

This volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* covers most of the period of Frankish and Carolingian dominance in western Europe, a time of remarkable political and cultural coherence, combined with crucial, very diverse and formative developments in every sphere of life. Adopting an interdisciplinary approach, the authors consider developments in Europe as a whole, from Ireland to the Bosphorus and Iceland to Gibraltar. The chapters offer an examination of the interaction between rulers and ruled, of how power and authority actually worked, and of the impact of these on the society and culture of Europe as a whole.

The volume is divided into four parts. Part I encompasses the events and political developments in the whole of the British Isles, the West and East Frankish kingdoms, Scandinavia, the Slavic and Balkan regions, Spain and Italy, and those aspects of Byzantine and Muslim history which impinged on the west between c. 700 and c. 900. Parts II, III and IV cover common themes and topics within the general categories of government and institutions, the church and society, and cultural and intellectual development.

The New Cambridge Medieval History

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Volume II *c.* 700–*c.* 900



The throne of Charles the Bald (*Cathedra Petri*), Vatican, Basilica of St Peter

THE NEW
CAMBRIDGE
MEDIÉVAL HISTORY

Volume II c.700–c.900

EDITED BY
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PREFACE

This volume covers most of the period of Frankish and Carolingian dominance in western Europe, a time of relative political and cultural coherence, combined with crucial, and, as the various chapters make clear, very diverse and formative developments in every sphere of life. A volume devoted to the history of western Europe between *c.* 700 and *c.* 900 in all its richness and diversity inevitably suggests a number of possible methods of organisation. The related volumes of the old *Cambridge Medieval History*, on ‘The foundation of the western empire’ (from *c.* 500–*c.* 814) and on ‘Germany and the western empire’ (from *c.* 814–*c.* 1000), were published in 1913 and 1922 respectively, and contained only a few chapters each on the period covered in the present volume. They were conceived when little was available in English on the early middle ages and there were few specialists in the English-speaking world able to write the chapters; volume III in particular was blighted by the Great War. No such impediment has presented itself for this volume. We have endeavoured to expunge the unhappy legacy of the old volume III when the principles of scholarship were sullied with political enmities and many scholars excluded as authors because of their nationality. The new series, and especially this volume, reflects the extraordinary community of interest among medievalists of all disciplines and all nationalities as well as a far greater knowledge and appreciation of medieval Europe as a whole in the academic world, among students, and in the general public. There is a far stronger acceptance of the importance of an interdisciplinary approach. There is a much greater awareness of the irrelevance of modern, or ancient, national boundaries and the need to consider developments in Europe as a whole, from Ireland to the Bosphorus, rather than focusing mainly on Anglo-Saxon England or the empires of Charlemagne and the Saxon rulers of Germany. Given the increasing economic and political integration of the European states, moreover, their common cultural inheritance adds an essential dimension to

their history. It is this that must be properly understood and which this new history is designed to serve.

Three volumes of this new series are planned, covering the centuries encompassed in the old volumes II and III. The twelve chapters devoted to the period 700–900 in the old *Cambridge Medieval History*, divided between volumes II and III, omitted many topics and regions, or at best subsumed, as short sections within narrative chapters, areas and themes which are now accorded full chapters in the *New Cambridge Medieval History*. Some of these, indeed, were rarely the subject of scholarly study at that stage. The emphasis of the old history was on the creation and maintenance of imperial domination. In place of the preoccupation with empire and the simple, blow-by-blow account of conquests and coronations, this volume offers an examination of the interaction between rulers and ruled, of how power and authority actually worked, and of the impact of these on the society and culture of Europe as a whole. There are, therefore, chapters on the ‘Celtic’, Slavic, Balkan and marcher regions, the aristocracy, kingship and government, Byzantium’s relations with the west, Arab activities in the Mediterranean, ecclesiastical organisation, monasticism, money, the economy, rural society and social organisation, and the many different aspects of intellectual and cultural life. This greater concentration on themes reflects the current preoccupations of historical scholarship with many different facets of social and cultural history.

Thus part I of this, the second volume in the planned *New Cambridge Medieval History* but the first to be published, encompasses the events and political developments in the whole of the British Isles, the West and East Frankish kingdoms, Scandinavia, the Slavic and Balkan regions, Spain and Italy, and those events and individual actions in Byzantium and parts of the Islamic world which impinge on the west between c. 700 and c. 900. The factual and narrative portions of these chapters are blended with analysis and new interpretations of key issues. These chapters underpin those in parts II, III and IV, which cover common themes and topics within the general categories of government and institutions, the church and society, and cultural and intellectual development. In these thematic chapters all regions of Europe are considered wherever possible on a comparative basis in cases of great contrasts and in a more unified way where there is great similarity. Footnotes have been kept within strict limits, but comprehensive bibliographies for each topic will be found at the end of the volume.

Association with volume III (c. 900–c. 1030) of this new series, moreover, has been close. It is particularly to be noted in the division of chapters on the Russian lands, Celtic regions and the Scandinavian lands covering the period from c. 700–c. 1030 between the two volumes. Thus the discussion of

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the Russian lands for the entire period is to be found in volume III while the chapters on Scotland, Wales and Ireland and on Scandinavia are in this volume. The original intention for volume II was to devote an entire chapter to law and legal practice. Because this chapter did not arrive in time to be included, however, discussions of law and legal practice are integrated at appropriate points among a number of chapters, while a Bibliography for these topics has been added to that for the Introduction.

Josef Semmler was initially asked to provide the chapter on monasticism. Owing to ill health at a crucial stage he was obliged to withdraw, but I am immensely indebted to Mayke de Jong for filling the breach at very short notice. I am particularly grateful to my contributors, colleagues and friends from all over the world, who have joined in this enterprise, written their chapters, sometimes in very difficult circumstances, and put up with a great deal of editorial interference and cajoling from me with admirable good nature. I have incurred other debts, notably to William Davies of Cambridge University Press, for his constant support and encouragement, and to the staff at Cambridge University Press responsible for seeing the volume through the press, to the Editorial Board of the *New Cambridge Medieval History* for their preliminary advice and suggestions, to Timothy Reuter, Jonathan Shepard, Chris Wickham and John Contreni for cheering me on and offering excellent advice through all the years this volume, in its various guises, has been on my desk, to Chris Wickham, Roger Wright, Christoph Heyl, and the authors themselves, for their invaluable help with the translation of chapters 12, 27 and 5, from Italian, French and German respectively; to Vanessa Stefanak who helped with the organisation of the mountains of typescript and an intermediate version of chapter 22, to Sheila Willson of the History Faculty in the University of Cambridge, who cheerfully typed the intermediate and final versions of chapters 12 and 18, to Yitzhak Hen who compiled the composite list of primary sources, to Mary Rycroft who helped with the proofs, to Meg Davies who compiled the indexes and to Frances Brown for her meticulous copy-editing and unfailing patience. Finally, no one will be more pleased to see the volume finished, bound and quietly on the shelf than my husband David and daughter Lucy. To them both, for never-failing support, suggestions and practical assistance, I offer my heartfelt thanks, as always.

ROSAMOND MCKITTERICK

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ABBREVIATIONS

Full references for the primary sources are to be found in the Primary Source Bibliography, pp. 867–885

<i>AA</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i> (Copenhagen)
<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>AB (1)</i>	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i> , ed. Waitz
<i>AB (2)</i>	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i> , ed. Rau
<i>AB (3)</i>	<i>Annales Bertiniani</i> , trans. Nelson
Adam of Bremen (1)	<i>Gesta Hammaburgensis</i> , ed. Trillmich and Buchner
Adam of Bremen (2)	<i>Gesta Hammaburgensis</i> , trans. Tschan
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>
<i>AF (1)</i>	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , ed. Kurze
<i>AF (2)</i>	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , ed. Rau
<i>AF (3)</i>	<i>Annales Fuldenses</i> , trans. Reuter
<i>AfD</i>	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik</i>
<i>AHE</i>	<i>Auctarii Havniensis Extrema</i> , ed. T. Mommsen, MGH <i>AA</i> ix (Berlin, 1892), pp. 337–9
<i>AHP</i>	<i>Archivum Historiae Pontificae</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Annales Laureshamenses</i>
<i>An. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
<i>ANOH</i>	<i>Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie</i>
<i>ANS</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society</i>
<i>API</i>	<i>Archivio Paleografico Italiano</i>

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List of abbreviations

<i>AQ</i>	<i>Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters</i> , Darmstadt
<i>ARF</i> (1)	<i>Annales Regni Francorum</i> , ed. Kurze
<i>ARF</i> (2)	<i>Annales Regni Francorum</i> , trans. Scholz
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i>
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>AV</i>	<i>Annales Vedastini</i>
<i>AX</i>	<i>Annales Xantenses</i>
<i>BAC</i>	<i>Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BBA</i>	Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten, Berlin
<i>BBCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i>
<i>BBTT</i>	<i>Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations</i>
<i>BCL</i>	M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, <i>A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature 400–1200</i> , Dublin (1985)
<i>BEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</i>
Bede, <i>HE</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i>
Besevliev, <i>Inscripfen</i>	V. Besevliev, <i>Die protobulgarischen Inscripten</i> , Berlin (1963) or Bulgarian 2nd edn, <i>P'rvob'lgarski nadpisi</i> , Sofia (1979)
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. F. Halkin, 3rd edn (<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 8a), Brussels (1957) and <i>Novum Auctarium Bibliotheca Hagiographicae Graeca</i> (<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 65) Brussels (1984)
<i>BHL</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> (<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 6), Brussels (1898–1901), <i>Supplementum</i> (<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 12), Brussels (1911); <i>Novum Supplementum</i> (<i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 70), Brussels (1986)
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bulgarian Historical Review</i>
Bib. Mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
Bischoff, <i>MS</i> I, II, III	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Mittelalterliche Studien</i> , Stuttgart (1966, 1967 and 1981)
Bischoff, <i>Schreibschulen</i>	Bernhard Bischoff, <i>Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit</i> I: <i>Die Bayerischen Diözesen</i> , 3rd edn, Wiesbaden (1974); II: <i>Die Vorwiegend Österreichischen Diözesen</i> , Wiesbaden (1980)
BL MS	London, British Library manuscript
BM	J.F. Böhmer and E. Mühlbacher, <i>Regesta</i>

List of abbreviations

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	<i>Imperii: Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern, 751–918</i> , Berlin (1908; rep. Hildesheim, 1966)
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Bond, <i>Facsimiles</i>	E.A. Bond, <i>Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum</i> , 4 vols., London (1873–8)
BNJ	<i>Byzantinische-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
BN lat.; n.a. lat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit latin; nouvelles acquisitions latines
Brackmann, <i>GP</i>	A. Brackmann, H. Büttner, H. Jakob, W. Seegrün and T. Schieffer, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Germania Pontifica</i> , 5 vols., Berlin and Göttingen (1910–81)
BS/EB	<i>Byzantine Studies Etudes Byzantines</i>
BSI	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
Byzbulg	<i>Byzantinobulgarica</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CA	<i>Chronicon Altinate</i> , ed. R. Cessi, <i>Origo Civitatum Italiae seu Venetiarum</i> (FSI 72), Rome (1933)
CAS	<i>Christianity among the Slavs: The Heritage of Saints Cyril and Methodius</i> , ed. E.G. Farrugia, R.F. Taft and G.K. Piovesana (OCA 231), Rome (1992)
CB	<i>Breviarum Ecclesiae Ravennatis (Codex Bravo)</i>
CC	<i>Codex Carolinus</i>
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , Turnhout (1966–)
CCM	<i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> , ed. K. Hallinger, Siegburg (1963)
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , Turnhout (1952–)
CDF	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis</i> , ed. E.F.J. Dronke, Kassel (1850)
CDI	<i>Codice Diplomatico Istriano</i> , ed. P. Kandler, Trieste
CDL	<i>Codice Diplomatico Longobardo</i>
CDP	<i>Codice Diplomatico Padovano dal secolo sesto a tutto</i>

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	<i>l'undecimo</i> , ed. A. Gloria, Venice (1877)
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
ChLA	<i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores</i> , ed. Albert Bruckner, facsimile edition of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century 1–, Olten and Lausanne (1954–)
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> IV, ed. A. Boeckh, Berlin, (1877)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CL	<i>Codex Laureshamensis</i>
CLA	E.A. Lowe, <i>Codices Latini Antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> 1–XI plus Supplement, Oxford (1935–71)
Clm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus Monacensis
CMCS	<i>Cambridge Mediaeval Celtic Studies</i>
CNS 1	<i>Corpus Nummorum Saeculorum ix–xi qui in Suevia reperti sunt</i> , ed. B. Malmer <i>et al.</i> 1: <i>Gotland</i> , Stockholm (1975–7)
CR	<i>Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne</i> , ed. A. de Courson, <i>Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France</i> , Paris (1863) (charters cited by editor's numbering)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna (1866–)
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> , 50 vols., Berlin (1828–91)
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
CV	John the Deacon, <i>Cronaca Veneziana</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, Paris (1924–)
DAI	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, <i>De Administrando Imperio</i>
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli Italiani</i> , Rome (1960–)
DHGE	<i>Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques</i>
DÖAW	<i>Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
DOC	<i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection</i>

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	i, ed. A.R. Bellinger, Washington, DC (1966);
	ii, ed. P. Grierson, Washington, DC (1968);
	iii, ed. P. Grierson, Washington, DC (1973)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DOS	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Studies</i>
DOT	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Texts</i>
DRIA	Royal Irish Academy, <i>Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> , ed. E.G. Quin, Dublin (1913–76)
EB	<i>Etudes Balkaniques</i>
EC	<i>Etudes Celtiques</i>
EHD	see D. Whitelock, <i>English Historical Documents</i> 1
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ELC	<i>Epistolae Langobardicae Collectae</i> , ed. W. Gundlach, <i>MGH Epp.</i> III, Berlin (1892), pp. 691–715
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
ESSH	A.O. Anderson, <i>Early Sources of Scottish History</i> , 2 vols., Edinburgh (1922)
fol.	folio
Fordun, <i>Chronica</i>	Johannis de Fordun <i>Chronica Gentis Scotorum</i> , ed. W.F. Skene, Edinburgh (1871)
FrSt	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
FSI	<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> (Istituto storico per il medio evo) (1887–)
Gä	<i>Gästriklands Runinskrifter</i> , ed. S.B.F. Jansson, <i>Sveriges Runinskrifter</i> xv, Stockholm (1981)
GEN	<i>Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum</i> , ed. G. Waitz, <i>MGH SRL</i> 1, Hanover (1878), pp. 398–436
GIBI	<i>Gr' tski Izvori za B'lgarskata Istorii</i> , I–IX, Sofia (1954–74)
GMC	Georgius Monachus Continuatus, in Theoph. Cont.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Grumel	V. Grumel, <i>Les Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople</i> , 1:2: <i>Les Regestes de 715 à 1043</i> , Chalcedon (1936)
GSR	<i>The Monks of Redon: Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium and Vita Conwoionis</i> , ed. C. Brett (Studies in Celtic History 10), Woodbridge (1989)

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HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HGL	C. Devic and J. Vaissete (eds.), <i>Histoire générale de Languedoc</i> , 2 vols., Toulouse (1875)
HJb	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
HZ	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IB	<i>Istoriia na B'lgariia</i> II, Sofia (1981)
IC	<i>Islamic Culture</i>
IHS	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
IRMA	<i>Ius Romanum Medii Aevi</i> , Milan (1961–)
ISN	<i>Istorija Srpskog Naroda</i> I, Belgrade (1981)
Jaffé, <i>Regesta</i>	P. Jaffé, S. Loewenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum</i> , Leipzig (1885–8)
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JÖBG	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft</i> (1951–68)
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Karl der Grosse	<i>Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben</i> , ed. W. Braunfels, 5 vols., Düsseldorf (1965 and 1968)
Kehr, <i>Regesta</i>	P.F. Kehr, W. Holtzmann and D. Girgensohn, <i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, Italia Pontifica</i> , 10 vols., Berlin and Zurich (1906–75)
Kenney, <i>Sources</i>	James F. Kenney, <i>The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical. An Introduction and Guide</i> , rev. edn Ludwig Bieler, New York (1966)
KHL	<i>Kulturhistorisk Lexikon for nordisk middelalder</i> , 22 vols. Copenhagen (1956–78)
Konst. Porph.	Konstantin Bagryanorodnij, <i>Ob upravlenii imperiej</i> , ed., Russian trans. and commentary by G.G. Litavrin, A.P. Novoselcev <i>et al.</i> , Moscow (1989)

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<i>La Neustrie</i>	<i>La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850</i> , ed. H. Atsma (<i>Beibefte der Francia</i> 16), Sigmaringen (1989)
LD	<i>Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum</i> , ed. Hans Foerster, Berne (1958)
LP (1)	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , ed. Duchesne
LP (2)	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i> , trans. Davis
Leo VI, <i>Takt.</i>	Leo VI, <i>Takita</i> , PG 107
LSCM	<i>The Legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius to Kiev and Moscow. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Millennium of the Conversion of the Rus' to Christianity</i> , ed. A.-E.N. Tachios, Thessalonica (1992)
MA	<i>Le Moyen Age</i>
Manaresi	C. Manaresi (ed.), <i>I placiti del 'Regnum Italiae'</i> , 3 vols. (<i>Fonti per la storia d'Italia</i> 92, 96, 97), Rome (1955–60)
Mansi	J.D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> , Florence and Venice (1757–98)
MBS	I. Dujčev, <i>Medioevo Byzantino Slavo I–III</i> (<i>Storia e letteratura raccolta di Studi e Testi</i> 102, 113, 119), Rome (1965–71)
MEC	Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, <i>Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge I: The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th centuries)</i> , Cambridge (1986)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
AA	<i>Auctores Antiquissimi</i> , 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)
Cap.	<i>Capitularia, Legum Sectio II, Capitularia Regum Francorum</i> , ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
Cap. episc.	<i>Capitula Episcoporum</i> , ed. P. Brommer, Hanover (1984)
Conc.	<i>Concilia. Legum Sectio III, Concilia II</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1984)
Dip. Germ.	<i>Die Urkunden der Deutschen Karolinger I</i> , ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1932–4); II, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1936–7); III, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1956); IV, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin (1960)