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The period of the tenth and early eleventh centuries was crucial in the formation of Europe, much of whose political geography and larger-scale divisions began to take shape at this time. It was also an era of great fragmentation, and hence of differences which have been magnified by modern national historiographical traditions. The international team of authors in this volume of *The New Cambridge Medieval History* reflects these varying traditions, and provides an authoritative survey of the period in its own terms.

The volume is divided into three sections. The first covers common themes and topics such as the economy, government, and religious cultural and intellectual life. The second is devoted to the kingdoms and principalities which had emerged within the area of the former Carolingian empire, as well as the 'honorary Carolingian' region of England. The final section deals with the emergent principalities of eastern Europe and the new and established empires and statelets of the Mediterranean world.

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London, Victoria and Albert Museum, the Basilewski ivory *situla*, *c.* 980, showing scenes from the Passion

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Volume III c. 900–c. 1024

EDITED BY

TIMOTHY REUTER
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PREFACE

Timothy Reuter

No one can be more aware than a volume editor of the difficulties inherent in the project of a *New Cambridge Medieval History*, not least the argument that all such projects belong to a positivistic attitude to knowledge which has now rightly passed from the stage. Had the intention simply been to make a better job of providing a 'definitive account' of this particular section of the past than was done under the editorship of J. P. Whitney when volume III of the old *Cambridge Medieval History*, subtitled 'Germany and the Western Empire', was published in 1922, the project would indeed seem problematic. But periodic stock-takings are both important and necessary, especially given that approaches to the early medieval past have changed so fundamentally in the last seventy years. They allow a group of scholars to set out for a wider audience the current state of play in their own areas of specialisation, and so to provide students, teachers and the general public with a set of accounts of the subject which have all been produced at much the same time and to much the same set of instructions. The result may no doubt date, though slowly, but it is in any case no longer expected to do anything else. If the framework is still, as it was in the early years of this century, that of political history, it is a political history conceived more broadly, and, it is to be hoped, more readably, than was current in the 1920s. My introductory chapter and those of the other contributors to the opening thematic section set out some of the links between political history and other ways of practising the discipline.

The division around 1024 between this volume and its twin successors, inherited from the earlier *Cambridge Medieval History*, obviously has no immediate significance except for German, Italian and (more or less) Byzantine history, and it has been appropriately modified for the chapters on other topics. Both it and its substitutes here are divisions conceived essentially in terms of political history, but this has the positive advantage of not having to plump for either of the current rival datings on offer for the Great Medieval Shift: that from the ancient world to the medieval world (or from slavery to feudalism)

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around 1000; or that from 'archaic society' to the 'Old European Order' around 1050. More is said of these and other interpretative schemata in the introductory chapter.

An intellectual climate more relativistic than that which prevailed in the time of Acton, Whitney and Tanner has had the advantage for the editor that he has felt little pressure to harmonise interpretations and interpretative styles between contributions, though he hopes that there are few if any remaining discrepancies in respect of 'facts'. Indeed, it is a positive advantage that the reader should become more aware of the great range of approaches to early medieval history currently being practised in this country, on the continent and in North America. It is for this reason that the team of contributors is a fairly international one rather than being restricted to Anglophone historians. To have followed the latter course would have had many advantages, but would have risked presenting the reader with a greater appearance of homogeneity in current approaches to the subject than really exists. Intellectual stock-taking should take account not only of what is currently thought but of how and why it has come to be so thought, and in particular should emphasise rather than conceal the differences between national historiographical traditions. In the introduction I have attempted to set out some of the implications of these traditions and explore their strengths and weaknesses.

The volume is arranged in three parts. The chapters in the opening section cover themes not easily or sensibly divided up geographically. The following section has nine chapters on the polities which emerged after the break-up of the Carolingian empire, and also includes the chapter on England, which was institutionally, culturally and politically an important part of the post-Carolingian order. The final section covers non-Carolingian Europe (including Byzantium and the Islamic polities within Europe), with the chapters arranged from north-east to south-west. In order to avoid too many mini-chapters, some responsibilities have been divided between this volume and its predecessor. Volume II contains accounts of the histories of the Scandinavian peninsula and of the Celtic regions which extend into the tenth and early eleventh centuries. The present volume has a full account of Russian history from its earliest stages to 1054; the chapter planned on Jews and Jewish life in western Europe from 700 to 1050 fell victim to the death of a contributor and the impossibility of finding a replacement who could undertake to deliver within a reasonable space of time. Originally planned chapters on lordship and on warfare suffered similar fates; a little of the ground which would have been covered in these chapters is touched on in my introductory chapter, which is for that reason longer than it otherwise might have been.

Each chapter has its own bibliography of secondary sources (including works not referred to in the footnotes), but references to primary sources are

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made by short title to the consolidated bibliography of primary sources. The spelling of place-names follows the conventions in use by Cambridge University Press. The spelling of medieval personal names is inevitably in part a matter of prejudice and habit. The editor has on the whole preferred an Anglophone, more international and less anachronistic mode of spelling: Radulf/Rudolf rather than Ralph or Raoul, Odo rather than Eudes, Henry rather than Heinrich, Enrico or Henri. The results may on occasion be unfamiliar, but do at least have the advantage that they do not give to tenth-century people who in fact bore the same name spellings of that name which vary arbitrarily according to whereabouts in twentieth-century Europe they happen to have been studied. Traditional forms like Raoul and Eudes are cross-referenced in the index. Technical terms have largely been left in their Latin (or vernacular) forms, and they are explained on their first occurrence.

In the course of an enterprise of this kind one incurs many debts. I owe thanks to all my contributors, especially to those who responded to what were often very belated proposals for changes and cuts with consideration and courtesy, and also to those contributors who did meet the original deadline for delivery punctually and then found themselves waiting in limbo. Most, though certainly not all, of the materials for the volume were ready at the time of my move to Southampton in 1994, and although the contributors have kept their bibliographies up to date they have made only minor changes to their texts. The delays since 1994 have had a number of causes: illness; pressure of other university duties; and not least the publication of other volumes in the series, which have set precedents and so forced me to redo some editorial work I had thought finished and to undertake other work I had not anticipated having to do. The readers of this volume will not suffer as a result of the delays, but some of the contributors have, and I am grateful to them for their forbearance.

I am very grateful to Dr Sarah Hamilton (Southampton) and Dr Eleanor Screen (Peterhouse, Cambridge) for their assistance in checking references and bibliographies in the final stages of preparation. My special thanks go to Jinty Nelson, Jonathan Shepard and Chris Wickham for their friendship and for their freely granted advice and support on both the intellectual and the psychological problems involved in planning the volume and in dealing with contributors. During the whole period of preparation Rosamond McKitterick and I have exchanged much advice and information on our respective volumes, and I should like to thank her here for this and for much-needed support at various difficult points in the gestation of the volume. Last but not least I must thank William Davies and the staff at Cambridge University Press most warmly for the help they have given at all stages, and for their patience in awaiting delivery.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, ed. J. Bollandus *et al.*, Antwerp and Brussels (1634–)
Adalbert, *Reginonis Continuatio*	Adalbert of St Maximin, *Reginonis Continuatio*, ed. F. Kurze, Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, pp. 154–79
Adam of Bremen, *Gesta*	Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SRG* 11, Hanover (1917)
Adhémar, *Chronicon*	Adhémar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, ed. J. Chavanon, *Adémar de Chabannes, Chronique publiée d'après les manuscrits*, Paris (1897)
AfD	*Archiv für Diplomatik*
AHP	*Archivum historiae pontificae*
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AKG	*Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*
An. Boll.	*Analecta Bollandiana*
Annales ESC	*Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*
AQ	*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters (Freiherr-von-Stein-Gedächtnis-Ausgabe)*
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Whitelock, *EHD*, pp. 145–245
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BEC	*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*
BHL	*Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, *subsidia hagiographica* VI, Brussels (1898–1901), *Supplementum*, *subsidia hagiographica* XII, Brussels (1911); *Novum supplementum*, *subsidia hagiographica* LXX, Brussels (1986)

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Bib. Mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
BL MS	London, British Library manuscript
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BN lat., BN n.a. lat.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, manuscrit latin; nouvelles acquisitions latines
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz	*Byzantion*
Byzbulg	*Byzantinobulgarica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio mediavalis, Turnhout (1966–)
CCM	Corpus consuetudinem monasticarum, ed. K. Hallinger, Siegburg (1963–)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, series latina, Turnhout, (1952–)
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae
Clm	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinus Monacensis
D(D)	Diploma(ta), cited by number in the following editions:
D B I	Berengar I, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Berengario I (sec. IX–X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 35), Rome (1903)
D C I	Conrad I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), Hanover (1879–84)
D C II	Conrad II, emperor, *Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, *Die Urkunden Konrads II.* (MGH Dip. regum IV) Berlin (1909)
D Ch S	Charles the Simple, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. P. Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France, 893–923,* Paris (1949)
D H I	Henry I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), Hanover (1879–84)
D H II	Henry II, king of east Francia and emperor, *Diplomata*, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch,

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	R. Holtzmann, M. Meyer and H. Wibel, (MGH Dip. regum III), Hanover (1900–3)
D Hugh	Hugh, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
D L IV	Louis IV, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. P. Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936–954),* Paris (1914)
D L C	Louis the Child, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Schieffer, *Die Urkunden Zwentibolds und Ludwigs des Kindes* (MGH Dip. Germ. IV), Berlin (1960)
D L G	Louis (the German), king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, *Ludwig des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren Die Urkunden* (MGH Dip. Germ. I), Berlin (1932–4)
D Lo	Lothar, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. L. Halphen and F. Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et Louis V, rois de France (954–987),* Paris (1908)
D Lothar	Lothar, king of Italy, *Diplomata*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, *I diplomi di Ugo e di Lotario, di Berengario II e di Adalberto (secolo X)* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 38), Rome (1924)
D O I	Otto I, king of east Francia, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I., und Otto I.* (MGH Dip. regum I), 2 vols., Hanover (1879– 84)
D O II	Otto II, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des II.* (MGH Dip. regum II.1), Hanover (1888)
D O III	Otto III, *Diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, *Die Urkunden Otto des III.* (MGH Dip. regum II.2), Hanover (1893)
D Ra	Radulf (Raoul), king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936,* Paris (1978)
D Ro I	Robert I, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed.

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	R.-H. Bautier and J. Dufour, *Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et de Raoul, rois de France, 922–936,* Paris (1978)
D Ro II	Robert II, king of west Francia, *Acta*, ed. W. M. Newman, *Catalogue des actes de Robert II, roi de France*, Paris (1937)
DA	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
DAI	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. and trans. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (CFHB 1 = Dumbarton Oaks Texts 1), Washington, DC (1967)
DC	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. I. Reiske, 2 vols., Bonn (1829).
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
EHD	Dorothy Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents 1, c. 500–1042*, 2nd edn (London, 1979)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
ep(p.).	*epistola(e)*
Eparch	*The Book of The Eparch*, ed. and trans. J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB 33, Series Vindobonensis), Vienna (1991)
Flodoard, *Annales*	Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. P. Lauer, *Les annales de Flodoard publiées d'après les manuscrits*, Paris (1905)
Flodoard, *HRE*	Flodoard, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. M. Stratmann, *MGH SS* xxxvi, Hanover (1998),
FmaSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
fol.	folio
FSI	Fonti per la storia d'Italia (Instituto storico per il medio evo) (1887–)
Fulbert, *Ep(p).*	*The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. and trans. F. Behrends, Oxford (1976)
Gerbert, *Ep(p).*	Gerbert of Aurillac, *Epistolae*, ed. F. Weigle, *Die Briefsammlung Gerberts von Reims* (*MGH Die*

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	Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit II), Weimar (1966)
HJb	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
JEccH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JL	P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum romanorum*, 2nd edn, ed. S. Loewenfeld, with F. Kaltenbrunner and P. Ewald, Leipzig (1885–8)
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
Liudprand, *Antapodosis*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 1–158
Liudprand, *Historia*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Liber de rebus gestis Ottonis Magni imperatoris*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 159–75
Liudprand, *Relatio*	Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi opera* (*MGH SRG* XLI), Hanover (1915), pp. 175–212
MA	*Le Moyen Age*
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence and Venice (1757–98)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, with subseries:
AA	*Auctores antiquissimi*, 15 vols., Berlin (1877–1919)
Cap.	*Capitularia. Legum sectio* II, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. A. Boretius and V. Krause, 2 vols., Hanover (1883–97)
Cap. episc.	*Capitula episcoporum*, ed. P. Brommer, Hanover (1984)
Conc.	*Concilia. Legum sectio* III, *Concilia*, II, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hanover (1906–8); III, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1984); IV, ed. W. Hartmann, Hanover (1998)
Const.	*Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum inde ab a.* DCCCCXI *usque ad a.* MCXCCVII *(911–1197)*, ed. L. Weiland, Hanover (1893)
Dip. Germ.	*Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der deutschen Karolinger* I, ed.

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MGH (cont.)	P. Kehr, Berlin (1932–4); II, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1936–7); III, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin (1956); IV, ed. T. Schieffer, Berlin 1960)
Dip. Kar.	*Diplomata Karolinorum: Die Urkunden der Karolinger* I and III, ed. E. Mühlbacher and T. Schieffer, Hanover (1893–1908)
Dip. regum	*Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae: Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser* I, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1879–84); II.1, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1888); II.2, ed. T. Sickel, Hanover (1893); III, ed. H. Bresslau, H. Bloch and R. Holtzmann, Hanover (1900–3); IV, ed. H. Bresslau, Berlin (1909)
Epp.	*Epistolae* III–VIII (= *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, Hanover (1892–1939)
Epp. sel.	*Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*, 5 vols., Hanover (1887–91)
Fontes	*Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi*, 13 vols., Hanover (1909–86)
Form.	*Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer, *Legum sectio* V, Hanover (1886)
Leges nat. Germ.	*Leges nationum Germanicarum*, ed. K. Zeumer (*Lex Visigothorum*); L. R. de Salis (*Leges Burgundionum*); F. Beyerle and R. Buchner (*Lex Ribuaria*); K. A. Eckhardt (*Pactus legis Salicae* and *Lex Salica*); E. von Schwind (*Lex Baiwariorum*), 6 vols. in 11 parts, Hanover (1892–1969)
Lib. mem.	*Libri memoriales*, and *Libri memoriales et Necrologia nova series*, Hanover (1979–)
Nec. Germ.	*Necrologia Germaniae*, 5 vols. and Suppl. Hanover (1886–1920)
Poet.	*Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, ed. E. Dümmler, L. Traube, P. von Winterfeld and K. Strecker, 4 vols., Hanover (1881–99)
SRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, 63 vols., Hanover (1871–1987)
SRL	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX*, ed. G. Waitz, Hanover (1878)
SRM	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, ed. B. Krusch

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MGH (cont.)	and W. Levison, 7 vols., Hanover (1885–1920)
SS	*Scriptores* (in Folio), 30 vols., Hanover (1824–1924)
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* (1922–1944, *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung*)
EB	*MIÖG, Ergänzungsband*
MMS	Münstersche Mittelalterschriften
MS	Manuscript
NA	*Neues Archiv der Geselleschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, continued as *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
N.F.	Neue Folge
n.s.	nova series, new series
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus*, *series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857–66)
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols., Paris (1841–64)
QFIAB	*Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*
Radulf Glaber, *Historiae*	Radulf Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ed. with English trans. J. France, Oxford (1989)
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
Regino, *Chronicon*	Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. F. Kurze, *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, *MGH SRG* L, Hanover (1890)
RHEF	*Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*
RHF	*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, series in folio, eds. M. Bouquet and M.-J.-J. Brial, revised by L. Delisle, 19 vols., Paris (1869–80)
RhVjb	*Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*
Richer, *Historiae*	Richer, *Historiae*, ed. and trans. R. Latouche, Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)* (Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge), 2 vols., Paris (1930, 1937; repr. 1960, 1964)
RISS	*Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, 25 vols., Milan (1723–51); new edn, G. Carducci and V. Fiorini, Città di Castello and Bologna (1900–)

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s.a.	*sub anno*
Sawyer	P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: A Handlist*, London (1968)
Settimane	*Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto 1955–)
Skylitzes, *Synopsis*	John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (CFHB 5, Series Berolinensis), Berlin and New York (1973)
SM	*Studi Mediaevali*
StMGBO	*Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige*
Thietmar, *Chronicon*	Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann (*MGH SRG N.S.* IX, Berlin (1935)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
Vat. (lat.; pal. lat.; reg. lat.)	Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, MS (latinus; palatinus latinus; reginensis latinus)
VSWG	*Vierteljahresschrift für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*
VuF	Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte
Widukind, *Res gestae Saxonicae*	*Widukindi monachi Corbeiensis rerum gestarum Saxonicarum libri III*, ed. P. Hirsch and H.-E. Lohmann (*MGH SRG* LX, Hanover (1935)
Wipo, *Gesta*	Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi,* ed. H. Bresslau, *Wiponis opera* (*MGH SRG* LXI), Hanover (1915), pp. 3–62
ZRG	*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*
GA	*Germanistische Abteilung*
KA	*Kanonistische Abteilung*

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