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The final chapter is by W. PARAVICINI on experiences of Nikolaus von Popplau, based on his writings, at a number of courts during a tour of Western Europe in 1483–1486. Although only of lower nobility, Popplau was an unusual knight. He was not only expert in the use of the long spear at tournaments, by which he attracted the admiration of Maximilian of Habsburg, but he was well versed in Latin and the Latin Classics, which aroused the wonder of the foreign courts he visited. His mission was essentially a diplomatic one for the informal and reciprocal exchange of information between courts. Popplau described in detail how, although he travelled with letters from and under the aegis of Emperor Frederick III, he sometimes had to make contacts to the kings of Portugal, Aragon and England through household servants. Paravicini describes and discusses problems which Popplau and travellers generally might have encountered; making first contacts, difficulties of language at court and elsewhere, the question of identity and the need to avoid mistrust and misconceptions.

The chapters are linked by a number of common features which include the following. Courtly life with its networks of individuals and groups, of norms and customs forms the continuum. There is emphasis in the earlier chapters on prosopography, the careers of individuals, family connections, marriages, friendships and patronage. Later chapters appear to the reviewer to contain much that is relevant to contemporary living: chiefly the difficulties of assimilation and acceptance into new and different environments which many of our contemporaries still have to endure and overcome.

James P. WARD, Vlaardingen

Alain CORBELLARI, *La Voix des Clercs. Littérature et savoir universitaire autour des dits du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Genève (Droz) 2005, 341 p., ISBN 2-600-00998-1, EUR 51,22.

Vast in numbers, the *clericus* was a ubiquitous and polymorphic element of medieval society. Derived from the Greek *kleros*, meaning chosen by lot, but transmuted to »elected by God«, the term designated a broad group of male clergy who were exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Church, a status that was designated by the tonsure. At the end of the twelfth century Pierre the Chanter designated three kinds of clerics: the *ecclesiastici*, ranging from the minor through the sacred orders and including the prelate, the *scolastici*, masters and their students in the schools and universities, and the *litterati*, those who wrote in Latin professionally. Each *clericus* was presumed to be *litteratus* (literate) in Latin to distinguish himself from the *laicus* (layman) who was not presumed to be literate. In France Latin was the exclusive voice of the cleric until the twelfth century when writing in the vernacular began to appear in the form of saints' lives, chansons de geste, and romances. Although this vernacular literature could have been written either by the laity or clerics, it was clearly destined for lay audiences who presumably could not understand Latin.

A. Corbellari, maître-assistant de littérature médiévale at the University of Lausanne, has selected an emerging genre of literature called the *dits* written by clerics but in French and for audiences that included clerics as well as the laity. His project began with a study of Henri d'Andeli, a Norman cleric who composed three *dits* in the 1220s and 1230s, »La bataille des vins«, »La bataille des sept arts«, and »Le dit du Chancelier Philippe«, which Corbellari edited in 2003 in the series »Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge«. A fourth *dit*, »La lai d'Aristote«, which he originally attributed to Henri d'Andeli, he now assigns to Henri de Valenciennes. This somewhat meager corpus of writings is supplemented with the better known poems of Rutebeuf from the 1250s and 1260s and some miscellaneous *dits* which are edited at the end of his study. Identified in the title as »littérature et savoir universitaire«, the author's ultimate goal is to identify the »voix«, the »prise de conscience« and the »profil« of the cleric in the urban space of Paris of the thirteenth century. Although his objectives lack

precision, he approaches his subject as a post-modernist *littérateur* who wishes to destabilize his texts. They do not fit easily into Jean Bodel's classic scheme of the »matières de France, de Bretagne, et de Rome«, and the audiences are not readily identified. Corbellieri's principal achievement is to contextualize his clerical voices within Latin and vernacular literature. From his corpus he identifies seven images of the thirteenth-century cleric.

The first is the cleric as a flawed or misfortunate intellectual within the Latin tradition of Thales, Hippocrates and Abélard. In vernacular literature the cleric Aristotle was often equated with the magician Merlin whose hybris led to madness. In the »Lai d'Aristote«, for example, Aristotle is the pedant who foolishly chides Alexander for loss of prowess through his love for Phyllis (like Chrétien's Erec) only to be further humiliated. The instrument of Aristotle's downfall is, of course, Phyllis, a woman, and the figure that constitutes Corbellieri's second image, as she seduces the philosopher by singing lyrical verse as in Jean Renart's »Roman de la rose«. This misogynist tradition is linked to the fabliaux and is complemented by »Le mariage Rutebeuf« in which the author complains about his aged and ugly wife. As an obstacle to professional promotion, women and marriage, of course, presented formidable perils to the ecclesiastical cleric vowed to celibacy. Another impediment to clerical life is wine presented in *La bataille des vins*. Within the tradition of the Goliardic orgy, Henri d'Andeli nonetheless treats the theme with ambivalence as he oscillates between the biblical examples of Noah's drunkenness and the marriage feast of Cana, but he terminates on a positive note since it was King Philip Augustus who commanded the contest in order to find the best wine (*le vin clair et blanc*). Paris »the largest city in the West« (that is, north of the Alps) sets the stage for clerical life. Here clerics were most numerous and logic reigned supreme in »La bataille des sept arts«. In »La bataille d'anfer et de paradis« (a miscellaneous *dit*) Paris is naturally Paradise and Arras enjoys the dubious distinction of Hell. The schools for which Paris was preeminent were allegorized in »La bataille de sept arts«, the only *dit* of Henri d'Andeli that confronts the *clericus scolasticus* directly. Here the seven liberal arts represented by Orléans and Grammar and championed by Donatus are overwhelmed by the superior forces of Logic championed by »the good clerics Plato and Artistotle« issuing from Paris, a victory that the poet Henri regrets. »The best cleric that ever was« is Philippe the Chancellor whose death in 1236 Henri laments in the *dit* of the same name. As chancellor of the chapter Notre-Dame he presided over the university and distinguished himself as a poet in both Latin and French in the tradition of Helinand de Froidmont. The »last of the clerics« in Corbellieri's sixth image, he was nonetheless later replaced by Guillaume de Saint-Amour celebrated by Rutebeuf. Finally comes Rutebeuf's »Miracle de Théophile« that depicts a cleric's temptation, fall and final redemption through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. For Corbellieri Théophile is paradigmatic of the Faustian myth of knowledge. In sum, these seven images of Henri reinforced by Rutebeuf evoke a conservative reaction against the inexorable advance of scholasticism at Paris throughout the thirteenth century.

This rapid survey cannot do justice to the subtlety and richness of A. Corbellieri's literary context. Not only do his *dits* interact with contemporary Latin and French texts, but also, since literature is a transhistorical phenomenon, they speak to modern writers such as Goethe and to Baudelaire in the case of wine. These voices offer historians echoes of the social context as well, as they recite the conceptual world of the cleric in the thirteenth century, but it should be noted that they present, however, a partial and perhaps even distorted articulation of the clerics' historical world. Corbellieri has paid scant attention to the vast corpus of scholastic writing in which these clerics expressed themselves, nor has he even exhausted his vernacular voices themselves, especially those of Rutebeuf. The »dits des petits métiers«, for example, which he edits are accorded scant consideration in his discussion of Paris. Théophile may embody the Faustian myth, but his miracle also exemplifies the contemporary triumph of the written charter. The devil demands homage from

Théophile to be inscribed on parchment. When the Virgin retrieves that charter and returns it to Théophile, his redemption is complete. Not long after Philip Augustus had demanded that feudal homage be committed to writing, this miracle placed the written charter at the center of the drama. To produce these charters was one of the major tasks of the *clericus literatus*.

John W. BALDWIN, Baltimore/Paris

Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale 1250–1650, sous la dir. de Mathieu ARNOUX et Pierre MONNET, Rom (École française de Rome) 2004, 410 S., 16 Abb., ISBN 2-7283-0669-9, EUR 45,00.

Bei diesem Band handelt es sich um ein im besten Sinne europäisches Unternehmen. Als Ergebnis eines Kolloquiums am Göttinger Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte im Jahr 2000 widmen sich Beiträge in vier Sprachen (Französisch, Italienisch, Deutsch, Englisch) der Rolle technischer Experten in der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Stadt. Das Ergebnis ist nicht nur aus Sicht der Technikgeschichte erfreulich, für die der Band eine überfällige Ergänzung bisheriger Forschungen zu den »Ingenieuren der Renaissance« darstellt. Wie es Dietrich LOHRMANN einleitend zu seinem Beitrag skizziert, hat sich die Forschung hier allzu lange allein auf die beeindruckenden Notizbücher und Traktate der Vertreter dieser Gattung um Leonardo da Vinci gestützt. Ihre Analyse ergibt jedoch kein Gesamtbild, solange nicht die konkrete Tätigkeit solcher technischer Experten genauer in Augenschein genommen wird. Während Architekten oder Bergbauspezialisten als Vertreter der »technischen Intelligenz« (G. BAYERL) des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit bereits recht gut erforscht sind, nimmt der vorl. Band die Stadt als frühes Zentrum technischer Expertise in den Blick. Er ist dabei weit weniger von technikhistorischen Arbeiten inspiriert als von sozialgeschichtlich orientierten, vornehmlich französischen und italienischen Studien zur urbanen Baupraxis und Verwaltung städtischer Infrastrukturen.

Wie bei solchen, erst im Entstehen begriffenen Forschungsfeldern üblich, erhebt der Band nicht den enzyklopädischen Anspruch, den sein Titel vermuten lassen mag. Die Beiträge sind nicht entlang kohärenter Leitlinien strukturiert, eine einheitliche methodische Herangehensweise wird noch nicht formuliert, vielfach geht es erst einmal um die Sichtung bisher zu wenig beachteten, neuen Quellenmaterials. Auch die Einleitung der Herausgeber beschränkt sich darauf, die Relevanz des Themenfeldes überzeugend zu begründen, die inhaltliche Zusammenschau wird dem Leser bzw. zukünftigen Forschungen überlassen. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist auch zu erklären, daß der Band keinen einzigen Beitrag zur Erneuerung städtischer Befestigungsanlagen in der Frühen Neuzeit enthält, obwohl es sich dabei um eine zentrale technische und logistische Herausforderung für die europäischen Städte in dem untersuchten Zeitraum handelt. Im Mittelpunkt stehen Beiträge zur Genese des technischen Experten abseits der klassischen Figur des Architekten sowie zur sozialhistorischen Einordnung dieser Gruppe. Weitere Schwerpunkte sind die Migration spezialisierter Handwerker und die Frühgeschichte des Patentwesens.

Élisabeth CROUZET-PAVAN problematisiert in ihrem grundlegenden Beitrag die Figur des hochmittelalterlichen *technicien fantôme* als Experte in städtischen Diensten, der häufig nur beiläufige Spuren in den Archiven hinterlassen hat. Erst im 15. Jh. gewinnen demnach solche Spezialisten in der Überlieferung präzisere Konturen. Dies ist, nebenbei bemerkt, wohl auch der Grund dafür, daß der zeitliche Schwerpunkt der Beiträge des Bandes auf der Übergangszeit vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit liegt. Eine willkommene Ausnahme stellt der Beitrag von Natalie FRYDE zu ingenieurtechnischen Experten in London im Dienst von Krone und Stadt im 13. Jh. dar. Entsprechenden Nachfolgern widmen sich Roberta MORELLI und Patrice BECK. Morelli rekonstruiert Aufgabengebiet und Entlohnung techni-