

Contents

List of Plates	viii
Preface to the Princeton Classics Edition	ix
Acknowledgements	xvii
Introduction	3

PART I. LATE ANTIQUITY 15

1. Romans and Non-Romans	19
2. Christian Influence in Late Antique Culture	54
3. The Churches in the Sixth Century: The Council of 553	90

PART II. FROM CHRISTIAN SCHISM TO DIVISION 129

Introduction to Part II	133
4. The Achievement of Gregory the Great	145
5. Byzantium Confronted by Islam	183
6. The Visigothic Alternative	220
7. The Roots of Christian Disunity, 649-92	250

PART III. THE THREE HEIRS OF ROME 291

Introduction to Part III	295
8. Eastern Iconoclasm: Islamic and Byzantine	307
9. Divergent Paths	344
10. The Carolingian Innovation	390
11. The Two Emperors of Christendom	445
12. Conclusion	477
Afterword	481
Abbreviations	489
Index	493

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Map of the World of Late Antiquity	16
2. Map of the Mediterranean East	130
3. Map of the Christian West	293
4. Comparative Chronology	532

Introduction

THE CHRISTIAN way of dating by numbering years from the Incarnation, “in the Year of the Lord,” *Anno Domini* (A.D.), is perhaps the only such chronology currently recognised throughout the world. But while A.D. dating takes the birth of Jesus of Nazareth as its starting point, the system itself only came into use much later. For many centuries Christians continued to use pagan and Jewish chronologies and dates. This was a natural consequence of their Judaic inheritance, which provided them with a timescale stretching back to the Garden of Eden. The Old Testament embodied a millennial eschatology, in which the years of the world *Anni Mundi* (A.M.) linked Jews and Christians to the divine act of Creation, recorded in the Book of Genesis.

The method of counting by generations was also a common one, and it too bore Biblical authority from the First Book of Chronicles: “So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies . . .” (1 Chr. 9.1). For dates in their own lives, the early Christians used some of the many Greco-Roman methods then current: the regnal year of emperor or local ruler; the succession of Roman consuls; or the ancient four-year cycle of Olympiads, going back to the first pan-Hellenic games held at Olympia in Southern Greece. A plethora of local eras were in use; in Spain, the Roman conquest of 40 B.C. was commemorated through a distinctive *aera*; in Syria, the Seleucid era persisted. Later, the accession of Diocletian in A.D. 284 became the starting point of an era widely used in Egypt. Another novel system introduced under the same emperor, originally for taxation purposes, became very widespread: the fifteen-year cycle of indictions. Similarly, not only did the early Christians use the pagan months as we still do, but in areas subject to intensive Roman influence they also identified days of the month in the manner established by Julius Caesar, counting back from the Kalends, Nones, and Ides. With such a variety of dating methods available, it is not surprising that the followers of Jesus did not consider the introduction of another one. In any case, they were not concerned to document the present as much as to prepare for the future. For the transitory nature of life on earth had been emphasised, and they knew that the Second Coming (*Parousia*) and Day of Judgement were at hand.

From an early stage in their debates with the pagans, however, the Christians were concerned to prove the antiquity of their faith relative to secular history. In the early third century, Sextus Julianus Africanus set out

to demonstrate the superiority of the Judaeo-Christian faith by fitting the established events of ancient Persian and Greek chronology into the record of the Old Testament. A Christian chronographer of the Alexandrian school working in Palestine, Africanus took the Bible as the record of a pre-conceived destiny being worked out according to divine dispensation. Calculating the years of the world since the creation of Adam, and using as a model the seven days of Creation and the 70 weeks of the Book of Daniel, he united all world history in seven millenia: the first five covered Biblical history from Creation to the Babylonian captivity (A.M. 1-4999); the sixth consisted of 500 years of preparation for the advent of Christ—dated to the symbolic mid-point at A.M. 5500—and 500 years of subsequent Christian history that would end with the sixth millenium in A.M. 5999. The year 6000 would witness the Second Coming and the Apocalypse described in the Book of Revelation. It would usher in the seventh and final millenium of the Kingdom of Heaven. This chiliastic account of human history established fixed points for Christians: the date of the birth of Jesus, and the precise moment at which the *Parousia* would occur. It thereby provided a clear eschatology of Christian existence, and countered pagan predictions that the Christian faith would endure for only 365 years (a claim St. Augustine was pleased to see refuted).

From the early third century, therefore, the notion of a Christian age had been established, although its dates continued to be recorded in the year of the world. Africanus provided the basis for an even more elaborate demonstration of Christian superiority in historical chronology, drawn up one hundred years later by Eusebius of Caesarea. Eusebius refused to try and calculate the precise number of years between Creation and the Flood, because the Old Testament evidence was too scanty, and differed with Africanus over the precise date of the birth of Jesus, which he realised was out by two years. Nonetheless he retained both the millennial system and the symbolic mid-point of the sixth millenium as the hinge between all time before Christ and the remaining 500 years after Him. The chronology and canon tables established by Eusebius summarised the most sophisticated understanding of Christian history at that time and were translated from Greek into both Armenian and Latin soon after their completion.

The year of the world 6000 came and went, however, without change, despite Christian expectations of the Day of Judgement. The *Parousia* had obviously been delayed. Christians were instructed not to reduce their preparations for what might occur at any moment, but the millennial point had passed, and inevitably the theories of Africanus lost some of their authority.

Only 25 years later (in "A.M. 6025"), an eastern monk named Dionysius saw a way of drawing upon the chronology developed by Africanus to re-

name the Christian era and to identify it by “the years of the Lord,” *Anni Domini*. He had been asked by a friend, a western bishop, to explain the complex problems of computation involved in calculating the date of Easter by the Alexandrian method. The task of establishing the correct date for this, the most important moveable festival of the church, had previously been entrusted to the Church of Alexandria by the First Oecumenical Council at Nicaea (325). So Dionysios translated into Latin the authoritative Easter tables drawn up by St. Cyril in the middle of the fifth century, together with the computistic canons and methods of calculation used in the East. As he worked on his own tables for the future celebration of Easter, projected through a 95-year period, he realised that 28 nineteen-year cycles would soon have passed since the year traditionally attributed to the birth of Christ. He was able to conclude that he was living in the 525th year since the Incarnation. He had found a system that would allow a truly Christian calendar to be elaborated, and rejoiced that he would no longer have to use one that commemorated Diocletian, the pagan persecutor of the Christians.

Dionysios’s Easter tables, and with them the possibility of using A.D. dating, remained relatively unknown, despite initial papal enthusiasm. The untimely death of Pope John I in May 526 unleashed an anti-Greek reaction in Rome that was responsible for the death of Boethius and the disgrace of his eastern associates, among them Dionysios. The Christian system of dating that we use today was another of the casualties, for Rome had long harboured hostility towards the powerful see of Alexandria. Although Dionysios’s manuscript on Easter calculation passed to Cassiodorus, who described how to convert A.M. dates to A.D. dates, there was no shift to dating from the Incarnation, even at the famous monastery founded by Cassiodorus at Vivarium.

It was nearly two hundred years, in fact, before the system was put into regular use, and then by Bede, an Anglo-Saxon monk in remote Northumbria. His *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, completed in A.D. 731, is dated throughout by years reckoned from the Incarnation, coupled with the regnal years of local and more distant rulers. Although Bede was an expert at computation and chronology, as his own Easter tables show, he remained quite unknown in the East and without influence there. In the West, however, he was quickly followed. Many eighth-century chronicles adopted the same method of dating, and Charles the Great, known to us as Charlemagne, made the system familiar in many parts of Europe by using it for some of his acts of government.

Meanwhile, in the Greek East, the Byzantines adopted the system of dating from the Incarnation, but only side-by-side with ancient systems, which remained dominant. Old Testament chronology in the form elabo-

rated by Eusebius continued to date universal history by the year of the world, while the year of the emperor reigning in Constantinople and the 15-year indiction cycle served to identify more recent events. In Rome the ecclesiastical authorities continued to use traditional methods, also dating their documents by indiction and imperial year, until the middle of the eighth century. And when they did change, it was not to the A.D. method exclusively; they substituted the year of Charles's rule for the Byzantine imperial year, adding the pontifical year also. Secular dates thus remained the norm in Rome, even if these became firmly axed on the realities of western power, while the A.D. system was gradually becoming established in much of northern Europe.

In striking contrast to this lengthy process of devising and implementing a Christian dating system independent of any ruler, Islam found its own particular method within a decade of the Prophet's death in A.D. 632. Muslim society took Muhammad's flight (Hijri) from Mecca to Medina as the basis of its new calendar. The year of the Hijri (A.H.), complete with its lunar months adapted from the Jewish system but renamed in Arabic, was introduced. It remains a chronology employed in many parts of the world today.

The emergence of an Islamic dating system was thus as brief and intense as the Christian was extended and disrupted. Yet these two world calendars were first diffused as authoritative methods of counting the years in the same period: the tumultuous centuries that span the transition between the late Roman and early medieval epochs. Modern times began in those dark ages—and not only with respect to our present styles of dating.¹

EVER SINCE the seminal work of Henri Pirenne on the consequences of the eruption of Islam, the seventh century has been recognised as decisive in the development of the Middle Ages.² Despite the paucity of evidence, which does not facilitate close investigation, it is clear that the political unity of the Mediterranean world was irrevocably lost at that time. Roman imperial forms of government, often adapted to novel purposes in the non-

¹ E. J. Bickermann, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, 2nd ed. (London, 1980); J. H. Breasted, "The Beginnings of Time-Measurement and the Origins of Our Calendar," in *Time and Its Mysteries*, 1st series (New York, 1935), 59-94; J. T. Shotwell, "Time and Historical Perspective," in *Time and Its Mysteries*, 3rd series (New York, 1949), 63-91. Cf. R. L. Poole, *Medieval Reckonings of Time* (London, 1918), a very brief and useful introduction, and his *Studies in Chronology and History* (Oxford, 1934).

² See particularly Henri Pirenne, *Mohammad and Charlemagne* (London, 1939), and idem, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (London, 1936), both volumes frequently reprinted since.

Roman kingdoms of the West, began to give way to medieval ones. In particular, the rise of feudalism distinguished western Europe from the two other successors of ancient Rome: Byzantium and the Caliphate. The tripartite division has been of lasting significance for the modern world, and it is in the interaction of the three component parts that the initial particularity of the West can be located. I cannot resolve, nor have I addressed, the “structural dynamic” of this transition to feudalism.³ An adequate historical theory will probably need to be articulated within a much broader framework of comparison, which will also identify patterns of imperial decline and succession, for example, in China, India, and Japan. But by investigating the transformation of the ancient world in its entirety and the three heirs of Rome in their shared Mediterranean context, I have tried to expand the empirical base for further theoretical work.

Although political and economic elements of the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages may be determinate, they are here subordinated to a study of the development of Christian faith. This is approached not through the well-known features of ecclesiastical history, but through an analysis of medieval faith as a material force. Nor do I begin with the physical substance of the church, its properties, its accumulated wealth, and its economic role in dispensing charity, which will form the subject of a companion volume. The following study will, instead, examine the structural role of faith in early medieval society. It may appear perverse to tackle the cultural parameters of Christendom before its economic dimension. But the capacity of faith to mobilise, frequently manifested in the seventh and eighth centuries, is indicative of a force that may determine other factors, particularly at times of political failure and economic crisis.

Belief is often taken for granted as a given fact, whose characteristics can be assumed at all levels of society, the most sophisticated and least educated. Rather than make that assumption, I prefer to try and examine the meanings of belief for early medieval believers. This is a delicate business not only because of the inherent difficulty of grasping the significance of faith for people so distant from us, but also because medieval religion is sometimes conceived, and criticised, as the chief support of an unchanging and fixed social order. While beliefs certainly did unite and restrict medieval Christendom, they seem to me infinitely more complex than they are often thought. There are a great many subversive aspects to belief, and medieval culture was more varied than ecclesiastical leaders cared to admit. So

³ P. Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London, 1974); C. Wickham, “The Other Transition: From the Ancient World to Feudalism,” *Past and Present* 103 (1984): 3-36.

I make no apology for studying religion from the viewpoint of a non-believer; the history of faith is far too important to be left to adherents alone.

The Formation of Christendom addresses both the Christian and the Muslim inheritors of the Roman Empire and asks how it was that they came to define their world solely in religious terms. As the ancient world collapsed, faith rather than imperial rule became the feature that identified the universe, what Christians called the *oikoumene*, and Muslims, *Dar al Islam*. Religion had fused the political, social, and cultural into self-contained systems, separated by their differences of faith. Other regions beyond these spheres were of course known, but were branded as barbarian, pagan, heretical, and hence inferior. Such groups might even intrude into the Christian and Islamic worlds, as the Jewish communities did, always condemned and only tolerated under certain conditions. Paradoxically, however, Christianity, and in its turn, Islam, was formed in reaction to other faiths and creeds, Judaism primarily, but also the cults of pagan Greece and Rome, the panoply of Egyptian deities, Persian Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, and others. The history of the growth of Christian faith at the expense of these, and then of Islam in reaction to Christian as well as Judaic practice, does not require another general study. Instead of assuming a universal potential within the first Christian communities of the East Mediterranean, where Islam now predominates, I have asked how Christianity developed a dominant position and status in Europe, of which the term Christendom could justifiably be used. Concomitantly, I have looked closely at the religious rivalry that resulted in the transfer to Muslim allegiance of those areas where Christianity first flourished.

The term "Christendom" is recorded in late ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England and has no exact parallel in the Latin or Greek words used previously to designate Christian adherence, *Christianitas* or *oikoumene*.⁴ It thus enters European vocabulary at the time when King Alfred was translating works of Augustine, Boethius, and Pope Gregory the Great into Anglo-Saxon. But this first known use does not reflect the reality of the late ninth century, a troubled period of Viking raids, which familiarised Christians in the West with Nordic paganism. On the contrary, the Anglo-Saxon concept of Christendom derives from an earlier period, when Charles the Great created a notion of Christian universality in his Holy Roman Empire.⁵

⁴ "Cristendome" is used by Alfred himself in 893 (in his revisions of the *World History* by Orosius), see *A New English Dictionary*, ed. J. A. H. Murray (Oxford, 1893), II(i). Contemporary twentieth-century use continues this meaning, "the state or condition of being Christian"; see, for instance, B. A. Gerrish, ed., *The Faith of Christendom* (Cleveland/New York, 1963).

⁵ See J. Fischer, *Oriens, Occidens, Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 78-79, on the equivalence of *orbis-mundis* and *orbis-ecclesia* in the late eighth century.

In this analysis of faith and the struggle between Christianity and Islam, the Muslim challenge is crucial, because it threatened the legitimacy of both the theological and political dimensions of Christianity. Although Christian authorities might identify Muhammad as another heretic, albeit with an extremely large and devout following, his claims to be the ultimate prophet of God explicitly contested the orthodoxy of their own faith. Islam was proposed to believers as the strict observance of monotheism: "There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his Prophet," as the Muslim profession of faith states. Like Christianity, it broke from the primitive, tribal claims of the Israelites, while it too recognised the enduring force of Mosaic Law. Islam, however, insisted upon a monotheism unconfused by Trinitarian problems. Both faiths believed in the same God, and each claimed to fulfil the promises of the Jewish Old Testament: Christians through the New Testament, which proclaimed the Messiah and spread the faith among Jews and Gentiles alike; Muslims through the Koran, which identified Muhammad as the final prophet of God, whose instructions replaced all previous ones.

The extent to which Islam considered that it had surpassed both the older religions is symbolised by the building of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. On the site of the Temple Mount, the holiest of Jewish holy places, Caliph Abd al Malik commissioned a mosque over the rock from which Muhammad had ascended into heaven. The octagonal building, constructed in white marble with reused Roman columns and decorated in glittering floral mosaics by Christian craftsmen, is surmounted by a golden dome typical of classical and early Christian architecture. According to the long Koranic inscription that runs around the interior, it was completed in A.H. 71 (A.D. 691-92) as a celebration of Allah, the God of both Jews and Gentiles who now favoured the Muslims above all others.

It was under the impact of these Islamic claims that Christians developed new means to ensure their survival. They also abandoned several pagan features inherited from the ancient world and adopted Christian ones—the introduction of dating from the Incarnation being an outstanding example. The simultaneous emergence of Islamic and Christian calendars was no coincidence. In rejecting Muslim belief, however, the eastern and western churches redefined their faith in different ways. Faced with Islamic monotheism, they each attempted to regulate their Christian belief and practice in accordance with their own interpretation of the Old Testament. In the East, the entirely novel doctrine of iconoclasm was elaborated, as a means of preventing the worship of man-made objects, to be replaced forty years later by the elevation of icons to an integrated position within worship. In the West, both the destruction and the veneration of religious pictures was condemned by the emergent Christian leadership of northern

Europe, where Charles was identified as a New David and his subjects as a New Israel. The division of Christendom, marked by the synod of Frankfurt in 794, finalised a long tendency towards separation, and set the churches of West and East on different courses.

Long before Muhammad began dictating his revelations, however, internal factors had confirmed tendencies towards a division of the ancient world. To draw attention to those elements, linguistic, cultural, and artistic, that separated East from West, is not to deny the unity of the Mediterranean. Following Braudel's magisterial work it is impossible to ignore the special environment shared by those regions united under imperial rule around the Roman lake.⁶ Within this fixed physical framework, marked by a common pattern of ancient structures and systems of belief, parallel and simultaneous but distinct processes were responsible for the development of three particular heirs: the reconstituted empire of the East, the Arabic Caliphate of the South, and the self-conscious unit of western "Europe"—the modern sense attached to this term originates at the time of Charles the Great. Despite the lasting divisions established by the year A.D. 800, these regions remained bound together by their shared inheritance as well as by their geographical setting. Precisely because these bonds were real, there were constant attempts to recreate a past unity, attempts as varied as the movements for political union usually based on crusading force, or those for religious union based on theological compromise.

Throughout the following study, the terms "East" and "West" are used as a shorthand for the Greek regions of the eastern Mediterranean and the Latin areas of the West respectively.⁷ These terms are of course Eurocentric. But they correspond roughly to the regions where the two major classical languages were spoken. Their meaning is fairly clear, they are in widespread use today, and I have not found any better general designations. The historian, after all, can try to allow for, but should not seek to escape, her time.

Linguistic factors held the key to the process of differentiation between an "Eastern" and a "Western" sphere during the early Christian period. For as the unity of the Mediterranean became less meaningful to its inhabitants, East and West were locked into ever-increasing mutual incomprehension. In the first great history of the faith by Eusebius (263-340), the Christian church is always singular, yet the existence of many churches formed by Christians scattered throughout the Roman Empire, and their geographical separation, is recognised. Eusebius himself personified the Greek

⁶ F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols. (London, 1972-73), 2:763-71.

⁷ Fischer, *Oriens*, 26-39.

sense of superiority; he knew no Latin, and he depended upon the careful translations of others to render his work comprehensible to western Christians. One hundred years later, a considerable body of Greek patristic thought had been made available in Latin, but the West never had access to the full range of early Christian writings from the East: nor was the work of western authors like St. Augustine accessible to Greek speakers.

In the East, however, this was not felt as a loss. As Momigliano has shown in his panoramic sweep of ancient culture, the Greeks and their Christian descendants remained impervious to scholarship transmitted in a medium other than their own.⁸ After the turn of the sixth century, when knowledge of Latin became rare at the imperial court of Constantinople, the Greek-speaking world closed itself off from western thought. While translation skills were not maintained in the West either, scholars there did not forget the existence of Greek, and they revealed a continuing curiosity about it. The non-classical world of the North, the Irish in particular, remained open to new channels of information in unfamiliar languages, especially the three sacred tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, in which Scripture was preserved. In this respect they reacted like the Syriac-speaking population of the Near East, who had cultivated the art of translation from an early date. Syriac versions of Greek writings provided a vital link with the ancient world, for it was through this medium that the Arabs gained access to Greek science and philosophy, as well as early Christian works that they found interesting.⁹

The long-term effects of the Greek refusal to look beyond their own heritage became evident in the twelfth century, when western scholars began to benefit from the Arabic medium of transmission. From Baghdad, where Syriac versions had first been rendered into Arabic, the basic works of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid, and many applied subjects had been disseminated throughout the Islamic world. In the caliphate of Cordova (Spain) and the trilingual culture of southern Italy and Norman Sicily, clerics trained in translation skills provided Latin texts.¹⁰ The twelfth-century discovery of Greek thought and its accompanying stimulation of western intellectual endeavour had no parallel in Byzantium, though the period witnessed a lively cultural and artistic development. There was no concerted effort at

⁸ A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* (Cambridge, 1975); idem, "The Faults of the Greeks," in *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 104 (2) (1975): 9-19, reprinted in his *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford, 1977).

⁹ S. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 69-87.

¹⁰ R. Walzer, "Arabic Transmission of Greek Thought to Medieval Europe," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 29 (1945): 3-26; M.-T. d'Alverny, "Translations and Translators," in R. L. Benson and G. Constable, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), 421-62.

understanding Latin culture until the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when parts of St. Augustine, some of the Roman classics, and St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica* were finally translated into Greek. It was already too late for the East to catch up with the more adventurous scholarship of the West.

A further element of separation within the Mediterranean world that can be traced back to the period of transition lies in the development of distinctive artistic traditions. From a shared heritage of Late Antique skills and a common environment decorated with classical buildings and ancient statuary, the three heirs of Rome faced the problem of representation and resolved it in very different ways. In addressing this matter, the West was guided by the dictum of Pope Gregory I that pictures are the bibles of the illiterate, while the East adapted the ancient tradition of portraiture for the lifelike representation of holy people in icons. Western art came to be dominated by a pedagogic function, not ignored in the East but there supplemented by the use of icons as an aid to veneration. Through veneration, icons came to act as intercessors between God and men in a fashion barely known in the West. This contrast in Christian art forms must be set beside the Islamic prohibition of sacred art altogether. In enforcing the Mosaic commandment against the worship of man-made objects, Muhammad established the basic framework for a purely decorative art suitable for Islam. No scenes from the life of the Prophet or his companions were to be illustrated, human portraits were banished, even graves were unmarked (proscriptions that were not observed to the letter). Instead, inscriptions of Koranic verses formed an elaborate calligraphic art visible on ceramic, leather, and wooden objects, in mosques as well as on official seals and coins. The question of what could or should not be shown in artistic terms was tackled in completely different ways, which only assumed their settled form after the iconoclast movements of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Despite the turbulence of the early medieval period, it witnessed the establishment of Christianity as the fundamental belief of the vast majority of people in eastern and western Europe. Edmund Bishop once described the period between Caesarius of Arles (in the early sixth century) and Alcuin (in the late eighth) as the darkest of western European history. He went on: "Yet it is precisely in those three centuries that took place the evolution definitely fixing the religion of medieval and a large part of modern Europe . . . when popular piety that has listened to the word of the preachers makes the ideas they express . . . its own; and that piety in its slow and silent workings generates by and by a common and accepted belief."¹¹ The very obvious role of Christian institutions in sustaining belief

¹¹ Edmund Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," *JTS* 8 (1906/7): 278-94, 430; reprinted in

and maintaining at least a part of ancient culture into the modern period should not make us forget this other, less discernible role, which made Christians of entire peoples previously devoted to the cults of Woden or the moon, sacred trees and pagan goddesses.¹² It is a much harder subject, for converts did not record their thoughts and were often accused of sliding back into ancestor worship (or worse); yet it is equally worthy of analysis.

In examining this history of the formative period of Christendom, I have tried to provide a persistent general reader with an overall view of the period that links ancient Rome with Charlemagne and later European history. While different aspects are familiar enough—the decline of the Roman Empire, the importance of Christianity during the “Dark Ages,” feudalism, Bede, Moorish Spain, medieval cathedrals, voyages of discovery, and the Renaissance—the connections between them are frequently unclear. The rebirth of classical interests during the Renaissance, for instance, could hardly have taken place without prior developments, but these remain abstruse, partly because they are not usually set in their proper context: the entire Mediterranean, Islamic as well as Christian, which had its centre in the East. Byzantium is of fundamental importance in this process. I have, therefore, had to write a history of the Mediterranean between about A.D. 550 and 850 to document the transformation that occurred, the consequences of which remain embodied in the area to this day.

While the book has become long and perhaps difficult, I have tried to use English translations of source material wherever possible, though evidence in original languages is also provided. My hope is that a persistent general reader will find the result as exciting as scholars familiar with the field. While studying early medieval faith, I have become aware of the complex interlockings of belief with cultural factors, as well as with those elements of social and political development that have been deliberately excluded from this study. These extensive interconnections are very evident, whether one is reading the seemingly endless theological tracts and ecclesiastical histories that form the basic sources, or the archaeological, literary, and artistic studies that are an essential supplement. I am only too conscious not only of my own limitations, but also of the patchy and unsatisfactory nature of the material, its uneven distribution and inherent difficulties. Yet it seems churlish to condemn it as inadequate; we have to make the best of it. My reading has necessarily been selective—it would

his *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 165-202. In connection with the first article, G. Mercati added a note, “More Spanish Symptoms,” 423-30, which is also included in Bishop’s later volume.

¹² H.-I. Marrou, “La place du haut Moyen Age dans l’histoire du christianisme,” *Settimane* 9 (Spoleto, 1962): 595-630; cf. Anderson, *Passages*, 131-39, on the church as the “indispensable bridge between two epochs.”

probably be impossible to read all the available material, and in any case I am not equipped to do so. The approach outlined above requires a consideration of Islam and early Arabic history that cannot wait for me to master its medium. If my interpretation appears overconfident, it is because I have covered my hesitation with firmness, a firmness based on the conviction that the formation of Christendom in this period is a subject of immense interest and relevance that demands fresh investigation, whatever the risks and dangers.

Index

- Aachen, 299–300, 446–48, 451–53, 456, 462–64, 466; royal chapel at, 440, 447, 466; sacred palace, 447–48; council of (802), 441n; council of (809), 463
- Aba, Mar (patriarch of Nestorian church), 108
- Abbas (uncle of Muhammad), 299, 361n
- Abbasid: revolt, 140, 304, 361; Caliphate, 413n, 416n; ambassadors to Charlemagne, 462
- Abd al Malik (caliph [685–705]), 9, 282, 323–24
- Abedrapsas, 50
- Abgar (king of Edessa), 309, 366
- Abraham, 92
- Abraham (bishop of Luxor), 308
- Abul Abbas (caliph of Baghdad [750–54]), 361
- Abydos (map 2), 190
- Acca, 270
- Achila (Visigothic king), 249
- Acts of the Apostles*, 55n, 57, 92; versified by Arator, 84, 483
- Adalhard (count), 396
- Adam, 4
- Adelgis (Lombard prince), 398, 408, 425
- Adelperga, 396
- administration, Roman imperial, 34; adopted by non-Romans, 51; developed by Justinian, 40; Gothic dual system of, 35; Cassiodorus serves in, 42; Arator in, 84; Byzantine imperial, 137, 192, 197, 211, 213, 317, 324, 405; Islamic, 137, 324–25, 344; Persian, 137, 324; Frankish administration of justice, 391, 404, 442–43; Carolingian, 404; papal, 414
- Admonitio generalis*, 433, 441, 442
- Adoald (Lombard prince), 166, 226
- adoption: of other rulers' sons, 39; of non-Christian rulers at their baptism, 301
- Adoptionism, 434–45, 440, 443, 470
- Adrianople (map 1), 410; Visigothic victory at (378), 25
- Adriatic Sea, archipelago of, 22, part of the "West," 22, 121, 351, 380, 465
- Adventus*, 36
- Aegean: sea, 22, 242, 319; littoral, 135; islands, 135, 210, 283, 360, 363; earthquake, 334
- aera*, 3
- Aesclepius, 54
- Aetios, 431, 453
- Aetius (Roman general), 30
- Afghanistan, 124
- Africa, 210, 214, 251–53, 265, 456; diocese of (map 1), 23; grain from, 20, 44, 189, 190; Vandal conquest of, 33–4, 221; parts occupied by desert nomads, 36; reconquered by Justinian, 41; refortified by Justinian, 43; schools restored, 44; landowners of, 47; Berber attacks on, 71, 154; decline of classical cities, 134; exarchate of, 154–56; fleet of, 190; idolatry in, 304; conquered by Arabs, 136; Arab rulers of, 397
- Africa, church of, 98, 102, 107, 214, 218; monks of, 121–23, 154, 217; and council of 646, 217; Augustinian traditions of, 223; refuses to recognise Fifth Oecumenical Council, 230; bishops of, persecuted by Justinian, 241
- Agapetos (monk and bishop of Apamea), 67
- Agapitus (pope [535–36]), 80, 119
- Agatha (martyr), 161
- Agathias (deacon), 319
- Agatho (pope [678–81]), 125, 270, 272, 276–77, 280
- Agilbert (bishop of Paris), 269
- Agilulf (king of the Lombards), 188, 226
- Agnellus (archbishop of Ravenna), 148
- Aistulf (Lombard king), 359, 370–73, 375, 377–79,
- Akephaloi* (Severan Monophysites), 120, 123, 125, 241–42
- Akroinon (map 2), 137, 354
- Alans, 27

- Alaric (Visigothic leader), 25, 30–33; rebels against Arcadius, 26; plunders Greece, 26, 29; leads the Goths into Italy, 26, 31, 148; negotiates with Honorius, 26–27; receives senatorial embassy, 74; besieges and sacks Rome (410), 19, 26–27, 32; an Arian Christian, 31; *Breviary* of, 35, 226–27
- Alcuin, 12, 401–402, 426, 428, 433, 434–35, 437, 440, 450, 455–56, 458, 461n, 482–83
- Aldhelm of Malmesbury, 246; verses of, 483
- Alemannia (map 3), 483
- Alemans, 106
- Alexander (bishop of Alexandria), 100
- Alexander the Great (king of Macedonia), 37
- Alexandria (maps 1 and 2), 87–88, 190, 207–212; the Jewish colony of, 20, 91; schools of, 25, 78, 87, 108; concentration of population, 44; source of bubonic plague, 45; merchants of, 46; linked to Pachomian monasteries, 61; conquered by Arabs, 211–12, 214, 365
- Alexandria, church of, 18, 109, 217, 258; Arios, deacon of, 55; its method of calculating the date of Easter, 56, 111–12; entrusted with computation, 5, 56, 111; apostolic foundation, 57, 85, 174, 242; one of the pentarchy, 277, 284; special authority of, 99; refuses to accept acts of Chalcedon, 103; moderate Monophysite community of Theodosians, 206, 209; Monotheletes of, 251; titular patriarchs, 300; under Islam, 300
- Alfonso II (king of the Asturias), 299–300
- Alfred (king), 8
- Alfrith, 269
- Ali (caliph [625–61]), 260
- Allah, 9, 136
- alliance: between papacy and Frankish monarchy, 297, 380, 383–84, 394–95, 397–400, 408, 414, 452, 458, 461, 464; of *compaternitas*, 373–74, 384, 386–87, 400, 412, 452–53, 458, 466
- alms, 434
- alphabet: Cyrillic, 93; Glagolitic, 93
- Alps (map 1), 373, 377, 379, 398, 457
- Alsace, 392, 483
- al Walid (caliph [705–715]), 324, 325n, 354
- Amaia, “senators” of, 224
- Amalfi (map 1), 424
- Amandus, St. (bishop of Maastricht), 254
- Amaseia (map 2), 63, 319
- Ambrose (*primitivus*), 371, 373
- Ambrose, St. (Roman provincial governor): acclaimed bishop of Milan (374–97), 63–64; *Hymns*, translated into vernacular German, 484; 31, 64, 69–70, 73, 102, 151, 232, 393, 438, 481–82
- Amida (maps 1 and 2), 205
- Ammonios, St., 62
- Ammoun, St. (ca. 295–352), 61, 62, 65
- Amorion (map 2), 274, 319, 413, 468, 474
- anachoresis* (“withdrawal”), 60
- anagrapheus* (*thema* official), 316–17
- Anastasios I (emperor [491–518]), 35, 183, 242
- Anastasios II (emperor [713–15]), 318–19, 327, 341
- Anastasios (disciple of Maximos), 209, 210, 257–58
- Anastasios (metropolitan of Thessalonike), 104
- Anastasios (patriarch of Antioch), 157, 159, 161, 179, 184, 205, 251
- Anastasios (patriarch of Constantinople [730–54]), 339–40, 349, 354, 368
- Anastasios the Persian St., 272, 421
- Anastasius (papal legate), 218, 257–58
- Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 258n, 349n
- Anatolikon *thema* (Anatolian) (map 2), 202, 261, 281, 283, 318–19, 325, 467
- Anatolios, 184–85
- Anatolius (papal legate) 164, 172
- Anchialos (map 1), 135, 410
- Andreas (regent for Constantine IV), 264
- Andreas, St. (metropolitan of Crete), 318, 382
- Andreas Kalybites, St., 382
- Andrew (Andreas), St. (founder of church of Constantinople), 174
- Angilbert (abbot of St. Riquier), 427
- Angilramnus (bishop of Metz), 426, 433
- Anglo-Saxon church, 169–70, 267, 269–71, 302

- Anglo-Saxons: invade Britain, 106, 135; of Kent, 161; of England, 8, 270–71; pilgrims to Rome, 267–69, 271
- Anicii (wealthy Roman family), 27; established in the East, 40; Juliana, patron of St. Polyeuktos, 40
- Annus Domini*. See dating
- Annus Mundi*. See dating
- anointing. See papacy; ritual
- Anthony (bishop of Bacatha), 254
- Anti-Christ, reign of, 319
- Antinoë (central Egypt), 83
- Antioch (maps 1 and 2), 185, 195, 205; imperial residence, 23; concentration of population, 44; holy men near, 66
- Antioch, church of, 118, 184, 217, 254, 258, 284; apostolic foundation of, 57, 63, 85, 174, 242; special authority, 99; Jacobite patriarch, 79n; hierarchy of Jacobite Monophysite bishops, 107–108, 183–84; Monophysites of, 208, 209, 251; under Islam, 300; titular patriarchs, 300
- Antony, St., 62, 66–67, 92; adopts asceticism, 60; spiritual education, 60n; settles his sister with virgins, 65n; death of, 60n; *Coptic Life* of, 60n, 66; *Greek Life* by Athanasios, 60n, 66, 68; *Life* of, translated into Latin, 66, 482; monastery of, 72
- Apamea (map 2): inscriptions from, 67; ascetic communities of, 69; priest of, 279
- aphthartodocetism, 158n, 241
- Apocalypse: of the *Book of Revelations*, 4; 319, 330
- apocrisiarius*. See legate
- apocrypha, Christian, 94; apocryphal acts of the Apostles and lives of saints, 311; apocryphal texts, 421, 438
- Apollo, 185, 314
- Apologeticum*: by Julian of Toledo, 245
- Apophthegmata*. See "Sayings," of the Desert Fathers
- Apostles, 98, 345; Peter and Paul, 347, 356; popes as successors of, 347, 386–89, 416, 420, 472–73
- Apsimar, 287. See also Tiberios III
- Aquileia (map 1), 300; captured by Visigoths, 26; metropolitan of, 123, 351; bishops of, 435; council of 796 in, 434, 440
- Aquitaine (map 1): settled by Visigoths, 27; conquered by Franks, 390–92, 395, 432
- Arab conquest (map 2): 134, 136–37, 210–13, 284, 288–89, 319–22, 342–43, 365, 382; of Spain, 33, 136, 289, 484; of Egypt, 72, 136
- Arabia (map 1), 134, 211, 477
- Arabic, 6, 11, 80, 92, 325; numerals, 403; translations from, 11, 426, 478
- Arabs, 11, 136–37, 139–40, 211, 218–19, 251, 275, 282–83, 289, 315–25, 330–33, 335, 337–39, 351, 361–63, 410, 413, 417, 418, 431, 453; Christian, 212
- Aramaic, 90–91
- Arator, 84, 89; versified *Acts of the Apostles* of, 84, 483
- Arbogastes, 29
- Arcadius (emperor [395–408]), 26
- architecture, 9, 323–24; Roman, 51, 74; in Constantinople, 24, 40, 114, 117, 363–64, 429, 448–49; in Aachen, 447–48; building style, 268, 271; texts, 402, 483. See also "Romano more"
- Arculf (bishop), 310
- Ardaburius, 30
- Areobindus, 30
- Arethas, 407
- Arianism, 105, 107, 161, 440; adopted by the Visigoths, 25, 29; adopted by Vandals and Burgundians, 31; adopted by Germanic and Gothic tribes, 56; and eastern emperors, 31, 56, 116; prohibited in Constantinople, 31; abandoned by non-Romans, 51; in Visigothic Spain, 221–22, 226, 228–29, 230–31, 238
- Arichis (duke of Benevento), 408, 424–25, 447
- Arimir (king of the Sueves), 222
- Arios (deacon of Alexandria [d. 336]): condemned as heretic, 55–56; at Nicaea, 99–100
- Aristotle, 11, 79–80, 403, 478; interpretations of, 87, 407
- Arithmetic, 407, 478
- Ariulf (king of Lombardy), 156
- Arkadios (bishop of Cyprus), 208, 251
- Arkesilaos, 50

- Arles (map 1), 27
- Armenia (map 1), 50, 195, 198, 199, 206, 252, 426; army of, 201–202; Arab attacks on, 260, 261, 316, 321–22
- Armeniakon *thema* (Armenian) (map 2), 202, 261, 281, 327–28, 409
- Armenian: canon tables of Eusebius, 4; Bible, 92; prayers, 118; ecclesiastical customs, 285–86; origin of Herakleios's family, 189, 192; troops, 219
- Arno (archbishop of Salzburg), 401
- Arnulf (bishop of Metz), 357
- Arsamosata (map 2), 361
- art: Byzantine control over, 285–86, 311–13; Carolingian didactic, 486–87; Christian, 52, 177–79; of Constantinople, 52–53; in the East, 12, 438, 479, 484; Gregory I and, 12, 117, 177–79, 339, 367, 469, 486; iconoclast, 363–65, 467, 474; Islamic, 12, 323–24; Late Antique, 12, 52–53, 54; Roman, 51, 52–53; secular, 53, 313–14, 479; in the West, 12, 389, 471. *See also* icons
- Artabasdos: as *strategos* of the Armeniakon *thema*, 327, 339; as *kouropalates*, 327; as *strategos* of the Opsikion *thema*, 327, 337–38, 361; as ally of Leo III, 328, 467; married to Leo III's daughter, 327n; as rival emperor, 354, 361
- Artemios, St., icons of, 308
- artists, 52–53, 75, 313; Christian, 178, 474; monastic, 344, 429
- asceticism: pagan, 59–61, 77; Jewish, 60n, 67; Gnostic, 67; Christian, 60–63, 67–72, 86, 211, 221, 233, 254, 358
- Asella, 68
- Asia, Central, 136
- Asia, diocese of (map 1), 23
- Asia Minor, 22, 180, 196, 214, 282, 317, 327, 362, 363, 328, 417, 468; fortified villas in, 50, 203; Christian hermits in, 65; Persian campaigns of 614–19, 134, 136, 192, 195, 197, 217; provincial nobility of, 215–16; Slavs settled in, 261; Arab attacks on, 219, 316, 319, 321–22, 337; Byzantine iconoclasm in, 331–33
- astrology, 110
- astronomy, 402, 407; of Ptolemy, 478
- Asturia, 225
- Asturias, kingdom of the (map 3), 299, 448, 471–72
- Athanagild (Visigothic king), 224–25, 241
- Athanasios (Monophysite patriarch of Antioch), 206
- Athanasios, St. (bishop of Alexandria), 62, 65–67, 207, 278, 348; and his *Life of Antony*, 60n, 66, 68; and his *Dialogue with the Arians*, 482
- Athanasios of Baladh, 79
- Athaulf (Visigothic king), 27–29
- Athens, 62, 108, 263, 279, 283, 301–302, 310, 314, 409–410; schools of, 25, 50, Academy closed, 77–78; plundered by Alaric, 26; decline of, 78, 204
- Attigny (map 3): prayer confederation of, 485
- Attikos (bishop of Constantinople [406–425]), 101
- Attila (Hunnish leader): attacks Constantinople (448), 30; negotiates with Pope Leo I, 74
- Augustine (bishop of Canterbury), 163, 169–70, 171, 358
- Augustine, St. (bishop of Hippo [395–430]), 4, 8, 11–12, 68–70, 76, 101–103, 232, 232n, 235, 243n, 245, 250n, 376n, 438, 440, 481–82; death of, 34, 101; *Confessions*, 68n; *City of God*, 101, 105, 173; corpus of, 124, 223; on creed, 230
- Augustus (emperor [27 B.C.–A.D. 14]), 39, 45; as Octavian, 235
- Aurelian (bishop of Arles), 122–23
- Austrasia (map 3), 83, 135, 357–58, 392; churches of, 254
- Autcharius (duke), 372
- Authari (king of the Lombards), 156
- Autun (map 1), 140
- Auxerre, 390
- Avaro-Slav: raids of, 194, siege of Constantinople, 198–99
- Avars, 82, 135, 186, 188, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198, 433, 451–52
- Baal, 21
- Baalbek (map 2), 184
- Babylon (map 1), 4, 136
- Bacchus: festivities of, 76; Bacchic revelry, 53

- Baetica, 222–23; Greek and Jewish inscriptions of, 223, 227
- Baghdad, 11, 80, 140; caliphate of, 299, 300, 361, 392, 468; and Charlemagne, 448, 462–63
- Balkans, 154, 156, 186, 197, 252, 261, 289, 317, 409, 411; in diocese of Illyricum, 351; part of the “East,” 23
- Bannbanau, 245
- baptism, 86, 168, 230, 239; Catholic, 166; resisted by Montanists, 96; re-baptism, 98; rites of, 98, 391; spiritual alliance of, 158, 301, 374, 386–87, 452; triple, 168, 232; in *Donation of Constantine*, 386. *See also* adoption
- Baradaios, James, 108
- Barcelona (map 1), 299
- Barking, monastery of, 271
- Basel, 485
- Basil (bishop of Ankyra), 369n
- Basil (bishop of Pisidia), 369
- Basil (iconoclast bishop of Ankyra), 418
- Basil, St. (bishop of Caesarea [330–79]), 50; *Rule* of, 69, 113, 482; quoted at Frankfurt, 439
- basileus* (“emperor”), 204; used by Irene, 453, 456; used by Charlemagne, 466
- basilica, Christian, 59, 74, 113–14
- Basques, 225
- Basti (map 1), 222
- Baugulf (abbot of Fulda), 433
- Bavaria (map 3), 302, 390, 392, 395, 401, 432–33, 452; church of, 453
- B.C. *See* dating
- Bede, the Venerable, 5, 13, 246–47, 269, 270, 273, 402; *Ecclesiastical History* of, 5, 162, 402, 482; Easter tables of, 5, and use of A.D. dating, 402; works of, at Reichenau, 482–83
- Beirut, school of law, 25
- Belisarios (Byzantine commander), 41–42, 154, 310
- Benedict I (pope [575–79]), 152
- Benedict II (pope [684–85]), 244, 266, 273, 280
- Benedict, St., *Rule* of, 113, 441, 482, 484, 485
- Benedictbeuren, monastery of (map 3), 302
- Benedict Biscop, 267–71, 345
- Benedictines, 463
- Benedict of Aniane, 400n, 441n
- Benevento, 264, 371, 424–26, 453; Lombard duchy of, 156; and dating and coinage, 424–25
- Berbers, 36, 43, 71, 136, 154, 282; Donatist, 164; of Mauretania, 190, 222
- Bercan, 245
- Berroia (map 2), 410
- Berry, 377
- Bertha (Frankish princess) 169–70
- Bertha (Queen of the Franks), 374, 395–96
- Beth Abhe, monastery of, 81
- Bethlehem, 118, church of the Nativity, 312
- Bible: Gothic, 31, 92, 231; Latin, 91–92; complete, 91; Syriac, Sahidic, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Persian, 92; Cyrillic, 93, 301, cf. Church Slavonic; *codex Sinaiticus*, 94; Charlemagne’s study of, 466; revealed truths of, 76; as history, 4, 225. *See also* Old Testament *bibliothecarius*, 341
- Biclar (near Gerona [map 3]), monastery of, 82
- Bierzo, monastery of, 233
- Bishop, Edmund, 12
- bishop(s): growth of office, 58–59; selection of, 62–64; celibacy of, 64; and charisma of holiness, 64; increase in secular duties of, 72–73, 74–75; 98, 99; Gregory I’s guide for, 172–73
- Bithynia (map 2), 196; monasteries of, 406, 429
- Bizye, church of St. Sophia, 429
- Black Sea, 22, 36, 56, 242, 257, 287; trade across, 38, 257
- Bobbio (map 3): monastery at, 163n, 166, 246, 271
- Boethius, 5, 8, 75, 79; *Consolation of Philosophy* of, 478, 482; works at Reichenau of, 482
- Bologna (map 3), 460
- Boniface IV (pope [608–615]), 124, 188
- Boniface (archdeacon), 268
- Boniface (papal counsellor), 272, 286
- Boniface (papal legate), 164
- Boniface, St.: as missionary, 139, 346, 353, 358–59; as papal legate, 357, 359, 383; as head of a synod, 359; tomb of, at Fulda, 462; as Winfrith, 302, 346

- Bonos, 198–200
Bonosus, 190, 191
Bonosus (friend of Jerome), 68
Bordeaux (map 1): devastated by Visigoths, 28; sacked by Arabs, 140; conquered by Franks, 390
Bosphoros, 24, 41, 116, 196, 198–99, 210, 274, 319, 413
“Botarea,” 267
Bourges, 392
Braga (map 1), 86, 222, 246; councils of, 221
Braudel, Fernand, 10
Braulio (bishop of Saragossa), 234, 243–44, 268
“bread and circuses.” *See* food, distribution of
Brecannus, 245
Breviary of Alaric (506), 35, 226–27
Britain: diocese of (map 1), 23; usurpers in, 26; Roman troops withdrawn from (407), 28; abandoned to Celtic and Saxon invaders, 36, 135; “the islands of Britain” (?Ireland), 37; Christianity in, 126, 389; iconic art in, 345, 456
Brittany, 246, 432
Brunhild (Visigothic princess), 83; and Gregory I, 165, 166
Bulgaria, 301
Bulgars, 287, 301, 317, 320, 327, 363, 407–408, 410, 431, 466–67
Burgundians: adopt Arian Christianity, 31; cross Rhine frontier, 27, 35; abandon Christianity, 221
Burgundy (map 3): barbarian kingdom, 36; under Frankish control, 135, 357, 390, 392
Bury, J. B., 140
Byzantines, 5, 93, 209; church of, 305–306; customs of, 225, 227–28, 229; economy of, 137–38, 203–204, 363; navy of, 325. *See also* East Roman Empire; *Karabisian*; *Kibyrraioton*
Byzantine Spain. *See* Spain, Byzantine
Byzantion, 24
Byzantium, 7, 11, 13, 133, 137–40, 186, 187, 198, 218, 247, 295, 297, 301–302, 379–80, 405–406, 407–408, 416, 477; Visigothic rivalry with, 236–38; Isidore’s antagonism to, 240–42, 248, 439; cultural heritage of, in Salerno, 426. *See also* East Roman Empire
Caecilian (bishop of Carthage), 101
Caedwalla (Saxon king), 271
caesar (junior emperor), 153, 158, 476
Caesarea (maps 1 and 2), 192, 196, 321–22
Caesarius (bishop of Arles [502–542]), 12, 75, 232; monasteries of, 115; sermons of, 106, 376n, 481; *Rule* of, 482
caesaropapism, 116–18
Cairo, mosque of, 298
Calabria (map 2), 264
Caledonia, 106
calendars: Christian and Islamic, 6, 9
Caliphate, 7, 10; of Damascus, 134, 136, 289, 323–25, 344; and first civil war, 260; and second civil war, 299; of Baghdad, 299
Campania: troops of, 265
Campulus, 457–59
Candidus, 164
canon law: at Nicea, 100; not available at Rome, 104–105; in East, 174; in Spain, 229, 231; *Hispana* collection of, 243; of Quini-Sext Council, 285–87; at Seventh Oecumenical Council, 418; *Dionysio-Hadriana* collection, 376, 432–33, 441; collections of, at Reichenau, 482
canons, Apostolic, 286, 359
Canopus (map 2), 68, 71
Cantabria, 225
Canterbury (map 3), 163
Capitulare adversus synodum, 427, 470
Capitulare Aquitanicum, 390
Capitulare Olonense, 471
capitulary, 432; of Herstal, 432; of Frankfurt, 435
Cappadocia (central Asia Minor), 50, 69, 321
Capracorum, 449
Capraria, 449
Capua, 424
caput mundi (head of the world), 242
Carcassonne (map 3), 139
Carinthia, 302
Carloman (brother of Charlemagne), 392–93, 395–97
Carloman (brother of King Pippin), 358, 375, 377

- Carloman (son of Charlemagne), 386, 400
Carolingian dynasty, 356, 374–75, 379, 380, 413; and scholarship, 403–404, 407; court of, 425, 426, 466, 485; system of dating of, 403, 458; archbishops of, 466
Carthage (maps 1 and 2), 22, 83, 192–93, 217, 222, 264, 282; Vandal siege of, 34, 40; reconquered by Belisarios, 41–42; as Byzantine centre, 135; coins of, 190; captured by Arabs, 289; ecclesiastical diocese of, 121; council of, 97; synod of, 101; debate in, 210, 217; church of, 254
Carthagenā (map 1): inscription from, 43, 220–22, 249
Carthagenā (part of African exarchate), 156
Caspian Sea, 124
Cassian, John, 61, 62, 68–69, 105; *Institutions* of, 68–69, 482; *Collationes* of, 68–69, 482; anti-Nestorian treatise of, 103
Cassiodorus, 5, 42, 85, 86, 105, 181; bilingual ability of, 75, 80–81; *Commentary on the Psalms* of, 482
Castor (bishop of Apt), 69
castration, 341; forbidden by canon law, 100
Castus (duke of Rome), 156
Catania, clergy of, 165
cathari (“the pure”), 97
Catholic Epistles, 245
Caucasus (map 1), 38
Celestine I (pope [422–32]), 74, 103, 110
celibacy: pagan and pre-Christian, 65; Christian, 41, 57, 64–67, 172–73; in Rome, 286; monastic, 144, 176, 303, 430; impact on western/eastern clergy, 70–71, 286
Celtic, 112, 167; churches of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, 170, 246
Celts, 133, 135; parts of Britain occupied by, 36
Cenred (Saxon king), 271
Ceolfrith (abbot of Wearmouth/Jarrow), 270–71
ceremonial: Roman imperial, 34, 53. *See also* Constantinople, court of; papacy, ceremony in
Cesena, 355
Ceuta (Septem) (map 1), 136, 249, 264, 281
Ceylon, 37
Chagan (Avar leader), 193, 198
Chalcedon (map 2): council of, *see* Oecumenical Council; church of St. Euphemia in, 122, 198; relics of St. Euphemia in, 308
Chalcedonian theology, 207–210, 213–14, 217
chanters, 109; Roman style of, 345; Vitaliani, 266. *See also* liturgy
Charibert (Frankish king), 169
charity, 434, 478; Christian, 7; in Roman society, 57; replaces civic philanthropy, 142; Byzantine, 448; papal, 449
Charlemagne (Charles the Great), (emperor [800–814]), 5–6, 8, 10, 13, 134, 182, 248–49, 295, 296, 299–300, 305, 373, 385, 390, 392–93, 395–98, 416, 424–28, 432–35, 439–444, 445–48, 450–54, 469–70, 472, 475–76, 480, 485–86, 478, 480; shroud of, 365; as *patricius Romanorum*, 374, 399–400, 457, 459–60; first visit to Rome by, 375n, 398–400, 414; and ecclesiastical reform, 376; accession of, 392; as king of the Lombards, 400, 460; and Irene, 412–14, 424, 464–66; as spiritual *compater* of popes, 412, 420, 459; acclaimed as *rex et sacerdos, christus Domini*, 435; as a New David, 435, 439; as defender of the church, 439; as *Augustus*, 455, 460; as *basileus*, 466; as reactor of the Christian people, 453; imperial coronation of, 454–62; and *Filioque*, 462–64; “governing the Roman Empire,” 460; as a New Constantine, 386; as vicar of God, 461
Charles (son of Charlemagne) 461
Charles the Bald, 445
Charles Martel (leader of the Franks), 356–59, 374, 390, 401; defeats Arabs at Poitiers, 137, 139, 296; appeals to, by Gregory III, 352
Charsianon, 322
charters, Carolingian, 404
chartoularios (*thema* official), 317, 350
chastity. *See* celibacy
Cherson (map 1), 256–57, 287–88, 468; Pope Martin’s tomb at, 258
Chiemsee (map 3): monastery of, 302
Childebert I (king of the Franks), 114

- Childebert II (king of the Franks [d. 595]), 51, 164, 166
- Childeric III (Merovingian king), 357
- Chilperic (king of the Franks [d. 584]), 51
- China, 7, 37
- Chindaswinth (Visigothic king), 227, 232
- Chintila (Visigothic king), 240
- Chios (map 1): wine from, 222
- Chlotar I (king of the Franks), 84, 115
- Chludov Psalter, 474
- Chosroes I (Persian emperor [531–79]), 39
- Chosroes II (Persian emperor [590–628]), 136, 186–87, 195, 197–98
- Christ, 60, 65, 118, 345, 378, 420; birth date of, 4–5, 235, 458, 480; nature(s) of, 55, 102, 107–108, 208, 367–68; will(s) of, 208, 213–14, 218, 259; energy of, 208, 218; essence of, defined at Nicaea, 56; unity of, 208; crucifixion of, 313; resurrection, of, 158, 367; reign of, 235–37; general rule of, 414. *See also* icons of Christ
- Christendom, 7–8, 13–14, 22, 103, 141, 164, 255, 277, 477, 480; disunity of, 214; division of, 10, 218, 250–59, 286–87, 454; Rome as centre of, 273; Muslim pressure on, 134, 299–300; two emperors of, 445–46, 454–62, 464–66, 485–76; collapse of, 479
- Christian church, 10, 53, 55, 84; hierarchy of, 51, 56, 57–59, 72–73, 75, 171, 285; parish priests in, 171; early history of, 81; institutions of, 12, 143, 163–64, 171, 172–73; in Spain, 220; early Christian conciliar decisions, 246, 359; early traditions of, 305, 369, 415, 417, 474. *See also* bishop(s); canon law; council(s); liturgy; Oecumenical Council; traditions
- Christian faith, 7, 89, 126, 134–35
- Christianitas*, 8
- Christianity, 8–9, 12, 144, 235n; rivalry with Islam, 8–9; as state religion of empire, 21, 51, 58; protected by emperors, 118, 126; becomes dominant faith of non-Roman world, 22; adopted by non-Romans, 37, 43; as a spiritual challenge to paganism, 38, 126; senatorial patrons of, 49; as a new belief, 54; growth of, 54–78; variety within, 90–99, 106–114; regional loyalties of, 141; western development of, 389, 448; as a universal faith administered by uniform law, 100, 119; intolerance in, 78, 138; Orthodox, 479
- “Christ-loving,” 335–36
- Christmas: mass, 409, 468; of A.D. 800, 454, 459; as the start of the year, 458
- Christology, 101, 125, 366–67, 407
- Christopher (*primicerius*), 392–93, 396–97
- Christotokos* (“Mother of Christ”), 108
- Chrodegang (bishop of Metz), 303, 358–59, 372, 376, 383, 391
- Chronicle* of Fredegar, 224, 231
- Chronicle* of Isidore of Seville, 236
- Chronicle* of John of Biclar, 229
- Chronicles*, book of, 3
- Chronikon Paschale*, 112
- chronology. *See* dating
- chrysobull*, 410
- Chrysopolis, 413
- churches, private, 113, 442
- church plate, 193
- Ciccana, 372
- Cicero (author of *Hortensius*), 75, 402, 478
- Cilicia, 252, 260, 368n
- circus factions, 187, 191, 204, 281, 317
- Classis (port of Ravenna), 26, 149
- Claudias, 361
- Claudius (archbishop of Turin), 470–72
- Clement, St. (missionary) (Willibrord), 139, 271, 302, 346
- Clement of Alexandria [d. after 215], 58, 79, 94, 97, 98
- Clermont (map 3), 178
- Clonard (map 3): monastery of, 106
- Clovis (king of the Franks [481–511]) 35, 36; adopts Christianity, 105; death of, 115
- Codex argenteus* (Gothic Bible), 31, 231
- Codex Carolinus*, 296
- co-emperor, 215, 262–63, 275; established by Diocletian, 23; failure of 24
- coemptio*, 146
- coenobium* (*koinobion*), 62
- coinage: Roman imperial, 34, 46; Roman, imitated in West, 52, 226; Byzantine imperial, 37, 414, 454; struck in Syracuse, 266n; issued by Justinian II, 311, 312, 324, 364; silver, 193; *miliaresion*, 363; and Byzantine currency reform, 201, 203; overstruck in Benevento, 424;

- Visigothic national, 226; by rebel Hermenegild, 227; Islamic, 12, 323–25; papal, 459; of Charlemagne, 459
- Colman (bishop of Lindisfarne), 269, 271
- Cologne, archbishop of, 458
- coloni*, 47, 146
- Columba, St.: mission to the Picts of, 106; founds Iona, 106, 269
- Columbanus, St., 124, 163, 167, 173, 271; *Life* and *Rule* of, 482
- Columbus (bishop of Nicivibus), 164, 167–68
- comes domesticorum*, 196
- comites*, 225
- compaternitas*. *See* alliance
- compendia: by Isidore of Seville, 246
- Compiègne, 269, 357, 380
- Compludo, monastery of, 233
- confraternity books, 402; of Reichenau, 484–85
- Conon (pope [686–87]), 271, 274, 281–82
- Conques: statue of St. Foy at, 472
- consensus (*plures consentientes*), 436
- consortes*, 225
- Constance, 485
- Constance, Lake, 481, 484
- Constans II (emperor [641–68]), 125, 142, 202, 217, 219, 254, 255, 257–59, 260–63, 341, 409; and the West, 263–65, 267; christened Herakleios, 216
- Constantia (map 2), 251
- Constantina (daughter of Tiberios II), 158, 179n, 180, 187
- Constantine I (emperor [306–337]), 24, 63, 65, 117, 138, 150, 155, 174, 241–42, 314, 366, 479; and Christianity, 21, 54, 58, 99; and First Oecumenical Council, 99, 100, 116, 229; as viceroy of God, 38; as Christian saint, 39; *Life* of, 38; *Tricennalia*, 38; and Pope Sylvester, 297, 373, 386, 400, 414, 421, 450, 461
- Constantine IV (emperor [668–85]), 125, 219, 262, 266, 274–77, 280–82, 316, 329, 341; as co-emperor, 263; and Sixth Oecumenical Council, 277–78
- Constantine V (emperor [741–75]), 343, 354–55, 360–70, 372, 380–85, 388, 395, 407–408, 411, 412, 414, 423, 429, 448–49, 467–68; as co-emperor, 328, 335, 354; tomb of, 467
- Constantine VI (emperor [780–97]), 409–410, 412–13, 418, 420, 422, 428–31, 453–54, 468; called New Constantine, 428
- Constantine VII (emperor [912–59]), 202, 248
- Constantine XI (emperor [1449–53]), 476
- Constantine I (pope [708–715]), 125, 288, 341
- Constantine II (pseudo-pope [767]), 384n, 385, 392–94, 407
- Constantine (also called Herakleios), 193, 200; and “New Constantine,” 214, 216
- Constantine (bishop of Nakoleia), 331–32, 334, 338, 343, 422
- Constantine (patriarch of Constantinople [754–66]), 369
- Constantine the African, 426n
- Constantinople, 6, 95, 152, 153, 156, 190, 192, 204, 207, 208, 218, 220, 223, 227, 247, 288, 298, 300, 304–305, 334–36, 380–85, 398, 405, 409, 416–17, 424, 428–31, 444, 448–49, 451, 453–56, 465, 475; as new eastern capital, 24; called the “Queen City,” 38, 134, 138, 261, 477; population of, 25, 45; Christian character of, 24, 117; and rivalry with Old Rome, 29, 33, 34; Arians banned from, 31; granaries of, 44; schools in, 50, 78; and plague of 540s, 45; and plague of 740s, 360, 363; public debates in, 108; earthquakes, 192, 334–35, 363; attacked by Huns, 30, 154; attacked by Avars, 193; siege of 626, 198–200, 320; besieged by Arabs (674–78), 275; besieged by Arabs (717–18), 139–40, 319–21, 322, 330; besieged by Thomas the Slav, 468; conquered by Ottoman Turks, 156, 445, 476; Visigothic hostility towards, 236–37, 242; central administration of, 317; imperial chancellery of, 405–406; and relations with papacy, 371–72, 379–81, 382–85, 389; government condemned as essentially pagan, 439. *See also* architecture; art; circus factions; food, distribution of; New Rome
- Constantinople, churches in: Holy Wisdom (St. Sophia), 40, 117, 191, 192, 193, 194, 279, 310, 341, 363, 447, 475;

- Constantinople (*cont.*)
Holy Apostles, 117, 193, 275, 417, 467, 475; St. Polyeuktos, 40; Blachernai, church of Virgin, 153, 193–94, 365; icon of the Virgin, 308–310; St. Lawrence, 194; Anastasis, 257; St. Artemios, 307–309; St. Irene, 363, 429; church of the Virgin of the Fountain, 429
- Constantinople, church of, 125, 174, 184, 200, 204, 217, 251–59, 275, 416, 473; one of the pentarchy, 63; as non-apostolic foundation, 85, 174, 242; establishes superiority over Alexandria, 103; establishes parity with Rome, 104; attempts to define orthodoxy, 109, 435; relationship to emperor of, 116–18, 341–42, 430–31; diptychs of, 275. *See also* caesaropapism
- Constantinople, court of, 11, 26, 32, 152, 192, 274, 342, 383, 406; ceremonies in, 40, 204, 363, 476; coronation ritual of, 455; titles in, 205; imperial archive of, 282; decline of Latin at, 11
- Constantinople, monuments in: Long Walls, 36; city walls, 364, 448; Senate, 117; Placidia palace, 152, 157, 280; Forum Tauri, 191; Hippodrome, 117, 191, 287, 327, 365, 410; Trullan basilica, 277; baths of Zeuxippos, 279, 313; Milion, 311–12; Chalke Gate, 310, 335, 429, 467, 474; Forum (of Constantine), 314, 369; Great Palace, 310, 407, 428–29, 447; purple chamber, 431; aqueduct of Valens, 360, 363; Magnaura school, 407; Magnaura palace, 423; Eleutherios palace, 431, 449; palace of St. Mamas, 449; Amastrianon hippodrome, 448; public bakeries, 448
- Constantinople, patriarch of, 63, 116, 118, 179–80, 288–89, 367, 415; and alliance with Byzantine state, 140, 204; palace of, 364; library of, 278, 422
- Constantinople, prefect of, 194, 256
- Constantinople, Senate of, 189–92, 196, 203, 205, 215–16, 256, 263, 274, 288, 366, 415; consul, leader of, 190–91
- Constantius (emperor [337–61]), 117
- Constantius (legate of Milan), 157
- Constitutum Constantini*. *See* *Donation of Constantine*
- consul, 35, 36
- Coptic church, 72; Bible of, 92; and translations of Gnostic writings, 94; prayers of, 118
- Copts, 92
- copying of manuscripts, 80–81, 234, 303, 402–406, 433, 481, 483–85; of Isidore's works, 247
- Corbinian, 302
- Cordova (map 1), 11, 136, 225, 227; mosque of, 298; Umayyad caliphate of, 299, 448
- Corinth (map 1), 108, 204, 263, 301, 409, 410; ecclesiastical appeal to Rome from, 165
- Corippus, 83, 159
- Cornelius (bishop of Rome [251–53]), 97
- coronation, imperial, 454–55, 459–62, 464–65
- Corsica (map 1), 171, 264
- Cosmas (iconoclast bishop), 366–67
- Cosmas (patriarch of Alexandria), 384, 419
- Cosmas, St. 308
- Cosmas Indicopleustes, 87–89; and *Christian Topography*, 87–88, 108
- Cosmas of Sicily, 344n
- council(s)
Arian, of 580, 226
of Christian church, 56, 86, 99, 165, 168, 222, 433
of Frankish church, 359, 391
general, 99, 124, 142, 340, 367, 415
of Hatfield, 276
Nestorian, of 554 (Seleucia/Ctesiphon), 123
of Serdica, 101
of Seville, 241
of Spain, 228–29
of 251 (Carthage), 97
of 549 (Orléans), 122
of 589 (Toledo III), 228–29, 230–32, 238
of 619 (Seville), 241
of 633 (Toledo IV), 229, 239–40
of 636 (Toledo V), 240
of 646 (Africa), 217
of 686 (Toledo XIV), 244, 245
of 731 (Rome), 347–49, 393
of 754 (Hieraia), 345, 368–70, 381–82, 384, 393, 395, 416, 417, 467; called

- pseudo-council, 415; identifies itself as Seventh Oecumenical Council, 370, 436
of 786 (Constantinople), 417
of 792 (Regensburg), 434
of 796 (Aquilaia), 434, 440
of 802 (Aachen), 441n
of 809 (Aachen), 463
of 815 (Constantinople), 467–70.
See also Oecumenical Council; synod
- counts: in Frankish administration, 442
craftsmen, 45, 46, 51–53, 269, 363, 449
Creation: the seven days of, 4, 235. *See also* dating
- Crediton (map 3), 346
creed: of Nicaea, 56, 100, 228, 230, 440;
of Constantinople (381), 228, 230–31, 440; of Chalcedon (451), 228, 230–31; of Toledo IV, 239, 244; precise wording of, 65, 111; place in liturgy of, 111, 230–31, 246 (Celtic); public declamation of, 440, 464; Latin form adopted at Frankfurt, 442, 463–64; Greek and Latin wording of, erected at Rome, 464
- Crementius, 165
Cremona, 188
Crete (maps 1 and 2), 217, 298, 334, 351; ecclesiastical diocese of, 121, 351–52; bishop of, 273; *thema* of, 328
- Crimea, 134, 289
Croatia, 466
Cross: Christian symbol, 320–21, 363, 367; cult of, 324; enemies of, 332, 419; images of, 335–36, 364, 467, 474, 471, 474; True Cross, 84, 195, 198, 200, 203, 206, 310
crown: of *Donation of Constantine*, 386
crowning. *See* coronation, imperial; ritual
- Ctesiphon (map 1), 38, 186n
cult, emperor, 38
culture: classical, 44–53; clerical, 53, 182; pagan versus Christian, 75–81
curiales, 48–52; Christians exempted from duties of, 58; fail to maintain cities, 73; decline of, 134, 145; flee to imperial or ecclesiastical service, 143; replaced by Constantinopolitan officials, 153
curtains, ecclesiastical, 178, 179n (*pallia et oraria*), 267, 450
Cyprian (deacon of Roman church), 176
Cyprian, St. (bishop of Carthage), 97, 102, 481
Cyprus (maps 1 and 2), 217, 219, 283, 298; churches of, 114, 251; Monophysite community of, 206; Arab attacks on, 251, 260, 321, 361; delegation to Sixth Oecumenical Council from, 278–79
Cyrene (map 1), 64; devastated (405), 71
Cyril, St., 93, 301
Cyril, St. (bishop of Alexandria), 5, 101, 111, 348
- Dacia (map 1): diocese of, 36; also called Eastern Illyricum, 36; Trajan's campaigns in, 45; bishops oppose Fifth Oecumenical Council, 121
Dalisandos (map 2), 321–22
Dalmatia (map 1), 456, 465; ecclesiastical diocese of, 121, 123, 351, 368n
Damascus (maps 1 and 2): captured by Arabs, 136, 211; caliphate of, 134, 136, 299; captured by Persians, 195; Great Mosque of, 284, 324, 361
Damasus (bishop of Rome [366–84]), 73, 91
Damian, St., 308
Daniel, book of, 4
Danube (maps 1 and 3): Roman frontier, 23, 56, 186, 221; breached, 25, 27, 33; non-Roman pressures on, 36, 135; St. Severinus's activity on, 74; Christianity destroyed on, 107; Avar empire on, 199, 433, 452
Daphne (near Antioch), 185
Dara, 153
Dar al Islam, 8
Dardanelles, 36
Dares of Phrygia, 483
"dark age," 13, 133, 295
Dastergerd, 198
dating: *Annus Domini* system of, 3, 5–6, 113, 235, 403–404, 480; A.H. system of (year of the Hijri), 6, 261; *Annus Mundi* system of (from the year of Creation), 3–5, 235, 406, 480; use of B.C., 4, 480; Carolingiansystem of, 403, 458; and chronology, 2–6; by indiction, 3, 6, 406; pontifical systems of, 6, 404, 414, 453, 459

- Datus (bishop of Milan), and grain distribution, 73; and Three Chapters controversy, 120–22
- Dead Sea scrolls, 67
- Decius (emperor [249–51]), 97
- Decius (exarch of Ravenna), 156
- decretals, papal, 143, 286, 359; collection made by Isidore of Seville, 243; included in *Admonitio generalis*, 433; at Reichenau, 482
- Decretals, Pseudo-Isidoran*, 244
- de fide catholica*, 243
- de litteris colendis*, 433
- Delphi, 314
- Demetrius, St. (patron of Thessalonike), 204, 315; icons of, 307, 315
- demosion*, 350
- Denmark, 346
- Desert Fathers, 64, 68, 211, 233; example followed in the West, 70, 86; scattered far from Egypt, 72. *See also* hermits
- Desiderius (bishop of Vienne), 182
- Desiderius (king of the Lombards), 379–80, 383–84, 392, 395–98, 400, 408, 424
- De viris illustribus*, 241, 244
- Dhuoda, 172n
- diaconiae*, 273, 348, 449–50
- Dialogues* of Gregory I, 159–60, 360, 481
- Diana, 21; statue of, 109
- Diatessaron*, 92, 95n
- diet, Roman, 46, 346
- dioceses, 23; ecclesiastical, 59
- Diocletian (emperor [284–305]), 3, 5, 22–24, 138
- Dionysio-Hadriana*, 376, 432–33, 441
- Dionysios, 4–5, 85–86; Easter tables of, 5, 112–13, 235, 268–69; dating of, 113, 235
- Dionysios of Alexandria, 97
- Dioscorides, 81
- Dioskoros (bishop of Hermopolis), 64
- Dioskoros of Alexandria, 104
- Dioskoros of Aphrodito, 83
- diplomacy: imperial, 43; papal, 347, 355–56
- dirhem*, 323
- divorce: of Constantine VI, 431
- Dodecanese: naval force of, 409
- Domentziolos, 191
- Dome of the Rock, 9, 284, 324; and Umayyad mosaics, 471
- domestikos ton scbolon*, 362
- Dominicus (bishop of Carthage), 168
- Domitian (bishop of Melitene), 157, 159, 184, 186n
- domuscultae*, 360, 449, 457
- donatio*: made to St. Peter, 297, 378; “Donation of Pippin,” 378, 399; of Charles, 378, 399
- Donation of Constantine*, 297, 304, 373, 385–87, 399–400, 450, 454, 458, 461, 479
- Donatists: in Africa, 98, 164
- Donatus, 222, 483
- Donatus (grammarian), 402
- Donus (pope [676–78]), 275–76
- Doulichia (map 2), 361–62
- Dracontius, 483
- dress: clerical, 110, 161, 165, 165n; of bishop, 110, 115; Gothic, 232; papal, 266–67; foreign (disguise), and transvestism, 285; of saints, 311; patrician insignia, 425; imperial, 464
- Dumio: monastery of, 86, 222
- Dungal, 471
- Duophysitism, 184
- Duotheletism, 258, 278
- Dynamius, 164
- Dyrrachion (map 1), 22; *thema* of (map 2), 411, 465
- Eanfled, 269
- Earconwald (founder of Barking monastery), 271
- earthquakes, 185, 192, 314, 320n, 334–35; Aegean (726), 334–35; at Constantinople (740), 363; at Aachen, 451
- Easter: celebration of, 239, 398–99, 412, 425; celtic, 246, 269
- Easter, calculation of date of, 5, 55–56, 85, 86, 99, 111–13, 167, 244, 268–69, 270; 84-year lunar cycle for, 111, 167, 269; 19-year lunar cycle for, 5, 111, 268; lunar epochs for, 112; and Letters, 112; and tables, 111–13, 268
- Easter Chronicle, 112
- Eastern churches, 173–75; liturgy of, 179
- East Roman Empire, 139, 155, 213, 236–

- 38, 352, 465; transformation of, 137–38, 304–305; small landowners of, 47; free peasantry, 47, 138; rural population of, 321–22, 330–31; rulers remembered in papal prayers, 414. *See also* Byzantines; Byzantium
- Ebbo (archbishop of Reims), 470
- Eccard, 172n
- Echternach: monastery of (map 3), 271, 346
- Ecloga*, 339n
- Edessa (map 2), 184–85, 187, 206, 309, 315
- education: Christian form of, 40, 43–44, 78–82; in Gaul, 75; classical Roma, 51, 79–82, 86–87; supported by Julian, 117; Isidore and, 234; synthesis of pagan and Christian, 78–81; in Visigothic Spain, 233–34; in Lombard Italy, 234; in the East, 174–75; of women, 75, 84; monastic, 303; promoted by Charlemagne, 433
- Egeria, 243
- Egica (Visigothic king), 248
- Egino (bishop of Constance), 482, 485–86
- Egypt, 3, 164, 190, 192, 194, 210, 214, 217, 261; civilisation of, 22; gods and goddesses of, 8, 21, 58; Pharaonic Egypt, 45; landowners of, 25, 47; systems of irrigation of, 25; grain in, 25, 44; fleet of, 190; potteries of, 48; plague in, 45; separate diocese of, 25, 36; Berber incursions into, 36, 71; overrun by Persians, 195, 211; conquered by Arabs, 136, 212, 214, 259, 300, 324
- Egypt, church of: and asceticism, 59n, 60–62, 86, 113, 221; and monasticism, 61–62, 65–66, 68–69; *History of the Monks* in, 68; pilgrimage to, 102, 108; and Monophysitism, 107, 184
- Egyptians, 315, 335
- Einhard, 447n, 448n, 458, 462; *Life of Charlemagne* of, 483
- Einsedeln, 485
- Ektthesis*, 209, 213–14, 217, 252
- elders, Christian, 57, 98
- elephant, 300, 365; Abulabaz, 462–63
- Eleutherios (exarch of Ravenna), 191
- Elias (archbishop), 160
- Elias (iconoclast priest), 423
- Elias, Norbert, 481
- Elipand (archbishop of Toledo), 434–35, 440
- Elissaios (Byzantine official), 413
- Elizabeth, St., 308
- Elpidios (governor of Sicily), 412
- emirs: of Spain, 140, 299
- Emmeram, St., 302, 482
- encyclopaedias: Byzantine, 248, 407; by Isidore of Seville, 248n, 444
- England, 106, 112, 170–71
- Ennodius (bishop of Pavia [511–21]), 75
- enthronement. *See* ritual
- Epeiros, 411
- Ephesos (maps 1 and 2), 204, 310. *See also* Oecumenical Councils
- Epiphaneia (empress), 193
- Epiphanius (bishop of Salamis), 348, 366
- Epiphanius (deacon), 422
- episcopacy, 51
- Epistles*: of St. Paul, 57, 92, 96; of Barnabas, 94
- epithalamium*, 83
- epitome, 235, 278
- epoptes*, 317
- Ervig (Visigothic king), 248
- Ethelbert (Anglo-Saxon king of Kent), 169–70
- Ethiopia: Christianity in, 72
- Etruscans, 88
- etymologies, 79, 247n
- Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, 233, 239, 243–46, 248, 482
- Euboia (map 2), 301
- Eucharist, 366–67
- Eucherius of Lérins, 68–69, 483
- Euclid, 11
- Eudo (duke of Aquitaine), 139
- Eudokia. *See* Fabia
- Eudokia (wife of Theodosius II), 309
- Eugenius I (pope [655–57]), 257, 259, 263
- Eugenius II (pope [824–47]), 469–70
- Eugenius (bishop of Toledo), 244
- Eugippius (abbot of Lucullanum), 85
- Eulalia, St. (patron of Mérida), 223
- Eulogios, 185
- Eulogios (patriarch of Alexandria), 159, 179, 181, 205n
- eunuchs, 205, 409; women passing as, 64
- Euphemia, St.: relics of, 308

- Euphrosyne (daughter of Constantine VI), 431, 468
- Euprepios, 257
- Euric (Visigothic king [466–84]), 51; Gothic law code of, 226–27
- Europe, 295, 435, 477
- Europe, 477–80; Christian dominance in, 8, 12; medieval culture of, 7, 143; early medieval history of, 390
- Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea [315–40]), 4, 6, 10–11, 95, 99, 243; canon tables of, 4; on emperor as viceroy of God, 38–39; as church historian, 54–55; *Ecclesiastical History* by, 81, 333, 482; *Chronicle* of, continued, 82
- Eusebius (bishop of Vercelli), 66
- Eustathios (son of Marianos), 316
- Eutropius (abbot of Servitanum, bishop of Valencia), 223, 228
- Eutyches (Monophysite leader), 103, 122
- Eutychios (exarch of Ravenna), 351, 355, 360
- Eutychios (patriarch of Constantinople [552–65, 577–82]), 158, 181; as bishop of Amaseia, 63
- Eutychius, St., 160
- Evagrius, 60n, 66n, 184–85
- Evans, Arthur, 334
- Exaltation of the Cross: festival at Rome, 273; festival at Constantinople, 310
- exarch(s): of Ravenna and Carthage, 154, 156, 282; of Carthage, 168, 189–91; of Ravenna, 162, 165, 166, 191, 280, 342, 350; their patrician status, 399
- exarchates: of Ravenna and Africa, 154–55, 156–57, 281; of Ravenna, 186, 289, 351, 355n, 356, 370, 380–81, 383–84, 388, 393, 399; of Africa, 217–18
- excommunication, 96, 100n, 106
- exile, places of: Trier, 65; Rome, 65; Antioch, 66; Thebaid of central Egypt, 122; Rhodes, 216; Trebizond, 218; Valencia, 227; Cherson, 257–57, 287; Constantinople, 398; Frankish monastery, 400; Hellas, 410
- excohibitors, 189, 196–97, 201, 281, 362, 409
- exorcist, 266
- Expositio rectae fidei*, 120, 213n
- Fabia, 190n, 191, 193, 215
- Facundus (abbot of Hermiane), 120n, 121, 232, 241
- “family of kings,” 408, 452
- Famina Hispanica*, 246
- Farandiyya, 322
- Far East: trade with, 37–38; bubonic plague from, 45; Christianity spread to, 92, 109. *See also* China
- Farwald (Lombard duke of Spoleto), 152, 163n
- fashion: Roman, 46, 51; Constantinopolitan, 52; in hair styles and clothes, 118, 285
- fasting, 286, 434
- Fatima, 260
- Feast of Orthodox (also Triumph of Orthodoxy), 305, 364, 474–75
- Febronia, St., 308
- Felix (bishop of Toledo), 244
- Felix (bishop of Urgel), 434, 440, 470
- Felix (pope [526–30]), 150
- feudalism, 7, 13, 303, 305, 476–78, 486
- fideles* of Charlemagne, 458
- Fidelis (bishop of Mérida), 223–24
- Filioque*, 230–31, 239, 385, 439–40, 462–64, 473
- Firmus (metropolitan of Numidia), 123
- Flavian (patriarch of Constantinople [446–49]), 102–103
- Flavigny, monastery of (map 3), 376
- Flavius, 226, 228
- Fleury (map 3): monastery of, 246; scriptorium of, 485; Gospels, 486
- Florentina (sister of Leander and Isidore), 233, 243
- florilegium*: attributed to Patriarch Menas, 206; by Maximos, 253; by Sophronios, 254; at Sixth Oecumenical Council, 278; iconoclast, 367; by Theodulf, 463
- foederati* (Byzantine troops), 154
- foederati* (federates), 26, 29, 51
- folles*, 194
- food, distribution of, 50–51; in Constantinople, 40; and bread, 44, 49–50, 197; abandoned, 194–97; adopted by Chilperic, 51
- foot: Roman, 462n, 486; royal, 40
- forgery, 207, 243, 297, 304, 305; Monothelite, 277–78; Novatian, 366; of *Donation of Constantine*, 373, 386–87
- founders: of churches, 111; monastic, 345

- Francia, 112, 114–15, 230, 243, 345, 353, 356–58, 394, 398, 401–402, 452, 472; ecclesiastical reform in, 375–77, 432–33, 470–71; papal legates to, 383
- Francis II (emperor of Austria), 476
- Francis of Assisi, St., 211
- Franconia (map 3), 302
- Frankfurt (map 3): Carolingian palace at, 435. *See also* synod, of 794
- Frankish church: councils of, 359, 391; bishops and dioceses of, 432–33; and education of clergy, 433; and schools, 433
- Frankish court, 401–403, 428, 432, 434, 438, 451, 453, 455, 466
- Frankish monarchy, 297, 299; and the papacy, 356–57, 370, 372–81, 414
- Franks, 133, 135, 137, 139, 152, 156, 295–97, 352–53, 389, 432, 439–40; in northern Gaul, 35–36; in Aquitaine and Provence, 140, 390–91; in northern Italy, 412; origin of, 391; lack of a capital, 225; churches and royal tombs of, 52; conversion of, 105, 114–15; defeat of Visigoths, 220
- Fravitta (Gothic general), 30
- Frisia (map 3), 139, 271
- Frisians, 106
- Fritzlar, monastery of (map 3), 302
- Friuli (map 3), 452
- Frontius (metropolitan of Salona [Dalmatia]), 122–23
- Fructuoso, St., 233, 243
- Fulda, monastery of (map 3), 248n, 302, 358, 462, 484–85
- Fulgentius (bishop of Ruspe), 77, 232
- Fulrad, 356; as abbot of St. Denis, 373, 376–77, 379–80, 396
- Gaeta (map 1), 424
- Gainas, 30
- Galatia (map 2), 307
- Galen, 81
- Galicja (map 1), 220–23, 225, 233–34
- Galiilee, 57
- Galla Placidia, 27, 29
- Gallinaria, 68
- Gangra (map 2), 319, 322, 331, 337
- Gascony, 140, 395
- Gaudentius of Brescia, 103
- Gaul: diocese of (map 1), 23, 113; overrun by non-Romans, 26, 221; limited to southern parts, 28, 75; devastated, 34; Franks established north of the Loire, 35–36; refugees from 37, 106; chaotic conditions in, 74; replacement of secular education by Christian in, 75
- Gaul, church of, 105; asceticism in, 109; monasticism and, 68–70, 115; foreign pilgrims in, 110; bishops of, 115, 167
- Gaza (maps 1 and 2), 136, 211; as source of wine, 46, 222
- Gegenbach, monastery of, 303, 359
- Gelasius I (pope [492–96]), 85, 104, 125, 421; *Decretal* of, 438
- Genesis, 3, 92n, 480, 484
- Gennadius (exarch of Carthage), 189
- Gennadius (bishop of Marseille), 348
- Genoa, 150
- Genseric (Vandal leader), 33, 34
- Gentiles, 9
- Gentilly (map 3): synod of, 384–85, 395
- geometry, 407
- George (bishop of Ostia), 373, 402
- George (iconophile monk), 366–67, 369n
- George (patriarchal archivist), 278
- George (patriarch of Constantinople [679–86]), 276, 278
- George (*protasekretis*), 381, 383
- George of Alexandria, 366
- George of Cyprus, 369
- George of Pisidia, 197, 200
- George the *synkellos*, 405; *World History* by, 326
- Gepids, 154
- Gerberga (wife of Carloman), 396
- Gerbert of Aurillac. *See* Sylvester II
- German, Old High, 248, 484
- Germanikeia (map 2), 361–62
- Germanos, 189
- Germanos (bishop of Kyzikos, patriarch of Constantinople [715–30]), 158n, 315, 318–19, 369; letters of, 326, 331–33, 335–36, 338, 340–42, 344, 347, 422
- Germigny-des-Prés (map 3), 462
- Gero (bishop): illuminated Gospels of, 485
- Gerona (map 3), 82
- Gesta pontificum romanum*, 482
- Gethsemane, prayer of, 207, 213
- Gibbon, Edward, 143, 144n, 148; *Decline and Fall* by, 445
- Gisela (daughter of Pippin), 302, 381, 387
- glass, stained, 268, 345

- glossaries, 484
Glykeria, St. (patron of Herakleia), 159;
icon of, 308
gnosis, 93
Gnostics: ascetic communities of, 67, 93;
writings of, 94
God, of Christians, 21, 96; as Supreme
Judge, 39, 55n. *See also* Allah; gods, an-
cient; Jews, god of; Yahweh
godparent(s), 374; icons used as, 469;
Gregory I as, 158; Leo IV as, 301, 408;
Charlemagne as, 452. *See also* alliance
gods, ancient, 54, 185. *See also* Greece
Godswinta (wife of Athanagild and of Leo-
vigild), 224
Goldbach, 486
Golden Calf, 333
Goldziher, Ignaz, 297
good works, 311, 333, 378
Gortyna (map 2), 279
Gorze, monastery of (map 3), 302, 359
Gospel (book), 52, 179, 263, 267, 447
Gospels, 92, 94–96, 179; of *Thomas*, 94,
According to the Hebrews, 94; order of, in
liturgy, 111; harmonised version of, 483
Gothic language, 31, 51, 231
Goths. *See* Visigoths; Ostrogoths
Gotthia, iconoclast bishop of, 369
Grado (map 3), 123, 348, 351
grain, 46, 189; fleets of, 44, 189, 190, 261
grammar: Latin, 402–403; texts, 404, 483
grammatica, 401
grammatikos, 407
Gratiosus, 392
Greece, 203, 361–62, 363, 411; ancient
culture of, 22, 88, 477; economic and so-
cial structure, 44–51; role of the *polis*,
44, 46, the *curia*, 48–49; pagan gods and
goddesses of, 8, 13, 21, 53, 313; images
of gods of, 53, 313–14, 479; artistic
models of ancient Greece, 444, 479; pa-
gan mythology of, 53, 79; plundered by
Alaric, 26; fortified by Justinian, 43; at-
tacked by Slavonic tribes, 135, 236;
Christianity in, 301–302; as part of dio-
cese of Illyricum, 351–52; pagan inher-
itance of, 407, 444, 479; scholars from,
466
Greek, 10–12, 138, 204–205, 245, 253,
272, 325, 386, 413, 478, 482; as com-
mon tongue, 10, 24, 51; in *Novellae*, 40;
decline of, 76, 78–82; of Bible, 91–92,
94n; Gregory I's ignorance of, 158–59
“Greek fire,” 275, 320
Gregoria, 216
Gregory I (pope [590–605]), 8, 12, 124,
141–43, 160–82, 183–84, 189, 227,
232, 239, 242, 245, 346, 348, 356,
376, 393, 421, 438, 473; as city prefect,
151; as monk, 151; as papal legate, 152,
156–60, 179; writings of, 157, 160,
164, 169–70, 172–73, 175, 177–78,
180, 273, 481–82; on Christian art, 12,
117, 177–79, 339, 367, 469, 486; *Life* of,
in *Liber pontificalis*, 161–62; *Life* of,
by anonymous monk of Whitby, 162;
Life of, by John the deacon, 162; *Life* of,
by Paul the deacon, 162
Gregory II (pope [715–31]), 329–30, 346–
47, 349, 358, 372; as deacon, 288; his
Life, 326, 336, 339; letters of, 331n,
336–37, 339, 340–41, 342
Gregory III (pope [731–41]), 139, 346–53,
356, 357, 358, 360, 372, 393, 416
Gregory VII (pope [1073–85]), 105, 473
Gregory (bishop of Tours [573–94]), 112,
178, 224, 249, 402; as author of the *Ten
Books of Histories*, 70, 483; family connec-
tions of, 71
Gregory (exarch of Carthage), 217–18, 264
Gregory (iconoclast bishop of Neocaesarea),
418–19, 422
Gregory (patriarch of Antioch), 185, 186
Gregory (Syrian bishop of the *Akephaloi*),
241
Gregory (uncle of Herakleios), 189, 190; as
exarch of Carthage, 191
Gregory, St. (bishop of Nyssa [d. c. 394]),
50, 85, 348
Grimald (abbot of St. Gall), 485
Grimoald (Lombard prince), 424–25, 453
Gadiana River (map 1), 223
Gulf, Persian, 88; Christianity in, 124, 126
Guntram (king of the Franks [d. 593]), 51
Gussinus (Gothic nobleman), 228
hadith, 297, 299, 304, 305
Hadrian (abbot), 270–71
Hadrian (pope [772–95]), 351, 375n, 376–
77, 386, 407–408, 412–27, 430, 432,

- 434–35, 438, 443, 449–50, 452–54, 457, 459–60, 469–70, 486; and Charlemagne, 396–400, 412–14, 426–27, 452; coinage of, 414
- Hadrianum*, 427
- Hadrumetum (map 1), 123
- Harold (Anglo-Saxon king), 249
- Harran (map 2), 316
- Harun al Rashid (caliph [786–809]), 300, 413, 429, 453, 462–63
- Hatfield, council of, 276
- Hebrew, 11, 90–94, 245
- Hecate, 21
- Heito (abbot of Reichenau), 486
- Helios, 21
- Hellas, *thema* of (map 2), 282–83, 301, 363, 368n, 410
- Hellenistic kingdoms: of Syria and Palestine, 21, 22, 44–45, of Asia Minor, 45
- Hendy, Michael, 262
- Henry II (emperor [1002–1024]): Gospels of, 485
- Herakleia (map 2), 194, 369; diocese of, 410
- Herakleios (also called Heraklonas), 215–16
- Herakleios (emperor [610–41]), 125, 136, 138, 155, 192–98, 200–206, 219, 240, 243, 252, 311, 408; as consul, 190–91; and Monotheletism, 206, 209
- Herakleios (exarch of Carthage), 189–90
- Herakleios (son of Constans II), 262
- Herakleios (son of Justinian II), 280
- Heraklion, 334
- Hercules, statue of, 314
- heresy, 118, 140, 165n, 174, 180, 434; Macedonian, 242
- heretics, 31, 59, 112; communal organisation of, 61; debates of, with Christians, 95; and Irenaios's *Treatise Against Heretics*, 95; baptism of, 98, 107–110; Monophysite, 214; and icons, 333
- Hermenegild (Visigothic prince), 227–28
- hermits, 467; of the desert, 62–63, 71, 251; and celibacy, 67; on islands, 68
- Herstal (map 3), 432
- Herulphus (bishop of Langres), 393
- Hesperia*, 420
- Hexapla*, 93
- Hierapolis, 206
- Hiereia, 368. *See also* council of 754
- Hijri, year of the (A.H.), 6, 261
- Hilarius (rector), 168
- Hilary, St. (bishop of Poitiers), 66, 69, 102, 232, 481–82
- Hilary (bishop of Rome [461–68]), 74
- Hilary of Arles, 104
- Hildegard (wife of Charlemagne), 395, 400
- Hippo (map 1), 34
- Hippocrates, 81, 485
- Hisham (caliph [724–43]), 321
- Hispano-Romans, 221, 224, 249n
- History of the Goths*, 237, 243
- History of the Lombards*, 162
- Holy City (Jerusalem), 213
- Holy Cross, convent of, 84
- Holy Land, 52, 118, 458
- holy men: Christian, 98, 99, 109–10, 113, 160, 174; sites of, 118, images of, 178; pagan, 142; Byzantine, 411
- Holy Roman Empire, 8, 305, 390, 476, 478; emperor of, 476
- holy war (*jihad*) 136–37, 213
- holy woman, 110, 174
- Homiliary*, 376; made for Bishop Eginô, 485
- homoiousios*, 97
- homoousios*, 97
- Honoratus (papal legate), 160, 164
- Honoratus of Lérins, 68–69
- “Honorianensi,” monastery of, 233, 244
- Honorius (emperor [395–423]), 26–28, 33–34, 148; marriages of, 29, 32–33
- Honorius (pope [625–38]), 125, 208–209, 214, 265, 271, 275, 279
- Horos*: iconoclast (of 754), 369–70, 381, 417, 422; iconophile (of 787), 423, 429n; iconoclast (of 815), 467
- hostage: non-Roman, 26, 35; Roman, 30; King Witiges, 42; as guarantee of treaty, 424–25
- Hraban Maur, 248n, 484
- Huns, 25, 236; attack Constantinople (448), 30; Margus betrayed to, 74, 154
- Ibas (bishop of Edessa), 119–20
- iconoclasm: Gregory I's attitude towards, 177; Byzantine, 9, 295, 307, 326, 331–40, 342–43, 344, 347, 364–68; official Byzantine (754–87), 364, 368–70, 387–

- iconoclasm (*cont.*)
88, 393, 407–408, 411–12; Byzantine doctrine of, 407, 417–23, 437; second Byzantine (815–43), 466–69, 472; Islamic, 12, 322–25, 332, 350n; western, 9, 470–73; Reformation, 479. *See also* council of 754; council of 786; council of 815
- iconoclast(s), 326, 331–38; in Italy, 397; bishops, 417, 418; controversy, 12, 305, 336; destruction of figural decoration by, 381. *See also* art; iconoclasm
- iconophiles, 326, 336, 337, 342; as martyrs, 381–82; under Islamic rule, 384, 405–406; and image theory, 407. *See also* Oecumenical Council, Seventh
- icons, 9, 12, 109, 169, 178, 197, 344–45, 365–67, 394, 429, 472; unconsecrated, 307, 367n, 439; Kamouliana, 153; “not made by human hands” (*acheiropoiete*), 198, 315, 372; cult of, 178, 307–311, 314–15, 333–34, 338–39, 388; curative powers of, 332, 421–22; eastern, imported into Rome, 267, 268, 312; Roman, imported to Anglo-Saxon England, 270; pedagogic function of, 344, 439, 444; as godparents, 469; as altars, 469; painters of, 309–310, 344; veneration of, 9, 12, 332, 355, 366–67, 370, 385, 393, 405, 411, 417, 422–23, 427, 437–39, 444, 469, 474–75
- icons of Christ, 169, 178, 185, 197, 198, 313, 315, 333, 366–67, 421; not made by human hands, 372; Edessa (*mandylion*), 309, 315, 393, 427; Kamouliana, 153, 309–310; Chalke, 310, 335, 336n, 339, 429, 467, 474; on coinage, 311; and Eucharist, 367; in Majesty, 447; at Rome, 450
- idolatry, 86, 171, 177, 182, 304, 314, 331–33, 335, 337, 339, 343, 346, 366, 439, 456, 469, 471–72, 475, 479
- idols, 170, 171, 369
- Ierapolis, iconoclast bishop of, 417
- Ikonion (map 1), 60, 321–22; iconoclast bishop of, 417
- Ildefonsus (bishop of Toledo), 234, 243–44
- Illyricum, church of: papal vicar, 164; opposition to Fifth Oecumenical Council, 121, 241, 267; of East Illyricum, 107, 252, 279, 284; diocese of East Illyricum, 349, 351–52, 415, 424
- Illyricum, Eastern (map 1), 26, 33, 36
- Illyricum, Western, (Pannonia) (map 1), 36
- imperator*, 204
- imperium* (empire): used of Visigothic rule, 232; used of Charlemagne’s territories, 454, 456
- Incarnation of God as Man, 55, 96, 107, 235, 241, 311; as justification for icons of the human Christ, 333, 344–45; dating from, 3, 5, 9, 403, 406
- incubation, 308
- India, 7; Roman trade with, 37, 46, 87; Christianity in, 124, 126
- indiction. *See* dating
- Ine (Saxon king), 271
- Ingundis, 227
- Innocent I (pope [401–417]), 66n, 74, 103, 359
- Innocent (prefect), 189
- innovation: problem of definition of, 369; 415; of Latin creed, 463–64
- Iona (map 3): monastery of, 106, 246, 269
- Iran, 38–39, 198. *See also* Persia
- Iraq, 212, 324
- Ireland, 37, 106, 350; Christianity in, 106, 113, 126, 170, 268; Christian culture of, 135, 245–46, 302, 402, 484; people of, 11, 113n
- Irenaios, St. (bishop of Lyon), 81n, 91n, 96, 98, 99; *Treatise Against Heretics* by, 95
- Irene (empress [797–802]), 302, 448–49, 453–54, 467, 473; regent for Constantine VI, 409–413, 414–18, 422–24, 425, 427–31; and Charlemagne, 412–13, 454–56, 464
- Irenopolis (Berroia), 410
- Isaac (exarch of Ravenna), 214
- isapostolos*, 420, 439
- Isauria (map 2), 219, 260, 321
- Isidore (bishop of Seville), 79, 82, 143, 158, 220, 222, 229, 233–49; influence in Carolingian circles, 428, 438–40, 444; commentary of, 482–83; works translated into Old High German, 248, 484
- Isis, 21
- Islam, 6, 8–9, 14, 134, 136–37, 139–40,

- 211–13, 214, 218–19, 273, 282, 288–89, 295, 297, 298–300, 316, 319, 323–25, 343, 472, 477, 479–80; Christian communities under, 416; and science, medicine, and philosophy, 426, 478; culture, 468. *See also* Muslims; traditions
- Isoes (*strategos* of the Opsikion *thema*), 327
- Israel, 3; children of, 315, 335, 378; Israelites, 9, 320
- Istanbul, 40. *See also* Constantinople
- Istria (map 1): as part of the “West,” 22, 26, 149, 370, 380, 399, 453; ecclesiastical diocese of, 121, 123, 154, 160; and schismatics, 166, 180, 182, 183, 188; troops of, 265; under Byzantine control, 350
- Italy, 22, 33, 74, 145–47, 214, 221, 251, 253; diocese of (map 1); and two vicars, 23; reconquered by Justinian, 41–42, 145–49; devastated, 42; bubonic plague in, 45, 147; Franks in, 377–81, 388–90, 456
- Italy, church of: condemns Monothelism, 218; reaction to Byzantine iconoclasm, 336–37, 345–46; in northern Italy, 104, 393; refusal to accept Three Chapters, 107, 121; in southern Italy, 107
- iustitiae* of St. Peter, 297, 374, 378, 389
- Ivan IV (tsar of Russia), 476
- Ivan the Great (Grand Prince of Moscow), 476
- Jacob (bishop of Nisibis), 61, 72
- Jacobite (Monophysite) bishops, 107
- James the deacon, 269
- Japan, 7
- Jarrom (map 3): monastery of, 86
- Jerome (brother of Pippin), 377
- Jerome, St., 75, 167, 245, 481–82; translates *Rule* of Pachom, 68; and Bible, 91, 93–94; continues *Chronicle* of Eusebius, 82, 243
- Jerusalem (maps 1 and 2): 9, 40, 308–309; Herakleios and, 200, 203; destroyed by Persians, 195, 206, 212, 236; captured by Arabs, 136, 211–12; city banners of, 460, 462; Carolingian monastery of, 463; Greek monks of, 463
- Jerusalem, church of: one of the pentarchy, 63, 174; 109, 118, 217, 254, 258, 277, 284; Nestorian community of, 206; Monotheletes of, 251, 254; under Islam, 300; and titular patriarchs, 300; patriarch of, 458; and Holy Sepulchre, 118, 195; as site of Calvary, 254
- Jesus of Nazareth, 3–4, 93, 94, 95; regarded as the Messiah, 9, 54; the uncreated Son of God, 56; preaches, 57, 90; genealogies of, 91n; at Gethsemane, 207. *See also* Christ
- Jews, 8–9, 20, 46, 67, 141, 212, 325; god of, 9, 21; monotheism of, 21; debates with Christians, 95, 206; as “outsiders,” 110; of Antioch, 205; of Jerusalem, 206; of Naples, 41; of Spain, 223, 236, 238, 240; forced conversion of, 205–206, 212, 236, 238, 328; religious customs of, 285–86; influence over Yazid II, 323
- jihad* (holy war), 136–37, 213
- Job*, book of, 157
- John I (pope [523–26]), 5
- John IV (pope [640–42]), 214, 217, 252, 267
- John V (pope [685–86]), 281
- John VII (pope [705–707]), 288, 313
- John (archbishop of Cyprus at Nea Justinianopolis), 251
- John (archchanter of Rome), 270
- John (bishop of Milan), 255
- John (bishop of Nikiu), 212
- John (bishop of Portus), 279, 287
- John (Frankish ambassador), 424
- John (metropolitan of Synnada), 331–32
- John (Monophysite patriarch of Antioch), 251
- John (patriarch of Constantinople [582–95]) (John the Faster), 159, 165, 180, 184, 242
- John (*quaestor*), 277
- John Chrysostomos, St., 207, 348, 482
- John *grammatikos* (patriarch of Constantinople [837–43]), 407, 468–69, 474
- John Klimakos, St. (abbot of Sinai monastery), 210
- John Lemigios, 191
- John Moschos, 210–11, 251
- John of Biclar, 81–83, 89, 223, 229, 244; monastic *Rule* of, 233
- John of Damascus, St., 344–45, 369, 395, 405, 474

- John of Ephesos, 184–85
John of Jerusalem, 419, 421–22
John of Philadelphia (papal vicar), 254
John of Ravenna, 172
John the Almsgiver (patriarch of Alexandria), 210
John the deacon, 162
John “the Earthquake,” 194, 216
John the *logothetes*, 418–19
John the *sakellarios*, 409
John the *silentiarios* (imperial official), 368n, 371–73, 380
Jonas, 271
Jonas (bishop of Orléans), 471
Jordan, 118
Joseph (patriarch of the Nestorian church), 123
Joseph (priest), 431
Josephus, 80, 482
Judaeo-Christians, 91
Judaism, 8, 54, 67. *See also* Jews
Judgement, Day of, 3–4, 96, 158, 353, 378
Julian (bishop of Toledo), 240, 244–45
Julian (emperor [361–63]), 117
Julian (*spatharokandidatos*), 336
Julian of Halicarnassos, 158n
Julius Caesar, 3, 37, 39, 155, 235, 478; writings of, 75
Jumièges, 485
Junilius, 80
Jupiter, 21; (Jove), 222
Justin I (emperor [518–27]), 36, 39, 155, 231
Justin II (emperor [565–78]), 83, 84, 153, 159, 220, 310
Justin (martyr), 91n, 95
Justinian I (emperor [527–65]), 36, 39–44, 138, 145–49, 153; buildings of, 40, 71–72, 117; and patronage of craftsmen, 52; reconquest of the West of, 41–44, 220–21; and Fifth Oecumenical Council, 108, 119–23, 160, 240; persecutions by, 119; and heresy, 124, 240–41, 288, 310
Justinian II (emperor [685–95, 705–711]), 125, 185, 262n, 280–85, 286–89, 301, 317, 318, 329, 339; and coinage, 311–12
Justus (bishop), 482
Juvenius, 483
Kaaba, 333
Kairouan (map 2), 282; mosque of, 298
Kamachon (map 2), 316, 321
Kamouliana. *See* icons of Christ
Karabisian, 281, 283, 328
Karpachos, iconoclast bishop of, 417
katachos, 60
katholikos, 108
Kavadh (Persian King of Kings), 39
Kent, 161, 163, 169
Kephalaria, *thema* of (map 2), 411, 465
Khazars, 201, 287
Khirbat al Minya, 324
Kibyrraion (Kibyrréot), *thema* of (map 2), 282, 328, 349n, 351, 361
Kilian, 271
kingdoms, Hellenistic. *See* Hellenistic kingdoms
Kirkission (map 1), 43
Kition, bishop of, 421
Klaudioupolis (map 2), 331
Knossos, 334
Kochel, monastery of (map 3), 302
kommerkiarioi, 262, 283, 365n
Koran, 9; extra-Koranic traditions, 297; manuscripts of, 298; Koranic inscriptions, 9, 12, 323–25
Kos (maps 1 and 2), 260
koubikoularios, 256
Kouchan, 361
kouropalates, 196, 327
Kremlin, 476
krites, 205
Krum, Bulgar Khan, 466
Kutrigur. *See* Huns
Kyriakos (abbot), 166, 167n, 176
Kyros (patriarch of Alexandria), 205n 206–208, 251, 254; as bishop of Phasis, 206
Kyrros (map 2), 67
Kyzikos (map 2), 190, 275, 318

Laidcenn, 245–46
Lakedaimonia, 410
Langres, 373
languages, three sacred, 11, 90–91, 245, 442
Larissa (map 2), 273, 409
Late Antiquity, 72, 105, 125, 386, 445,

- 477, 485; period defined, 19, 19n; end of, 134, 141; Mediterranean context of, 20; heritage of, 181, 297, 444, 483–84, 487; scholarship of, 481; culture of, 21, 22, 43, 105, 126–27, 159, 484; Christian elements in, 21, 53, 54–89, 117, 126; classical elements incorporated in, 44, 48, 52–53, 75, 89, 182
- Lateran Synod. *See* synod of 649; synod of 769
- Latin: spoken in the “West,” 10–11, 303, 477–79; as official language, 51; used to convert non-Romans, 37, 51, 105; supplants vernaculars, 37, 43, 51, 231; liturgy in, 79, 82; Bible, 91–92; and clerical culture in West, 12, 143, 303, 402; monastic encouragement of, 303, 403–404, 483–84; in acts of Lateran Synod, 253; in canon tables of Eusebius, 4; in Illyricum, 351; in Constantinople, 158–59, 204
- Latopolis (map 2), 65
- latreia*, 344
- laudes*, 117, 414, 455, 466
- law: Roman, 23, 391; codified by Justinian, 39–40; *Novellae*, 40; *Ecloga*, 339n; Roman law adopted by non-Romans, 51; Visigothic codes, 34; on adoption, 39; Roman concepts of, 444; Jewish, 62, 332; ecclesiastical, 231; schools and students, 285; in Beirut, 25; Islamic, 298; Frankish (Salic), 391, 404, 432; manuscripts of, 483. *See also* canon law; Mosaic Law; Moses
- Lazikè (map 1), 257n
- Leander, St. (bishop of Seville), 157–58, 168, 172, 220, 222, 227–29, 230, 239, 242; monastic *Rule* of, 233
- Lebanon, 283
- legate(s) (also *apocrisarius*), 368, 457; to Byzantium, 120, 152, 164, 354, 383; to Francia, 383; to Seventh Oecumenical Council, 415, 418, 420, 423; to Synod of Frankfurt, 435, 443
- Lent, 55, 112
- Leo I (emperor [457–74]), 155
- Leo III (emperor [717–41]), 137, 138, 139, 216, 319–21, 325–30, 334–43, 345, 349–51, 354, 363, 366–67, 369, 448, 467; governor of Anatolikon *thema*, 319; and East Illyricum, 301, 351–52; imperial role of, 339
- Leo IV (emperor [775–80]), 301, 318, 407–409, 411, 429
- Leo V (emperor [813–20]), 467–68
- Leo I (pope [440–61]), 111, 125, 356, 481; negotiates with Attila, 74; *Tomus* of, 102–103, 149, 160; rejected by Monophysites, 107; on papal authority, 104; decrees of, 359
- Leo II (pope [682–83]), 244, 266, 280, 437
- Leo III (pope [795–816]), 134, 182, 305, 443, 450, 452–53, 454–55, 458, 461, 464, 466, 472–73; as new Sylvester, 386–87; flight to Paderborn, 457–58; and *Filioque*, 463–64
- Leo (archbishop of Ravenna), 398
- Leo (son of Constantine VI), 431
- Leo the Mathematician, 407
- Leocadia, St.: patron of Toledo, 225–26; church of, 228
- Leontia (wife of Phokas), 180
- Leontios (Byzantine official), 419
- Leontios (emperor [695–98]), 312, 318; as *strategos*, 283, 286
- Leontius (*scriniarius*), 395
- Leovigild (Visigothic king), 158, 223–27; and Toledo, 225–26; palace of, 225; regalia, coinage, and law, 226–27
- Lérins (map 3), 68–69, 268, 270
- lexika, Byzantine, 247
- Lex Langobardorum*, 483
- Libellus synodalis Parisiensis* (825), 469
- Liber pontificalis*, 162, 270, 288, 348–49, 354–55, 371, 373, 399, 455, 457
- Liber regulae pastoralis*, by Gregory I, 160, 172–73, 175
- library: at Nag Hammadi, 67; of Vivarium, 86; of Isidore of Seville and Braulio of Saragossa, 234, 243; of Acca, 270; at Sinai, 406; at Reichenau, 481–85, 487; of Constantinople patriarchate, 278–79, 282; monastic, 272, 402; in Africa, 77; in Syria and Palestine, 405; catalogues, 403
- Libri Carolini*, 427, 435, 437–40, 462, 467, 470–72
- Libya (map 1), 190, 218; western, 22; eastern, 23

- Licinianus (bishop of Carthage), 172, 220, 232
Licinius (emperor [311–324]), 24
Lille, 357
Lindisfarne (map 3), 269
litany, 334
liturgy: Armenian, 93; chanters in, 110, 266, 270, 376; eastern, 179; Gallican, 169, 376; Georgian, 93; Gregory I and, 162; Greek and Syriac hymns in, 273; Latin, 79, 82; Mozarabic, 244, 428; private, 287, 469; Roman, 84, 91, 104, 110–11, 118, 169–70, 179, 270, 376–77; Syriac, 93, 118. *See also* creed
Liudbirc, 396
Liutgard (wife of Charlemagne), 458
Liutprand (Lombard king [712–44]), 346, 353–56, 388
Liuvu (Visigothic king [567–571/3]), 224
logomachia, 208
logothetes tou dromou, 409
Lombards, 42, 43, 133, 135, 139, 141, 151–52, 154, 156, 161–63, 166, 225, 265, 289, 342–43, 355, 359–60, 371–72, 377, 380, 382–85, 387–89, 401; kings of northern Italy, 346–47, 370–71, 379, 397–98; Arian or pagan doctrines of, 107, 135, 166–67, 289; duchies of Spoleto and Benevento, 156, 166, 186, 346, 352, 354, 356, 379, 397–98; as mercenaries, 201; hostile to Constantinople, 329
Lombardy: conquered by Charlemagne, 400–402, 432, 451
London (map 1): bishop of, 169–70
Longinus, 151
Lord's Prayer, 442
Lorsch, monastery of (map 3), 303, 359, 462
Lothar I (emperor [817–55]), 445, 471, 475–76
Louis the German, 445
Louis the Pious (emperor [814–40]), 441n, 446, 459, 466, 468–71, 476; baptism of, 386, 400; as king of Aquitaine, 299, 470
Lucullanum: monastery of St. Severinus at, 74; Abbot Eugippius of, 85
Luke, St., 309
Luxembourg, 271
Luxeuil, monastery at (map 3), 163n, 166, 167
luxury goods, 37, 46, 48, 262
Lycia (map 2), 260
Lycopolis, female solitary of, 65n
Lyon (map 1), 140, 268
Maastricht, 462
Maccurritarum, 82
Macedonia (map 1), 301; diocese of, 36; also called Eastern Illyricum, 36; bishops oppose Fifth Oecumenical Council, 121; *thema* of (map 2), 410
Macrina, St. (sister of Basil and Gregory), 50
magic charms, 110, 314
magister militum: Alaric as, 26; Goths as, 30; Theodoric as, 35; in Italy, 145, 156, 165; replaced by *strategos*, 261
Magnaura: school, 407
maiestas, 232
Maine, 390
Mainz (map 3), 358
Makarios (Monothelite patriarch of Antioch), 276, 278–80, 287, 418
Makarios, monastery of, 72
Malaga (map 1), 222
Malles (map 3): church of San Benedetto in, 486
Malmesbury (map 3), 246
Manchán, 245
mandylion, 315
Mango, Cyril, 405
Manichaeism, 102, 108, 110
Manzon (bishop), 421
mappa mundi, 448, 462
Marcella, 66
Marcellina (sister of St. Ambrose), 69
Marcian (emperor [450–57]), 155, 229
Marciana, 68
Marcion, 61, 96
Marcus Aurelius (emperor [161–80]), 58
Mardaïtes, 283
Mareas (Roman priest), 147
Margus (map 1), 74
Maria of Amnia, 428, 431, 468
Marinos (duke of Rome), 329
Marmoutier, monastery of St. Martin at, 69

- marriage: as alliance in the West, 35, 83, 84; between Byzantines and Franks, 381, 385, 413, 424, 428; between Charlemagne and Irene, 464; arranged, 60, 64–65; Christian, 70, 346, 359, 391; dissolution of, for eastern clerics, 64, 70–71, 286; dissolution of, for those wishing to enter monasteries, 84; permitted to eastern clergy, 70, 286; clerical, 286; between Romans and non-Romans, 29–30; in Visigothic Spain, 227, 231; among Arab leaders, 299
- Marseille (map 1), 69
- Martianus Capella, 402
- Martin (pope [649–55]), 125, 218–19, 222, 250, 253–59, 268, 274, 287, 313, 437; as papal legate, 217; trial of, 256–57; *Life of*, 259
- Martin, St. (bishop of Braga), 86, 89, 220–23, 243n; *On the Correction of the Peasantry*, 171; founds monastery of Dumio, 233
- Martin, St. (bishop of Tours [372–97]), 69, 106, 109; *Life of*, 482
- Martina (wife of Herakleios), 193, 215–16
- martyrs: Gothic Christian, 31; Christian, 58, 60, 99, 118, 170, 358; in Rome, 150; commemoration of, 111; iconophile, 342, 381–82, 423, 468; Islamic, 213
- Mary the Egyptian, St., 308
- Maslama, 137, 319
- Masona (bishop of Mérida), 224
- Mauretania (map 1), 33, 156, 190
- Maurice (emperor [582–602]), 155–58, 160, 165, 172, 180, 182, 185–87, 189, 195, 197, 240, 310; as commander of *foederati*, 154; as *caesar*, 158
- Mauroi*, 190
- Maurus (archbishop of Ravenna), 265
- mawali*, 298–99
- Maxentius (emperor [306–312]), 24
- Maximian (archbishop of Ravenna), 148–49
- Maximian (co-emperor [286–305]), 24
- Maximos the Confessor, 208–210, 213–14, 217, 250, 252–54, 272; trial of, 257–59
- mayor of the Austrasian palace, 139, 356–58
- Mazikes, 71
- Mecca, 6, 136
- medical studies, at Salerno, 426, 479
- medical texts, 81, 402, 478; at Reichenau, 482, 485
- Medina (map 2), 6
- Mediterranean Sea, 7, 13, 20–24, 34, 37, 259–60, 282, 289, 295, 297–99, 426; and communication, 20, 222, 247, 380; and transport, 20, 46, 189; commercial unity of, 21, 46–47; political unity of, 6, 10, 23, 44, 133; artistic unity of, 52–53, 114; divided by Fifth Oecumenical Council, 126; political fragmentation of, 141; significance of East Mediterranean, 8, 477
- Megas Agros, monastery of, 326
- Meletios, 61
- Meletios, St., 418
- Melitene (map 2), 321, 361–62
- Mellitus (bishop of London), 170
- membra Christi*, 236
- Menas (patriarch of Constantinople [536–52]), 206, 277
- mercenaries: in Roman armies, 28–29; Gothic, 31; and cult of Mithras, 58; in Byzantine armies, 201
- merchants. *See* traders
- Mercians, 271
- Mérida (map 1), 223–24
- Mesopotamia, 43, 154, 211
- Messiah: Christians recognise Jesus as, 9, 54
- metals, precious, 37, 46, 179
- Methodios (patriarch of Constantinople [843–47]), 472–73
- Methodios, St., 93, 301
- Methone, bishopric of, 410
- metre, 83, 483
- Metz (map 3), 83, 359
- Michael I (emperor [811–13]), 465–67
- Michael II (emperor [820–29]), 467–69
- Michael III (emperor [842–67]), 473, 475
- Michael Lachanadrakon, 381, 413, 430
- Milan (map 1), 148, 226; imperial residence and provincial capital, 23, 26, 31, 33; western court leaves, 148; divided by Arianism, 31; schools of, 84; Lombard palace of, 135; captured by Lombards, 151, 156
- Milan, church of, Ambrose acclaimed as

- Milan, church of (*cont.*)
 bishop, 63–64; 123, 276; opposition to Fifth Council, 154
militarisation of Byzantine society, 153–56, 196–97, 201–203, 205, 261–62
Minicea, 222–23
minuscule script: Carolingian, 404; Byzantine, 404–406
Miro (king of the Sueves), 86
“Mirror of Princes,” 237
missionaries, 302, 346, 358, 401; Arian, 31; Nestorian, 109, 124; Christian, 57, 247, 296, 485; on Danube frontier, 74; Roman, 105, 289, 301; to Anglo-Saxons, 163, 169–71, 173, 178; Anglo-Saxon, 139; from Septimania/Christian Spain, 302; from Francia, 302; Irish, 358; Carolingian, 452; Byzantine, 301–302, 411
missus, 401, 458, 461, 470
Mistheia, 321
Mithras, 21, 58
Mittelzell, 486
Mizizios, 265, 266n, 275
Moduin (bishop of Autun), 448n
Moesia, diocese of (map 1), 23, 33, 36
Momigliano, Arnaldo, 11
monarchy: Eusebian concept of, 237; Christian, 237–38, 248, 427
Monasteries, 49–50, 143, 174, 175–76; in Egypt, 61–62, 66–67, 72, 102; independence of, 109; decisive influence of Pachomian on, 61; importance in encouraging celibacy, 65; in Gaul, 68–70; in patriarchate of Jerusalem, 109; variety of observance in, 113; need for secular protection, 163; Celtic, 170; house monasteries, 57; law on entry to, 180, 442; double, 442
“monastery of the Cells,” 62
Mondsee (map 3): monastery of, 302, 485
Monemvasia (map 2), 203, 301; *Chronicle of*, 203
Monkwearmouth (map 3): monastery of, 86
Monoenergism, 184, 206–208, 210
Monophysite church (West Syrian), 183, 205, 212
Monophysitism, 119, 472; Monophysite interpretation, 87, 107–108; founded by Eutyches, 103; rejects Council of Chalcedon, 107, 119; and *Trisagion*, 209
Monotheletism, 125, 207–210, 213–14, 217–18, 250–59, 263, 275–76, 279, 312, 318, 340–41, 414, 437, 472; Monotheletes, 184, 273, 278–80
monoxyles, 199
Montanos, 94, 328; followers of, 96
Monte Cassino, monastery of St. Benedict at (maps 2 and 3), 163, 166, 375, 401, 441
Monteverde, 485
Monza (map 3): Lombard palace of, 135, 156
moon, worship of, 13
Moralia in Iob, 157, 160, 232, 244, 245, 481
Moravia, 301
Mosaic Law, 9, 12, 91, 93. *See also* Old Testament
Moses, 320, 452; as model of lawgiver, 39; prohibition of idolatry, 325, 331–33; Pippin called New Moses, 379, 385
Mount Izla (map 2), 69
Mousge, icon of the Virgin at, 307
Mshatta, 324
Muawiya (caliph [661–80]), 260, 275
Muawiya (son of Hisham), 321–22
Muhammad, 6, 9–10, 12, 134, 211, 260, 297; lance of, 323. *See also* Prophet of Allah
Münstair (map 3): Johannes church at, 486
Muslims, 9, 137, 315. *See also* Islam
Mutasim (caliph [833–42]), 468
Muwasa, 321
Mycenaeans, conquest of Crete by, 334

Nag Hammadi (map 2), 67, 94
Nakoleia (map 2), 331, 413
Namatius (bishop of Clermont Ferrand), 178
names: family, in Byzantium, 215–16
Nancetus, 223
Naples (map 1), 41, 149, 264, 298, 360, 380; forces of, 382; Byzantine duke of, 397
Napoleon, 476
Narbonne (map 1): occupied by Visigoths, 27, 221, 224, 249; sacked by Arabs, 140
Narnia, 378
Narses, 186n, 187, 189

- Narses (Byzantine general), 145, 147; re-pairs by, 42, 148
navicularii, 46
Nea Justinianopolis, 251
nea strateia, 200–201
Nechtan (king of the Picts), 270–71
Nehemias the *bazzan*, 67
Neilos of Sinai, St., 422
Neo-Chalcedonians, 184
Neo-Platonism, 76–77
nepotism, 70–71
Nestorian church (East Syrian), 108–109, 123–34, 183; monastery of Beth Abhe, 81
Nestorianism, 87–88, 108, 122, 470; influence in Three Chapters, 119, 121; condemned, 119; and Duophysitism, 123; influence in Adoptionism, 434
Nestorios (patriarch of Constantinople [428–31]), 101, 108, 119, 122
Neustria (map 3), 135, 357, 392; churches of, 254
New David: Charles as, 10; Pippin as, 379
New Israel, 10, 439
New Jerusalem, 94
New Rome: Constantinople as, 25, 34, 52, 104, 116–17, 186, 209, 264, 384, 444, 446, 448–49
New Testament, 9, 91–96, 206, 235, 366–67, 427
Nicaea (map 2): siege of (727), 315, 322, 328, 331, 337; church of the Virgin (Koinesis) at, 364; iconoclast bishop of, 417. *See also* Oecumenical Councils, First and Seventh
Nicholas I (pope [858–67]), 351–52, 473
Nicomedia (map 1), imperial residence at, 23, 288
Nicomedia (map 1), 31
Nikephoros I (emperor [802–811]), 410, 464–66
Nikephoros (caesar), 409, 453
Nikephoros (patriarch of Constantinople [806–815]), 334, 349, 405, 407, 465, 467–68, 474; *History* of, 326; relics of, 475
Niketas, 190, 192, 196, 216
Niketas Anthrax, 327
Nimes (map 3), 140
Nineveh (map 2), 198
Nisibis (map 2), 69, 72, 80, 108
Nitria (map 2), 61–62, 64–65; devastation of, 71; monasteries of, 71–72, 113
Noricum (map 1), 26
Normia, 355
Northumbria, 5, 86, 246, 302, 345, 402, 484
Nothelm, 273
Notker, 447n
Nouthesia, 366–67, 369n
Novatian, 54n, 97–98, 99, 366
Noyon (map 3), 392
Nubia, 43, 72
Numidia (map 1), 156, 167–68
Nympha, 354–55
oath, 434; of fealty, 303, 396, 461; of loyalty, 444
Oberzell, 481, 485–86
Obsequium, 201, 202
Octavian, 235; as Augustus, 39, 45
Odovacer (Herulian general), 19, 29, 35
oconomos, 239
"oecumenical": as title for patriarchs of Constantinople, 161, 165, 179–80, 188, 242, 259, 415
Oecumenical Council
First, at Nicaea (325), 5, 31, 55–56, 99–100, 111, 116, 229, 241, 428; images of, 315, 322, 337
Second, at Constantinople (381), 230
Third, at Ephesos (431), 101, 103, 108, 119, 167
Fourth, at Chalcedon (451), 102, 103, 108, 124, 119, 160, 183, 184; 205, 210, 214, 229, 230–31; canons of, 122, 239, 285
Fifth, at Constantinople (553), 40, 119–25, 143, 149, 154, 160, 161, 813, 214, 230, 277; decrees of, 285
Sixth, at Constantinople (680–81), 207n, 244, 253, 277–81, 368–69, 418–19; acts of, 280–82, 285, 423, 443
Quini-Sext (Council in Trullo), at Constantinople (691/92), 274, 284–88, 311, 313, 338, 341
Seventh, at Nicaea (787), 368, 411, 417–23, 426–28, 430, 435–39; canons of, 442–43

- Oecumenical Council (*cont.*)
images of the first six, 267, 312
Offa (Saxon king), 271
Ohrdrut, monastery of (map 3), 302
oikeiakous tes basileias, 196
oikonomia, 340, 382, 411
oikoumene, 8, 218, 220, 250, 284, 312, 416, 437; divided by Fifth Oecumenical Council 124; irrevocably divided, 389, 444
oil: from Spain, 20; imported from the Mediterranean into Ireland, 37; from North Africa, 46, 189; as staple of ancient diet, 46; curative powers of, 308
Old Testament, 3–5, 9, 206, 235, 331, 335, 340, 348, 366, 427, 438, 440; for models of Christian leadership, 38; and Mosaic law, 39; description of tabernacle, 87; as source for artistic models, 447, 462; significance for Byzantines, 263; sites, 118; deutero-canonical books of, 93–94
Olympia (map 1), 3
Olympios (exarch of Ravenna), 218, 255–56
Oman, 124
On ecclesiastical offices, 241, 243
On Nature, 238, 243, 482
Opsikion, 195; *thema* (map 2), 202, 261, 274, 283, 318, 327–28, 337, 362
oracles, Sibylline, 54
oral traditions, 91, 93
orator, 238
oratory, classical, 83–84
ordo, 266
Ordo Romanus, 266
Oreos (Euboia), 301, 410
organ, 266, 381
Oriens, diocese of (map 1), 23; divided, 36; provides army of the Orient, 201, 202, 261
Origen, 79, 93–94, 97
Orléans (map 3): council of, 122
Orosius: *World History* of, 8n, 483
Ostrogoths, 33; kingdom established by Theodoric, 35, 145; intermarriage by, 35, 161; and Arianism, 221
Oswy (king of Northumbria), 269–70
Orto III (emperor [983–1002]), 478–89
Oviedo (map 1), 471
Pachom, St., 61–62, 65; *Rule* of, 68, 68n, 482; monasteries of, 71–72, 92; ideals of, in the West, 113
Paderborn (map 3), 457–58; epic, 458
paganism, 40, 76–79
pagans, 31, 184–85; (*gentes*) near Marseille, 177–78; debates of, with Christians, 95; practices of, 86, 110, 115, 174, 222, 285; Anglo-Saxon, 171; in northern Europe, 8, 302–303, 346
Palamon, 61
Palatinus (prefect of Rome), 160
Palencia (map 1), 233
Palestine, 57, 93, 207, 210, 213, 252, 254, 259, 326, 344–45, 352, 406; Jewish inhabitants of, 20; Christian hermits in, 65, 86; Egyptian monks move to, 71–72; churches of, 95; pilgrimage to, 108; Monophysites in, 107; conquered by Arabs, 136, 300, 324
Palladios, 62
pallium, 161; papal, 165, 169, 383
Pambo, 62
Pamphronius (prefect of Rome), 152
Paneas, statue of Christ at, 333
Pannonia, diocese of (map 1), 23, 36
papacy, 164, 175–76, 289, 347, 356, 360, 443, 451, 460, 470, 473; western respect for, 250; court (*curia*) of, 266, 341, 428, 455; ceremony in, 266, 268, 289, 451; eastern influence in, 266–67, 272–73, 341; charters of, 271; archive of, 273; elections to, 273–74, 280, 371, 384, 394; *rectores*, 350, 352; consecration and, 375, 415, 461, 464, 466, 473; administration of, 414; and coinage, 414. *See also* anointing; legates; “republic”; Rome, church of
papal estates (patrimonies), 351, 355, 360, 415, 422, 424, 457; in Africa, 176; in Calabria, Bruttium, and Lucania, 281, 349–51; in Dalmatia, 176; in Italy, 176, 382; in Naples, 408, 424; in Provence, 164, 176; in Sardinia and Corsica, 176; in Sicily, 162, 176, 281, 349–51
Paphlagonia (map 2), 322, 337, 428
papyrus, 46, 149, 405
Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai, 247, 313
parchment, 405

- Paris (map 1), 51, 114, 357, 392; synod of, 469–70
- Parma, 401
- Parousia*, 3–4
- Parthenon: as a Christian church, 78
- Paschal I (pope [817–24]), 468
- Paschalis, 457–59
- Paschasius, 233
- Passau (map 1), 74
- Passover, 56, 111
- Patlagean, Evelyne, 142
- Patras (map 2), 410; bishop of, 203; church of St. Andreas in, 411
- patrician, 19, 425
- patricius Romanorum*, 297, 374, 397, 399–400
- Patrick, St., 106
- patrimonies. *See* papal estates
- patronage: Roman imperial, 34; of non-Roman military leaders, 51; of church, 75, 84–86, 174; Byzantine imperial, 85, 138, 364–65, 449; Merovingian, 114
- patrons: saints, 111, 315, 337, 345; lay, of private churches, 359
- Paul II (patriarch of Constantinople [641–53]), 216–18, 254–55, 279
- Paul III (patriarch of Constantinople [688–94]), 284
- Paul IV (patriarch of Constantinople [780–84]), 415
- Paul I (pope [757–67]), 371, 373, 376, 381–85, 387, 392–94, 407, 414
- Paul (bishop of Mérida), 223
- Paul (bishop in Numidia), 168
- Paul (*chartouarios*), 327, 329
- Paul (imperial secretary), 277
- Paul, St., 60, 94, 96; advice on singleness, 65
- Paul Afiarta, 396–98
- Paul the deacon, 161, 162, 376, 401
- Paul the Persian, 80, 108
- Paulinus (archbishop of Aquileia), 401, 426, 434, 440, 455
- Paulinus, St. (bishop of Nola), 70; wife/sister of, 70n
- Paulinus of Pella, 28
- Pavia, 425, 447, 462; schools of, 83, 84, 401; captured by Lombards, 151, 156; Lombard palace at, 135, 447; synod of, 160, 289, 356; as Lombard capital, 355, 377, 380, 396–400; conquered by Charlemagne, 400
- Pavou, 61
- Pelagius I (pope [556–61]), 123, 125, 147–48, 149
- Pelagius II (pope [579–90]), 150, 152, 156, 160, 179, 220
- Peloponnesos (the Peloponnese) (map 2) 203, 352, 363; *thema* of, 301, 410
- penance, 430; imposed on Theodosius I, 64; of Leovigild, 224; uniformity of, 391; for Constantine VI's divorce, 431; imposed by Charlemagne, 434
- Pentapolis (modern Libya), 190
- Pentapolis (northern Italy), 286, 393
- pentarchy, 258, 284, 300, 368, 370, 416, 417, 419, 421; criticised at Frankfurt, 436; reduced to two centres, 473
- Pentateuch*, 91
- pepper, 20, 46
- Pergamon (maps 1 and 2), 204, 274, 319
- persecution: of Christians by Romans, 5, 58–59, 97, 99, 117; of Christians by Muslims, 298; of Jews, 67, 238, 298; of Catholics by Visigothic Arians, 232; of Catholics by Monotheletes, 255–59; of iconophiles by iconoclasts, 381–83, 407–408, 423, 430, 469, 474–75
- Persia (map 1), 154; gods of, 21; rivalry of, with East Roman Empire, 30, 36; and Alexander, 37; Sasanian dynasty of, 38, 43, 124; Nestorian Christian communities in, 88; conquered by Arabs, 136–37, 213
- Persian, translation of the Bible, 92
- Persian Gulf, 88; Christianity in, 124, 126
- Persians, 134, 153, 186–89, 192, 194–99, 201, 203, 205–206, 210–12, 219, 236, 247, 251, 314; meaning Arab, 413
- Perugia, 356
- Pessinous, iconoclast bishop of, 417
- Peter (abbot of Reichenau), 482
- Peter (abbot, papal legate), 415
- Peter (oconomus), 415
- Peter, St. (Apostle), 103, 269, 271, 353, 378–79, 386, 414; cult of, 105, 182, 289–90, 376; tomb of, 118, 163, 267, 353n, 398–99, 455; chains of, 166; keys of, 452; icons of, 312, 333, 450. *See also* Rome, *see* of St. Peter in

- Peter and Paul, Sts., monastery of, 270
Peter of Pisa, 401
Peter the patrician, 40
Peter the Stylite, 382
Petronas (count of Opsikion), 418
Petronilla, St., 375
Peuseis, 367–68
Philagrios, 216
Philaretos, St., 428
Philippi (map 1): churches of, 114
Philippikos, 188n, 189, 196; monastery of, 188n, 209
Philippikos (emperor [711–13]), 312–13, 318, 340–41, 414
Philippopolis (map 2), 135, 410
Philoponos, John (Christian philosopher), 78, 87–88
philosophy: ancient, pagan, 40, 64, 77–79, 87, 117; Neo-Platonist, 75–76, 101; declines in West, 102, 181; Greek, 344, 407, 438
Phoenicians: empire of, 22; god of, 21
Phoinix (map 2), 255, 260
Phokas (emperor [602–610]), 157, 180, 187–91, 195, 205, 240; brothers of, 191
Photinos (Manichaean), 108
Photios (patriarch of Constantinople [858–67, 877–86]), 95, 173, 407, 473, 475
phvatiria, 467
Phrygia, 96
Picts, 106
pilgrimage: Christian, 118–19; to healing shrines, 163; to Tours, 69, 458; to Holy Land, 68, 118, 243, 315, 390; to Egypt, 102; to Rome, 116, 118, 243, 399; Islamic, to Mecca, 136
pilgrims, 164; to Holy Land, 52, 118; hostels for, 142, 449–50; to Cherson, 258; to Rome, 266–69, 449–50; Frankish, 372
Pippin III (king of Franks), 296, 299, 357–59, 372–81, 382–85, 387–89, 390–92, 401–402, 404, 414, 432, 447, 456; as mayor of Austrasian palace, 139, 357
Pippin the Hunchback, 434
pirates, 397; Arab, 264, 282, 298
Pirenne, Henri, 6, 134, 259
Pirmin, 302, 483–85; *Scarapsus*, 483
Pisidia, iconoclast bishop of, 417
Pisidian Antioch (map 2), 319, 321, 331
pittakion, 422
Pius VII (pope [1800–1823]), 476
plague, 82, 150, 152; of 540s, 42, 45; of 740s, 360–61, 363; in Rome, 270
Plato, 403
Platon (abbot of the Sakkoudion monastery), 405, 429, 431
Platon (exarch of Ravenna), 256
Platon, St., 307
Platonic Academy, 77, 79
Platonic influence: in eastern theology, 438
Pliny: *Natural History* of, 402
Poitiers (map 1), 66, 83, 85, 137
politikos artos, 197. *See also* food, distribution of
Polychronios, 279
Ponthion (map 3), 373
Pontos: diocese of (map 1), 23; as region of central Asia Minor, 50, 363
Porphyry, 79n, 478
Porthmos (Euboa), 301, 410
portrait: imperial, 83, 191, 313, 439, 447, 454; sent to Rome for acclamation, 180, 414; of Charlemagne in Rome, 459; episcopal, 178, 308; papal, 267, 313, 414; patriarchal, 308, 312
pottery: Roman, imported into Ireland, 37; Far Eastern, imported to the Mediterranean, 37; produced in Egypt, 48; African, 189
poverty, Christian, 59–60
praetorian prefect, 165, 213, 316
Pragmatic Sanction, 145–46, 148, 149
praktor, 317
preaching, 57, 171, 173
presbyters, 98
Primasius: *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by, 482
Primasius (bishop of Hadrumetum), 123
primatos, 379
primicerius, 371, 392–94, 395–97
primogeniture, 392
Primus (metropolitan of Carthage), 123
primus, 266
Priscian, 402, 482
Priscillian, 104
Priskos (count of the *exkoubitors*), 189, 192, 196
Proclus, 78
propaganda, imperial, 49, 326

- Prophet of Allah (Muhammad), 6, 9, 12, 260, 297, 477
Prophets, books of, 93
proskynesis, 455
Prosper: continues *Chronicle* of Eusebius, 82, 243
Prosper of Aquitaine, 103, 482
prostitutes, 57
protasekretis, 381
Protevangelium, 94
Provence (map 3), 68–69, 139, 140, 298
Prudentius: *Psychomachia* of, 402; verses of, at Reichenau, 483; Bern manuscript of, 485
Prum, monastery of, 434
Psalms, 91, 93, 111
Psephos, 207–208, 213
pseudo-Ambrose, 348
pseudo-Cyprian, 246
pseudo-Dionysios, 208, 394, 402, 470n
Ptolemy, 11, 478
Pyrenees (map 1), 140, 400, 484
Pyrrhos (patriarch of Constantinople [638–41, 654]), 214, 217, 218, 250, 253–54, 256, 279; deposed, 210, 216; abbot of monastery of Philippikos, 209
Qasr al Hayr (map 2), 324
quadriga, 365
quaestor, 80, 277
“Queen City.” See Constantinople
Quierzy (map 3), 357, 384–85
Quintus Serenus, 485
Qumran (map 2), 67, 93
Qusayr Amra, 324
Radegund, St., 83–85, 115
raising on a shield, ritual of, 187, 228
Ratchis (Lombard king), 356
Ravenna (maps 1 and 3), 164, 166, 189, 282, 288, 329, 355, 356, 372, 412, 460; as imperial residence and provincial capital, 23, 26, 32, 33, 148; as Ostrogothic capital, 35, 41, 149; favoured by Justinian, 40, 42, 141, 149; as capital of reconquered diocese of Italy, 42, 135, 141, 148–49, 265; schools of, 44, 83, 148; rivalry of, with Constantinople, 135, 191; commerce of, 148–49
Ravenna, churches in: St. Anastasia, Gothic cathedral, 31; St. Apollinare in Classe, 113, 149; San Vitale, 149; St. Apollinare Nuovo, 149
Ravenna, church of, 161, 348; privileges, 265, 280; rivalry of, with Rome, 265; estates of, 350
Ravenna, exarchate of, 154–55, 156–57, 346–47; army of, 255, 274, 286; rivalry of, with Rome, 191, 265; threatened by Lombards, 346, 350; captured by Aistulf, 360, 370–71, 388–89, 395, 397–98
reader, 66; rank of, 266
Reccared (Visigothic king), 82, 158, 226, 227–29; and *Filioque*, 231; and council of 589, 228–29, 238, 244
Reccopolis (map 1), 226
Redemptus (archdeacon), 242
Red Sea, 46, 87
referendarius, 359
Reformation, 479
Regency: for Constans II, 253, 255–56, 263; for Constantine IV, 263–64, 274; for Heraklonas, 215; for Michael III, 474. See also Irene
Regensburg (maps 1 and 3), 74
Regensburg, council of, 434
Reginbert (librarian of Reichenau), 441, 481, 484–85
regnum Christi (reign of Christ), 235–37, 248
Regula canonicarum, 359
Reichenau, monastery of (map 3), 246, 302, 441, 462n, 481–87
Reims, scriptorium of, 485
relics, 174, 267, 270, 427; of True Cross, 84; of Apostles, 289; 109, 118, 160, 169
reliquaries, 52; statue, 472, 479
Remedius (bishop of Rouen), 376
Remus, 451
“renaissance”: Carolingian, 403; Macedonian, 407; Italian, 13, 426, 479, 487; of the twelfth century, 11, 426, 479
Reno, 460
renovatio imperii, 444, 456, 460–61
Reparatus (metropolitan of Carthage), 122, 123
“republic” (*respublica*), 371; Roman (*respu-*

- “republic” (*respublica*) (*cont.*)
 blica Romana, i.e. the papal states, 377, 380, 383, 394, 399, 449, 451
Responsa, 169–70
Response and Statement of Our Faith, 245
restoration of icons: in 787, 431; in 843, 473–74
Revelation, 95, 99
Rhaetia (map 1), 26
rhetoric, 50–51, 75, 181
Rhine (maps 1 and 3): Roman frontier breached, 25, 27; provinces devastated, 33; crossed by Germanic tribes, 135; Christian missionaries active East of, 139, 346
Rhodes (maps 1 and 2), 216, 260; iconoclast bishop of, 417
Rhossois, Christian community of, 95n, 99
Ricimer, 29
Ripoll (map 3), 478
Ripon, monastery of, 271
ritual: of anointing, 227–28, 240, 357–58; of papal anointing, 374, 396, 399–400; of crowning, 227, 240; of enthronement, 228, 357. *See also* baptism; coronation, imperial; papacy
Rochester (map 3), 169
Roderick (Visigothic king), 136, 249
Rōmaioi (Romans): inhabitants of the East Roman Empire as, 41; Byzantines as, 137, 138, 140
Roman Empire, 6–8, 22, 23–24; economy and social structure, 44–51; decline of, 13, 143. *See also* traditions
“*Romani*”: from Byzantium, 222; settled in Spain, 236
Romano more, 462, 486; of measurement, 462n, 486. *See also* architecture
Roma Ventura. *See* Aachen; Second Rome
Rome (maps 1 and 3), 5, 12, 62n, 122, 125, 133, 210, 214, 295, 300, 389, 402, 407; as imperial capital, 23–24, 32, 41–42, 44–45; ancient home of the caesars, 461; also called Old Rome, 34, 104, 116, 133, 209, 444, 446, 449–51; vicar of southern Italy based at, 23, 148; rivalry of, with Constantinople, 29, 32; pagan religion in, 32, 73, 116–17; cult of Mithras in, 58; Christian influence in, 73–74; “fall” of, 20; sack of (410), 19, 26–27; Vandal sack of (455), 34, 104; sacked by Totila (546), 41–42; besieged by Lombards, 152, 377, 379; and Byzantine reconquest, 41; not revitalised by Justinian, 42, 141; knowledge of Greek in, 85; schools of, 44; plague, famine, flooding of Tiber, 152, 160; isolation of, 156, 162–65
Rome, bishop of: secular role of, 74, 145, 152; called *papa*, 74, 313; advice sought, 98, 143; duty of, to observe four imperial privileges, 182, 312, 414, 459, 461. *See* republic
Rome, churches in, 41, 42, 74; resources of, 360; St. Peter, 27, 148, 178, 267, 348, 372, 375, 395, 450, 459, 462; St. Peter *ad Vincula*, 83; St. Maria Maggiore, 113, 150, 273; shrine of the manger (*Praesepe*), 259, 348, 371–72; St. Sabina, 113; St. Caecilia in Trastevere, 147; Santi Apostoli, 148; St. Lorenzo, 150; St. Paul beyond the walls, 150, 252, 372; St. Giovanni a Porta Latina, 150; Sts. Cosmas and Damian, 150; church of Aracoeli, 150; St. Maria Antiqua, 150, 255, 313; Oratory of 40 Martyrs, 313; St. Agatha, 161; St. Caesarius (in Lateran), 181; St. Maria ad Martyres, 264; seven station churches, 266; San Stefano Rotondo, 267; San Venanzio, 266; St. Hadrian, 273; St. Crisogono, 348; Lateran baptistery, 386, 399; St. Susanna, 387, 450; St. Petronilla, 399; St. Maria in Cosmedin, 486
Rome, church of, 175, 182, 217, 239, 263–67, 281, 284, 379, 395, 472, 476; apostolic foundation of, 57, 63, 125, 242; dioceses under, 121; diaconate of, 176; jurisdiction of, 165; eastern appeals to, 180, 183, 209, 250–51, 273, 472; excommunicates Marcion, 96; bishops of, 74, 104, 157, 162, 274, 347, 393, 472; commemorated in Constantinople diptychs, 275; privileges of, 263, 280–81; ecclesiastical customs of, 285–86; relations with secular powers, 280–82, 342; pro-Lombard and pro-Frankish factions in, 385, 392, 396–97; opposition of, to Byzantine taxation, 329–30; opposition of, to Constantinople, 349;

- lacks bilingual skills, 104; and schism with Milan and Istria, 123; claims superiority over eastern churches, 242; and indigenous Christian forces, 42; people, army, and clergy of, 273–74, 280, 371; Greek monks of, 252, 276, 371, 395; as iconophile centre, 406, 411; cult of icons in, 348, 372; primacy of, 103–106, 141, 188, 303, 420. *See also* council(s); papal estates; synod(s)
- Rome, duchy of, 135, 157, 346, 352, 356, 370–71, 373, 388, 393, 449; garrison of, 181; militia of, 191; army of, 255, 273–74; duke of, 273, 347
- Rome, monasteries of: St. Andrew, 151, 157, 160, 170; Cilicians, 252; Rhenatus, 252; of the Armenians, 252; St. Erasmus, 272; the Boetiana of Nestorians, 272; Domus Arsicia, 272; St. Crisogono, 348; Greeks installed by Paul I, 381
- Rome, monuments of, 41–42; Forum, 148, 150, 450; imperial statues in, 157, 188, 264; Arch of Constantine in, 462; Lateran palace, 150, 266, 360, 371, 387, 392, 449; *Triclinium Maior*, 450; Pantheon, 264; Constantiniana, 273; Capitol, 314; imperial residence on the Palatine, 399; Porta Salaria, 27; aqueducts and water mills, 450
- Rome, republic of. *See* republic
- Rome, see of St. Peter in, 103–106, 141–42, 170, 236, 243, 257, 266, 268, 289–90, 302, 356, 374–76, 451; authority of, 182, 258, 265, 359, 476; vicar of, 373, 395, 446. *See also* Peter, St.; Rome, church of
- Rome, Senate of, 24, 26, 73, 74, 145, 152; pagan loyalty of, 32, 73, 103, 117; opposition of, to Alaric, 32; relations of, with eastern court, 42; maintains curial self-management, 50; position of prefect, 73, 148, 151, 152, 160; acclaims imperial portrait, 180
- Romulus, 451
- Romulus Augustulus (emperor in the West [476]), 19
- Roncesvalles (map 3), 400
- Rotardus (duke), 373
- Rotrud (daughter of Charlemagne), 412–13, 428
- Royal Frankish Annals*, 455
- Rufinus, 6, 68, 69, 482
- Rupert, 302
- ruralisation of East Roman Empire, 134
- Russian version of Scripture, 93, 301
- Rusticiana, 159, 178
- Sabas, Mar, monastery of, 195, 300, 344–45, 405
- Sabas (abbot of the Stoulios monastery), 418, 430
- Sabinian (papal legate), 164
- sacellarius*, 341
- Sacramentary*, 376–77, 482
- sacrifice, human, 185
- St. Avold, monastery of, 303
- St. Chariton, monastery of, 406
- St. Denis (map 3), monastery of, 357, 384, 392
- St. Gall, monastery of (map 3), 441, 484–85
- St. Martin, monastery of (Tours): scriptorium of, 485
- St. Maurice, monastery of, at Agaune (map 3), 373
- St. Riquier, monastery of (map 3), 427
- St. Servais, monastery of, 462
- St. Sophia, church of, at Benevento, 426n, 447
- sakellarios*, 409
- Sakkoudion, monastery of, 406
- sakra*, imperial, 415, 418, 426
- Salerno (map 2), 81; as capital of Lombard Benevento, 424–26; medical school of, 479
- Salona (also called Split) (map 1): metropolitan of, 121; ecclesiastical appeal of, to Rome, 165
- salt, 46, 257; saltpan, 284
- Salz (map 3), 465
- Salzburg (map 3), 485; metropolitan see of, 453; archbishop of, 458
- San Julián de los Prados (Santullano), church of, 471–72
- San Miguel de Lillo, church of, 471
- Saracens. *See* Arabs
- Saradapechys family, 409–410
- Saragossa, 299, 400
- Sarapion the Sindonite, 63

- Sardinia (map 1), 167, 171, 176, 253, 289, 298; garrison of, 264–65, 281
- Sardis (map 2), 204, 262n
- Sarracenorum*, 82
- Sarus (Gothic bandit), 33
- Sasanians, 38–39, 43, 124, 365. *See also* Persia
- Saxons, 106; occupy parts of Britain, 36; Charlemagne campaigns against, 434, 451; forced conversion of, 451, 458; re-settlement of, 458
- Saxony (map 3), 139, 302, 390; Frankish conquest of, 432, 457–58
- Sayings of Christ and Apostles, 91, 94, 98
- “Sayings” of the Desert Fathers, 62, 62n, 68, 72, 233
- schema*, 61
- schism, 174; Acacian, 152; Monothelite, 208, 259, 275; iconoclast, 352, 355, 384–85, 387–89; of Frankfurt, 462; of 1054, 473
- schola cantorum*, 266, 376
- scholai*, 194, 362; *domestikos ton scholon*, 362
- scholarship: classical, 181–82; pagan, 246
- scholia*, 97, 404
- schools, 25, 233, 433
- science, Greek, 87–88, 92
- Scotland: Christian culture of, 135, 302; Celtic church of, 170
- scrinium*, 392
- scriptoria, 81, 234, 404–407, 429, 485
- Scripture: Christian, 11, 90–96; canon of, 93; Hebrew, 11, 93–94; Russian version, 93, 301
- Sebastopolis, 283
- Sebeos (Armenian bishop), 195, 206, 212
- Second Rome (Aachen (also called *Roma Ventura*), 446–48, 451, 456
- Secundinus, 348, 393
- Sedulius, 483
- Seleucia/Ctesiphon (map 1): Nestorian council of, 123
- Seligenstadt, monastery of, 462, 486
- Semalouos (map 2), 322
- Seneca, 86
- seniores*, 224; Gothic, 228–29
- Sens (map 3), 365, 392
- Sententiae* of Isidor of Seville, 244, 248, 482
- Sententiae* of Taio of Saragossa, 244
- Septem. *See* Ceuta
- Septimania (map 3); 478; ecclesiastical diocese of, 121; Islamic raids from, 139; part of Visigoth Spain, 221, 246; conquered by Franks, 390, 392, 402, 432; Adoptionism in, 434
- Septimius Severus, 155
- Serapion of Antioch, 99
- Serapis, 21, 58, 60
- Serdica (maps 1 and 2), 135; council of, 101
- Serena, 29
- Serenus (bishop of Marseille), 177–78, 421
- Sergios (archbishop of Cyprus), 251
- Sergios (Monothelite patriarch of Jerusalem), 251
- Sergios (patriarch of Constantinople [610–38]), 191–94, 198–200, 216, 218, 315; and Monothelitism, 206–209, 213–14, 243, 254, 279
- Sergios Mansour, 344
- Sergius, 392
- Sergius (archbishop of Ravenna), 383, 393, 438
- Sergius (grammarian), 483
- Sergius (pope [687–701]), 266, 271, 272, 274, 287, 341
- Sericus (papal legate), 217
- Servais, 357
- servi*. *See* slaves
- Servitanum, monastery of, 223
- Severinus (pope [640]), 214, 268
- Severinus, St. (d. ca. 488), 74
- Severos (Monophysite bishop of Antioch [d. 538]), 108, 158n, 348, 366; followers of, 183–84
- Severus (archbishop of Grado), 188
- Seville (map 1), 222, 227, 243; council of, 241
- Sextus Julianus Africanus, 3–4
- shari'a*, 298
- Shepherd of Hermas*, 94
- Shi'is, 260; ideology of, 299
- shrines, healing, 109
- Sicily (maps 1 and 2), 122, 141, 147, 171, 203, 251, 253, 255, 256, 281, 289, 346, 347, 360, 363, 370, 412–13, 417, 456, 464–65; strategic position of, 22, 23; and Vandals, 34; reconquered by Justinian, 41; schools restored, 44; Constans II and, 264–65; Leo III and, 327, 349–

- 52; bilingual traditions in, 352; Norman Sicily, 11
- Sicily, church of: ecclesiastical diocese of, 121; bishops of, 104, 107, 122, 179, 368n, 412; at Seventh Oecumenical Council, 417, 419, 421; monasteries in, 352
- Sicily, *thema* of (map 2), 282, 329, 349–51, 425; governor of, 397, 408, 413, 415, 424
- Sidonius Apollinaris, 76
- Sigebert I (king of Austrasia), 83
- silentiarios*, 368n, 371–73, 380
- silention*, 340, 365–67
- Silenus, 53
- silk: Chinese, 37; Roman taste for, 46; eastern, used in churches, 178; as curtains and altar cloths of Roman churches, 266, 269; imported into Spain, 223; use of silk and linen contrasted, 242; Byzantine, 364–65, 449; Islamic, 365; Sasanian, 365
- Simeon (*secundus* of the *schola cantorum*), 376
- simony: in Persia, 124; in Gaul, 164; in Numidia, 168; in Byzantium, 430, 442; in Frankish church, 433, 442; Charlemagne and, 453
- Sinai, Mount, 71, 211, 307; monastery of St. Catherine at, 72, 210, 300, 406; icon of Christ at, 310
- Singidunum (map 1), 22, 135
- Sirmium (map 1), 135, 153
- Sisebut (Visigoth king [612–21]), 235, 238, 243, 248–49
- Sisenand (Visigoth king [631–36]), 238–40, 243
- Sisinnios (bishop of Perge), 369
- Sisinnios (brother of Tarasios), 453n
- Sixth Age of the world, 235–36, 249
- Skellig Michael (map 3), 113
- Sketis (map 2), 62, 210
- Sklaviniai*, 186, 261, 409
- slaves (*servi*), 146, 203; Visigoth, in Rome, 27; recruits in Roman armies, 29, 45; role of, in agriculture, 47, 138; employed as tutors, 75
- Slavonic tribes: threaten Greece, 135, 197; settle in Balkans, 261, 409; adopt Christianity, 301–302
- Slavs, 43, 82, 186, 188, 189, 236, 252; settled in Asia Minor, 261, 262n, 274, 283–84; in Greece, 264, 284, 289, 351, 361, 410
- slippers, clerical, 161
- Smaragdus (abbot), 463
- Smaragdus (exarch of Ravenna), 157, 160, 188, 191
- Smyrna, 274
- Sohag (map 2): White monastery near, 72
- Soissons (map 3), 51, 357, 392
- Solomon, 447, 462; as model of judge, 39; Temple of, 40; Old Testament books of, 93
- Song of Roland*, 390, 400n
- Sophia, 309
- Sophia (wife of Ivan the Great), 476
- Sophia (wife of Justin II), 153
- Sophronios (patriarch of Jerusalem [633/4–38]), 207–211, 213, 251, 254; *Miracles* of Sts. Kyros and John by, 272; *Life* of St. Mary the Egyptian by, 308
- Soranus, 485
- sorcerers, 110, 159
- Sozopolis: icon of the Virgin at, 307–308, 332–33
- Spain, 106–107, 154, 236–37, 245, 253, 456, 484; Roman conquest of, 3; dried fish and fish paste from, 20, 26–28, 46; diocese of (map 1), 23; oil from, 20; Vandals and Sueves in, 26–28, 33; occupied by Visigoths (416–711), 33, 36, 135, 140, 220–38, 241–42, 245–49, 296; heritage of Visigoth, 402, 428; conquered by Arabs, 33, 136, 249; south-east, reconquered by Justinian, 41, 43; paganism in, 171; Frankish campaign in (778), 386, 400; Adoptionism in, 434; Arab and Christian rulers of, 448; Moorish, 13; and Muslim culture, 471–72, 478; Byzantine, 165, 168, 220, 222, 225, 226, 232, 236, 238
- Spain, church of, 104, 118, 244–45, 280, 437, 440; dual hierarchy in, 107, 221, 226; conversion of, to catholicism, 168, 238; alliance with Visigothic monarchy, 229–30, 231–33, 238; monastic culture in, 220; Catholic bishops in, 220, 224; Mozarabic liturgy in, 244, 428; Psalter in, 244; disputes over Easter date in,

- Spain, church of (*cont.*)
113, 244; rejects Fifth Oecumenical Council, 230, 244. *See also* council(s)
- Sparta (map 2), 301
spatharios, 205
- Speck, Paul, 408
- spices, 20, 32, 37, 46
spiritalis compater, 374; *comater*, 374
Spiritual Meadow, 210
- Spoleto, 355, 457; Lombard duchy, 152, 156, 371, 425
- Spoudaios, monastery of, 257
- Squillace, 80
- statues, antique, 12, 24, 41, 51, 193, 310, 313–14
- Staurakios, 409–410, 429, 431, 453
- Stauroupolis (map 2), 301
- Stephen I (pope [752]), 371
- Stephen II (pope [752–57]), 296, 349n, 353n, 358, 370–81, 383–84, 385–88
- Stephen III (pope [768–72]), 392–97
- Stephen (bishop of Dora, papal legate in Palestine), 209, 254–55
- Stephen (bishop of Naples), 393
- Stephen (deacon), 278
- Stephen (papal legate), 120
- Stephen of Athens, 81
- Stephen the Younger, St., 382; mother of, 308; *Life* of, 368; disciples of, 429
- Stephanos of Byzantium, 247
- Stilicho (general), 26, 29, 32–33
- Stoicism, 58
- Stoudios, monastery of, 406–407, 475
- Strasbourg, 485
- Strategikos, 195, 206, 212
- strategos*, 205, 261, 282–83, 316
- stratopeda*, 201
- stylite, 109–110
- “sub-Roman,” 37, 51
- Suetonius, 402–403
- Sueves: cross Rhine frontier, 27; in Spain, 28, 33; maintain Arianism, 106–107; converted, 86; in Galicia, 220–22, 225
- Suinthila (Visigoth king [621–31]), 236, 238, 248
- Suleiman, 137
- Suleiman (caliph [715–17]), 319
Summa. *See Etymologies*
- Sunday, failure to observe, 222, 391, 433, 441
- Sunnis, 260, 299
- Sutrium, 347
- Syagrius (bishop of Autun), 165, 166
- Sylvester I (pope [314–35]), 297, 373, 386, 400, 414, 421, 450, 461, 479; acts of, 438
- Sylvester II (pope [999–1003]), 478–79
- symbols of royal authority, 40
- Symeon Stylites, St., 109–110
- Symmachus, 32, 73
- Synesios (philosopher and bishop of Cyrene), 64, 71
- Synnada (map 2), 331
- synod(s), 98–99
held by Gregory I in Rome, 162, 175
of 419 (Carthage), 101
of mid-630s (Cyprus), 208–209
of 649 (Lateran), 218, 252–55, 272, 313, 436; acts of, 257, 259, 270
of 664 (Whitby), 269
of 698 (Pavia), 160, 289, 356
of 767 (Gentilly), 384–85, 395
of 769 (Lateran), 392–95, 438
of 794 (Frankfurt), 10, 390, 434–44, 446, 451–53, 454, 456, 462–63; canons of, 440–42
of 824–25 (Paris), 469–70.
See also council(s)
- synodical letters, 161, 339, 349, 354, 372, 384, 414; of Paul I, 384; of Pope Hadrian, 415n, 418–21, 424, 426–27; Greek translations of, 419, 438; of Patriarch Nikephoros, 465
- Synonyma*, 243
- Syracuse (maps 1 and 2): centre of Byzantine authority, 135; imperial residence, 264–65, 274, 281; metropolitan of, 352
- Syria, 3, 50, 319, 321, 352; asceticism in, 59n, 60–61; Christian hermits, 65; Egyptian monks move to, 71; dual hierarchy of Monophysite and Catholic bishops, 107; Monophysites in, 107–108, 183–84, 362; Nestorians driven out of, 108; churches of, 114; conquered by Arabs, 136, 211, 213, 214, 259, 261, 300, 324, 365. *See also* Monophysite church; Nestorian church
- Syriac: versions of ancient Greek writings, 11, 79; Bible, 92; translators, 11; Bible scholars, 466
- Syro-Palestinian monasteries, 405–406

- Tabennesis (map 2), 61
tagmata, 361–62, 407; loyalty to Constantine V, 382, 417, 467
Taio (bishop of Saragossa), 232, 243–44, 273
Taranton (map 2), 316, 319
Tarasios (patriarch of Constantinople [784–806]), 405, 414–22, 426–27, 430–31, 439–40, 448; brother of, 453
Tarento (map 2), 264
Tarik, 249
Tarsos (map 1), 78, 270
Tassilo of Bavaria, 396, 415, 433
Tatian: *Diatessaron* by, 92; translated into Old High German, 484
Taurus (map 1), 214, 219, 321
taxation: Roman system of, maintained by Vandals and others, 34; hostility to the Byzantine, 42, 146; under Constans II, 264; under Leo III, 329–30, 349–51; and *curiales*, 48–49; paid by papal patronies to Constantinople, 281; Islamic, 298, 325; Lombard demand for annual poll tax from Rome, 388
Tegernsee (map 3): monastery of, 302
Teleric (ruler of the Bulgars), 301, 408
Temple: destruction of, 20, 93; Temple Mount, 9
Terracina, 171, 408
Tertullian, 58–59; anti-Gnostic and Trinitarian writings of, 94
Tervel (Bulgar leader), 301
Tetrarchy, 23, 24
textiles, oriental, 272
“theandric” energy, 208
Thebes (map 1), 409, 410; ecclesiastical appeal to Rome, 165
Thecla, St., 60
Thegan, 466
thelema, 213
thema, 201–202, 261–62, 281–83, 316–17, 322, 328–29, 338, 340, 361–63; iconoclasm in armies of, 337–38, 340; army commanders, 429–30
thema administration, 155, 204–205, 261–62, 283–84, 316–17, 350, 407, 410–11
Theodolinda, (Lombard Queen), 166–67, 179
Theodora (wife of Justinian II), 288
Theodora (wife of Theophilus), 469, 473–75
Theodore (bishop of Esbus), 254
Theodore (bishop of Pharan), 279
Theodore (bishop of Seleukeia), 421
Theodore (brother of Herakleios), 192, 196, 212
Theodore (governor of Sicily), 409, 413
Theodore (iconoclast bishop of Myra), 418, 422
Theodore (patriarch of Antioch), 419
Theodore (patriarch of Constantinople [677–79; 686–87]), 276
Theodore (patriarch of Jerusalem), 419
Theodore (pope [642–49]), 217–18, 250–54, 256, 267
Theodore, St. (abbot of the Studios monastery), 406, 431, 437n, 465, 467–68, 473–74; relics of, 475
Theodore Kalliopas (exarch of Ravenna), 256, 259
Theodore of Koloneia, 215–16, 264
Theodore of Latopolis, 65
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 88, 101, 108–109; role of, in Three Chapters Controversy, 119–20, 123–24
Theodore of Sykeon, St., 308–309
Theodore of Tarsos (archbishop of Canterbury), 78, 270
Theodore Pellourios (*koubikoularios*), 256
Theodoretos of Kyrros, 95n; role of, in Three Chapters controversy, 119–20
Theodoric (Ostrogothic king [497–526]), 26, 35, 148–49
Theodoros (eparch), 189
Theodoros (monk of the Spoudaios monastery), 256n, 257
Theodosios III (emperor [715–17]), 319
Theodosios (bishop of Ephesos), 369
Theodosios (co-emperor), 263
Theodosios (iconoclast bishop of Amorion), 418
Theodosios (metropolitan of Caesarea), 258
Theodosios (son of Maurice), 158, 187
Theodosiupolis (map 2), 361
Theodosius I (emperor [379–95]), 25–26, 28, 29, 30, 33, 155; establishes Christianity as state religion, 21; bans Arians from Constantinople, 31; forced to do penance by Ambrose, 64; orders Roman Senate to remove altar of Victory, 73
Theodosius II (emperor [408–450]), 78

- Theodosius (son of Galla Placidia and Athaulf), 29
Theodote (wife of Constantine VI), 431
Theodulf (bishop of Orléans), 400n, 401, 426, 428, 437, 455, 471–72; *florilegium* of, 463
Theoktistos (first secretary), 327
Theoktistos (regent for Michael III), 474
theology, Greek, 181, 344
Theophanes (abbot of Megas Agros monastery), 326, 335, 342, 349–50; *Chronographia* of, 200, 202, 326, 464
Theophanes (patriarch of Antioch), 279
Theophilus (emperor [829–42]), 305n, 407, 468–69, 473–75
Theosebes (scribe of the *Nouthesia*), 366
Theotokos, 108, 199
Thera (map 2), 334
Therasia, 334
Thessalonike (maps 1 and 2), 188, 204, 261, 263, 283, 301, 318, 327, 409–410, 431; imperial residence, 23; massacre at, 64; besieged by Slavs, 197; metropolitan of, 164, 254, 351; ecclesiastical appeal to Rome, 165; archbishop of, 327
Thessalonike, churches of: St. Demetrios, 113–14, 284, 307; St. Sophia, 264, 429
Thessalonike, *thema* of (map 2), 411
Thessaly, 301
Theudemir, 249
Theuderic IV (Merovingian king), 357
Thierry III (king of the Franks), 139
Thierry IV (king of the Franks), 139
Thomas (metropolitan of Klaudioupolis), 331–34, 336, 338, 343
Thomas Aquinas, St.: *Summa Theologica* of, 12
Thomas the Slav, 467–68
Thrace, diocese of (map 1), 23, 135, 236, 261, 363, 429; army of, 201, 202; Avar and Slav raids in, 82, 198; Bulgar raids in, 363, 395, 410
Thrace, *thema* of (map 2), 282, 301, 410
Thrakesion, *thema* of (map 2), 202, 261, 262n, 274, 281, 362, 381; troops of, 274
Three Chapters controversy, 107, 119–21, 123–24, 127, 148, 149, 160, 214, 240
Three Orations against the Calumniators of the Holy Icons, 344–45, 405
Thuringia, 432
Thuringians, 35, 84
Tiberios II (emperor [578–84]), 82, 152, 153–54, 155–56; as *caesar*, 153
Tiberios III (emperor [698–705]), 312, 318. *See also* Apsimar
Tiberios (co-emperor, son of Justinian II), 288
Tiberios (son of Constans II), 262
tithes, 144, 432
title, imperial, 446, 457–58, 460, 466, 476
Toledo (map 1), 225–26, 227–29, 238–40, 243–45; described as *urbs regia*, 244. *See also* council(s)
tonsure: uniform style in Spain, 239; Roman style, 270–71; eastern, 270
topoteretes of Opsikion, 362
Totila (Ostrogothic king), 41–42, 145–47
Toto (Lombard duke), 393
Toulouse (map 1): capital of Visigoth kingdom, 27, 220
Tours (maps 1 and 3), 36, 69, 70n
trade: Mediterranean, 20, 45–46, 189, 222–23; with Ireland and Ceylon, 37; with India, 46, 87; with northern Europe, 46; limitations of, 48; despised by senatorial aristocracy, 48; Byzantine, 204
trade routes: Roman, 37, 46; Byzantine, 38
traders (including merchants): Roman, in Danube region, 31; with Ceylon and Persia, 37; try to gain access to senatorial ranks, 48; Alexandrian, Syrian, and Jewish, 46; Byzantine, 323, 448; Greek, in the West, 408
traditions: *badith*, 297, 299, 304, 305; of Roman Empire, 225, 305, 446, 476; unwritten, of the church, 345, 366, 367n
Trajan (emperor [98–117]), 37, 45
transfer of population, 251, 283–84, 362–63
translation, 4, 11–12, 66, 76, 79–81, 92, 94, 248; in Carolingian Europe, 402, 482, 484, 486
translator (including interpreter), 51; Pope Zacharias, 160; Gregory I dependent on, 158. *See also* Jerome, St.; Ulfila; Rufinus
Trebizond (map 1), 218, 257
tree worship, 13, 171

- Trier (map 1), 65, 68, 109; imperial residence and provincial capital, 23, abandoned (383), 27, 31
- Trinitarian problems, 9, 55–56, 94, 96, 230, 239, 332, 366, 385, 440
- Tripoli (map 1), 190
- Tripolitana, 156
- Trisagion*, 208, 209n, 285
- tritheites*, 184
- Triumph of Orthodoxy (also Feast of Orthodoxy), 305, 364, 474–75
- Troglita, John, 83
- Troilos (prefect of Constantinople), 256
- Troizen, bishopric of, 301, 410
- Trullo, Council in. *See* Oecumenical Councils, Quini-Sext
- tsar, 476
- Tur Abdin (map 2), 205
- Turin (map 3), 470–71
- Tuscany, 149; bishops of, 160, 393
- Tyana (map 2), 316
- Typos*, 218, 255–56, 258n, 259
- tyranni*, 224
- Tyre (map 1), 136
- Ulfila (Visigothic bishop of Nicopolis), 31, 92, 231
- Umar (caliph [634–44]), 320
- Umayyad dynasty, 260, 299, 324, 361
- uncial, 404
- “universal”: problem of definition, 369, 436
- “universalism”: of Roman imperial rule, 38–39
- urbs regia*, 244. *See also* Queen City
- Urgel (map 3), 434
- Uthman (caliph [644–56]), 260
- Utrecht (map 3), 271, 346
- Valencia (map 1), 223, 227
- Valens I (emperor [364–78]), 25
- Valentinian III (emperor [425–55]), 104
- Valerio of Bierzo, 233–34
- vandalism, 34
- Vandals, 26, 28, 33–35; sack Rome (455), 34; adopt Arian Christianity, 30, 221
- Venantius Fortunatus (bishop of Poitiers), 83–84, 483
- Venetia, 151, 351, 370, 453, 465–66
- Venice, 380, 466
- Vercelli (map 1), 66
- Verdun, Treaty of (843), 445, 475
- Verecundus (bishop of Junca), 122
- Vergilius of Arles, 164, 166, 177n
- vernacular: prayers in the, 442; different, spoken in the West, 51, 477; German and Alemannic, 484–86
- Verona (map 3), 398, 408
- verse, classical, 75–76, 84, 181
- vexillum*: of Rome, 452
- via regis*, 438
- vicar, papal: for Gaul, 104–105, 115, 164; for Illyricum, 104, 164; for Africa, 164
- vices gerens Petri*. *See* Apostles
- Vich (map 3), 478
- Victor of Aquitaine, 85; Easter tables of, 111–13, 167, 268
- Victor of Tonnena, 232, 241; continues *Chronicle* of Eusebius, 82, 243; dies in exile, 122
- Victricius, St. (bishop of Rouen), 69
- Vienne, diocese of (map 1), 23
- Vigilius (pope [537–55]), 84, 106; and Fifth Oecumenical Council, 120–24, 147–48, 160, 274, 277
- Vikings, 8, 106
- Virgil (Virgilius Maro) 75, 78–79, 403, 483
- Virgil (bishop of Salzburg), 401
- Virgin: childhood of, 94; cult of, 153, 315, 320; relics of, 153, 193–94, 309; icons of, 178, 185n, 190, 197, 199, 307–309, 337–38, 422; in Rome, 267; as patron of Constantinople, 194, 199–200, 320, 335; four feasts of, 272–73; Dormition of, 320; honoured by iconoclasts, 369
- virginity, Christian. *See* celibacy
- Visigoths, 25–26, 28, 31, 35; sack Rome (410), 27; in Spain, 106, 133, 135, 136, 220–49; maintain Arianism, 107, 221; adopt Catholicism, 168, 227–29; settle succession procedure, 240; heritage of, 402, 428, 443
- Vitalian (pope [657–72]), 263–66, 270, 272, 275, 276
- Vitaliani*, 266
- Vitruvius: *de architectura* of, 483, 485
- Vivarium (map 2), 5, 80–81; library of, 81, 86
- voluntas*, 208

- Vouillé, 220
voyages of discovery, 13
Vulgate, 91
- Waifar (duke), 390
Walafrid Strabo, 484–85; *Hortulus* of, 485
Wales, 106, 170
Wallia (Visigoth king), 33
Wamba (Visigoth king), 240, 248
Warinus (count), 396
Wearmouth (Monkwearmouth): monastery of, 246, 270; scriptorium of, 404
“West,” 10
West: Roman Empire in the, 7, 19, 47, 49, 51, 126, 456, 461
West, churches of, 11, 105–106, 296, 302–303, 436–37, 443–44; seek advice from Rome, 98, 112, 143; oppose Fifth Oecumenical Council, 121–23, 124–25, 230; oppose Monotheletism, 217–18, 276, 437; oppose iconoclasm, 345, 348, 412
Whitby (map 3), 171; synod of, 269
White (monastery [Sohag]), 300
Widukind (Saxon duke), 432
Wigheard, 270
Wilcharius (bishop of Nomentanum), 373, 402; as papal legate to the Frankish court, 383; bishop of Sens, 396
Wilfrid, 267–71, 272–73
Willibald (bishop), 315
Willibrord. *See* Clement, St.
wine: eastern, 20; imported into Ireland, 37; imported into Spain, 222; from Gaza, 46, 222; staple of ancient diet, 46; resinated, 179
Winfrith. *See* Boniface, St.
Winichis (duke of Spoleto), 457
wisdom: Christian contrasted with secular, 76, 235, 344n
Witbold (Frankish ambassador), 424
Witiges (Ostrogoth king), 42, 145
Witteric (Visigoth king), 249
Woden, cult of, 13
women, 439; never welcomed to Egyptian monasteries, 64; and cult of icons, 307–309, 411; never to mix with monks, 442
Wulfolaic (Lombard ascetic), 109–110
Wurzburg, 271
- xeniteia*, 210–11
Xystus (pope [432–40]), 74
- Yahweh, 21, 96
Yarmuk River, 212
Yazid II (caliph [720–24]), 322–23
York (map 1), 401, 428; bishop of, 169, 300
- Zachariah of Mitylene: describes the wealth of Rome, 41–42
Zacharias (Byzantine *protospatharios*), 274, 286
Zacharias (patriarch of Jerusalem [609–631]), 195, 206
Zacharias (pope [741–52]), 78n, 272, 346–47, 351, 353–60, 371–72, 383, 387–88, 449, 456, 461; *Life* of, 355
Zacharias (presbyter), 458
Zeno (emperor [474–91]), 19, 35, 183, 242
Zeus, worship of, 21, 184, 313
Zoilas (patriarch of Alexandria), 120
Zoroastrianism, 8, 38, 39, 195, 203
Zotto (Lombard duke), 163n