General I: c. 370-900 (The Transformation of the Ancient World)

Vacation Reading

Interior detail, Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem.

For Geographical Orientation:

Most good historical works will have some kind of map in them to aid the reader; the Cambridge Ancient and Medieval Histories usually have both big Mediterannean/Western Eurasia-spanning maps and smaller-scale regional ones to orient you in the political geography. Otherwise, *The Times Atlas* can be very useful; for maps with more specific period detail, see T. Cornell, J. Matthews, *Atlas of the Roman world* (Oxford, 1982) and R. McKitterick, *The Times Atlas of the Medieval World* (London, 2003).

And for a fun way to get a sense of how the Roman world was connected, play around with http://orbis.stanford.edu/ (a digital map of the Roman Empire which allows you to plan journeys and calculate travel times at different points in the year.)

General Surveys

Worth picking up a couple of these for vacation reading to give you an overview of the period. Collins, Brown and Herrin each provide very readable chronological surveys; Innes' volume gives access to more recent historical interpretations, belying its status as a textbook; McKitterick and Wickham provide more strongly analytical chapters grouped around themes and particular polities respectively.

R. Collins, *Early medieval Europe, 300-1000* (Basingstoke, 1991; 3rd edn. 2010).

P. Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, (2nd edn., Oxford, 2003; 3rd edn, 2013).

J. Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (London, 1987).

M. Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Europe, 300-900: The Sword, the Plough and the Book* (London, 2007).

R. McKitterick (ed.) *The early middle ages: Europe, 400-1000* (Oxford, 2001).

C. Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (Oxford, 2009).

Multi-Author Works

The Cambridge histories are v. useful as first places to go on various topics, but probably not for vacation reading!

Av. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby (edd.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* XIV (AD 425-600) (Cambridge, 2000).

P. Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* I, (c.500-c.700) (Cambridge, 2005).

R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History* II, c.700-c.900 (Cambridge, 1995).

Depiction of Theoderic's palace at Ravenna, mosaic in the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, early C6.

Specific Themes:

Pick up a couple of these which pique your interest for vac reading; we'll be returning to many of them over the course of next term. I've starred items which I think would act as particularly nice introductions.

The Later Roman Empire and the Fall of the West

*P. J. Heather, *The fall of the Roman Empire: a new history* (London, 2005).

B. Ward-Perkins, *The fall of Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford, 2005).

S. Mitchell, *A history of the later Roman Empire, A.D. 284-641: the transformation of the ancient world* (Oxford, 2007).

A. D. Lee, *From Rome to Byzantium, A.D. 363 to 565* (Edinburgh, 2013).

The Successor Kingdoms

I. Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms, 450-751* (London, 1994).

P. J. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996).

A. H. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (Chichester, 2010).

R. Collins, *Visigothic Spain: 409-711* (Oxford, 2004).

The Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity and the Rise of Islam

*P. Sarris, *Empires of faith: the fall of Rome to the rise of Islam, 500-700* (Oxford, 2011).

M. Maas (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005).

M. Whittow, *The making of orthodox Byzantium, 600-1025* (London, 1996).

*H. Kennedy, *The prophet and the age of the caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the sixth to the eleventh century* (London, 1986; 2nd edn., 2004).

The Carolingians

R. McKitterick, *The Frankish kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983).

J. Story (ed.) *Charlemagne: empire and society* (Manchester, 2005).

*M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2011).

Cultural Histories of the Early Middle Ages

P. R. L. Brown, *The cult of saints* (Chicago, 1981).

R. McKitterick (ed.) *The uses of literacy in early medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990).

J. H. Smith, *Europe after Rome* (Oxford, 2005).

T. Sizgorich, *Violence and belief in late antiquity: militant devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Pennsylvania, PA, 2009).

Good luck!

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Louis the Pious, from Hrabanus Maurus' *De laude sanctae crucis*, manuscript from Fulda, mid-C9.

I.   The Fall of the (Western) Roman Empire

What caused the end of the Roman Empire in the western Mediterranean?
OR
'The problem with the "barbarian invasions" is that they involved neither barbarians nor invasions.' Do you agree?
OR
When, if ever, did the collapse of imperial power in the West become inevitable?

General
Cambridge Ancient History, vol. 14: chaps. 1, 5, 16, 18 and 19.
Av. Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430* (London, 1993), chaps. 9, 12.
*C. Wickham, *The inheritance of Rome* (London, 2009), chaps. 1-4.
*P. Sarris, *Empires of faith* (Oxford, 2011), chaps 1-2.
A.D. Lee, *From Rome to Byzantium, A.D. 363 to 565* (Edinburgh, 2013), chaps. 5-6.

The Fall of the (Western) Roman Empire
[These are the crucial recent contributions; the more you can read of these, the better placed you will be, especially for the first question.]
G. Halsall, *Barbarian migrations and the Roman West, 376-568* (Cambridge, 2007), chs 2-4, 6-9.
P. J. Heather, *The fall of the Roman Empire: a new history* (London, 2005).
B. Ward-Perkins, *The fall of Rome and the end of civilization* (Oxford, 2005), introduction, Part I and conclusion.

The Later Roman Empire c. 400
*Heather, *Fall*, ch. 3; Halsall, *Barbarian migrations*, ch. 3.
For more on late Roman government (and its limits): C. M. Kelly in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 13: 134-82.

The 'Barbarian' 'Invasions'
*M. Maas, 'Barbarians: problems and approaches', in S.F. Johnson (ed.) *Oxford Handbook to Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 60-91 for excellent orientation.
P.J. Heather, 'The barbarian in late antiquity: image, reality and transformation', in R. Miles (ed.) *Constructing identities in late antiquity* (London, 1999), ch. 11.

G. Halsall, 'Movers and shakers: the barbarians and the fall of Rome', *Early Medieval Europe* 8 (1999), pp. 131-45. [for the two classic paradigms]
M. Kulikowski, *Rome's Gothic wars* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 43-70, 86-99.
P.J. Heather, *Empires and barbarians* (London, 2009), pp. 333-59. [riposte to last two]
W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans AD 418-584: the techniques of accommodation* (Princeton, 1980) ch. 1 [approach with caution].

A Case Study: Goths in the Roman Empire, c. 370-420
Ammianus Marcellinus, book 31, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library).
Heather, *Fall*, ch. 5.
J. Matthews, *Western aristocracies and imperial court, AD364-425* (Oxford, 1975), chs 11-12.

M. Kulikowski, 'Nation vs. army: a necessary contrast?', in A. Gillett (ed.) *On barbarian identity* (Turnhout, 2002), pp. 69-84; compare with P. Heather, 'Migration', *Networks and Neighbours* 3.1 (2015), 1-21, esp. 7-11.

Good luck!
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## II.	Successor Kingdoms

Were the first successor kingdoms simply Roman provinces under new management? (Answer with reference to Vandal Africa and ONE other kingdom).
OR
How much did ethnic identity matter in the first successor kingdoms? (As above.)
OR

> '[The barbarians] desire not a single one of the Romans to live… They have never loved a single Roman.' (Victor of Vita, *HP* 3.61)
> 'Our royalty is an imitation of yours, modelled on your good purpose, a copy of the only empire; and in so far as we follow you do we excel all other nations.' (Cassiodorus, *Variae* 1.1, writing in the name of King Theoderic to the Emperor Anastasius)

How different was the relationship between the pre-existing Roman population and the newcomers in Vandal Africa and Ostrogothic Italy?

The Post-Roman West: Introductory Reading
CAH XIV: chaps. 1, 5 and 18 (Heather, Collins, Wood).
G. Halsall, *Barbarian migrations and the Roman West, 376-568 AD* (Cambridge, 2007), chaps. 10-11.
P. Sarris, *Empires of faith* (Oxford, 2011), chap. 3.
[You may also find useful the reading you did from the 'barbarian' bit of the previous reading list.]

1) Vandal Africa
Primary Texts
*Victor of Vita, *History of the persecution of the province of Africa*, trans. J. Moorhead, TTH 10 (Liverpool, 1992) [make sure to read at least book one, plus Book III from chap. 60 onwards].
The poems of Luxorius: ed. and trans. M. Rosenblum, *Luxorius: a Latin poet among the Vandals* (New York, 1961).

Secondary Literature
**A.H. Merrills and R. Miles, *The Vandals* (Malden, MA, 2010), chaps. 3-4, 6-8.
[If can't get hold of, you might also try the intro to Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers* and Miles in *Antiquité Tardive* (2005)]
**J. Conant, *Staying Roman: conquest and identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700* (Cambridge, 2012), chaps. 1 and 3. [Two excellent up-to-date works: both essential]

W. Pohl, 'The Vandals: fragments of a narrative' in A.H. Merrills, *Vandals, Romans and Berbers* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 31-47 OR Av. Cameron, 'Vandal and Byzantine Africa', *CAH* XIV, pp. 552-59. [Good basic narratives].
*C. Wickham, *Framing the early middle ages* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 87-93, 635-38, 642-43, 720-23.

If you want to read up on Victor of Vita: *Merrills and Miles, *Vandals*, pp. 184-92 **OR** A.H. Merrills, '*totum subvertere voluerunt*: 'social martyrdom' in the *Historia persecutionis* of

Victor of Vita', in C.M. Kelly, R. Flower and M.S. Williams (edd.) *Unclassical traditions II* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 102-15.

And if you get particularly interested in the Christian disputes he describes, see the summary by R. Whelan, 'Arianism in Africa', in G. Berndt and R. Steinacher (eds) *Arianism: Roman heresy and barbarian creed* (Aldershot, 2014), at pp. 243-55.

2) Ostrogothic Italy

Primary Texts
*Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 1.3-4, 1.18, 1.27, 1.45-46, 2.1, 2.16, 2.24-25, 2.32, 3.13, 4.51, 5.40, trans. S.J.B. Barnish, TTH 12 (Liverpool, 1992) [*Read as much as you can manage; a text to explore further in the revision period; Barnish's introduction is v. useful*].
Anonymus Valesianus II, trans. J. C. Rolfe in final volume of Ammianus Marcellinus Loeb.

Secondary Literature
*P.J. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), chaps. 8-9 and now *The restoration of Rome: barbarian popes and imperial pretenders* (Oxford, 2013), chaps. 1-2.
S.J.B. Barnish and F. Marazzi (edd.) *The Ostrogoths from the migration period to the sixth century: an ethnographic perspective* (Woodbridge, 2007) [Heather, Wood, Barnish].
J. Moorhead, *Theoderic in Italy* (Oxford, 1992), esp. chaps. 2, 3 and 7.
J. J. Arnold, *Theoderic and the Roman imperial restoration* (Cambridge, 2014), esp. Part II.

S. Bjornlie et al (eds) *A companion to Ostrogothic Italy* (Leiden, 2016). [*Hot off the press: lots here, I might recommend chs 2-3, 6, 8-9, 19, but follow your interests*.]
S. Lafferty, 'Law and order in the age of Theoderic the Great (c. 493-526), *Early medieval Europe* 20 (2012), pp. 260-90.

3) Merovingian Gaul: Clovis and his successors

Primary Texts
*Gregory of Tours, *Ten Books of Histories*, book 2, plus as much of books 3 and 4 as poss, trans. L. Thorpe, *Gregory of Tours: History of the Franks* (Penguin Classics).
[*If you get particularly interested in Merovingian Gaul, there is an excellent sourcebook*: A. Callander Murray (trans.) *From Roman to Merovingian Gaul: a reader* (Orchard Park, NY, 2000): *something to take time with in the vacation*.]

Secondary Literature
P. Geary, *Before France and Germany* (Oxford, 1988), chs 3-4.
E. James, *The Franks* (Oxford, 1988).
*I. Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms, AD481-751* (1993), chs 1-4.

*T. F. X. Noble (ed.) *From Roman provinces to medieval kingdoms* (2006), Part IV [*important reprinted articles*].
H. Reimitz, *History, Frankish identity and the making of western ethnicity* (Cambridge, 2015), Part I.

W. Daly, 'Clovis: how barbaric, how pagan?', Speculum 69 (1994), 18–39

*I. Wood, 'Gregory of Tours and Clovis', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985), 249–72

On Gregory of Tours: K. Mitchell (ed.) *The world of Gregory of Tours* (2002), papers by Brown, Wood, Fanning, Halsall, Shanzer.

4) Southern Gaul: Visigoths and Burgundians
Primary Texts
*Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters* *I.2, II.1, III.8, IV.8, V.5, *VII.6-7, VIII.3, *VIII.9 (trans. Loeb).

Secondary Literature
*P.J. Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1996), chap. 7.
J. Drinkwater and H. Elton (edd.) *Fifth-century Gaul: a crisis of identity?* (Cambridge, 1992), nos. 6, 9, 18, 26 (Nixon, Roberts, Drinkwater, Harries).
R.W. Mathisen and H. Sivan, *Shifting frontiers in late antiquity* (Aldershot, 1996), nos. 3, 10, 12 (Harries, Elton, Sirks).
R.W. Mathisen, *Roman aristocrats in barbarian Gaul: strategies for survival in an age of transition* (Austin, TX, 1993), Parts 1 and 2.

*M. Innes, 'Land, freedom and the making of the medieval west', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006) 39-74.

*I. N. Wood, '*Gentes*, kings and kingdoms—the emergence of states: the kingdom of the Gibichungs', in. H.-W. Goetz et al (eds) *Regna and gentes* (Leiden, 2003), 243-69 OR 'The political structure of the Burgundian kingdom', in M. Meier and S. Schmidt-Hofner (eds) *Chlodwigs Welt* (Stuttgart, 2014), pp. 383-96.

On Sidonius: *J. Harries, *Sidonius Apollinaris and the fall of Rome, AD 407-485* (Oxford, 1994), introduction, chaps. 3-4, 6 and 11.
T. Kitchen, 'Sidonius Apollinaris', in R. Corradini, M. Gillis, R. McKitterick and I. Van Renswoude (edd.) *Ego trouble: authors and their identities in the early middle ages*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften 385, Forschung zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 15 (Vienna, 2010), 53-66.

Good luck!
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III.   Justinian

How successful was Justinian as a Roman emperor?
OR
Why did Justinian's regime find EITHER political OR religious unity so difficult to achieve?
OR
How useful are Procopius' accounts of Justinian's reign for modern historians?

Primary Texts
Important to read some of each of Procopius of Caesarea's works (all trans. Dewey in Loeb Classical Library): *Secret History*, at least chaps. 6-12 [also (trans.) G. Williamson and P. Sarris, *Procopius: The Secret History* (2007), with useful introduction by Sarris]; *History of the Wars*, book 1, chaps. 22, 24-26, and book 2 chaps. 1-2, 4, 7-9, 22-23; *Buildings*, book 1 at least chaps. 1-3.
M. Maas, *Readings in Late Antiquity*, 2nd edn. (London, 2010), nos 1.2.3, 1.2.11, 1.3.7, 2.7.2-5, 5.4.4-5, 9.1.7-8, 9.2.1**.** (useful excerpts of various sources relating to Justinian)

Secondary Literature
General
Av. Cameron, *The Mediterranean world in late antiquity, AD 395-600* (London, 1993), chap. 5. OR *CAH* 14: chap. 3 (Cameron).
*A.D. Lee, *From Rome to Byzantium A.D. 363 to 565* (Edinburgh, 2013), Part IV.
P. Heather, *The restoration of Rome: barbarians, popes and imperial pretenders* (London, 2013), chaps. 3-4.

The Reign of Justinian
*M. Maas (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), [Essential; esp. chaps by Maas, Haldon, Pazdernik, Lee, Greatrex, Humfress, Gray.]
J. Moorhead, *Justinian* (London, 1994),
J. Evans, *The age of Justinian* (London, 1996), chaps. 3-4.
P. Bell, *Social conflict in the age of Justinian: its nature, management and mediation* (Oxford, 2013), chap. 6.

M. Maas, 'Roman history and Christian ideology in Justinian's reform legislation', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986), pp. 17-31.
G. Greatrex, 'The Nika riot: a reappraisal', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 117 (1997), pp. 60-86. [Blow-by-blow account of a key crisis of Justinian's reign]

Economy and Society
*P. Sarris, *Economy and society in the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2006), chap. 11.
P. Sarris, 'The Justinianic plague: origins and effects', *Continuity and Change* 17.2 (2002), pp. 169-82.

Procopius
*Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the sixth century* (London, 1985), chaps. 1, 4, 8 and 10.
*A. Kaldellis, *Procopius of Caesarea: tyranny, philosophy and history at the end of Antiquity* (Philadelphia, PA, 2004), introduction, chap. 1 and 4.
*L. Brubaker, 'Sex, lies and textuality: the *Secret History* and the rhetoric of gender in sixth-century Byzantium', in L. Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith, *Gender in the early medieval world* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 83-100.

For more on Theodora

D. S. Potter, *Theodora: actress, empress, saint* (Oxford, 2016), esp. ch. 2 on Procopius, but if you get interested, read more widely.

S. A. Harvey, 'Theodora the "believing queen": a study in Syriac historiographical tradition', *Hugoye* 4.2 (2001) 209-34 [available through Google search; for a sharply contrasting view of Theodora to that presented by Procopius].

Good luck!
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IV.   The Rise of Islam

Account for the success of the Arab conquests.
OR
To what extent can we reconstruct the first decades of Islam?
OR
Had the governance of the Near East become distinctly Islamic by the reign of 'Abd-al-Malik?

Primary Texts
The Qur'an, Sura 2, 17, 23, 30, 48 (various translations, e.g. trans. N. Dawood, *The Koran* [1965]).
Ibn Ishaq, *Sirat Rasul Allah*, trans. A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad* (1955), pp. 231-33 ('The constitution of Medina').
Al-Balâdhuri, trans. P.K. Hitti, *The origins of the Islamic state* (New York, 1916), pp. 165-351. [Get a sense of the structure of the narrative, and read with Robinson, *Empires*, chap. 1.]
Ps.-Sebeos, *Armenian History*, esp. chaps. 42-45, 47-52 trans. R. Thomson, *The Armenian History attributed to Sebeos* (Liverpool, 1999) with helpful commentary in vol. 2.

Secondary Literature
General
*C. Robinson (ed.) *The new Cambridge history of Islam, vol. 1: the formation of Islam, sixth-eleventh centuries* (Cambridge, 2010), chs 2, 5, 15.
H. Kennedy, *The prophet and the age of the caliphates: the Islamic Near East from the sixth to the eleventh century*, 2nd edn. (London, 2004), chs 1-4.
J. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800* (Cambridge, 2003), Part II.

Islam in its late-antique context
*R. Hoyland, 'Early Islam as a late-antique religion', in S.F. Johnson (ed.) *Oxford Handbook to Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1053-1077.
F.M. Donner, 'The background to Islam', in M. Maas (ed.) *The Cambridge companion to the age of Justinian* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 510-33.
*A. Marsham, 'The early Caliphate and the inheritance of late antiquity, c. 610-750', in P. Rousseau (ed.) *A companion to late antiquity* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 479-93.

The life of Muhammad
*M. Cook, *Muhammad* (London, 1983).
F. Donner, *Muhammad and the believers: at the origins of Islam* (London, 2010).

The Arab conquests and the early Caliphate
J. Howard-Johnson, *Witnesses to a World Crisis: Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford, 2010), chs 11-16 and Conclusion.
*R. Hoyland, *In God's path: the Arab conquests and the creation of an Islamic empire* (Oxford, 2014).

P. Crone, *From Arabian tribes to Islamic empire: army, state and society in the Near East c. 600-850* (Ashgate, 2008), esp. IX ('The Early Islamic World').

*C. Robinson (ed.) *The new Cambridge history of Islam, vol. 1: the formation of Islam, sixth-eleventh centuries* (Cambridge, 2010), chs 6, 12-13.

'Umayyad caliphs
R. S. Humphreys, *Mu'awiya* (Oxford, 2006).
*C. Robinson, *'Abd-al-Malik* (Oxford, 2005).

Writing early Islamic history: sources and problems
*R. S. Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework of Enquiry* (Princeton, 1991), chap. 3.
F. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic origins: the beginnings of Islamic historical writing* (Princeton, NJ, 1998).

R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (1997), chaps. 12-14. [Foundational on the non-Muslim sources; explore if you have time; if not, come back to at revision]
*C. Robinson, *Empires and elites after the Muslim conquest* (Cambridge, 2000), intro and chap. 1.
*R. Hoyland, 'Writing the biography of the prophet Muhammad: problems and solutions', *History Compass* 5 (2007), pp. 581-602.

Good luck!
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V.   The Carolingian Empire

'Influence without control.' Is this a fair assessment of Carolingian government?
OR
~~What was more important for ruling the Carolingian Empire: written word or drawn sword?~~

Primary Texts
*Hincmar of Rheims, *On the Governance of the Palace*, in P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 516-32.
*Selected Capitularies, in Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 65-92 [get a flavour].
Charlemagne's Division of his Kingdoms, in Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 146-51.
Ordinatio Imperii of 817, in Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization*, pp. 199-202.
*Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, in Lewis Thorpe (ed.) *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 1969) [new translation by D. Ganz]
Annales Regni Francorum, in B.W. Scholz, *Carolingian chronicles: Royal Frankish annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1972).

Secondary Literature
General
Narrative accounts: R. Collins, *Early Medieval Europe 300-1000* (Houndmills, 1991), chapters 15-16, 18 **OR** R. Mckitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, *vol. 2: c. 700-c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), chaps. 3-5.
*M. Innes, 'Charlemagne's Government', in J. Story, *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 71-87.
J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), chapter 3.
*M. Costambeys, M. Innes, and S. Maclean (ed.), *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), chaps. 4-6, esp. chap. 4.

The Written Word
J.L. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian governance', in J.L. Nelson, *The Frankish World*, 750-900 (London, 1996), pp. 1-36. (also printed in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy*)
R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 2, pp. 23-75.
R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: the formation of a European identity* (Cambridge, 2008), chaps. 3-4 [important, but not the easiest read: useful reviews by West in *English Historical Review* 124 (2009) pp. 670-72 and Lifshitz in *History: Reviews of New Books* 39 (2010), pp. 29-30]

Jennifer Davis book—and ask Ingrid for more suggestions.

The 'Reuter Thesis' and the role of the army
T. Reuter, 'Plunder and tribute in the Carolingian empire', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 35 (1985), pp. 75-94; T. Reuter, 'The end of Carolingian military expansion', in P. Godman and R. Collins (ed.), *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 391-405.
Compare with J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992), chap. 2.
B. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian warfare: prelude to empire* (Philadelphia, 2001).

Consensus Politics and the Aristocracy
T. Reuter, 'Assembly politics in Western Europe from the eighth century to the twelfth', in P. Linehan and J.L. Nelson, *The Medieval World* (London, 2001), pp. 432-50.
Janet Nelson, 'Legislation and consensus in the reign of Charles the Bald' in P. Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 1983).

Locality and Centre

M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 141-64, 180-222.

S. Airlie, 'The palace of memory: the Carolingian court as political centre', in S. Rees Jones, R. Marks and A. J. Minnis (edd.) *Courts and regions in medieval Europe* (York, 2000), pp. 1-20.

Good luck!
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VI. Conversion and Religious Change

Choose **ONE** of the three historical contexts and answer **ONE** of the following questions.

Who were the most significant agents of conversion?
Was the work of conversion ever complete?
Were anxieties about religious pluralism endemic to late antique and early medieval societies?
Is it possible to reconstruct 'paganism' in EITHER the later Roman Empire OR Carolingian Europe?

Good luck!
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General Reading
A. D. Nock, *Conversion: the old and the new in religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford, 1933) [get a sense: a key dialogue partner for most modern accounts of conversion]
N. B. McLynn, A. Papaconstantinou and D. Schwartz (edd.) *Conversion in late antiquity: Christianity, Islam and beyond* (Farnham, 2015), introduction (Papaconstantinou) and chap. 1 (Cameron). [This volume essential reading]

For an introduction to conversion in each period and its key questions:
J. L. Maxwell, 'Paganism and Christianization', in S. F. Johnson (ed.) *The Oxford handbook to late antiquity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 849-77.
D. Wasserstein, 'Conversion and the ahl al-dhimma', in R. Irwin (ed.) *The New Cambridge History of Islam vol. 3* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 184-208.
M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian world* (Cambridge, 2011), chap. 3, esp. pp. 81-110.

> (i)   *Conversion to Christianity, part I: the later Roman Empire*

Primary Texts
There is a very useful set of texts in A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in late antiquity: a sourcebook*, chaps 5-7.
If you want to dive into more of these primary texts 'in the wild':
Theodosian Code 16.10 (trans. C. Pharr).
Symmachus, *Memorandum* 3 and Ambrose of Milan, *Letters* 72-73 (both trans. J. W. H. G. Liebeschuetz, Translated Texts for Historians).
Libanius, Or. 30, 'For the temples', (trans. in Loeb Classical Library).

Secondary Literature
Basic orientation: *Cambridge ancient history* vol. 13, chaps. 8, 21 (Hunt, Brown); Av. Cameron, *The Mediterranean world in late antiquity* (London, 2012), chap. 3.

Useful (if somewhat hyperbolic) accounts of Christianisation and the end of paganism:

R. MacMullen, *Christianity and paganism in the fourth to eighth centuries* (New Haven, CT, 1997).
P. Chuvin, *A chronicle of the last pagans* (Boston, MA, 1990), chaps 4-5.
Read the former (in particular) with critique of **R.A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. chap. 1.

For the role of the imperial state:
D. Hunt, 'Christianising the Roman Empire: the evidence of the *Code*', in I. Wood and J. Harries (ed.) *The Theodosian Code* (London, 1993), chap. 6.
**S. Corcoran, 'From unholy madness to right-mindedness', in McLynn, Papaconstantinou and Schwartz (edd.) *Conversion in late antiquity*, pp. 67-94.

For excellent revisionist takes on the 'spaces' available for pagans in the LRE and the transformation of Roman public life: **P. Rousseau (ed.) *A companion to late antiquity* (Chichester, 2009), chaps 38 and 39 (McLynn and Lim). [The former includes a nice account of a number of the primary texts.]

On Christianisation as a problem of Christian narrative: **P.R.L. Brown, *Authority and the sacred: aspects of the Christianisation of the Roman world* (Cambridge, 1995), chaps 1-2. See too C. M. Kelly, 'Narratives of violence: confronting pagans', in McLynn, Papaconstantinou and Schwartz (edd.) *Conversion in late antiquity*, pp. 143-61.

On the role of bishops in forming Christian communities (and the multiple beliefs, identities and social practices which those communities stubbornly maintained), the following three books are superb. Explore them as much as you can and think about their theoretical approaches.
I. Sandwell, *Religious identity in late antiquity: pagans, Jews and Christians in Antioch* (Cambridge, 2007), esp. chap. 1 and conclusion.
E. Rebillard, *Christians and their many identities in late antiquity, North Africa 200-450 C.E.* (Ithaca, NY, 2012), introduction and chap. 3.
T. Sizgorich, *Violence and belief in late antiquity: militant devotion in Christianity and Islam* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009), introduction and chaps 1-4.

On gender and conversion: K. Cooper, 'Insinuations of womanly influence: an aspect of the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy', *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992) 150-64.

   (ii)   Conversion to Islam: the Umayyad and 'Abbasid Caliphate

Primary Texts
Timothy (I) of Alexandria, *Apology for Christianity*, trans. A. Mingana (http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/timothy_i_apology_01_text.htm). Discussion by e.g. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam* (full ref below), pp. 472-75; Av. Cameron, *Dialoguing in late antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 2014), chap. 3.
The Pact of 'Umar, trans. M. R. Cohen, 'What was the Pact of 'Umar?', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999), pp. 106-108 (available on his Academia.edu page).

Secondary Literature

For the basic problematic: R. Hoyland, *In God's path* (Oxford, 2015), chap. 7. If you need political orientation in the 'Abbasid Caliphate: H. Kennedy, *The prophet and the age of the Caliphates* (London, 1986) chaps 5-6.

A classic study is R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the medieval period: a quantitative history* (Cambridge, MA, 1979); note criticism by Morony in *Conversion and continuity* (below).

For a more recent (and very contrasting) approach applied to specific case studies: **Sizgorich, *Violence and belief*, introduction and chaps 5-8.

For further excellent individual case studies:
McLynn, Papaconstantinou and Schwartz (edd.) *Conversion in late antiquity* [pieces by Sizgorich, Key Fowden, Simonsohn].
R. Hoyland (ed.) *Muslims and others in early Islamic society* (Farnham, 2004), reprints of lots of useful articles: see esp. introduction by Hoyland, and papers by Morony, Noth, Griffith, Frantz-Murphy.
R. J. Bikhazi and M. Gervers (edd.) *Conversion and continuity: indigenous Christian communities in Islamic lands, eighth to eighteenth centuries* (Toronto, 1990), introduction [Bulliet] and chaps 1-2, 7-8 (Griffith, Haddad, Bulliet, Morony).

On the Ordinances/Pact of 'Umar: M. Levy-Rubin, 'Shurūṭ 'Umar and its Alternates: The Legal Debate on the Status of the Dhimmīs', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 30, (2005): 170-206. (Available on her Academia.edu page)

For close attention to the continuing Christian communities in the Caliphate (and attendant issues of conversion to Islam): *A. Papaconstantinou, 'Between Umma and Dhimma: The Christians of the Middle East under the Umayyads', *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008): 127–56. On Christians in North Africa: J. P. Conant, *Staying Roman: conquest and identity in Africa and the Mediterranean, 439-700* (Cambridge, 2012), chap. 7.

On conversion, apostasy and the legal sources, see *U. Simonsohn, 'Conversion to Islam: a case for the study of legal sources', *History Compass* 11 (2013) 647-62.

On the *jizya* (poll tax) and conversion, see now P. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim state: the world of a mid-eighth-century Egyptian official* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 190-216.

On Christian martyr texts in general, and religious debates between Christians, Jews and Muslims: R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as others saw it* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), chaps 9 and 11, esp. pp. 336-47. On the martyrs of Cordoba, see best: *J. Coope, 'Religious and cultural conversion to Islam in ninth-century Umayyad Córdoba', *Journal of world history* 4 (1993) 47-68; idem, *The martyrs of Cordoba: community and family conflict in an age of mass conversion* (Lincoln, NE, 1995), esp. chap. 4.

    (iii)   Conversion to Christianity, part II: eighth- and ninth-century western Europe

Primary Texts

Willibald, *The life of Saint Boniface*, trans. C. H. Talbot, in T. F. X. Noble and T. Head (edd.) *Soldiers of Christ* (London, 1995), pp. 107-40.

A List of Superstitious and Pagan Practices, trans. P. E. Dutton, *Carolingian civilization: a reader* (Peterborough, ON, 2004), pp. 3-4.

First Saxon Capitulary (782) and *General Admonition* (789) trans. P. D. King, *Charlemagne: translated sources* (Kendal, 1987).

Notker, *Gesta Karoli* 2.19 (trans. Penguin Classics).

Secondary Literature

For general orientation, see:

*P. R. L. Brown, *The rise of western Christendom: triumph and diversity, AD200-1000* (Oxford, 1996; rev. edn. Hoboken, NJ, 2013), chaps 16, 18-19.

R. Fletcher, *The conversion of Europe: from paganism to Christianity, 371-1386 AD* (London, 1997), chaps 7-8.

L. Abrams, 'Germanic Christianities', in T. F. X. Noble and J. M. H. Smith (edd.) *The Cambridge history of Christianity, vol. 2* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 107-29.

Men on a mission: *I. N. Wood, *The missionary life: saints and the evangelisation of Europe, 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), chap. 1, Part II and conclusion; J. T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish world, 690-900* (Turnhout, 2009), esp. chaps 2-5; J.-H. Clay, *In the shadow of death: Saint Boniface and the conversion of Hessia, 721-754* (Turnhout, 2010), esp. chap. 4 and Part II (read with review by James Palmer in *The Medieval Review* 12.01.10 [available online]).

On paganism: I. N. Wood, 'Pagan religions and superstitions east of the Rhine from the fifth to the ninth century', in G. Ausenda (ed.) *After empire* (San Marino, 1995), pp. 253-68; *J. T. Palmer, 'Defining paganism in the Carolingian world', *Early medieval Europe* 15 (2007) 402-425.

On Carolingian *correctio* ('reform') and attempts to ensure a properly Christian society: J. M. H. Smith, 'Religion and lay society', in R. McKitterick (ed.) *New Cambridge Medieval History vol. 2: 700-900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 654-78; *M. De Jong, 'Charlemagne's church', in J. Story (ed.) *Charlemagne* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 103-35.

Two ways of getting at what this meant in practice: priests and their education (or not): C. Van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the lord: priests and episcopal statutes in the Carolingian period* (Turnhout, 2007), introduction, chaps 2 and 5; vernacular texts: C. Edwards, 'German vernacular literature: a survey', in R. McKitterick (ed.) *Carolingian culture* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 141-70.

On relics and Carolingian piety: P. Geary, *Furta sacra: theft of relics in the central middle ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978), chap. 2.

Cities

What were the most significant changes in urban life EITHER between 350 and 600 OR between 600 and 900?
Did late antiquity see 'the decline and fall of the Roman city' (LIEBESCHUETZ)?
How useful are cities as an indicator of economic vitality in the early middle ages?
(You may, if you wish, limit your answer to any of these questions to a specific geographical area.)

The end of the ancient city?
*C. Wickham, *Framing the early middle ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford, 2005), ch. 10 (dip into for summaries of specific regions).
*J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *The decline and fall of the Roman city* (Oxford, 2001), chaps. 2-4, 9, 12. (Summary version in Cambridge Ancient History vol. 14: chap. 8).
*B. Ward-Perkins, 'The cities', in *CAH* vol. 13, pp. 371-410.
M.I. Finley, 'The Ancient City: From Fustel du Coulanges to Max Weber and beyond', in id. *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, edited by B.D. Shaw and R.P. Saller (London, 1981), pp. 3-23.
C. Rapp, *Holy bishops in late antiquity: the nature of Christian leadership in an age of transition* (Berkeley, CA, 2005), pp. 208-234. [Bishops and cities]

Eastern urbanism
*H. Kennedy, 'From *polis* to *madina*: urban change in late antique and early Islamic Syria', *Past and Present* 106 (1985) 3-27.
*M. Whittow 'Ruling the late Roman and early Byzantine city: a continuous history', *Past and Present* 129 (1990) 3-29.
C. Foss, *Ephesus after antiquity: a late antique, Byzantine and Turkish city* (Cambridge, 1979), 46-99. (Ephesus in Asia Minor)
A. Walmsley, 'Production, exchange and regional trade in the Islamic East Mediterranean: old structures, new systems?', in I. Lyse Hansen and C. Wickham (ed.) *The long eighth century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 265-343, see the sections on towns.

Western urbanism
A. Leone, *Changing townscapes in North Africa from late antiquity to the Arab conquest* (Bari, 2007), chaps. 1 and 2. (Africa)
B. Ward-Perkins, *From classical antiquity to the middle ages: urban public building in northern and central Italy* (Oxford, 1984). (Italy)
*N. Christie, *The fall of the western Roman Empire: an archaeological and historical perspective* (London, 2011), chaps 4-5, 7-8.

Carolingian urbanism
*R. Hodges, *Towns and trade in the age of Charlemagne* (London, 2000).
*M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011), chap. 7.
A. Verhulst, *The rise of cities in north-west Europe* (Cambridge, 1999), chaps. 2-3.
(Three accounts of the new towns in Carolingian Francia and the North Sea)

I. Hansen and C. Wickham (eds.) *The long eighth century*, Transformation of the Roman World 11 (Leiden, 2000). [Verhulst and Loseby].

Good luck!
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Vikings

What did the Vikings want?

OR

'We have heard much about the destructive effects of the Vikings on Frankish society in the ninth century: we forget that for most of Europe in the eighth and ninth century it was the Franks who were the Vikings...' (Reuter, 'Plunder and tribute', p. 91)

Were the Vikings that different from those whom they raided and those with whom they traded?

OR

Has the Viking impact on the Carolingian Empire been exaggerated?

OR

Account for the differing character of Scandinavian activities in East and West.

Primary Texts

*J. Nelson (tr.), *The Annals of St-Bertin* (Manchester, 1991), 857-862, pp. 83-104.

*P. E. Dutton (ed.) *Carolingian Civilisation: A Reader* (2nd edition, Toronto, 2004): read the excerpts from the *Annals of Xanten* (pp. 347-50), Rimbert's *Life of Anskar*, chapters 7-11, 15-20, 24-34 (pp. 407-412, 415-423, 428-40), *Annals of St. Vaast* (pp. 507-12), *Ludwigslied* (pp. 512-4), and Abbo's *Siege of Paris* (pp. 514-6).

Notker the Stammerer, *Gesta Karoli* II.18-19, in L. Thorpe (tr.), *Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 1969), pp. 167-9.

J.E. Montgomery, 'Ibn Fadlan and the Russiyyah', *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 3 (2000) (available at https://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/montgo1.pdf)

[This both extremely fun and, in parts, seriously disturbing]

Secondary Literature
Starting Points

P. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?', in R. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), pp. 128-53.

***J.H. Barrett, 'What Caused the Viking Age?', *Antiquity* 82 (2008), 671-85.

General

*P. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe, 700-1100* (London, 1982), chapters 5-8 (especially 6 and 7).

P. Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997), esp. introduction, chs 2 and 6. S.HIST.7S.30.15

S. Brink (ed.), *The Viking World* (London, 2009), Part II.

Scandinavians and the Carolingian Empire

J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Vikings in Francia', in *idem*, *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 217-233.

*S. Coupland, 'From poachers to gamekeepers: Scandinavian warlords and Carolingian kings', *Early Medieval Europe* 7 (1998), pp. 85-114.

*S. Coupland, 'The Frankish tribute payments to the Vikings and their consequences', *Francia* 26 (1999), pp. 57-75.

S. MacLean, 'Charles the Fat and the Viking Great Army: the military explanation for the end of the Carolingian empire', *War Studies Journal* 3 (1998), pp. 74-95.

If you get really interested in Carolingians and Vikings, see MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (2003), chapter 2, esp. pp. 30-7 and J. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (1992), ch. 2.

Scandinavians in contemporary perspectives

S. Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingians' Theology of the Viking Incursions', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 42 (1991), 535-54 OR idem, 'Holy Ground? The Plundering and Burning of Churches by Vikings and Franks in the Ninth Century', *Viator* 45 (1) (2014)

N. Lund, 'Allies of God or man? The Viking Expansion in European Perspective', *Viator* 20 (1989), 45-59

J. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: II, The Vikings and Others', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser. 13 (2003), 1-28.

G. Halsall, 'Playing by Whose Rules? A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century', *Medieval History* 2 (no. 2) (1992), 2-12. (Most easily accessible at https://edgyhistorian.blogspot.co.uk/2013/07/playing-by-whose-rules-further-look-at.html Worth also looking at a more recent blog post of his: https://edgyhistorian.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/ethically-engaged-early-medieval.html)

Scandinavians in the East

*S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The emergence of Rus 750-1200* (1996), ch. 1.

T.S. Noonan, 'The Vikings in the east: coins and commerce', *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking age: proceedings of the twelfth Viking Congress*, edd. B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke, Birka studies 3 (1994) esp. pp. 215-21.

Good luck!
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Gender

Questions to think about
Did gender have a 'transformation of the Roman world'?
'Early medieval representations of women tended to conceal arguments about the conduct of men.' Do you agree?
Have anachronistic notions of 'public' and 'private' led historians to underrate the political and social roles of women—and misunderstand those of men—in late antiquity and the early middle ages?

Introductory Reading
J. H. Smith, 'Introduction', in L. Brubaker and J. H. Smith (eds), *Gender in the early medieval world* (Cambridge, 2004) and her article, 'Did women have a transformation of the Roman world?', *Gender and History* (2000).
D. M. Hadley, *Masculinity in medieval Europe* (1999), introduction.
G. Halsall, 'Gender and the end of empire', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* (2004) 17-40.

I.   Queenship in the early middle ages

How significant was the political influence of EITHER East Roman empresses OR Merovingian queens?
Were early medieval queens inevitably either saints or Jezebels?
Did early medieval queens generally succeed in spite or because of their biological sex?
How far can the study of early medieval queens illuminate the broader experiences of women in EITHER the late antique East OR Merovingian Gaul?

(A) Fifth- and sixth-century East Roman empresses
Ps.-Martyrius, *The funerary speech on the life of John Chrysostom*, chs 3, 36, 66-67, 87-88, 121-22, 138 trans. Barnes and Bevan (Translated Texts for Historians 60); read with helpful introduction, esp. 'John and Eudoxia' at pp. 24-32. *[Polemic v. Eudoxia]*
Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, 9.1 and 9.3, trans. Hartranft (http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/26029.htm) *[Praise of Pulcheria]*
Procopius, *Secret History,* trans. Dewey (Loeb Library). *[Polemic v. Theodora]*

*K. Holum, *Theodosian empresses: women and imperial dominion in late antiquity* (Berkeley, CA, 1982).
R.W. Burgess, The accession of Marcian in the light of Chalcedonian Apologetic and Monophysite Polemic', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 86/7 (1993/1994) 47-68.
*J. Harries, 'Men without women: Theodosius' consistory and the business of government', in C. M. Kelly (ed.) *Theodosius II: rethinking the Roman Empire in late antiquity* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 67-89.
K. Cooper, 'Contesting the nativity: wives, virgins, and Pulcheria's *imitatio Mariae*', *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 19 (1998) 31-43.

L. Brubaker, 'Sex, lies and textuality: the *Secret History* and the rhetoric of gender in sixth-century Byzantium', in L. Brubaker and J.M.H. Smith, *Gender in the early medieval world* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 83-100.
D. S. Potter, *Theodora: actress, empress, saint* (Oxford, 2016), esp. ch. 2 on Procopius, but if you get interested, read more widely.
S. A. Harvey, 'Theodora the "believing queen": a study in Syriac historiographical tradition', *Hugoye* 4.2 (2001) 209-34 [available through Google search; for a sharply contrasting view of Theodora to that presented by Procopius].

On Ps. Martyrius and his gendered invective: J. Barry, 'Diagnosing heresy', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24.3 (2016) 395-418.

(B) Merovingian Queens
Gregory of Tours, *Ten Books of Histories*, trans (Penguin Classics). *[Lots of queens in Gregory's Histories—I'd recommend tracking through the text some combination of Clotild, Fredegund, Brunhild and Radegund.]*
See too, the lives of Radegund in J.A. McNamara et al., *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages* (1992).

Brubaker and Smith, *Gender in the Early Medieval World* (2004), chs by *Nelson and Hen.
I. Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms* (1994), ch. 8.

*E. Dailey, *Queens, consorts and concubines: Gregory of Tours and women of the Merovingian elite* (Leiden, 2015), esp. chs 3, 6 and 7.
*J.L. Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: the careers of Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian history', in Nelson, *Politics and Ritual* (1986). *[A classic—very detailed on both careers—make sure you don't get too lost in the rich documentation—keep your focus on the agency of the two queens]*
J.M.H. Smith, 'Carrying the cares of the state': gender perspectives on Merovingian 'Staatlichkeit', in W. Pohl and V. Wieser (eds) *Der frühmittelalterliche Staat: europäische Perspektiven* (Vienna, 2009), pp. 227–239. [*On her Academia.edu page. Wider reflections about gender and the early medieval state based on Fredegund.*]

For more on Gregory: K. Mitchell and I. Wood (eds) *The world of Gregory of Tours* (2002), chs by Rosenwein (pp. 189-95), Halsall, and *Shanzer.
I. Wood, 'Gregory of Tours and Clovis', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 63 (1985), 249–72. *[For conversion and Clovis—search on Google]*
I. Wood, 'The secret histories of Gregory of Tours', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 71 (1993) 253-70. [*Ditto—a discussion of Gregory's political strategies which helps to illuminate his depictions of queens.*]

For Merovingian queens and sanctity: S.F. Wemple, 'Female spirituality and mysticism in Frankish monasteries: Radegund, Balthild and Aldegund' in J.A. Nichols and L. Shanks, eds., *Medieval Religious Women: Peaceweavers* (1987), pp. 39-53.
S. Coates, 'Regendering Radegund? Fortunatus, Baudonivia and the problem of female sanctity in Merovingian Gaul', *Studies in Church History* 34 (1998), 37-50.
*S. Tatum, 'Auctoritas as sanctitas: Balthild's depiction as 'queen-saint' in the Vita Balthildis', *European Review of History* 16.6 (2009), 809-34.
*J.M.H. Smith, 'Radegundis Peccatrix: Authorizations of Virginity in Late Antique Gaul', in Rousseau, Philip and Papoutsakis, Manolis (eds), *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (2009), pp. 303–26.

Good luck!
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II.   **Gender and Late-Antique Christianity**

Did the rise of the church have any impact on late Roman gender norms?
OR
What can we conclude about gender roles from the experiences of elite ascetic women in the later Roman Empire?
OR
Did Christian ascetic lifestyles offer women new forms of agency in late antiquity?

The Life of Melania the Younger, trans. E. Clark. *[Or: how to leave Rome, give up your wealth (ish) and set up a monastery in the Holy Land in the C5—I can send PDF.]*
Jerome, *Letters* 22, 45, 107, 130. *[Or: advice letters for various ascetic women from late antique Christianity's creepy uncle. Available through SOLO—Loeb Library]*
Augustine, *Ep*. 262 to Ecdicia *[Or: what to do when your husband breaks your joint vow of celibacy... Available through SOLO: type in Augustine: Past Masters;]*
For an intro to the *Life of Melania*, see the relevant chapter of Brown, *Through the eye of a needle* (Princeton, NJ, 2012) and now

Asceticism and Gender
*P. R. L. Brown, *The body and society: men, women, and sexual renunciation in early Christianity* (New York, 1988), ch. 1, Part III and Epilogue. [*A veritable classic*]
P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, authority and the church in the age of Jerome and Cassian* (1978; rev. ed. 2010). [*less on gender, but solid primer on asceticism if needed*]
E. A. Clark, *Reading renunciation: asceticism and Scripture in early Christianity* (Princeton, NJ, 1999).
K. Harper, *From shame to sin: the Christian transformation of sexual morality in late antiquity* (Harvard, MA, 2013).

Approaching late-antique women
*G. Clark, *Women in late antiquity: pagan and Christian life–styles* (Oxford, 1993).
K. Cooper, 'Gender and the fall of Rome', in P. Rousseau (ed.) *A companion to late antiquity* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 187-200.
A. Arjava, *Women and law in late antiquity* (Oxford, 1998) [*excellent discussions of various key issues*]

Elite Families: Christianity and Gender Norms
*J. Curran, *Pagan city and Christian capital: Rome in the fourth century* (Oxford, 2000), chap. 7.
G. Nathan, *The family in late antiquity* (2002).
K. Cooper, *The fall of the Roman household* (Cambridge, 2007).

Roman and Christian masculinities
Maud Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), esp. pp. 55–81. *[Earlier period, but tremendous on Roman civic masculinity.]*
*K. Cooper and C. Leyser, 'The gender of grace: impotence, servitude and manliness in the fifth-century West', *Gender and History* 12 (2000) 536-51.

E. Watts, *The last pagan generation* (Berkeley, CA, 2015). *[An excellent, if unintentional, discussion of late Roman masculinity.]*

Reading holy women
K. Cooper, 'Insinuations of womanly influence: an aspect of the Christianization of the Roman aristocracy', *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992) 150-64. *[Good on Ecdicia]*
*E. A. Clark, 'Holy women, holy words: early Christian women, social history and the "linguistic turn"', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 6.3 (1998) 413-30.
S. Elm, *Virgins of Christ: the making of asceticism in late antiquity* (Oxford, 1994).

L. Coon, *Sacred fictions: holy women and hagiography in late antiquity* (1997), ch. 5.
C. Conybeare, 'Spaces between letters: Augustine's correspondence with women', in L. Olson and K. Kerby-Fulton, *Voices in dialogue: reading women in the middle ages* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), pp. 57-72 (read with insightful response by Vessey).
*K. Wilkinson, *Women and modesty in late antiquity* (Cambridge, 2015).

Good luck!
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