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978-0-521-36289-4 - The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume V c. 1198–c. 1300

Edited by David Abulafia

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The fifth volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* brings together studies of the political, religious, social and economic history of the whole of Europe and of the Mediterranean world between about 1198 and 1300.

Comprehensive coverage of the developments in western Europe is balanced by attention to the east of Europe, including the Byzantine world, and the Islamic lands in Spain, North Africa and the Levant. Thematic articles look at the fine arts, the vernacular, communications and other aspects of a period in which the frontiers of Latin Christendom were expanding vigorously outwards; and attention is paid to the frontier societies that emerged in Spain, the Baltic and the Mediterranean islands.

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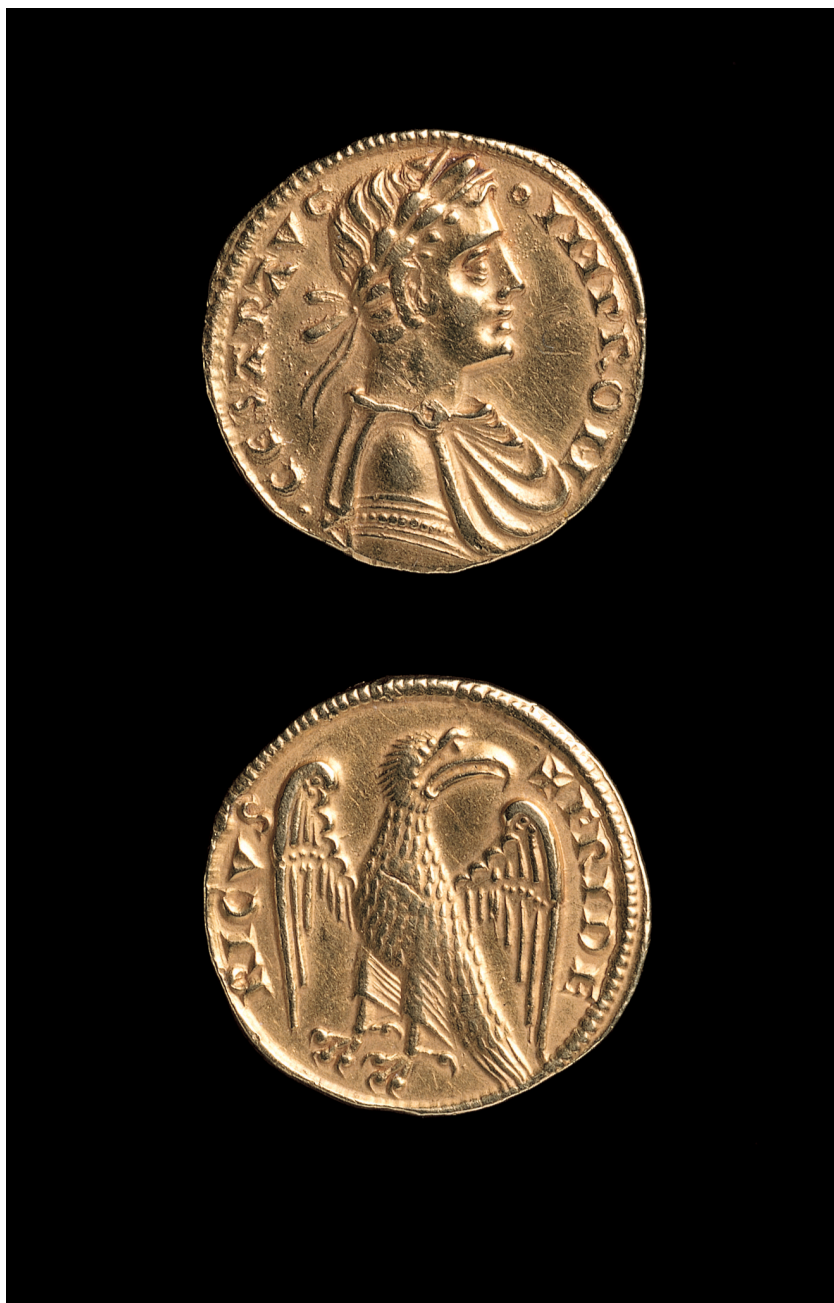
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Augustalis coin of Emperor Frederick II, issued for his Sicilian kingdom in or after 1231 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volume V c. 1198–c. 1300

EDITED BY
DAVID ABULAFIA

*Reader in Mediterranean History in the University of Cambridge
and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College*



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Augustalis coin of Emperor Frederick II, issued for his Sicilian kingdom in or after 1231 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

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PREFACE

THE volume of the original *Cambridge Medieval History* dealing with the thirteenth century was published seventy years before this one, and carried as its subtitle *The Victory of the Papacy*. The thirteenth century was characterised as an age of ‘completion’, when early medieval barbarism was at last laid to rest and the great institutions of the Middle Ages, notably papacy and empire, reached their apogee, even if the empire after Frederick II entered a long and steep decline. One reflection of this sense that the thirteenth century was the time of ‘completion’ was the editors’ decision to include a number of chapters on cultural developments across a much wider time span. Jessie Weston, the author of a controversial study of the Grail notable for its influence on T.S. Eliot, was commissioned to write on ‘The legendary cycles of the Middle Ages’, and there were chapters on political ideas, chivalry and the art of war. Space was found for the treatment of Spain, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia and Scandinavia from the middle of the eleventh century onwards. However, Byzantine history was reserved for the separate fourth volume, itself re-edited in 1966. The contributors represent a galaxy of the distinguished historians of the time: Pirenne, Petit-Dutaillis, Powicke, Clapham, A.L. Poole, Jacob, Rashdall, Altamira, with Oxford for some reason so well represented that it seems more the *Oxford* than the *Cambridge Medieval History*.

The subtitles used by the volumes in the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, in this case ‘c. 1198–c. 1300’, seem by contrast extremely cautious, even if, as has been explained in the introduction, the present volume has been constructed on the principle that the interaction between frontier regions and the old heart of western Europe is a fundamental theme in the study of the thirteenth century. Indeed, this is not simply a history of western Europe, and full advantage has been taken of the flourishing state of Byzantine, Slavic and Islamic studies so as to include important and lengthy chapters on eastern Europe and on the Muslim neighbours of the Christian states. Rus’, the Teutonic Knights and the east European kingdoms have all been granted some attention, as have

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the Celtic lands, whose position at the end of the volume is a poor recognition of the great expansion of distinguished research on this region. Overall, the geographical range of this volume is far wider than that of the old *Cambridge Medieval History*. Europe itself, as Norman Davies has reminded readers of his massive *History of Europe* of 1996, is capable of being defined culturally and geographically in any number of ways, and a generous definition has been used here. The editor takes it as axiomatic that the history of Europe is not simply the history of the Latin Christian legacy to modern times; rather than this ‘vertical’ view of European history, a horizontal perspective has been adopted, in which an attempt has been made to identify and treat adequately the regions and topics that were important to the thirteenth century itself; hence, indeed, the space devoted to the Balkans in Professor Ducellier’s chapter. So, too, the further shores of the Mediterranean, including not merely the states established by the crusaders but Mamluk Egypt and the Muslim states in the Maghrib, which had such close, if not necessarily friendly, relations with Latin Europe, have been given space in this volume. Nor would it make sense to omit the Mongol empire from such a volume.

All this adds up to a more demanding agenda than that which the editors of the old *Cambridge Medieval History* set when treating this period. Some chapters simply cannot be presented, in the space available, in quite the concentrated and detailed form that characterised the old version of this work, especially if some space is to be found for the results of recent research in the social, economic and cultural history of thirteenth-century Europe and the Mediterranean. Clearly a limit had to be drawn somewhere, and treatment of the Seljuq Turks, who at this time were heavily involved in the Iranian world, or of Armenia and Georgia, which have only recently once again been admitted into the ranks of European nations, seemed (though with some regret) to the present editor to threaten to throw the volume off balance; still, for the Turks plenty of relevant material will be found in chapters on Byzantine, Mongol and Near Eastern affairs. Given the extraordinary richness of research on Italy, it has seemed right to devote separate sections to different aspects of thirteenth-century Italy, including one section by Louis Green devoted mainly to Florence. The current tendency to speak not of ‘Spain’ but of the ‘Spanish kingdoms’ or of the Iberian peninsula is reflected in the separation of the history of Castile and its lesser neighbours, in the hands of Peter Linehan, from that of Catalonia-Aragon, in my own hands. The major brief accorded to authors has been the provision of a balanced and authoritative coverage of political history, with a good leavening of economic, social and cultural topics as well, integrated where possible into the wider account of political developments. Most chapters are kept within the confines of the thirteenth century (with ragged ends), but in some cases, where corresponding chapters could not

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be found in other volumes, it has made sense to extend the time range, as in the chapter by Marco Tangheroni on Sardinia and Corsica, and as in Colin Smith's piece on the vernacular. On the other hand, W.C. Jordan's chapter on the Capetians picks up from the previous volume in 1223, the obvious date. This is not to pretend that there is anything magical about the dates 1200 and 1300. Topics such as the presence of the Jews in Christian society have been treated the same way; authors have been invited to find room for such issues within their chapters. In addition, several thematic chapters, devoted to major economic and social developments and to religious changes in the period, are intended to set the scene for the political history that follows. Naturally, the existence of the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, of which a new edition of volume II appeared in 1987, has meant that readers could be referred elsewhere for rich assessments of economic developments in the thirteenth century, and the excellent *Cambridge History of Political Thought* has also covered much ground that it has not been thought necessary to survey once again here.

Warmest thanks are due to the authors, so many of whom diligently provided drafts, final texts and bibliographies without fuss. This is a far more international, indeed intercontinental, project than the original volume of 1929, with authors resident in Australia, the United States, Israel, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Lithuania, as well as the United Kingdom; the 1929 edition had no American authors at all, surprising then, and inconceivable now. Where possible, I have tried to obtain the services of scholars who have not already provided a survey of the topic about which they are writing, so that this volume is not, by and large, a summary of what can be read from the same pen elsewhere. As editor, I crave the indulgence of the individual contributors when, as a result of overlap or other considerations, their contribution has been altered in some way. Inevitably, some contributors have wanted fuller annotation or bibliographies than others, and in some cases this also reflects the very different state of research in various areas of medieval scholarship. It is a particular pleasure to thank Dr Stephen Rowell of the University of Klaipeda, Lithuania, for stepping in at short notice to replace the author of the one chapter which failed to arrive. Professor Roger Wright of Liverpool University kindly offered his help in preparing for press Colin Smith's chapter on the vernacular, after Professor Smith sadly died in 1997. Mrs Sandra Smith expertly translated the two chapters by André Vauchez and those by Professors Sivéry and Verger; I myself took the responsibility for translating the chapters by Alain Ducellier and Marco Tangheroni. Many contributors to the preceding and following volumes, especially Michael Jones, editor of volume VI, have been extremely helpful in discussions of where to make the joins between corresponding chapters.

Transliteration from other alphabets has followed the basic rule that an

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effort should be made to reproduce the rough pronunciation of the term or name. In *Arabic*, the sound change that accompanies the fourteen ‘sun’ letters has been respected: ad-din rather than al-din; as-Salih rather than al-Salih. The emphatic S, T, D, and DH have not been indicated, though ‘*ayn*’ generally has been. In *Greek*, the model has been classical Greek rather than the Latinised forms often current: Komnenos rather than Comnenus, Doukas rather than Ducas. However, late medieval pronunciation has not been consistently represented: Basileus is used rather than Vassilefs, but all the same the form Vatatzes is used (though some bibliographical entries do give Batatzes). Most accents are now out of fashion in Greek, and little effort has been made to incorporate them systematically when printing words in the Greek alphabet, though the breathings ‘ (for h) and ’ (silent) have been respected. In *Hebrew*, transliteration follows the norms of modern Sephardi or Israeli Hebrew, which are fairly close. In *Russian*, the distinctive sign ‘ indicates the ‘soft sign’ Ъ, as in Русь, Rus’. In *Icelandic*, Þ and þ have been retained for unvoiced th, Ð and ð for dh (voiced th). The *German* ß, indicating ‘ss’ or more properly ‘sz’, has generally been retained. As for languages written in the *Latin* alphabet, Catalan forms have been used in those cases where they have now been revived and English usage is flexible: Girona, not Gerona, Penyafort, not Peñaforte, but names of rulers are given in English forms (James not Jaume or Jaime).

This book presents to view a thirteenth century which is more than the conflict of popes and emperors that dominated the vision of the editors in 1929. Medieval horizons have expanded. They continue to expand. This volume will at least enable its readers to see where the horizon is now thought to be, and, I hope, to pick out some of the details in the fuller picture as well.

DAVID ABULAFIA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

THIS book has been long in the making, and the main acknowledgement must be to the authors of the chapters for their patience, particularly after one chapter had to be recommissioned. It is, too, with great regret that I have to record the death of Colin Smith, whose chapter was kindly reread by Roger Wright, to whom I am indebted also for the relevant bibliography. Sandra Smith translated some of the chapters from French; I translated some chapters from French and Italian, and should like to apologise for any violence done to the intended meaning of those contributions. William Davies has been a model publisher, combining encouragement with the right sense of urgency. On the Board of Editors, Peter Linehan has constantly reminded us that we must not entrap ourselves in the delays and arguments that bedevilled the original *Cambridge Medieval History*. Linda Randall has been a spectacularly meticulous copy-editor, identifying a host of inconsistencies, unintelligibilities and uncertainties in text, notes and bibliography. The Computer Office at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, facilitated access to the Vatican, British Library and other catalogues, thanks to which I have tried to resolve most of those inconsistencies with what I hope is a fair degree of accuracy. Catherine Holmes and Edna Pilmer in Caius patiently xeroxed or retyped a good many chapters on which I had wielded my red pen. Without all this teamwork, I cannot imagine that this volume would have appeared in the twentieth century.

DAVID ABULAFIA

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <i>Annales ESC</i> | <i>Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations</i> |
| BEFAR | Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes de Rome |
| BIHR | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> |
| BN | Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris |
| BSOAS | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> |
| CAJ | <i>Central Asiatic Journal</i> |
| ‘CLP’ | ‘Chronique latine inédite des rois de Castille (1236)’, ed. G. Cirot, <i>Bulletin hispanique</i> 14–15 (1912–13) |
| COD | <i>Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta</i> , ed. G. Alberigo, <i>et al.</i> (1962) |
| DA | <i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i> |
| DOP | <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> |
| DRH | Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, <i>Historia de rebus hispanie sive historia gothica</i> , ed. J. Fernández Valverde, in <i>Corpus christianorum continuatio mediaevalis</i> , Turnhout (1966–), LXXII |
| EcHR | <i>Economic History Review</i> |
| EHR | <i>English Historical Review</i> |
| EIr | <i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> |
| JA | <i>Journal asiatique</i> |
| JEH | <i>Journal of Economic History</i> |
| JMH | <i>Journal of Medieval History</i> |
| MGH | <i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> |
| <i>Epp. XIII</i> | <i>Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum romanorum selectae</i> , 3 vols. |
| <i>Leg. IV Const.</i> | <i>MGH Leges, part IV. Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum</i> , 9 vols. |
| SS | <i>Scriptores</i> , 32 vols. |
| PL | <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1844–) |
| P&P | <i>Past and Present</i> |

List of abbreviations

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| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| PRO | Public Record Office, London |
| Reg. [with name of pope] | <i>Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> , 2nd and 3rd series. <i>Registres et lettres des papes du XIII^e et XIV^e siècles</i> , Paris (1884–) |
| RISS | <i>Rerum italicarum scriptores</i> , ed. L.A. Muratori, 28 vols., Milan (1723–51) |
| RISS ² | <i>Rerum italicarum scriptores</i> , 2nd series, Città di Castello and Bologna (1900–) |
| ROL | <i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i> |
| RS | Rolls Series |
| TCE | <i>Thirteenth-century England</i> , 7 vols.: i–v: <i>Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference, 1985 to 1993</i> , ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, Woodbridge (1986–95); v–vii: <i>Proceedings of the Durham conference 1995/1997</i> , ed. M. Prestwich, R.H. Britnell and S.D. Lloyd, Woodbridge (1997–8) |
| TRHS | <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> |