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Maur, Anselme de Laon – R. Pletl présente les sources qui constituent l'assise de la réflexion (cf. p. 47–59), déclinant en particulier le *Liber de Expositione ueteris ac noui testamenti de diuersis libris S. Gregorii Magni concinnatus* (Paterius, VII^e s.), le *Gregorianum* de Garnierius (XII^e s.), le *De Rerum Natura* de Raban Maur (vers 844), la *Glossa Ordinaria* (vers 1080–1130), le *Liber Exceptionum* (vers 1171) de Richard de Saint-Victor, l'*Historia Scholastica* de Pierre Comestor (vers 1169–1173), la *Summa quae dicitur Abel* de Pierre le Chantre (vers 1197), les *Distinctiones dictionum theologiarum siue Summa »Quot modis«* d'Alain de Lille (vers 1179–1195), l'*Aurora* de Pierre Riga, la *Catena Aurea* de Thomas d'Aquin (1263–1268) et la *Clavis Scripturarum Sacrarum* du Pseudo-Mélito.

La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage offre l'étude lexicographique du concept de *regnum* terrestre dans l'exégèse médiévale. Dans ce long développement (p. 61–231) qui constitue le corps de la présentation, cinq sous-parties permettent d'aborder successivement, pour la première, »les conditions du royaume terrestre« (les concepts de *regnum*, *saeculum*, les connexions *terrenus* et *mundus*, *temporalis* et *saeculum*; puis les théories médiévales des âges du monde – partie qui comprend l'évocation du passage de cinq à dix âges du monde, la théorie des quatre monarchies, celle des trois âges, l'allégorie de l'Antéchrist –, pour la deuxième, les »habitants du *regnum*« (en distinguant l'être humain, la société politique, les chrétiens, les apôtres, martyrs, moines et saints, les païens, les juifs, les hérétiques), pour la troisième, le thème »Légitimation de la souveraineté et pouvoir« (Adam qui marque l'origine de la souveraineté des hommes; Nemrod et Moïse qui marquent le début de la souveraineté, le concept de la *potestas* enfin), pour la quatrième, les modalités d'exercice de la souveraineté (concepts de *negotium* et d'*administratio*, conduite de la guerre, maintien de la paix, droit et loi, moyens de maintenir la paix et le droit); pour la cinquième enfin, les formes de la souveraineté et de ses représentants dans le royaume terrestre (après avoir distingué ce qui relève de la *potestas* de ce qui revient à l'*auctoritas*, l'auteur aborde les concepts *princeps* et *principatus*, *rex* et *regnum*, *imperium* et *tyrannus* puis les entrées concernant les détenteurs d'un pouvoir spirituel (Église, clergé, mais aussi pouvoirs démoniaques) et les liens existant entre souveraineté spirituelle et *potestas*).

Si le verset liminaire de la troisième partie – qui est en fait la conclusion – suffisait, dans sa fulgurance, à embrasser l'ensemble des vocables – *non est enim potestas nisi a Deo* (Rom 13,1) –, il faut féliciter l'auteur d'avoir, dans un ouvrage aux dimensions relativement modestes, réussi le tour de force de fournir matière à réflexion à tous ceux, historiens, philosophes et littéraires, qui sont amenés au cours de leurs recherches à recourir aux textes exégétiques tardo-antiques et médiévaux. Le CD-Rom des *Indices* offre de plus une riche banque de citations et références pour un confort de consultation qu'on souhaiterait retrouver dans bien des ouvrages. Cet ouvrage atteste donc, si besoin était, de l'intérêt d'une approche lexicographique dans l'étude de la *potestas* médiévale.

Christiane VEYRARD-COSME, Paris

Stephan WALDHOFF, Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Großen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der *libelli precum*, Münster (Aschendorf) 2003, IX–485 p. (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 89).

The Northumbrian Alcuin of York is, probably, the most famous of Charlemagne's courtiers. In 782¹ he joined Charlemagne's itinerant court and, apart from two visits to England (in 786 and 790–793), he left it only in 796 to become the abbot of St Martin in Tours, where he died in 804. His title at court was that of a *magister*, and it seems that he invested

1 The year 786 was suggested by Donald Bullough, see D. A. BULLOUGH, Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation, Leiden, Boston 2004, p. 336ff.

major efforts and a great deal of time in teaching and educating the young at court, and what a passionate teacher he was. If we are to believe Notker the Stammerer, »of all his pupils there was not one who did not distinguish himself by becoming a devoted abbot or a famous bishop«, and even Charlemagne »went so far as to have himself called Alcuin's pupil, and to call Alcuin his master«². But Alcuin was more to Charlemagne than a mere teacher. The two became very close friends, and the influence Alcuin exercised on Charlemagne's decisions and policy in various matters, religious as well as secular, is well attested. Alcuin was also a most prolific author. His rich literary harvest, including didactic treatises, theological tracts, hagiographical compositions, liturgical works, poems and a huge collection of letters, was mostly produced during the period he spent in Francia, either at court or in Tours. Indeed his achievement is remarkable, and no wonder that he is often seen as an outstanding scholar and a leading light of the so-called »Carolingian Renaissance«.

No extant liturgical work is known to have been composed by Alcuin before his arrival at the Frankish court. Yet, his interest in liturgical and musical matters was already apparent in his years at York. His anonymous biography bristles with liturgical allusions and these are not a mere reflection of the personal interests of either the anonymous biographer or his sources, but of Alcuin's own liturgical enthusiasm. Alcuin's liturgical interest must have continued in those years he spent on the Continent. Not only did his prominent role in drafting royal official documents put him in the vanguard of the liturgical reforms promulgated by Charlemagne, he also proved himself to be a liturgical expert and innovator, whose influence on later generations was immense. As pointed out by Donald Bullough, »for the rest of the Middle Ages and even beyond, Western Christians who were unfamiliar with his name and life prayed to God or thought about God in language that, however firmly rooted in a scriptural and patristic tradition, has been given a wider currency and accessibility through Alcuin and his work«³. This was achieved mainly by producing numerous liturgical compositions, such as a Homiliary and a Lectionary, a series of votive masses, as well as a *florilegium* of verse and liturgical citations, commonly known to modern scholars by the name *De laude Dei*. To this list, Stephan Waldhoff would like us to add a prayer book that Alcuin composed for his master, Charlemagne. It is on this composition that the book under review here concentrates.

Waldhoff takes his cue from the anonymous *Vita Alcuini*, where it is said that Alcuin had composed for Charlemagne a certain *libellus ... de ratione orationis* (*Vita Alcuini*, c. 15). This *libellus*, according to Waldhoff, is preserved in two manuscripts (namely Oxford, Bodleian Library, d'Orville 45 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2731A), with some fragments in a third manuscript (Escorial, Real Biblioteca, L.III.8). On the basis of these manuscripts (mainly those in Oxford and Paris) Waldhoff reconstructs the prayer book that Alcuin had supposedly composed for Charlemagne. If the prefatory letter (Alcuin's Ep. 304 in Dümmler's edition) was indeed addressed by Alcuin to Charlemagne, and if the penitential prayers that follow this letter were indeed composed for Charlemagne, then Waldhoff may well be right in identifying the prayer book that was composed by Alcuin for Charlemagne. But, I have some doubts. First, I am not so sure that by *libellus de ratione orationis* the author of the *Vita Alcuini* actually meant a prayer book. Moreover, the

2 Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni imperatoris*, ed. H. F. HAEFELE, MGH SRG n.s. 12, Berlin 1959, I.9 and I.3 respectively. I cite the English translation of L. THORPE, *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, Harmondsworth 1969, p. 101 and 95 respectively.

3 D. A. BULLOUGH, *Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age*, in: *Carolingian Essays*, ed. U.-R. BLUMENTHAL, Washington DC 1983, p. 1–69, at p. 69 [reprinted in D. A. BULLOUGH, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage*, Manchester 1991, p. 161–240, at p. 207].

letter *Beatus igitur David*, which opens Waldhoff's reconstructed prayer book, was often copied in the ninth century as a prefatory piece to various books of prayers. Hence, it is not at all clear whether this particular letter was originally composed for what Waldhoff identifies as Alcuin's prayer book for Charlemagne. Finally, such a book is not mentioned in any of our sources. Bearing in mind that we are well informed of the various books that were composed and copied for the Frankish king, the silence of our sources is very conspicuous. It is hard to imagine either Einhard, who had tried very hard to convince us that Charlemagne was a very pious man, or Notker failing to mention it. It has been taken for granted that Charlemagne was indeed an extremely pious and religious man, which, to some extent, he probably was. Nevertheless, it seems that in this matter we too readily accept Einhard's report at face value, and therefore tend to overestimate Charlemagne's piety. As for myself, and this is a pure impressionistic view, I cannot see Charlemagne using such a prayer book on a daily basis, and I think that Alcuin, who knew him best, would have agreed with me. Therefore, if indeed Alcuin composed a prayer book for Charlemagne, it must have been the book Waldhoff calls »Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Großen«. But, I doubt whether such a book was ever written.

These reservations aside, Waldhoff has written a learned and though provoking book. His first chapter on private prayer books in the early Middle Ages is the best discussion of the topic I have ever read. His study of the manuscript evidence, as well as his analysis of the various sections of the prayer book which he reconstructs, are thorough and informative. The last section of the book, in which Waldhoff discusses the importance, influence and uses of »Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Großen« is particularly interesting and illuminating. And finally, the edition of the prayer book itself is meticulous. No doubt this book will become a compulsory reading for anyone interested in Carolingian liturgy, and Waldhoff should be congratulated for producing such a splendid study.

Yitzhak HEN, Beer-Sheva

Olivier BRUAND, *Voyageurs et marchandises aux temps carolingiens. Les réseaux de communication entre Loire et Meuse aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles*, Bruxelles (De Boeck & Larcier) 2002, 357 S., zahlreiche Karten und Tab. (Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 20).

Olivier Bruand legt mit dem Buch die Druckfassung seiner *thèse* vor, die er 1992 verteidigt hat. Ihm geht es in dieser Arbeit um einen pragmatischen Zugang zu Fragen von Wirtschaft, Handel, Mobilität und Verkehr. Gegliedert ist die Arbeit in drei große Abschnitte, zunächst zu Fragen von Forschung und Dokumentation (S. 13–112), zweitens zu Reisenden und Produkten (S. 113–236) und schließlich zu den Räumen und Netzwerken (S. 237–290).

In einem einleitenden Forschungsbericht geht der Verfasser davon aus, daß die Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Karolingerzeit in der Regel als ein Zwischenhoch vor dem großen Aufschwung des 12./13. Jhs. angesehen worden ist. Über den Charakter und die Bedeutung dieser Epoche haben insbesondere Alfons Dopsch und Henri Pirenne gestritten, wobei Pirenne weitgehend von stadt- und handelsgeschichtlichen Fragen ausging. Henri Pirenne setzte sich mit seinen Thesen vielfach durch, wohl vor allen Dingen, weil er von einem geschlossenen Domaniensystem in karolingischer Zeit ausging (S. 17). Die These von Dopsch sei laut Bruand stärker von einer dynamischen Vision geprägt gewesen. Die neuen Ergebnisse der Wirtschaftshistoriker sprechen zwar inzwischen eher gegen die Thesen von Pirenne, aber im Bezug auf die landwirtschaftliche Entwicklung blieb die Forschung lange Zeit noch auf die Idee einer autarken bipartiten Domäne hin orientiert.

Vor diesem Hintergrund formuliert Bruand seine Fragen, die von neuen Regionalstudien, Untersuchungen zur Grundherrschaft, Ergebnissen der Archäologie und Numismatik