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du point de vue de l'annotation et de la présentation analytique du dossier de chaque collection synodale. Le fait que le tome III rassemble toutes les collections anonymes jugées souvent trop rapidement comme d'intérêt mineur nous persuade tout au contraire que, décidément, en matière de *capitula episcoporum*, il n'y a pas de collection moins intéressante que les autres. Par le jeu des emprunts sélectifs opérés dans la littérature préexistante, par la circulation des modèles qu'un tel travail implique, par le choix des thèmes privilégiés, par le réseau de diffusion des dispositions réglementaires qu'elle permet de mieux apprécier, l'édition de R. Pokorny met à notre disposition une documentation de tout premier intérêt sur l'activité réglementaire de l'épiscopat du IX^e siècle, sur la discipline du clergé, sur l'encadrement pastoral et sur la vie religieuse des laïcs. A tous ces égards, les modestes collections ici réunies ne le cèdent en rien aux *corpus* plus célèbres publiés dans les volumes I et II. Notons pour finir qu'il est hautement souhaitable que le tome IV prévu, qui doit rassembler l'ensemble des *index* des trois volumes de textes ne se fasse pas trop attendre. Il permettra seul en effet une exploitation vraiment exhaustive de cette remarquable série documentaire qui vient épauler de la manière la plus efficace l'édition des Conciles carolingiens, d'autre part poursuivie dans les M.G.H. par W. Hartmann.

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Johannes HEIL, *Kompilation oder Konstruktion? Die Juden in den Pauluskommentaren des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Hannover (Hahnsche Buchhandlung) 1998, XIV–492 p. (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Juden. Abt. A: Abhandlungen, 6).

The over 700 titles of modern works listed in the bibliography (p. 426–465) of Johannes Heil's important book offer ample evidence that his twin topics, the Jews and Carolingian exegesis, have been well studied. For example, most of the essential texts were gathered long ago in Bernhard Blumenkranz's *Les Auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Age sur les juifs et le judaïsme* (Paris 1963). What new was there left to say for an author working at the end of the twentieth century? The direct answer to that question is that Johannes Heil's book has much to say that is original, provocative, and stimulating, not only about Jews and exegesis, but also about many other topics as well. This closely argued and detailed book sheds new light on an important moment in early medieval history and doubtless will spawn further studies, always the sign of a great book.

The key to *Kompilation oder Konstruktion?* is Heil's insight that the Pauline commentaries of the ninth century offer an untapped source for studying Carolingian Europe's attitude toward Jews. Eight Carolingian exegetes (Pseudo-Bede, Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Hrabanus Maurus, Haimo of Auxerre, Florus of Lyon, and Sedulius Scottus) explained parts of the *Corpus Paulinum* to their contemporaries. This sustained focus on Paul's writings spanned a period of about 50 years in the ninth century and testifies to the great interest the apostle's work held for Carolingian Europe. Given the prominence of Jews in Paul's epistles, especially in Romans, Carolingian exegetes naturally came to reflect on the Jews in their own teaching.

What makes Heil's achievement especially impressive is his insistence that Carolingian reflections on Jews must be understood within the context of Carolingian exegesis, an exegesis that developed and evolved in important ways during the ninth century. His perceptive readings of theologians as different as Hrabanus Maurus and Haimo of Auxerre or as Pseudo-Bede and Florus of Lyon allow him to chart changes in emphases over time. This book, then, offers its readers as much about exegesis as it does about Jews in the minds of exegetes. Here, Heil joins a growing number of historians who have begun to quarry biblical commentaries not only for hermeneutics, but for history as well. Heil's reading of the historical significance of the ninth-century Pauline commentaries is both subtle and per-

ceptive. He avoids the temptation to create a simple equation between the comments the exegetes made about Jews when commenting on Paul and ninth-century attitudes about actual Jews. Heil's analysis is more sophisticated than that. When ninth-century exegetes commented on Jews, they were not reflecting on contemporary Jews in their midst. Indeed, for an Alcuin at Tours, a Hrabanus at Fulda, or a Haimo at Auxerre, Heil points out that contacts with actual Jews must have been rare since these Christian centers were not areas of Jewish settlement. Of the eight exegetes, only Florus in Lyon must have had substantial contact with ninth-century Jews, contact, however, that seems not to have deeply influenced Florus's exegetical work or made it distinct from that of his colleagues.

Jews in the ninth-century commentaries served useful homiletic and propadeutic functions for Christian audiences (usually clerics) who contemplated the meaning of their own religion. Defining Christian belief and practice included defining what Christianity was not. What Paul began and the patristic commentators continued was completed with great clarity and precision in the ninth century by Carolingian commentators whose skill in crafting apt phrases and examples made their comments on Jews all the more stark – and memorable to later centuries. While some of the eight Carolingian authors were not especially interested in the topic of the Jews (Pseudo-Bede and Smaragdus), others wove excerpts about Jews from the patristic tradition (Hrabanus Maurus) into their own work, or, indeed, made Jews the dominant theme of their exegesis (Haimo). Not only did engagement with the Jews in the *Corpus Paulinum* vary among the Christian commentators, over the course of the ninth century rhetorical hostility toward Jews became more pronounced.

In seeking to explain the growing anti-Jewish sentiments of the exegetes, Heil downplays the significance of well-known contemporary events such as the conversion of the Christian deacon Bodo to Judaism and the polemic *adversus Judaeos* of Agobard of Lyon. The exegetes were scholars working in an intellectual environment that stressed reform and unity. Jews with heretics and the superstitious *pagani* hardly constituted viable challenges to Carolingian Christianity; instead they served as *topoi*, as the Other, the Enemy. The stance Christian intellectuals adopted toward people they defined as »outsiders« was determined to some extent by close reading of Jewish scriptures, the Old Testament, which portrayed the people of God as always under siege by enemies. The patristic heritage also passed on a tradition of militant Christianity threatened. To these intellectual habits of mind suggested by the past, the history of the ninth century with its internal fratricidal conflicts and actual attacks by Northmen and Saracens accentuated the inability or unwillingness of the exegetes to consider Paul's Jews in Paul's historical context. Instead, the example of the Jews who refused Christ offered the surest evidence that now, in the ninth century, it was the Christians who constituted the true Israel. Paul's Jews were the only ones that mattered to the Carolingian exegetes and what they learned of Judaism from the *Corpus Paulinum* or from patristic texts was all they needed to know. If we detect anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism in the exegesis of the ninth century, Heil reminds us that it is anti-Semitism and anti-Judaism »ohne Juden«. The exegetes were not interested in ninth-century Jews, but in teaching and reinforcing Christianity among their own brethren. Heil also reminds us that some of the ninth-century commentaries were copied and read many times over in succeeding centuries. Removed from their Carolingian context and repeated for generations, the ninth-century stereotypes of Jews took on a life of their own.

Heil's nuanced interpretation of how Carolingian exegetes appropriated Jews in their commentaries is embedded in detailed studies of each exegete. Indeed, the cameos he presents of the work of the eight exegetes are valuable in their own right and should be considered carefully by anyone interested in the intellectual history of the Carolingian period. Heil's research offers additional support to the growing consensus that Carolingian exegetes were no mere compilers. Whether they compiled selections directly from predecessors or wove excerpts from other authors into their own texts, they were in fact creating their

own versions of tradition. The change of a word, the juxtaposition of different authors, citation out of context: all these techniques demonstrate the creativity and boldness of scholars who went about their work with great intensity. While Heil sheds new light on Pseudo-Bede, Claudius of Turin, Hrabanus Maurus, and Florus of Lyon (whose massive Augustinian compilation Heil describes as one of the most important works of the ninth century), center stage in his book clearly belongs to Haimo of Auxerre, the »Höhepunkt der karolingischen Exegese« (p. 275). The sixty pages Heil devoted to Haimo clearly substantiate that judgment. In many ways Haimo is a shadowy figure among Carolingian exegetes. Unlike his contemporary, Hrabanus Maurus, Haimo never seems to have gained a position commensurate with his intellectual stature. While Hrabanus was called to Fulda as abbot and Mainz as archbishop, all that Haimo could manage near the end of his life was the abbacy of obscure Cessy-les-Bois.

Heil's careful reading of Haimo's commentaries sheds interesting new light on the Auxerre monk, including the possibility that Haimo or his parents came originally from Spain as did several other prominent Carolingian scholars such as Claudius of Turin and Theodulf of Orléans. The evidence is slight. In the preface to the commentary on Romans, Haimo changed Origen's reference to conquered »Goths« to »Germans«. But this important clue gains support from the matter of fact way in which Haimo, like Claudius but to a much greater degree, incorporated Jews into his commentary. Heil also suggests that Haimo's formation as a biblical scholar also points in the direction of Spanish influence. His greatest intellectual affinities were with Pseudo-Bede and especially with Theodulf. Direct contact between Theodulf and Haimo while somewhat doubtful on chronological grounds remains possible. Haimo more likely might have been a member of a Spanish »colony« attached to Theodulf somehow. Haimo's texts speak more forcefully and clearly about his exegesis than they do about his background. Heil suggests that Haimo's commentaries began life as monastic homilies and developed over long periods of time. Their homiletic origins might explain their critical and polemical tone. If Haimo could scorn Jews for denying Christ, he could also heap criticism on Christian clergy of his own time for betraying the priesthood. Haimo could also criticize a contemporary scholar such as Claudius of Turin and dared subtly to correct Augustine and Jerome.

The Pauline commentaries subjected to sophisticated and prudent analysis by Johannes Heil have been rescued from obscurity to reveal once again how Carolingian scholars, in an age characterized by extreme self-consciousness, wrestled with defining their own identity as Christians. The Jews provided a »convenient« Other that exegetes used in varying degrees to outline what being a Christian meant in ninth-century Europe.

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François BOUGARD, *La justice dans le royaume d'Italie. De la fin du VIII^e siècle au début du XI^e siècle*, Rom (École française de Rome) 1995, 504 S. (Bibliothèques des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 291).

Eine moderne Geschichte der frühmittelalterlichen italischen, durch langobardisches Erbe und durch fränkische Neueinführungen geprägten Gerichtsbarkeit war schon lange ein Desiderat angesichts der einerseits von älteren rechtsgeschichtlich und andererseits von neueren, vor allem sozialgeschichtlich ausgerichteten Arbeiten bestimmten, eher unbefriedigenden Forschungslage, aber auch wegen der überragenden Bedeutung des Richtens für das Selbstverständnis und für die Stellung mittelalterlicher Herrscher. Die Arbeit Bougards (B.s), deren zeitliche Grenzen durch die Jahre 774 (Eroberung des Langobardenreiches durch Karl d. Gr.) und 1024 (Zerstörung der Paveser Pfalz) annäherungsweise bestimmt sind, während ihre räumlichen Grenzen die des *regnum Italiae* sind, hat einen eindeutigen