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Annahme einer Zusammenstellung erst im 11. Jh. – in der Kirchenreform, der es nicht zuletzt auch um eine Sicherung der Güter ging. Die Anlage des Polyptychons war zugleich ein Schritt zur Trennung von bischöflichem und klösterlichem Gut. (Ob das Zinsbuch auch Ausdruck eines neuen sozialwirtschaftlichen *consensus* innerhalb der *familia* war – so D. LXIX – sei dahingestellt.)

Die anschließende Edition ordnet – und darin liegt ihr Wert – den Text nach den zuvor erarbeiteten, chronologischen Ergebnissen und versieht ihn mit entsprechenden Überschriften und Erläuterungen. Eine Konkordanz gibt die (nicht quellengemäße) Kapiteleinteilung Guérards an und wahrt so die Vergleichbarkeit; der Verzicht auf diese Kapiteleinteilung beeinträchtigt allerdings die Übersichtlichkeit, zumal Kolummentitel oder zumindest Seitenangaben im Inhaltsverzeichnis fehlen. Der kritische Apparat verzichtet auf die umfassenden Erläuterungen, wie sie Guérards Edition des Polyptychons von Saint-Germain oder Ganshofs Ausgabe des Polyptychons von Saint-Bertin eigen sind, und beschränkt sich in aller Regel auf Leseschwierigkeiten, zweifelhafte Auflösung der Abkürzungen – diese sind nur kenntlich gemacht, wo ihr Sinn mehrdeutig ist und durchaus nicht immer richtig aufgelöst (vgl. Desportes/Dolbeau S. 582f. mit Einwänden auch gegen D.s Interpunktion) –, wichtige Zusätze des Kopisten und die Berichtigung grammatikalischer Fehler (D.s Korrekturen hinsichtlich der Personennamen überzeugen durchaus nicht immer); Ortsnamen werden im Apparat aufgelöst; Abweichungen von Guérard sind leider nicht vermerkt. Erschlossen wird die Edition, die hoffentlich zu weiteren Studien anregt, durch ein Register der Ortsnamen in lateinischer und moderner Bezeichnung, der wichtigen Personennamen, aus dem allerdings die Namen der Bauern, die den Rahmen wohl gesprengt hätten, ausgeklammert bleiben, und ein wertvolles Sachregister der technischen Begriffe mit Erläuterungen. Insgesamt ist die Benutzbarkeit des Polyptychons durch die neue Edition erleichtert, doch ist der Text nun stets mit den bei Desportes/Dolbeau S. 586ff. angegebenen, abweichenden Lesarten der neu aufgefundenen Handschriften zu vergleichen. Die bisherigen Forschungen über die Grundherrschaft von St-Remi sind anhand der neuen Ergebnisse nicht unwesentlich zu korrigieren.

Hans-Werner GOETZ, Bochum

Heinrich FICHTENAU, Lebensordnungen des 10. Jahrhunderts, Studien über Denkart und Existenz im einstigen Karolingerreich, Stuttgart (Hiersemann) 1984, 2 vol., 614 p. (Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 30, I/II).

The title of these volumes is too modest and also perhaps a little misleading. Professor Fichtenau offers a magnificent survey of all the main spheres of life: the social order, the rural economy, schooling and religious belief and practice in both the secular and monastic church. His command, especially of the narrative sources, their fine nuances of attitude emotion and underlying norms, is masterly and he employs them here with all the sensitiveness and feel for the subject that have always been the hallmarks of his work.

The time has come, writes Professor Fichtenau, as we approach the second millennium, when historians should look at how European man feared at the end of the first and to underscore not only changes but also constants. And he is right in that our own sense of identity will almost instinctively concur with such a plan. Now quite a few scholars used to see the tenth century as a dark age in the wake of Caesar Baronius's much-quoted phrase or they have at least made this the starting point of their discussion, as did fairly recently, for instance Harald Zimmermann. Professor Fichtenau waves aside this *chiaroscuro* and turns to another set of generalisations with more than a nod of assent. The tenth century has also been seen by scholars, notably Carlrichard Brühl, as the last phase of Frankish-Carolingian history or even as the left-overs of the bankrupt Carolingian empire and the struggles for fragments of its

inheritance. This furnishes the reason why Professor Fichtenau confines his survey to those countries which had once been part of the Carolingian *Reich*. The omission of tenth-century Wessex is in many ways regrettable and unfortunate. It is true that the author occasionally mentions an English example but to regard Wessex and its *imperium* as lying outside the ambit of Carolingian Europe seems mistaken, especially for the tenth century. Nowhere was the practice of legislation cultivated so vigorously and self-consciously as in Athelstan's, Edmund's and Edgar's England and if Charles the Bald's elaborate capitularies had any parallels and echoes they can be heard here. On such topics as the struggle for internal order, trials, ordeals and, not least of all, kingship, the Anglo-Saxon evidence would have greatly enriched Professor Fichtenau's explorations. The *Vitae* of St. Dunstan, St. Aethelwold and St. Oswald are at least worth comparing with those of Brun and St. Ulrich.

Beyond this there is the haunting question whether the tenth century as such constitutes a meaningful whole that the historian can and should endow with a personality. Professor Fichtenau has, in fact, answered this question with a decided 'no' not only because, as we already noted, he sees it so closely tied to the Carolingian age. His studies are also concerned quite as much with the first half of eleventh century as with the tenth. Again and again he illuminates themes with citations from Ademar of Chabannes, Rodulf Glaber, Helgaud and Otloh even. In the end the author sees the mid-eleventh century as a decisive break when new forces took over after a long period of stagnation and the conservation of traditional modes of thought.

Yet the tenth century has a dynamic of its own even if it does not form a convenient entity for the historian of its culture and society and there is some risk in an existential, descriptive and contemplative approach to it. The defeat of the Magyar razzias, of Saracen assaults on the Alpine passes, the long pause in Viking raids, ushered in a turn-about from the defensive to the offensive, a new phase of economic growth as well as a new awareness which expressed itself above all in Ottonian historiography: Liudprand of Cremona, Widukind of Corvey, Ruotger, the Quedlinburg Annalist and finally the ever-reflective Thietmar. They gave to the horizons of their time an aura not weighed down by Carolingian precedent and traditions. The world of these men was fresh and new and they wrote after a long blight of silence. Almost sixty years lie between the work of Regino of Prüm and his continuator, Adalbert of St. Maximin. Only in Reims was the Carolingian continuity Fichtenau postulates wholly real and commanding.

His work, for all its careful and exemplary presentation of the sources, is meant perhaps not only for the small band of professional historians and their students. It could and should appeal also to a wider, cultured, readership and quite often he enlists them with his 'now and then' comparisons. He seeks to convey, for instance, to the moderns, the vivid language of signs, ritual and gesture used to convey ideas and abstractions. Altogether he proceeds by themes rather than by regions: rank, family, kingship, nobility, the secular church, monasticism, rural society and lastly disorder, violence, wars and the efforts made to contain them, these are his main headings. There are advantages and disadvantages in this method. It is just here that the disintegration of Carolingian overall authority allowed regional differences to impose themselves with a decisive finality. It is not that Fichtenau ignores this but it makes the task of explaining development and change harder. He shows very clearly how royal overlordship in the tenth century reached only a handful of bishops and nobles though a glance at England might have led to different conclusions. He also gives his readers a very pertinent and by no means static account of rural conditions and the important place of the forest, next to arable, in the agrarian economy of his period. On these topics as on others he can refer to his own earlier work. We are presented also with a generous and finely conceived survey of the eremitical and monastic life, reformed and unreformed. Inwardness, he observes, was not yet its strength in the tenth century and he stresses the importance of the monk-priest to shoulder the load of intercession both for inmates and patrons. Describing how the bells were rung when one of the brethren was dying at Gorze and at Cluny summoning all to the

deathbed, he writes memorably: »Reformed monks did not live comfortably, but they died like kings« (p. 367).

Comment on detail in so rich a design must necessarily be very selective. There is some danger that what is said about e. g. the uses to which church treasures might be put (p. 108f.), is not in the least peculiar for the tenth century but Professor Fichtenau has warned his readers about this in his introduction. When he comes to discuss nobility he wants to explore »popular« notions of it in their wealth of meaning and fluidity (p. 186). This is a very compelling question but if by »popular« we mean also what the humble thought about nobles and nobility, are we likely to find an answer in the pages of Odo of Cluny, Rather or the wholly aristocratic Thietmar, all of whom he cites at this point? When he maintains (p. 453) that the renders from their estates were not the main concern of great ecclesiastical landlords he may have ignored their care in administering them, e. g. in Lotharingia, and the persistence of *censiers* there. In passing it might be contended that Rodulf Glaber was no outsider (p. 508) and the Capetian house in 987 was not a new dynasty even in the kingship (p. 521) and Hugh Capet no upstart (p. 61). Feuds and enmities that proved too much for a noble could well force him into exile (p. 510). The situation in Ruodlieb was not uncommon. In the sources of the tenth century, notably Widukind of Corvey, there is a clear distinction between *bellum publicum* against a *hostis communis* and the endless feuds between families (p. 545). Not for nothing did men on the eve of great battles swear to help and support one another. The mutual treacheries of the Italiens at the Brenta in 899 served as a warning. When Fichtenau refers to one of the most notorious feuds of the early eleventh century, that between Balderich and Count Wichmann, as he does more than once, he barely mentions the driving force behind it, Adela of Elten. On p. 560 for »Conradines« read »Salians«. When Margrave Ekkehard of Meissen's men were caught and punished for theft without his knowledge and outside his lordship this happened in the days of Archbishop Giselher, well before Thietmar became a bishop, so that the »nostri« in his story were the men of Magdeburg (p. 563, n. 82). The MS portraits of Otto II and Theophanu which Archbishop Adalbert of Magdeburg showed to the congregation during his sermon, in this instance would not have made the imperial couple seem to be present. We read in Thietmar quite clearly that Otto and Theophanu were actually there (p. 51f.).

These are no great matters. If some of the dynamic of tenth-century developments which moulded attitudes and institutions, like the permanent war between Saxons and Slavs on the eastern frontier, the rise of new regimes which could only be sustained and were therefore tied to the quest for mobile wealth and land, have not quite come into their own, Professor Fichtenau's book is all the same one of the most rewarding *vues d'ensemble* that have been attempted. It is written throughout with dignity and calm and no scholar, student or layman, interested in the early middle ages, can ignore it.

Karl LEYSER, Oxford

Hans-Henning KORTÜM, Richer von Saint-Remi. Studien zu einem Geschichtsschreiber des 10. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner Verlag) 1985, 134 p. (Historische Forschungen, 8).

Le propos de H.-H. Kortüm est de réhabiliter l'œuvre de Richer pour l'histoire du X^e siècle. Non que Richer puisse être considéré comme un historien des faits: sur ce plan il est toujours en retrait par rapport à Flodoard qu'il malmène pour la période antérieure à 966 (fin des *Annales* de Flodoard), et ce qu'il rapporte de la période suivante (966–991) ne peut être accepté que confirmé par d'autres sources. Mais Richer doit être utilisé pour la »Geistesgeschichte«, l'»Ideengeschichte« et l'histoire des mentalités.

Pour cela, il faut sans doute, comme dans toute monographie, étudier le contexte politique