

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The New Cambridge Medieval History

The first volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* covers the transitional period between the later Roman world and the early Middle Ages, c.500 to c.700. This was an era of developing consciousness and profound change in Europe, Byzantium and the Arab world, an era in which the foundations of medieval society were laid and to which many of our modern myths of national and religious identity can be traced. This book offers a comprehensive regional survey of the sixth and seventh centuries, from Ireland in the west to the rise of Islam in the Middle East, and from Scandinavia in the north to the Mediterranean south. It explores the key themes pinning together the history of this period, from kingship, trade and the church, to art, architecture and education. It represents both an invaluable conspectus of current scholarship and an expert introduction to the period.

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The New Cambridge Medieval History

EDITORIAL BOARD

David Abulafia Rosamond McKitterick
Martin Brett Edward Powell
Simon Keynes Jonathan Shepard
Peter Linehan Peter Spufford

Volume I *c.*500–*c.*700

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volume I c.500–c.700

EDITED BY
PAUL FOURACRE



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521362917

© Cambridge University Press 2005

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2005

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

ISBN-13 978-0-521-36291-7 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-36291-1 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

 CONTENTS

<i>List of plates</i>	page	viii
<i>List of maps</i>		ix
<i>List of figures</i>		x
<i>List of contributors</i>		xi
<i>Preface</i>		xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>		xv
Introduction: the history of Europe 500–700		I
PAUL FOURACRE		
1 The later Roman Empire		13
RICHARD GERBERDING		
2 The Barbarian invasions		35
GUY HALSALL		
3 The sources and their interpretation		56
GUY HALSALL		
PART I THE SIXTH CENTURY		
4 The Eastern Empire in the sixth century		93
ANDREW LOUTH		
5 The Byzantines in the West in the sixth century		118
JOHN MOORHEAD		
6 Ostrogothic Italy and the Lombard invasions		140
JOHN MOORHEAD		
7 The formation of the Sueve and Visigothic kingdoms in Spain		162
A. BARBERO AND M. I. LORING		

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi

Contents

8	Merovingian Gaul and the Frankish conquests RAYMOND VAN DAM	193
9	The Celtic kingdoms WENDY DAVIES	232
10	The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms HELENA HAMEROW	263
PART II THE SEVENTH CENTURY		
11	The Byzantine empire in the seventh century ANDREW LOUTH	291
12	Muhammad and the rise of Islam CAROLE HILLENBRAND	317
13	The Catholic Visigothic kingdom A. BARBERO AND M. I. LORING	346
14	Francia in the seventh century PAUL FOURACRE	371
15	Religion and society in Ireland CLARE STANCLIFFE	397
16	Christianity amongst the Britons, Dalriadan Irish and Picts CLARE STANCLIFFE	426
17	England in the seventh century ALAN THACKER	462
18	Scandinavia LOTTE HEDEAGER	496
19	The Slavs ZBIGNIEW KOBYLINSKI	524
PART III THEMES AND PROBLEMS		
20	The Jews in Europe 500–1050 MICHAEL TOCH	547
21	Kings and kingship PATRICK WORMALD	571

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

vii

22	The Mediterranean economy SIMON LOSEBY	605
23	The Northern Seas (fifth to eighth centuries) STÉPHANE LEBECQ	639
24	Money and coinage MARK BLACKBURN	660
25	Church structure and organisation GEORG SCHEIBELREITER	675
26	Christianisation and the dissemination of Christian teaching IAN WOOD	710
27	Education and learning JACQUES FONTAINE	735
28A	Art and architecture of western Europe IAN WOOD	760
28B	Art and architecture: the East LESLIE BRUBAKER	776
	<i>List of primary sources</i>	785
	<i>Bibliography of secondary works arranged by chapter</i>	805
	<i>Index</i>	911

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PLATES

Frontispiece Golden Hen and Seven Chicks. Possibly a gift from Pope Gregory the Great to Theudelinda, queen of the Lombards (early seventh century). Cathedral Treasury, Monza

between pages 784 and 785

- 1 Mausoleum of Theoderic, Ravenna, c.526
- 2 Church of San Juan de Baños, Spain, dedicated in 661
- 3 Christ in Majesty, with symbols of the Evangelists, head of Agilbert's sarcophagus, Crypt of Jouarre (Seine et Marne), late seventh century
- 4 Apse, S. Apollinare in Classe, Apollinaris, Moses and Elias, mid-sixth century
- 5 St Matthew, Book of Durrow, 'carpet page', Trinity College, Dublin
- 6 Votive crown of Reccesuinth, from the treasure of Guarrazar, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid
- 7 Franks Casket, Wayland the Smith, British Museum
- 8 The church of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul (Constantinople), completed in 537
- 9 Ivory panel with archangel, British Museum
- 10 Vienna Dioskourides, fol. 20r, 'Artemesia spicata', with later transcriptions into minuscule and translations into Arabic and Latin

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

MAPS

1 Italy in the sixth century	<i>page</i> 141
2 Spain under the Visigoths	163
3 Gaul/Francia in the sixth and seventh centuries	194
4 Ireland	242
5 Northern Britain	248
6 Wales	253
7 Cornwall and Brittany	257
8 The main Anglo-Saxon provinces at the time of the composition of the Tribal Hidage, and principal sites mentioned in chapters 10 and 17	281
9 Distribution of <i>domnach</i> place-names	404
10 Location of Irish churches named in the text	410
11 Archaeological evidence of Christianity in Roman Britain	428
12 Stones with post-Roman inscriptions	430
13 Distribution of Eccles place-names	433
14 The Slavs: geographical context	525
15 The Mediterranean economy: sites and regions mentioned in the text	606
16 Imported amphorae in a late seventh-century deposit at the Crypta Balbi, Rome	609
17A Findspots of African Red Slip ware in Italy: c.450–570/580	610
17B Findspots of African Red Slip ware in Italy: c.550–seventh century	611
18 North Sea emporia	640

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

FIGURES

1 Silver brooch with early animal style from Sealand, Denmark	<i>page</i> 506
2 Silver brooch with style II from Hordaland, Norway	507
3 Gold bracteate from Lilla Jored, Sweden	510
4 Gold bracteate from Fakse, Denmark	511
5 Gold bracteate from Trollhättan, Sweden	512
6 Gold bracteate from Skydstrup, Denmark	513
7 'Guldgubbe' from Lundeberg, Funen, Denmark	518
8 Some of the principal classifications of African and eastern Mediterranean amphorae in interregional circulation in the sixth and seventh centuries	613

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CONTRIBUTORS

MARK BLACKBURN Keeper of Coins and Medals, The Fitzwilliam Museum,
Reader in Numismatics and Monetary History, University of Cambridge,
and Fellow of Gonville and Caius College

LESLIE BRUBAKER Reader in Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham

WENDY DAVIES Professor of History, University College London

JACQUES FONTAINE Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris

PAUL FOURACRE Professor of Medieval History, University of Manchester

RICHARD GERBERDING Professor of History, The University of Alabama at
Huntsville

GUY HALSALL Reader in History, University of York

HELENA HAMEROW Lecturer in European Archaeology, University of
Oxford

LOTTE HEDEAGER Professor of Archaeology, University of Oslo

CAROLE HILLENBRAND Professor of Islamic History, University of Edin-
burgh

ZBIGNIEW KOBYLINSKI Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Warsaw

STÉPHANE LEBECQ Professor of History, University of Lille

MARIA ISABEL LORING Complutense University of Madrid

SIMON LOSEBY Lecturer in History, University of Sheffield

ANDREW LOUTH Professor of Patristics, University of Durham

JOHN MOORHEAD Reader in History, University of Queensland

GEORG SCHEIBELREITER Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsfors-
chung, Vienna

CLARE STANCLIFFE Honorary Reader in Ecclesiastical History, University
of Durham

ALAN THACKER Reader in History, Victoria County History, Institute of
Historical Research, London

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

List of contributors

MICHAEL TOCH Professor of Ancient and Medieval History, The Hebrew
University, Jerusalem

RAYMOND VAN DAM Professor of History, University of Michigan

IAN WOOD Professor of Early Medieval History, University of Leeds

PATRICK WORMALD[†] Oxford

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

PREFACE

It is conventional for an editor to commend the patience of contributors and publisher, as the preparation of a large volume of essays such as this one invariably falls behind schedule. In this case, however, patience has been needed in saintly proportions, for the present volume has been exceptionally long in the making. The original editor of Volume 1 planned the work in line with the other six volumes of the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, and commissioned all but two of the chapters. Copy began to arrive from 1990 onwards, but then the project seemed to stall. At this point, the present editor then agreed to take on the volume. New chapters were commissioned, on the Slavs, on the Scandinavians, and on money and coinage. New contributors were found to replace those who could no longer participate, and those who had submitted to the original deadline very kindly agreed to revise their chapters. Sadly, Professor Barbero, who had been commissioned to write the chapters on Spain, died before they were drafted. Maria Loring, his widow, agreed to complete the task. The two chapters are listed under their joint authorship, although I have not included Professor Barbero in the list of contributors. In September 2004 Patrick Wormald also sadly died. His chapter on 'Kings and kingship' will be a constant reminder of just how fine a scholar he was.

I am extremely grateful to the original contributors for bearing with the delays with such good grace. Few things in academic life are more irritating than to write a substantial essay to a deadline, only to have it disappear for several years, and then to be asked to rework it. Further delays were inevitable as the whole slowed to the pace of the tardiest contributor. Again, the forbearance of those who did make the effort to submit to deadlines, some at short notice, is much appreciated. One chapter, on Romans and Lombards in Italy in the seventh century, we waited for in vain, and then decided that to find a replacement would delay the volume just too much. There is, therefore, a

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xiv

Preface

very unfortunate gap in our history, although several other authors do refer to Italian material. The place of Lombard Italy in European history is briefly discussed in the Introduction. The Introduction also sets out the shape and purpose of the volume.

Thanks are due to a host of people who have helped with this volume. Paul Barford helped to translate chapter 19 into English, and John Hine translated chapter 18. Translation by specialists in the field is very much appreciated. Prudence von Rohrbach put the whole work onto disk and consolidated the primary source bibliography. Her help was crucial in bringing order to a collection of contributions submitted over a decade and in many different forms.

Particular thanks are due to those who agreed at short notice to write chapters, and did so to order and in good time. Guy Halsall responded immediately to a plea to write the survey chapter (chapter 3) on the sources and their interpretation. His excellent discussion draws on his unusual combination of expertise in both history and archaeology, and in both disciplines he is also unusual in that he is literate in both theory and practice. Michael Toch agreed to write his chapter on the Jews in Europe by return of email, and the draft chapter was delivered a fortnight later. It is an astonishing survey that demolishes widely held assumptions about the place of Jews in early medieval history. It was at the late Timothy Reuter's suggestion that Toch was asked to survey the whole period covered by the first three volumes of the *New Cambridge Medieval History*. It was typical of Reuter's care for the series that, having noticed that an important area had not been covered, he made sure that something was done about it. Timothy Reuter greatly encouraged the editing of this work, and he was a great source of advice, typically offered with wry good humour. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

PAUL FOURACRE, MANCHESTER, January 2005

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> , ed. J. Bollandus <i>et al.</i> , Antwerp and Brussels (1634–)
<i>AASS OSB</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti</i> , ed. J. Mabillon, 9 vols., Paris (1668–1701)
<i>AfD</i>	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i>
<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificum</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>An. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
<i>ARAM</i>	<i>ARAM</i> , Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
<i>Bede, HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i>
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 3rd edn (Subsidia Hagiographica 8a), Brussels (1957) and <i>Novum Auctarium Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> (Subsidia Hagiographica 65), Brussels (1984)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> (Subsidia Hagiographica 6), Brussels (1898–1901), <i>Supplementum</i> (Subsidia Hagiographica 12), Brussels (1911); <i>Novum Supplementum</i> (Subsidia Hagiographica 70), Brussels (1986)
<i>BL</i>	<i>British Library</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BS/EB</i>	<i>Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines</i>
<i>BSI</i>	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>

<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>Byz.</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBA</i>	Council for British Archaeology
<i>CC</i>	<i>Codex Carolinus</i>
<i>CCCC</i>	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS
<i>CCCM</i>	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis, Turnhout (1966–)
<i>CCE</i>	<i>Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne</i>
<i>CCSG</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, Turnhout (1952–)
<i>CDL</i>	<i>Codice Diplomatico Longobardo</i>
<i>ChLA</i>	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , ed. A. Bruckner, facsimile edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century, Olten and Lausanne (1954–)
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CLA</i>	E. A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> , I–XI, plus Supplement, Oxford (1935–71)
<i>CMCS</i>	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i>
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>Cod. Theo.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DR</i>	<i>Downside Review</i>
<i>EC</i>	<i>Études Celtiques</i>
<i>EHD</i>	<i>English Historical Documents</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>fol.</i>	<i>folio</i>
<i>FrSt</i>	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Gregory, <i>Epp.</i>	Gregory of Rome, <i>Registrum Epistolarum</i>
Gregory, <i>Hist.</i>	Gregory of Tours, <i>Decem Libri Historiarum</i>
<i>HJb</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>

List of abbreviations

xvii

<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i>
<i>LV</i>	<i>Lex Visigothorum</i>
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)
<i>Cap.</i>	<i>Capitularia, Legum sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
<i>Epp.</i>	<i>Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi</i> , Hanover (1892–1939)
<i>Epp. Sel.</i>	<i>Epistolae Selectae in Usus Scholarum</i> , 5 vols., Hanover (1887–91)
<i>Form.</i>	<i>Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi</i> , ed. K. Zeumer, <i>Legum sectio V</i> , Hanover (1886)
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usus Scholarum Separatim Editi</i> , 63 vols., Hanover (1871–1987)
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum sae. VI–IX</i> , ed. G. Waitz, Hanover (1878)
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</i> , ed. B. Krusch and W. Levison, 7 vols., Hanover (1885–1920)
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores in folio</i> , 30 vols., Hanover (1824–1924)
<i>MIÖG</i>	<i>Mitteilung des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung</i>
<i>MS</i>	Manuscript
<i>NF</i>	Neue Folge
<i>NMS</i>	<i>Nottingham Medieval Studies</i>
Paul the Deacon, <i>HL</i>	<i>Historia Langobardorum</i>
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols., Paris (1857–66)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina</i> , ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1841–64)
<i>PRIA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i>

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xviii

List of abbreviations

<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Byzantines</i>
<i>RHE</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i>
<i>RHEF</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France</i>
<i>RHM</i>	<i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>RHPϕR</i>	<i>Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses</i>
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
<i>s.a.</i>	<i>sub anno</i>
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto (1954–)</i>
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>
<i>SM</i>	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>
<i>VuF</i>	Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte
<i>ZKTh</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i>
<i>ZRG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>
<i>GA</i>	<i>Germanistische Abteilung</i>
<i>KA</i>	<i>Kanonistische Abteilung</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Romanistische Abteilung</i>

Cambridge University Press

0521362911 - The New Cambridge Medieval History, Volume I - c.500-c.700

Edited by Paul Fouracre

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



Frontispiece Golden Hen and Seven Chicks. Possibly a gift from Pope Gregory the Great to Theudelinda, queen of the Lombards (early seventh century). Cathedral Treasury, Monza,