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Das Lesen und Schreiben der Geschichte in der Karolingerzeit ist der grundlegende Bezugs- und Betrachtungspunkt der Einzelstudien von R. McKitterick: Was man damals unter Geschichtsbüchern verstand, welche historischen Texte man auswählte, an welche Leserschaft man dachte, wird untersucht. Geschichtsbücher werden als konstruierte Texte verstanden, um nicht nur die Vergangenheit zu bewahren, sondern auch als Mittel, die politische Kultur und Identität zu gestalten. Es geht um das Kopieren von älteren wie um das Produzieren von neuen Texten, mit deren Hilfe sich die intellektuellen Eliten und sozialen Gruppen konstituierten. Es handelt sich insgesamt bei dem vorliegenden Buch der Verfasserin um gelehrte Beiträge, die sich auszeichnen durch die Vielfalt ihrer Methoden und Perspektiven, durch die Fülle ihrer Befunde und Belege und nicht zuletzt durch ihre klare Sprache und Darstellung. Sowohl für die klassische Quellenkritik wie auch für die in jüngerer Zeit diskutierte Gedächtniskritik können und sollten diese klugen Einzelstudien mit Gewinn und Nutzen herangezogen werden.

MAX KERNER, Aachen

Kerstin SPRINGSFELD, Alkuins Einfluß auf die Komputistik zur Zeit Karls des Großen, Stuttgart (Franz Steiner) 2002, 418 p. (Sudhoffs Archiv. Beihefte, 48), ISBN 3-515-08052-X, EUR 60,00.

The years of Ealhwhine's teaching in England were rich in the disciplines of computus and astronomy at York Cathedral, as well in Francia where his name was pronounced with a different accent and became written as Alcuinus. It seems likely that he brought Beda's works on computus from England to the continent in A. D. 782 and later in 786 and 790–793. At York, he had been close to former students of Beda (d. 735), Aelbert and Eanbald, who had taught from the scientific works of their master before becoming successive archbishops of York. Having accepted the invitation by Karl der Große to join the Frankish court, Alcuin must have guided the king in composing the royal mandatum, *Admonitio generalis* (A. D. 789), which demands that basic education of clergy be provided in monasteria and cathedrals. Although *artes liberales* outlined by Boethius and Cassiodorus had not named it, *computus* was specified by Alcuin and Karl in Francia as one of *artes in naturis rerum*. In addition, Karl had requested of Alcuin a *Liber annalis*, and nine of their surviving letters included questions of *computus* and *astronomia*<sup>1</sup>. All of this activity with *computus*

1 *Alcuini Epistolae* 126, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 155, 170, 171, ed. Ernst DÜMMLER, MGH, Epistolae IV, Hannover 1895; Ep. 144 is Karl's answer to Alcuin's Ep. 143; other answers to each other's let-

was and is significant for the new development of Europe at its turning point. The culture created by Karl, Alcuin, and their colleagues was not only literary and artistic but included many other disciplines, especially those of arithmetic, geometry, and their applications for construction of bridges, canals, and substantial buildings<sup>2</sup>. Without training in the discipline of *computus* in monastic and cathedral schools, that could not have happened. As Springsfeld says (p. 26): »Alkuins größte Leistung auf dem Gebiete der Komputistik war, daß er das von Beda gesammelte Wissen auf den Kontinent gebracht und durch seinen Unterricht verbreitet hat«, adding that »Nur durch diesen Transfer wurde Aachen in der Zeit zwischen 790 und 840 zum Zentrum der westlichen Mathematik<sup>3</sup>.«

Although a *Libellus annalis* of Alcuin has not yet been identified, several computistical tracts were attributed to him by Frobenius Forster in his »Beati Flacci Albinii seu Alcuini Abbatis, Caroli Magni regis ac imperatoris, magistri Opera« (Regensburg 1777), which was reprinted in »Patrologia Latina«, vol. 101. The manuscript from which those texts were drawn cannot be found, but Springsfeld reassesses all of those materials. Though printed together, the two parts of *Ratio de luna XV et de cursu lunae* have different manuscript traditions and should be considered separately: the *Ratio de luna XV* describes the passage of the moon through the Zodiac and compares its velocity with that of the Sun. The Moon requires  $54 \frac{2}{3}$  *horae* for passage through one sign. Another way to express this is said to be the ratio of 9 *horae* to 5 solar days, that is, 5 points of a sign. The second part, *De cursu lunae*, reckons the time needed for the Moon to pass through one degree of the Zodiac and compares that with the time the Sun takes for the same distance. It has not been located in separate copies but is found in the two surviving manuscripts of a compilation called »Three-Book Computus« (A.D. 809) and in some manuscripts of the »Seven-Book Computus« (812–820).

*De saltu lunae liber* explains the 19-year luni-solar cycle with 235 months and the divergences of lunar and solar day-counts during that period by one complete day which is skipped, *Saltus lunae*. To this were added two *problemae* or *argumenta* which may be attributed to Alcuin. The later manuscripts show that two more problems were added and then four more, printed by Frobenius, which should not be attributed to Alcuin. *De bissexto* explains the need to add a solar day to the calendar each fourth year, but this is expressed in terms which are not used in the other authentic works of Alcuin. Initially, Springsfeld saw no reason to attribute this work to him; nevertheless, she later accepted the attribution because it is found together with the *Calculatio* in seven manuscripts of Tours and of Lotharingia written from early ninth to early eleventh century. (One wonders whether that is sufficient cause for authenticity.) These and other technical terms of *computus* are defined and clarified on p. 35–38 and elsewhere, as needed.

The longer *Calculatio* is found in several versions but, in order to understand its place in this discussion, one should consider that the earliest version is similar to pseudo-Dionysian

ters have been lost. These letters are discussed in detail by Dietrich LOHRMANN, Alkuins Korrespondenz mit Karl dem Großen über Kalender und Astronomie, in: Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times, ed. Paul L. BUTZER, D. LOHRMANN, Basel 1993, p. 79–114, and SPRINGSFELD (p. 38–59 et passim). Although parts of these letters are translated or explained by Springsfeld, there is no complete translation in any modern language.

2 Unfortunately, the remnants of Roman and Carolingian constructions and engineering activities are being systematically destroyed in France and Germany, today, in favour of new offices and apartments.

3 This view has also been expressed by Paul BUTZER; see for example: Die Mathematiker des Aachen-Lütticher Raumes von der karolingischen bis zur spätottonischen Epoche, in: Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein 178 (1976), p. 7–30; and Mathematics in West and East from the fifth to tenth centuries: an overview, in: BUTZER, LOHRMANN, Science, p. 443–481.

*Argumentum XIII* whose *annus praesens* is *DCCLXXVI*. Dedicatory verses<sup>4</sup> for Alcuin's promised *Libellus annalis* are found on folio 71 of ms Vat. Pal. lat. 1448, as is the unique heading *Calculatio Albini magistri* for that text in an early form. The evidence seems confusing, but it may be explained if the first version of the *Calculatio (Argumentum XIII)* had been used in the school at York and brought by Alcuin to Francia in 782, used in his teaching at the royal court of Herstelle (Heristal) where Karl often stopped, and then revised by him in 790. Another version could have been written by him or by others from his teaching in 793, from which all other copies were made. The latter text survives in 15 manuscripts, especially ms Monte Cassino 3 (A. D. 879). In »Anhang VIII/3«, Springsfeld has provided a critical edition of the *Calculatio* of A. D. 793, with a German translation and explanatory annotations.

There was indeed a *Liber de Albino Magistro*, from which Walahfrid Strabo took a short chronicle into his *Vademecum*, ms Sankt Gallen Stiftsbibliothek 878, p. 277 (title) and 278–283 (text). That was the year A. D. 829 when Walahfrid went to the royal palace of Judith and Ludwig der Fromme at Ingelheim to become tutor of their six-year-old son, Carolus junior, and then travelled with them from that court to the royal court at Aachen for a great ceremony in the fall which led to a civil war with Ludwig's older sons by his first wife. In the summer months of 829, Walahfrid laboured nearby at Weißenburg on the earliest surviving manuscripts of the *Odes et Epodes of Horace*<sup>5</sup>, and he also transcribed a series of calculations of the birth of Jesus, according to three different *anni mundi*. Did they too come from Alcuin's *Libellus annalis*? Springsfeld traces several versions of the *Calculatio* and notes its relation with two other works: the technical encyclopedia *Annalis libellus* of 793 in 70 chapters; and *Lectiones sive regula computi*. The latter was a work begun in 760 with only 12 chapters, but users soon added more (up to 50 chapters by 792 and yet more by 800 or 809). Other collections of *computus et astronomia* soon followed: a large »Three-Book Computus«; and an even larger »Seven-Book Computus.« Both included colourful illustrations of astronomical instruments. Springsfeld compares the content of those four large collections with authentic Alcuinian materials. The contexts of the collections and tables of data are quite different from each other. This demonstrates that the study of *computus* was not at all a matter of copying previous *argumenta*, whether they were understood or not, but was rather an active selection of explanations required by each *magister* and *discipulus*, and the creation of new calculations according to need. (But yes, some of the longer calculations seem to have been done simply for teaching and for the pleasure of doing arithmetic.)

One of the strengths of Springsfeld's work is that she provides the actual calculations necessary for each *argumentum* under discussion, so that a modern reader may understand them; and she has provided excellent explanations of the astronomical details. She has added a table for the calendar position of the Sun in the Zodiac according to Beda's *De naturarum XVII* whereby anyone can read in which degree of the Zodiac the Sun is located on each day of the year (»Anhang VIII/6«). And there is a calendar for the lunar cycle for every day of the 19-year luni-solar cycle (»Anhang VIII/7«), from which one may establish the age of the Moon more accurately than from a table of the age of the Moon at beginning of the month provided by the studies of Grotfend or Ginzel. That is a corrected version of the so-called »Liutgard Tafel,« attributed to the last wife of Karl der Große. The result for each day of each month (including February and March in bissextile years) are coordinated with each year of the 19-year luni-solar cycle.

4 Springsfeld corrects my mistaken placement of the verses in ms Pal. Lat 1449. They are in ms Pal. lat. 1448, as I have recently verified.

5 Ms Vaticana Regin. lat. 1703, for which see the note added by Bernhard BISCHOFF, *Eine Sammelhandschrift Walahfrid Strabos (Cod. Sangell. 878) (1950)*, reprinted in: *Id., Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 2, Stuttgart 1967, p. 34–51, esp. p. 50–51.

Having left the royal court, Alcuin became concerned that the computistical teachings of Beda were not being observed. His letters to Karl der Große complain about calendar practices of *aegyptiaci pueri*, especially placing the *Saltus lunae* in March of the final year of a 19-year cycle, rather than in November. He argued that this would disrupt *luna XIV* and thus the limits of *luna XV–XXI*, called Easter limits. That would change all calendars upon which abbots and bishops depended for dating future Easter Sundays. When one recalls that Jesus prayed that »all might be one, as I and the Father are one«, the intent for all Christians to celebrate the Resurrection on the same day becomes rather important. Noone knows just what *saltus* those »Egyptian boys« might have been introducing, but Springsfeld believes that Alcuin held the short end of the stick, that is, such a change of *saltus* would have no significant consequence: »Eine große ›Gelehrtenkontroverse des Mittelalters‹ war der Streit über den römischen oder alexandrinischen Sprungtermin nicht« (p. 61). The reviewer begs to differ on several grounds. We may agree that this was not the greatest concern of the kingdom. But it did appear at Alcuin's death in 804, that the Bedan *computus* would not determine the form of *Zeitrechnung* used thereafter in Europe, and we would have a different calendar today. Nevertheless, the students of Alcuin had the last word. A letter from Karl to Ghaerbald, bishop of Lüttich, in 807 (or perhaps 805) led to a workshop on *computus* in 809 led by Karl's cousin Adalhard, later abbot of Corbie. Certainly, the *computus* of Hraban, magister at Fulda who became abbot, showed once more that Beda's system was practical. Thereafter, we hear nothing more about alternatives, and the calendars tended to take a common form, as explained by the works of Beda. That did not solve all of the problems, but they could be discussed within an agreed technical framework. This was a major part of Alcuin's influence.

Springfeld has succeeded in distinguishing carefully between those works which may be attributed to the great scholar and other works which should not. In addition to her discussion of the nine letters, they are summarised in »Anhang VIII/2«; she provides a critical edition of the *Calculatio* of 793 with German translation (VIII/3), and a critical edition of the *Annalis libellus* of 793 in 70 chapters, with tables, annotations, and German translation (VIII/4). One table (VIII.5, p. 376–398) allows the reader to locate the topic of discussion in each chapter of *Annalis libellus*, with corresponding sections of »Three-Book Computus« and »Seven-Book Computus«, their sources, and printed editions of each item. »Alkuins Einfluß« will be very useful for future studies of both *computus* and astronomy until the end of the eleventh century, a period when the need for calendar revision became emphasised and new concepts of *computus* were introduced in the universities. The book is well organised and is quite well-written.

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La France romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152). Paris, musée du Louvre, 10 mars–6 juin 2005 [Ausstellungskatalog], Paris (Musée du Louvre Éditons/Éditions Hazan) 2005, 408 S., zahlr. Abb., ISBN 2-35031-005-1 bzw. 2-85025-970-5, EUR 39,00.

François AVRIL, Jean-René GABORIT, La France romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152). Paris, musée du Louvre, 10 mars–6 juin 2005, Paris (Musée du Louvre Éditons/Éditions Hazan) 2005, 64 S., zahlr. Abb., ISBN 2-35031-006-X bzw. 2-85025-980-2, EUR 8,00.

Im Frühjahr 2005 fand im Pariser Louvre erstmals eine große Ausstellung zur romanischen Kunst Frankreichs statt. Sie wurde begleitet von einem prachtvollen Katalog sowie seiner Kurzfassung, die auch dem Laien einen raschen Einblick in die Thematik gewährt. Den ersten Teil des Katalogs bilden überblicksartige Beiträge, vor allem zu kunsthistorischen Fragen: Robert FOSSIER, »Le monde roman« (S. 12f.) bezeichnet den Zeitraum von