

CROSS ROADS

**TRAVELLING
THROUGH THE
MIDDLE AGES**

W BOOKS



Saurica.

cahyate. ps

Meore.
Fossa facta p seruos fecit
Cabacos. Alyp.
Salolime. ad

L A U S E O T I V L I

Seracoe.

Monim.

B O S P O R O S
Hermocia. Humph. O
Chimerium. a
Bruam. h
Amprni. l.
Macara.
Hale. Chru
Hs. d

Constantinopolis.
Melaniana.
Regio. xu.

Byzantium.
Chrisopolis.
Calcedonia.
Liuiffa.
Nico media.
ad promontorium. xv.
ad herbas. h. xvi.
Melena. xviii.
xxv. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. xxviii.

Aegaeum.
Pronetios.
Pylae.
Lacus.
Lamaseo.
Pensias.
Pheme.
Bardano.
Alexandria. troas.
Smythium.
Lemnos. Coria.
Bionisa.
Dionio.
Lituam. xvi.
Inata. areade. xxx.
Blenna. xx.
Hiera. xxii.

Aegaeum.
G V V M S P E
Heraficamina.
Spelci. plu.
Soene. xu.
ombos. xx.
Tentira. xvi.
Lato. xx.
Miospoli. a octibe.
Hormucopto. xl. m.
Cenoboscio. x.
Phenice. x.
Antipe. go. xxvii.
Cardu. xxvi.
Hemeseo. xxiii.
Catabathmo. xxvii.
Aratu. xxvi.
Hesus. xxvii.
Pretomo. xxvii.
Phihien. xxvii.

St. Nilus qui dividit asiam z libiam.

CROSS ROADS

Travelling through the Middle Ages,
AD 300–1000

This joint publication by the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam and its partners in the CEMEC project (Connecting Early-Medieval European Collections), with the museum partners of the COBBRA Museum Consortium, is published alongside the exhibition *Crossroads. Travelling through the Middle Ages* at the Allard Pierson Museum (15 September 2017 to 11 February 2018), the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens and the LVR-LandesMuseum in Bonn.

PARTNERS

Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam/University of Amsterdam
 LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn/University of Bonn
 Hungarian National Museum, Budapest/Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest
 Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens
 Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche ITABC, Rome/
 Museo Nazionale dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome
 University Institute of Iberian Archaeology, Jaén/
 Museum of Jaén
 University College Dublin/National Museum of Ireland
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
 Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen
 Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels
 DEN Kennisinstituut Digitale Cultuur, The Hague
 E.V.O.C.A., Rome
 NoHo, Dublin
 Fraunhofer-IGD, Darmstad
 Moobels, Hilversum

SPONSORS

The exhibition *Crossroads. Travelling through the Middle Ages* was sponsored by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union (Creative Europe, EACEA Agency), the Mondriaan Fund, the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds, and the Friends of the Allard Pierson Museum.

 ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM

 UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM

 Co-funded by the Creative Europe Programme of the European Union

 PRINS BERNHARD CULTUURFONDS

 mondriaan fonds

 Connecting Early Medieval European Collections

 FRIENDS OF THE ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM

 Bonn
LVR-LandesMuseum

 Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum

 Universidad de Jaén

 BYZANTINE & CHRISTIAN MUSEUM
MUSEUM OF ATHENS AND SPES

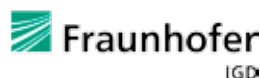
 ita bc
CNR

 UCD
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

 den
Foundation

 evoca
GRÁFICA PROFESIONAL

 noho
creative&active

 Fraunhofer
IGD

 moobels

 Glyptoteket

 ASHMOLEAN

 museum
National Museum of Ireland
and Ashmolean Museum





LOANS

Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens
 Hungarian National Museum, Budapest
 Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
 Leiden University Libraries
 Limburgs Museum, Venlo
 LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn
 Museo de Jaén, Junta de Andalucía
 Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht
 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Legaat van de heer en mevrouw Oosterbaan-Lugt, Heemstede
 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden
 Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels
 Stichting Weg van de Vikingen, Den Oever, Nederland
 Tresoar – Buma Bibliotheek, Leeuwarden
 Universiteitsbibliotheek Universiteit Utrecht

AUTHORS

David Abulafia
Eva Maria Alcázar Hernández
Maria Bormpoudaki
Britt Claes
Aikaterini Dellaporta
Raymond Detrez
Marieke van den Doel
Peter Heather
Wim Hupperetz
Irene Montilla Torres
Lindsay Morehouse
Marco Mostert
Lynda Mulvin
Elke Nieveler
Robin Oomkes
Alfonsina Pagano
Anna Pinalto
Eva Pietroni
Zsófia Rácz
Kianoosh Rezaia
Barbara Roggema
Tineke Rooijackers
Helen Saradi
Alexander Sarantis
Michael Schmauder
Vicente Salvatierra
Gergely Szenthe
Matthias Toplak
Marlena Whiting

CROSS ROADS

EDITORIAL BOARD

Maria Bormpoudaki
Marieke van den Doel
Wim Hupperetz
Faidra Kalafati
Lindsay Morehouse
Lynda Mulvin
Michael Schmauder

 **BOOKS**

**TRAVELLING
THROUGH THE
MIDDLE AGES,
AD 300–1000**

CONTENTS

PREFACE

6

CROSSROADS. TRAVELLING THROUGH EUROPE, AD 300–1000

Wim Hupperetz, Lynda Mulvin and Michael Schmauder

8

DIVERSITY

16

INTRODUCTION

Lindsay Morehouse

18

FROM CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO CHARLEMAIGNE: THE POST-ROMAN WEST, AD 400–800

Peter Heather

19

Traveller

ABUL-ABBAS: CHARLEMAGNE'S ELEPHANT

Robin Oomkes

28

THE LONGOBARDS: BETWEEN LOWER ELBE AND ITALY

Michael Schmauder

30

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE: AN EASTERN PERSPECTIVE, AD 400–800

Aikaterini Dellaporta, Maria Bormpoudaki and Anna Pianalto

38

Traveller

THEOPHANO: A BYZANTINE PRINCESS IN THE RUSTIC WEST

Robin Oomkes

46

THE SASSANID EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF ISLAM, AD 300–800

Kianoosh Rezania

48

AL-ANDALUS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Vicente Salvatierra and Irene Montilla Torres

56

Traveller

HASDAY IBN SHAPRUT: A JEWISH SCHOLAR AT THE CALIPH'S COURT

Irene Montilla Torres

64

LATE ANTIQUE EGYPT

Tineke Rooijackers

66

Traveller

EGERIA: AN OBSERVANT PILGRIM IN THE HOLY LAND

Marlena Whiting

76

IRELAND AND EUROPE: TRANSMISSION OF CELTIC AESTHETIC IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Lynda Mulvin

78

BETWEEN NORTH ATLANTIC AND BLACK SEA: THE VIKING AGE AND KIEVAN RUS

Matthias Toplak

86

Traveller

AHMAD IBN FADLAN'S RISALA: AN ARAB DIPLOMAT'S TRAVELOGUE

Matthias Toplak

94

THE FRANKISH KINGDOM: HUB OF WESTERN EUROPE

Britt Claes and Elke Nieveler

96

Traveller

ST MARTIN OF TOURS: SOLDIER OF CHRIST

Robin Oomkes

102

THE SLAVS: BETWEEN THE FRANKS AND THE BYZANTINES

Raymond Detrez

104

THE AVAR PERIOD IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN	110	KNOWLEDGE, SCHOLARSHIP AND SCIENCE IN EUROPE, AD 300–1000	162
Zsófia Rácz and Gergely Szenthe		Marco Mostert	
<hr/>			
II			
CONNECTIVITY	116	Traveller	172
INTRODUCTION	118	OH THERE: THE NORTH BECOMES PART OF EUROPE	
Lindsay Morehouse		Marco Mostert	
THE HERITAGE OF ROME AND THE RISE OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE	119	IDENTITY AND SHIFTING ATTITUDES IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE	174
Helen Saradi		Lynda Mulvin	
Traveller		<hr/>	
ST HELENA: THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE	126	III	
Robin Oomkes		EARLY-MEDIEVAL EUROPE TODAY	182
THE MEDITERRANEAN: COLLAPSE AND REVIVAL, AD 400–1000	128	INTRODUCTION	184
David Abulafia		Lindsay Morehouse	
THE THREE MONOTHEISTIC RELIGIONS: JEWS, CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS FROM LATE ANTIQUITY TO EARLY MIDDLE AGES	138	THE MIDDLE AGES: A THOUSAND YEARS IN BETWEEN	185
Barbara Roggema		Marieke van den Doel	
Traveller		EARLY-MEDIEVAL EUROPE IN MODERN MUSEUM PRESENTATION	193
SIGERIC THE SERIOUS: ARCHBISHOP IN DANGEROUS TIMES	148	Wim Hupperetz	
Eva Maria Alcázar Hernández		STORIES BEYOND OBJECTS: THE CASE OF THE KUNÁGOTA SWORD	198
WARFARE IN EUROPE, AD 300–1000	150	Eva Pietroni and Alfonsina Pagano	
Alexander Sarantis		INFORMATION	202
Traveller		Furter Reading	203
OLYMPIODORUS OF THEBES: THE DIPLOMAT WITH THE PARROT	160	Authors' Biographies	205
Robin Oomkes		Illustration Credits	207
		Colophon	208

THE FRANKISH KINGDOM

HUB OF WESTERN EUROPE

Britt Claes and Elke Nieveler

FRANKS AND MEROVINGIANS

Written sources mention the Franks for the first time in the second half of the third century during the first Germanic migrations across the Rhine into the Roman Empire. At that time the Franks are not a clearly defined nation, but rather a federation of several Germanic peoples (Chamavi, Chattuarii, Bructeri, Ampsivarii, and Salians), originally from the region between Rhine and Weser. New migrations of these so-called Barbarians in the next century led to the integration of the Franks into the empire as *laeti* or *foederati*. They offered military service and received in return the possibility to climb up to the highest ranks of the imperial army. In this way the Frankish leaders established small kingdoms. Certain kings and high Roman officers are mentioned as Merovingians, a Salian dynasty whose initial territory lay mostly in today's Belgium. Clovis I (r. AD 481/482–511) belonged to this important early-medieval dynasty. He took over the rule of Gaul from the Romans and brought together all other independent Frankish realms, thus creating a unified Frankish kingdom. Clovis and his successors brought the areas of the Thuringians, the Alemanni and the Burgundians under Frankish rule. In the second half of the sixth century, the Frankish realm reached from the Atlantic Ocean to the rivers Elbe and Saale, from the Channel to the Mediterranean, and as such bordered on the Byzantine Empire and the Saxon, Longobard, Slav, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian territories. The exchange and mobility of people, traditions and materials — merchandise, plunder or gifts — between



MARILLES BROOCH

Remarkable gold cloisonné brooch (AD 560–610) found in Marilles (Belgium) in 1859, with garnet inlays in a geometrical network of small vertically placed golden partitions or *cloisons*. Garnets were imported from southern Asia until the end of the 6th century, when

supply stagnated probably due to political unrest along the trade routes. Subsequently garnet imports — albeit of lesser quality — also came from new European mining areas, such as Bohemia and Portugal.

these regions is reflected by the written sources as well as the archaeological finds.

THE FRANKS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

The archaeological sites and traces in the Frankish kingdom consist of settlements, churches, monasteries, hoards, and above all burial sites, which serve as a primary source of knowledge on the Early Middle Ages. The number of excavated sites goes into the thousands. Important craft and trade centres have been investigated in Dorestad (Wijk bij Duurstede) and Maastricht in the Netherlands, Paris (France), Namur, Huy and Tournai

(Belgium), and Cologne (Germany). The Frankish settlements differ substantially from the typical Roman stone architecture. They consist mostly of farmsteads with one or more large rectangular post buildings associated with smaller annex buildings, silos, wells and pits. The buildings were made of perishable materials such as wood or wattle and daub. The usually rectangular plots are delimited by hedges, ditches and fences. The size of the settlements varies from single-family farms to extended family groups. Although recent excavations have brought to light numerous new settlement sites, they are still outnumbered by the burial sites. On the other hand, existing settlements founded by the Romans did not disappear completely. They show a continuity during the early-medieval period, as documented for example in the cities of Tournai, Trier, Paris and Cologne. Nevertheless, a breach in construction methods can be attested.

FRANKISH BURIALS AND WHAT WE CAN GLEAN FROM THEM

Local and regional differences are clearly observed in burial grounds that show a continuity between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The extensive ones, however, often covering the whole Merovingian period, are uniformly categorised under the name of row-grave fields (*Reihengräberfelder*). They emerge in a wider Roman-Germanic contact zone that is not restricted to the Frankish area. From the end of the fifth century they are characterised by typical burial practices and the inclusion of grave goods such as weapons and jewellery. Specific tomb forms, particularly chamber tombs and long, narrow grave-pits, are archaeologically documented, as are the development, production and distribution of specific finds. The more or less regular equipment in the graves indicates the military and hierarchical status of the deceased in society. It includes biconical pots and different types of bow and disc *fibulae*, and especially, for male burials, the addition of weapons: *angons* (javelins), battle axes and *franciscae* (throwing axes), spear heads, *spathae* and other swords, and above all *seax* (small swords).

DRESS, ACCESSORIES AND WEAPONS

Given the absence of iconographical sources, it is principally the archaeological data that enable us to catch a glimpse of the Merovingian costume. They give hints of a Late Antique dress code adapted under Germanic influence. Metal brooches, buckles and fittings are often the only part of the clothing still present in the graves. Concerning women's costume it is thought that the use of brooches was common, even beyond the Frankish territory, while specific dress accessories such as ornamental discs and belt buckles varied between the western and eastern parts of the territory. In the beginning of the sixth century, rich women often wore four brooches to close their robes or cloaks: two small ones on the chest, e.g. bird- or disc-shaped brooches decorated with



THE CONQUESTS OF CLOVIS I

This map shows the conquests of Clovis I (r. 481/482–511), who united the Frankish kingdoms under his rule and conquered large

parts of Roman Gaul. Clovis belonged to the Merovingian dynasty, which was to rule the Frankish kingdom for the next two centuries.



SOUTH-ASIAN BEADS

Necklace (AD 475–530) with green glass beads and a bone amulet, found in Ribemont

(France). These tiny glass beads were imported from southern Asia until c. AD 530.

garnets, and two larger bow brooches between knees and waist. During the second half of the sixth century, fashion changed under Mediterranean influence. From that period, women closed their cloaks with a single bigger brooch at the neck.

Male graves with particularly precious weapons such as the gold-hilt *spatha* (late fifth and early sixth century) or the sixth-century ring swords are associated with high officials in the service of the Frankish king. Buckles and fittings were mostly made of iron or copper alloy; silver and gold are rare. Their shape, size and ornaments changed from one generation to the other. From narrow copper-alloy or garnet-inlay buckles with or without fittings in the fifth and early sixth century they evolved into broad damascened iron buckles and fittings in the seventh century. Helmets were only used by Frankish army commanders. *Spangenhelme* (the *Spangen* being the metal strips framing the helmet, see p. 100) such as the one buried with the ‘Master of Morken’ were manufactured for the Byzantine army and could only be obtained by personal relations.

FUSION OF DECORATIVE STYLES

The Frankish arts and crafts combine the interlaced ornaments of Late Antiquity with the Germanic animal-style decoration, testifying to the extraordinary dynam-

ics of fusion of diverse cultural influences and traditions. In addition to the cloisonné technique, the so-called animal style — adopting and actively transforming Roman pictorial elements, e.g. on military belts in the Germanic world — is characteristic of this period. The so-called Animal Style I, primarily known from Scandinavia and England, shows single, anatomically clearly distinct animals. In the course of the sixth century it evolves into the so-called Animal Style II, in which the individual animals are intertwined to the point of being indistinguishable.

ROMAN INFLUENCE

It appears from written sources that elements of Roman state organisation under Frankish rule were adopted to a certain degree only, which varied strongly from region to region. This concerns judicial and fiscal regulations, in which we can distinguish between German and Roman or Gallo-Roman populations. Thus the Franks adopted the ecclesiastical organisation developed in the Late Roman period as a basis for their administration, and the Latin language as political language. This enabled the governability and the stability of the great Frankish realm, which comprised many different populations and languages. A continued Late Antique influence on population groups in the Frankish kingdom can be proven by, among other things, linguistic evidence in Latin funerary inscriptions. The Roman economic order, based on a monetary economy and supply through large estates, hardly found any continuation in the Frankish kingdom, while Roman infrastructure, with its central stone buildings as administrative centres, isolated fortifications, episcopal sees and cult buildings, together with the ecclesiastical structures, remained in use to a varying extent. The latter was made possible by Clovis I, who was baptised in Reims around AD 500. Material culture also documents a continued existence of Late Antique customs (the use of gravestones, for example), fashion and technologies. Particularly the upper class adopted aspects of the lifestyle of population groups marked by Late Antiquity. This is documented by means of their burial goods, such as bronze and ceramic bowls used for washing hands before a feast.

TRADE AND OTHER CONTACTS

The survival of trade routes and commercial contacts is proved by written sources as well as grave goods. Apart from coins, individual jewellery and raw materials such

as shell disks and amethysts from the Mediterranean area or garnets and beads from southern Asia, precious textiles were traded as well. Chinese silk reached the Frankish area via the Byzantine Empire. A wide distribution of shell disks, amethysts and garnets, even of lesser quality and in graves not necessarily belonging to the upper class, demonstrates that some categories of goods were not exclusively reserved to the social elite. Direct personal contacts with the Mediterranean area, in particular with the Byzantine Empire, are also documented by written sources and archaeological finds alike. This resulted in the transfer of prestige goods, dress ornaments and military equipment from the Byzantine army such as helmets, armour or special types of spearheads. The exchange of goods, gifts or money was furthermore favoured by diplomatic contacts between the Franks and the Byzantine Empire (e.g. an alliance at the beginning of the Gothic War in AD 535, a peace treaty in 571, and an alliance against the Longobards in 578), the Ostrogoths and the Longobards, but also by multiple invasions of Frankish armies in northern Italy during the sixth century. Literary sources tell us about the mobility of men, especially merchants, ambassadors and pilgrims, warriors and kings, but also of women, on the basis of marriage ties. Various connections between the Frankish royal house and the Thuringian, Longobard, Gothic or Anglo-Saxon territories are documented. Connections with Thuringia and Saxony for example, before and after the integration of the Thuringian terri-

tory into the Frankish realm, are associated with a vivid exchange of goods and funerary customs along old trade routes such as the Westphalian Hellweg.

The archaeological sources also reveal close connections with the Anglo-Saxon region and what is now Scandinavia. Examples are the typical continental brooches and parts of pendants found in women's graves, or the thirty-seven Merovingian gold coins in Mound 1 of Sutton Hoo (Suffolk, England). During the seventh century, settlements, harbours and trading centres at the North Sea seemed to become more important than the Mediterranean connections. Next to Dorestad, taken over by the Franks from the Frisians in the seventh century, Quentovic by the end of the seventh century became the most important trade hub and port of the Franks in northern France. Both towns connected the Frankish kingdom with the Anglo-Saxon ports, but also with the west coast of Jutland (Denmark), where Frankish glass

TWO GRAVES

Grave goods from a female (left) and a male (right) grave (AD 450–500) excavated in Haillot (Belgium), in the small but famous necropolis of Campagne de Flème, not far from the remains of a Gallo-Roman villa. The burial finds,

showing both Roman and Germanic influences, illustrate the transition between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages and prove that so-called *laeti* or *foederati* (Franks serving in the Roman army) lived in this region.





MORKEN HELMET

This magnificent *Spangenhelm* belonged to the 'Master of Morcken', a Merovingian nobleman interred at the end of the 6th century. His oak burial chamber with rich grave goods was in the 'elite department' of the grave field of Morcken (a former village west of Cologne, Germany). The helmet is decorated with a band depicting

birds picking at vines; in the centre, over the nose guard, is a man's head flanked by lions. This reference to the story of Daniel in the lions' den served as a prayer for protection—the damage from sword cuts shows that the helmet, made of iron and gilt bronze tin, was worn in battle.

remains have been found. Numerous settlements in Jutland, Zealand and Bornholm (Denmark), Scania and Halland (Sweden) reveal that they were integrated into an interregional network of contacts, in particular with the Frankish kingdom, despite the religious differences between the expanding Christianity under Frankish rule and the pagan population of what is now Scandinavia.



MEROVINGIAN GRAVESTONE

One side of this unique stela depicts a haloed male figure bearing a spear, a symbol of royal power that was copied into early representations of Christ. On the other side is a warrior with a broad seax (a sword type typical of the mid-7th-century Franks) who is threatened

by a snake over his head, while he is combing his hair. To the Franks, long hair was a symbol of power and freedom, so the juxtaposition with the threatening snake may not be coincidental. Limestone, h. 52 cm, found at Königswinter-Niederdollendorf (near Bonn, Germany).

From the second half of the sixth century, vassalage in the Frankish realm strongly influenced the perception of social status and symbols, archaeologically recognisable by the discovery of ceremonial swords in the northern areas. Close connections are thus noticed between the equipment of Nordic warriors, especially from Gotland (Sweden) and Bornholm, and those of the continent. On the other hand, in the area of the Frankish realm, mostly in former Alemannic territory, find groups such as gold bracteates (medallions) and bow brooches with rectangular head plates, highly decorated feet and runic inscriptions are encountered. They find their models and origin in the Anglo-Saxon area and Scandinavia and indicate a common symbolism.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

In later times as well, when Charlemagne and his successors from the Carolingian dynasty established Frankish reign throughout western Europe, great efforts were made to attain the imperial dignity of Rome, building



palaces that were influenced by Roman architecture. At the same time, the personal contacts between the Frankish elites and the rest of northern Europe influenced, together with the magnificent buildings of the Frankish nobles, the development of society, especially in Scandinavia, and led to the Christianisation of that region.

MEROVINGIAN BAPTISTERY

As a result of the unification of the Frankish kingdom under Clovis I and his successors many churches were built, especially monastery churches. Plans often continued the Roman basilica tradition, but also incorporated influences from as far away as Syria and Armenia. The Baptistère Saint-Jean (Baptistery of St John) in Poitiers (France)

was built c.360 on top of Roman structures, badly damaged during the Visigoth occupation in the 5th century, and restored under Clovis. Despite the centuries of demolitions, additions and other changes, the baptistery is one of the most prominent examples of Merovingian architecture.

INFOR- MATION



FURTHER READING

Chapter Introductions

- Brown, P., *The Making of Late Antiquity*. Cambridge 1976.
- Brown, P., *The World of Late Antiquity*. New York 1989.
- Clark, G., *Late Antiquity: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford 2011.
- Gibbon, E., *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. 6 vols., London 1776–1789.
- Heckster, O., *Rome and Its Empire: AD 193–284*. Edinburgh 2008.
- Hingley, R., 'Post-colonial and Global Rome: the Genealogy of Empire', in M. Pitts & M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World*. Cambridge 2015.
- McKitterick, R., *The Early Middle Ages*. Oxford 2001.
- Ward-Perkins, B., *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford 2005.

The Post-Roman West

- Brown, P. R. L., *The Rise of Western Christendom; Triumph and Diversity AD 200–1000*. Rev. ed. Hoboken N.J. 2013.
- Heather, P. J., *The Restoration of Rome: Barbarian Popes & Imperial Pretenders*. Oxford 2013.
- Kaster, R. A., *Guardians of the Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley 1988.
- Schutz, H., *The Carolingians in Central Europe. Their History, Arts, and Architecture: a Cultural History of Central Europe, 750–900*. Leiden 2004.
- Wickham, C. J., *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean 400–800*. Oxford 2005.

Abul-Abbas

- Hack, Achim Thomas, *Abul Abaz. Zur Biographie eines Elefanten*. Badenweiler 2011.

The Longobards

- Bemmann, J. & M. Schmauder (eds.), *Kulturwandel in Mitteleuropa, Langobarden – Awaren – Slawen. Akten der Internationalen Tagung in Bonn vom 25. bis 28. Februar 2008*. RGK. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 11. Bonn 2008.
- Landschaftsverband Rheinland & LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn (eds.), *Die Langobarden – Das Ende der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Darmstadt 2008.
- Pohl, W. & P. Erhart (eds.), *Die Langobarden. Herrschaft und Identität*. Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 9. Wien 2005.

The Byzantine Empire

- Acheimastou-Potamianou, M., *The Icons of the Byzantine Museum*. Athens 1998.
- Baltoyanni, Chr., *Conversation with God, Icons from the Byzantine Museum of Athens*. Exh. cat. The Hellenic Centre, London 1998.
- Drandaki, Anastasia, et al. (eds.), *Heaven and Earth. Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*. Athens 2013.
- Evangelatou, Maria, et al. (eds.), *Byzantium: An Oecumenical Empire*. Athens 2002.
- Haldon, John, *The Empire that Would not Die. The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival 640–740*. Harvard 2016.
- Klose, Ch., *A Farewell to Methods? Imperial 'adventus-scenes' and Interpretations of Roman Historical Reliefs*. Berlin 2015.

Lazarido, Anastasia (ed.), *Transition to Christianity. Art of Late Antiquity, 3rd–7th Century AD*. Athens 2011.

- Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Exh. cat. Athens 2000.
- Vasilopoulou, V., 'Byzantina stathmia tou Nomismatikou Mouseiou Athinon', *AE* 1983, p. 267, no. 65, pl. 89.
- Wickham, Chris, *The Inheritance of Rome. A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*. London 2009.

The Sassanid Empire

- Curtis, Vesta Sarkhosh & Sarah Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran 3. The Sasanian Era*. London 2008.
- Daryaei, T., *Sasanian Persia. The Rise and Fall of an Empire*. New York 2009.
- Dignas, B. & E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals*. Cambridge 2007.
- Huff, Dietrich, 'Das Plansystem von Ardašīr-xwarrah: Agrarkolonisatorisches Großprojekt und gebautes Staatsmodell eines von Gott gegebenen Königums', in Kianoosh Rezanian (ed.), *Raumkonzeptionen in antiken Religionen. Beiträge des internationalen Symposiums in Göttingen, 28. und 29. Juni 2012*, 153–210. *Philippika* 69, Wiesbaden 2014.
- Wiesehöfer, J., *Das antike Persien. Von 550 v. Chr. bis 650 n. Chr.* München/Zürich 1994.

Al-Andalus

- Acien, M., *Entre el feudalismo y el islam. 'Umar ibn hafsun en los historiadores, en las fuentes y en la historia*. 2nd ed. Jaén 1997.
- Manzano, E., 'Circulation de biens et richesses entre al-Andalus et l'Occident européen aux VIIe–Xe siècles', in L. Feller & A. Rodríguez (eds.), *Objets sous contraintes. Circulation des richesses et valeur des choses au Moyen Âge*, 147–180. Paris 2013.

- Richarte, C. & S. Gutiérrez, 'Céramiques et marchandises transportées le long des côtes provençales, témoignages des échanges commerciaux entre le domaine islamique et l'Occident des IXe–Xe siècles', in C. Richarte et al. (eds.), *Héritages arabo-islamiques dans l'Europe méditerranéenne*, 209–327. Paris 2015.
- Roser-Owen, M., 'Islamic Objects in Christian Contexts: Relic Translations and Modes of Transfer in Medieval Iberia', *Art in Translation* 7-1 (2015), 39–64.
- Signes, J., 'Bizancio y al-Andalus en los siglos VIII y IX', in I. Pérez & P. Badenas (eds.), *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica. De la Antigüedad Tardía a la Edad Moderna*, 177–246. Madrid 2004.

Ibn Shaprut

- Ashtor, Eliyahu, 'Hasday (Hasdāy) ibn Šaprūt, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. VIII. Jerusalem 1972.
- Signes Codoñer, J., 'Bizancio y al-Andalus en los siglos IX y X', in I. Pérez Martín & P. Bádenas de la Peña (eds.), *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica: de la Antigüedad Tardía a la Edad Moderna*, 177–245. Madrid 2004.
- Saiz Muñoz, G., '(Hasdāy) ibn Šaprūt: la figura cumbre de la judería de Jaén', *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 197 (2008), 171–199.

Late Antique Egypt

- Bagnall, R.S. (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*. Cambridge 2007.
- Bowman, A.K., *Egypt after the Pharaohs, 332 BC–AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest*. London 1986.
- Evans, H.C. & B. Ratliff (eds.), *Byzantium and Islam: Age of Transition, 7th–9th Century*. New York 2012.
- Fluck, C., et al. (eds.), *Egypt: Faith after the Pharaohs*. London 2015.

Frankfurter, D., *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton 1998.

Egeria

Brodersen, K., *Aetheria/Egeria. Reise ins Heilige Land*. Berlin 2016.

Hunink, V. & J. W. Drijvers, *In het land van de Bijbel: reisverslag van Egeria, een dame uit de vierde eeuw*. Hilversum 2011.

Hunt, E. D., *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460*. Oxford 1982.

Maraval, P., *Égérie. Journal de voyage: itinéraire*. Paris 1982.

Wilkinson, J., *Egeria's Travels*. Warminster 1999.

The Irish

Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616. Dublin 1848–51.

Browne, M., *The Book and the Transformation of Britain, c.550–1050: a Study in Written and Visual Literacy and Orality*. Flechner, R. & S. Meeder (eds.), *The Irish in Early Medieval Europe: Identity, Culture and Religion*. London 2016.

O'Cronin, D., *Early Medieval Ireland 400–1000*. London 1995.

Stalley, R., *Irish Gothic Architecture: Construction, Decay and Reinvention*. Bray 2013.

The Vikings and Kievan Rus

Androshchuk, Fedir, *Vikings in the East. Essays on Contacts Along the Road to Byzantium 800–1100*. Uppsala 2014.

Brink, Stefan & Neil Price (eds.), *The Viking World*. Oxford 2008.

Fitzhugh, William W. & Elisabeth I. Ward (eds.), *Vikings. The North Atlantic Saga*. Washington 2000.

Roesdahl, Else, *The Vikings*.

3rd ed. London 2016.

Williams, Gareth, et al. (eds.), *Vikings. Life and Legend*. London 2014.

The Frankish Kingdom

Ewig, Eugen, *Die Merowinger*

und das Frankenreich. 5th rev. ed. Stuttgart 2006.

Les Francs, précurseurs de l'Europe. Exh. cat. Musée du Petit Palais. Paris 1997.

Les temps mérovingiens.

Trois siècles d'art et de culture (451-751), Exh. cat. Musée de Cluny. Paris 2016.

Périn, P. & L.-C. Feffer, *Les Francs*. Paris 1997.

Wieczorek, A., et al. (eds.),

Die Franken. Wegbereiter Europas. 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert. 2 vols. Mainz 1996 (1997).

St Martin

Stancliffe, Clare, *St Martin and his Hagiographer*. Oxford 1983.

The Slavs

Barford, Paul M., *The Early Slavs. Culture and Society in Medieval Eastern Europe*. London 2001.

Curta, Florin, *The Making of the Slavs: History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c.500–700*. Cambridge 2001.

Dvornik, Francis, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*. New Brunswick N.J. 1962.

Gimbutas, Marija, *The Slavs*. London 1971.

The Heritage of Rome

Ahrweiler, H., *L'idéologie politique de l'empire byzantin*. Vendôme 1975.

Cameron, Av., *The Mediterranean World in Late Antiquity: AD 395–600*. London/New York 1993.

Dagron, G., *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions*. 2nd ed. Paris 1984.

Grig, L. & G. Kelly, *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*. New York 2012.

Mango, C., *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*. London 1980.

St Helena

Anon., *Historie über Herkunft und Jugend Constantins des Grossen und seine Mutter Helena*. Transl. Paul Dräger. Trier 2010.

Drijvers, Jan Willem, *Helena Augusta. The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of her Finding of the True Cross*. Leiden 1992.

The Mediterranean

Abulafia, David, *The Great Sea*. London/New York 2011.

Balzaretti, Ross, *Dark Age Liguria*. London 2013.

Goitein, S. D., *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations*. Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1967.

McCormick, M., *The Origins of the European Economy*.

Cambridge 2001.

Wickham, C., *The Inheritance of Rome*. London/New York 2009.

The Three Monotheistic Religions

Bianquis, Thierry, et al. (eds.), *Les débuts du monde musulman. VIIe-Xe siècle. De Muhammad aux dynasties autonomes*. Paris 2012.

Cohen, Mark, *Under Crescent and Cross. The Jews in the Middle Ages*. Princeton 2008.

Fowden, Garth, *Before and After Muhammad. The First Millennium Refocused*. Princeton 2014.

Griffith, Sidney, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque*.

Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam. Princeton 2008.

König, Daniel, *Arabic-Islamic views of the Latin West. Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe*. Oxford 2015.

Sigeric

Caselli, G., *Sigeric's Diary and the Role of the Way to Rome in the History of Anglo-Saxon England*. https://www.academia.edu/9712239/the_saxon_way_to_rome (consulted 23/03/2017)

Caselli, G., *Discovering the Via Francigena*. https://www.academia.edu/4354575/discovering_the_via_francigena (consulted 23/03/2017)

W. F. Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. 12 vols., London 1860-1876, I, 434.

Ortenberg, V., 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', *Anglo-Saxon England* 19 (1990), 197-246.

Warfare in Europe

Bachrach, B., *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire*. Philadelphia PA 2001.

Haldon, J., *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World 565-1204*. London 1999.

Halsall, G., *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450-900*. London 2003.

Nicholson, H., *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe 300-1500*. Basingstoke 2004.

Sarantis, A. & N. Christie (eds.), *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*. *Late Antique Archaeology* 8.1-8.2. Leiden 2013.

Knowledge

Leclercq, Jean, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu: initiation aux auteurs monastiques du Moyen Âge*. Paris 1957.

[also available in German and English]

Mazal, Otto, *Griechisch-römische Antike*. Geschichte der Buchkultur 1, Graz 1999.

Mazal, Otto, *Frühmittelalter*, 2 vols. Geschichte der Buchkultur 3.1-2, Graz 1999.

Reynolds, L. D. (ed.), *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Rev. ed. Oxford 1986.

Teeuwen, M. J. & I. van Renswoude (eds.), *The Annotated Book in the Early Middle Ages: Practices of Reading and Writing*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 38, Turnhout 2017.

Wilhelm, Gertraude (ed.), *Synchronopse der Weltliteratur: Werke und Autoren aus allen Epochen im zeitlichen Nebeneinander*. Düsseldorf 1983.

Isidore of Seville

Cazier, P., *Isidore de Séville et la naissance de l'Espagne catholique*. Paris 1994.
Díaz y Díaz, M. C., 'Introducción general', in *Isidoro de Sevilla. Etimologías* vol. I, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. 2nd ed. Madrid 1993.
Fear, A. T. & J. Wood, (eds.), *Isidore of Seville and his Reception in the Early Middle Ages: Transmitting and Transforming Knowledge*. Amsterdam 2016.
Fontaine, J., *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths*. Turnhout 2001.

Identity

Frazer, W. O. & A. Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*. Leicester 2000.
Hodges, R., *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*. London 2000.
Hodgett, G. A., *A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe*. British Columbia 1972.
Hourihane, C., *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Thought in the Early Medieval Period*.
Walsham, A., *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Memory and Identity in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*. Oxford 2012.

The Concept of the Middle Ages

Leerssen, J., *National Thought in Europe. A Cultural History*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam 2008.
Matthews, D., *Medievalism: A Critical History*. Medievalism vol. VI, Cambridge 2015.
Nagel, A., *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time*. London 2012.
Wickham, C., *Medieval Europe*. New Haven/London 2016.
Wood, I., *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford 2013.

Museum Presentation

Hupperetz, Wim, *The Museum as Medium of Memory: on the Biography of Heritage Collec-*

tions. Amsterdam 2017.
Raedts, P. G. J. M., 'Remembering and Forgetting. Images of the Classical and Medieval Past in the Era of Revolution and Restoration', in Coomans, Thomas & Jan De Maeyer (eds.), *The Revival of Medieval Illumination. Nineteenth-Century Belgium Manuscripts and Illuminations from a European Perspective*, 23–35. Leuven 2007.
Raedts, Peter, 'Representations of the Middle Ages in Enlightenment Historiography', *The Medieval History Journal* 5 (2002), 1–20.

Stories: the Kunágota Sword

Antinucci, F., *Comunicare nel Museo*. Rome 2014.
Di Dio, C., et al., 'Human, Nature, Dynamism: The Effects of Content and Movement Perception on Brain Activations during the Aesthetic Judgment of Representational Paintings', in *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 2015.
Leinhardt, G. & K. Crowley, 'Objects of Learning, Objects of Talk: Changing Minds in Museums', in S. G. Paris (ed.), *Perspectives on Object-Centered Learning in Museums*. Mahwah N.J. 2002.
Panofsky, E., *Il significato nelle arti visive*. Turin 1996.
Pietroni, E. & M. Forte, 'The Museum's Mind: a Cybermap for Cultural Exhibition', in M. Ioannides et al. (eds.), *The Evolution of Information Communication Technology in Cultural Heritage*, VAST 2006 proceedings, 70–73.

AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHIES

David Abulafia is Professor of Mediterranean History at Cambridge University and Paphos Professorial Fellow at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He is a Fellow of the British Academy and of the Academia Europaea. His best-selling book *The Great Sea: a Human History of the Mediterranean* (2011) has been translated into German, Dutch, Italian, and many other languages.

Eva Maria Alcázar Hernández, PhD in Medieval History, Associate Professor of Medieval History at the Department of Historical Heritage (University of Jaén, Spain). Member of the Archaeological Heritage Research Group of Jaén. A specialist in medieval rural history, she focuses on the reconstruction of the rural landscape 1200–1500, using archaeological methodology and computer tools for territorial analysis (GIS).

Maria Bormpoudaki studied Archaeology and Art History and is now head of the Department of Sculpture, Wood Carvings, Ceramics, Minor Arts, Textiles and Canvases in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens. Research interests: Byzantine and Islamic ceramics and Byzantine wall paintings, mainly from the Venetian-occupied island of Crete, analysed against the historical background of Venetian dominion and Veneto-Greek interactions.

Pedro Castillo Maldonado graduated in Geography and History at the University of Granada and has a PhD from

the University of Jaén. Currently lecturer in the Ancient History Department at the University of Jaén. His lines of investigation are hagiography and the Visigothic church, fields in which he has published several monographs.

Britt Claes, medieval archaeologist, has worked at the Royal Museum of Art and History (RMAH, Brussels) since 2004. Conducted several excavations in the Brussels region focusing on medieval/post-medieval settlement and material culture. Since 2012 she coordinates the National Archaeology Collections Inventory Project, including a reorganisation of the museum's National Archaeology Collection. Currently acting curator of the RMAH medieval archaeology collections.

Aikaterini Dellaporta, Director of the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Athens), read History, Archaeology and French (Athens), D.E.A. in Byzantine History (Sorbonne, Paris), PhD (Athens). Worked as an international expert at the UNESCO Heritage Division and as Cultural Counsellor in the Greece's Permanent Representation at the EU. Interests: underwater archaeology, Byzantine history and archaeology, history of art, cultural management.

Raymond Detrez is Professor Emeritus of East-European History and Cultural History at Ghent University.

Sofia Gerogiorgi, curator of the Minor Arts Collection at

the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, Greece. She has studied Archaeology and Cultural Management. Her research interests focus on the study of Byzantine art and history, especially Late Antique jewellery and metalwork, and on post-Byzantine metalwork.

Wim Hupperetz, Director of the Allard Pierson Museum and Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam; Professor of Dutch Cultural History, especially the study of objects, at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam since 2016. He publishes on provincial-Roman and medieval archaeology, 'digital heritage' and museology, and leads EU-funded research projects related to digital applications in museum presentation.

Kalliopi-Phaidra Kalafati (MA Courtauld Institute of Arts, London, PhD University of Athens) is deputy director and head of the Department of the Archaeological Collection of Icons, Wall Paintings, Mosaics, Manuscripts, Drawings, Early Printed Books, Reproductions, and the Loverdos Collection at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.

Irene Montilla Torres, Assistant Professor of Medieval History in the Department of Historical Heritage of the University of Jaén (Spain). Her research focuses on the material culture of al-Andalus and the medieval urban world, analysing its structure and the evolution of its architecture.

Lindsay Morehouse is a PhD candidate studying Archaeology at the Amsterdam School for Heritage, Memory and Material Culture (University of Amsterdam). She works with the Allard Pierson Museum as a historical researcher for the CEMEC

project (Connecting Early-Medieval European Collections) and has assisted in the curation of *Crossroads: Europe 300–1000*. She previously studied at the University of Oxford and Macalester College (Saint Paul, Minn.).

Marco Mostert is Professor of Medieval History at Utrecht University, researching written culture from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern period. He is the editor of Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy and published *A Bibliography of Works on Medieval Communication*, covering the period 300–1200, and a history of the northern Low Countries from the first century BC to AD 1100.

Lynda Mulvin, Associate Professor at the School of Art History and Cultural Policy (University College Dublin, Ireland). Specialist of Classical Antiquity, medieval art and architectural history who divides her research between Late Antique Europe and early-medieval Ireland through architectural history, archaeology, site conservation and the reception of monuments in the 18th–19th cent.

Elke Nieveler, medieval archaeologist, works at the LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn, previously curator in the Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle. From 2006 she was responsible for the LVR-LandesMuseum research project concerning the Morken Grave and Merovingian elites in the Rhineland. Currently curator of the early-medieval archaeology collection, and cooperating with the Römisch-Germanisches Museum Mainz in a European project on early-medieval garnet jewellery.

Robin Oomkes read History and Art History at Leiden and Berlin. He writes and blogs on German history from the

Middle Ages to the twentieth century on slowtravelberlin.com, deademperorsociety.com, and historiek.net. What he likes best is touring Europe in his old VW camper van, looking for obscure monuments to write about.

Alfonsina Pagano is a grant holder at the Istituto per le Tecnologie Applicate ai Beni Culturali (CNR ITABC), Rome. Her research interests include transmedial projects with the goal of evaluating the user experience, usability and pedagogical results of applications developed for the cultural-heritage domain.

Anna Pianalto is curator of antiquities in the Sculpture Collection of the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens. Her interests focus on the material culture of Late Antiquity. In the last years her efforts have been concentrated on the organization of international and national exhibitions.

Eva Pietroni, art historian and musician, is a researcher at the Istituto per le Tecnologie Applicate ai Beni Culturali (CNR ITABC, Rome) in the field of documentation, communication and valorisation of cultural heritage. Her expertise is design and development of virtual museums, interaction design and digital storytelling, following a novel approach combining different languages and techniques: VR, cinema, theatre, augmented reality, games, documentaries.

Zsófia Rácz, archaeologist, Senior Lecturer at the Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Institute of Archaeological Sciences. Specialises in the Migration-Period and Early-medieval archaeology of the Carpathian Basin.

Kianoosh Rezania is Professor of the History of Western Asian Religions at the Ruhr University's Centre of Religious Studies (Bochum, Germany). A specialist of Iranian languages and cultures in the Pre- and Early Islamic period, he mainly concentrates on the history of Zoroastrianism, the contact of Zoroastrianism with Islam, the development of spatial and temporal concepts, Middle-Persian literature and 'digital humanities'.

Barbara Roggema (PhD University of Groningen, 2007) is a scholar in the field of Middle Eastern studies focusing on the history of the Muslim world, especially the interactions between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the period 600–1300. Currently research fellow at the Center for Religious Studies, Ruhr University Bochum (Germany), working on the history of Jewish-Christian interaction in the Islamic world (600–1800).

Tineke (C. T.) Rooijackers is a postdoctoral fellow at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (the Netherlands). An archaeologist by training, she specialises in Late Antique and early-medieval textiles from Egypt. She is especially interested in the social aspects of dress; her research has focused on its role in the construction of Christian identity in Egypt from the third century until today.

Vicente Salvatierra, Professor of Medieval History in the Department of Historical Heritage of the University of Jaén (Spain). His research focuses on the history and archaeology of al-Andalus, in particular its cities. He is the author of a number of papers and of a synthesis of the period from the eighth to tenth centuries.

Helen Saradi is professor of Byzantine History and Civilisation at the University of the Peloponnese, Greece. She has published on the Byzantine notarial system with an emphasis on the Roman legal tradition, and on the early Byzantine city with an interest in the continuation of Roman urbanism and the changes occurring in the Middle Ages.

Alexander Sarantis, Lecturer in Early-Medieval History and Archaeology at Aberystwyth University, Tutor in Medieval History at Swansea University and Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. His research interests include Roman-Barbarian relations, warfare, migration and frontiers in Late Antiquity, and the political history of the Byzantine empire, with a special focus on the Emperor Justinian.

Michael Schmauder is chief of the department for the museum's depots and restoration workshop at the LVR-Landes-Museum Bonn and honorary professor at the Pre- and Early Historical Archaeology Department of the University of Bonn (Germany). A specialist on Late-Antiquity, Migration-Period and early-medieval archaeology with a special focus on South-east Europe and steppe warriors. Since 2006 he has curated several exhibitions.

Gergely Szenthe, archaeologist, curator of the early-medieval collection of the Hungarian National Museum, specialises in the archaeology of the Avar period. Currently researching 8th-century structures in the Carpathian Basin.

Matthias Toplak read Scandinavian Studies and Archaeology at the universities of Cologne (Germany) and Stockholm (Sweden); wrote his doctoral thesis on changing social iden-

ties during the transition to the Christian Middle Ages as illustrated by a Viking grave field on Gotland. Now works as a postdoc in the Special Research Field SFB 1070 Ressourcen-Kulturen at the Institute of Prehistory, Early History and Medieval Archaeology (Tübingen, Germany).

Antonis Tsakalos is curator of the Minor Arts Collection at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens. Specialising in the archaeology and social anthropology of Cappadocia (a region in Anatolia), he divides his research between monastic rock-cut architecture, church painting, liturgy and donors' activity in Byzantine Cappadocia, and oral tradition in Cappadocian refugees' communities in early-20th-century Greece.

Marieke van den Doel, exhibitions curator at the Allard Pierson Museum (University of Amsterdam) and affiliated researcher at CREATE (Creative Amsterdam: An E-Humanities Perspective, University of Amsterdam). Previously director of studies in art history at the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome, and Assistant Professor of Art History and Cultural Studies at the University of Amsterdam.

Marlena Whiting (University of Amsterdam) is currently researching a project titled 'Gendering Sacred Space: Female Networks, Patronage, and Ritual Experience in Early Christian Pilgrimage', for which she holds a Veni Fellowship from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). She has a doctorate in Archaeology from the University of Oxford and has published on travel and pilgrimage.

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

- Alamy.com: 107 below, 139.
 Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam, photo Stephan van der Linden: 10 above (APM16324), 13 (APM13822, APM9370), 29 above (APM7855), 51 (APM9276, APM9278, APM9280), 52 (APM16772), 66 (APM7468), 67 (APM12995), 69, 71 (APM7798), 72 (APM16388), 73 (APM3830), 74 (APM7798), 103 below (APM12974), 146 (APM8471), 147 (APM8107), 162 (APM7071), 163 left (APM09163), 163 right (APM15589), 176 above (APM16369), 180 (APM3831, APM10998).
 American Research Center in Egypt: 144-145 (photo: Arnaldo Vescovo).
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France / Archives Charmet / Bridgeman Images: 168.
 Bibliothèque Nationale de Cartes et Plans, Paris, France / Bridgeman Images: 137.
 Richard Bos, Wergea: 20, 27, 88, 97.
 Bridgeman Images, London: 59 above, 106 (De Agostini Picture Library / C. Sappa), 140 left (Peter Langer / Design Pics/UIG/).
 Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens: 38 (BXM00002); 40 (BXM1756), 41 (BXM834), 42 (BXM995-A/B), 44 left (BXM1796), 44 right (BXM862), 45 (BXM899), 120 left (BXM00557), 120 right (BXM00572), 121 (BXM00836), 122 (BXM378), 123 (BXM000018), 124 (BXM4160), 130 (BXM969), 174 (BXM1), 181 (BXM863).
 Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale: 35.
 CNR ITABC, Rome: 198-201.
 Dreamstime.com: 19 (Chris Dorney), 43, 49, 70, 131, 173 below.
 Michael Gervers, University of Toronto: 170.
 Google Art Project: 126.
 Hungarian National Museum, Budapest: 11 below, 37 right (HNM83.1.1), 110, 111 above and front cover (MNM79.1.12), 111 below, 112 (65 / 1912.4), 113 (MNM69 / 1858.4-5), 114, 115 above (MNMOrn. Jank.23), 115 below (MNM8.1932.2), 161 right.
 Leiden University Libraries: 116-117, 141, 165 right.
 LVR-LandesMuseum, Bonn, J. Vogel and Chr. Dunze: 10 below (0o.34872), 14 (0o.3089, 0o.34107), 22 (1935.31), 37 left (0o.1583; 0o.1584, 0o.1603), 53 (0o.13127), 96, 99 (1960.667, 1960.607), 100 left, 100 right (0o.14189), 103 above (A.139), 136 (0o.38637), 148 (1935.178), 152, 153 (0o.9149), 155 (1972.315), 176 below (1960.667).

Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (Schwerin), S. Suhr: 30.

Manuel Cohen Photography: 8.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 11 above (photo Wikimedia Commons, Marie-Lan Nguyen), 83.

Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais, Paris / Georges Poncet: 202

Museum of Jaén:
56 (CE / DA00810),
57 (CE / DA02823),
58 (DJ / NU06940,
DJ / NU06928),
59 below (CE / DA03104),
61, 62 (CE / DA02789),
63 (CE / DA03174), 65.

Museum of Vojvodina, Novi Sad, Serbia: 154 (photo Wikimedia Commons).

National Museum of Ireland, Dublin: 78, 81, 177, 178.

Naturhistorisches Museum Vienna, A. Schuhmacher: 32.

NoHo, Dublin: 197.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna: 165 left (Cod. Med. Gr. 1).

Private Collection / Bridgeman Images: 29 below.

K. Rezania, Bochum: 48, 50.

Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels: 12 (B001317), 80 (2958), 98 (B002162-009), 127 above (ACO.0075.1.1), 142 (AP25), 175 (A.3666).

A. Sarantis: 151.

Scala Archives, Florence: 36, 102, 143; 6 (The British Library Board); 9, 31, 158 (DeAgostini Picture Library); 16-17 (Fotografica Foglia—courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali e del Turismo), 95 below, 108 (Fine Art Images / Heritage Images), 123-133 (photo Josse), 185 (courtesy of the Ministero Beni e Att. Culturali e del Turismo).

M. Scotti, Romans d'Isonzo. Scavi 1986-87. Aquileia Nostra LVIII, 1987: 33 left, 34.

Frithjof Spangenberg: 33.

Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam: 186.

Stichting Weg van de Vikingen, Wieringen: 156 (photo Dick Burghout, Hippolytushoef).

M. Toplak: 86, 89-93.

The Trustees of the British Museum, London: 127 below (1863,0713.1), 172 (photo Wikipedia).

University of Aberdeen: 166 (<https://www.abdn.ac.uk/bestiary/jpeg/f81r.jpg>).

Utrecht University Library: 164.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London: 173 above.

Viking Ship Museum, Oslo: 95 above.

Virtual Archaeology Review vol. 3 no. 6 (November 2012), p. 10: 64 right.

Waterford Treasures Museum: 85 left.

M. Whiting, Amsterdam: 76, 77.

WikiArt.org: 28.

Wikimedia Commons:
15, 21, 23, 24, 46, 47, 54, 55, 60, 64 left, 79, 82 (foto Ingo Mehling), 84, 85 right, 94, 101, 105, 107 above, 109, 119, 125 (Arild Vågen), 129, 134, 135, 140 right, 149, 157, 159, 160, 161 left, 182-183, 187-195.

Caption to p. 202

HORUS ON HORSEBACK

This exceptional window fragment shows the Egyptian god Horus in the dress of a Roman cavalryman killing the evil god Setekh in the guise of a crocodile. As Egyptian deities traditionally were never portrayed on horseback, this scene reflects the influence of Graeco-Roman models. Terracotta, h. 46.1 cm, 4th cent. AD.

COLOPHON

Publisher

WBOOKS, Zwolle
info@wbooks.com
www.wbooks.com
In collaboration with
Allard Pierson Museum
Amsterdam
www.allardpiersonmuseum.nl

Exhibition

Caroline Verweij (project manager)
Marieke van den Doel (exhibition curator)
Birgit Maas (loans registrar)
Platvorm, Amsterdam (design)

Publication manager, Images and captions editor

Paulien Retèl

Translation, Copy editor

Noctua Text & Translation,
Corinna Vermeulen
www.noctua-text-translation.eu

Design

Miriam Schlick, Amsterdam
www.extrablond.nl

This is volume 7 in the Allard Pierson Museum Series. Previous titles on the Etruscans, Egypt, Rome, Troy, the Crimea, and Sicily.

© 2017 WBOOKS / Allard Pierson Museum

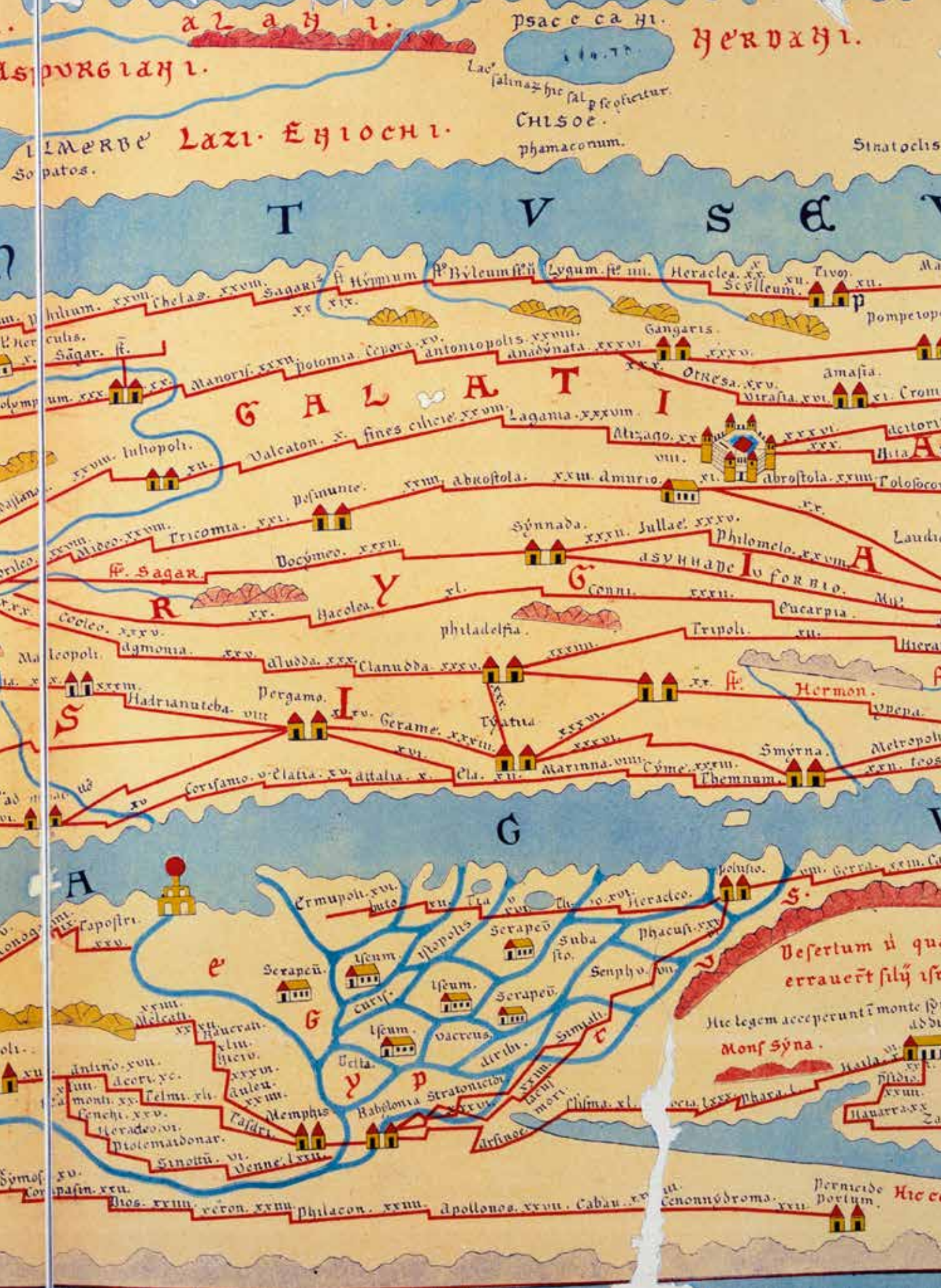
All rights reserved. Nothing from this publication may be reproduced, multiplied, stored in an electronic data file, or made public in any form or in any manner, be it electronic, mechanical, through photocopying, recording or in any other way, without the advance written permission of the publisher. The publisher has endeavoured to settle image rights in accordance with legal requirements. Any party who nevertheless deems they have a claim to certain rights may apply to the publisher.

Copyright of the work of artists affiliated with a CISAC organisation has been arranged with Pictoright of Amsterdam.

© c/o Pictoright Amsterdam
2017
ISBN 978 94 625 8224 8
(English)
ISBN 978 94 625 8223 1
(Nederlands)

 WBOOKS

 ALLARD PIERSON MUSEUM



α λ α η ι.

psace ca hi.

HERVANI.

ISPVRGIAHI.

Lac salinaz hic sal p seoficatur.

CHISOE.

pharmacorum.

Sinatoclis

LMERBE Lazi. EYIOCHI.

T V S E

...ulium. xxvii. Chelaz. xxviii. Sagaris. ... Byleum. ... Lygum. ... Heracles. ... Tivo. ... Ma

G A L A T I

...Manoris. ... polomia. ... antonopolis. ... anadynata. ... Gangaris. ... Pompeio

...lulopoli. ... Valcaton. ... fines cilicie. ... Lagama. ... Alizago. ... amastia. ... Virasia. ... Crom

...Tricomia. ... Posinunte. ... abrostola. ... amurio. ... Synnada. ... Jullae. ... Philomelo. ... asynuade

...Cecleo. ... Hacolea. ... philadelphia. ... Tripoli. ... Eucarpia. ... Hermon. ... wpepa.

...Pergamo. ... Gerame. ... Tyatia. ... Marina. ... Come. ... Smyrna. ... Metropoli. ... loos

...Corifano. ... Elatia. ... attalia. ... Cla. ... Themnum. ... S. ... Desertum si qua

...Ermupoli. ... Serapeu. ... Iseum. ... Ispolis. ... Serapeu. ... Suba. ... Phacusi. ... Senpho. ... Errauerit filij is

...Melcan. ... Haueran. ... Iseum. ... vacrens. ... Simtali. ... Hic legem acceperunt i monte

...Antino. ... acori. ... Felmi. ... Auleu. ... Memphis. ... Babelonia. ... Stratouctia. ... Hic e

...Sinottu. ... Venne. ... Arsinoe. ... Clima. ... Hama. ... Pndis. ... Haurax. ... Hic e

...Hos. ... xeron. ... philacon. ... apollonos. ... Cabau. ... Enonnydroma. ... Pernice Portum. ... Hic e

A runic graffito in the Hagia Sophia, a gilt Byzantine helmet in the grave of a Frankish nobleman, a treasure hidden from the Vikings in the Low Countries containing an Arab *dirham*: these are just a few examples of the telling early-medieval finds in this book. Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages are often viewed as a time of decline, chaos, invasions and war. But there is another side to this period as well. There was a rich diversity of cultures in Europe — from Longobards and Merovingians to Byzantines and Avars — and a lively exchange of goods and ideas, sometimes over great distances. The Vikings set up a trade network that reached to Baghdad; the Silk Road brought commodities to Europe, but

also diplomatic missions, knowledge and ideas. This is illustrated by the interludes in this book, the stories of ten travellers: pilgrims, scholars, diplomats, and an elephant.

Despite the numerous conflicts, the period from 300 to 1000 AD was also one of growth, continuity and peaceful coexistence. From the late eighteenth century a romantic view of the Middle Ages arose, resulting in the Gothic Revival and the art of the Pre-Raphaelites. Nation states today happily refer to the heroism of the Early Middle Ages, when kingdoms were born and present-day Europe began to take shape.



WWW.WBOOKS.COM

www.allardpiersonmuseum.nl