qui est aussi celui de toute une époque de l'Europe occidentale.[271]

Again, here the FRG intention to present a site of exemplary character was underlined through the UNESCO criteria. Like in the nomination file, the FRG press notice insisted repeatedly on the European character of the Aachen Cathedral inscription and on its Carolingian history.

In December of 1978, the religious newspaper *Katholische Korrespondenz* reported the inscription. The sacral character of the Aachen Cathedral was an integral part of the article, which used three different characterizations to describe the site: an episcopal church, Charlemagne's imperial cathedral, and a coronation church. The author of the article specifically mentioned the European dimension of the site:

> Nur acht überragende Zeugen der Geschichte hat das Komitee bis jetzt dieser Ehre für würdig erachtet, neben dem Aachener Dom nur noch zwei andere „Objekte" in Europa, beide in Polen.[272]

The article went on to describe the "exotic" surroundings of the Aachen Cathedral in the List although he mentioned that the Vikings of the site *Anse aux Meadows* leaving from "European shores." [273] He then turned his attention to the selection of the site:

> Schwerer war es schon, eines der vielen Zeugnisse europäisch-abendländischer Vergangenheit in der Bundesrepublik als erstes für das Unesco-Welterbe auszuwählen.[274]

Here, the author echoed the FRG press notice and affirmed that representatives solely considered monuments with European and occidental characteristics to nominate on the World Heritage List. Using the term *Abendland*, the author integrated the Aachen Cathedral into a wider group of monuments sharing a Christian and European history. He listed a series of German sites that could have replaced the Aachen Cathedral, under which the Cologne Cathedral, old Lübeck city center and Trier's Porta Nigra. This list corresponded to the idea of exemplary heritage site in West Germany and indeed, cathedrals, old cities and castles were the focus of German World Heritage nominations for the following decade. After listing the criteria that had to be considered for a nomination, the author described Mörsch's role in the inscription and concluded that the Aachen Cathedral had been the ideal choice as it fulfilled all criteria justification.

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[271] Office de Presse et d'Information du Gouvernement Fédéral. Office de Presse et d'Information du Gouvernement Fédéral, "Patrimoine commun de tous les hommes" (Press report, January 11, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[272] Hans Wüllenweber, "UNESCO-Schutz für Aachener Dom. „Welt-Kulturerbe"- „Gemeinsamer Besitz aller Menschen," *Katholische Korrespondenz*, December 12, 1978, 9, Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[273] Wüllenweber, "UNESCO-Schutz für Aachener Dom. „Welt-Kulturerbe."

[274] Wüllenweber, "UNESCO-Schutz für Aachener Dom. „Welt-Kulturerbe. "

The European characterization of the World Heritage Site Aachen Cathedral also circulated internationally. In 1979, an Ambio article about the first World Heritage List underlined the cathedral's European character. For the author J. Poncin, the value of the Aachen Cathedral resided in the fact that "it is an important yardstick in European history because of its connection to Charlemagne."[275] The following year, in 1980, an article in the German speaking *UNESCO Kurier*, insisted on the European character of Aachen Cathedral as the new World Heritage site, as opposed to the national tradition of Charlemagne memory. The article described Charlemagne as the man "der Westeuropa geeinigt hatte" and then focused on the Carolingian chapel as the symbol of his cultural achievements and memory.[276]

Already at the end of 1978, UNESCO started to plan a round trip of select World Heritage sites with a group of international journalists.[277] The organization contacted the AA to convince West Germany to participate. In his first letter to the FRG delegate at UNESCO on October 16th of 1978, Leon Davico, Director of UNESCO's office of Information, presented the project and promised to shed the limelight on the FRG's only World Heritage site:

> Needless to say, if the project receives support of the Governments involved, you may be sure that the publicity given to the Cathedral of Aachen will certainly be enormous.[278]

He was successful in his attempt. Permanent Delegate at UNESCO Wilhelm Fabricius spoke out in favor of taking part in the journalist trip to help reach out to the global public. He also argued that it might better the state's reputation after the FRG failed to pay money to the World Heritage Fund. The AA subsequently agreed to organize a trip to Aachen with a budget of 10000 DM, which would be used to plan the trip and cover the costs of food, lodging, and transportation for the 2 day-stay.[279] The German UNESCO Commission was put in charge of organizing the trip,

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[275] Jaques Poncin, "World Heritage Lists 12 Places to Be Preserved for Mankind," *Ambio* 8, no. 1 (1979), 38–38.
[276] "Natur und Kultur Erbe des Menschen," *Unesco Kurier*, 1980, B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[277] See also Metzger, Weltkulturerbe Ohne Grenzen, 146f.
[278] UNESCO Davico, "Letter to Fabricius (FRG Representative at UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, October 16, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[279] See AA Wellhausen, "Letter to Fabricius. Informationsreise von Journalisten zum Aachener Dom" (Letter, Bonn, December 21, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to to AA. Nominierung des Aachener Domes in die Liste des Welt-Kultur- und Naturerbes. Informationsreise einer Gruppe von Journalisten" (Letter, November 10, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to Davico (UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, December 29, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Career diplomat Wilhelm Christian Fabricius (1920-1988) was the Permanent Delegate of the FRG at UNESCO in the 1970s. In 1980, he took post in Australia as an ambassador, where he retired in 1985. He is not to be mistaken with Nazi Diplomat Wilhelm August Julius Fabricius (1882-1964). Fabricius, Rosemarie. "Wilhelm Christian Fabricius, 1920–1988." In: *Wilhelm Fabricius: Nauru 1888–1900*. Canberra 1992. Accessed August 25th, 2025,

which was to take place from 12th to the 22nd of September of 1979. Aachen was the first stop of the trip, which exclusively toured European sites. [280]

Journalists were selected by the member states of the World Heritage convention, which also had to pay for their travel fees. Finding West German journalists ready to participate in the trip proved to be the main difficulty for the *Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission* (DUK), next to the lack of funding.[281] In the end, one German journalist from the specialized newspaper *Architektur Bauwelt*, agreed to travel with the group. In all, 20 journalists from 15 different countries, some from major news outlets such as *Le Monde* participated in the trip.[282] The group toured the UNESCO headquarters in Paris for nearly two weeks before heading to German, Polish, and Italian World Heritage sites.

The German UNESCO Commission had an ambitious program for the stay of the delegation in the FRG from the 12th to the 14th of September 1979. The delegation started out in Aachen on the 13th, where they visited the Aachen Cathedral and were received by the mayor at City Hall. Then they were led to the *Korneliusmünster* near Aachen, the Eifel natural park, and the open-air museum in Kommern. The following day, they visited the cathedral and Romanesque churches in Cologne, before leaving for Warsaw.[283] Media attention resulting from the journalist

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https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/server/api/core/bitstreams/871e7d68-dab8-468a-9179-802373a27c56/content.

[280] "Ihre Reise stand im Zusammenhang mit der Aufnahme des Aachener Domes in das UNESCO Verzeichnis besonders besipielhaften Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt, die im Herbst vergangen Jahres von einem Expertenkomitee der Weltorganisation beschlossen worden war." "Arbeitsbericht für die Zeit seit der 100. Sitzung des Vollzugsausschusses am 8. Juni 1979. Tischvorlage für die 101. Sitzung des Vollzugsausuchusses am 26. November 1979" (Report, 1979), 2, B336/409, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
For details on the organization of the journalist trip by the German UNESCO Commission and AA, see Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to AA. Liste des Weltkultur- und Naturerbes. Informationsreise von Journalisten zum Aachener Dom" (Letter, Paris, May 16, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Letter to DUK. Liste des Weltkultur- und Naturerbes. Informationsreise von Journalisten zum Aachener Dom" (Letter, Bonn, May 30, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; DUK Wenzel, "Letter to Wessel (UNESCO FRG Delegation).Weltkultur- und Naturerbe. Reise einer Journalistengruppe nach Aachen, 12-14.9.1979" (Letter, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[281] A letter from Dyroff (DUK) to the AA showcased the unexpected challenge:"über acht Wochen versucht haben, die deutschen Medien für die Reise zu interessieren." DUK Dyroff, "Letter to Deutz (AA)" (Letter, Bonn, August 30, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[282] The AA finally found a journalist Günther Kühne from *Bauwelt* to take part in the trip. AA, "Letter to FRG Representation UNESCO. Informationsreise von Journalisten zum Aachener Dom" (Letter, Bonn, August 24, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
For the complete participant list, see Fernando UNESCO Ainsa, "Letter to Wessel (UNESCO FRG Delegation)" (Letter, Paris, August 2, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[283] UNESCO Journalists trip to Aachen, where they are received by the mayor, and Cologne: 20 journalists visit from the 12 to the 14th of Sept. 1979 "Arbeitsbericht 100. Sitzung des Vollzugsausschusses am 8. Juni 1979" (Report, 1979), B336/409, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

trip to Aachen seems to have been limited, since articles are nonexistent in the archives. This corresponded to a general lack of public exposure to the World Heritage program in the first years of the list in the FRG. While the news of the Aachen Cathedral inscription on the World Heritage List travelled slowly, in the 1980s it started gaining traction locally.

1.3. UNESCO World Heritage Site Aachen Cathedral: Growing Divide between Local and International Imagination

In the 1980s the cathedral faced financial difficulties and burdensome restoration projects. The Aachen Cathedral's status as a UNESCO World Heritage site presented local authorities with the opportunity to make concrete use of the otherwise symbolic inscription to appeal for help. As the study of the building's history advanced, however, the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral as a lone standing monument isolated from the other architectural and archaeological relics of the Carolingian palace became a contradiction in a local context.

1.3.1. "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe!" Calls for Help for Restorations at the World Heritage Site (1980-2000)

In the 1980s, preserving the Aachen Cathedral became a main preoccupation of cathedral authorities. Ambitious restoration projects needed access to enough financial resources. In this respect, its World Heritage status rapidly became an asset. Just a few months after the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List, in January of 1979, local conservators first thought of using the UNESCO designation to obtain additional exceptional funds from the Ministry of Interior for the restoration of the cathedral.[284]

Despite this institutional attempt, cathedral authorities refrained from using the World Heritage status to vie for public attention at first. During the traditional Saint Charlemagne Day celebrations in January of 1979, the cathedral's flyers called on the public to help with restorations of the Gothic choir through donations to the *Karlsverein* without any mention of UNESCO's World Heritage List.[285] The media, in turn, quickly took to referencing the Aachen Cathedral's

[284] "Es soll weiterhin versucht werden eventuell über das Bundes-Innen-Ministerium, eventuell mit Berufung auf die Unesco-Entscheidung zu erlangen." Erich Stephany, "Sitzung der Baukommission für den Aachener Dom am 30.1.1979, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, January 20, 1979), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[285] Flyer for 1979 Saint Charlemagne Day with the program and a call for donations. Bistum Aachen, "Karlsfest 1979. Aachener Dom im Fluge der Zeit" (Flyer, Aachen, 1979), Domarchiv A 4.3.4., Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

World Heritage status. In May of 1979, a newspaper found it essential to mention this singularity when relaying the call for help:

> Der Aachener Dom, vor kurzem als einziges Kulturdenkmal der Bundesrepublik in der Liste der "Unesco" als "Weltkulturerbe" aufgenommen, ist in akuter Gefahr. [286]

Here the focus of the article was on the immediate financial problems of the cathedral conservators, but it took the time to underline the recent UNESCO recognition of the sole Aachen Cathedral in West Germany to insist on the urgency of the dangers faced by the site.

A year later, a 1980 AVZ article hinted that the Aachen Cathedral's World Heritage status had been helpful in obtaining additional funds from federal institutions:

> Seit die Unesco vor zwei Jahren den Aachener Dom als "heritage of mankind" als Erbe der Menschheit eingestuft hat, sind vom Bund im vergangenen Jahr 130 000 DM für Restaurationszwecke zum Aachener Dom geflossen.[287]

The author clearly linked the World Heritage Status to the 130 000 DM received from the Federal state. She listed several ongoing projects that the money allowed Aachen Cathedral conservators to complete, some of which, like the treasury vault, had little to do with the cathedral's conservation. In reality, Aachen Cathedral conservators and local politicians had little or no contact with UNESCO administrators in Paris, but UNESCO was aware of the cathedral's financial difficulties.

In 1980, Director General of UNESCO Amadou Mathar M'Bow offered to come personally to unveil a World Heritage plaque in Aachen in response to the news that the FRG would finally be able to fulfill its promise of yearly voluntary donations to the World Heritage fund. Although the ambassador in Paris thought it might be a good idea to help the diocese in its constant calls for donations, the AA opposed the idea because of M'Bow's divisive political image and his upcoming reelection. Aachen would have to wait one more decade before a plaque was inaugurated at the cathedral.[288] UNESCO did not directly intervene in local conservation questions. German representatives at UNESCO or the AA transmitted its demands to Aachen when needed.

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[286] "Rettet den Dom," May 21, 1979, Nr.117 edition, AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[287] Jutta Bergmoser, "Goldknie abgewetzt. Kommt Hilfe aus Bonn?," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 20, 1980, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[288] Fabricius met M'Bow in Paris, who proposed to take part in the inauguration of a plaque in Aachen. The AA refused the offer arguing that Germany should not receive M'Bow twice in a year. A new visit should take place in 1981/82 after M'Bow's reelection. See Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to AA" (Paris, January 16, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; AA, "Letter to Ständige Vertretung BRD" (Letter, Bonn, February 19, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

For example, between 1980 and 1982, UNESCO asked for additional literature and documentation on the site. Aachen representatives contacted by the AA assembled the documentation, which was sent to Paris through the representatives. Aachen itself was not directly involved in the exchange.[289]

Conservation work at the Aachen Cathedral in the 1980s was in continuity with the previous decade. The urgent restoration work on the Choir Hall dominated the discussions with some work being held in the other chapels.[290] The vault construction for the treasury was concluded at the time but the treasury remained at the center of attention. In 1982, the cathedral finally started the highly mediatized restoration of the *Karlsschrein,* which had been in planning since the early 1970s.[291] In the same year, Hugot also launched new archeological searches at the cathedral, but his sudden passing in 1982 disturbed these plans.[292] From 1984 onwards the regional "Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege" opened a Bureau in Aachen under the direction of Wilfried Maria Koch, who was put in charge of the archeological searches in the city. Koch launched several

[289] FRG contacts were the AA, the German expert representative and later the German UNESCO Commission. UNESCO demanded a photo of the Aachen Cathedral, free of rights. Later UNESCO tried to use it for a Finnish project that reproduced World Heritage sites in glass figurines. See JB Weck de, "Letter to Fabricius Ständige Vertretung BRD Unesco" (Letter, Paris, May 14, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Alfred Vestring, "Letter to Anne Raidl (UNESCO)" (Paris, June 24, 1982), CC/CH/OI/7.3/Ger WHC Republic of Germany Part I, UNESCO Archives; Alfred Vestring, "Letter to Anne Raidl" (Letter, Paris, August 9, 1982), CC/CH/OI/7.3/Ger WHC Republic of Germany Part I, UNESCO Archives.

[290] "Dombaukommission" (Aachen, 1977-1984), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.17, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Akten der Baukommission" (Reports, Aachen, 1982-1987), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[291] See the reports on the installation of a dedicated workshop in the 1970s "Beratende erste Sitzung der Schreinkommission 1.12.1973" (Report, Aachen, December 1, 1973), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.15, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Beratung der kl. Kommission zur Restaurierung der Schreine 2.3.1974" (Report, Aachen, March 2, 1974), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.15, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung der Baukommission, Aachen 4.4.1974"(Report, Aachen, April 4, 1974), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Bericht über die Tagung der Schreinkommission in Aachen 7-8.7.1975" (Report, Aachen, 8.7 1975), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In the early 1980s, discussions became more concrete in timeline and costs (estimated to 1 million DM). See "Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 26.1.1981, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, January 26, 1981), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.17, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 6.7.1981, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, July 6, 1981), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.17, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 16.3.1982 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, March 16, 1982), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.17, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Local press followed the development of the restoration. See for example Jutta Bergmoser's observations : "Unter anderem konnte in letzter Zeit ein altes Fenster wieder aus den Mauern herausgebrochen, ein atombombensicherer Bunker für die Kunstschaätze eingebaut, sowie die Schatzkammer umgebaut werden." Bergmoser, "Goldknie abgewetzt. Kommt Hilfe aus Bonn?" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 20, 1980, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[292] See Pohle, Die *Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 58–60; Raabe and Horn, *Leo Hugot*.
A small square near the cathedral is dedicated to Leo Hugot today. Oliver Schmetz, "Kleines Plätzchen am Dom soll an Leo Hugot erinnern," *Aachener Zeitung*, August 17th, 2016. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/kleines-platzchen-am-dom-soll-an-leo-hugot-erinnern/3559392.html.

searches on prehistoric, Roman, Carolingian, and later medieval sites in and around the cathedral.[293] The city of Aachen was also working on a new urban plan for the historic center in parallel.[294]

Architect Hans-Karl Siebigs replaced Hugot as *Dombaumeister* of the Aachen Cathedral. Shortly after his arrival, he noticed damage to the roof of the octagon and ordered a study. The results of the 1984 study showed serious stability issues with the entire building, which needed to be remediated urgently. [295] The report mentioned that pieces of the roof were damaged or missing and put the entire octagon at risk. Especially there were "keine Diagonalverbände oder Streben vorhanden, die eine Verdrehung des Gesamtsystems verhindern."[296] Although this situation was most likely hundreds of years old, the report concluded that urgent work was necessary and asked for additional funding in 1985. To remedy the problem, Siebigs decided to launch an ambitious and long-term conservation plan of the cathedral, the so-called *Kapellenprogramm*. It aimed at restoring the entire historical building until the year 2000.[297]

To complete *Dombaumeister* Siebigs' restoration plans, the Aachen Cathedral needed 12 million DM in additional funding, at least double the yearly funds allotted up to then. This is where a new figure of the Aachen Cathedral came into action: *Domprobst* Hans Müllejans. He launched

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[293] Koch, "Neue Aspekte zur Bau und Siedlungsgeschichte des Mittelalterlichen Aachen"; Wilfried Maria Koch, "Aachen in römischer Zeit," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 98/99 (1993 1992), 11–20; Wilfried Maria Koch, "Aachen- erste Ergebnisse einer Stadtarchäologie," in *Dörfer und Städte. Ausgrabungen im Rheinland 1985/86*, Rheinisches Amt für Bodendenkmalpflege (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1987), 95–102; Wilfried Maria Koch, "Ausgrabungen im Stadtgebiet Aachen," in *Spurensicherung - Archäologische Denkmalpflege in der Euregio Maas-Rhein*, ed. Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1992), 343–52.
Searches under the *Taufkapelle* since 1987 and plan for searches in the *Lapidarium*. "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 2.12.1987" (Report, Aachen, December 2, 1987), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[294] See the 1986 urban plan Raabe and Horn, *Leo Hugot*, 72–74.

[295] Hans-Karl Siebigs, "Bericht am 21.5.1984" (Report, Aachen, May 21, 1984), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Surrounding chapels also faced serious stabilization issues. Hans-Karl Siebigs, "Bericht über die Massnahmen an der Nikolaus- bzw. Michäliskapelle" (Aachen, August 26, 1984), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Hans-Karl Siebigs (1930-2018) was an architect. He worked as Aachen City Architect from 1977-1982 before becoming Cathedral Conservator until 1997. See "Erinnerung an den verstorbenen Dombaumeister" in *Aachener Zeitung* (14/06/18), Accessed August 25th 2025 https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/erinnerung-an-den-verstorbenen-dombaumeister/4214770.html

[296] "Dom zu Aachen. Dachkonstruktion über dom Oktogon" (Report, Aachen, August 26, 1984), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[297] The work lasted much longer than planned. Werner Czempas, "Ich möchte den Dom gerüstfrei erleben," *Aachener Zeitung*, March 11th, 2004. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/kultur/ich-mochte-den-dom-gerustfrei-erleben/2917615.html/.

the action: "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe! "[298] Müllejans used the cathedral's importance for European memory and its status as a World Heritage site to vie for funding for its repairs, often weaving them together. For example, during the first 1985 press conference, he argued that the cathedral had attained global status through its inscription on the UNESCO List. A journalist reported :

> Der Aachener Dom betrifft nicht nur Deutschland und Europa, sondern die ganze Welt." Mit dieser spektakulären Feststellung eröffnete Dombaumeister Dr. Hans Siebigs jetzt vor Journalisten seinen Bericht über den Zustand des Aachener Doms den die Unesco als erstes Objekt der Bundesrepublik in der Liste der weltbedeutenden Baudenkmäler aufgenommen hat.[299]

Müllejans used this responsibility towards the World to conclude that the conservation of the cathedral was necessary. Except for local articles in the AN and AVZ, journalists systematically underlined the status of the Aachen Cathedral as the first German UNESCO World Heritage site to insist on its national and international importance.[300] The wide-ranging media campaign aimed at getting public attention towards the financial problems of the cathedral conservation to attract additional funding.[301] The project started with restoration work on the *Taufkapelle* in 1986, followed by the *Karlskapelle*, the Lantern of the Octagon and the *Westturm* which lasted into the 1990s.[302]

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[298] He had been part of the cathedral authorities since 1977, so he had followed the entire process of the conservation team. Anton Sterzl, *Der Dom, die Stadt, die Menschen : Leben und Werk von Hans Müllejans, 1977 - 2004 Dompropst in Aachen, Ehrenbürger der Stadt Aachen* (Aachen: Thouet, 2006), 149–53.

[299] Gisela Boschmann, "Dachstuhl ohne Halterung. Aachens Dom braucht ganz schnell Hilfe," *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, October 16, 1985, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[300] See for example "Der Sakralbau mit dem Marmorthron Karls des Großen ist ein einmaliges Ensemble geworden, das die Unesco als erstes deutsches Denkmal in die Liste des Weltkulturerbes aufgenommen hat – in einer Reihe mit der Engelsburg, dem Tadsch Mahal und Borobudur." Thea Winandy, "Altersschwäche bis ins Innerste. Der Aachener Dom bröckelt," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 17, 1985, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[301] After the first press conference, many press outlets reported on the troubles: Kirchenzeitung, AVZ, AN, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Deutsche Presse-Agentur (dpa), Rheinische Post, Westdeutsche Zeitung, Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR), WDR Köln (TV), Kölner Stadtanzeiger, Kath. Nachrichten Agentur, Belgischer Rundfunk (BRF) Eupen, Teschnische Hochschule Pressestelle AC, dpa-Bild Düsseldorf. WDR and Belgium radio in Eupen reported on the question. Bischöfliche Pressestelle Aachen, "Dokumentation aus Anlass der Pressekonferenz : "Schäden am Aachener Dom" am 11.10.1985, Domsingschule Aachen" (Aachen, October 17, 1985), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. Numerous other articles from October 1985, 1987, and 1989 can be found in "Dombaukommission 1985-89" (Aachen, 1985-1989), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. The Cathedral hoped to use the attention to vie for funds : "Für den wünschenwerten Fall, dass ab 1987 Mittel in doppelter Höhe zur Verfügung stehen – hierbei wäre ein Sonderprogramm von Bund und Land, gfls. mit internationaler Hilfe zu denken." Finanzierungs Programm Aachen in A. Peters, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 16.12.1985 Aachen" (Aachen, December 16, 1985), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.19, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[302] Peters, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 16.12.1985 Aachen"(Aachen, December 16, 1985), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.19, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; A. Peters, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 26.11.1986 in Aachen" (Report, Aachen, November 27, 1986), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18,

As part of a general shift in the World Heritage site management, UNESCO demanded a first technical update on the Aachen Cathedral site in a three-page questionnaire in 1988. The West German response described the restoration work achieved on the cathedral since 1978 and listed the restoration work planned for the following years, naming difficulties in stone and wood conservation encountered on the site. The questionnaire also informed UNESCO of the site's status change following the publication of North-Rhine-Westphalia's 1980 protection law for monuments, when the Aachen Cathedral was added to a formal list of monuments of the Land. Finally, the document contained information on the cathedral's financial situation, showing that from 1978 to 1988, around 900 000 DM a year were spent on the restoration and conservation of the cathedral, a budget far superior to that of the early 1970s. [303]

While the cause of this change was the urgent need for restoration of the building, the Aachen Cathedral conservators' success at rallying financial support could partly be attributed to the World Heritage Status of the site. Through its campaign and the intervention of Aachen's mayor, the cathedral obtained financial help from the European Community for the restoration in 1987. Following this success, other partners agreed to co-finance the project, but the EC proved an unreliable sponsor whose payment time and amount varied greatly. At the end of 1987, Siebigs reported that they were planning to spend 900 000 DM a year with 300 000 coming from the EC but had to significantly reduce the spending:

> Die Kommission bewilligte vielmehr einen Betrag von umgerechnet 90 00 DM (...) Da die evtl. künftigen Zuwendungen der Europäischen Gemeinschaft zur Zeit völlig ungewiss sind, ist auch die Fortführung des "Kapellenprogramms" problematisch, wenn -wie bisher- Land und Stadt ihre Mithilfe von der Mitfinanzierung der EG abhängig machen.[304]

Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Aachener Dom Sicherung und Sanierung der Laterne über der barocken Holzkuppel des Oktogons" (Letter, Aachen, November 10, 1986), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.19, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 2.12.1987"(Report, Aachen, December 2, 1987), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 19.1.1989 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, January 24, 1989), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.21, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 6.12.1989 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, December 6, 1989), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.21, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Maintz, *Die Grund- und Aussensanierung 1986 bis 2006*, 11–25.

[303] The restoration cost around 11 million DM. "Information Update on the Cultural Sites Inscribed on the World Heritage List" (Questionnaire, May 19, 1988), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
In 1972, the yearly budget was around 150000 DM. Dombaumeister, "Kostenvoranschlag zur Instandesetzung des Aachener Domes. Bauabschnitt 1972." (Aachen, February 10, 1972), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[304] "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 2.12.1987"(Report, Aachen, December 2, 1987), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

It was also unclear when the money would arrive. In 1987 for example, money from the EC was only cleared in August which left 4 months to complete the work in that fiscal year. At other times local, regional, and exceptionally federal institutions carried the project financially.[305] Flyers containing textual and visual references to the World Heritage Status of the site continued to be regularly published by the cathedral to raise funds. UNESCO was aware of the campaign and received some flyers but did not get involved. Although the World Heritage status was central in these calls for help, the Aachen Cathedral did not attempt to obtain any funding from UNESCO directly since the organization did not offer financial help to European sites.[306]

Locals had recognized the financial advantages of the status in the 1980s, then in 1990, Aachen organized a ceremony to inaugurate a UNESCO World Heritage plaque on the Aachen Cathedral. The first material marker of the cathedral's status as a UNESCO World Heritage site in Aachen was installed on the walls of the Hungarian chapel. The inauguration ceremony resembled the one proposed by Director General of UNESCO M'Bow in 1980.[307] The plaque was an initiative from the NRW Ministry for city development, living, and transportation, but the Diocese of Aachen organized a ceremony for its unveiling marking their willingness to participate. [308] The German UNESCO Commission, and Hans Caspary, the German representative at the UNESCO

[305] "Herr Dr. Leucke weist darauf hin, dass der Bund seit 1985 den Aachener Dom durch Zuschüsse fördert."Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 25.1.1994 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, February 3, 1994), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[306] The Cathedral needed around 28 Million DM to repair the roofs. See "So ist der Aachener Dom als erstes deutsches "bau- und kunstgeschichtliches Ensemble" in die "UNESCO-Liste des Weltkulturerbes" aufgenommen worden." Hans Müllejans and Klaus Hemmerle, "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe" (Flyer, Aachen, September 1990), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.

A second flyer asking for donations for the restoration of the *Ungarnkapelle*, showed a picture of the 1990 World Heritage plaque and retold the story of its inscription on List in 1978. "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe. Aachen und Ungarn eine Freundschaft die lebt. Die Ungarnkapelle des Aachener Doms" (Flyer, Aachen, n.d.), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.

[307] Fabricius met with M'Bow and reported his suggestion for a ceremony in Aachen. Fabricius, "Letter to AA"(Paris, January 16, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[308] "Dr Memmesheimer teilt mit, dass eine UNESCO-Plakette gestiftet worden sei, die an den gemäss dem UNESCO-Verzeichnis zu sichernden und fördernden Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern angebracht warden könne und solle" "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 2.12.1987" (Report, Aachen, December 2, 1987), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

"Herr Prof. Dr. Memmesheimer dankt dem Domkapitel für die Form, in der es die Anbringung der UNESCO-Plakette am Dom gestaltet hat, sowie für den anschliessenden Empfang." A. Peters, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 16.10.1990 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, October 16, 1990), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

World Heritage Committee, were involved in the planning, while UNESCO in Paris followed the plans from afar.[309]

Local newspapers, the AN and AVZ reported the details of the ceremony on the 6th of April 1990. Both articles started with a report on the latest financial crisis of the Aachen Cathedral: the exceptional support of the European Community for the Chapel restoration program had not been renewed. They then continued by describing the next restoration plans of the diocese before focusing on the ceremony. The ceremony allowed newspapers to celebrate the collaboration between city and region, as the NRW minister who unveiled the plaque had also recently promised to raise financial help for the cathedral restoration.[310] The cathedral's status as the first German site on the UNESCO World Heritage List had become a point of pride for locals and the local press underlined this fact. The AVZ article stated:

> Das allerdings nicht seit gestern. Bereits am 31. März 1978 wurde das Münster als erstes deutsches Bauwerk auf diese Liste gesetzt.[311]

Both articles, however, also uncovered a divide between local meanings of the site and UNESCO status. Representatives of the diocese insisted that the Aachen Cathedral was a sacral space, a "house of god," first and foremost. At the same time, they argued that since the cathedral had become a "Weltdenkmal"[312], its conservation should be the responsibility of all of humankind. This divide in representation, or layering of meaning, is a recurrent conflict in sacred sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List and has endured until today in Aachen.[313]

The speech of Hans Caspary, FRG representative at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, was featured in both articles. He reminded the public that the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral had been Germany's commitment to Europe, a "Bekenntnis zu Europa." [314] Caspary then contrasted the Aachen Cathedral nomination with the newly inscribed World Heritage site of

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[309] Anne Raidl, the FRG's main contact at UNESCO, told Hans Caspary that she was looking forward to the future plaque ceremony in Aachen. Anne Raidl, "Letter to Hans Caspary" (Letter, Paris, July 25, 1988), CC/CH/OI/7.3/Ger WHC Republic of Germany Part I, UNESCO Archives.
[310] Sabine Rother, "'Welt-Denkmal' Aachener Dom. Bronzetafel wurde gestern von Minister Zöpel enthüllt- Unesco Liste," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; Klein, "Das Land springt für die EG ein. Zöpel macht Zusage" *Aachener Nachrichten*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[311] Rother, "'Welt-Denkmal' Aachener Dom. Bronzetafel wurde gestern von Minister Zöpel enthüllt- Unesco Liste" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[312] Rother, "'Welt-Denkmal' Aachener Dom. Bronzetafel wurde gestern von Minister Zöpel enthüllt- Unesco Liste" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[313] On sacral sites becoming heritage sites see Ernst van den Hemel et al.(eds), *Managing Sacralities.*
[314] Rother, "'Welt-Denkmal' Aachener Dom. Bronzetafel wurde gestern von Minister Zöpel enthüllt- Unesco Liste" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.

Potsdam. The site inscription, very much a part of the current political context, was presented as a commitment to the unity of Germany. This phrase indicated a shift in the actions of German experts in international heritage projects, starting with Caspary, whose status had gone from West German to German representative at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. Through this reference, he indicated that the focus of his action at the World Heritage Committee would shift to the national realm.

In Aachen, the plaque marked the beginning of a more active relationship with UNESCO. An Aachen UNESCO Club was created in 1990.[315] The following year, the city hosted a touring exhibition organized by the German ICOMOS Commission on German World Heritage sites. The 1991 exhibition remained in Aachen for two weeks and was accompanied by a first publication on the nine German World Heritage sites. [316] At the same time, UNESCO in Paris published an article on the Aachen Cathedral in the *UNESCO Courier* titled "The Stones of Aachen." The article used local European narratives, describing Aachen as "the European city par excellence" which once "symbolized the political and cultural unity of the Carolingian empire." [317] The two authors, Aachen Cathedral conservators, also insisted on the sacred materiality of the site through its relics, Charlemagne's tomb, the pilgrimage, the representation of Heavenly Jerusalem, and other topics. Again, here the stewards of the cathedral wanted to remind the reader of the site's status as a sacral site; its status as a World Heritage site was central to the publication itself but a secondary concern in the text.

The following year, in 1992, a booklet on the Aachen Cathedral was published by local magazine "die Waage" in Aachen. [318] This was the first direct collaboration between local conservators, the German UNESCO Committee, and UNESCO in Paris. UNESCO Director

[315] On the local Unesco-Club, see "Vorsitzende des Unesco-Clubs: Im Dienste des Weltkuturerbes," *Aachener Zeitung*, October 10th, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/aachen/vorsitzende-des-unesco-clubs-im-dienste-des-weltkulturerbes_aid-32459859.

[316] In Aachen from 15.3 to 5.4.1991. See the timeline of the exhibition in "Weltkulturdänkmäler in Deutschland. Ausstellung der Dresdner Bank." (1991), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; Caspary et al., *Weltkulturdenkmäler in Deutschland*. The exhibition then travelled to UNESCO in Paris in 1992. Roth, "Letter to Anne Raidl (UNESCO). Ausstellung 'Weltkulturdenkmäler in Deutschland' Terminplanung 1992" (Letter, November 28, 1991), CC/CH/OI/7.3/Ger WHC Republic of Germany Part II, UNESCO Archives.

[317] Herta Lepie and Roland Wentzler, "The Stones of Aachen," *UNESCO Courier*, November 1991, 4.
The idea of a publication on the Aachen Cathedral site in the Courier had originated in 1979 with the UNESCO Journalist trip. AA, "Letter to Ständige Vertretung an der UNESCO. Publikationsprogramm des UNESCO-Kuriers. Nummer über den Aachener Dom" (Bonn, August 31, 1979), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[318] UNESCO symbol on the title page. "Der Dom zu Aachen. die waage. Sonderheft 2" (July 1992), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.

General Frederico Mayor, the President of the *Deutsche Unesco Kommission* (DUK) Peter Canisius, and the German delegate at the World Heritage Committee Hans Caspary, wrote general welcome addresses. In his short text, Frederico Mayor announced that the Aachen Cathedral would be included in an exhibition at UNESCO to celebrate the 20 years of the World Heritage Convention in Paris the same year. Aachen conservators then wrote detailed technical articles on the different restoration projects in Aachen. UNESCO was omnipresent in the text and images, but here again it served to attract attention to the practical challenges of the Aachen Cathedral conservation.[319]

In the meantime, the ambitious *Kapellenprogramm* continued following the completion of the *Karlskapelle* restorations. Between 1991 and 1994, conservators focused on the restoration of the 18th century *Ungarnkapelle* which suffered from lingering consequences of WWII damage.[320] In 1994, the charity campaign "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe!" was revived as new serious problems arose on the *Chorhalle*. The new work was estimated to 20 million DM over several years partly because of the rising cost of construction work, which once again put the cathedral in financial difficulty.[321] In 1995, the cathedral authorities launched the *Europäische Stiftung für den Aachener Dom* to vie for donations in the international realm. The *Stiftung* became one of the 3 Pillars of financial help for the Aachen Cathedral restoration, alongside the *Kalrsverein* and the action "Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe!" In 1997, these three organizations brought 1,3 Mio DM (more than one-third of the yearly budget) of funding for the conservation of the site.[322] In its

[319] Editor's welcome " Mit unserem Beitrag zur Erhaltung des Aachener Doms hoffen wir Anregung zu geben, durch die tätige Mithilfe dieses Kulturerbe zu retten." "Der Dom zu Aachen. die waage. Sonderheft 2"(July 1992), WHC 3, UNESCO Archives. See also Lepie and Wentzler, "The Stones of Aachen," 47.
[320] Maintz, *Die Grund- und Aussensanierung 1986 bis 2006,* 26–31.
[321] "Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 30.11.1994. Finanzierung der Massnahmen an der Chorhalle von 1995 bis 2000" (Report, Aachen, November 30, 1994), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[322] They are the "'3 Säulen' der Hilfen für den Aachener Dom." Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 22.1.1997 Aachen" (Aachen, February 17, 1997), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Costs amount to 3,4 Mio DM a year in 1998 : 500 000 Domkapitel - 800 000 Bistum - 400 000 Karlsverein - 600000 Europ. Stiftung - 300 000 Aktion Dom braucht Hilfe - 300 000 NRW - 300 000 Bund - 200 000 Stadt Aachen. "Finanzierung 1998 Diagramm" (Aachen, 1998), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
"Von Herrn Dr. Müllejans wird dann berichtet über den Status der Europäischen Stiftung, deren Konstituierung am 31.1.1999 durch Herrn Bundespräsident Herzog vorgenommen wird." Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukomimission am 20.1.1999, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, July 9, 1999), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

calls, the *Stiftung* insisted on the importance of the Aachen Cathedral for European culture and religion.[323]

The repairs of the *Chorhalle* were the most ambitious and the sole restoration project of the second half of the 1990s. In 1997, *Dombaumeister* Siebigs retired, following which his assistant Helmut Maintz took over the completion of the overall restoration project.[324] Cathedral authorities hoped to finish the restoration for the 2000 celebrations of the *Aachenfahrt* pilgrimage and the 1200 anniversary of the church's construction. New *Dombaumeister* Maintz succeeded in having the Choir Hall mostly restored by 2000.[325] The *Kapellenprogramm* continued into the 2000s, when Aachen Cathedral conservators turned their attention back to the Carolingian Octagon. Its roof, mosaics, marble floors, and Carolingian walls were the focus of the next 15 years of conservation efforts. Cathedral conservators also planned conservation work on the Anna, Mathias, and Nikolaus Chapels; and the cathedral's two towers.[326] The financial figures of the restoration projects have changed significantly since the 1970s and 1980s. In 2000, for example, the budget had risen to 3.8 million DM. Church authorities carried nearly 40% of the finances. City, Region and Federal participation amounted respectively to 6%, 13% and 13% of the total. Finally, the *Dombauverein* and *Europäische Stiftung* covered 17% of the budget together.[327] The Aachen

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[323] Europäische Stiftung für den Aachener Dom, ed., *Der Aachener Dom braucht Hilfe. Ein Appell der Europäischen Stiftung für den Aachener Dom* (Berlin, 1996). The Europäische Sitftung describes its role as follows:"Neben der Darstellung der europäischen Dimension der Aachener Kathedralkirche als einem Identifikationszeichen gemeinsamer europäischer Kultur, ist es vorrangig Aufgabe der Stiftung, überregionale und langfristige Hilfe bei den Erhaltungsmaßnahmen an Bauwerk und Schatz zu leisten und für das umfangreiche Restaurierungsprogramm - Spenden aus ganz Europa einzuwerben. (...) Seit dem Jahre 2007 fördert die Stiftung verstärkt den Europagedanken im Geiste der christlich geprägten europäischen Kultur in Kunst, Literatur, Musik und Wissenschaft..." "Die Stiftung," Europäische Stiftung | Aachener Dom, September 12, 2017. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.stiftung-aachenerdom.de/die-stiftung/.

[324] Dombaukomission 1993-1999, Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen
Dipl-Ing Kempen. "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 21.1.1998 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, February 9, 1998), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen
Helmut Maintz (1959-) officially became *Dombaumeister* in 2000 and retired in 2023. Sabine Rother "Festlicher Abschied von Dombaumeister Helmut Maintz" in *Aachener Zeitung* (29/1/23). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/festlicher-abschied-von-dombaumeister-helmut-maintz/3770513.html

[325] Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 21.1.1998 Aachen" (Report, Aachen, February 9, 1998), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Dpl. Ing. Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukommission am 24. Januar 2001" (Aachen, February 15, 2001), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.24, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Helmut Maintz, "Baumassnahmen des Jahres 2000" (Aachen, 2000), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.24, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Maintz, *Die Grund- und Aussensanierung 1986 bis 2006*, 31–41.

[326] Maintz, *Die Grund- und Aussensanierung 1986 bis 2006*, 42–58.

[327] "Förderhaushalt 2000 – Kostenzusammenstellung" (Report, Aachen, 2000), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.24, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Cathedral again obtained timely financial assistance from the EU for its Nemorek project on the restoration of 19th century mosaics in 2002 and 2003.[328]

1.3.2. Cathedral or Palace? Diverging Imaginations of the Site between UNESCO and Aachen

In the early 2000s, collaboration with UNESCO focused on symbolic communication and obtaining financial help. Since 2003, the Aachen Cathedral has celebrated the site's World Heritage status through a yearly *Welterbetag,* or World Heritage Day. [329] In celebration of the 25 years of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage list, the local magazine, "die Waage" published a new booklet on the cathedral in 2003. In the publication the omnipresent UNESCO narratives mixed with a dominant European narrative as four articles contained the word Europe or *Abendland* in their title.[330] Although ICOMOS had refused European narratives of the site in the 1978 Aachen Cathedral nomination, these two overlapping identities became inseparable in a local context after local actors adopted UNESCO symbolics in their outreach to the public.

The next known step for the technical communication between Aachen and UNESCO was the first periodic report sent to Paris in 2005. Its author, Birgitta Ringbeck, the new German representative at the World Heritage Committee from the NRW Ministry for Building and Transport, was well known in Aachen as she was also a NRW representative at the yearly meeting of the *Dombaukommission* of the Aachen Cathedral in 1999 and 2000.[331] The 2005 periodic report

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[328] *EU -Projekt Nemorek* is mentioned at the *Dombaukommission* in 2004. Domprobst, "Letter to Bishop. Invitation to Dombaukommission 21.1.2004" (Aachen, December 5, 2003), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.24, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; "Culture 2000 – Implementation 2003. 12 One-year projects supported in the field of Cultural Heritage." *European Commission Website*. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/culture/tools/documents/culture-2000/2003/heritage.pdf
See also Georg Dunnwald, "Risse im Aachener Dom entdeckt." *Aachener Zeitung*. April 23rd, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/risse-im-aachener-dom-entdeckt/3046017.html.
From 2001 onward, another intermittent source of financial help was the *Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz*, which originated in the 1975 European Heritage Year. KNA, "Denkmalschutz-Stiftung fördert Restaurierung im Aachener Dom," *Aachener Zeitung*, February 13, 2008, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/denkmalschutz-stiftung-fordert-restaurierung-im-aachener-dom/2999223.html.

[329] Ex-chancellor Helmut Kohl gave a speech at the 2003 25th World Heritage Anniversary celebrations at the Aachen Cathedral. Thomas Thelen, "Ein Bauwerk macht Mut für die Zukunft Europas," *Aachener Zeitung*, November 16th, 2003. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/ein-bauwerk-macht-mut-fur-die-zukunft-europas/2906233.html.
Yearly World Heritage Days or *Weltkulturerbetage* started in 2005. "30 Jahre Weltkulturerbe." *Domradio*, June 1st, 2008. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.domradio.de/artikel/aachen-feiert-vierten-welterbetag.

[330] Horst Fuhrmann, "Der Aachener Dom. Der Ort, an dem das Abendland entstanden ist," *Die Waage*, 2003, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; Jürg Goll, "Karl der Große in Münstair. Gründervater und 'Pater Europä,'" *Die Waage*, 2003, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; Jean-Michel Leniaud, "Bekenntnis zu Europa. Drehscheibe zwischen den Nationen," *Die Waage*, 2003, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; Laszlo Veszpremy, "Symbol der Einheit. Der Aachener Dom und Mitteleuropa," *Die Waage*, 2003, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.

[331] Kempen, "Protokoll der Sitzung der Dombaukomimission am 20.1.1999, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, July 9, 1999), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

contained new pictures of the site, an updated bibliography, an organigram, the reports of restorations done since the 1980s, and maps of the surrounding of the Aachen Cathedral. Aachen, alongside all World Heritage sites at the time, was subsequently asked by UNESCO to implement a site management plan and an official buffer zone offering additional protection to the site's surroundings.[332]

Aachen's historic center, including the Aachen Cathedral, was also the object of renewed intensive archeological research. In 2006, Aachen hired a dedicated city archeologist, Andreas Schaub. Between 2007 and 2011, Schaub excavated the cathedral grounds. The searches allowed, among other things, to date the Maria Church to 793, to review the finds of the early 20th century searches, and to search for Charlemagne's tomb again. Archaeologists also established the existence of a later Carolingian construction linking the Maria Church to the Aula Regia. Additional searches in the historic center left tangible traces in Aachen by installing several *Archäologische Fenster* for the public. Thus, archaeological research and urban politics geared towards tourism in the historic center accentuated the link between the cathedral and the City Hall, Aula Regia of the Carolingian Palace, in local imagination.[333]

See ICOMOS, "Retrospective Inventory. Germany No.C 003 Aachen Cathedral" (Inventory, Paris, 2013), 3, R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

Ringbeck replaced Caspary in 2001 as German expert representative at UNESCO until 2012, when she moved on to coordinate the World Heritage bureau at the German Foreign Office. Birgitta Ringbeck, "Welterbe ist ein integraler Bestandteil der Auswärtigen Kultur- und Bildungspolitik," Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission, May 2021. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.unesco.de/aktuelles/welterbe-ist-ein-integraler-bestandteil-der-auswaertigen-kultur-und-bildungspolitik.

See also Albert and Ringbeck, *40 Years World Heritage Convention*.

[332] In 2008, Ringbeck sent supplementary information containing maps of the Aachen Cathedral and its surroundings to UNESCO. "Technical Evaluations. Germany No. C 003 Aachen Cathedral" (2008), 3, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives; "Clarification of Property Boundaries and Areas by State Parties in Response to the Retrospective Inventories. World Heritage Committee 36th Session. Saint Petersbourg, 26.6.-6.7.2012. 8D." (2012), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[333] Christoph Keller, "Die Pfalz Karls des Großen in Aachen. Eine Archäologische Bestandsaufnahme," in *Ex Oriente. Isaak und der weisse Elefant*, vol. 3 (Mainz, 2003), 6–27 ; Tanja Kohlberger-Schaub and Andreas Schaub, "Neues zu Bau und Bauplatz der Marienkirche: die Domgrabung 2007 bis 2011," in *Orte der Macht - Essays*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Michel Sandstein, 2014), 364–69; Hähling and Schaub, *Römisches Aachen*; Andreas Schaub and Tanja Kohlberger-Schaub, "Archäologische Untersuchungen im Aachener Dom: ein Arbeitsbericht," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 9 (2008 2007), 15–36; Andreas Schaub and Tanja Kohlberger-Schaub, "Archäologische Untersuchungen im Aachener Dom 2009/2010. Ein Arbeitsbericht II," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 10 (2010 2009), 1–20; Andreas Schaub and Tanja Kohlberger-Schaub, "On the Origins of the Great Carolingian Place of Power: Recent Excavations at Aachen Cathedral," in *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2015), 473–794; Andreas Schaub, "Das archäologische Jahr 2006 in Aachen," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 109 (2007), 1–17; Andreas Schaub, "Archäologie in Aachen 2007/2008," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 110 (2008), 7–23; Andreas Schaub, "Archäologie in Aachen 2009," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 111/112 (2010 2009), 7–25; Schaub, *Gläserne Grabungen*.

Charlemagne's lost tomb continues to fascinate, see Dunnwald, "Aachen: Dombaumeister sucht Kaiser Karls Grab" *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 28, 2010, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-

As time progressed, local authorities tried to meet the more stringent demands of the UNESCO World Heritage Center in Paris regarding site management, and communication with UNESCO increased significantly. The site was also met with vivid discussions about a planned shopping center in proximity to the Aachen Cathedral, which UNESCO considered as endangering the site's visual integrity. This coincided with difficulties faced by several German sites, Köln, and Dresden because of similar urban development projects. Despite these tensions, Aachen Cathedral and City authorities were keen to satisfy UNESCO demands for the site. In 2007, the Aachen city office for heritage conservation and city, living and transportation started planning a *Denkmalbereich Aachen Innenstadt* as buffer zone for the World Heritage site.[334]

In the 2000s, the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral as an isolated monument on the UNESCO World Heritage List became a contradiction in its local context that increasingly contemplated the Carolingian palace site as one entity. The divide became significant enough for German conservators to attempt to change the Aachen Cathedral site's scope and name at UNESCO's World Heritage Committee. In 2009, after several years of preparation, the FRG sent an official proposal for a minor boundary modification and name change of the Aachen Cathedral site to UNESCO. Representatives suggested a name change for the site to include "the Carolingian Palace Complex" and argued that this change would better "reflect the Carolingian significance of the Aachen Cathedral" [335] on top of its architectural, political, and religious importance. At the

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nrw/dombaumeister-sucht-kaiser-karls-grab/3093356.html; Silberer, "Aachener Dom: Grab von Karl dem Großen bleibt verschollen," *Spiegel*, May 19, 2010. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/aachener-dom-grab-von-karl-dem-grossen-bleibt-verschollen-a-695574.html.

Aachen created a website on its archeological searches and archaeological city tour: "Ein archäologischer Rundgang durch die historische Altstadt." Stadt Aachen STAWAG, "Zeitreise ac. Archäologie in Aachen" (City Guide, Aachen). August 25th, 2025, https://archaeologie-aachen.de/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/rundgang_zeitreise_ac.pdf.

[334]"Mit der Ausweisung des Denkmalbereichs wollen die Aachener zugleich ihre Chancen verbessern, die gesamte ehemalige Pfalzanlage als Weltkulturerbe anerkennen zu lassen." The article also mentions Dresden and Cologne's conflicts with UNESCO. Gerald Eimer, "Aachen will keinen Streit mit der Unesco," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 2nd, 2007. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/kultur/aachen-will-keinen-streit-mit-der-unesco/2973744.html. See also "Grabenring wird zur Schutzzone für den Dom," *Aachener Zeitung*, March 20th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/grabenring-wird-zur-schutzzone-fur-den-dom/3041336.html; „Innenstadt kommt unter Denkmalschutz." *Aachener Zeitung*, May 6th, 2010. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/innenstadt-kommt-unter-denkmalschutz/3105601.html.

On Buffer zones, see Albert and Ringbeck, *40 Years World Heritage Convention*, 42–43.

[335] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Report of Decisions" (Report, Seville, July 20, 2009), 223, WHC-09/33.COM/20, UNESCO UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-20e.pdf.

same time, they wanted to enlarge the original World Heritage site's limits to integrate the City Hall and thus enclose the rest of the known Carolingian palace.

The demands were not well received in Paris. ICOMOS advised against a boundary and name change, as the experts considered that this extension would represent a significant modification of the site and "change the focus of the nominated area." [336] At the time of the 1978 inscription, ICOMOS had focused on the exceptional nature of Charlemagne's palatine chapel and the justification for the four accepted criteria were all related to the building. They felt that the Carolingian palace was not yet studied well enough to determine its exact boundaries. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee followed ICOMOS's advice and subsequently refused both the boundary and name change in 2009, resulting in strong local disappointment in Aachen.[337]

Despite this rebuke on the international stage, the Aachen Cathedral's World Heritage status carried palpable advantages for locals. From 2009, for example, the FRG started offering special funding for restoration projects on German World Heritage Sites. The Aachen Cathedral received 5.5 million Euros, a significant sum for conservators, which was provided by the city and region. [338] The funds allowed Aachen Cathedral conservators to conclude their ambitious

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Local press mentioned the plan in 2008. Weltkulturerbe Aachener Dom auf Pfalzanlage erweitern," *Aachener Zeitung*, November 7th, 2008. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/weltkulturerbe-aachener-dom-auf-pfalzanlage-erweitern/3020885.html.

[336] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Report of Decisions," (Report, Seville, July 20, 2009), 223, WHC-09/33.COM/20, UNESCO Archives. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2009/whc09-33com-20e.pdf.

[337] " Leisten, Hans-Peter. "Aachener Rathaus wird wohl nicht Weltkulturerbe." *Aachener Zeitung*. June 13th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/aachens-rathaus-wird-wohl-nicht-weltkulturerbe/3055123.html; "Das war nichts: Aachener Rathaus wird vorerst nicht Weltkulturerbe," *Aachener Nachrichten.* June 14th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/das-war-nichts-aachener-rathaus-wird-vorerst-nicht-weltkulturerbe/3054888.html.

Locals did not give up on the idea. Dpa. "Aachen macht Hausaufgaben für die Unesco." *Aachener Zeitung*. May 18th, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/aachen-macht-hausaufgaben-fur-die-unesco/3154914.html.

[338] Nicola Halder-Hass, "Förderung von deutschen Welterbestätten – finanzielle Rahmenbedingungen," *ICOMOS – Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* 57 (2013), 33–40; Monika Krücken and Josef Hegger, *Offensichtlich verborgen: die Aachener Pfalz im Fokus der Forschung* (Aachen: Geymüller Verlag, 2016), 10; Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development, *An Honour and an Obligation. Programme of Investment in National UNESCO World Heritage Sites* (Berlin: Federal Ministry of Transport, Building and Urban Development, 2012), Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://proprojekt.de/media/honour_and_obligation.pdf.

Local news outlets reported the news: "8,6 Millionen Euro für Aachener Weltkulturerbe," *Aachener Nachrichten*, March 26, 2009, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/86-millionen-euro-fur-aachener-weltkulturerbe/3042101.html; "Millionensegen für den Aachener Dom," *Aachener Zeitung*, June 15th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/aachen/millionensegen-fuer-den-aachener-dom_aid-32565377; "3,4 Millionen aus Unesco-Programm für den Dom," *Aachener Zeitung*, August 18, 2009. Accessed August 25 th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/34-millionen-aus-unesco-programm-fur-den-dom/3068050.html; "Gratis-Reinigung für Aachener Domkapelle," *Aachener Zeitung*, December 3rd, 2014.

restoration plans, the *Kapellenprogramm,* in 2011 after 25 years of continuous work, but it also was used for the entire Carolingian palace. On that occasion, the cathedral inaugurated a new visitor center for the Aachen Cathedral.[339]

Although UNESCO and ICOMOS refused to include the "Palace complex" in the World Heritage site, local authorities used the Aachen Cathedral's UNESCO World Heritage status to promote the vision of a connected Carolingian palace site. In the second step of the federal funding for UNESCO World Heritage sites, local conservators chose to use the funds to restore the Aachen City Hall and *Pfalzenforschung*. In parallel, city archaeologists continued their research work to better apprehend the palace space.[340] Finally, in 2011, the buffer zone around the Aachen Cathedral demanded by the UNESCO World Heritage Center was implemented in Aachen's historic center. The plan again centered around the Carolingian Palace. The UNESCO World Heritage Committee accepted the buffer zone in 2013.[341]

Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/gratis-reinigung-fur-aachener-domkapelle/3395096.html.

[339] "Sanierungsmarathon am Aachener Dom beendet," *Aachener Zeitung*, July 25th, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/sanierungsmarathon-am-aachener-dom-beendet/3164233.html; Robert Esser, "Neues Dom-Center für Millionen Besucher," *Aachener Zeitung*, January 15th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/neues-dom-center-fur-millionen-besucher/3029027.html; Thorsten Karbach, "Ein Schmuckstück vor der Schatzkammer." *Aachener Zeitung*, September 25th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/ein-schmuckstuck-vor-der-schatzkammer/3075505.html.

[340] *Pfalzenforschung*, historical and architectural research the studies the entirety of a palace complex, became a focus in the 1980s and continues till today in Germany. On palace research in Aachen, see Dietmar Flach, "Pfalz, Fiskus und Stadt Aachen im Lichte der neuesten Pfalzenforschung," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 98/99 (1992-1993), 31–56; Krücken and Hegger, *Offensichtlich verborgen*, 10–17; Schaub and Kohlberger-Schaub, "On the Origins of the Great Carolingian Place of Power"; Andreas Schaub, "Im Herzen der Pfalz: Archäologie in Aachen 2012 - 2014," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins.*, 2014, 313–37.
Local press also followed the research : Thomas Kreft, "Geschichte der Aachener Pfalz vor einer Neubewertung," *Aachener Zeitung*, March 29th, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/geschichte-der-aachener-pfalz-vor-einer-neubewertung/3042612.html; Julia Ricker, "Interview mit der Stadtkonservatorin Monika Krücken. Forschung zur Aachener Kaiserpfalz," *Monumente Online*, April 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.monumente-online.de/de/ausgaben/2014/2/forschungen-zur-aachener-kaiserpfalz.php; "'Pfalzenforschung': Die Karolinger bauten auf die Römer," *Aachener Zeitung*, April 20th, 2017. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/pfalzenforschung-die-karolinger-bauten-auf-die-romer/3627648.html.

[341] Preparations for the Buffer Zone started in 2007. See Hanz Jahnen Pflüger, "Grundlagen für die Denkmalsatzung 'Stadtkern Aachen'" (Report, Aachen, October 2007), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Landschaftsverband Rheinland, "Denkmalbereich Aachen Innenstadt. Gutachten" (Report, May 2, 2008), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Stadt Aachen, "Satzung für die Erhaltung des Denkmalbereiches „INNENSTADT" vom 24.03.2011" (Report, Aachen, March 24, 2011), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Helmut Maintz, "World Heritage Site-Aachen Cathedral Germany Nr.3 Buffer Zone for the World Heritage Property" (Report, Aachen, January 3, 2013), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Birgitta Ringbeck, "World Heritage Site Aachen Cathedral, Germany Buffer Zone" (Report, Paris, February 1, 2013), WHC 3, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

The divide between the UNESCO representation of the site and local imagination still exists today, but local authorities are taking measures to reappropriate the site of the ancient Carolingian palace. The *Katschhof* square between the Aachen Cathedral and the City Hall thus became a focal point. It was the main recipient of a wider urban plan ordered by the city around the World Heritage Site Aachen Cathedral, between 2011 and 2014. The new installations used "time travel" and viewpoints to take tourists on a tour focused on the historic palace.[342] In 2014, Aachen finally inaugurated its new city museum, the so-called "Centre Charlemagne" on the *Katschhof*. The museum opened for the local celebrations of the 1200th anniversary of Charlemagne's death. On the occasion, the *Katschhof* was covered in life-sized Charlemagne statues for the celebrations. [343]

In 2018, the cathedral organized ambitious events to mark the 40th anniversary of the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the World Heritage list. The German Federal President Steinmeier came to honor the site on that occasion.[344] At the same time, a new renovation project

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See also "Unesco akzeptiert Pufferzone für Aachener Dom," *Aachener Zeitung*, July 29th, 2013. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/unesco-akzeptiert-pufferzone-fur-aachener-dom/3290772.html.

[342] Stadt Aachen, *Geschichte neu erleben. Freiraumgestaltung und Vermittlungskonzept rund um das Welterbe Dom zu Aachen* (Aachen, 2015). For a short history of the *Katschhof*, see Peter Herman Loosen, *Aus dem alten Aachen. Historische Skizzen oder Aachener Geschichte in Geschichten* (Aachen: Aquensia-Verlag, 1982), 205–10.

[343] Frank Pohle, "Vom Lehrbuch zur Erzählung – Die Neupräsentation der römsichen Geschichte Aachen sim "Centre Charlemagne"," in *Gläserne Grabungen: 10 Jahre neue Stadtarchäologie Aachen 2006-2016* (Neustadt an der Aisch: VDS - Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2018), 29–36.

The city preferred to focus on its 2014 Charlemagne year celebration than on the UNESCO Year supposed to promote German World Heritage sites organized by the *Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus.* Angela Delonge, "Aachen und die Welt: Da geht noch nichts," *Aachener Zeitung*, December, 26th, 2013. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/aachen-und-die-welt-da-geht-noch-nichts/3318594.html.

Website of Aachen's 2014 Charlemagne celebrations. Stadt Aachen, "Karl der Große 2014 | Macht, Kunst, Schätze – 3 Ausstellungen in Aachen" Karl der Große 2014, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://www.karldergrosse2014.de/.

Centre Charlemagne website. "Centre Charlemagne. Neues Stadtmuseum Aachen. Startseite" Aachen. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://centre-charlemagne.eu/.

[344] See Sabine Rother, "40 Jahre Welterbe Aachener Dom: Bundespräsident Steinmeier würdigt das Wahrzeichen der Kaiserstadt," *Aachener Zeitung*, September 25, 2018. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/bundesprasident-steinmeier-wurdigt-das-wahrzeichen-der-kaiserstadt/4185352.html; Sabine Rother. "Bald ist es soweit: „40 Jahre Welterbe Aachener Dom.“" Aachener Zeitung. September 10th, 2018. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/bald-ist-es-soweit-40-jahre-welterbe-aachener-dom/4190856.html; Sabine Rother, "40 Jahren Weltkulturerbe: Große Spendenaktion für den Aachener Dom." *Aachener Zeitung*. May 12, 2018. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/40-jahren-weltkulturerbe-gro%C3%9Fe-spendenaktion-fur-den-aachener-dom/4222015.html?output=webview.; Carsten Döpp, "Zum Welterbetag : Dombaumeister über den Aachener Dom. 'Zu Recht das erste Welterbe in Deutschland,'" *Domradio*, June 3rd, 2018, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.domradio.de/artikel/zum-welterbetag-dombaumeister-ueber-den-aachener-dom.

at the cathedral started, aiming to restore the entire *Taufkapelle* for the following three years.[345] With its approximately 1.5 million visitors a year, the Aachen Cathedral is the most important touristic stop in the region. The 7-year pilgrimage or *Aachenfahrt* alone attracts around 200000 visitors in a few weeks' time.[346]

Although they valued and regularly celebrate the Aachen Cathedral's World Heritage status, locals see it as only one of its many identities. The two buildings of the ancient palace of Charlemagne are the most visible buildings of the cityscape and festivities like the renowned Aachen Christmas market concentrate around them. The historic site remains Aachen's political, social, touristic, and religious center. The Aachen Cathedral specifically faces the challenges of other religious heritage sites. Heritage studies have increasingly examined the effect of tourism on sacral site and in his book entitled *Religion and Tourism*, Religion studies scholar Michael Stausberg observed:

> "Heritage church buildings in many European city centers are nowadays predominantly used by tourists and locally known as tourism churches."[347]

Aachen Cathedral authorities are especially wary of this tension. For the site to retain its sacral character, they tightly control visits of the church and continue to focus on local living traditions, such as the seven-year pilgrimage, *Aachenfahrt*, the Saint Charlemagne Day celebrations, and other sacral-cultural events.[348]

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[345] "Sanierung der Taufkapelle - ein Rundgang mit Dombaumeister Helmut Maintz," *Stadtmagazin Bad Aachen*, April 27, 2021. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CfUZb0i1Iw4&t=356s.

[346] Helmut Maintz, "Aachen Cathedral Monitoring and Conservation," in *European Cathedrals Planned Conservation* (Pisa, 2012), 104. See also "Aachener Dom größte Touristen-Attraktion in der Region," *Belgischer Rundfunk Nachrichten*. June 21st, 2007. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://brf.be/regional/29765/; "Deutlich mehr Touristen kommen nach NRW," *Aachener Zeitung*, August 18th, 2017. Accessed August 25th, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/region-nrw/deutlich-mehr-touristen-kommen-nach-nrw/3741955.html.

[347] Stausberg, *Religion and Tourism*, 82.

[348] The Aachen Cathedral organized an international conference on religious World Heritage sites with ICOMOS Germany in 2018. Domkapitel Aachen and Stadt Aachen, "Welterbestätten der Weltreligionen - Hinduismus, Buddhismus, Judentum, Christentum und Islam. Religiöse Welterbestätten im Spannungsfeld zwischen touristischer Attraktion und Orten religiösen Lebens" (Conference Program, September 27, 2018). Conference Program, September 27, 2018. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.icomos.de/data/pdf/programmblatt-weltreligionen-1430-0811-1351-52.pdf.

2. Making the Father of Europe: Charlemagne Relics in Aachen's Religious, Cultural, and Political Rituals

On January 18th, 814, Charlemagne died in his palace of Aachen. According to his biographer and contemporary Einhard, he was buried in the Maria chapel adjacent to his palace on the same day.[349] In the centuries following Charlemagne's death, the church and city shared guardianship of Charlemagne's primary relics alongside other Christian treasures of the Maria Chapel. The Aachen Cathedral still hosts four major Christian relics, not to mention other relics from Carolingian times: the robe in which Maria gave birth to Jesus, the swaddling cloth of Jesus, the waistcloth Jesus wore on the day of his death, and the cloth that held the head of St. Joan the Baptist. These relics are also linked to Charlemagne's memory, as they are thought to have been a gift from his personal relic treasure.[350]

In his 2012 publication on the history of archaeological searches at the Aachen Cathedral, Frank Pohle concluded that it was first and foremost Charlemagne's burial in the Maria Church, that conferred Aachen historical meaning and allowed the city to link itself to Charlemagne memory.

> Dass Aachen in der weiteren Geschichte Bedeutung besass und wie keine zweite Stadt mit dem Namen Karls des Großen verbunden blieb, ist vornehmlich der Tatsache geschuldet, dass der Kaiser am 28. Januar 814 in der Marienkirche, seiner Gründung, an unbekannter Stelle bestattet wurde.[351]

Over centuries, the church learned to take advantage of the material heritage related to Charlemagne to attract visitors and financial support. In a 2009 article, historian Werner Tschacher described Charlemagne as *Aachen's* "useful body." He argued that the survival of his political myth made a memorial link to the Carolingian emperor an asset, which proved useful to Aachen as it allowed the city and the church to obtain special privileges.[352] The religious, political, historical, and artistic value of the relics left by the historical emperor have led the city of Aachen to become a center of the religious and memorial cult of Charlemagne. This chapter studies how

[349] Einhard, *Vie de Charlemagne*. Éditée et traduite par Louis Halphen, 87–89.
[350] Sisi Ben Kayed and Georg Minkenberg, eds., *Verlorene Schätze. Ehemalige Schatzstücke aus dem Aachener Domschatz*, Museen und Schatzkammern in Europa, Band 2 (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2014); Gormans, Markschies, and Eyhoff, *Venite et videte*; Lepie and Minkenberg, *Der Domschatz zu Aachen*; Schiffers, *Karls des Großen Reliquienschatz und die Anfänge der Aachenfahrt*.
[351] Pohle, *Die Erforschung der karolingischen Pfalz Aachen*, 487.
[352] Tschacher, "Karl der Große: Aachens dienstbare Leiche."

in the second half of the century local, national and international political, cultural and religious leaders transformed Aachen's Charlemagne memory into a symbol of shared European history.

The legitimization of rule in Aachen from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century relied strongly on the Maria Church as Charlemagne's mausoleum as historian Werner Tschacher showed in his 2012 book on the history of cultural realization of monarchical rule in Aachen. He described the Maria Church as "magische Legitimationsquelle" in his conclusion. [353] Charlemagne's primary and secondary relics in Aachen extended the presence of the dead, while locals enriched his memory with new meanings.[354] Although Tschacher's study ends in 1918 and focuses on monarchical rule, this chapter shows that his conclusion can also be applied to post-war Aachen and the local legitimization of European political rule. Aachen's catholic authorities as well as intellectual elites, legitimized this construction of European Charlemagne by collaborating with political elites. The Aachen Cathedral was overwhelmingly visible in local celebrations of a European Charlemagne. During these celebrations, discourse, iconography, rituals, and material relics were used to bring Charlemagne into present European politics. This shows how Aachen intertwines political narratives and religious-cultural signification in its Charlemagne memorialization.[355]

The European history and culture presented in Aachen since the 1950s, however, has remained multiple and dynamic. After World War II, Aachen held a marginal position as a border city on the western edge of West Germany and of the newly created North Rhine-Westphalia. Bonn became the Federal Republic of Germany's capital instead of Berlin, which had been the political center of the Prussian and Nazi regimes. The new West Germany had to define itself in contrast to its communist half. Aachen politicians decided to turn their geo-political situation into a strength in the context of European integration. They constructed historical narratives of a European Charlemagne, which echoed their contemporary political interests and presented Aachen

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[353] Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft. Eine Verfassungsgeschichte (ca. 800-1918*), 410.
See also Bernhard Pinsker and Annette Zeeb, eds., *Karl der Große: 1200 Jahre Mythos und Wirklichkeit* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2014).

[354] "La relique prolonge la présence et le souvenir du mort et les enrichit parfois d'une efficacité nouvelle. " Bouvier, "Reliques héroïques en Grèce archaïque : l'exemple de la lance d'Achille," 73.

[355] Aachen is a city of catholic tradition although also historically protestant. See Marcel Albert, Karsten Bremer, and Erwin Gatz, eds., *1700 Jahre Christentum in Nordrhein-Westfalen: ein Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, 1. Auflage (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013); Stefan Flesch, "Evangelische Kirche im Rheinland," Internetportal Rheinische Geschichte. Accessed October 7, 2022, https://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/Orte-und-Raeume/evangelische-kirche-im-rheinland/DE-2086/lido/57d11b0c04fee3.27538800.

as a historically international city in constant contact with its neighbors since antique and medieval times. In his book on the phenomenon of memory Hutton focuses on the political presence of collective memory:

> But collective memory is constructed on unstable foundations. However far it may reach into the past, it conforms to present needs. Highly selective in the imagery it imports out of the past, it is easily bent as these needs change. Collective memory flourishes and weakens in accord with the vicissitudes of changing realities.[356]

In Aachen, the myth of a European Charlemagne was and remains dynamic and multilayered. In the immediate postwar, Aachen's Charlemagne, a local saint since the 12th century, was tied to an idea of a Christian and Western Europe favored by conservative German politicians in their bid under the name of *Abendland*. From the second half of the 1960s under Mayor Hermann Heusch, the rise of narratives surrounding the so-called *Dreiländereck*, or *Land zwischen Rhein und Maas* in Aachen reflected a changing focus towards a tri-national regional European identity. In parallel, another idea developed in Aachen: Charlemagne as the historical figurehead of a Franco-German Europe. Following the signature of the Elysée Treaty on January 22nd of 1963, that marked the reconciliation between France and Germany, politicians aimed to unite forces in the European construction and used the shared ancestor's memory in Aachen to perform Europeanness.

The first part of this chapter examines the main political ritual surrounding a European Charlemagne in Aachen: the Charlemagne Prize. Starting in 1950, the yearly Charlemagne Prize ceremony was instrumental in constructing the image of a European Charlemagne in West-Germany. Although it did not directly serve local political or economic interests, its value lay in its symbolic representation. Every year during the ceremony famous international political figures came to Aachen and performed to local narratives of a European Charlemagne. The narratives of the prize mirror current European political interests and their evolution in Aachen.

The chapter's second part focuses on the representation of a Franco-German Charlemagne in the service of European politics in Aachen. Similarly to the *Karlspreis*, Franco-German European initiatives in Aachen first came from local political will but were then appropriated by national and European politicians. The sub-chapter studies two Aachen events: the 1967 signature ceremony of the Reims-Aachen city partnership and the 1978 Franco-German consultations between Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Aachen and its

[356] Hutton, *The Memory Phenomenon in Contemporary Historical Writing*.

historical relics of Charlemagne were and are still used by French and German politicians to give their collaboration historical legitimacy and represent themselves as the motor of a constructing Europe.

Finally, the third part of this chapter focuses on the Aachen Cathedral's religious-cultural initiatives for Europe. Cathedral authorities revived the Saint Charlemagne Day in Postwar Aachen and integrated the ritual into current local European foci through political and religious narratives. Cathedral conservators further used the historical relics of its treasury for European cultural politics. They participated in exhibitions from the 1950s to the 1980s that took on changing European cultural narratives in relation to Charlemagne. In Aachen, exhibitions were made to coincide with religious celebrations to ascribe a Christian character to local European cultural politics.

2.1. A Bridge over Eleven Centuries: Europe's Past and Present at the Charlemagne Prize

The Charlemagne Prize was the first political ritual to link local Charlemagne memory to the project of a European Community in postwar Aachen. Kurt Pfeiffer, an important local businessman and political figure, was at the origin of the initiative. In a later retelling he remembered the founding of the *Karlspreis* as follows:

> Am 15. Dezember 1949 trug er in der "Corona Legentium Aquensis" die Idee des "Internationalen Karlspreis der Stadt Aachen" in Gegenwart des damaligen Oberbürgermeisters, Dr. Albert Maas, eines alten Paneuropäers, vor.[357]

The idea was well received by the mayor of Aachen and on Christmas of 1949, a committee of so-called *Ediles*, the *Karlspreis-Direktorium* released the founding text of the *Internationale Karlspreis der Stadt Aachen*, the Proclamation of the Charlemagne Prize.

From 1950 onward, the *Direktorium* selected a yearly Charlemagne Prize recipient. At the first Charlemagne Prize ceremony on the Ascension holiday of 1950 in Aachen, Count Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi was chosen. His acceptance speech depicted the prize as a bridge between past and present:

[357] Kurt Pfeiffer, "Der Karlspreis : Europäische Initiative einer Stadt" (Draft, Aachen, 1964), Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Sabine Schulz, *Der Aachener Karlspreis* (Aachen: Meyer u. Meyer, 1988), 12–13. Bettin, *50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen*, 19–20; Reuther, *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen*.

> Es war eine kühne Initiative Ihrer Stadt, durch Stiftung dieses Preises eine Brücke über elf Jahrhunderte zu schlagen, von der großartigen Tradition des Frankenreiches zur größten Hoffnung unserer Tage : den Vereinigten Staaten von Europa.[358]

Coudenhove-Kalergi's "bridge over eleven centuries" subsequently became a narrative trope in Charlemagne Prize speeches, thus linking Charlemagne and his empire to the current plans for a western European community. Coudenhove-Kalergi then conflated the memory of the Carolingian Empire with his present political dream of creating a United States of Europe as he half-seriously suggested naming it "Union Charlemagne." [359]

The Charlemagne Prize was both a symptom of and an active participant in the search for historical roots for the European movement.[360] Several politicians spoke during the prize ceremony. The mayor of Aachen opened the ceremony with an allocution, followed by a speech by a West-German representative, after which a previous Prize recipient spoke and, finally, the Prize recipient himself.[361] Through widespread narratives of European culture and history, they argued for a linear historical development from the Carolingian time to the present or building direct analogies between the Carolingian reign and the current European project. [362] Speakers often brushed aside dark histories of Charlemagne's reign and portrayed later divisions in Europe as an anomaly of history, being set straight by current politics.[363] The speeches allow observing how Charlemagne's memory was modulated to accompany the emerging political European project.

The yearly Charlemagne Prize in Aachen culminated in a ceremony at the coronation hall inside the City Hall of Aachen. Locals planned the Charlemagne Prize ceremony as a multisensory

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[358] Harald Kästner, ed., *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden* (Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1982), 18–25.

[359] "Es wäre würdiger, die neue Staatengruppe, die von der Elbe bis zu den Pyrenäen reicht, mit Europas grösster Tradition zu verbinden und ihre den Namen zu geben "Union Charlemagne." Harald Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger*, 18–25.

[360] The intended audience were local inhabitants, visitors to Aachen and through the media, the public in the FRG and Western-Europe. On vectors of memory, see Beyen, "Introduction: Local, National, Transnational Memories: A Triangular Relationship," 4–5.

[361] The Charlemagne Prize Committee used to offer open access to the German version of the speeches on its website, see "Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen. Für die Einheit Europas," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/en/.

[362] The future also played a role in the narratives. In a 1964 article draft for example, the creator of the International Charlemagne Prize stated : "Der Karlspreis wirkt in die Zukunft, er birgt eine Verpflichtung in sich, eine Verpflichtung von höchstem ethischem Gehalt. Sie zielt auf den freiwilligen Zusammenschluss der europäischer Völker, um (...) die Zukunft der Kinder und Enkel zu sichern." Pfeiffer, "Der Karlspreis : Europäische Initiative einer Stadt" (Draft, Aachen, 1964), Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[363] In *Karlspreis* narratives the Carolingian empire was presented as a time of unity and contrasted with the conflicts of World War I and II. Pfeiffer, "Der Karlspreis: Europäische Initiative einer Stadt."
The FRG memory of the 1871 unification of the German empire makes for an interesting parallel with the narratives of unity of Charlemagne's empire. Winkler, *Griff nach der Deutungsmacht*, 10.

experience, combining ritual, iconography, and discourse. It was loosely inspired by older sacral-political rituals associated with Charlemagne, such as the coronations of the German kings held in Aachen from the 10th century until the 16th century. Like the German kings, Prize recipients circulated within the ancient Carolingian palace complex, systematically visiting the cathedral and its Charlemagne relics for a catholic mass, before stopping in the *Katschhof* and heading to the Coronation Hall at the ancient Aula Regia.[364] The "Charlemagne Bust" that was carried out at the gates of Aachen to meet the German King on his arrival in the city from the 12th century, became the symbol of the Charlemagne Prize.[365]

With the Charlemagne Prize, Aachen elites used the burgeoning European Charlemagne myth of Aachen to position the city at the historical heart of a very present European Community.[366] It has since helped secure the city's link to Charlemagne in the imagination of the German public and European politicians. This sub-chapter shows how Charlemagne Prize participants referenced Aachen's Carolingian history in search of changing European identities and how they relied on material relics of Charlemagne present in Aachen to legitimize their European narratives. The Charlemagne Prize is characterized by the cohabitation and layering of different ideas of

[364] For a description of the religious aspects of the *Karslpreis* ritual, see Schulz, *Der Aachener Karlspreis*, 15–16. Tschacher also addresses the Karlsreis visits to the Charlemagne relics in Tschacher, "Karl der Große: Aachens dienstbare Leiche," 34.
On the day of the coronation, the king participated in a procession to the Maria Church, where he received the insignia and crown at the center of the octagon. He was then brought to the "Charlemagne throne" on the first floor. After a mass, the king proceeded to the Coronation Hall of the ancient Aula Regia for a celebratory banquet. In the present *Katschhof,* the new king greeted the folk. The ritual evolved over time, but these elements remained relatively constant. Later political visits by Napoleon or Prussian emperors in the 19th and early 20th century already mimicked the coronations. See Lisa Victoria Ciresi, "Of Offerings and Kings: The Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne and the Aachen Karlsschrein and Marienschrein in Coronation Ritual," in *Of Offerings and Kings: The Shrine of the Three Kings in Cologne and the Aachen Karlsschrein and Marienschrein in Coronation Ritual*, Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 165–85; Kramp, *Krönungen*; Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königs-Krönungen zu Aachen 813-1531*; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft. Eine Verfassungsgeschichte (ca. 800-1918)*.
[365] Ciresi, "Of Offerings and Kings"; Schütte, "Forschungen zum Aachener Thron."
On the coronations' use of Charlemagne memory, see Viola Belghaus, *Der erzählte Körper: die Inszenierung der Reliquien Karls des Großen und Elisabeths von Thüringen* (Berlin: Reimer, 2005), 17–120; Folz, *Le souvenir et la légende*; Kramp, *Krönungen*; Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königs-Krönungen zu Aachen 813-1531*; Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft. Eine Verfassungsgeschichte (ca. 800-1918)*.
[366] Other European actions in Aachen, included the creation of a "Europaplatz" in 1956 as a symbol of Aachen's role as a link to Europe. It led to a recently created *Europastrasse*, which linked Belgium and West-Germany through Aachen becoming a central European artery in the 50s. Fischer, "Die Neuplanung Aachens nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg," 168–70; David Heinrich, "Autobahnen werden zu Europastrassen," *Die Zeit*, January 20, 1955. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.zeit.de/1955/03/autobahnen-werden-zu-europastrassen; Kirsch, "Verkehrliche Entwicklung der Stadt Aachen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg," 78–83; Burkhardt Röper, "20 Jahre Aufbau. Die Chancen des Raumes Aachen" (Article, Aachen, 1964), Domarchiv A 11.2.7, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Europe. The sub-chapter first studies the intimate link between a Christian imagination of western Europe and the Aachen Charlemagne Prize in the first decades of the Prize. It then showcases the growing imagination of a European "Region between Maas and Rhine" as Aachen politicians aspired to push towards a more present European focus.

2.1.1. The omnipresent Cathedral: Conservative Politicians search for a Christian European Identity at the Charlemagne Prize

The 1949 Charlemagne Prize declaration described Aachen as follows:

> Die Stadt Aachen, einst Mittelpunkt der gesamten abendländischen Welt, dann zur Stadt an der Grenze geworden, ist sich der historischen Aufgabe wahren Grenztums : "Zu vermitteln und die Grenzen zu überwinden" immer bewusst gewesen. Bande des Blutes verknüpften die Einwohner unserer Stadt mit der Bevölkerung der Nachbarstaaten und immer gab es in Aachen geistig überlegene und weitschauende Männer, die gegen alle nationale Engstirnigkeit und vermeintliche Interessen versuchen, das Gemeinsame und Verbindende des abendländischen Raumes und abendländischer Kultur zu finden. Sie will damit nicht nur auf das ungelöste Problem der europäischen Einigung immer wieder mahnend hinweisen, sondern versuchen, auch Wege zur praktischen Lösung dieser drängenden Aufgabe aufzuzeigen. Sie erstrebt dabei nicht nur die Sympathie und die Mitwirkung der Aachener Bürgerschaft, sondern der ganzen abendländischen Welt.[367]

Europe and *Abendland* became de facto synonyms in the 1950 and 1960s in Aachen.[368] Aachen was depicted as the historical "center of the *Abendland."* The overt aim of the Prize was to support personalities, which acted for the "unity of the *Abendland*." The declaration argued that the city and its inhabitants had become intrinsically international through its role as a center of the Carolingian empire. Thus, in times of national division, Aachen, a border city, stayed true to its responsibilities.[369] The declaration was firmly anchored in its contemporary political context, allowing Aachen to join current European political discourse in West Germany, where *Abendland* narratives dominated. Coudenhove- Kalergi, the creator of the Pan-European movement, as the first Charlemagne Prize recipient was a symbolic demonstration of the type of Europe that Aachen

[367] Proklamation. Aachen, Weihnachten 1949," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1977, 20, Aachen Stadtbibliothek.
[368] *Abendland* ideas were especially strong in the CDU, *Christliche-Demokratische Union*, which defined itself as Christian and conservative but were not limited to Catholics. See Dirk Schümer, *Das Gesicht Europas : ein Kontinent wächst zusammen* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2000), 54–58 ; Dingel, "Der Abendlandgedanke im konfessionellen Spannungsfeld. Katholische und evangelische Verlautbarungen (um 1950/60)"; Kaiser, "Protestanten in der CDU und die Europaidee nach 1945"; Katharina Kunter, "Die protestantischen Kirchen und »Europa« nach 1945," in *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz Beihefte*, ed. Irene Dingel, Jan Kusber, and Małgorzata Morawiec (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 31–42.
[369] "Proklamation. Aachen, Weihnachten 1949," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1977, 20, Aachen Stadtbibliothek.

wanted to celebrate: catholic and conservative. At the ceremony in 1950, Kalergi called to renew "die Einheit des Abendlandes im Geiste des 20. Jahrhundert."[370]

The symbolic release of the Charlemagne Prize declaration on Christmas of 1949 showcases the importance of Christian symbolism for the creators of the Prize.[371] The yearly prize ceremony itself coincided with the Catholic holiday of the Ascension. The Charlemagne Prize directory was made mainly of conservative local political, intellectual, and religious elites, including the Bishop of Aachen.[372] The prize conferred a certain authority to the local actors who selected the prize recipients representing their political ideals and offered an ideal stage for Aachen elites to represent Europeanness during the ceremony. In the first decade of the Prize, the directory focused on celebrating famous political figures, later hailed as the "Fathers of Europe" of the 20th century. In the 1970s, national and to a lesser degree, local politicians started distancing themselves from the term *Abendland* but continued their focus on a Christian Europe.

Charlemagne Prize organizers used iconography to embody Charlemagne's presence during the ceremony. The medieval bust reliquary, which holds the historical emperor's presumed head, became the main symbol of the Prize. Meanwhile, a representation of an enthroned Charlemagne was chosen for the medal and diploma offered to the prize recipient.[373] Even though the prize ceremony centered on the City Hall, the Aachen Cathedral's rhetoric role as the strongest marker of the city's historical relationship to Charlemagne remained constant. The Aachen Cathedral thus became part of the ritual of the ceremony by inviting the prize recipient for a mass, a cultural visit of the treasury and/or a concert.[374] Charlemagne Prize participants indulged in local

[370] Bettin, 50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen, 25–26.
Internationalist Count Coudenhove-Kalergi created the Pan-European movement in 1923. He had to flee Vienna during Nazi rule but returned to Europe after the war. Martyn Bond, *Hitler's Cosmopolitan Bastard. Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi and his Vision of Europe* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021); Vanessa Conze, *Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi: umstrittener Visionär Europas* (Gleichen: Muster-Schmidt, 2004); Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan-Europa* (Paris: PUF, 1988); Schümer, *Das Gesicht Europas*, 55–58.
[371] Kurt Pfeiffer explained the *geistige* or religious aspect of the declaration through Arnold Toynbee. Pfeiffer, "Der Karlspreis : Europäische Initiative einer Stadt"(Draft, Aachen, 1964), Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[372] Schulz, Der Aachener Karlspreis, 15–16.
[373] Nowadays the bust is shown on the flag of the European Union. The symbol is omnipresent on the *Karlspreis* website. "Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen. Für die Einheit Europas."
[374] Schulz, Der Aachener Karlspreis, 15–16.
1952 *Karlspreis* recipient De Gaspieri demanded to visit the Cathedral first. K Pf, "Programm der Verleihung des Karlspreises. De Gaspieri will zuerst den Dom besuchen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, September 20, 1952, Domarchiv A 11.2.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

symbolics and used the historical palace and relics held by the Aachen Cathedral to confer more depth to their European narratives.

The main local actor of the first years of the prize was Aachen Mayor Albrecht Maas, who was part of the founding committee of the Charlemagne Prize. In his four Charlemagne Prize speeches between 1950 and 1953, Maas was especially vocal about Aachen's history and the importance of Christian faith for post-war Europe and insisted on the idea of a local responsibility for Europe because of the city's historical link to Charlemagne. In his opinion the "Stadt Karls des Großen musste in der europäischen Frage ihre Stimme erheben. "[375] He claimed that without a shared historical-religious tradition, European unity could not happen. He systematically argued for the revival of a supposedly decaying "christlich abendländische Kultur," "christlich-antike Kulturtradition" and "abendländische Geisteserbe." [376] Maas repeatedly insisted on Aachen's thousand-year-old history as the capital of the Carolingian empire to justify its responsibility towards the project of a European community. In his 1950 speech, he focused on the Aachen Cathedral:

> Und wo gäbe es ein eindrucksvolleres, überzeugenderes Vorbild für das von uns allen ersehnte Europa als den Aachener Dom, den ganz Europa geistig und materiell mitgebaut hat? Wie Europa besteht aus vielen großen und kleinen Völkern verschiedenen Alters, verschiedener Sprache und Art, so besteht der Aachener Dom aus großen und kleinen Kirchen, aus alten und jüngeren, der

[375] "Wo und wann immer von Europa gesprochen wird, da wird diese Stadt immer dabei sein. Das ist sie ihrer Geschichte schuldig." See Albert Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters a. D. der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1953. Archived March 16th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/jean-monnet-1953/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-a-d-der-stadt-aachen-dr-albert-maas.
Maas was the co-founder of the *Aachener Volkszeitung*, a local conservative daily newspaper. The other local daily newspaper *Aachener Nachrichten* was launched by the American occupation forces in 1945 and somewhat less conservative. See *Internationales Zeitungsmuseum der Stadt Aachen : Die Aachener Presse im Wandel d. Zeiten (1740 - 1967)* (Aachen: Stadtsparkasse, 1967); Malangré, *Aus Trümmern zur Europastadt. Aachen von 1945 bis 2005*, 84–89; Pohle, *Der Krieg ist aus*, 287–310.
These have now merged into *Aachener Zeitung*. See "Aachener Zeitung: Aktuelle Nachrichten & Informationen" Aachener Zeitung. Accessed October 8, 2022, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/.
[376] "Wir brauchen die große Liebe, (...) die allein der 1000jährigen, christlichen abendländischen Kultur würdig ist! (...) Ist Europa noch zu retten oder hat am Ende doch Spengler recht, der den Untergang des Abendlandes verkündet?" Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Speech, 1950. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/richard-nikolaus-graf-coudenhove-kalergi-1950/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen.
See also Albert Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1951. Archived October 14th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/hendrik-brugmans-1951/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-dr-albert-maas; Albert Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1952. Archived November 6th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/alcide-de-gasperi-1952/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen.

> verschiedensten Stilarten und Bauweisen. Und doch, welch wundervolle Synthese, welch herrliches Gesamtbild! Europa der Zukunft, nach diesem Bild kannst du dich formen.[377]

Maas depicted the Aachen Cathedral as a synthesis of European history through the various architectural styles assembled within the building ensemble and the site's construction process. The final product of the Aachen Cathedral was presented as an example to follow for a future European community, demonstrating "unity in diversity." [378] Going through the history of the city from Carolingian to modern times, he further underlined the continuity of the city's European role over the centuries through its medieval pilgrimage and peace conferences. He attributed modern national identities to Charlemagne's empire to superpose the Carolingian empire with current Europe.

The 1954 Charlemagne Prize to Konrad Adenauer was a moment of heightened focus on historical Aachen. Like his predecessor, Aachen Mayor Hermann Heusch repeatedly insisted on the historic Christian roots of Europe in his Charlemagne Prize speeches, but he only rarely employed *Abendland* narratives. [379] Instead, he insisted on the meeting of Christian and antique traditions as were visible in Aachen's architectural heritage:

> Nun haben wir uns heute hier versammelt, um zum fünften Male einen Mann mit diesem Preise auszuzeichnen, der den Namen jenes großen Europäers trägt, der von dieser Stadt aus die erste europäische politische Gemeinschaft begründete, der - so wie er diese seine Pfalz aus den Quadern römischer Bauten errichtete - den Geist der Antike und des Christentums in seiner Reichsidee miteinander vermählte.[380]

Like Maas, Heusch presented Aachen as the starting point of Charlemagne's Europe and Charlemagne's palace as an example of the synthesis of Antiquity and Christianity. Aachen's historical heritage served to underline the historical continuity of Aachen's European history and

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[377] Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Speech, 1950.

[378] Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Speech, 1950.
In 2000, "Unity in diversity" became the official motto of the European Union. See website of the European Union: "EU Motto," European Union, accessed October 8, 2022, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/symbols/eu-motto_en.

[379] Hermann Heusch (1906-1981) was mayor of Aachen from 1952 to 1973. He only used the term "Abendland" or "abendländisches Europa" on two occasions in the *Karlspreis*. See Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1958. Archived December 13th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/robert-schuman-1958/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-hermann-heusch; Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1960. Archived December 13th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/joseph-bech-1960/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-hermann-heusch.

[380] Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1954. Archived January 17th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/konrad-adenauer-1954/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen.

strengthen its current action for Europe. This unified historically distant past also implicitly contrasted with the recent bellicose past of the 20th century.

Also in 1954, the Minister-president of North-Rhine-Westphalia Karl Arnold described Charlemagne as the father and creator of the *Abendland*, who successfully united the traditions of Christianity and Antiquity within one Empire in his speech in honor of Konrad Adenauer. Arnold presented the Aachen Cathedral as a warning of the perceived dangers facing Europe:

> Die Besinnung auf diesen Schöpfer des neuen europäischen Reiches, der hier im Aachener Dom seine letzte Ruhestatt gefunden hat, muß daher wie eine aufrüttelnde Ermahnung wirken, der weiteren Verschleuderung dieser einst reichen Erbschaft ein Ende zu setzen.[381]

Arnold depicted the Aachen Cathedral as Charlemagne's mausoleum. It served here as a reminder of the subsequent collapse of his empire. He thus called European personalities to action to further prevent the demise of the *Abendland*, linking past and present political Europe in linear time.

In his acceptance speech Konrad Adenauer echoed Arnold's thought of a disintegration of "europäische Universalität des Abendlandes" [382] citing greed, nationalism, and strife as its reasons. The idea of an imminent threat to the *Abendland* in a current Europe came up regularly in Charlemagne Prize speeches and was linked to the fear of communism, which was widespread in conservative political milieux of the time. It also referred to the division brought upon by the recent conflicts in Europe.[383] Adenauer underlined Aachen's European identity, describing the city of Aachen as "Herzen Europas, im Herzen des christlichen Abendlandes" because of its historical link to Charlemagne. He focused on the city's early European history:

> Hier in Aachen liegt aufgeschlagen das Geschichtsbuch der europäischen Frühzeit, der Zeit, in der Europa noch eine einheitliche Ordnung besaß und der europäische Gedanke eine geistige, eine

[381] He described Charlemagne as "geistigen Vater und tatkräftigen Gestalter des Abendlandes" and continued "Alle sollen aufgerufen werden, den Persönlichkeiten in Europa zu folgen, die dieses Ziel erreichen wollen, um dadurch dem drohenden Ruin des Abendlandes mit Erfolg zu begegnen." Karl Arnold, "Rede von Karl Arnold, Ministerpräsident des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1954. Archived January 17th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/konrad-adenauer-1954/rede-von-karl-arnold-ministerpraesident-des-landes-nordrhein-westfalen.

[382] Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden*, 50–55. Konrad Hermann Joseph Adenauer (1876-1967) was a leading politician of the Catholic Centre Party in the Weimar Republic, serving as Mayor of Cologne (1917–1933). After WWII, he served as the first chancellor of the FRG from 1949 to 1963. From 1946 to 1966, he was also the first leader of the CDU party. On his life see for example Guillaume, Sylvie. *Konrad Adenauer*. Paris: Ellipses, 2007.

[383] See a contemporary discussion on the dangers in the future of Abendland in Dessauer, *Reflexionen über Erbe und Zukunft des Abendlandes*, 19–24.

> politisch konstruktive Macht bedeutete. (...) Wer aus der Geschichte und den geschichtlichen Zeugnissen dieser Stadt Aachen zu lesen versteht, wird ihren europäischen Herzschlag fühlen.[384]

Through Aachen's historical heritage, Adenauer presented Carolingian Aachen as an "open book of history," reminding its visitors of an imagined European Golden Age under Charlemagne.

The following year, in 1955, the Charlemagne Prize was conferred to Winston Churchill at a time when the United Kingdom's place in a future European Community was highly debated. In his speech, Aachen Mayor Heusch focused on the historical figure of Alcuin of York, a Briton at Charlemagne's court in Aachen, "the new Rome," to give historical depth to the local claims of international significance. The Aachen Cathedral served as a proof of Aachen's Carolingian link to Rome and the city's "Reichtum des europäischen Erbes. "[385]

Aachen's attribution of the Charlemagne Prize to Churchill drew criticism and its use of the historic landscape could be interpreted cynically. A newspaper caricature mocking the decision, for example, showed Charlemagne coming out of the cathedral and personally bestowing the prize medal to Churchill. It ridiculed the omnipresence of Charlemagne in the Prize, as he came back to life for Churchill. Another caricature from the NRZ depicted a real-life coronation of "Sir Winston" surrounded by contemporary politicians disguised as medieval knights standing in what seems to be the Octagon of the Aachen Cathedral. The choice in both caricatures to situate the ceremony at the Aachen Cathedral underlined the similarities of the ritual with the medieval coronations of Aachen.[386]

The press generally favored representations of the Aachen Cathedral during Charlemagne Prize ceremonies. In 1958, the local newspaper AVZ reported on the Prize recipient Robert Schuman's visits to the Aachen Cathedral, the first for the religious mass, the second to admire its mobile heritage in the treasury, adding a photograph of Schuman in front of the cathedral's

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[384] Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1954. Kästner, Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden, 50–55.

[385] Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1954.
In 1973, *Bundespräsident* Walter Scheel honored Prize Recipient Madriaga also referred to the "backbone" of Europe created by drawing a line from Aachen to Rome, the spiritual center of Europe. Walter Scheel, "Rede von Walter Scheel, Bundespräsidenten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1973. Archived Feb 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/don-salvador-de-madariaga-1973/rede-von-walter-scheel-bundespraesidenten-der-bundesrepublik-deutschland.

[386] "Krönung zu Aachen, NRZ" (Caricature, 1955), Domarchiv A 3.1.9.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Aachen : Karlspreis für Churchill" (Caricature, 1955), Domarchiv A 3.1.9.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Charlemagne bust. The article concluded that the guest had been deeply impressed by the site's representation of the historical and artistic "Vergangenheit Europas." [387]

Indeed, the prize ceremony was used to demonstrate the European significance of the city. Aachen Mayor Heusch's 1958 speech in honor of Prize recipient Robert Schuman was striking in this sense. Heusch used the voice of renown author Victor Hugo visiting the Carolingian chapel in 1838 to give Aachen's link to Charlemagne historical, emotional, and international depth. Heusch retold how, touched by the site of Charlemagne's reign and his mausoleum Victor Hugo spoke "überwältigt von geschichtlicher Erinnerung aus: 'Charlemagne est encore là tout entier'" [388] Hugo, he stated, saw the Europe left by Charlemagne in Aachen as an inheritance to current Europeans. Using Victor Hugo also allowed Heusch to remind his audience that both France and Germany were once united in Aachen under Carolingian rule.

Materiality as proof of Charlemagne's connection to Aachen was central in Heusch's historical argumentation. He regularly referred to the material remains of Charlemagne's presence in Aachen, such as the Palace Chapel, the *Aula Regia,* and the so-called Charlemagne throne. In the second part of his 1958 speech, Heusch used the coronations of German kings to illustrate Aachen's significance through its heritage. He chose to focus on the late medieval City Hall, as he retold the history of its construction 500 years prior to hosting the coronation celebrations after the ceremony in the Aachen Cathedral. He concluded that the building's history offered the occasion for Aachen to contribute to a new beginning for Europe.[389] In 1964, in his speech for Prize recipient Antonio Segni, Heusch again insisted on the city's Carolingian heritage linking Rome and Aachen. He focused on the Christian dimension of this history:

> Diese Stadt (...) hat ihren geschichtlichen Rang erhalten, als vor 1200 Jahren der große Karl daran ging, hier seine Residenz zu errichten, als er nach dem Vorbild von San Vitale in Ravenna seine Pfalzkapelle und diese Aula Regia erbaute, die während sechs Jahrhunderten der Krönung von 32 deutschen Königen dienten. Hier sollte nach den Worten Alkuins die Roma secunda entstehen, und

[387] "Karlspreisträger Robert Schuman hielt es für selbstverständliche vor der Verleihung des Karlspreises am Gottesdienst im Dom teilzunehmen…" The article shows a photo of him admiring the Charlemagne Bust during his visit of the treasury. "Schuman im Dom," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 17, 1958, Domarchiv A 11.2.5, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[388] Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1958.
[389] "Die Bürger der Kaiserlich Freien Reichsstadt nahmen ihre Pflicht gegen Kaiser und Reich so ernst, daß sie den gesamten Bauplan darauf ausrichteten, daß der wichtigste Festakt, der nördlich der Alpen veranstaltet wurde, die Krönung der Könige, hier nach der Vollziehung in Karls des Großen Pfalzkapelle beim feierlichen Mahle in würdigem Rahmen seinen Ausklang finden konnte." Heusch "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1958.

> es war der Bedeutung dieses Wortes gemäß, daß Papst Leo III. von Rom nach Aachen kam, um der Kapelle der Könige den priesterlichen Segen zu erteilen.[390]

As the need for legitimization of the Charlemagne Prize decreased, Mayor Heusch's speeches insisted less on the city's historical significance of Aachen for Europe or *Abendland*. From 1973, Aachen Mayor Heusch was replaced by Kurt Malangré (CDU 1973-1989).[391] The new mayor marked a definite turn towards modernity in local European politics. In 1975, he launched the construction of the symbolically named *Eurogress*, meant to house international conferences and concerts in Aachen. The following year, the local chamber of commerce then launched a *Europamarkt* in the city center. A yearly tradition maintained until today. From 1979, Malangré became a representative at the European parliament.[392] At the Charlemagne Prize, he refrained from making historical analogies between past and present Europe, although he still insisted on the antique-Christian character of Europe in several speeches. In his 1979 and 1982 speeches he insisted on the importance of "griechischen und christlichen Denkens" and "humanistische und christliche Prinzipien. "[393] At the same time, the structure of the Prize evolved as local opposition, mainly SPD politicians, vocally objected to the lack of representativity and transparency of the committee of *Ediles.* From 1975 onward, the Committee included representatives of the city council to reflect the contemporary political repartition of the city.[394]

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[390] Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1964. Archived December 9th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/antonio-segni-1964/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-hermann-heusch.

[391] "Aachen's neue Bürgermeister. Kurt Malangré. Sprechstunde für jedermann," *Aachener Bilder und Berichte*, 1973, Aachen Stadtbibliothek; Gerald Eimer, "Alt-Oberbürgermeister Kurt Malangré gestorben," *Aachener Zeitung*, October 4th, 2018. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/alt-oberburgermeister-kurt-malangre-gestorben/4181178.html; Bernhard Poll and Hans Siemons, eds., *Geschichte Aachens in Daten*, Nachdr. der 2. Aufl. von 1965, Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Aachen 12 (Aachen: Mayer, 2003), 561.

[392] "Seit fünf Jahren Oberbürgermeister," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 16, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. See also "Europamarkt 2025," Aachen. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.europamarkt-aachen.de/artikel/europamarkt-2022-6331,0,9.html.
European Parliament profile, "Kurt Malangré | MEPs | European Parliament," European Parliament. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/1260/KURT_MALANGRE/history/1.

[393] Kurt Malangré, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Kurt Malangré," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1979. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/emilio-colombo-1979/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-kurt-malangre; Kurt Malangré, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Kurt Malangré," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1982. Archived November 10th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/seine-majestaet-koenig-juan-carlos-i-von-spanien-1982/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-kurt-malangre.
Malangré was a staunch catholic and belonged to the 'Opus dei': Sebastian Dreher, "Bankgeheimnisse: Kurt Malangré," *Klenkes*, March 28, 2013. Archived July 13th, 2024, https://www.klenkes.de/letzte-seite/artikel/48279.bankgeheimnisse-kurt-malangr.

[394] The *Direktorium* was composed of the Oberbürgermeister, the Oberstadtdirektor, the Rektor RTWH, the Domprobst and "8 Vertreter des Wirtschafts und Geistesleben der Stadt." In face of the crisis Aachen did not deliver

Local political narratives evolved separately from their visitors, as Charlemagne Prize participants widely continued to use Charlemagne's shared cultural and historical imagination to relish in the local historical and Christian heritage. In 1976, for example, Prize recipient Leo Tindemans referred to a private visit to Aachen in his youth as an inspiration for his own European action:

> Der erste große Schulausflug, den ich als Junge mitmachen durfte, führte nach Aachen, zu Karl dem Großen, zur Wiege der Geschichte europäischer Einheit und Zwietracht. (…) Hier greifen die Jahrhunderte der europäischen Geschichte ineinander, davon zeugt die Augustgemme im Lotharkreuz des Domschatzes, davon zeugt auch die eindrucksvolle Architektur des Domes, in der die Schönheit der byzantinischen Kunst Ravennas weiterlebt.[395]

The material relics of Charlemagne took the forefront as Tindemans retold his emotional reaction to the presence of history in Aachen through the cathedral and its treasury. He underlined that the cathedral assembles Christianism and Antiquity through his reference to Ravenna. Tindemans transitioned to present developments of European politics and insisted on the importance of a cultural community for Europe. In his opinion, the core characteristics of European culture consisted of medieval Christianism, the Renaissance, Romanticism, and the rise of social thought.[396]

In 1977, Joseph Luns, Secretary General of NATO, spoke in honor of Prize Recipient Walter Scheel. He reaffirmed the presence of Charlemagne in Aachen:

> Und doch bin ich immer wieder aufs Neue bewegt von dieser Feier, die gleichzeitig Auszeichnung für einen bedeutenden Vertreter des europäischen Gedankens in unserer Gegenwart und Huldigungen jener großen Gestalt ist, die an den Anfängen unserer abendländischen Geschichte steht, an Karl den Großen. Worin eigentlich liegt die Anziehungskraft jenes Mannes, der uns in dieser Stadt, in diesem Saale, im Bannkreis jenes ehrwürdigen, sakralen Oktogons, das seinen Thron birgt, so lebendig begegnet?[397]

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a *Karlspreis* in 1974 or 1975. The Committee invited a representative of each of the three parties represented in the rat of Aachen in 1975 to join the committee. SPD Faction of Aachen, "Letter to the OB Kurt Malangré" (Letter, Aachen, March 15, 1974), Domarchiv A 3.1.9.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Bettin, 50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen, 23; Schulz, Der Aachener Karlspreis, 122–23.

[395] Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden*, 182–95. Leo Tindemans (1922-2014) was a Christian Democratic Belgian politician. Prime minister of Belgium from 1974 to 1978, he served on the European Parliament from 1979-1981 and 1989-1999. He is famous for the 1975 Tindemans report on the interpretation of "European Union." Dan Bilesky, "Leo Tindemans 92, Dies; Belgian Prime Minister and Voice for European Unity" in *The New York Times,* January 15th, 2015. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/06/world/europe/leo-tindemans-former-belgian-prime-minister-and-voice-for-european-unity-dies-at-92.html.

[396] He concluded "deshalb ist Europa zunächst einmal eine kulturelle Gemeinschaft. Europa muß dies wieder werden." Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden*, 182-195

[397] Joseph Luns, "Laudatio von Joseph M. A. H. Luns, Generalsekretärs der Atlantischen Allianz," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1977. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/walter-scheel-1977/laudatio-von-joseph-m-a-h-luns-generalsekretaers-der-atlantischen-allianz. Walter Scheel (1919-2016) was German FDP politician from NRW. He was the President of the FRG from 1974 to1979. Prior to that he had been a

Luns' emotional response to the historical urban landscape was in the limelight. The historical site of Charlemagne's palace was used as proof of European cultural unity and as a visual reminder from which politicians called for European action.

West German politicians gradually distanced themselves from the term *Abendland*. In his 1977 speech in honor of Walter Scheel, for example, German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, a social democrat, recognized that the term was shunned and lacked precision despite being highly valued by many.[398] The local press and speakers however continued to use *Abendland* narratives generously. In 1977, the magazine *Aachen Bilder und Berichte* published a special issue on the Charlemagne Prize. Its interchangeable use of *Abendland* and Europe illustrated the local narrative focus on a Christian Europe inherited from Carolingian times.[399]

The following year, Josef Ertl, Federal Minister of Agriculture, also mentioned the *Abendland*, in his speech in honor of Charlemagne Prize recipient Konstantin Karamanlis. Ertl like others insisted on the space of the ancient palace:

> Dies geschieht hier im Krönungssaal des Rathauses zu Aachen, der Residenzstadt Karls des Großen und späteren Krönungsstadt der deutschen Könige. Somit auf einem Boden, von dem schon einmal das großartige Unternehmen der Einigung der Völker und Länder des christlichen europäischen Abendlandes ausgegangen ist.[400]

Ertl described Aachen as the place from where "once before the great undertaking to unite the people and lands of a Christian Occident originated" and presented Carolingian Aachen as the starting point of historical European unity. Participants in Aachen's Charlemagne Prize focused

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member of the European Parliament and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs. See "Walter Scheel (1974–1979)" *Der Bundespräsident.* Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.bundespraesident.de/DE/amt-und-aufgaben/ehemalige-bundespraesidenten/walter-scheel/walter-scheel_node.html.

[398] "Sie meiden heutzutage gemeinhin ein Wort wie "Abendland", das zwar für viele von uns einen hohen Wertgehalt mit sich trägt, aber doch nur von geringerer begrifflicher Präzision ist." Helmut Schmidt, "Rede von Helmut Schmidt, Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1977, Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/walter-scheel-1977/rede-von-helmut-schmidt-bundeskanzler-der-bundesrepublik-deutschland. Helmut Schmidt (1918-2015) was a German SPD politician and Chancellor of the FRG from 1974 to 1982. See *Hartmut Soell (*ed.), *Helmut Schmidt: Pioneer of International Economic and Financial Cooperation* (Springer, 2014).

[399] Aachen city archive director Bernhard Poll's article affirmed for example : "Das zeigt (…) ein geschichtlicher Rückblick auf die Zeit, in der die Einheit des Abendlandes Wirklichkeit war" Poll, "Aachens europäische Bedeutung" *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1977, Aachen Stadtbibliothek.

[400] Josef Ertl, "Rede von Josef Ertl, Bundesminister für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1978, Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/konstantin-karamanlis-1978/rede-von-josef-ertl-bundesminister-fuer-ernaehrung-landwirtschaft-und-forsten.
Joseph Ertl was a Bundesminister für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten from 1969 to 1983. He was a Free Democratic Party (FDP) member of the Bundestag from 1961-1987. "Ex-Minister Josef Ertl verstorben." *Rheinische Post*. November 17th, 2000. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://rp-online.de/politik/ex-minister-josef-ertl-verstorben_aid-8209745.

on its Carolingian history, but they were interested in very actual European politics. In 1978, for example, Ertl and other speech holders advertised the first elections of the European Parliament.[401] In 1982, at the *Karlspreis*, Helmut Schmidt still made several references to the "christliches Abendland" and the "abendländische Kultur," but he used them to insist on the historical exchanges with Muslim culture in Spain and their influence on European culture.[402]

Although *Abendland* narratives gradually faded from Charlemagne Prize speeches and mainstream German political speeches, its Christian ideals remained deeply anchored in the German idea of Europe.[403] The continuity and prominence of the Christian European idea in Aachen is shown in the continued attribution of the prize to Christian figures: Frère Roger in 1989, Pope John Paul II in 2004, and Pope Francis in 2016. Indeed, exceptionally, the 2004 and 2016 ceremonies took place in Rome instead of Aachen. The special treatment offered to the Pope indicates the important place Catholicism retains in the local European idea.[404]

The current revival of *Abendland* by the German extreme right is indirectly linked to the history of the Aachen Charlemagne Prize. Decades of political speeches participated in constructing the structural interrelation of European and *Abendland* discourses in Germany. However, instead of aiming for European integration, the PEGIDA movement (*Patriotische Europäer gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes*) employs historical associations with medieval history to justify their opposition to the perceived growing influence of Muslim and "non-European" immigration. These calls for a (nationalist) Europe united by its Christian culture

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[401] In his 1978 speech, Malangré described the European parliamentary elections as "Regierung des Volkes durch das Volk für das Volk." Kurt Malangré, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Kurt Malangré," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1978. Archived December 8th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/konstantin-karamanlis-1978/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-kurt-malangre.
A decade later, in 1988, Francois Mitterand insisted on the Ecu plans in his *Karlspreis* speech. François Mitterand, "Rede von François Mitterrand," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1988. Archived October 14th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/francois-mitterrand-und-helmut-kohl-1988/rede-von-francois-mitterrand.

[402] Helmut Schmidt, "Rede von Helmut Schmidt, Bundeskanzler der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1982. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/seine-majestaet-koenig-juan-carlos-i-von-spanien-1982/rede-von-helmut-schmidt-bundeskanzler-der-bundesrepublik-deutschland.

[403] Johannes Großmann and Vanessa Conze have shown that despite the gradual fading of the term *Abendland*, the hope for a conservative Christian Europe did not end in the 1970s. Conze, *Das Europa der Deutschen*, 361–404; Großmann, *Die Internationale der Konservativen, Transnationale Elitenzirkel und private Außenpolitik in Westeuropa seit 1945*, 389–554.

[404] "Der Karlspreis kommt zum Papst: Große Delegation fährt nach Rom," *Aachener Nachrichten*, May 4th, 2016. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/der-karlspreis-kommt-zum-papst-gro%C3%9Fe-delegation-fahrt-nach-rom/3523330.html; Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, "Preisträger/-innen," *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen*. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger-innen/alle-preistraeger.

have transformed an argument for inclusion of West Germany into a Western European community, seen in the first decades of the Charlemagne Prize, into a means of exclusion specifically aimed at non-Christian minorities.[405]

2.1.2. Towards a Contemporary European Region? Local turn to the present at the Charlemagne Prize

From the 1950s, Aachen politicians depicted the tri-national region at the center of Europe as a land without frontiers, be they mental, cultural, or geopolitical. In 1951, Aachen awarded the second Charlemagne Prize to Belgian Henrik Brugmans as an attempt at reconciliation with Belgium and the Netherlands in the wake of WWII, but mayor Maas insisted on the historical relationship with the neighboring state.[406] For his first speech in 1954, the new mayor of Aachen Hermann Heusch presented prize recipient Konrad Adenauer as "Sohn dieses gesegnetes Landes zwischen Rhein und Maas."[407] Heusch depicted the geographical area as a unique region with a specific social and cultural dynamic, pushing its inhabitants to speak and act for Europe, making it an intrinsically European region.

Again, Charlemagne played a central role in this argumentation. In his welcome speech to 1957 Charlemagne Prize recipient Paul Henri Spaak, for example, Heusch depicted Liege as the birthplace of Charlemagne but presented Aachen as the birthplace of Carolingian Europe, to underline the historical links between Aachen and Belgium. He used the historical figures Charles IV and Charles-Quint to illustrate their continuity.[408] The choice of Charlemagne Prize recipients reflected Aachen's political focus on a regional Europe, as a significant number originated from

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[405] In the 1950s, supporters of *Abendland*, argued for its superiority towards the rest of the World. See for example Dessauer, *Reflexionen über Erbe und Zukunft des Abendlandes*, 19–21.
On PEGIDA political ideas, see for example Phillip Becher, Christian Begass, and Josef Kraft, *Der Aufstand des Abendlandes PEGIDA & Co. vom Salon auf die Straße* (Köln: Papyrossa, 2015) ; Sebastian Henke, *AfD, Pegida und der Untergang des Abendlandes: Mythen, Symbole und Narrative der Neuen Rechten in Deutschland*, Cuvillier Verlag, 2018 ; Mihai Murariu, "'We Are Fortress Europe!' Nativism and Religion in the Ideology of Pegida in the Context of the European Crisis." *Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego*, vol. 20, no. 20 (2017), 53–68.

[406] Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1951.

[407] Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1954.
The expression "Land zwischen Rhein und Maas" dated back to the 18th century, but gained renewed popularity see for example: *Eufalia: Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Länder zwischen d. Rhein u. d. Maas* (Trier, 1827); *Der Freund der Freiheit : ein patriotische Zeitung für das Land zwischen Maas und Rhein*, 1797. Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://zeitpunkt.nrw/ulbbn/7629543. It was also used during the Napoleonian occupation, see Matthias Pape, "Der Karlskult an Wendepunkten der neueren deutschen Geschichte," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 120 (2000), 147.

[408] Heusch used Charles IV and Charles-Quint to illustrate the continuous link with Belgium. Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1958.

Belgium and the Netherlands. Luxembourg was also included in this representation. In his 1960 Prize speech for Joseph Bech, Heusch placed both Aachen and Luxembourg in the zone between Maas and Rhine and "im Herzen dieses europäischen Stammlandes."[409] The duke of Luxemburg reaffirmed this historical and present link in 1986, when the committee awarded the Charlemagne Prize to the people of Luxemburg as a whole.[410]

In the 1960s, Heusch worked to reinforce links with neighboring regions through bilateral and trilateral commissions and joint activities over the borders.[411] From the 1970s, Euroregions came into the spotlight in local European politics. Four Euroregions were created in the border regions between Germany and the Netherlands: Rhine-Waal in 1973, Rhine-Maas in 1976, Ems Dollart in 1977, and Rhine-Maas-North in 1978.[412] The plans for a tri-national "Euregio Rhine-Maas" originated in a 1974 visit to Maastricht of the then princess of the Netherlands, Beatrix. The planning was left to the Cologne *Regierungspräsident* Dr. Günter Heidecke, who presented the draft plans for the Rhine-Maas region to the Council of Europe in 1975. The plans for the Euregio Rhine Maas were released to the public by the press in March of 1976. They faced a divided opinion in West Germany and beyond. The backing from the Land North-Rhine-Westphalia and the Federal state was ambivalent. The AA for example worried that the Euregio might interfere with national-level decision-making. On the other side of the borders Belgian regions, and to a certain point the Dutch, were reluctant to follow the German-led plan.[413]

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[409] Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1960.

[410] Jean von Luxemburg, "Rede von Jean Großherzog von Luxemburg," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1986, Archived November 10th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/das-luxemburgische-volk-1986/rede-von-jean-grossherzog-von-luxemburg.

[411] "Europa ohne Schlagbäume!," *Europa Kommunal Rat der Gemeinden Europas Deutsche Sektion*, March 1983, Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Helmut W. Breuer, "'Land ohne Grenzen' – Entwickelung der Regio Aachen in der Euregio Maas-Rhein," in *Europa der Regionen-L'Europe des Regions : Euregio Maas-Rhein - Region Champagne-Ardennes . Akten des Interdisziplinären Kolloquiums der Universitäten Aachen und Reims*, Richard Baum, Beatrice Dumiche and Gilles Rouet eds. (Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 2002), 297–315.

[412]The Council of Europe provided structural support and significant financial help to these initiatives. In parallel several Euroregions were also created at the border with Austria, France and Denmark. See for example André-Louis Sanguin, "Euroregions and Other EU's Cross-Border Organizations. The Risk of Confusions, Redundancy, Oversizing and Entropy. A Critical Assessment," *Annales Ser. Hist. Sociol.* 23 (2013), 155–64.

[413] "Europa ohne Schlagbäume!" *Europa Kommunal Rat der Gemeinden Europas Deutsche Sektion*, March 1983, Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Staatskanzlei NRW, "Letter to AA. Grenzüberschreitende kommunale Zusammenarbeit. Euregio Rhein-Maas im Deutsch-belgisch-nierderländischen Grenzgebiet" (Letter, Düsseldorf, March 18, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Le Nord-est de la province pourrait faire partie d'une Euregio Rhin-Meuse," *La Meuse*, March 11, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; FRG Embassy to Brussels General Consul, "Letter to AA. Euregio Rhein Maas im deutsch-belgisch-niederländischen

Still the Euregio Rhine Maas promised concrete economic, educational, cultural, and political regional cooperation. Politicians in charge of the project of the Euregio Rhine-Maas, for which Aachen constituted the German center, wanted to foster European thought and move the region away from the dangers of marginalization. These plans fit Aachen's regional narrative of a "Land ohne Grenzen." Aachen's politicians welcomed the plans for an Euregio Rhine-Maas and associated their cultural-historical regional narratives to Euroregio plans.[414] On the 5th of May 1976, the "Regio Aachen" was created as the first step of a tri-national Euregio Rhein-Maas. Soon after a Bureau was established in Maastricht, regular meetings on common plans and activities occurred between the regions.[415]

Aachen politicians took advantage of the Charlemagne Prize to market the new European region. In his 1976 Charlemagne Prize speech in honor of Belgian politician Leo Tindemans, Mayor Malangré depicted the Euregio as the result of local efforts to fulfill the 1974 Tindemans report authored by the prize recipient. This allowed him to present Aachen as being at the forefront of European political integration.[416] The following year Malangré advertised for the Euregio again in his speech in honor of Charlemagne prize recipient *Bundespräsident* Walter Scheel. Thanking

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Grenzgebiet" (Letter, Liege, March 15, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Josef H. Weber, "Heideckes Plan für „Euregio" umstritten," *Generalanzeiger*, March 16, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Von unten her," *Der Spiegel*, March 8, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Bundesministerium Raumordnung Partzsch Bauwesen und Städtebau, "Letter to AA. Geplante Euregio Rhein-Maas im deutsch-belgisch-niederländischen Grenzgebiet" (Letter, Bonn, June 8, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hans Wüllenweber, "Wirbel um das Dreiländereck. Heidecke-Plan für die „Euregio Rhein-Maas" scheint vielen zu forsch." (Article, Aachen, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[414] A Spiegel article explained the aim of the Euregio in 1976 : "Heidecke und seine ausländischen Partner versprechen sich von dem Grenzabbau nicht nur Profit für den europäischen Gedanken. Für die Dreiländerecke besteht, so die Denkschrift, "latente Gefahr, in eine sozioökonomischen Randlage gedrängt zu werden." "Von unten her," *Der Spiegel*, March 8, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Wolfgang Trees, "Der Rhein ist nicht die Grenze," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, March 11, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Euregio Rhin-Meuse. Résumé" (Report, Liege, January 14, 1976), Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[415] "Aus diesem Grunde beschloss man auf deutscher Seite die Gründung einer "Regio Aachen" bestehend aus den Kreisen Aachen, Düren, Euskirchen und Heinsberg sowie die Stadt Aachen und damit flächenmässig in etwa mit dem 1972 aufgelösten Regierungsbezirk Aachen vergleichbar." "Europa ohne Schlagbäume!" *Europa Kommunal Rat der Gemeinden Europas Deutsche Sektion*, March 1983, Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also NRW Bauer, "Letter to AA. Tätigkeit der granzüberschreitenden Arbeitsgemeinschaften." (Letter, Düsseldorf, August 30, 1984), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Von unten her" *Der Spiegel*, March 8, 1976, Zwischenarchiv 440.264, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Almut Kriele, *"Das ist ungeheuer bunt hier!" : die Euregio Maas-Rhein nutzt die Chancen ihrer Vielfalt ; grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in der Euregio Maas-Rhein* (Aachen: Shaker, 2005), 24–26.

[416] Kurt Malangré, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Kurt Malangré," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1976. Archived October 14th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/leo-tindemans-1976/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-kurt-malangre.

him for his support for the Euregio Rhine-Maas plans, he described Scheel as someone who supports "die Integration der Völker Europas nach Kräften." [417] In return, Scheel reaffirmed Aachen as a European city of the present in his acceptance speech:

> Die Stadt Aachen braucht sich nicht nur auf Karl den Großen zu berufen, wenn sie den Karlspreis verleiht; sie ist auch dazu legitimiert durch ihre eigene praktische europäische Arbeit hier in der Euregio.[418]

Scheel's claim that Aachen did not need to refer to Charlemagne to establish its European identity because of its actions for the Euregio proved a significant turn for Aachen. Despite his optimism, a 1978 report by the AA showed that diverging interests between the regions led to severe difficulties in managing the Euregio. Following this report, the Euregio program started to include economic, urban and infrastructure questions but such projects were challenging to lead. The main hurdle came from the opposition of the francophone region of Liege, which felt ostracized by its Dutch and German partners and failed to participate in quarterly meetings or to provide financial help and workforce to the Maastricht Bureau. Liege decided to leave the Euregio in 1985 and it took until 1991 for the Euregio to formally settle in Maastricht. [419] In 1996, Queen Beatrix mentioned the Euregio in her Charlemagne Prize speech in Aachen, insisting on the historic unity of the trinational region:

> Das erfolgreiche Konzept der Euregio (…) ist im gewissen Sinne eine Rückkehr zu einer Situation, die früher normal war. [420]

Despite these claims of return to normalcy, the creation of the Euregio was long wielding and often conflictual. Still, the 1990s marked a return to historical narratives of the Euregio as

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[417] Kurt Malangré, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Kurt Malangré," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1977. Archived February 13th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/walter-scheel-1977/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-kurt-malangre.

[418] Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden*, 196–207.

[419] AA Vogeler, "Letter to AA." (Letter, Bonn, April 20, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Grenzüberschreitende Zusammenarbeit in den deutsch-niederländischen Grenzgebieten im Rahmen Euregio-Arbeitsgemeinschaften" (Note, Bonn, February 11, 1982), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; General Consulate Germany Liege Goldschmitt, "Letter to AA. Euregio Rhein-Maas im deutsch-belgisch-niederländischen Grenzgebiet" (Liege, July 31, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; FRG Embassy Brussels, "Letter to AA. Euregio Rhein-Maas" (Letter, Brussels, November 27, 1985), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; General Consulate FRG Liege Rabe, "Letter to AA. Euregio Rhein-Maas" (Letter, Liege, December 13, 1985), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Breuer, "'Land ohne Grenzen' – Entwickelung der Regio Aachen in der Euregio Maas-Rhein"; Kriele, *Das ist ungeheuer bunt hier!*, 46–50.

[420] Beatrix der Niederlande, "Rede von Königin Beatrix der Niederlande," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1996, Archived December 09th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/koenigin-beatrix-der-niederlande-1996/rede-von-koenigin-beatrix-der-niederlande.

these continued to spread in regional cultural politics through exhibitions, school projects, academic networks, and publications.[421]

The political orientation of the Charlemagne prize and the participant's projection of Charlemagne as an ancestor of a Christian-conservative Europe was divisive even in Aachen. Because of its limited representativity the Charlemagne Prize was strongly criticized by left-leaning newspapers such as the leftist *Klenkes!*, which accused it of continuing Nazi and imperialist ideas of Europe. In 1982, the magazine underlined the dark side of Europe transpiring from Aachen's Charlemagne Prize. The author criticized the choice of the recipient Prince Juan Carlos of Spain, whom they referred to as "Franco's Prinz." They argued that because of the fear of Bolshevism, Aachen strayed towards Nazi representations of Europe as a "Weltmacht." The author named local poet Will Hermanns who had been a Nazi sympathizer and one of the first planners of the Charlemagne Prize. They concluded " hier ehrt sich ein Europa, das seine Zukunft in seiner kriegerischen, kolonialen Vergangenheit sucht." [422]

From the 1980s onward, the Charlemagne Prize evolved in parallel with local and international political cultures. Recipients became more diverse as the directory chose political figures of different gender, origin, religion, or political orientation. Some of them carried a symbolic political message such as Simone Veil, the first woman and holocaust survivor to receive the Charlemagne Prize in Aachen in 1981. The joint prize to Chancellor Helmut Kohl and socialist President Francois Mitterrand in 1988 was also a symbolic celebration of Franco-German European friendship. In the 1990s, following reunification and the collapse of the Soviet Union, several Eastern European politicians were chosen, such as Gyula Horn in 1990, Václav Havel in 1991 and Bronislaw Geremek in 1998. [423]

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[421] See for example Koschik, "Archäologsiche Denkmalpflege im Rheinland"; Richard Baum, Béatrice Dumiche, and Gilles Rouet, eds., *Europa der Regionen: Euregio Maas-Rhein: Akten des Interdisziplinären Kolloquiums der Universitäten Aachen und Reims (Aachen, Dezember 1997) = L'Europe des régions: région Champagne-Ardenne*, Abhandlungen zur Sprache und Literatur 143 (Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium der Universitäten Aachen und Reims, Bonn: Romanistischer Verlag, 2002); Detlef Stender, "Die Region Aachen–Lüttich–Maastricht Industriegeschichte und Netzwerke zur Industriekultur in der Euregio Maas-Rhein," in *Zwischen Rhein-Ruhr und Maas : Pionierland der Industrialisierung - Werkstatt der Industriekultur*, Walter Buschmann (Essen: Klartext, 2013), 49–67.
An *Euregio* historical network was also created in the 2000s. See program of 2012 workshop in Aachen "Region – Europa – Nation? Kollektive Identitäten an Grenzen: Deutschland, die Niederlande und Belgien im 20. Jahrhundert," H-Soz-Kult. Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften (H-Soz-Kult, September 21, 2012). Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/event-69668.

[422] "Das Reich und sein Preis," *Klenkes*, 1982, Aachen Stadtbibliothek.
See also "Europa der Eliten. Der Karlspreis Spektakel," *Klenkes*, 1982, Aachen Stadtbibliothek.

[423] There were few left leaning Prize recipients before the 1970s, such as the British Roy Jenkins from the Labour Party. Bettin, *50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen*, 29.

Charlemagne is by far not the only ancestor of Europe (re)imagined in post-war western Europe or Germany. Specific events and historical figures were taken up by local politicians and memorialized to escape nationalism and to serve local interests in European integration. For example, the Charles V European Prize in Yuste, Spain, emulates the Charlemagne Prize since 1995- but the Charlemagne Prize has probably been the most successful example of symbolical politics as a legitimization tool in European politics.[424] Aachen's European identity was constructed through the push and pull of local and national historical-political European discourse during the second half of the 20th century. Using external political interest, Aachen elites were able to establish the city as intrinsically European because of its role as a holder of Charlemagne memory.

2.2. "Im Schatten des Aachener Domes"[425]: A Franco-German Charlemagne in Service of European politics

In his 1953 speech in honor of French politician of Europe Jean Monnet, Aachen Mayor Maas linked Franco-German relations to the very existence of a European community. Citing the Swiss writer Eugen Wyler, he stated that if Franco-German reconciliation were to fail, then it would "die europäische Welt begraben."[426] Maas used the emblem of the Aachen Cathedral to illustrate the roots of Franco-German friendship:

> 600 Jahre nach dem Tode Karls des Großen machte der burgundische Humanist Jean de Montreuil den Vorschlag, den deutschen Adler des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation und die französischen Lilien, das Wappen Frankreichs, zu einem Schilde zu vereinigen. Und das Aachener Stiftskapitel führt bis zu dem heutigen Tage diesen Schild.[427]

He depicted the cathedral emblem carrying the imperial German eagle and the French royal lily as an unbroken link through times, drawing a thread from the distant Carolingian past through medieval Europe to the present. The emblem, still visible in the cathedral, gave historical depth to

[424] "His Majesty the King of Spain Awards the Charles V European Prize to the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe Programme," Council of Europe - Cultural Routes, May 9, 2019. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/newsroom/-/asset_publisher/3LTziHUm71xR/content/the-cultural-routes-of-the-council-of-europe-receive-the-charles-v-european-award.
[425] Peter Scholl Latour, "Möglicherweise gewinnt in Aachen der Gedanke einer europäischen Konföderation Gestalt. ZDF" (Report, Aachen, August 14, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[426] Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters a. D. der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas" Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1953.
[427] Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters a. D. der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas" Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1953.

local political claims of Franco-German collaboration for Europe and became the main symbol of Franco-German friendship in Aachen.[428]

Since the Middle Ages, Charlemagne has played a central role in both French and German historiographies, but both sides developed different foci and myths. By the end of the 19th, the rise of national historiographies led to conflicts around the question of the national belonging of Charlemagne and to the famous question "Charlemagne or Karl der Große?"[429] which culminated in an essay with the same title. Charlemagne's ambitious empire-building through bellicose means was in turn used as historical justification for invasion plans under Napoleonic rule and later under Nazi rule during WWII, with famous *SS Charlemagne* battalion of French volunteer soldiers.[430] In the second half of the 20th century, the idea of a unifying Charlemagne was revived, but this time without the openly belligerent intent. This move away from a national memory of Charlemagne presented him as a shared ancestor for both nations within united Europe. Charlemagne memory now allowed to unite France and (West-)Germany under one European master narrative of history spread by historians and politicians.[431]

In 1950, during the first Charlemagne Prize ceremony, Mayor Albert Maas described Franco-German friendship as the core of European unity.[432] A few years later, in his 1954 speech at the *Karlspreis*, Kalergi depicted Chancellor Adenauer as the direct heir of emperor Charlemagne's project for a Franco-German Europe united around the Rhine:

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[428] Herman Heusch would similarly underline the emblem's importance in his 1958 speech in honor of Robert Schuman. Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1958. The 'Eagle and Lilly' is the symbol of the Aachen Cathedral since the 14th century. A 17th century representation was found in the Chorhalle. Sigrun Heinen et al., "Die Restaurierung der Wandmalereien in der Aachener Chorhalle," in *Die gotische Chorhalle des Aachener Doms und ihre Ausstattung*, ed. Gisbert Knopp (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002), 229–56; Maas, *Der Aachener Dom*, 92–93.

[429] Werner, *Karl der Große oder Charlemagne?*

[430] On the Karl der Große oder Charlemagne debate, see Ehlers, *Charlemagne, l'Européen entre la France et l'Allemagne*; Bernd Schneidmüller, "Sehnsucht nach Karl dem Großen. Vom Nutzen eines toten Kaisers für die Nachgeborenen," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 51 (2000), 284–301.
Under NS rule, Charlemagne was first seen as a *Sachsenschlächter* before he was used to justify subsequent invasions from 1939. See Kerner, *Karl der Große*, 57–60; Thomas Vogtherr, "»Karl der Große oder Charlemagne? Eine deutsch-französische Schicksalsfrage«: Deutsche Geschichtspolitik im besetzten Frankreich im Spiegel eines Vortrags von Georg Schnath aus dem Jahre 1942," *Francia – Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschicht* 39 (2012), 331–46.

[431] See for example Matthias Pape, "Karl der Große - Franke? Deutscher? oder Europäer? Karlsbild und Karlskult in der Gründungsphase der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Jahrbuch für europäische Geschichte* 4 (2003), 243–54.

[432] "Aber noch mehr, der Kern der europäischen Einigung wird immer die deutsch - französische Verständigung sein" Maas, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Dr. Albert Maas," Speech, 1950.

> Die Einigung Europas um die Rheinachse, durch die deutsch-französische Versöhnung (...) Dieser Plan eines deutsch-französischen Reiches als Kernstück Europas scheiterte am vorzeitigen Tod Karlmanns und Pippins.[433]

The Charlemagne Prize Committee seemed to agree with Kalergi. French politicians made up a significant number of Charlemagne Prize recipients. These included Robert Schuman in 1958, François Seydoux de Clausonne in 1970 and Simone Veil in 1981. The joint prize to Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Francois Mitterrand in 1988 expressively echoed previous displays of Franco-German friendship.[434]

Following the signature of the Elysée Treaty on January 22nd of 1963, the city partnership signed with the French city of Reims in 1967 was at the center of Aachen's Franco-German European politics.[435] Although they were first and foremost bilateral alliances, city partnerships were an integral part of European communal politics, as historian Tanja Hermann stated in her research:

> Die Förderung der europäischen Einigung und eines Europas der Bürger ist für die RGRE immer das wichtigste Ziel der Partnerschaften gewesen. (…) So wird immer wieder hervorgehoben, dass diejenigen, die sich in der Partnerschaft engagieren, nicht nur von Europa reden, sondern auch europäisch handeln.[436]

In the 1970s, President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, both convinced Europhiles with personal affinities, started to hold regular meetings in different places, during which they discussed current European political matters.[437] These meetings aimed to revive the memory of the visit of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and President Charles De Gaulle to the Reims Cathedral in 1962, which offered the first iconic image of a Franco-German couple. In his

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[433] Kästner, Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden, 18-25.

[434] French Prize recipients also include Jacques Delors in 1992, Former President Valery Giscard d'Estaing in 2003, Jean Claude Trichet in 2011 and President Emmanuel Macron in 2018. See Bettin, *50 Jahre Internationaler Karlspreis zu Aachen*, 29; Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen. " Preisträger/-innen." *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen*. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger-innen/alle-preistraeger.

[435] See Markus Kuttig, *Freundschaft ohne Grenzen : Aachen und seine Städtepartnerschaften* (Aachen: Shaker, 1999); Heinz Malangré, *Aachen - Reims : Notizen zur Partnerschaft ; zwei Krönungsstädte im Beziehungsspiel von deutsch-französischer Geschichte und Lebensart* (Aachen: Brimberg, 2004).

[436] Herrmann, *Ein Baustein der deutsch-französischen Versöhnungsgeschichte? Die Städtepartnerschaft Wolfsburg - Marignane*, 42–43.
Franco-German Partner cities first appeared in the 1950s, but the phenomenon really started to spread after the signature of the Elysee Treaty in 1963. On the history of city partnerships, see Defrance, Herrmann, and Nordblom, *Städtepartnerschaften in Europa im 20. Jahrhundert*.

[437] Valery Giscard d'Estaing (1926-2020) graduated from the École Polytechnique and the École nationale d'administration (1949–1951). Minister of Finance twice between 1962 and 1974, he was elected as third President of the fifth Republic in France from 1974 to 1981. "Valéry Giscard d'Estaing," *Elysee*, December 14th, 2022. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.elysee.fr/valery-giscard-d-estaing.

1970 speech for the Charlemagne Prize in Aachen, French ambassador Seydoux de Clausonne offered a photographic image of both head of states standing in the Reims Cathedral in 1962:

> Seite an Seite beten der Kanzler und der General in der Kathedrale von Reims, der Stadt, die in so glücklicher Weise mit Aachen verbunden ist. [438]

Historian Helene Miard-Delacroix argues that the Franco-German couple formed by Giscard d'Estaing and Schmidt was the first to have concrete influences on European politics. Indeed, the first major Franco-German collaboration by De Gaulle and Adenauer, had its limits due to personal disagreements between both men on international and European political matters.[439] French and German heads of state also relied and continue to rely on these symbolic demonstrations of friendship to render Franco-German collaboration more relatable to the public.

This sub-chapter studies how in Aachen, the cathedral and its relics became a tool for demonstrating Franco-German roots of Europe as cooperation heightened through the prism of two major events: the signature of the city partnership with Reims in 1967 and the 1978 Franco-German consultations between Schmidt and Giscard in Aachen. In both cases, the Aachen Cathedral and its relics played an important ritual, visual and discursive role.

2.2.1. Linking Historic Cathedrals: The 1967 Reims-Aachen City Partnership Ceremony

On the 28th of January 1967, Aachen and Reims representatives took part in a ceremony for the signature of the city partnership between Reims and Aachen at the Aachen City Hall. Local politicians wished to link Aachen and Reims in history and in the present. Reims, as the historic coronation place of French kings, allowed for an easy parallel with Aachen, the place where the German kings of the Holy Roman Empire had been coronated for several centuries. The coronation of Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son, in both Aachen and Reims, for example, was depicted as

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[438] Kästner, *Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden*, 154-163.
Subsequent French and German heads of state kept the meetings alive. In 2019, Chancellor Merkel and President Macron met in Aachen to renew the Elysee Treaty. See Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, "Franco-German Treaty of Aachen," *France Diplomacy - Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs*, 2019. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/germany/france-and-germany/franco-german-treaty-of-aachen/.

[439] The West German public supported Franco-German collaboration, but the French public was harder to convince. Both states had divergent interests in some aspects, starting with France's stark anti-americanism in the 1960s. See Hélène Miard-Delacroix, *Im Zeichen der europäischen Einigung : 1963 bis in die Gegenwart*, Deutsch-französische Geschichte 11 (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges., 2011), 307–26.
See also Ansbert Baumann, *Die organisierte Zusammenarbeit: die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen am Vorabend des Elysée-Vertrags (1958-1962),* dfi compact 1 (Ludwigsburg, 2002); Ulrich Lappenküper, *Die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen 1949 - 1963 : von der "Erbfeindschaft" zur "Entente élémentaire,"* vol. 2 (München: Oldenbourg, 2001); Hans-Peter Schwarz, ed., *Adenauer und Frankreich: die deutsch-französischen Beziehungen 1958 bis 1969*, Rhöndorfer Gespräche 7 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1985).

a marker of the two cities' shared history.[440] The historical narratives centered around the cathedrals of Reims and Aachen, while Carolingian relics became a tool for demonstrating the Franco-German roots of Europe. Local elites invested the historical space in both cities to underline their message of Franco-German collaboration, focusing mainly on Carolingian history and contrasting it with the recent conflicts between France and Germany.

Both Reims and Aachen were symbols of the destruction brought about by combat during World War I and II respectively. The Cathedral of Reims and Aachen had opposite destinies although both ultimately became UNESCO World Heritage sites. While the Aachen Cathedral survived WWII bombing and the Battle of Aachen relatively unscathed compared to the rest of the city, the Reims Cathedral fell victim to German shelling, already in 1914, and became the symbol of German indiscriminate destruction at the time. The Reims Cathedral was quickly reconstructed following WWI and ultimately became a *lieu de memoire* of Franco-German friendship. Indeed in 1962, Chancellor Adenauer and President De Gaulle visited the Reims Cathedral before signing the Elysee Treaty turning this destruction into a symbol of Franco-German reconciliation. Thus, Aachen's city partnership with Reims carried significant symbolism: it brought together the two historical coronation cathedrals of the French and German kings and associated the city with the recent history of Franco-German reconciliation.[441]

Over the January weekend of 1967, representatives from Aachen and Reims celebrated Franco-German and European history in ritual, speeches, and text. The partnership contract, signed by Mayors Hermann Heusch and Jean Taittinger, underlined the importance of both history and religion in the current European movement, as it presented both cities:

> Aix-la-Chapelle, évêché où Charlemagne fut reconnu comme Chef de l'Empire d'Occident, siège de la "Renaissance Carolingienne." Reims, ville de couronnement des Rois, lieu de naissance de la foi chrétienne en Europe occidentale. Voient leur chemin tracé par leur origine historique et spirituelle commune qui doit les conduire au but envisagé par des échanges culturels, économiques et sociaux.[442]

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[440] Local press insisted on the common history. An AN article for example spoke of the "Verschwisterung der früheren Krönungstadte Frankreichs und Deutschlands, Reims und Aachen." "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On the history of coronations in Aachen see Kramp, *Krönungen*; Kerner, "Könige in Aachen. Zur Geschichte ihrer Krönungen"; Schulte, *Die Kaiser- und Königs-Krönungen zu Aachen 813-1531*.

[441] Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *Reims on Fire: War and Reconciliation between France and Germany. (*The Getty Research Institute, 2018).

[442] Jean Taittinger, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Speech, Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Christianism is omnipresent in this short paragraph, as his author describes Aachen not as a city but as Charlemagne's diocese and Reims as the place of birth of Christianism in western Europe. This introduction to the treaty also showed that the idea of a shared Christian history whose roots went back to early medieval times was at the base of the Aachen-Reims partnership. Although the cathedrals were not mentioned explicitly, they were implicitly present as they were the central space of the coronation in Aachen and Reims. The treaty also mentioned the *Occident* twice, again insisting on the shared spiritual origins of both cities, indicating that in contemporary times Aachen and Reims shared a similar imagination of a Christian western Europe through their partnership. Aachen politicians also showed their local European engagement by inviting representatives from Belgium and the Netherlands to the ceremony as "natural partners" of the city.[443]

In the 1960s, politicians openly used their Christian faith as an assembling factor for Franco-German and European cultures.[444] In this Franco-German partnership, the relationship between the Cathedrals of Aachen and Reims had been well established before the 1967 signature. The famous Aachen Cathedral choir "Capelle Carolina" had given several concerts in Reims over the previous decade. The local Prelate Rehmann had established friendships with the people of Reims. These relations between the churches had allowed Aachen Cathedral prelate Eric Stephany to obtain an exceedingly rare artifact, the Charlemagne talisman from Reims for the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne Exhibition in Aachen. For the signature of the contract, the Aachen

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See also : "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Städtefreundschaft wird durch Urkunde besiegelt," *NRZ*, January 18, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[443] "An dem anschliessenden Empfang im Aachener Rathaus nahmen auch hohe Gäste aus Lüttich und Maastricht teil, mit denen sich Aachen, wie OB Heusch am Vortag gesagt hatte, auf natürlicherweise verschwistert fühle." "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

French ambassador to Germany Seydoux de Clausonne was present. Heusch mentioned it when Seydoux received the Karlspreis in 1970 : "Wenn wir vor drei Jahren hier in diesem Saal, in dem in vergangenen Zeiten die deutschen Könige ihr Krönungsmahl hielten, in seiner Gegenwart die Verschwisterung Aachens mit Reims, der Stadt der Krönung der französischen Könige, besiegeln konnten, dann wissen wir, wie sehr dieses Ereignis im Sinne seines Wirkens lag." Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1970. Archived December 13th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/francois-seydoux-de-clausonne-1970/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-hermann-heusch.

On the role of Bishops in the partnership see Kuttig, *Freundschaft ohne Grenzen*, 50.

[444] Herrmann, *Ein Baustein der deutsch-französischen Versöhnungsgeschichte? Die Städtepartnerschaft Wolfsburg - Marignane*, 36.

Cathedral lent its emblem, representing the French lily next to the German eagle, as well as the bust reliquary of Charlemagne to the City Hall of Aachen. [445]

The speeches held by both mayors at the Aachen City Hall on the day the partnership was signed, focused heavily on the historical and sacral character of the partnership. Aachen Mayor Hermann Heusch was the first to speak. He examined the conflictual history between Germany and France, whose start he situated at the death of Charlemagne. Heusch underlined that every war on the European continent in that time happened between the Kings sacred in either Aachen or Reims, linking them in this divided history.[446] This, he claimed, served as a warning and proof of the importance of Franco-German friendship as any attempt to reconstruct a European unity had failed up to then. [447] Heusch insisted on the city hall as a space encompassing "12 siècles d'histoire européenne" and called on the memory of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's 1954 Charlemagne Prize speech held in the still dilapidated Aachen City Hall:

> C'est ici, dans un vaste auditoire européen, que le 1er chancelier de la République Fédérale Allemande prit la parole ; c'était une profession de foi en faveur de l'unité européenne ; il ne manqua pas de préciser sa conviction profonde que l'entente entre la France et l'Allemagne en était la condition primordiale.[448]

Here again, Europeanism and Franco-German collaboration overlap. Heusch, who had used Carolingian history to underline the common roots of both cities, then turned to the second half of the 20th century as a time of hope, as he insisted on the importance of Franco-German collaboration for European construction. He also showed his ambition for regional European

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[445] "Le Chœur de la Cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle, la "Capelle Carolina" a durant les dernières années donné plusieurs concerts à Reims ; et, outre son ancien Maitre de chapelle, le Prélat Monseigneur Rehmann dont le souvenir est resté dans toutes les mémoires, bon nombre d'habitants de notre ville ont noué des relations amicales avec Reims et les Rémois." Hermann Heusch, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony." (Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also "Schutzpatron von Reims im Aachener Dom" (Article, June 27, 1966), Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[446] Heusch, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[447] "Après le partage de l'Empire, par les descendants de Charlemagne, qui détruisit ainsi l'unité de l'Europe, toute tentative de reconstituer cet Empire devait être vouée à l'échec." Heusch "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[448] "Lorsque, dans cet Hôtel de Ville, nous prenons conscience des 12 siècles d'histoire européenne." Heusch, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 1954 Adenauer called upon people and politicians "den zerstörerischen deutsch-französischen Gegensatz endgültig verschwinden zu lassen. Dadurch, meine Damen und Herren, würde das letzte große Hemmnis der Einigung Europas beseitigt werden." Kästner, Die Karlspreisträger und ihre europäischen Reden, 50–55.

politics through his plans to make the region between Rhine and Maas a "pays sans frontière." He described the region as a "noyau d'histoire européenne." [449] Heusch concluded that the great past of both cities needed to be turned into a responsibility for the future, which they should face together.[450] A few months later, in his Charlemagne prize speech for Dutch politician Joseph Luns, Heusch again likened the interaction between Aachen and its direct neighbors Liege and Maastricht to the newly built city-partnership with Reims.[451]

The mayor of Reims Jean Taittinger's speech also used historical references to root and link Franco-German friendship and European unity. His speech started with a reference to Charlemagne as a common emperor and then focused on Aachen:

> Nous voici donc ce matin à Aix-la Chapelle, au centre de l'immense empire de Charlemagne, en ce lieu même ou voici plus de mille ans se réalisa la première tentative d'unification de l'Europe.[452]

In Taittinger's eyes, Carolingian history was linked to the present time through this new attempt at unifying Europe. Again, Taittinger went over the recent history of the two World Wars and the symbolical importance of the city of Reims and its cathedral for the Franco-German reconciliation process.[453] He also insisted on the sacral dimension of the city-partnership as he situated its roots "au cœur même de l'histoire de la chrétienté et de l'Europe Occidentale."[454] In both speeches of Heusch and Taittinger, Charlemagne, Christianism, and European unity took the forefront and were brought together through Aachen and Reims' shared history. Aachen and

[449] "Nous avons l'ambition de faire de cet antique noyau d'histoire européenne, situe entre le Rhin et la Meuse, un "pays sans frontière" et de devancer ainsi, par des contacts humains, toutes les règlementations officielles de la haute politique. " Hermann Heusch, "Allocution de M. Hermann Heusch (Oberbürgermeister Aachen) a l'occasion du Jumelage Reims-Aix-la-Chapelle les 28-29 Janvier 1967" (Aachen, 1967), Zwischenarchiv 135.475, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[450] Heusch "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[451] Hermann Heusch, "Rede des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt Aachen, Hermann Heusch," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1967. Archived December 13th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/joseph-luns-1967/rede-des-oberbuergermeisters-der-stadt-aachen-hermann-heusch.
[452] " Dans un saisissant raccourci de la destinée de nos deux peuples, vous venez, Monsieur le Premier Bourgmestre, d'évoquer Charlemagne "notre Empereur commun " Taittinger, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Speech, Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[453] "Bürgermeister Taittinger erinnerte auch an den 8. Juli 1962, an dem der damalige Bundeskanzler Adenauer und General de Gaulle nach Reims kamen, um die Versöhnung ihrer Völker zu besiegeln. " "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[454] Taittinger, "Speech for the 1967 Aachen-Reims City Partnership Ceremony" (Speech, Aachen, 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Reims Cathedral representatives were present at the celebrations of the city partnership and gave the 1967 ceremony a sacral quality.[455]

Over the next decade, the partnership developed concrete actions focused especially on exchanges in the domains of sports, culture, and education.[456] Alongside the city administration, both cathedrals played an active role in the application of the program of Franco-German friendship between Reims and Aachen. Religious and political actors mixed regularly in the context of the partnership. Church representatives accompanied official visits to the partner city and organized independent Franco-German initiatives. In 1977, the ten-year celebrations of the Aachen-Reims partnership again intersected politics and religion. The Aachen program included a reception at the City Hall, and the *Deutsch Bahn* planned a special train ride between Reims and Aachen. For the occasion, an organist from Reims was invited to give a concert and attend a religious service in the Aachen Cathedral.[457]

The following year, Reims invited the representatives of the city of Aachen, the Aachen History Association, and a religious delegation led by Prelate Stephany to participate in the Joan of Arc celebrations in the city. The Aachen Cathedral representatives held a joint service at the Reims Cathedral in May of 1978. The speeches of both mayors in Reims were in direct continuity with those of Heusch and Taittinger more than a decade before. Warning before the dangers of war, they put cooperation in the actual context of European peace and unity.[458] The Aachen-Reims

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[455] On the role of the Church in Franco-German reconciliation, see Marc Lienhard, "Die christlichen Kirchen und die deutsch-französische Versöhnung nach 1945," in *Die Kirchen in den deutsch-französischen Beziehungen*, ed. Irene Dingel and Andreas Linsenmann, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz Beihefte, Band 120 (Mainz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 131–54.

[456] See "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; Kuttig, *Freundschaft ohne Grenzen*.

[457] Alfred Stoffels, "Reims und Aachen feiern Jubiläum," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 14, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Danielle Stoltz, a blind organist from Reims represented the city at the *Karlsfest* and ten-year celebration of the partnership. See Danielle Stoltz, "Letters to Stephany" (Letters, Reims, 1.-7.2 1977), Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Alfred Beaujean, "Eine Organistin aus Reims," *Aachener Nachrichten*, February 2, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Werner Czempas, "Mit dem Sonderzug nach Reims?," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 29, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Bundesbahn stellt Weiche für Kaiser-Karl-Express," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, February 10, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Michael Weilacher, "Ein Hauch Pariser Flair für die City," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 29, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[458] Another working session took place in 1978 in Reims during the ten-year celebration of the partnership. Christian-Democrats of Aachen worried about the newly elected communist mayor of Reims but the aims of the 1967 treaty were renewed : "Oberbürgermeister Lamblin nannte die Jumelage einen dauernden Beitrag zur Vertiefung der Freundschaft und zur Politik der Friedenskonferenz von Helsinki." Kaspar Vallot, "Mit offenen Armen empfing Reims

partnership allowed locals to reaffirm their engagement towards European construction, while claiming a shared past.[459] This has perdured into the 21st century. In 2004, for example, local figure Heinz Malangré published a book in celebration of the partnership between Aachen and Reims in which he reaffirmed its European character. The book's title page again showcased the importance of the church in local imagination of the partnership as it depicted both Cathedrals of Aachen and Reims alongside the coat of arms of the Aachen Cathedral carrying the imperial eagle and royal lily.[460]

2.2.2. "Aachen für 24 Stunden 'Herz Europas'"[461]: The Franco-German Consultations of 1978

"Aachen für 24 Stunden 'Herz Europas'": The title of this *Aachen Bilder und Berichte* article referred to the Franco-German consultations between French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, and several of their ministers that took place in Aachen on the 14th and 15th of September of 1978. This event was in the limelight of local public, political, and media attention. According to the journalist, the meeting was Aachen's most spectacular event that year, alongside the yearly Charlemagne prize and international riding competition. The hope of local elites for the Franco-German consultations was clearly expressed in the same article as its author concluded that the event showcased Aachen's European character to the world or better "aller Welt klarmacht (oder klar machen sollte), dass Aachen europäisch weiterführt." [462]

Delegierten der Partnerstadt Aachen," *Aachener Nachrichten*, May 13, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Werner Dümmler, "Aachener fühlen sich in Reims zu Hause. Printenmänner im Rathaus überreicht," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 13, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[459] While these exchanges were bilateral, individual studies of *Partnerschaften* show that they depended strongly on motivated individual local actors and their personal networks and that the initiative and interests for such partnerships mostly originated from the West-German side. See Herrmann, *Ein Baustein der deutsch-französischen Versöhnungsgeschichte? Die Städtepartnerschaft Wolfsburg - Marignane*, 17–46.

[460]The front page states : "Dieser Geschichte und ihre Einmündung in europäischen Gemeinsamkeit geht das Buch nach. Natürlich ist Karl der Große kräftig im Spiel." Malangré, *Aachen - Reims*.

[461] Gisela Boschmann, "32. deutsch-französisches Gipfeltreffen. Was das Protokoll verlangt - Giscard blieb auf dem Teppich. Gipfeltreffen brachte Prominenz an einen Tisch," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1978-1979, 12–13, Dz Aach Aachener Bilder und Berichte 28-50, Stadtbibliothek Aachen.

[462]"So wurde das 32. Gipfeltreffen neben Karlspreis und Reiter WM zum spektakulärsten Aachener Ereignis." Boschmann, "32. deutsch-französisches Gipfeltreffen. Was das Protokoll verlangt - Giscard blieb auf dem Teppich. Gipfeltreffen brachte Prominenz an einen Tisch," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1978-1979, 12–13, Dz Aach Aachener Bilder und Berichte 28-50, Stadtbibliothek Aachen.
See also "Aachen soll Europas Position staerken und der Neunergemeinschaft neue entscheidende Impulse geben." Horst Manstein, "Deutsch-französisches Gipfeltreffen in Aachen. Die Zeremoniemeister sind hellauf begeistert," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 19, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Meanwhile, the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the first UNESCO World Heritage List, which coincidentally took place at the same time, went unnoticed in Aachen.

The city of Aachen had been chosen by Helmut Schmidt and Valery Giscard d'Estaing because of its historic dimension.[463] An internal note of the *Auswärtiges Amt* in July of 1978 showed plans to include the city's historical setting in the planning of the event and its speeches. It wrote the director of the German Historical Institute in Paris to ask for his assistance.[464] The program of the consultations focused on the ancient palace of Charlemagne: the City Hall hosted the two-day meeting while the cathedral was the destination of a guided tour through the building, as well as a private concert, Helmut Schmidt personally insisted that a concert in the Maria chapel of the Aachen Cathedral should be included in the program. The Chancellor spoke to the German bishops about the concert plan, and they judged the event as acceptable "auch in kirchlicher Sicht." [465] Locals held high expectations for the event, and the local press eagerly followed the preparation of the meeting.[466]

The Franco-German Consultations were the occasion for both political leaders to demonstrate that they were a motor of the European project. During the entire length of the meeting, discourses of a mythical and historical Charlemagne accompanied very current discussions on European politics. The Aachen consultation's overt aim was to plan a common European monetary

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[463] The meeting was to take place on the Rhine at first. See Schöller, "Vermerk Besuchplanung 1978. Weisung des Herrn Bundeskanzlers" (Report, Bonn, January 9, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Zeller, "Letter to Peter Schönfeld (Büro Staatssekretäre im Auswärtigen Amt)" (Bonn, January 27, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[464] "Es wird um Stellungnahme gebeten, in welcher Weise aus dortiger Sicht der historischen Dimension dieser Stadt bei der Programmgestaltung und/oder bei den Reden Rechnung getragen werden könnte." Feit, "Letter to Botschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Paris. Deutsch-französische Konsultationen der Staats- bzw. Regierungschefs am 14./15. September in Aachen" (Letter, Bonn, July 3, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
AA, "Letter to Prof. Werner Director of the German Historical Institute in Paris." (Bonn, June 29, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[465] Zeller, "Letter to Peter Schönfeld (AA). Nächste deutsch-französiche Konsultationen der Staats- bzw. Regierungschefs" (Letter, Bonn, April 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
On the importance of space and ritual in state visits in the FRG, see Simone Derix, "Politische Performanz und 'natürliche' Kulissen in den Staatsbesuchen der Bundesrepublik," in *Die Natur der Gesellschaft: Verhandlungen des 33. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Kassel 2006*, ed. K.- S. Rehberg (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verl, 2008), 3879–87; Simone Derix, *Bebilderte Politik : Staatsbesuche in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949 - 1990* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

[466] See Manstein, "Deutsch-französisches Gipfeltreffen in Aachen. Die Zeremoniemeister sind hellauf begeistert" *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 19, 1978, Domarchiv A 11.2.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Boschmann, "32. deutsch-französisches Gipfeltreffen. Was das Protokoll verlangt - Giscard blieb auf dem Teppich. Gipfeltreffen brachte Prominenz an einen Tisch," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1978-1979, 12–13, Dz Aach Aachener Bilder und Berichte 28-50, Stadtbibliothek Aachen.

union, an aspect of European integration that has become central to the European Union of the 21st century as it would ultimately lead to the creation of the Eurozone.[467] In Aachen, Giscard and Schmidt paralleled Charlemagne's efforts to unify Europe during his reign with their plans to unify and lead contemporary political Europe. Through visits and images, both heads of state relied on the symbolic space of the historical palace of Charlemagne as a legitimation point for their European politics during the meeting in Aachen.

The joint visit between Schmidt and Giscard d'Estaing to Aachen in 1978 based itself on a millenary tradition of political visits to Charlemagne's historic palace and mausoleum. Illustrious visitors to Aachen cultivated their relation to Charlemagne's memory for political legitimation. For example, Napoleon's visits to Aachen in 1804 and 1811 started with a procession to the City Hall. Banners were hung throughout the city with slogans likening Napoleon to Charlemagne. Napoleon then participated in a mass and/or a concert in the Maria Church. When Josephine arrived in Aachen in 1804, she was shown the relics of Charlemagne in the presence of Bishop Bredolet and city council members. The showing was repeated when Napoleon came to join her a few weeks later.[468] Prussian emperors also paid official visits to Aachen. Wilhelm the II, for example, had a keen interest in Charlemagne memory. He visited Aachen in 1902, 1911 and 1918. These visits followed a similar route and employed similar narratives to those of Napoleon, focusing on the ancient palace and the memory of Charlemagne.[469]

During the 1978 consultation, Aachen was presented as a place of both Franco-German and European history. Giscard and Schmidt repeatedly linked their current political efforts to the historical actions of Charlemagne.[470] Helmut Schmidt's opening speech on the 14th of September

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[467] On the dynamics of the couple, the magazine Der Spiegel states : "Die Führungsrolle, so seine Erkenntnis, müsse dabei Frankreich übernehmen, weil die Deutschen belastet durch ihre Vergangenheit, "nicht allzu selbstbewusst auftreten" dürften. Die Regie allerdings will Schmidt führen." "Helmut Schmidt : Zurück zu Europa," *Der Spiegel*, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The following year, both Schmidt and Giscard pushed for a common monetary system. Anne-Lise Barrière, "Le choix européen d'Helmut Schmidt en faveur du système monétaire européen (SME), le rayonnement économique de la RFA au service du projet européen ?," in *L'Allemagne entre rayonnement et retenue*, ed. Dominique Herbet, Hélène Miard-Delacroix, and Hans Stark eds. (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2016), 109–18.

[468] See Tschacher, "Sire!" 50-53; Lentz, "Napoleon and Charlemagne."
The visit to the Maria chapel was reimagined by Napoleon's painter, who depicted him in contemplation in front of the Charlemagne throne and crown. The crown had been evacuated before Napoleon's entered troops Aachen and was in Vienna. Kaiser, "Des Kaisers neue Kleider. Wiederbelebung, Reinkarnation und Asche Karls des Großen unter Napoleon Bonaparte," 131–32.

[469] Tschacher, *Königtum als lokale Praxis. Aachen als Feld der kulturellen Realisierung von Herrschaft*, 342–74.

[470] On the importance of symbols in European Franco-German politics, see Ulrich Krotz and Joachim Schild, *Shaping Europe: France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics* (OUP Oxford, 2013), 75–97.

for example, called upon the memory of shared historical roots and a shared emotional response to the visit to the Aachen Cathedral:

> Aachen ist ein Sonderfall. Das haben wir alle gespürt, als wir im Dom waren (…). Denn mit Aachen verbinden wir Deutschen die Erinnerung an den gemeinsamen geschichtlichen Ursprung der Franzosen, also der französischen als auch der deutschen Nation. (…) Und aus dieser Erinnerung heraus ist für uns Deutsche in gewisser Weise Aachen ein Symbol geworden für unsere Hoffnung auf ein friedliches und geeintes Europa. [471]

In his speech, Schmidt insisted on the specificity of Aachen's history through its Carolingian heritage. He combined the mention of the historical setting with emotional narratives, "feel" and "hope," to underline his message. His focus, however, lay on the importance of Franco-German collaboration for the future of the political European project, which filled the remaining text of his speech.[472]

French President Giscard d'Estaing echoed Schmidt's interest and started his speech by stating that the meeting was under the sign of Aachen and Charlemagne before retelling several historical anecdotes. The first focused on an eagle sculpture installed in the palace of Charlemagne during his reign. It was turned to the East to illustrate the danger from the pagan lands. The historical non-Christian East, depicted as the enemy, allowed Giscard to underline two present political foci, which were important to his idea of Europe: Christianity and Communist Eastern Europe. Giscard continued by retelling how Ottonian Kings then turned the eagle towards the West, which led Lothair II to organize an expedition to Aachen to turn the eagle around. The French president concluded that this incident was at the origin of Franco-German friendship, linking the present political project to mythical events 1000 years prior.[473]

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[471] Helmut Schmidt, "Tischrede des Herrn Bundeskanzlers beim Abendessen am 14. September 1978 zu Ehren des französischen Staatspräsidenten im Quellenhof in Aachen" (Transcript, Aachen, September 14, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[472] Schmidt, "Tischrede des Herrn Bundeskanzlers beim Abendessen am 14. September 1978 zu Ehren des französischen Staatspräsidenten im Quellenhof in Aachen" (Transcript, Aachen, September 14, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[473] "Et donc je vois dans cette décision de 980 de supprimer l'aigle sur l'ancien palais d'Aix-la-Chapelle l'origine de la bonne entente entre l'Allemagne et la France " Valery Giscard d'Estaing, "Toast du président Giscard d'Estaing au diner offert à l'hotel Quellenhof" (Speech transcript, Aachen, September 14, 1978), 1, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

This historical anecdote appears regularly in French historiography and in the local press. See Pierre Quillet and Nicolas Quillet, *Regards européens sur l'histoire franco-allemande* (Gualino, 2003), 83–89; Sot, "Le palais d'Aix," 255; Richard Wenz, "Der Adler auf der Aachener Kaiserpfalz," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, July 5, 1951, Domarchiv A 11.2.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Although Schmidt advocated for a careful use of history in his opening speech,[474] Giscard was much less prudent when bridging Carolingian history with current European politics. In his final anecdote, Giscard paralleled Merovingian and Carolingian rule with actual plans of a European administration, describing Charlemagne as a descendant of the civil servant of his time:

> Enfin il y a dans la vie de Charlemagne une leçon pour l'Europe, car Charlemagne était fils, petit-fils et arrière-petit-fils de fonctionnaire (…) mais après avoir reçu le pouvoir de sa dynastie de fonctionnaires il a pensé qu'il devait lui donner ce qui était la sanction démocratique de l'époque. C'est pourquoi il s'est rendu à Rome pour recevoir en 800 le sacre de sa fonction, et à certains égards, il était le prédécesseur des élections à l'Assemblée parlementaire européenne que nous tiendrons l'année prochaine.[475]

Here, Giscard directly compared Charlemagne becoming emperor in Rome in 800 and the first European Parliamentary Elections held the following year. He depicted both as the democratic sanction of their times. The end of Charlemagne's empire in this same Aachen was presented as a negative lesson from the past to the future in Giscard's conclusion as he called for current European leaders to reassemble the "heritage" of Europe.[476]

During their stay in Aachen, Giscard and Schmidt constantly conjured the spirit of Charlemagne in their speeches. Indeed, Giscard explicitly mentioned this point at the press conference on September 15th : "Je dois dire que sur ce point l'esprit de Charlemagne a soufflé sur nos travaux. "[477]

Charlemagne's symbolic presence at the meeting, even if only in the form of a spirit, served as a legitimizing force since it implied his tacit support of the project of a common monetary union. In its final report on the meeting, the Foreign Office expressively noted both heads of state's tendency to link the historical context of Aachen with the present discussion. Its author mentioned the

[474] The AA had done extensive historical research on Aachen and Charlemagne before the meeting, see AA, "Karl der Große im Spiegel der Zeit" (Notes, Bonn, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[475] Giscard d'Estaing, "Toast du président Giscard d'Estaing au diner offert à l'hotel Quellenhof," (Speech transcript, Aachen, September 14, 1978), 2, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[476] " Pour conclure, j'évoquerai le souvenir de Charlemagne vieillissant dans cette ville, qui décidait de fractionner son empire unitaire en trois empires désormais distincts et, par la suite, rivaux. La tâche qui est celle des dirigeants de l'Europe à l'heure actuelle, c'est une tache de sens inverse. Elle consiste à rassembler l'héritage " Giscard d'Estaing, "Toast du président Giscard d'Estaing au diner offert à l'hotel Quellenhof," (Speech transcript, Aachen, September 14, 1978), 3, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[477] Giscard confirmed the central role of the historical setting in the press conference: Valery Giscard d'Estaing, "Déclaration de presse du président Giscard d'Estaing à la maison Löwenstein" (Speech transcript, Aachen, September 15, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

influence of the "Geist Karls des Großen"[478] on the atmosphere of the meeting and concluded that the city of Aachen, with its historical sites, had offered a worthy setting for the Consultations.[479]

The Press also noted the Charlemagne references and historical setting provided by Aachen. An article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* called Aachen (and the entire event) a "theatralische Veranstaltung" [480], indicating that during the meeting, the sites became a real stage for the representation of Franco-German cooperation and their involvement in the current European project. The most inspiring stage of the consultations was not the City Hall where the actual work meeting took place, but the Aachen Cathedral and its Charlemagne Relics. Visits to the historical buildings of Aachen transpired more than Giscard and Schmidt's historical references as they allowed photographic moments to arise. In another *Frankfurter Allgemeiner Zeitung* article titled "Ein Hauch von Reims am Thron des Großen Karl," the reporter affirmed that "Charlemagne war immer dabei."[481] The author insisted on the importance of the Franco-German friendship for Europe through the cathedral:

> Der Ort war klug gewählt. Am Marmorthron Karls des Großen, als Charlemagne auch in Frankreich hoch verehrt, demonstrierten Donnerstagabend der deutsche Bundeskanzler und der französische Staatspräsident europäische Freundschaft. (…) Unter den Kerzen des von Kaiser Barbarossa dem Dom gestifteten Leuchters fiel ein Abglanz jener Begegnung von Reims auf die Szene, als Adenauer und De Gaulle 1962 den deutsch-französischen Freundschaftsvertrag besiegelten. [482]

The article offers a photographic description of Schmidt and Giscard surrounded by historical objects associated with Charlemagne, which gives symbolic and historical depth to their actions. At the same time, the author linked the scene to the 1962 Reims meeting between then Chancellor

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[478] "Beide Staatsmänner liessen erkennen, dass sie die geleistete Tagesarbeit durchaus im historischen Zusammenhang sehen (...) Der Aachener Gipfel erhielt sein besonders atmosphärisches Gepräge durch den auch in den Reden mehrfach beschworenen ‚Geist Karls des Großen. '" AA, "Zu den deutsch-französischen Gipfelkonsultationen am 14.-15. September 1978 in Aachen" (Report, Bonn, September 20, 1978), 7, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[479] "Protokollarisch gab die Stadt Aachen mit ihren historischen Stätten (Dom, Rathaus) einen würdigen Rahmen ab" AA, "Zu den deutsch-französischen Gipfelkonsultationen am 14.-15. September 1978 in Aachen" (Report, Bonn, September 20, 1978), 2, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[480] "Aachen als theatralische Veranstaltung und als Anfang des europäischen Währungsprojektes" Günther Gillessen, "Im Aachener Dom," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 29, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

See also Hans Barbier, "Giscard und Schmidt einigen sich auf Regeln des europäischen Währungssystems," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 16, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[481] Thea Winandy, "Ein Hauch von Reims am Thron des Großen Karl," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 16, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[482] The same article concludes "Die Grabeskirche ist wie der Dom von Reims ein Zeugnis der gemeinsamen Geschichte." Winandy "Ein Hauch von Reims am Thron des Großen Karl," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 16, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Konrad Adenauer and President Charles De Gaulle, allowing the images of both Franco-German couples to superimpose.

The *Generalanzeiger* of the 16th of September gave the spirit of Charlemagne not only a presence but a unifying power. The article titled "Giscard und Schmidt bei Kaiser Karl" [483] showed a photo of Schmidt and Giscard standing in front of the Charlemagne shrine in the Aachen Cathedral. The text of the article accompanied the solemn image:

> Anschließend führte der deutsche Kanzler den französischen Präsidenten an den Karls-Schrein, den Sarkophag Karls des Großen, und zum Thron des Kaisers. Da standen sie als Urenkel des Europa-Einigers und hatten Gelegenheit, an das Europa zu denken, das Sie zustande gebracht hatte. (…) Sollte die "Stadt der Quelle, die Königsstadt," wie Aachen in der alten Kaisermesse genannt wird, einen entscheidenden Anstoß zu neuer Einigkeit in Europa gegeben haben?[484]

The author described the visit to the Aachen Cathedral, focusing on the historical relics associated with Charlemagne. He then used the picture of Giscard and Schmidt standing in front of the throne, representing Europe's past, to interrogate the future of European construction. This image echoed depictions of other political figures in front of the Charlemagne throne in the cathedral, most famously the painting of Napoleon in front of the same throne.[485]

Some reporters saw the constant historical references more skeptically. In his ZDF report, famed journalist Peter Scholl-Latour ironically remarked that it seems to be an obligation to link any progress in European questions to the Carolingian *Kernvölker*.[486] Still, the report also offered a photographic image of Giscard and Schmidt standing in silence in the shadows of the Aachen Cathedral and its relics.

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[483] "Der einigende Geist des alten Kaisers selbst war offenbar dabei." Erdmann Blackstein, "Giscard und Schmidt bei Kaiser Karl," *Generalanzeiger*, September 16, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[484] Blackstein "Giscard und Schmidt bei Kaiser Karl," *Generalanzeiger*, September 16, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[485] The painting shows him contemplating in front of the Charlemagne throne. For the image see Henri-Paul Motte, "Napoleon at Charlemagne's Throne," Getty Images. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/napoleon-at-charlemagnes-throne-98-by-henri-paul-motte-news-photo/583746812.

[486] Scholl Latour, "Möglicherweise gewinnt in Aachen der Gedanke einer europäischen Konföderation Gestalt. ZDF" (Report, Aachen, August 14, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Peter Scholl-Latour (1924-2014) was a famed Franco-German journalist and war reporter. From 1963 to 1983 he was the head of the Paris bureau of the ARD and ZDF. See "Middle East analyst dies" *Deutsche Welle* (08/16/2014). Accessed January 21st 2025, https://www.dw.com/en/german-middle-east-analyst-scholl-latour-dies/a-17858529; "Porträt von Peter Scholl-Latour," *Bochum*. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.bochum.de/Zeitgenoessische-Portraets-Maenner/Peter-Scholl-Latour.

> Wer weiß, ob im Schatten des Aachener Doms und der illustren Reliquien nicht der Gedanke einer europäischen Konfederation zwischen Giscard und Schmidt in aller Verschwiegenheit Gestalt gewinnt. [487]

Here again, the author imagined their thoughts and interrogates the past's influence on the European community's future. Mirroring this image, a *Spiegel* reporter felt that instead of being in the present the two heads of state "wallowed in the past while dreaming of the future."[488]

A caricature of the meeting by Roland Moisan published in the French leftist caricature newspaper *Le Canard Enchaîné* on the 20th of September, shows that this parallel was not lost on the public, although it could also easily be mocked. The title of the caricature states: "Aix-la-Chapelle: Sacré Charlemark!" in reference to the popular song *Sacré Charlemagne*, modified to criticize the potential dominance of the Mark in a future monetary union. Under the image, the author wrote "En avant pour l'Europe de la bande à Charlemagne," an ironic reference to the meeting's passion for linking past and future of Europe. [489] In the caricature, both heads of state are riding a horse and carrying the attributes of the historical Charlemagne (his specter forms an E for Europe). Giscard sits on Schmidt's shoulders, showcasing the power dynamics between both politicians as Giscard orders "Hue! Helmut c'est toi le guide!" Several French political figures surround the horse, some trying to lead it forward and others like Jacques Chirac, trying to stop it. The group is moving towards a non-visible aim, while an onlooker comments: "Pour le moment ils font plutot cavalier seul," underlining their isolation in the current project.

Following the 1978 meeting, the city continued to invite Franco-German leaders to Aachen. A decade later, in 1988, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Francois Mitterrand received a joint Charlemagne Prize in Aachen. The Kohl-Mitterand couple had previously created a powerful image of Franco-German friendship as they held hands in commemorations in Verdun in 1984. *Bundespräsident* Richard von Weizsäcker hinted at the repetitive nature of the Franco-German presence in Aachen in his 1988 speech in honor of Helmut Kohl and Francois Mitterand:

> Deutsche und Franzosen zusammen beim Karlspreis – ist das nicht ein etwas verspätetes Familienfest im Rahmen des alten Frankenreiches Karls des Großen? Ist es vielleicht sogar etwas verdächtig für andere Europäer? Selbst für solche, die zwar keine Wiederbelebung der Karolinger befürchten, sich aber gelegentlich auch im heutigen Europa von einer deutsch-französischen

[487] Scholl Latour "Möglicherweise gewinnt in Aachen der Gedanke einer europäischen Konföderation Gestalt. ZDF" (Report, Aachen, August 14, 1978), Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[488] "In Wahrheit aber schwelgten Valery Giscard d'Estaing und Helmut Schmidt in der Historie und traümten von der Zukunft. (…) das gemeinsame europäische Kunstgeld "Ecu" am 1100 Jahre alten Beispiel gemessen. " "Helmut Schmidt : Zurück zu Europa" *Der Spiegel*, 1978, Zwischenarchiv 111.205, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[489] Moisan, "Aix-la-Chapelle: Sacré Charlemark! En avant pour l'Europe de la bande à Charlemagne," *Le Canard enchaîné*, September 20, 1978.

> Intimität irritiert fühlen, weil sie ihnen zu eng und zu exklusiv erscheint, oder die umgekehrt befürchten, daß die deutsch-französische Nähe nur ein Selbstzweck sei, aber nicht hinreichend eurodynamisch?[490]

Weizsäcker interrogated the limits of Charlemagne memory in Franco-German friendship for Europe. Despite these doubts, he linked Carolingian past and European present, making parallel between the circulation of the Carolingian Denar and plans for a common currency the Denar /Euro. He called Charlemagne's spreading of the Denar to the isle "den ersten europäischen Handelsvertrag."[491] The 1978 consultations in Aachen had spearheaded these efforts a decade prior. The image of the Franco-German couple demonstrating Europeanness in Aachen would be reproduced several times over the following decades most notably in 2008 and 2018.[492]

One of the strongest callbacks to the bilateral 1978 meeting occurred in January 2019, when Chancellor Angela Merkel and President Emanuel Macron signed the Aachen Treaty on Franco-German Cooperation and Integration in the Coronation Hall of the Aachen City Hall. This renewal of the 1963 Reims Treaty attempted to demonstrate Franco-German leadership for Europe using Aachen historic sites and Charlemagne memory for legitimization.[493] With their move, Merkel and Macron reinforced and intersected the memory of the two major Franco-German political initiatives for Europe in 20th century Aachen: the Reims-Aachen city partnership and the 1978 Schmidt-Giscard consultations.

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[490] Richard von Weizsäcker, "Laudatio von Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, Bundespräsident der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen*, 1988. Archived October 14th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/francois-mitterrand-und-helmut-kohl-1988/laudatio-von-dr-richard-von-weizsaecker-bundespraesident-der-bundesrepublik-deutschland.

[491] "Der damals bedeutendste angelsächsische König Offa von Merzien schloß mit Karl den ersten europäischen Handelsvertrag. Ja, mehr als das: Die neue Silbermünze, die Karl im Frankenreich in Umlauf brachte (...), wurde von König Offa als Penny im Inselreich durchgesetzt." Weizsäcker "Laudatio von Dr. Richard von Weizsäcker, Bundespräsident der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 1988.

[492] In 2008, French president Nicolas Sarkozy gave the honorary speech for Prize recipient Angela Merkel. Nicolas Sarkozy, "Laudatio des Präsidenten der Französischen Republik, Nicolas Sarkozy," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 2008. Archived January 15th, 2025, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/angela-merkel-2008/laudatio-des-praesidenten-der-franzoesischen-republik-nicolas-sarkozy.
In 2018, Emmanuel Macron received the Charlemagne Prize. Angela Merkel gave a speech in his honor. Angela Merkel, "Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel," Der Internationale Karlspreis zu Aachen, 2018. Archived November 10th, 2024, https://www.karlspreis.de/de/preistraeger/emmanuel-macron-2018/rede-von-bundeskanzlerin-angela-merkel.

[493] Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères, "Franco-German Treaty of Aachen."

2.3. "Charlemagne chez Charlemagne"[494]: Aachen Cathedral Relics in Service of European Culture

On May 26th, 1945, two trucks delivered several boxes to the Aachen Cathedral, which were quickly brought to the treasury. They contained the major Christian and Charlemagne relics of the cathedral and several major historical artifacts of the city of Aachen. Thousands of locals celebrated their return to Aachen after six years of absence over the following months.[495] Church authorities were able to resume old rituals, such as the Saint Charlemagne Day celebrations, *Karlsfest*, and the seven-year Aachen pilgrimage, *Aachenfahrt*, that were discontinued during Nazi rule. They made sure to instantiate them in accordance with the local European political agenda, but they constantly reasserted the importance of Christianity for the contemporary European project.[496]

The main ritual directly associated with Charlemagne's primary relics in Aachen was the *Karlsfest* or Saint Charlemagne Day. Charlemagne's sanctity has always been politicized, starting with the alleged rediscovery of the corpse by Otto III in 1000. A religious celebration of Charlemagne's centered on the Carolingian chapel and his presumed primary relics started after his sanctification in the twelfth century.[497] Also, Aachen has been the destination of a ritualized seven-year pilgrimage since the fourteenth century. This *Aachenfahrt* involved processions, masses, concerts, and most importantly, the showing of the major Christian relics of the Maria Church. The limited size of the Aachen Church meant that until the 1960s, the relics had to be hung from the chapel's second level to show the crowd of pilgrims assembled on the *Münsterplatz* below. The Maria Church thus stood out in representations of the showing of relics.[498] The *Aachenfahrt* has since remained central to Aachen's religious life, attracting thousands of pilgrims.[499]

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[494] Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle CoE, "Première réunion du comité européen d'organisation chargé de la préparation de la 10e exposition européenne organisée par la ville d'Aix la Chapelle sous le patronage de la République Fédérale d'Allemagne et du Land de Rhénanie du Nord Westphalie et sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Europe (22-23 octobre 1963)" (Strasbourg, October 26, 1963), 14, Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[495] Tschacher, "„All this trouble for those damned old bones!" Aachener Mythen um Karl den Großen zwischen Dekonstruktion, Transformation und Persistenz," 80.
[496] On the role of the Church in European construction, see the book series of the *Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Mainz* "Die europäische Integration und die Kirchen."
[497] Belghaus, *Der erzählte Körper*, 19–45.
[498] Many paintings from the sixteenth century onwards represent the scene. Tunger, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt im Spiegel der Kunst*.
[499] On the history of the Aachen pilgrimage, see Kraus, *Aachen*, 2015, 3/2, 290–345; Lermen and Wynands, *Die Aachenfahrt in Geschichte und Literatur*; Preising, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*; Wynands, *Geschichte der*

The Aachen Cathedral is the mausoleum of Charlemagne and the last remaining building of his historical palace. It functions simultaneously as a sacral space, a memorial space, and a contemporary center of socio-cultural life in Aachen. This sub-chapter highlights the Aachen Cathedral's European politics, first through the main religious ritual associated with the Charlemagne relics, the yearly Saint Charlemagne Day. It then discusses the European dimension of cathedral conservators' cultural action through its exhibitions. The art-historical exhibitions accompanying the 7-year *Aachenfahrt* pilgrimage are especially symbolic in this context, as shown by the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition. Local religious and intellectual leaders used the material frame of reference and the shared sacral-cultural space to transmit their political message of a European Charlemagne and Aachen.

2.3.1. "Aachens dienstbare Leiche"[500]: A European Saint Charlemagne Day at the Aachen Cathedral

In post-war Aachen, Catholic actors deconstructed and reconstructed the Charlemagne myth. They attempted to reinvent the historical figure through ritual, media attention, and discourse. The *Karlsfest* was revived shortly after WWII and one of the first episcopal sermons of the *Karlsfest* revolved around the question: "Was verbindet uns heute mit Karl dem Großen?" [501] In this speech, the author contrasted the obscurity of the medieval emperor with the popularity of current revolutionary heroes such as Ho Chi Minh and Mao for the post-war youth. He first denied Charlemagne the status of a hero and saint in the present because of the changes in societal norms, but then he underlined Charlemagne's vision for Christianity and his action for culture. He argued Charlemagne's personal grandeur and central role at the crossroads of history still constituted an example for present times. He believed that Charlemagne needed to be reinvented as a modern hero in order to turn the youth away from the likes of Ho and Mao.[502] In the immediate post-war, political and religious authorities first had to address and condemn the brutal aspects of the making of Charlemagne's historical empire, but many, like the Aachen Bishop in this speech, insisted on

Wallfahrten im Bistum Aachen; Wynands, *Die Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*; Wynands, *Zur Geschichte der Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt*.
Nowadays visitors queue up inside the Choir Hall to approach the four relics, as experienced by the author in 2014. Most larger events are concentrated on the *Katschhof*.

[500] Tschacher, "Karl der Große: Aachens dienstbare Leiche."

[501] Aachen Bishop, "Was verbindet uns heute mit Karl dem Großen?" (Sermon, Aachen, n.d.), Domarchiv A 4.3.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[502] Aachen Bishop, "Was verbindet uns heute mit Karl dem Großen?" (Sermon, Aachen, n.d.), Domarchiv A 4.3.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Charlemagne's importance for religion and culture, glossing over the unsavory parts of his reign.

The *Karlsfest* church ritual generally included a mass, a showing of the relics of the emperor, and concerts. On the occasion, the Aachen mayor took part in most events of the day and opened the doors of the City Hall to the public.[503] The Aachen Bishop was the main figure of the Saint Charlemagne Day celebrations, as they delivered the sermon at mass honoring Charlemagne alongside a visiting bishop invited for the occasion. The three bishops who followed each other at the head of the Aachen Cathedral between 1945 and 1994 were Johannes Joseph van der Velden, Johannes Pohlschneider, and Klaus Hemmerle. [504] They were intent on Charlemagne's representation but were careful to keep the Christian tradition of his memory prominent. Aachen Cathedral authorities capitalized on the *Karlsfest* to spread a Christian idea of Europe through Charlemagne's memory and to argue for the revival of a Christian Europe in the present.

From the 1960s, the cathedral invited external bishops to hold the celebration mass of the *Karlsfest* alongside the Aachen bishop. The cathedral demonstrated Europeanness through these visitors honoring Charlemagne memory, while at the same time reflecting local politics. [505] A 1983 article listed the invited bishops insisting on the European character of the event:

> Am Sonntag nach dem 28. Januar konzelebriert der Aachener Bischof mit einem Gast, den er zu diesem Fest einlädt, und europäische Verbindungen werden deutlich. In den letzten Jahren waren es der Erzbischof von Salzburg, der von Straßburg, die Bischöfe von Lüttich, von Split…[506]

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[503] See "Karlsfest in Dom und Rathaus gefeirt," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, January 26, 1976, Domarchiv A 4.3.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Alle Wege führen ins Rathaus. Tag der offenen Tür," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 26, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The City Hall still opens its doors on Saint Charlemagne Day and since 2003 the *Karlsfest* is the occasion of a medieval market around the City Hall. "Zum Todestag von Karl dem Großen: Aachener feiern 13. Karlsfest," *BRF Nachrichten*, January 21, 2015. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://brf.be/gesellschaft/landundleute/845143/.

[504] Dieter P. J. Wynands, *Kleine Geschichte des Bistums Aachen: Bischöfe, Weihbischöfe, Generalvikare*, 3., Veröffentlichungen des Bischöflichen Diözesanarchivs Aachen, Bd. 40 (Aachen: Einhard, 2012), 33–54.
See also Herbert Arens, "Johannes Pohlschneider. Bischof von Aachen (1899-1981)," Landschaftsverband Rheinland. Portal Rheinische Geschichte. Accessed October 14, 2022, https://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/Persoenlichkeiten/johannes-pohlschneider/DE-2086/lido/57c95b2da63e25.30094347; Wolfgang Löhr, "Klaus Hemmerle. Bischof von Aachen (1929-1994)," Landschaftsverband Rheinland. Portal Rheinische Geschichte. Accessed October 14, 2022, https://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/Persoenlichkeiten/klaus-hemmerle/DE-2086/lido/57c82ae8321132.08925101; Wolfgang Löhr, "Johannes Joseph van der Velden. Bischof von Aachen (1891-1954)," Landschaftsverband Rheinland. Portal Rheinische Geschichte. Accessed October 14, 2022, https://www.rheinische-geschichte.lvr.de/Persoenlichkeiten/johannes-joseph-van-der-velden/DE-2086/lido/57c937dc8d06b7.19581415.

[505] On the 1963 Karlsfest, see "Verbindung zwischen Rom und Aachen. Feierliches Pontifikalamt zum Ehren Kaiser Karls im Dom - Kardinalbischof Ferretto in Aachen," *Aachener Nachrichten*, February 4, 1963, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[506] Johanna von Herzogenberg, "Kaiser Karl der Große und die Macht des Vergangenen," *Die Presse*, February 3, 1983, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also: Ernst Hönigs, "Bischöfe der Weltkirche als Gäste beim Aachener Karlsfest (1975-1993)," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 5, no. 1999/2000 (2000), 259–324.

An apogee of European representation on Saint Charlemagne Day took place in 1967, when the celebrations coincided with the signature of the Reims-Aachen city partnership contract. The day following the signature ceremony, Archbishop Francois Marty of Reims led the Aachen Cathedral's religious service for Saint-Charlemagne-Day.[507] In his sermon, Marty celebrated the alliance between the two cities and integrated it into a religious-political European tradition. He especially insisted on Charlemagne's historical role in unifying European Christianity:

> Aachen hütet die sterblichen Überreste Karls des Großen. Er hält sein Gedächtnis fest. Deshalb ist es wie die mystische Hauptstadt der europäischen Christenheit.(…) Er suchte im Glauben das Bindemittel für die Einheit Europas im Glauben. [508]

Marty used the Charlemagne relics to describe Aachen as the holder of his memory and the mystical capital of European Christianity. The archbishop passed quickly on Charlemagne's alleged brutality, explaining it away as a time with different values. Instead, he elaborated on Charlemagne's efforts to unite Europe through Christian faith.[509] Marty also contrasted the conflictual Franco-German history in Europe with the continuous unifying role of the church and especially the Cathedrals of Aachen and Reims over the centuries, which he depicted as symbols of hope.[510] Both cathedrals also offered material tokens of their friendship through the symbolic gift of two coins representing each the Cathedral of Reims and the Aachen Cathedral from the Bishop of Aachen to the Archbishop of Reims.[511]

In 1974, the Archbishop of Reims, Jacques Menager, was invited again to hold the Aachen Cathedral service on Saint Charlemagne Day. Accepting the offer, he stated, like his predecessor in 1967 that he would be happy to celebrate "le grand "européen" que fut notre empereur

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[507] "Der Erzbischof von Reims Msgr. Francois Marty wird am morgigen Sonntag ein Festpontifikalamt in Aachener Dom zelebrieren." "Ab heute sind Aachen und Reims "Geschwister"," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 28, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[508] He presented the Cathedrals as a symbol of continuity :"Aachen und Reims, zwei Namen voller Zauber, waren oft genug die Opfer, immer jedoch ernste Zeugen langer und dramatischer Kämpfe in unserem geliebten Europa. Aber unsere beiden Kathedralen präsentieren sich ohne Unterbrechung wie Symbole der Hoffnung." Francois Marty, "Ansprache am 29.1.1967 im Dom zu Aachen" (Aachen, January 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[509] Marty, "Ansprache am 29.1.1967 im Dom zu Aachen" (Aachen, January 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[510] Marty, "Ansprache am 29.1.1967 im Dom zu Aachen" (Aachen, January 1967), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[511] "Bischof Dr. Pohlschneider eignete dem Reimser Gast nach dem Gottesdiesnt als Erinnerung zwei im vorigen Jahrhundert geprägt Münzen zu, die in einer minutiösen Darstellung die Kathedrale von Reims und den Dom von Aachen zeigt." "Appell an die Jugend von Reims und Aachen. Wochenede im Zeichen der Verschwisterung - Feierlichkeiten im Rathaus und Dom - Neue Kontakte," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 30, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

commun. ”[512] This use in a private but official letter shows that religious actors also adopted European Charlemagne narratives in their communications outside of public speeches. During the service, the archbishop depicted Charlemagne's reign from Aachen as the base for a European Christianity. He established a parallel between Saint Remigius and Charlemagne before again insisting on the latter's significance for the making of European Christianity.[513]

Publications surrounding the *Karlsfest* also reflected these narratives. Every year, an illustrated pamphlet containing information on the day's events was printed for the *Karlsfest*. The 1975 pamphlet for the visit of the Bishop of Salzburg, for example, used "Mitteleuropa" to link Saint Remigius, Salzburg and Europe, and described Charlemagne as "das Leuchtfeuer Europas." [514] The local Christian conservative press helped uplift the cathedral's *Karlsfest* narratives. In 1975, the *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen* published an article by prelate Erich Stephany under the title "Karls europäisches Erbe. Der Erzbischof von Salzburg kommt zum Karlsfest 1975 nach Aachen."[515] In this article, Stephany portrayed the European heritage of Charlemagne's empire through his historical link to Salzburg to justify the current invitation.

Visiting international religious figures allowed for the re-centering of Aachen within a Christian Europe inherited from Charlemagne. In 1977, the Papal Nuncio Guido del Mestri held the mass for the Aachen *Karlsfest*. In his welcome address, Aachen Bishop Hemmerle affirmed "Aachen liegt mitten in Europa. Deshalb ist Rom von Aachen nie weit."[516] The press service of the

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[512] Demouy (Centre Diocesain Clercs de Notre Dame de Reims), "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Reims, January 14, 1974), Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[513]"Im Dienst der Kirche hat er im ausgehenden 8. Jahrhundert die Grundlagen für die europäische Christenheit geschaffen und ihr einen aussergewöhnlichen Glanz verliehen. Er hat Europa einen großen Auftrieb gegeben, nicht minder der christlichen Kultur und der Kirche." "Anlässlich des Karlsfestes hielt der Erzbischof von Reims, Jacques Menager, im Dom zu Aachen am 27. Januar 1974 folgende Predigt," *Informationen des Bistums Aachen*, January 27, 1974, Domarchiv A 3.1.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Menager insisted on the new role of the Church for Europe :"'Eine neue Kultur ist im Kommen', rief der Erzbischof aus, "ein neues Gesicht entsteht für Europa und für die Welt. Wir müssen diese neue Welt begreifen und uns loyal in sie einfügen"(...) Im Dienst für die Kirche habe er im ausgehenden 8. Jahrhundert die Grundlagen für die Europäische Christenheit geschaffen." "Remigius und Karls der Große Vorbild für Europa. Erzbischof von Reims sprach zum Karlsfest im Aachener Dom," *Information des Bistums Aachen*, January 31, 1974, Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

See also Ludwig Ernst, "Reims-Aachen. Kathedralen verbinden Völker einst und jetzt. Eine Bilanz der siebenjaehrigen Städtefreundschaft" (Report, Aachen, 1974), Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[514] Bistum Aachen, "Karlsfest 1975" (Pamphlet, Aachen, 1975), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[515] Erich Stephany, "Karls europäisches Erbe. Der Erzbischof von Salzburg kommt zum Karlsfest 1975 nach Aachen," *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, January 26, 1975, Domarchiv A 4.3.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[516] L.V., "Hoher Besuch : Nuntius beim Karlsfest," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 31, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

cathedral underlined the Papal Nuncio's European message, in which he advocated the necessary cooperation of worldly and spiritual powers.[517] Local newspaper *Aachener Volkszeitung* reported that the Nuncio declared that Charlemagne put his empire under the sign of God and that "sein Einigungswerk Europas sei keineswegs nur eine politische Tat gewesen."[518] Again, by tying Charlemagne, Christianity, and Europe together, the Nuncio hinted at the importance of a sacral dimension in the current political European unification process.

In his 1978 *Karlsfest* sermon, newly appointed Aachen bishop Klaus Hemmerle affirmed Charlemagne's internationalism beyond the European and into the global realm:

> Für Karl, fuhr der Bischof fort, seien die Begriffe "Europa" und "Welt" untrennbar miteinander verbunden gewesen. Eine Trennung von Europa und Welt sei auch für uns heute undenkbar.[519]

This statement resonated with the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the UNESCO World Heritage List just a few months later, although it was unrelated as Mörsch had yet to inform locals of the nomination process at the time of the speech. One can speculate that this affirmation inscribed itself in a wider local or German political narrative.

In general, Aachen Cathedral authorities aligned themselves with local political priorities and trends. In 1981, for example, the Aachen Chapter invited the bishop from Liege to hold the mass for the *Karlsfest*. The *Karlsfest* pamphlet linked both cities in history from Charlemagne to the very current *Euregio* project, stating that the tri-national European region would bring "das alte Städtedreieck Lüttich-Aachen-Maastricht erneut in das europäische Bewusstsein." [520] Similarly to local politicians, the pamphlet used the Carolingian past of the regions to affirm its importance within contemporary Europe.

To attract the attention of visitors and media, church and city organized various events around the *Karlsfest*, such as exhibitions and charity actions.[521] Current restoration projects on the

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[517] "Im Geist Karls, wünschte Erzbischof del Mestri, sollten die Völker Europas "im Miteinander von geistlicher und weltliche Macht Grösse bewahren." "Verantwortung für die Verwaltung der Macht nicht leugnen. Nuntius Erzbischof del Mestri beim Karlsfest in Aachen," *Information des Bistums Aachen*, February 3, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[518] A.B., "Das Karlsfest im Aachener Dom," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, January 31, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[519] "Die wahrhaft Mächtigen sind die Schauenden. Bischof Hemmerle predigte zum Karlsfest im Aachener Dom," *Information Bistum Aachen*, February 2, 1978, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[520] "Die Bildung der Region im "Land ohne Grenzen" bringt das alte Städtedreieck Lüttich-Aachen-Maastricht erneut in das europäische Bewusstsein als ein Gebiet, das die Schranken überwindet und trotz aller Sprachen- und Kulturunterschiede eine friedvolle Einheit anstrebt." Bistum Aachen, "Karlsfest 1981" (Pamphlet, Aachen, 1981), Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[521] For the 1970 *Karlsfest*, Erich Stephany organized a *Schöne Stoffe und Gewebe* treasury exhibition. See Bistum Aachen, "Karlsfest 1970" (Pamphlet, Aachen, 1970), Domarchiv A 9.1.21, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen;

cathedral were also tied to the celebration.[522] In 1983, Aachen Cathedral authorities decided to open the Charlemagne shrine in public during the *Karlsfest*.[523] The Charlemagne shrine was in urgent need of restoration; some of its decorations were falling off. The day started with the usual *Karlsfest* service in the morning, followed by a second service in the afternoon, during which the Charlemagne shrine was opened and his (presumed) bones moved. The event was far more successful than previous attempts at calling attention to the ritual. Local, regional, national, and international politicians were present, and a TV channel followed the event and retransmitted it nationally.[524]

The 1983 *Karlsfest* was the occasion of political and religious speeches on Europe through the prism of Charlemagne's physical body and memory. In her interview with the AVZ, *Karlsfest* participant and Federal Minister Dorothee Wilms affirmed that Europe's future depended on Europeans returning to its "roots," and thus Charlemagne.[525] The visiting Bishop Heinrich Theissing from Schwerin in the German Democratic Republic in turn focused on the importance of political unity:

Erich Stephany, "Karlsfest 1970. Tot und Bestattung von Karl den Großen," *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, January 25, 1970, Domarchiv A 9.1.21, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Discussions of 1975 *Notgroschen* action and the 1977 Matchstick Modell. See L.V., "Zum Karlsfest in Aachen kamen 3000 Aachener," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 26, 1976, Domarchiv A 4.3.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Karslfest.Tausende besuchten Dom und Rathaus," *Bild Zeitung*, January 31, 1977, Domarchiv A 4.3.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[522] *Karlsfest* pamphlets also gave updates on Cathedral restorations. See Bistum Aachen, "Karlsfest 1979. Aachener Dom im Fluge der Zeit."

[523] The A.N. reported on the dire need of repairs: "Schon 1951, bei der ersten Aachener Heiligtumsfahrt nach dem Krieg, bangten die Domherren um die Unversehrtheit der Kaiser und Könige. Bei der abschliessenden Prozession wurden einige der auf dem Karlsschrein dargestellten Herrscher deshalb kopflos durch Aachen getragen." Hans-Dieter Klein, "Karlsschrein reif für die Werkstatt," *Aachener Nachrichten*, December 28, 1982, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[524] Federal Ministers and ambassadors of France, Spain, Netherland, and Luxembourg were invited. The Chancellor of the FRG had to cancel his participation. Hans-Dieter Klein, "Kanzler Kohl musste absagen," *Aachener Nachrichten*, December 28, 1982, Domarchiv A.4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also "Zwischen Thron und Schrein. Die Macht ist vergangen- das Vergehen ist mächtig," *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, February 13, 1983, Domarchiv A.4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Michael Giesen, "Die Gläubigen standen Schlange : Botchafter de Luxemburg, Frankreich, Spanien und Niederlande," *Aachener Nachrichten*, January 31, 1983, Domarchiv A.4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Kaiser Karls Gebeine feierlich umgebettet," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, January 31, 1983, Domarchiv A.4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[525] "Ich glaube, dass die Chance für uns alle für die Zukunft darin besteht, dass wir in Europa uns wieder (...), auf unsere wurzeln besinnen, die ja in der Figur Karls des Großen irgendwo begründet liegen.(…) Wir leben ja alle von diesem Erbe." In: "Dorothee Wilms zu Karl dem Großen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, January 28, 1983, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Dorothee Wilms, a CDU politician from North Rhine-Westphalia, was Federal Minister for Education and Science from 1982 to 1987 and Federal Minister for Inner-German relations from 1987 to 1991. Denise Lindsay, " „Man kneift eben nicht" – Ein Porträt der Politikerin Dorothee Wilms." In: *Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen* 21 (2014), 293–323.

> Kaiser Karl, der sein Leben dem Dienst an der Einheit verschrieben hatte, hatte die politische Einheit Europas erreicht.[526]

His sermon's repeated use of "unity" reflected a very present preoccupation for the political context of a divided Germany and Europe. Theissing, like other church representatives, continued to use *christliches Abendland* narratives mixed with European ones, describing Charlemagne as the father of Europe.[527] The spread of *Abendland* narratives in post-war Aachen was the making of local religious, political, and cultural actors. Although the term slowly took a background role in political narratives it remains present today in *Karlsfest* narratives.[528]

The specific local context of Charlemagne's memory shared between the city and the church led to political discourses of a European Charlemagne interwoven with historical-religious discourses. The Christian European narratives accompanying the *Karlsfest* underline the church's proactive participation in local symbolic European politics through Charlemagne relics and memory in Aachen.

2.3.2. Exhibiting the Aachen Cathedral Treasury: Cultural Politics of a European Charlemagne

In 1978, the Aachen Cathedral UNESCO World Heritage List nomination file presented its treasury as "the most important treasury of Central Europe."[529] The justification for the inscription reflected the site's exceptional mobile heritage alongside its immobile heritage as a central argument for the inscription. This reference to the Charlemagne relics and other treasures in the cathedral is based on a long tradition of local cultural politics. Since the early 20th century, local authorities have used the treasury and historic sites to reaffirm their memorial and material link to Charlemagne. The city housed two major exhibitions in the early 20th century using their historical

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[526] Christoph Hahn, "Tausende kamen zum Karlsfest," *Aachener Woche*, February 2, 1983, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[527] "In seiner Predigt hob Bischof Theissing die Bedeutung Karls des Großen für das christliche Abendland hervor und bezeichnete ihn als Vater Europas und als Baumeister am Reiche Gottes." "Mann des Glaubens im Streben nach Einheit," *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, February 13, 1983, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Thea Winandy, "Karl der Große nun fünf Jahre im Holzsarg," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 1, 1983, Domarchiv A 4.3.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[528] The 2016 *Karlsfest* with the Bishop of Slazburg, see Jutta Katsaitis-Schmitz,"Das Karlsfest ist ein echtes Volksfest," *Aachener Zeitung*, January 31st, 2016. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/lokales/region-aachen/aachen/das-karlsfest-ist-ein-echtes-volksfest/3492952.html; k.a.p., "Salzburger Erzbischof betont Verbundenheit zu Karl dem Großen," Radio Vatikan, January 31st 2016. Accessed August 25th, 2025,
https://www.archivioradiovaticana.va/storico/2016/01/31/salzburger_erzbischof_betont_verbundenheit_zu_karl_dem_gro%C3%9Fen/de-1205076.

[529] Fabricius, "Aachen Cathedral nomination file" (Paris, March 31, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

relics and the historical space of the Carolingian Palace: the "Aachener Königsausstellung" in 1915 and the 1925 "Jahrtausendausstellung." [530]

In postwar Aachen, local cultural actors depended on the cathedral treasury and space to represent its cultural richness since the city's historical Couven museum and City Hall had suffered severe damage from WWII bombing. Many parts of the city collections had been damaged or gone missing, so local cultural, political, and religious elites collaborated to organize exhibitions.[531] Local conservators relied on the dialogue between historical relics and the historic site to spread European narratives. They utilized national and international interest in the collection to legitimize their European narratives, as was the case in the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition. A more in-depth study of the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition shows how exhibitions closely associated the Aachen Cathedral's mobile and immobile heritage with European cultural narratives. The initiative also marked a leap in city-church collaboration to inscribe local Charlemagne memory in European politics by including the Council of Europe in the organization of the exhibition.

Cathedral conservators aimed to spread a European Christian identity through their loans and exhibition narratives. Prelate Erich Stephany, who had accompanied the return of the cathedral treasury to Aachen, oversaw its conservation and participated in museum exhibitions in and outside of Aachen.[532] He collaborated with the other figure dominating Aachen's museal life: the director of the city museum Ernst Grimme.[533] A native of Aachen, Stephany supported the city's

[530] Haude, "Kaiseridee" oder "Schicksalsgemeinschaft."

[531] The city's most important treasures returned to Aachen in 1946, but some only returned in 1961 to the city's Suermondt Museum collections W.D., "Festtag für das Suermondt-Museum. 305 der aus Meissen zurückgekehrten Kunstschätzen sind zu sehen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, December 23, 1961, Domarchiv A 11.2.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Tschacher, "„All this trouble for those damned old bones!" Aachener Mythen um Karl den Großen zwischen Dekonstruktion, Transformation und Persistenz."
The Cathedral treasury reopened to visitors in 1946. See a 1947 letter recalling the opening the year before Domkapitel Aachen, "Letter Dr. Wallraf" (Letter, Aachen, May 7, 1947), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On lost museum collections from early 20th century archeological searches, see Pohle, "100 Jahre Aachener Domgrabung. Erich Schmidt und seine archäologischen Forschungen im Aachener Pfalzgebiet," 37–38.
On the state of the state of the city's cultural life in 1964, see Alfred Wolf, "Das kulturelle Aachen" (Aachen, 1964), Domarchiv A 11.2.7, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[532] Erich Stephany was instrumental in getting the treasury back to Aachen, see Tschacher, "„All this trouble for those damned old bones!" Aachener Mythen um Karl den Großen zwischen Dekonstruktion, Transformation und Persistenz," 91–92.
See also Malangré, *Aus Trümmern zur Europastadt. Aachen von 1945 bis 2005*, 55–56.

[533] Grimme retired in 1990 about the time of Stephany's death. He died in 2003. See Ernst Günther Grimme, *Der Dom zu Aachen: Architektur und Ausstattung* (Aachen: Einhard-Verlag, 1994); Sabine Rother, "Museumsdirektor Grimme gestorben," *Aachener Zeitung*, December 14th, 2003. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/leben/bildung-beruf/museumsdirektor-grimme-gestorben/2909229.html.

turn to Europe and used his influence in cultural and religious circles to encourage local European politics. In the 1960s, for example, he was instrumental in the Reims-Aachen city friendship as well as the plan for a Council of Europe Exhibition. Stephany also served as the president of the influential local historical association *Aachener Geschichtsverein* between 1972 and 1984. He actively linked the Aachen Cathedral treasury with European cultural politics in the second half of the 20th century through his choice of exhibitions and publications.[534] The Aachen Cathedral's participation in historical-cultural exhibition, allowed cathedral authorities to position themselves as local cultural-political actors with a Christian European message.

In the decade following the end of World War II, the cathedral chapter focused on rebuilding the permanent exhibition of the treasury.[535] At the same time, demands for loans of objects from the treasury were pouring in for local, national, and international exhibitions outside of Aachen, underlining the importance of its medieval collection.[536] These exhibition's cultural-political aims focused on Christian art for European reconciliation. The first international exhibition to which the Aachen Cathedral loaned some of its treasures was the Bavarian-Swiss exhibition "Art of the Early Middle Ages -Kunst des frühen Mittelalters," which took place in Bern in 1949 and contained mainly sacred medieval art. A German report of the exhibition insisted on its European character:

> Wenn also die Kunst des frühen Mittelalters für uns wirbt, so vermittelt sie gleichzeitig das Gefühl enger Verwandtschaft und wird alle Besucher veranlassen, sich wieder auf Europa zu besinnen. Es handelt sich also um eine großartige werbende Ausstellung, die man als Vorboten besseren nachbarlichen und sogar verwandtschaftlicher Beziehungen in Europa begrüßen möchte.[537]

The author in this text marries distant past and present future. He claims that the exhibition on early medieval art serves as a reminder of close relationships and a foretelling sign of bettering relations within Europe. He believes that it will allow visitors to give a chance to the idea of Europe.

See also Malangré, *Aus Trümmern zur Europastadt. Aachen von 1945 bis 2005*, 159–61.

[534] See Clemens Bayer, ed., *Celica Ihervsalem [Jerusalem]: Festschrift für Erich Stephany* (Köln: Respublica-Verl. Schmitt, 1986); Herbert Lepper, "Erich Stephany, 1910–1990," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 97 (1991), 407–12; Herbert Lepper, "Der Aachener Geschichtsverein 1929-1979," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* 86–87 (1981), 60–63.

[535] Mo., "Die Domschatzkammer : Die meistbesuchte Sehenswürdigkeit.," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, September 1, 1962, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The Cathedral treasury was reorganized in 1958, see Mo., "Schatzkammer des Domes neugestaltet," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 28, 1958, Domarchiv A 11.2.5, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[536] See letters in "Ausstellungen 1945-1954" (Documents, Aachen, 1945-1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[537] Hans Erich Haack, "Als Zeichen des Dankes. Deutsche Kunst wirbt in der Schweiz" (Article, 1949), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

In 1949, another exhibition *Deutsche Kunstschätze im Mittelalter* to which the Aachen Chapter loaned several objects took place in Brussels and Amsterdam. The exhibition was an initiative of the Government of North-West-Germany, planned by the Cultural ministry of North Rhineland. A report of the exhibition insisted on its meaning for western Europe.[538] The author focused on the shared historical heritage of Charlemagne, calling the historical relics present in the exhibition "German diplomats" and "witnesses of the past for the future of the living."[539] Both 1949 exhibitions shared a common cultural diplomatic aim: to showcase a positive German image internationally through the distant past and encourage western European reconciliation. Following these first exhibitions, the Aachen Cathedral started refusing loan requests because several objects were damaged during travel and installation. Conservators made exceptions and loaned objects to what they considered thematically important exhibitions.[540]

In the meantime, Prelate Erich Stephany actively participated in the organization of two exhibitions with the overt aim to show Christian art to a growing Europe: the major *Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr* exhibition at the Villa Hügel [541] in Essen in 1956 and the exhibition of the Vatican House at the World Exhibition in Brussels in 1958. The *Werdendes Abendland* exhibition narratives especially fit Stephany's and the Aachen Cathedral's interest in linking Christian culture to a constructing Europe through historical relics. The Essen exhibition showcased historical relics from 200 AD to 1000 AD chronologically, with a focus on their

[538] "Im Trubel der internationalen Politik ist eine Ausstellung von kunsthistorischer wie kulturpolitischer Bedeutung für Westeuropa fast übersehen worden." Eduard Trier, "Eine einzigartige Sammlung," *Die Neue Zeitung*, July 4, 1949, Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[539] "Andere Stimmen betonte die gemeinsame geschichtliche Grundlage im Reiche Karls des Großen (...) Sie sind die vornehmsten Diplomaten, deren Deutschland sich heute bedienen kann. (...) Zeugen der Vergangenheit für die Zukunft der Lebenden" Trier "Eine einzigartige Sammlung," *Die Neue Zeitung*, July 4, 1949, Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[540] Many were Christian like the "Christliche Kunst in Rom" exhibition at the Vatican in 1950 or the "Madonna in der Kunst" exhibition in Antwerpen in 1954. Breuer, "Letter to Cathedral Chapter" (Letter, Aachen, June 14, 1950), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also K.C. Peeters and L. Craeybeckx, "Letter to Aachen Chapter and Erich Stephany" (Letters, Antwerpen, June 22, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 1950, there was a plan for an exhibition on masterpieces of German Art from the Middle Ages to the 19th century in London. FRG Chancellor Konrad Adenauer sent the Aachen chapter a demand for a loan but was refused. See Konrad Adenauer, "Letter to Aachen Chapter" (Letter, Bonn, June 1, 1950), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Müssener, "Letter to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Londoner Ausstellung" (Letter, Aachen, July 11, 1950), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 1951, they refused to lend the *Kalrsschrein* but agreed to send smaller pieces for a Liege exhibition. J. Lejeune and J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Letter to Aachen Chapter" (Letter, Liege, March 14, 1951), Domarchiv A 9.1.1, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[541] The Villa Hügel was the main residence of industrialist Alfred Krupp in the 19th century and later became a cultural venue. "Villa Hügel Home," Villa Hügel. Accessed December 31, 2022, https://www.villahuegel.de/en/.

Christian attributes.[542] Organizers convinced *Bundespräsident* Theodor Heuss to become the symbolic head of the exhibition, which received more the 270 000 visitors—a record at the time.[543]

A 1954 *Memorandum* of the *Werdendes Abendland* exhibition illustrates the exhibition organizers' attempt to integrate a regional German history into a more general European- Christian narrative :

> Die Ausstellung Werdendes Abendland ist geeignet, die große christliche und europäische Vergangenheit des wirtschaftlich bedeutendsten Gebiets Deutschland herauszuarbeiten.[544]

The sentence brings Christian, European, German, and *Abendland* together in one sentence. Indeed, one of three main guiding lines of the exhibition's working group was "Abendländische Prägung (Europagedanke)." The organizers used *Abendland* and Europe interchangeably, as shown by the 1954 working titles of the exhibition: "Rhein und Ruhr im Aufgang des Abendlandes" or "Rhein und Ruhr im Aufgang der europäischen Einheit." [545] The exhibition was anchored in the contemporary political focus on *Abendland*.[546]

The networks obtained by Stephany through his participation in the planning of *Werdendes Abendland* turned out to be particularly useful for internationalizing later Aachen exhibitions.

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[542] The exhibition contained 156 Objects (double the 87 objects of the Ars Sacra exhibition of 1950). It was organized chronologically. Victor Elbern, "Entwurf der Ausstellung Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr Villa Hügel 1956" (Report, May 1955), Domarchiv A 9.1.2, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[543] Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr Villa Hügel 1956. Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses von 10.12.1956, Essen, Schwaze Lene," (Report, Essen, 1956), Domarchiv A 9.1.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Martin Große Burlage pegs it as the first big exhibition in Germany. It was comparable in size to the ambitious art-historical exhibitions *Ars Sacra* of 1950 or *Art Mosan* of 1951-52. Martin Große Burlage, *Große historische Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960-2000* (Münster, Lit, 2005), 77.

[544] "Einer der frühen Brennpunkte deutscher und europäischer Geschichte kommt so erstmals zu einer Darstellung, die (…) beispielhaften Wert für die Zukunft haben wird." Victor Elbern, "Entwurf zu einem Memorandum" (Report Draft, August 9, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[545] In 1953 and early 1954, the working group first thought of the titles "Frühes Christentum im Rheinland" and "Germania Christiana" before turning to *Abendland*. See Victor Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung 1956 in Villa Hügel. Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses vom 17. März 1954." (Report, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Victor Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung 1956 in Villa Hügel. Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses vom 22. Juni 1954" (Report, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Stephany was present at most meetings. See Victor Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung „Werdendes Abendland" Villa Hügel 1956. Protokoll der Sitzung vom 7. Dezember 1954 in Villa Hügel" (Report, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Victor Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung „Werdendes Abendland" Villa Hügel 1956. Protokoll der Sitzung vom 29. Dezember 1954 in Bonn" (Report, 1954), Domarchiv A 9.1.3, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Victor Elbern, "Arbeitsausschuss Ausstellung Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr Villa Hügel 1956. Protokoll der Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses von 10.12.1956, Essen, Schwaze Lene" (Report, Essen, 1956), Domarchiv A 9.1.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[546] The leaflet of the exhibition insisted on continuity of Abendland over time "Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr" (Pamphlet, Essen, 1956), Domarchiv A 9.1.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Several international loan inquiries for UNESCO and Council of Europe exhibitions followed from 1956 and one of the *Werdendes Abendland* organizing committee members, Hermann Schnitzler, suggested that the later 1965 Charlemagne exhibition project in Aachen be presented to the Council of Europe.[547] Following its first exhibition on Humanist Europe in Brussels in 1954, the Council of Europe had launched an exhibition series aimed at "montrer l'universalité de l'esprit européen et la communauté du patrimoine artistique de l'Europe à travers les siècles en illustrant les hautes époques de la culture européenne."[548] The exhibitions had broad themes such as Rococo, Baroque, Romanesque, and Byzantine Arts and took place in major European cities.

Already in 1958, cathedral conservator Erich Stephany started planning a special exhibition for the following 1965 *Aachenfahrt* pilgrimage.[549] The Aachen pilgrimage was the occasion to plan historical and artistic exhibitions in Aachen and a central moment of collaboration between city and church leaders. Conservators used the surge of visitors to showcase the cathedral treasury and the historic site of the Carolingian palace. The 1951 and 1958 exhibitions at the Aachen City Hall, for example, titled "Ars Sacra" and "Madonna in the Middle Ages," coincided with the 7-year pilgrimage. Although organized by the city, they showcased numerous pieces from the Aachen Cathedral treasury.[550] These exhibitions became the precursors for a much more ambitious exhibition for the following pilgrimage of 1965.

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[547] In 1956, Aachen received a loan request from the French embassy for an exhibition in Paris and Avignon titled "Charlemagne et son Empire" sponsored by the CoE. Ambassador G. Deshusses, "Letter to Aachen Cathedral Bishop" (Letter, Mainz, June 16, 1956), Domarchiv A 9.1.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 1958, France again sent a loan request for an "Orient-Occident" exhibition at the Cernuschi Museum in honor of the UNESCO General assembly. Ambassador G. Deshusses, "Letter to the Aachen Cathedral Bishop" (Letter, Bonn, September 18, 1958), Domarchiv A 9.1.4, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
"Wenig später tauchte der Plan auf- und es war Msgr. Stephany, der ihn als Erster formulierte- die nächste Ausstellung 1965 Karl d. Gr. zu widmen. Damals hat mein Kolleg Hermann Schnitzler die Forderung ausgesprochen, dass eine Ausstellung mit diesem Titel und diesen Ansprüchen nur im Rahmen der Manifestation des Europarates durchgeführt werden könnte." Wolfgang Braunfels, "Exposé. Karl der Große – Lebenswerk und Nachleben" (Speech Transcript, Aachen, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[548] Council of Europe, "Contribution du Conseil de l'Europe au Projet-Majeur de l'Unesco sur l'appréciation mutuelle des valeurs culturelles de l'Orient et de l'Occident. Expositions à l'initiative et sous les auspices du CoE" (Letter, Strasbourg, December 13, 1966), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
West Germany hosted a Council of Europe exhibition on Rococo in Munich in 1958 but the Aachen exhibition was the first to not take place in a major museum or a European capital. See "Past Council of Europe Art Exhibitions," Council of Europe - Culture and Cultural Heritage. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/past-exhibitions.

[549] "Wenig später tauchte der Plan auf- und es war Msgr. Stephany, der ihn als Erster formulierte- die nächste Ausstellung 1965 Karl d. Gr. Zu widmen." Braunfels, "Exposé. Karl der Große – Lebenswerk und Nachleben," (Speech Transcript, Aachen, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[550] Braunfels, "Exposé. Karl der Große – Lebenswerk und Nachleben," (Speech Transcript, Aachen, 1963), 1, Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Bernhard Poll, ed., *Geschichte Aachens in Daten* (Aachen: Stadtarchiv, 1960), 365–66, 389–90.

In 1962, Aachen conservators launched a working group for a historical Charlemagne exhibition to be held during the summer of 1965. Prof. Wolfgang Braunfels (1911-1987) a medieval architecture historian at the *Technische Hochschule Aachen* oversaw the organization of the exhibition.[551] He was a proponent of bringing Carolingian history beyond the national context and did not shy away from political association.[552] To accompany the exhibition, Braunfels planned academic conferences and a five-volume series of publications on the history of Charlemagne, whose historiographical importance still stands today. The involvement of international experts in Carolingian art and history in the exhibition gave the local European narratives on Charlemagne additional legitimacy.[553] Aachen conservators further decided to inscribe the local celebrations into European cultural politics by becoming part of the Council of Europe exhibitions series. Through West German representatives, locals successfully lobbied the Council of Europe in 1962, and Aachen was chosen to host the 10th Council of Europe exhibition under the title *Karl der Große. Werk und Wirkung*. The exhibition departed from the usual focus on an art style or period to focus on the historical figure of the Carolingian emperor in life and death and was instrumental in establishing Charlemagne as the "Father of Europe."[554]

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[551] "Als ihr eigentlicher Initiator gilt der Ehrendomherr des Aachener Münsters, Prälat Erich Stephany, der die Idee, eine Karlsausstellung im traditionsreichen Aachen aufzuziehen, hatte. Diese blendede Idee nahm Professor Wolfgang Braunfels auf und setzte sie in die Tat um." Klaus Honnef, "Die Erbschaft eines Kaisers," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Cordez, "1965: Karl der Große in Aachen. Geschichten einer Ausstellung," in *Karl der Große / Charlemagne: Karls Kunst*, ed. Peter van den Brink and Sarvenaz Ayooghi (Dresden: Sandstein, 2014), 17–19; Friedrich Piel and Jörg Traeger, eds., *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunfels: Wolfgang Braunfels zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1978), 433–39.

[552] Cordez, "1965: Karl der Große in Aachen. Geschichten einer Ausstellung," 19.
In parallel, Braunfels published a book on Charlemagne "Baumeister Europas" with *Inter Nationes*, a state funded organization promoting German culture abroad. Wolfgang Braunfels, *Karl der Große : Ein Baumeister Europas* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1965).

[553] The afterlife of Charlemagne was the subject of an entire volume of the ambitious 5-volume "Karl der Große" publication overseen by Wolfgang Braunfels to accompany the exhibition. Wolfgang Braunfels and Percy Ernst Schramm, eds., *Karl der Große. Bd. 4: Das Nachleben* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967).

[554] Wolfgang Braunfels, "Letter to Kuturabteilung (AA). Ausstellung „Karl der Große ", Sommer 1965 im Krönungsaal zu Aachen" (Letter, Aachen, June 22, 1962), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Gerold, "Letter to Braunfels. Ausstellung 'Karl der Große' 1965. Ihr Schreiben vom 22. Juni 1962" (Letter, Bonn, August 13, 1962), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Philippe Cordez, "1965: Karl der Große in Aachen. Geschichten einer Ausstellung," 16–29.
The date was a point of disagreement with the CoE: **"**Seit je war es der Wunsch der Veranstalter, dass der Europarat die Ausstellung übernahm. Dessen Termin, das Jahr 1968 wurde von den Aachenern nicht akzeptiert, weil das Jahr 1965 auf zweifache Weise ein Jubiläumsjahr für die Stadt ist : vor 1200 Jahren wurde Aachen zum erstenmal in den Reichsannalen genannt, und vor 800 Jahren wurde Karl in die Reihe der heiligen Könige erhoben." M.R., "Karl der Große wird für die Kaiserstadt Aachen werben," *Kölnische Rundschau*, May 27, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Following the Council of Europe decision, a "European planning committee" comprised of experts as well as representatives of the city of Aachen, the Council of Europe, and the FRG's Interior Ministry and Foreign Office came together in Aachen twice before 1965.[555] On these occasions, organizers focused on European narratives when discussing Carolingian history and the theoretical background of the project. In a report of the first 1963 preparatory meeting, the rapporteur stated that the first part of the exhibition on the life of Charlemagne was more of a "preface" but that the second part of the exhibition on Charlemagne memory "illustreraient l'influence de Charlemagne sur la civilisation européenne."[556] The prominence of Charlemagne's afterlife in the exhibition program served the interest of the Council of Europe, showcasing the Carolingian emperor's long-term influence on European civilization and depicting him as an ancestor of the current European project.

The space of the exhibition was a central player in the 1965 Charlemagne exhibition, spreading onto the Aachen City Hall and Cathedral. Both were the last architectural relics of Charlemagne's palace in Aachen and a central social, political, and religious space in the present cityscape. Braunfels reminded his audience of the powerful symbolic meaning of holding an exhibition on Charlemagne in his ancient abode during the preparatory meeting of October 1963 with Council of Europe representatives. In his imagination, the City Hall and Aachen Cathedral were recipients and objects of the exhibition; this spatial organization allowed for the palace chapel with the Charlemagne throne to be "im Mittelpunkt der Ausstellung und zugleich als ihr Hauptwert."[557] He further described the historic site as the ideal exhibition space, despite not being

[555] "Ziele und Aufgaben der Ausstellung "Karl der Große" Aachen, 26. Juni-19. Sept. 1965" (Report, n.d.), Domarchiv A 9.1.7, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle CoE, "Première réunion du comité européen d'organisation chargé de la préparation de la 10e exposition européenne organisée par la ville d'Aix la Chapelle sous le patronage de la République Fédérale d'Allemagne et du Land de Rhénanie du Nord Westphalie et sous les auspices du Conseil de l'Europe (22-23 octobre 1963)" (Strasbourg, October 26, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.; "Programm der 2. Arbeitstagung der Vertreter der Mitgliedstaaten des Europarates zur Vorbereitung der Ausstellung „Karl der Große" Aachen 1965" (1964), Domarchiv A 9.1.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[556] Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle CoE, "Première réunion du comité européen d'organisation chargé de la préparation de la 10e exposition européenne" (Strasbourg, October 26, 1963), 2, Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[557] "Aber vielleicht überwiegt alle diese Nachteile der Vorteil, dass eben nur hier und im Mittelpunkt der Ausstellung und zugleich als ihr Hauptwert die Pafalzkapelle mit dem ursprünglichen Thron des Kaisers steht." Braunfels, "Exposé. Karl der Große – Lebenswerk und Nachleben," (Speech Transcript, Aachen, 1963), 2, Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle CoE, "Première réunion du comité européen d'organisation chargé de la préparation de la 10e exposition européenne " (Strasbourg, October 26, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

a traditional museum space, because it would allow the public to see "Charlemagne chez Charlemagne."[558]

The city of Aachen handled finances, insurance, and security questions. The State of North-Rhine-Westphalia co-financed the exhibition through its Cultural Ministry. Finally, the symbolic involvement of the *Bundespräsident* as head of the exhibition alongside the label of the Council of Europe made this a decidedly cultural-political event. The AVZ noted the illustrious presence of several politicians and deduced that "Europa trifft sich in Aachen."[559] Locals understood the affiliation to the Council of Europe as an honor offered to the late emperor but also focused on their own priorities. Local ambitions for the exhibition are clearly recognizable in local media. *Oberstadtdirektor* Kurze, for example, stated in the AVZ article on 24.12.1964 that the exhibition would bring Aachen "in die Reihe der großen Ausstellungsstädte der Welt."[560] Still, the Aachen pilgrimage retained a central symbolic status locally, as shown in another AVZ article on the exhibition. It was titled : "Europarat würdigt Karl den Großen. Umfassende Ausstellung 1965 in Aachen - Gleichzeitig Heiligtumsfahrt." [561] The author reminded his readers that the Aachen exhibition was planned to coincide with the pilgrimage and several local memorial celebrations listed at the start of the article: the 1200-year celebration of the first mention of Aachen as an Aula Regia in the sources and the 800-year celebration of Charlemagne's sanctification.

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[558] Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle CoE, "Première réunion du comité européen d'organisation chargé de la préparation de la 10e exposition européenne," (Strasbourg, October 26, 1963), 14, Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[559] "Europa trifft sich in Aachen. Zur Eröffnung der Karls-Ausstellung der ohne Frage Weltgeltung zukommt, versammeln sich heute europäische Politiker und Kunsthistoriker in Aachen. Der prominenteste Gast ist Bundespräsident Dr. Lübke. Die Botschafter Frankreichs und der UdSSE, mehrere Minister, Staatssekretäre, Abgeordnete und zahlreiche weitere Ehrengäste... " in : "Aachen- Mekka der Kunstpilger. Heute festliche Eröffnung der Karls-Ausstellung - Prominenter Gast : Bundespräsident Dr. Lübke," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 12, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The Foreign Office was involved in the planning. See "Europaratausstellung "Karl der Große " Aachen 1965. Band 1" (Documents, 1962-1967), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Ausstellung 'Karl der Große'" (Documents, 1965), B97 50, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[560] Speech by Oberstadtdirektor Dr. Kurze: "Mit der Ausstellung 'Karl der Große- Werk und Wrikung' wird Aachen in die Reihe der großen Ausstellungsstädte der Welt rücken" Helmut A. Crous, "Nach Moskau Karls des Großen wegen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, December 24, 1964, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On Aachen's cultural push for a united Europe and the exhibition as a "Schau der Wirksamkeit Karl des Großen." See "Karl der Große wird für die Kaiserstadt Aachen werben," *Kölnische Rundschau*, May 27, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Erinnerungen an Kaiser Karl in Aachen," *Lüdenscheider Nachrichten*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[561] "Europarat würdigt Karl den Großen. Umfassende Ausstellung 1965 in Aachen - Gleichzeitig Heiligtumsfahrt," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, October 23, 1963, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also "Ein weiterer Höhepunkt des Karlsjahres wird eine Heiligtumsfahrt am 9. Juli sein. Dabei werden Heiligtümer gezeigt, die Karl der Große der von ihm erbauten Kirche in Aachen überlassen hat." In: "Karlsjahr eröffnet," *Badische Volkszeitung Karlsruhe*, February 3, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

The support of the Council of Europe brought practical advantages to exhibition organizers as it gave them easier access to funds, public visibility, and political interest. It allowed organizers to obtain a greater number and scope of objects than if the exhibition had stayed a local affair.[562] The local organizing committee aimed to showcase around 700 objects for the exhibition, in addition to maps, reproductions, and models. Many of these came from the Aachen Cathedral treasury, but several exceptional Carolingian pieces from the USSR and Romania required long and difficult negotiations through diplomatic channels.[563] Objects from the Vatican and the Charlemagne Talisman from the Reims Cathedral treasury proved difficult to obtain and necessitated the direct involvement of the Aachen Church authorities.[564] The local press celebrated the rarest pieces loaned to the exhibition and reported on the technical *prouesse* displayed by the exhibition organizers to keep them safe.[565] These objects were important to local, allowing them to underline the historical internationalism of the Carolingian emperor. When the organizers failed to secure loans from the GDR, journalist Sonja Luyken concluded: "Mitten in Deutschland zerbrach plötzlich ein Stück Europa."[566]

[562] "Nur eine internationale Organisation gibt die Möglichkeit, eine Ausstellung von so hohem Anspruch zu verwirklichen." Wolfgang Braunfels, "Das Unternehmen Karl der Große," *Tölzer Kurier*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[563] The interactions with the USSR proved challenging and required AA assistance, see Kötzsche, "Letter to Dr. Gerold (AA)" (Letter, Aachen, May 21, 1964), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Botschaft der BRD Moskau, "Ausstellung 'Karl der Große' in Aachen vom 26.6.-19.9.1965. Drahtbericht Nr. 267" (Internal report, Moscow, April 22, 1965), B97 Band 50, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[564] Botschaft der BRD beim Heiligen Stuhl, "Letter to AA. Ausstellung Karl der Große in Aachen 1965" (Rome, December 19, 1963), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Sattler (AA), "Letter to Botschaft der BRD beim Heiligen Stuhl. Ausstellung Karl der Große in Aachen 1965" (Letter, Bonn, December 3, 1963), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wolfgang Braunfels, "Letter to Stephany" (Letter, Aachen, December 27, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[565] On security of installation, see for example "Karl der Große unter Polizeischutz," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; H.M., "Rathaus - seit gestern Radar-"Sperrgebiet"," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 11, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On the Charlemagne Talisman loaned from the Reims Cathedral, see Helmut A. Crous, "Der Talisman des großen Karl und seine abenteuerliche Irrfahrt," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 30, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Des Kaisers Talisman Leihgabe für Karls-Ausstellung. Nach 150 Jahren erstmals wieder in Aachen," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 29, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[566] Sonja Luyken, "Das Abendland in seiner ersten Blütezeit," *Weser Kurier*, July 2, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also "Karlsausstellung ohne Mitteldeutschland," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 23, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

On June 26th, 1965, the organizers invited the national and international press to the exhibition's opening ceremony. [567] Belgian Professor Louis Ganshof held the main opening speech, in which he insisted on Aachen's special role for Charlemagne memorialization:

> Hier in Aachen, wo Karl so viele Jahre gelebt und regiert hat und wo er am 28. Januar 814 starb, (...) hier, in der wunderbaren Kirche, die er erbauen ließ, in der er gebetet hat, wo er seinen Nachfolger krönte und wo er begraben wurde, empfinden und verstehen wir besser als an jedem anderen Ort seine Größe und seine wichtige Rolle in der Geschichte und Kultur Europas.[568]

Focusing on the Carolingian chapel and referencing different moments of Charlemagne's life and death in Aachen, Ganshof resorted to the public's visual senses and imagination to underline Charlemagne's importance for actual European culture.

Local intellectuals, political, and religious authorities spoke for the ceremony. They resorted to similar narrative devices in their speeches, using historical references to Charlemagne to push for a very actual representation of Europe. In his opening speech, the mayor of Aachen, Heusch insisted on Charlemagne's continuous presence in Aachen from his death to the present. Proclaiming the presence of Charlemagne in Aachen through the prism of his material relics was a *lieu commun* of European historical narratives in Aachen.[569] Professor Wolfgang Braunfels, in turn, focused on the *Abendland* idea in his opening speech. In his opinion, the exhibition showed that "der Begriff Abendland mehr als ein politisches Schlagwort bedeutet."[570] The familiar local political representation of a Christian and European culture through the historical figure of Charlemagne allowed Braunfels to parallel Europe and *Abendland*. He also called the attention on

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[567] Aachen invited over a hundred German and international journalists, see M.R., "Karl der Große wird für die Kaiserstadt Aachen werben" *Kölnische Rundschau*, May 27, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; "Aachen- Mekka der Kunstpilger. Heute festliche Eröffnung der Karls-Ausstellung - Prominenter Gast : Bundespräsident Dr. Lübke," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 12, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
TV channels *Deutsche Welle* and *ARD(Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland),* among others, reported the event. See Merklerbach (Deutsche Welle), "Letter to AA. Europaratausstellung 'Karl der Große'." (Letter, Cologne, April 21, 1965), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Werner (ARD) Hess, "Letter to AA. Europaratausstellung 'Karl der Große'" (Frankfurt, May 3, 1965), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; NRZ Nachrichtendienst, "Fernsehaugen bewachen Kunstschätze. Aachener Ausstellung demonstriert gemeinsames, europäisches Kulturbewusstsein," *Soester Anzeiger*, June 28, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[568] "Karl der Große und sein Vermächtnis. Die Festrede von Prof. Francois L. Ganshof zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[569] Cyrill von Radzibor, "Europas geistige Einheit," *Neue Tagespost*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[570] E.P., "Kunstschätze aus ganz Europa. Europarats-Ausstellung 'Karl der Große' ein abendländisches Zeugnis," *Heimat-Zeitung des Kreises Groß-Gerau*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

the fact that the Carolingian palace hosted the exhibition bringing the "past into the present."[571] Prelate Stephany held a speech for the exhibition opening, which unsurprisingly reminded the public of the Christian roots of Europe through Charlemagne's religious memory.[572] Finally, Aachen Bishop Pohlschneider held a Mass in celebration of the opening of the exhibition, during which he reaffirmed the connection between Christianity and Europe in local Charlemagne memory.[573]

National and international speakers, in turn, made sure to remind the public that the exhibition was a political initiative in support of European cultural identity. North-Rhine-Westphalia Minister-President and CDU politician Franz Meyers spoke of the hope that the Carolingian past provided for the future of Europe. He used the Charlemagne coat of arms containing the German eagle and the French lily to project the image of a boundless European community, conforming to local narratives of a Franco-German motor of Europe.[574] The idea of a shared identity through culture and history took the forefront in the speech of Council of Europe

[571]On Abendland : "Wer Europa, Aachen und Karl der Große hört, schrickt unwillkurlich zusammen. Der sieht das Bild eines Kleineuropa (...) Karl der Große schuf Raum für das christliche Abendland, für eine Kulturleistung, aus der wir heute noch leben. Europa besinnt sich in Aachen auf seine Vergangenheit, seine Einheit und den vielleicht grössten Europäer - Karl den Großen." Radzibor ,"Europas geistige Einheit," *Neue Tagespost*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
On the historic site : "Nicht in den Räumen eines der großen Weltmuseen, sondern auf dem historischen Grundgemäuer der Pfalz dieses ersten abendländischen Kaisers wird Vergangenes gegenwärtigt."G.H., "Das Werk Karls des Großen. Kunstschätze aus aller Welt auf der Europarat-Ausstellung in Aachen," *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[572] Erich Stephany, "Ansprache im Dom gehalten anlässlich der Eröffnung der Ausstellung 'Karl der Große'" (Speech Transcript, Aachen, June 1965), Domarchiv A 9.1.8, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[573]"In seines Predigt während des Pontifikalgottesdienstes, den der Aachener Bischof Dr. Johannes Pohlschneider zelebrierte, würdigte Domvikar Professor Dr. Jakob Kremmer Karl den Großen als Mittelpunkt und Vorbild des christlichen Europas." In: "Karlsjahr eröffnet," *Badische Volkszeitung Karlsruhe*, February 3, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The Times' special correspondent reported: "What is the general significance today of the 'first great European'? German and Belgian historians here have been suggesting his empire was the narrow "bridge" over which the heritage of Christian and humane culture crossed to western Europe (…) With an evocative service in the cathedral the Council of Europe's tenth exhibition was opened here last week, dedicated to "Charlemagne - his achievement and influence." "Charlemagne - First Great European," *The Times*, July 1, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[574] Franz Meyer's speech in French : "Les armoiries de Charlemagne sur les productions du Moyen Age, ou le lis de la France s'étale à côté de l'aigle à deux têtes de l'Allemagne, pourrait bien être le symbole de cette communauté européenne qui engloberait les pays et les villes du Nord au Sud, de l'Est à l'Ouest et au-delà des mers. (…) Puisse Aix-la-Chapelle, ville frontière, mais au-delà de toutes les frontières, devenir ces jours-ci une métropole spirituelle pour tous ceux qui visiteront cette Exposition, conscients qu'ils seront qu'un passé commun offre à la communauté de nouvelles espérances dans l'avenir. " NRW Landespresse- und Informationsstelle, "Inauguration de l'Exposition 'Charlemagne'" (Press report, Aachen, June 26, 1965), Domarchiv A 9.1.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also NRZ Nachrichtendienst, "Fernsehaugen bewachen Kunstschätze. Aachener Ausstellung demonstriert gemeinsames, europäisches Kulturbewusstsein," *Soester Anzeiger*, June 28, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

General Secretary Peter Smithers. In his speech, he argued that "presenting European art as a whole" was the aim of the exhibition but Smithers also raised the idea of "unity in diversity" for Europe, which later became the motto of the European Union.[575]

The press widely echoed these cultural-political narratives of Christian Carolingian roots of Europe, giving a legitimizing push to the exhibition presenting Charlemagne as "den großen Europäer" or "Baumeister Europas." [576] A July 1st Times report on the exhibition presented Charlemagne as the "First Great European" and affirmed that his united empire "has survived as a recurring European inspiration" which allowed for "the heritage of Christian and humane culture" to be passed on to present western Europe.[577] Several articles reported on the central role of the heritage site in the exhibition narratives, as shown in this *Rifeler Volkszeitung* article:

> Die Orte, an denen die Ausstellung stattfindet, sind selbst vom Geist des großen Kaisers durchweht. (...) Die Krönung der Ausstellung ist der Aachener Dom selbst, jenes Herzstück der Aachener Pfalz Karls des Großen.[578]

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[575] "Das Hauptziel dieser Ausstellung besteht darin, europäische Kunst als eine Einheit vor Augen zu führen.(...) Es ist gerade diese Vielfalt im Rahmen eines gemeinsamen Erbes, von der diejenigen unter uns inspiriert werden, die für die Einheit des heutigen Europas wirken." Peter (CoE) Smithers, "Eröffnung der 10. Ausstellung des Europarates am 26.Juni 1965 in Aachen" (Speech Transcript, Aachen, June 1965), Domarchiv A 9.1.9, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Several articles echoed Smithers' sentiment. See "Lebendiges Vermächtnis," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Radzibor, "Europas geistige Einheit" *Neue Tagespost*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; Inw. Rapporte, "Erbe Karls des Großen verpflichtet," *Bochholter-Borkener Volksblatt*, June 28, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
In 2000, "Unity in diversity" became the official motto of the European Union. See website of the European Union: "EU Motto," European Union. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://european-union.europa.eu/principles-countries-history/symbols/eu-motto_en.
Wolfgang Braunfels, "Letter to Victor de Pange (CoE)" (Letter, Aachen, December 17, 1964), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Peter Smithers (1913-2006) was a Conservative British politician and Secretary General of the Council of Europe from 1964 to 1969. See Andrew Roth, "Sir Peter Smithers" in *The Guardian* (14/6/2006). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/jun/15/guardianobituaries.obituaries.
[576] "Welche Persönlichkeit wäre für ein solch gigantisches unternehmen geeigneter als Karl der Große? Man nennt ihn den ersten Baumeister Europas und vielleicht ist es kein Zufall. Dass die Grenzen seines Reiches im wesentlichen mit denen der heutigen Europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft übereinstimmen." Wolf Schön, "Karl der Große," *Rheinischer Merkur*, July 2, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. See also Brigitte Deitert, "Kaiser Karl als großer Europäer," *Neue Ruhr Zeitung*, June 30, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[577] "Charlemagne - First Great European," *The Times*, July 1, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[578] "Nirgendwo sonst aber hätte diese Ausstellung einen legitimierten Platz gehabt, als in Aachen, der bevorzugten Residenz des Frankenherrschers, wo die karolingische Tradition in einzigartigen Zeugnissen und im Bewusstsein der Bevölkerung am lebendigsten fortlebt." "Aachen feiert Carolus Magnus," *Rifeler Volkszeitung*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
Cyrill von Radzibor praised the exhibtion's backdrop: "Es gibt kaum eine prachtvollere Kulisse für die große kulturhistorische, künstlerische und geschichtliche Schau als die alte Kaiserstadt, in der Karl der Große wirkte und in

Here the author used the site to call upon the spirit of Charlemagne. He portrayed the Aachen Cathedral both as the coronation of the exhibition and the heart of Charlemagne's original palace, bringing past and present together. Several articles affirmed the cathedral's status as the exhibition's most prized exhibit.[579] An article by Dieter Weschker depicted the site as follows:

> Die wichtigste Abteilung allerdings stand schon an Ort und Stelle : der Dom mit dem Marmor Thron des Kaisers, der Wolfstür, dem Barbarossaleuchter, dem Karlsschrein und der Goldenen Kanzel Heinrichs II. Er bleibt der geheime Zentralpunkt, weil er nicht nur als Andenken hinter Glas bewahrt wird, sondern noch heute im Dienst der Gläubigen steht.[580]

The author listed both the architecture and the relics linked to Charlemagne in his description. He also insisted on the religious role of the space, reminding the reader of the parallel local Christian celebrations that took place in 1965 in Aachen: the *Aachenfahrt* and the 800th anniversary of the sanctification of Charlemagne. These living religious traditions contrasted with but also accompanied the Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition.

Journalists also took to the idea of a Charlemagne presence, or *Caroli Präsentia* in Aachen, which most writers interlaced with description of his material relics and the historic palace of Aachen shown in the exhibition. In the *Badisches Tagesblatt* of June 5th for example, the author wrote:

> Es gibt nur wenige Städte, in denen die Wirksamkeit einer einzigen Persönlichkeit so lebendig geblieben ist wie in Aachen. Auf Schritt und Tritt stößt man in dieser (…) Stadt auf die Spuren Karls des Großen.[581]

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deren Dom seine Gebeine ruhen." Radzibor, "Europas geistige Einheit," *Neue Tagespost*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also M.R., "Karl der Große wird für die Kaiserstadt Aachen werben" *Kölnische Rundschau*, May 27, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen ; G.H., "Das Werk Karls des Großen. Kunstschätze aus aller Welt auf der Europarat-Ausstellung in Aachen" *Saarbrücker Zeitung*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Europäer gedenken Karls des Großen," *Hildener Zeitung*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[579] Marion Rotharmel wrote in her report : "Das großartige Dokument dieser Ausstellung ist der Dom . In seinem Schatten laufen "Werk und Wirkung" des Kaisers ab." Marion Rotharmel, "Heute in Aachen. Eröffnung der großen Karls-Ausstellung," *Bergische Landeszeitung*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The Times concurred: "The cathedral offers the most appropriate starting point anywhere in Europe for such an occasion." "Charlemagne - First Great European," *The Times*, July 1, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
These articles mirrored reports of the 1915 and 1925 exhibitions in which journalists also focused on the Carolingian site as a part of the "Exponate." See Haude, *"Kaiseridee" oder "Schicksalsgemeinschaft,"* 270–71.

[580] Dieter Westecker, "Huldigung an Europas Baumeister," *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, June 29, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.12, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[581] Siegfried Schmidt-Dumont, "Karl der Große unter dem Radarschirm," *Badisches Tagesblatt*, June 5, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also: "Jetzt wird Karl der Große gewissermasse zu Gast bei Karl dem Großen sein." "Aachens Polizei schützt Karl den Großen," *Fellbacher Zeitung*, June 9, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

The statement recognized the symbolic meaning of the exhibition space and followed suit, affirming that the historic site allowed for the "presence of the past" in Aachen. Journalists also relied on emotions to strengthen their representation, such as a Frankfurter Allgemeine reporter who retold a childhood memory walking through Aachen and feeling the presence of Charlemagne.[582] The 1965 Charlemagne exhibition carried an additional regional European focus as some newspaper mentioned Aachen's place as a center of a European region between Maas and Rhine.[583]

For the organizers, the Council of Europe exhibition had to present Aachen both as the historical center of Europe and an important cultural European city in present.[584] An article from *L'osservatore Romano* from the 27th of June of 1965 hinted at the success of Aachen's endeavors:

> Aquisgrana e tornata dopo undici secoli la capitale d'Europa : la capitale di quanto l'Europa ha di piu proprio : la tradizione, l'arte, la santita.[585]

The article specifically depicted Aachen as the European capital of tradition, art, and sanctity, demonstrating the success of the local European Charlemagne narrative. The Italian article also indicated international interest in the exhibition, which received around 235,000 visitors over the summer. This was partly thanks to the 1965 pilgrimage when the close cooperation between city and church augmented local celebrations to involve a wider public, but even then, the extent of participation vastly exceeded initial local expectations.[586]

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[582] Vilma Sturm, "Caroli Praesentia," *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, July 1, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Anna Klapheck, "Karl - von allen Völkern der Große genannt," *Rheinische Post*, July 1, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.13, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[583] "Insbesondere der Raum zwischen Maas, Mosel und Rhein wird in seiner kulturtragenden Bedeutung darin hervortreten." E.U., "Ausstellung Karl der Große," *Europa Union*, June 4, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.10, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[584] See for example: "Von Aachen nämlich nahm die europäische, nahm die abendländische Historie ihren Lauf. Durch Karl den Großen erhielt das Abendland seine Mitte in Aachen. Nicht von ungefähr schlug der nordrhein-westfälische Ministerpräsident Meyers einmal Aachen als Hauptstadt eines vereinten Europas vor. Diese Anregung spricht nicht von irgendeiner Launenhaftigkeit, sondern von einem fundierten Geschichtsbewusstsein." In: "Lebendiges Vermächtnis," *Aachener Nachrichten*, June 26, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[585] Translation: "After 11 centuries, Aachen has become the capital of Europe: the capital of what Europe does best: tradition, art and sanctity." A.L., "Ad Aquisgrana," *L'Osservatore Romano*, June 27, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.11, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[586] "Seit der Eröffnung im Juni haben 230 000 Menschen die vom Europarat durchgeführte Ausstellung gesehen. (…) Gerechnet hatte man mit 125 000 Besuchern. "Es ist die erste Kunstausstellung, bei der die Besucherzahl die Zahl der Einwohner der Stadt überstiegen hat, in der die Ausstellung stattfindet!" sagte Professor Braunfels abschliessend." In: "Ungewöhnlich großer Zuspruch," *Westdeutsche Zeitung*, September 22, 1965, Domarchiv A 9.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

In his book on historical exhibition in Germany, Martin Große Burlage argued that the 1965 Charlemagne exhibition set the stage for a series of major historical exhibitions in West Germany, which really started with the 1977 *Die Zeit der Staufer* exhibition in Tubingen.[587] The 1965 Charlemagne exhibition was instrumental in ensconcing the association between Europe, Charlemagne, and Aachen in the public imagination of West Germany. Historical relics and their diverse forms and background underlined the claim of an intrinsically European Charlemagne. The involvement of academics in an authenticating role gave exhibition narratives legitimacy, while the publications accompanying the exhibition offered a unique agglomeration of research on Charlemagne history, which prolonged its effects for decades.

After its conclusion, the Charlemagne exhibition was transformed into a traveling exhibition, to fulfill Council of Europe requirements. Local's hopes "den europäischen Gedanken in aller Welt zu tragen"[588] were thwarted however when the Council of Europe cancelled its financial support because of budgetary restrictions. Despite the setback, the exhibition organizers managed to create three versions of a 24-panel exhibition in French, German, and English, which toured mainly in western European countries in the following years.[589] Through the 1965 exhibition, Aachen Cathedral conservators built a longstanding link to the Council of Europe

[587] Große Burlage, *Große historische Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960-2000*, 21–91.
Erich Stephany was a link between both exhibitions as he participated in the planning and authorized loans to the Staufer exhibition. See Wolf Donndorf, "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Stuttgart, April 26, 1974), Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; C.N., "Die Zeit der Staufer. Ausstellung in Stuttgart 1977," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 5, 1975, Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
See also Cordez, "1965: Karl der Große in Aachen. Geschichten einer Ausstellung," 27.
[588] E.I., "Karl wieder im Rathaus," *Aachener Zeitung*, April 2, 1966, Domarchiv A 9.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[589] It was prepared by Frau Braunfels and Frau Beatson (CoE) and was contained in 8 Boxes. See "Erinnerung an Aachens große Tage," *Aachener Nachrichten*, April 2, 1966, Domarchiv A 9.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Karlsausstellung zum Schulgebrauch," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, April 2, 1966, Domarchiv A 9.1.18, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
It toured the FRG at a loss before travelling in Europe for several years. See Schulte Strathaus, "Europarat. Ausstellung "Karl der Groß-Leben und Werk" in Aachen" (Internal report, Bonn, February 1, 1965), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wolfgang Braunfels, "Letter to Dr. Horst (AA)" (Letter, Munich, June 21, 1966), B95 1197, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
UNESCO followed the destiny of the CoE exhibition. See Division des Affaires Culturelles CoE, "Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle. Septieme Session (Strasbourg, 18-21 janvier 1965)." (Report, Strasbourg, December 10, 1964), 15–17, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations" (Report, Paris, March 31, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

exhibition series. The treasury loaned select historical relics to the 1964 Athens and the 1968 Paris Council of Europe exhibitions, for example.[590]

The 1965 exhibition shows how locally created narratives can reach the international realm. Thirteen years later, the exhibition narratives entered the UNESCO World Heritage Committee through the intermediary of conservator Georg Mörsch, who had participated in the organization of the 1965 exhibition. Mörsch reused European Charlemagne narrative of the 1965 Council of Europe exhibition for the Aachen Cathedral nomination file in 1978. The nomination of the Aachen Cathedral as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1978 was presented in terms of German internationalism and European agendas, but efforts to promote a European Charlemagne on the national and international stage were deeply ingrained in local interests, both secular and religious.

From the mid-1960s onward, Aachen elites rooted the city's border identity in historical European narratives and Charlemagne memory. Aachen Cathedral authorities followed the evolution of local European politics and overlayed regional and Christian European narratives using the treasury as material proof of the shared roots of the European region. In 1968, for example, the cathedral participated in two exhibitions with a shared Christian and regional focus: the *Marienbild in Rheinland und Westfalen* exhibition at the Villa Hügel in Essen[591] and the *Große Kunst aus 1000 Jahren. Kirchenschätze aus dem Bistum Aachen* exhibition at the City Hall in Aachen. Cathedral and city cooperated closely to organize the Aachen *Kirchenschätze* exhibition. Exhibition objects were selected following two criteria: to belong or have belonged to the Aachen Chapter and/or to come from the Region between Maas and Rhine. Both Mayor Heusch and Bishop Pohlschneider reflected the shared imagination of a Christian and historical Europe rooted in Aachen during the opening ceremony of the exhibition and the press largely relayed the Rhine-Maas narratives. [592]

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[590] See Erich Steingräber, "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Nürnberg, June 27, 1967), Domarchiv A 9.1.19, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Fritz Volbach, "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Essen, June 5, 1963), Domarchiv A 9.1.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Byzantine Art-A European Art. Report on the Ninth Exhibition of the Council of Europe Held in Athens April 1st- June 15th" (Report, Athens, October 1964), Domarchiv A 9.1.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[591] Sonja Luyken, "Das Marienbild im Wandeln. Umfassende Madonnen-Ausstellung in der Villa Hügel bei Essen" (Article, June 20, 1968), Domarchiv A 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[592] Bishop of Aachen Dr. Pohlschneider insisted on the importance of Christian tradition in contemporary culture. Hermann Heusch the OB, reminded of the 1965 exhibition and insisted the Aachen: "in weiten Teilen Europas hohe Beachtung gefunden haben." Werner Dümmler, "Kunstschätze eines Jahrtausends locken Gäste in den Krönungssaal," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 17, 1968, Domarchiv A. 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. Other press reports on the Regional "zwischen Rhein und Maas" dimension. See Werner Schulze-Reimpell, "Sakrale Kunst in Aachen," *Die Welt*, June 21, 1968, Domarchiv A 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; K. H.,

In the 1970s, cultural actions accompanied the plans for the creation of an institutionalized Euregio Rhine-Maas. Exhibitions were an efficient strategy to showcase historical belonging and common cultural roots of the Region between Maas and Rhein. In 1970, Aachen planned a small exhibition in Liege at the city's invitation entitled *Aachen-Lüttich in guter Nachbarschaft*. Aachen's organizing committee for the exhibition was led by Ernst Grimme, director of the Suermondt-Museum, but the Aachen Cathedral took part in the organization and lent several historical relics for the exhibition. Organizers brought together varied local specialties to underline the diversity of Aachen's achievements and focused on showcasing the shared traditions of both cities in the *longue durée*, through the history of exchanges between Aachen and Liege. [593] The following year, the cathedral loaned objects from its treasury to the 1971 *Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein* exhibition in Düsseldorf. Through the selective use of their collection, Aachen Cathedral conservators participated in constructing a regional European cultural identity.

The following year, the Aachen Cathedral and city took part in a major cultural political exhibition in Cologne: the international Rhine-Maas exhibition in 1972. The King of Belgium and the *Bundespräsident* of West Germany were shared heads of the exhibition, which was planned under the direction of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) with the active concourse of the Belgian cultural ministry and several Dutch cities such as Maastricht. [594] The Rhine Maas exhibition hosted around 500 objects from Carolingian time to the late Middle Ages. The organizers used medieval history and material culture to showcase the region's common regional roots, contacts, and exchanges on the *longue durée*.[595] The exhibition was a success, receiving over

"Aachen zeigt Kunst aus tausend Jahren," *Esslinger Zeitung*, June 22, 1968, Domarchiv A 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Kunst aus 1000 Jahren im Krönungsaal von Aachen," *Kölnische Rundschau*, June 17, 1968, Domarchiv A 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[593] Liege invited several cities from NRW to participate in the German week, see Oberstadtdirektor, "Niederschrift über die Besprechung betreffend Aachen-Ausstellung Lüttich" 16.-31. Januar 1970" (Report, Aachen, 10 1969), Domarchiv 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Oberstadtdirektor Kurze, "Letter to Dompropst Dr. Müssener. Deutsche Wochen in Lüttich. Aachen-Ausstellung" (Letter, Aachen, November 7, 1969), Domarchiv A 9.1.20, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[594] Anton Legner, "Letter to Limburg Domkapitular Heinrich Karell" (Letter, Cologne, October 26, 1971), Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; A. von Euw, "Ausstellung 'Kunst an Rhein und Maas im Mittelalter.' Protokoll der Sitzung vom 18.6.70" (Report, Cologne, June 23, 1970), Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Die Ausstellung 'Rhein-Maas' jetzt in Brüssel," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, September 20, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[595] Euw, "Ausstellung 'Kunst an Rhein und Maas im Mittelalter.' Protokoll der Sitzung vom 18.6.70," (Report, Cologne, June 23, 1970), Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

200,000 visitors in Cologne before continuing to Brussels, and a catalogue was published in Dutch, French, and German.[596]

The city of Aachen and the cathedral loaned several objects from their collections to the exhibition. Prelate Erich Stephany and Museum Director Ernst Grimme took part in the exhibition's working group, albeit a bit late.[597] Because Aachen's involvement, the local press also showed interest in the Cologne exhibition. An AVZ article interpreted the message of the exhibition as follows:

> Dabei waren auf vielen Gebieten, Parallelen, Gemeinsamkeiten und Besonderheiten sichtbar, die den Rang des Kulturraumes im Herzen des alten Europas für die geistige und künstlerische Entwicklung des Abendlandes eindrucksvoll unterstrichen. [598]

The author described the region between Rhine and Maas as the historical heart of Europe and mixed European with *Abendland* narratives. The rest of the article focused on specific objects in the exhibition, concluding that they convincingly presented the cultural unity of the *Land ohne Grenzen*. The *Rhein und Maas* exhibition organizers relied on distant medieval history and material culture to legitimize the present existence of a Region between Rhine and Maas.[599] The German press reacted positively to the local showing of a tri-national regional European cultural-historical identity.[600]

Three years later, in 1975, Aachen and Brussels planned a joint exhibition facilitated by Joseph Luns, Secretary General of Nato and 1967 Charlemagne prize recipient. Despite its bilateral approach, European narratives played a considerable part in its planning, as shown by the

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[596] "Rekordbesuch bei Rhein und Maas," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, August 3, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[597] The Cathedral received the reports on the preparation and Stephany was present at a Nov. 1971 meeting. "Ausstellung Rhein-Maas Kunst und Kultur 800-1400. Protokoll der Arbeitssitzung des belgisch-deutschen Komitees im Schnütgen-Museum am 3. November 1971" (Report, 1971), Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[598] Also "die kulturelle Einheit dieses "Landes ohne Grenzen" mit stillschweigender Überzeugungskraft kundtun." Wolfgang Richter, "Kulturraum im Herzen des Abendlandes. Zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung 'Rhein und Maas' in der Kölner Kunsthalle," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen. Local press reported Aachen loans. See Werner Dümmler, "Taufschale Barbarossas kam aus Berlin. Was ist in Köln von Aachen zu sehen?," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, June 24, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Walter Vitt, "Rhein und Maas. Ausstellung in der Kölner Kunsthalle," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, May 20, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Die Ausstellung 'Rhein-Maas' jetzt in Brüssel," *Aachener Volkszeitung*, September 20, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[599] Ernst Günther Grimme, "Aachen zwischen Rhein und Maas : Zu der Kölner Ausstellung rhein-mässländischer Kunst aus sechs Jahrhunderten," *Kirchenzeitung für das Bistum Aachen*, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[600] They described "das kunsthistorische Terrain um die Bistümer Köln und Lüttich, das von Karolingerzeit bis Spätgotik zu den fruchtabersten Europas zählte, doch erst allmählich als Einheit wahrgenommen wurde." "Ausgesprochene Ballung," *Der Spiegel*, May 29, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.22, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

exhibition's title "Brüssel-Aachen, Im Herzen Europas - Zwei Städte suchen Kontakt." [601] The working group decided to present Charlemagne as a common ancestor and the program focused on history, art, European thinking, and bilateral relations from Carolingian time to the 20th century. Again, Prelate Erich Stephany was actively involved in planning the exhibition, and the Aachen Cathedral loaned several historical documents.[602] Stephany's accompanying article in local news magazine *Aachen Bilder und Berichte* used Charlemagne in past and present to unite Aachen and Brussels:

> Zwei Städte suchen Kontakt. Brüssel, die Hauptstadt des Königreiches Belgien und Sitz vieler europäischer Behörden im Zentrum "Charlemagne" und Aachen, das seine eigentliche Existenz und Bedeutung der Gründung Karls des Großen verdankt. Sein Zentrum sind die Pfalzbauten Karls des Großen - der Kern des heutigen Rathauses und des Aachener Doms (...) Hier ist die Wiege der westlichen Zivilisation, der abendländischen Kultur .[603]

In his article, Stephany affirmed Aachen's historical prominence for Europe through Charlemagne. He added that this made the city into the capital of European culture, despite its limited political importance. Architecture was the primary marker of Charlemagne's presence and continuity in both cities, following Stephany's argumentation. Mixing *Abendland* and the European narrative, he insisted on the historic site of the Carolingian palace still visible in Aachen, contrasting this historical importance with that of Brussels, whose significance was because of its position as Europe's current political center. Charlemagne provided the thread that connected the two. Stephany then described the local efforts to create a "Land ohne Grenzen" and claimed that overcoming borders was a sign of "growing togetherness." [604] Stephany here clearly involved himself in current local European politics with vague gestures towards plans of a tri-national Euregio, which would come into being in Aachen the following year. In 1977 again, the cathedral

[601] Some Charlemagne prize laureates established long term relationships with Aachen. Plans for the exhibition followed a visit of the Aachen city council to Brussels on invitation of Joseph Luns, 1967 Charlemagne Prize winner. Schiffer, "Besprechung. Ausstellung in Brüssel vom 21.3- 13.4.1975" (Report, Aachen, December 13, 1974), Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[602] Katholische Narichten-Agentur, "Aachen-Ausstellung im Brüsseler Ratshaus findet Anklang" (March 26, 1975), Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Katholische Narichten-Agentur, "Kleinodien des Aachener Domschatzes erregen in Brüssels Aufsehen" (March 27, 1975), Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[603] Erich Stephany, "Rendez-vous in Brüssels. Aachen-Ausstellung in der belgischen Hauptstadt," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1975, 6, Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[604] " Hier ist die "Wiege der westlichen Zivilisation, der abendländischen Kultur." " Stephany, "Rendez-vous in Brüssels. Aachen-Ausstellung in der belgischen Hauptstadt," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1975, 6, Domarchiv A 9.1.25, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

provided loans to another regional European themed exhibition *Europalia Albrecht Dürers niederländische Reise* in Brussels.[605]

Charlemagne gained renewed prominence in European regional cultural politics from the 1990s, when the Euregio was institutionalized. In 1992, for example, the Aachen City Hall hosted an exhibition on archeological searches in the Euregio Rhine-Maas, which showcased sites from prehistoric to modern times in the tri-national region. Its accompanying publication argued that around 800, the "Euregio Maas-Rhein" came to be "in den Mittelpunkt der europäsichen Geschichte."[606] In 2007, regional European Charlemagne narratives were cemented with the creation of the touristic Route Charlemagne, with the support of European Union regional funds.[607]

In the decades following the 1965 exhibition, Aachen Cathedral and city authorities continued to organize cultural-historical exhibitions to coincide with the *Aachenfahrt*.[608] Recent exhibitions allow to underline the continuity of the cultural-political use of European narratives as well as the evolution of European representations over time in Aachen. In 2000, for example, the exhibition *Krönungen: Könige in Aachen* celebrated the 1200th anniversary of Charlemagne's coronation as emperor, as well as the construction of the cathedral. In his opening speech of the exhibition, German *Bundespräsident* Johannes Rau insisted on the role of memory in bridging past and future, a familiar narrative in Aachen. However, Rau's subsequent explanations of European identity showed that significant change had occurred since 1965, as he argued for the inclusion of

[605] "Nachbarn. Aachen - Brüssel. Premierminister Tindemans prominenter Ehrengast," *Aachen Bilder und Berichte*, 1975, Aachen Stadtbibliothek. "Europalia. Albrecht Dürers niederländische Reise" (Documents, Aachen, 1977), Domarchiv A 9.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[606] Titus A.S.M. Panhuysen, "Die Euregio Maas-Rhein, 300 bis 1250. Von der Peripherie ins Zentrum der europäischen Geschichte," in *Spurensicherung -Archäologische Denkmalpflege in der Euregio Maas-Rhein*, ed. Landschaftsverband Rheinland (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1992), 128.

[607] "Route Charlemagne Aachen"; Jutta Göricke and Frank Pohle, *Route Charlemagne Aachen : ein Sparziergang durch die Geschichte*, ed. Stadt Aachen (Dortmund: Verlag Kettler, 2016).
Publications on the region between Rhine and Maas appeared in the 1980s but really accelerated in the 2000s. See for example: Baum, Dumiche, and Rouet, *Europa der Regionen*; Jutta im Brahm, ed., *Dreiländerland: Aachen, Lüttich, Maastricht*, 1. Aufl (Aachen: Alano, 1986); Josef van Elten, "Der Handlungsspielraum eines Pfarrers in der „Euregio Maas-Rhein" zwischen 1830 und 1930," *Geschichte im Bistum Aachen* 8 (2006 2005), 163–72; Viktor Gielen, *Tausend Jahre Nachbarschaft : Lüttich, Aachen, Maastricht* (Eupen: Grenz-Echo-Verlag, 1980); Hähling and Schaub, *Römisches Aachen*; Johanna Kamermans, *Euregio Carolus Magnus - Grenzen in Fluss : Wissenswertes, Historisches, Kurioses rund um das Städtedreieck Maastricht - Aachen - Lüttich* (Aachen: Mainz, 2004).

[608] In 1972, Grimme organized an "Aachener Domschatz" exhibition in the City Hall. See Erich Stephany, "Das Schöne und das Heilige. Ansprache bei der Eröffnung der Ausstellung "Aachener Domschatz" am 16. Juni 1972 im Aachener Rathaus," *Information des Bistums Aachen*, June 20, 1972, Domarchiv A 9.1.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; Peter Ludwig, "Letter to Erich Stephany" (Letter, Aachen, June 12, 1972), Domarchiv A 9.1.23, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

Islamo-Arabic traditions.[609] The shift was confirmed in the 2003 Aachen Cathedral Treasury exhibition *Ex Oriente: Isaak und der weiße Elefant. Bagdad-Jerusalem-Aachen: Eine Reise durch drei Kulturen um 800.* The exhibition, sponsored by both UNESCO and the Council of Europe, showcased the local cultural and political will to broaden the reach of Aachen's European discourse. In the exhibition, the city inscribed its Carolingian history and heritage into a now global perspective through a focus on diplomatic relations with Jews and Muslims.[610]

In his 2007 book on the history of Aachen, local historian Michael Römling affirmed:

> Der europäische Gedanke und seine gefällige Rückführung auf Karl den Großen ist das Leitmotiv des kulturellen Handelns der Stadt und ihrer Toursismusförderung.[611]

In Aachen, exhibitions continue this "red thread" of local cultural politics. In 2014, the Katschhof between the Aachen Cathedral and City Hall was physically covered in bigger-than-life Charlemagne statues for the amusement of locals and tourists alike. This Charlemagne display accompanied the 2014 exhibition titled *Karl der Große. Macht-Kunst-Schätze,* which celebrated the 1200-year anniversary of Charlemagne's death. It also celebrated the construction of the new city museum of Aachen- conveniently named "Centre Charlemagne"- on the same Katschhof. Again, the exhibition coincided with the *Aachenfahrt* pilgrimage and European narratives were an integral part of it. Under the direction of Dr. Frank Pohle, the exhibition seamlessly integrated the space of the ancient Carolingian palace and its mobile relics to reiterate and actualize the 1965 Council of Europe Charlemagne exhibition, with success as it received more than 230,000 visitors.[612]

In his book on historical exhibition in West Germany Martin Große Burlage concluded that historical exhibitions "vor allem auch politische Instrumente sind, die dabei nicht nur von

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[609] Johannes Rau, "Zur Eröffnung der Ausstellung: 'Krönungen. Könige in Aachen - Geschichte und Mythos,'" Der Bundespräsident / Reden, June 11, 2000. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Johannes-Rau/Reden/2000/06/20000611_Rede.html.
See also Kramp, *Krönungen*.

[610] Dreßen, *Ex Oriente*.

[611] Römling, *Aachen*, 307.

[612] Stadt Aachen, "Karl der Große 2014 | Macht, Kunst, Schätze – 3 Ausstellungen in Aachen." Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://www.karldergrosse2014.de/; "Centre Charlemagne. Neues Stadtmuseum Aachen. Startseite" Centre Charlemagne. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://centre-charlemagne.eu/ ; Joachim Gauck, "Rede: Ausstellung Karl der Große. Macht Kunst Schätze" (Speech Transcript, June 19, 2014). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2014/06/140619-Ausstellung-Karl-der-Gro%C3%9Fe.html.
Other 2014 Charlemagne exhibitions, see for example Abbaye royale de Saint Riquier - Baie de Somme Centre Culturel de Rencontre, *L'Europe avant l'Europe - les Carolingiens* (Abbaye royale de Saint Riquier - Baie de Somme Centre Culturel de Rencontre, 2014).

Politikern, sondern auch von "Museumsleuten" für ihr Anliegen genutzt worden. "[613] In Aachen, conservators used multilayered European narratives, which followed local cultural politics in their exhibitions. The combination of narratives, space, and material culture through sacral, political, and cultural ritual creates a European origin story centered on Charlemagne. Although the meanings of Europe evolved and cohabited in local representations, exceptional cultural events and rituals at the Aachen Cathedral allowed for the reification of a triangular association between Aachen, Charlemagne, and Europe. It is in direct continuity of this local effort that conservator Georg Mörsch concluded his 1978 Aachen Cathedral nomination file with:

> It is in the church of Charlemagne that his legacy is understood and cultivated as a commitment to European union.[614]

[613] But politicians make the most use of the big exhibitions for "Selbstdarstellung." Große Burlage, *Große historische Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960-2000*, 313.
[614] Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

3. "The Hare and the Tortoise" [615] ? Interorganizational Transfers between UNESCO and the CoE through Shared Heritage Expertise

"The Hare and the Tortoise" is the title of a paper published by ICOMOS Germany in 2015 comparing the efforts of the Council of Europe and UNESCO in international heritage in the 1970s. Its author, Miles Glendinning, concluded that although the CoE had offered the most visible event on heritage in that decade, the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year, it was ultimately the slower UNESCO which won the race with its World Heritage List. While in the long run, the World Heritage List gained the most influence in international heritage conservation circles, this chapter shows that competition between UNESCO and the CoE was a minor aspect of their relationship. Both organizations constantly intersected with each other through shared experts and information while working on their respective heritage conservation programs.

A major critique of the World Heritage project since the 1990s has been its Eurocentrism. Scholars Lynn Meskell and Tim Winter, among many others, have discussed this aspect of the program that perdures until today.[616] This chapter situates the origins of this Eurocentrism in the interorganizational links between UNESCO and the CoE in heritage conservation matters on the international and national levels.[617] The decades prior to the creation of the World Heritage List in 1978 were a key moment in international heritage conservation that deeply influenced the World Heritage program's structure and ideas. Looking at this question starting in the 1960s to approximately the creation of the World Heritage List reveals a close relation between UNESCO and CoE heritage projects that was established through direct exchanges, common thematic interests and heritage expert networks, the most prominent of which is ICOMOS.

This chapter examines the parallel development of cultural heritage conservation projects at UNESCO and the Council of Europe between 1960 and 1975, with a special focus on interorganizational transfers.

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[615] Miles Glendinning, "The European Architectural Heritage Year and UNESCO World Heritage: The Hare and the Tortoise?" in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler verlag, 2015), 93–103.

[616] See Lynn Meskell, *A Future in Ruins;* Tim Winter. "Beyond Eurocentrism?"123–37.
UNESCO statistics confirm the European advantage on the list. World Heritage Center, "World Heritage List Statistics" Accessed August 24th 2025 https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat#s2.

[617] On connections in international organizations, see Kiran Klaus Patel and Wolfram Kaiser, eds., *Multiple Connections in European Cooperation: International Organizations, Policy Ideas, Practices and Transfers, 1967–1992*, 1st ed., (London, New York: Routledge, 2018).

In the first part, the chapter studies the institutional changes at both organizations and their connections with one another. In 1960, UNESCO launched a major heritage conservation project: the Nubia Campaign. The ambitious action to save the Nubian site of Abu Simbel from the Assouan Dam ordered by the Egyptian government attracted much media attention.[618] In parallel, UNESCO and the CoE also launched expert conversations on and brought institutional change to international cultural heritage conservation. UNESCO, especially, created two expert networks which became key components of later heritage projects at UNESCO and the CoE. The 1970s were a moment of continuity of these actions and of acceleration in the institutionalization of heritage projects through Conventions, Recommendations, and Charta at both UNESCO and the CoE. UNESCO released its World Heritage Convention in 1972 and started preparing for a World Heritage Committee and List. In the meantime, the CoE developed the Year for European Architectural Heritage program, culminating in the publication of the so-called Amsterdam Charta in 1975.

Shared expertise between heritage projects from UNESCO and the CoE becomes especially visible on the nation-state level. In West Germany, for example, a handful of administrators and expert held the reins of nearly all the international heritage projects in the 1960s and 1970s. They played a central role in bridging not only the national and the international level but also in linking different international projects and organizations with one another. The limited number of actors involved led to a monopolization of knowledge and power. In the second part, this chapter will illustrate the transfers and bridges between the projects of both organizations on the national level through the prism of one West German expert representative: Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling. From 1963 until the mid-1970s, the regional conservator was the sole point of reference in questions of international heritage conservation for West German administrators and diplomats. His omnipresence in international projects allowed him to serve as a link between heritage conservation projects of the CoE and UNESCO and to gain influence over the decisions of the West German government in international heritage questions. This situation was not specific

[618] Historian Andrea Rehling has presented the campaign and its impact as a 'Media event', see Rehling, "UNESCO World Heritage and Global Publics between 'Mankind', Global Minds, and World Opinion," 300–304.
See also Betts, "The Warden of World Heritage"; Carruthers, *Flooded Pasts*; Gfeller and Eisenberg, "UNESCO and the Shaping of Global Heritage"; Maurel, "Le sauvetage des monuments de Nubie par l'Unesco (1955-1968)"; Rehling, "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit. Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes."

to West Germany, as charismatic figures such as the Belgian Raymond Lemaire and French Michel Parent emerged from the conservation efforts of UNESCO and the CoE.[619]

The third part of the chapter highlights how UNESCO and CoE approaches intersected through shared thematic interests in some of the heritage conservations projects of the 1960s and 1970s. For this purpose, UNESCO's and the CoE's work on historic town centers offers a synthesis of both modes of cooperation—national expertise and interorganizational communication. In the 1960s, both organizations led research groups, campaigns, events, and released international instruments about historic town centers, while relying on the same experts and exchanging information. In the 1970s, West German experts created a European Historic Town Centers UNESCO working group at the same time as they were organizing the 1975 European Architectural Year centered on 5 exemplary historic city centers. Through their European initiative, West German representatives contributed to the publication of the 1976 UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas.[620] The subject of historic city centers thus became a synonym with European heritage and integrated a longtime CoE concern in the UNESCO arena. These three types of transfers- direct, experts, thematic - had a long-lasting influence on the World Heritage program.

3.1. A Past for the Future: Crossroads between CoE and UNESCO Heritage Projects

In postwar London, UNESCO and the Council of Europe started in a common way "as a response to a terrible and awful challenge: the disaster of the second World War which threatened the civilization of Europe and Mankind."[621] Although the first acted on a global level and the second on a regional level, both organizations shared interests and member states. UNESCO and the Council of Europe subsequently moved their headquarters to France, respectively Paris and

[619] Raymond Lemaire (1921-1997) was an influential conservator in Belgium and ICOMOS president from 1975 to 1981. See Claudine Houbart, *The Evolution of Urban Heritage Conservation and the Role of Raymond Lemaire*, (Routledge, 2025). Claudine Houbart, "Deconsecrating a Doctrinal Monument: Raymond M. Lemaire (1921–1997) and the Revisions of the Venice Charter." In *Change over Time*, vol. 4, no. 2, (2014), 218–43.
Michel Parent (1916-2009), French conservator and ICOMOS president from 1981-87 was also a central player at UNESCO and the CoE, See Frédéric Edelmann, "Michel Parent Inspecteur général des monuments historiques." In *Le Monde*, May19th 2009. Accessed August 24th 2025, https://www.lemonde.fr/disparitions/article/2009/05/19/michel-parent_1195274_3382.html.

[620] UNESCO, "Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas Adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 19th Session, Nairobi, 26 November 1976," in *Standard-Setting at UNESCO. Conventions, Recommendations, Declarations and Charters Adopted by UNESCO (1948 - 2006), Volume II*, UNESCO (Brill Nijhoff, 2007), 506–17.

[621] "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.
See also Rössler, "Weltkulturerbe und Globalisierung : Vom Weltwunder zum Erbe der Menschheit," 238–39.

Strasbourg, which allowed for easy interactions between them. For the entire second half of the twentieth century, the CoE and UNESCO were in direct contact through meetings and visits from their respective representatives, which also impacted their heritage conservation projects. Because of limited access to CoE archives, this subchapter offers a partial interpretation of the interactions between UNESCO and the CoE in the 1960s and 70s through UNESCO sources.

Negotiations for a formalized cooperation between the organizations started in 1950 and led to a Cooperation Agreement on November 10, 1952.[622] The agreement included "regular consultations, coordination of programme activities, and mutual invitations for representation at sessions of governing bodies of both organizations."[623] The collaboration centered on the sectors of Education and Culture but also included the departments of Science and Communication. Inter-secretarial meetings took place regularly between the organizations to avoid duplication of programs and plan for cooperation on specific projects.[624]

The heads of the organization and specific departments regularly visited each other for individual meetings and discussions.[625] During these visits, they would give speeches insisting on the importance of collaboration between both organizations. In Strasbourg in 1966, for example,

[622]"Accord entre l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'Education, la Science et la Culture et le Conseil de l'Europe" (Formal Agreement, November 10, 1952), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives; "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

[623] "Relations between UNESCO and the Council of Europe" (Report, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

[624] The CoE was invited by UNESCO to observe the General Assembly and European meetings. UNESCO representatives were invited to Strasbourg for Council for Cultural Cooperation and Consultative Assembly sessions. UNESCO and the CoE participated in the Conference of European Ministers of Education and the Conference of European Ministers of Culture. See "Ordre du jour" (Report, September 1980), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; "Programme for the Director-General's Mission to the Council of Europe. Friday, 30 September" (1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives ; "Relations between UNESCO and the Council of Europe" (Report, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives ; UNESCO, "Projet de plan pour le discours du Directeur général devant l'Assemblée consultative du Conseil de l'Europe. Strasbourg, 30 septembre 1966" (Draft speech, Paris, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives ; UNESCO, "Réunion inter-secrétariat avec le Conseil de l'Europe. Paris, le 12 avril 1977" (Report, Paris, April 4, 1977), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives ; "Secrétariat" (Report, Paris, approx 1980), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives ; "Ordre du jour. Réunion inter-secrétariat Conseil de l'Europe/Unesco. 12 avril 1977" (Program, 1977), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; Krill de Capello, "Conseil de l'Europe" (Report, Paris, February 3, 1977), 327.394 AO1 CE (4 EDS 944 15), UNESCO Archives; "Conseil de l'Europe" (Report, approx 1979), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives; UNESCO, "Memorandum 1977" (Report, Paris, 1977), 16–46, 327.394 A 01 CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives; "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations" (Report, Paris, March 31, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[625] A conference or specific assembly session supplemented the visit. See Geoffrey de (CoE) Freitas, "Letter to Directeur Général" (Letter, Strasbourg, August 10, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; Dragoljub Najman, "Votre visite au Conseil de l'Europe. Strasbourg, 22-23 avril 1980" (Note UNESCO, Paris, 1980), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

UNESCO's Director-General Rene Maheu described the Council of Europe as a "close friend, with whom one has many many things in common."[626] He added that both organizations worked towards long-term peace and cooperation between their members.[627] Although the cooperation agreement had cemented the exchanges between the CoE and UNESCO, their intensity depended on the goodwill of the administration leading both organizations at a certain time. 1966 was a moment of high intensity in UNESCO-CoE interactions, which resulted in the creation of a "special rapporteur for UNESCO" by the British Secretary General of the CoE, Peter Smithers. Later the CoE created a "sub-committee on UNESCO and other international organizations" alongside a Council for European Cooperation, to better coordinate actions and communication with the organization.[628]

UNESCO administrators hoped that the Council of Europe "dépassant le stade de la présentation de l'Europe aux Européens, s'applique plus particulièrement à la présentation de l'Europe au monde."[629] This aligned with the CoE's wish to communicate its activities to European non-member states, many of which were member-states of UNESCO. During the Cold War, UNESCO was a place of formal and informal meetings for western and eastern politicians.[630]

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[626] "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.
Rene Maheu (1905-1975) joined UNESCO in 1946 and became director general of UNESCO from 1962 to 1974. He exerted a strong influence on the organization. See Maurel, *Histoire de l'UNESCO ;* "Rene Maheu, 70, of UNESCO is dead," *The New York Times*, December 20th, 1975. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/1975/12/20/archives/rene-maheu-70-of-unesco-is-dead-director-general-of-agency-served.html.

[627]"Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

[628] Krill de Capello, "Co-Operation in the Region of Europe: The Mission of the Director-General to Bulgaria and USSR" (Memo, Paris, August 10, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; "Relations between UNESCO and the Council of Europe" (Report, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives; "Conseil de l'Europe"; CoE Meintz, "Assemblée Parlementaire. Rapport sur la coopération avec l'UNESCO" (Report, 1980), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.
See also discussions CoE, "CoE Parliamentary Assembly. Committee in Culture and Education. Sub-Committee on Unesco and other International Organisations. Draft Minutes of the Meeting Held in the European Cultural Center, Delphi on 13-14 December 1979" (Report, Strasbourg, January 14, 1980), 9, 327.394 A 01 CE 06 68- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.

[629] "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe (Division des Affaires Culturelles) et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations. Paris, Maison de l'UNESCO, 31 mars 1965. Compte Rendu de la Réunion" (Report, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[630] See John A. Armstrong, "The Soviet Attitude Toward UNESCO," *International Organization* 8, no. 2 (1954), 217–33; Louis, "Cold War Internationalisms"; Chloé Maurel, "L'Unesco : une plate-forme pour les circulations transnationales de savoirs et d'idées (1945-1980)," *Histoire@Politique* 15, no. 3 (2011), 42–59; Maurel, "Tensions à l'Unesco autour du centenaire de Lénine. Les enjeux d'une commémoration (1970)."

Meanwhile, the Council of Europe saw itself as an organization able to fill the gaps in UNESCO programs, where the organization seemed to lack involvement. In 1967, for example, discussions within the Council of Europe Council for Cultural Cooperation, led by Italian and French delegates, proposed to counterbalance UNESCO's focus on science and education by reinforcing its cultural activities. A representative argued that:

> (…) Unesco had rightly decided to concentrate on Education and Science as legitimate priorities and that therefore the Council of Europe's direction, in accordance with its Statute, should be oriented towards cultural co-operation. (…) The discussion and my talks with delegates showed a certain anxiety on the future orientation of the CCC vis-a-vis UNESCO's activities in Europe. However, the attitude of strengthening the cultural activities within the CCC could perhaps be regarded by Unesco as being complimentary to its own programme. [631]

In the same year, the president of the Cultural and Scientific Commission of the Council of Europe proposed a new name for the Council of Europe, which underlined both its closeness to and ambitions to complete the UNESCO program: "Euresco."[632]

Culture was one of the central themes of the cooperation between UNESCO and the CoE. The Council of Europe had a program for cultural heritage, focused on art and history, which contained the European Exhibitions program, but also included questions on the conservation of architectural heritage.[633] In his 1966 speech to the CoE Assembly, director-general of UNESCO René Maheu insisted on the importance of the role of the CoE in its involvement with cultural heritage:

> Ainsi le programme du Conseil de l'Europe concernant la protection de biens culturels et le développement de musées apporte à l'œuvre déjà réalisée de l'Unesco une large diffusion, et lui ouvre des perspectives lui permettant d'évoluer et de s'étendre. De même il apporte à des activités de l'Organisation actuellement en cours un soutien précieux et un enrichissement certain. [634]

On heritage conservation, see Corinne Geering, *Building a Common Past*; Corinne Geering, "Protecting the Heritage of Humanity in the Cold War: UNESCO, the Soviet Union and Sites of Universal Value, 1945–1970s," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26, no. 12 (December 1, 2020), 1132–47.

[631] Krill de Capello, "12th Session of the Council for Cultural Cooperation, Council of Europe (Strasbourg 5-10 June 1967)" (Report, June 6, 1967), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[632] "L'UNESCO, a fait observer M. Kraft, a des obligations primordiales envers les pays nouvellement indépendants, et est de moins en moins en mesure de pourvoir aux besoins des états européens. Il est donc indispensable de disposer d'une organisation régionale européenne ; dans ce sens M. Kraft avait déjà lance un nom nouveau : l'Euresco." "Bulletin d'information du Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle du Conseil de l'Europe et de la Fondation Européenne de la Culture. Cinquième Session du CCC. Hiver 1963/1964, Nr 13. Strasbourg" (Press report, 1964), 9–10, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
It was not the first time CoE members claimed the name "Euresco," see Patel and Calligaro, "The True 'EURESCO'?"

[633] Division des Affaires Culturelles CoE, "Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle. Septième Session (Strasbourg, 18-21 janvier 1965)," (Report, Strasbourg, December 10, 1964), 15–17, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[634] "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

In this speech the description of the relationship suggested equal exchanges between UNESCO and the CoE, but UNESCO often treated the Council of Europe as a regional organization with useful instruments to apply UNESCO programs.[635]

From the 1960s, heritage conservation became a recurrent point of exchange between both organizations during the inter-secretariat meetings. UNESCO and the CoE sought to coordinate "common efforts in the field of preservation of monuments"[636] by collaborating in programs on heritage conservation.[637] The many direct and indirect exchanges between administrators and experts in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a convergence of interests, practices, and principles in heritage conservation programs.

3.1.1. Campaigns and Recommendations: UNESCO's heritage conservation program from the 1950s

Until the 1970s, UNESCO programs on heritage conservation alternated between high-visibility campaigns and expert-centered recommendations. UNESCO's first action for the preservation of cultural heritage was a meeting of experts on monument conservation in 1949, which led to the creation of an "International Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historical Sites and Archeological Excavations" in 1950. The CoE was informed of its creation by UNESCO. The Committee launched discussions on a range of conservation questions and spearheaded expert missions to heritage and archaeological sites in need of assistance.[638] During that time, UNESCO also planned to institutionalize its expert networks by creating two major organizations: the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property

[635] "Under the direction of Mr. Smithers, it is the policy of the Council of Europe to become more and more something like the European intergovernmental body executing nearly all the activities of the main UN agency." "Relations between UNESCO and the Council of Europe," (Report, 1966), 2, 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.
[636] "Relations between UNESCO and the Council of Europe," (Report, 1966), 3.
[637] A 1977 meeting program includes heritage questions, see "Ordre du jour. Réunion inter-secrétariat Conseil de l'Europe/Unesco. 12 avril 1977," (Program, 1977), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.
[638] See John Otis Brow and Mostafa Amer, "World Heritage: purpose of the Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historical Sites, and Archeological Investigations," UNESCO Radio, 1961, UNESCO Multimedia, Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.unesco.org/archives/multimedia/document-4054; Gfeller and Eisenberg, "UNESCO and the Shaping of Global Heritage," 280–81; J.K. van der Haagen, "MUS Memo 1645. Information for Council of Europe on Historic Monuments." (Memo, Paris, May 10, 1951), 069_72_A_02_06_I&II Correspondance International Perm. Committee on Monuments, UNESCO Archives.
Experts were sent to Jerusalem for example. Serapioni, "Reflecting on Diplomacy of Culture: UNESCO's First Mission to the Holy Land, 1957–1960."
UNESCO organized similar expert missions to natural heritage sites such as the Galapagos Islands. Elke Ackermann, "Evolution for World Heritage: The Galapagos Islands National Park," *Environment & Society Portal. Arcadia*, Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society., no. 14 (2014). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/evolution-world-heritage-galapagos-islands-national-park.

(ICCROM) and later ICOMOS. These projects, while entirely in the hands of UNESCO, included the Council of Europe in the 1950s.

With a retrospective look at the damages caused by World War II, UNESCO released the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict in 1954.[639] Over the following two decades, UNESCO offered a series of recommendations on cultural heritage to its member states: the 1956 Recommendations on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, the 1962 Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites, a 1964 Recommendation on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Export, Import and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and a 1968 Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works.[640] Each recommendation placed a specific and often problematic question of cultural heritage conservation in the limelight. Each was preceded by preparations involving expert studies on the question. These Recommendations were not binding to member-states, but they fixed an expert discourse on specific questions of cultural heritage preservation and created an official guideline as an ideal to follow in the international political sphere.[641]

To better coordinate their expert networks, the organization created the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in Rome

[639] Rössler, "Weltkulturerbe und Globalisierung : Vom Weltwunder zum Erbe der Menschheit," 239.

[640] 1956 Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, in "Records of the General Conference, 9th Session, New Delhi, 1956: Resolutions" (Report, 1956), 40–44, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114585.page=40.
1962 Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites in "Records of the General Conference, Twelfth Session, Paris, 1962: Resolutions" (Report, 1962), 138–42, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114582.page=142.
1964 Recommendation on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Export, Import and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property in "Records of the General Conference, Thirteenth Session, Paris, 1964: Resolutions" (Report, 1964), 148–50, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114581.page=149.
1968 Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works in "Records of the General Conference, Fifteenth Session, Paris, 1968, v. 1: Resolutions" (1968), 139–45, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000114047.page=134.

[641] See "Cultural Heritage Policy Documents," Getty Conservation Institute. Accessed October 24, 2022, https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/research_resources/charters.html; "Most Relevant Documents of UNESCO Concerning Cultural Heritage," Council of Europe Portal. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/herein-system/unesco.

in 1959.[642] In 1963, Eberhard Lutze, Bremen *Regierungsdirektor*, told the KMK that its creation originated in:

> 5. Sitzung der UNESCO im Jahre 1950, in welcher von der Mexikanischen Delegation eine spezielle Touristensteuer und ein internationaler Fonds vorgeschlagen wurden.[643]

The tourism tax was refused but the idea of an international fund persisted. It led to a 1953 proposal by the Swiss Delegation to create a research center that ultimately became the ICCROM. The Center was tasked "einen Katalog von Denkmälern von Weltgeltung herzustellen, aufgegliedert nach Ländern."[644] The so-called "Rome Center" provided a specialized library and a space for exchange and meeting for conservation practitioners and experts. It hosted courses on practical conservation techniques and materials for specialists. ICCROM also participated in planning the UNESCO Conventions and Recommendations and offered advice to UNESCO on specific conservation cases, for which it sent experts on missions to sites.[645] While not exclusively aimed at European conservators, UNESCO's administration recognized early that the center provided an ideal space for "experts de la region européenne de comparer leurs travaux."[646] Indeed, UNESCO called the attention of the CoE to the existence of the center when it started the development of its own heritage projects in 1962 and ICCROM was subsequently involved in cultural heritage projects at the Council of Europe.[647]

UNESCO's Nubia campaign and the many that followed had been a trademark of the actions of UNESCO for heritage conservation until the creation of the World Heritage List. After

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[642] ICCROM was created at the 1956 General Conference of UNESCO but installed in Rome in 1959. On the history of ICCROM, see Jukka Jokilehto, *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. A History of the Organization's First 50 Years, 1959-2009* (Rome: ICCROM, 2011), 1–40.

[643] Dr. Lutze, "Letter to KMK. UNESCO Study of measures for the preservation of monuments" (Letter, October 22, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
Eberhard Lutze (1908-1974) was a divise art historian and conservator in Bremen because of his Nazi past. Hans-Joachim Manske: Ein an sich schwacher Charakter" : Eberhard Lutze oder wie einem "Altnazi" die Kulturpolitik Bremens in die Hände geriet. in: "*Entartet" – beschlagnahmt.* (Städtische Galerie Bremen 2009), 39-46.

[644] Dr. Lutze, "Letter to KMK. UNESCO Study of measures for the preservation of monuments" (Letter, October 22, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[645] Jokilehto, *ICCROM and the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. A History of the Organization's First 50 Years*, *1959-2009*.

[646] UNESCO, "Conférence Générale 22e session, Paris 1983, 22.9.1983 : Mesures prises en vue de l'application de la Résolution 21 c/7.06. Paragraphe 3K sur la Coopération Européenne : Rapport du directeur général" (Report, Paris, 1983), 38–39, CLT.CH.SS Europe General 1977-86, UNESCO Archives.
See Jukka Jokilehto and Soheil Mehr-Azar, "Development of ICCROM's Architectural Conservation Training in Reference to Council of Europe Initiatives," in *A Future for Our Past. The 40th Anniversary of European Architectural Heritage Year (1975–2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Bäßler, 2015), 104–12.

[647] Nicolaus Sombart, "Protection des Centres Monumentaux, Historiques et Culturels. Rapport de ma mission du 25 au 27 juin, à Paris, avec M. Weiss rapporteur de la Commission culturelle et scientifique" (Report, Strasbourg, August 17, 1962), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

the ceremonial public call by the director-general of UNESCO for an international campaign dedicated to an endangered site, the organization mainly played a coordinating role, while individual member-states took over on site. These campaigns allowed experts to test new techniques and ideas of heritage conservation, which had been published by UNESCO. Still, long-term effects of these localized campaigns were not unilaterally positive. The costs were immense, while the proliferation of such campaigns around the world made oversight difficult for the organization. The Council of Europe followed the campaigns and its individual members-states participated in them, but the organization mainly stayed on the sidelines in these UNESCO actions.[648]

The 1964 "Campagne internationale pour les monuments de valeur historique et artistique" stood out from the other UNESCO campaigns. For once, the campaign was not aimed at saving one specific site in danger, but at raising awareness on heritage conservation issues among the public, government administration, and member states' experts. The campaign lasted six months, starting in June of 1964. It was organized on a national level, except for a few international events.[649] The Second International Conference of Architects in Venice, which opened the UNESCO Campaign in May of 1964, was the highlight of the campaign. The so-called Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites was declared at the conference and became the reference text for international heritage conservators in the following decades. The short text contained 16 articles regulating basic principles of conservation such as definitions, restoration, historic sites, excavations and publications. It included some forward-thinking articles encouraging the social use of sites, insisting on the need to respect all periods of the monument over unity of style, and calling on experts to conserve a site in its context not as a work of art but as historical evidence.[650] The Council of Europe followed this meeting closely and

[648] There had been an earlier UNESCO mission to Peru in 1950. The Nubia Campaign itself only ended in 1980. Betts, "The Warden of World Heritage," 100, 107.
See also Rehling, "Universalismen und Partikularismen im Widerstreit. Zur Genese des UNESCO-Welterbes"; Gfeller and Eisenberg, "UNESCO and the Shaping of Global Heritage"; Maurel, "Le sauvetage des monuments de Nubie par l'Unesco (1955-1968)"; Rössler, "Weltkulturerbe und Globalisierung : Vom Weltwunder zum Erbe der Menschheit," 240.

[649] The campaign was originally planned for 1963 but moved to 1964 because of the lack of responses from member-states. René Maheu, "Letter" (Letter, Paris, April 25, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[650] "The International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter 1964)" *ICOMOS*. Accessed May 20th, 2025, https://admin.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/Venice_Charter_EN.pdf.

dropped its own plans for an international conference on heritage conservation because it overlapped with the Venice conference. The organization further suggested that its member states coordinate their actions in the 1964 UNESCO campaign.[651]

The 1964 Campaign and its Venice Charter led to the subsequent creation of the International Council of Monuments and Sites, or ICOMOS. The international organization of experts on heritage conservation, described as an "ONG des monuments,"[652] was created formally in Warsaw in 1965. ICOMOS rapidly became a major network of conservators of historical monuments and sites. The organization was contracted by UNESCO to offer counsel on questions of heritage conservation. ICOMOS was involved in projects for cultural heritage at a national and local level through its national associations, but the organization also collaborated with other international organizations such as the Council of Europe, as UNESCO administrators noticed already in 1966:

> This is the International Committee for Monuments and Sites and its programme takes into account much of the work being carried out in Europe, as well as the analogue projects being supported by the Council of Europe.[653]

In the following decade, the organization rapidly became a prominent link between Council of Europe and UNESCO projects. The influence of ICOMOS experts was decisive in the theoretical and practical orientation of the heritage conservation programs of both organizations.

See Falser, "Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 – 30 Jahre »Authentizität« im Namen des kulturellen Erbes der Welt"; Jukka Jokilehto, "The Context of the Venice Charter (1964)," *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 2 (1998), 229–33.

[651] See Sombart, "Protection des Centres Monumentaux, Historiques et Culturels. Rapport de ma mission du 25 au 27 juin, à Paris, avec M. Weiss rapporteur de la Commission culturelle et scientifique"(Report, Strasbourg, August 17, 1962), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives ; G. (UNESCO) Rosi, "Letter to N. Sombart (CoE)" (Paris, April 10, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; Assemblée Consultative Commission Culturelle et Scientifique (CoE), "Rapport du Comité d'organisation pour la Conférence européenne sur la défense et la mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques et artistiques qui s'est réuni a Paris, le 2 décembre 1963" (Report, Strasbourg, December 30, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[652] It was originally called ICOMOM. Assemblée Consultative Commission Culturelle et Scientifique (CoE), "Rapport du Comité d'organisation pour la Conférence européenne sur la défense et la mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques et artistiques qui s'est réuni à Paris, le 2 décembre 1963.," (Report, Strasbourg, December 30, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

On ICOMOS history, see Sigrid Brandt, *Im Schatten des Kalten Krieges: Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte von ICOMOS Deutschland*, 1. Auflage., ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 65 (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2017), 10–11; Raymond M. Lemaire, Marie-Jeanne Geerts, and Jean Barthélemy, *Raymond Lemaire: ICOMOS, un regard en arrière, un coup d'oeil en avant*, Wallonia (Belgium). Commission royale des monuments, sites et fouilles. Dossier de la Commission royale des monuments, sites et fouilles 5 (Liège: Commission royale des monuments, sites et fouilles de la Région wallonne, 1999), 43–52; Jean-Louis Luxen, "Les Fondateurs de l'Icomos et la Campagne Européenne de 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, Wilfried Lipp and Michael Falser (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 86–92.

[653] Selim Abdul-Hak, "Note to A Vrioni (Acting Director of Culture)" (Report, approx 1966), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

3.1.2. Council of Europe programs in heritage conservation in the 1960s

Since its inception, the Council of Europe has focused on the propagation of European culture, which includes heritage. Cultural heritage was mentioned, for example, in article 1 of the 1954 European Cultural Convention.[654] Since the 1960s, the organization developed a more focused interest in architectural heritage conservation. Like UNESCO, the organization started with actions at the theoretical level. The CoE demanded expert reports on cultural heritage in (western) Europe, which led to a recommendation project on historic centers released by the Consultative Assembly of the CoE in 1962. The following year the same assembly adopted a recommendation for the "Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques et artistiques."[655]

The 1963 recommendation planned for the organization of a major European conference on historic centers, the creation of an authority on heritage, a list of European monuments, and a center for cultural heritage conservation. The CoE plans for cultural heritage preservation also included acting on the recommendations of UNESCO at a regional level, as stated in a 1963 report:

> (…) l'action du Conseil de l'Europe devrait se développer en s'insérant dans le programme général de l'UNESCO et en accord avec cette organisation. On peut aisément concevoir, en effet, que le Conseil de l'Europe aura plus de facilité à organiser la coopération effective des pays européens dans le domaine en question. (…) Ultérieurement, l'UNESCO pourrait assurer les liens entre l'action régionale du Conseil de l'Europe dans le domaine de la protection des centres monumentaux et celle des autres parties du monde en vue de mettre les résultats de la coopération européenne à la portée de tous les intéressés.[656]

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[654] "contribution to the common cultural heritage of Europe." "European Cultural Convention (ETS No. 018)," *Council of Europe. Treaty Office*, 1954. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list.

[655] CoE, "Assemblée Consultative. Proposition de recommandation relative à la sauvegarde des centre monumentaux d'un intérêt européen reconnu" (Report, Strasbourg, January 17, 1962), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; CoE, "Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle Septième Session (Strasbourg, 18-21 janvier 1965). Rapport présenté par la Division des Affaires Culturelles." (Report, Strasbourg, December 10, 1964), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe (Division des Affaires Culturelles) et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations. Paris, Maison de l'UNESCO, 31 mars 1965. Compte Rendu de la Réunion" (Report, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
See also : Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," 74; Ludwig Weiss, "1963 " Memorandum on the Preservation and Development of Ancient Buildings and Historical or Artistic Sites. "," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit : Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975–2015)*, Wilfried Lipp and Michael Falser (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 568–667.

[656] CoE Commission Culturelle et scientifique, "Protection des centres monumentaux, historiques et culturels. Plan d'une Conférence Européenne de la défense des centres monumentaux élaboré par la Commission Culturelle et Scientifique de l'Assemblée Consultative." (Report, Strasbourg, March 1, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

The CoE wanted to be in close contact with UNESCO on cultural heritage questions. In return, it expected UNESCO to become a link between itself and non-member states. The European organization thus hoped to project its heritage conservation program onto the rest of the world through UNESCO′s involvement.

In line with UNESCO's efforts to create institutions able to assist with its heritage program, the CoE created Europa Nostra, a federation of European organizations for the defense of heritage conservation in 1963. Its overt aim was to promote (western) European culture though its cultural heritage. The Council of Europe planned to make it the "le volet européen de l'ICOMOM",[657] later renamed ICOMOS. Europa Nostra, although an independent organization, was instrumental in the planning of heritage projects by the Council of Europe. Its most prominent figure was its president Lord Duncan Sandys, Winston Churchill's son-in-law. He oversaw several major Council of Europe projects. At times he pushed for interactions between UNESCO and the Council of Europe. Although Europa Nostra had very limited influence at UNESCO, it played a substantial role in Council of Europe heritage conservation projects in the 1960s and 1970s.[658]

Following the 1964 UNESCO campaign, the CoE moved on to the second part of its 1963 recommendation: expert discussions on questions of cultural heritage conservation. Five international confrontations took place between 1965 and 1968 as part of the CoE program.[659] Each confrontation was organized by a different national delegation focusing on a specific aspect of heritage conservation, mostly linked to historic city centers. Confrontation A, organized by Spain in 1965, dealt with criteria and methods for a homogenized inventory of sites and ensembles. Later in the same year, Confrontation B, organized in Vienna, studied the reanimation of historic

[657] Assemblée Consultative Commission Culturelle et Scientifique (CoE), "Rapport du Comité d'organisation pour la Conférence européenne sur la défense et la mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques et artistiques qui s'est réuni à Paris, le 2 décembre 1963," (Report, Strasbourg, December 30, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[658] See CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Projet de Procès-Verbal de la réunion qui s'est tenue du lundi 29 juin au mercredi 1 juillet 1970 à Malte." (Report draft, Strasbourg, August 10, 1970), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; CoE Assemblée parlementaire, "Réponse des ministres a la question écrite n.104 de Lord Duncan Sandys relative à la convention de l'UNESCO de 1970 pour la protection des œuvres d'art contre le vol" (Report, Strasbourg, November 15, 1977), 327.394 AO1 CE (4 EDS 944 15) (RIO/ORG.40/3.2 and/or CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.
See also Peter Burman and Dennis Rodwell, "The Contribution of the United Kingdom to European Architectural Heritage Year 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit : Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975–2015)*, Wilfried Lipp and Michael Falser (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 266.

[659] Assemblée Consultative Commission Culturelle et Scientifique (CoE), "Rapport du comité d'organisation pour la conférence européenne sur la défense et la mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques et artistiques qui s'est réuni à Paris, le 2 décembre 1963, " (Report, Strasbourg, December 30, 1963), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

cultural sites and ensembles that had lost their original function. Confrontation C in 1966 studied the reanimation of historic sites and ensembles in Bath. Confrontation D took place in 1967 in the Netherlands and looked at the problems of heritage conservation in urban planning. Finally, Consultation E in 1968 discussed the application of politics of conservation for historic sites and ensembles in Avignon, France. The discussions aligned with the aims of the 1964 Venice Charter but went further in their thinking and planning. Each confrontation led to a detailed report by the organizing state and eventually to an official CoE resolution.[660]

The confrontations were meant to establish homogenized guidelines and best practices for heritage conservation. They were groundbreaking for the coordination of international expertise in cultural heritage and took place in close dialog with UNESCO, which received detailed documentation on the confrontations. One sole UNESCO administrator, the French-educated Syrian archaeologist Selim Abdul-Hak, head of the Division of Museums and Monuments until 1973, was in charge of contacts with the CoE on questions of cultural heritage conservation.[661] He represented UNESCO at inter-secretarial meetings with the CoE on heritage questions, as well as at CoE projects and meetings on the subject, such as the confrontations.[662] The work achieved during these meetings would become the base of later heritage conservation actions of both UNESCO and the Council of Europe.

Selim Abdul-Hak's internal reports insisted on the importance of these meetings for the UNESCO action.[663] He found that the confrontations fit the UNESCO program for heritage

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[660] CoE, ed., *Patrimoine culturel européen. Coopération intergouvernementale : recueil de textes* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 2003), 179–89.

[661] Syrian Archeologist Selim Abdul-Hak (1913-1992) was a central figure in the making of the World Heritage Convention. See Batisse and Bolla, L'invention du "patrimoine mondial," 21 ; Ernest Will, "Nécrologie: Sélim Abdul Hak (1913-1992)," *Syria. Archéologie, Art et histoire* 71, no. 3 (1994), 443–44.

[662] Abdul-Hak followed the meetings and commented on reports and recommendation. See CoE Conseil de la Cooperation Culturelle, "Confrontation sur les critères et méthodes de classement du patrimoine artistique et archéologique de l'Europe." (Report, Strasbourg, May 15, 1965), 069 :7 (4) A 218/8 CE (CLT 12/238), UNESCO Archives; M. F. Sorlin, "Mise en oeuvre de la politique de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur des sites et ensembles d'intérêt historique ou artistique. Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles d'intérêt historique ou artistique. Avignon 30 septembre-5 octobre 1968." (Report, Strasbourg, 1968), 069 :7 (4) A 218/8 CE (CLT 12/238), UNESCO Archives; CoE, "Confrontation A. Critères et méthodes pour un inventaire. Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques. Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle. Rapport de Base présenté par Gabriel Alomar Commissaire Général du Patrimoine Artistique National Espagnol" (Report, Strasbourg, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
ICOMOS and ICCROM representatives were present at the Confrontations. See CoE, "Confrontation A. Criteres et Methodes pour un inventaire de protection. Defense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques. Projet de Rapport" (Report Draft, Strasbourg, June 1, 1965), 45, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[663] In 1966, Abdul-Hak presented the advantages of the cooperation with the CoE in cultural heritage : "Ainsi le programme du Conseil de l'Europe concernant la protection des biens culturels et le développement des musées apporte à l'œuvre déjà réalisée par l'Unesco une large diffusion, et lui ouvre des perspectives lui permettant d'évoluer

conservation and facilitated its reception in the (western) European region, as he wrote to the director of the department of cultural affairs at UNESCO in 1965:

> Je me permets de vous signaler l'intérêt de poursuivre notre fructueuse collaboration avec le CCC et d'assister à toutes ses confrontations consacrées à la conservation et la protection du patrimoine monumental de l'Europe, ce qui nous permet de profiter de l'expérience et de nous ménager la possibilité d'harmoniser nos programmes avec les programmes dans ce domaine. [664]

As hinted in this text, UNESCO was starting to develop plans for the release of new international instruments and had launched its own parallel studies in many of the questions discussed at the CoE Confrontations. Abdul-Hak thought, for example that the inventory criteria worked out by Confrontation A in 1965 would help the project of a UNESCO study planned for 1967-68 on the "mesures prises par chacun des Etats pour la protection de ses biens culturels."[665] His speech expressly stated his plan to apply them at UNESCO level:

> La systématisation de l'inventaire que vous envisagez d'établir, M.Alomar l'a bien précisé, [compte] comme un chapitre de la systématisation générale du [patrimoine] artistique universel. Ainsi, non seulement le patrimoine [monumental] de l'Europe (…) va bénéficier de vos [travaux] mais aussi le patrimoine monumental appartenant à tous les pays et tous les continents. [666]

1965 CoE Confrontation A, for example, set up a typology of sites and classified them following different criteria: type, topography, chronology, technical. The context of the monument, rural-urban-ensemble, played an important role in the CoE inventory proposal. Confrontation A also offered concrete models for inventorization, based on the questions of universality and value of cultural heritage. Many of these aspects found themselves in the later system of UNESCO World Heritage nomination.[667]

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et de s'étendre." Selim Abdul-Hak, "Commentaire sur les programmes du Conseil de l'Europe relatif a la protection patrimoine culturel, et du développement des musées. Memo to Mahdi Elmandjra." (Report, Paris, August 31, 1966), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
See also Selim Abdul-Hak, "Informations sur la Confrontation C" (Report, Paris, July 7, 1966), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[664] Selim Abdul-Hak, "Minute Sheet to Gomes Machado" (Note, Paris, April 16, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[665] Selim Abdul-Hak, "Note to Gomes Machado. Collaboration avec le Conseil de l'Europe" (Note, Paris, March 29, 1965), 1, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[666] CoE Conseil de la Cooperation Culturelle, "Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques. Confrontation A. Critères et méthodes pour un inventaire des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques en vue de leur défense et de leur mise en valeur (Espagne, 17 au 22 mais 1965). Exposé de M. Selim Abdul Hak Observateur de l'UNESCO" (Report, Strasbourg, May 17, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[667] CoE Conseil de la Coopération Culturelle, "Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques. Confrontation A. Critères et méthodes pour un inventaire des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques en vue de leur défense et de leur mise en valeur (Espagne, 17 au 22 mais 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
In 1968, Abdul-Hak said that documentation from the confrontations would be "très utile pour commencer avec un consultant la préparation du projet de Convention." UNESCO would use the confrontations in their convention plans

Abdul-Hak further tried to connect the theoretical approaches to heritage conservation of the CoE and UNESCO. Following Confrontation A, he sent a list of technical vocabulary on cultural heritage to the chief of the Division of Cultural affairs of the CoE. He recommended to the CoE that the " termes dans les recommandations très intéressantes que vous envisagez de faire adopter soient identiques aux nôtres. "[668] In his exchanges with the CoE, Abdul-Hak thus tried to include UNESCO expertise in cultural heritage projects to push for a homogenized discourse of heritage conservation spanning both organizations.

Since the confrontations were anchored in present conservation problems, UNESCO was eager to learn from and integrate the CoE initiatives into its own actions for architectural heritage. Abdul-Hak stated this publicly at Confrontation B in 1965:

> Certainement les idées ingénieuses que vous avez élaborées seront parmi les éléments essentiels pour la constitution de ce système appelé à être adopté partout dans le monde.[669]

He insisted that he wanted to widen the range of the work achieved during the Confrontation by sharing it with all their member-states and announced UNESCO's plans for an international conference aimed at developing international instruments to regulate the conservation of monuments and sites. The following year during a visit to Strasbourg, the director general of UNESCO, Rene Maheu, confirmed that UNESCO planned to use the work of experts at the

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and invited the CoE to attend the 1968 expert meeting. Selim Abdul-Hak, "Letter to Victor de Pange (CoE)" (Letter, Paris, January 30, 1968), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[668] Abdul- Hak sent "une liste des termes et définitions scientifiques, techniques et administratifs pour désigner les biens culturels que l'Unesco a utilisés dans les différents instruments internationaux déjà établis." Selim Abdul-Hak, "Letter to Victor de Pange" (Letter, Paris, June 25, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
In the 1960s, most exchanges between UNESCO and the CoE were in French, which was also used by heritage experts. Maurel, "Linguistic Rivalries and Effort of the Promotion of French at the UNESCO of 1945-1970."
In the 1990s, the CoE started facilitating specialized glossaries in multiple languages Following a decision taken at the Third European Conference of Ministers responsible for the Cultural Heritage of the member states of the Council of Europe held in Malta on January 16-17th, 1992. See for example Martyn Barber and Jean Francois van Regteren Altena, *European Bronze Age Monuments- Monuments de l'Age du bronze. Glossary/Glossaire. A pilot project cobering Denmark, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1999), 9.

[669] CoE, "Défense et mise en valeur des sites et ensembles historiques ou artistiques. Confrontation B 'Problèmes poses par la réanimation des monuments dans leur cadre esthétique ou naturel, offrant un intérêt culturel et qui ne remplissent plus les fonctions pour lesquelles ils ont été conçus.' Vienne, 4-8 octobre 1965. La confrontation B sur la réanimation des monuments et site dans leur cadre naturel et esthétique par M. S. Abdul Hak" (Report, Strasbourg, October 8, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
Abdul Hak found CoE Confrontations compatible with UNESCO programs. Abdul-Hak, "Commentaire sur les programmes du Conseil de l'Europe relatif a la protection patrimoine culturel, et du développement des musées. Memo to Mahdi Elmandjra" Report, Paris, August 31, 1966), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives ; Abdul-Hak, "Note to Gomes Machado. Collaboration avec le Conseil de l'Europe," (Note, Paris, March 29, 1965), 1, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

confrontations for a major future project: an international charter for the conservation of monuments and sites.[670]

Besides the direct cooperation between UNESCO and the CoE, indirect links were established, mainly through the intermediary of ICOMOS and ICCROM. Both ICOMOS and ICCROM served as expert networks that assisted UNESCO and the CoE in the preparation of cultural heritage projects. The creation of new expert organizations for heritage conservation linked national experts together and widened their reach. In addition, the leadership at ICOMOS was exclusively western European until 1975 and remained dominated by Western conservators until 1990.[671] Although rooted locally and nationally, these experts circulated freely between both organizations in the international realm. They became central actors in UNESCO and CoE heritage conservation projects alongside diplomats, politicians, and administrators.[672]

3.1.3. Cooperation or Contention? Parallel Institutionalization in the 1970s

The 1970s were a moment of continuity and intensification of the actions for the safeguarding of cultural heritage for both UNESCO and the CoE. They continued to plan international conferences and campaigns around the subject of heritage conservation. Still, these took the background as both organizations also attempted to make their action more viable through institutionalization. 1969 marked the concrete start of the two main projects for international heritage of UNESCO and the Council of Europe. UNESCO officially launched its plans for an international convention for the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage of humanity. The convention was later released by UNESCO at its 17th General Conference in 1972.[673] At the same time, the 1969 European Conference of ministers responsible for the preservation and rehabilitation of immovable cultural property in Brussels marked the official beginning of the

[670] "En se basant sur ces résultats et ceux à obtenir d'autres confrontations dans ce domaine, l'Unesco pourra passer, à partir de 1967, a une action visant définitivement le renouvellement de la charte internationale des monuments et des sites. " "Draft Outline for Director General's Speech at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. 30 September 1966." (Speech draft, Strasbourg, 1966), 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO, UNESCO Archives.

[671] "Governance," ICOMOS Website. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.icomos.org/governance/.

[672] Luxen, "Les Fondateurs de l'Icomos et la Campagne Européenne de 1975," 87; Jokilehto and Mehr-Azar, "Development of ICCROM's Architectural Conservation Training in Reference to Council of Europe Initiatives," 106–7.
See also Brumann, *The Best We Share*; Brumann, *Multilateral Ethnography*.

[673] The World Heritage Convention brought together culture and nature, mostly due to US pressure. On the history of the World Heritage Convention, see Michel Batisse and Gérard Bolla, *L'invention du "patrimoine mondial,"* Les Cahiers du Club Histoire 2 (Paris: UNESCO, 2003); Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*, 1–27; Philip Seifert, *Das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt und die Rechtsordnung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2016), 46–51.

Council of Europe plans for a European Year for Architectural Heritage 1975 and the release of the Amsterdam Charta on the same occasion.[674]

Until the second half of the 1960s, UNESCO had believed that, despite the need for international reglementation, time was not right. The organization thought that an international convention would be difficult to apply because of the opposition of newly independent states. Instead, UNESCO hoped for the CoE to lead the way in publishing a European convention, which could then lead to an international convention, as stated in a 1965 UNESCO-CoE meeting:

> En revanche une convention régionale entre les pays européens semble d'ores et déjà possible ; si des règlements stricts pour la sauvegarde des monuments étaient adoptés dans cette région, ils pourraient ouvrir la voie, par la suite à une règlementation internationale.[675]

This shows that instead of competing with one another, both organizations considered their work to be complementary. Despite these hesitations, plans for international conventions were well on their way in both organizations at the end of the 1960s.[676]

In 1970, the CoE first launched institutionalization with the release of a European Convention for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage.[677] The organization also started developing an Outline law for the active protection of immovable cultural property in Europe. Like UNESCO, the Council of Europe relied heavily on ICOMOS to prepare its heritage projects in the 1970s. The text of the 1970 outline law of the CoE, for example, was prepared by Mr. Robert Brichet, whose extensive involvement in UNESCO projects, was expressively mentioned at the Consultative

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[674] CoE, "Conférence des ministres européens responsables du patrimoine architectural. Comité des hauts fonctionnaires responsables de la préparation de la conférence. Premiere Réunion. Strasbourg, 22-23 mars 1984" (Report, Strasbourg, March 30, 1984), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.
ICOMOS experts were instrumental in the 1969 conference and plans for the 1975 Year for European Architectural Heritage. See Ballester, *The Council of Europe and Cultural Heritage 1954-2000*, 295–97; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," 74; Luxen, "Les Fondateurs de l'Icomos et la Campagne Européenne de 1975," 87.

[675] "Il a été note qu'une convention internationale sur la protection des monuments, quoique souhaitable, serait difficile à réaliser à l'heure actuelle, beaucoup de pays, notamment parmi les pays nouvellement indépendants, étant peu disposés à accepter un règlement sévère ; il serait donc plus réaliste de se contenter d'une recommandation bien conçue." "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe (Division des Affaires Culturelles) et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations. Paris, Maison de l'UNESCO, 31 mars 1965. Compte Rendu de la Réunion," (Report, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[676] "Réunion annuelle du secrétariat du Conseil de l'Europe (Division des Affaires Culturelles) et du secrétariat de l'UNESCO pour l'examen des question culturelles d'intérêt commun aux deux organisations. Paris, Maison de l'UNESCO, 31 mars 1965. Compte Rendu de la Réunion" (Report, 1965), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives ; UNESCO, "Conférence Générale 22e session, Paris 1983, 22.9.1983 : Mesures prises en vue de l'application de la Résolution 21 c/7.06. Paragraphe 3K sur la Coopération Européenne : Rapport du directeur général" (Report, Paris, 1983), 39, CLT.CH.SS Europe General 1977-86, UNESCO Archives.

[677] Ballester, *The Council of Europe and Cultural Heritage 1954-2000*, 23–39.

Assembly of the Council of Europe.[678] A 1970 report of the Committee on Culture and Education of the CoE reaffirmed the future goal of releasing a European Convention on the same question:

> In addition, if states were guided by the outline law, a certain harmonisation would be achieved, which would prepare the way for a European Convention on the conservation and rehabilitation of the cultural heritage of monuments and sites.[679]

Although the author of the report admitted that this was a long-term goal, he insisted on the importance of such a Convention for the homogenization of practices for the community.

Following the decision by the European Conference of Ministers responsible for the Preservation and Rehabilitation of the Cultural Heritage of Monuments and Sites in Brussels to plan for a European Year for Architectural Heritage in 1975, the CoE established a Committee for Monuments and Sites within the Council for Cultural Cooperation in 1971. In parallel, another international committee under the leadership of Lord Duncan Sandys, President of the association Europa Nostra, composed of representatives of the Committee for monuments and sites, the Consultative Assembly, the European Conference of Local Authorities, and last but not least Europa Nostra, was put in charge of the organization of the main international events of the European Year for Architectural Heritage.[680] The Council of Europe European Heritage Year was

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[678] See CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Draft Report. Outline Law for the Active Protection of Immovable Cultural Property in Europe Presented by Mr. H. Cravatte Rapporteur" (Report Draft, Strasbourg, September 2, 1970), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.
Robert Brichet was a French lawyer and art historian and an influential figure in the French administration. He was involved at UNESCO as early as 1954. See "Pleins pouvoirs du Président de la République française, Président de l'Union française, délivrés à M. Robert Brichet, avec l'autorisation de négocier, conclure et signer tels convention, déclaration ou acte quelconque émanant de la Conférence intergouvernementale pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé." (Note, 11/5/1954, FR PUNES AG 08-LEG-A-114-38), UNESCO Archive. Accessed July 27th, 2025, https://atom.archives.unesco.org/pleins-pouvoirs-du-president-de-la-republique-francaise-president-de-lunion-francaise-delivres-robert-richet-avec-autorisation-de-negocier-conclure-et-signer-tels-convention-declaration-ou-acte-quelconque-emanant-de-la-conference-inter.
Brichet taught comparative heritage conservation law at ICCROM. Robert Brichet, "Cours de droit comparé sur la protection des monuments et ensembles historiques et artistiques" (Syllabus, 1968-1969) INT_ICCROM_C.1.2.1[1].7, ICCROM Archives. Accessed July 23rd, 2025, https://archives.iccrom.org/entita/453-brichet-robert.

[679] CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education. "Draft Report. Outline Law for the Active Protection of Immovable Cultural Property in Europe Presented by Mr. H. Cravatte Rapporteur" See also CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Projet de Procès-Verbal de la réunion qui s'est tenue du lundi 29 juin au mercredi 1 juillet 1970 à Malte"(Report draft, Strasbourg, August 10, 1970), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives ; CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Draft Agenda of the Meeting to be held on the 11.9.1970 in the Office of the Council of Europe Paris. Outline Law on the Active Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Monuments and Sites in Europe." (Agenda Draft, August 5, 1970), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[680] Duncan Sandys, president of Europa Nostra was a central but divisive figure of the "Year." Sandys wrote the first memorandum adopted by the Committee on Monuments and Site. After 1975, he was made a special rapporteur for questions of Heritage Conservation. See Glendinning, "The European Architectural Heritage Year and UNESCO World Heritage: The Hare and the Tortoise?," 93; Patel and Calligaro, "The True 'EURESCO'?"

opened and closed by two international conferences on cultural heritage preservation: the Zurich Conference of 1973 and the Amsterdam Conference of 1975. That last conference set the stage for the proclamation of the Architectural Heritage Charta of the Council of Europe, thus called "Amsterdam Charta."[681]

The 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage of the CoE offered possibilities of direct cooperation with UNESCO. At the same time, it illustrated the limits of this collaboration. UNESCO took part in the preparatory meetings of the Council from 1972 onward.[682] In 1974, the organization also commented on the draft European Charter from the Council of Europe in advance of its planned release in Amsterdam in 1975.[683] The Council wanted UNESCO to join its plans because it offered the prospect of including European non-member states in the 1975 European Heritage Year.[684] In 1973, during the Zurich Conference, René Maheu, director general of UNESCO, reached out to Lujo Tončić-Sorinj, secretary-general of the Council of Europe to discuss a possible collaboration. Maheu offered either to publish a recommendation to participate to non-members states of the CoE or to share the responsibilities of the event equally between UNESCO and the CoE. The Council of Europe opted for the first option, seeing no way to put an equal collaboration into practice in such a short timeframe but ultimately, UNESCO did not act on its offer.[685]

Instead, ICOMOS became a major participant in the European Architectural Heritage Year, through its experts and national committees. Michel Parent and Raymond Lemaire, both central figures of ICOMOS, wrote the first draft of the 1975 Amsterdam Charta for the Council of Europe

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[681] See Ballester, *The Council of Europe and Cultural Heritage 1954-2000*, 149–52, 319–29; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," 74–76.

[682] Daifuku, "Committee Meeting of the Council of Europe on the European Architectural Heritage Year. November 17-18, 1972" (Report, November 29, 1972), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives; Nicolaus Sombart, "Letter to Hiroshi Daifuku. First meeting of the Committee of Monuments and Sites (29.11-3.12.1971)" (Letter, Strasbourg, November 5, 1971), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives; CoE Committee on Monuments and Sites, "Organizing Committee for the Year: First Meeting (Paris 17 and 18 March 1972). Proposals for a Program for the 1975 Year. Secretariat Memorandum" (Program, Strasbourg, March 8, 1972), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.

[683] Hiroshi Daifuku, "Draft European Charter for the Preservation of the Architectural Heritage" (Report, Paris, January 29, 1974), CLT/CH/43.2, UNESCO Archives.

[684] Hiroshi Daifuku, "Committee Meeting of the Council of Europe on the European Architectural Heritage Year. November 17-18, 1972" (Report, November 29, 1972), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives; Director RMO, "Note to Bolla" (Paris, December 21, 1972), 327.394 AOI CE/8 CLT, UNESCO Archives.

[685] Since Poland and Czechoslovakia were participating informally, Bolla decided there was no point in Maheu suggesting participation to the General Assembly. Gérard Bolla, "Année européenne du Patrimoine architectural de 1975" (Report, Paris, December 4, 1973), 327.394 AOI CE/8 CLT, UNESCO Archives.
Maheu concluded that UNESCO's participation would take place through ICOMOS. René Maheu, "Letter to Sforza" (Letter, Paris, December 14, 1973), 069:72 A 8 CE, UNESCO Archives.

in 1971. ICOMOS experts were heavily represented in the CoE organizing Committees.[686] States such as Poland or Czechoslovakia put their national ICOMOS committees in charge of organizing events for the Year instead of participating directly. ICOMOS thus replaced UNESCO as the main link between the Council of Europe and its non-member states in the European Year for Architectural Heritage.[687]

In parallel, UNESCO plans for an international convention for the safeguarding of cultural and natural heritage of humanity took their first steps in 1968 and 1969 when two planning meetings of experts took place at the UNESCO House in Paris.[688] To develop its international

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[686] See Luxen, "Les Fondateurs de l'Icomos et la Campagne Européenne de 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, Wilfried Lipp and Michael Falser (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 87–89.
In France, Jean Salusse, secretary general of ICOMOS France and administrator at Ministry of Culture, was in charge of the organization. Francoise Gondran, "L'Année Européenne du patrimoine en France," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, Wilfried Lipp and Michael Falser (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 282.

[687] Bolla, "Année européenne du Patrimoine architectural de 1975," (Report, Paris, December 4, 1973), 327.394 AOI CE/8 CLT, UNESCO Archives.
See Sofia Avgerinou-Kolonia, "Greece and the Year of European Architectural Heritage 1975," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 322–31; Sigrid Brandt, "Die Frage einer Beteiligung am Europäischen Jahr des Kulturerbes kann nur von den Regierungen der Sozialistischen Laender entschieden werden - Positionen und Realisiertes in der DDR," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 358–66; M. Ehrstroem et al., "European Architectural Heritage Year 1975 - Reflections in Finland," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 349–57; Tamas Fejerdy, "The (Indirect) Impacts of the European Architectural Heritage Year in a Former 'Socialist Country' - Sketches for a Hungarian Case Study," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 380–89; Martins Mintaurs, "European Architectural Heritage Year 1975 : A Year That Wasn't There in the USSR," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 367–75; Marko Spikic, "Reactions to the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year - The Case of Socialist Croatia," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler verlag, 2015), 390–99; Josef Stulc, "Heritage Conservation in Communist Czechoslovakia in the 1970s and the European Architectural Heritage Year 1975," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 376–79.

[688] UNESCO, "Meeting of Experts to Co-Ordinate, With a View to Their International Adoption, Principles and Scientific, Technical and Legal Criteria Applicable to the Protection of Cultural Property, Monuments and Sites. Unesco House, Paris 26 February-2 March 1968," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, December 31, 1968. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/1530/; UNESCO, "Conclusions of the Meeting of Experts. Meeting of Experts to Co-Ordinate, With a View to Their International Adoption, Principles and Scientific, Technical and Legal Criteria Applicable to the Protection of Cultural Property, Monuments and Sites. Unesco House, 26 February - 2 March 1968," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, March 1, 1968. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/1529/; UNESCO, "Final Report. Meeting of Experts to Establish an International System for the Protection of Monuments, Groups of Buildings and Sites of Universal Interest. Unesco House, Paris, 21-25 July 1969," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, November 10, 1969. Accessed August 25th, 2025,

instruments for safeguarding cultural heritage, UNESCO relied on the results of expert discussions held by the CoE in its Confrontations.[689] In 1972, the text of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was released by UNESCO at its General Assembly. In 1974, the European Commission sent its member states a letter to encourage their participation in the 1975 Council of Europe Year. In the same letter, they also called attention to the 1972 UNESCO Convention.[690] The European Commission interwove the parallel Council of Europe and UNESCO initiatives because of their common focus and close timeline.

During the preparation of both the World Heritage Convention and the European Architectural Heritage Year, both organizations invited each other's representatives to participate in working groups and meetings and sent over detailed documentation. In the 1970s, Abdul-Hak was replaced by different administrators at UNESCO, but they continued his cooperative approach. Gerard Bolla, Deputy Director-General of UNESCO and director of the Cultural Department, often met with CoE members and went to CoE meetings as a representative of UNESCO. He would later become a central figure in the construction of the World Heritage Convention and List.[691] Hiroshi Daifuku, administrator and chief of the division of monuments and sites until his retirement in 1980, and Anne Raidl, a legal expert from the division of cultural heritage, also acted as links between the Council of Europe projects for heritage and UNESCO.[692]

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https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/1532/; UNESCO, "Meeting of Experts to Establish an International System for the Protection of Monuments and Sites of Universal Interest. Unesco House, Paris, 21-25 July 1969.," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 15, 1969. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/documents/1531/.
See also Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*.

[689] In 1971, Abdul-Hak asked for reports from the Bath and Hague confrontations for the preparation of two cultural heritage protection international instruments. Selim Abdul-Hak, "Letter to Victor de Pange (CoE)" (Letter, Paris, February 8, 1971), 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[690] François-Xavier Ortoli, "Empfehlung der Kommission vom 20. Dez. 1974 and die Mitgliedstaaten zum Schutz des baulichen Kulturerbes und des natürlichen Lebensraumes" (Letter, Brussels, December 20, 1974), B106/30774, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[691] Gérard Bolla, a Swiss lawyer and economist, became a UNESCO administrator in 1955. In 1971, he became Assistant-Director-General for Culture and was closely involved in the cation of the UNESCO World Heritage program in the 1970s, see Batisse and Bolla, L'invention du "patrimoine mondial."; "Interview with Gérard Bolla, 26 October 2007, Paris, France," in *Oral Archives of the World Heritage Center*. Accessed August 24th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/oralarchives/gerard-bolla/.

[692] On Daifuku and Raidl's participation in meetings with the CoE, see Daifuku, "Committee Meeting of the Council of Europe on the European Architectural Heritage Year. November 17-18 1972" (Report, November 29, 1972), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives ; Gérard Bolla, "Co-Operation with the Council of Europe" (Report, Paris, June 7, 1977), 327.394 AO1 CE (4 EDS 944 15) (RIO/ORG.40/3.2 and/or CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives; UNESCO, "Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe : réunion de la Sous-Commission sur l'Unesco" (Report, Paris, January 9, 1979), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 68- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.
US Archeologist Hiroshi Daifuku (1920-2012) spent his entire career at UNESCO (1954-1980). He started at the Museums and Monuments Division. Russell V. Keune, "An Interview with Hiroshi Daifuku" in CRM The Journal of

After the 1975 Helsinki Agreement, UNESCO studied which of its existing programs could be developed from the viewpoint of European cooperation, but it created few specific European programs.[693] UNESCO's global formation and the active participation of non-western states sometimes put the organization's interests and politics at odds with those of the CoE. This was the case during the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year when the appointment of Senegalese Amadou Mahtar M'bow as the new Director General shifted UNESCO's focus away from European questions.[694] The Council of Europe rescinded its invitation for the Director General to speak at the Amsterdam Conference of 1975, originally extended to René Maheu, because it feared protests. Instead, Anne Raidl from the cultural heritage department represented UNESCO at the Conference.[695]

When M'Bow met CoE Secretary General Georg Kahn-Ackermann in Strasbourg a few months later in 1975, the meeting confirmed the tensions between the two organizations. Still, they discussed collaboration in sport, education, and mass media. [696] In general, the CoE was interested

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Heritage Stewardship, Vol.8 1-2, 2011. Accessed on August 25th, 2025, https://www.nps.gov/crps/CRMJournal/Winter2011/interview.html.

[693] "Propositions pour le développement de la coopération en Europe dans le cadre de l'UNESCO et comme suite aux conclusions de l'acte final d'Helsinki" (Report, Paris, December 10, 1975), CLT.CH.SS Europe General 1977-86, UNESCO Archives.

[694] Amadou Mahtar M'bow (1921-2024) was a French educated Senegalese politician. He remained director general until 1987, a troubled period for the organization because of conflicts with the USA. See René-Pierre Anouma, "Le retrait des États-Unis d'Amérique de l'UNESCO (1984), Conséquences et plaidoyer pour le retour à l'universalité," *Civilisations*, no. 43–2 (1996), 111–60; Meryll David-Ismayil, "In adversity, has full support for UNESCO? The behavior of international civil servants during removal of the United States from the organization (1983-84)," *Cultures & conflits*, no. 78 (2010), 119–42; Angelica Edzard-Karolyi, "Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow. Entreprendre l'avenir. L'UNESCO et la solidarité des nations," *Politique étrangère* 46, no. 4 (1981), 1003–4; Amadou Mahtar M'Bow, "Entretien: Les Etats-Unis et l'UNESCO," *Politique étrangère* 49, no. 2 (1984), 253-; Richard Sack, "Unesco: From Inherent Contradictions to Open Crisis," *Comparative Education Review* 30, no. 1 (1986), 112–19; "UNESCO Chief M'Bow, Accused of Anti-West Bias, Says He's Retiring," *The Los Angeles Times*, 1986.

[695] Krill de Capello received a call from the CoE uninviting M'Bow. The mayor of Amsterdam was afraid that a speech by the Director General could lead to "hostile manifestation of the public." Krill de Capello, "Council of Europe: European Architectural Heritage Year 1975. Amsterdam, 21-25 October 1975." (Report, Paris, June 24, 1975), 327.394 AOI CE/8 CLT, UNESCO Archives. Amadou Mathar M'Bow, "Letter to Kahn-Ackermann" (Letter, Paris, June 6, 1975), 327.394 AOI CE/8 CLT, UNESCO Archives.

[696] After the meeting, Kahn-Ackermann concluded: "Since both our organizations have a number of problems in common, I am convinced that close co-operation between the Council of Europe and UNESCO in the various fields we discussed will prove to be very fruitful." Georg Kahn-Ackermann, "Letter to M'Bow" (Letter, Strasbourg, October 1, 1975), 069:72 A 8 CE/06, UNESCO Archives.

A 1976 meeting report mentions a "vieille animosité du Conseil de l'Europe à l'égard de l'UNESCO faite de beaucoup de malentendus" but presents the new phase as an "ère de coopération confiante et efficace," in : E. Pouchpa Dass, "Conférence ad hoc des ministres européens responsables de la culture, Oslo Juin 15-17 1976" (Report, September 7, 1976), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.

In 1980, UNESCO representatives noted the CoE's staunch anti-communism and pro-Israel position. K. Lindstrom, "Report on the Mission to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, 28-31 January 1980" (Report, Paris, February 8, 1980), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.

in the development of regional group projects within UNESCO but often felt jilted by decisions taken at UNESCO. These were seen as compromises between western and non-western states, which did not serve the best interests of its western European member-states. UNESCO on the other hand depicted itself as a place of transmission of European expertise to the World but in 1980 the CoE wished that "L'UNESCO pourrait tirer davantage des activités du Conseil de l'Europe."[697] While the bond between UNESCO and the CoE was reinforced through their geographic proximity, the relationship was far from exclusive. Several regional organizations were in dialogue with UNESCO on heritage conservation, such the Arab Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) based in Tunis and created in 1970 for this purpose. This provincialization of the CoE at UNESCO led to frustrations in Strasbourg.[698]

Despite the open political differences between the organizations, UNESCO and the CoE continued to exchange documentation, expertise, and administrators met to discuss heritage conservation programs.[699] The Council of Europe, for example, was invited to send representatives as observers to World Heritage Committee sessions.[700] In 1980, the president of the sub-commission for UNESCO and other international organizations of the Council of Europe confirmed the prominence of heritage in their exchanges:

The CoE was of the opinion that UNESCO's professionalism was compromised by its political positioning: "C'est à l'UNESCO qu'il appartient de ne pas encourager l'ingérence des questions politiques hors de propos susceptibles de compromettre sa compétence professionnelle… " Meintz, "Assemblée Parlementaire. Rapport sur la coopération avec l'UNESCO," (Report, 1980), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.

[697] Meintz, "Assemblée Parlementaire. Rapport sur la coopé avec l'UNESCO" (Report, 1980), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.

In 1976, UNESCO Pouchpa Dass stated: "Les expériences et les recherches des Etats européens (…) sont précieuses pour le reste du monde qui les connait grâce au cadre institutionnel unique et a l'instrument de diffusion remarquable qu'est l'UNESCO." Pouchpa Dass, "Conférence ad hoc des ministres européens responsables de la culture, Oslo Juin 15-17 1976" (Report, September 7, 1976), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives.

[698] UNESCO had agreements with regional organizations such as l'Organisation des Etats Américains, la Ligue des Etats Arabes et l'Organisation de l'Unité Africaine. UNESCO and ALECSO signed a formal agreement in 1978. See UNESCO, "Projet de plan," Annexe III.d; UNESCO, "Relations with ALECSO" (Report, Paris, August 1, 1978), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000028797_eng?posInSet=5&queryId=90fcf317-82be-4ade-87a1-75f3a336ad05; "Arab League of Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation. In Brief." Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://www.alecso.org/nsite/en/component/content/article/814-who-are-we-v2.

On the discrepancy between UNESCO's universalism and eurocentrism, see Maurel, "L'UNESCO entre européocentrisme et universalisme (1945-1974)."

See also Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*.

[699] "Réunion avec le Comité de l'Education et de la Culture et éventuellement avec le Comité pour la conservation du patrimoine culturel. Ces deux comités travaillent étroitement en liaison avec l'UNESCO. " Krill de Capello, "Conseil de l'Europe," (Report, Paris, February 3, 1977), 327.394 AO1 CE (4 EDS 944 15), UNESCO Archives.

[700] Borsch-Jacobsen, "Letter to Frederico Mayor (UNESCO)" (Letter, Strasbourg, July 29, 1980), 327.394 A 01 CE, UNESCO Archives.

> Le patrimoine culturel est peut-être le domaine de l'activité de l'UNESCO que l'Assemblée connait le mieux.[701]

Although direct communication was central to the relationship between the CoE and UNESCO, their connection in matters of heritage conservation went further than simple observation and exchange of information. Behind the scenes, conservation experts navigated between both organizations, transferring their experience and approach to heritage questions from one to the other.[702]

3.2. The Rise of Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling: Bridging UNESCO and the CoE in the FRG

When UNESCO began its renowned Nubia campaign in 1960, the FRG was one of the states involved in the campaign scientifically and financially. At first, the German Archaeological Institute participated in several ambitious projects such as the displacement of the temple of Kalabsha by providing financial and expert help. Then in the early 1960s, the German UNESCO Commission created a Nubia Working Group that oversaw the campaign efforts.[703] Other UNESCO campaigns followed. The German UNESCO Commission managed several long-term special working groups for similar campaigns, like the later UNESCO Borobudur campaign.[704]

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[701] Meintz, "Assemblée Parlementaire. Rapport sur la coopération avec l'UNESCO," (Report, 1980), 327.394 A OI CE (CPX/EUR/40/3.2), UNESCO Archives.
In 1982, S. Mutal (CoE) observed the rising intrerest in heritage conservation cooperation: "En vue de cela les ministres de la Culture ont établi des instruments de coopération bilatérale et multilatérale, parfois en coopération avec l'UNESCO. " S Mutal, "Réunion préparatoire d'experts des ministres de la culture des pays de langue et de culture a composante latine, Rome 16-17 mars 1982" (Report, 1982), CLT.CH.SS, UNESCO Archives.
See also CoE, "Subcommittee on UNESCO and Other International Organizations. Draft Minutes on the Meeting Held at the European Cultural Center, Delphi 13-14 Dec 1979" (Report, Strasbourg, January 14, 1980), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 68- (RIO ORG 40 3.3), UNESCO Archives ; UNESCO, "Conférence Générale 22e session, Paris 1983, 22.9.1983 : Mesures prises en vue de l'application de la Résolution 21 c/7.06. Paragraphe 3K sur la Coopération Européenne : Rapport du directeur général" (Report, Paris, 1983), 34-38, CLT.CH.SS Europe General 1977-86, UNESCO Archives.
[702] "Projet de rapport réunion inter-secrétariats Conseil de l'Europe - UNESCO Paris - 30 juin1980" (Report Draft, Paris, 1980), 11–12, 327.394 AOI CE/8 UNESCO entier, UNESCO Archives.
[703] On discussions around the campaign and the FRG led Kalabsha temple project, see "Internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente der UNESCO 1962-1965" (Documents, 1962-1965), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Sek KMK Möllenkamp, "Nubien Kampagne" (Letter, Bonn, February 10, 1965), Nr. 7835, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; KMK, "Letter to KMK members" (Letter, Bonn, February 10, 1960), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; German UNESCO Commission, "3. Sitzung des Nubienausschusses." (Report, Bonn, October 29, 1963), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The FRG entered other bilateral agreements. "Aide allemande a la restauration de bâtiments algériens" (Report, April 21, 1964), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[704] The KMK followed these actions. See Meyer Rutz, "Letter to KMK Members. Ergebnisniederschrift. Sitzung AKE Band 9. Sitzung 115. AKE 1/2.8.1974" (Report, Bonn, August 16, 1974), B304 6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der DUK in den Jahren 1966-67" (1967), B304 5575, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Some of them, like the Florence and Venice campaign just a few years later, required the collaboration of UNESCO with other regional international organizations such as the Council of Europe.

UNESCO and CoE projects from 1960s and 1970s coincided with a growing public interest in heritage conservation and a moment of transition in the legal and institutional organization of heritage conservation in West Germany. This reflection was anchored in its international context, as the FRG participated in the 1970 UNESCO international conference on cultural politics, during which member-states compared their policies and came to common decisions. Indeed, heritage conservation was part of the cultural politics that came into focus when the FRG reexamined its cultural diplomacy and tried to strengthen its presence in the cultural realm in the 1970s. [705]

The multitude of institutions, organizations, and associations involved in the federal system for heritage conservation complicated the participation of West Germany in international heritage projects. Three groups of state actors were involved in West German international heritage projects. The first group was comprised of representatives of the KMK. A second group included administrators from the Federal ministries, especially the BMI, in charge of international heritage projects of the UNESCO and COE. The third group were the diplomats in charge of cultural questions at the AA. They saw heritage projects of UNESCO and the CoE as a political opportunity to spread the FRG's image as a cultural nation to the world. These institutions regularly encountered difficulties in communicating with each other, distributing responsibilities, and achieving efficient decision-making in international heritage projects.

While the FRG had to contend with a highly complex institutional system of heritage conservation, the unintended consequence was a simplification of actors involved in international heritage questions. A handful of representatives from these three institutions, such as Dr. Margret Lugge, Dr. Bernd Dietmar Scheer, or Dr. Wilhelm Bertram, can be encountered repeatedly in the

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The Foreign Office of the FRG coordinated the actions. See for example "UNESCO Nubien Komitee -Erhaltung und Entwickelung des Kulturellen Erbes -Borobudur" (Documents, 1973-1975), B91 509, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Internationale Aktion zur Erhaltung Borobudur - Florenz/Venedig" (Documents, 1970), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[705] "Bericht der Enquete Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik gemäss Beschluss des Deutschen Bundestages vom 23. Februar 1973," (Report, 1977), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Zwischenbericht der Enquete-Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik," (September 22, 1972), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

On the 1970s revalorization of cultural diplomacy, see also Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen,* 33-39.

In 1982, there was another study. German UNESCO Commission, *Cultural Policy in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Paris: UNESCO, 1973), https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000006935; "Conférence Mondiale Sur Les Politiques Culturelles" (Paris UNESCO, 15-19 Déc. 1980)," (Documents, 1982 1980), Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

sources over a multitude of heritage projects bridging UNESCO and the CoE.[706] This sub-chapter studies the path of one West-German expert representative who took a central place in the FRG participation in heritage conservation projects of UNESCO and the CoE, starting from the 1960s: Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling. President of the Association of Regional Conservators, he took the forefront in West German heritage work in both organizations on the international level and became the main link with the national level institutions. His role as the main and sole heritage conservation expert involved in international organizations in the FRG lasted from the creation of ICOMOS in 1965 until the 1975 European Heritage Year of the Council of Europe. FRG experts involved in international heritage projects hoped to call on the attention of the West German public and bring upon a change in national level heritage conservation, while other projects presented an opportunity to broaden their network and showcase their expertise internationally. Bornheim's participation in international heritage in the 1960s and 70s showcases the intimate links between heritage projects by UNESCO and the CoE on the national level.

3.2.1. The 1964 UNESCO Campaign: A Starting Point for FRG Conservators

The UNESCO Campaign of 1964-1965 was the first major international heritage conservation campaign to take place in the FRG. Administrators and experts started planning for the UNESCO Campaign in 1962, but over the following years, the West German campaign was plagued with discord and delays. The main event of the campaign, an exhibition on German heritage conservation, was ultimately inaugurated in 1966, long after the end of the UNESCO campaign. Despite these setbacks, the campaign marked the rise of Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling who became the primary expert of international heritage in the FRG for the following decade.

In 1962, the KMK and BMI started planning for the campaign after receiving notice from UNESCO Director General Rene Maheu. They consulted the head of the Association of Regional Conservators, Bavarian conservator Heinrich Kreisel, about the planning of the UNESCO

[706] Bernd Dietmar Scheer was a Director of the Dpt. of Cultural Affairs at the Federal Ministry of Interior, Wilhelm Bertram was a Deputy Director of the Federal Ministry of Justice, Margret Lugge was Ministerialrätin in Bonn. They appear in multiple records from the Bundesarchiv and Landesarchiv Koblenz.
This could lead to conflicts of interest, such as in the case of Frau Dr. Schwarz, an *Oberregierungsrätin* at the Hamburg *Kulturbehörde.* She was removed from the UAMD because: "Durch die Angehörigkeit im UAMD und die Tätigkeit in der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger entstehe zwangslaufig eine Interessenkollision." Rädle, "Unterausschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege. Ergebnisniederschrift über die 20. Sitzung am 10./11.5.1979 in Kiel" (Report, Bonn, May 17, 1979), B 304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

campaign, who suggested the planning of a wandering exhibition.[707] Another conservator, Rudolf Stein, however, denigrated the idea of a campaign being able to sponsor public involvement in questions of heritage conservation in West Germany altogether:

> Heimatschutz und Denkmalpflege hatten ihre große Zeit vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Da waren die Leute zu begeistern [708]

At the time, heritage conservation in West Germany centered around expertise and professional conservators, partly because of the destruction of WWII and the National Socialist regime's political use of heritage sites and archeology.[709] Stein believed that heritage conservation was now meant to remain in the hand of experts; his skepticism was shared by other conservators. Kreisel countered these critics, arguing that his proposed exhibition would focus on historic city centers and the challenges of reconstruction. This subject, he stated, was of interest to the general public and a problem shared among European countries.[710]

In 1963, Kreisel was replaced at the head of the Association of Regional Conservators by conservator Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling. Bornheim had been involved in the Association since its inception in 1949 and had served as its interim president since 1960. He was a city conservator in Cologne after the war, before becoming the chief of the Rhineland Palatine Heritage

[707] René Maheu, "Letter to DUK. Internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente" (Letter, July 31, 1962), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The aim of the FRG campaign was : "für den Gedanken der Denkmalpflege im Lande zu werben, und ihm auf verschiedenen Wegen Ausdruck zu verleihen." KMK, "Auszug aus der Niederschrift über die 59. Kunstausschusssitzung am 10-11.12.62 in Göttingen" (1962), Ko Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The association was created in 1951. Heinrich Kreisel (1898-1975), the head, was a general conservator for the *Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege* from 1957 to 1963. Florian Hufnagl , "Kreisel, Heinrich" in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 12 (1980). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd105721182.html#ndbcontent.

[708] Rudolf Stein was a German architect and conservator based in Bremen. He thought "dass der Denkmalschutz in Deutschland leider gar nicht populär und im Vergleich etwa mit Österrreich und der Schweiz auch rückständig ist. " Rudolf Stein, "Stellungnahme von Dr. Rudolf Stein zur Förderung der Denkmalpflege in Zusammenhang mit der Unesco Kampagne für historische Monumente 1963" (Letter, December 3, 1962), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[709] On Nazi uses of heritage and archeology, see Sandra Chaney, *Nature of the miracle years : conservation in West Germany, 1945 - 1975* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2008), 27–38; Joshua Hagen, "Historic Preservation in Nazi Germany: Place, Memory, and Nationalism," *Journal of Historical Geography* 35, no. 4 (October 1, 2009), 690–715; Georg Koch, Stefanie Samida, and Sarah Willner, eds., *Doing history: Performative Praktiken in der Geschichtskultur* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2016); Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*; Laurent Olivier and Jérôme Préfacier Prieur, *Nos ancêtres les Germains: les archéologues français et allemands au service du nazisme* (Paris, France: Tallandier, 2015).

[710] "Die gleichen Themen und Schwierigkeiten beherrschen auch die Denkmalpflege der anderen europäischen Länder." Kreisel, "Letter to Bavarian Cultural Ministry. Internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente der UNESCO" (Letter, January 29, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

Conservation office at the end of the 1940s.[711] Bornheim was far from convinced by the aims of the UNESCO action and openly questioned whether the funds for the campaign would not be better spent on applied projects of conservation. Shortly after his election, he sent a letter to his Cultural Ministry expressing that while he welcomed the international initiative of a UNESCO campaign, he wanted to prioritize national interests.[712] Members of the association of regional conservators remained skeptical of the importance of outreach to the public but were worried that reluctance would appear to signal opposition to UNESCO's campaign.[713]

In early 1964, the Cultural Ministries ultimately decided in favor of the organization of a wandering exhibition.[714] Kreisel refused to take over the organization but offered a memorandum as a guideline, warning that the future exhibition should be short and impressive. He encouraged the organizers to use "models of World-well know heritage sites whose meaning, and conservation is understandable by all,"[715] such as the Porta Nigra in Trier and the Cathedral of Cologne and

[711] Bornheim insisted on his experience when he was elected : "Hinzu kommt, dass ich der dienstälteste deutsche Denkmalpfleger bin. " Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Cultural Ministry. Jahrestagung Der Vereinigung Der Landesdenkmalpfleger in Der Brd (23-26.6.1963)" (Letter, July 2, 1963), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz. Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling (1915-1992) was regional heritage conservator in Rhineland-Palatinate based in Mainz. He taught heritage conservation at Mainz University from the 1960s and was part of institutions such as the *Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz*. See Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Mainz, ed., *Denkmalpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz: Festschrift für Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling* (Mainz: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 1980); Udo Liessem, "Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling zum 70. Geburtstag," *Burgen und Schlösser - Zeitschrift für Burgenforschung und Denkmalpflege* 26, no. 1 (1985), 54–54 ; Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz, "Mitteilungsblatt des Rheinischen Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz. Juni-August 1952. Heft Nr.3-5" (Report pub., 1952), Nr.3465, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz ; Sofsky, "Letter to Hamburg Senatsdirektor Bonnet" (Letter, July 24, 1969), Nr. 9999, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
On his work in Mainz, see Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Jahresbericht. Tätigkeitsbericht über die Dienststelle des Landeskonservators Rheinland-Pfalz vom 1.1.1948 – 31.12.1950. Tätigkeitsbericht über die Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser in Rhein-Pfalz vom 1.4.1947-21.12.1950" (Report, January 9, 1951), Nr.10371, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Tätigkeitsbericht des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege in Rheinland Pfalz. Arbeitstagung der Vereinigung der Denkmalpfleger der Bundesrepublik" (Report, July 2, 1949), Nr. 3005, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Tätigkeitsbericht des Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege in Rheinland Pfalz. Arbeitstagung der Vereinigung der Denkmalpfleger der Bundesrepublik" (December 20, 1960), Nr.10371, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[712] Bornheim stated : "Die Massnahmen auf internationaler Ebene des Rundschreibens sind sehr zu begrüssen. (...) Entscheidender bleibt aber auch hier die nationale d.h. die eigenständige Voraussetzung." Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Kahlert (Cultural Ministry). UNESCO Aktion für historische Monumente 1963 Stellungnahme" (Letter, April 26, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[713] See "Auszug aus der Niederschrift über die 64. Sitzung des Kunstausschusses 13-14.11.1963" (Report, November 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Niederschrift über die Konferenz der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD am 22.1.1964 in Mainz" (Report, January 1964), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[714] "Ergebnisprotokoll über die Besprechung am 5.2.1964 in Bonn im Sek. der KMK über die geplante internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente" (Report, February 21, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[715] Kreisel, "Memorandum Ausstellung Unesco Denkmalpflege" (Memo, March 16, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Niederschrift über die Konferenz der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD am 22.1.1964 in Mainz" (Report, January 1964), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

advised to include archaeological sites, overseen by a different institution in the FRG. The KMK's first choice of exhibition organizer was made without consultation with the Association of Regional Conservators. Bornheim opposed it and reluctantly took over the responsibility of planning the exhibition with the support of another conservator, Hans Reuthers. They were backed by an organizing committee made of representatives of the main institutions involved: the BMI, the KMK, the AA, the *Städtetag* and other occasional members. The organizing committee wanted to showcase West German heritage conservation under a positive light. In Mainz, Bornheim, Reuthers and the organizing committee put together an exhibition out of extensive documentation and information from all the *Länder* on their conservation work since 1945.[716]

The event introducing the UNESCO Campaign was the 2nd International Conference of Architects hosted in Venice in May of 1964. The Foreign Office chose to send Bornheim as the FRG representative.[717] In parallel, West German administrators were informed late about the plans for the creation of ICOMOS. Although administrators were not convinced of the utility of the organization, diplomats were anxious about leaving the political balance of the organization in the hands of the eastern bloc. Bornheim thus took part in the 1965 Polish Congress that saw the official creation of ICOMOS international and was elected to the Executive Committee, which gave him additional decisional power in the direction of ICOMOS. He convinced German authorities to support the establishment of a national branch. ICOMOS Deutschland was created shortly

[716] See "Niederschrift über die Konferenz der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD am 22.1.1964 in Mainz" (Report, January 1964), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.; "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses der DUK für die Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für Historische Denkmäler. Köln, 18.12.1964" (Report, Köln, December 21, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Mechtild Fischer, "Protokoll der 3. Sitzung des Ausschusses für die Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler" (Report, Köln, July 19, 1965), B95 1212, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Mechtild Fischer, "Protokoll der 4. Sitzung des Ausschusses für die Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler. Köln, 27.7.1965, 15 Uhr" (Report, Köln, August 6, 1965), B95 1212, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Protokoll der 5. Sitzung des Ausschusses für die Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler" (Report, Köln, October 4, 1965), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Mechtild Fischer, "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler. Köln, den 4.12.1965, 10 00 Uhr" (Report, Köln, December 14, 1965), B95 1213, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Mechtild Fischer, "Protokoll der Sitzung des Auschusses zur Vorbereitung der Wanderausstellung 'Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik', 1965. Köln, den 18 Juni 1964." (Report, Köln, August 25, 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Referat IV 2, "UNESCO Internationale Campagne für Historische Denkmäler. Hiesige Schreiben vom 30.4 und 12.5.1964" (Report, Bonn, July 2, 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Hans Reuthers (1920-1989) German conservator and architecture historian from Berlin. He worked as conservator in Hannover and Bavaria before becoming a professor of architecture at the TU Berlin. "Hans Reuthers" in *Catalogus Professorum.* Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://cp.tu-berlin.de/person/3103.

[717] Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Ministry of Culture" (Letter, May 19, 1964), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; BMI Gussone, "Internationaler Rat für Baudenkmäler und Kunststätten - ICOMOS" (Letter, Bonn, January 18, 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

thereafter. The organization was based in Mainz, in Bornheim's work quarter.[718] In the preface of the book celebrating the 50 years of German ICOMOS, conservator Jörg Haspel underlined Bornheim's power remembering that "For a while, Mainz was like a secret capital of West German heritage conservation." [719]

In Mainz, however, the organization of the exhibition was plagued with additional financial difficulties and delays. The exhibition ultimately opened in Cologne at the *Bischofsmuseum* in January of 1966 under the title "Bewahren und Gestalten – deutsche Denkmalpflege." [720] The final product of the exhibition was a far stretch from Kreisel's original idea of being easily accessible to a wide public. The exhibition, which was apparently impossible to navigate without the guidebook, contained too much information. It was mainly composed of panels containing photographs and other documentation. A review by the *General Anzeiger* went as far as to call it a waste of public funds.[721]

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[718] See Referat IV 6 von Beyme, "Internationaler Rat für Denkmalpflege (ICOMOS). Konstitutierende Generalversammlung - 20.-27.6.65 Warschau" (Report, Bonn, May 24, 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Gussone, "Internationaler Rat für Baudenkmäler und Kunstätten - ICOMOS" (Letter, Bonn, January 18, 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Vermerk über die Besprechung am 3. Februar 1965 im Bundesministerium des Inneren betr. den Internationalen Rat für Denkmalpflege - ICOMOS" (Report, Bonn, February 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Mechtild Fischer, "Generalversammlung von ICOMOS, Warschau 20. bis 28. Juni 1965. Deutsche Delegation" (Letter, Köln, March 5, 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "ICOMOS- Tagung in Rom" (Report, Mainz, April 27, 1965), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
This fulfilled the aim : "das Interesse der deutschen Fachvereinigung an der Gründung und an einer Vertretung der Bundesrepublik in den Organen der Dachorganisation zum Ausdruck bringen sollte." "Ergebnisprotokoll über die Besprechung am 5.2.1964 in Bonn im Sek. der KMK über die geplante internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente"(Report, February 21, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
See also Brandt, *Im Schatten des Kalten Krieges*, 8–11, 18–35.

[719] International Council on Monuments and Sites Deutsches Nationalkomitee, Denkmal - Bau - Kultur: Konservatoren und Architekten im Dialog : Kolloquium anlässlich des 50 jährigen Jubiläums von ICOMOS Deutschland, ICOMOS-Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 63 (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2017), 24.

[720] "Invitation to exhibition opening on 1.7.1966. Bewahren und Gestalten. Deutsche Denkmalpflege" (1966), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
Plan of 1965 action, see DUK, "Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für Historische Denkmäler. Arbeitsunterlage für die Besprechung am 18. Juni 1964" (Report, Köln, June 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[721] Gerd Hoffmann, "Denkmalpflege – Stiefkind der Kulturarbeit. Mangelnde Koordinations frisst Steuergelder. Kölner Unesco-Ausstellung und was dahinter steckt kritisch betrachtet," *Generalanzeiger*, January 20, 1966, Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
See also "Summe der Denkmalpflege. Bewahren und Gestalten. Eine Dokumentation in Köln," *Die Welt*, January 20, 1966, Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
Organizers recognized that the exhibition was "schwierig und unübersichtlich." Bornheim pushed the fault onto Reuthers. "Protokoll 7. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler Köln den 20.1.1966" (Report, February 18, 1966), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Übersicht über die Ausstellung Bewahren und Gestalten Deutsche Denkmalpflege 1966-1967" (Report, 1967), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

After this difficult start, the exhibition was slightly changed to sharpen its focus. It also emphasized receiving school visits but the dense information in its documentation remained. Its subsequent tour through West Germany proved challenging to plan as West German cities were expected to offer their exhibition space at no or greatly reduced cost and thus many refused.[722] Still, in the first year, the exhibition toured Cologne, Kaiserslautern, Karlsruhe, Munich, Kassel, Hamburg, Berlin, and Hanover and attracted over 25000 West German visitors.[723]

As one of the main contributors to the budget of the exhibition alongside the *Länder*, the AA was closely involved in the project.[724] The international ambitions for the exhibition was mainly European and the Foreign Office was aware of the potential overlaps with Council of Europe heritage projects, as they planned the Exhibition:

> Außerdem wünscht sich das Auswärtige Amt, die Ausstellung den Europaratsmitgliedern anzubieten, da der Europarat gleichzeitig mit der UNESCO eine analoge Aktion gestartet habe.[725]

The imagination of the organizers spanned both socialist and western countries. In 1965, the organizing committee specified that because of Eastern propaganda "Schwierigkeiten

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[722] Frankfurt, Mainz, Wiesbaden refused to house the exhibitions. Fischer, "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler. Köln, den 4.12.1965, 10 00 Uhr" (Report, Köln, December 14, 1965), B95 1213, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[723] "Protokoll 7. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler Köln den 20.1.1966" (Report, February 18, 1966), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz ; Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Übersicht über die Ausstellung Bewahren und Gestalten Deutsche Denkmalpflege 1966-1967"(Report, 1967), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[724] The AA alone planned to offer 30 000 in the first year and between 50-100000 DM in 1965. It had offered 120 000 DM and the Länder 105 000 DM in 1965, and organizer were still missing 14 300 DM. "Niederschrift über die Konferenz der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD am 22.1.1964 in Mainz" (Report, January 1964), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Referat IV 2, "UNESCO Internationale Campagne für Historische Denkmäler. Hiesige Schreiben vom 30.4 und 12.5.1964" (Report, Bonn, July 2, 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; "UNESCO Aktion für historische Monumente Wanderausstellung über die deutsche Denkmalpflege. Finanzierung im Haushaltsjahr 1965" (Report, Mainz, December 3, 1965), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Fischer, "Protokoll der Sitzung des Auschusses zur Vorbereitung der Wanderausstellung 'Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik', 1965. Köln, den 18 Juni 1964" (Report, Köln, August 25, 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Mechtild Fischer, "Vermerk. Finanzierung der Ausstellung der Deutschen UNESCO-Kommission 'Bewahren und Gestalten - deutsche Denkmalpflege'. Am 1.10.1965, Köln, 10.00 Uhr." (Report, Köln, November 15, 1965), B95 1212, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The FRG attempted to ask UNESCO for funds. Bornheim argued that "gegenüber der UNESCO auch geltend gemacht werden könne, dass kein Mitgliedstaat eine derart große und repräsentative Ausstellung gemacht habe." Fischer, "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler. Köln, den 4.12.1965, 10 00 Uhr," (Report, Köln, December 14, 1965), 6, B95 1213, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[725] "Aufgrund der UNESCO Komponente sei die Frage von großem Interesse, die Ausstellung auch in einem sozialistischen Lande zu zeigen. " "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung des Arbeitausschusses der DUK für die Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für Historische Denkmäler. Köln, 18.12.1964"(Report, Köln, December 21, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

vielleicht etwas im Hintergrund bleiben könnten"[726] in order to showcase a positive image of German conservation. Because the GDR was not a member of UNESCO at the time – it requested to join UNESCO in 1972 - and thus not partaking in the campaign, Kreisel had recommended to include East German heritage sites into the exhibition, even though their conservation was not under the institutional responsibility of the FRG.[727]

Bornheim followed his advice but remained extremely careful about the material to avoid political conflict with socialist countries and leave the door open to the exhibition being shown there. In 1965 for example, discussions arose around a map that could remind of the *Drang nach Osten*. The Ministry for *Gesamtdeutsche Fragen* recommended using maps of a unified Germany for the exhibition in the FRG and swap them out for West German maps in the later travelling exhibition, which was refused.[728] Indeed the exhibition was destined to have a nomadic afterlife. Following its West German tour, the exhibition was handed over to the Foreign Office. In preparation for an international tour, it was reduced drastically and translated. The exhibition was still touring internationally in the 1970s.[729]

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[726] German UNESCO Commission, "Protokoll der Sitzung des Ausschusses zur Vorbereitung der Wanderausstellung 'Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik' 1965" (Report, Köln, June 18, 1964), B95 1112, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[727] On the structures of archaeological searches and heritage conservation in the FRG, see Verband der Landesarchäologen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, ed., *Archäologische Denkmalpflege und Forschung. Kolloquium anlässlich der Jahrestagung Weimar 18-21. Mai 1992* (Weimar: Thüringisches Landesamt für Archäologische Denkmalpflege, 1993).
The GDR requested to join UNESCO in 1972. UNESCO Executive Board, "Request by the German Democratic Republic for Admission to UNESCO" (Report, 1972). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000001586; UNESCO Commission of the German Democratic Republic, ed., *GDR, Ten Years UNESCO Membership, 1972-1982* (Berlin: UNESCO Commission of the German Democratic Republic, 1982).
On the relationship between West and East Germany in Heritage Conservation, see Ursula Schädler-Saub and Angela Weyer, eds., *Geteilt - Vereint! Denkmalpflege in Mitteleuropa zur Zeit des Eisernen Vorhangs und heute*, ICOMOS. Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees 59 (Petersberg: Imhof, 2015).

[728] "Den Vorschlag des Ministeriums für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen, möglicherweise eine gesamtdeutsche Kulturkarte mit eingezeichneten Grenzen nur in der Bundesrepublik, nicht aber im Ausland zu zeigen, hält er für unrealistisch, da deutsche Ausstellungen auch in starkem Masse von Ausländern besucht würden." Fischer, "Protokoll der 6. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Internationale Aktion der UNESCO für historische Denkmäler. Köln, den 4.12.1965, 10 00 Uhr" (Report, Köln, December 14, 1965), B95 1213, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Mechtild Fischer, "Letter to Dr. Kahl" (Letter, January 5, 1966), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[729] Lutze, "Letter to KMK" (Report, February 11, 1966), Nr.9150, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The exhibition would be revived in preparations for the 1975 European Heritage Year. Bornheim reported: "Unter Bezugsnahme auf die o.g. Besprechung berichten wir auch schriftlich, dass die Ausstellung "Historische Denkmäler in Deutschland und ihre Wiederherstellung", die durch das Auswärtige Amt unter meiner Leitung aufgebaut wurde (...) Das Gewicht der verpackten Ausstellung ist rund 6190kg. 25 Kisten, besonders dafür hergestellt, ermöglichten einen unbeschädigten Auf- und Abbau der Ausstellung bisher für verschiedene europäische Länder. " Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Cultural Ministry. Ausstellung zur Denkmalpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz Mündliche Besprechung" (Letter, Mainz, January 31, 1972), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

Although Bornheim had seemed to consider the UNESCO exhibition as a chore, he acquired a keen interest in international collaboration from the 1965 UNESCO Campaign, which he later pursued actively. This included the Council of Europe actions such as the expert confrontations between 1965 and 1968 and a CoE working group studying the tentative plan of a convention for the protection of heritage. West Germany resolved to deploy representatives to its meeting and although Bornheim was not present at the early confrontations of the Council of Europe, he became the West German representative for the ensuing confrontations. He was an enthusiastic participant in the CoE meetings and served as an informant on those projects for national and regional authorities.[730]

Bornheim's actions at the CoE again underlined the structural difficulties which West Germany faced in its participation in international projects, especially over financial considerations. For the Council of Europe Confrontation E in Avignon in 1968, the last of the first confrontations series, French conservators had planned an exhibition on heritage conservation to accompany the event. Each participating state was asked to provide materials and financial help for the organization of the exhibition. In West Germany, the delay on decision-making and lack of budget earmarked for its creation pushed Werner Bornheim to reuse the already existing 1966 UNESCO exhibition *Bewahren und Gestalten* on heritage conservation in West Germany with new text in French. This reuse of the recent UNESCO exhibition illustrates the bridges between both organizations, which were direct consequences of Bornheim's parallel involvement in UNESCO and CoE heritage conservation projects.[731]

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[730] In 1964 the KMK sent a regional conservator to the CoE meetings : "Ergebnisprotokoll über die Besprechung am 5.2.1964 in Bonn im Sek. der KMK über die geplante internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente"(Report, February 21, 1964), Nr. 9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
In 1970, for example, Bornheim informed Dr. Schwarz about the preparations for a CoE Symposium. "Auszug aus dem Ergebnisprotokoll über die zweite Sitzung der Referenten für Denkmalpflege 18.2.1970 in Bremen" (Report, February 1970), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[731] Discussions about the CoE exhibition started in 1966. *Rheinland-Pfalz* provided space and labor through Bornheim, but the KMK refused to pay for the CoE initiative since it was an international affair. Bornheim turned to the AA and BMI for help. See "Antrag der Vereinigung (…) an den Vors. des Kunstausschusses vom 3.3.1966" (Letter, Mainz, July 6, 1966), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Cultural Ministry, "Letter to Vereinigung Landesdenkmalpfleger" (Letter, August 4, 1966), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz. Exchanges between Bornheim and administrators in 1968, see Maltzahn von, "Letter to Dr. Bornheim. Deutsche Beteiligung in Avignon. Unser Telefongespräch am 21.5.1968" (Letter, June 7, 1968), B95 1365, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hermann Pollig, "Aktennotiz. Ausstellung Denkmalpflege in Avignon (September 1968). Telefongespräch mit Herrn Dr. von Maltzahn und Herrn Dr. Bornheim am 21.5.1968" (Report, Stuttgart, May 21, 1968), B95 1365, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Dagmar Möllenkamp, "Letter to F. Serlin. Symposium E Defence et Mise en Valeur des Sites et Ensembles d'Intérêt Historique ou Artistique, Avignon" (Letter, Bonn, May 6, 1968), B95 1365, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

3.2.2. Continuity and Change: International Projects and West German Heritage Conservation in the First Half of the 1970s

The intensification and institutionalization of international heritage conservation projects at UNESCO and the Council of Europe in 1970s threw a new light on the FRG participation in these projects. In the 1970s, FRG representatives insisted on European Collaboration at UNESCO in matters of heritage conservation.[732] This was due partly to the rise of the GDR on the international scene and partly to its own institutional struggle for participation at UNESCO. Indeed, the FRG lost its status as the sole representative of the German nation on the international stage when the GDR became a UNESCO member in 1972, in a context of normalization of relations through Chancellor Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*.[733] At the same time, the FRG faced a problem of representation at UNESCO, because it never reached its allowed employee quota, limiting its influence in Paris. In 1976 for example, Prof. Otto von Simson, president of the German UNESCO Committee, complained about the lack of expert involvement in UNESCO projects:

> In anderen Ländern, Frankreich etwa, (...) gelingt es den dortigen Nationalkommissionen stets, Fachleute für wichtige Projekte des UNESCO-Programms zu interessieren und zur Mitarbeit heranzuziehen. Bei uns ist die Situation schon fast traditionell sehr viel ungünstiger. Das mag am mangelnden Interesse für die Arbeit der UNESCO liegen, an dem kulturpolitischen Föderalismus oder an der Überlastung unserer Fachleute mit anderen Aufgaben, gleichviel : die Wirkung ist überaus bedauerlich. Wir können auf der internationalen Ebene nicht beitragen, wozu das bei uns Geleistete uns berechtigt, ja verpflichtet, und wir können die häufig überaus konstruktiven Anstöße, die von UNESCO ausgehen, nicht immer auf sinnvolle Weise für die entsprechenden Aufgaben bei uns in Deutschland nutzen.[734]

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[732] "Zwischenbericht der Enquete-Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik," (September 22, 1972), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Bericht der Enquete Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik gemäss Beschluss des Deutschen Bundestages vom 23. Februar 1973," (Report, 1977), B336/451, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
In a 1977 report, the state insisted on the importance of using "die von der UNESCO entwickelten Möglichkeiten zur Förderung der Zusammenarbeit in ganz Europa" for cultural diplomacy. "Auswärtige Kulturpolitik, Stellungnahme der Bundesregierung zum Bericht der Enquete Kommission Auswärtige Kulturpolitik des Deutschen Bundestages," (Report, Bonn, approx 1977), B336/408, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[733] See Brandt, *Im Schatten des Kalten Krieges; Creuzberger, Westintegration und neue Ostpolitik*; Fink and Schäfer, *Ostpolitik, 1969 - 1974*; Loth, *The Making of Détente*; Kiran Klaus Patel, *Europäisierung Wider Willen* : *Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Der Agrarintegration Der EWG, 1955-1973* (München : Oldenbourg, 2009).

[734] Otto von Simson, "Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne. Aufzeichnungen zur Problematik seiner zukünftigen Tätigkeit" (Report, Berlin, 1976), B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Art historian, Professor Otto von Simson (1912-1993) served as the permanent delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany to UNESCO between 1959 and 1964 and later as president of the UNESCO German National Committee from 1975 to 1986. Ingeborg Becker and Ingo Herklotz(eds.), *Otto von Simson 1912-1993 : zwischen Kunstwissenschaft und Kulturpolitik*, (Vienna, 2019).
See also "Letter exchange AA-DUK" (Letters, 1976 1975), B336/447, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The role and budget of the German UNESCO Commission was under the radar in the 1970s. See Walter Meißner, "Letter to DUK Vollzugsausschuss" (Letter, August 15, 1974), B336/407, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Consequently, the FRG encountered recurring delays and communication problems in fulfilling its international obligations. In the case of heritage conservation, this lack of participation was partially caused by the FRG's morcellated institutions. In each *Land*, heritage sites were divided into three categories—architectural, religious, and archaeological— under the responsibility of different institutions, which made the creation of overarching legislation and organizations challenging.[735] This became noticeable on the international stage, as shown by a 1970 Council of Europe report on the FRG's legal organization in heritage conservation:

> In the Federal Republic of Germany, two Länder have passed laws since 1945. These are Baden-Württemberg and Schleswig-Holstein. In the other Länder older and less satisfactory laws and fragmentary regulations are in force. (…) Unity is thus far from existing even within a single country. [736]

Despite a lack of unity, the practice of heritage conservation in West Germany was comparable to other neighboring states. The budgets, experts, and practical implementation for heritage conservation existed in all the *Länder*, but they were not regimented by clear legislative rules. Several *Länder*, such as Bremen or Rheinland-Pfalz, still relied on Prussian-era laws in 1970.[737] The following year, in a different meeting at the Council of Europe on the plans for a later abandoned European Convention on heritage conservation, Werner Bornheim attempted in vain to explain the specificities of the West German system to his international audience. In his report

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[735] In 1964 a discussion about the planned *Denkmalschutzgesetze* in Baden-Württemberg and Hessen showcased the difficulties to convince Church conservators and archeologist to agree to new laws that infringed on their independence. "Niederschrift über die Konferenz der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD am 22.1.1964 in Mainz" (Report, January 1964), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz ; Zwanzig, "Bericht über die Sitzung der Vereinigung Deutscher Denkmalpfleger in Wiesbaden 20.3.1964" (Report, March 24, 1964), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
International projects spurred debates on local conservation and legislation in the 1960s. By the 1970s, most regions moved to create new legislation. See Dr. Lutze, "Niederschrift über eine Sondersitzung der Referenten für Denkmalpflege am 26. Juni 1967 in Bremen" (Report, July 17, 1967), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Dr. Lutze, "Sondersitzung der Referenten für Denkmalpflege. AKE 82. Sitzung Berlin 1967" (Report, 1967), Nr. 10559, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Beitrag des Ländervertreters zum Grundsatzreferat des Niederländischen Kultusminister Denkmalpflege und Raumordnung" (1970), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[736] CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Draft Report. Outline Law for the Active Protection of Immovable Cultural Property in Europe Presented by Mr. H. Cravatte Rapporteur," (Report Draft, Strasbourg, September 2, 1970), 25, 069:7 (4) A 218/8 CE "-66," UNESCO Archives.

[737] CoE Assemblée Consultative, Commission de la Culture et de l'Education, "Draft Report. Outline Law for the Active Protection of Immovable Cultural Property in Europe Presented by Mr. H. Cravatte Rapporteur."
On Heritage Laws in the FRG, see Seifert, Das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt und die Rechtsordnung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 33.
Astrid Swenson discusses the link between legislation and practice in the late 19th - early 20th century: Swenson, "The Law's Delay?"

he concluded defeated: "Deren Differenziertheit war, wie üblich, den Teilnehmern nicht nahezubringen." [738]

West German experts and administrators were eager to showcase their heritage practices on an international stage, but they saw no need or institutional possibility to follow the inventory techniques and advice developed by the Council of Europe during the confrontations for example. The FRG boasted of well-documented and published regional inventories and German experts and administrators saw no urgency to act despite their lack of uniformity.[739]

The FRG became part of UNESCO discussions of the plans for a World Heritage Convention in 1971, although they were aware of discussions on the subject since 1968.[740] At first, FRG representatives believed that the UNESCO action would not result in a convention but only in a less legally binding recommendation.[741] The sole expert conservator directly involved in these early administrators-dominated discussions in West Germany was Werner Bornheim. In 1971, Bornheim underlined the structural problems that West Germany would face with a World Heritage Convention because the legal and financial organization of heritage conservation belonged to the *Länder*. Besides his hesitations on the applicability of the project in West Germany, he also feared the politicization of heritage matters on a local level.[742] He noted similarities

[738] Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "1.Sitzung des Komitees für Denkmalpflege und historische Stätten in Strassburg vom 29.11-3.12.1971" (Report, December 15, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[739] "83. Sitzung AKE 30.11/1.12.1967 in Karlsruhe. Symposium A Europarat : Kriterien und Methoden Inventar über Kulturdenkmäler" (Report, 1967), Nr. 7835, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
In 1971, Bornheim reported CoE discussions: "Im Zusammenhang mit der Erfassung der Denkmäler, die unter Berufung auf das Symposium A des Europarates 1965 mehrfach als Thema akut wurde, blieb noch einmal auf die deutschen Inventare der Kunstdenkmäler, die besonders gelobt wurden, hinzuweisen.(...) Ich erwiderte ihn, dass die deutsche Denkmalpflege bei der buchmässigen Erfassung bleibt, gerne aber auch eine karteimässige dazu durchführe wenn die entsprechenden Finanzmittel und Mitarbeiter gegeben würden." Bornheim gen. Schilling, "1.Sitzung des Komitees für Denkmalpflege und historische Stätten in Strassburg vom 29.11-3.12.1971"(Report, December 15, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[740] See Sek KMK Möllenkamp, "UNESCO Richtlinien für den Schutz von Kultureingentum Denkmälern und historische Stätten" (Letter, Bonn, August 21, 1969), Nr.7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Dr. Rädle, "Zusammenfassende Übersetzung des UNESCO Berichtes : Arbeitsgruppe zur Ausarbeitung von Richtlinien für den Schutz von Kultureigentum, Denkmälern und historischen Stätten. (Paris 21-25.7.1969)" (Report, Bonn, September 16, 1970), Nr.7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
In 1971, administrators asked for input from the different FRG insitutions involved and met to decide on a stance: Vertragskommission der Länder Böttcher, "Internationale Richtlinien Entwurf" (Letter, Bonn, September 16, 1971), Nr.7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Arens, "Ergebnissprotokoll der Besprechung (...) am 16. Dez. 1971 im AA" (Report, Bonn, December 30, 1971), B106 / 59647, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Ergebnissprotokoll der Besprechung (...) am 3. November 1971 im AA" (Report, Bonn, December 10, 1971), B106 / 59647, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[741] Bornheim affirmed in 1971 : "Zweifellos wird man bestenfalls zu einer Empfehlung, keineswegs aber zu einem Übereinkommen in dieser Sache gelangen." Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Weisrock. UNESCO Internationale Richtlinien" (Letter, Mainz, December 21, 1971), Nr. 7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[742] Bornheim gen. Schilling, "UNESCO Richtlinien zum Schutz von Kultureigentum" (Report, Mainz, October 20, 1971), Nr.7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

between the UNESCO Convention project and the Council of Europe projects, but he chose to insist on the acute differences between them. His conclusions on the future UNESCO Convention were pessimistic:

> Durch die Einbeziehung außereuropäischer Länder von verschiedener Entwicklungsstruktur sind aber teilweise Vorschläge eingearbeitet worden, deren Verwirklichung in Ländern mit seit langem bestehenden Denkmalschutzgesetzen und praktischer Denkmalpflege kaum möglich ist.[743]

Bornheim was skeptical about the involvement of non-European states, and the integration of non-European conservation approaches. His insistence on the long European tradition of heritage practice and heritage laws illustrated his belief in European superiority. This attitude would be a staple of West German representatives for World Heritage at UNESCO.

In the administration, reservations around the UNESCO Convention converged on the potential financial burden and the problem of legal applicability because of the federal organization of heritage in West Germany. After UNESCO wrote a draft version of the convention in February of 1972, the FRG sent comments on the project to Paris the following month. The comments centered on the question of the separation of nature and culture, the World Heritage Fund, and the conflict with the sovereignty of the *Länder*.[744] The expert meeting at UNESCO in April of 1972, allowed around 50 experts to discuss and agree on a draft of the World Heritage Convention, which would be presented at the UNESCO General Meeting of the same year. The FRG participated in the debates of the meeting through the intermediary of Bornheim, the nature expert H. Henke, Ministry of the Interior representative Scheer, and finally, B. Bertram, a representative of the

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Reservation of the Cultural Ministries, see "Stellungnahme Kultusministerium Baden Württemberg. UNESCO Internationale Richtlinien zum Schutz von Denkmälern, Gebäuden und historischen Stätten." (Report, Stuttgart, December 3, 1971), Nr. 7843, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; KMK, "UNESCO Internationale Richlinien zum Schutz von Denkmälern. Sitzung der Sändigen Vertragskommission (9.12.1971) Protokoll" (Report, Bonn, January 12, 1971), Nr. 7846, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[743] "Neben dem vorliegenden Entwurf zu einem Rahmengesetzes von unbeweglichem Kulturgut in Europa – (...) des Europarates- hat die UNESCO die o.a. Richtlinien formuliert.(…)Wichtig wäre eine engere Zusammenarbeit zwischen den bereits bestehenden internationalen Vereinigungen (Icomos, Europa Nostra ua) " Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "UNESCO Richtlinien zum Schutz von Kultureigentum" (Report, Mainz, October 20, 1971), Nr.7842, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[744] "Position of the FRG on the Preliminary Draft Convention" (Report, Bonn, l5 1972), Nr. 7846, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

See also Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Übereinkommen und Empfehlungen für Richtlinien zum Schutz von Denkmälern, Gebäuden und Stätten" (Letter, Mainz, March 17, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Scheer, "Politisch wichtige Ereignisse und Gespräche bei der UNESCO- Konferenz zur Ausarbeitung einer Konvention und einer Empfehlung über den Schutz von Denkmälern unnd Stätten(4-22. April 1972 in Paris)" (Report, April 27, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Bertram, "UNESCO Tagung eines Komitees von Regierungsexpreten zur Ausarbeitung von Entwürfen einer Konvention (....) sowie einer Empfehlung" (Report, Bonn, May 4, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Ministry of Justice.[745]

Bornheim, in his report of the 1972 final preparation meeting for the Convention, regretted the absence of western states during votes and worried about the loss of power of the western group within UNESCO and ICOMOS, underscoring the feeling of "us" versus "them." [746] West German representatives were acutely aware of other European states' actions at UNESCO and deemed the active presence of other western European states at the meetings as central to protecting their interests. They also actively sought out other western European representatives. Austria and the FRG, for example, collaborated to add a clause on federal states in the Convention.[747]

Still, at UNESCO and the CoE, the relationship with other western European states was not devoid of competition. France particularly seemed to frustrate FRG representatives because of its friendliness with the Eastern Bloc and its overbearing influence in heritage projects. At the CoE for example, Bornheim and other German speaking representatives tried to push back against French centric influence in heritage projects. In 1971, they managed to have a German Swiss representative elected as Vice president of the Heritage Conservation Committee instead of a French-speaking one.[748] Despite their differences, both France and the FRG attempted to separate nature and culture in the Convention. The final draft, however, was a version combining both nature and culture favored by USA representatives, who lobbied actively for its success.[749]

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[745] See Bertram, "UNESCO Tagung eines Komitees von Regierungsexpreten zur Ausarbeitung von Entwürfen einer Konvention (....) sowie einer Empfehlung" (Report, Bonn, May 4, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Scheer, "Politisch wichtige Ereignisse und Gespräche bei der UNESCO- Konferenz zur Ausarbeitung einer Konvention und einer Empfehlung über den Schutz von Denkmälern unnd Stätten(4-22. April 1972 in Paris)" (Report, April 27, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "UNESCO Internationale Richtlinien" (Report, Bonn, June 29, 1972), Nr. 7846, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
See also UNESCO, "Report of the Committee of Experts 4-22.4.1972" (Report, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; AA, "Protokoll der Besprechung am 3. Oktober 1972 im Auswärtigen Amt über den Entwurf eines Übereinkommens und einer Empfehlung zum Schutz von Kulturgut und Landschaftsbestand" (Report, Bonn, October 2, 1972), Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[746] " Es verstärkt sich der Eindruck, dass westliche Länder in der UNESCO ihre Positionen nicht mehr halten können. " Bornheim gen. Schilling, "UNESCO Internationale Richtlinien"(Report, Bonn, June 29, 1972), Nr. 7846, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[747] Dr. Lutze, "Internationale Richtlinien etc." (Letter, November 22, 1971), Nr.7846, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Bertram, "UNESCO Tagung eines Komitees von Regierungsexpreten zur Ausarbeitung von Entwürfen einer Konvention (....) sowie einer Empfehlung" (Report, Bonn, May 4, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz

[748] "Wünschen, einen Vertreter Frankreichs zu benennen, traten wir entgegen mit der Bitte, einen Vertreter germanischer Länder hierfür zu bestimmen, da ja Frankreich in dem Belgier Pirlot einen romanischen Vertreter habe." Bornheim gen. Schilling, "1.Sitzung des Komitees für Denkmalpflege und historische Stätten in Strassburg vom 29.11-3.12.1971"(Report, December 15, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[749] Bertram, "UNESCO Tagung eines Komitees von Regierungsexpreten zur Ausarbeitung von Entwürfen einer Konvention (....) sowie einer Empfehlung" (Report, Bonn, May 4, 1972), B106/59648, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Dr. Petersen, "Letter to AA" (Letter, Paris, March 15, 1972), Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

In parallel, Bornheim also participated in the preparation of the CoE 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year. From the start, he was wary of the FRG's capacity to adequately plan for the Year because of its federal structure. In 1972, he stated :

> In der Bundesrepublik Deutschland dürfte es wohl angesichts der föderalen Struktur schwer sein, für das Europarats-Jahr 1975 ein Musterbeispiel denkmalpflegerischer Arbeit von übergeordneter Bedeutung zu liefern.[750]

He advised that as many different institutions as possible should be involved in the planning of the Year. Bornheim continued to inform West German institutions of the advancement of the plans and oversaw the creation of the German National Committee in the case of the European Heritage Year. [751]

FRG administrators actively compared both projects of the CoE and UNESCO, partly because they coincided with a wider financial crisis that led states to tighten their budgets. The Ministry of Finance strongly opposed the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and justified their stance through the Council of Europe heritage project, arguing that there was no need for a new international conservation project. Others such as the Ministry of Culture of Baden Württemberg, and apparently the BMI and KMK, seemed on the contrary to prefer the UNESCO Convention plan to the ones in preparation at the Council of Europe for the 1975 European Heritage Year. [752] Following the official launch of the CoE Year in Switzerland in July of 1973, a West German Committee for the preparation of the EDSJ 1975 was created under the Interior Ministry's

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[750] "Das riesige Programm, das sich der Europarat vorgenommen hat, werde insgesamt kaum zu realisieren sein. (...) Er würde es sehr begrüssen, wenn in diesem Jahr eine konzentrierte denkmalpflegerische Aktion möglich sei; dies hänge frielich weithin an den Finanzierungsmöglichkeiten. Vielleicht könne die Bundesrepublik Bamberg als Modell einer gesunden und guten Sanierung präsentieren." In: "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung des UNESCO Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne in Bamberg 29-30.5.1972" (1972), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[751] Bornheim coordinated the creation of a national committee, specific programs, and discussions at the CoE with the KMK and other administrators. See Bornheim gen. Schilling, "1.Sitzung des Komitees für Denkmalpflege und historische Stätten in Strassburg vom 29.11-3.12.1971" (Report, December 15, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz ; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Sombart" (Letter, Mainz, October 5, 1972), B106/34742, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; KMK Sek, "Zuschlagsbriefmarkenserie" (Letter, Bonn, October 18, 1972), Nr. 10690, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; BMI, "Memo" (Memo, Bonn, February 19, 1973), B106/34742, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 109. AKE Sitzung 22/23.2.1973" (Report, Bonn, March 23, 1973), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 111. AKE Sitzung. 28/29.8.1973" (Report, Bonn, September 27, 1973), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[752] Cultural Ministry of Baden Württemberg: " Er hebt sich in seinem Niveau erfreulich ab von dem Mustergesetz Entwurf des Europarates über einen wirksamen Schutz von unbeweglichem Kulturgut in Europa (Der Mustergesetz-Entwurf de Europarates (...) ist nach dem Urteil des KMK und des BMI nicht brauchbar)." In : "Stellungnahme Kultusministerium Baden Württemberg. UNESCO Internationale Richtlinien zum Schutz von Denkmälern, Gebäuden und historischen Stätten"(Report, Stuttgart, December 3, 1971), Nr. 7843, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
Ministry of Finance opposed the project. BMF Matthias, "Letter to AA and BMI. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Convention). Deutscher Beitritt" (Letter, Bonn, September 13, 1973), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

responsibility on the 7th of December 1973. Its president was the Bavarian Minister of Culture Hans Maier.

In preparation for the CoE 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year, West-German administrators and experts attempted to transfer projects from UNESCO to CoE to gain time or save money. In 1974, for example, they sought to use the national lists of heritage demanded by the UNESCO Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 1954, but they discovered that the FRG had no such lists. Nor did it seem possible to implement them quickly since the *Länder'*s inventories of heritage sites differed too widely from one another.[753] Bornheim also used his experience in the 1966 UNESCO exhibition to create a wandering exhibition on heritage conservation for the 1975 year under the oversight of the Association of Regional Conservators. Money being very scarce, however, the committee decided to partially reuse the 1966 UNESCO exhibition, which had been kept in storage. In Rhineland-Palatinate, Bornheim prepared an additional regional exhibition on a similar model and Cologne hosted another exhibition linked to the German National Committee, *Deutsches National-Komitee für Denkmalschutz* (DNK) in 1976. Exhibitions allowed organizers to reach a wider public than individual events or conferences. In this case, ideas and even materials navigated between UNESCO and the CoE projects on the national level.[754]

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[753] Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 111. AKE Sitzung. 28/29.8.1973"(Report, Bonn, September 27, 1973), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
In 1974, the BMI wroking group concluded the following:" Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Bund und Ländern auf dem Gebiet der Haager Konvention ist über erste Anfänge nicht hinausgekommen." In: "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens" (Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), 21f, B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The FRG ratified the 1954 Convention after passing a special law in 1967. UNESCO, "The Hague Convention. States Parties," UNESCO. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://en.unesco.org/protecting-heritage/convention-and-protocols/states-parties.

[754] On the EDSJ 1975 exhibitions, see Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 117. AKE Sitzung. 13/14.2.1975" (Report, Bonn, March 17, 1975), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Cultural Ministry. Ausstellung zur Denkmalpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz Mündliche Besprechung" (Letter, Mainz, January 31, 1972), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz ; Barner, "Letter to Bornheim" (Letter, Koblenz, November 23, 1973), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "AG Konzeption EDSJ 1975" (Documents, n.d.), B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Ministervorlagen EDSJ 1975" (Documents, n.d.), B106/30822, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
See also Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975"; Michael Petzet, "Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit - Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland", die Ausstellung zum Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 183–96; Bernd Vollmar, "Denkmalpflege zweidimensional - zum Entstehungsprozess und zur zeitgenössischen Resonanz der Begleitausstellungen zum Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahr 1975," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit: zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bäßler Verlag, 2015), 157–82.

On the international stage, Bornheim participated in important decisions at the CoE Committee to prepare the 1975 European Heritage Year. Disagreeing with the first draft of the Amsterdam Charta in 1974 written by omnipresent ICOMOS experts Parent and Lemaire – who had also fathered the 1965 Venice Charta - several members of the Committee of Monuments and Sites tasked Bornheim, along with a group of anglophone experts to offer a shorter alternative draft. The action led to Parent and Lemaire's draft, which focused on the universal character of heritage conservation and referred to UNESCO as the model to follow, being significantly altered to include more specifically European narratives, for example.[755]

Participation in international heritage programs seemed to be an impetus for introspection and change in FRG heritage conservation institutional and legal organization from the early 1970s. In 1971, for instance, the KMK created the *Unterausschuss für Museen und Denkmalpflege* (UAMD), a subcommission of the *Ausschuss für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung* (AKE). The UAMD was composed of about eight to fifteen members. It met twice a year and focused on questions of heritage conservation and museology in West Germany and international organizations, especially UNESCO and the CoE. The UAMD stood in direct contact with the federal ministries and regional conservators, but its creation also added another step in the decision-making process as the AKE had to hear the results of the discussions of the UAMD.[756]

In parallel, the legal makeup changed radically in the FRG. The Federal State prepared a law on urban construction or *Städtebauförderungsgesetz* in 1970. Heritage conservation experts and administrators were actively involved in the planning of the law.[757] Distancing themselves

[755] FRG representatives pushed for an alternative to the draft, to no avail. Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 113. AKE Sitzung 28.2/1.3.1974" (Report, Bonn, March 29, 1974), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Europäische Denkmalschutz Charta" (Documents, n.d.), B106/30803, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[756] At the UAMD, international projects of UNESCO and the CoE overlapped. B. Hoffmann, "Tagesordnung 11. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9./10.1976 in München" (Program, Wiesbaden, August 2, 1976), B304/7546, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
First UAMD sessions took place as follows: 18.6.1971 Bremen - 21.1.1972 Köln - 14.8.1972 Bremen - 9.11.1973 Mainz - 15.3.1974 Wiesbaden - 1-2.7.1974 Mainz - 21.1.1975 Bonn - 22.8.1975 Koblenz - 10.12.1975 Mainz "UAMD" (Documents, 1971-1975), B 304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The AKE received UAMD conclusions and handed them new tasks. Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 119. AKE Sitzung 25/26.9.1975" (Report, October 30, 1975), B304/6247, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[757] Silvia Brüggemann and Christoph Schwarzkopf, "Germany," in *Policy and Law in Heritage Conservation*, Robert Pickard (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 137–55.
For discussions on the laws, see Sofsky and Weiglein, "Vermerk. Aufgaben und Organisation des Denkmalschutzes" (Memo, September 20, 1974), Nr. 10981, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 117. AKE Sitzung. 13/14.2.1975" (Report, Bonn, March 17, 1975), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 120. AKE Sitzung. 4/5.3.1976" (Report, April 9, 1976), B304/6247, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Dr. Keim, "Letter to Regierunsdirektor Dr. Lutze Bremen. Denkmalpflege und Städtebauforderung" (Letter, July 24, 1972), Nr. 10690, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

from pre-WW2 legislation, most Länder passed new laws on heritage conservation by the mid-1970s: Baden Württemberg in 1971, Schleswig-Holstein in 1972, Hamburg in 1973, Bayern in 1973, Hessen in 1974. In Rhineland Palatinate, for example, the preparations of a new legal framework for heritage conservation took place in 1973-1974. Although legal changes were significant institutionally, they did not automatically have a positive impact on heritage conservation. Financial participation of the Länder in heritage conservation seems to have dipped strongly in the beginning of the 1970s. In 1972, for example, Werner Bornheim complained to the Land of Niedersachsen of its drastic cuts in heritage conservation budgets. In his complaint, Bornheim specifically insisted on the negative impact of these budget cuts on international representation of West Germany. He depicted the cuts in the country as "im internationalen Ansehen für die Bundesrepublik insofern schwerwiegend" [758] because of the imbalance with the millions spent abroad.

In 1974, the *Bundesministerium des Inneren* (BMI) brought a working group together to study the structures of heritage conservation in the FRG. The group was tasked with reflecting on the state conception of *Denkmalschutz* and finding solutions to better the coordination of *Länder* and their institutions (KMK, *Landesdenkmalpfelger*, *Heimatverein*, etc) with the national and international realm. At the end of 1974, the working group's final report included observations of the actions of the Council of Europe and UNESCO. The authors took inspiration from the Council of Europe Confrontations for their conception of heritage. The report insisted on the importance of integrated conservation of complexes, quarters, or entire cities and the importance of giving a social function to these buildings, for example. [759]

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[758] "Dieses Missverhältnis ist besonders im internationalen Ansehen für die Bundesrepublik insofern schwerwiegend, als diese durch die Bundesregierung viele Millionen an Finanzzuschüssen für Denkmäler im Ausland, z.B. Asien, gibt. Wie aber steht die Bundesrepublik dar, wenn innerhalb dieser ein Land hier völlig für seine Kultursubstanz ausfällt?" Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Kultusminister Niedersachsen" (Letter, Mainz, June 9, 1972), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The new *Städtebauförderunggesetz* did not allocate a budget to heritage conservation projects and conservators had to find help through the KMK and others. Keim, "Letter to Regierunsdirektor Dr. Lutze Bremen. Denkmalpflege und Städtebauforderung," (Letter, July 24, 1972), Nr. 10690, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
In Rhineland Palatinate budgets were low in 1971 but then went from 617361 DM in 1971 to 1195596 DM in 1972. Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Kultusministerium Rheinland Pfalz. Haushaltsjahr 1971-1974" (Financial report, Mainz, September 23, 1974), Nr. 10690, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
In 1969, the *Deutscher Städtetag* President tried to avoid budget cuts in heritage conservation insisting on the international attention brought by the upcoming 1972 Olympics. Dr. Brundert, "Letter to President der Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder" (Letter, Frankfurt, March 7, 1969), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[759] The working group was tasked with investigating: "Denkmalschutz Recht, Internationales Recht, Ausländisches Recht, Recht der Bundesländer, für den Denkmalschutz relevantes Recht, Verfassungsrechtlage, tatsächliche Aktivitäten des Auslandes, des Bundes, der Länder, der Kommunen und von Privaten (Organisation, Koordinierung,

Looking at the organization of heritage conservation in the FRG, the report again lamented the absence of national homogeneity in heritage conservation, especially the lack of overview and coordination in the inventory of heritage sites and the paucity of heritage laws. The working group also found a lack of clear aims and plans of action in heritage conservation. The report recommended that the *Länder* should have comparable laws that follow the recommendations of the Council of Europe Year of 1975, but it also advocated for a federal-level law on heritage conservation.[760] In its arguments for reform, the working group insisted on the international dimension of FRG action:

> Es fehlen Vorstellungen über Ziele und Maßnahmen. Für den Bund wird dies besonders deutlich, wo internationale mit inländischen kulturellen Bestrebungen in Verbindung gebracht werden und andererseits die gesamtstaatlichen Kulturbelange der Bundesrepublik definiert und nach außen vertreten werden müssen. [761]

International obligations and representation put these difficulties under spotlight and delays and disagreements regularly led to "peinlichen Prestigeeinbußen" in the international realm.[762]

The working group concluded that, without a federal agency, the federal level had a limited overview. It recommended that the ministries involved clarify and sort out their cultural politics. The report further demanded that the KMK intensify its participation, the creation of a special coordinator for cultural heritage questions at the BMI, the continuation of the Council of Europe Year's actions through its National Committee the DNK, and the creation of a *Nationalstiftung* for publicity. Here again the question of the FRG's representation as a leading cultural nation to the outside was central as the working group affirmed: "Für die Praxis der Erhaltung des

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Finanzierung), Probleme und mögliche Lösungen (Zusammenarbeit mir Gremien des Nationalkomitees und mit Experten von Bedeutung) Erarbeitung einer Konzeption und Abschlußarbeiten." In : "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz" (Report, Bonn, July 22, 1974), B106/35705, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Its conclusions came 4 months later : "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens"(Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[760] "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens"(Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The BMI then prepared a draft Law for the "Erhaltung und Modernisierung von kulturhistorische und städtebaulich wertvoller Gebäude" that was published in 1977. "Gesetz zur Erhaltung und Modernisierung kulturhistorisch und städtebaulich wertvoller Gebäude," *Bundesgesetzblatt Teil I*, no. 92 (December 30, 1977), 3107.

[761]"Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens," (Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), 1, B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[762] "Das [lack of national level coordination] führt zu unerträglichen Verzögerungen und Divergenzen und vor allem im internationalen Bereich fast stets zu peinlichen Prestigeeinbußen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland." "Angelegenheiten der Denkmalpflege im Bundesministerium des Inneren" (Report, June 24, 1974), B106/39017, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Kulturbesitzes ist die internationale Zusammenarbeit und der Erfahrungsaustausch mit dem Ausland von erheblicher Bedeutung.“ [763]

Overall, the working group insisted the West German state be active in fulfilling the aims of the Council of Europe 1975 Architectural Year and UNESCO World Heritage convention. Despite naming these two projects together, the working group held diverging expectations from them. It hoped that the Council of Europe Year would lead to long term and structural changes in heritage conservation within West Germany, whereas the World Heritage project was seen as more useful for external representation.[764] In the FRG, UNESCO and CoE programs for architectural heritage originated from the same experts and administrators and fed off each other.

The legal and institutional changes and introspection of the BMI, which took place in the FRG in the first half of the 1970s coincided with the UNESCO and COE heritage projects and were at least partly influenced by them. They also led to changes and debates on the national level. Through Bornheim's presence, the Association of Regional Conservators had become the reference point for expertise in heritage questions in international heritage projects in the early 1970s, but this created a complicated relationship with FRG administrators. In 1972, Bornheim had to defend the association's involvement in international actions, accused of bypassing proper channels:

> Die Vereinigung kann und will keinen Ersatz für ein Bundeskultusministerium sein, sondern möchte weiterhin beratend für die Kultusministerkonferenz auf denkmalpflegerischem Gebiet wirken. Und aus dieser Anerkennung her, habe die Vereinigung im Ausland durch das Auswärtige Amt ihre Geltung erhalten. [765]

Bornheim insisted that the organization wanted to stay in dialogue with all the institutions involved and cooperate. The Association of Regional Conservators continued to play a central role in international heritage projects in the following years, sometimes taking over projects abandoned by state institutions. Although the 1974 report of the BMI working group had advised to fulfill the assembly of UNESCO Hague Convention inventories at the federal level, the KMK decided to

[763] "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens," (Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), 6, B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[764] "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens," (Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), 1, B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; "Angelegenheiten der Denkmalpflege im Bundesministerium des Inneren" (Report, June 24, 1974), B106/39017, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 116. AKE Sitzung 24/25.10.1974" (Report, Bonn, November 26, 1974), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[765] "Sitzung der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der BRD in Berlin 14.6.1972" (July 17, 1972), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

dissolve its working group on heritage site inventories in 1975.[766] By 1977, West German conservators had organized a working group within the Association of Regional Conservators and were going forward with the project of the creation of a homogeneous list. Its aims encompassed national and international interests:

> Um die Öffentlichkeit über einen wesentlichen Teil des Besitzes an kulturellen Zeugnissen der Vergangenheit zu informieren, entsprechenden internationalen Verpflichtungen der Bundesrepublik nachzukommen und Bestimmungen der Länder und des Bundes zu erfüllen, schlägt die Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger vor, eine nach einheitlichen wissenschaftlichen Kriterien erstellte Dokumentation des baulichen Erbes in der Bundesrepublik zu schaffen. [767]

West German conservators wanted to comply with international standards and therefore followed the lead of international organizations to create a single inventory. At the same time, conservators were aiming to create a list with *Modellcharakter* that could be showcased as an example to follow to other countries.

Although they were involved in these projects over long periods of time, administrators were bound to regional and national level decision-making and did not enter the international realm. Meanwhile the Foreign Office took over international matters but could not influence national decisions. Experts could easily navigate between local, national, and regional realms.[768] As the president of the Association of Regional Conservators and ICOMOS Deutschland, Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling became the face and voice of West German Heritage Conservation in international organizations.[769] In the second half of the 1970s, however, Bornheim's presence started fading. He continued leading the German ICOMOS Commission into the 1980s and

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[766] On the 1975 debates around the Hague Convention inventory lists at the AKE, see Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 117. AKE Sitzung. 13/14.2.1975" (Report, Bonn, March 17, 1975), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Betz, "Ergebnisniederschrift 118. AKE Sitzung 12/13.6.1975" (Report, June 27, 1975), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 119. AKE Sitzung 25/26.9.1975" (Report, October 30, 1975), B304/6247, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Arbeitsgruppe Denkmalschutz. Konzeption des Bundesministers des Inneren für die Erhaltung des Kulturhabens," (Report, Bonn, November 29, 1974), 21-22, B106/34748, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[767] The association coordinated the action, but each state oversaw their own inventory. Cost were estimated around 20 Million DM: "Da die Situation in vielen Länder der Welt die gleiche ist, könnte dieses Projekt "Baudenkmäler in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" Modellcharakter haben." Betz, "Niederschrift der 15. Sitzung UAMD am 13.7.1977 in Mainz. Ergebnisbericht des Symposium zur Erfassung von Kulturdenkmälern Schloss Reisenburg 1-4.5.1977." (Report, Bonn, August 1, 1977), B304/7395, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[768] This is not unique to Germany. In France one individual is in charge of European and World Heritage projects. The author heard Bruno Favel, *Chef des affaires européennes et internationales à la Direction générale des patrimoines du ministère de la Culture et de la Communication*, present his role at a 2015 workshop. Béatrice Roederer, "Agir pour le patrimoine mondial. Les journées d'études de l'école de Chaillot. Mardi 31 mars et Mercredi 1er avril" (Program, Paris, 2015). Accessed August 25th, 2025, http://france.icomos.org/resources/library/0/Progr_journees_d_etudes_Agir_pour_le_patrimoine_mondial.pdf.

[769] In a 1969 letter, the AA underlined the importance of his role : "Dieser Bericht gibt uns erneut ein eindrucksvolles Bild von Ihrer so verdienstvollen Tätigkeit als Präsident des Deutschen Nationalkomitees von ICOMOS."AA, "Letter to Bornheim." (Letter, September 17, 1969), Nr.10375, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

remained involved in ICOMOS international but he was sidelined at the Association of Regional Conservators after his retirement in 1980.[770]

The institutional crossroads in West Germany were central to the circulation of ideas and people between projects, especially in the case of cultural heritage. Overlaps between ICOMOS, the *Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger*, and FRG institutions dealing with UNESCO and CoE projects, led to transfers of ideas and practice between the projects. At the same time international projects came to influence practical heritage conservation questions in a local context through the involvement of the same limited group of experts.

3.3. Historic Town Centers: European Initiative from the FRG at UNESCO

Immediately after WWII, West German heritage conservators were faced with the reconstruction and restoration of city centers heavily damaged by extensive bombing. Heritage conservators thus developed a special relationship with historic city center conservation. Rapid economic development and the rise of the automobile in West Germany led to major urban development projects and the destruction of heritage within old city centers in many cities in the 1950s and 60s. The specific combination of WWII destruction with a lack of legal protection of old city ensembles turned the question of the conservation of historic city centers into a recurring object of local and national struggles in the FRG. In the 1970s, public interest in the question rose, as Eberhard Freise observed:

> Massenmedien, Parteien und Abgeordnete, Experten und Bürgerinitiativem setzen sich zunehmend für die Erhaltung denkmalwerter Gebäude und historisch gewachsener Stadtbereiche sowie für eine am Erhaltungsgedanken ausgerichtete Neuorientierung der Städtebaupolitik und der Stadtplanung ein. [771]

While in Germany local struggles dominated, UNESCO and the CoE got involved in practical and theoretical initiatives on the conservation of historic centers. West German experts,

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[770] On Bornheim at ICOMOS in the 1980s, see "Icomos Deutsches Nationalkomitee" (File, 1980-1984), B106/77948, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
He also became president of the "Rheinische Verein für Denkmalpflege" in 1981. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege in Mainz, *Denkmalpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz*; Liessem, "Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling zum 70. Geburtstag."
The need to find a successor with good language skill was underlined in 1981 during ICOMOS Germany elections: "so daß eventuell bei der nächsten Wahl ein guter Nachfolger, der auch Sprachen beherrsche vorhanden wäre" in: Bornheim to Lugge "Sitzung am 20.2.1981 in Mainz" (Report, 18.5.1981), B 106/77948, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[771] Eberhard Freise, "Letter to Strack. Leitartikel des Herrn Ministers für die Zeitschrift „PR" betreffend „Denkmalschutz" " (Letter, Hamburg, March 25, 1975), B106/34746, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
See also Buttlar von et al*., Denkmalpflege statt Attrappenkult*; Falser, *Zwischen Identität und Authentizität*; Falser and Lipp, *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit*; Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*; Lipp and Petzet, *Vom modernen zum postmodernen Denkmalkultus?*

influenced by local problematics of historic city centers, took special interest in this work. In preparation for the 1964 UNESCO Campaign in the FRG, for example, Kreisel justified his plans for an exhibition on historic city centers and the challenges of reconstruction because post-war urban reconstruction had been a heritage preoccupation shared by many Europeans. [772] In the second half of the 1960s, the FRG followed the CoE confrontations that fleshed out its approach to the conservation of "Historic Ensembles." Intertwining specific European heritage preoccupations with the UNESCO project, allowed German conservators to engage in a dialogue with other European states on conservation questions.

One major event united UNESCO and the CoE actions around the question of historic centers: the 1966 flooding of Venice and Florence in Italy. UNESCO's first major European heritage campaign, the Saving Venice (and Florence) campaign, relied on theoretical work by the CoE. In the meantime, the Council of Europe created "Pro Venetia Viva" to help fund the repairs. West German experts and diplomats were involved in the Saving Venice campaign from its inception, and the public took a keen interest to it. German institutions and private groups first relied on bilateral exchanges with the cities of Florence and Venice, providing financial, material, and expert support. In November of 1970, the German UNESCO Commission created a special Venice working group, following the creation of an International Committee by UNESCO. The working group served as a link between national and international initiatives. In the following years, the FRG continued to send experts and financial help to assist the city with heritage site inventories and the restoration of monuments such as the Santa Maria dei Miracoli Church. [773]

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[772] He stated : "Die gleichen Themen und Schwierigkeiten beherrschen auch die Denkmalpflege der anderen europäischen Länder."Kreisel, "Letter to Bavarian Cultural Ministry. Internationale Kampagne für historische Monumente der UNESCO" (Letter, January 29, 1963), Nr.9151, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[773] The FRG gave nearly 13 million DM to the action in 1966-1968. See René Maheu, "Letter to Haak" (Letter, Paris, March 11, 1968), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; UNESCO, "International Campaign for the Restauration of Cultural Property Damaged by Floods in Florence and Venice" (Report, Paris, 1967), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

In 1970, the DUK created a working group - Bornheim was a member - dedicated to Venice. See Thomas Keller, "Protokoll der konstitutierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreises Venedig der Deutschen Unesco-Kommission, Bonn, 27.11.1970" (Report, Köln, December 9, 1970), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; DUK, "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Venedig der Deutschen UNESCO Kommission" (Report, March 23, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; DUK, "Protokoll der 3. Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Venedig der DUK" (Report, Köln, July 23, 1971), Nr. 7836, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; UNESCO, "Campagne internationale pour Florence et Venise. Comité Consultatif pour Venise, réunion du bureau à Rome le 6-7 avril 1971" (Report, Paris, April 1971), Nr. 7836, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Dr. Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 112. Sitzung AKE 22./23.11.1973" (Report, Bonn, December 21, 1973), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; KMK, "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Arbeitskreises Venedig der DUK 1972-1973" (Report, July 5, 1973), Nr. 10690, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

The UNESCO campaign in Venice aimed not only at material reconstruction but also at the revitalization of the historic center. The FRG chose to turn the Pallazzo Barberigo delle Terrazza into a German study center. The strong investment of West German experts and institutions in the question of the Venice restoration was part of a wider competition between states in their philanthropic help. West German representatives were very much aware of the actions of other states. In the case of the study center plan, the German UNESCO working group specifically noted that similar efforts by England, France, and the US had yet to materialize. States made a show of their financial generosity while seeking positive international publicity. International organizations were keen to underline special contributions, as this could lead to wider participation, with some states unwilling to be left behind. Experts, on the other hand, could showcase their expertise in heritage conservation internationally through their participation in Saving Venice actions. [774]

In parallel, the Council of Europe launched an initiative for Venice through its Pro Venetia Viva program, which the FRG also participated in. From 1973, the state launched a medal program, which aimed at fundraising for the Saving Venice campaign independently from UNESCO. West Germany provided financial support in the creation and upkeep of a Center for the formation of experts in techniques of heritage conservation created in Venice by the Council of Europe through Pro Venetia Viva in 1977. The state offered stipends for the yearly ICCROM courses at the artisan center into the 1980s. The UNESCO campaign indirectly profited from these specifically European actions and the organization followed the development of European initiatives throughout the 1970s. [775]

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[774] The DUK, for example, observed : "Ahnliche Bemühungen zur Gründung eines Studienzentrums von England, Frankreich und den USA hätten bisher noch keinen Erfolg gehabt." Keller, "Protokoll der konstitutierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreises Venedig der Deutschen Unesco-Kommission, Bonn, 27.11.1970" (Report, Köln, December 9, 1970), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[775] On the German medal action, see Steger, "Europarat. Aktion zur Rettung von Venedig" (Report, Bonn, December 18, 1970), B91 357, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; J. Zuckerman, "Letter to Squartini (CoE). Commission nationale allemande pour l'UNESCO" (Letter, 8 1973), CLT/CH/43.2 Council of Europe Pro Venetia (1) 1968-1978, UNESCO Archives; J. Zuckerman, "Mission to Cologne June 1st, 1973" (Report, Paris, June 4, 1973), CLT/CH/43.2 Council of Europe Pro Venetia (1) 1968-1978, UNESCO Archives.
On the stipends paid by the FRG, see "Pro Venetia Viva. 18e réunion du conseil de foundation. Strasbourg le 27 janvier 1981" (Report, February 10, 1981), 3, 327.394 A 01 CE Council of Europe - General Part XIX from 1.5.80, UNESCO Archives ; Alfred Schmid, "Centre européen de formation des artisans pour la conservation du patrimoine architectural. Rapport du groupe d'experts." (Report, Venice, September 24, 1982), 5, CLT CH 44.1 Venice Campaign Council of Europe 2 Pro Venetia Viva 1979-1986, UNESCO Archives; UNESCO, "Division du Patrimoine Culturel. Europe et Amérique du Nord, activités réalisées eu en cours d'exécution depuis 1981" (Report, Paris, July 18, 1983), CLT.CH.SS Europe General 1977-86, UNESCO Archives.

Local conflicts around historic city centers in the FRG constantly brought the expert's attention back to the national. West German heritage conservators thus navigated their interest for the question of conservation of historic centers between local and international dimensions. This ultimately led to the 1972 creation of a German UNESCO Commission working group on historic town centers or *Historische Stadtkerne*. The working group was made up of representatives of the German UNESCO Commission, the KMK, the BMI, and regional conservators. ICOMOS was also involved in the project, mainly through Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling.[776] The working group met in different West German cities, presenting specific challenges for heritage conservation. Although it struggled to find financial support, the group proactively organized conferences, study trips, and publications related to the conservation of historic quarters.[777] It also planned for the creation of an Institute on conservation of historical centers based in Berlin, to address practical local problems and showcase West German expertise internationally.[778]

The working group focused on European cooperation. Members studied European examples of historic quarter conservation through study trips in Poland, Holland, and France. These provided interesting perspectives of historic center conservation to German heritage conservators and allowed for networking with European colleagues. Polish conservators, for

[776] See DUK, "Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission, Köln 11.2.1972" (Report, Köln, February 11, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Bericht Sitzung ICOMOS, Paris, 29-30 Nov. 1973" (Report, Mainz, November 1973), B336/307, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[777] They faced financial woes from the start, but ruled out help from UNESCO: "Die UNESCO könne nicht einmal den finanziellen Bedarf zur Rettung Kulturdenkmälern in armen Ländern decken. Politisch und psychologisch sei es für die BRD unmöglich, Mittel für deutsche Stadtsanierung zu beantragen." DUK, "Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission, Köln 11.2.1972"(Report, Köln, February 11, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
Between 1972 and 1976, the group met in Köln, Bamberg, Lübeck, Trier, Weissenburg, Lüneburg, Regensburg, Ladenburg am Neckar and organized study trips to Maastricht, Colmar, Warsaw, Italy, and the UK. Albers, "Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission. Aufgaben des Arbeitskreises 'Historische Stadtkerne'" (Report, München, 10 1975), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; DUK, *DUK working group. Reisen*, (1972-1974), B336/328, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[778] On the plans for an Institute, see Gers Albers and Gerhard Graubner, "Ergebnis der Untersuchung über die Errichtung eines Institutes für Erneuerung alter Städte." (Report, February 20, 1970), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; KMK Sek, "17. Sitzung des Auschusses Kulturelle Angelegenheiten der DUK am 8.2.1974 Köln" (Bonn, February 14, 1974), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 113. AKE Sitzung 28.2/1.3.1974" (Report, Bonn, March 29, 1974), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Plan de Gründung eines Instituts zur Erneuerung historischer Städte" (Report, November 25, 1975), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Publications of the working group: Peter Breitling, *Historische Städte, Städte für morgen* (Köln: Deutsche UNESCO Kommission, 1975); DUK Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne, *The Renewal of Historic Town Centres in Nine European Countries: France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Short Reports, Austria, CSSR, Hungary, Switzerland.*, Schriftenreihe "Stadtentwicklung" Des Bundesministers Für Raumordnung, Bauwesen Und Städtebau 02 (Bonn: Federal German Ministry for Regional Planning, Building, and Urban Development, 1975).

example, developed a special relationship with the working group. These visits also showed the limits of the comparative approach for the West German context. For instance, France's centralized, national focus through its legislation on heritage (*Loi Malraux*) or Poland's socialist context made it challenging to apply their methods in the FRG.[779] Prof. Dr Otto von Simson, president of the German UNESCO Commission, justified the focus on Europe in 1976:

> Bei der Gründung des Arbeitskreises in Bamberg standen zweierlei Erwägungen im Vordergrund : zunächst der Gedanke, dass die Rettungsaktionen bedrohter Kunstdenkmäler durch UNESCO nicht auf Entwicklungsländer beschränkt sein sollten, dass vielmehr der in Paris gegebene Anstoß auch für die europäischen Länder, also auch für Deutschland, genutzt werden müsse.[780]

The working group wanted to show that UNESCO efforts to rescue heritage sites should also serve European states. The 1972 Helsinki meeting confirmed the subject of historical city centers as a "problem areas suitable for joint studies on cultural policies"[781] and its aims were integrated into the work of the German UNESCO working group. The working group was eager to include East and West in its understanding of European historic city centers, and it organized an international conference on the historic city center question following the Helsinki meeting. [782]

The German UNESCO working group was in direct contact with the Council of Europe. Its studies were highly relevant to the European organization. Two members of the working group, Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling and BMI representative Reg-Dir. Dr. Vetter, were involved in the CoE International Committee on Monuments and Sites planning for the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year and the Confrontations leading up to the project. In 1972, Council of Europe's Sombart wrote the newly created working group and visited the DUK. He hoped for the German UNESCO Working group to take over the national level planning of the 1975 Year in West Germany. [783] The German UNESCO Working Group on historic centers did get involved in

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[779] From the start members encouraged the DUK "einen europäischen Vergleich anzustreben"and include "europäische Sanierungsprojekte wie Regensburg, Paris, Stockholm, Bologna, Görlitz.etc." DUK, "Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission, Köln 11.2.1972" (Report, Köln, February 11, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
See also Rädle, "Letter to KMK. DUK Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne" (Report, February 20, 1974), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Tagesordnung der Wintersitzung der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfpleger der BRD am 11.12.1975, Mainz" (Report, April 15, 1974), 10, Nr. 10374, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[780] Simson, "Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne. Aufzeichnungen zur Problematik seiner zukünftigen Tätigkeit," (Report, Berlin, 1976), 2, B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[781] UNESCO, "Helsinki Recommendation" (Letter, Paris, August 3, 1973), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
[782] See Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 117. AKE Sitzung. 13/14.2.1975" (Report, Bonn, March 17, 1975), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 120. AKE Sitzung. 4/5.3.1976"(Report, April 9, 1976), B304/6247, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[783] DUK, "Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission, Köln 11.2.1972" (Report, Köln, February 11, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; "Protokoll

the planning of the Year in West Germany, but FRG administrators decided to create a separate National Committee, the *Deutsches National-Komitee für Denkmalschutz* (DNK) under the direct responsibility of the BMI.[784]

The CoE Year centered around historic city centers. The FRG's National Committee selected 5 Pilot-projects in 1973 to represent the Federal Republic in the Council of Europe action: West-Berlin, Alsfeld, Rothenburg, Trier, and Xanten. These sites represented different types, regions, and epochs of West-German city centers. After some debates, the DNK ended up adding three unofficial pilot-projects to the original selection - Bamberg, Lübeck and Regensburg.[785] The action of the Council of Europe distinguished itself from traditional heritage conservation, which focused on individual monuments, by including questions about entire ensembles or quarters and their social significance in a context of widening mobilization for heritage conservation.[786]

On the occasion of the 1975 Year, the German UNESCO-Commission published a report on European historic town centers with the Federal Ministry of Regional Planning, Building and Town Planning and the DNK published a book on historic city centers in Germany prepared by the same UNESCO Group.[787] Despite a lack of collaboration on the international level, the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year in West Germany thus reinforced thematic bridges between UNESCO and the CoE heritage conservation programs. The CoE events included UNESCO representatives and experts involved in both organizations. That year for example, ICOMOS

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der 2. Sitzung des UNESCO Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne in Bamberg 29-30.5.1972" (1972), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Zwanzig, "Treffen des 29-30.5.1972, Bamberg : Richtlinien zur Erhaltung historischer Stadtkerne" (Report, June 6, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Nicolaus Sombart, "Letter to Dyroff (DUK)" (Letter, Strasbourg, August 9, 1973), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[784] See "Protokoll der 2. Sitzung des UNESCO Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne in Bamberg 29-30.5.1972" (1972), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; "4. Sitzung des UNESCO Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne 19.2.1973 in Trier" (Report, 1973), B336/226, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Ergebnisniederschrift der dritten Sitzung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees zur Vorbereitung des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres 1975 am 11.6.1974 in Berlin" (Report, Berlin, June 11, 1974), B106/30781, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[785] See Davide Cutolo, "Vom Denkmal zum städtischen Lebensraum. Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin. Ergebnisse, Widersprüche und Folgen," in *Eine Zukunft für unsere Vergangenheit. Zum 40. Jubiläum des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 158–59; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975."

[786] The DNK tried to explain this approach to the German public through Flyers and the press. Freise, "Letter to Strack. Leitartikel des Herrn Ministers für die Zeitschrift „PR" betreffend „Denkmalschutz"" (Letter, Hamburg, March 25, 1975), B106/34746, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[787] Breitling, Historische Städte, Städte für morgen; DUK Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne, The Renewal of Historic Town Centres in Nine European Countries.

International hosted its General Assembly at Rothenburg ob der Tauber in West Germany accompanied by a conference on small historical towns.[788]

In 1976, Berlin belatedly hosted a Council of Europe Symposium meant to close out the German 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage. [789] The opening presentation by Italian architect Leonardo Benevolo, tackled the question of historic city centers. Benevolo insisted on the importance of medieval historic quarters for the making of European cities:

> Die mittelalterlichen Städte sind lebendige Zeugen des gemeinsamen Ursprungs europäischer Kultur und haben im Gegensatz zu den Städten der Antike bis heute ein ununterbrochenes Leben geführt. (…) In diesem geschichtlichen präziseren Sinne bilden die mittelalterlichen Städte das eigentlich Denkmalgut der europäischen Gesellschaft, das für immer mit ihrer Identität verknüpft ist. [790]

In his speech, Benevolo identified medieval historic towns as the main markers of a shared architectural heritage in European societies. These narratives belonged to wider European political movement led by the CoE to construct European heritage.[791]

European experts and states also used UNESCO to shape European heritage and expand rhe reach of the discussions past the Western European group. In 1974, in parallel to the CoE Year preparations, West German representatives along with several European national delegations, including France, Italy, and Bulgaria, successfully proposed a joint study theme under the title "Protection and cultural development of historic centers in European cities" at UNESCO in Paris.[792] The study group served to display European cooperation within UNESCO. Over the

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[788] ICOMOS, *Colloque sur la conservation des petites villes historiques/Symposium on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns (ICOMOS, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Allemagne/Germany, 29-30 May 1975)*. (Paris: International Council on Monuments and Sites, 1975); Pierre Prunet, *Conservation of Smaller Towns in Western Europe: Examples of Achievements and of Projects* (Paris: ICOMOS, 1975); ICOMOS, "Resolutions of the International Symposium on the Conservation of Smaller Historic Towns - Rothenburg Ob Der Tauber - 29-30 May 1975" (Resolution, Rothenburg, May 1975), CLT/CH/48.1 ICOMOS Exchange Programme (1977-1984), UNESCO Archives.

[789] The Berlin Conference was added to the program after other events, a *Limes Wanderung* and a conference on Historic Gardens, were refused by the CoE or failed to concretize respectively. See Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 112. Sitzung AKE 22./23.11.1973" (Report, Bonn, December 21, 1973), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 116. AKE Sitzung 24/25.10.1974" (Report, Bonn, November 26, 1974), B304/6533, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 119. AKE Sitzung 25/26.9.1975" (Report, October 30, 1975), B304/6247, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[790] Leonardo Benevolo, "Einführungsvortrag Leonardo Benevolo : Denkmalschutz und Städtebau - Versuch einer Bilanz" (Speech Transcript, Berlin, April 26, 1976), 4, B336/350, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[791] At the 1975 Brügge Conference, Gazzola from ICOMOS and Bolla from UNESCO used similar narratives on historic city centers but both insisted on the international character of the question. Gazzola, "Gazzola (ICOMOS) Brügge speech" (Speech Transcript, Brügge, May 1975), B106/30781, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Gérard Bolla, "Gegenseitige Internationale Hilfe zur Erhaltung und Belebung der historischen Städte und Wohnviertel" (Speech Transcript, Brügge, May 1975), B106/30781, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[792] The plan to reach a broader international public dates back to 1972: "Über die UNESCO lassen sich Ergebnisse anderen Länder zugänglich machen die ähnliche Probleme haben, wie etwa die Industrienation Japan." DUK,

following years, it published several reports and unsuccessfully proposed to create an international list of historic towns.[793] Based on the group's work, UNESCO published an official "Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and adaptation to contemporary life of historic areas and their surroundings" in 1976. At UNESCO, this European heritage effort was able to include a wider European group than at the CoE. UNESCO's Director General remarked that the Recommendation "a suscité un vif intérêt dans la plupart des pays européens."[794] Indeed, the recommendation led to a biannual exchange training program between Eastern and Western European conservators spearheaded by ICOMOS during the following decade.[795]

The international presence of the historic centers working group at UNESCO gave a necessary new wind to its counterpart in West Germany, where its existence had been put in question at the end of the 1975 Council of Europe Year. Some administrators and experts thought that the *Deutsche National Kommission* created for the 1975 Council of Europe Year served as a better link between different regional and national institutions. Others, however, objected that the historic centers working group offered a special link to UNESCO in Paris and contact with influential and

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"Protokoll der Konstituierenden Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission, Köln 11.2.1972" (Report, Köln, February 11, 1972), Nr. 7847, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
The AA proposed the study theme in 1974. It was well received by European delegations. AA Weindel, "Letter to Keller (DUK)" (Letter, May 28, 1974), B336/328, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; DUK, "Letter Exchanges with UK, Swiss, Austrian, Danish Etc. UNESCO Commissions." (Letters, Winter 1974), B336/325, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[793] Instead of a list the study group offered a comparative study of 22 states. UNESCO, "Study Group 'The Preservation of Historic Quarters, Towns and Sties and Their Integration into a Modern Environment'. Preliminary Report" (Report, Paris, August 25, 1975), 4, B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; UNESCO Study Group, "The Preservation of Historic Quarters, Towns and Sites and Their Integration into a Modern Environment. Final Report" (Report, January 30, 1976), B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[794] UNESCO took expert comments from the FRG and ICOMOS before the publication. See UNESCO, "Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas Adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 19th Session, Nairobi, 26 November 1976"; UNESCO, "Revised Draft Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Adaptation to Contemporary Life of Historic Areas and Their Surroundings" (Recommendation, Paris, January 30, 1976), B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; UNESCO, "Draft Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas : Item 27 of the Provisional Agenda : Report of the Special Committee of Governmental Experts (Warsaw, 9-16.2. 1976)" (Report, Nairobi, July 1, 1976), B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[795] The biannual exchange program between Eastern and Western European conservators started in 1978. See "Programme d'information dans le domaine de la préservation et de la réhabilitation des quartiers historiques (19 juin-28 juillet 1978)" (Report, Paris, 1978), CLT/CH/48.1 ICOMOS Exchange Programme, 1977-1984, UNESCO Archives; Abdelaziz Daoulatli, "Letter to ICOMOS. Programme d'échanges de spécialistes de la préservation et de la réhabilitation des quartiers historiques dans le cadre du programme ordinaire de l'Unesco pour 1984-1985." (Letter, Paris, approx 1983), CLT/CH/48.1 ICOMOS Exchange Programme 1977-1984, UNESCO Archives; "Rapport sur le VIeme Programme d'échanges entre spécialistes d'Europe de l'Est et de l'Ouest pour la préservation et la réhabilitation des quartiers historiques. 10 septembre-5 octobre 1984 UNESCO-ICOMOS" (Report, Paris, October 1984), CLT/CH/48.1 ICOMOS Exchange Programme 1977-1984, UNESCO Archives; UNESCO, "Exchange Program for Specialists from Eastern and Western Europe for the Preservation and Rehabilitation of Historic Quarters. Opening Remarks by the Representative of the Director-General at ICOMOS Headquarters. 11 September 1984" (Speech Transcript, Paris, September 11, 1984), CC/CH/02/5 ICOMOS/C 069:72 A O1, UNESCO Archives.

well connected Polish heritage conservators, who held a special interest in historic city center conservation because of the recent war destructions.[796] This national-level competition between two expert working groups was a direct consequence of the overlaps of Council of Europe and UNESCO heritage programs. It illustrates the thematical closeness of conservation interests of both international organizations.

Following the Council of Europe 1975 Year, German UNESCO and ICOMOS commissions were increasingly called upon as expert figures. They became involved in local conflicts surrounding heritage questions in West Germany, such as in Heidelberg in 1978-79. The discussions on the city's different reconstructions and modernization plans led the German UNESCO commission to create a specific Heidelberg working group within its historic quarters working group.[797] In parallel, the working group continued to plan national and international events around historic centers conservation, such as conferences, exhibitions, and trips in West Germany and abroad. Conservators also continued to publish reports on historic city centers for UNESCO.[798]

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[796] In 1976, a report stated "insbesondere für die Kontakte mit ost-europäischen Ländern ist die Funktion der Deutschen UNESCO Kommission unersetzlich. " "Anlage zum Protokoll der 8. Sitzung des Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der DUK am 10.3.1976" (Report, March 1976), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Otto von Simson (DUK) argued: "Bekanntlich hat die Erhaltung historischer Stadtkerne in der Tätigkeit der UNESCO einen wichtigen Platz gefunden (...) Kurzum : die DUK ist hilflos, wenn sie sich auf einem so wichtigen Gebiet wie der Erhaltung historischer Stadkerne nicht auf ein Gremium wie den Arbeitskreis stüzen kann." Simson, "Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne. Aufzeichnungen zur Problematik seiner zukünftigen Tätigkeit" (Report, Berlin, 1976), B336/332, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
See also Albers, "Arbeitskreis Historische Stadtkerne der Deutschen Unesco Kommission. Aufgaben des Arbeitskreises Historische Stadtkerne" (Report, München, 10 1975), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Polish heritage conservators were very active at ICOMOS and UNESCO. See Julia Röttjer, "International Experts— National Martyrdom— Socialist Heritage: The Contribution of the Polish People's Republic to the Early UNESCO World Heritage Program." In: *Heritage under Socialism*, Eszter Gantner, Corinne Geering, and Paul Vickers eds., vol. 2, (Berghahn Books, 2022), 56–77.
[797] Heidelberg dominated the DUK in 1978-79 : DUK, "DUK Tätigkeitsbericht 1978" (Report, 1978), 5, B336/420, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; DUK, "DUK Tätigkeitsbericht 1979" (Report, 1979), 6, B336/421, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Heidelberg heritage struggles predated 1978 and have continued to this day. Landesamt für Denkmalpflege im Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart, *Stadtkreis Heidelberg*, vol. II.5, 2 vols., Denkmaltopographie Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Kulturdenkmale in Baden-Württemberg (Ostfildern: Patmos, 2013).
[798] In 1976-77, the group organized a Poland trip and several conferences. DUK, "Bericht über die Arbeit des Arbeitskreises Historische Stadtkerne 1976-77" (Report, 1977), B336/329, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; DUK, "International Workshop. Kulturpolitik und Denkmalpflege in St Andreaberg (28.11.-4.12.1976)" (Conference, 1976), B336/349, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Its 1980 publication found special echo at UNESCO and ICOMOS. Hans-Dieter Dyroff, *Protection et animation culturelle des monuments, sites et villes historiques en Europe: la situation actuelle en Belgique, Bulgarie, Canada, France, Grèce, Hongrie, Italie, Pay-Bas, Pologne, République fédérale d'Allemagne, Royaume-Uni, Yougoslavie* (Commission allemande pour l'Unesco, 1980); Anne Raidl, "Letter to German UNESCO Commission" (Letter, Paris, October 23, 1989), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany II 1989-1991, UNESCO Archives; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Bericht. ICOMOS Kolloquium über den Schutz historischer Ensembles in Warschau und Krakau 10-19.10.1980" (Report, Mainz, November 4, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Following the 1975 Year, the Council of Europe started preparing for a 1980 Urban Renaissance campaign.[799] In the meantime, in 1975, UNESCO's World Heritage Convention became active. In parallel to the publication of its Recommendation concerning the safeguarding and adaptation to contemporary life of historic areas and their surroundings in 1976, UNESCO was preparing to launch its World Heritage List in 1978. At first glance, the World Heritage Convention and List seemed to bear a strong focus on the more traditional individual monuments and sites for cultural heritage, but historic centers found their way into the List from the very start. Ecuador and Poland, for example, respectively nominated and inscribed the historic centers of Quito and Krakow in 1978. Two other historic cities inscribed in the early years of the World Heritage List brought controversy to the Committee: the city center of Warsaw because of its reconstruction and the historic city of Jerusalem because of its contested nature.[800] Historic town centers quickly became a major type of site inscribed on the List, especially for European states. Again, the CoE appeared in the UNESCO World Heritage List through the intermediary of its 1975 Year pilot projects. CoE member states inscribed several pilot projects on the World Heritage list, such as Trier and Lübeck in Germany, Strasbourg in France, and the Swedish pilot projects.[801]

As foreseen in the Council of Europe's confrontations, these historicity centers proved to be a management challenge for UNESCO because of conflicting economic and urban development plans. From the 1980s onward, buffer zones around individual sites became part of the World Heritage nomination process. These new buffer zones integrated the CoE focus on the context of the site into the UNESCO list. In 1983, the World Heritage Committee recognized the specific challenges of historic city conservation and put ICOMOS in charge of organizing expert meetings

[799] On the CoE *Stadterneuerung* Campaign plans, see Rädle, "Ergebnisniederschrift 127. Sitzung des AKE am 22./23.6.1978 24.7.1978" (Report, July 24, 1978), B304/7395, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[800] "World Heritage List," *UNESCO World Heritage Centre.* Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year.

[801] On the 1975 pilot-projects, see Nicolas Bredoire and Nils Ahlberg, "Sweden and the European Architectural Heritage Year 1975," in *Eine Zukunft Für Unsere Vergangenheit: Zum 40. Jubiläum Des Europäischen Denkmalschutzjahres (1975-2015)*, ed. Michael Falser and Wilfried Lipp, 1. Auflage, Monumenta 3 (Berlin: Hendrik Bässler Verlag, 2015), 276–79; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975"; Cutolo, "Vom Denkmal zum städtischen Lebensraum. Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin. Ergebnisse, Widersprüche und Folgen"; Gondran, "L'Année Européenne du patrimoine en France."
See also Centre, "World Heritage List" *UNESCO World Heritage Centre*. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year.

on the subject.[802] Although not specific to German historic city centers, conflicts around city center conservation continuously plagued FRG inscriptions on the UNESCO World Heritage List. For that reason, FRG representative always shied away from a Heidelberg nomination, despite it being one of the most important historic centers in Germany. Sites such as Lübeck and Cologne encountered urban planning conflicts shortly after their inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List.[803] These local-global conservation struggles in the FRG culminated in the deletion of Dresden from the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2007.[804]

Through the World Heritage List, historic centers and ensembles found their best instrument for public and media attention, but the CoE continued its actions for European historic centers independently from UNESCO. In 1981, the organization launched its European Campaign for Urban Renaissance, again focused on historic cities. ICOMOS was actively involved in its planning and the CoE proposed a cooperation to UNESCO. In parallel, the CoE created a committee for urban policies and architectural heritage and invited UNESCO to take part in its meetings.[805] Finally, in 1985, 13 years after UNESCO, the CoE released a Convention for the

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[802] A FRG expert participated in the meetings based on the state's long involvement in historic city questions. Alfred Vestring, "Bericht über die 7. Sitzung des Zwischenstaatlichen Komitee, Florenz, 5. bis 9. Dezember 1983" (Report, Paris, December 15, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Gustavo F Araoz, "World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscapes: Defining and Protecting Authenticity," *Aptbulletin APT Bulletin* 39, no. 2–3 (2008), 33–37.

[803] Heidelberg, Bamberg, and Lübeck were part of early nomination discussions in 1981 but all had ongoing urban projects incompatible with an inscription on the List: "74. AKE Sitzung am 11.12.1981" (Report, December 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; KMK Sek, "Vorbereitende Notizen zur Tagesordnung der 74. Amtschefkonferenz am 11.12.1981 in Paderborn" (Report, Bonn, November 26, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Magnus Backes, "Letter to Rädle (KMK)" (Letter, München, September 1, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Hoffmann, "Letter to KMK, DUK, and Innenministerium Baden Württemberg" (Letter, Wiesbaden, October 12, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[804] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Dresden Elbe Valley," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1156/; Birgitta Ringbeck and Mechtild Rössler, "Between International Obligations and Local Politics: The Case of the Dresden Elbe Valley under the 1972 World Heritage Convention," *Informationen Zur Raumentwicklung* 3–4 (2011), 205–12.

[805] Directorate of Environment and Local Authorities CoE, "European Campaign for Urban Renaissance. Final Report" (Report, Strasbourg, August 23, 1982), Council of Europe Digital Archives. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://rm.coe.int/0900001680911660.
The FRG participated. KMK Rädle, "Unterauschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege. Niederschrift der 23. Sitzung am 8.-9.5.1980 in Celle und Hannover" (Report, Bonn, June 20, 1980), B304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
In 1980, the CoE called for national cooperation and mentioned the potential for UNESCO involvement. CoE, "UNESCO Executive Council. Paris, September 1980 and UNESCO General Conference. Belgrade, September 1980. Information Paper Presented by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe" (Report, Strasbourg, September 4, 1980), 5–6, 327.394 A 01 CE 06 68 Council of Europe - Meetings - Part III from 16.7.80 to 31.12.80 4.9.1980, UNESCO Archives.
UNESCO was invited to the Committee sessions. Niels Borsch-Jacobsen, "Letter to M'Bow (UNESCO)" (Letter, Strasbourg, February 24, 1980), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 68 Council of Europe - Meetings - Part IV from 1.1.81 to 30.4.81 24.2.1981, UNESCO Archives; Niels Borsch-Jacobsen, "Letter to M'Bow (UNESCO). Réunion plénière du Comité Directeur pour la Politique Urbaine et le Patrimoine Architectural (CDUP). Strasbourg, 22-25 fevrier 1983" (Letter,

protection of architectural heritage of Europe also called the Granada Convention.[806] In parallel, the Council of Europe expanded its own approach to historic cities with the creation of yearly celebration of a select number of European Capitals of Culture highlighted through cultural events, which blend the modern and historical city. Only in 2013, did the European Union create its own list, the European Heritage Label.[807]

Today, historic city centers have become an intrinsic part of the UNESCO World Heritage List and led to the creation of the Organization of World Heritage Cities. The numerous non-European historic centers inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List have shown that despite some experts' claims of the 1970s, these are not a European specificity. A 2011 UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape confirmed the departure from the Eurocentric imagination of historic city centers.[808] Still, the idea of a historic city center as intrinsically European persists in Germany. In 2017, a German ICOMOS publication reaffirmed the strong hold of European historic centers on the list: "Historische Städtenensembles sind in der Liste vor allem in Europa stark vertreten."[809]

This chapter has studied interorganizational transfers between UNESCO and the CoE, through the prism of the three vectors of transfers identified by Kaiser and Patel in their research: ideas,

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Strasbourg, January 7, 1983), 327.394 A 01 CE 06 "68"-Council of Europe - Meetings - Part VIII from 1.1.83 to 31.5.83, UNESCO Archives.

On ICOMOS participation, see Luxen, "Les Fondateurs de l'Icomos et la Campagne Européenne de 1975," 90.

[806] Ballester, *The Council of Europe and Cultural Heritage 1954-2000*, 65–86.

[807] On the European Capitals of Culture and other programs, see Calligaro, *Negotiating Europe*; Emilia Palonen, "Assigning Meaning to (EU-)Europe Through Cultural Policy: European Capitals of Culture," in *The Meanings of Europe. Changes and Exchanges of a Contested Concept*, ed. Claudia Wiesner and Meike Schmidt-Gleim (Routledge, 2014), 144–59; Patel, *The Cultural Politics of Europe*.

The EU Heritage Label holds 68 sites in 2025, see European Commission, "European Heritage Label Sites"; Calligaro, "Quelle(s) culture(s) pour l'Europe ?," 46–47; Lähdesmäki et al., *Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union*.

[808] UNESCO, "Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape" (Recommendation, Paris, November 10, 2011). Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/activities/documents/activity-638-98.pdf; Araoz, "World-Heritage Historic Urban Landscapes"

UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "World Heritage Cities Programme," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/cities/.

See also Ahmadreza Shirvani Dastgerdi and Giuseppe De Luca, "The Riddles of Historic Urban Quarters Inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List," *International Journal of Architectural Research: ArchNet-IJAR* 12 (March 29, 2018), 152; Jeffrey W. Cody and Francesco Siravo, *Historic Cities: Issues in Urban Conservation*, Readings in Conservation (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2019); Ana Pereira Roders and Francesco Bandarin, *Reshaping Urban Conservation: The Historic Urban Landscape Approach in Action*, Creativity, Heritage and the City (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2019); Ron van Oers and Sachiko Haraguchi, *Managing Historic Cities = Gérer Les Villes Historiques*, World Heritage Papers 27 (Paris, France: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2010). Accessed August 25th, 202, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001896/189607m.pdf.

[809] Matthias Ripp, "Sicht der Welterbestädte im Deutschen Städtetag und der Organisation of World Heritage Cities (OWHC)," *ICOMOS – Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* 63 (August 21, 2017), 196.

actors, and institutions.[810] In the 1960s and 70s, the CoE and UNESCO never planned a heritage program together, but the parallel timeline of development of international heritage projects, direct institutional collaboration, shared experts, and a common focus in heritage conservation ideas led both organizations to influence the others' work. Experts played a central role in these transfers. UNESCO ultimately won the race with its World Heritage Convention and List, and its forward-looking heritage conservation principles but much of the roots of its program for cultural heritage lay in its connections with European heritage conservation.[811]

[810] Wolfram Kaiser and Kiran Klaus Patel, "Multiple Connections in European Co-Operation, 337–57.
[811] Miles Glendinning, "The European Architectural Heritage Year and UNESCO World Heritage."

4. The Commitment to Europe: West German Expert Representatives at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee

On April 6th, 1990, a public ceremony took place in front of the Aachen Cathedral. Church, city, regional, federal, and UNESCO representatives had assembled to unveil a bronze plaque marking the cathedral's status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. During the celebration, Hans Caspary, heritage conservator and expert representative of the FRG at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, gave a speech. He presented the Aachen Cathedral inscription on the World Heritage List 12 years prior as a "*Bekenntnis*"[812] or commitment to Europe. Now, in the wake of West and East Germany's reunification, Caspary added, the FRG would focus on the national at UNESCO.

With fifty-five sites inscribed in 2025, the Federal Republic of Germany has one of the strongest national representations on the UNESCO World Heritage List.[813] Media coverage and public interest in those sites and their inscription process has risen exponentially in the last decades. The federal state pours millions of Euros into their management, conservation, and publicity to encourage tourism around World Heritage sites.[814] This, however, was not always the case. The years 1978 to 1992 marked the first phase of the World Heritage List at UNESCO, concluded with the creation of the World Heritage Center.[815] At that time, public interest for the UNESCO World Heritage List was limited in West Germany. Only a handful of expert representatives and diplomats were involved in the nomination and inscription process of select heritage sites at the World Heritage Committee.

The top-down inscription process in the first decade of the List gave West German representatives at UNESCO significant power and freedom of action. The West German expert representative was responsible for communicating with UNESCO and West German institutions, selecting and nominating sites, creating alliances with representatives of other nation-states, and defending German interests within the World Heritage Committee. Diplomats followed their

[812] Klein, "Das Land springt für die EG ein. Zöpel macht Zusage" *Aachener Nachrichten*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[813] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Germany - UNESCO World Heritage Convention," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/de.
[814] See for example Christian Geinitz, "Welterbe-Status: Die Unesco lässt das Geld fließen," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 27, 2009. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/welterbe-status-die-unesco-laesst-das-geld-fliessen-1814878.html.
[815] For a description of the first phase, see Albert and Ringbeck, *40 Years World Heritage Convention*, 59–71.

actions but only intervened in rare contentious cases. The result of each nomination depended not only on ICOMOS or International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) recommendations but also on political dynamics within the World Heritage Committee because national representatives had to gather votes in support of their site.[816]

Constanze Metzger has shown the transnational focus of German diplomats at UNESCO.[817] This chapter expands on this study, through its focus on another actor group, heritage experts at UNESCO. Experts followed the German cultural diplomatic approach to represent German multilateralism at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. They used European discourse and strategically selected sites to avoid the appearance of nationalist interests. They focused on premodern sites which corresponded to traditional representations of cultural heritage. These sites also allowed them to bypass the Germany's divided political situation and recent history of Nazism. The choice of sites echoed some of the Council of Europe heritage projects, as conservators used European narratives generously in their nomination files. West German representatives were acutely aware of power dynamics within the European group at the World Heritage Committee. They were especially wary of Eastern European interventions because of the looming presence of the GDR. Despite the inherent tensions between international cooperation and the nationally oriented interests and structures of UNESCO World Heritage, FRG representatives also tried to coordinate European actions within the World Heritage Committee, with mixed results.

The 1970s and 1980s were a formative period for the World Heritage Program. During that time, the rules for nomination, inscription, and post-inscription oversight of the sites on the List were negotiated by the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO administrators, and ICOMOS and IUCN experts. Over the first decade of the World Heritage List, two UNESCO administrators played a central role, serving as preferred contacts for the West German representatives. German-speaking Bernd von Droste and Anne Raidl exchanged information and advice with West German

[816] In recent years, public interest and the ability to follow the sessions online have heightened transparency. Conflicts between Japan and Korea around sites of forced labor, for example, have been in the press repeatedly in the last few years. See Motoko Rich and Hikari Hida, "Japan Wants to Showcase Gold Mines' History. Just Not All of It.," *The New York Times*, February 21, 2022. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/2022/02/21/world/asia/japan-sado-island-unesco-heritage.html.
Backroom diplomacy, an important part of negotiations, remains unseen. On experts and heritage diplomacy, see Brumann, "Shifting Tides of World-Making in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention"; Brumann, *The Best We Share*; James, "The Symbolic Value of Expertise in International Heritage Diplomacy"; Meskell, "States of Conservation"; Tim Winter, "Heritage Diplomacy," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 10 (November 26, 2015), 997–1015; Tim Winter, "Heritage Diplomacy: Entangled Materialities of International Relations," *Future Anterior: Journal of Historic Preservation, History, Theory, and Criticism* 13, no. 1 (2016), 17–34.
[817] Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen*.

experts, administrators, politicians, and diplomats. Bernd von Droste was a major figure of the World Heritage Secretariat at UNESCO which he joined for the natural component in 1976. In 1992, he became the first Director of the World Heritage Centre.[818] Anne Raidl, an Austrian lawyer, oversaw international standards and led UNESCO's Division of cultural heritage in the 1980s. The involvement of the UNESCO administrators was central to the FRG's ability to navigate the World Heritage Committee. Anne Raidl became the main contact of the German delegation until she retired in 1992 for health reasons. She helped translate the organization's demands, guided West German nominations, and even intervened in local conflicts surrounding World Heritage sites.[819]

This chapter studies the West German presence on the World Heritage Convention and List from 1972 to 1990 through the actions of its expert representatives. The first part of the chapter showcases the discussions of West German diplomats and experts around the plans for a World Heritage Convention and List between 1972 and 1978. FRG administrators and experts were driven by a wish for exemplarity in the program, as they believed that European states should play a leading role because of their tradition of heritage conservation. These attempts at exemplarity and fear of the national led to the 1978 nomination of the Aachen Cathedral to the first UNESCO World Heritage List.

Following the Aachen Cathedral inscription, West German representatives nominated several sites a year from 1981. The seven German sites inscribed on the List in the 1980s, followed a similar pattern: they were mainly ancient, isolated monuments, centers of political or religious power; most of them were situated in an urban context. This choice of site was also conservative,

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[818] In 1980, for example, the AA admired the "geschicktes Taktieren des deutschen Sekretariatsmitglieds Herrn von Droste zu Hülshoff " after he helped the FRG with financial contributions problems. AA, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Zeittafel" (Report, n.d.), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Bernd von Droste joined UNESCO in 1973 as Director of the Division Ecological Sciences. From 1983 to 1991, he became Secretary of the Intergovernmental Program on Man and the Biosphere (MAB), before becoming the first World Heritage Center Director from 1992 to 1999. Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Oral Archives: Bernd von Droste. Interview with Bernd von Droste, 5 April 2007 and 1 February 2008, Paris, France." UNESCO World Heritage Centre, February 1,2008. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/oralarchives/bernd-von-droste/.

[819] Anne Raidl was a central figure of UNESCO World Heritage in the 1970s and 80s but little is known about her background. See Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*, 27–28, 48–49, 256–57, 281–82. Derek Linstrum, "An alternative approach? An interview with Anne Raidl," in *Monumentum* (1984), 50-55.
In 1981, for example, Bornheim contacted Anne Raidl after hearing she was "an der Benennung von deutschen Kulturdenkmaelern interessiert." See Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Raidl" (Letter, Mainz, August 11, 1981), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; Hans Caspary, "Letter to Raidl. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Mainz, March 11, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.

especially in view of the evolution of heritage conservation ideas in West Germany at the time.[820] The second part of this chapter addresses the first challenges encountered by the FRG at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee between 1978 and 1983. That period set the tone for the following decade of German participation in UNESCO World Heritage. It was also marked by the first efforts at European collaboration pushed by German expert representatives, conservators Georg Mörsch and Magnus Backes.

The third part of the chapter turns to the work of regional conservator Hans Caspary, who became the FRG expert representative at the World Heritage Committee in 1983. Caspary spearheaded the FRG participation in ICOMOS' plan for European tentative lists. As the World Heritage List grew in popularity, he had to face growing concerns around European representation, site management, and publicity. Caspary subsequently became a central figure of a reunited Germany at UNESCO as he remained the FRG expert representative until 2001.[821]

4.1. Wish for Exemplarity: First Steps of the FRG at the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and List (1972-1978)

West Germany's involvement in the World Heritage project started several years prior to the creation of the first World Heritage List in 1978. FRG representatives participated in discussions preceding the UNESCO General Conference adoption of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972.[822] The FRG then ratified the Convention in

[820] Industrial heritage started becoming popular in the 1970s in West Germany after the Zeche Zollern site was saved from destruction and transformed into an industrial museum in 1969. "The Zollern Colliery LWL-Industriemuseum." Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://zeche-zollern.lwl.org/en/.
See also Axel Föhl, "Industriedenkmalpflege im 20. Jahrhundert," *DenkmalPraxisModerne*, October 1, 2015. Accessed August 25th 2025, http://denkmalpraxismoderne.de/industriedenkmalpflege-im-20-jahrhundert/; Thomas Schleper and Roland Günter, eds., *Meilensteine der Denkmalpflege Industriekultur: eine Auslese zum 80. Geburtstag von Roland Günter*, (Essen: Verlag der Heinrich-Heine-Buchhandlung, 2016).
ICOMOS Germany was dominated by southern conservators which GDR Conservators noticed already in 1969. This was also mirrored in the UNESCO World Heritage committee where FRG representatives Bornheim gen. Schilling, Mörsch, Backes and Caspary all originated from southern regions. Brandt, *Im Schatten des Kalten Krieges*, 12.
[821] Despite this fast turnaround in the first years, World Heritage responsibilities were mostly characterized by long-term involvement. Mörsch continued to follow the actions of the West Germans in the World Heritage Committee. He got involved in the Lübeck case in 1991 for example. Georg Mörsch, "Letter to M. Bouteiller (Lübeck Mayor)" (Letter, Zürich, February 5, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15), UNESCO Archives.
From 2002, Caspary was replaced by the first woman German representative at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee: Dr. Brigitta Ringbeck who remained until 2022. Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*, 251–52; Ringbeck, "Welterbe ist ein integraler Bestandteil der Auswärtigen Kultur- und Bildungspolitik," *Deutsche UNESCO-Kommission*, May 1st, 2021. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.unesco.de/aktuelles/welterbe-ist-ein-integraler-bestandteil-der-auswaertigen-kultur-und-bildungspolitik.
[822] The 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage: UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Adopted by the General

1976, a year after it entered into force. That year, a World Heritage Committee was formed in Paris and began preparations for a list of iconic World Heritage sites. The World Heritage Committee served as a space of dialogue between representatives of member-states of the convention, international heritage conservation experts, and UNESCO administrators, although the decisional power was ultimately concentrated in the hands of the member states. The FRG was elected to the World Heritage committee in 1976, which allowed its expert representative to actively shape the UNESCO World Heritage List.[823]

The following subchapter studies the FRG's attempts at steering the UNESCO World Heritage Convention released in 1972 and the first World Heritage List, through the lens of the actors involved in the projects on a national and international level. It shows that the ratification of the convention itself was met on the grounds of diplomatic interests and the wish for representation in the Committee. The first inscription on the World Heritage List in 1978 was an attempt at providing exemplary participation, but also at bringing an iconic site of European meaning onto a global stage.

4.1.1. "Politisches Hara Kiri"? West German Ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention

On November 16th, 1972, during the 17th General Conference of UNESCO, the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted and therefore opened to ratification. UNESCO needed at least 20 Nations states to ratify the Convention. The USA was the first state to ratify, followed closely by several so-called developing countries. Three years would pass from the moment the World Heritage Convention was published until the

Conference at Its Seventeenth Session." (Convention, Paris, November 16, 1972), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf.
See Batisse and Bolla, *L'invention du "patrimoine mondial"*; Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*; Cameron and Rössler, "The Shift towards Conservation."

[823] Member-States have ratified the convention. Only they can take part in World Heritage Committee sessions and propose sites for inscription on the List. Three expert organizations linked to UNESCO were involved in the making of the World Heritage List: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). Since 1978, ICOMOS and IUCN experts also review each nomination to the World Heritage List for UNESCO, offering their opinion on the inscription file and site, as well as offering technical assistance to member-states of the Convention. On advisory bodies to the World Heritage Convention and List, see UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Advisory Bodies," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/advisorybodies/.

moment it came into force, on December 17th of 1975.[824] West German politicians, diplomats, and experts followed its evolution over the following years but they were reluctant to have the Convention encroach on regional-level heritage conservation and feared the financial burden of the new instrument. They postponed the ratification until 1976.

From 1973 to 1976, several meetings devoted to the ratification of the Convention took place at the Foreign Office in Bonn. On those occasions, representatives of the Foreign Office, the Cultural Ministry Conference, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of *Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten* (Agriculture), but also Conservator Werner Bornheim discussed the details of the World Heritage Convention. [825] States and Ministries worried about the problem of institutionalization of UNESCO action and the structural implications of the applications of the Convention in West Germany. A debate arose around the question of whether the West German state should create a federal agency for heritage conservation, a proposal that encountered resistance both from legal and heritage experts who argued conservation, was per *Grundgesetz,* a power of the *Länder*.[826]

The 1973 reaction of the Ministry of Finance shows that some national administrators considered the Convention a duplicate of the CoE project:

> Die an der Konvention geregelten sachlichen Fragen sind für den europäischen Bereich weitgehend schon durch das Europäische Übereinkommen zum Schutz archäologischen Kulturguts und für den Teilbereich der Denkmalpflege durch die Initiative des Europarats, das Jahr 1975 zum Jahr des Europäischen Denkmalschutzes zu erklären, geregelt.[827]

They did not think it necessary to be involved in both organizations, as that would also

[824] UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Adopted by the General Conference at Its Seventeenth Session." (Convention, Paris, November 16, 1972); Cameron and Rössler, "The Shift towards Conservation."

[825] See for example AA, "Protokoll der Besprechung am 3. Oktober 1972 im Auswärtigen Amt über den Entwurf eines Übereinkommens und einer Empfehlung zum Schutz von Kulturgut und Landschaftsbestand" (Report, Bonn, October 2, 1972), Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; BMWF Bernard, Report (Bonn, January 25, 1972), Nr. 7843, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[826] *Bundesdenkmalamt, Denkmalschutzgesetz*, and Fund were the main discussion points. See Bernard, Report; Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus Osterhuber, "Lettre to KMK. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Lettre, München, October 11, 1973), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Kultusministerium Baden Württemberg, "Letter to Staatsministerium Baden Württemberg. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Stuttgart, December 27, 1973), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz; Sofsky, "Letter to UAMD. Ergebnisniederschrift über die 4. Sitzung des Unterauschusses für Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9. November 1973" (Report, Mainz, November 16, 1973), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[827] Matthias, "Letter to AA and BMI. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Convention). Deutscher Beitritt"(Letter, Bonn, September 13, 1973), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

multiply the costs. The main reservation of the Finance Ministry regarding the project was linked to Article 16 of the Convention that demanded financial participation from the nation-states amounting to 1% of their UNESCO participation. UNESCO member-states, which were expected to provide a subsequent financial contribution to the World Heritage program, succeeded in passing a provision to that article, stating that the contributions could be voluntary instead of obligatory. Several states, including the US and France, subsequently agreed to regular donations without obligation of payment. This option allowed the West German Foreign Office to waive off the strong opposition of the Ministry of Finance. The voluntary contribution would, however, lead to new challenges for West German representatives at UNESCO because only if they participated financially could they be an active part of the World Heritage Committee and therefore gain "politischer Gewinn." [828]

After opposing the ratification, the Ministry of Finance, and Cultural Ministry Conference slowly softened their stance under pressure from the Foreign Office and Ministry of the Interior.[829] Trumping any interest in showcasing West German expertise and heritage, West German administrators' and diplomats' main reason for agreeing to ratify the convention was the expectations of developing countries:

> Die Entwicklungsländer messen dem Übereinkommen besondere Bedeutung bei. Den von ihnen durchgesetzten Fonds betrachten sie als ein Kernstück der Konvention. Ein Fernbleiben der Bundesrepublik Deutschland würde unserem politischen Ansehen bei den Ländern der Dritten Welt und damit unserer Arbeit in der UNESCO sehr schaden.[830]

Most participants in the meetings agreed that West Germany could not stay away from the World Heritage Convention. The AA warned that the refusal to ratify would constitute a

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[828] AA, "Ressortbesprechung über das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Report, Bonn, March 7, 1974), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Matthias, "Letter to AA and BMI. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Convention). Deutscher Beitritt" (Letter, Bonn, September 13, 1973), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; BMF Missfelder, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16. November 1972. Deutscher Beitritt" (Letter, Bonn, April 22, 1974), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "UNESCO. Bereitstellung von Haushaltmitteln zur Durchführung des Übereinkommens zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Memo, Bonn, December 28, 1976), B91 649, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[829] The first institution to recommend the ratification was the *Bundesministerium des Inneren* (BMI) in 1973. In 1974, a second round of letters saw the BMF more ready to compromise. See BMI Scheer, "Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Convention). Ratifikation durch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (Letter, Bonn, July 27, 1973), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Missfelder, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16. November 1972. Deutscher Beitritt"(Letter, Bonn, April 22, 1974), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[830] AA, "Ressortbesprechung über das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt"(Report, Bonn, March 7, 1974), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

"politisches Hara Kiri" [831] for West Germany's international standing because of the expectations of developing nations at UNESCO. The same question of financial participation, which made ratification difficult for West Germany, was what seemingly made the West German ratification unavoidable to its administrators, although they stayed skeptical of the outcome of the Convention.

Exchanges between the Foreign Office, the President's Cabinet, and other administrations show that West German administrators saw the Convention project first and foremost as an action to help countries that were unable to take care of their heritage. This view was in continuity with the previous UNESCO-organized Campaigns since the 1960s and which had multiplied in the 1970s. [832] In 1974, after lengthy discussions, administrators agreed that the FRG should ratify the Convention but deliberately chose to wait it out and see what other European countries were doing.[833] This prudent attitude was probably also dictated by the contemporary financial crisis, caused by the 1973-1974 Oil Crisis.[834]

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[831] "Der Auswärtige Amt war der Meinung, ein Beitritt zum UNESCO-Übereinkommen sei aus allgemeinen politischen Erwägungen unabdingbar, wenn anders ein „politisches Harakiri" in diesem Bereich vermieden werden solle." KMK Betz, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen Zum Schutz Des Kultur- Und Naturerbes Der Welt. Ressortbesprechung Im AA Am 7.3.1974" (Report, Bonn, March 22, 1974), Nr. 7837, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.
See also AA, "UNESCO. Bereitstellung von Haushaltmitteln zur Durchführung des Übereinkommens zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Memo, Bonn, December 28, 1976), B91 649, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[832] AA Schulte Strathaus, "Kabinettsache. Datenblatt-Nr.7/2231/3. An den Chef des Bundeskanzleramtes" (State Document, Bonn, June 18, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[833] The AA used its embassies to gauge the intentions of other European states: Hergt (AA), "Letter to FRG Embassies. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16. November 1972" (Letter, Bonn, March 15, 1974), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Letter to AA representation at UNESCO. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, August 27, 1975), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Vertretung der BRD UNESCO, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutze des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Report, Paris, September 17, 1975), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Changes in BMI structures also led to delays in the ratification preparations in 1974-75. Additionally, concerns on the need to pass a special Contract Law or *Vertragsgesetz* for the ratification arose in 1976. See AA Jung, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (Textprüfungen)" (Memo, Bonn, November 29, 1974), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Weindel, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutze des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Textprüfungen" (Report, Bonn, August 27, 1975), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "Referat VtK II 3" (Report, Bonn, August 26, 1975), B106/59649, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; BMJ Rohwedder, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Convention)" (Letter, Bonn, August 20, 1973), B91 516, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Weindel, "Letter to Ständige Vertragskomission der Länder. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Annahme durch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (Letter, Bonn, May 14, 1976), B91 659, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Bertram, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Ratifizierung durch die Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (Report, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 1976), B91 659, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Seifert, *Das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt und die Rechtsordnung der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*.

[834] The FRG had started going into economic recession in 1972, prior to the Oil Crisis. David Binder, "West Germany: No Economic Catastrophes, but No Miracles Either" in *New York Times* (14.1.1973). Accessed August 25th, 2025,

Constanze Metzger has identified three diplomatic grounds for ratification by the FRG in her reconstruction of the ratification process using AA archives:

> Das erste Ratifizierungsinteresse liegt in der nationalen Repräsentation. Eine Ratifizierung steht im Einklang mit den Gründen der deutschen Mitarbeit in der UNESCO, den Ruf Deutschlands als Kulturnation zu festigen und über die Auswärtige Kulturpolitik in der internationalen Gemeinschaft integriert zu werden. (...)
>
> Der zweite Ratifizierungsgrund liegt in der transnationalen Kulturarbeit, die durch eine deutsche Mitarbeit in der Welterbekonvention intensiviert werden soll. Die 1970er Jahre sind eine Zeit, in der die Auswärtige Kulturpolitik als einer der drei Pfeiler moderner Außenpolitik aufgewertet wird. (...)
>
> Der dritte Ratifizierungsgrund liegt in der deutsch-deutschen Frage. 1972 stimmen die Mitglieder der Generalkonferenz nicht nur für eine Welterbekonvention, sondern auch für einen Beitritt der DDR als neuen UNESCO-Mitgliedstaat. (...) Die Bundesrepublik bemüht sich somit verstärkt um eine außenkulturpolitische Positionierung in der UNESCO. [835]

Representing Germany as a *Kulturnation*, strengthening German cultural diplomacy and countering the growing presence of the GDR, were the pillars of the action of German diplomats. West German conservation experts, in turn, seemed eager to take part in the UNESCO endeavor in order to showcase and enhance their experience in heritage conservation. Heritage projects of UNESCO were not unanimously seen positively in West German professional circles, however. West German architects, for example, deplored the overly "historical dimension" [836] of UNESCO's architectural heritage concept in 1973.

Still, the historical tradition of German heritage conservation came up again and again in exchanges during the discussions on the ratification of the World Heritage Convention, and in the Justification of the Foreign Office to the cabinet of the Federal President in preparation for ratification on June 18th, 1976. The author of this justification used this recurring sentence to argue in favor of the ratification:

> In Deutschland sind Denkmalschutz und Naturschutz seit etwa 150 Jahren ein öffentliches Anliegen.(…) Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland genießt auf dem Gebiet der Denkmalpflege, des

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https://www.nytimes.com/1973/01/14/archives/west-germany-no-economic-catastrophes-but-no-miracles-either.html.
Dr. Lucas Schramm has identified the crisis as a moment of failed European cooperation. Lucas Schramm, "The Neglected Integration Crisis: France, Germany and Lacking European Co-operation During the 1973/1974 Oil Shock." *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 62, no. 2, (2024), 583-602.

[835] Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen*, 122-125.

[836] The *Bund der Deutschen Architekten* wanted to include modern architectur but observed that: "Architektur wird in diesem Programm im wesentlichen nur in ihrer historischen Dimension erfaßt." Bund der Deutschen Architekten, "Statement to DUK" (Memo, 1973), B336/307, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

> Naturschutzes und der Landschaftspflege einen hohen Ruf, der auch international weiter zur Geltung gebracht werden sollte.[837]

West German diplomats seemed to embrace the experts' hopes that their experience would reflect positively on the West German state, if it were to participate in the World Heritage program. The ratification text, however, also hinted at the importance the public gave to this question in West Germany and abroad. In the previous year, the Council of Europe campaign for architectural heritage had spiked public interest in West Germany.

Shortly after the ratification, the Foreign Office insisted again on the advantages of taking an active part in the World Heritage Convention. It would benefit German cultural diplomacy through the showcase of West German heritage conservation skills and traditions in the World Heritage Program.

> Dabei wirkte entscheidend die Überlegung mit, dass die Bundesregierung hierdurch Gelegenheit erhalte, das in der BR Deutschland vorhandene hohe Fachwissen, ihre Wirtschaftskraft und ihre technologisch-organisatorische Fähigkeiten durch tätige Mitwirkung bei der Durchführung dieses Übereinkommens einzusetzen und so eine weltweit wirksame Kulturpolitik zu betreiben.[838]

Following the news that the Convention came into force in December 1975, the AA sent the ratification project to the FRG President's Cabinet and the *Bundestag* in early 1976. In the first half of 1976, senior UNESCO administrators managed to convince the Foreign Office of the importance of ratifying the Convention before the 1st Committee session planned for the end of the year, which would enable the West German representative to participate in the first World Heritage Committee. In his letter to German diplomat Herbert Blankenhorn on May 23rd, 1976, for example, Gerard Bolla listed the clear advantages of being part of the first World Heritage Committee:

> The first members of the World Heritage Committee will have a particularly significant role since they will adopt criteria for the selection of property to be included in the two lists mentioned above and decide on an order of priorities for the operational activities under the Convention. [839]

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[837] Schulte Strathaus, "Kabinettsache. Datenblatt-Nr.7/2231/3. An den Chef des Bundeskanzleramtes," (State Document, Bonn, June 18, 1976), 2-3, AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The AA describe German heritage conservation as a "Jahrhundertaufgabe" in the ratification meeting of March 1974: AA, "Ressortbesprechung über das UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt"(Report, Bonn, March 7, 1974), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[838] AA, "UNESCO. Bereitstellung von Haushaltmitteln zur Durchführung des Übereinkommens zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Memo, Bonn, December 28, 1976), B91 649, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[839] Gérard Bolla, "Letter to Blankenhorn (FRG UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, May 23, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Michel Batisse, "Letter to Burhenne (IUCN FRG)" (Letter, August 11, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

This provided an ideal chance for West Germany's wish to showcase its experience in heritage and perform exemplarity to the member-states at the same time. The argument won over the hesitations of West German administrators. The ratification papers were deposited at UNESCO on the 23rd of August 1976, three days before the limit date to participate in the November vote deciding the members of the World Heritage Committee. From then on, West German authorities took an active part in preparing the World Heritage List. An AA representative participated in the vote for the World Heritage Committee in Nairobi on November 26th, 1976. 15 out of 17 candidates were elected to the World Heritage Committee. The FRG successfully became a member of the first World Heritage Committee for two years.[840]

The idea of a World Heritage List was already included in the project for the Convention adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1972 but concrete plans for the List came about after the World Heritage Committee was formed in November 1976.[841] The creation of the first list of UNESCO World Heritage in 1978 was the result of a process of preparation, which first took place between UNESCO and its expert organizations: the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). The World Heritage Committee then launched discussions between administrators, experts, and

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Herbert Blankenhorn (1904-1991) was an influential West German diplomat from the 1950s to the 1970s. From 1970 to 1976 he was elected in the Executive Committee at UNESCO. Birgit Ramscheid, *Herbert Blankenhorn (1904-1991): Adenauers außenpolitischer Berater*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 2006.

[840] UNESCO acknowledged the ratification in September. John. E. Forbes, "Letter Jens Petersen (AA Vertretung UNESCO). Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Adopted at Paris on the 16 November 1972 by the General Conference of UNESCO - Ratification by the Federal Republic of Germany" (Letter, Paris, September 21, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

The FRG was elected to the Committee in Nairobi. See AA, "Letter to Ständige Vertretung UNESCO. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Konstituierende Sitzung" (Letter, Bonn, September 24, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Petersen, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16. November 1972. Bestätigung des Generaldirektors über die Hinterlegung der deutschen Beitrittserklärung" (Letter, Paris, September 28, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Schulte Strathaus, "Message to AA Representation UNESCO. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutze des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16. nov. 1972" (Urgent message, Bonn, October 20, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Petersen and AA Heimsöth, "Generalversammlung der Mitgliedstaaten des Übereinkommen zum Schutze des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Report, Nairobi, November 27, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; UNESCO, "First General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nairobi, 26 November 1976. List of Candidatures for the Election to the 'World Heritage Committee' with Annotations on Vote Result" (Report, Nairobi, November 25, 1976), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[841] UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Adopted by the General Conference at Its Seventeenth Session," (Convention, Paris, November 16, 1972), 6.

diplomats on working documents provided by UNESCO and prepared by their expert organizations.[842]

The first World Heritage Committee met between June 27th and July 1st, 1977. The meeting was mainly dedicated to discussions around the criteria for inclusion on the Lists (regular and sites in danger) and the practical aspects of the nomination and inscription of sites.[843] West Germany, having been elected to the World Heritage Committee, was an integral part of those discussions. The AA designated diplomat Hermann Gründel and expert Bornheim gen. Schilling as its representatives. The KMK had chosen Rhineland regional conservator Georg Mörsch to represent their views. The Ministry for Agriculture proposed to send Professor Wolfgang Engelhardt, Director of the *Staatlichen Naturwissenschaftlichen Sammlungen Bayerns* to the Committee session. In the end, only Gründel and Mörsch attended the first World Heritage Committee session.[844] After the first Committee session, the AA diplomatic representative concluded that the absence of Engelhardt: "wirkt sich dahingehend aus, dass der Bereich Naturerbe von unserer Seite nicht wahrgenommen werden konnte."[845] Mörsch confirmed, that since the discussions were held in parallel but separately, he could not follow the debates on natural heritage. Constanze Metzger has shown, that the *Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Forsten* felt that

[842] Documents prepared at the expert meeting in Morges in 1976. See UNESCO, "Informal Consultation of Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations on the Implementation of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Morges 19-20 May 1976)" (Report, Paris, 1976), B106/59649, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Letter to AA. UNESCO Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, June 1, 1977), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Vertretung der BRD UNESCO, "Letter to AA. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Paris, December 13, 1976), B91 649, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Letter to BMI, BMELF, Sek KMK. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Drahtbericht der Botschaft Nairobi Nr. 629 vom 29.11.1976 über die erste Hauptversammlung der Vertragsstaaten" (Letter, Bonn, February 2, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[843] UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Communication to State Parties" (Letter, Paris, January 20, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[844] See Rädle, "Letter to AA. UNESCO Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, June 1, 1977), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Georg Mörsch, "Letter to AA. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. 1. Sitzung des Komitees in Paris" (Letter, Bonn, July 5, 1977), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Gründel, "1. Sitzung des 'World Heritage Committee' 27. Juni bis 1. Juli 1977 in Paris" (Report, Paris, July 6, 1977), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Message to AA UNESCO. 1. sitzung des world heritage committee, paris 27.6-1.7.1977" (Urgent message, Bonn, June 8, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Jens Petersen, "Letter to Bolla (UNESCO). Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Paris 27 June- 1 July 1977" (Letter, Paris, June 13, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Pertersen (AA UNESCO)" (Letter, Mainz, July 5, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[845] Gründel, "1. Sitzung des 'World Heritage Committee' 27. Juni bis 1. Juli 1977 in Paris," (Report, Paris, July 6, 1977), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, 3.

because of its limited definition of natural heritage, the World Heritage Convention was aimed at cultural heritage and thus not of their purview. [846]

Despite these challenges, Mörsch was impressed by the List project and discussions at the first World Heritage Committee session in 1977. The discussions of the expert representatives of the member-states to the World Heritage Convention focused mostly on the justification criteria for the inscription of a site on this List, which ICOMOS had prepared for the occasion. A state could only nominate a site that was on its own territory and had to prepare and provide an analysis of the site that followed certain criteria.[847] The approach and inscription process felt very natural to Mörsch as he concluded:

> Dieses Verfahren ist von der methodischen Grundstruktur her das gleiche wie bei der in Europa seit langem üblichen Kunstdenkmälerinventarisation. Neu für die Objekte der "Liste" ist nur der erforderliche universelle Rang. (...) Die Kriterien, deren Hauptformulierungen im wesentlichen auf die dankenswerte Vorarbeit von Icomos zurückgehen und die in ihrer gedanklichen Strukturierung die Reflexion vieler Generationen europäischer Denkmalpflege bezeugen, sind (...) vom Komitee akzeptiert worden.[848]

West German expert representatives such as Bornheim and Mörsch believed that they shared a 150-year-old expertise with a group of western European states. They therefore also believed that World Heritage should follow rules of what they saw as traditional European heritage conservation and saw themselves as essential guides for the World Heritage Committee.

It was agreed that the World Heritage List needed a test run in 1978. Mörsch pushed his administration for the nomination of a pilot object, an exemplary site to show to world how the World Heritage List would function. Even though the states were informed of this decision through the reports of their representatives, the official notice from UNESCO regarding the first World Heritage List was only sent in January 1978. The Director General of UNESCO at the time, Senegalese Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow sent nomination forms prepared by ICOMOS for the states to fill in and asked member-states of the World Heritage Convention to propose sites for nomination

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[846] Georg Mörsch, "Bericht über die 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee, Paris, 27.6.77-1.7.1977" (Report, Bonn, October 25, 1977), 3, AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen*, 118f., 163f.

[847] Mörsch, "Bericht über die 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee, Paris, 27.6.77-1.7.1977" (Report, Bonn, October 25, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also, "Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. First Session Unesco, Paris, 27 June - 1 July 1977. Final Report" (Report, Paris, October 17, 1977), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1977/cc-77-conf001-9_en.pdf.

[848] Mörsch, "Bericht über die 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee, Paris, 27.6.77-1.7.1977," (Report, Bonn, October 25, 1977), 2–3, AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

by the 1st of April 1978. The *Auswärtiges Amt* received this letter on January 20th, which left less than three months to find a site, fill out the nomination forms, and send them back to Paris. [849]

The AA had conducted internal discussions on the question of potential nominations in November of 1977 already. The following month, different institutions in charge of heritage were contacted to enlist them in the search for deserving sites. [850] These institutions were the *Kultusministerkonferenz der Länder* and the *Bundesministerium des Innern* for cultural heritage, and the *Bundesministerium für Ernährung Landwirtschaft und Forsten* for natural heritage. Following the reception of the letter of M'Bow, the AA repeated its call to find sites to nominate and transmitted the guidelines and nomination forms prepared by ICOMOS.[851] It described its standards for selecting the site as follows:

> Die Nominierungen sollten sich nach Möglichkeit auf Objekte mit Modellcharakter beziehen, die dem zwischenstaatlichen Komitee zu einer noch klareren Erfassung des Wesens des in der Liste aufzunehmenden Weltkultur- und -naturerbes dienen können.[852]

The AA insisted on the necessary "exemplary character" of the site chosen and the intended use of these first nominations for further discussion on the criteria of the World Heritage List. In February of 1978, West Germany found itself pressed for time to select a site for nomination to the first World Heritage List and send its nomination file to UNESCO before the end of March. Experts of natural heritage never responded to the AA call, but the actors of cultural heritage reacted swiftly.[853] Although they lacked insights into the future potential of the World Heritage project, the combined fear of missing out politically and the wish to showcase expertise

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[849] See Mörsch, "Bericht über die 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee, Paris, 27.6.77-1.7.1977," (Report, Bonn, October 25, 1977), 4, AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Communication to State Parties" (Letter, Paris, January 20, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[850] The AA planned to propose a natural and a cultural site. See AA, "Vermerk. 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee" (Memo, Bonn, November 2, 1977), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Deutz, "Letter to BMI, BMELF, DUK, KMK etc. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. 1. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt vom 27. Juni-1. Juli" (Letter, Bonn, December 21, 1977), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[851] The first letter was sent by the AA on January 24th, the second on February 9th. See AA Deutz, "Letter to KMK, BMI, DUK, Bertram, Bornheim etc. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Lettre, Bonn, January 24, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Wellhausen, "Letter to BMI, KMK, BMELF, DUK etc. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, February 9, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[852] Wellhausen, "Letter to BMI, KMK, BMELF, DUK etc. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt"(Letter, Bonn, February 9, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[853] Contact with BMELF and their designated expert, Prof. Engelhardt, was inconsistent. Von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, "Letter to Engelhardt. 5.Sitzung des World Heritage Committee der UNESCO." (Letter, Bonn, April 7, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

encouraged their participation in the UNESCO program. For the following decades, West German diplomats and experts alike strove for exemplary participation in the World Heritage of UNESCO in order to acquire international recognition for German heritage conservation, with varying degrees of success.

4.1.2. Modell Aachen Cathedral: A West German Site on the 1978 UNESCO World Heritage List

In 1978, the FRG inscribed its first monument on the first UNESCO World Heritage List, the Aachen Cathedral. Mörsch, the West German expert representative to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, described this as a "good beginning"[854] The FRG was the only Western European state to nominate and inscribe a site in the first year of the List. West German administrators and representatives wanted the first German site to be a pilot object for the development of the UNESCO World Heritage list because of its exemplarity, but the nomination and inscription process of the Aachen Cathedral also made it into a pilot object for West German participation on the World Heritage list.

In 1977, Mörsch was the only person reporting the technical details of UNESCO World Heritage discussions to the AA. Mörsch first used the term pilot object in October of 1977, which was then taken up by the AA in their search for an exemplary site able to shape the World Heritage List.[855] While diplomats involved in the project changed often and only took part in part of the Committee session, expert representatives could rapidly gain influence in the World Heritage program. Mörsch was instrumental in the choice of the specific site nominated in 1978, as he selected the site, wrote the nomination file, and was present in Washington at the 2nd Committee session to defend its inscription on the list. This shows the prominent role an individual actor could take at a state level at the early stages of the World Heritage program.

In February of 1978, Mörsch presented the KMK with a list of sites. This list offers a glimpse into what sites heritage conservators in West Germany considered exemplary at the time. These sites—the Aachen Cathedral, the Roman site of Trier, the Cologne Cathedral, and to a lesser

[854] "Auch insofern war dieses erste deutsche Weltlisten- Denkmal ein guter Beginn" Georg Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978." (Report, Bonn, February 9, 1979), 4, B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[855] "Für die nähere Zukunft d.h. jedenfalls bis zum 1. April sollte jeder Teilnehmerstaat eine Nennung für die Liste vorschlagen als Pilotobjekt, anhand dessen man die Kriterien in der Anwendungspraxis überprüfen können soll." Mörsch, "Bericht über die 1. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee, Paris, 27.6.77-1.7.1977," (Report, Bonn, October 25, 1977), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.787, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

degree the Rhine Valley sites—were all ancient urban stone monuments that were also centers of political and/or religious power situated in North-Rhine-Westphalia and its neighboring state Rhineland-Palatinate.[856] Mörsch further told the KMK, that he could only guarantee the timely finalization of the nomination in the case of the Aachen Cathedral.[857] Mörsch being a native of Aachen and having worked there in the 1960s and 1970s seemed to know this specific site best, which enabled him to write the nomination file for the Aachen Cathedral site in the short time frame allocated by the AA.[858]

By February 22nd, the KMK had agreed to nominate the Aachen Cathedral, which left around two weeks to prepare the nomination file. On March 9th, 1978, Mörsch sent the completed nomination file for the Aachen Cathedral to the AA for translation. Mörsch told the AA to hand in this file, but to tell UNESCO that a revised version of the nomination file would follow.[859] A passage at the end of Mörsch's letter to the AA on March 9th raises additional questions regarding the Aachen Cathedral nomination. It involved the Iranian delegation in the choice of the first West German site:

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[856] "Zum „Pilot-Objekt" habe Dr. Mörsch – ohne damit einer Entscheidung des Auschusses für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung vorgreifen zu wollen – den Aachener Dom, die römische Anlage in Trier, das Rheinland zwischen Bingen und Bonn und den Kölner Dom zur Erwägung gestellt." KMK Betz, "Ergebnisniederschrift 126. Sitzung des AKE am 16./17.2.1978" (Report, Bonn, March 3, 1978), B304/7395, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The Rhine Valley cultural elements share these characteristics. "Upper Rhine Valley" World Heritage site: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Upper Middle Rhine Valley." Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1066/.
The overwhelming number of urban medieval cathedrals and churches on the UNESCO World Heritage List is subject to debate today. See for example Azedine Beschaousch, "Cite de l'Architecture et Du Patrimoine - Conférence Introductive," Dailymotion, December 4, 2014. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x2bqw1v.

[857] Betz, "Ergebnisniederschrift 126. Sitzung des AKE am 16./17.2.1978"(Report, Bonn, March 3, 1978), B304/7395, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[858] Mörsch worked in Aachen in the 1960s. Braunfels, *Karl der Große*, 1965, XV.
He participated in the 1975 and 1977 Aachen Cathedral *Dombaukomission*. See "Sitzung der Dombaukommission 3.3.1975, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, March 3, 1975), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.14, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen; "Sitzung der Baukommission am 9.3.1977, Aachen" (Report, Aachen, March 9, 1977), Domarchiv A 3.1.2.16, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.

[859] He sent a copy to Mayor Kurt Malangré in Aachen. See Mörsch, "Letter to Dr. Wellhausen (AA). Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1978), B106/59649, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Mörsch, "Letter to Malangré. Betr. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1978), Domarchiv A 3.1.1.27, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
The AA wanted the nomination files before March 10th, to allow time for the file to be translated. See Wellhausen, "Letter to BMI, KMK, BMELF, DUK etc. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt"(Letter, Bonn, February 9, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Letter to UNESCO Vertretung. Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Welt-Kultur und Natur-Erbes. Nominierung des Aachener doms für die Liste" (Letter, Bonn, March 22, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

> Die Nominierung des Aachener Doms ist deshalb einem Vorschlag der Iranischen Delegation folgend als beispielhaftes Pilotobjekt zu verstehen, um die in Washington zu erwartende Diskussion mit einem besonders bedeutenden Beispiel aus dem Gebiet der BRD anzuregen. (…) In diesem Zusammenhang ist von Interesse, dass der Iran z.Zt. das Präsidium des UNESCO-Komitees für das Kultur- u. Naturerbe der Welt innehat.[860]

Was the reference to Iran in Mörsch's letter meant to underline the idea of the pilot-object or the choice of the Aachen Cathedral? The Shah of Iran did personally visit the Aachen Cathedral in 1967 and thus new the site personally.[861] Iran was the president of the first World Heritage Committee session in 1977 and remained so until September of 1978, when the presidency was transferred to the USA representative during the opening of the second World Heritage Committee session in Washington. The reference to the role of president, which Mörsch pointedly added to his letter, underlines that this status also conferred political power within the Committee. Although the nature of the Iranian involvement in the German nomination remains unclear, Mörsch thought it was important enough to ask the AA to repeat that part in the official nomination to UNESCO. The West German ambassador to UNESCO in Paris followed suit in his letter accompanying the Aachen Cathedral nomination file on March 31st.[862] Within the World Heritage Committee, FRG diplomats, as well as experts, were regularly influenced by negotiations and discussions with other member-states of the World Heritage Convention.

Although the Federal Republic of Germany handed in the nomination file of the Aachen Cathedral on time on March 31st, 1978, the rest of the nomination process was not without difficulties. Between April 1st and September, the FRG handed in several documents late. These delays were mainly caused by communication problems between the different actors of World Heritage in the FRG. The revised nomination file, mentioned in Mörsch's March letter, was only sent to UNESCO on June 20th, thus missing the deadline for the review session organized by the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee on June 8th and 9th, 1978. During that session, ICOMOS gave its comments on the cultural nominations, offering either positive or negative decisions regarding the inscriptions of the sites on the list. Despite its lack of documentation, the Aachen

[860] Mörsch, "Letter to Dr. Wellhausen (AA). Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt"(Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1978), B106/59649, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
[861] Horst Pomsel, "Kaiserpaar trifft sich in Aachen. Zu Fuss vom Dom zum Rathaus," *Aachener Nachrichten*, May 20, 1967, Domarchiv A 11.2.6, Bischöfliches Diözesanarchiv Aachen.
[862] Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to UNESCO. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nomination for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, March 31, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Cathedral received a positive recommendation.[863]

The City of Aachen had failed to send the promised pictures and maps of the Aachen Cathedral to UNESCO in time for the review session of the World Heritage Bureau in June, which automatically put the Aachen Cathedral nomination in the group of incomplete files to be reviewed first at the second World Heritage Committee Session in Washington.[864] The Aachen Cathedral nomination was in jeopardy and ambassador to UNESCO Gründel contacted the AA to underline the importance of these documents for the nomination: "ohne diese Dokumente kann jedoch eine Prüfung der Nominierung des Aachener Doms für die Liste des Welt-Kultur- und Naturerbes nicht vorgenommen werden."[865] The AA sent photos and maps to Paris with the revised nomination papers on June 20th, but UNESCO again demanded additional documentation. The nomination file was only completed on July 25th. Color diapositives of the site, which UNESCO requested weeks in advance, did not arrive in time for the World Heritage Committee session. Mörsch ultimately brought his personal diapositives to the World Heritage Committee session in Washington in September, which also got lost.[866] The FRG's federal organization of heritage conservation was ill-adapted to an enterprise such as the World Heritage of UNESCO, often costing the West

[863] UNESCO asked for additional details on the Aachen Cathedral in May but Hermann Gründel, FRG representative at UNESCO, sent the individual answers to the questions at the very last moment. See Stulz, "Letter to Fabricius (AA UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, May 19, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hermann Gründel, "Letter to Stulz (UNESCO). Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nomination of Aachen Cathedral for Inclusion in the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, June 8, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
During Bureau session, a select group of committee members and experts review the nominations files ahead of the World Heritage Committee session and offer preliminary recommendations. See Peter Benett, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Committee Second Session Washington, D.C. (USA), 5 to 8 September 1978. Report of the Rapporteur on First Meeting of Bureau of Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Paris, 8 and 9 June 1978)" (Report, Paris, June 10, 1978), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-3e.pdf.
June 20th Aachen Cathedral nomination file, see Gründel, "Aachen Cathedral Nomination File," (Paris, June 20, 1978), R.F.A. WHC 3 Aix-la-Chapelle, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[864] UNESCO, "Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Second Session. Washington, D.C. (USA) 5 to 8 September 1978. Final Report" (Paris, October 9, 1978), 7–8, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev_e.pdf.
[865] Hermann Gründel, "Letter to AA. Nominierung des Aachener Doms für die Liste des Welt-Kultur und Naturerbes" (Letter, Paris, June 12, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[866] The diapositives got lost again following the Committee session. See AA, "Letter to UNESCO Vertretung. World Heritage Generalversammlung. Farbdiapositive Des Aachener Doms" (Letter, November 8, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.781, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wilhelm Fabricius, "Message to AA. 2. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee 5.-8. September 1978 in Washington" (Letter, Paris, July 28, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA Deutz, "Letter to Dr. Hugot (Aachen). 2. Sirzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt vom 05.-08. September 1978 in Washington" (Letter, Bonn, July 31, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

German representatives their wish for exemplary participation. In the case of Aachen, the time and the number of intermediaries required for information from UNESCO to arrive—through the West German ambassador to UNESCO in Paris, the AA in Bonn, the BMI, the KMK, Mörsch, and the city and Cathedral of Aachen—made it exceedingly difficult to make decisions rapidly and act upon them.

As shown in the first chapter, the choice of the site and consequent narratives in the nomination file of the Aachen Cathedral display a regional expert and national representative, conservator Mörsch, acting for European interests within the global context of UNESCO. The FRG's intent to internationalize its heritage and sideline national overtones in preference of a unifying European culture within UNESCO becomes apparent through the nomination of the Aachen Cathedral. The call back to the heroic figure of Charlemagne in the distant past enabled West Germany to promote its history internationally without relying on nationalist discourses, all the while evading the difficult memories of the recent Nazi past. UNESCO actors, however, also exerted considerable influence on the inscription of a site and the ICOMOS reviewer removed the European narratives from the site justification. West Germany successfully inscribed the Aachen Cathedral on the List in 1978, but the experts and administrators of ICOMOS and UNESCO retained the power to determine the meanings ascribed to the site within the World Heritage List. This shows that although the nation-states held considerable power in the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO and ICOMOS actors retained control and were active partakers in individual World Heritage site narratives.

The Aachen Cathedral was accepted on the World Heritage List, without discussion at the second session of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in Washington in September of 1978. Mörsch depicted the meeting in Washington as a success and called the Aachen inscription "ein guter Beginn."[867] He noted the widespread approval of Committee members, despite a lacking

[867] He added : "Ohne damit andeuten zu wollen, dass es mithin auf das tatsächliche Niveau der nationalen Nominierung nicht, sondern nur auf die Qualität der Dokumentation ankäme, möchte ich doch unterstreichen, dass erstens der hinreichenden Qualität der Dokumentation von weiteren deutschen Vorschläge ein deutliches gewicht zu geben ist." Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978" (Report, Bonn, February 9, 1979), 4, B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Nomination files are now hundreds of pages long and their preparation takes several years, like the 2009 nearly 1000 pages long nomination file for Albi in France. France, "La Cité épiscopale d'Albi. Tome 1" (Nomination, Paris, 2009), UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1337.pdf.

nomination file.[868] The inscription of the site on the World Heritage List was easy, especially when compared to the drawn-out processes and exacting standards of later nominations. Mörsch concluded from the discussions that the West German administration should not shy away from nominations and focus on producing well-documented nomination files. The Aachen Cathedral remained the sole German site on the List until 1981, while many other countries, such as France and Italy, took advantage of the first years to get multiple sites inscribed.[869]

The ratification of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and the 1978 World Heritage List provide an insight into the hopes and expectations, which West German administrators, experts, and diplomats had put in their participation in the World Heritage program of UNESCO. Two interests stood out in the different discussions: holding up to the expectation of developing countries, and therefore gaining good international reputation through financial means, and showcasing West German expertise in heritage conservation. Two main hurdles of the later West German involvement in World Heritage already appear in the Convention's ratification process and the List's preparation. First is the problem of financial contribution, which would be very acute in the decade following the ratification. Second is the problem of the federal organization of heritage. The absence of centralized decision-making institutional actors in West Germany gave ground in these matters to a central, expert representative. Mörsch's ability to act freely and also communicate with both local, national and international actors involved in UNESCO's World Heritage List would be characteristic of German expert representatives until 1990.

The Aachen Cathedral's site nomination and inscription on the World Heritage List in 1978 are both exceptional and exemplary in light of West German participation in the World Heritage Committee in the following decade. Although Aachen's inscription did fulfill its role as a pilot project for UNESCO, the type of site chosen, the top-down process of the nomination, the systemic communication delays, and the prominent role of the expert representative Mörsch in the Aachen Cathedral nomination anticipated the way West German site nominations and inscriptions would unfold in the following decade.

[868] Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978" (Report, Bonn, February 9, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[869] Other early member-states of the Convention like Poland, France, Ethiopia, Egypt and Tunisia, which took advantage of the first years to inscribes high numbers of sites on the List. Centre, "World Heritage List" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year.

4.2. A Double-Edged Sword: First Challenges for the FRG at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (1978-1983)

Shortly after its creation, the World Heritage List became a two-edged sword for the FRG, whose participation was fraught with financial, systemic, and commemorative difficulties. The FRG's decentralized heritage system led to challenges in communication. The state also failed to pay financial contributions in the first years of the World Heritage List, which excluded West Germany from a World Heritage Committee membership. In parallel, several of the sites nominated by the FRG encountered refusals and deferments at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. The widespread restorations and reconstructions in post-war West Germany's urban spaces collided with the authenticity criteria, which gained importance in World Heritage inscriptions in the 1980s.[870] Last but not least, the FRG faced challenging political situations at the World Heritage Committee linked to their Nazi past with the Auschwitz and Jerusalem inscription debates, which left them at odds with the diplomatic stand of other western European states. FRG representatives at UNESCO saw these setbacks as especially shameful for West Germany as they thwarted their personal efforts for exemplary participation.

4.2.1. "Schatten der Vergangenheit": Setting the Bases for the FRG in the World Heritage Committee (1978-1980)

Already in 1978, the "shadows of the past"[871] came to haunt the West-Germany at the World Heritage Committee. Poland decided to nominate the Auschwitz Concentration camp as one of its five first sites nomination for the World Heritage List, effectively squashing the FRG representative's hopes for exemplary participation. West Germany was trying hard to regain international standing. This nomination reminded everyone in the Committee and the global public of Germany's actions during World War II. When West Germany was confronted with the nomination of the Concentration Camp Auschwitz-Birkenau, the AA asked its two expert representatives to intervene on their behalf in the absence of professional diplomats. The separation

[870] On authenticity in the first decades of World Heritage, see Gustavo Araoz, "Conservation Philosophy and Its Development: Changing Understandings of Authenticity and Significance," *Heritage & Society Heritage & Society* 6, no. 2 (2013), 144–54; Falser, "Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 – 30 Jahre »Authentizität« im Namen des kulturellen Erbes der Welt"; Cameron, "From Warsaw to Mostar: The World Heritage Committee and Authenticity."

[871] AA Wellhausen, "Letter to BMI and KMK. UNESCO- Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in washington im September 1978. Generalversammlung am 24.11.1978 in Paris." (Letter, December 11, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

between the diplomatic and the expert role of the representatives on the Committee was not clear-cut. Heritage experts were involved with international political considerations from the start of the World Heritage program.[872]

West German diplomats wanted the Polish nomination to erase the name of currently existing German enterprises that profited from forced labor in Auschwitz. They claimed that the "positive" history and impact of these firms were much more important than their participation in Auschwitz. While they agreed that the nomination was problematic, [873] the two experts for nature and culture refused to comply with the demand of the AA to lobby for this erasure in the World Heritage Committee. As Engelhardt, representative for natural heritage, stated in his report of the second World Heritage Committee session:

> Nach reiflicher Überlegung und unter Berücksichtigung der Gesamtsituation erschien uns jedoch diese Anregung des Auswärtiges Amtes zu delikat für uns als Fachdelegierte zu sein. Wir sind vielmehr der Überzeugung, dass dies, wenn überhaupt, auf politischer Ebene geschehen muss. [874]

This was one of the rare cases where the interests of the expert representatives and the Foreign Office did not align. Expert representatives refused to participate in the diplomatic scope of their role.

The AA subsequently tried to directly contact the Polish representative Dr. Krzysztof Pawlowski in charge of the nomination. They claimed that the industrial partners of the camp listed in the nomination had a positive impact in Auschwitz:

> Hierbei kann auf die lange positive Geschichte von Siemens, Krupp und anderen deutschen Firmen, ihr heutiges Ansehen und ihren sozialen Ruf verwiesen werden. Es kann argumentiert werden, dass

[872] Diplomats came only for the opening and closing of the Committee Session. Expert representatives tried to intervene but relented in view of the explosive subject matter. See Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978" (Report, Bonn, February 9, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Wolfgang Engelhardt, "World Heritage Committee, Second Session, 5.-8.9.1978. Bericht" (Report, München, November 13, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Georg Mörsch, "Meine Teilnahme bei der UNESCO-Sitzung zum Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt am 4. bis 9. September 1978 in Washington. Nominierung des KZ-Auschwitz durch die Volksrepublik Polen und mein Bericht vom 25.10.1978, Seite 3" (Letter, Bonn, August 28, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also UNESCO, "Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Second Session. Washington, D.C. (USA) 5 to 8 September 1978. Final Report" (Paris, October 9, 1978), 7–8, UNESCO Digital Library. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1978/cc-78-conf010-10rev_e.pdf.

[873] Mörsch insisted on the negative nature of the site. Mörsch, "Meine Teilnahme bei der UNESCO-Sitzung zum Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt am 4. bis 9. September 1978 in Washington. Nominierung des KZ-Auschwitz durch die Volksrepublik Polen und mein Bericht vom 25.10.1978, Seite 3" (Letter, Bonn, August 28, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[874] Engelhardt, "World Heritage Committee, Second Session, 5.-8.9.1978. Bericht"(Report, München, November 13, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

> Angehörige solcher Firmen mithalfen, KZ-Insassen das Leben zu retten, in dem sie sie für die Produktion anforderten. [875]

After, unsurprisingly, failing to appeal to Pawlowsky, the AA then tried to intervene behind the scenes at UNESCO meetings to deter the nomination altogether because of its negative aura, without success. The nomination still unleashed a wider debate on the type of sites that could be inscribed in the World Heritage List, as Mörsch reported:

> Vielmehr wäre bei der Prüfung dieser Nominierung darauf zu achten, ob ein historisches Dokument der Schande und des Leides in eine Liste aufgenommen werden kann, deren Kriterien international eindeutig einer Auswahl positiver Leistungen des schöpferischen Geistes usw. von höchstem Rang enthalten soll. [876]

Mörsch was skeptical of the principle of accepting a site of negative memory, shame, and sorrow in a list celebrating human creations. Engelhardt also noticed that most committee members were uncomfortable about the nomination. All the West German efforts to counter the inscription failed. Auschwitz was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979, although its inscription did lead to a change in the World Heritage Criteria limiting the multiplication of such sites. West German diplomats from the 1970s would have been mortified by the site's renaming in 2009 to the "Auschwitz-Birkenau: German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp," a name which placed the question of German historical responsibility front and center.[877]

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[875] The Foreign Office wanted to erase the name of German companies involved in forced labor and wanted to underline the 'positive aspects' of their involvement to the Polish expert representative. The Embassy in Warsaw was tasked with contacting Dr. Pawlosky. Deutz, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16.11.1972. An der Botschaft Warschau" (Letter, Bonn, February 1, 1979), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also "UNESCO- Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 23.11.1972. Polnische Benennung des ehemalogen Konzentrationslager Auschwitz für die 'Liste des Erbes der Welt'" (Memo, Bonn, August 3, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Botschaft BRD Warsaw, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 16.11.1972" (Letter, Warsaw, March 2, 1979), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wellhausen, "UNESCO- Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in washington im September 1978. Generalversammlung am 24.11.1978 in Paris." (Letter, December 11, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[876] Mörsch, "Meine Teilnahme bei der UNESCO-Sitzung zum Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt am 4. bis 9. September 1978 in Washington. Nominierung des KZ-Auschwitz durch die Volksrepublik Polen und mein Bericht vom 25.10.1978, Seite 3" (Letter, Bonn, August 28, 1978), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[877] For more on the history of Auschwitz at UNESCO, see Julia Röttjer, "Safeguarding 'Negative Historical Values' for the Future? Appropriating the Past in the UNESCO Cultural World Heritage Site Auschwitz-Birkenau," *Ab Imperio* 4 (2015), 130–65; Julia Röttjer, "Re-Konstruktion nationaler historischer Narrative in internationalen Kontexten. Das Staatliche Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau als UNESCO-Welterbe seit den 1970er Jahren," in *Re-Konstruktionen. Stadt, Raum, Museum*, ed. Piotr Korduba and Dietmar Popp (Warsaw, 2019), 271–92; Röttjer, "International Experts – National Martyrdom – Socialist Heritage: The Contribution of the Polish People's Republic to the Early UNESCO World Heritage Program."
See also Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen*, 156f.

Another difficulty encountered by West German representatives at the World Heritage Committee in 1978 was financial. Since the ratification of the Convention in 1976, West Germany had never contributed to the World Heritage Fund, despite repeated written demands from UNESCO administrators and AA attempts to obtain the needed sum since 1977.[878] Participation in the World Heritage Fund was obligatory in order to take part in the World Heritage Committee. In 1978, the FRG was unable to run for a second mandate on the World Heritage Committee. It had to retract its otherwise unproblematic candidature just before the November vote. Diplomat Wilhelm Fabricius openly regretted the political loss :

> Unsere Haltung wurde sowohl vom Sekretariat wie von vielen Mitgliedsländern außerordentlich bedauert. Ich befand mich während der Sitzung in einer von niemandem beneideten Lage.[879]

The lack of financial participation resulted in an immediate loss of prestige for the West German state, prestige which it had worked hard to build in the previous decades with the

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[878] Much of the FRG hesitations were on the World Heritage Fund. The AA reminded meeting participants in 1976 : "Bei den Ressortberatungen zur Frage unseres Beitritts zu dem Ubereinkommen bestand 1974 Einmütigkeit, dass die Bundesrepublik Deutschland das weltweite Ansehen, dass sie sich in den vorausgegangenen Jahrzehnt durch ihr Engagement and internationalen bi- und multilateralen Rettungsaktionen erworben hatte, nicht aufs Spiel setzen dürfte und sich trotz aller Bedenken gegen neue Sonderfonds der Weltorganisationen aus übergordneten politischen Verwägungen heraus an diesem Vertragswerk beteiligen müsse." AA, "UNESCO. Bereitstellung von Haushaltmitteln zur Durchführung des Übereinkommens zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Memo, Bonn, December 28, 1976), B91 649, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[879] "Im Verlauf der Sitzung wurde klar, dass schon wegen der Bestimmung der Konvention Staaten, die ihre Pflichtbeiträge oder freiwilligen Beiträge nicht geleistet hatten, keine Chance haben würden, in das Komitee gewählt zu werden. (…) Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass wir bei rechtzeitiger auch teilweiser Zahlung unseres freiwilligen Beitrags bei dem von allen Seiten anerkannten Engagement der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für die Arbeiten des Komitees wieder gewählt worden wären." Wilhelm Fabricius, "UNESCO- Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Sitzung der GV am 24.11.1978" (Report, Paris, December 5, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Fabricius tried to have the AA pay the dues before the vote: "Die weitere Mitarbeit in World Heritage Committee sollte unbedingt gesichert werden. Unsere Partner in diesem Gremium schätzen insbesondere so engagierte Beiträge wie die unseres delegierten Mörsch, Landeskonservator Rheinland. (...) Dafür ist ein finanzieller Beitrag der Bundesrepublik Deutschland erforderlich." Wilhelm Fabricius, "20. Generalkonferenz der UNESCO. World Heritage Committee" (Urgent report, Paris, November 14, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

See also Wilhelm Fabricius, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes." (Urgent report, Paris, August 24, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Sitzung der GV am 24.11.1978 in Paris. An die UNESCO-Vertretung" (Letter, Bonn, August 17, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Unsere Kandidatur für das World Heritage Committee" (Internal report, Paris, November 14, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to G. Bolla (UNESCO). Election of Members of the World Heritage Committee" (Paris, November 18, 1978), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Deutz, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Sitzung der GV am 24. November 1978 in Paris" (Report, Bonn, August 15, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Wilhelm Christian Fabricius (1920-1988) was a diplomat and Permanent FRG Delegate at UNESCO in the 1970s before moving to a post in Australia in 1980. Rosemarie Fabricius, "Wilhelm Christian Fabricius, 1920–1988," in: Wilhelm Fabricius: *Nauru 1888–1900* (Canberra 1992), VI-VIII.

UNESCO Campaigns for heritage and over the first years of the World Heritage Convention.[880] Still, Mörsch wanted to show a strong presence of western European "Zeugen der Weltkultur."[881] In his eyes, the know-how of German and European conservators justified a privileged place in the World Heritage Convention and List :

> Die Inventarisierung und Erforschung von Kunst- und Kulturdenkmälern ist in den vergangenen beiden Jahrhunderten im Wesentlichen in Europa zu ihrer wissenschaftlichen Reife entwickelt und dadurch der Wert der Monumente erst erschließbar gemacht worden. Es wäre deshalb eine unverständliche wissenschaftliche Verzichtleistung bei der ersten Übersicht über solches kulturelles Erbe von höchstem Rang in Europa erarbeitete Massstäbe nicht einzubringen. Dies geschieht am überzeugendsten durch die gut dokumentierte Nominierung europäischer Objekte, mithin auch solcher aus der Bundesrepublik. [882]

According to Mörsch, Europeans had the responsibility to showcase exemplary conservation practices to the world. To magnify western European participation, he expected more Western European cooperation on the World Heritage List. He especially insisted that "west-europäischen Staaten eine gewisse fachliche Abstimmung über Art und Umfang unserer Nominierungen geben, um allzu starke Ungleichgewichtigkeiten zu vermeiden."[883] Mörsch first entered into a dialogue on coordinated nominations with the other major western European participant of the World Heritage List at the time: France.[884]

West Germany only sent one representative, Mörsch, as an observer to the third Committee Session in Luxor, Egypt in October 1979.[885] His observation of the 1979 session focused on a few questions, which he felt were directly linked to the FRG participation. He reported, for example, on the ultimate inscription of Auschwitz and the debates it created around the presence of objects of shame on the List. From the session, Mörsch also concluded that future nominations needed to be fully documented to have a chance to be inscribed, that the general knowledge of the famous

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[880] Already in 1978 Deutz stated: "Es kommt vielmehr frühestens 1980 eine Leistung in den Fonds in Betracht." Deutz, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Einzahlung in den Fonds" (Report, Bonn, November 17, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
In 1978, the AA notified UNESCO of its incapacity to pay for the following years. AA, "Letter to Andre Chakour (UNESCO)" (Letter, Bonn, approx 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Metzger, *Weltkulturerbe ohne Grenzen*, 129f.
[881] Rädle, "Vermerk. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Beratungsstand" (Bonn, February 5, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[882] Rädle, "Vermerk. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Beratungsstand"
[883]Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978"(Report, Bonn, February 9, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[884] Mörsch, "2. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt in Washington vom 4. bis 9. September 1978"
[885] Deutz, "Letter to Mörsch. UNESCO. 3. Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe vom 23. bis 27.10.1979 in Luxor." (Letter, Bonn, September 5, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

sites of some states could make the nominations more challenging, and that the site's worth at least on the national level would need to be underlined.[886] At the World Heritage Committee, Mörsch closely followed what other European states were doing. To illustrate his argument, he recounted the difficulties met by Italy, a new member of the World Heritage Committee in 1979, whose nominations were rejected for several reasons ranging from lack of documentation to belief that other sites were more appropriate for the List. Mörsch saw this as a challenge to all nations with well-known heritage sites, including Germany.[887]

He also noted that West German representation still enjoyed positive standing in the World Heritage Committee participants' imagination but that this led to surprise at the state's inaction and especially the absence of new nominations:

> Der von mir gesprächsweise selbstverständlich meinen ausländischen Kollegen berichtete Stand (oder Unstand) von Nominierungen wurde allgemein und ausnahmslos mit ungläubigem Staunen (…) erfasst. Es zeugt sowohl von dem immer noch ungewöhnlich hohen Bekanntsheitsgrad deutscher Baudenkmäler und Naturzonen sowie von der Sympathie die unser Land in allen fünf vertretenen Erdteilen geniesst, dass von ausländischen Kollegen spontan Vorlschläge für deutsche Nominierungen kamen! [888]

After initially moving quickly and inscribing the Aachen Cathedral on the List in its first year, West Germany passed on its chance at influencing the early World Heritage List by losing its committee seat. No new FRG nominations were made in 1979, while France, Poland, Ethiopia (11 sites nominated in 1978-79!), Tunisia, Egypt, and several other members took advantage of their early presence to quickly inscribe several sites.[889] Realizing that it had let the best chance of an easy inscription slip through its fingers, the AA tried to revive the process. It called on the ministries to probe "welche weiteren deutschen Objekte neben dem Oktogon des Aachener Doms zum universellen Erbe der Menschheit gehören und in der Liste Aufnahme finden sollten"[890] and

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[886] "Zumindest wird man bei neuen Nominierungen stets, wie bei der Nominierung des Aachener Doms geschehen, klar machen, dass es unter den jeweiligen Vertretern dieser Denkmälergattung im jeweiligen Land das Bedeutendste ist." Georg Mörsch, "Sitzungsbericht über die 3. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee am 23.-27. Oktober 1979 in Kairo und Luxor" (Report, Bonn, December 14, 1979), 3, B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[887] Mörsch, "Sitzungsbericht über die 3. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee am 23.-27. Oktober 1979 in Kairo und Luxor"(Report, Bonn, December 14, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[888] Mörsch, "Sitzungsbericht über die 3. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee am 23.-27. Oktober 1979 in Kairo und Luxor" (Report, Bonn, December 14, 1979), 4, B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[889] Centre, "World Heritage List" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year.

[890] " Das Auswärtige Amt bittet, diese Anregung zu prüfen, dazu Stellung zu nehmen und nach dem Muster Aachen Nominierungen in die Wege zu leiten." Deutz, "Letter to BMI, KMK, Mörsch, Engelhardt. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Vorprüfung von Nominierungen für die Liste des Erbes der Welt durch ICOMOS" (Letter, Bonn, February 2, 1979), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

to select new sites for nomination in 1979. Their efforts for new nominations fell on deaf ears and again no new nomination was presented to the World Heritage Committee in 1980.

Still, the FRG was one of the first (and only) states to hand in its tentative list for the 4th session of the World Heritage Committee in June of 1980. UNESCO attempted a more comprehensive approach to site nominations by demanding tentative lists from member-states. These lists contained the sites each state intended to nominate in the next 5-10 years with a short description of each site. Future nominations had to be chosen from a preapproved tentative list, which was updated regularly. Mörsch collaborated with regional conservators and the KMK to propose a series of sites for the West German tentative list.[891]

The list reflected the institutional organization of West German heritage conservation by naming one site per *Land*, including the Aachen Cathedral that counted in the quota for North Rhine Westphalia. The tentative list thus attempted to show "einen repräsentativen Querschnitt durch die Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik." [892] The first List immediately faced critique from West German administrators and conservators. Wolfgang Eberl from the Bavarian Cultural Ministry found the List unbalanced because of its insistence on medieval sites. Again, competition with other European states informed his objections:

> Ich bin immer der Meinung, dass sowohl die romanischen als auch die gotischen Bauten im Bereich der Bundesrepublik mit den Spitzenwerken dieser Epochen die sich heute noch in anderen europäischen Ländern finden, nur mit Mühe vergleichbar sind. Dagegen hat Barock und Rokoko im süddeutschen Raum eine Blüte erreicht wie sonst nirgendwo in Europa.[893]

Eberl worried that German medieval sites would not be able to compare to some other

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[891] A first list planned was sent to the Association of Regional Conservators for review in February of 1980. See Rädle, "Vermerk. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Beratungsstand"(Bonn, February 5, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; "123. Sitzung des Auschusses für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung 6./7.3.1980 in Wiesbaden. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Weitere Nominierungen für die Liste des Erbes der Welt. Vertretung der KMK." (Report, March 1980), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hartwig Beseler, "Letter to Sofsky (KMK UAMD). Liste des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Kiel, April 11, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Weitere Nominierungen für die Liste des Erbes der Welt" (Letter, Bonn, May 14, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[892] KMK Sek, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Weitere Nominierungen für die Liste des Erbes der Welt." (Letter, Bonn, April 18, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
Dr Memmesheimer, from the NRW Cultural Ministry explained, when rejecting a Cologone nomination: "Angesichts der Tatsache, dass der im Lande Nord-Rhein-Westfalen liegender Aachener Dom bereits in die Liste aufgenommen wurde und wir in Berlin am 8. Februar 1980 übereingekommen waren, zunächst für jedes Bundesland ein Kultudenkmal auf die Liste zu bringen, die dann als „Liste der Bundesrepublik" zugleich einen Querschnitt für aller hervorragenden Kulturepochen darstellen soll, hätte ich Verständnis dafür, wenn der Antrag der Stadt Köln zunächst zurückgestellt würde." Memmesheimer, "Letter to Sofsky (UAMD)" (Letter, Düsseldorf, April 30, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[893] Eberl, "Letter to Sofsky (UAMD)" (München, April 30, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

European sites. The conservator wanted instead the German specificity and strength to lay in the South German *Barock* and *Rokoko* architecture, styles best represented in Bavaria. Eberl thus used the European comparative argument to push for more representation of sites in his own region.

The tentative list handed to UNESCO in June of 1980 contained the following sites: Lübeck Old Town, Regensburg Walhalla, *Hufeisen-Siedlung* in Berlin, Elisabeth Church in Marburg, St. Michael Church in Hildesheim, Aachen Cathedral, Speyer Cathedral, Heidelberg Castle, Würzburg Residence, Wies Pilgrimage Church. [894] Excluding Aachen, the descriptions of the nine remaining sites spanned half a page to two pages. Europe again appeared in several site descriptions. St. Michaelis Church in Hildesheim, famous for its decorated ceiling, was presented as "the most important example of medieval monument ceiling painting in Europe." [895] The Romanesque Speyer Cathedral was depicted as "one of the largest and artistically most important Romanesque structure in Europe."[896] The historic city of Lübeck was branded as "a great power in Northern Europe"[897] of the 14th century. The Würzburger Residence was presented as a "total work of art which can be called a synthesis of European Baroque."[898] Finally, the Wies Church was portrayed as one of the "the most important structures of European Rococo." [899] These sites spanned a thousand years of European architectural and art history and mirrored narratives of European culture found in exhibitions and other cultural actions of the Council of Europe.

Out of the ten first sites on the tentative list (including the Aachen Cathedral), three were never inscribed. The Marburg Elisabeth Church and the Heidelberg Castle were rejected or deferred in 1983 and 2007 respectively by the World Heritage Committee. The Regensburg Walhalla was never nominated, partly because of efforts for regional balance, but also because of its overwhelmingly nationalistic meaning. Interestingly the 1980 tentative list description of these

[894] The FRG later added a description of each site on UNESCO's request. See Wolfgang Tidten, "Letter to Secretariat of the WHC." (Letter, Paris, June 26, 1980), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; van Viet, "Letter to Tidten." (Letter, Paris, July 4, 1980), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Document, Bonn, September 1, 1980), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes. Only Germany and Canada handed in their tentative List on time. Magnus Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980." (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 6, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[895] "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List," (Document, Bonn, September 1, 1980), 1, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[896] "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List."
[897] "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List."
[898] "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List."
[899] "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List."

three sites focused on their German characteristics.[900] The remaining sites determined the strategy of nominations and inscription for the following decade. They were successfully inscribed on the list in the 1980s, except for the Berlin *Hufeisen-Siedlung*, which was inscribed much later, in 2008, as part of the Berlin Modernism Housing Estates site series.[901] At first glance, one might infer that the strategy developed by FRG representatives to Europeanize West German site nominations allowed successful inscriptions on the UNESCO World Heritage List, but a closer look at site nominations in the 1980s shows that European characterization was neither sufficient for successful inscription nor consistently represented.

Through his presence at all three first World Heritage Committee sessions of 1977, 1978 and 1979, Mörsch became the main contact of West-German experts, administrators, diplomats, and politicians for UNESCO World Heritage. The main decision makers in West Germany were the *Auswärtiges Amt* and more so the *KMK Unterausschus für Museen und Denkmalpflege*. However, as communication was slow between the federal and the regional agencies, the delegate to the World Heritage Committee gained influence in the decision-making process. Mörsch was able to choose the sites and their narrative, being the only person that mastered the information needed to act on the World Heritage program, due to the decentralized heritage conservations system in West Germany at the time. Mörsch was forced to retire from his role as representative when he left the FRG for a Professorship in Switzerland in 1980, but he continued to follow the World Heritage nominations and inscriptions closely and even got involved at times, as would be the case with the historic city of Lübeck in 1991.[902]

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[900] Dr. Rädle, "Vermerk" (Memo, Bonn, November 25, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; "Preliminary List of Future German Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Document, Bonn, September 1, 1980), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
On the history of the *Nationaldenkmal* through the Walhalla, see Eveline G. Bouwers, "Das Nationaldenkmal als Projektionsfläche. Eine großdeutsche Geschichtsidee von der Romantik bis zur Wiedervereinigung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 304, no. 2 (2017), 332–69.
Heidelberg was deferred for the second time in 2007. See AFP, "Unesco: Heidelberg wird kein Welterbe," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 29, 2007. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/unesco-heidelberg-wird-kein-welterbe-1437238.html; "Antrag auf Aufnahme in die UNESCO-Welterbeliste ruht vorläufig," Heidelberg. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.heidelberg.de/hd/HD/Leben/Unesco_Welterbe.html.

[901] UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Berlin Modernism Housing Estates," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed November 23, 2022, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1239; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "32 COM 8B.32 - Decision. Examination of Nomination of Natural, Mixed and Cultural Properties to the World Heritage List - Berlin Modernism Housing Est (GERMANY)," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2008. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/1493/.

[902] Cologne reached out to UNESCO in 1979 about a possible inscription and was redirected to Mörsch. See Hirtrud (Cologne) Kier, "Letter to Ainsa (UNESCO)" (Letter, Cologne, October 4, 1979), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; Piers (UNESCO) Rodgers, "Letter to

Just before the end of his mission as representative for the FRG, Mörsch met with the secretariat of the KMK and explained his point of view on the West German participation in the World Heritage Convention and List. He insisted that the belief that German sites had nothing to gain from an inscription (financially) generally the wrong approach to this question, as the expectations of the FRG could not be the same as the ones of countries of the "third world." [903] Despite the first challenges encountered at UNESCO, the expert representative still believed in the European superiority of German expertise. This us vs. them view of the World Heritage Committee was shared by his successors. Although he would not see the results of his first efforts at European representation and cooperation on the UNESCO World Heritage Convention and List, Mörsch opened the way for subsequent FRG representatives to push for cooperation at the World Heritage Committee.

4.2.2. Fear of "Gesichtsverlust"[904]: Authenticity and Financial Participation Problems at the World Heritage Committee (1980-1983)

In 1980, Conservator Magnus Backes, a conservator from the regional office of Bavaria in Munich, was designated by the KMK to represent the country at the World Heritage Committee and replace Mörsch.[905] Backes took part in the 4th session of the World Heritage Committee in Paris as an observer with no direct agenda as no West German site was nominated that year. In the first part of his report to the Foreign Office, Backes offered his conclusions on West Germany's role in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. Backes named four possibilities for exemplary

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Kier (Cologne)" (Letter, Paris, October 24, 1979), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.
He expressed his wish to stay as representative. Mörsch, "Sitzungsbericht über die 3. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee am 23.-27. Oktober 1979 in Kairo und Luxor"(Report, Bonn, December 14, 1979), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
In 1991, he wrote Lübeck mayor at the height of the management conflict. Mörsch, "Letter to M. Bouteiller (Lübeck Mayor)" (Letter, Zürich, February 5, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15), UNESCO Archives.

[903] KMK Rädle, "Letter to Mörsch" (Letter, Bonn, April 21, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Georg Mörsch, "Letter to Rädle (KMK)" (Letter, Zürich, April 25, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[904] Vestring, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Welt-Kultur- und Naturerbes. Ablehnung der Nominierung der St. Michaelskirche in Hildesheim" (Memo, Paris, June 24, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[905] "123. Sitzung des Auschusses für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung 6./7.3.1980 in Wiesbaden. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes. Weitere Nominierungen für die Liste des Erbes der Welt. Vertretung der KMK." (Report, March 1980), B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Dr. Magnus Backes (1930-2019) was a German art historian and preservationist. At the time of his appointment, he worked as a senior conservator at the *Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege* in Munich (1973-83). In 1983, he succeeded Bornheim as the *Landeskonservator* of the Rhineland-Palatinate General Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Mainz, where he remained until 1991. Joachim Glatz, "Magnus Backes (1930–2019)." in *Denkmalpflege (Munich, Germany)*, vol. 77, no. 2, (2019), 214–15.

West German representation through the World Heritage List:

> a)Demonstrative Darlegung vor den Weltstaaten, dass die BRD nicht nur sehr viele Kultur- und Naturgüter besitzt, sondern auch bereit ist, sich für deren Erforschung und Erhaltung einzusetzen und gegebenenfalls Opfer zu bringen.
>
> b)Demonstratives Darlegen vor den Weltstaaten, dass die BRD auch die Natur- und Kulturgüter anderer Weltstaaten wertet und anerkennt und bereit ist, deren Erforschung und Erhaltung aktiv zu unterstützen.
>
> c)Die BRD besitzt, ähnlich Frankreich und Italien, eine mehr als einhundertjährige konkrete Erfahrung in Denkmälerinventarisation (Dokumentation) und staatlicher Denkmalpflege. Daraus erwächst für die BRD die Verpflichtung, anderen Staaten, die diese Tradition nicht haben, das jahrzentelange gesammelte Wissen weiter zu vermitteln und zu helfen, ähnliche Schutz- und Erhaltungsmaßnahmen aufzubauen.
>
> d)Bei entsprechender publicity vermag die internationale Aktivität der BRD beim Komitee sehr positiv rückzuwirken auf Idee und Ziel der Denkmalpflege innerhalb des eigenen Landes und der Bundesländer, und zwar nicht nur für die Denkmäler der Liste des Weltkulturerbes, sondern auch für die Denkmälerlisten und Denkmalbücher der Bundesländer.[906]

Backes' first three points name some recurrent arguments for West German participation in the UNESCO World Heritage List and Convention: showcasing the quality and richness of West German heritage to the World and demonstrating interest for cultural heritage sites of other states. Backes insisted that West Germany must show its readiness to sacrifice for the conservation and research of international heritage sites. He might have hinted at a financial sacrifice, which the West German state was reluctant to comply with. Similarly, the idea of a responsibility based on the long tradition of heritage conservation represented in Backes' third point, was a *lieu commun* in West German discussions of UNESCO projects. Experts regularly referred to their European "100 year-long experience" of heritage conservation which was highly problematic as it stripped non-western states from having a history and tradition of heritage conservation.[907]

The fourth and last point named by Backes turned the focus back to heritage conservation in the FRG and had been relatively absent in West German World Heritage discussions up to that point. He argued that the experience and publicity of West German participation in UNESCO's

[906] Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 5, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[907] Backes: "Die BRD besitzt, ähnlich wie Frankreich und Italien, eine mehr als einhundertjährigen konkrete Erfahrung in Denkmälerinventarisation (Dokumentation) und staatlicher Denkmalpflege. Daraus erwächst für die BRD die Verpflichtung, andere Staaten, die diese Tradition nicht haben, das jahrzehntelang gesammelte Wissen weiter zu vermitteln und zu helfen, ähnliche Schutz- und Erhaltungsmaßnahmen aufzubauen. " Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 5, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

World Heritage List could influence national and local level heritage conservation practices. Publicity of the World Heritage List had been neglected in the FRG, as Magnus Backes remarked in his report. Backes argued that the World Heritage Convention and List needed to be more well-known in the FRG, but he saw no need to publicize the specific West German sites nominated and inscribed on the List.[908] In the following decades, Backes was proven right in this last point, as the influence of the World Heritage Program on national-level conservation would increase significantly with the rise of public interest.

From 1980, UNESCO and its expert organizations worked out new rules for the UNESCO World Heritage List, one of which were the tentative lists. One of Backes' first tasks at the 1980 World Heritage Committee was to present the first FRG tentative list. The tentative list received additional attention for being one of the only examples available. Backes concluded that the "deutsche Liste fand wegen ihres "demonstrativen Charakters" (d.h. Versuch an Querschnitts durch Epochen, Sachbereiche, und Landschaften) volle Anerkennung."[909] Some aspects, however, caused the surprise of committee members such as its succinct character and the lack of medieval castles, natural, technical, and archaeological heritage sites. These absences were mainly due to structural questions in West Germany, as such sites were under the responsibility of different institutions. The concerns about natural sites were waved off by Magnus Backes, who instead proposed to nominate "mixed cultural sites" such as the Walhalla or Heidelberg. [910]

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[908] "Einige Staaten, z.B. Frankreich, Kanada,haben durch intensive publicity (…) auf das Übereinkommen hingewiesen und für ihre international eingetragenen Listendenkmäler geworben. Nach meiner Erfahrung sind das Übereinkommen und seine Ratifizierung durch die BRD noch weithin im eigenen Land unbekannt." Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 7, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Conservators need to be better informed : "Bei dieser Gelegenheit bestätigt sich, dass bei den betroffenen Institutionen - Behörden, Denkmalämter, Denkmaleigentümer - grundlagen und bedeutung der Konvention naturgemäss kaum bekannt sind und die vagen Vorstellungen präzisiert und ergänzt werden müssen, wenn überzeugende Nominierungen erarbeitet und vorgelegt werden sollen." Magnus Backes, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Ergänzung der Deutschen Nominierungen für die Weltkulturliste" (Letter, München, June 16, 1982), Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Magnus Backes, "5. Ordentliche Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in Sydney, Australien, 26.-31. Oktober 1981. Bericht" (Report, München, December 1, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[909] Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 6, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[910] "Es wurde aber festgestellt, dass bei dem Kulturreichtum des Landes statt des einen genannten Denkmals viel ("hundred") weiter von mindestens gleichem Ranges zu nominieren seien; auch fehlten einige Bereiche (z.B. mittelalterliche Burgenbau, der sich gerade durch seine Landschafts- und Naturbezogenheit auszeichnet, dann prähistorische, archäologische und technische Denkmäler und Denkmälerbereiche) . Man erwartet also eindeutig von

Still in 1980, Magnus Backes also immediately showed his concern for political representation of Western Europe within the World Heritage Committee and linked it again with a feeling of responsibility:

> Dennoch wäre es wegen des Ranges und Ansehens der BRD als europäische Kulturnation wichtig, in den Vertreterrang zu kommen. Dies gilt besonders wegen der Tatsache, dass erst relativ wenige europäische Länder dem Übereinkommen beigetreten sind (so fehlen bedauerlicherweise noch England, Österreich, Spanien, Niederlande, Belgien, Griechenland u.a.).[911]

Backes depicted West Germany as one of the only states able to represent European culture because other European states were not yet part of the Convention. He also felt that the European nominations were subject to more scrutinizing discussions in the Committee, guessing that the American and African states were afraid of a "rein quantitatives Übergewicht der europäischen Nominierungen." [912] This feeling of community, however, immediately collided with a clear understanding of national competition between European states at the Committee. France's influential position in the World Heritage Committee and at ICOMOS, as well as its prolific record of site inscriptions in the 1980s, for example, irked West German representatives. They depicted French conservators as peers with the same level of experience and knowledge but resented them for their political plays and what they saw as an undeserved privileged position in the World Heritage Committee. [913]

In October of 1980, the FRG made its first retroactive payment to the World Heritage Fund, 110,788 dollars for the years 1979-1980. The state was thus allowed to participate in the new vote for committee member seats at the last minute and obtained a 7-year World Heritage Committee

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Deutschland eine grössere Zahl von Nominierungen (…) Grundsätzlich wurden Vorschläge von Naturdenkmälern vermisst. Bei der Dichte der deutschen Kulturlandschaft werden als besonderes Charakteristikum Beispiele der Durchdringung bzw. Verschmelzung von Kultur und Natur erwartet." Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 6, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[911] Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 6, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[912] Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980."

[913] See Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Bericht. ICOMOS Kolloquium über den Schutz historischer Ensembles in Warschau und Krakau 10-19.10.1980" (Report, Mainz, November 4, 1980), B304/4232 Band 2, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Backes, "Bericht über die 4. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt der UNESCO in Paris und Mont-Saint-Michel. 1. bis 6. September 1980," (Report, München, September 17, 1980), 2-3, B91 651, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Magnus Backes, "Letter to Rädle (Sek KMK). UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt." (München, September 30, 1981), B304/4232 Band 1, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 35. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 23/24.2.1984" (Report, München, March 8, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
See also Maurel, "Linguistic Rivalries and Effort of the Promotion of French at the UNESCO of 1945-1970."

seat until 1987.[914] West Germany was voted into the World Heritage Bureau as a vice-chairman, which allowed Backes to take part in the Bureau discussions in Paris. This also led to the first new West German nomination of sites since the Aachen Cathedral in 1978. Two sites were chosen: the Speyer Cathedral and the Würzburg Residence. Like Mörsch, Backes had to navigate and mediate between local and regional conservators, the German UNESCO Commission, the Cultural Minister Conference, and the Foreign Office to make the nomination files.

The nomination files sent by the AA to UNESCO in 1981 were again suffused in European narratives.[915] The Speyer Cathedral nomination file used Europe in the longue durée to insist on historical continuity. The justification for inscription identified the site as "one of the most significant examples of Romanesque architecture in Europe" and as "the first and largest consistently vaulted church building in Europe." [916] The problematic eighteenth-century reconstructions of the church were also put in a European perspective and were celebrated as "one of the first great achievements of monument preservation in Europe." [917] Europe in the Speyer nomination file thus referred to a medieval architectural style, to a geo-political area the church belonged to, and to conservation expertise several centuries later. The Würzburger Residence nomination originated from a different author but followed a similar narrative path. The one-page justification for inscription listed three points, two of which put the site in European perspective. The first identified the Residence as "an autonomous work of art in the European Baroque style"

[914] See Wilhelm Fabricius, "Letter to M'Bow (UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, January 14, 1980), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15), UNESCO Archives; AA, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Kandidatur der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für einen Sitz im Komitee für das Erbe der Welt." (Letter, Bonn, May 19, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Wilhelm Fabricius, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. 3. Generalversammlung 7.10.1980" (Urgent report, Paris, October 7, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Payment challenges persisted. In 1983, the AA representative in Paris summarized : "Für die Jahre 1977 und 1978 haben wir nichts bezahlt, für die Jahre 1979 und 1980 haben wir lediglich 110.788 Dollar bezahlt, d.h. nur einen Jahresbeitrag statt zwei, für die Jahre 1981, 1982 und 1983 haben wir lediglich 163.710 Dollar bezahlt, d.h. nur einen Jahresbeitrag statt drei." Grüber, "4. Generalversammlung der Unterzeichnerstaaten der Konvention betreffen den Schutz des Weltkultur- und Naturerbes, Paris, 28.Oktober 1983" (Report, Paris, December 6, 1983), 2, AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[915] Nominations were sent in a week late, but Raidl changed the date of entry. Wolfgang Tidten, "Vermerk. List of Cultural Properties" (Urgent report, Paris, January 14, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[916] Wolfgang Tidten, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage List. Nomination Submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany. Speyer Cathedral" (Nomination, December 31, 1980), 3, R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center.
[917] Tidten, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage List. Nomination Submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany. Speyer Cathedral" (Nomination, December 31, 1980), 4, R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

and the second point insisted on the Residence as a "document of European culture" [918] because its construction in the 18th century relied on a shared European network of artisans. The narratives of both Speyer and Würzburg nomination files reaffirmed European architectural and decorative styles, although they were less overtly political than the Aachen Cathedral justification for inscription.

Both sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1981, but not without hitches in the nomination process.[919] In the Paris Bureau session, the West German sites started a discussion on the problem of reconstruction. ICOMOS chose to underline the extensive restorations positively in its review of the nominations of Speyer and Würzburg. Backes reported that Speyer was inscribed as "Beispiel für die Geschichte von Denkmalpflege und Restaurierung im 18., 19. und 20. Jh" [920] and Würzburg as "Beispiel für hervorragende Wiederherstellung nach Kriegszerstörung."[921] Although ICOMOS recognized the quality of German heritage conservation, inscribing the site first and foremost for the value of its reconstruction, instead of its intrinsic architectural, art historical, and historic value, was a blow to the West German representatives. This type of justification for inscription could only be used in a limited scope, which later became a thorn at the side for the FRG.[922]

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[918] "The residence is a document of European culture, i.e. the structure is a joint achievement of the most significant European architects, sculptors and painters from the 18th century" Wolfgang Tidten, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage List. Nomination Submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany. Würzburg Residence with the Court Gardens and Residence Square" (Nomination, December 31, 1980), 5, R.F.A WHC 169 Wurtzburg, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[919] See Wolfgang Tidten, "Letter to WH Secretariat. Convention concerning the protection of the World cultural and natural heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, January 7, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Magnus Backes, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Nominierungen des Speyerer Domes und der Würzburger Residenz für die Weltkulturliste" (Letter, München, August 23, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[920] Backes, "5. Ordentliche Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in Sydney, Australien, 26.-31. Oktober 1981. Bericht," (Report, München, December 1, 1981), 2, AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also ICOMOS, "Liste Du Patrimoine Mondial. World Heritage List N. 168." (ICOMOS Evaluation, Paris, April 1981), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[921] Backes, "5. Ordentliche Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in Sydney, Australien, 26.-31. Oktober 1981. Bericht," (Report, München, December 1, 1981), 2, AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also ICOMOS, "Liste du patrimoine mondial. World Heritage List N.169" (ICOMOS Evaluation, Paris, April 1981), R.F.A WHC 169 Wurtzburg, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[922] See Magnus Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des Büros des World Heritage Committees in Paris 21.-24. Juni 1982" (Report, München, July 8, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Eberl, "33. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9/10.6.1983. Ergbnisniederschrift" (Report, München, June 20, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

Backes represented the FRG at the 5th World Heritage Committee session in Sydney in October 1981, as a committee member and vice-chairman. The Foreign Office had made the conscious choice not to send the representative for natural heritage, Engelhardt, for cost reasons, once again putting the emphasis on culture in West German participation to the World Heritage List. [923] In Sydney in 1981, the World Heritage Committee became the occasion to broadcast local and national activism for natural heritage conservation, specifically at the Great Barrier Reef and in Tasmania.[924] The Committee was also thrown into a state of unrest because of the controversial Jordanian nomination of the "Old city of Jerusalem" for inscription to the UNESCO World Heritage List.

In 1979, the old city of Jerusalem was nominated to the UNESCO World Heritage List by Jordan which unleashed a decade long crisis within UNESCO. West German representatives outwardly regretted the "politicization" of World Heritage, linking the case to the nomination and inscription of Auschwitz.[925] Although the two cases had very different implications, Auschwitz's mention shows that the site continued to be a thorn in West German efforts to upkeep a positive international image within the World Heritage List. With Jerusalem, the FRG found itself in a delicate situation as it was the sole western European state to openly oppose the nomination alongside the US and Israel. Still, it did not want to appear too eager to take sides for fear of antagonizing the states supporting the Jordanian nomination. FRG representatives unsuccessfully attempted to convince other states from the European Community to follow their example and

[923] The AA blamed the BMELF: "die Seite des Naturerbes haben zum Bedauern des Auswärtigen Amts sich die zuständigen Behörden, wie das BMELF mitteilte, nicht zu Nominierungen entschliessen können.(…) Somit ist auf diesem Sektor von deutscher Seite kein besonderes Interesse festzustellen und auch keine Kontinuität der Sitzungswahrnehmeungen; von einem Delegierten der BR Deutschland für das WHC-Teil Naturerbe kann man daher nicht sprechen." Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, "Letter to Engelhardt. 5.Sitzung des World Heritage Committee der UNESCO" (Letter, Bonn, April 7, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.782, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[924] See for example Henry C.L. Chen and Pete Hay, "Defending Island Ecologies: Environmental Campaigns in Tasmania and Taiwan." in *Journal of Developing Societies*, vol. 22, no. 3 (2006), 303–26 ; Celmara Pocock et al., "World Heritage as Authentic Fake: Paradisic Reef and Wild Tasmania." *Landscape Research*, vol. 47, no. 8 (2022), 1024–38.

[925] Backes, "5. Ordentliche Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in Sydney, Australien, 26.-31. Oktober 1981. Bericht"(Report, München, December 1, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes. The AA representative noted : "Arbeit des Komitees wird dadurch in Zukunft wahrscheinlich stärker politischen Charakter erhalten." Fabricius, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. 3. Generalversammlung 7.10.1980"(Urgent report, Paris, October 7, 1980), AV Neues Amt 15.786, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
In 1982, the Jerusalem cas caused the FRG representative to conclude: "Diese Politisierung auf Kosten der fachlichen Arbeit ist eine unerfreuliche und für das Ansehen der Konvention sicherlich nachteilige Entwicklung (vgl. dazu auch die Nominierung von Auschwitz)." AA, "Entwurf. 6. Sitzung des Komitees für das Weltkultur und Naturerbe. 13. Bis 17. Dezember 1982 in Paris" (Report Draft, Paris, December 1982), 4, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

support the US and Israel.

> Vielleicht könnte eine entsprechende Entscheidung unserseits das eine oder andere der sechs im Ausschuss vertretenen EG-Länder veranlassen, sich uns anzuschließen und damit den peinlichen Endruck zu vermeiden helfen, dass von den 45 Mitgliedern nur eines (die USA) Israel in dieser schwierigen Situation unterstützt. [926]

The crisis created by the nomination of the Old City of Jerusalem was also a test for European Collaboration. European states came to an agreement to refuse to vote on the matter and offer a joint statement through Great Britain, leading the AA to conclude: "Die Zusammenarbeit innerhalb der Europäischen Gemeinschaft war eng und erfolgreich."[927] This preference for group action was characteristic of West Germany's European politics within the World Heritage Committee.

At the 1981 World Heritage Committee, Magnus Backes envisioned European cooperation past immediate political collaboration. He followed in Mörsch's footsteps and approached several expert representatives, pushing for European cooperation in site nominations:

> Es ist deshalb wichtig, dass bei den Nominierungen für die Welt-Kulturliste [sic.] die europäischen Staaten eine gewisse Einheitlichkeit und ein gleiches hohes Niveau gewinnen, damit dieses Niveau nicht zu sehr absinkt. Aus diesem Grunde habe ich mit den europäischen Vertretern in Sydney, Italien, Schweiz, Bulgarien, Frankreich und Prof. Parent besprochen, dass die europäischen Mitgliedstaaten sich einmal zusammensetzen und ihre Listenkonzepte gegenseitig abstimmen. [928]

Believing that the quality of the List lay in the presence of European sites, he pushed ICOMOS and other European partners to meet and agree on shared typologies of sites for nominations. For Backes, this list would have several uses :

> Diese Liste wurde offiziell nicht diskutiert, war aber aufgrund meiner Initiative Anlass zu Gesprächen zwischen den europäischen Vertretern mit dem Ziel : wenigstens die europäischen

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[926] AA, "Zusammenfassende Bewertung des 113. Exekutivrats" (Internal report, Paris, October 12, 1981), Zwischenarchiv 128.116, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
West Germany followed the Jerusalem case closely. AA, "UNESCO. 113. Sitzung des Executiv- Rats" (Documents, 82 1981), Zwischenarchiv 128.116, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Konvention zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt - Jerusalem" (Documents, 1982 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.790, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The FRG had complicated relationship with Israel at the time. See Carole Fink, *West Germany and Israel: Foreign Relations, Domestic Politics, and the Cold War, 1965–1974* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Dona Geyer and Hubert Leber, "Arms Exports and Holocaust Memory: Saudi Arabia, Leopard Tanks, and Bonn's Secret Israel Clause of 1982," *German Yearbook of Contemporary History* 6, no. 1 (September 7, 2022), 199–240.
[927] AA, "Zusammenfassende Bewertung des 113. Exekutivrats" (Internal report, Paris, October 12, 1981), Zwischenarchiv 128.116, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also "Jerusalem - Resolution der UNESCO" (Urgent report, Tel Aviv, September 21, 1981), Zwischenarchiv 128.116, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; "113. UNESCO - Exekutivrat" (Urgent report, Paris, September 22, 1981), Zwischenarchiv 128.116, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[928] Magnus Backes, "Letter to Bornheim. 5. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee in Sydney, Australien" (Letter, München, December 14, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

> Staaten, welche im Bergleich zu anderen Kontinenten verwandte und vergleichbare historische kulturelle Grundlagen haben, sollten ihre Nominierungen aufeinander abstimmen, um einen einigermaßen einheitlichen europäischen Massstab zu gewinnen und in der W.H.L. zu dokumentieren.[929]

On the basis of a shared cultural foundation, Backes was hoping to create a framework for homogenized tentative lists. These would have indirectly offered a uniform definition of European Heritage at a time when European organizations did not yet produce such a list and criteria. Backes continued to pursue a shared list with European partners in the following year.[930] Even without shared criteria, tentative lists were in dialogue with each other. West German representatives noticed similar trends, when comparing their list with others. France's list, for example, was characterized by a near-total absence of modern and contemporary sites, like Germany's. [931]

In the meantime, the FRG was expanding its own tentative list, this time including local proposals. Local administrators and conservators advocated to include sites such as Heidelberg, the *Spandauer Zitadelle*, the *Braunschweiger Löwe,* or the *Bremer Rathaus* and *Roland* statue. As had been the case with previous sites, they argued for the European significance of the site when pushing for the nomination.[932] This continued use of European narratives reflects the deep-seated

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[929] KMK Sek, "Letter to Mitglieder. UNESCO Übereinkommen. Bericht der 5. Sitzung des World Heritage Committees in Sydney 26-31 Oktober 1981" (Letter, December 18, 1981), B 304 / 4232 Band 1, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[930] Wegen der unangenehmen Wertdifferenzen dieser Listen habe ich bereits in Sydney angeregt (…), dass die europäischen Staaten sich gegenseitig absprechen und aufgrund ihrer verwandten historischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Situation gleichwertige Vorschlagslisten erarbeiten sollten." Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des Büros des World Heritage Committees in Paris 21.-24. Juni 1982" (Report, München, July 8, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[931] France only had the *Tour Eiffel* and *Chapelle de Ronchamp* on their tentative list. KMK Weller, "Letter to Mitglieder. Unterausschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege Miederschrift der 26. Sitzung am 26.-27.3.1981 in Saarbrücken" (Letter, Bonn, April 21, 1981), B304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The AA explained the importance of European cooperation : "Der Ablauf der Sitzung, insbesondere das Verhalten anderer europäischer Länder ist bei unserer Entscheidung über das weitere Verfahren auch mitzubedenken." von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, "Letter to Senator für Wissenschaft und Kunst Bremen" (Letter, September 1, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[932] KMK, "137. Sitzung des Auschusses für Kunst und Erwachsenenbildung 22./23.10.1981 Beschlussfassung über die weiteren Nominierungen der Bundesrepublik für die Liste des Kulturerbes der Welt" (Report, October 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; KMK Sek, "Letter to Mitglieder. Unterausschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege. Niederschrift der 26. Sitzung am 26.-27.3.1981 in Saarbrücken" (Letter, Bonn, April 21, 1981), B304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; Rädle, "Unterausschuss Museen und Denkmalpflege. Niederschrift der 25. Sitzung des UA am 27.-28.11.1980 in Mainz"(Report, Bonn, January 30, 1981), B 304/7561, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
On Bremen. See "Das Bremer Rathaus zeichnet sich aus unter den nord-europäischen Ratshausbauten von examplarischen Anschaulichkeit." Schievelbusch, "Letter to AA." (Nomination, Bremen, August 25, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
The DUK argued for a concerted effort with the GDR to inscribe the Spandauer Zitadelle : "In Hinblick auf die europäischen Bedeutung des Festungsbauwerks, das dringend in die Liste des architektonischen Welterbes aufgnommen werden sollte" DUK Meinel, "Letter to AA, BMI, KMK" (Letter, Bonn, March 9, 1982), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

international heritage discourses developed over the second half of the 20th century on local and national levels in the FRG. Despite Backes's attempts at convincing the KMK to produce several nominations, the FRG submitted the sole nomination file of the St. Michael Church in Hildesheim for inscription to UNESCO in 1982, reusing the European language of the 1980 tentative list for the one-page justification.[933]

In 1982, however, FRG representatives discovered that European significance and exemplary restoration was not sufficient for inscription of a site on the World Heritage List anymore. In its review of the nomination, the ICOMOS expert recommended against the inscription, describing St. Michael as "a model of monument" and a "rebuilding instead of restoration"[934] of an eleventh century site that erased the posterior historical changes of the site. ICOMOS argued the site had lost too much of its original substance because of its postwar reconstruction and thus clashed with the conservation principles of the 1964 Venice Charta. Backes took part in the 6th Session of the Bureau of World Heritage Committee as a vice chairman in June of 1982. He noted that, while the previous nominations had succeeded in branding restoration positively, the focus was now on the original substance or "authenticity" of a site. [935]

The Braunschweig nomination file argued that the Lion was "Durch den Auftraggeber hochrangiges europaiesches Geschichtsdokument."Niedersachsen Ministerium Wissenschaft und Kunst, "Letter to AA" (Nomination, March 9, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

In Heidelberg's case, Baden Württemberg argued : "Zur großen Bedeutung, die das Schloss als kurfürstliche Residenz für die nationale Geschichte Deutschlands hat, tritt der hohe Rang der Universität für die europäische Geistesgeschichte." Baden Württemberg Kultusministerium, "Letter to AA and KMK" (Nomination, February 16, 1981), B304/4232, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[933] In a 1981 letter, Backes insisted : "Die BRD sollte unbedingt 1982 wieder mehrere Objekte benennen." Backes, "Letter to Rädle (Sek KMK). UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (München, September 30, 1981), B304/4232 Band 1, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

1981 Hildesheim nomination. See AA, "Letter to Ständige Vertretung. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Welt-Kultur und Natur-Erbes (WHC)" (Letter, Bonn, December 16, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Joachim Bühring, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nomination to the World Heritage List Submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany. The Church of St. Michael, Hildesheim" (Nomination, Paris, December 22, 1981), R.F.A. 187 Hildesheim, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[934] Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des Büros des World Heritage Committees in Paris 21.-24. Juni 1982," (Report, München, July 8, 1982), 4, AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[935] Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des Büros des World Heritage Committees in Paris 21.-24. Juni 1982," (Report, München, July 8, 1982), 4-5, AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Backes observed in 1981: "In Paris wurde deutlich, dass das Komitee auf jeden Fall unberührt in ihrer Originalsubstanz erhaltene Denkmale für die Nominierung anstrebt, also keine Kopien und Rekonstruktionen." Magnus Backes, "Letter to Dr. Hoffmann. UNESCO-Übereinkommen Zum Schutze Des Kultur- Und Naturerbes Der Welt" (Letter, München, March 18, 1981), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Michel Parent's 1979 report and the inscription of the Warsaw city center on the UNESCO List in 1980 led to a stricter rules. Cameron, "From Warsaw to Mostar: The World Heritage Committee and Authenticity," 20–22.

The FRG had to withdraw the Hildesheim nomination. This first failure to inscribe a FRG site on the World Heritage List, was seen as a "Gesichtsverlust"[936] by the Foreign Office.

Despite these hurdles, Backes' belief in the superiority of the European or Western Heritage conservators remained unshaken. He argued for European technical cooperation at the World Heritage Committee, because he found that some measures were not at the technical level of European conservation.[937] Countering Eastern European presence and the numerical advantage of developing countries within the World Heritage Committee was also of central importance for West Germany. In 1982, Backes decided not to seek reelection for a spot in the World Heritage Bureau to the benefit of another western European state.[938] The representative planned a discussion on Western European presence at the Committee to encourage collaboration.[939]

After the liberal inscriptions of the first years, the UNESCO World Heritage Committee started to clamp down on the number of yearly sites being nominated in 1982. The realization of an imbalance of the list between regions or types of inscriptions led the Committee to try to limit certain inscriptions and to only inscribe the most striking examples of a type of sites. Expert organizations in charge of the review of sites were instructed to tighten their expectations and demand better-documented nomination files.[940] To counter this, Backes reopened the discussion

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See also Araoz, "Conservation Philosophy and Its Development"; Falser, "Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 – 30 Jahre »Authentizität« im Namen des kulturellen Erbes der Welt"; Gfeller, "The Authenticity of Heritage."

[936] "Die Zurückweisung der deutschen Nominierung ist mit einem gewissen Gesichtsverlust für uns verbunden und gibt Veranlassung, unsere gesamte Nominierungspolitik neu zu überdenken." Vestring, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Welt-Kultur- und Naturerbes. Ablehnung der Nominierung der St. Michaelskirche in Hildesheim" (Memo, Paris, June 24, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[937] "Bei der Beratung der Ausgaben für technical co-operation (…) musste festgestellt werden, dass manche der beantragten Massnahmen leider nicht dem fachlichen Niveau europäischer und australischer Restaurierungstechnicken entsprechen. " Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des Büros des World Heritage Committees in Paris 21.-24. Juni 1982," (Report, München, July 8, 1982), 6, AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[938] Successfull reelection was improbable but Vestring stated : "Wir sind das einzige westeuropäische Land, das im Büro vertreten ist. Es ist im Sinne der Rotation verständlich, dass andere westeuropäische Länder auch zum Zuge kommen wollen." Vestring, "Letter to AA. 6. WHC Sitzung" (Letter, Paris, September 21, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[939] In 1982, the AA noted : "Osteuropäische Länder sind im WHC stärker repräsentiert als die Westeuropäer." AA, "5. Sitzung des 'World Heritage Committee' in Sydney (Oktober 1981). Vermerk" (Memo, Bonn, February 16, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The FRG representative spoke of a "Vordringen der Entwicklungsländer." Eberl, "33. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9/10.6.1983. Ergbnisniederschrift"(Report, München, June 20, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[940] Vestring noted: "The Committee of the World Heritage Convention, at the time of its meeting in Sydney (1981), asked both ICOMOS and IUCN to be more restrictive in their evaluations" Vestring, "UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Welt-Kultur- und Naturerbes. Ablehnung der Nominierung der St. Michaelskirche in Hildesheim" (Memo, Paris, June 24, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

with the AA about the complete lack of participation of the FRG in discussions on natural heritage. After being contacted by the AA in 1982, the Ministry of Agriculture reaffirmed that no site would be nominated in the near future because of IUCN's strict criteria for inscription.[941] Thus in the same year, IUCN proposed a working list of natural sites to inscribe from which the FRG was entirely absent.[942]

In 1983, West Germany handed in three nomination files: the Church of Wies, the Church of St. Elisabeth in Marburg, and the historic center of Lübeck. The multiple nominations and the more complicated files forced expert representatives to delegate. Backes authored the nomination file for Marburg and Wies, but the Lübeck nomination was left to a local conservator. [943] The Wies Church was the only German site inscribed that year as both other sites were refused or deferred during the World Heritage Bureau session.[944] In the Wies Church nomination file, European

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Michel Parent confirmed this in 1983. Michel Parent, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Committee Seventh Ordinary Session. Florence, Italy, 5-9 December 1983. Speech by Mr. Michel Parent, Chairman of ICOMOS, during the Seventh Session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee (Paris, 27-30 June 1983)." (Report, Paris, September 1, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

The question of imbalance of the list would remain a central debate. See for example Leon Pressouyre, *The World Heritage Convention: Twenty Years Later* (Paris: UNESCO, 1996), 22–35. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/PAPS-003.pdf.

[941] The BMELF responded to the AA that : "Keines der Bundesländer hat sich bisher instande gesehen, Objekte für die Liste des Naturerbes zu benennen. Die Länder sind offenbar übereinstimmend der Auffassung das innerhalb ihrer Grenzen keine Objekte vorhanden sind, welche die strengen Kriterien des Artikels 2 des Übereinkommens von 1972 erfüllen. " BMELF, "Letter to AA. UNESCO ; Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes" (Letter, September 28, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[942] Backes observed : "IUCN legt in Buchform eine vorschlagsliste der Naturgüter der Welt als Arbeitsgrundlage vor. Deutschland fehlt dabei auffallenderweise. Diese Situation sollte unbedingt geklärt warden."Magnus Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee vom 13. bis 17. Dezember 1982 in Paris" (Report draft, München, December 1982), 2–3, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[943] Regional conservators often misunderstood the nomination process. In 1982 for ex Magnus Backes took over the preparation of the Marburg file. Backes, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Ergänzung der Deutschen Nominierungen für die Weltkulturliste" (Letter, München, June 16, 1982), Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

See Magnus Backes, "Wies Church" (Nomination, August 23, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Magnus Backes, "The Church of St. Elizabeth Marburg." (Nomination, München, August 23, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Bernhard Schlippe, "Hanseatic City of Lübeck" (Nomination, September 30, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

Backes oversaw the nominations and explained the nomination process to Lübeck conservators. See Backes, "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Ergänzung der Deutschen Nominierungen für die Weltkulturliste" (Letter, München, June 16, 1982), Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 34. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 17/18.11.1983" (Report, Munich, November 24, 1983), B 304 / 7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[944] Margaret van Vliet, "Letter to Vestring (AA)." (Letter, Paris, July 28, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Bureau of the World Heritage Committee Seventh Session. Paris, 27-30 June 1983. Report of the Rapporteur" (Report, Paris, August 1, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

narratives from the original German tentative list were entirely left out by Backes, without hindering its successful inscription.

The Marburg Church, on the other hand, was refused by the 7th World Heritage Bureau Session in June of 1983, despite extensive European narratives in its nomination file. In the sole justification of the site, Backes had insisted on the gothic church's "key position in Europe," that the site's unity in style was "unique in Germany and rare in the medieval period as a whole in Europe" and that the interior decorations "are among the most outstanding examples of German and European art."[945] ICOMOS argued that being the first of a style did not justify its international importance. Again, the site's lack of authenticity due to extensive restorations in the 19th and early 20th century featured prominently in the ICOMOS review.[946] Similarly, ICOMOS recommended that the nomination of the Hanseatic City of Lübeck be deferred, because of post-war reconstruction. The site carried significant European meaning as it had been one of the five West German Pilot sites of the Council of Europe Year for Architectural Heritage in 1975. In this case, however, the site's European history had a negative influence on the nomination, since ICOMOS found critical articles on Lübeck's historic center conservation published during the 1975 CoE Year.[947] Backes expressed his incomprehension in his report to the AA:

> Bei einem solchen Beurteilungsmaßstab müssten beispielsweise alle großen mittelalterlichen Bauwerke Frankreichs ausscheiden, besonders die von Viollet-le-Duc restaurierten (…) Es gibt keine deutsche Großstadt (Bundesrepublik), deren Altstadt nicht im Krieg ganz oder teilweise zerstört wurde (ausgenommen Bamberg und Regensburg).[948]

Again here, France was the measuring stick for West German representatives. Backes argued that Lübeck was one of the least reconstructed historical centers in the FRG and considered its deferment especially embarrassing because ICOMOS had justified their decisions using

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[945] Backes, "The Church of St. Elizabeth Marburg," (Nomination, München, August 23, 1982), 5,AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[946] "In addition, it would note that the overly systematic restorations undertaken 1854-1861 and from 1930-1931 have gravely compromised the authenticity of its appearance." ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 270." (Review, Paris, May 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 34. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 17/18.11.1983" (Report, Munich, November 24, 1983), B 304 / 7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[947] M.B., "Lübeck. Conflit entre centre historique et centre des activités," in : La conservation des monuments en République fédérale d'Allemagne. Historique, organisation, missions, exemples. Une contribution à l'Année internationale du patrimoine architectural 1975, Inter Nationes (Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Inter Nationes, 1974); ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 272. Hanseatic City of Lübeck" (Review, Paris, May 1983), R.F.A 272 Lübeck, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[948] Magnus Backes, "Letter to AA. Nominierung von Wieskirche, Lübeck und Marburg für Liste des Weltkultur- und Naturerbes" (Letter, Oberschleissheim, August 28, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

German expertise.[949] Still, FRG representatives followed ICOMOS' advice and withdrew the Marburg and Lübeck nominations.[950]

Magnus Backes did not take part in the 7th session of the World Heritage Committee. The setbacks encountered in 1983 and a career change to a senior position at the Rhineland-Palatine Conservation office in Mainz, led him to ask to be replaced by conservator Hans Caspary, his colleague in Mainz.[951] Despite his fleeting presence at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, Backes left a strong imprint on the FRG's World Heritage List. Like Mörsch, Backes made use of European narratives in his nomination files and attempted to organize a western European collaboration for tentative lists. While facing growing difficulties in the nomination process, Backes initiated the most West German nominations of the first half of the 1980s at a cornerstone period of the World Heritage List during his three years as the FRG's expert representative.

4.3. From Europe to the National: Hans Caspary at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (1983-1990)

Conservator Hans Caspary was a central figure in forging the action of the FRG at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. Unlike his predecessors, his presence was characterized by the *longue durée*. He was the FRG expert representative for cultural heritage from 1983 to 2001, when he also retired from his role at the Rhineland-Palatine Conservation office. He served as a member of the World Heritage Committee twice for long periods of time, from 1983 to 1987 and

[949] "Schwierig, ja peinlich ist, dass die grundsätzliche ablehnende Haltung sich auf renomierte deutsche Publikationen berufen kann und diese auch zitiert." Backes, Letter to AA. Nominierung von Wieskirche, Lübeck und Marburg für Liste des Weltkultur- und Naturerbes" (Letter, Oberschleissheim, August 28, 1983), 1, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 34. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 17/18.11.1983" (Report, Munich, November 24, 1983), B 304 / 7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[950] Alfred Vestring, "Letter to van Vliet (UNESCO). Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, November 10, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[951] Backes asked to be replaced in 1982 before making his final decision to leave in 1983. Von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, "6. whc-sitzung paris (13.-17.12.1982)" (Letter, Bonn, October 25, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "world heritage committee. wechsel des deutschen mitglieds" (Letter, Bonn, November 11, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
The KMK chose Backes's colleague Caspary and their cooperation allowed for continuity in the process. See Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 34. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 17/18.11.1983"(Report, Munich, November 24, 1983), B 304 / 7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz ; Eberl, "33. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9/10.6.1983. Ergbnisniederschrift" (Report, München, June 20, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz; AA Gründer, "Letter to Ständige Vertretung. World Heritage Committee. Nachfolger von Landeskonservator Dr. Backes" (Letter, Bonn, July 25, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

from 1991 to 1997.[952] Like his predecessors, Caspary hoped to showcase the FRG's experience in heritage conservation at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. Caspary like Backes considered Germany a *Kulturnation* and feared losing control of the WHC to "third world" states as his 1988 report in support of widening the World Heritage Committee shows:

> Die Länder mit langer Geschichte und einem reichen kulturellen Erbe hätten in der Regel auch mehr Gelegenheit gehabt, im Umgang mit diesem Erbe Erfahrung zu sammeln. (…) Ein größeres Komitee würde es möglich machen, den Wünschen der Dritten Welt entgegenzukommen, ohne dass sich die großen, die Konvention tragenden und ihre Durchführung wesentlich bestimmenden Kulturnationen daraus auf Dauer zurückziehen müssten. [953]

His work as a West German representative in the 1980s was more diverse than his predecessors'. He continued to oversee site nominations, although he had less influence on the nomination file preparations themselves. Many files had been prepared by Backes beforehand, while others were delegated to local conservators. Instead, Caspary focused on establishing new tentative lists for the World Heritage Committee and from 1986, he was also put in charge of handling site management and publicity for World Heritage sites in the FRG. Like Mörsch and Backes, Caspary attempted to coordinate European actions at the World Heritage Committee.[954]

4.3.1. The First European Heritage List: Efforts for Homogenized Tentative Lists at UNESCO and ICOMOS

Caspary's first mission as FRG representative for World Heritage was in direct continuation of his predecessor's effort to get Western European member states to agree on common criteria for tentative lists. Following the new comparative rules established by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS's president, Michel Parent, told France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Portugal and Germany to plan for a future meeting on the question of European

[952] Hans Caspary studied history, archeology and art history at the University of Munich. From 1966 until his retirement in 2001, he was a *Landesdenkmalpfleger* in Mainz for the state of Rhineland-Palatinate. He is a French speaker. See Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Oral Archives: Hans Caspary," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 11, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/oralarchives/hans-caspary/; Centre, "Germany - UNESCO World Heritage Convention" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/de.

[953] Hans Caspary, "Bericht über die 12. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees für das Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt, 5-9.12.1988 in Brasilia" (Report, December 1988), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15), UNESCO Archives.
In 2011, he reaffirmed his belief that some states, especially European, are richer in cultural sites and thus should be able to nominate more sites. Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Oral Archives: Hans Caspary,"

[954] Christina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler, "Oral Archives: Hans Caspary."
Promotional activities really started in 1987. B. Heibach, "Letter to van Vliet" (Letter, Paris, September 2, 1987), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15)WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

tentative lists at the 6th World Heritage Committee session in 1982.[955] ICOMOS sent an invitation for a meeting in February of 1983 addressed to Magnus Backes and Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, but Caspary attended instead.[956] There ICOMOS and western European representatives discussed the need to coordinate actions for site nominations.

At the meeting, ICOMOS experts criticized the FRG's tentative list because of the varying quality of the sites and the absence of justification for inscription in several cases. Caspary subsequently pushed for the tentative list to be rethought. He wanted to keep its size of approximately 50 sites but change its contents.[957] Caspary argued that the current tentative list was ill-adapted to the UNESCO context. He insisted on the selection of sites of international and European standing: "Es hat wenig Sinn, Denkmäler auf die Liste zu setzen, die uns (…) vertraut, im Ausland aber kaum bekannt und als Kunstwerke zweitrangig oder belanglos sind."[958]

Although he wanted to showcase the cultural specificity of West German sites, such as the Baroque palaces and churches, he first and foremost sought out sites with international meaning, which often amounted to European meaning. For 19th century sites, for example, Caspary advised to choose not national symbols but cities like Munich "als Beispiel einer großen europäischen Residenz." [959] He also believed Roman and Carolingian sites, like Trier and Lorsch, to be good contenders for inscription because of their rarity and the fact that they represent

[955] Backes reported: "Die europäischen Staaten (Frankreich, Italien, Portugal, Schweiz, Spanien und Deutschland) werden auf Einladung von ICOMOS im Frühsommer 1983 in Paris oder in der Schweiz eine gegenseitige Abstimmung der europäischen Vorschlagslisten durchführen." Backes, "Bericht über die 6. Sitzung des World Heritage Committee vom 13. bis 17. Dezember 1982 in Paris"(Report draft, München, December 1982), 2–3, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[956]Abdelaziz Daoulatli, "Réunion pour l'harmonisation des listes indicatives de monuments et de sites historiques presentées par certains pays européens" (Letter, Paris, February 2, 1983), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15)WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; Nils Grüber, "Letter to Daoulatli (ICOMOS). Réunion pour l'harmonisation des listes indicatives de monuments et de sites historiques presentees par certains pays européens, Paris, 19 et 20 Avril 1983" (Letter, Paris, March 2, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[957] "Herr Dr. Caspary teilte mit, dass bei der UNESCO im letzten Jahr ein Vergleich der europäischen Listen vorgenommen worden sei. Dabei habe sich auch gezeigt, dass die deutsche Liste nicht volle Zustimmung von ICOMOS finde (...) Praktisch entscheidend sei in vielen Fällen der französiche Standpunkt." Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 35. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 23/24.2.1984"(Report, München, March 8, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.
See also Eberl, "33. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 9/10.6.1983. Ergbnisniederschrift"(Report, München, June 20, 1983), B304/7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz.

[958] Hans Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. Bericht des deutschen Delegierten." (Report, Mainz, January 24, 1984), 7, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[959] Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. "

"grenzüberschreitende, gesamteuropäische Kulturen." [960] German administrators and experts worked together over the following months to establish a new tentative list.

At the subsequent World Heritage Bureau in June of 1983, ICOMOS director Parent reported on the western European ICOMOS meeting:

> We recently got together with representatives of countries which have drawn up tentative lists and belong to the same cultural area – in this case Western Europe. All of them saw the need to coordinate their nominations of properties of similar nature, such as Gothic cathedrals, Romanesque abbeys and towns of artistic importance. [961]

In his speech, Parent presented the European meeting as a step towards further thematic studies to delimit fields in tentative lists for all regions of the world. In the same year, the World Heritage Committee asked that the format of these lists be reviewed to integrate series and justifications for inscriptions. At the 1983 World Heritage Committee meeting in Florence, UNESCO informed member-states that tentative lists would become obligatory for site nominations on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985. UNESCO also put ICOMOS in charge of organizing expert meetings on the specific and often problematic subjects of historic cities, series of sites, and authenticity.[962]

This coordination effort surrounding European tentative lists continued the following year. In April of 1984, ICOMOS organized a 2nd ICOMOS meeting for the homogenization of the tentative lists. It had widened its geopolitical understanding of Europe by inviting Bulgaria, Turkey, and Yugoslavia to take part, as well as letting Great Britain and Lebanon observe.[963] The FRG presented its modified tentative list, which was well received. During the meeting, Michel Parent announced that from then on, even if cultural heritage sites were of undisputed national value, a site would not be inscribed if its type was better represented by a site in another member-state,

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[960] Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. "

[961] Parent, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Committee Seventh Ordinary Session. Florence, Italy, 5-9 December 1983. Speech by Mr. Michel Parent, Chairman of ICOMOS, during the Seventh Session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee (Paris, 27-30 June 1983).," (Report, Paris, September 1, 1983), 3, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[962] "From 1985 onwards, the Committee will not examine for inscription on the World Heritage List individual nominations of cultural properties presented by State Parties which have not submitted tentative lists." UNESCO, "Note to the State Parties to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage Concerning the Seventh Session of the World Heritage Committee (5-9 December 1983)" (Report, Paris, January 27, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Vestring, "Bericht über die 7. Sitzung des Zwischenstaatlichen Komitee, Florenz, 5. bis 9. Dezember 1983" (Report, Paris, December 15, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[963] Abdelaziz Daoulatli, "Réunion pour l'harmonisation des listes indicatives des biens culturels presentés par certains pays européens" (Letter, Paris, February 3, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

comforting Caspary in his decision to focus on international meanings. Indeed, ICOMOS had been tasked by UNESCO to add comparative evaluations to its review of nominations to limit inscriptions.[964]

A few weeks later, at the June 1984 World Heritage Committee Bureau session, Parent offered his conclusions on the second harmonization meeting : "Through this work, the outline of a common list for part of Europe, made up of complimentary national tentative lists of the countries concerned, was already taking shape."[965] He observed that ICOMOS was unassumingly creating a European list of sites for UNESCO, several decades before European institutions put one together.

Despite a semblance of European collaboration, the World Heritage List was defined by national competition. These new criteria only heightened this aspect. West Germany had to compete with France, Italy, and others to impose its sites as the best example of a European typology. Caspary believed, for example, that the German renaissance sites would not stand a chance against Italian sites, while West Germany's baroque sites were near to unequaled. [966] Exacerbating this inherent competition, ICOMOS also asked European member states to control their ambitions for the size of the UNESCO World Heritage list to stay in workable realms.

To counter this new limitation and foster direct collaboration between member-states in the UNESCO World Heritage List, ICOMOS introduced a new feature at the 2nd harmonization meeting: transnational series. Caspary was enthusiastic over these new potential nominations, which would allow to "europäische Bedeutung dokumentieren." [967] He predicted that transnational

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[964] Caspary emphasised this: "Kulturgüter, auch wenn sie unbestritten von nationalem Wert sind, sollten in der Liste gestrichen werden, wenn es für den Typ, den sie vertreten, in anderen Ländern bessere oder repräsentativere Beispiel gibt." Hans Caspary, "Bericht über die zweite Sitzung zur Harmonisierung der Vorschlagslisten europäischer Länder in Paris am 10. und 11. April 1984" (Report, Mainz, April 18, 1984), 2, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Parent, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Committee Seventh Ordinary Session. Florence, Italy, 5-9 December 1983. Speech by Mr. Michel Parent, Chairman of ICOMOS, during the Seventh Session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee (Paris, 27-30 June 1983)" (Report, Paris, September 1, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[965] Parent added: "The meeting also worked on defining some of the themes or periods which are of relevance to European countries and the tentative lists for the countries present at this meeting were examined in this sense." UNESCO, "Bureau of the World Heritage Committee Eighth Session Paris, 4-7 June 1984. Report of the Rapporteur" (Report, Paris, June 25, 1984), 3, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[966] "Für die Bundesrepublik bedeutet dies, dass z.B. für das Ratshaus in Bremen (…) und für die Festung in Spandau (…) kaum eine Chance besteht" Caspary, "Bericht über die zweite Sitzung zur Harmonisierung der Vorschlagslisten europäischer Länder in Paris am 10. und 11. April 1984."

[967] "Denkmäler, die sich nach thematischen Gesichtspunkten zu länderübergreifenden Gruppen (Serien) miteinander verbinden lassen und damit ihre europäische Bedeutung dokumentieren, sollen Vorrang haben vor solchen, die nur eine nationale Kultur repräsentieren." Caspary, "Bericht über die zweite Sitzung zur Harmonisierung der Vorschlagslisten europäischer Länder in Paris am 10. und 11. April 1984."

series of sites would prevail over ones representing national cultures and presented several ideas of series, especially for religious heritage. He was proven right in the 2000s, when transnational lists started gaining momentum on the World Heritage List. They are now a prominent feature of World Heritage List nominations, especially for European member-states. In the last years, Germany participated in several transnational series and nominated several national series, such as the "The Architectural Work of Le Corbusier," "The Great Spa Towns of Europe," the "ShUM Sites of Speyer, Worms and Mainz" and "Frontiers of the Roman Empire."[968]

4.3.2. Navigating Inscriptions, Representation, and Site Management at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee

Caspary first took part in the UNESCO World Heritage Committee at its 7th session in Florence in December of 1983. He was accompanied by Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, president of the German ICOMOS Commission, who, after much prodding, had convinced the AA to let him join the delegation on his own dime.[969] Both representatives arrived at a challenging time for the FRG. The nominations for the Elizabeth Church of Marburg and the historic city center of Lübeck were withdrawn shortly before the World Heritage Committee session after a negative ICOMOS review. On the deferral of the Elisabeth Church of Marburg specifically, Caspary noted a dose of "nationalen Ressentissement."[970] He planned to instead underline its importance as a "Kult- und Wallfahrtsort und als Grabstätte einer der bedeutendsten Frauengestalten des

[968] Centre, "Germany - UNESCO World Heritage Convention."

[969] Alfred Vestring, "Letter to M'Bow. 7th Session of the World Heritage Committee Florence/Italy, 5 to 9 Decembre 1983" (Letter, Paris, November 17, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Alfred Vestring, "Letter to M'Bow. 7th Session of the World Heritage Committee Florence/Italy, 5 to 9 Decembre 1983" (Letter, Paris, November 30, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; von Kerssenbrock-Krosigk, "7. sitzung des 'world heritage committee', florenz (05.-09.12.1983)" (Memo, Bonn, December 1, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Bornheim missed the first Committee session in 1977 and attempted to be appointed as representative by the AA the following year to no avail: AA Wellhausen, "Vermerk" (Memo, Bonn, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Dr. Deutz (AA). Übereinkommen zum Schutze des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt (World Heritage Committee)" (Letter, March 7, 1978), B91 650, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Three weeks before the Committee Session, Bornheim sent an expert note in German on the St. Michael in Hildesheim site, mistakenly thinking it could be presented directly to the World Heritage Committee. The untranslated note disregarded the nomination process and was immediately refused. Anne Raidl, "Letter to Vestring (AA)" (Letter, Paris, November 24, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Vestring, "Letter to van Vliet (UNESCO). Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List"(Letter, Paris, November 10, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[970] Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. Bericht des deutschen Delegierten," (Report, Mainz, January 24, 1984), 3, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

europäischen Mittelalters"[971] but this new nomination never took place. Only the Wies Church, preapproved by the Bureau session, was inscribed without a hitch in 1983. West German representatives felt disadvantaged because of the proportional nomination by state but were reassured by the fact that France also had to defer three nominations in that year.[972]

In 1983, Caspary had to face another recurrent problem: the FRG's repeated failure to pay its dues to the World Heritage Fund. The state paid the equivalent of one year of participation between 1981 and 1983. This put its presence in the World Heritage Committee in jeopardy and might have also explained the Committee's reluctance to inscribe West German sites.[973] The Ministry of Finance finally arranged a budget for the UNESCO World Heritage fund in 1984 and promised to make yearly payments from 1985 onward. With that, West Germany became the second highest payer of the World Heritage Convention, behind the USA, which in response to the Jerusalem crisis, had lowered their financial contribution.[974]

In 1984, West Germany presented two nominations to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee: the Cologne Cathedral and the castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust in Brühl. ICOMOS viewed both nominations positively but demanded that the documentation for the

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[971] Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. Bericht des deutschen Delegierten. "

[972] Caspary, "7. Sitzung des Komitees zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt vom 5.12 bis 9.12.1983 in Florenz. Bericht des deutschen Delegierten." ; Vestring, "Bericht über die 7. Sitzung des Zwischenstaatlichen Komitee, Florenz, 5. bis 9. Dezember 1983." ; Eberl, "Ergebnisniederschrift. 34. Sitzung des Unterauschusses Museen und Denkmalpflege am 17/18.11.1983" (Report, Munich, November 24, 1983), B 304 / 7341, Bundesarchiv Koblenz. See "The Committee noted that the nominations of the Church of St. Elizabeth of Marburg and the Hanseatic City of Lübeck (Federal Republic of Germany), as well as the nomination of the Palais des Papes, the Old Cathedral of Notre-Dame-des-Doms, Pont Saint-Benezet and ramparts of Avignon (France) had been withdrawn." UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. World Heritage Committee. Seventh Ordinary Session. Florence (Italy), 5-9 December 1983. Report of the Rapporteur" (Report, Paris, January 1984), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[973] AA and UNESCO exchanges over Fund questions between 1980 and 1983, see Fabricius, "Letter to M'Bow (UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, January 14, 1980), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15), UNESCO Archives; Alfred Vestring, "Letter to AA. Deutscher Freiwilliger Beitrag Zum 'Fonds Für Das Welterbe'" (Letter, Paris, March 25, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Deutscher freiwilliger Beitrag zum 'Fonds für das Welterbe' 1982" (Memo, Bonn, March 11, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "Deutscher freiwilliger Beitrag zum 'Fonds für das Welterbe'" (Memo, Bonn, March 30, 1982), AV Neues Amt 15.783, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[974] Alfred Vestring, "Letter to AA" (Letter, Paris, March 20, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; AA, "World Heritage Fund. Freiwilliger Beitrag" (Memo, Bonn, June 14, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Jean Knapp, "Letter to Vestring" (Letter, Paris, July 24, 1984), AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hans Caspary, "Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt in Buenos Aires vom 29.10.-02.11.84" (Report, Mainz, December 10, 1984), 11, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Anouma, "Le retrait des États-Unis d'Amérique de l'UNESCO (1984); Lewis, "UNESCO Receives U.S. Pullout Notice."

Cologne Cathedral be completed.[975] Indeed, Backes, the author of the nomination file, had only offered a justification for inscription and referred to a publication for all the other categories. The site justification followed the usual European narratives found in earlier German nominations. Backes presented the cathedral as "the culminating point in the development of church building in medieval Europe."[976] A reference to the interior decoration also identified the shrine of the Three Magi as one of "the three or four most important goldsmith works in Europe" and the Gero Crucifix as "the oldest existing large-scale crucifix in the Western World."[977] Backes ascribed universal meaning to the site as he spoke about the completion of the church in the 19th century as "an event of national importance, which was watched all over the world." [978] Once again, modern reconstructions and restorations led to debates around the site.

The nomination file of the castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust in Brühl written by conservator Udo Mainzer, mixed narratives of European and global significance in its justification for inscription. He mentioned the "réputation mondiale" of the staircase and presented the gardens as one of the "rares jardins d'Europe qui ont été reconstitués d'après leurs plans d'origine." [979] ICOMOS expressed doubts over the presence of a train line on the grounds of the site, but Rhineland conservators managed to convince the organization that the train had been visually integrated in the site from the start, resulting in its inscription on the World Heritage list. From this incident, Caspary concluded that good communication with ICOMOS and thorough documentation of the nomination files were key for the success of an inscription. [980]

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[975] See Alfred Vestring, "Letter to UNESCO. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, November 7, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Alfred Vestring, "Letter to UNESCO. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, August 24, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
Raidl explained: "It is not sufficient to merely refer to this publication in the sections of the nomination form on 'description and inventory' and on 'history'": Anne Raidl, "Letter to Vestring." (Letter, Paris, November 18, 1983), AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also Caspary, "Bericht über die zweite Sitzung zur Harmonisierung der Vorschlagslisten europäischer Länder in Paris am 10. und 11. April 1984," (Report, Mainz, April 18, 1984), 6, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Caspary, "Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt in Buenos Aires vom 29.10.-02.11.84," " (Report, Mainz, December 10, 1984), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[976] Magnus Backes, "Cologne Cathedral Nomination File" (Nomination, September 16, 1983), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[977] Backes, "Cologne Cathedral Nomination File."
[978] Backes, "Cologne Cathedral Nomination File."
[979] Udo Mainzer, "Castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust in Brühl. Nomination file" (Nomination, July 20, 1982), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.784, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
[980] Caspary, "Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt in Buenos Aires vom 29.10.-02.11.84," (Report, Mainz, December 10, 1984), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes ; Anne

At the 8th World Heritage Committee session in 1984, Caspary, like his predecessors, faced the question of the missing natural heritage sites. By then, the FRG was the only western European state that did not include any natural heritage site on its tentative list, because the list had been solely created by cultural heritage specialists and the KMK. The AA had failed several times to compel natural heritage experts to participate in the FRG World Heritage program, but this can also be explained because the AA's emphasis lay strongly on cultural heritage. Also visible in the French inscriptions, this disregard for natural heritage was based on a colonial history of natural heritage, the had transformed in a neo-colonial belief that natural sites worthy of inscription could not be found within their continental territories.[981] Taking things in his own hands, Caspary met with an IUCN representative in Buenos Aires during the session to ask for contacts within the FRG. During the meeting, he discovered that the FRG was already part of an international list of natural sites that had been made by the Council of Europe in cooperation with IUCN in 1978. Here again, the work of UNESCO and the Council of Europe intersected. This time Caspary intended to take inspiration from the Council of Europe list for potential nominations on the UNESCO World Heritage List. [982]

Caspary strongly regretted that the FRG had failed to complete the nomination for the Cathedral of Cologne in 1985. He believed that the site's iconic status in Germany would add to the World Heritage List's "Überzeugungskraft." [983] He was especially unnerved because he had observed that in 1985 a certain number of what he considered to be important monuments were inscribed on the List, with a special focus on sacred pilgrimage sites: "So gehören mit Jerusalem, Rom und Santiago nunmehr die drei bedeutendsten Wallfahrtsorte des europäischen Mittelalters

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Raidl, "Letter to D. Lapeyre (ICOMOS)" (Letter, Paris, September 19, 1984), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15)WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.
See ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 288. The Castles of Augustusburg and Falkenlust in Brühl" (Review, Paris, May 1984), R.F.A WHC 288 Brühl, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[981] Only one of the seven French natural heritage sites on the World Heritage List is situated in the Hexagon. Five sites are situated in their colonial territories; one site is a transnational European site. Centre, "France - UNESCO World Heritage Convention" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 18th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/fr.
Historian Bernhard Gissibl has studied the colonial background of German natural heritage conservation. Bernhard Gissibl, *The Nature of German Imperialism: Conservation and the Politics of Wildlife in Colonial East Africa,* (Berghahn Books, 2016); Bernhard Gissibl et al (eds.), *Civilizing Nature: National Parks in Global Historical Perspective,* (Berghahn Books, 2022).

[982] Caspary, "Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt in Buenos Aires vom 29.10.-02.11.84," (Report, Mainz, December 10, 1984), 9-10, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[983] Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985" (Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

dem Welterbe an." [984] He wanted the Cologne Cathedral, itself an important pilgrimage site, to join these sites on the World Heritage List.

Instead, in 1985, West Germany followed ICOMOS's suggestion and offered a reworked joint nomination file for the St. Michael Church and the Cathedral of Hildesheim. European narratives played a significant part in the one-and-a-half-page justification for inscription. The author dubbed the St. Michael site as a "rare major construction in Europe around the turn of the millennium." [985] The wooden deck of the church was "unique in Europe" and the cathedral's bronze doors and columns were "zeniths in European monumental sculpture." Finally, they insisted on the entire site's "qualitative importance in European art of this period."[986] ICOMOS recommended the inscription of the site to the World Heritage Bureau, but it eliminated the European narratives in its evaluation for inscription, adding a reference to the Christian west. The successful inscription of the site on the World Heritage List convinced Caspary that a dialog with ICOMOS and the heightened political weight of the FRG in the Committee through financial participation had converged to favor the nomination despite the site's lack of authenticity.[987]

In 1985, Switzerland, Italy, and France left the World Heritage Committee at the end of their mandate and the FRG inherited the responsibility of Western European representation. At the 9th session of the World Heritage Committee in Paris, Caspary complained about the pressure of being the western European figurehead:

> Da Griechenland keinen wesentlichen Diskussionsbeitrag lieferte, wurden die Interessen der westeuropäischen Länder allein von der Bundesrepublik und Norwegen vertreten. Das Gewicht der

[984]Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985."

[985] Boeck, "Hildesheim. Nomination File" (Nomination, Hannover, October 10, 1984), 6, R.F.A. 187 Hildesheim, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[986]Boeck, "Hildesheim. Nomination File" (Nomination, Hannover, October 10, 1984), 7.

[987] "Der eine ist, dass die zweite Nominierung, anders als die abgelehnte erste, inhaltlich mit ICOMOS abgesprochen und dann noch einmal aufgrund der Empfehlungen des Büros der Konvention abgändert bzw. (…) erweitert worden war. Der zweite, nicht ausgesprochene Grund für den Erfolg der Nominierung ist vermutlich eine Überlegung diplomatischer Art gewesen, die mit dem anfangs erwähnten verstärkten Gewicht der Bundesrepublik im Komitee sowie damit, dass wir inzwischen zu einem zuverlässigen Beitragszahler geworden sind, zusammenhängt." Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985," Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 7, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
See also ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 187 Rev. Cathedral and St-Michael's Church in Hildesheim" (Review, Paris, July 1985), R.F.A. 187 Hildesheim, ICOMOS Documentation Center; UNESCO, "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Bureau of the World Heritage Committee. Ninth Session, Paris, June 3-5, 1985. Report of the Rapporteur" (Report, Paris, August 12, 1985), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

> Bundesrepublik im Komitee und die damit verbundene Verantwortung hat hierdurch entsprechend zugenommen.[988]

Although West Germany wanted to play a meaningful part in the western European group, FRG representatives tended to shy away from direct leadership. Caspary subsequently lobbied the Foreign Office for help in his role. He specifically hoped to be joined by a representative for natural heritage, depicting his request as a symbolic political gesture towards the "third world," whose problems lay mainly in that category.[989]

In 1986, the FRG nominated and inscribed the Roman sites of Trier. The nomination had been encouraged directly by UNESCO's director general M'Bow during the celebrations of the 2000 Years of the city 2 years prior.[990] Caspary prepared the file in collaboration with local city conservators. First planned for 1985, the nomination had to be differed because of the technical challenge created by the multitude of individual monuments that needed to be included.[991] Although the nomination file did not directly contain European narratives, the choice of Trier itself was a nod to European Heritage as the site had been a model city in the 1975 European Architectural Heritage Year of the Council of Europe.[992] In its eighth year by then, the UNESCO World Heritage List was gaining traction, which led to changes in the rules and organization of the nomination process. UNESCO launched a debate about the inflation of sites on the List, which was set to continue growing as some member-states of the Convention had not yet nominated

[988] Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985," Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 1, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[989] Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985," Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 2, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[990] German representatives made sure to remind UNESCO: "May I recall that at the celebration of 2000 years anniversary of the city of Trier in 1984, the Director-General of UNESCO suggested to nominate in the buildings of roman origins in the city for inscription in the World Heritage List." Alfred Vestring, "Lettre to Raidl. Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. Nominations for the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, August 2, 1985), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

[991] Caspary, "Bericht über die 8. Sitzung des Komitees für das Erbe der Welt in Buenos Aires vom 29.10.-02.11.84," (Report, Mainz, December 10, 1984), 5, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Hans Caspary, "Trier. Nomination File" (Nomination, Mainz, March 8, 1985), Allemagne (Rep. fed.) WHC 367 Monuments de Treves, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

[992] Both Trier and Lübeck were part of the 7 cities chosen to represent the FRG for the 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage. Cutolo, "Vom Denkmal zum städtischen Lebensraum. Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin. Ergebnisse, Widersprüche und Folgen"; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975."

sites.[993] In the FRG, Caspary was put in charge of spreading knowledge about the list.[994]

The World Heritage Committee also discussed the matter of site reports to allow the organization to monitor the evolution and management of sites inscribed on the list. Trier, for example, faced management difficulties from the moment of its inscription because of urban planning disagreements between the city leadership and ICOMOS experts. The city had planned modification to the amphitheater to host light shows that UNESCO strongly opposed.[995] Another West German site, the Speyer Cathedral, was also the object of animated site management debates because of local urban planning, for which ICOMOS president Michel Parent got involved directly with the city.[996] Parent warned the city that the site's World Heritage status would be in danger in case of construction :

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[993] Caspary, "Bericht über die zehnte Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe in Paris vom 25. bis 29. November 1986" (Report, Mainz, January 12, 1986), 11–13, 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of :, UNESCO Archives; Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985," (Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 7-9, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.

[994] Caspary, "UNESCO - Ubereinkunft zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Bericht über die neunte ordentliche Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe, Paris, 2.12.-6.12.1985," (Report, Mainz, January 10, 1986), 11–13, AV Neues Amt 15.785, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Heibach, "Letter to van Vliet"(Letter, Paris, September 2, 1987), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15)WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

A first wandering exhibition on German World Heritage took place in 1991 under Caspary's direction. See Caspary et al., *Weltkulturdenkmäler in Deutschland*; (Dresdner Bank); Roth, "Letter to Raidl. Ausstellung 'Weltkulturdenkmäler in Deutschland' Terminplannung 1992" (Letter, November 28, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.

[995] Caspary reported the UNESCO worries: "(...) das Amphitheater zu Theateraufführungen zu nutzen, könnte zu baulichen Veränderungen führen, die einer Authentizität und Integrität abträglich seien." Caspary, "Bericht über die zehnte Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe in Paris vom 25. bis 29. November 1986," (Report, Mainz, January 12, 1986), 15, 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of :, UNESCO Archives.

See also J. D. Collinson, "Letter to Vestring" (Letter, Paris, December 10, 1986), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15), WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

[996] Parent visited Speyer in November of 1987. In 1988, the city decided to postpone the construction. See Michel Parent, "Rapport sur la situation de la Cathedral de Spire (Speyer) bien culturel de la R.F.A. inscrit au Patrimoine mondial" (Report, Paris, November 1987), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Volker Reinhardt, "Convention du Patrimoine mondial. Cathedrale de Spire. Visite de M. Michel Parent a Spire, le 13.11.1987" (Report, Darmstadt, December 1, 1987), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Hans Caspary, "Letter to Parent. UNESCO-Konvention zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt - geplantes Bauvorhaben in der Umgebung des Speyerer Doms" (Letter, Mainz, June 22, 1988), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center; August Gebessler, "Stellungnahme zur geplanten Domplatz-Neugestaltung in Speyer" (Memo, November 1986), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Georg (Staatminister) Goelter, "Letter to Kubach. Speyer Dom-Vorplatz" (Letter, Mainz, April 6, 1988), R.F.A WHC 168 Spire, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

A decade prior, Bornheim had fought another construction plan around the Speyer Cathedral. At that time, the site's international significance (European) was part of the debates. Werner Bornheim gen. Schilling, "Letter to Ministerium für Unterricht und Kultus. Silobau in der Umgebung des Speyerer Dom" (Letter, Mainz, July 14, 1967), Nr. 9999, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

> L'aménagement projeté isole la Cathédrale de ce contexte de bâtiments et de parcs en créant une nouvelle organisation spatiale, incompatible avec l'intégrité historique du site. (…) Il apparait que le projet affaiblirait [sensiblement] la signification exemplaire de la Cathédrale de Spire […dont la] présence sur la liste du Patrimoine mondial deviendrait plus difficilement justifiable.[997]

By the mid-1980s, the public, experts as well as local politicians and administrators started to pay more attention to the World Heritage List. Local authorities sought out the nomination and inscription of their sites and the threat of losing the UNESCO label thus gained power in that decade. The label of World Heritage brought symbolic and practical advantages to German sites. In 1986 for example, the Freiburg *Regierungspraesident* insisted on the financial consequences of an inscription: "die im Rahmen der nationalen Denkmalpflege bei der Zuschussvergabe nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben darf."[998] In 1987, however, the nomination of the *Freiburger Münster* by the FRG crushed those local hopes for additional budget.[999] ICOMOS gave the site a scathing review:

> Le Comité a demandé à plusieurs reprises aux Etats partie de restreindre à quelques très grands monuments la liste des cathédrales gothiques d'Europe, pour éviter une surreprésentation de cette catégorie. Est-il opportun d'inscrire celle de Fribourg dans une liste ou ne figurent encore ni Reims, ni Bourges, ni Strasbourg, ni Sienne, ni Orvieto, ni Milan, ni Canterbury, ni Salisbury, ni Wells, ni Leon, ni Palma de Majorque, pour ne citer que quelques exemples évidents ? [1000]

The organization used its newly implemented comparative evaluation to establish a Western European hierarchy of Gothic cathedrals. Freiburg and Germany in general did not appear on the list created by ICOMOS, so the FRG failed to inscribe the site on the World Heritage List.

After several years of struggle with the nomination of the historic city center of Lübeck, the FRG finally succeeded in inscribing the site on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1987.[1001]

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[997] Michel Parent, "Letter to Rosskopf (Mayor of Speyer). Convention du Patrimoine mondial" (Letter, Paris, December 2, 1986), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

[998] Nothelfer, "Letter to Schlee (Inneminister Baden Wurttemberg)." (Letter, Freiburg, June 16, 1986), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.

[999] See Majocco (Innenministerium Baden-Württemberg), "Letter to AA. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Aufnahme des Freiburger Münsters in die Liste des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Stuttgart, November 17, 1986), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; Bernd von Droste, "Letter to Dr. Nothelfer. Draft Nomination of the Cathedral of Freiburg for Inscription on the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, December 30, 1986), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; Dr. Nothelfer, "Letter to Boehme (Mayor of Freiburg)" (Letter, Freiburg, July 16, 1987), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.

[1000] ICOMOS, "Liste du patrimoine mondial N.418. Notre-Dame de Fribourg-en-Brisgau" (Review, Paris, May 1987), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.

[1001] See Robert Knüppel, "Hanseatic City of Lübeck" (Nomination, Lübeck, November 18, 1986), R.F.A 272 Rev Lübeck, ICOMOS Documentation Center; ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 272 Rev. Hanseatic City of Lübeck" (Review, Paris, April 1987), R.F.A 272 Rev Lübeck, ICOMOS Documentation Center.

Like Trier, Lübeck had been a model city for the European Year for Architectural Heritage organized by the Council of Europe in 1975.[1002] In its review of the nomination file, ICOMOS already raised the alarm on the conservation conflicts in the city:

> The inclusion of Lübeck on the World Heritage List should be accompanied by precise recommendations concerning the need to replace the present, unjustified reconstruction policy with a policy of conservation based on the study and respect of the old structures.[1003]

Immediately after its inscription, Lübeck became the most prominent West German case of site management conflict lasting into the 1990s.[1004] UNESCO ultimately got involved in the fractious local conflict around urban projects within the historic city center through the intermediary of its German speaking representative Anne Raidl.[1005] UNESCO and ICOMOS followed the situation of German sites through experts, diplomats, and local news until site monitoring became systematized in 1988.[1006]

[1002] See Cutolo, "Vom Denkmal zum städtischen Lebensraum. Das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin. Ergebnisse, Widersprüche und Folgen"; Fürniss, "Die Kampagne des Europarates für das Europäische Denkmalschutzjahr 1975."

[1003] ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 272 Rev. Hanseatic City of Lübeck," 3.

[1004] Caspary and locals informed UNESCO of a controversial building and power plant project in 1991. See Hans Caspary, "Letter to Grebe. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Mainz, January 24, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Wolfram Eckloff, "Großkraftwerk in Lübeck-Siems - der dreifache Verrat," *Lübeckische Blätter*, October 27, 1990, 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Lyndel Prott, "Letter to Lohse" (Letter, Paris, February 15, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; BIRL (Bürgerinitative Rettet Lübeck), "Letter to Raidl. UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe Lübecker Altstadt" (Letter, Lübeck, February 18, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives.
Conflicts around urbanization projects dated back to the 1970s. KMK Sek, "Aufruf der Denkmalpfleger zugunsten der historischen Stadt Lübeck" (Letter, Bonn, July 6, 1971), Nr. 10689, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz.

[1005] A UNESCO representative visited Lübeck in 1992 to assess the situation: Horst (Mayor of Lübeck) Siewert, "Letter to Raidl" (Letter, Lübeck, January 13, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Horst Siewert and Günther Fehring, "Programm für den Besuch von Frau Raidl Leiterin der Abteilung Kulturerbe der UNESCO am 18./19. März 1992" (Program, Lübeck, February 11, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Christopher (Europa Nostra) Audland, "Letter to Lopez (UNESCO). Resolution Adopted by the Council of Europa Nostra United with IBI" (Letter, The Hague, May 11, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Lyndel Prott, "Report on Visit to Lübeck" (Report, Paris, March 23, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Lyndel Prott, "Letter to Boutellier (Mayor of Lübeck)" (Letter, Paris, March 27, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Lyndel Prott, "Letter to Van Nispen (ICOMOS)" (Letter, Paris, December 21, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY - General. Part II from 1.I.93 to 30.XI.93, UNESCO Archives.

[1006] Site monitoring and a questionnaire system was implemented in 1988. See Caspary, "Bericht über die zehnte Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe in Paris vom 25. bis 29. November 1986" (Report, Mainz, January 12, 1986), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of :, UNESCO Archives; Caspary, "Bericht über die 12. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees für das Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt, 5-9.12.1988 in Brasilia" (Report, December 1988), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15), UNESCO Archives; Anne Raidl, "Letter to Heibach." (Letter, Paris, February 1, 1988), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives.

4.3.3. Back to the National? Refocusing German participation at the UNESCO World Heritage Committee

Having lost its seat at the Committee after 1987, West Germany became an observer at the World Heritage Committee sessions in the following years.[1007] During that time, UNESCO launched a debate on the composition and number of World Heritage Committee members which brought to light a stark divide within the nation-state members of the Convention. Developing countries demanded more opportunities for representation in the Committee. Caspary was in favor of widening the World Heritage Committee from 21 to 36 members, but many European representatives countered that their long experience and heritage conservation expertise was necessary for the work of UNESCO.[1008]

Underlining the political importance of World Heritage Committee membership, no other FRG site was inscribed between 1987 and 1990. In December of 1988, nomination files for the Lorsch Monastery and the *Wattenmeer* were sent to UNESCO by the West German representation. The first German nomination of a natural heritage site, the *Wattenmeer*, was deferred immediately. UNESCO wanted to transform the nomination into a transnational series combined with Denmark and the Netherlands, which finally succeeded in 2009.[1009] For the nomination of the Lorsch

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See also Cameron and Rössler, "The Shift towards Conservation"; Jim Torshell, "From Strength to Strength, World Heritage in Its 20th Year," in *World Heritage Twenty Years Later: Based on Papers Presented at the World Heritage and Other Workshops Held During the IVth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas, Caracas, Venezuela, February 1992*, Jim Torshell and Jacqueline Sawyer (Gland,Switzerland and Cambridge, UK: IUCN, 1992), 20–22.

[1007] Caspary, "Bericht über die zehnte Sitzung des Komitees für das Welterbe in Paris vom 25. bis 29. November 1986," (Report, Mainz, January 12, 1986), 1, 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of:, UNESCO Archives.

[1008] "Ein großes Komitee würde es möglich machen, den Wünschen der Dritten Welt entgegenzukommen, ohne dass sich die großen, die Konvention tragenden und ihre Durchführung wesentlich bestimmenden Kulturnationen daraus auf Dauer zurückziehen müssten."Caspary, "Bericht über die 12. Sitzung des UNESCO-Komitees für das Kultur- und Naturerbe der Welt, 5-9.12.1988 in Brasilia"(Report, December 1988), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15), UNESCO Archives.

[1009] See Bernhard Heibach, "Letter to UNESCO. Nomination for the World Heritage List of the 'Wattenmeer' (Mud Flats of Lower Saxony)" (Letter, Paris, December 29, 1988), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; Bernd von Droste, "Letter to J. A. Enemark" (Letter, Paris, 10 1989), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; Bernd von Droste, "Letter to Heibach. Nomination of the Mudflats of Lower Saxony (Wattenmeer) for Inscription on the World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, August 2, 1989), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "13 COM XV.44-46 - Decision. Nominations to the World Heritage List and to the List of World Heritage in Danger: Overview," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1989. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/3632/.
See also UNESCO World Heritage Centre, "Wadden Sea," UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed December 2, 2022. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1314/.

Monastery, UNESCO asked to defer the site to clarify the impact of a planned building project.[1010]

At the end of 1988, the GDR ratified the World Heritage Convention. The state submitted its first nomination files to UNESCO in 1989, but its participation was short-lived since the Berlin Wall fell a few days later. In June of 1990, one GDR nomination was examined positively by the Bureau of World Heritage Committee: the castle and gardens of Potsdam-Sanssouci. The choice of Potsdam echoed that of the Aachen Cathedral. The palace was Prussian king Friedrich the Great's personal project, royal palace, center of power during his reign, and later became his mausoleum. Both German states reached out to UNESCO asking that an expanded version of the site, that included a palace in Berlin-Zehlendorf on the West German side, be inscribed to mark the completion of the German reunification process on October 3rd of 1990. In May of 1990, the GDR Cultural Minister wrote to UNESCO General Director Frederico Mayor from Spain, to ask for the inscription of a joint site with an openly political argument:

> Die DDR würde die Aufnahme des gesamten Komplexes der Schlösser und Gärten Potsdam-Sanssouci in das Welterbeverzeichnis als einen wichtigen Beitrag im Prozess des Zusammenwachsens beider deutscher Staaten betrachten.[1011]

The ambassador of the FRG confirmed this political wish in a letter to UNESCO.[1012] West

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[1010] The Lorsch monastery inscription was differed again in 1990 because of communication delays between UNESCO, ICOMOS and the FRG, but would succeed in 1991. See Bernhard Heibach, "Letter to UNESCO. Nomination for the World Heritage List of the Former Benedictine Monastery of Lorsch" (Letter, Paris, December 28, 1988), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives; Kai Mathieu, "Lorsch Nomination file" (Nomination, Wiesbaden, December 8, 1988), Allemagne C515 Rev Abbaye et Altenmuenster de Lorsch, ICOMOS Documentation Center; ICOMOS, "World Heritage List N. 515. Lorsch" (Review, Paris, April 1989), Allemagne C515 Rev Abbaye et Altenmuenster de Lorsch, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Johannes Lohse, "Letter to Raidl. Application for the Inclusion of Lorsch Monastery in the UNESCO World Heritage List" (Letter, Paris, December 13, 1989), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Hans Caspary, "Letter to Plank. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Nominierung von Kloster Lorsch" (Letter, Mainz, June 12, 1990), Allemagne C515 Rev Abbaye et Altenmuenster de Lorsch, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Johannes Lohse, "Letter to UNESCO. Nomination for the World Heritage List of the Former Benedictine Monastery of Lorsch and of the Altenmuenster Monastery" (Letter, Paris, April 11, 1991), Allemagne C515 Rev Abbaye et Altenmuenster de Lorsch, ICOMOS Documentation Center; Lyndel Prott, "Letter to Lohse" (Letter, Paris, January 23, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.

[1011] Herbert Schirmer, "Letter to UNESCO GD Zaragoza" (Letter, Berlin, May 3, 1990), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.
See also Hans-Jürgen Micheel, "Letter to UNESCO GD" (Letter, Paris, June 8, 1990), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.

[1012] Wolfgang Lerke, "Letter to UNESCO GD Frederico Mayor" (Letter, Paris, June 11, 1990), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.
The FRG sent the complementary file to Raidl in July and October of 1990. See Johannes Lohse, "Letter to Raidl. Demande d'inscription de l'Ile aux Paons et du Chateau et du Parc de Klein-Glienicke dans la liste du Patrimoine Mondial (en tant que partie de l'ensemble des chateaux et jardins de Potsdam-Sanssouci)" (Letter, Paris, July 4, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Dirk Baumgartner, "Letter to Raidl" (Letter, Paris, October 30, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives.

and East Germany wished to brand the Potsdam site as the symbol of the country's reunification. They successfully argued with UNESCO to be allowed to submit a joint nomination, despite being too late to be considered at the World Heritage Bureau Session. UNESCO and ICOMOS exceptionally chose to waive the deadlines, and the nomination file was presented and inscribed at the 14th session of the World Heritage Committee, without a Bureau review. Despite several additional nominations, no other German site was inscribed in 1990. [1013] The site's successful and highly unconventional inscription process showcases the importance of diplomatic and political advocacy within the UNESCO World Heritage Committee.

Internationally, the World Heritage site Potsdam Castle and Gardens became a symbol of German reunification, but locally, the transition was complicated by vastly different systems of heritage conservation in both states. In 1991 already, an open conflict arose at the inauguration ceremony of a World Heritage plaque. The installation of a plaque marking the World Heritage status of the site was part of a growing FRG publicization effort in German World Heritage sites, which had started unveiling plaques in 1988.[1014] The Potsdam ceremony, however, was unique. On the planned date, there was no plaque to be found where the unveiling had been planned. The UNESCO representative, Australian heritage law specialist Lyndel Prott, who had come from Paris for the occasion, was dismayed. She observed: "There was in fact no plaque to be unveiled since

[1013] UNESCO, "Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin," UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/532/.
Two FRG nominations, Lorsch and the Maulbronn Monastery Complex, were differed by the World Heritage Bureau. The FRG retracted other East German nominations shortly before the Committee session. UNESCO agreed except for the site of Dresden, which had received a negative review at the Bureau session. See Johannes Lohse, "Letter to Lopes (UNESCO)" (Letter, Paris, November 15, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Anne Raidl, "Letter to Lohse" (Letter, Paris, November 30, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives ; Johannes Lohse, "Letter to UNESCO. Nomination for the World Heritage List of the Maulbronn Monastery Complex" (Letter, Paris, September 28, 1989), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Chantal Lyard, "Letter to Lohse" (Letter, Paris, April 20, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Johannes Lohse, "Letter to Lyard. Inscription du Monastere de Maulbronn sur la liste du patrimoine mondial" (Letter, Paris, June 5, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives; Anne Raidl, "Letter to Lohse" (Letter, Paris, July 25, 1990), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103(43-15) Germany II 1.10.89 to 30.9.1991, UNESCO Archives.
[1014] Brühl was the first to unveil a plaque in 1988, several sites, among which Aachen, followed suit. See Anne Raidl, "Letter to Caspary" (Letter, Paris, July 25, 1988), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; Hans Caspary, "Letter to Raidl. UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Enthüllung einer Bronzetafel in Schloss Brüh am 08.07.1988" (Letter, Mainz, July 13, 1988), 069:7 (100) A218/101/103 (43-15) WHC-Federal Republic of Germany Part I up to 30.9.89, UNESCO Archives; Hans Caspary, "Letter to Model (AA). UNESCO-Übereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Aufnahme von Kloster Lorsch in die Liste des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt" (Letter, Mainz, February 7, 1992), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.

the two bodies responsible for the administration of the two halves of the site could not agree on its location or its wording."[1015]

Indeed, at the time, conservation of the site was divided between two administrative units: the eastern Potsdam section was under the responsibility of a newly created *Stiftung* or foundation, while the western part was administered by Berlin administrators. Both zones were supposed to come under the responsibility of the foundation in the short term, but Berlin was delaying the move. Additionally, Prott noted that the site needed extensive repairs, a situation exacerbated by the rise in visitors and the vastness of the protected zone. This public display of administrative disfunction and the recent budget cuts impacting the site's conservation, undermined its UNESCO status as a symbol of German reunification.

The European resolve of the FRG seemed to lie mainly in its own divided political situation. Shortly after reunification in 1990, at the unveiling ceremony of the Aachen Cathedral UNESCO World Heritage plaque, Caspary affirmed that instead, the work of German UNESCO World Heritage representatives would now focus on a "united Germany." [1016] Despite Caspary's affirmation, the FRG did not abandon European collaboration and narratives in relation to World Heritage after reunification. In 1990, France, the FRG, and the UK collaborated to organize a "Regional Training for European Protected Area Managers" with the help of UNESCO.[1017] In 1992, the previous GDR Minister Dietmar Keller planned an ambitious 5-year publication project on World Heritage sites, encompassing three volumes on European sites to celebrate the 25-year anniversary of the UNESCO World Heritage List.[1018]

[1015] Lyndel Prott, observed a "Somewhat delicate internal political situation concerning the site (…) symptomatic of a wider issue" Lyndel Prott, "Memo. CLT/CH/01/7.3/GER" (Report, Paris, December 12, 1991), 1, 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.
See also Lyndel Prott, "Letter to Badstüber" (Letter, Paris, November 20, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives; Henri Lopes, "Letter to Enderlein" (Letter, Paris, November 21, 1991), 069:7 (100) A 218/101/103 (43-15) WHC Germany Part III from 1.10.1991, UNESCO Archives.
Heritage conservation dialogue between East and West, see Michael Petzet, "Dialog Ost-West : Die Mittlerrole von ICOMOS und der Vereinigung der Landesdenkmalpfleger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in *Geteilt – Vereint! Denkmalpflege in Mitteleuropa zur Zeit des eisernen Vorhangs und heute*, ed. Ursula Schädler-Saub and Angela Weyer, ICOMOS – Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkommitees (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2015), 109–14.
[1016] Klein, "Das Land springt für die EG ein. Zöpel macht Zusage" *Aachener Nachrichten*, April 6, 1990, WHC 3, UNESCO Archives.
[1017] Azedine Beschaousch, "Letter to Bernd von Droste" (Letter, April 18, 1990), 502.7 A101 WHC (43-15) WHC - Germany Fed. Rep. Of, UNESCO Archives.
[1018] Dietmar Keller, "Letter to Frederico Mayor" (Letter, Bonn, May 27, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage Germany General Part I up to 31/12/92, UNESCO Archives; Hans Meinel, "Letter to Frederico Mayor" (Letter, Bonn, July 31, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage Germany General Part I up to 31/12/92, UNESCO Archives.

During the first ten years of the World Heritage List, West German representatives successfully inscribed eight cultural sites on the List. Aachen Cathedral had been West Germany's first World Heritage site. Most of the other seven nominations followed conservative understandings of heritage sites as ancient, often single monuments that were places of power or religious centers. France and Italy who were also early members of the World Heritage Committee, but several other Western European states such as Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom inscribed a significant number of sites on the World Heritage List in the 1980s. Similarly to the sites inscribed by the FRG, these first sites were exclusively cultural sites. Most sites were premodern sites of religious character (cathedrals, temples and convents), centers of political power (palaces, towers and castles), or historic city centers. Some, like Vatican City inscribed in 1984, combined all three characteristics. Exceptions to the rule were for example, Røros Mining Town in Norway inscribed in 1980, the works of Gaudi in Spain inscribed in 1984, Ironbridge Gorge inscribed in 1986 as an early testament of the industrial revolution in the United Kingdom and several prehistoric sites. This constellation of sites agglomerated into the first representation of a list of iconic Western European heritage sites.

In 2011, Conservator Hans Caspary gave an extensive interview to Cristina Cameron and Mechtild Rössler on his work at the World Heritage Committee in the 1980s. In his opinion, his mission at the time was characterized by freedom but also lack of interest. He was completely alone as a representative at UNESCO, and his reports were often ignored. This changed from the 1990s onward as public and state attention on the UNESCO World Heritage List grew exponentially.[1019] Caspary carried on as the main German expert representative and was elected as a World Heritage Committee Member from 1991 to 1997.[1020] He continued to watch his European partners closely, focusing on France, as their relationship still oscillated between collaboration and competition.[1021] The German understanding of World Heritage-worthy sites evolved after 1990 to include less traditional heritage sites. German industrial heritage like the Völklinger Ironworks and the Rammelsberger Mines, archeological sites such as the Roman Limes, Modernist Bauhaus

[1019] Cameron and Rössler, "Oral Archives: Hans Caspary" UNESCO World Heritage Centre, July 11, 2011. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/oralarchives/hans-caspary/.
[1020] Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*, 251–52.
[1021] In 1992, Caspary noted France's success on the List: "Mit 19 in die Liste des Welterbes aufgenommenen Denkmälern ist es nunmehr in Europa führend." Hans Caspary, "Bericht über die 15. Sitzung des Komitees für das Kultur- und Natuerbe der Welt, 9-13. Dezember 1991 in Karthago" (Report, Mainz, January 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage Germany General Part I up to 31/12/92, UNESCO Archives.

sites and a first natural heritage site, the Messel Fossil Pit, became part of the World Heritage List in the 1990s.[1022]

The creation of the UNESCO World Heritage Center in 1992, on the 20th birthday of the World Heritage Convention, marked the end of the first phase of the UNESCO World Heritage List. The Center was meant to centralize World Heritage matters and especially draw nature and culture closer together. Thus, with a new World Heritage Center and a new focus on national representation, the Federal Republic of Germany and the World Heritage List of UNESCO embarked on a new journey, which was very much in continuity with the 1980s, not in the least, through its actors. World Heritage Center Director Bernd von Droste directly involved the FRG in his new mission. He offered to hold his first official visit in Germany to demonstrate his interest for FRG presence on the List. During his September 1992 visit, von Droste tried to convince German administrators that the FRG needed to send more representatives to World Heritage Committees, as their lack of participation cost the state political and expert influence. He also reiterated the need to urgently nominate East German sites. Because he was approached by the media on several occasions during his trip, Bernd von Droste concluded that the World Heritage List "has more public appeal than anything else of UNESCO in Germany." [1023]

The German example illustrates the inherent contradiction of an international list driven by

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[1022] Centre, "Germany - UNESCO World Heritage Convention" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/de.
The Messel Pit was an iconic site of resistance from local associations, who since the 1970s regularly referred to UNESCO for help. See AA Schulte Strathaus, "Letter to Wagner. UNESCO-Ubereinkommen zum Schutz des Kultur- und Naturerbes der Welt. Grube Messel bei Darmstadt" (Letter, Bonn, April 5, 1977), AV Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes; Anne Raidl, "Letter to Hans Maubach" (Letter, Paris, March 24, 1977), Neues Amt 15.780, Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes.
On German industrial World Heritage sites, see Ursula Mehrfeld, Marita Pfeiffer, and Sigrid Brandt, eds., *Industrielle Kulturlandschaften im Welterbe-Kontext*, Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees ICOMOS 61 (Berlin: hendrik Bäßler verlag, 2016).
[1023] Bernd von Droste, "Report on My Mission to Germany from 22-25 September 1992" (Report, Paris, October 1, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY- General. Part I up to 31.XII.92, UNESCO Archives.
About the trip, see also AA, "Diskussion über das Welterbe am 5. August 1992. Dr. Christoph Derix, Botschafter, Staendiger Vertreter Deutschlands bei der UNESCO und Dr. Bernd von Droste, Direktor des Welterbe Zentrums der UNESCO" (Report, Paris, August 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY- General. Part I up to 31.XII.92, UNESCO Archives; Schöfthaler, "Besuch des Direktors des Welterbezentrums der UNESCO Dr. Bernd Freiherr von Droste zu Hülshoff in Bonn (22.-23. September 1992)" (Memo, September 30, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY- General. Part I up to 31.XII.92, UNESCO Archives; AA, "Besuch des Direktors des Welterbezentrums der UNESCO Dr. Bernd Freiherr von Droste zu Hülshoff in Deutschland (22.-25. September 1992)" (Program, Bonn, September 17, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY- General. Part I up to 31.XII.92, UNESCO Archives; Droste, "Report on My Mission to Germany from 22-25 September 1992" (Report, Paris, October 1, 1992), 502.7 (43) World Heritage - GERMANY- General. Part I up to 31.XII.92, UNESCO Archives ; Cameron, *Many Voices, One Vision*, 27–28, 48–49, 256–57.

state power, that combines European cooperation and national competition. The FRG believed that infusing a site with European aura raised its chances of inscription, while erasing a potentially problematic national discourse. This European approach depended on a handful of German expert representatives, such as Mörsch, Backes and Caspary. When a political threat arose, such as the Jerusalem case, they insisted on European collaboration. The same conservators were involved in CoE projects for European heritage and were, therefore, inclined to bring those narratives onto a new stage at UNESCO. West German experts believed in the superiority of western European practices of heritage conservation and pushed for shared tentative lists for greater integration. In the end, in the 1980s, European collaboration had limited impact on the World Heritage List, because the same states were also in competition for inscription, especially following the inclusion of ICOMOS's comparative evaluations.

Conclusion

This dissertation offers the first English speaking, archive-based reconstruction of the first decades of FRG participation at UNESCO's World Heritage program, from 1972 to 1992. FRG expert representatives at UNESCO acted with national interests in mind but focused their efforts on European heritage narratives and promoting European collaboration at UNESCO.

Narratives of European heritage are well established in the UNESCO World Heritage List today, albeit under different forms. In 2021, a series of sites spanning several nation-states, known as a transnational site series, was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in a manner that reinforced the European cultural narrative. Called "The Great Spa Towns of Europe," it was described on the UNESCO World Heritage website as "bear[ing] witness to the international European spa culture that developed from the early 18th century to the 1930s."[1024] Local newspaper *Aachener Zeitung* celebrated the inclusion of the new The Great Spa Towns of Europe site, which included the neighboring Belgian town of Spa and several German sites on the List in July of 2021.[1025] Although not directly impacted by the inscription of this transnational series of sites, Aachen celebrated the European inscription with a reminder of the town's own historical spa culture dating back to Charlemagne.

Transnational site series have become an ideal space for European collaboration and representation on the UNESCO World Heritage List since the early 2000s. Following efforts to rebalance the World Heritage List and Committee in the 1990s, European states who had dominated the List had to find new strategies to facilitate site inscriptions.[1026] As time went on, European states adopted the transnational series to inscribe sites that stood no chance as a lone-standing monument. By their nature, transnational series embed internationalist narratives, especially those of a shared European heritage, onto the UNESCO List. The 2009 inscription of the series of transnational sites on "Pile dwellings," for example, argued that the sites were an

[1024] UNESCO "The Great Spa Towns of Europe" UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1613/.
[1025] Rolf Minderjahn, "Unesco: Europas Kurbäder: Spa ist nun Weltkulturerbe," Aachener Zeitung, July 31st, 2021. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.aachener-zeitung.de/freizeit/spa-ist-nun-weltkulturerbe/3949287.html.
[1026] The Nara conference on Authenticity in 1994 is an important milestone in UNESCO World Heritage history. See Falser, "Von der Venice Charter 1964 zum Nara Document on Authenticity 1994 – 30 Jahre »Authentizität« im Namen des kulturellen Erbes der Welt"; Aurélie Elisa Gfeller, "Anthropologizing and Indigenizing Heritage: The Origins of the UNESCO Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15, no. 3 (October 1, 2015), 366–86; Labadi and Long, *Heritage and Globalisation*.
See also Albert and Ringbeck, *40 Years World Heritage Convention*, 59–76.

"einzigartige Quellen für die Erforschung der schriftlosen Vergangenheit Europas."[1027] National member-states used and still use the tools at their disposal to gain advantages in inscribing sites at UNESCO. The nomination justification, for example, argued that the European series balanced the UNESCO World Heritage List, even though the idea of balanced representation was originally meant to counteract European domination of the List.

Despite Hans Caspary's 1991 call to "return to the national," Germany continues to push for European heritage on the international stage today. It successfully proposed a reboot of the 1975 European Year for Architectural Heritage and spearheaded the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018.[1028] In the meantime, the CoE, and increasingly the EU, remained active in promoting European heritage. The Cultural Routes of Europe, Capitals of Culture and European Heritage Day programs created since the late 1980s have been especially successful at representing European heritage and attracting public interest.[1029] Several decades after UNESCO, the EU created its own heritage list, the European Heritage Label, in 2013. UNESCO's novel work in heritage questions since the 1990s influenced European Heritage initiatives. The European Heritage Label learned from the UNESCO World Heritage List and integrated the intangible and tangible characteristics of heritage into the list from the start. It accepts a diverse array of types of sites for nomination : "monuments, natural, underwater, archaeological, industrial or urban sites, cultural landscapes, places of remembrance, cultural goods and objects, intangible heritage associated with a place, including contemporary heritage."[1030] The Label is an attempt by European institutions to reassert control on what is defined as European heritage independently from the UNESCO World Heritage List.

European narratives of heritage have become self-evident today. This dissertation has tried to show the historical processes of their construction, as well as how they have been employed for

[1027] Peter J. Suter, Pfahlbauten Palafittes Palafitte Pile Dwellings Kolisca. UNESCO Welterbe-Kandidatur "Praehistorische Pfahlbauten Rund Um Die Alpen" - Candidature Au Patrimoine Mondial de l'UNESCO "Sites Palafittiques Prehistoriques Autour Des Alpes" - Candidatura a Patrimonio Mondiale Dell'UNESCO "Siti Palafitticoli Preistorici Dell'arco Alpino" (Biel/ Bienne, 2009), 92.

[1028] See the German *Landesdenkmalämter* (VDL) on European Heritage :"Europas Geschichte Vor Der Haustür Entdecken," Denkmal Europa. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.denkmal-europa.de/denkmaleuropa_uebersicht/.

[1029] See Daphne Martens, "The Experience of Common European Heritage: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Tourism Practices at Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe." *Journal of European Landscapes*, vol. 3, no. 3 (2022), 45–59; Patel, *The Cultural Politics of Europe*; "European Heritage Days | Culture and Creativity." Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://culture.ec.europa.eu/node/233.

[1030] "Application Process of the European Heritage Label | Culture and Creativity," Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://culture.ec.europa.eu/node/239.

national, regional, and local ends. Through the Aachen Cathedral case, this study takes an interorganizational and local Europe approach to the German history of UNESCO World Heritage that broadens our view of how European heritage is constructed and publicized. Through the Aachen Cathedral, this dissertation discussed the relationship between medieval heritage and political narratives, a relationship that has increasingly attracted the attention of medieval historians in the last decades.[1031] This work relies heavily on existing local historical research in Aachen to offer an unusual outlook into Aachen history through its most famous monument. This study adds to the still limited historiography on Aachen after 1945 and offers non-German speaking readers a glimpse into the city's history. The case study of the Aachen Cathedral World Heritage site contributes to the historiography of UNESCO World Heritage, especially offering new insight into the politicization of sacral heritage, in a non-conflictual site.

In Aachen, the imagination of Charlemagne relies on the relics of the Carolingian palace at the center of Aachen. The often invoked "presence" of Charlemagne has attracted political attention since Middle Ages. This dissertation has shown how Aachen's cultural, political, and religious elites redefined Charlemagne's memory into a European one in post-war West Germany. Aachen's memory of a European Charlemagne is multidimensional and evolves in ways tightly linked to the city's contemporary political interests. Repurposed and reinvented political-religious rituals and cultural-political events surrounding Charlemagne in Aachen lent legitimacy and publicity to local European claims after 1945. On these occasions, participants in the *Karlspreis*, *Karlsfest*, exhibitions, and political visits, circulated through the site to make symbolic stops in the space of the Carolingian palace, using images, speech, and mobile heritage to invoke Charlemagne memory. In Aachen, church actors, city politicians, conservators, archeologists and historians work hand in hand. Buy-in from national- and international-level politicians and institutions further legitimized local Charlemagne discourses and spread the image of a European Aachen. This study establishes a direct narrative connection between Aachen's construction of European Charlemagne and the inscription of the Aachen Cathedral on the World Heritage List in 1978. The history of heritage conservation at the Aachen Cathedral shows how conservators used political interest in Charlemagne to vie for funds and facilitate the conservation of the Carolingian chapel.

[1031] See Brigitte Buettner and William J. Diebold (eds.), *Medieval Art, Modern Politics;* Feltman, Jennifer M., and Sarah Thompson (eds.), *The Long Lives of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2019).

The study's examination of the direct and indirect links between the Council of Europe and UNESCO heritage projects in the 1960s and 70s is its main contribution to international organization history, although it could still be fleshed out further. Parallel planning and regular exchanges on international heritage questions between the Council of Europe and UNESCO intensified in the 1960s and led to transfers in discourse, objects of study, and approaches. A handful of mostly western experts circulated between national and international levels and partook in the institutionalization of heritage conservation at UNESCO and the Council of Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, dominating the projects. West German experts were not the most powerful, but they used their access to UNESCO and Council of Europe heritage projects to push for their priorities in heritage conservation, as was the case for the Urban Historic Quarters project in the 1970s for example. Indirectly, UNESCO actively participated in the making of European Heritage at a time when European institutions did not offer the same possibilities.

The Aachen Cathedral's inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1978 illuminates interwoven vertical and horizontal transfers as local politics of Europe reached the international stage and at the same time connected the CoE and UNESCO. The site underscores the central role of local strategies in meaning construction of heritage, at odds with UNESCO's very top-down national inscription system in 1978. Since then, the inclusion of local communities has become an intrinsic part of UNESCO World Heritage.[1032] The UNESCO intangible cultural heritage list was created to remedy these questions but is facing similar challenges and conflicts around its inscriptions.[1033]

In focusing its narrative on the role of institutionalized actors, this study on the Aachen Cathedral nevertheless runs into certain limitations of cultural representation. In their research on communities and heritage, Waterton and Smith have observed that "few heritage professionals ask what people's views of heritage are beyond the white middle-class cultural symbols."[1034] This includes the male experts involved in the Aachen Cathedral's conservation and inscription, who

[1032] Gfeller, "Anthropologizing and Indigenizing Heritage."
[1033] At the end of 2022, for example, a debate arose after the Algerian nomination and inclusion of Rai music on the intangible UNESCO List as Morocco also claims ties to the tradition. See for example Celia Zouaoui, "Le raï algérien entre au patrimoine immatériel de l'humanité," *Le Monde*, December 1, 2022. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://www.lemonde.fr/afrique/article/2022/12/01/le-rai-algerien-entre-au-patrimoine-immateriel-de-l-humanite_6152533_3212.html.
See also UNESCO, "UNESCO - Browse the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices" UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists.
[1034] Smith and Waterton, "The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage," 19.

also belong to that social group. This study thus reinforces the already sizeable advantage of exposure received by these types of sites on the local, national and even international levels. Insomuch as it is a narrative of heritage, it is one limited to its representation by the white middle-upper class of West Germany.

Similarly, the narratives of Europe centered on West Germany, this study discusses by definition, excludes representations of Europe from other geographical regions. The exclusion of the Eastern Bloc thus reproduces a much-decried (western) Eurocentrism at the UNESCO World Heritage. A future comparative study with other early UNESCO World Heritage participants' inscription politics could bring much needed diversity into this work. Indeed, the end of the Soviet Union and widening of the European Community undoubtedly brought profound changes to the concepts of European culture and memory discussed in this dissertation. The apparent impossibility of pan-European representation deepened with the integration of Eastern European cultures and identities. In a 1994 article on "Whose heritage?" John E. Turnbridge identified the challenges for European heritage in the future. He particularly noted the problem of the integration of the "other," including both the "recent stranger" and the "historical strangers," and the reconciliation of "conflicting nationalities" as lingering problems in European heritage.[1035]

The 1990s were already looking for solutions to these questions of belonging. In his 1994 publication on the making of a new European heritage, Ashworth argued for a return to the local in European heritage by declaring that "the new Europe that will replace the Europe of the nation states will be a Europe of the cities and regions."[1036] As a possible solution to the problem of European heritage he encourages the layering of identities and memories. Ashworth advocates for heritage sites to become open to multi-interpretations and multi-uses, allowing them to ward off the potential exclusion of identities and non-participating groups.[1037] This idea seems to resonate with Homi Bhabha's 1994 discussion on the location of culture. Bhabha wished for cultural enunciation that results in "conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of

[1035] John E. Turnbridge, "Whose Heritage ? Global Problem, European Nightmare," in *Building a New Heritage : Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, ed. G.J Ashworth and Peter J Larkham (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 25–26.
[1036] Gregory J. Ashworth, "From History to Heritage - From Heritage to Identity," in *Building a New Heritage: Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, ed. G.J Ashworth and Peter J Larkham (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 21.
[1037] Ashworth, "From History to Heritage - From Heritage to Identity," 23.

multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity."[1038]

Since the 1990s, the motto "identity in diversity' has become omnipresent in European political representation but the same challenges remain. European heritage continues to struggle with questions of representativity in identity construction, as has been noted in recent studies of the European Heritage Label.[1039] The current rise of nationalism and the extreme right's cooptation of heritage discourse for its exclusionary political imagination, amplify the urgent need for inclusivity in European heritage. Jörg Haspel, heritage conservation professor, regional conservator in Berlin and former ICOMOS Germany president, is one of the voices advocating for a multireligious, multiethnic and multicultural integration of heritage in Germany.[1040] On the European level, voices such as heritage scholars Anna Catalina and Laia Colomer are increasingly calling for the inclusion of superdiversity in European cultural heritage.[1041] This push for diverse and multilayered heritage remains a major challenge for national representation on international lists, but the Council of Europe has taken steps towards more inclusive heritage representation in the last decades.[1042]

[1038] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 56.

[1039] Discussion on "whiteness," gender and the need for inclusivity in the European Heritage Label. Lähdesmäki et al., *Creating and Governing Cultural Heritage in the European Union*, 226–32.
See also Ana Aceska et al., "'In but Not Fully of Europe': Situating the Ottoman Legacy in the Heritage Initiatives of the European Union and the Council of Europe," in *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 2025 ; Dietrich Soyez, "Europeanizing Industrial Heritage in Europe: Addressing Its Transboundary and Dark Sides," *Geographische Zeitschrift* 97, no. 1 (2009), 43–55; John E. Tunbridge, "Forging a European Heritage: The Role of Malta," *Geographische Zeitschrift* 97, no. 1 (2009), 12–23.

[1040] Jörg Haspel, "Bunter Migration, baukulturelles Erbe und Städtebaulicher Denkmalschutz" In *Die Denkmalpflege* (2013), 13-23. See also Christiane Dätsch, "Shared Memories, Shared Heritage? Museal Concepts of (Im-)Migration in Germany," in: *Shared Heritage Revisited : National and Postnational Dimensions on the Example of Germans, Palestinians and Israelis,* (Bielefeld, 2024).

[1041] Anna Catalani and Laia Colomer (eds.), *Heritage Discourses in Europe: Responding to Migration, Mobility, and Cultural Identities in the Twenty-First Century*. (Arc Humanities Press, 2020).

[1042] European Commission: Directorate-General for Education, Youth, Sport and Culture, European framework for action on cultural heritage, Publications Office, 2019. Accessed August 25th, 2025, https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2766/949707.

Appendix

Mein Karl art installation in 2014: Charlemagne statues on the Katschhof with the Aachen Cathedral in the Background (Photo by author 2014)

Sign indicating the newly opened city museum Centre Charlemagne on the *Katschhof* between the City Hall in the foreground and the Aachen Cathedral visible in the background (photo by the author 2014)

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