

Writing the Early Medieval West

Far from the oral society it was once assumed to have been, early medieval Europe was fundamentally shaped by the written word. This book offers a pioneering collection of fresh and innovative studies on a wide range of topics, each one representing cutting-edge scholarship, and collectively setting the field on a new footing. Concentrating on the role of writing in mediating early medieval knowledge of the past, on the importance of surviving manuscripts as clues to the circulation of ideas and political and cultural creativity, and on the role that texts of different kinds played both in supporting and in subverting established power relations, these essays represent a milestone in studies of the early medieval written word.

ELINA SCREEN is an established historian of early medieval Europe, with particular specialisms in the Carolingian world. Screen is currently preparing a monograph on Emperor Lothar I (d. 855), on whom she is a leading authority. She is also General Editor of the *Medieval European Coinage* project and publishes on medieval numismatics.

CHARLES WEST has published extensively on a wide range of early medieval topics. His first monograph, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution* (Cambridge), was published in 2013, and he has co-edited two books on Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (d. 882) with Rachel Stone.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen , Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen, Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Writing the Early Medieval West

Studies in Honour of Rosamond McKitterick

Edited by

Elina Screen

University of Oxford

Charles West

University of Sheffield



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen, Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New
Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the
pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international
levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107198395
DOI: 10.1017/9781108182386

© Cambridge University Press 2018

This publication 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 2018

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

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

ISBN 978-1-107-19839-5 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 publication and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen , Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



For Rosamond McKitterick

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen , Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	x
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv
1 Introduction: A Study in the Education of a Society? MARIOS COSTAMBEYS AND MATTHEW INNES	1
Part I Knowledge of the Past	13
2 Flavius Josephus: The Most Influential Classical Historian of the Early Middle Ages RICHARD MATTHEW POLLARD	15
3 Bede and the Changing Image of Rome and the Romans PAUL HILLIARD	33
4 Paul the Deacon and Rome MARIOS COSTAMBEYS	49
5 History and (Selective) Memory: Articulating Community and Division in Folcuin's <i>Gesta abbatum Lobiensium</i> INGRID REMBOLD	64
6 'Appropriate to the Religion of their Time': Walahfrid's Historicisation of the Liturgy CHRISTINA PÖSSEL	80
7 The Order of History: Liturgical Time and the Rhythms of the Past in Amalarius of Metz's <i>De ordine antiphonarii</i> GRAEME WARD	98
	vii

viii	Contents	
	Part II The Written Word in Early Medieval Europe: The View from the Manuscripts	113
8	The Manuscript Evidence for Pharmacy in the Early Middle Ages NICHOLAS EVERETT	115
9	Monte Cassino's Network of Knowledge: The Earliest Manuscript Evidence SVEN MEEDER	131
10	Strategies of Knowledge Organisation in Early Medieval Latin Glossary Miscellanies: The Example of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388 ANNA DOROFEEVA	146
11	'Dissonance of Speech, Consonance of Meaning': The 862 Council of Aachen and the Transmission of Carolingian Conciliar Records CHARLES WEST	169
	Part III Texts and Early Medieval Rulers	183
12	The Moorish Kingdoms and the Written Word: Three 'Textual Communities' in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Mauretania ANDY MERRILLS	185
13	When Liturgy Gets Out of Hand YITZHAK HEN	203
14	The Formation of a European Identity: Revisiting Charlemagne's Coinage SIMON COUPLAND	213
15	Queenship in Dispute: Fastrada, History and Law MATTHEW INNES	230
16	Remembering and Forgetting Lothar I ELINA SCREEN	248
	<i>Bibliography</i>	261
	<i>Index of Manuscripts</i>	301
	<i>General Index</i>	303

Figures

- | | | |
|------|---|----------|
| 10.1 | The end of the second Eucherian word-list, followed by fifteen metrological nouns and <i>De ponderibus</i> (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 14388, fol. 227 ^v) | page 156 |
| 10.2 | <i>De pigmentis nardi spicatæ</i> or <i>On the balm of the spikenard</i> (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Clm 14388, fol. 183 ^v) | 158 |
| 12.1 | Map of North Africa, showing places discussed in the text. Roman roads are indicated with broken lines | 187 |
| 14.1 | Pre-reform denier of Soissons, 1.03g, 17mm (Numismatik Lanz Munich, Auction 162, 6 June 2016, lot 457) | 215 |
| 14.2 | Monogram deniers from the Borne hoard of 1987 (Overijssel, Netherlands). (a) Bourges, 1.41g, 20mm; (b) Dorestad, 1.56g, 19.5mm; (c) Pavia, 1.75g, 20.5mm. (Museum TwentseWelle, <i>[sic]</i> Enschede. Photographs courtesy of Bouke Jan van der Veen.) | 215 |
| 14.3 | Monogram denier with Greek monogram from the Borne hoard of 1987 (Overijssel, Netherlands), 1.60g, 20mm. (Museum TwentseWelle, Enschede. Photograph courtesy of Bouke Jan van der Veen.) | 216 |
| 14.4 | Distances between mint of origin and find-spot for single finds, 751–814 | 219 |
| 14.5 | Portrait denier with long title, D[ominus] N[oster] KARLVS IMP[erator] AVG[ustus] REX F[rancorum] ET L[angobardorum] ('Our lord Charles, emperor augustus, king of the Franks and of the Lombards') 1.59g, 19mm (obverse gilt). (Jean Elsen et ses fils, Auction 129, 11 June 2016, lot 332. Photograph courtesy of Olivier Elsen.) | 220 |

Tables

2.1	Surviving manuscripts of Livy	<i>page</i> 18
2.2	Numbers of citations of authors by name in <i>PL</i> 1–140	19
2.3	Surviving manuscripts of Sallust before 1000	24
2.4	Longest continuous quotations in <i>PL</i> 1–140	29
10.1	On the balm of the spikenard, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14388, fol. 183 ^v and the Second Gospel Commentary	160
11.1	Vatican Bibliotheca Apostolica Pal. lat. 576	176

Contributors

MARIOS COSTAMBEYS is a Reader in Medieval History at the University of Liverpool

SIMON COUPLAND is an Affiliated Scholar at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge, and a vicar in Kingston upon Thames

ANNA DOROFEEVA is an Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow at University College Dublin

NICHOLAS EVERETT is a Professor at the University of Toronto

YITZHAK HEN is Ana and Sam Lopin Professor of History at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva

PAUL HILLIARD is an Assistant Professor at the University of St Mary of the Lake

MATTHEW INNES is the Vice Master of Birkbeck, University of London

SVEN MEEDER is a Lecturer in Medieval History at the Radboud University Nijmegen

ANDY MERRILLS is a Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Leicester

RICHARD MATTHEW POLLARD is an Assistant Professor at the Université du Québec à Montréal

CHRISTINA PÖSSEL is an independent scholar

INGRID REMBOLD is a Junior Research Fellow at Hertford College, University of Oxford

ELINA SCREEN is a College Lecturer in Medieval History at Trinity College, Oxford

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen , Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xii Contributors

GRAEME WARD is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at Jesus College,
University of Oxford

CHARLES WEST is a Reader in Medieval History at the University of
Sheffield

Preface

This volume took its current form as the result of conversations between Marios Costambeys, Matthew Innes, Elina Screen and Charles West at the Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2015, and reflects the general desire of Rosamond McKitterick's students to mark her retirement in September 2016. We are most grateful to Liz Friend-Smith at Cambridge University Press for her encouragement and support as the volume was commissioned, and to our authors for coping with our tight timetable.

Our first difficulty was to decide whom to invite to contribute to this volume. Rosamond McKitterick's students are many: forty-two completed PhDs as at October 2015, with five more in progress; one MLitt and at least twenty-five MPhil students have continued to take their PhDs elsewhere. There is besides the large penumbra of others who have valued her friendly support, and a widespread network of close colleagues. We could have filled several volumes, but space constraints meant that we decided to extend the invitation to those of Rosamond's completed PhD students working full-time in higher education institutions as at October 2015, as well as Simon Coupland, one of Rosamond's very first students. Fifteen former students were able to respond to our invitation, and the volume to hand is the result. We also held a round table on '*The Carolingians and the Written Word revisited*' at the Leeds International Medieval Congress on 5 July 2016. We are very grateful to the participants, Katy Cubitt, Gerda Heydemann, Matthew Innes, Jonathan Jarrett, Mayke de Jong, and Rosamond herself for their contributions, to Marios Costambeys for moderating the discussion, and for the many insightful comments from the floor.

The volume would not have been possible without initial help from the administrative staff at the Faculty of History, University of Cambridge. We owe especial thanks to David McKitterick for his assistance in contacting the far-flung community that is Rosamond's students, and in making possible a dinner for former students held on 17 September 2016. We are grateful to Sidney Sussex College for hosting that dinner, and to

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-19839-5 — Writing the Early Medieval West
Edited by Elina Screen, Charles West
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xiv Preface

the History fellows, particularly Eugenio Biagini and Bernhard Fulda, for help with practical arrangements. Mayke de Jong kindly provided the photograph of Rosamond. Marios Costambeys and Matthew Innes provided important support throughout.

The many former students who could not be represented here join with the authors in dedicating this book to Rosamond with all our grateful thanks.

Elina Screen and Charles West

Abbreviations

AM	<i>anno mundi</i>
ARF	<i>Annales regni Francorum</i>
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BCTH B	<i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. (Afrique du Nord)</i>
Bede, HA	Bede, <i>Historia Abbatum</i> , ed. and trans. C. Grocock and I. Wood, <i>Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow</i> (Oxford, 2013)
Bede, HE	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum</i> , ed. and trans. B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People</i> (Oxford, 1969)
Carm.	<i>Carmen/Carmina</i>
CC	<i>Chronica monasterii Casinensis</i> , ed. H. Hoffmann, <i>Die Chronik von Montecassino (Chronica monasterii Casinensis)</i> , MGH SS, 34
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i>
CCSL	<i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i>
CGL	<i>Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CLA	<i>Codices Latini Antiquiores</i> , ed. E.A. Lowe, 11 vols. + supplement (Oxford, 1934–71)
CLLA	<i>Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores</i> , ed. K. Gamber, 2nd ed., 2 vols., <i>Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1</i> (Freiburg, 1968); supplemented by B. Baroffio et al., <i>Spicilegii Friburgensis subsidia 1A</i> (Freiburg, 1988)
CPL	<i>Clavis patrum latinorum</i> , ed. E. Dekkers (Turnhout, 1995)
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
DA	<i>Deutsches Archiv</i>
De Civ.	Augustine, <i>De civitate dei</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
Etym.	Isidore of Seville, <i>Etymologiae</i>

xvi Abbreviations

<i>GaL</i>	<i>Gesta abbatum Lobensium</i>
<i>HL</i>	<i>Historia Langobardorum</i>
<i>LP</i>	<i>Liber Pontificalis</i>
McKitterick, <i>CWW</i>	McKitterick, R., <i>The Carolingians and the Written Word</i> (Cambridge, 1989)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Auctores antiquissimi</i>
<i>Capit.</i> I, II	<i>Capitularia regum Francorum</i> I, II
<i>Conc.</i>	<i>Concilia Karolini Aevi</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistolae (Epistolae Karolini Aevi)</i>
<i>PLMA</i>	<i>Poetae Latini Medii Aevi</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scriptores</i>
<i>SRG</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum</i>
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum</i>
<i>SRM</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
Munk Olsen	Munk Olsen, B., <i>L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux xie et xiiie siècles</i> , 3 vols. (Paris, 1982–9)
<i>OR</i>	<i>Ordo Romanus</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus series latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64)
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>