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selnde Darstellung sozialen Lebens sichert seinem Buch ein breites Interesse, mit Höhepunkten zu »Dominikus und Franziskus« und den Katharern (gute Kartenskizze S. 99 zu den Albigensern und den Reisen der Katharerführer); Kreuzzügen mit ihren »nationalen Animositäten«; Rolle Venedigs und Deutscher Orden; Rolle der Herrscher, mit Betonung von Frankreich, Paris und König Philipp II. August als Nachahmer von Charlemagne. Frankreich–England–»Anjou« wird richtig als historische Einheit verstanden, der Aufstieg der Universitäten in dieser Welt gut herausgearbeitet. So gelingt es dem Autor in klarer Sprache, dem Leser seine Freude an der Vielfalt historischer Erscheinungsformen zu vermitteln.

Karl Ferdinand WERNER, Rottach-Egern

Thomas FRENZ (ed.), Papst Innozenz III. Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas. Interdisziplinäre Ringvorlesung an der Universität Passau 5.11.1997–26.5.1998, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner) 2000, 212 p., 20 ill.

The importance of pope Innocent III (1198–1216) can hardly be overestimated. The evolution of the Roman Church in the Middle Ages and the centralisation of ecclesiastical politics around the pope and the Curia may not have been initiated by him, but the period of his papacy proved decisive for the direction the Church would keep during the following centuries. His influence, however, did not limit itself to ecclesiastical affairs. He interfered in almost all western countries, with long-lasting consequences for German and English politics. Only the French kingdom seems to have escaped the encumbering papal domination to a large extent.

Yet, in spite of his overwhelming presence in the historical events around 1200, Innocent cannot correctly be defined as an innovator. His importance seems to be more that of a catalyst, of a *pointsman*, as he is justly defined by Thomas FRENZ in his introduction to the collected lectures on Innocent that were held at the University of Passau, Germany, during the year 1997–1998. The twelve papers concerned are now available to the public.

The entries offer a rich and varied spectrum from which the personality of the great pope can be studied. The collection contains papers on iconographic aspects, institutional history, literary approaches, codicology, conciliar and university history, diplomacy, history of religious mentality and dogmatic ecclesiology. Two articles make a strange impression in this company. The penultimate entry by Stefano TRINCHESE treats the Roman question and the difficult situation of papal autonomy within the unified Italian state since the Risorgimento. The collection closes with a paper by Winfried BECKER on the idea of the Middle Ages in three romantic German writers: Novalis, Adam Heinrich Müller and Friedrich Schlegel. As both papers are in no way connected to the principal theme of the book – not a single reference is made to Innocent, neither is their insertion anywhere justified – they stand out rather singularly and seem to be a little bit lost in this collection. Though they may be of interest in their respective disciplines, we do not feel competent to comment on their contents in this place.

The appearance of two articles without connection to the central figure embodies the weakest point of the book. It seems to have lacked a real editorial reviewing. Especially the second, iconographic, entry shows some annoying shortcomings which could easily have been prevented. References are made to pictures that were not included (p. 37) or that are wrongly cut off so that the part referred to is not visible (p. 27). Once a numbered picture is referred to (p. 27), while the images are not numbered at all. At the end of the lines the words are too often wrongly split, which becomes rather irritating. A last revision would have eliminated these disturbing imperfections.

Many of the papers remained in their original state as lectures, which were held orally. In most cases this need not be a criticism. They are good to read, their language being clear and easily understandable. More of a disadvantage, of course, is the lack of accurate references.

Four articles do not contain notes but limit themselves to a bibliographical survey at the end. This makes it rather difficult for those who want to gain more specialised knowledge on the subjects. The other papers offer good, correct and up-to-date scientific background to the different items.

As has been said, the editor Thomas FRENZ wrote the »Introduction« to the collected papers (p. 7–19). The historical importance of Innocent is briefly sketched, the choice for the image of a *pointsman* justified and declared (p. 10–13). Possible starting points for the research on Innocent are being proposed. The one concentrating on the problems Innocent faced during his pontificate has been elaborated a little bit more extensively (p. 13–19). Though these elements make the text a good historical introduction, an argumentation for the choice of these articles and some introducing remarks to the different contributions are missing. For that reason the appearance of the last two papers remains an enigma to the reader. He will also be puzzled and perhaps even a little bit annoyed by some of the allusions the author apparently likes to make to contemporary and even local situations. Comparing Innocent to the British Prime Minister or the Crusader states in the East to the space station MIR, emphasising the stumbling first steps in the world of Internet by the author himself can be amusing to a listening audience, but it makes the reader feel uncomfortable. Moreover, it draws the attention away from the interesting and serious points the author puts forward.

The second paper by Stefan SCHMITT, »Die bildlichen Darstellungen Papst Innozenz' III.« (p. 21–50), offers an interesting survey of the oldest pictorial representations of Innocent. The starting point is the lost mosaic of the apses in Old St. Peter's (p. 22–27), from which the author goes on to different kinds of images (Subiaco, Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Saxia, manuscript illumination and catalogues) to end his description of the medieval Innocent-reception with an impressive analysis of the Franciscan and Dominican iconography (p. 36–45). The importance of the papal image for the propaganda of the mendicant orders, in which the Dominicans rely heavily on the Franciscan imagery, is clearly explained. It really is most deplorable that the quality of the pictures leaves much to be desired. This spoils the interesting argument to a great extent. Besides, some other shortcomings have a disturbing effect too, many of which have already been mentioned. It seems peculiar to read that a description of the twelfth century pope can be found in the eighth century (!) Commentary of John by Bede Venerabilis (p. 22). Only in the note it is slightly indicated that the description belongs to an inserted gloss.

The paper ends with a comparison between the iconographic politics of Leo XIII and those of Innocent. One could question the expediency for this appendix. It does not bring much new to the fore and it seems to have suffered even worse under an editorial lack of consistency. The part must have been written in haste because it gives a rather chaotic impression, not at all comparable with the good quality of the part on Innocent.

In the third contribution, »Innozenz III. und der deutsche Thronstreit« by Egon BOSHOFF (p. 51–67), the approach is based on the history of institutions, with a strong concentration on the juridical impact of Innocent's interference in the German imperial rivalries after the death of Henry VI. The paper has been written in a dense, thoroughly scientific way but without losing its readability or fascinating character. The argument is well founded, a good and exhaustive bibliography is offered (p. 65–67). No references are made in the text, which may be regretted. Innocent's influence on the development of German royal elections is clearly exposed. For this reason, one could really speak of his role as a *pointsman* by the way he approved and appropriated archbishop Adolf of Cologne's justification for his election of a rival candidate to the German crown. The election should not be justified by the majority of all German princes but by the majority of those sovereigns to whom it was entitled by rights. The first step was made towards the Electorate (p. 61).

In his paper, »Papst Innozenz III. und Walther von der Vogelweide« (p. 69–89), Theodor NOLTE approaches the pope from the viewpoint of the German poet. The argument con-

centrates on the so-called »Sangspruchdichtung«, which is given a new political content by Walther. Fragments of several poems are studied and interpreted more closely in connection with the struggle for the German crown. Though it is always very dangerous to read a poet's convictions into the poems he wrote, the author knows to avoid this trap by sticking close to the text. The growing bitterness of the tone in the poems shows the increasing wrath of the poet over the pope's changing politics towards the different pretenders to the crown. Apparently, he finds himself on the opposed side every time. Without venturing too far in psychological explanations, the author manages to evoke a lively image of the inner struggle of the poet and his political aims and choices. Only once, the interpretation of a verse could seem to be a little bit too much coloured by modern psychology. When Walther in his »Unmutston« says »daz uns der bâbest, unser vater, alsus hât verirret« (p. 85), could this not be a bitter allusion to the »Pater noster«, rather than being the expression of the loss of a father-image? On the whole, however, the paper leaves an impressive image of the poet Walther who appears to be as much a *pointsman* as the pope.

Of a completely different kind is the next article by Othmar HAGENEDER, »Die Register Innozenz III.« (p. 91–101). The author, editor of Innocent's Registers, approaches them in a formal codicological and diplomatic way. The analysis may be a little bit dry to read, it does offer an exemplary way to investigate these kind of sources. Attention is paid to content and function of the Registers, their (organic) growth and the corrections made. Unfortunately, the author does not go much further than such an analytic description of the Registers. One would like to see more concrete results and applications of this sort of analytical research. The central theme of Innocent's role as a *pointsman*, for example, is only alluded to in the last paragraph, where the initial codification of parts of canon law is referred to. Yet, the work of the author shows that the scientific foundations for such continued investigation are solidly laid.

The contribution of Philipp SCHÄFER, »Innozenz III. und das 4. Laterankonzil 1215« (p. 103–116), starts with a survey of the most important ecclesiastical councils from 1059 till the Lateran Council of 1215. The different documents connected to the Council are individually reviewed. The author limits himself to a rendering of their selected contents without any attempt to some more profound interpretation. No text is really being analysed. They are all just excerpted and represented. For this reason, the paper may be a good introduction and a first confrontation with the Council, but it does not offer the reader much more.

The paper on »Papst Innozenz III. und die Universitäten« by Harald DICKERHOF (p. 117–130) offers a clear, well-founded survey on the intellectual developments around 1200. In a first part the evolution is sketched of the pre-university movement in Paris that resulted in the foundation of the *magistorum universitas* (p. 118–124). Rightly the author criticises the widespread but all too simplified opinion that during the twelfth century the popes only strove to enslave the intellectual classes by their interference, an opinion upheld and propagated by Jacques Le Goff (p. 118). Innocent himself studied at Paris and he remained interested in the evolution in the French capital. His interference seems to have been rather cautious but for that matter no less pragmatic. It proves to have been decisive for the practical organisation of the studies into a more or less fixed programme, crowned by the grant of the *licentia docendi*. In a second part the author looks more closely at the connection of Innocent's intellectual politics with the emergence of the Dominican order (p. 124–129). In both cases the reformation of the Church was Innocent's primary aim but he knew how to take advantage of the growing educated masses. The article is clear and interesting to read and holds a well balanced position. Only one small failure: the name of the scholastic opponent of Bernard of Clairvaux was not »Wilhelm von Poirrée« but Gilbert de la Porrée (p. 118).

The contribution of Thomas FRENZ, »Innozenz III. als Kriminalist – Urkundenfälschung und Kanzleireform um 1200« (p. 131–139), offers a captivating reading. By means of a con-

crete case study (the falsification of a papal record by the Milanese clerk Giovanni de Ciliano shortly after Innocent had been elected), the author describes the problems papal administration of the day had to cope with. The different kinds of falsifications are considered, the weak points in the bureaucratic procedures and the measures Innocent took. In his decretal *Licet ad regimen* Innocent offers a real manual on how to recognise false documents. In Germany its recommendations have already been copied and adapted to local situations some decades later. Innocent proves to be a real *pointsman* in the realisation of a diplomatic criminalistics.

As fascinating to read but from a completely different point of view is the next paper, »Innozenz III. und die Frömmigkeitsformen des Mittelalters« by Karl SCHLEMMER (p. 141–156). The author offers a magnificent overall picture of the religious mentality and its changes during the twelfth century. Many aspects are reviewed: the boom of spiritual conversions around 1100 (p. 142–144), the growing autocracy of the Roman Church (p. 144–145), the heretical consequences of literal imitations of Christ (p. 145–147), the mendicant movements (p. 148–152) and the changing attitude towards the celebration of Holy Mass (p. 152–154). The importance of Innocent is acknowledged in his recognition of the mendicant movement in the Franciscan and Dominican orders, by which he knew to silence the heretical opposition against the Church of power. Indirectly, his support for the mendicant orders prevented the poor people of the cities to break away from the Church, as franciscan and dominican attention and assistance was primarily directed towards them.

In the next article Dietrich KORSCH, »Innozenz III. und der Formwandel der Kirche« (p. 157–172), demonstrates how the image of the Church as the earthly incorporation of the Eucharistic sacrament came into being and reached its culmination and sanctification under Innocent III. This sacramentalization of the institution of the Church is linked closely to two more concrete evolutions during the twelfth century, which somehow receive their ultimate forms under Innocent: the dogma of the Transubstantiation (p. 161–164) and the obligation of a yearly individual confession (S. 164–167). Departing from both these starting-points, the author explains the way Innocent managed to concentrate ecclesiastical power and influence in the person of the pope. The article is very interesting to read, not in the least because of its carefully composed structure. The paper starts with an interpretation of the lost mosaic in Old St. Peter's and the author concludes his argument with a lecture of a pictorial antipode, the Wittenberg tryptich by the Cranachs.

The last two articles – »Die ›Römische Frage‹ – ein Überblick« by Stefano TRINCHESE (p. 173–184) and »Europa – Erbe des Mittelalters in den historischen Schriften von Novalis, Adam Müller und Friedrich Schlegel« by Winfried BECKER (p. 185–203) – treat subjects that, as has been said, have nothing to do with Innocent III and that seem out of place in this collection of thematic papers. Though they may be of good and high quality, they have to be reviewed elsewhere by someone competent on their argument.

The result is an interesting and not at all disappointing collection of approaches to the fascinating figure of Innocent III. Not everything is said, of course. One can expect from a series of lectures at a German university that the interaction of the pope with Germany is emphasised. On England, France, the Eastern countries nothing is said. Yet, nonetheless one may conclude by praising the organiser and editor for not restricting himself to some all too local viewpoint. In spite of its weaker points, the collection has something to offer to anyone that may be interested in the figure of Innocent. And perhaps the most important thing: the papers demonstrate how rich personalities prove to be in part and parcel of human history as soon as they are illuminated from so many different sides.

Wim VERBAAL, Gent