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physical infrastructure of Jerusalem, Amnon Linder on the Christian communities of Jerusalem, J. Taylor's book ›Christians and the Holy Places‹, Bianca Kühnel's ›From the Earthly to the Heavenly Jerusalem‹, and Ora Limor's recent book ›Holy Land Travels: Christian Pilgrims in Late Antiquity‹, to give just a few examples, are all conspicuous in their absence.

To sum up, those who already know the existing literature on Holy-Land pilgrimage, will find very little that is new in this book; those who were not convinced by Grabois' arguments in his earlier works, will hardly find this book convincing; and beginners interested in the history of Holy-Land pilgrimage in the Middle Ages are advised to consult older reliable authorities, such as J. Wilkinson, E. D. Hunt, R. L. Wilken, and P. Maraval for the earlier period, and B. Kötting, J. Sumption, J. Chélini and H. Branthome, P.-A. Sigal, and A. Dupront for the later period.

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Michael MENZEL, *Predigt und Geschichte. Historische Exempel in der geistlichen Rhetorik des Mittelalters*, Köln (Böhlau) 1998, 435 p. (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 45).

Predigt und Geschichte is concerned with the presentation and function of historical material in medieval sermons and sermon-related sources. It examines the growing reliance on secular historical exempla which becomes evident in preaching from the second half of the twelfth century and is associated by the author with a new theological perspective on history. The development reached its peak in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, though its effects continued far beyond this time. The study consists of three principal parts, which deal respectively with historical exempla in *artes praedicandi*, sermons and historiographical works.

Both Greek and Roman rhetoric made references to historical events, primarily to provide positive and negative examples or standards, which could be applied to contemporary life. Early Christian writers used exempla somewhat differently, comparing the ethical values of pagan antiquity and those of Christianity in order to prove the equal moral worth of the latter. During the early Middle Ages, the secular historical exemplum was largely supplanted by exempla drawn from hagiography and Christian history. With the rise of preaching in the twelfth century also came a more pronounced interest in history as a whole.

Only a few *artes praedicandi* actually demonstrate the use of exempla; nonetheless, they offer general reflections with respect to purpose and application. As theology came to be treated as a rational science, new branches of knowledge, including nature and history, were integrated into theological thought. Every aspect of human knowledge gained spiritual significance. The writings of Hugh of St Victor among others promoted a perception of history as a mirror of human nature and the divine plan.

Exempla served to illustrate spiritual principles and, as in classical rhetoric, to substantiate the preacher's reasoning process. Universally acknowledged spiritual precepts did not require proof, but could still be confirmed by argument. Initially kept brief and incidental, exempla were elaborated considerably in the course of the thirteenth century. Although they continued to function as moral incentives or deterrents, they came to be regarded further as necessary components of deductive and inductive reasoning, as explanatory illustrations and even as keys to a transcendent reality. To the laity, exempla offered clarification and mnemonic aids.

The mendicants became the principal champions of the historical exemplum. Historical materials were examined in terms of their utility for preaching and transmitted as separate, interpreted incidents. An analysis of sermon-cycles indicates two basic functions for historical narrative. Exempla may be used to prove the validity of a Christian precept, by refer-

ring to a comparable classical tradition or showing a causality of reward and punishment; they are also widely treated as tools of exegesis, providing an insight into the tangible and concrete as well as the intangible and transcendent. Most exempla derive from classical antiquity; they are readily taken out of context and even manipulated to fit a preacher's point.

With the spread of preaching came a rise in the production of sermon-literature. Collections of exempla, rare before the twelfth century, though existing as monastic devotional reading, were among the preachers' main tools. The collections of the high and late Middle Ages differ from comparable earlier works in their systematic structure and inclusion of secular history. Professor Menzel distinguishes among four possible structural systems: collections may be organized according to theological criteria, such as virtues and vices, or according to the various social states with which they deal or to whom they are addressed. They are frequently in alphabetical, occasionally in chronological order. The same incidents are listed under different headings, may be applied to various situations and generally are not restricted to one specific interpretation. A number of collections contain registers, some also include source references; most are divided into chapters, which greatly facilitates their use.

Historiography, though remaining a separate literary genre, also functioned as a preaching aid, as an enhanced systematization of the included material suggests. Chapter divisions, headings, registers and lists of topics helped to make the material more accessible. The reorganization of historiographical works and their gradual approach to meet the needs of preachers may be seen in chronicles of the thirteenth century. Terse narratives, a clear and accessible structure, cross-references and referrals to other sources sometimes make a work appear like a repertory of historical anecdotes. In some chronicles, preachers are addressed directly in asides and marginal notes; lengthy digressions with biblical citations as in Salimbene di Adam's *Cronica* might even be regarded as model sermons in their own right.

Predigt und Geschichte clearly is the outcome of an in-depth study and detailed analysis of sources; the two parts of the extensive bibliography testify to the author's careful research.

The thesis which holds the growing function and increased use of exempla in the high and late Middle Ages to be the outcome of a new theological perception of history, may require more definitive evidence to be wholly persuasive. Although the theological view of history was clearly expanded greatly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it would seem to be already implicitly underlying early apologetic-historiographical works such as Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos* (cf. esp. II.1, VI.1; also Augustine, *Civitas Dei*, V. 11).

No consistent distinction is made between history as a metaphor, i.e. a merely descriptive, illustrative comparison, and mystical identification or prophecy as such. It remains unclear to what extent preachers and theologians interpreted secular historical events as *praefigurationes* of events in Judaeo-Christian history, of divine revelations or a transcendent reality.

Some discussion of a historiography independent from theology and preaching would, as the author himself suggests, be interesting for comparison's sake; however, it lies beyond his stated intentions and would probably stretch the bounds of the study to unreasonable lengths.

The analysis of exempla, their nature and function is persuasive and well-handled. Theory and practical use are viewed from different perspectives and examined in the relevant sources. The study offers a deeper insight into the structure of medieval sermons and the connection between theology and history, thus contributing materially to historiographical research as well as the field of sermon studies.

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