UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

**Objects, people and exchange:
Material culture in medieval southern Italy *c.*600-*c.*1200**

by

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Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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Southern Italy is often marginalised in the broad histories of the Middle Ages, falling
between Byzantine, Western and even Islamic medieval scholarship. When the region is
discussed, it is often as variations on Lombard, Byzantine or later, Norman themes, which
are seldom approached from the point of view of southern Italians themselves. The
fragmentary politics and cultures of the South are reflected in work on the region and
comparison is often provided as background information rather than as a tool for
investigation. As both historian and museologist I looked to material culture, more
specifically objects and their descriptions, as a means to address the marginalisation of the
region, and provide the necessary scope for comparison that would challenge current
notions of its geo-historical location on the peripheries.

In this thesis, I argue that objects are signs of human experience. They are
productions of the imagination, created as individual and group responses to necessity,
affirmation and desire. Their exchange defines relationships, whether of distinction or
affinity, of shared material gain or emotional *quid pro quo.* To elucidate how objects can be
used as *historical* evidence, I set them in motion. Insisting on a dynamic framework
throughout, my thesis comprises a series of investigations into *exchange.* New readings of
documentary evidence and museological object analysis demonstrate how the study of
southern Italy's material culture can place the region more centrally in the broader
narratives of the Middle Ages, by showing what they had in common, and better articulate
what was different. My evidence derives primarily from museum collections, archaeology
and charters (e.g. dowry lists and wills) while imagery from visual sources and narratives is
examined for context and juxtaposition. A series of critical case-studies investigates the role
of objects under various themes, namely: as commodities in local networks, as sources for
cultural affinity and distinction, as political symbols of continuity and innovation, and as
drivers of family and community relationships.

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I, …………Tehmina GOSKAR…………………………………, [please print name]

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…… Objects, people and exchange: Material culture in medieval southern Italy

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Acknowledgements

Southern Italy, 7-9th century

Data: Author   Map by: Tom Goskar

Southern Italy, 10-12th century

Introduction

Can the study of material culture, particularly the exchange of objects, contribute to a wider understanding of the Middle Ages in southern Italy? In this thesis I wish to develop methods by which material culture can be used by historians as pieces of evidence to be read and understood in their 'original' and current contexts. My approach to the material object is to read it like an historical document, while scrutinising the 'written' object as if it were manifest. Fundamental to this is placing objects and their exchanges in their social, economic, cultural and political contexts to reveal clues about their significance to the people that produced, owned and used them. From the point of view of an historian and museologist, I see objects as vocal and present, not silent and remote witnesses to the past. As much as objects can be used in their traditional roles as economic indicators, evidence for artistic accomplishment in the minor arts, and dating archaeological sites, they are just as valuable for conveying human expression, necessity and desire. Placed in frameworks of exchange, an object-centred approach will be used to both elucidate and challenge existing impressions of their meanings.

This thesis uses medieval southern Italy as a methodological case-study and by doing so, also seeks to address a range of themes in southern Italian history. Largely neglected in meta-narratives of the Middle Ages, the comparative study of material culture in, and from, southern Italy will, I argue, help to centralise the developments of its people and societies. Two key questions form the intellectual and theoretical foundations for this study:

1) Can the analysis of material culture challenge established paradigms of the region, particularly when approached from the southern Italian perspective?

2) How does the comparison of object exchange and movement help re-establish the relationships of people and their things in the Middle Ages?

The first chapter sets out the historiographical problems which face this thesis and proposes how the study of material culture could change the paradigms currently embedded in southern Italian historiography. It begins by examining how southern Italy as a region as been characterised and the reasons for this, such as the impact of *Annales* school approaches; the second takes the thread of regional characterisation further by highlighting the ways in which southern Italy has been marginalised in broader histories of the Middle Ages. The last problem regards periodisation: the marked difference in the way southern Italian history has been treated before and after its Norman settlement and conquest, particularly after the establishment of the *Regno* under King Roger II in 1130. This discussion therefore identifies why this should be the case and how this thesis can contribute to the problems represented. The second part of the first chapter presents the methodological problems faced by this thesis, particularly the different attitudes towards material culture, by historians and archaeologists. There follow important critiques of broad-ranging works which have had particular import to the conceptual apparatus of this study, with especial reference to the ideas that histories of communication, and therefore exchange, can embody.

Each subsequent chapter comprises their own investigations into different phenomena of exchange. After general discussions, the investigations use detailed case-studies to demonstrate the significant points of exchange revealed by the evidence. Each case-study treats a different period within the broader one under consideration, for example, the role of pilgrimage as a stimulant for local exchange in the seventh to ninth century (chapter two) or the shared cultures of dress between southern Italy and its Mediterranean neighbours in the tenth to the twelfth century (chapter three). Chapter two begins with an economically informed inquiry into commodities and networks of local exchange. While long-distance trade was being conducted across the Mediterranean, what was happening *within* southern Italy? What motivated manufacture and retail? What links did southern Italian manufacturers and traders have beyond the region? To answer these questions, largely of process, the first case study examines the evidence and distribution of inscribed

penannular brooches to posit how routes of exchange within southern Italy continued from the Roman period, but were able to do so because of a new shared (Christian) affinity for pilgrimage. The second case-study on silk in the tenth to twelfth centuries examines the importance of the political and commercial relationship between Apulia and Venice to demonstrate that local exchanges between these Adriatic neighbours were just as crucial as those between the Tyrrhenian states, their Mediterranean neighbours and Rome.

Chapters three and four together tackle the most pivotal problems presented in this thesis, those of cultural exchange and the problems of description. Chapter three presents a critical analysis of how problems of description relating to both artefacts and texts can reveal hitherto obscured truths about the construction of identity, affinity and distinction. There follows a case-study on shared cultures of dress which explores correlations between southern Italy and its Mediterranean neighbours in the Arab world and Byzantium, principally during the tenth to the twelfth century. While the relationships between these places have been well-studied in terms of commerce and trade, cultural similarities have been less well-articulated. The change brought about by the Norman settlement of southern Italy in this regard is a particularly salient theme.

Chapter four continues the theme of cultural exchange and in itself presents the most incisive, and most important, case-study of this thesis as so many of its findings are deeply resonant for the other issues under consideration. Its aim is to form a first attempt at a genuinely interdisciplinary, comparative study of early medieval metalwork dating from the sixth to the eighth century. By deconstructing the limitations of typological analysis, the usual approach to artefact studies, this chapter also shows the historical source value of such objects when placed in their historical settings. Its central argument is that the use of precious personal ornaments in this period could be both politically motivated and a cultural imperative, and that particularly during the latter half of the seventh century, developments in southern Italy were crucial for both innovation and continuity in the rest of Italy.

The final chapter moves the thesis onto a much more microcosmic plane and uses a range of examples to explore the phenomenon of social exchange at various times across the peninsula. After a discussion of the problems posed by social exchange theory, the chapter looks at how family and community relationships were maintained – the *quid pro quo* – and in particular how objects drove these relationships, with particular regard to how they embodied personal and group memories and histories. The first case-study sketches out an approach to grave-goods found in southern Italian contexts in the seventh and eighth centuries and demonstrates how the use and placement of certain objects affirmed the social relationships of the living. The last case-study presents a more detailed exploration of social relationships in the tenth to the twelfth century. By analysing how objects functioned in narrative and legal documents to form important personal, family and community histories, it first explores social exchanges between lay and monastic spheres, and then those which informed marriage negotiations. The study also reveals how the appeal of objects was more significant for the recording tradition of Apulia than to other parts of southern Italy.

Primary sources

In general, my evidence for southern Italian material culture derived largely from five different sources. Firstly, it draws on artefacts in museum collections, with and without provenance; secondly, particularly for objects inaccessible in person, small finds reported in site and region-specific archaeological reports were selected; thirdly, examples and information were collated from art historical typological catalogues and museum exhibition catalogues, particularly those on the so-called 'minor arts'. The fourth source of medieval objects was documented from (published) collections of charters. From a preliminary and detailed search of several codices, I first identified those likely to yield evidence for object exchange and movement such as marriage contracts, wills and religious donations. As a result, due to the difference in southern Italian documentary traditions and, of course, survival, the emphasis in the discussions

of objects found in charters are on the region of Apulia (largely modern Puglia)[1] and confined to the late tenth to twelfth century. Lastly, narrative sources such as chronicles provided much of the material for the analytical discussions and complementary material for the case-studies, for example, a deconstruction of William of Apulia's description of Duke Melo of Bari from the late eleventh century, Ahimaaz's use of objects to frame his tenth-century Jewish family history, and Paul the Deacon's later eighth-century stories about the seventh-century Lombard king, and duke of Benevento, Grimoald I.

The painstaking nature of gathering together object evidence from these disparate sources, and their range, has meant that while it was necessary to perform thorough searches of all these sources, some material has not found a place in the discussions and case-studies of the following chapters. Their analysis has nevertheless informed the conclusions made as a result. The nature of the extant sources also affected the range and date of objects studied, and as a consequence, made the task of making comparison consistently over the time period in question (*c.* 600 to *c.* 1200) difficult. Therefore, in order to retain breadth, while not sacrificing depth, this resulted in the use of case-studies which, by and large, concentrated on physical artefacts, particularly metalwork, being examined for the early period up to the eighth century, and documentary sources for the later period from the tenth to the twelfth century. However, the general discussions at the start of each chapter are intended to provide context while also introducing a wider variety of sources for the study of exchange in southern Italy.

Recording and analysis

The practical problem of how to compare and analyse a wide range of data from disparate sources was tackled in the design and use of a database

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[1] Concerning discussions of objects from charters, the term Apulia will apply, largely in response to the current Anglophone preference for this term over its Italian equivalent, Puglia. However, in discussions of artefacts reported from this region, Puglia is used extensively to refer to the modern geographic boundaries of the province, and the same applies to the other provinces of southern Italy; clarification is given in the text where necessary.

management system which was centred on recording the object within the context of its source. Documentary (virtual) objects were recorded in the context of the document they were cited in, not just giving date and place but also the main protagonists and the nature of the transaction taking place. Archaeological objects were recorded in the context of their excavation, and museum objects without archaeological provenance were recorded in the context of the collection in which they form part. The database[2] enabled me to record several instances of the same *type* of data, for example different materials (silver, linen) and techniques (filigree, casting) or to show the movement from one person (lord Hugo of Rutigliano) to another (abbot Simeon of San Benedetto). The structure allowed queries to be made on any field of data, for example, across a date range (tenth century, or 1070 to 1160), object name (earring, chalice), or group (garment, ecclesiastical); and also to make comparative or 'boolean' style queries, for example, *all* linen objects from Campania *and* Apulia up to 1100, or *all* instances of metalwork received by the abbot of San Benedetto, Conversano.

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[2] The database management system was designed using *FileMaker Pro 7* on an Apple Mac using the OS X 10.4.7 operating system.

Chapter one: Medieval history and material culture in southern Italy

For medieval southern Italy to be re-placed as a central, rather than peripheral, region in Europe and the Mediterranean, it is necessary to examine its historiographical position.

Regional characterisation

Medieval southern Italian history from the seventh to the twelfth century has been treated mainly through localised or regional studies.[1] The characterisation is a consequence of the history writers' own approaches, and the predominance of histories situated in one of the three main politico-cultural milieux of the

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[1] Significant localised studies and those that have aimed to make comparative surveys of some aspect of southern Italy include: G. Galasso (ed.) *Il Mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II*, vol. 3 of Storia d'Italia (Turin: UTET, 1983); A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages' in: *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea.* Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 40, 23-29 aprile 1992 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993) 239-284; P. Arthur and H. Patterson, 'Ceramics and early medieval central and southern Italy: "a potted history"' in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'Alto-Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archaeologia* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994) 409-441; B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans. Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); P. Skinner, 'Women, wills and wealth in medieval southern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2 (2) (1993) 133-152; P. Skinner, *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); P. Skinner, When was southern Italy «feudal»?' in: Il feudalesimo nell'alto medioevo, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 47 (8-12 April 1999) (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2000) 309-345; see also Skinner's other works; G. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the tenth century' in: T. Reuter (ed.) *New Cambridge Medieval History,* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 624-45; P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiévale. Le Latium méridionale et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle,* 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1973); U. Schwarz, *Amalfi nell'alto Medioevo,* trans. G. Vitolo (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana, 2002) first published in German in 1978; H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne. Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale (VIIIe-XIe siècle)* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1992) 2 vols; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993); P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy. The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours 850-1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); P. Arthur, *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (London: British School at Rome, 2002); C. D'Angela, *Taranto medievale* (Taranto: Cressati Editore, 2002); P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale (Salerno, secolo VIII-XII)* (Naples: Liguori Editore, 1977).

South, that of the Lombards,[2] Byzantines[3] or Normans.[4] The history-writers of this region are mainly from Italian, French and Anglophone traditions whose critical interactions with each other do not seem to have moved beyond footnotes and book reviews.

Although Italian historical scholarship has moved far away from the the partisan and nationalistic high political treatises written in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[5] and also away from the preoccupation with medieval legal developments,[6] the *Italian* history of southern Italy is almost exclusively to be found in the pages of its regional historical, archaeological and cultural journals

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[2] R. Poupardin, *Étude sur les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale (IXe-XIe siècles) suivie d'un catalogue des actes des princes de Bénévent et de Capoue* (Paris: H. Champion, 1907); G. Bognetti, *L'età longobarda,* 4 vols. (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966-68); N. Cilento, *Italia meridionale longobarda,* 2nd ed. (Milan: R. Ricciardi, 1971); A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia* (Milano: Longanesi, 1982); N. Christie, *The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).

[3] J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1904); A. Guillou, *Culture et société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe s.)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978); V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1967); G. Cavallo, V. Von Falkenhausen, R. Farioli Campanti, M. Gigante, V. Pace and F. Panvini Rosati, *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1982); E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine: territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia, VI-VIII secolo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998).

[4] C. Cahen, *Le régime féodale de l'Italie normande* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940); D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); J. Norwich, *The Normans in Sicily* (London: Penguin, 1992); G. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow: Longman, 2000) G. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); G. Galasso, 'Social and political developments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in: *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy. Lincei Lectures 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977) 47-63; E. Pontieri, *Tra i Normanni nell'Italia meridionale* (Naples: Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1964) 2nd edition; P. Delogu, *I Normanni in Italia. Cronache della conquista e del regno* (Naples: Liguori, 1984); H. Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); G. Loud and A. Metcalfe (eds.) *The Society of Norman Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); J. Drell, *Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman period, 1077-1194* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002).

[5] C. La Rocca, 'Introduction' in: C. La Rocca (ed.) *Italy in the Early Middle Ages 476-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 2; on the ab/use of early medieval history in the formation of national identities, see: P. Geary, *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[6] E. Besta, *Fonti: legislazione e scienza giuridica dalla caduta dell'impero romano al secolo decimosesto*, vol. 1 in the series: *Storia del diritto italiano* (ed. P. del Giudice) (Milano: U. Hoepli, 1926); F. Brandeleone, *Il diritto romano nelle leggi normane e sveve del regno Sicilia* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1884); F. Capasso, *La legislazione statutaria dell'Italia meridionale* (Rome: A. Signorelli, 1929) and his other works on the history and development of Italian statutes and law.

whose distribution seldom extends beyond the areas they cover.[7] The emphasis on locality has meant that comparison outside the region or province is even rarer. The keener interest in Italy's communal heritage (analogous also with art histories which concentrate on the North as the cradle of the Renaissance) has perpetuated the pre-eminence of studies on the medieval North. Philip Jones's comment that "Europe turned north" in the Middle Ages is perhaps indicative of how historians in general have view Italy after the fall of Rome.[8] In other words, the North is part of the north(-west) European orbit, and the South is perhaps just a platform for playing out the ambitions of other powers such as those of the Franks and Byzantines.

Cristina La Rocca's introduction to a recent survey of early medieval Italy, speaks of the advances made in the understanding of early medieval Italy, largely through a thorough re-evaluation of the available sources and a re-appraisal of the nationalist histories of the late nineteenth century.[9] She acknowledges however, that the volume still suffers from gaps as new research has concentrated more on central and northern Italy, "while in southern Italy and the islands institutional themes like the structure of monarchy and of vassalage continue to dominate."[10] This assessment is clearly based on dated studies of southern Italy demonstrating, if rather crudely, that even among Italian medieval historians the gulf between those who study the North and those who study the South is significant. To what extent this is a consequence of an intellectual climate in a still politically and psychologically divided country is debatable but perhaps indicative. Giovanni Tabacco's *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere* in Einaudi's *Storia d'Italia* series (1973) is probably one of the most referred to

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[7] Principal examples are: *Archivio storico per le province napoletane; Archivio storico pugliese; Rivista storica calabrese* and more recently, *Studi calabresi; Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana* (also acts of conferences organised by the centre)*;* series of papers published by southern Italian universities, for example, those by the Centro di Studi Normanni-Svevi, University of Bari.

[8] P. Jones, *The Italian City-State. From Commune to Signoria, 500-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) p. 46; also D. Waley, *The Italian City-republics,* 3rd edition (Harlow: Longman, 1988).

[9] C. La Rocca (ed.) 'Introduction' in: *Italy in the Early Middle Ages,* pp. 1-10.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

general texts of medieval Italy.[11] He describes the difference in North and South as a "profound diversity" but says that the interactions between both had the effect of creating "an overall area of Italian culture" and goes further to state that these exchanges, in spite of the peninsula's polarity, created a humanism that Europe saw as "typically Italian."[12] Although viewing the division between North and South as positive in the broader scheme of European history, the emphasis on *difference* and *division* were still foremost in Tabacco's mind and remains recurrent when the two regions are discussed together. In such studies there seemed to be little interest in actively finding similarity and affinity between north and south such as I present in chapters three and four.

Giuseppe Galasso felt that, while southern Italian society was constrained by the state, and in any case did not reflect its modernisation, "the communal movement [in the North] was at that time disposing of feudalism and laying the foundations for the splendid flowering of the Renaissance."[13] He is also guarded when assessing the relative prosperity experienced in the South during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by emphasising its buoyancy on account of the activities of northern commercial powers such as Genoa and Venice, and the lack of ability of its own merchant societies to maintain commercial parity with activities in the Po valley.[14] Here, the South is presented as a region marginalised, and a consequence of the decline of Mediterranean commercial prowess in the face of the re-orientation of European trade towards the Po and Rhine. As a result the net benefit was in favour of northern, more than southern, Italy.[15]

How has the South been characterised in surveys of Italy as a whole?

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[11] G. Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy. Structures of Political Rule* (trans. R. Brown Jensen) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) originally published as *Egemonie sociali e strutture del potere nel Medioevo italiano* (Turin: Einaudi, 1973) p. 7 and pp. 176-81 where he displays a clear admiration for the Norman achievement in bringing stability to the fragmented south.

[12] G. Tabacco, *Struggle for Power,* pp. 6-7.

[13] G. Galasso, 'Social and political developments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in: *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy. Lincei Lectures 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) p. 63 of 47-63.

[14] *Ibid.,* p. 61-62.

[15] *Ibid.*

Chris Wickham's seminal work on early medieval Italy,[16] now over 25 years old, still remains a key synthesis of Italian history between 400 and 1000 and is almost ubiquitous in the references of works discussing early medieval Italy. The strength of this history lies in the clear recognition that the history of medieval Italy comprises several narratives, and that neither medieval Italians, nor Italy, displayed any more affinity with a singular political entity than they do today.[17] Southern Italy, as disparate as the North in this period, is nevertheless treated in a single chapter entitled: 'the South'. Wickham's separate treatment of southern Italy lies in the judgement that the South developed differently and independently from the North.[18] The lack of a persistent, cohesive politico-administrative unit, and its complex and particular economies make any coherent analysis of the region's political, legal or socio-economic development difficult (but not impossible) when compared with studies of its northern (and eastern) neighbours.

The nature of the available sources, coupled with the number of political entities an historian would have to deal with when treating the South as a whole, has meant that most histories of southern Italy have concentrated on its chequered and knotty politics, particularly those evidenced by ninth and tenth century chroniclers such as Erchempert.[19] This has, perhaps inevitably, distorted the reputation of the early medieval South as having a turgid, dull and sterile history. This view of the region's politics was propagated a century ago by René Poupardin with his now oft-quoted words: "un récit de luttes intestines aussi stérile qu'obscures — an account of intestinal struggles as sterile as they were obscure."[20] Thomas Hodgkin, reviewing Poupardin's work commented that: "The writer has, with praiseworthy self-denial, chosen for his field of

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[16] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy.* Many of the key themes of this book are also discussed in C. Wickham: 'Italy in the early Middle Ages', in: C. Wickham, *Land and Power. Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400-1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994) pp. 99-118.

[17] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy,* p. 1.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 147.

[19] Erchempert*, Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum,* in: G. Waitz (ed.) Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX, (Hanover, 1878), 231-264.

[20] R. Poupardin, *Les institutions,* p. 5: indeed, he begins the introduction with this statement on the history of the Lombard principalities.

research one of the most obscure and least attractive periods of Italian history"[21] and while criticism of this view has been aired since,[22] it is indicative of the attitude towards the region even in other periods of its medieval history. An historian who looks beyond such obvious sources for politics might instead see something very different. Even a recent survey of southern Italy before the mid-eleventh century still felt the need to define it as being a: "dreary litany of civil war."[23] However, there has been a reaction against this by historians who have moved away from works of a purely political nature and chosen to explore aspects of the region's social, economic and cultural history, exploiting anew, not just the narrative sources but the rich seam of charter evidence, and more recently archaeology. Chapter four in particular demonstrates how new sources for cultural politics in the South can present a very different view.

A compelling recent survey of medieval Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears as part of the series *Short Oxford History of Italy*.[24] In contrast with its companion volume on Italy from the fifth to tenth centuries (see above) David Abulafia is explicit about the need for the volume to: "redress the balance by looking at north and south side by side, and, when appropriate, together."[25] Abulafia goes on to postulate that the great value in perceiving Italy, north and south, is not only to compare and contrast experiences between the two, but to acknowledge their very real and complex interplay and correlation in politics, economics and population structures.[26] To include a chapter on material life demonstrates the editor's recognition of the importance

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[21] T. Hodgkin, 'Book review of R. Poupardin, *Les institutions politiques et administratives des principautés lombardes de l'Italie méridionale (IXe-XIe siècles) étude suivie d'un catalogue des actes des princes de Bénévent et de Capoue*,' *American Historical Review*, 13 (2) (1908) 327-329.

[22] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy,* p. 156; B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans,* p. xxv; although not directly on Poupardin, see also the general discussion on 'the Lombard question' by A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi,* pp. 11-24.

[23] G. Loud, 'Southern Italy in the tenth century' in: T. Reuter (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History,* 3 *c.900-c.1024* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 624-645.

[24] D. Abulafia (ed.) *Italy in the Central Middle Ages 1000-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[25] D. Abulafia, 'Introduction: the many Italies of the Middle Ages' in: *Italy in the Central Middle Ages,* p. 2.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

of including material culture in a general history book on medieval Italy.[27] A similar example which conveys an editor's (rather than author's) impact on regional characterisation is Graham Loud and Alex Metcalfe's volume on Norman Italy.[28] While clearly different from the others, as its focus is purely southern Italian and Sicilian, the book includes discussions that are normally marginal even to southern Italian history, for example, of the nature of regionality, particularly that of Calabria and Sicily, and also of the non-Latin Christian cultures that persisted into the Norman period. While it is acknowledged that there are significant themes (e.g. peasant labour, art history and culture) that are missing from this volume, the editors stress the importance of including works from other European historians who have not published much (or at all) in English.[29] This positive trend is also evident in other surveys of medieval Europe and will certainly help to achieve a plurality of historiographical output.[30] However, the extent to which this has a positive impact on regional characterisation does still depend on the editor's agenda and the choice of participants, for example, are archaeologists, art historians and museum curators writing alongside traditional historians? Is there critical engagement between participants — and are these effectively teased out by the editor's introduction? While I would not like to argue that the differences in editors' agendas are simply a product of their intellectual cultures, it might at least demonstrate that they have a significant role in perpetuating or transforming how a region is portrayed. This is a theme that will return when the issue of southern Italy's marginalisation in broader narratives of the Middle Ages is dealt with below.

In contrast to histories discussed above, is the special case of French scholarship on southern Italy. As Barbara Kreutz commented in her review of Jean-Marie Martin's *La Pouille* (modern Apulia/Puglia) French historians have played an extremely important role in southern Italian history writing, often

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[27] P. Skinner, 'Material life', in: D. Abulafia (ed.) *Italy in the Central Middle Ages,* 147-160.

[28] G. Loud and A. Metcalfe (ed.) *The Society of Norman Italy.*

[29] G. Loud, 'Preface' in: *Ibid.,* pp. ix-x.

[30] See for comparison the volumes of the *New Cambridge Medieval History,* and those of the *Short Oxford History of Europe.*

taking whole regions or polities as their subject.[31] This is the first contrast to the micro-histories of cities or small provinces generally favoured by Italian and other scholars. She went on to express little surprise in the structuralist, charter-focused approach taken by Martin and its resemblance to his tutor, Pierre Toubert's similarly conceived work on medieval Lazio (the areas of ancient *Latium* and *Sabina*).[32] Placing with these Huguette Taviani-Carozzi's survey of the Lombard principality of Salerno,[33] and Laurent Feller's work on the *Abruzzi* (modern Abruzzo and Molise)[34] both published within a few years of *La Pouille*, it is difficult to see any places on an historiographical map of central and southern Italy that has not been treated by a French historian, no less when placed in the context of much earlier French work on southern Italy.[35]

These volumes, that are comprised in the *Collection de l'École Française de Rome,* form a repository and observatory of medieval southern Italy in their own right, mainly owing to their intense engagement with every detail of their sources. Toubert, who was the first to research and publish an Italian regional history of this nature, uses a schematic approach very similar to that of his teacher's work on the medieval French region of Mâcon.[36] Georges Duby's own approach to his regional study, in turn, owed much to that used by Marc

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[31] B. Kreutz, 'Book review: J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XII siècle'* (1993) *Speculum*, 71(1) (1996) pp. 174-176; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993).

[32] P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiévale. Le Latium méridionale et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle,* 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1973).

[33] H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne. Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale (VIIIe-XIe siècle)* 2 vols. (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1992).

[34] L. Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales: territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XII siècle* (Rome : Ecole française de Rome, 1998).

[35] For example, F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicilie* (Paris: Librairie A. Picard, 1907); J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale* (1904); R. Poupardin, *Les institutions* (1907) and C. Cahen, *Le régime féodale* (1940). The exceptions are areas treated by Evelyn Jamison, *Catologus Baronum* (Rome: Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1972) and on the much neglected Arab history of the peninsula (see *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, 2 vols. M. Amari (ed.) Italian version (Rome, 1880-1881).

[36] G. Duby, *La société aux 11e et 12e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris: Colin, 1953).

Bloch in *Feudal Society* and *French Rural History.*[37] Martin uses exceptionally similar schematic approaches that sought to document political and economic structures, agrarian development, juridical and public frameworks, the role of the church and other aspects, to degrees which leave little room for qualitative analyses or contextual insights. Feller too follows in similar vein to Toubert and Martin, each beginning with sections on their region's historical geography. This follows somewhat closely the framework used by another *Annales* scholar, Fernand Braudel, in his prodigious history of the Mediterranean in the age of Philip II.[38] The major flaw of this characteristic sociological structuralism, developed initially by Bloch, and heavily influential in the regional studies that concern this thesis, is the lack of attention paid to self-determining individuals and their relationships. Indeed, this has been an important criticism ever since Bloch's, and to a greater degree Braudel's, development of viewing human history as a consequence of imperceptible long-term processes (*la longue dureé*) rooted in geography, climate and slow economic evolution and the socio-economic ties that bound one person to one another (*la féodalité comme type social*).[39]

Lucien Febvre, co-founder of *Annales,* himself criticised Bloch for his neglect of individuals.[40] The passivity of people in Braudel's *Mediterranean* also drew comment. J. H. Elliot wrote that: "Braudel's Mediterranean... is a world unresponsive to human control."[41] This is noted also in the southern Italian regional histories. P. A. B. Llewellyn, while recognising the brilliance with which Pierre Toubert handled his material, commented that: "We are here given

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[37] Discussed in P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution*, p. 72 with reference to M. Bloch, *La société feodale* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968) English edition *Feudal Society* (London: Routledge, 1961) and *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française*, new edition 2 vols. (Paris: Colin, 1952) English edition *French Rural History. An Essay on its basic characteristics* (trans. J. Sondheimer) (London: Routledge, 1966).

[38] F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 2nd edition, 2 vols. (Paris: Colin, 1966) originally published 1949. English edition *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* 2 vols. (trans. S. Reynolds) (London: Collins, 1972-3) and discussed in P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution,* pp. 33-42.

[39] P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution,* pp. 24-25 discusses Bloch and pp. 39-41 discusses Braudel in these terms.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 25.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 40 and p. 122 n. 32.

what is, in format, a purely regional history, and one which, on an initial glance, threatens to squeeze all human activity between the geological formations and the rainfall statistics."[42] Barbara Kreutz also views Martin's Apulia as short on personalities and "rather stark" citing the principal reason for this, a lack of attention paid to art and other types of "cultural expression."[43] Taviani-Carozzi's approach to the Lombard Principality of Salerno is quite different to those of Toubert and Martin, however no less a product of long-standing *Annales* school traditions. Her focus is rather on the high political (lay and ecclesiastical) culture of the Salernitan principality using ninth to eleventh-century charters mainly from the Cava archives to explore themes such as customs, law, institutions and the family politics of the Lombard princes. In her long discussion of Lombard ethno-genesis and myth-making she employs the anthropological techniques on her sources, originally developed by scholars such as Georges Duby, albeit that this approach seems to lack currency in the latter parts of the book, particularly when examining material and visual culture.[44] Although individual relationships feature more largely in Taviani-Carozzi's Salerno than they do in the other *thèses* on southern Italy they are almost all focused on the aristocracy and almost all lack any discussion of local economic interactions and strategies that would have been crucial to the maintenance of the principate's stability which the author emphasises so much.

In addition to the lack of, or partial, interest in individual actions and relationships, is the paucity of analysis on material exchanges. While Toubert would not have had a large amount of archaeological data to include in his two-

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[42] P. Llewellyn, 'Book review: P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiévale. Le Latium méridionale et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle,* 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1973)', *English Historical Review,* 90 (no. 357) (1975) p. 842 of 842-846.

[43] B. Kreutz, 'Book review: J.-M. Martin, *La pouille* du VIe au XIIe siècle', *Speculum,* 71(1) p. 176 of 174-176.

[44] P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution,* p. 73 briefly discusses Duby's anthropological approach to analysing medieval society and its mentalities (*Les trois ordres* (1978) published in English as *The Three Orders* (1980)) and pp. 17-18 on a similarly intended approach by Marc Bloch in his *Les rois thaumaturges* (1924) published in English as *The Royal Touch* (1973).

volume work,[45] his discussion of, for example, eleventh and twelfth-century marriage rites could have said a little bit more about the significance of the customary exchange of gifts, than he fleetingly mentions; the importance of individual exchanges in the formation of relationships is obscured perhaps, by the over emphasis on *incastellamento* as *the* overriding social and economic force in the region.[46] In chapter five, I set out some of the ways in which object exchange can evidence the importance of other social drivers in the region. Money, and its circulation, is the only exception to both Toubert's and Martin's exploration of exchange and circulation.[47] Taviani-Carozzi uses some material culture in examining images of the sovereign and the emulation of Byzantine imperial devices but the limit of focus on traditional documentary evidence for the princely court means that the wider contexts of Lombard and Byzantine routes and methods of cultural interaction is sadly missing.[48] In chapter four, I set out further methods of material analysis that could address this absence. The relatively brief mention of other material exchanges in these works similarly lacks critical engagement with the concept of dynamic exchange, not just as a result of a conservative use of the sources, but also as a result of the ideas with which they are approached.[49]

It might be tempting to seek the reason for these particular approaches to regional characterisation as a consequence of a lineage of French historians involved with the *'Annales* School'. Taking the example of Jean-Marie Martin, that lineage putatively reaches directly back to the co-founder of *Annales*, Marc

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[45] For example, the South Etruria survey begun in the 1950s by the British School at Rome, only partially published in T. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (London: Elek, 1979) and has been subject to a re-study under the aegis of the Tiber Valley Project, also led by the British School at Rome, completed in 2001.

[46] P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium,* pp. 738-42 on discussion of exchanges.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 551-624; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille,* pp. 443-85.

[48] H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne,* pp. 182-217.

[49] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille* includes a small section on 'L'artisanat et ses produits', pp. 419-426; and H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté* includes a section on 'L'échange des richesses', pp. 708-720. Similarly, P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale* makes some mention of Salernitan material culture (mainly architecture, numismatics and seals) but this book was more concerned with establishing the nature of royal power in Salerno than on the wider activities of the principality. André Guillou (see above, n. 3) on the other hand is much more ambitious with his interpretation of southern Italian sources — something that Martin is very critical of.

Bloch.[50] Pierre Toubert was the student of Georges Duby, himself citing Marc Bloch as his 'master'. Although Duby had never met Bloch, he was the pupil of one of Bloch's students.[51] But this would be too simplistic and perhaps even ignorant of the individualism that even institutionalised historians bring to their work. Rather, my criticism of these historians' works on southern Italy do not just lie in finding their origins in the rigidity of the *structures* propagated by earlier *Annales* scholars, but finding is what is missing from these studies. The regions of southern Italy, more particularly its people, are portrayed as largely static and immobile — one might say, as 'human insects' in the vast and dominant landscapes.[52] With the lack of attention paid to the actions of individuals, I find the major limitation of these dominating works, the absence of the exploration of *movement*. Mobility and exchange are basic needs of human existence, whether of people or things, and a fundamental concept for understanding people. Instead, they give an impression of a southern Italy that is a comparative backwater in Europe (seemingly without the personalities, highly developed art and culture of the Franks or Byzantines) and largely passive in its reaction to outside events, and economic and social phenomena.

Just as the understanding of the individual was an important concept to the likes of Lucien Febvre, especially in the understanding of *outillage mental* and the nature of relationships between groups and individuals (historical psychology) the notion of examining movement in the past is not exactly an alien one to *Annales* historians.[53] Fernand Braudel acknowledged the importance of understanding mobility especially when writing 'geo-history' but crucially does not go very far in demonstrating this in his work on the Mediterranean.[54] Although Braudel had previously observed that: "The region is not the framework of research. The framework of research is the problem," the

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[50] P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution. The* Annales *School, 1929-89* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990) pp. 12-31.

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 26-27.

[52] A comment made by Braudel, cited in P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution,* p. 41 and p. 122 n. 35, originally from F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée,* p. 755.

[53] *Ibid.,* pp. 16-22 and p. 115'

[54] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

lack of engagement with this concept in *The Mediterranean,* has been criticised, especially against the backdrop of the elementary *Annales* principle of problem-orientated history writing.[55] When Peter Burke put this question to him in 1977, Braudel responded that the problem he had to solve was to demonstrate how time moves at different speeds.[56] Whether it was the region or the varying developments in historical time (geographic, economic, political for example) Burke felt that neither were adequately exposed as the principal problem of the work.   Regionality and the pace(s) of time are intimately tied in with the similarly related concepts of individual actions, reactions and movement. By neglecting the analysis of individual actions, it is impossible to problematise a region's history, and the experience of that region, by its people. If evidence of exchange and movement, in particular of portable objects, is not well understood, there will only ever result a limited/ing view of how regions and their people functioned. By not attending to the evidence for exchange and movement as at least one of the central problems of southern Italy's history, the studies of Toubert, Martin, Taviani-Carozzi and others have left a legacy of regional characterisation that is unnecessarily static and undynamic — one that other historians, particularly those without a knowledgeable interest in the region, may take for granted.

A marked difference in regional characterisation can be observed in a number of micro-studies on southern Italy, some of whose foci were evidence of relationships and links, albeit they have tended to be of an economic nature first and foremost. Armand Citarella, in all his works on the South, has sought to give a realistic backdrop of the economic and commercial activities of the

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[55] *Ibid.,* p. 39.

[56] *Ibid.*

region, both within, but more crucially without.[57] By interrogating 'non-European' sources such as those from the Cairo Geniza,[58] particularly in his later work, Citarella provides the little seen or understood role of southern Italian merchants in Mediterranean trade, especially that of the Amalfitans. Through his work, at least from an economic (and perhaps therefore also social and political) point of view, southern Italy can be understood as being more at the centre, rather than at the fringes, of Europe and the Mediterranean. The traditional view of economic decline and the decay of cities and their middle classes can be challenged when the commercial systems and trade engaged in by southern Italy, Sicily and North Africa is considered.[59] By bringing into view what might, at first, seem like subtle details, such as on the one hand maintaining peaceful and lucrative relations with the Arabs, and on the other intervening to defend neighbouring areas against Arab raids, Citarella paints a more nuanced (and intriguing) picture of the importance of economic and political interplay in southern Italy in its international contexts.[60]

These strategies highlight the importance of thinking about medieval economies and politics in multiple dimensions, which in turn would avoid the tendency towards the kind of systematisation that ignores areas which do not

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[57] Publications include: A. Citarella, 'The relations of Amalfi with the Arab world before the Crusades', *Speculum,* 41 (2) (1967) 299-312; 'Patterns of Medieval Trade: The Commerce of Amalfi Before the Crusades,' *Journal of Economic History,* 28 (1968) 531-55; 'Scambi commerciali fra l'Egitto e Amalfi in un documento inedito dalla Geniza di Cairo', *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, 3rd s. 9 (1971) 141-149; 'La crisi navale araba del sec. VIII e l'origine della fortuna commerciale di Amalfi', *Amalfi nel medioevo*. Convegno internazionale 14-16 June 1973 (Salerno: Centro "Raffaele Guariglia" di Studi Salernitani, 1977) 193-213; *Il commercio di Amalfi nell'alto medioevo* (Salerno, 1977); 'Amalfi and Salerno in the ninth century', in: *Istituzioni civili e organizzazione ecclesiastica nello stato medievale amalfitano*, Atti del congresso di studi amalfitani, 1981 (Amalfi, 1986) 129-145; and much of Citarella's previously published interpretations and ideas are updated and included in: 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages'.

[58] The Cairo Geniza documents have been principally treated and discussed under various themes in: S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents by the Cairo Geniza,* 6 vols. (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1967-1993) pbk. ed. 1999.

[59] A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise', p. 248.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 255. For example, after a period of neutrality, the Campanian coastal towns mobilised to defend the Tyrrhenian littoral, and Rome, against the clear political ambitions of the Arabs in the mid-ninth century. Following a successful defence of their seas (the Arabs being more successful in Apulia with the capture of Bari and the establishment of the Emirate 847–71) the Campanian coastal towns sought peace and a return to normal relations.

conform to a given model. The framework of local exchanges and commodities is further explored in chapter two. Perhaps the most significant issue that the author raises is that the peninsula is as much bound up in the histories of other regions as in what happened in its own cities, towns and countryside. The limitations of Amalfi's terrain, for example, is strongly suggestive that a significant amount of its merchants' economic and political activities took place overseas.[61] The geography of many of the other towns and cities of the South also indicates that there would have been very few centres that could sustain large international markets (with perhaps the exception of Naples, Salerno, Benevento, Bari, Otranto and Trani) and therefore might also explain the lack of physical and written evidence of active trading centres at southern Italian sites. In sum, one can begin to understand how important the study of the movement of people and goods both within and beyond the region, together, is to southern Italian history. Updating a comment made by Professor R. S. Lopez in 1964, Citarella makes a key assessment about historians' approaches to understanding the relationships between the West and the Islamic world: "Today we may admit that the number of facts has increased, that the dependence on intuition has lessened, and the coefficient of common sense has remained the same, but we no longer are dealing with fantasy."[62] Michael McCormick's reappraisal of the Mediterranean economy before the eleventh century is testament to this, and discussed in detail below.[63]

The search for relationships was central also to David Abulafia's seminal work, *The Two Italies*,[64] which, to date, has not been matched in scope or significance. While acknowledging the confines of the study to the Italian peninsula (rather than the wider Mediterranean) and the omission of such southern Italian merchant cities as Amalfi, Abulafia still demonstrates the

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[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63. The large amount of overseas trade was also facilitated by the southern Italian merchants' role as middlemen, particularly with Constantinople (pp. 261-62).

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 241. Robert Lopez's original quotation was derived from: R. Lopez, 'L'importanza del mondo islamico nella vita economica europea', in: *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 2-8 April 1964, 12 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1965) p. 433.

[63] M. McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[64] D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies.*

importance of the inter-reliance of the northern city-states (especially Genoa) and the Norman kingdom (also know as the *Regno)* during the twelfth century.[65] Once again a casualty of nationalist Italian history, the lack of political unity of North with South in the centuries before *Risorgimento,* had led to the assumption that there was equally little economic unity between them.[66] The thorough and detailed study of an immense variety of sources proves quite the opposite. This refreshing vision of twelfth-century Italy conveys a holistic peninsula, not one divided simply along its administrative lines, but one where its rulers were economic, and therefore political, co-dependents. Abulafia emphasises the geographical and cultural 'status' of the *Regno* territories as belonging: "wholly neither to east nor to west" whose mercantile activities had an impact far beyond the region into Egypt and Constantinople.[67] These international links seemed, according to the sources interrogated, to benefit northern merchants far more than southern ones, which raises the question, why there seems to be an invisibility of mercantile activity by southern merchants in the twelfth century? Was it, as Abulafia conjectures, a consequence of the increasing centralisation of the Normano-Swabian state, consolidated under Frederick II at the end of the period in question, which privileged northern merchants and in turn discouraged the communal development of cities such as Bari and Amalfi?[68] Or, is the evidence for twelfth-century economics and trade in southern Italy to be found elsewhere? A comparative study of late eleventh and twelfth-century material culture may help answer this crucial question, and will be tackled more fully in chapter two's case-study examining how silk mediated relations between Apulia and Venice.

The theme of exchanges, especially commercial ones, has received more attention in studies of the Tyrrhenian city-states of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta than in those on Apulia or Calabria. This may be indicative of more compact source-bases, or just different approaches to history-writing. Are these cities, well-known for their political independence and commercial

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[65] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

precociousness, more obvious subject matter for the history of movement than those under the broader sways of the Lombard duchies (from the late eighth century, principates) and the western themes (Apulia and Calabria since the late ninth century) of the more remote Byzantine Empire?   Patricia Skinner's study of Gaeta and Gaetans sought to find links and establish the circumstances for exchange, and the strategies used to acquire and export.[69] The emphasis the book places on the importance of movement for Gaetans and their neighbours in Amalfi, and to an extent Naples, points to the clear worth of examining the movement of material culture (which necessarily can only happen with people).[70] In spite of the lack of direct references to trade and commercial exchange, and the pre-eminence of land transactions in Gaetan documents, Skinner observes: "This fact in itself is significant, for… much trade could not have taken place without landed resources from which to raise the capital."[71] This raises an important issue about how differently southern Italian sources may be viewed when used beyond their immediate collective significance as legal documents or as testaments to settlement patterns.

Medieval Amalfi and Amalfitans have received much scholarly attention, possibly the most of all southern Italy.[72] Ulrich Schwarz's monograph is generally a first port of call for Amalfitan medieval history, followed by del Treppo and Leone's social and economic survey of the city.[73] While the commercial activities of its famous merchants and their commodities have been better treated by Armand Citarella, as discussed above, Schwarz provides a relatively well-balanced picture of the political development of the city itself from the ninth to twelfth centuries, while other works concentrate on its artistic

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[69] P. Skinner, *Family Power*, particularly pp. 264-81

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] In particular, the articles of Armand Citarella, discussed above; those of the very active but not widely disseminated journal *Rassenga del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana*, and the proceedings of: *Amalfi nel Medioevo.* Convegno internazionale, 14-16 giugno 1973 (Salerno: Centro Raffaele Guariglia di studi salernitani, 1977).

[73] U. Schwarz, *Amalfi*; M. del Treppo and A. Leone, *Amalfi medievale* (Naples: Giannini, 1977). Recently published and focused on the later period is: J. Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

achievements.[74]   However, few studies adequately place Amalfi in its southern

Italian, and broader comparative, contexts.   Citarella concentrates on longer-

distance exchanges in the Mediterranean while those who focus on the city

itself tend to present it as a Tyrrhenian island with little reference to its role in

southern Italy as a whole.[75]   Histories of Amalfi suffer from the lack of a survey

that brings these threads together, using a framework of tracing movements and

exchanges.[76]   The diaspora traders (those that were almost permanently settled

in colonies in other cities)[77] the city's artistic productions, and its internal and

foreign politics were mutually dependent and were likely to have had

resonances on the rest of southern Italian peninsula.   Owing to the physical

geography of the Amalfitan Coast, archaeological work has been minimal and

unlikely to yield much in the way of material evidence to add to the

understanding of the city.   However, documentary sources are more plentiful

and, taken with the evidence of material movements from written evidence

beyond Amalfi, may suggest a more accurate history of the particular role of

Amalfitans in southern Italian exchanges.

In contrast with the above-mentioned 'classic' histories of southern Italian

regions, the most recent and perceptive monograph on Naples has been written

by an archaeologist.[78]   Following years of excavations on sites of the Roman to

early medieval city, following the opportunity afforded by the 1980 earthquake,

this book synthesises a wide variety of archaeological and documentary

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[74] Particularly, J. Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); R. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories. Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); A. Braca, *Le culture artistiche del Medioevo in costa d'Amalfi* (Amalfi: Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana, 2003).

[75] P. Skinner, *Family Power* does discuss Amalfi in relation to Gaeta; H. Taviano-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne,* discusses the presence of *Atranenses* in Salerno; J.-M. Martin also mentions the presence of Amalfitans in Apulia.   These now require comparative analysis.

[76] As part of the Leverhulme Trust-funded research project on the movement and exchange of merchants and objects in medieval southern Italy (2004–2007) of which this thesis forms part, Patricia Skinner is researching and preparing a monograph on Amalfi and Amalfitans in the Mediterranean, using the theme of the movements of Amalfitan merchants as a framework.

[77] A comprehensive list is offered by Citarella in: A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise', p. 276.

[78] P. Arthur, *Naples.* Also a volume in the series *Storia di Napoli, Alto medioevo,* vol. 2. (2 parts) (Naples: Societa editrice Storia di Napoli, 1969).

sources to chart the development and activities of this most well-known of southern Italian cities. Although partly written with a desire to: "contribute to the 'urban' debate,"[79] Paul Arthur succeeds in demonstrating the historical wealth that can be gained from examining archaeological and historical sources together, but also in their own right, and presents a view of Naples that is essential to appreciate its better-known later fame.

Recent archaeological work in Taranto has also resulted in a good survey of the city, although its interpretations are less analytical than Arthur's *Naples*.[80] With other significant excavations of cities such as Otranto and Bari published,[81] there is an excellent opportunity to study the history of these cities and their environs in comparative contexts, rather than as evidence *from* one city or another. Linda Safran has also shown how the study of frescoes in the *chiese rupestre* (subterranean churches) can in fact, have broader implications for the cultural history and identity of the city and its territory, particularly when compared with those elsewhere in Italy such as Calabria.[82] Her emphasis on the difference in Byzantinising art across southern Italy is suggestive of the kinds of differences discussed later in this thesis. Out of all the provinces in southern Italy, Calabria has been the least well-integrated into the history of southern Italy itself, and Italy as a whole. From the point of view of material culture, recent attempts at synthesis have at least helped to redress this, however the region's orientation towards Sicily has meant that the comparative focus of studies has tended to be towards its island neighbour.[83] Nevertheless, the impact of these syntheses beyond the modern province remains weak.

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[79] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[80] C. D'Angela, *Taranto*; for a more documentary approach, see V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca byzantina', *Studi medievali* s. III, 9 (1) (1968) 133-166.

[81] M. Becker, P. Arthur *et al.* (eds.) *Excavations at Otranto 1978-1979,* 2 vols. (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 1992); G. Andreassi and F. Radina (eds.) *Archeologia di una città. Bari dale origini al X secolo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1988).

[82] L. Safran, *S. Pietro at Otranto: Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome: Rari Nantes, 1992).

[83] M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale: complimenti dell'abbigliamento e monoli in metallo nei sepolcreti della costa ionica centro-settentrionale', *Studi calabresi,* 1 (2) (2001) 7-50; A. Coscarella, *Insediamenti bizantini in Calabria. Il caso di Rossano* (Cosenza: Editoriale Bios, 1996); G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti fortificati nella Calabria settentrionale,* vol. 1, *Le necropoli altomedievali,* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001).

Marginalisation

The second problem for this thesis is southern Italy's marginalisation in medieval historiography. Physically on the fringes of the three largest political entities in Europe and the Mediterranean, Byzantine, Frankish/German and the Islamic/Arab empires, the southern Italian peninsula remained a politically highly disparate and complex arrangement of territories until the latter half of the eleventh century. Even the region's largest state, the Lombard-ruled duchy (later a series of principates) is frequently referred to by historians as *Longobardia minore* – the smaller or lesser land of the Lombards – even though it outlasted the Lombard polity in northern Italy by some 270 years. It is not a surprise therefore, that studies that place southern Italy in any kind of broad historical context are inconsistently, and variably, found.[84] In every instance, southern Italy's contradictions and heterogeneity of politics make it too difficult and pithy a subject to naturally fit in with more tangible contemporary entities such as the 'Carolingian Empire', 'Byzantine Empire', 'Islamic World', or even the 'Norman World'. It could be argued that southern Italy as a discrete region *cannot* be adequately dealt with in a single historical discourse, that its various themes and currents are too multifarious, too contrasting to make sense of in a broad-ranging inquiry, and that they would be better treated in localised studies as has been the case to date. The reason for this, and a consequence of it, is a lack of overviews of the peninsula, and more importantly a lack of overviews which compare similarity and difference over significant time and space. A close comparative study that places the region at the heart of, rather than on the edges, of the multiple spheres of medieval Europe and the Mediterranean, would play an essential role in inserting southern Italy and its sources into debates on key issues of the Middle Ages, especially when using the exchange and movement of material culture as the problem to be analysed. Chapters

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[84] In addition to those discussed above, examples of broad surveys that include discussion of southern Italy are: J. Hyde, *Society and Politics in Medieval Italy: the Evolution of Civil Life 1000-1350* (London: Macmillan, 1973); R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994); M. McCormick, *Origins*; T. Reuter (ed.) *New Cambridge Medieval History,* 3 *c.*900-*c.*1024 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); R. McKitterick (ed.) *New Cambridge Medieval History,* 2 *c.*700-*c.* 900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

three and four in particular, on cultural exchange, will use the phenomena of similarity and difference to challenge the paradigms of this marginalisation.

The first issue arising from marginalisation, particularly from the ninth century onwards, is the perception that the Byzantine-ruled themes, Lombard principalities and autonomous Greco-Latin ducal republics (Naples, Amalfi, Gaeta) were culturally, as well as politically mutually exclusive, with few associations or interactions between them. This is particularly prevalent in studies of Byzantines and Lombards. There have been two main bases to these comparisons; first, how Byzantine and Lombard areas differed, and largely kept separate, and second, how, with the arrival of the Normans, cultural and political differences slowly disintegrated, to be replaced by a shared experience of Normanesque cosmopolitanism — this also being the basis of the problem of periodisation, discussed next. Historians attempting regional or thematic overviews have tended to fall foul of these persistent and separate historiographies. J.-P. Devroey, in an otherwise insightful survey of the early medieval European economy, comments that the ceramic and monetary evidence for Byzantine and Lombard Italy suggests: "totally different [and]… virtually impenetrable barriers between these two rival states…"[85] Conclusions such as this demonstrate the extent of the need for a deeper and comparative understanding of early medieval Italy which treats Lombard and Byzantine Italy together, and to ascertain what the realities indeed were. Chapter four's comparison of metalwork attempts to demonstrate how transcending these assumed differences reveals points of shared cultural reference, and points of distinction, which have become obscured by modern historiographic and typological constructions.

Byzantine historiography has also promoted southern Italy's role as a fringe region, rather than as a centre. There are exceptions. Vera von Falkenhausen, whose many works on Byzantine southern Italy have sought to give the region a proper international context, explores well-known themes in

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[85] J.-P. Devroey, 'The economy' in: R. McKitterick (ed.) *The Early Middle Ages. Europe 400-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. 109.

Byzantine history, seeing how they apply to Byzantine areas of southern Italy. [86]
André Guillou's studies on ecclesiastical, artistic and commercial culture have
contributed much on the nature of Byzantine identity in Italy, makes a clear case
for how the 'byzantiness' of southern Italy was always tempered by the other
cultural currents present on the peninsula: "L'Italie du Sud vit à l'heure
constantinopolitaine, mais sait aussi se diversifier en favorisant toutes les
croissances locales… et leur personnalité représentent, de ce point de vue, un
progrès face à la situation de la Longobardie Mineure."[87] Just as Lombard rule
and custom in the South outlasted that in the North, it should be remembered
that as Byzantine Rome became a papal state and absorbed the lands of the
Exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis, and Sicily was lost to the Arabs,
Byzantine rule remained and then re-emerged in the South.[88] Their extant
feelings about cultural affinity towards the Empire were necessarily going to be
different. This persistence of Italo-Byzantine culture, combined with that
brought and adapted by Italo-Lombards created many zones of cross-cultural
society, all of which subtly different, such as those evidenced by the multi-
cultural nature of large Lombard monasteries.[89] More recently, Enrico Zanini
developed the theme of cultural plurality by recognising the differences between
areas of Byzantine control even in the sixth to eighth century, and using them as
a point of departure — the title of his book is indicative of this, *Le Italie*

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[86] Notable publications include *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien
vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1967) published in Italian as *La
dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari: Ecumenica Editrice,
1978); 'Taranto in epoca byzantina', *Studi medievali* s. III, 9 (1) (1968) 133-166; 'I bizantini in
Italia' in: G. Cavallo, *et al., I bizantini in Italia* (Milan: Scheiwiller, 1982) 1-136; 'A provincial
aristocracy. The Byzantine provinces of southern Italy (9th-11th centuries) in: M. Angold (ed.) *The
Aristocracy: IX to XIII,* BAR International Series 221 (Oxford: BAR, 1984) 211-235, and others
on themes on the Greek church and communities in southern Italy.

[87] A. Guillou, 'Italie méridionale byzantine ou byzantins en Italie méridionale' in: A. Guillou,
Culture e société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe s.) (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978) p. 190.
This article was originally published in *Byzantion* 44 (Brussels, 1974). Many of Guillou's other
articles on Byzantine southern Italy are also collected in this volume.

[88] *Ibid.,* pp. 188-89.

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 189.

bizantine.[90] The heavy use of archaeological evidence in this study also brings much needed context to the previous, mainly document-based, studies.[91]

However, these studies, to date, have had little impact on 'mainstream' Byzantine studies, that is, on histories of the Byzantine Empire as a whole. It seems the inherent barrier to including southern Italy in Byzantine history-writing is an over-emphasis on the differences between the 'Greek-ness' of Byzantium, the 'Latin-ness' of the West and the 'other-ness' of the Islamic world. Two recent art exhibitions highlight the effects this had on the portrayal of southern Italy *as* a Byzantine land with its own capacity to create in Byzantine traditions.[92] The first, on Byzantine women, barely makes comparative mention of the experiences of women in southern Italy, particularly those living in areas of Byzantine (or Roman) tradition such as the Tyrrhenian city-states.[93] The second, on the middle Byzantine period from 843 to 1261, does include an essay and objects from southern Italy but discusses them as Byzantine art *in* the Latin West, suggesting that objects and ideas (the latter especially in the Norman period) as travelling *from* Byzantine East *to* Italian West.[94] Michael Angold sums up this attitude in his introduction to a chapter on Norman Sicily: "By the ninth century the process of separation was complete. Out of the ruins of the Roman world had emerged three quite distinct civilisations. All that was left of any sense of unity was an aristocratic taste for luxury objects. However, after centuries of being driven apart Islam, Byzantium and the West suddenly

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[90] E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine: territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia, VI-VIII secolo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998).

[91] *Ibid.,* chapter five on the economics of Byzantine Italy uses a lot of ceramic evidence, particularly from more recent archaeology such as that of Crypta Balbi, Rome; while also using such evidence to directly question the impact of historical events such as the treaty of 715/30 between the Lombard king and the citizens of Comacchio, pp. 330-31.

[92] The works of André Lipinsky develop the idea of a southern Italian artistic school, especially: A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina nell'Italia meridionale e nelle isole. Gli apporti e la formazione delle scuole' in: *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo.* Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale 3 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973) 1389-1477.

[93] I. Kalavrezou (ed.) *Byzantine Women and Their World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003).

[94] W. Wixom, 'Byzantine art and the Latin West' in: H. Evans and W. Wixom (eds.) *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) 434-507.

found themselves brought together on the island of Sicily."[95] As much as southern Italy does not seem to fit comfortably into narratives of medieval Europe (which centre on Frankish areas of the European West) neither does it seem to sit comfortably in narratives which either use the near orbit of Constantinople as a a geographical framework, or use the concept of opposing civilisations as a theoretical framework. Another issue for Byzantinists seems to be how something can usefully be termed 'Byzantine' in any specific time and place, with some studies disregarding post sixth-century southern Italy as particularly Byzantine at all.[96] These problems of description are explored across the period in question in chapters three and four. The perceived separateness of the Byzantines is also echoed in studies whose considerations often include the question of the impact of the "East Roman character" on Italian culture, and the extent of the human, commercial and artistic influence, once again, *from* East *to* West.[97] As with discussions that position southern Italy as peripheral, rather than central, the notional divide of East and West also serves to perpetuate artificial and sometimes anachronistic divisions that are not often born out by the available evidence.[98]

The field of commercial history has tended to be more inclusive of the Byzantine provinces, including southern Italy, although not unequivocally so. The recent three volume work addressing the Byzantine economy, magisterial in its detail, and its summary text book, is similarly lacking in examples from

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[95] M. Angold, *Byzantium. The Bridge from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London: Phoenix Press, 2002) p. 146.

[96] Ken Dark discusses these and other issues of definition in the introduction to: K. Dark, *Byzantine Pottery* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001). There is very little reference to pottery finds and types found in southern Italy which demonstrates perhaps the lack of interest in the peninsula in discussions of the Byzantine Empire, as it is considered more 'western' than 'eastern'. For example, there are no references in this book to the finds from the extensive excavations at Otranto.

[97] N. Christie, 'The archaeology of Byzantine Italy: a synthesis of recent research', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology,* 2 (2) (1989) 249-293.

[98] The most well-known discussion of constructions of East and West (more so the former) is E. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003). However David Abulafia feels that it has little to contribute to the debate on this issue, see 'Introduction: the many Italies of the Middle Ages' in: *Italy in the Central Middle Ages',* p. 23; and does not discuss Byzantium (C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 3 n. 3.

southern Italy, or of southern Italians in the empire.[99] While there is a recognition of the pluralities of economies in western Europe and Byzantium, it is somewhat disappointing that the editors/authors felt that inter-regional comparison was not possible.[100] If anything, this is exactly the area where the use of southern Italian evidence could prove extremely illuminating. In contrast, David Jacoby, in discussing the importance of Thebes as a centre for the Byzantine silk industry, also examines links with southern Italy, particularly those that persisted after Greek administration in Apulia and Calabria disintegrated.[101] Anna Muthesius has also postulated the importance of southern Italy (and Sicily) to Byzantine silk manufacture, which will be discussed in chapter two.[102] The study of exchange and movement seems to be the key that allows the region to be discussed in broader frameworks. The same can be said of works that seek to examine marginality based on medieval ideas of the 'outsider' or 'foreigner' and ethno-cultural identity, another theme that is being discussed in Byzantine studies, and one that forms the basis of chapter three. David Jacoby, again based on a study of economic and cultural exchange among the provinces, brings Byzantine Italy into a more central frame and contributes to the wider discussion of ethnic identities and diversity in Europe that do not tend to use southern Italy as an exemplar.[103] Taking a similar approach, Michael McCormick raises some interesting questions about the nature of identity in 'fringe' areas of the Byzantine empire to test whether there was such a thing as an 'Italo-Byzantine' identity in Italy. While his

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[99] A. Laiou (eds.) *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2002); summarised in: A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[100] A. Laiou and C. Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy,* p. 236.

[101] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade' in: D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* ch. 7 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997) pp. 452-500 originally published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85 (1991/1992) p. 464; other essays in this book also contain lively discussions of the interplay between Byzantine provinces.

[102] A. Muthesius, 'Silk production in southern Italy and Sicily' in: A. Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200. Anna Muthesius,* E. Kislinger and J. Koder (eds.) (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997) pp. 113-18.

[103] D. Jacoby, 'The Byzantine outsider in trade (c.900–c.1350)' in: D. Smythe (ed.) *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) 129-147. This and other essays contrast with, for example, those in: A. Smyth (ed.) *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

approach is innovative, for example contrasting genetic evidence for the persistence of Greek ethnicity in modern southern Italians with descriptions of 'foreigners' yielded by narrative sources, he ignores without reference the considerable bodies of charters and artistic produce that might have added a different, more rounded, flavour to his investigation.[104] However, the importance of McCormick's study on identity is in its theoretical foundation based on the concept of movement — one that he returns to in his later work on communications, discussed below.[105] By analysing evidence for mobility he concludes that the movement of people, objects and ideas was more intensive within the empire than across its borders.[106] Even taking into account the evidence that McCormick did not use, by showing a geo-political region (or regions) in motion, rather than static and marginal, at least the hypothesis can be tested with confidence.

Southern Italy is similarly marginal in Lombard historiography, but for different reasons. Many decades have passed since the commonly agreed understanding that the Lombards (barbarians) brought backward, unhappy and sorrowful times to Italy.[107] The role of new archaeological discoveries have played a particularly important role in making historians reassess the Lombard 'contribution' to Italian history and culture.[108] This has been reflected in modern works on the Lombards and Lombard Italy which, among other considerations,

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[104] M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration A.D. 650-950' in: H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (eds.) *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 17-52. On the productions of southern Italy, especially the Byzantine areas, see A. Guillou, 'Production and profits in the Byzantine province of Italy (tenth to eleventh centuries): an expanding society', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 28, 91-109.

[105] M. McCormick, 'Byzantium on the move: imagining a communications history' in: R. Macrides (ed.) *Travel in the Byzantine World.* Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002) 3-29; M. McCormick*, Origins.*

[106] M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge', p. 24.

[107] This view was peddled by many nationalist and *Risorgimento*-era historians, for example Gabriele Pepe, *Il Medio Evo Barbarico d'Italia* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1973, originally published 1941) referenced in C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy,* p. 3; see also discussion on Tabacco, above.

[108] The widely published and most well-known of Lombard archaeological sites are Castel Trosino (Marche) and Nocera Umbra (Umbria) whose finds are now mainly held at the Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, EUR, Rome. For syntheses see, for example, N. Christie, *The Lombards,* and the exhibition catalogue, G. Menis, *I Longobardi* (Milan: Electa, 1990).

have also sought to understand ethnic distinctiveness formed by, and perceived of, the Lombards.[109] However, the bulk of work on Lombards in Italy have tended to concentrate on the two-hundred year period of their kingdom based at Milan and Pavia. Following Charlemagne's defeat of King Desiderius in 774 the history of the Italian Lombards wanes and Italian history of the eighth to tenth centuries is found in discussions of the 'special relationship' between the German emperors and the Pope, the problems of an absentee king and their unquenchable thirst to unite the Italian peninsula into their empire. This had the effect of thrusting (northern) Italian history into the orbit of German history. This is reflected in the beginnings of 'Lombard' archaeology, of interest initially to German scholars. The emphasis on the areas studied, and those considered of importance remained in the far north of Italy. From before the Second World War, the study of the material remains of the Lombards was inextricably linked to the study of 'German-ness' and its impact on early medieval Italy (by Germans and Italians alike).[110] Finds were categorised by museum curators as 'German' and therefore 'foreign', that is, not Italian.[111] Chapter four further explores the treatment of objects described as 'Lombard' and suggests that such labels negate the social and cultural realities of the people that made and used them. The categorisation and publication of written sources related to Italy also reflects this appropriation of Lombard material into German historiography,

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[109] See chapter three for the discussion on Lombard identity in Italy. Key discussions have been: W. Pohl, 'Invasions and ethnic identity', in: C. La Rocca (ed.) *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, 11-33; D. Zancani, 'The notion of 'Lombard' and 'Lombardy' in the Middle Ages', in: A. Smyth, *Medieval Europeans,* 217-232; and for a comparison with Norman identity in southern Italy: J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: the Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy and Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (3) (1999) 187-202; P. Geary, *Myth of Nations,* particularly chapter 5, 'The last barbarians', pp. 120-50. Also, for the context of the Lombards in late Antiquity, W. Pohl (ed.) *Kingdoms of the Empire: The Integration of Barbarians in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) and H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl (eds.) *Regna and Gentes: The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[110] A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'La questione longobarda', in: Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia*, pp. 11-24 provides a very useful survey of German and Italian scholarship on the Lombards, especially from an archaeological point of view. The large base of German scholarship that has treated Lombard archaeology from the 1930s to 1980s is by Joachim Werner. Most well known is his study of the Lombards in the area known as Pannonia: J. Werner, *Die Langobarden in Pannonien: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der langobardischen Bodenfunde vor 568* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1962).

[111] A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'La questione longobarda', p. 20: even in the 1950s, archaeologists such as Cecchelli were classifying seventh-century finds as German, not Italian art.

illustrated by the volumes of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.[112] Early historians of the Lombards were were particularly drawn into debating the impact of Lombard laws on Italian legal history, than their social or other effects.[113] This situation was considerably altered by G.P. Bognetti's works since the 1950s which sought to comb and reconsider every aspect of Lombard culture in Italy, and did much to level an uneven playing field where archaeology was still seen as the handmaiden of history, there to back up the facts when convenient, or to admire in cabinets of curiosity.

In contrast, two modern-day surveys of Lombards in Italy have been provided by archaeologists.[114] As such, because the vast majority of big archaeological discoveries have been in the North, both monographs treat northern Lombard Italy (*Langobardia maior*) far more comprehensively than the Lombard south (*Langobardia minor*). While this may just be a reflection of the evidence, the tendency to view northern Italy from the sixth to eighth centuries *as* Lombard Italy is as much to do with the (over)reliance on Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*[115] to determine the: "fatti essenziali del regno longobardo,"[116] and perhaps even the desire to see whether the archaeological facts agree with the historical ones. The aspiration to integrate the archaeological and historical evidence for the period that the kingdom existed (*c*.568–774) has meant that the survival of its political and cultural remnants in the South has received lesser, and altogether different, treatment. Furthermore, this has resulted in few detailed examinations of the correspondences between northern and southern Lombard Italy while the kingdom in the North was still in existence. The clear value of examining northern and southern objects from this period, side-by-side, is demonstrated in chapter four.

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[112] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (from 1819). Especially, *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et italicarum. Saec. VI - IX* (Hanover, 1878).

[113] For example in, G. Bognetti, *L'età longobarda* 4 vols. (Milan: Giuffrè, 1966-1968).

[114] N. Christie, *The Lombards,* and A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia.*

[115] Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards* (ed. and trans.) W. Foulke (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).

[116] A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi*, p. 81.

So as Paul the Deacon's history ends, so end many modern histories of Lombard Italy, with southern Italy forming final chapters or afterwords.[117] This said, there is evidently a recognition that the Lombard south needs to be treated in an interdisciplinary context which does not over-emphasise its localised and complicated political history. Both Melucco Vaccaro and Christie have echoed Nicola Cilento's sentiment that as much as art historians and palaeographers of southern Italy have employed interdisciplinary approaches (ones that do not look at the Lombard strongholds in isolation) histories of the Lombard south should also be understood in the context of a: "molteplicità di relazioni, che legano nelle terre meridionali… si richiede ormai una metodologia più idonea ad affrontare una simile complessità di fenomeni."[118] As ninth and tenth-century illustrated codices from Montecassino and Benevento, and also the frescoes of San Vincenzo al Volturno and Santa Sophia at Benevento, show: "Benevento lay in the middle of a flow of Mediterranean and northern influences."[119] Nevertheless, a series of exhibitions on the Lombards and their impact on the art and material culture of Italy, have rather neglected the opportunity to compare finds from across Italy.[120]

In spite of a lack of a detailed study of the subject of exchange to and from centres such as Benevento, some scholars have started to address Lombard cultural exchange from a southern Italian perspective.[121]   Benevento and Montecassino as important centres for the transmission of classical culture

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[117] Both Christie, *The Lombards* and Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi,* leave their discussions of Lombard southern Italy to the ends of their books.

[118] A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia*, p. 199 referring to N. Cilento, *Italia meridionale longobarda* (see n. 2).

[119] N. Christie, *The Lombards,* p. 224.

[120] Notable examples include: G. Menis (ed.) *I Longobardi* (Milan: Electa, 1992); L. Paroli (ed.) *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino bizantini e longobardi nelle Marche* (Milan: Silvana, 1995); C. Bertelli and G. Broglio (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000); G. Broglio and A. Chavarría (eds.) *I Longobardi: alla caduta dell'Impero all'alba dell'Italia* (Milan: Silvana, 2007).

[121] *L'eredità di Arechi: storia, archeologia, arti, rapporti internazionali nel ducato-principato di Benevento fra Carlomagno ed i Normanni.* Organised by John Mitchell and Paolo Peduto, Ravello, 17-19 June 1995 (unpublished conference). The forthcoming publication of: J. Mitchell, *Lombard Legacy: Cultural Strategies and The Visual Arts in Early Medieval Italy* (London: Pindar Press, forthcoming) is likely to shed much light on the reception and influence of Lombard art, its central case-study being the finds of San Vincenzo Al Volturno.

and the development of literacy in the period before the eleventh century are the basis of a refreshing discussion of lay and ecclesiastical culture by Claudia Villa.[122] The continued discussion of such themes in mainstream histories of Italy, will contribute a better understanding of the region for non-specialists and introduce southern Italian examples to debates on major themes.

The cause of southern Italy's marginalisation in broad surveys and narratives of medieval Europe seems to be that it is off the radar of most medieval historians, whose bias is still towards northern and western Europe. Italy is easier to deal with when treating topics such as the 'Transformation of the Roman World', 'the Papacy and Rome', the Lombard Kingdom, 'the Crusades', or the Holy Roman Empire, where the region is treated as the stage on which these themes are played out. In T.C.W. Blanning's 'General Editor's Preface' to one of the latest edited volumes on early medieval Europe (from the series *Short Oxford History of Europe*) he highlights the problems of combining breadth with depth in such a short volume but then goes on to say that while no attempt has been made to cover every aspect of a subject in all European countries, it does provide a "short but sharp and deep entry into the history of Europe… in all its most important aspects."[123] This sentiment is repeated in the Editor's own preface.[124] There are no more than a few mentions of southern Italy in any of the chapters which seek to cover politics, religion, economy and culture throughout Europe.[125] This shows how a value judgement as seemingly innocuous as treating the 'most important aspects' can perpetuate repeated omissions and oversights, particularly where a southern Italian example could be as, or more, instructive than another.

However, much of this paucity seems to be lack of access to, and dissemination of, relevant information, as alluded to in the discussion above, on the fragmentary nature of the micro-histories of the region, particularly those

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[122] C. Villa, 'Lay and ecclesiastical culture' in: C. La Rocca (ed.) *Italy in the Early Middle Ages,* pp. 189-201.

[123] R. McKitterick (ed.) *The Early Middle Ages. Europe 400-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) p. v.

[124] *Ibid.,* pp. vi-vii.

[125] Although Italy does not even appear in the book's index, this obviously due to the indexer's failure to detect enough references, rather than a total omission of references to the peninsula.

written by Italian scholars themselves. The majority of publications related to specific topics of a southern Italian nature (both historical and archaeological) are published in local journals which rarely reach the library shelves of far away, and foreign universities, or translated into other major languages. However, even Italy's premier journal for medieval studies, *Studi Medievali*,[126] is astonishing in its dearth of articles on specifically southern Italian topics,[127] and must contribute to the uneven inclusion of the region in larger narratives of the Middle Ages. The emergence of *Archeologia Medievale* in 1974 as an explicitly international journal which carries articles in several languages has better taken on the role of publishing on a wide variety of medieval topics, not just limited to reports of local excavations or specific find-types.[128] While there remains a bias towards publication on regions other than southern Italy, with San Vincenzo al Volturno being an exception, it does a better job of covering material from all regions of Italy. However, its largely archaeological audience has meant that too few historians have sought to mine this journal for ideas or data.

Periodisation

The third historical problem faced by my thesis, is that of periodisation, namely, how southern Italy is viewed before and after the Normans. The time span chosen for this study is not a traditional one for medieval southern Italy. The rationale behind the choice is two-fold. First, it omits, though does not ignore, the specific study of the traditional period of 'late Antiquity', from the fourth to sixth centuries, so as not to entangle the study in debates about the decline of

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[126] Published by the Centro Italiano di Studi dell'Alto Medioevo (CISAM) in Spoleto (Umbria).

[127] From 1960 to June 2005, for example, there have been just four items in the journal pertaining specifically to the South: F. Dolbeau, 'Una traduzione amalfitana dell'XI secolo: la «Vita» latina di sant'Epifanio', 30 (2) (1989) 909-51; C. D'Angela, 'Schede di archeologia altomedievale in Italia. Puglia', 27 (2) (1986) 913-24; M. Rotili, 'Schede di archeologia longobarda in Italia. Campania' 23 (2) (1982) 1023-31 plus tables; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca bizantina', 9 (1) (1968) 133-66.

[128] A recent and refreshing example of this is T. Mannoni's article: 'Modi di conoscere la storia con l'archeologia. Variazioni sul tema dei rapporti tra cultura materiale e cultura esistenziale' *Archeologia medievale,* 29 (2002) 7-12.

Rome and its lesser or greater effect on the region's material culture.[129]

Second, it reaches beyond the traditional period of the 'early Middle Ages', the watershed usually being around 900 to 1000, and more precisely in the case of southern Italy, *c.*1070 and the advent of Norman political domination. Whereas before this date southern Italy is viewed as a politically and culturally fragmented region, after this date, the emphasis is on the lesser or greater degree of Norman unification and centralisation, particularly in institutions, church and administration, and its impact on social and economic customs and practices. However, this approach is usually Norman-centric.[130] The period under investigation therefore allows me to question to what extent changes in politics did impact southern Italy's material cultural traditions, testing continuities and changes in the twelfth century from the point of view of southern Italians themselves. Each theme, therefore, employs case-studies on the tenth/ eleventh to the twelfth century to investigate these issues.

The particular problem of periodisation is highlighted with a discussion of the main issues used to characterise the 'kingdom in the sun'.[131] The impact of the Normans on this politically fragmented region has been an important one to decipher, such as the continuities and changes on the island of Sicily (until the early twelfth century, considered to be in the sphere of the Arab world)[132] or the

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[129] The culmination of the *Transformation of the Roman World* collaborative project (1993–1998) under the aegis of the European Science Foundation has been the publication of several influential works on the late Roman Empire and early medieval Europe. The recent colloquium organised to discuss the opinions of historians involved in the project brought up the issue of periodisation and regionalisation as two fundamental characteristics of the different approaches of Romanists and early medievalists. Chris Wickham in particular questioned why Europe is treated as a whole in studies of Roman Europe and why this is not the case with early medieval Europe (*After Rome.* A colloquium held at the University of Liverpool, 6 May 2006). The reasons for this, largely as a consequence of the biases created by national historiographies, is discussed critically in his 'Introduction', *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* pp. 1-14.

[130] Where the focus is the region or locality (e.g. city) this has not been an obvious tendency; refer to works discussed above.

[131] Coined by John Julius Norwich in his work on the Normans of southern Italy and Sicily (J. Norwich, *The Normans in Sicily*).

[132] Notable recent studies on the island of Sicily are those of Jeremy Johns, particularly, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: the Royal* diwan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic-speakers and the End of Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002). The classic work of reference remains: M. Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia,* 3 vols. (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1854-68) and sources in Italian translation *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (ed.) M. Amari (Turin and Rome, 1880-1881); G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari 847-871* (Bari: Dedalo, 1967); R. Panetta, *I saraceni in Italia* (Milan: U. Mursia, 1973).

influence of the policies of particular rulers.[133]   The latter is especially true when southern Italian history shifts its own centre to that of the court of Sicily from the time of King Roger II (1130–1154). Historiographically, the Normans bring southern Italy into the orbit of Latin western Europe, albeit as an exotic outpost, but one that now needed to be understood in terms familiar to those applied to France and England, not Byzantium or minor Lombard polities. No less is Norman southern Italy sometimes treated as part of a Norman 'empire' intermittently spanning northern France and England in the West and the Crusader state of Antioch in the East, acquiring and improving civilisations as they went.[134] Discussions of Norman history that do not recount their military exploits or strategies for rule have tended towards examinations of Norman distinctiveness or ethnicity, or Norman responses to their local milieux, and this is also true in works which concentrate on southern Italian Normans.[135] Chapter three explores how this has impacted on understandings of Norman and southern Italian identity in the later eleventh to the twelfth century, and demonstrates how non-traditional comparisons can better articulate continuities and changes.

Early studies of Norman southern Italy sought to emphasise the consolidating effects of Norman feudal structures.[136] Although the conclusions of Claude Cahen (drawing on the *structures* presented by Marc Bloch in *Feudal Society*) have since been modified and questioned by subsequent historians of

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[133] For example, G. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard* and H. Houben, *Roger II of Sicily.*

[134] R. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980) p. 1.

[135] E. van Houts (trans. and ed.) *The Normans in Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000) provides a useful and succinct survey of historians' opinions on the 'Norman myth' in the Introduction, pp. 1-12. See also J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism'; G. Loud, 'The *Gens Normannorum*: myth or reality?', *Proceedings of the Fourth Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies 1981* reproduced in: G. Loud, *Conquerors and Churchmen in Norman Italy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) pp. 104-116, 205-209; For further discussion of the relationship between new Norman settlers and others in southern Italy, see for example: G. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, the section entitled: 'Native and Norman' is an interesting discussion of the extent to which Norman settlement in southern Italy could be considered 'conquest' and also the Lombard responses to the new settlers, pp. 278-290; G. Loud, 'How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy?'.

[136] C. Cahen, *Le régime féodale.*

the South,[137] the effects can still be seen in the often cursory mentions that the region receives in larger-scale works on the Middle Ages. Robert Bartlett, in his very widely read, *The Making of Europe,* comments: "homage and the fief came [to southern Italy] in the wake of conquest."[138] His observation highlights well how the principal concerns of a particular period, can skew how that region is characterised, especially when the frame of reference is borrowed from that traditionally applied to another part of the world.[139] The contrast in the way historians of medieval southern Italy might address salient themes can be seen in *The Society of Norman Italy.* This collaborative book shows how differently each *locale* of Norman Italy developed, whether geographically, religiously, politically or socially demonstrating the importance of understanding the diversity of experience in Norman areas of Italy as much *after* the Normans as before as a *continuation of plurality*. Giuseppe Galasso also acknowledges this. He observes that after the annexation of southern Italy into the *Regnum Siciliae* in the 1130s, there was still a distinction made between *Ducatus Apuliae* and the *Principatus Capuae* which he believes was consequent of the separate settlements and developments in these two areas in the late eleventh century.[140] In his highly detailed and powerful study of the Latin church in southern Italy, Graham Loud also acknowledges how ecclesiastical developments under the Normans manifested themselves differently in different parts of the peninsular. This is particularly evident when the author deals with the concept of exchange by exploring monastic and ecclesiastical economies,

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[137] P. Skinner, 'When was southern Italy «feudal»?' has argued convincingly that the analyses of southern Italy's development as a 'feudal society' after the arrival of the Normans have been based on often inaccurate readings of sources, a failure to understand fully the nature of pre-Norman political structures, and stems from a desire to force southern Italy's various socio-economic patterns into generalist paradigms developed for other regions of Europe.

[138] R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London: Penguin, 1994) p. 51.

[139] The most useful comparative studies of the Normans in southern Italy and Sicily and those in England and Normandy are: G. Loud, 'The kingdom of Sicily and the kingdom of England, 1066-1266', *History,* 88 (4) (October 2003) 540-567; G. Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of southern Italy?'; E. van Houts (ed. and trans.) *The Normans in Europe.*

[140] G. Galasso, 'Social and political developments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries' in: *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy. Lincei Lectures 1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1977) p. 59 of 47-63.

otherwise called, the 'secular church'.[141] In this discussion, Loud warned that the nature of the sources was unsatisfactory for a thorough assessment of the secular activities of the church.[142] However, an object-centred approach such as that exploring the social exchanges between San Benedetto in Conversano and its lay community, as presented in chapter five, may yet turn out more fruitful evidence and interpretations.

Second, is the problem periodisation causes for the perception of southern Italy *before* Norman hegemony. Barbara Kreutz, to date, has written the only modern English monograph on pre-Norman southern Italy.[143] The frame of reference, 'before the Normans' itself highlights the problem of periodisation. While many preconceptions in older histories of the south have been updated,[144] Kreutz's own characterisation of southern Italy seems to fall short of a thorough and comparative examination of the available sources (documentary, archaeological and artistic).[145] The comment that the nature of the multiple polities that occupied the South created: "in effect a giant laboratory" perpetuates a common generalisation that it was a fringe region whose developments were rather special, unique, and perhaps beyond compare, only to be challenged by Norman centralisation.[146] The portrayal of southern Italy as a cultural melting pot is emphasised later in the introduction where it is described as the place where four civilisations crossed, but the basis

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[141] G. Loud, *The Latin Church*; on the secular church, pp. 363-429.

[142] *Ibid.,* p. 427.

[143] B. Kreutz, *Before the Normans.*

[144] Kreutz refers to the pioneering work of Evelyn Jamison, see her various works collected in: Dione Clementi and Theo Kölzer (eds.) *Studies on the History of Sicily and South Italy* (Aalen: Scienta, 1992) and her most significant work: E. Jamison, *Catologus Baronum* (Rome: Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1972) part of the *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* series no. 101; F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicilie* (Paris : Librairie A. Picard, 1907); and R. Poupardin, *Les institutions.*

[145] Graham Loud in *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 314, also acknowledges that Kreutz's monograph does not fulfil the need for a pre-Norman monograph that treats the entire South. Also his review of the book in: *American Historical Review*, 98 (2) (1993) 480-481; Jeremy Johns also has reservations, mainly based on her assertion that the Normans destroyed the possibilities for a self-determining South, in: *English Historical Review,* 110 (437) (1995) 683-684.

[146] Kreutz, *Before the Normans,* p. xxiii and p. xxvi. The conclusion states that ninth and tenth-century southern Italy was a "failed experiment" whose regions lost autonomy and were not able to withstand centralisation, p. 158.

for this assertion is not further developed.[147] Perhaps more disappointing is the conclusion that the reason for the lack of attention paid by modern historians to southern Italy is: "Until the eleventh century, medieval Europe seemed scarcely aware of the region" with visitors to the South limited to the occasional caller to Montecassino or otherwise *en route* to the Holy Land.[148] The clear evidence of pilgrimage to Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano, not just of local pilgrims but also those from abroad, in the earlier period is discussed in chapter two. This perhaps sums up the main weakness of the book. It sets up early medieval southern Italian history as one that was sustained without much interaction with people and ideas from outside the region (with the exception of the papacy and Carolingian emperors). This is compounded by the author's lack of comparison between independent, Byzantine and Lombard areas and the study's bias towards the significance of developments in Campania (especially Amalfi and Salerno).   The omissions are made more obvious by the decision to largely ignore sources from Byzantine areas as these have: "already been combed by the Byzantinists."[149] Kreutz's concern to portray the vitality (particularly economic and cultural) of ninth and tenth-century southern Italy, particularly the Campanian coastal cities, is in direct response to the somewhat negative image she perceived of what came afterwards, the Normans.

The last problem of periodisation is the extent to which cultural distinctiveness remained, or did not, when compared to the distinct and separate cultures of Byzantine/Roman and Lombard southern Italy. In contrast to Joanna Drell, who felt that Norman and Lombard distinctiveness persisted side-by-side, particularly in Salerno, Graham Loud has suggested that Norman identity did not play a great role in the formation of social structures after the early twelfth century and a process of "acculturation began to take effect."[150] But in what manner did this acculturation take place? The tacit assumption has been that with political unity (frequently understood as 'domination') the region

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[147] *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. xxvi; M. McCormick, *Origins,* also clearly proves this idea is mis-conceived.

[149] *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

[150] J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism'; G. Loud, 'Introduction' in: G. Loud and A. Metcalfe (ed.) *Society of Norman Italy*, p. 8.

would have experienced a cultural unity, albeit a particular brand of fairy-tale western exoticism.[151] The exoticism of Norman Italy was an impression first propagated by Norman chroniclers of England and Normandy as a land that was far away and *different.* This may explain why this impression persists in the minds of some medieval historians, particularly those of northern Europe, who are less familiar with southern Italian history before the Normans.[152] Chapter three examines the ways in which identity might have been constructed through local customs such as those of dress, and chapter five explores the persistence of tradition in social exchanges of the twelfth century evidenced by marriage. In addition, the majority of late-eleventh and twelfth-century chroniclers of southern Italy and Sicily were writing from the Norman minority's perspective, amplifying the 'Norman-ness' of the region in this period.[153] This sharp increase in narrative material has had the effect of emphasising the cultural difference of the incomers, and *their* later acculturation, and consequently has made this into another defining issue for the period. Any of these aspects of periodisation may be usefully examined by using new approaches to other types of evidence to counterpoint the heavy use of political narrative sources. By examining the bases for continuity and change in eleventh and twelfth-century material culture, a deeper insight may be gained into the nature of shared and separate social and cultural references across the peninsula, and beyond its boundaries, also presented in chapter three.

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[151] R. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth*, p. 71 describes the "domination" of the Normans in Italy and Sicily as: "one of the most romantic episodes in medieval history" with "all the best elements of a fairy story."

[152] The view of Norman chroniclers of southern Italy and Sicily is discussed extensively by Graham Loud in: 'The kingdom of Sicily and the kingdom of England, 1066-1266', *History,* 88 (4) (2003) 540-567.

[153] Examples include: *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino* (ed. and trans.) P. Dunbar revised G. Loud (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004) originally published in: *Storia de'Normanni di Amato*, V. de Bartholomeis (ed.) (Rome, 1935); *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis auctore Gaufredo Malaterra,* E. Pontieri (ed.) 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1927-8) 5 (1) in the series *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (ed.) L. Muratori; *Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard,* M. Mathieu (ed.) (Palermo: Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, 1961); *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69* (ed. and trans.) G. Loud and T. Wiedemann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

Methodological problems and theoretical approaches to material culture

In this section I will discuss the methodologies and theoretical approaches that will be used in this thesis. The key concerns are interdisciplinarity, comparative research and comparative evidence, new theoretical perspectives on the Middle Ages and how the study of object movement and exchange will provide new perspectives on southern Italy.

Interdisciplinarity

Interdisciplinarity is not a new concept for historians, even though its application in reality, has had a debatable effect on history writing generally. In the seminal issue of *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* (January 1929) the editors Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch stressed the advantages to historians of seeking dialogue with other academic disciplines such as linguistics, geographers, sociologists and psychologists.[154] While both these historians and others identified with the *Annales* movement had, and continue to have had their critics, it is hard to fault this fundamental approach to history writing. The interdisciplinarity of the *Annales* movement was in reaction to, the 'history of events' or narrative. It is now time to use an interdisciplinary approach to writing history that problematises the uses of the sources and the questions asked of them, and not just of their interpretation.

This is particularly important when the lens of material culture is used to probe past people and societies. The study of material culture cannot be assumed to be that of only physical remains such as monumental ruins (architecture), ceramics (archaeology) or painting and sculpture (fine art). Evidence of material culture also be found in the book, the inventory and the letter. The field of medieval history has provided the opportunity to embrace new theoretical approaches, such as those of ethnographers, archaeologists and linguists, however, these opportunities, where appropriate, have not been exploited as a matter of habit and their impact on the discipline has therefore been limited. In the cases where historians do use material culture, for example in studies on commerce, patterns of settlement, architecture or court culture, it

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[154] P. Burke, *French Historical Revolution,* pp. 21-22.

is often used as illustrative material rather than interrogated in a manner that is central to the inquiry. On the other hand, some of those who study the material worlds of the past focus so heavily on the object that the terms in which they are expounded are, in many extreme cases, almost totally forgetful of individuals — of people. Comparable to this problem are typological studies made according to material or type, for example the art historian's catalogue of earrings, or the archaeologist's assemblage of pot. The limitation of these analyses, is that they have the tendency to maintain this distance between objects and people and have a de-contextualising effect. This will be discussed further in chapters three and four, which are framed around the problems of description which typological analyses cause. The same can be said of museums which display collections according to object-type (taxonomy) to create a kind of "historical sensation" — a practice that has its origins in the eighteenth century.[155] While all these methods of inquiry and dissemination are necessary and invaluable to material culture studies, they are insufficient in themselves to provide an interdisciplinary and comparative historical overview of these objects.

Medieval archaeology, perhaps more than medieval history, has embraced the idea that theoretical frameworks, philosophical approaches, and the need for understanding change across time and space do have a place in interpreting the past. But this observation should be qualified by the fact that a still, very large proportion of archaeological publications are report-based, concentrate on site-specific issues, or else on type-specific finds (ceramicists being the most numerous among them). Previously used to describe historians of English local history, Richard Hodges termed these latter archaeologists 'truffle-hunters'. He continues: " 'Sampling' horrifies truffle hunters… as medieval archaeologists in dinosaur-like mood confirm at annual meetings of the Society for Medieval Archaeology."[156] Compared with the Roman period, few large-scale surveys,

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[155] S. Crane, 'Story, history and the passionate collector' in: M. Myrme and L. Peltz (eds.) *Producing the Past. Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) p. 195 of 187-203.

[156] C. Gerrard, *Medieval Archaeology. Understanding Traditions and Contemporary Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2003) p. 172-173. Originally from: R. Hodges, 'Parachutists and truffle-hunters: At the frontiers of History and Archaeology' in: M. Aston *et al.* (eds.) *Rural Settlements of Medieval England: Studies Dedicated to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) 287-306.

based primarily on archaeological evidence exist for the Middle Ages, and especially so for Italy.[157]

Nonetheless, there have been calls by some historians since the early 1980s, when thorough archaeological investigations in Italy and elsewhere were in their infancy, to use archaeology to inform 'historical gaps'.[158] Almost two decades later, Tim Reuter made plain that historians of the tenth century do not make full use of the archaeological evidence available, which is further exacerbated by the absence of extensive syntheses, as well as divergent national archaeological traditions.[159] It could be taken as a sign of incompatibility, or one of positive discourse, that the issue of how archaeologists use history and *vice versa* has also become the topic of recent debates between scholars.[160] One example is Ross Balzaretti's critique of Richard Hodges' (mis)use of the early twelfth-century *Chronicon Vulturnense* to support eighth-century archaeology. It raises important questions about how inaccurate conclusions may be reached when textual and physical evidence sets are used

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[157] Notable examples that are archaeologically driven: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'Alto-Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994); P. Arthur, *Naples*; N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy AD 300-800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Broad-based historical surveys that make good use of archaeology across Europe and the Mediterranean are: C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*; M. McCormick, *Origins*; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); and the essays in: H. Dubois, J.-C. Hoquet and A. Vauchez (eds.) *Horizons marins, itineraires spirituels (Ve-XVIIIe siecles)* 2 vols. (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1987).

[158] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy*, p. 8. This is echoed in C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 1-14.

[159] T. Reuter, 'Introduction: Reading the tenth century' in: T. Reuter (ed.) *The New Cambridge Medieval History,* III, *c.900-c.1024,* pp. 1-24.

[160] It remains to be seen whether lectures given by medievalists such as Janet Nelson and Chris Wickham, both seeking to address historians and archaeologists together, will have an impact on *both* the sources scholars use *and* their interpretations: J. Nelson, 'Spades and lies? Interdisciplinary encounters' unpublished paper of the joint British Museum Medieval Seminar and Institute of Historical Research Seminar, 24 October 2007, London; C. Wickham, 'Problems about the dialogue between medieval history and medieval archaeology', unpublished paper given as the inaugural Sir David Wilson Lecture in Medieval Studies, 22 October 2008, London. Similarly, in a discussion following a session on fragmentation in medieval archaeology, Matthew Johnson suggested that without constantly questioning other scholars' theoretic basis and justification, the field will not move forward in the way that it should: 'Putting Humpty together again: Overcoming the Fragmentation of the Middle Ages', 17 December 2008, Theoretical Archaeology Group conference, University of Southampton.

in conjunction with each other.[161] From an historian's viewpoint Balzaretti feels that the, albeit popular, book in question, "is in part a polemic in favour of archaeology over history, which ends up a bruised loser ('re-written' as he puts it in chapter 1)."[162] Balzaretti's also contends that, although Hodges believes the archaeological interpretation of the site to be more accurate than previous histories of the monastery, his interpretations are: "driven by written evidence which he generally disparages, and sometimes misrepresents."[163] This illustrates the methodological problem of parallel traditions and training, and the lack of interplay between the two. Historians are trained to do one thing, archaeologists another, art historians and curators, yet another. Similarly, given the same piece of evidence, the concerns of each will be quite different and so will their interpretations of it. This in itself is not the problem, as specialism is crucial to all fields of study. However, better, regular and 'unforced' communication between disciplines which investigate the same subject area, perhaps beginning by sharing the same theoretical framework, may at least begin to overcome the psychological and habitual problems of true interdisciplinarity.[164]

Problems of comparative history and material culture

An early exponent of the comparative method in history was Marc Bloch, though he makes a careful distinction between simply comparing different experiences of the same thing (in his example, the manorial system in the Limousin) and comparing two or more phenomena which seem on initial analysis to display

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[161] R. Balzaretti, 'Review article: San Vincenzo al Volturno. History rewritten?', *Early Medieval Europe,* 8 (3) (2000) 387-399

[162] R. Balzaretti, 'Review article', p. 390.

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] T. Thomas, 'Understanding objects' in: E. Sears and T. Thomas (eds.) *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2002) pp. 9-17 presents an art historian's view on how 'material clues' can be interpreted from medieval narratives using Liutprand of Cremona's description of the Byzantine emperor's throne-room as an example.

certain congruities, but that have evolved from dissimilar situations.[165] Chris Wickham is another medievalist who uses the comparative method in his histories of medieval Europe, by comparing socio-economic differences from region to region of the same, or once same, political entity to make general insights into the development of social relationships across time and space.[166] Whereas Bloch's interest in this method was to find "one common origin" (a teleological inversion?) and Wickham's was in gaining a broad perspective of the methods used by past people to cohere into a community or society, or otherwise fail to, I would like to propose a different purpose for the comparative method.[167] My methodology lies first, in making comparisons principally across space, and especially over traditional boundaries, such as Apulia with Egypt (chapter three), under the auspices of a particular historical problem, for example, in examining the social significance of commodities (chapter two), or the political role of early medieval metalwork (chapter four). Second, the comparison is found in my approach to the evidence. Material culture, particularly objects, manifests in the sources in a variety of different ways which require cross-referencing and comparison when using movement and exchange as a mode of analysis. A method by which a convincing and adaptable interdisciplinary framework could work would ask the following questions:

1) How is meaning *inferred* from and *conferred* upon objects?

2) How are routes and methods of exchange evidenced through objects?

3) What evidence do these exchanges provide for the relationships between people and things?

Part of the methodological problem of using objects as evidence is the attitude of the historian towards them. The influence of the *Annales* movement

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[165] M. Bloch, 'A contribution towards a comparative history of European societies' in: M. Bloch, *Land and Work in Medieval Europe. Selected Papers by Marc Bloch* (trans. J. Anderson) (London: Routledge, 1967) pp. 45-48 of 44-81.

[166] C. Wickham, 'Rural societies in western Europe' in: C. Wickham, *Land and Power,* pp. 201-226, where he compared the experiences of Carolingian northern Italy with that of Carolingian Catalonia; and C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* where he extends his area of study to the whole of geographic Europe and Mediterranean; Wickham discussed many of the methodological issues with comparative history in: 'Problems in doing comparative history', *The Reuter Lecture 2004* (Southampton: Centre for Antiquity and the Middle Ages, University of Southampton, 2005).

[167] M. Bloch, 'A contribution towards a comparative history'*,* p. 48 and C. Wickham, 'Rural societies'.

in creating this attitude (or maintaining it) is apposite again. Writing about historical observation, Marc Bloch commented: "We shall never establish a statistical table of prices for the Merovingian epoch, for there are no documents which record these prices in sufficient number. We shall never be able to get inside the minds of the men of eleventh-century Europe, for example, as well as we can those of the contemporaries of Pascal or Voltaire, because, in the place of their private letters or confessions, we have only a few bad biographies, written in a conventional style. Owing to this gap, one entire segment of our history necessarily assumes the rather anemic aspect of a world without individuals."[168] The idea that without 'the word' we cannot begin to understand *mentalités* was perpetuated in the planned organisation of a two-part work on the history of Europe, 1400 to 1800, by Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel.[169] Febvre was to write on 'thought and belief' and Braudel on the 'material life'. While Febvre had not completed his part when he died in 1956, Braudel published his volume as *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme.*[170]

That the history of perception and belief (*mentalités*) is separate to that of material culture is one that persists to this day. Julia Smith, while using material culture in her work (a "comparative anthropology of experience"[171]) does not engage fully with the phenomenological aspects of material evidence, commenting: "Though mute such [archaeological] deposits are suggestive."[172] John Moreland criticises heavily the anachronistic tendency of some medieval historians to bestow more authenticity on the text than the object, as a tacit acknowledgement that the ambiguities of a text can be overcome by historians, while objects still remain ambiguous in spite of gaining a 'voice' through an

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[168] M. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (trans. P. Putnam) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992) p. 49.

[169] P. Burke, *The French Historical Revolution,* pp. 44-45.

[170] *Ibid.,* p. 45. F. Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle et capitalisme,* 2nd edition (1979) revised as *Les structures du quotidien* (1979) English edition *The Structures of Everyday Life* (London, 1981).

[171] J. Smith, *Europe after Rome. A New Cultural History, 500-1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 4.

[172] *Ibid.,* pp. 206-7.

archaeologist.[173]   While the text is present and vocal, the object is perceived as "remote and silent."[174]   He argues further that this is a consequence of our modern conflation of the written word with common sense, and by extension, fact. However, he acknowledges that some historians have argued that the medieval world was one in which reading was reliant on hearing and speaking, rather than seeing.[175]   In addition to gendered approaches to texts which can reveal that otherwise 'silent' women possessed voices as repositories and transmitters of medieval oral history,[176] he feels that the: "dialogue between Object, Voice and Word was not yet [in the Middle Ages] dominated by the latter, and therefore one we must fail to understand if we listen only to what *it* has to say."[177]   Chapter five explores objects in social exchanges in this way. Just as problematic as the perception of objects as 'mute' is the assumption that material evidence is objective. Philip Grierson famously wrote: "It has been said the spade cannot lie, but it owes this merit in part to the fact it cannot speak."[178] Quoting this, Richard Hodges posited that "archaeology alone bears witness to the rhythms of time" owing to the inadequacies of the "historian's sources."[179] This rhetoric creates the impression that objects made themselves, and that there is little human connection with them, either then, but more so now.

The language used to talk about material culture is indicative of the differences that lie among scholars of the past. Art historians frequently say

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[173] J. Moreland, *Archaeology and Text* (London: Duckworth, 2001). Chapter 2, 'Words and objects in the middle ages', p. 34 of pp. 33-53.

[174] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

[175] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36. A theory espoused most convincingly in the works of Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992) and *Mirror in Parchment. The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1998); also M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979).

[176] *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37. For bibliography on medieval memory, see chapter five.

[177] J. Moreland, *Archaeology and Text*, p. 53.

[178] P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 9 (1959) p. 129 of 123-140.

[179] R. Hodges; 'The rebirth of towns in the early middle ages', in: R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.) *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050* (London: Council for British Archaeology Research Report, 1988) pp. 1-3.

they are 'reading' their objects but do not often explore *how*.[180] This is a concept not unfamiliar to the medieval world where image cycles were viewed as texts for the illiterate. We should therefore, perhaps, be more open about our own relationships with the objects we study. The basis for 'reading' objects has mostly been borrowed from the works of anthropologists which themselves are based upon often arcane theories of semiotics and sign decoding (an activity understood as separate to stylistic or iconographical analyses) and perhaps a technique even more remote for social and cultural history.[181] While lack of consensus is always likely to remain about the way material culture should be viewed, demonstrating the comparative approach in a practical rather than purely theoretical study should contribute much needed cross-disciplinary understanding.[182] It is encouraging that the practical link between archival research and object-based research is one that is already being explored. The practice of integrated research has been particularly current in the field of textile studies, forming the theme of a recent conference and the basis of pioneering research into medieval silk.[183]

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[180] E. Sears, ' "Reading" images' in: E. Sears and T. Thomas (eds.) *Reading Medieval Images. The Art Historian and the Object* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2002) pp. 1-7.

[181] *Ibid.,* pp. 1-3. Sears mentions Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (London: Hutchinson, 1975). Other examples of cultural anthropology concerned with objects are A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and M. Csikszentmihalyi and E. Rochberg-Halton, *The Meaning of Things. Domestic Symbols and the Self* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[182] An excellent discussion of the problems of consensus concerning material culture is: 'The dialogue of historical archaeology' in: A. Andrén, *Between Artifacts and Texts. Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective* (New York and London: Plenum Press, 1998) pp. 145-183.

[183] M. Hayward and E. Kramer (eds.) *Textiles and Text. Re-establishing the Links between Archival and Object-based research.* Postprints of the Third annual conference of the AHRC Centre for Textile Conservation and Textile Studies,11-13 July, Textile Conservation Centre, Winchester (London: Archetype, 2007); on silk research see publications of A. Muthesius but especially, 'Crossing cultural boundaries: grub to glamour in Byzantine silk weaving' and 'From Seed to Samite: Aspects of Byzantine Silk Production', in *ead., Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar Press, 2004), *ead., Byzantine Silk Weaving: AD 400 to AD 1200* (ed. E. Kislinger and J. Koder) (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997) and *ead., Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar Press, 1995).

New theoretical perspectives on the Middle Ages and their application to southern Italy

In 1994, Paul Arthur and Helen Patterson made an attempt to propose ways in which ceramics could (or should) be interpreted in order to shed more light on the nature of economics in early medieval central and southern Italy.[184] They took a long view to 1982 when *Archeologia medievale* published two articles on the impact of pottery evidence on the early medieval economy in southern Italy, and the other, which provided an overview of finds in the region.[185] More than a decade later, and with a great increase in the wealth of archaeological evidence (and also historical contexts in which to understand it) very little problem-orientated work or attempts at overviews had been made.[186] Still more than a decade on from Arthur and Patterson's plea for the need for the: "overviews necessary to our comprehension of Italy's early medieval history,"[187] little further progress has been made, and there exist no significant publications which seek to integrate a range of archaeological and historical evidence in order to achieve a detailed overview.[188] Arthur and Patterson conclude by cautioning that the potential for ceramic evidence will never fully be realised unless it is used to propose social and economic models.[189] This may also apply to other types of archaeological evidence, particularly 'small finds' which tend to get relegated quickest to the appendices of archaeological reports, museum store-rooms or show-cases, without adequate analysis, study or publication. Even a recent monograph specifically on the material culture of medieval southern Italy (approximately from the ninth to the thirteenth century) failed to appreciate the

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[184] P. Arthur and H. Patterson, 'A potted history'.

[185] *Ibid.*, p. 409. The articles in question were: P. Arthur and D. Whitehouse, 'La ceramica dell'Italia meridionale: produzione e mercato tra V e X secolo', *Archeologia medievale* 9 (1982) pp. 39-46; and M. Salvatore, 'La ceramica altomedievale nell'Italia meridionale: stato e prospettive della ricerca', *Archeologia medievale,* 9 (1982) 47-66.

[186] *Ibid.* The authors also comment in n. 7 that key themes such as medieval "urbanism" were only just beginning to be addressed in central and southern Italy, and that the lack of publication, particularly for sites in Calabria have clearly added to the general lack of attempted overviews of the South.

[187] *Ibid.*

[188] Paul Arthur did demonstrate how this can be done in his work on Naples, *Naples. From Roman Town to City-State.*

[189] P. Arthur and H. Patterson, 'A potted history', p. 437.

material evidence yielded by the documents in their historical contexts, content rather, to provide archaeologists with a hand-list of terms they could apply to the things they might find in excavations.[190]

A recent monograph which has attempted both to bring early medieval Italian archaeology up to date in a single survey, and provide a synthesis of principal themes arising from new evidence and research, has gone some way to addressing the problems created by the fragmentary nature of publication on the subject.[191] Neil Christie's work is most noteworthy for its scope and its range of content, bringing to an anglophone audience, a large number of sources which were previously out of reach in localised Italian publications. Its span across late Roman and early medieval periods also strengthens the work and importantly, brings Italy back into central debates about continuity and change across various themes such as the relationship of church and society, the manifestation of power in the landscape, fortification, and the fortunes of urban and rural settlements. Its strong basis in recent archaeology does the book, and the field of study, the most service, however Christie also seeks to use written sources in his analysis. It is this area, perhaps, that degrades the overall impact of the book. In the chapter on 'Urban Evolutions', for example, his use of praise poems to indicate that there was a strong element of continuity in urban life in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, could be seen as a somewhat two-dimensional interpretation, taking much of their multiple meanings too much at face value.[192] From an historian's viewpoint, his comparison of the praise poems with extant structures is awkward, as it is not clear where the correspondence of the sources lies, and overall, adds nothing to the important discussion of urban decline, transformation or evolution.

From a southern Italian perspective, this study at least includes some significant new archaeology from the region, however the overall interpretations presented in each chapter are emphatically orientated around the centre and the north. What is also disappointing is the perpetuation of the image of the

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[190] P. Ditchfield, *La culture matérielle médiévale: l'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).

[191] N. Christie, *From Constantine to Charlemagne.*

[192] *Ibid.,* pp. 183-280; praise poem and related text discussion, pp. 183-89

South as a place where they, almost unequivocally, did things differently, albeit that the differences between Romans and Goths, or Lombards and Byzantines are more equivocally stated, and the interplay between culturally and politically hetereogenous areas is more successfully put forward. However the reasons for the differences between north and south are not clearly argued and, by and large, perpetuate the picture presented in various works already discussed above.[193] There was scope here to draw more comparison and find important similarities and affinities. The functionalist approach of the book somewhat recalls the 'total history' approach of many of the French historians of medieval Italy, and in so doing, does little to draw attention either to the complexities of the relationships between places and people or indeed to the more cerebral elements of human society at the time. This is acknowledged by the author in his conclusion, but he maintains that modern archaeologists and historians are too far removed in time to appreciate actions and feelings.[194] However, this thesis attempts just that: by accepting that objects were as much a product of the intellect as any other expression of humanity, and setting out a soft-structuralist framework, it is possible to at least sketch the human component that is even more crucial to understand, than the things themselves.

The comparative overview of this study focuses on routes and methods of exchange. By examining objects in motion, can a credible 'map' of material culture in southern Italy be created? Here, motion need not just be considered physical movement from one place to another, but metaphorical movement between people and places, when *actual* methods of transfer are unknown. Routes of exchange will be understood in several different ways, as outlined in the introduction, whether through micro-exchanges in a family or localised setting or through longer-distance exchanges across (perceived) distinct cultural boundaries, through commodity exchange networks, or indeed, by examining routes of exchange between different social spheres such as those of the lay and religious communities. Movement has also been interpreted as communications, and has been particular feature of a new study which re-

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[193] *Ibid.,* pp. 507-9 in particular summarises the differences the author sees between cultures and regions.

[194] *Ibid.,* p. 497.

appraises well-known sources in innovative ways, attempting to integrate both written and archaeological evidence for an understanding of the networks which sustained a broader European economy. The implications of Michael McCormick's thesis[195] are as fundamentally radical as they are a much needed synthesis on a topic scrutinised heavily by post-Pirenne social and economic historians and archaeologists.[196] The core of McCormick's work lies in its desire to view medieval Europe as a dynamic and networked entity, rather than as a collection of isolationist regions whose contacts with each other were as exceptional as they were obscure. Together with this fresh perspective come new ways of interrogating 'old' sources, with modern digital technology allowing the rapid and precise interrogation and cross-referencing of an increasing number of resources.[197] In addition, archaeological discoveries and methods of analysis (particularly scientific) are integral to the innovative ways in which the early medieval economy may be investigated. The picture painted is of a diverse, vibrant and energetic Mediterranean basin from which sprung the commercial economy of (Carolingian) Europe.

Three fundamental components of McCormick's theoretical framework can be identified as raising important considerations for this thesis. First is the emphasis on Carolingian Europe and the activities of its people in the Mediterranean. The focus on the Carolingians is justified by McCormick with the observation that contemporary Byzantine and Muslim commerce has been much better treated than that of north-western Europe.[198] Although the work does cover aspects of activities in, and within, the North Sea (particularly Anglo-Saxon England) and the 'northern arc' from Scandinavia via east central Europe

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[195] M. McCormick, *Origins.*

[196] It is clear that the basis of much of *Origins* lay in a desire to move on from the specific criticisms of Pirenne's theories (H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Paris and Brussels, 1937) and offer a comparatively extensive history of the early medieval Carolingian economy in its Mediterranean context, based on new evidence and new approaches. An early, archaeologically-informed response to Pirenne is: R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne, and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (London: Duckworth, 1983); Chris Wickham's *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* is situated similarly in a post-Pirenne world but the emphasis here is rather more social than economic, concerned with local rather than long distance exchanges.

[197] M. McCormick, *Origins,* pp. 4-5.

[198] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

down to Central Asia, his priority was proving that the broader patterns detected show that the foundation of the commercial European economy lay unequivocally in the Mediterranean, and can be identified as coming into shape in the latter part of the eighth century.[199] From a southern Italian perspective it is an exciting one, and one that certainly resonates well with the conclusions reached in chapter two and chapter three. However, this unambivalent conclusion has, not surprisingly, raised objections. Edward James, for example, pointed out that the activities of North Sea trade and also the internal, agrarian economies that sustained the populations of Europe would have been of significance in the context of the wider economy of Europe.[200] In other words, smaller-scale, perhaps networked, movements across Europe should be considered along side long-distance movements if an accurate picture of the economy is to be gained. Florin Curta, in contrast, criticises McCormick's view of 'East' and 'West'. He argues convincingly that the concept of East and West Europe is rooted in the conflation of the eastern-most frontier of Charlemagne's empire, with that of the post-Second World War iron curtain, whereby eastern European territories are not considered integral, but subject to, the shared experience of communications and commerce in the early Middle Ages — another example of historiographical marginality.[201]

If not geographically, McCormick certainly believed that the peoples of Europe and the Mediterranean could be divided into 'easterners' and 'westerners' and treats each separately.[202] Southern Italy is found a place in McCormick's wider Europe, but were the southern Italians he speaks of really 'western' in the same way as Carolingian merchants? Can their contacts and shared social and cultural references with Byzantium not cast a different light on their activities in the Mediterranean?   Chapter three examines this issue with relation to the construction of identity in southern Italy, and of southern Italians. The broad conclusion reached about southern Italy is that the region's

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[199] M. McCormick, *Origins*, p. 791.

[200] E. James, 'Origins of the European economy: a debate with Michael McCormick – Preface', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (3) (2003) p. 260 of pp. 259-61.

[201] F. Curta, 'East central Europe', *Early Medieval Europe,* 12 (3) (2003) p. 283 of pp. 283-91.

[202] M. McCormick, *Origins,* p. 21.

importance was in sustaining Rome as a commercial centre which is emphasised more than its own capacity to operate imports and exports around its coast and in the wider Mediterranean basin, which I explore further in chapters two and three.[203] Discussion of local exchanges within southern Italy itself is also absent but this may just be a consequence of a lack in the sources being examined. However, he does recognise the importance of the arrangement of 'merchant zones' in Italy with due consideration being given to the role of Campanian merchants, echoing the conclusions of Armand Citarella.[204] In chapter two, I demonstrate another zone which existed, that between Apulia and Venice; and that of the continued viability of internal road routes such as the *Via Appia* allowing east-west travel.

The second component is the assertion that it is important to understand the movement of people, ideas and things, to therefore understand the reasons, methods and results of these communications. This begins to paint a much clearer picture of links and synchronicities that existed over the *longue durée* of time and space. This directly challenges the tendency towards the concept of small regions that existed in self-sustaining isolation which is also reflected in the dominance, in recent decades, of detailed localised studies of European regions, few of which are convincingly situated in their broader contexts, or alternatively fed into wider syntheses, as discussed previously. The idea of movement, and therefore communications, offers a currency for a comparative historical inquiry into medieval southern Italy. The study of movement and exchange, particularly that of material culture (and therefore people) offers a way to look across perceived boundaries for patterns which can be compared directly, revealing points of convergence and divergence. What emerges are collective, rather than individual biographies and so the dynamic of historical interpretation "changes, dramatically."[205] When applied to material culture, particularly of objects which themselves are moveable, this approach could

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[203] M. McCormick, *Origins,* pp. 618-30.

[204] *Ibid*, p. 618: "… the four zones of merchants coincide with two maritime communications routes… The first three merchant clusters are strung along the Tyrrhenian segment of the old trunk route, while the fourth leads to Venice."

[205] M. McCormick, *Origins,* p. 16.

significantly change the traditional paradigms applied to medieval southern Italy, especially that of the period after the ninth-century where McCormick's work ends. New ways of interpreting commonly used sources, as well as integrating new types of evidence are at the core of the ideological thrust of McCormick's *Origins*, and also the third factor which has implications for my study.

McCormick recognises that contemporary writers do not comment significantly on trade and commercial exchange. They project a view that a small number of disparate merchants travelled alone: "through hostile territories and darting across enemy-infested seas" — much like the picture painted of southern Italy by Barbara Kreutz, discussed above.[206] The result has been a preference for interpreting silence as evidence for absence, rather than finding different ways of interpreting what evidence is yielded by these same sources. In McCormick's words: "they give us communications."[207] In addition to looking for evidence of communication though the movement of individuals, McCormick identifies two main categories of well-travelled object that can be similarly interrogated: relics and coins.[208] Ceramics and silk have also been identified as classes of object that can yield much information. However, the extent of McCormick's analysis of these objects may be questioned. These kinds of objects, especially coins and ceramics have been the traditional indicators for economic links and relative prosperity and it would have been interesting if the journeys of these 'travellers' were compared with, for example, the journeys of gold, gilt and bronze metalwork (not insignificant in number for his period). To see where the journeys of coins and other metalwork overlapped would perhaps have yielded further clues about communications.[209] This is not a criticism of the book, rather an opportunity it affords. A methodology is presented in chapter four which examines the use and importance of gold in both coins and metalwork. McCormick's own method is a collective and deconstructive one: first, to analyse each example of movement separately from as many

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[206] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[207] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[208] M. McCormick, *Origins,* p. 18.

[209] The over-lapping journeys of 'things that moved' is discussed M. McCormick, *Origins,* pp. 385-87.

independent sets of evidence as possible. Second, if these sets of evidence: "continuously uncover the same patterns, chances are strong that those patterns stem from reality, and are not artefacts of the circumstances which produced and preserved one set of evidence." Third, identifying a movement then leads to a chain of investigations, such as identifying the journey of a saint or bishop can then lead to ascertaining more about that figure from other sources, his/her age, when they travelled, where to, and the likely motives for it.[210]

Published not long after McCormick's *Origins* and covering a similar period (400 to 800) is Chris Wickham's *Framing the Early Middle Ages*.[211] Of particular relevance this study is the concept of networks to interrogate a broad range of evidence (from charters to ceramics, particularly the latter) to situate the importance of urbanism and strategies of exchange particularly in the context of economic exchange as sustainers of communication across large territories.[212] Wickham stresses in particular the importance of looking within regions to assess economic change, rather than just emphasising long-distance trade (particularly that of so-called 'luxury' items as opposed to the demand for bulk goods such as wine and grain).[213] Indeed, micro-regional differentiation is a strong feature of this book, where the evidence has allowed, demonstrating the power of detailed comparisons to reveal a range of possible responses to a major causal factor such as the disintegration of the socio-economic systems of western Roman empire. In the book, southern Italy's exchange networks were primarily discussed on the basis of its ceramic development through the period, dominated as it was by Red Slip ware from north Africa. Upon this basis alone the region is treated as a whole: "a single group," and comparisons with areas of north Africa are made on account of this link between the two regions.[214]

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[210] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[211] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages.*

[212] *Ibid.,* 'Cities', pp. 591-692 and 'Systems of exchange', pp. 693-824.

[213] *Ibid.* 'Systems of exchange', pp. 693-824, particularly concluding discussion, p. 729.

[214] *Ibid.,* p. 736.

The region's role as producer for Rome (and consequent inter-dependence) is also noted, as previous scholars have.[215] In addition, southern Italy's ability to retain its role in the exchange networks of the Mediterranean, largely on account of its well-connected Byzantine coastal cities, at the turn of the fifth century and through the sixth to ninth century, is well-noted as it had been previously under-estimated.[216] However, the basis of the conclusion that during the eighth century, there was nothing much except wine and luxuries transported across the Mediterranean is not well-explored and there results a rather two-dimensional picture of southern Italian communication routes in this period as one which was again dominated by commercial activity in the Tyrrhenian Sea (by Amalfitan, Gaetan and Neapolitan merchants and via their ports) and its strong links with Rome.[217] Chapter two's case-study using the distribution of bronze penannular brooches as evidence for internal movement within southern Italy up to the eighth and ninth centuries demonstrates the further possibilities that exist if non-traditional sources for commodities and exchanges are interrogated creatively. In a sense, Horden and Purcell's use of the Mediterranean sea as their theoretical framework for investigating the commonalities and differences that existed over time between and in the small regions which were shaped by it presents a useful alternative framework within which to interrogate communication, exchange and movement.[218]

The final explanation for the theoretical basis of this thesis returns to how objects can be interrogated as more than just indicators of economic networks and links. A method which facilitates the restoration of multiple historical contexts is that of the object biography. The object biography is an examination of processes. The process of deconstructing the 'life story' of an object or phenomenon can significantly increase its value as a tool for understanding the past. Object biographies assume a limitless history. That is, the object is historically significant not just in the time in was made but also in the time and

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[215] *Ibid.,* p. 735 and pp. 740-1.

[216] *Ibid.,* p. 740.

[217] *Ibid.,* p. 738: This is directly based upon McCormick's conclusions: "McCormick has shown that the only significant East-West route in the eighth century ran down the Tyrrhenian coast."

[218] P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea.*

spaces occupied by it since. Tracing the stories of objects, and how they were recorded, from their current space and time to their beginnings can help determine moments of movement and exchange which will enable the link between objects and people to be re-established. It can aid a better understanding of how historians relate to objects as evidence and their preconceptions about them.

The development of a new approach is not only dependent on the questions that are asked of the subject but also the choice of where and how the answers are to be found. A key objective of this investigation is to ask: *'how?' and 'from what perspective?'*[219] These questions are essential first principles for the investigation of material culture. In addition, interrogating the same piece of evidence repeatedly to solve different historical problems may demonstrate the source-value of objects as more than simple economic or artistic manifestations. These analyses of process, examined side-by-side, can then form the collective biographies that McCormick has used to gain new insights into old problems, and provide more comparative material on a micro-regional scale that inspired Wickham's re-appraisal of early medieval society. The collective biographies of objects, extant and 'virtual'[220] can provide the means with which material culture can be understood as dynamic rather than static, and polyvalent, rather than singular in its meanings.

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[219] The concept of a 'cultural biography' was explored by Igor Kopytoff in: 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process' in: A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) p. 68 of pp. 64-91.

[220] This echoes McCormick's concept of 'virtual coins', that is those cited in documents, especially in the penalty clauses of charters. Many of the objects cited in this thesis will be 'virtual', deriving from documentary sources such as charters, letters and narratives.

Chapter two: Commodities and networks of local exchange

The idea that economics can be better understood in the framework of networks, or strategies of exchange, is becoming an essential one to medieval historians who have sought to reconstruct the nature of self-sufficiency as well as commerce. In particular, two important factors emerge; first that understanding exchange requires a firm understanding of 'profit motives' and secondly, the nature of the exchange system is based on its scale or reach.[1] However, one of the problems with 'systemising' exchange is that it inadvertently ignores the kind of evidence which is not well-suited to such a process. It stems from the assumption that while ceramics and coins, simply because of their abundance, can be systemised, other types of material culture, and evidence from documents, cannot (at least, not very successfully). As a result, evidence for commodities such as personal ornaments and textiles get too readily relegated to the status of 'luxury' or 'gift' without adequate attention paid to their uses to interpret and understand local exchange.[2]

By understanding exchange as strategy, rather than system, it is possible to link small finds such as precious metalwork, and descriptions of so-called luxury goods such as silk, with more fundamental economic indicators such as food, supplies and currency. Indeed by doing so, a broader picture can be created of the nature of local networks, what made them work, and why. The case-study on silk below, illustrates how oil, wine and wheat were the likely drivers of a southern Italian silk industry, but also how the desire to acquire silk commodities was essential for those heavier industries to also prosper, in other words, so-called 'luxuries' were not just a by-product of a thriving local economy, but an opportunity for essential investment.

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[1] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages, Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 694-706.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 696-97 too readily dismisses 'luxuries' as not necessary to understanding a real economic system.

Chapter three: Cultural exchange and the problem of description I
Identity and appearance: affinity and difference

This chapter, with chapter four, examines cultural exchange as an evolving process rather than a set of fixed outcomes. Both demonstrate that just as commodities were integral to local networks (not just a product of them), object culture was an essential part of defining social and political affinity and distinction, and was not simply a corollary that followed other factors. 'Culture' is understood as a framework of attitudes and behaviours, rather than standard artistic norms or institutions, in this case, those manifested in objects, their representation and their descriptions. In the southern Italian context cultural exchange was a process that was internally created while also sharing its inspirations in a broader *koiné* or commonwealth. In this sense these chapters illustrate the limitations of viewing the region simply as variations on 'Byzantine', 'Lombard' and later, 'Norman' themes. While southern Italian locales did share cultural references with their neighbours and invaders, it is important to understand their people as active agents responding to their immediate environs, not passive emulators of distant cultures. Southern Italians used objects to identify themselves according to the different cultural localities they occupied, including those from their past.

The two critical case-studies will each look at how identity and exchange functioned through objects and their representation. Both demonstrate the precociousness of the region in maintaining cultural expressions and customs of its own while making reference to the past and acknowledging new inspirations. First, there follows a general discussion on the importance of objects in the perception and formation of people's identity, followed by two sections each examining problems with the display and characterisation of medieval Italian artefacts in museums and catalogues, and then the interpretation of objects in texts. The first case-study explores the phenomenon of dress in the tenth to twelfth centuries and completes this chapter. The second case-study comprises the whole of the next chapter and makes a detailed, comparative re-

examination of sixth to eighth-century metalwork from a socio-cultural historical stand-point.

Objects and identity: similarity and difference

Studies of medieval identity and cultural exchange have tended to be most concerned with ethnicity both from material and written evidence.[1] While there have been many points of contradiction and criticism, few confront the important issue that the historian's or archaeologist's interest in ethnicity does not really echo contemporary concerns and motivations. This is especially true of objects whose differences have too often been (mis)interpreted as signs of ethnic distinction rather than regional variation based on politics, multiple traditions and taste.[2] In addition, investigations into identity and cultural exchange have concentrated most heavily on periods of political transition, for example, in the

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[1] Recent studies on medieval ethnicity which include studies of medieval Italian material: W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), particularly W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity', 17-69 discussed below and also D. Harrison, 'Political rhetoric and political ideology in Lombard Italy', 241-254, and on insignia (also discussed below), M. Schmauder, 'Imperial representations or barbaric imitation? The imperial brooches (Kaiserfibeln)', 281-296; D. Zancani, 'The notion of 'Lombard' and 'Lombardy' in the Middle Ages' in: A. Smyth (ed.) *Medieval Europeans. Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); P. Delogu, 'Considerazioni conclusive', in L. Paroli (ed.) *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda,* Atti del convegno, Ascoli Piceno, 6-7 Ottobre 1995, (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1997) which raises issues of ethnicity in early medieval northern and central Italy; I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories: Migration and Identity During the Lombard Invasions* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005) discusses the material evidence which links Lombard burials in Hungary with those in northern Italy but whose emphases are more cultural than ethnic; for general critique of the significant problems with discussing ethnicity in medieval archaeology, F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Europe,* 15 (2) (2007) 159-185; a reappraisal of Byzantine areas of early medieval Italy in E. Zanini, *Le Italie byzantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (V-VIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998) and on Italo-Byzantine identity (discussed below): M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration A.D. 650-950' in: H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (eds.) *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 17-52.

[2] A practical example demonstrating the flaws of using objects to infer ethnicity see B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively: Women's brooches as markers of ethnic identity?' in: L. Brubaker and J. Smith, *Gender and the Transformation of the Roman World: Women, Men and Eunuchs in Late Antiquity and After, 300-900 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 165-184; and F. Curta, 'Female dress and 'Slavic' bow fibulae in Greece', *Hesperia,* 74 (2005) 101-146.

period of post-Roman migrations and settlement,[3] and with the advent of Norman government in various parts of Europe and the Middle East.[4] These moments in history have attracted attention because of important questions such as who people in the past were, and how they perceived their world. As contemporary historians such as Gregory of Tours and Paul the Deacon used the discourse of conquest as the vehicle through which cultures changed, so do many modern-day scholars.[5] The problem has arisen in the manner in which these questions are discussed, too often over-emphasising the 'dominant' culture of the ruling elite or assuming strategies of cultural exchange 'flowed' in one direction, for example, "to what degree did the Longobards seek to shield their ethnic identity from the inevitable flow of *romanitas*?"[6] This question asked differently might be: 'What processes of exchange existed between Roman/Byzantine and Lombard cultures and how did this impact on the

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[3] The great number of publications arising from the European Science Foundation's Programme on the 'Transformation of the Roman World and Emergence of Early Medieval Europe' and interest in it is testament to this. See for example: R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (eds.) *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) with especial reference to M. Diesenberger, 'Hair, sacrality and symbolic capital in the Frankish kingdoms', 173-212; and essays cited in n. 1 from W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction*; particularly for material representation in late antiquity, albeit with little of note on Italy save W. Pohl, 'The barbarian successor states', 33-47; an artefact centred view in the exhibition catalogue: L. Webster and M. Brown (eds.) *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).

[4] G. Loud, 'How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 25 (1980) 13-34 and 'The 'Gens Normannorum': Myth or reality?' in: R. Allen-Brown (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1981 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982) 104-116, began many discussions on the nature of southern Italian and Sicilian Norman identity, particularly when compared with England and France; J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: the Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy and Sicily,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (3) (1999) 187-202 is in large part a response to Loud and a revision of the evidence, taking more account of Lombard sources; the papers in R. Licinio and F. Violante (ed.) *I caratteri originari della conquista normanna. Diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030-1130).* Atti del convegno, Bari, 5-8 ottobre 2004 (Bari: Dedalo, 2006) takes much recent research into account, particularly on the issue of continued heterogeneity in the peninsula; the view of southern Italian Normans from outside is usefully discussed in E. Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles' in: J. Gillingham (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2004 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005) 85-100.

[5] H. Reimitz, 'Social networks and identities in Frankish historiography. New aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*' in: R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (eds.) *The Construction of Communities*, 229-268; W. Pohl, 'Memory, identity and power in Lombard Italy' in: Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.) *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 9-28.

[6] N. Christie, *The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards,* (Oxford: Blackwell,1995) p. 110.

development of southern Italian Lombard identity, and why?' The first question implies a lack of agency and choice on the part of a discrete, presumably elite, group (Lombards) and assumes that the interaction was not so much an exchange but the non-participative reception of Romanising (or Byzantinising) influences which were somehow 'absorbed' into their own cultural expressions. The second question assumes that cultural exchanges require agency: the ability and the desire of a group to construct and reconstruct their tastes and fashions over time according to political and social need. While detailed interpretation may temper ideas of 'cultural flows' the language used to discuss them, including the problem of description, does skew the focus of studies on identity.

Questions of identity have tended to look more for evidence of *difference.* However, the study of *similarity,* or *affinity,* can also help place material culture in a wider historical context. Taken with the idea that examining exchange is more meaningful than looking at 'flows', these chapters use the concept that a shared culture of objects was central to constructing the identities of people and objects. Oleg Grabar demonstrated the value of this approach when examining the court cultures of Byzantium and the Persian and Arab Caliphates in the ninth to twelfth centuries.[7] He argued that between these courts was a shared appreciation of highly luxurious goods, often gifts to one another, and that this appreciation was not drastically different from one court to another, in spite of religious and political differences. Examining the material culture of southern Italy in this way attempts to highlight its shared cultural expressions, mutual appreciation and taste for things, and modes of exchanging them, with other parts of Italy and the Mediterranean at different points in the period under consideration.

All studies to date of Lombard, Byzantine or Norman Italy, have at their heart, often implicitly, the problem of description and representation respective to their sources. In his study of Italo-Byzantine identity, Michael McCormick approached the concept by viewing southern Italy as a region on the fringes of

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[7] O. Grabar, 'The shared culture of objects' in: H. Maguire (ed.) *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997) pp. 115-129.

the Byzantine Empire and therefore tested the hypothesis in a centre-periphery framework.[8] One of the principal examples of how identity was constructed concerns how contemporaries recognised a Byzantine (male) Italian.[9] While brokering allegiance with the Byzantine emperor Constantine V, a promise was made, alleged in a papal letter of 788 to Charlemagne, by the prince of Benevento, Arechis II (duke/prince 758–788 — southern Italy's first prince, following the end of the Lombard kingdom in 774), to dress and wear hair according to Greek fashions.[10] This either suggests that noticeable differences existed between Lombard and Greek areas, at least in elite or court fashion at this time, and that this kind of thing mattered in alliances, or, that as an outsider, the Pope used a cheap analogy of difference to make a political point. Similarly, the description of King Liutprand's punishment of Romans in Campania, following his campaign in the region, to shave and cloth themselves in the Lombard way.[11] In his ninth-century chronicle, Erchempert reported that Charlemagne required Lombards to shave their chins as a sign of submission to the Franks.[12] Two centuries later, the writer of the life of Saint Nilus of Rossano, described an event where some Lombards (described as Beneventans) stoned Saint Nilus because he wore strange headgear and looked foreign.[13] And by the early twelfth century 'Greekness' in southern Italy persisted enough for it to be commented upon from an outsider, such as the

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[8] M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration A.D. 650-950' in: H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (eds.) *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 17-52.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

[10] *Ibid.,* the text of the letter is contained in: *Codex carolinus*, pt. 8, 83, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae* 3 (ed.) W. Gundlach, (Hanover, 1892) 617, pp. 29-34.

[11] *The Lives of the Eighth-century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817,* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), Gregory III, 731-41 interpolation.

[12] …*set prius eum sacramento huiusmodi vinxit, ut Langobardorum menium [mentum] tonderi faceret, cartas vero nummosque sui nominis caracteribus superscribi semper iuberet.* Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX,* (ed.) G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), bk. 4, ch. 4, p. 243.

[13] *Vita Nili Rossanensis* (Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca 1370), *Acta Sanctorum,* 41 (1867), Sept. 7, 285C-286D cited in M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge', p. 18.

description of the inhabitants of Gallipoli by John Skylitzes, spoke of them as wearing Byzantine clothes, using Greek customs and πολιτικὴ κατάστασις (political culture/administration).[14]

Although these examples are chronologically distant from each other, two important issues emerge. First, the opposition of Greek and non-Greek was fundamental to informing how such commentators understood southern Italy. However, isolating such examples deliberately ignores the social and cultural contexts within which the observations were made. Just because the writer of Nilus' life sought to make an example of the perceived differences between Italo-Greeks from Calabria and Latin Italo-Lombards from Benevento, it does not necessarily follow, and indeed does not, that all, or even most, travellers from one area to the next would have been so conspicuous. He may indeed have been more conspicuous dressed as a Greek monk, than a layman from Rossano. Similarly, John Skylitzes, writing from a conservative imperial Byzantine setting, is describing what, to him, is unexpected, indicating that he would not have expected to recognise such features in a, presumably Latin-Italian context, and in so doing betraying his own preconceptions of the region as a whole. The second conclusion from this comparison is that very often, writers needed a material hook on which to hang their 'telling anecdote', as will also be seen in the discussion of William of Apulia below. Regardless of the cultural origins of a society's other identity-forming customs, appearance perhaps played the defining role in informing contemporaries of a region's character. A good example of this is the *Capitanata* region of Apulia in the tenth to the twelfth century whose people dressed in Greek fashions, but followed ostensibly Lombard customs (or at least called them Lombard) and used Latin as their written *lingua franca* (even if some of their documents, signatures and vocabulary were in Greek).[15] Such combinations of characteristics were what made southern Italy different from its neighbours, particularly to modern

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[14] Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* (ed.) H. Thurn (Berolini, 1973) ch. 151 pp. 25-26; also M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge', pp. 18-19.

[15] Local customs and how they are recorded are discussed in chapter five; general themes on this area of Apulia are discussed in: J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, *La capitanata nella storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Bari: Editrice Tipografica, 1991).

scholars of the region, as well as demonstrating the extensive cultural affinities which did exist between it and its neighbours. These do not need to be set up as competing identities but ones which also allowed for variation within the region and for them to mutate over time. While the Greekness of Neapolitans was subtly different to that of Gaetans, Calabrians or people of the Salento, the Greekness of all of these was what promoted the particularity of the whole region to observers, from the outside.

In contrast, Walter Pohl conceives the contradiction present within, and between, 'models' of ethnic and cultural identity as the reality which previous historians have ignored or misinterpreted.[16] He prefers to highlight social contact and the distinctions made between *insiders* and *outsiders* - and how the choice was made - as a better mode than ethnicity to analyse how group identity, particularly regarding Lombard cultural heritage, was constructed.[17] Outward appearance and costume are again seen as one of the significant ways in which people expressed their identity though it should be noted that: "Especially where ethnic identities imply prestige, they do not come naturally; one has to make an effort to live them."[18] This argument suggests that cultural affinity within social groups far outweighed that between perceived ethnic groups and therefore the ethno-cultural analysis of grave-goods, for example, is flawed and that very little archaeological culture actually bears relation to any ethnic categories that existed.[19] Similarly, the trends noted in the type of grave-goods found by archaeologists must take into account innovation and fashion that had a reach far beyond particular political and cultural regions.[20]

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[16] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity'.

[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 19-22.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 22.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 40 and p. 42; see also F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', argues against *any* discussion of ethnicity in archaeological interpretation.

[20] For an interesting discussions parallels in the material cultures of across Europe in the early Middle Ages see: L. Lørgensen (ed.) *Chronological Studies of Anglo-Saxon England, Lombard Italy and Vendel Period Sweden* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1992) and the examples given in B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively'.

An important instance has been highlighted in the use of brooches from functional and fashionable items, changing from pairs of bow or S-brooches to single 'Roman-style' disc-brooches, indicated by the change in position on bodies found in cemeteries from the sixth to the seventh century when brooches from graves seemed to disappear altogether in Lombard Italy.[21] The danger of reading too much into such grave positions is first, it is an inexact science owing to the significant movement graves can undergo after so many centuries. Secondly, this assumption ignores changes in garments and dress – both personal ornaments and dress need to be understood together. This trend has also been used as an example of the Romanisation of Lombard culture in Italy. However, viewed as a dynamic process of exchange these kinds of grave-goods provide more nuanced clues about the cultural affinities between newly settled Lombards and their descendants and the longer-settled Roman populations which developed over the 150 years or so demonstrated in the next chapter on comparing metalwork in southern Italy. Rather than the numbing inevitability that concepts such as 'Romanisation' imply, it could be argued that the personal ornaments and accessories people wore and were buried with were central to the kind of social contact Pohl highlights as fundamental to how people constructed their group identities and relationships.

An important addition to this discussion is how material evidence and its description can inform our understanding of cultural memory, or, how people in the past understood and expressed their own past.[22] Paul the Deacon's description of frescoes of early Lombards painted at Theodelinda's palace at Monza provides an instructive example, and will be discussed in more detail in

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[21] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity', p. 49-50; also discussed in: M. Martin, 'Fibel und Fibeltracht', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 8 (1994) 541-582; N. Christie, *Lombards,* pp. 136-37.

[22] The use of the past in the early Middle Ages was most recently discussed in a conference called: *Past Presented: Uses of the Past in Medieval European, Byzantine and Islamic Material Culture*, 23-24 March 2006, Birkbeck College, London, shortly to be published: C. Goodson, *Past Presented: Uses of the Past in Medieval European, Byzantine and Islamic Material Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

chapter four.[23] It has been suggested that Paul's assumption that the hoses (*osae*) represented in the paintings were adopted from Roman dress, when in fact they had Germanic origins, is suggestive of the acculturation that had taken place by his time.[24] In contrast, the list of Lombard kings in another, later, southern Italian source, the *Codex Casinensis,* described King Adaloald (also early-seventh century) as wearing leggings assumed to be of Parthian (Persian) origin: "*Iste primum calcavit osam particam.*"[25] What both examples demonstrate is the importance of dress and appearance in how the past was understood and represented by contemporary historians. The contradictory descriptions are not necessarily a consequence of a lack of knowledge or interest in the materiality of their past. Both writers chose to express this as a way of simultaneously creating an affinity with their forebears which at once distinguished their socio-cultural group (Lombard), while also identifying themselves with social peers who also shared similar cultural references (Roman/Byzantine, Persian).

Joanna Drell has examined identity and cultural distinctiveness in the Norman period (in formerly Lombard-ruled areas) in the context of continuity and change.[26] While intermarriage obscured traditions of Lombard and Norman given names by 1100, the persistence of Lombard genealogies or lineages cited in late eleventh- and twelfth-century charters is indicative of the desire of some to assert their heritage, and with it, their nobility.[27] In contrast, the lack of genealogies in the charters of the new Norman aristocracy, it is argued, demonstrated a lack of distinction or noble connection with forbears from Normandy, unlike in England.[28] Here, the continuity of a tradition was used by

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[23] Paolo Diacono, *Storia del Longobardi,* (ed.) E. Bartolini, bk. 4, ch. 22, p. 165; Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards,* (ed.) E. Peters (trans.) W. Foulke (Philadelphia, 2003, originally published 1974) bk. 4, ch. 22, pp. 166-67.

[24] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference', pp. 43-44.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 44.

[26] J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: The Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy and Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (3) 187-202.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 197.

[28] *Ibid.*

one group to signify distinction but just as important to note is the lack of desire by the other group, the Norman nobles, to use the *same* strategy to create an identity for themselves. A preferred strategy for this group, perhaps, was to create a new tradition by representing themselves and their heritage through the creation of new stories, such as Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans* and William of Apulia's *Deeds of Robert Guiscard.* The patronage of sophisticated material culture such as ivories, textiles and books, and their donation to religious establishments, worked with these new histories to create an identity that was both unique to the *Regno* as well as rooted in the cultural exchanges that already existed in the region.[29] Similarly, while the art and styles of middle Byzantine Constantinople certainly did inspire Norman-period art in southern Italy and Sicily, the question of whether these were taken directly from items that were brought to the region or whether the impact was less direct, cannot be adequately answered if local pre-existing traditions and tastes are not taken into account.[30]

Three themes therefore emerge when analysing material culture and the construction of identities as an evolving process of defining similarity and difference. The first consists of the oppositions created in a centre-periphery framework and the permeability of the boundaries between them. The second emphasises the importance of strategies chosen to define insiders and outsiders within social rather than ethnic groups, in addition to the role of material representations of the past, such as those attested by the insignia discussed in the next chapter. The third is the context of how locality and local tradition mediated continuity and change. Although it is the purpose of these chapters to emphasise the central role of objects and their description in the

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[29] Late eleventh and twelfth-century donations to monasteries and churches will be further discussed in chapter five.

[30] This question was posed in: W. Wixom, 'Byzantine art and the Latin West', in: H. Evans and W. Wixom (eds.) *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) pp. 442-43; also L. Safran, *San Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome: Edizioni Rari Nantes, 1992) which highlights the differences in how Byzantinising influences were adopted both in church building and their decoration particularly in Apulia and Calabria.

cultural exchanges of the region, other aspects of identity-formation such as, language, naming, rituals and traditions (including religious and military), building in the landscape, music, painting and history writing need also to be understood as implicitly important and co-dependent.

Problems of description

The problem of description and its relationship to interpreting identity, similarity and difference has already been introduced. The following discussions aim to frame the concept of cultural exchange by demonstrating the limitations of traditional methods of describing and interpreting material culture. Description is the essential mode through which objects are understood (as opposed to narrative) yet it also poses a fundamental problem to their interpretation and analysis. Typologies and classifications help art historians, archaeologists and museum curators communicate and understand their artefacts often within other object systems such as collections and artistic schools. However these typologies often break down when objects are examined to understand the relationships they helped to form or break. Most often this happens because taxonomic analysis pushes the intimate link between people and objects into the background and the language used for the description itself is deliberately impersonal in order to convey its scientific basis. The questions asked of material evidence are not often enough, those that would have concerned the people who originally created, sold, bought, used and disposed of them. In addition, historians deriving information about 'the material life' from documents have sometimes taken the description of physicality too much at face-value, more to create categories and inventories according to their own classifications, than to use them as evidence of how relationships between groups or individuals were formed (as discussed in chapter five). On the other hand, descriptions of materiality in literary texts are somewhat summarily dismissed as just literary devices rather than assessed for their potential as good historical clues for understanding cultural affinities and identity.

Artefacts and the problem of description

The ethno-cultural classification of medieval artefacts has had a significant impact on their interpretation and integration into historical narratives of the region. Though often equivocal, these labels ('Italo-Byzantine', 'Byzantine Provincial', 'Lombardic' and variant 'Langobardic') leave little room for interpreting objects according to their specific geographic and social contexts. The flaws in ethno-cultural analysis of early medieval evidence have already been highlighted. Its use specifically in object descriptions has also been widely questioned.[31] However the principal concern here is to demonstrate how such descriptions limit the source value of objects, particularly those from southern Italy. When artefacts are published in exhibition and typological catalogues or archaeological reports they tend to become de-historicised in a similar way to the *museumification* of objects when placed in displays and recorded according to material or broad ethnic or cultural classifications; artificially and anachronistically introducing barriers between objects which once existed in the same culture. These de-contextualising processes make the interpretation of artefacts in their spatial and temporal contexts more difficult. As a direct result of problems with description, efforts to centralise the role of objects in historical discourses have been few or only partially successful.[32] If the function of

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[31] A similar critical point of departure has been used by Bonnie Effros on Merovingian art and archaeology: B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively' and B. Effros, 'Art of the 'Dark Ages'. Showing Merovingian artefacts in North American public and private collections', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 17 (1) (2005) 85-113; F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and very many of his other works which challenge established scholarly traditions of early medieval objects in a south-eastern European context; on general approaches: L. Nees, 'Ethnic and primitive paradigms in the study of early medieval art,' C. Chazelle and F. Lifschitz (eds.) *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) – I thank Lawrence Nees for some preliminary thoughts on this subject prior to publication; the only successful 'history' written of a place primarily through the medium of medieval objects and known to me to date is D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[32] Some scholars have sought to interpret objects as process (to create biographies of their lives) based upon some of the ideas presented originally by I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process' in: A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 64-91; the other essays in this volume have also formed seminal theses on the phenomenology of objects in the past upon which later scholars have built (see discussion in chapter one); for a novel use of Kopytoff's theoretical framework, see: R. Olson P. Reilly and R. Shepherd (eds.) *The Biography of the Object in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

objects in processes of cultural exchange is confronted as an historical problem in its own right, the likelihood of more accurate and meaningful interpretations increases.

Lack of scientific provenance for many medieval objects in museum collections has also contributed to the lack of historical analysis beyond art, design and technological histories. In most instances clues about origins have to come from stylistic examination and comparison with better provenanced precedents. This type of analysis has helped to retain the use of ethno-cultural labels as a central method of describing and interpreting artefacts. The last significant factor affecting problems with the description of medieval artefacts is their current locations, both physically and culturally remote. The early medieval objects of Italy are housed in several museums across Europe and the USA. Antiquarians, dealers and archaeologists have fractured original contexts through the process of collecting and creating encyclopaedias of human knowledge through objects.[33] While collections create an air of historicity and authenticate individual objects, this can only happen when aided by their classification by culture (or civilisation), form or material; and this is still the basis of most medieval gallery representation in museums today. What are really being presented are fragmentary snapshots which are then used to construct a story of (linear) progress or development through time. The challenge here is to face these museological problems by approaching objects as indicators of human relationships with other people and with their possessions, thereby increasing their historical source value.

The display of southern Italian objects in museums is symptomatic of how the visual association of one object with another can heavily influence the perception of their origins and their representative role, i.e. as archaeology, art history or relic. In southern Italy itself medieval artefacts, if on display at all, are

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[33] The history of early collecting, cabinets of curiosity and the phenomenon of museums is well-documented and a large field of study in its own right, for example see articles in the *Journal of the History of Collections;* select works on the subject include: T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); J. Baudrillard, 'The system of collecting' (trans. R. Cardinal) in: J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994) 7-24; S. Pearce, *On Collecting. An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995); B. Beall-Fofana, *Understanding the Art Museum* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007).

usually housed in the final showcases of the permanent display telling the story of the area with most emphasis on prehistoric origins, archaic and classical periods.[34]   This reflects the longstanding trend in Italian archaeology to privilege antiquity and more recently, prehistory over later, medieval and post-medieval archaeology. Most often these artefacts are either used to represent the coming of Christianity with the early medieval period often described as '*paleocristiano'* (early Christian) or the 'flourishing' of an area's political importance through its art.[35]   Take for instance, the medieval remains (*resti*) from the port-city of Bari which are used to represent political and administrative urban development. With the exception of coins, this is evidenced more through architectural features than by objects. What is highlighted by city's medieval archaeology is the Normano-Swabian period and the monuments of the Pugliese Romanesque.[36]   In contrast, finds from rural and inland sites around Altamura (Belmonte, Auricarro and Sant'Apollinare in Rutigliano) are used to demonstrate the importance of settlements in these areas in the fifth to seventh centuries particularly concerning early ecclesiastical complexes such as basilicas and baptistries. The presence of gold grave-goods in the cemetery at Belmonte, for example, conveys the sense of the importance and status of the *place* as opposed to the person.[37]   Both examples privilege the linear history of place over the individual histories of people.

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[34] Unfortunately two of the largest archaeological museums in Puglia were closed (long-term) at the time of visiting: the Museo Archeologico in Bari and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Taranto (the museum at Taranto has since been re-opened (2008) after refurbishment but the one at Bari remains closed at the time of writing).

[35] Note also the publication of much research on late antique and early medieval Puglia for example under the titles: *Puglia paleocristiana* and *Puglia paleocristiana e altomedievale,* 6 vols. (1970-1991).

[36] In the absence of a visit to the main archaeological museum a visit was made to the Centro Operativo per l'Archeologia di Bari, Strada Lamberti, which housed an exhibition entitled *"Bari Archeologica e Palazzo Simi"* at the site of the excavations of the palazzo. Accompanying brochure: M. Cioce, *Bari archeologica e Palazzo Simi,* (Bari: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia, [no date]).

[37] Objects displayed in showcase 33, Museo Archeologico, Altamura; see also museum guidebook: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale Altamura,* Museum Guidebook no. 59 in *Itinerari del musei, gallerie, scavi e monumenti d'Italia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002).

The largest archaeological museum in the South, at Naples neglects the display of medieval artefacts altogether. The compelling 'Lombard' grave-goods from Senise at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, do not find their way beyond the scholar's cotton gloves in the *medagliere.* Neither have the objects excavated from medieval sites in the 1980s after the earthquake made it to the permanent display galleries.[38] Similarly in Taranto, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale exists specifically as a showcase of prehistoric and classical culture, albeit that several examples of medieval metalwork from southern Italy are housed here.[39] Medieval objects simply do not form part of the narrative of the region as *Magna Grecia.* In contrast, Benevento has its Lombard heritage at the heart of the Museo del Sannio and the story the objects tell is an important one: "caratteri originali della etnia meridionale."[40] The unfortunate reality is, however, that many of the significant objects from Lombard southern Italy are now in museums outside the South, and outside Italy, and Benevento itself is home to few of the objects associated with it. Like the script that took its name from this place (Beneventan), the objects found around Benevento and those related to them are considered to be unique to the South, with discernible Benevantan origins, though clearly from a culture shared in other parts of the peninsula.

Medieval artefacts displayed in church treasury museums, though poor in number owing to both looting and reuse, give an altogether different impression of the culture of the region. The oldest objects (usually not earlier than twelfth-century) are therefore imbued with a sense of myth as well as representing more prosaic ideas such as the advancement of liturgical art. Three such objects are in the treasury of the basilica of San Nicola in Bari. Among the dazzling silver and gold liturgical objects mainly from the seventeenth century onwards are a *champlevé* enamel plaque depicting Roger II's coronation in Bari by St Nicholas (1132) and a copper alloy 'crown' described as that of Roger II.

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[38] Finds from Roman and medieval Naples are published throughout P. Arthur, *Naples* (2002).

[39] C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini* (Taranto: Scorpione, 1989) concentrates on the gold items.

[40] E. Galasso, *Langobardia minor* (Benevento: Museo del Sanno, 1991), p. 12.

The third is an ivory crozier described in the sixteenth-century inventory of the treasury as belonging to San Nicola's first Rector, Elijah (died 1105).[41]   The significance of such objects to a place lies in retaining the links with historical legends that it wishes to convey; a search for their true origins and associations being of secondary or no importance. In the story of church culture in southern Italy, the Norman period, particularly the reign of Roger II, is a primary moment and treasury objects with mythical descriptions help to keep them in the broader narratives of the place.

The representation of medieval southern Italy in Italian museums outside the South is as marginal as those presented in the general histories of the peninsula, discussed in chapter one. Even if the odd object is stored or on display little is said of the significance of its relationship with the region.[42] The red African slip ware displayed at the Crypta Balbi museum in Rome alludes to the role of Naples and Campania in the local exchange routes serving Rome but does so in a way that suggests nothing of the reciprocal nature of this exchange network, for example, the traffic of people (pilgrims and traders) who travelled from Campania and beyond to and Rome on a regular basis.[43] The museum at the Villa Giulia in Rome displays some of the Lombard metalwork derived from the Castellani family's collections but they are presented very much as nineteenth-century collected pieces rather than as part of medieval history.[44] The Museo dell'Alto Medioevo is dominated by the finds from the sixth- to eighth-century funerary complexes discovered at Castel Trosino (Marche) and

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[41] Described in: G. Cioffari, *La basilica di S. Nicola. Breve guida storico-artistica,* (Bari: Basilica Pontificia San Nicola, 1998) pp. 62-3, figs. 80-81.

[42] Palazzo Venezia displays some ivory objects more likely to be of Sicilian rather than southern Italian origin and the Museo Nazionale in Rome holds a some unprovenanced metalwork which may have come from the South.

[43] *Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2000) pp. 61-3 and p. 89.

[44] The museum itself is dedicated to Etruscan collections and is called the Museo Nazionale Etrusco. The collection of the Castellani archaeological jeweller family was the subject of a recent exhibition and associated publication: *I Castellani e l'oreficeria archeologica italiana,* Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 11 November 2005-26 February 2006, with accompanying exhibition catalogue: A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.) *I Castellani e l'oreficeria archeologica italiana* (Rome: Erma, 2005) and also discussed in: Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia [A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.)], *La collezione Augusto Castellani* (Rome: Erma, 2000).

Nocera Umbra (Ascoli Piceno) in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However very little, if any, meaningful comparison is made between these objects and those discovered elsewhere in Lombard Italy, let alone Byzantine areas, though some efforts are being made to rectify this in recent scholarship re-examining both sites.[45] Like so much of the history of the peninsula, the intense regionalisation of the modern era has perhaps undermined the validity of such comparisons and the need to portray them in museums. The result only adds to the fragmented understanding of cultural relationships between south and north Italy and even less, those that existed farther afield.

Outside Italy, museums with southern Italian material almost exclusively use art historical ethno-cultural classification to describe and interpret their objects. As a consequence, their original contexts are obscured and seem almost ahistorical, the objects suspended both in time and space.   The British Museum houses a showcase of objects from early medieval Italy in the Early Medieval Europe gallery (300-1100). This comprises the grave-groups from late fifth to seventh-century cemetery sites at Sutri,[46] Belluno[47] and Domagnano[48] in addition to singular other objects such as the Castellani brooch found at Canosa di Puglia,[49] discussed in the next chapter. All the grave-groups are portrayed as displaying the fashions and tastes of both Germanic (Gothic or Lombard) and Byzantine (oriental) or Mediterranean influences. Other Italian objects appear in cases related to Byzantium such as the gold seal ring of Gumedruta found at Bergamo which has a rare depiction of of a woman,

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[45] For example, L. Paroli (ed.), *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino bizantini e longobardi nelle Marche*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1995) and C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000). It should be noted, however, that the comparisons are largely with other northern and central Italian sites and finds, and not very much with those from the South, with the exception of some items from Venosa in, C. Bertelli and G. Broglio (eds.) *Il futuro*, figs. 52-4 p. 72.

[46] Acc. nos.: 1887,1-8,3-9.

[47] Acc. nos.: AF.529-531, 534.

[48] Acc. nos.: 1933,4-5,1-11.

[49] Acc. nos.: 1865, 7-12,1.

also discussed in the following chapter.[50] There may have been opportunity here to draw a comparison between the portrayal on the ring with the bust on the Castellani brooch (interpreted by the museum as a female), but this is not exploited in the ways illustrated in the following chapter.

American art museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore display their collections according to cultural classifications. 'Langobard Art' and 'Byzantine Art' however are very much mutually exclusive and while reference may be made to the 'influence' of one on the other, no explicit relationships are highlighted in the presentation of them, particularly in the context of a particular place or time. Lombard art is art of the 'Migration Period' or 'Germanic art' while Byzantine Art is that which continues on from Classical and Roman forms. The room for explicit interpretation of these artefacts as 'southern Italian' objects (where suspected) is therefore severely limited. An example is the display of 'Langobardic' gold metalwork at the Metropolitan Museum. Jewellery and funerary accoutrements such as shroud crosses are simply described with an introductory blurb describing nothing more than the Lombard settlement of Italy and the eventual downfall of the kingdom in 774. No connection is made between the history of the documentary tradition and that suggested by the objects. Basket earrings are interpreted as items which "quickly became part of Langobardic women's dress."[51] The clear variation between these earrings (one pair was in fact not of the basket type but had M-shaped pendants such as ones found in southern Italy)[52] is left without note. The one object on display of most secure southern Italian origin, a seventh-century gold seal-ring with set with a Roman chalcedony intaglio, found in the territory of Benevento, is labelled as "Byzantine or Langobardic."[53] No explanation mentions the ambiguity of the description, or its relationship with other objects displayed with

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[50] Acc. no.: 1920,10-28,2.

[51] Label panel for object group 3, 'Langobard Art' gallery, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA): nos. 95.15.84, 85, 118, 119, 124, 125, 127.

[52] See earring comparison table six in appendix.

[53] Label panel for object 7, 'Langobard Art' gallery, MMA: acc. no. 17.230.128.

it or elsewhere, save for a generalised comment on the significance of objects with antique carved gems linking "their Langobardic wearers to the illustrious peoples who preceded them on the Italian peninsula."[54]

The interpretation available at the Walters Art Museum, which houses a similar collection, follows the same lines, although in this case the main interpretation board ('Art of the Migration Period') for the early medieval gallery, presents the visitor with a map of Europe displaying arrows showing the direction of the migrations of the post-Roman period.   The reason such two-dimensional interpretation of medieval collections persists in museums is directly related to the rigidity and inherent flaws of ethno-cultural classification. In addition, the publication and, necessarily, the display of objects within the collections they accidentally arrived in create further problems when attempting to make meaningful comparisons across collections. The problems with contemporary interpretation in museums are also a consequence of the longstanding dominance of their reliance on now dated typological and collections catalogues.[55] Recent revisions of art historical typologies and collections-based research may however be reflected in re-displays of galleries, such as at the Walters Art Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[56] If

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[54] Label panel for object 7, 'Langobard Art' gallery, MMA.

[55] Examples of major, older, museum and typological catalogues containing early medieval Italian metalwork include: M. Ross, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 1. *Metalwork, ceramics, glass, glyptics, painting* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1962); M. Ross, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 2. *Jewellery, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1965); this is the only major catalogue revised in recent years and is published similarly, with an addendum by S. Boyd and S. Zwirn, 2nd ed., (2005); M. Ross, *Arts of the Migration Period in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1961); O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien* (Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1950); S. Fuchs, *Die Langobardischen Goldblattkreuze aus der Zone sudwarts der Alpen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1938); O. von Hessen, *I reperti longobardi* (Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 1981); C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini*; L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1941).

[56] Both museums are redisplaying their medieval collections and the research contained in this thesis has provided curators (Audrey Scanlan-Teller at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Susan Walker at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) with up-to-date information and new perspectives on pieces in both these museums; in addition, the medieval galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum are undergoing major redisplay (due to complete in November 2009) and similarly at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (due to complete late 2008/early 2009).

reference was made, for example, in the description of the Beneventan ring in New York to the Benevento brooch in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,[57] also set with an antique carved gem (cameo), and a very similar seal ring set with an intaglio from the rich 'Lombard' burial at Senise housed in Naples,[58] an altogether more distinct picture may be portrayed to scholars and visiting public, and the historicity of these objects may begin to be revealed, as will be developed below.

In a region whose defining characteristic in the Middle Ages was variation *within* labels such as Byzantine, Lombard and Norman, this must be recognised as the norm and emphasised in analysis, description and interpretation. Wide variations in the styles of seventh- and eighth-century Neapolitan coinage, for example, demonstrate how established typological analyses used on their own can be misleading.[59] Similarly, one would expect, and indeed sees, variation in, for example, eleventh-century ivories made in Venice, Sicily, Puglia and Amalfi. Yet any object that hails from ninth to mid-eleventh century southern Italy (or Venice and Ravenna) can still be labelled 'Italo-Byzantine' and any dating from the mid-eleventh to twelfth-century as 'Norman'.[60] The differences need underlining for their diverse geographic and artistic roots to be recognised. This may then reveal the reality of the range of exchanges that took place, in each milieu, for each of these objects to be produced.[61]

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[57] Gold disc brooch with filigree decoration and Roman cameo with three amethyst sub-pendants, acc. no. 1909.816, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[58] Acc. no.: 153619.

[59] Paul Arthur, *pers. comm.* (email December 2004); P. Arthur, 'Naples', pp. 133-36.

[60] To compare see how mixtures of different objects from England, France, southern Italy and Sicily are used to represented daily life in the exhibition catalogue (section VI: 'Gerarchie sociali e forme di vita') in: M. D'Onofrio (ed.) *I Normanni. Popolo d'Europa 1030-1200* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1994) pp. 422-68.

[61] V. Pace, 'Gli avori' in: M. D'Onofrio (ed.) *I Normanni,* p. 245.

Texts and the problem of description

The second aspect of the problem of description is centred on the close relationship between objects and the words used to describe them. The theory proposed as *Wörter und Sachen* (words and things) suggested that etymologies cannot be understood without understanding the material goods that related to, and evolved, with them.[62] Together, words and things create a system of semantics particular to a cultural group.[63] As language, ethnicity and culture, and therefore identity, have been so closely associated together from an archaeological and art historical perspective, its approach has tended to negate the emphasis on poly- or multivalency, that is, the reality of multiple and competing meanings which existed in the Middle Ages. In an Italian context there has been much interest in the impact of Germanic languages on the development of Italian and its dialects.[64] Elda Moricchio uses the example of the lexicon of cloth-working to investigate the absorption of Germanic words into local vernaculars.[65] Here, Moricchio relates the introduction of new manufacturing techniques to the symbiotic adoption of Germanic words into local usage. While the conclusion regarding the relationship between linguistic and technological innovation is convincing, what is less so is the role of the people concerned. Just as many artefacts are identified and interpreted with

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[62] The concept was first developed by German philologists Rudolf Meringer and Hans Schuchardt with the establishment of a journal called *Wörter und Sachen* in 1904 and a number of treatises on the subject.

[63] The idea of detecting change in linguistics and word use in tandem with archaeological evidence has been incorporated into the field of historical linguistics. For historical linguistics using medieval examples see the work of Cecily Clark who used predominantly medieval English examples: C. Clark, *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark,* P. Jackson (ed.) (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), particularly chapter 8: 'Historical linguistics - Linguistic archaeology' and on the particular integration of historical linguistics into the discipline of archaeology: C. Renfrew et al. (eds.) *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000).

[64] See works by C. Mastrelli particularly, 'La terminologia longobarda dei manufatti' in: *La civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa.* Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 24-26 maggio 1971, Cividale del Friuli 27-28 maggio 1971 (Rome, 1974); and particularly in relation to objects and words, E. Moricchio, 'Migrazioni di popoli e di parole. L'eredità linguistica dei Germani in Italia', in: M. Rotili (ed.), *Società multiculturali nei secoli V-IX. Scontri, convivenza, integrazione nel Mediterraneo occidentale.* Atti delle VII giornate di studio sull'età romanobarbarica, Benevento, 31 maggio-2 giugno 1999 (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 2001) 109-125.

[65] E. Moricchio, 'Migrazione di popoli e di parole', pp. 112-16.

little discussion of the people who made and used them, the analysis of words and word-roots lacks similar context: the primacy of interpreting word *over* object. The question of whether the concerns of the philologist are the related to the concerns of contemporary people is once again pertinent to this discussion. A more nuanced picture of how past people embraced new things and new lexicons may be achieved if some attempt is made to understand the responses to these changes and the central role the object and its labels played together.

The example of Philip Ditchfield's work on southern Italian (mainly Apulian) lexicons for material culture (presented as "*vie quotidienne*" – "daily life") demonstrates how the attempt to be technical and systematise according to modern categories loses a considerable amount of local, social and political context and leaves little opportunity for sensing the presence of people *in* their material worlds.[66] As an aid to understanding how people manipulated their material worlds, this book leaves little clue. In addition, the grave assumption that material culture equated only to 'daily life' in the Middle Ages, no less in southern Italy, not only ignores the potential for the sources to reveal the depth of human relationships that existed, but also portrays this aspect of human society as only being of the mundane, and not of the profound, intellectual or creative. Just as museumification can fracture the ties between objects and their historical contexts, the encyclopaedia of words can obscure the relationships that existed between people and their things.

Related to limitations of lexicographical analysis is how physicality was used and represented by writers of the period, as introduced above.   The example of William of Apulia's description of Duke Melus (or Melo) brings many of these issues into focus. William, writing in the 1090s, begins the first book of the *Deeds of Robert Guiscard* by describing the meeting of various Norman mercenaries and Melo of Bari at Monte Sant'Angelo (northern Apulia).[67]

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[66] P. Ditchfield, *La culture matérielle médiévale: l'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande,* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).

[67] Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard,* (ed.) M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961) parallel Latin text and French translation, pp. 98 and 100. Lines 11-27. This is my translation.

Horum nonnulli Gargani culmina montis	Some of these [Normans] climbed to the summit of
Conscendere, tibi, Michael archangele, voti	the Mount, to you, Archangel Michael, fulfilling a
Debita solventes. Ibi quendam conspicientes	vow owed. There they saw a certain man clothed in
More virum Graeco vestitum, nomine Melum,	the manner of a Greek, called Melus. They
Exulis ignotam vestem capitique ligato	marvelled at the strange garments of the exile and
Insolitos mitrae mirantur adesse rotatus.	were unaccustomed to the turban that whirled
Hunc dum conspiciunt, quis et unde sit ipse	around his head. When they saw him they asked
requirunt.	who he was and from whence he had come. He
Se Langobardum natu civemque fuisse	replied to them he was a Lombard, of noble birth
Ingenuum Bari, patriis respondit at esse	and a freeborn citizen of Bari, an exile, forced from
Finibus extorrem Graeca feritate coactum.	his ancestral land by the ferocity of the Greeks

The event, imagined or real, must have taken place a little before 1017 when Barese chronicles describe the victory of Duke Melo and the Normans against the Byzantine catepan and his Greek army.[68] Shortly afterwards in 1019, Melo was forced to flee into exile to the German court of Henry II after a subsequent defeat. Mathieu interpreted this meeting as the 'legendary invitation' like that described in the Campanian chronicle of Amatus of Montecassino where Norman pilgrims saved Salerno from an Arab siege around the year 1000 and were then invited by Prince Guaimar IV to stay in the city.[69] While this passage has largely been discussed to ascertain the year in which the Normans began their settlement of southern Italy, or else the extent of the Lombard principality at the time, little has been said about this curious description of Melo and what it

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[68] *Anonymous Chronicle* (*Ignoti civis Barensis)* and *Lupus Protspatharius s.a.* 1017 in: *Antiche cronache di Terra di Bari,* (eds.) G. Cioffari and R. Lupoli Tateo (Bari, 1991).

[69] *La Geste,* pp. 261-2; The Salernitan event is described in book one of: *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino,* (ed.) P. Dunbar, revised G. Loud (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004) bk. 1, chs. 20-24, pp. 50-52; alternative text in: *Storia de'Normanni di Amato*, (ed.) V. de Bartholomeis, (Rome, 1935).

may have signified to the author and the audience of the *Geste*.[70] Melo himself is mentioned in the native chronicles of Apulia, but none describe him.[71]

Over a century later, the Chronicle of S. Bartolomeo of Carpineto in Abruzzo recalls William's description of Melo, repeating it almost intact with the exception of describing his status as *virum nobilem* as opposed to William's *ingenuum*.[72]

Eo igitur tempore, quo Graecorum exercitus dominabatur Apuliae, contigit, quosdam Normannorum ad cryptam S. Angeli sitam in monte Gargano causa orationis venire, ubi dum viderent, quemdam virum nobilem civem Barensem, nomine Meluum, more Graecorum vestibus indutum, caput mirifice habentem quasi mitra ornatum, interrogantes eum, quis, et unde esset, qui se Barensem esse respondit, et Graecorum perfidia exulare a patria...	So in the time when the Greek army dominated Apulia, it happened that some Normans came to the site of the crypt at Monte Gargano for reason of prayer. While there they saw a certain noble man, a citizen of Bari called Melus, dressed in clothes in the manner of the Greeks, his head wonderfully adorned as if with a turban. They asked of him who he was and whence he came, he replied to them that he was from Bari, and through the treachery of the Greeks exiled from his homeland...

Leo of Ostia (Marsicanus) writing at Montecassino around the same time as William of Apulia also includes Melo and the rebellion against Byzantine rule in his Chronicle. However his description is limited to status and personal qualities: "*Melus...Barensium civium immo totius Apuliae primus ac clarior erat,*

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[70] G. Mor, 'La difesa militare della Capitanata ed i confini della regione al principio del secolo XI' in: *Studies in Italian Medieval History Presented to Miss Evelyn Jamison*, special edition of *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956) 29-36; E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans in Italy - Legend and history', *Speculum,* 23 (3) (1948) 353-396 both discuss this passage in relation to the extent of the Principality of Benevento in 1017.

[71] He is mentioned once in the *Annals* in 1011, thence as the father of Argyros; three times in both *Lupus Protospatharius* and the *Anonymous Chronicle* in 1017, 1019 and 1020, thence as father of Argyros.

[72] *Chronica monasterii S. Bartholomaei de Carpineto,* (ed.) F. Ughelli in: S. Coleti, *Italia Sacra,* vol. 10, pt. 2 (Venice, 1722, repr. Padua, 1969) bk. III, col. 358. The editor identifies the author as a monk called Alexander writing for Pope Celestine III (1191–1198). This excerpt taken from: E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 378; p. 359 for Joranson's translation and p. 386 nn. 52-57 for explanations of the similarities in the text. This is my translation. On the use of terms relating to citizenship in southern Italy, see P. Oldfield, 'Citizenship and community in southern Italy *c.*1100-*c.*1220', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 74 (2006) 323-338.

strenuissimus plane ac prudentissimus vir; (Melo, citizen of Bari, indeed first in the whole of Apulia who is an illustrious, most vigorous and most prudent man)."[73] That we are told about Melo but without the kind of details about appearance or origins that William and the Carpineto chronicle give may in part be due to amendments made to the chronicle by Peter the Deacon, who replaces Leo's story of the Norman arrival with the Salernitan legend found in Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans,* mentioned above. Like the Montecassino chronicle, Amatus himself only mentions Melo in relation to his exile at the Salernitan court and desire to recruit Norman aid.[74] The debate about which origin myth is more truthful has been in existence since 1705 when Antoine Pagi rejected the Salernitan story in favour of William's account of the meeting at Monte Sant'Angelo.[75] While there remains debate about the authenticity of both encounters, in few of them does William's portrayal of Melo raise interest or questions.[76]

Joranson, while dismissing both origin traditions as fictitious, explains away the description of Melo's Greek dress as an attempt at describing the Lombard rebel's disguise while entering Byzantine territory from either Salerno or Capua.[77] The only remark on Melo's attire provided in Mathieu's edition of the poem was that *mitra* denotes a bonnet of perhaps Phrygian type rather than a turban which in eleventh-century Byzantium belonged, apparently, purely to female attire.[78] On his origins, most conjecture has rested upon his name. Melo and its variants Mel, Melus and Meles (Μέλης) may have derived from the

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[73] E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 356 discusses the use of Amatus's work by Peter the Deacon in his revision of Leo of Ostia's Montecassino chronicle.

[74] Melo's rebellion of 1011 is discussed fleetingly in the *Synopsis Historion* of John Skylitzes but no details about the man are given, nor are any Normans mentioned and is also mentioned in the Chronicle of the monastery of Santa Sophia in Benevento. Psellos does not mention Melo or the rebellion in Apulia at all.

[75] E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 360.

[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 360-64 surveys and summarises different viewpoints from Pagi to those of Jules Gay, Ferdinand Chalandon and Wilhelm Schmidt writing in the early twentieth century.

[77] *Ibid.,* p. 368.

[78] *La Geste,* p. 101 n. 1. This was contrary to the interpretation of *mitra* as turban by Du Cange and Delarc.

Jewish and Arab name Ismael or the Armenian name Mleh or Μελίας.[79] Indeed
a certain Melo, son of an Armenian priest (Mele *clericus* son of Simagoni priest,
and *armeni*) appears in a Barese charter of June 990 which concerned a land
transaction involving, among others, Bartisky *armena* son of Moiseo Pascike,
and Cricori, son of Achani *armeni*.[80] It seems, at least from the written sources,
that the small Armenian population resident in Apulia for a time in the eleventh
century were employed in the Byzantine province's military and administrative
services. Indeed, Martin uses this supposition to propose that Melo was in fact
one of these Armenian-Byzantine aristocrats, and not a Lombard. He goes on
to suggest that William of Apulia exposes Melo's true origins in the very
description him in Greek clothes ("N'était-il pas, selon Guillaume de Pouille,
habillé à la Greque?") thereby suggesting that he was no Lombard rebel but a
disgruntled official who took on the mantle of civic leader (*dux*) for his own
ends.[81] Jules Gay was the historian who originally cast doubt on the portrayal
of Melo as a local hero who was fighting for Apulian independence.[82] To him,
the exaltation of Melo, originated with historians from the German empire (for
example Adémar of Chabannes[83] and Raoul Glaber)[84] and was continued by
the Normano-Italian historians. The mysterious hero who ended his days at the
German court in Bamberg was a figure who these writers saw as a *"type du*

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[79] *La Geste,* p. 262 n. 9 with references to discussion on the name Melo; G. De Blasiis, *La
insurrezione pugliese e la conquista normanna nel secolo XI,* vol. 1 (Naples: A. Detken, 1864)
p. 45; J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile 1er jusqu'à
la prise de Bari par les normands, 867-1071* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904) p. 401.

[80] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)*
(ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982) no. 4, pp. 8-10.

[81] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993) p. 520.

[82] J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale,* pp. 399-412 critiques the representation of Melo and his revolt of
1017.

[83] *Gesta regum Francorum,* in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores,* 4 (Hannover and
Berlin, 1826-1892).

[84] Raoul Glaber's text in: *Historiarum libri quinque,* (ed.) M. Prou, in: *Collection de textes pour
servir à l'étude et à l'enseingement de l'histoire* (Paris, 1886).

patriote" and mixed history with imagination when assigning Melo to their memory.[85]

Notwithstanding the veracity of either the Salerno or Monte Sant'Angelo origin myths, what may explain the descriptive choices of each of the authors? Why was the materiality in the description of Melo so important to William of Apulia, the chronicler of Carpineto, but not to Leo of Ostia and Amatus of Montecassino who preferred to describe his personal qualities? Some clues may be found in the identity of William himself. Was he *loco Appulus, gente Normannus* as William of Malmesbury described Robert Guiscard's brother Bohemond, or, like Geoffrey Malaterra, *noviter Apulum factum*?[86] It is not inconceivable that Roger Borsa would have commissioned the poem from a sympathetic native, knowledgeable about his past and keen to place it in a new narrative.[87] There is an agenda in the poem to present to the audience the world of southern Italy, in addition to the figure of Robert Guiscard, who himself does not appear until book two and about whose background in Normandy William gives no information. Praises of southern Italian cities feature prominently in the poem: "Not a single city of Apulia was equal to Bari in opulence,"[88] "Trani is a town of illustrious name, riches, arms and large population;"[89] Salerno, he says, is a rich city with fine palaces, honourable men and beautiful women,[90] and of Amalfi, he says: "None is richer in silver, cloths, in gold which come from innumerable places. There are many sailors who live there and know the ways of the sea and the sky. They bring here many different objects from Alexandria and Antioch. Its inhabitants cross many

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[85] J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale,* pp. 399-400.

[86] *La Geste,* pp. 17 and n. 5; p. 18 and n. 2.

[87] Mathieu also feels this is a possibility, especially given William's more impartial view of southern Italians and their involvement in the foreground of the story, unlike in the history of Amatus. Geoffrey Malaterra is also compared with William in relation to his use of Italians in his chronicle, *La Geste,* pp. 22-23.

[88] *La Geste,* p. 158.

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 185.

[90] *Ibid.,* p. 190.

seas."[91] William wanted to portray the sense of place of his land (*patris*) through its materiality and its people as active agents in the cultural spheres they occupied. To William, this was *heimat.* This desire was presumably echoed by his patron, Roger Borsa, whose mother Sikelgaita was herself a Salernitan of Italo-Lombard nobility. The numerous moveable goods she and Robert Guiscard gave to institutions such as Montecassino are recorded in detail in the historical works that were produced here, and will be discussed further in chapter five. The purpose of William's description of Melo may not therefore be an illustration of difference between Normans and southern Italians (Apulians), but framed differently, perhaps a statement of affinity between the author and the figure of Melo and the people he represented.[92] William's instinct for description lay in these visual and tangible aspects of Melo's culture. There was no contradiction in his expression as a Barese-Lombard hero, possibly Armenian name and his Greek dress. These were the signifiers that were the reality of cultural exchange in southern Italy at this time.   The deconstruction of Melo's identity demonstrates the benefits of looking for competing meanings in material descriptions as more accurate reflections of the cultural contexts that existed.

The following case-studies explore in further detail the themes discussed so far. They demonstrate ways in which identity was constructed through objects and use alternative methods of analysis and interpretation to overcome problems of description and offer a new understanding of cultural exchange. The first case-study which follows this discussion will examine evidence for dress from tenth to twelfth-century Apulian charters. It will present southern Italian dress in a comparative framework which attempts to reach beyond identifying fabric, function and fashion by trying to locate the cultural affinities that existed between southern Italy and other regions of the Mediterranean. The second, comprising its own chapter, examines personal ornaments from the sixth to eighth centuries. They comprise decorative gold, silver and bronze

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[91] *Ibid.*

[92] William explicitly says Melo was the first leader of the Normans in Italy further establishing the closeness of the first Norman mercenaries with the local leader. *La Geste*, p. 102.

metalwork, often described as high status or elite objects such as brooches, earrings and rings. This detailed analysis will attempt to re-establish the relationship between objects that have been divided by typological publication and collecting practices, as well as largely divorced from their historical social, political and cultural contexts. Both case-studies will argue that object choice played an essential role in underpinning cultural values and social worth as well as being markers of taste and aesthetics.

Case-study: A shared culture of dress

The evidence of dress from southern Italian charters, when examined in conjunction with evidence from some surrounding regions, highlights compelling evidence for a shared culture of cloth and dress in the central Mediterranean region. Expressions of identity such as dress choices can be viewed not simply as ethnically or socially bound (one-way) but as active exchange (mutual and reciprocal) as highlighted in the discussion on William of Apulia's description of Melo.   This kind of exchange has been noted in the dress of elites in Byzantine peripheries such as Cappadocia and Kastoria, the former with Armenian and Islamic neighbours, the latter bordering significant populations of Armenian and Georgian refugees, and whose political point of reference was Bulgaria until the eleventh century.[93] Southern Italy was a similarly heterogeneous and peripheral region, each area comprising multiple and mixed communities throughout the period. In addition to those of Christian Roman, Greek or Lombard heritage, were significant communities of Jews, best attested in Apulia and the Campanian city-states (including Salerno).[94] Other minority communities comprised Armenian and Slav refugees who settled in southern Italy to flee from unrest at home; as mentioned above, the Armenians were

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[93] J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 57-77.

[94] P. Skinner, 'Conflicting accounts. Negotiating a Jewish space in medieval southern Italy, c.800 – 1150 CE' in: M. Frassetto (ed.) *Christian attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages. A Casebook* (London: Routledge, 2007) pp. 1-14; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 492-503; works of C. Colafemmina particularly on Jewish inscriptions discovered in Puglia and the Basilicata published in several of the volumes in the series *Puglia paleocristiana e altomedievale* (1970-1991).

known to have participated in the Byzantine administration of Apulia.[95] Migrants from Byzantine and previously Byzantine areas also came and left southern Italy throughout the period. Less visible but present were small communities of Muslims in central and southern Italy.[96]

Whether these minorities would have chosen to identify themselves as insiders or outsiders is a difficult question to answer. If, as seems likely, new migrants came to southern Italy for economic reasons, or to seek asylum, it would be reasonable to assume that they would have wanted to blend in with the majority of the population, though perhaps incorporating certain elements from their family tradition into their dress. The resulting combinations, however, may in turn, have been replicated in the costumes of others, particularly those of the elite and wealthy. Like southern Italy, the particular character of elite dress choices in Kastoria and Cappadocia is better explained when understood in the framework of local exchange networks.[97] Both regions were part of important cloth trade routes whose centres were frequented by merchants from within and beyond the empire. Further, again like southern Italy (Apulia in particular), these areas were used to participating in a material-rich life as workers in the industry, as investors, and as consumers. It is not surprising therefore that consciousness of material possessions, especially clothes, was remarkable enough to be recorded in detail and preserved in the surviving documentation.

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[95] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 518-20 on Armenians in Apulia; L. Leciejewicz, *Gli slavi occidentali. Le origini delle società e delle culture feudali* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1991) and the collected papers in: *Gli slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo. Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sul alto'Medioevo, Spoleto, 15-21 aprile 1982, 30* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1983) particularly on Slav communities in Italy and Byzantium, J. Ferluga, 'Slavi del sud ed altri gruppi etnici di fronte a Bisanzio' and L. Leciejewicz, 'Slavi occidentali: loro insediamento ed attività economiche'.

[96] There is little work on this subject before the thirteenth century. The only significant work on the emirate of Bari is: G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari 847-871,* 2nd edition (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1967); a study on communities of Muslims in the area of Molise is, G. Staccioli, 'Insediamenti musulmani medievali nel Molise', *Quaderni medievali*, 58 (December 2004) 84-98; A. Papagna, *I saraceni e la Puglia nel secolo decimo* (Bari: Levante Editori, 1991); later work on the thirteenth century Muslim colony at Lucera: J. Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Oxford: Lexington, 2004).

[97] J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress,* pp. 74-75.

Another region that was similarly conscious of its materiality was Egypt and other parts of the Arab Middle East, particularly evidenced in the documents of the Cairo Geniza. Comparisons of Apulian and Arab dowry lists demonstrate most remarkably the shared culture of objects discussed above. The trousseau lists of Jewish brides date mainly from the mid-tenth to mid-thirteenth century (Fatimid and Ayyubid periods) and comprise some 750 documents.[98] The relationships between these places have been well explored in terms of trade but not in terms of cultural exchange, or at least similarity, in their customs and traditions (**map 3** throughout).[99] Comparing two near contemporary examples, one dated 1138 from Terlizzi, near Bari, in Apulia, the other contained in a letter written in 1137 from Seleucia (Byzantine Cilicia and modern-day Silifke, a coastal city, in south-central Turkey), this idea may be further developed. **Table three** (see appendix) sets each of these dowry lists side by side to illustrate the striking comparisons that existed between Apulian and (Jewish) Arab dowry (and dress) traditions.

The letter from Seleucia was dated 21 July 1137 and written by an Egyptian Jewish physician to his brother-in-law, later to be deposited in the Geniza archive.[100] In it he described the dowry he provided on the marriage of his daughter to his son-in-law, Rabbi Samuel, grandson of a "Longobardian merchant" also called Rabbi Samuel.[101] Of the recipient and writer of this letter, the following is known: it was written in Hebrew by the physician in his home city of Seleucia and sent to Egypt, probably Fustat (Old Cairo).[102] The

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[98] Y. Stillman, 'The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 7 (1976) p. 579 of 579-589.

[99] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale,* 67 (1971) 9-33; Works of Armand Citarella particularly in relation to Amalfitan merchants, best surveyed in: 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages', in: *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea.* Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XL, 23-29 aprile 1992 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1993) 239-284; a new project examining the relationship between the Kingdom of Antioch and southern Italy and Sicily during the twelfth-century is being undertaken by Joshua Birk.

[100] S. Goitein, 'A letter from Seleucia (Cilicia): dated 21 July 1137', *Speculum,* 39 (2) (1964) 298-303.

[101] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and southern Italy', p. 299.

[102] S. Goitein, 'Letter from Seleucia', p. 298.

physician himself was a Jew who had, at least for a time, lived both in Fustat and Constantinople before moving to this province.[103] He was married to a woman with a Greek name who was probably local to Seleucia.[104] Concerning the dowry itself, he remarked that it was an expensive dowry.[105] Compared with other marriage contracts in the Geniza, this one included large sums of cash, in addition to moveable goods. The dowry itself followed the Arab-Jewish tradition of providing brides with a number of personal possessions, particularly clothing, on her marriage, yet the sums of gold and silver allude to the Byzantine dowry tradition of a cash portion.[106] The physician's letter therefore highlights the shared, yet distinct, marriage traditions co-present at this time. Placed against the context of southern Italian marriage contracts where dowries or morning-gifts often comprised any combination of stable and moveable goods, cash and often a slave, this dowry does not seem exceptional. In this clearly special case, did the descendant of the "Longobardian merchant" and his family themselves request their own tradition be followed?

The Terlizzi dowry was more typical of other Apulian dowries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[107] The transfer of goods was made for the new household of Rogata, daughter of Gadeletus son of Amati, and her husband, Petracca, in Terlizzi. The goods were described as being "all new and good" ("*que omnia nova et bona sint*") and given according to the custom of their city (*"secundum usum nostre civitatis"*). While the detailed comparison of objects between the two is illuminating: the clothing, jewellery, soft-furnishings, furniture and domestic items, the comparison is just as important for demonstrating the close relationship between objects, tradition and exchange. The comparison of the two dowries shows how the description of certain objects leaves room for

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[103] *Ibid.,* p. 302.

[104] *Ibid.,* pp. 302-3.

[105] *Ibid.,* p. 299.

[106] *Ibid.,* p. 303. Goitein however notes that in a Hebrew marriage contract of 1022 from Mastaura, no cash is included in the dowry (see n. 45 with references to: T. Reinach, 'Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile', *Mélanges Schlumberger*, 1 (Paris, 1924) 118-132 and J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969) 187-190.

[107] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69.

interpretation, for example, the Arabic *bushtain qytyn* (two woollen shirts)[108] have been equated with the Greek *kiton*, also a type of shirt. I have similarly interpreted *sex camisas,* present in the Terlizzese dowry, as 'six shirts'. Although there is consensus of what a 'shirt' was in the twelfth century (an undergarment of varying length over which a tunic and/or robe was worn), would the garments have retained these descriptions if viewed from a different vestimentary culture?

Philological work on textile and dress terms has, as discussed above, helped historians understand affinities between different cultural groups, however closer examination of some examples reveals more than just relationships between word and function. When the objects and their descriptors are placed side-by-side, the idea of a shared culture of objects is made more obvious. **Table four** (see appendix) shows where similarities within groups of objects may have existed across the three material and documentary cultures discussed so far: Apulian, (Jewish) Arab and Greek Byzantine. It should be noted that although there are close parallels between the Apulian and Geniza sources for this information, the Greek evidence is slightly different, reliant largely on a selection of narrative sources, especially the *Book of Ceremonies* and a small number of wills. An important example is the bequest of the *kouropalatissa* Kale Pakouriane from the end of the eleventh century.[109] The other important observation is that all the sources relate to women's dress, and exchanges in which women played an important role in making choices. The question of who was responsible for describing these objects then

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[108] Appearing in other trousseaux as *qamîs:* Y. Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,* (Unpublished thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1972) pp. 222-23.

[109] Discussed in detail, and a major source for: T. Dawson, 'Propriety, practicality and pleasure: the parameters of women's dress in Byzantium, A.D. 1000-1200', in: L. Garland (ed.) *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 41-75. The will comes from the archives of Mount Athos: *Actes d'Ivrion,* II, *Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204. Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 16 (eds.) J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: Lethielleux, 1990) pp. 180-81. Other private documents from the same archive are published in the accompanying volume: *Actes d'Ivrion,* 1, *Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle. Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 14, (eds.) J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès *et al.* (Paris: Lethielleux, 1985) and discussed in N. Oikonomidès, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 44 (1990) 205-214.

becomes a more interesting one. The following examples illustrate how the reality of dress and textile culture across these regions lay in diverse interpretations and opposing descriptions. **Table four** cross-references the examples given below to give a sense of the parallels that existed across each region's vestimentary cultures. These comparisons have revealed unexpected, and hitherto unrecognised similarities between these Mediterranean regions.

The *mantellum* (mantle, worn by men and women, a sleeveless cloak or shawl worn around head and shoulders or just shoulders)[110] appears in a number of documents, some of which are described as: red (*rubeum*) and worth four gold *tari*,[111] of wool,[112] brown *cum connillis,*[113] blue *(blevi),*[114] worth three ounces of gold,[115] of sheep's fleece (?) (*cum pelli*),[116] and of silk (*serici*).[117] These examples highlight another element of cultural exchange, that of ownership and use. Two of the examples formed part of bridal trousseaux and a third was bequeathed to a women in a will, possibly for the same purpose. The remainder were documented in their role as reciprocal gifts or *launegilt* and received by men. How these objects then functioned is a matter of conjecture but while these may have been mantles specifically for male use, they may also have been garments belonging to a female in the household and used as traditional objects for completing land and property transactions.

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[110] Explanatory descriptions are based on several sources and definitions given by dress historians.

[111] *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 68, pp. 86-87 (Molfetta, 1184) as part of dowry (see table four for full references).

[112] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 39, pp. 55-56 (Terlizzi, 1118) as reciprocal gift (*launegilt*).

[113] *CDB* 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 155, pp. 264-66 (Bari, 1190) bequeathed to a woman called *Sopracore* in a will.

[114] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 22, pp. 37-38 (Molfetta, 1154) as *launegilt.*

[115] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86 (Terlizzi, 1193) as part of dowry.

[116] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 91, pp. 116-117 (Terlizzi, 1162) as *launegilt.*

[117] Beltrani, no. 22, pp. 33-34 (Trani, 1098) as *launegilt.*

Equivalent outer-garments worn by Arab women in the Middle East (both Jewish and Muslim[118]) were the *burd* or *ridâ*, the latter functioning similarly to the *mantellum* and with the veil, was essential wear for outdoors.[119] Other types of outer-garment mentioned in the Apulian documents were the *caia*, *sabanum* and *pallidellos* (with variant spelling). Examples of *caia* and *sabanum* were described as decorated in some way, also with descriptions such as 'Amalfitan-style' (*malfetanescam*), embroidered (*vellata*) and with a fringe or border (*profili*). The former was more a cloak, the latter a large shawl or wrap but both likely to have performed the same vestimentary function as the *mantellum.* A Greek Byzantine equivalent was the *sagion* (σάγιον) described in documents as blue (βέβετον), made of goathair and as a fleece lined cape, similar to the different fabrics of the Apulian *mantellum*.[120] Another Greek cloak or mantle was the *mandyas* (μανδύας) which was described as both plain, of red silk with gold bands, and dark green silk.[121] Two examples of the Apulian *pallidellos* were described as a simple garment (of linen) and also 'French-style' (*franciscas*) indicating something different to a notional norm.

The multiple functions of various garments are also evident when description and function are considered together. This is especially true for items which functioned simultaneously as outer-garments and headgear, and perhaps points to the limitations of modern own garment grouping criteria. The clearest direct clue of this comes from one twelfth-century Apulian document which mentions, *"inter mappas et mandilia septem."*[122] I have interpreted these items as head-scarf (*mappa*) and veil or kerchief (*mandile*) respectively but their function was essentially the same, to cover the head, albeit that the style or size and shape of cloth might have differed or were worn or fastened differently, of

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[118] Y. Stillman [N. Stillman (ed.)], *Arab Dress from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 56 notes that Jewish and Muslim women in the Middle East dressed alike during the Fatimid period as, with few exceptions, laws of *ghiyār* which restricted non-Muslim dress were not enforced.

[119] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

[120] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 49.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86 (Terlizzi, 1193).

which more presently. One suggestion is that the difference lay in their seasonal use: *mandilia* as summer garb, primarily silk and therefore lighter, and *mappe* as winter garb, similar to the shawl-like *sabanum*.[123] However, it should be noted that these items may also be interpreted as items of soft furnishings as their more traditional Latin roots suggest. *Mandile* can be translated as hand-towel or napkin and *mappa* as table-cloth. One instance which demonstrates the duality of the *mappa* is its appearance as *mappa de pane* - a bread cloth, possibly akin to a tea-towel used during the proving of dough. The presence of bread and dough making items in other dowries provides added context to this particular example. The dilemma of interpretation therefore plays a crucial role in how these objects were perceived in their contemporary contexts, and also now. The *reticella* offered an Apulian woman another alternative for headgear. This item is more suggestive of a veil or bonnet (tailored veil), maybe a hair-net made of a fine cloth, perhaps a type of gossamer. Further diversity in head-wear is suggested by the *bitvulum,* if the interpretation is correct, a type of broad band wound around the head in the manner of a turban. This recalls the problematic interpretations of Duke Melo's *mitra,* discussed above. Evidence from the Geniza documents shows that both men and women sported headgear that could be described as turbans with the male turban most often called ʿ*imāma* and that worn by women, called the ʿ*iṣāba*.[124] Even in a modern English context, the multiple means of 'turban' can have specific contemporary meanings, used as an object-description relevant to men, women and ethnically or culturally suggestive too.

The manifold function of garments was as much a feature in southern Italy as in the Middle East and Greece.[125] More than half of the garments cited in the Geniza trousseaux were items of headgear including the *mindīl* or *mandīl,* the second most common item cited after the *thawb* (a shawl or wrap).[126]

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[123] P. Ditchfield, *Culture materielle,* pp. 473-74.

[124] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 127-30.

[125] *Ibid.,* p. 40 and T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 47.

[126] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 145-49.

Stillman suggested that this item was philologically and in terms of function related to the Latin *mantellum*.[127] In the context of Apulian garments, its relationship to the *mandile* seems more compelling. In similar vein to the *mandile* and *mappa*, the *mandīl* was also a multi-purpose word and object, describing a face-veil, scarf or kerchief, large shawl, and furnishings such as a cloth napkin, cover or item of bed-linen.[128] The Greek *savanion* (σαβάνιον) also had several functions and was described as a kind of cape or napkin as well as a head-dress.[129] Did the *savanion* resemble the Apulian *sabanum*? Dawson suggests that the Byzantine turban may have been similar to the Arabʿ *isāba*.[130] Arab writers also referred to this type of head-dress as *sabanīya* which possibly had a philological relationship to the Greek *savanion.* The same Arab writers mention that the *sabanīya* was imported from 'Armenia' but this possibly referred to anywhere in the Byzantine (or Christian) world. While Dozy argued that this word was derived from Greek and was adopted into Arabic, others have suggested it was originally used in Greek and later absorbed into Arabic.[131] However the difficulty in tracing the origins and routes travelled of descriptors such as *savanion, sabanīya* and *sabanum* is that it contributes only a partial explanation of the purpose and significance of the object itself.

All three areas may have used cognate words to describe, albeit subtly, different items, in size, material, shape or the manner in which it was to be sported. There was probably also variation within each region dependent on individual taste and practicality. In a dowry for Cerbina dated 1193, cited above, two items were mentioned with some indifference: "*inter mappas et mandilia septem.*"[132] Rogata's dowry of 1138 also mentioned both items.

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[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid.,* pp. 145-46.

[129] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 47.

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *Ibid.,* cites this from: R. Serjeant, *Materials for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1972) p. 64, n. 24 which makes reference to Dozy's alternative view: R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Maisonneuves Frères, 1927).

[132] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86.

Mandilia appear most often in quantities between approximately three and seven. In the earliest document from Monopoli (1054), Melo *magister* of Bari bequeathed to his daughter Specia eight silk head-scarves or mantles, three of which to be for everyday use.[133] The *reticella dumenecale* mentioned in another dowry may also allude to its specific use as 'Sunday-best'.[134] The conclusions that may be drawn and applied across the three regions are that these were multi-purpose items whose primary function were as essential head-wear for women, just like the multi-purpose *mindîl, mandîl* of the Geniza documents and the Greek *savanion* (σαβάνιον). They functioned as garments for daily use and special occasions. They were probably worn to suit the prevailing fashion of the time (which may have changed rapidly or slowly according to innovations in textile production) or to suit an individual's taste and identity, or for specific occasions as suggested above. The choice of colour would also have varied according to availability, affordability, group and personal taste and vogue.

However, some evidence also suggests that certain garment descriptions were confined to a particular region. An interesting example is *jubba,* a long coat or robe, attested in blue and green, most frequently made of wool, with more luxurious ones of silk or embroidered with silk and gold. In Arab trousseaux they appear most frequently in Syrian marriage contracts but very rarely in Egyptian and Tunisian ones.[135] The Greek equivalent was the *zoupa* (ζοῦπα) found in fine silk, embroidered and heavy wool.[136] In common with its Syrian and Greek neighbours, this garment also appears in Apulia as *juppa* with examples in linen[137] and dark or brown silk (*de sirico fusco*).[138] This term and its variants seem to appear in European literature only from the twelfth-century

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[133] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94.

[134] *CDP* 7, *Molfetta*, no. 68, pp. 86-87 (1184, Molfetta).

[135] Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* pp. 77-78; S. Goitein, 'Four Ancient Marriage Contracts from the Cairo Geniza,' *Leshonu,* 30 (1966) p. 202.

[136] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 55.

[137] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 156, (Terlizzi, 1191) pp. 177-78.

[138] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, (Terlizzi, 1193) pp. 184-86.

and with the survival of the descendent of this term in modern French (*jupe*) and Italian (*giubba*) garment vocabulary, what does this say about the cultural journey of this object?[139]

By the time the *juppa* was recorded in Apulian documents (1191 and 1193) the Norman governance of the Principality of Antioch had long waned, however the cultural ties between Syria (particularly considering its southern Italian settlers) would have remained.[140] Was this therefore the result of cultural exchange between Syria and Apulia, mediated by communication and trade links between both Norman regions early in the twelfth century? And if so, does this also explain its arrival in Normandy? Or could these items have been brought to southern Italy by migrants coming from the crusader states such as Antioch into southern Italy after its loss? If so it is of significance also that in many instances objects did travel with their labels even if they were to lose their original associations at a later date.

A document from Monopoli of 1181 may be indicative of such cultural exchanges.[141] The marriage contract carefully cited the origins of Germana's dowry which came as part of the legacy of her aunt, Kiramaria wife of Nicolai de Viparda of Bari but was now in the hands of her executors lord Petrus *de Antiochissa* and lady Sclavarella *de Corticio* of Bari. The dowry comprised several objects including a bed and bed-clothes, a mantle or head-scarf with fringes, 28 *brachia* of cloth, woollen cloth, another mantle (*pessina*), a shirt and a lace table-cloth (*tobaleam trinatam*), plus 2 ounces Sicilian gold tari. Could the names of the executors give clues to where some of these items may have come from? Was Petrus *de Antiochissa* from the kingdom of Antioch? Or,

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[139] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 55.

[140] T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130,* (Woordbridge: Boydell, 2000) is the most up-to-date survey of this period of Antioch and Syria's history but is overtly focused on events from the point of view of the western governors and leaders. Evidence of southern Italian (albeit Normano-Italian) involvement in Antioch comes from a certain Richard of Salerno as ruler of Marash between 1108 and 1114, pp. 175-76; see also for relations with the Byzantine Empire, pp. 92-103 and pp. 93-128 on relations with other Latin settlements in the East; C. Cahen, *La syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la pricipauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940) takes a more holistic view of economics and social structures.

[141] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-12.

taking this as a matronym, was his mother from Antioch?[142] The relationship of
southern Italy and Sicily to Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt, North Africa and the
Middle East has been well explored in terms of trade, particularly through
evidence in the Geniza documents, but not very much in terms of cultural
exchange affinity, in customs and traditions; and less so, the relationship
between southern Italy and the new Norman states in the Middle East,
particularly Antioch.[143]

Objects with culture or place-related names may provide further evidence
for the nature of cultural exchange between southern Italy and its neighbours.
Both Apulian and Arab trousseaux contain such descriptors. The most common
type in the Geniza documents concern textile types whose descriptions came
from the place in which they originated, for example, *dabīqī,* a fine linen from
Egypt, originally made in the city of *Dabīq,* used to describe among other
garments, the *makhtūma,* a type of robe.[144] Another culture or place related
descriptor was *Rūmī,* denoting an item from the Byzantine or Christian world, or
perhaps, in the style of something from here. In fact after *dabīqī* it is the most
common description for textiles and garments and examples include the
minshafa, a type of scarf and *mindīl.*[145] As well as describing a type of fabric,
the term was also adapted to describe a specific garment. *Rūmiyya* was a type
of kerchief or foulard probably similar to the *mindīl rūmī.*[146] Examples included
ones made of silk or fine linen and others with borders or decorated bands.

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[142] P. Skinner, ''And her name was...?' Gender and naming in medieval southern Italy, *Medieval Prosopography,* 20 (1999) 23-49 suggests several examples of the use of matronymics in southern Italy.

[143] The principle works which have looked at the socio-economics of trade are: S. Goiten, 'Sicily and southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise'; in addition to a new project examining the relationship between the Kingdom of Antioch and southern Italy and Sicily during the twelfth-century being undertaken by Joshua Birk (Eastern Illinois University).

[144] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 57-58 and Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* pp. 20-25.

[145] Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* p. 148, p. 164.

[146] *Ibid.,* pp. 190-91.

Colours varied from white, white-grey, apricot and blue.[147] What factors influenced this variation in description is debatable and may denote more than just a textile or garment imported from abroad. It could be based on a textile made using a technique, pattern or dye developed in Byzantine Europe, an item made in the style of ones worn in this region, or a combination of these. Therefore, does the use of this epithet constitute an affinity or a clear distinction between these two Mediterranean regions?

The place-related object names in Apulian documents, also mentioned in chapter two, were different and do not have known parallels elsewhere. They were also used for objects other than items of clothing. The most similar toponymic to *rūmī* in southern Italian documents is *grecisco,* and variant *gricissco,* were used to describe a kerchief (*faciolo*) in 1054 and a bed in 1110.[148] The most frequently occurring label was *francisca* and variants *franciscas, franciscam, francisum, franciscos* were used to describe types of linen cloak or wrap (*pallidellas franciscas lini*), beds and sheets, in documents from 1138 to 1193.[149] A kerchief was described as *malfetanescam* in 1138.[150] This same label was also used for a mantle or cloak (*caiam malfetanescam*) in a dowry from 1184.[151] One of William, bishop of Troia's gifts to the cathedral in 1157 was a chasuble made from red Spanish cloth (*de panno hispano rubeo*).[152] The reason for the concentration of these descriptions in mid to late twelfth-century documents will, at least in part, be a factor of increased documentary activity and better preservation. However, it also seems likely that such descriptions were used in the inventories found in marriage contracts and wills because there was a need for them. Part of this was due to the

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[147] *Ibid.*

[148] kerchief: *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94 (Monopoli, 1054); bed: *CDP* 20, no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

[149] bed: *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69 (Terlizzi, 1138): Rogata's dowry; two beds: *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, (Molfetta, 1184) pp. 86-87; bed and linen cloaks: *CDB* 3, no. 129, pp. 153-54 (Terlizzi, 1180); bed and sheets: *CDB* 3, no. 163, pp. 184-86, (Terlizzi, 1193).

[150] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69 (Terlizzi, 1138): Rogata's dowry.

[151] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, (Molfetta, 1184) pp. 86-87.

[152] *CDP* 21, *Troia,* no. 81, pp. 252-53.

diversification of goods that were produced or brought into southern Italy during the mid to late-twelfth century, evidenced also in the increased quantity of goods available, especially silk. The other important factor was the need to distinguish between one variety of object and another. If new cultural exchanges facilitated by the Norman administrations in Italy, Sicily and the Middle East resulted in new types of dress, or new names, such as the *juppa*, then it seems likely that other objects would also require and acquire new labels.

The most striking example of the need for such descriptors is the opposition of the toponymics *grecisco* and *Francisco* introduced above. Beds were described as both 'French-style' or 'Greek-style'. What the nature of the difference between these two forms is a matter of conjecture but it was clearly an important one to make. The frequency of *francisco* may further suggest that new styles were introduced to southern Italy during the twelfth century and that these may have been developed or introduced by Norman immigrants, or in response to them. What contemporary Apulians understood as 'Greek-style' is another intriguing proposition especially as they provide the earliest use of a distinctive description. The Greek-style kerchief was bequeathed in Melo's will of 1054 at a time when Apulia was still very much part of the Byzantine periphery.[153] Was the kerchief imported from the heartlands of Byzantium? Or was it made from a particular textile fabricated in the 'Greek-style'? By 1110, at the time when a Greek-style bed was given as part of Delaila's dowry in Conversano, had the meaning of *grecisco* changed? Whatever the likely scenario it seems probable that objects made in Apulia throughout its Byzantine and Norman periods did not require the fact to be stated. Therefore the opposition of *francisco* and *grecisco* in the twelfth-century may not be adequately explained by a desire on the part native Apulians to distinguish their things from those introduced by newly settled Normans. However, an alternative explanation for this description may lie in the context provided by the document. It may have been possible that the bed given in Delaila's dowry of

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[153] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94.

1110 by Visantio of Conversano was one in the local style but described as Greek by people who were themselves new to the region.[154] As Conversano at this time was settled by a large Norman community this scenario may also be viable.[155] Regional particularity within southern Italy is also be highlighted by the use of *malfetanescam* for a kerchief and a mantle or cloak. The Amalfitan-style kerchief was singled out as one of three others in Rogata's dowry of 1138 and the cloak was contained in a later Molfettan dowry of 1184.[156] These instances suggest that certain differences did exist between the material cultures of southern Italy and that there was knowledge of these differences in each region. The Amalfitan merchant community resident in Apulia may have been introduced these particular styles and fabrics to the region. The example of the bishop of Troia's red Spanish chasuble highlights the longer-distance connections that Apulia's ecclesiasts enjoyed (probably mediated by Apulian or Amalfitan merchants), and with them the specialist knowledge required to describe their possessions.

Yedida Stillman considered the Fatimid period to be the most clothes-conscious than any other across the wide regions of Ifrīqia, Egypt, Palestine and Syria.[157] The involvement of Italian merchants in these places makes it almost certain that textiles formed a fundamental part of their trade, much of it ending up in southern Italy as well as beyond. The examination of the textiles and garments in Apulian documents suggests a similar cultural propensity towards not only using objects to create relationships, but also in recording these exchanges; this theme is the focus of chapter five. The problem of description has both helped, and limited what may be understood about dress cultures from extant sources but comparison between southern Italian evidence and that from neighbouring regions exposes similarities which were hitherto obscured. However the similarities should also not be over-stated. While an

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[154] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

[155] See chapter five on Conversano and its Norman settlers.

[156] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, pp. 86-87 (Molfetta, 1184).

[157] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* p. 53.

Apulian might have felt at home wearing her own clothes in eastern Byzantium or Egypt, myriad other signs of distinction would have set her apart from her social peers. Therefore, taking note of signs of differentiation, such as that demonstrated by the opposition of toponymics to describe objects, is just as important as interpreting the affinities which existed.

What may be concluded from this case-study is that both similarity and difference in dress, and other objects, were understood and expressed in very particular, and deliberate, ways. By making comparisons across traditional academic boundaries, this particular investigation has demonstrated that problems of description can be somewhat overcome, and as a result, a region's social and cultural history can be better articulated. The comparison of vestimentary systems in the tenth to the twelfth century across central Mediterranean regions, in addition to the preceding discussions on problems of description, have given practical examples showing the permeability of boundaries which existed between southern Italy and its neighbours.

Evidence for southern Italian commodities

What is the evidence for southern Italian commodities and where can it be found? Southern Italy's role in medieval trade has largely been characterised as that of an entrepôt or interchange for trade and traders in the Mediterranean Sea. The assessment focuses on the region's long-distance, principally sea-going commerce, dominated as it seemed to be, by Amalfitan and other Campanian merchants.[3]   In addition, the emphasis on the Tyrrhenian Sea as the main stage of commodity movement until the early eleventh century but particularly earlier, ignores the possibilities for routes of local exchange to have existed elsewhere.[4] This is further compounded by the almost sole reliance on obvious sources such as ceramics, coinage and papal documents to demonstrate the close economic relationship between Campania and Rome (Campania or *Campagna* in its traditional role as producer and its merchants as middle-men).[5] While these studies have succeeded in positioning southern Italy in the broader context of cross-Mediterranean trade, it is important to question what was happening within southern Italy at this time. Commodities were not just traded, imported and exported from port cities. Their role as witnesses to

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[3] Most previous work has been synthesised and brought up to date in: A. Citarella, "Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages' in: *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea.* Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 40, 23-29 April 1992 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993), 239-284 — also other papers in this volume. An alternative view of Amalfitan trade in particular is: B. Kreutz, 'Ghost ships and phantom cargoes: reconstructing early Amalfitan trade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 20 (1994), 347-58; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); for Italy's Mediterranean context in the twelfth century, D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies: Economic Relations between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); evidence of southern Italian and Sicilian trade in the Cairo Geniza documents which also provides valuable evidence for the eleventh century is discussed in: S. Goitein, 'Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale,* 67 (1971), 9-33; and documents found mainly in: S. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza,* vol. 1 *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999 originally published 1967).

[4] M. McCormick,*The Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 541-42 and pp. 618-630; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* pp. 738-39, also based on McCormick's analysis.

[5] M. McCormick, *Origins,* pp. 622-26 and C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* p. 735 and pp. 740-41; A. Rovelli, 'Coins and trade in early medieval Italy', *Early Medieval Europe,* 17 (1), (2009) 45-76 does not go into any detail about the circulation of coins and ceramics in the South.

hard-nosed commerce, denies their role as social objects and sustainers of other types of exchange.[6] This chapter therefore places commodities in their social and political contexts in order to gain a deeper understanding of how local networks in southern Italy, from producer to consumer, could function.

The aim of the chapter is specifically to highlight examples of exchange which were not exclusively situated in the traditional milieux of the Tyrrhenian sea, trade with Rome, or the role of merchant middle-men (and women) for the conveyance of luxury goods.[7] In addition, it reconstructs evidence from a variety of sources to demonstrate how objects which are not traditionally used for economic history, can provide significant insights into local exchange. The chapter will principally use two case studies to illustrate routes of local commodity movements in southern Italy. The first will examine how certain inscribed penannular brooches and their distribution in the seventh to eighth centuries can yield clues about modes of manufacture and exchange along older, Roman routes. The second will demonstrate how evidence of exchange between regions along the Adriatic coast can reveal more about economic interplay between South and North Italy. It will use the example of the silk industry and trade against the backdrop of political and commercial relations between Apulia and Venice from the eleventh to the twelfth century.

Sources for objects as commodities exist in several different places. Due to the predominance of ceramics in the spectrum of material evidence from the South, it offers the opportunity for comparison with other regions, not just within Italy but throughout the medieval Mediterranean and European world.[8] Patterns of ceramic production, circulation and consumption have also become the zeigeist of the medieval economy, however, as discussed above, they do not provide a complete enough picture. For now, it is important to use a brief

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[6] C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages,* p. 694 makes this point with regard to Karl Marx's view of the realities of socio-economic relations through time; also the subject of discussion in Appadurai's introduction to: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 3-63.

[7] P. Skinner, 'Donne nel commercio amalfitano (secoli X-XII)' in: G. Casagrande (ed.) *Donne tra medioevo ed età moderna in Italia. Ricerche* (Perugia: Morlacchi Editore, 2004), 1-22 discusses the evidence for female participation in Amalfitan trade.

[8] As demonstrated by Chris Wickham in his chapter, 'Systems of Exchange' in: *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 693-824.

analysis of pottery from the South as a backdrop to how commodities functioned in local exchange networks. Pottery is also useful for detecting the complexities of commodity movement in and out of southern Italy from the fifth century, for example, that of African Red Slip ware and its locally produced imitations.[9] The ceramic evidence points to the continuation of Roman urban centres where links with northern Africa and the eastern Mediterranean are very visible from the examples of imported wares.[10] Styles of pottery varied a lot in the seventh century pointing to a lack of any consistent practice across regions and sub-regions, making comparison across these areas difficult. However, this variation is also reflected in other objects of the seventh century, such as those discussed in chapter four although a case for the production of fine metalwork is stronger for the new Lombard centre at Benevento, than it is for Naples. The particular example of fine pots painted with spots, bands and spirals produced in Naples does appear elsewhere in southern Italy, albeit in single finds, particularly in funerary contexts, indicating the city's continued role in producing high-quality pottery and exporting it to its neighbours.

While ceramics produced in Naples were finely made, items from the nearby island of Ischia, particularly evidenced in lamps, were almost exclusively coarse in comparison, as are examples from elsewhere in the South such as Reggio Calabria.[11] This may confirm Naples as a producer of fine wares at this time, while other places produced coarse ware vessels for more prosaic domestic purposes, probably solely stimulated by local need. By the late eighth and ninth centuries, another type of pottery, the *lucerne a ciabatta* (lamps)*,* produced in Sicily, but also imitated locally, have been found in many of the

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[9] P. Arthur and H. Patterson, 'Ceramics and early medieval central and southern Italy: "a potted history"' in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'Alto-Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Florence: All'Insegno del Giglio, 1994) 409-441 discuss African Red Slip ware, its imitations and other locally produced ceramics. Also for discussion of southern Italian ceramics, P. Reynolds, *Trade in the Western Mediterranean. AD 400-700: The Ceramic Evidence* (Oxford: BAR International Series (604), 1995) and S. Gelichi (ed.) *La ceramica nel mondo bizantino tra XI e XV secolo e i suoi rapporti con l'Italia* (Florence: Edizioni all'Insegna del Giglio*,* 1993).

[10] P. Arthur and H. Patterson, 'A potted history', p. 415. They add the caveat that future archaeological work may reveal other Roman towns which continue importing.

[11] *Ibid.,* pp. 417-18

same sites, and additionally found in Rome, Naples and Otranto.[12] Extant evidence from the late ninth to the eleventh century shows more similarity from region to region indicating the development of mass production centres.[13] This pottery seemed to move around the region more than the ceramic goods from previous centuries. The evidence from inland routes such as the Via Appia and its network of roads, as suggested in the first case-study below, may suggest that such ceramics were also conveyed like this. However, the nuances provided by pottery from rural areas, both with and without growing central places may, when compared in detail, yield a number of micro-networks which formed part of the larger exchange routes.[14] By the twelfth century a significant change is detected in ceramic manufacture, especially the appearance of glazed wares. While this has been described as a result of the growth of a new market economy, the reasons have not been posited in any detail.[15] As will be demonstrated in the case-study on silk, this development, a result of technological innovation, could itself have been facilitated by political and social change heralded by the Normans, and responses to it.

The evidence from numismatics is comparable to that of pottery in its 'coverage' of the period and region in question.[16] Changes and developments in coinage can also be traced through documents, for example in the penalty clauses of charters.[17] The way in which coinage and metalworking were related in the early Middle Ages is discussed in detail in chapter four, and demonstrates

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[12] *Ibid.,* p. 419.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 421.

[14] *Ibid.,* pp. 423-35.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 421.

[16] Coinage from southern Italy is dealt with most comprehensively in: P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage,* vol. 3 pt. 4 *South Italy, Sicily and Sardinia,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); also, A. Rovelli, 'Coins and trade'.

[17] Money exchange and circulation in Lazio and parts of Campania (ancient *Latium* and *Sabina*) discussed in: P. Toubert, *Les structures du Latium médiévale. Le Latium méridionale et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle,* 2 vols. (Rome: École française de Rome, 1973) pp. 551-624; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993) pp. 443-85.

the value of bringing in other types of material evidence to discussions on production. Other evidence for commodity production (and consumption) comes from anecdotal evidence in narrative sources: "...The main wealth of Naples is linen and linen cloth. I have seen there pieces the like of which I found in no other country and there is no craftsman in any other workshop (*Tiraz*) in the world who is able to manufacture it. They are woven 100 *dhira* [in length] by 15 or 10 [in width] and they sell for 150 *ruba`i* a piece, more or less." So remarked Abu al-Qasim Muhammad ibn Hawqal in *The Book of the Routes and the Kingdoms* around the year 977.[18] Put in the context of other anecdotal sources, a picture may be sketched of the places and people that sustained local networks which facilitated longer-distance commodity exchange. To continue with the example of linen, environmental evidence from eighth- and ninth-century contexts at Santa Patrizia in Naples attests the presence of *Linum catharticum* (flax) and possibly also *Linum usitatissimum* (cultivated flax).[19] By the mid-eleventh century evidence from Kufic inscribed tombstones indicates a resident Arab population in Naples[20] and Neapolitan documents cite *filiolarii* in some documents of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[21] Marshy areas to the north-east and south of the city were possible sites for the cultivation and preparation of flax for linen manufacture.[22] Paul Arthur identifies early medieval Naples's exchange network as a "dendritic central-place system," that is, it acted as an entry and exit point at the boundaries of its territory for its own goods and that of other cities throughout Campania, thereby operating monopolistically certain products such as fine cloths, wine and arms.[23]

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[18] R. Lopez and I. Raymond (eds.) *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World,* (New York, 1990) p. 54, originally from: *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, vol. 1, M. Amari (ed.) Italian version, (Rome, 1880).

[19] P. Arthur, *Naples,* pp. 114-15.

[20] U. Scerrato (ed.), *Arte islamica a Napoli, opere delle raccolte pubbliche napoletane* (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica, 1967) pp. 150-57 and P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 143.

[21] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 115; *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia,* vol. 2 (2i), *Regesta Neapolitana,* (ed.) B. Capasso, (Naples, 1885), nos. 181, 274, 352, 407, 451.

[22] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 5 and p. 115.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 139 and p. 149.

Other sources yield questions about the impact of certain commodity exchanges on other places and merchants in the region, for example, what impact did seventh to ninth-century Naples have on neighbouring Benevento? Chapter four suggests the kinds of cultural relationships that may have existed in the seventh and eighth centuries but by the ninth century, political instability on the peninsula clearly played an important role in the trade networks that existed. The *Pactum Sicardi* of 836, while concerning the trafficking of Lombard slaves between the principality of Salerno and duchy of Naples, at the time including Sorrento and Amalfi, demonstrates the importance of good political relationships in the maintenance of local exchange networks in southern Italy.[24] Certainly such a treaty was probably made in the face of more successful local political arrangements, such as those between Egyptian and Tunisian Arabs and Amalfitan and Gaetan merchants, particularly the former who must have created a number of reciprocal agreements in order for their communities abroad to exist and prosper.[25] The *Pactum* was made precisely at the moment when Prince Sicard's governance of the majority of the peninsula was weakening, while at the same time his Campanian neighbours in Amalfi and Gaeta were showing signs of governing their own affairs, and Naples, while nominally loyal to the Byzantine Empire, had been independently-ruled since the eighth century.

This may illustrate how the flow of merchants and goods across administrative divides could have been initiated and maintained when merchants cultivated diplomatic relationships themselves, especially when the ruling elites were themselves merchants, such as the example of Docibilis I in Gaeta (see chapter five). The tradition of this must have been long, accounting therefore for the necessary relationships that must have existed between southern Italian and north African merchants to procure the number and variety of ceramic imports from the fifth to seventh centuries. There is evidence of this from the eighth century onwards when southern Italian merchants exploited

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[24] *Pactum Sicardi,* document no. 7 in: R. Lopez and I. Raymond (eds.) *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 1990) pp. 33-35.

[25] A. Citarella, 'The relation of Amalfi with the Arab World before the Crusades', *Speculum,* 42 (2) (1967), p. 303 of 299-312. Amalfi had many communities resident abroad including Fustat (Cairo), Acre (Palestine), Constantinople and possibly also Cordoba.

trade with regions that did not recognise Byzantine sovereignty (and were therefore boycotted by Constantinopolitan merchants).[26] The importance of, and strategic need for, southern Italian timber and agricultural products by the north African Islamic states promoted the region as a vital centre in the Mediterranean, rather than a passive outpost.[27] Indeed, the condemnation of the ongoing trade in materials for arms with the Arabs by southern Italian merchants was a cause for major concern for Pope John VIII (872–882).[28] These glimpses into the political contexts of economic exchange demonstrate the need to judge commodity exchanges in their specific historical situations. The following case-studies will elucidate further some of the ways in which local networks were created and maintained within their cultural and political contexts.

Case-study one: Pilgrim consumers and inland commodity exchange

The first case-study concerns a 'set' of twenty-two inscribed penannular brooches, bronze (copper alloy), two silver, or with a silver-coloured coating (silver or tin) (P7 and P16) and one silver with probable gilt coating (P17). **Table one** (see appendix) lists the brooches, their origins where known, and locations and will be referred to throughout this case-study.   Most of the brooches do not retain their pin. They display two types of zoomorphic terminals. The majority are leonine (stylised lions) and the other type displays

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[26] A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages' in: *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea*. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 40, 23-29 April 1992 (Spoleto: Centro di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993) p. 244 of 239-284.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 249-51. Areas north of the Sahara (especially Egypt) did not have a ready supply of timber with which to build naval or commercial ships and so this aspect of the trade raises many interesting questions about the extent to which such trading relations influenced the foreign policies of the leaders of the southern Italian polities. For example, from the eighth century onwards, the exploitation by southern Italian merchants of trade with regions that did not recognise Byzantine sovereignty (and were therefore boycotted by their merchants) (p. 244), and later in the 11th century the lack of enthusiasm among the newly settled Normans and the Amalfitans to stop supplying the Islamic enemy with materials for war during the Crusades (p. 250 n. 29). Michael McCormick is sceptical about the evidence for the need of south Italian timber by the North African states: M. McCormick, *Origins,* p. 627.

[28] John VIII's hand-over of lands at Traetto and Fondi to Docibilis I of Gaeta (see chapter five) in the late 870s might have been as part of a bargain to stop the Gaetans trading with Saracens: P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy. The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours 850-1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 28-29.

serpentine terminals (snake, or possibly wyvern/dragon heads) using a bearing or stud for the eye. Their art historical classification has led them to be described as Ostrogothic or Lombard, and on this basis, they have been dated to the fifth to the eighth century.[29] Several other similar examples, with zoomorphic terminals, but uninscribed have been found in graves at Saturo near Taranto, and in similar contexts at Crotone, Calabira.[30] Those with known or likely find-spots dominate in modern Puglia and Basilicata[31] but have also been found as far west as Benevento (a cluster of finds: P4, P11-13 and

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[29] This is the case for the three examples held at the British Museum whose exact find-spots are unknown. They were reputedly found somewhere in Italy, two arrived in the museum from the Franks Bequest of 1897 (P15 and P16), the other (P17) has also been in the museum since the 19th century (1856), exact provenance unknown.

[30] C. D'Angela, *Taranto medievale* (Taranto: Cressati, 2002) pp. 158-61 (figs. 26-27) discusses these, one with zoomorphic (serpentine) terminals, the other with triangular terminals appearing to be zoomorphic; found as grave goods during excavations at Saturo (graves 6 and 16) near Taranto; the Crotonese examples were cited in: C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule altomedievali da Ruvo e Gravina di Puglia' in: C. Marangio, and A. Nitti (eds.) *Scritti vari di antichità in onore di Benita Sciarra Bardaro* (Fasano: Schena, 1994) p. 82 of 81-83 citing: R. Spadea, 'Crotone: problemi del territorio fra tardoantico e medioevo', in: *La Calabria de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité,* 103 (1991), 553-573.

[31] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule con iscrizione dall'Italia meridionale' in: *Puglia paleocristiana*, vol. 3 (Bari: Edipuglia, 1979) 331-349 published thirteen examples, mainly from Puglia and Benevento and those of uncertain provenance; for Puglia, a further inscribed example (P1) found at Gravina was published in: C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule' and another found at Forenza, near Venosa, Basilicata (P23) reported in: M. Salvatore, *Il museo archeologico nazionale di Venosa,* (Matera: IEM Editrice, 1991) p. 288, fig. t15; and P3 from Ordona, see: J. Mertens (ed.) *Herdonia. Scoperta di una città* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1995) p. 352 fig. 354; C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici e archeologici dell'Alto Medioevo in Puglia' in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.), *La Storia dell'Alto-Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Florence: All'Insegno del Giglio, 1994) pp. 301-2 of 299-332; also cited by P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 140 n. 108.

possibly P25)[32] and Sarno,[33] as far north as Sepino (P14)[34] and as far south as Calabria (P20-22) (**map 1**).[35]

Preliminary enquiries have shown that brooches of this description have not been found in other parts of Europe, although inscribed objects of other kinds such as the seal rings discussed in chapter four, and spoons found in several seventh-century Frankish graves are relatively well-known from this period. Thirteen of the brooches have been published by Mariarosa Salvatore who analysed form, style and epigraphy but did not posit a socio-cultural context for them or discuss their economic significance.[36] The distribution of the brooches led Paul Arthur, who also introduced more recent examples, to postulate that they were the products of itinerant craftsmen who frequented large fairs and markets across the South but he does not hypothesise the reason why brooches of this style would have been in demand, and therefore acquired.[37] Palaeographic and onomastic comparisons of the inscriptions narrows the period of most of the examples to the eighth century, with some examples more likely to hail from the seventh (for example the ones with serpentine terminals (P7, P16, P23); however a ninth-century date should not be altogether ruled out for some of the examples.[38] All but one of the

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[32] In addition to those from Benevento published by Salvatore (see above) were reported those from: Beneficio, Monte Marano, near Benevento: C. Franciosi, 'Area beneventana occidentale - attività 1981-1982' in: *Magna Grecia bizantina e tradizione classica.* Atti del 22 convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia, 1982), pp. 445-46 of 443-446 (cited by P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 140 n. 108); and P25 may be an additional find or one of the known ones: L. Gasperini, 'Fibula inscritta altomedievale dal Beneventano' in: *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra medioevo ed età modern,* vol. 1 (Rome: 1993) pp. 9-14.

[33] Reported in: M. Ianelli, 'Evidenze ed ipotesi ricostruttive medievali nell'agro sarnese' in: *Didattica e territorio,* (Nola: Arti grafiche 'Scala Giovanni') pp. 199-214, fig. 4 (cited by P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 140 n. 108).

[34] Also published in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.) *Samnium. Archeologia del Molise,* (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1991) p. 355, f84 and pl. 9f.

[35] Those from Calabria were published after Salvatore's article: G. Roma (ed.) *Necropoli e insediamenti fortificati nella Calabria settentrionale,* vol. 1, *Le necropoli altomedievali,* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001) pp. 116-65 on finds from the large early medieval cemetery at Torre Toscana, Belsito, near Cosenza.

[36] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', *passim.*

[37] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 140-41 and fig. 6: 22.

[38] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 342-46.

Map 1: Distribution of penannular brooches, shrines to St Michael the Archangel, and the *Via Appia,* 7-9th century

Data: Author
Map by: Tom Goskar

Inscribed penannular brooches

Fig. 1: Silvered-bronze penannular brooch, leonine terminals with inscription *D(ominu)s in nomine tuo* (AF 2718, British Museum) (P15)   *Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission*

Fig. 2: Silver or silver/tin coated, serpentine terminals, with inscription *Es Clauco viva* (AF 2717, British Museum) (P16) *Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission*
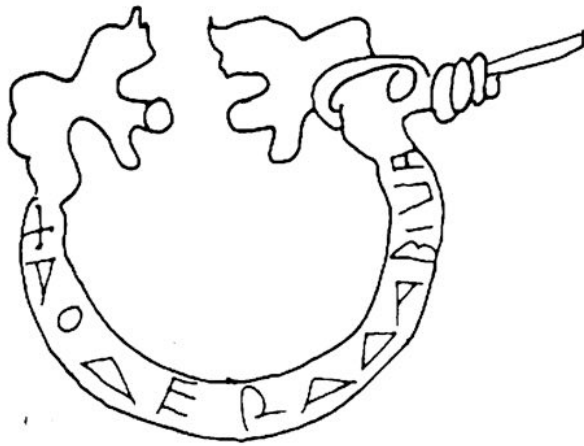
Fig. 3: Copper alloy, leonine terminals with inscription *Aoderada biva,* found in Sepino, nr. Campobasso, Molise (20387, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Chieti) (P14)
After: M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 337-8; fig. II, 6

Fig. 4: Copper alloy, leonine terminals with inscription *Lupu biba,* found in a grave in the locality of 'Agnulo', nr. Mattinata, Puglia (Sansone Collection) (P6)
After: M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 333; fig. II, 3

inscriptions display names, both Romano-Greek and Lombard, with twelve bearing the words *Lupu Biba.* This is a contraction of *Lupus Bibas.*[39]   All inscriptions are preceded with equal arm (or Greek) crosses +*.* Examples of other name inscriptions are: *Sinatri viva in D(e)o* (P7), *Aoderada biva* (P14) (**fig. 3**),[40] *Es Clauco viva* (P16) (**fig. 2**),[41] *Aloara Causo* (P17),[42] *Lucas bibas* (P19) and *Veroni* or *Eufroni* (P20).[43]   The one inscription that does not bear a personal name has, *+D(ominu)s in nomine tuo* (P15) (**fig. 1**)*.*

Further examination of the inscriptions also betrays their clear southern Italian connection. The majority of the brooches display variations on the word *vivas.* The use of this formula with the owner's name or initials are also found on inscriptions on metalwork from other parts of Italy and north and western Europe such as seal rings, other items of jewellery, cutlery and toiletry tools.[44] A southern Italian origin is made clearer with their particular variations of *vivas* (*bibas and bivas* becoming *biba).*[45]   Indeed, the imperative *biba in Deo* is found often carved onto tombs from Puglia.*[46]* The two which use a more accurate Latin form are perhaps, not coincidentally, the two better-executed examples with serpentine terminals (P7 and P16). These display the names Sinatri and Clauco, the former a variation on *Senator* and *Senature* found in eighth-century Lombard documents from northern Italy, and the latter is probably Greek in origin.[47] The name Lupus (*Lupu*) which appears on the majority of examples

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[39] *bibas = vivas:* subjunctive, 'may he/she live'.

[40] Also published in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.) *Samnium. Archeologia del Molise,* (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1991) p. 355, f84 and pl. 9f.

[41] British Museum, London, no. AF 2718, from the Franks Bequest 1897, said to be found in Italy; Salvatore posits that the *Es* (the 's' is in fact inscribed in mirror fashion just as in the example *D(ominu)s in nomine tuo* (P15) and could denote the Greek final sigma) may be a Latin transliteration of the Greek εις. *Clauco* or *Claucus* may well be a Romano-Greek name.

[42] British Museum, London, no. 1856,4-17,2; unpublished.

[43] The VE ligature may indicate the *Eu* diphthong, thus D'Angela's proposal that it could be *Eufroni:* C. D'Angela, 'Due fibule altomedievali dalla provincia di Cosenza', *Historiam pictura refert* (1994) p. 198.

[44] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule con iscrizione dall'Italia meridionale', pp. 340-41.

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 342.

[46] C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici', p. 304.

[47] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 343-45.

was a very popular given (Roman) Latin name and *cognomen*, especially among those of culturally Lombard origin and continued to be so up to the eleventh century, of which more presently.[48] Lucas, also a Greek name, was relatively common and diffuse throughout the the early medieval period in Christianised Europe (P19).[49] The remaining names have a clear Lombard origin and variations appear in southern Italian contexts elsewhere, for example, *Aloara* (P17).

Thirteen or fourteen of the inscribed examples, in addition to the uninscribed examples, have known find-spots or areas;[50] and a further two have hypothetical find-areas near to the museums or collections which hold them (P6 and P7).[51] The example now held in Ascoli-Piceno in northern Italy (P10) has an unknown Italian provenance as do the remaining five from non-Italian museums (P16-18: British Museum, London and P18 and P19: Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). These last have been grouped with the rest as being of southern Italian origin or association, on the basis of the close similarities in style and workmanship. While their interest to epigraphers is undisputed, there seems to be a good case here to treat these objects as commodities and place their in their temporal contexts to find out: who made them, where were they made, what stimulated the demand and how were they acquired?

Clues to answering these questions lie in examining their workmanship, then analysing the distribution of these finds and finally suggesting a credible historical context for them. Both the execution of the design and the inscriptions are relatively simple, some more crude than others.[52] The similarity in size (34–

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 343 nn. 19-20 - the name also appears in the *Chronicon vulturnense* and documents from the islands of Tremiti (northern Puglia) from the eleventh century.

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 343.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 336-37, notes that two examples (P12 and P13) found in the works of Bruzza may refer to the same item found in the area of Benevento, see: L. Bruzza, 'Poche osservazioni sopra una fibula cristiana di bronzo', *Bullettino archeologico napolitano,* N.S. 3 (1855), table V, 5 and N.S. 4, (1855), pp. 166-68; also CIL IX, 6090, 12.

[51] P6 also published in: C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico' in: R. Cassano, *Principi, imperatori, vescovi. Duemila anni di storia a Canosa,* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1992) p. 913, no. 4 of 909-915.

[52] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 347 poses the question about the whether these brooches were produced in workshops.

36mm) of the inscribed brooches with leonine terminals indicate that their form and design might have been copied from a prototype design, but not necessarily made at the same workshop particularly as designs themselves were portable.[53] Moulds for these items would also have been portable and relatively easy to reproduce. Casting and finishing may have been undertaken at workshops near the point of sale.[54] If these brooches entered their exchange networks through itinerant craftsmen, they could also have been made at a smith's home workshop, the blanks then taken from fair to fair, ready to be personalised.[55] Alternatively, perhaps artisans travelled to places where workshops and tools were available to rent during the period of a fair and made them there. Much like tanning, dying and other industrial processes, smelting and founding created unpleasant smells and waste and so whichever were the circumstances for production, it is likely that they were suburban.[56]

The reduced melting point of alloys as opposed to pure metals mean that the small quantities of copper alloy required for such pieces could have been produced at small-scale sites using hearths for smelting the alloy in crucibles and using hand-bellows for introducing airflow to the process, rather than at larger-scale 'mass production' sites such as those of iron workers (blacksmiths).[57] The techniques to achieve consistent results, in spite of the relative simplicity of these objects when compared with penannular brooches from elsewhere, would still have required acquired and practised skill, possibly

[53] D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins. Possessions and People in Medieval Britain,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 47, fig. 2.5 shows an example of a penannular brooch design scratched into a piece of slate from the late sixth/mid-seventh century site of Dunadd hillfort. Designs may normally have been sketched and planned on parchment, wood, wax or metal.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 41, fig. 2.1 shows an example of a broken cast for a zoomorphic terminated penannular brooch at the site at Dunadd hillfort, later sixth/seventh-century; K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003) pp. 139-146 discusses different mould techniques that could have been used to cast early medieval metal objects in Britain. H. Hodges, *Artifacts. An Introduction to Early Materials and Technology* (London: Duckworth, 1989) originally published 1964, 2nd edition 1976, pp. 68-76 discusses casting techniques for copper and its alloys. There is nothing to suggest from the southern Italian examples that similar techniques were not used.

[55] There is evidence from Anglo-Saxon England that brooch manufacture took place in domestic settings such as houses and farms, probably undertaken by itinerant craftsmen (D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt*, p. 36); P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 140.

[56] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 348 supposes a continuation of local Roman workshops but does not identify location.

[57] K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts*, pp. 136-37.

from within a family setting, and within a defined locale, as for other metalwork production such as that attested in documentary examples from tenth-century Naples which pertain to blacksmith families living in the same neighbourhood (*ferarii*).[58]

The copper alloy and silver or tin used were probably derived from recycling existing pieces or from other scrap as seems to have been the case in other parts of Europe.[59] Archaeological evidence for smithing bronze has been found in a seventh- to eighth- century context in intramural Naples, and finds relating to smelting and founding bronze in fourth- to seventh-century contexts at Otranto.[60] Evidence for widespread smelting (usually in the form of slag) in the rest of the region in this period is scant though a number of sites have recently been identified in southern Puglia. This may therefore support the hypothesis that reuse, rather than the production of new alloys and metals, provided a major supply of metals and alloys for small objects in this period. For those brooches with a silver-coloured coating, this likely to have been achieved in one of two ways. If silver, the process of *overlaying* was probably employed. This is a mechanical process where the copper alloy base was pricked several times and then silver sheet was adhered to it by hammering it to the roughened surface, and then held in place by folding down the remainder of the sheet.[61] Those examples that exist just in their copper alloy state may therefore be ones where the overlay has come away, leaving a degraded surface (possibly the case with P10 and P21) . Silvering may also have been achieved on copper alloy items through rubbing it with mercury (an amalgam), and then heating the whole item to remove the mercury.[62] Tin has also been

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[58] P. Skinner, 'Urban communities in Naples, 900-1050', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 62 (1994) p. 291-94 cites Neapolitan examples. Other examples are found in the documents of Puglia, for example *ferarii* referred to in Pugliese documents.

[59] K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts,* p. 137. If silver was obtained from ore, it implies the need for lead or from which most silver is extracted.

[60] P. Arthur and E. Gliozzo, 'An archaeometallurgical study of Byzantine and medieval metallic slags from southern Apulia', *Archeologia Medievale*, 22 (2005) 377-388; P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 97 and pp. 118-19 and M. Becker, P. Arthur *et al.* (eds.) *Excavations at Otranto 1978-1979,* 2 vols. (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 1992), vol. 2 pp. 284-85.

[61] H. Hodges, *Artifacts,* pp. 78-79.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

used on bronze and copper alloy objects to give the illusion of silver and some of the examples may actually be tinned rather than silvered.[63] Tin was applied with one of two methods, first by softening the metal to be coated in a low flame and then rubbing a stick of tin over the surface so it would melt and coat the base metal. The base metal had to be one that had a low melting point such as tin as silver cannot be applied to copper alloy in this way. The other method, called *flushing* or *flashing,* applied a flux of resin (such as pine) all over the surface and then the object was dipped into molten tin, excess tin then wiped away.[64] The one example that is believed to be silver gilt (P17) may have been coated using a similar method to silvering: by adding mercury to the gold to create an amalgam and then heating the object when finished to dispel the mercury.[65]

The inscriptions themselves could have been applied in one of two ways. For the first method, a type of *graver* or *scorper* was used, a thin, chisel-like tool with a V- or diamond-shaped end, that is not struck with a hammer but used to engrave the letters into the surface by hand. The second method would have required a *tracer,* another type of chisel, and made of a metal harder than copper alloy such as hard steel. The tracer was used with a hammer to create indents in the surface in short lines.[66] Those with coated surfaces of tin or silver may have employed this technique rather than the former. Some of the inscriptions, particularly those on coated brooches may have been further embellished by the use of *niello* (P14 and P17, possibly also P15 and P16). Niello is a black sulphide, for example of copper or copper/silver and it was often used to create a striking decoration on white metal (and gold) objects.[67] The process to create the niello sulphide, often using lead was, according to

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[63] This was suggested to me by David Hinton, Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, and that it might be that the previous identification of a silver coating may actually be tin on copper alloy, *pers. comm., 22* January 2007.

[64] H. Hodges, *Artifacts,* p. 79 and K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts,* p. 159.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.,* p. 79.

Theophilus's description a painstaking process.[68] The final product was either broken up (in sheet form) or ground into a powder and stored in goose quills for future use.[69] Niello could be applied to the inscription engraving by heating a rod of it to a red hot temperature and rubbing it all over the brooch with a pair of tongs. Excess sulphide was then removed with a file or similar instrument to reveal the inscription or pattern.[70]

This analysis of the processes undertaken to produce such commodities may in fact point to a system of manufacture that involved more than one craftsman and opens a window onto related spheres of exchange such as how the scrap metals (copper alloy, silver or tin) were obtained and from where? Did the craftsman produce his own *niello* or were such things and appropriate equipment available in rented workshops? Did the craftsman who made the brooch also execute the inscription? Deconstructing the manufacturing process illustrates the kind of infrastructure that needed to be in place for these and similar items to be made (for example compare with the copper alloy horse brooches discussed in chapter four). It is also important for understanding the experience of artisans in this period. While it has been suggested that a likely scenario to reconcile the similarity in workmanship of the brooches with their archaeological distribution is if they were created by itinerant craftsmen, what situation might have existed if the brooches moved *after* they were personalised, and then ended up as deliberate concealments, accidental losses or grave-goods?

The distribution of the brooches reveals at least one suggestive exchange route (**map 1**). The Appian Way (*Via Appia*) was the main 'trunk route' that linked Rome and the south-east of Italy (ending at Brindisi, southern Puglia) throughout the Middle Ages, providing to this day the most convenient crossing of the Appenines through the Stigliano Valley. The section that runs from Benevento to Brindisi, via Canosa and Bari (as opposed to the longer route via Taranto) to Brindisi is better known as *Via Traiana.* The pattern of finds largely

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[68] Cited in K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts, passim.* referring to the text ascribed to the twelfth century monk Theophilus, *On Divers Arts*, (trans.) J. Hawthorne and C. Smith (New York: Dover, 1979).

[69] K. Leahy, *Anglo-Saxon Crafts,* p. 159.

[70] *Ibid.,* pp. 159-60.

follows the course of the Appian Way whichever route is plotted and this might be expected if the brooches were exchanged at fairs that dotted the area on which itinerant craftsmen and others across the South travelled. However, the question remains as to what stimulated the demand for these particular items? The analysis of the brooch design and processes of manufacture do not unequivocally point to a single workshop but nor can this be ruled out. If this was the case, where would it have been? Both Naples and Benevento have been posited as centres for richly decorated late-sixth to eighth-century gold and enamel objects, discussed in chapter four, but bronze could have been made anywhere as has been illustrated.[71] Other items of bronze or copper alloy from the period of the penannular brooches include for example, strap-ends, buckles and items of jewellery from across the peninsula, mainly inferred from funerary contexts (see chapter five) but also from settlement archaeology such as the sub-urban sites of Otranto from where a significant number of bronze objects have come to light.[72]

The inability to unequivocally class these items as of either Lombard or Greek-Byzantine patronage or manufacture would support the hypothesis that these brooches could have been created and consumed in any number of milieux in southern Italy, from the seventh to the eighth/ninth century. However, a clue from the designs, taken with the nature of the inscriptions, and the distribution, may reveal a plausible historical context and suggest the stimulus for demand. Traders and craftsmen were not the only people to tread the route south on the *Via Appia*. Pilgrims have been travelling this route for centuries, especially to take onward transport from the ports of Bari, Brindisi and Taranto to Constantinople, north Africa and Palestine. However the most significant and well-visited cult site beyond Rome was the sacred shrine of the Archangel

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[71] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 119 and E. Galasso, *Langobardia minor*, (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1991) p. 39

[72] The 239 bronze finds from Otranto are discussed by A. and M. Hicks, 'The small objects' in: M. Becker, P. Arthur *et al.* (eds.) *Excavations at Otranto 1978-1979,* vol. 2 (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 1992) pp. 280-313

Michael on the Gargano promontory (northern Puglia).[73] It was a particularly popular pilgrimage centre for local southern Italians as well as Lombards from elsewhere, Greeks, and others who came from afar in northern Europe attested by the large quantity of runic inscriptions in the shrine.[74] The last stretch of the *Via Traiana* which takes travellers onto the Gargano promontory and to the shrine was (and is) also known as the *Via Sacra Langobardorum.* Indeed, it is so integral to the centre that it is part of the current World Heritage Site status bid to UNESCO for preserving the pilgrimage centre.[75]

Early medieval travel along this route is also attested in other sources. In 867, Bernard, a Frankish monk from Champagne travelled on a pilgrimage to visit the shrines of St Michael from Rome to the Holy Land with two other monks from Spain and Benevento. Bernard wrote about the journey in his *Itinerarium* where he described their stop at Monte Sant'Angelo before continuing to the then Emirate of Bari and then onto Taranto where they embarked on a slave ship bound for Alexandria.[76] Relics also travelled this route. Evidence from an eighth-century relic tag from Sens attests to its journey from Gaul, via Autun to Rome, onto Monte Sant'Angelo and then by sea across the Aegean to Ephesus

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[73] The foundation of this cult lies in the story of the Archangel's apparition to the Bishop of Siponto in traditionally dated to 492 on Monte Gargano. The feast day (8 May) of this vision and the founding of the sacred site has been celebrated as the day when St Michael appeared to the Lombard bishop of Siponto San Lorenzo (St Lawrence) and foretold a victory. The news of the vision was said to embolden the inhabitants who left defence of their city and joined the forces of Lombard duke Grimoald in 662/3. The battle against the Greek incursion into northern Puglia was won on this day and it has remained an alternative feast day (to traditional 29 September) ever since. The story is contained in, *Liber de apparitione sancti Michaelis in monte Gargano,* (ed.) G. Waitz, *MGH. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX,* (Hanover, 1878), 541-543.

[74] On runic inscriptions: C. Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali del santuario garganico' in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), pp. 101-2 of 91-103; on interest in the cult site from Byzantium: G. Otranto, 'Genesi, caratteri e diffusione del culto micaelico del Gargano' in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), pp. 46-48 of 43-64.

[75] The bid document with mapping data can be viewed at: http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1161/ (accessed: 10/01/2007).

[76] M. McCormick, *Origins*, pp. 134-38 and Map 5.2. The *Itinerarium* is contained in: *Bernardi monachi itinerarium factum in loca sancta anno DCCCLXX* (ed.) J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 121, col. 569-74.

or Constantinople and thence to Jerusalem.[77] Another journey is attested by the Bishop of Verdun in the latter quarter of the eighth century, crossing the Alps to Rome, and then to Monte Sant'Angelo before embarking by sea to Constantinople, Ephesus and Jaffa, and finally to Jerusalem.[78] Southern Italians themselves from their eastern and western regions showed significant devotion to St Michael, evidenced by the large number of churches and shrines across the region dedicated to the archangel, although how many of these foundations were contemporary with the brooches has not been ascertained.[79] Much later in 1076, the church of the shrine was generously given intricately carved bronze doors by the Amalfitan noble family of a certain Pantaleo.[80]

The suggestion offered by the distribution of the brooches is that there may have been a link between them and places along, and at the end of, the route along which they have been found. The final part of reconstructing the reason for the demand for such items rests in interpreting their zoomorphic terminals. The lion and serpent were well-known early Christian symbols and also known to be depicted with St Michael, such as figured underfoot (interchangeable with the usual dragon or wyvern) as a defeat against evil, or,

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[77] M. McCormick, *Origins.,* pp. 304-5.

[78] *Ibid.,* p. 304.

[79] The construction of the shrine and its relation to Mont-Saint-Michel in Britanny, France has been discussed in relation to its construction but not in terms of its relation to other shrines: M. Trotta and A. Renzulli, 'La grotta garganica: rapporti con Mont-Saint-Michel e interventi longobardi', in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003), 427-448.

[80] P. Skinner, 'Long-distance trade and local politics in medieval Amalfi: bronze doors and their patrons in the eleventh century', unpublished paper given at *Medieval Italy II*, June 2005, University of Limerick. It is argued here that unlike other contemporary bronze doors donated by the Amalfitan merchant family of a certain Mauro at Amalfi cathedral itself and Montecassino, the doors for Monte Sant'Angelo are actually more likely to have been given by a rival Amalfitan family descended from a certain John.

occurring metaphorically in prayers petitioning the Archangel.[81] Taken together, the evidence from the process of manufacture, their distribution and their iconography, all suggest that these inscribed brooches functioned as pilgrim badges, which in turn could be used by their owners for other purposes such as apotropaic devices.

Penannular brooches in general were used as practical and fashionable personal accessories since the Roman period if not before and continued throughout the Middle Ages.[82] The form of the brooches also suggests that these were practical items. They are large enough to keep a woollen or linen cloak fastened and while the collar or hat of a pilgrim were common places for badges to be attached in the later Middle Ages, there is no reason to suggest that in this period, the penannular brooches were not displayed in some other prominent place such as at the shoulder or at the neck.[83] Certainly the evidence from the names on the inscriptions show that these were not exclusively 'male' or 'female' items, though the former dominate, which may suggest further their role as pilgrim badges. If the brooches were connected with the cult of the Archangel Michael in southern Italy it would reconcile the other clues provided by the objects and their distribution and also suggest the impetus for demand. The inscriptions on the brooches have parallels at other religious sites in the South such as those under the cathedral at Trani, and the shrine church of Monte Sant'Angelo itself where seventh and eighth-century

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[81] The iconography at the shrine itself, especially that relation to the story of the original apparition of the archangel, is discussed in: P. Belli D'Elia, 'L'Iconographie de Saint Michel et Mont Gargan' in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003) 523-530; an ancient offertory chant in the Mass for the Dead, "Lord, Jesus Christ, King of Glory, deliver the souls of all the faithful departed from the pains of Hell and from the deep pit; **deliver them from the mouth of the lion that Hell may not swallow them up and that they may not fall into darkness, but may the standard-bearer Michael conduct them into the holy light**..." and in the Catholic Rite of Exorcism ends, "Offer our prayers to the Most High God, so that His mercies be given us soon. Make captive that Animal, **that Ancient serpent, which is enemy and Evil Spirit**, and reduce it to everlasting nothingness, so that it no longer seduce the nations." Sourced from: the Catholic Culture website: http://www.catholicculture.org/docs/doc_view.cfm?recnum=1217). Advice from Fr. Saunders, Dean of the Notre Dame Graduate School of Christendom College. No origin date for these given.

[82] D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt,* p. 17 shows an example of a late Roman cast copper-alloy penannular brooch from the fourth century and pp. 7-38 discusses changes in material culture in post-Roman Britain.

[83] D. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and Change* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998) p. 21.

Latin inscriptions, most commonly southern Italian variations of *vivas in deo,* occur.[84] The range of Roman, Greek and Lombard names is just as suggestive of their Christian significance, as any other ethno-cultural significance, and so their designation as 'Lombard' items needs to be modified. Indeed, pilgrims were united by their quest to journey to sacred sites, regardless of their other cultural affinities. If pilgrimage to the Gargano was the spur to create demand for the brooches, that is, they were made to provide pilgrims with special souvenirs or votives, were the workshops situated at or near Monte Sant'Angelo? It is possible that at least the inscriptions were made on site. Here itinerant craftsmen who specialised in engraving came to the site with blanks and engraved them there on demand.

Cosimo D'Angela offers another theory, and one which may also explain the predominance of the name *Lupus* on extant finds (with their particular concentration around Benevento). He suggests that they, at least the *Lupu Biba* examples, were the product of one workshop in the area of Benevento where Lupus was a popular name in this period (eighth century) owing to the local cult of the martyr saint Lupus of Capua.[85] In general, Lupus seemed to be a very common name also in parts of Lombard northern Italy, especially around Milan.[86] In the South, there are not the numbers of charters coeval with the brooches that may yield clues to the popularity of *Lupus* as a personal name, though as has been mentioned above, it seemed to enjoy continued popularity elsewhere in Italy. It would also seem that while Monte Sant'Angelo might not have been the only site to be associated with these objects, the connection with St Michael seems stronger than that with Lupus of Capua. However, the connection may instead suggest that *Lupus* was a popular choice for southern Italians because of the associations with the saint-martyr, this time used as a *praenomen* (given name) or else adopted as a family or *gens nomen* of Roman tradition.

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[84] M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 341. C. Carletti, 'Iscrizioni murali del santuario garganico', p. 98 of 91-103.

[85] C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule', pp. 82-83.

[86] *Pers. comm.* R. Balzaretti, 22 January 2007, forthcoming in: *The Lands of St. Ambrose. Monks and Society in Early Medieval Milan* (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

Nevertheless, is it possible to envisage a scenario where at least some of these pilgrim badges were bought at Benevento *en route* to Monte Sant'Angelo and the intermediate shrines? Benevento was the main crossing point on the *Via Appia* after Rome and surely a major stopping-off point for pilgrims and traders alike. The distribution of finds, correlating as they do to places along the route of the *Via Appia*, could therefore account for deliberate concealments, for example as offerings at shrines visited along the way, accidental losses, and those found as grave-goods. Two brooches found in rural locations, both in burials along a road, the contrada Irene, near Forenza (P23), and the contrada Ciaffa, near Ordona (P24), may also indicate that there was a desire among some, especially pilgrims, to be buried at a spiritually important site on such a route.[87] While not directly on the route of the *Via Appia,* the discovery of three penannular brooches at the large early medieval cemetery at Torre Toscana at Belsito, near Cosenza in northern Calabria is suggestive of this (P20-22). Indeed, the connection between sixth- to seventh-century fortified settlements in northern Calabria and association with the cult of St Michael has already been made.[88] The percentage of toponyms associated with St Michael the Archangel attested in this small region of southern Italy (around Cosenza) is striking: 62% compared with only 14% around Catanzaro, 4% at Reggio Calabria and none in Crotone.[89] The addition of these brooches as both of personal importance to local pilgrims buried here, and to the community which supported the cult in this area compels further investigation into the relationship between such commodities and their exchange networks (see also chapter five). A preliminary survey of other shrine sites in southern Italy has also yielded some persuasive correlations between find-spots in the orbit of early medieval shrines to St Michael: Olevano, near Salerno (Grotto of St Michael, Olevano) (P2); at Isernia

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[87] C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici', p. 302.

[88] G. Roma, 'Culto Micaelico e insediamenti fortificati sul territorio della Calabria settentrionale' in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages*, 507-522.

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 521, fig. 4.

(P14);[90] at Gravina in Puglia (Grotto of St Michael in Gravina, Puglia) (P1); at Minervino Murge (Church and Grotto of St Michael) (P6); at Buona Nuova a subterranean church (*chiesa rupestre*) at Massafra (P9); and the brooch from Mattinata, the nearest to Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano itself (P8) (**fig. 4**).[91] The cluster of cult sites around central and northern Puglia and Basilicata (Gravina, Altamura, Matera, Minervino Murge and Montescaglioso) also seems to correlate with the concentration of finds from here.[92]

The absence of comparable objects elsewhere in Europe also indicate that in the period from the sixth to the ninth century pilgrimage to Monte Sant'Angelo was a largely regional affair, with exceptions such as that of Bernard. Their possible uses, as well as the objects themselves, can elucidate further the nature of a shared culture of spirituality and religion which transcended ethnicity or cultural differences suggested by the range of names. The result was that this movement of people to and from shrines such as Monte Sant'Angelo could facilitate trade in goods such as these brooches but also in other commodities.

The exchange networks facilitated by sacred sites like Monte Sant'Angelo, while they may not compare in scale and revenue to 'traditional' sea-going trade, for example that in bulk goods such as grain, wine and oil, do demonstrate the possibilities for how moveable goods could have been conveyed from points of manufacture to points of sale and acquisition. The example of the inscribed penannular brooches firstly shows how the southern Italian peninsula continued to be connected by its old Roman trunk road and the economic possibilities that afforded, and secondly how placing them in their

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[90] Richard Hodges notes the interest of San Vincenzo al Volturno in patronising shrine churches to St Michael in the eighth century such as that at Isernia, and also possibly one at Colle Sant'Angelo (Colli a Volturno) in the upper reaches of the Volturno valley in: R. Hodges, *Light in the Dark Ages. The Rise and Fall of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (London: Duckworth, 1997), p. 186 and p. 209.

[91] Discussion of the diffusion of the Garganic cult in southern Italy in the initial centuries after its establishment, and beyond in: G. Otranto, 'Genesi, caratteri e diffusione del culto micaelico del Gargano', in: P. Bouet, G. Otranto and A. Vauchez, *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l'archange* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2003) 43-64, particularly pp. 49-52 on early pilgrimage to Monte Sant' Angelo and pp. 56-62 on the site in Lombard times and the establishment of a shrine here.

[92] On the spread of the cult to Gravina, Altamura, Matera, Minervino Murge and Montescaglioso:, see: G. Otranto, F. Raguso, and M. D'Agostino, *S. Michele Arcangelo dal Gargano ai confini apulo-lucani* (Modugno: Stilo Editrice, 1990).

socio-cultural context enables the reconciliation of their archaeological settings and the art historical and epigraphic analyses. In all of this, pilgrims and pilgrimage are the key factors. The first being those who created the demand and the second, the motive for acquisition. There was clearly a close inter-relationship between pilgrimage and trade in the Middle Ages.[93] It has been suggested that the infrastructure required to sustain the kind of numbers that would have flowed along pilgrim routes would have been significant. In addition to accommodation and medical treatment there would have been a need for regular transport (sea-going), sustenance, clothing and shoes, souvenirs and safe-passage would have been required.[94]

The political conditions during the eighth and ninth centuries might also have facilitated this network, whose axis was the *Via Appia,* between key places as Benevento and Monte Sant'Angelo and also the sea ports of Taranto and Brindisi. At this time, the route was largely within Lombard jurisdiction and may have been patrolled by officials of the Lombard duke. The Arab incursions and Byzantine reconquest of Apulia the ninth century may have reduced confidence in this route for both traders and pilgrims but they certainly did not stop movement along it altogether as is attested by Bernard and others. A comparison of communications along this route later in the tenth to mid-eleventh centuries may reveal whether political frontiers (Lombard and Byzantine) were barriers to inland commodity movement, or not. Finally, while ceramic evidence might not lead to many conclusions about their conveyance across the peninsula, this case-study may signal how non-ceramic sources, particularly metalwork, can inform the gap.

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[93] J. Stopford, 'Some approaches to the archaeology of Christian pilgrimage', *World Archaeology*, 26 (1) (1994), 57-72; mainly discusses pilgrimage in the central to later Middle Ages.

[94] *Ibid.,* p. 59.

Case-study two: Silk networks and economic exchange between Apulia and Venice

The second case-study is situated in the material evidence from charters of tenth to twelfth-century Apulia. The material in question will be silk and how the political relationships between Apulia (as both the Byzantine theme of *Longobardia* and later Norman duchy of Apulia and Calabria) and the Venetian Republic reveal an economic interdependence and network of local exchange that stretched beyond the geographic limits of southern Italy (**map 2**). Apulian documents are precocious in the extent to which transactions of moveable goods are recorded within them. The possibilities this affords in terms of commodity analysis is vast and therefore only the example of silk will be demonstrated here. As an indication, analysis of the surviving documentation from Bari, Terlizzi and Conversano, shows that approximately 7% of documents involved the movement of objects.[95] This compares with a tiny fraction of one percent in examples from elsewhere in southern Italy.[96] The proportion of Apulian transactions recorded before and after the Norman take-over of these three cities shows significant increase in the two that seemed to rise in significance in the Norman period (Terlizzi and Conversano) but stays roughly the same for Bari, whose central role continued after the departure of the Byzantine catepan (**fig. 5**). It should, however, be noted that almost all transactions that took place in Conversano directly involved the new monastery of San Benedetto, and this will be discussed in chapter five. The nature of the transactions include, in the most part, marriage contracts (mainly dowries), wills, ecclesiastical donations in the form of gifts and a proportion of property transactions which necessitated the giving of the reciprocal gift of Lombard custom, called *launegilt.* Silk dominates in these transactions (approximately

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[95] Forty-five out of 639. Analysis of published documentation in: *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 1, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264)* (ed.) G. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Trani, 1964-1976, originally published 1897-1899); *CDB* 3, *Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi*, (ed.) F. Caraballese and F. Magistrale (Bari, 1899-1976); *CDB* 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)* (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982); *CDB* 5, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo normanno (1075-1184)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982); *Codice Diplomatico Pugliese (CDP)* 20, *Le pergamene di Conversano* (ed.) G. Coniglio (Bari, 1975).

[96] A cursory survey, without counting exact documents was carried out on published charters to 1200 from Amalfi, Naples, Gaeta, and Cava (including Salerno), in addition to the Greek documents published by Trinchera (see primary sources).

Map 2: Silk industry and trade in southern Italy and the Mediterranean with trade routes, 10-12th century

Silk data: Author   Trade routes after: M. McCormick, Origins, map 20.2 identifying routes according to wrecks found from mid- 5-12th c.   Map by: Tom Goskar

Transactions of moveable goods in Apulia up to 1200
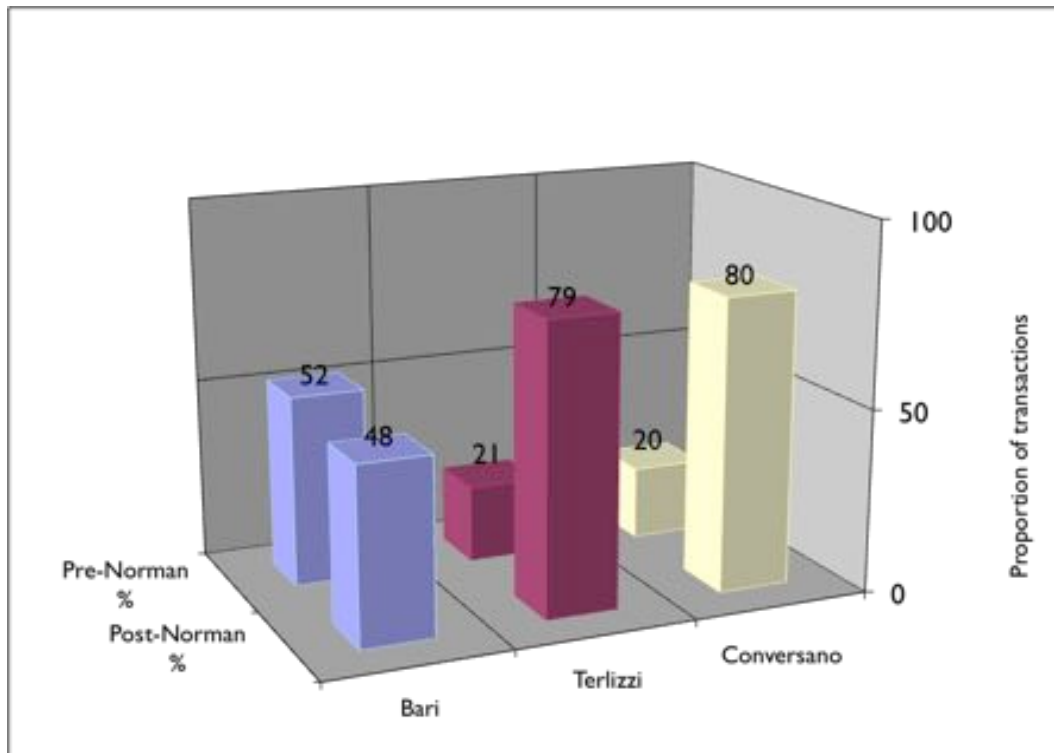
Fig. 5: Comparison of transactions involving objects before and after the
Norman periods in Bari, Terlizzi and Conversano (Apulia) up to 1200
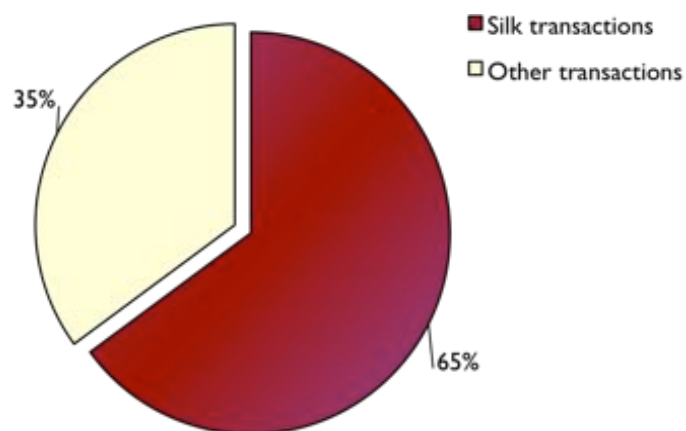
Fig. 6: Transactions of moveable goods involving silk in Apulian documents to
1200

65%) among the many other types of goods mentioned, for example linen, wool and cotton textiles (including garments), furniture and furnishings (especially those relating to beds), tools for living (flax hackles, wool carders, kneading-troughs), jewellery and other metalwork (particularly liturgical items), and books (**fig. 6**).[97] The practical and social significance of these objects and the transactions through which they were exchanged will also be discussed in chapter five. To gain an understanding of the local exchange network which sustained these Apulian consumers, and to investigate the role Venice played in the region, several questions need to be posed: why is silk so abundant in these transactions? How was it acquired? What role could Venice have played in facilitating exchange networks in Apulia, and how did the silk trade in Apulia benefit Venetian commerce?

In an article over a century old, the economic historian Gino Luzzato criticised the work done so far on the history of the Venetian Republic for being too narrative and too focused on tracing the expansion of Venice's commercial privileges. He further lamented that the emphasis historians have placed on Venetian relations with the East and northern Europe has meant that its ties with places closer to home such as Apulia have been quite neglected.[98] Rather, he stressed the importance of studying the circumstances of production and consumption, in order to ascertain the realities of commerce.[99] Even though copious studies have looked at medieval Venetian politics and economics,[100] very few historians since Luzzato have explored the realities of Venice's relationships with Apulia to any great depth. In addition, none of these have attempted to understand the relationship by confronting evidence for Venetian

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[97] Thirty-seven of fifty-seven transactions examined to date pre-1200.

[98] G. Luzzato, 'Studi sulle relazioni commerciali tra Venezia e la Puglia', *Nuovo archivio veneto,* n.s. 7 (1904), pp. 174-95 particularly pp. 174-75; also referred to by F. Lane, 'Gino Luzzato's contributions to the history of Venice: an appraisal and a tribute', *Nuova rivista storica,* 49 (1965) pp. 49-80, reprinted in: B. Kohl and R. Mueller (eds.), *Frederick C. Lane. Studies in Venetian Social and Economic History* (London: Variorum, 1987).

[99] As summarised by F. Lane, 'Gino Luzzato', p. 50.

[100] For example, R. Cessi, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia,* 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Milan: Giuseppe Principato, 1968); G. Luzzato, *Storia Economica di Venezia dall'XI al XVI secolo* (Venice, 1961), F. Lane, *Venice: a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973); D. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: a Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

commercial activities with southern Italian sources, particularly those from Apulia itself, such as the charters already mentioned. It is perhaps in these exchanges that the realities of commerce may be found.

David Abulafia was one of the first historians to attempt a systematic and detailed study of economic relations between the 'Two Italies'[101] — or even the 'many Italies'[102] — and one of the few who has stressed the significance of relations between Venetians and Apulians from the eleventh century (and probably earlier). However, evidence for consumption and production in Apulia itself was hardly explored. André Guillou has undertaken considerable work on the productions of Byzantine southern Italy, particularly silk and epigraphy.[103] While Guillou stressed the importance and influence of artisans in the economic, cultural and religious lives of southern Italy, particularly those of Apulia he did not attempt any significant assessment of modes of consumption whether in a regional or broader context. Jean-Marie Martin was more guarded about the commercial activities of Apulia.[104] He characterised Apulia's commercial development as "very slow and attenuated," largely based on primary sector products such as grain and oil transported from port to port along the coastal port-cities network. Although he accepted that the region was 'open' to external trade and did import manufactured goods and slaves from Byzantium and the Middle East, its trade networks were, on the whole, regionally based and self-sustaining, and its cash rich economy by the tenth and eleventh centuries was mainly down to the coinage brought in by imperial officials and functionaries, rather than through commercial exchange. While he acknowledged the activities of Venetians in Apulia he concluded that Apulian

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[101] D. Abulafia, *The Two Italies. Economic Relations Between the Norman Kingdom of Sicily and the Northern Communes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) especially pp. 76-82.

[102] Referred to in David Abulafia's 'Introduction' in: D. Abulafia (ed.) *Italy in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[103] A. Guillou, 'Production and profits in the Byzantine province of Italy (tenth to eleventh centuries): an expanding society', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 28 (1974) pp. 91-109; A. Guillou*., '*La soie du katépanat d'Italie', *Travaux et mémoires,* 6 (1976) pp. 69-84. These and other articles reprinted in *Culture et société en Italie Byzantine (VIe-XIe c.)* (London: Variorum, 1978); also A. Guillou*, Recueil des inscriptions greques médiévales d'Italie* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1996).

[104] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe Siècle* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993) pp. 419-23.

towns were largely passive: "mais on a l'impression que leur rôle est surtout passif."[105] It is this assessment that I wish to bring into question when considering the local exchange networks that Apulia sustained in the tenth to the twelfth century.

A sketch of the political backdrop of Apulian-Venetian relations between the tenth and twelfth centuries is apposite for understanding the exchange network that these two regions sustained, and the importance of silk within it. The well-known chrysobull of Basil II in 992 both provided Venetian merchants with generous customs exemptions as well as obliging the Venetians to provide the Empire with military aid. However this treaty was also intended to formalise and control Venetian activities on Byzantine soil.[106] Some years previously, following Liutprand of Cremona's Embassy to Constantinople in *c.* 963, various purple silk items that were prohibited to 'outsiders' were confiscated from the bishop by customs officials in spite of his protests that Venetian and Amalfitan traders were regularly bringing them into Italy.[107] The chrysobull itself specifically prohibited the transport of Amalfitan, Jewish, Baresi and other Longobardian (i.e. Apulian) merchants on their ships on pain of penalty of the loss of both legitimate and illegitimate cargoes.

This was also the time in which the early tenth-century *Book of the Prefect* was written.[108] It contains detailed ordinances which attempted the regulation of all aspects of guild-based industry in the Empire, particularly that of silk but also linen, leather, jewellery and perfume. They were intended to clarify the complex laws of the day by providing specific information on the manner in which goods were to be manufactured, sold and acquired as they related to the state monopolies on certain goods.[109] This was state-imposed guidance and

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[105] *Ibid.,* pp. 436-43.

[106] *I trattati con Bisanzio,* (eds.) M. Pozza and G. Ravegnani (Venice: il Cardo, 1993) pp. 21-25.

[107] *The Embassy to Constantinople and other Writings,* (trans.) F. Wright (London: Dent, 1993) pp. 202-3; Liutprand of Cremona, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, (ed.) J. Becker, *Momumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum,* new series 41, (Hanover, 1915)*.*

[108] A. Boak, 'The Book of the Prefect', *Journal of Economic and Business History,* 1 (1929) 597-619.

[109] *Ibid.,* pp. 597-98.

did not come from the guilds themselves and was prescriptive on issues such as how the guilds should deal with 'outsiders' and how they should relate to each other.[110] The orders of the *Book of the Prefect* applied to several facets of the silk industry: silk-garment merchants, dealers in Syrian silks, dealers in raw silk, silk spinners, and silk weavers.[111] It should also be noted that the regulation of dealers in Syrian silks also pertained to those merchants from Seleucia and "other places."[112] These merchants were not allowed to deal in the silks traded by silk-garment merchants on pain of being "flogged, shorn, and ejected from the corporation."[113] This source is particularly valuable for understanding the nature of specialisation, at least in the context of guild-based silk manufacture and trade, but it is likely that even private enterprises in Byzantium and elsewhere were just as specialised. These sources confirm the concern the emperors had over the coveted silk trade and their monopoly of it, but they are also indicative of its importance to others, including southern Italian merchants.

Military interventions by Venice in Apulia are also well-known. They highlight its interest in keeping the Adriatic clear for maritime transport into the Mediterranean and, I would like to propose, to protect Venetian interests in Apulia itself. By 1002, under the doge, Peter II Orseolo, Venice gained control of the Dalmatian coastal cities[114] and the same doge and his forces famously

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[110] *Ibid.,* p. 598.

[111] *Ibid.,* pp. 605-10.

[112] See chapter three for a discussion on an important letter written about a dowry from Seleucia (in modern-day southern Turkey).

[113] *Ibid.,* p. 606.

[114] Particularly Dyrrachium. A. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1000* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) p. 201.

came to the aid of Bari during the Arab siege of the port city in 1002/3.[115] John the Deacon's chronicle even goes in to the detail of the the grand reception given to the doge on his entrance to Bari indicating at least the chronicler's emphasis on favourable relations between Venice and Apulia, while the Baresi chronicles all describe the event as a liberation, with the author of the *Annals* describing the doge as being 'of good memory'.[116] More than a century later was the treaty of May 1122 in which the doge Domenico Michele promised to defend both the people and the property of Bari — this, at the same time as the self-styled Prince Grimoald (1119–1139) was independently ruling Bari in the absence of Norman rule.[117] It is noteworthy that the document had 366 signatories. Prosopographical analysis could yield some clues as to who these people were, from where they might have hailed and how the exchange networks in Apulia might have provided this support.

However, political support for the Apulians was not unequivocal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially when Venetian interests were perhaps better served by remaining neutral or supporting another party such as during Robert Guiscard's conquests of the 1060s and 1070s, and then in 1150, when Venice abandoned support for the attempted reconquest of Apulia by Michael I Comnenus, and instead fought with the Normans. I can find no

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[115] J.-M. Martin says the Venetian aid was an isolated incident and does not feel Adriatic relations between Apulia and Venice were very strong, *La Pouille,* p. 437; Venetian sources for this event: John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum* (ed. and trans.) L.A. Berto in the series *Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale*, Storici italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento ad uso delle scuole, 2 (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1999) pp. 202-5; Andrea Dandulo's Chronicle: *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta : aa 46-1280 d.C,* (ed.) E. Pastorello in the series *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores,* 12 (1), (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938), p. 202 (1-5); *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig,* 1 (814-1205), (eds.) G. Tafel and G. Thomas, (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), no. 20 pp. 40-41. Apulian sources: the three chronicles of Bari, *Annales Barenses, Lupus Protospatharius,* and *Ignoti civis Barensis chronicon*, in: G. Cioffari and R. Lupoli Tateo (ed. and trans.) *Antiche cronache di Terra di Bari,* (Bari: Centro Studi Nicolaiani, 1991); *Annales barenses* has the event as 1003, the *Ignoti* and *Lupus* as 1002.

[116] John the Deacon, *Istoria Veneticorum*, pp. 204-5; *Annales Barenses, s.a.* 1003*, Lupus Protospatharius, sub anno* 1002 and *Ignoti civis Barensis chronicon, s.a.* 1002.

[117] *CDB* 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 68, pp. 116-120; in 1117 and 1118 the Anonymous Chronicle of Bari (*Ignoti civis Barensis chronicon*) cites the factional struggles involving Grimoald, son of Guaranga, which no doubt ended in him coming to power; *Antiche cronache di Terra di Bari,* Italian translation and Latin text (eds.) G. Cioffari and R Lupoli Tateo (Bari, 1991); the 'crowning' of Prince Grimoald is cited in a dubious charter of Bari dated 1122. See also 'Introduction' in: *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154-69*, (ed. and trans.) G. Loud and T. Wiedemann (Manchester, 1998) pp. 3-4.

evidence to suggest that Venice made any attempt to stop the destruction of Apulian cities, notably Bari, by King William I 'the Bad' (1154–1166) in 1156. Bari's prosperity at this time is in little doubt. Describing the destruction, the so-called Hugo Falcandus said: "That is why the most powerful city in Apulia, celebrated by fame and immensely rich, proud in its noble citizens and remarkable in the architecture of its buildings, now lies transformed into piles of rubble."[118] However, it is worth noting that it only took a few years for the city to become re-inhabited and visible in the sources again.[119] There was certainly also rivalry, particularly between Bari and Venice, well-demonstrated during the 'race' to recover the relics of St Nicholas (San Nicola) from Myra shortly after Robert Guiscard's takeover of Bari in 1071.[120]

Direct evidence of economic interests in Apulia can be found in numerous commercial contracts and quittances of twelfth-century Venice.[121] Apart from several voyages between Venice and Apulian ports,[122] they also attest to voyages between Otranto and Antioch in 1104 (conveying foodstuffs),[123] a loan for a voyage from Torcello (Venice) to Dumyat (Damietta) in Egypt - the document drawn up in Bari in 1119,[124] a sea-loan to be carried with a "ship of the Longobards" to a certain 'Paganus Messina' and thence to Constantinople in 1169,[125] a contract for a sea-loan to be carried by a Venetian merchant from

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[118] *Hugo Falcandus,* p. 74.

[119] 'Introduction' in: *Hugo Falcandus,* pp. 41-2 and p. 74 n. 31 which cites documents that refer to the destruction and people living elsewhere such as nearby Giovinazzo. Benjamin of Tudela refers to the destroyed city of Bari in 1160 in: *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* (trans.) M. Adler (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1907) p. 9.

[120] A. Pertusi, 'Ai confini tra religione e politica. La contesa per le reliquie di S. Nicola tra Bari, Venezia e Genova', *Quaderni Medievali,* 5 (1978) 6-56.

[121] Documents edited in *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI-XIII* 1, (ed.) R. Morozzo della Rocca and A. Lombardo in the series *Regesta chartarum Italiae* 28 (Rome: Sede dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1940).

[122] *DCV* 1, no. 63, pp. 66-67 (1134), no. 391, pp. 384-385 (1190), no. 397, pp. 389-390 (1191), no. 410, pp. 401-402 (1192).

[123] *DCV* 1, no. 31, pp. 33-55.

[124] *DCV* 1, no. 41, pp. 43-44.

[125] *DCV* 1, no. 136, pp. 135-36.

Acre to Venice, or from Alexandria to Venice via Apulia in 1179,[126] a quittance acknowledging the completion of a voyage between Constantinople and Apulia or Ancona in 1192,[127] another quittance for a journey made to Apulia, Syria and elsewhere in 1197[128] and a contract for a voyage from Aquileia to Apulia in 1198.[129]

It is important to understand commodity exchange and the dynamics of production and consumption in these contexts, especially when attempting to understand the interplay between two politically separate regions. The events and commercial opportunities outlined above must have had an impact on local exchanges between Apulia and Venice and in themselves are suggestive of the routes and methods of exchange that existed between the two. The Bishop of Troia in his roll of gifts to the cathedral from 1157 to 1160 himself cites that he was he was unable to make these gifts previously owing to the "disorder and punishment that occurred in the kingdom and province of Apulia in the preceding years."[130] The bishop here, referring to the series of revolts which took place before the resultant destruction of Apulian cities in 1155-6 by William I. While Troia was spared, perhaps it was the inaccessibility of market-centres such as Bari which prevented the purchase of the silks and other expensive items contained in his gifts.

Silk was the *sine qua non* of medieval material culture. Robert Lopez described it as possessing:

> ...a special significance. It was the attire of the Emperor and the aristocracy, an indispensable symbol of political authority, and a prime requirement for ecclesiastical ceremonies. Control of precious cloth, therefore, was almost as powerful a weapon in the hands of the Byzantine Emperor as the possession of such key strategic materials as oil, coal, and iron is in the hands of the American or the British government.[131]

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[126] *DCV* 1, no. 306, pp. 302-3.

[127] *DCV* 1, no. 409, pp. 400-1.

[128] *DCV* 1, no. 437, p. 430.

[129] *DCV* 1, no. 441, pp. 433-34.

[130] *Codice Diplomatico Pugliese* 21, *Les chartes de Troia,* (ed.) J.-M. Martin, no. 81, pp. 252-53.

[131] R. Lopez, 'Silk industry in the Byzantine Empire', *Speculum,* 20 (1) (1945) p. 1.

Albeit that he was writing in 1945 the comparison remains valid. The items of silk or possible silk and silk-mix textiles gleaned from Apulian documents up to 1200 demonstrate that, at least at certain levels of Apulian society, silk was important in many different exchanges, with their part in dowries and transactions concerning the church particularly prevalent (**table two** (see appendix) and **map 2** throughout). Silk was no doubt appreciated for its use as a status enhancer, as well as its investment value. According to Byzantine law, silk had an intrinsic value comparable to gold.[132] The numerous instances of silk items (usually kerchiefs) as *launegilt* in property and marriage transactions attest to this. The variety of silks contained in the documents allude to their ready availability to wealthy Apulians. The role of silk as a social and financial investment is also evidenced in the documents of the Cairo Geniza, will be discussed in the next chapter. The variety of recurring descriptive names for silk items often using local variants, such as *diaspro, catablattio, samito* and *zendai* with parallels in other texts indicate their prominence in these exchanges.[133] Nonetheless, many of the descriptive names for the silks and possible silks remain unknown or highly ambiguous at this stage, but further philological research and comparison may reveal the true extent of the nature and variety of silks that were exchanged and where they might have come from, which might have been locally produced, and which imported.[134]

It is clear, however, that there was sufficient knowledge among those involved in the transactions to describe these objects precisely and carefully, some with values. These were not passive consumers, and they knew exactly what they were investing in. The variety of silk textiles include rolls or bolsters (*buttarella* or *buctarella)* of cloth, capes or cloaks, bed-covers, hair-nets/bonnets (*reticella*), hand-cloths and napkins, and references to other silk cloths of unidentifiable form. Chapter three explores dress-related terms further.

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[132] A. Guillou, 'La soie' p. 82.

[133] Compare with silk descriptions in Hugo Falcandus below; Jacoby notes that *catablattio* and its variants was probably by the eleventh/twelfth centuries denoted a type of silk and not as the word suggests necessarily a purple silk: D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade' in: D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean,* ch. 7 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997) pp. 452-500.

[134] It is possible that these terms refer to both a type of cloth and describe its weave or decoration, as with other terms such as *coppibillato* and its variants.

Transactions between or including ecclesiastical parties are dominant among the exchanges concerning silk, with a majority of liturgical garments being made of different types such as dalmatics, tunics and copes. Colours mentioned include red, black, purple, violet and blue, with colour combinations of 'white and yellow', 'red and yellow' and 'yellow and black'. Quality and 'make' are also mentioned in some documents. In the description of many of the textiles the term *ligulis* is used, probably a form of measurement denoting fabric 'weight'. Some items also have place-related descriptors, *grecisco* (Greek-style), *hispano* (Spanish) and *malfetanescam* (Amalfitan-style). These designations could be more accurately interpreted as a mark of quality, style or 'brand' rather than exact place of manufacture, though the Spanish example may be an exception to this.[135] The argument that these descriptions allude to form or style may be strengthened by comparing other items with place-related designations such as the 'French/Frankish-style' and 'Greek-style' beds that appear in four twelfth-century documents - perhaps an indication of the newer forms of furniture favoured by, or introduced by, Norman settlers (see chapter three).[136] Many of the silk objects were also described as being decorated or embroidered (*coppibillati* and variants, *auri frisatam)* indicating further the specificity required when having them enumerated in charters*.*

This raises questions of where silk items were finished, once the cloth was manufactured. A description by Hugo Falcandus, writing around 1190, describes the different qualities of silk available in Sicily, some of them echoing Apulian descriptions, for example "*amita, dimitaque et triamita... hinc et examita uberioris materie copia condensari...*" (*amita, dimita* and *triamita...* and then *examita* being compacted from a supply of richer material). In addition he describes the range of colours: *diorodon* (strong rose-pink/red), *diapisti* (green/pistachio) and which cloths required greater skill such as those embroidered

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[135] P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea,* p. 354 interprets the praise for a city's textiles in literary works not as evidence for urban manufacture but rather an indication of the quality of products the wider region produces, and therefore does not preclude rurally-based manufacture.

[136] French-style beds *(lectum franciscum* and variants*)* in *CDB* 3, no. 51, pp. 68-9 (Terlizzi, 1138), *CDB* 3, no. 129, pp. 153-4 (Terlizzi, 1180), and *CDB* 7, no. 68, pp. 86-7 (Molfetta, 1184); a Greek-style bed *(lecto gricissco)* is cited in *CDP* 20, no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

with gold.[137] There are arguments that King Roger II's so-called coronation cope[138] was not entirely created in the famous workshops of the Palermitan court but just embroidered and decorated there.[139] The cloth itself (ground fabric) is a red, heavy silk samite of which there are a number of examples in Apulian documents. It has been postulated that, if not woven in Sicily itself, the ground fabric could have been made and imported from Constantinople, Syria or even southern Italy.[140] There is a strong possibility, therefore, that the Norman court used locally produced silk from areas it controlled, thereby avoiding the costs and difficulties of longer transportation and duties. Might there have also been a certain amount of pride on Roger's part in using 'home-grown' silk for this occasion? Another argument for production other than in Sicily is the importation of silk weavers from Athens, Thebes and Corinth to the Sicilian royal workshops in 1147.[141] A number of these weavers may well have been descendants of southern Italians who fled to Greece after the Norman conquest, of which more presently. Could the bone pin with incised spirals found at Otranto so similar to one found in an eleventh- to twelfth-century context in Corinth add to the evidence for migration between Corinth and southern Italy?[142]

If southern Italy, Apulia in particular, was a region which supported local networks for the silk trade, were the protagonists of the exchanges themselves involved in the trade? It is difficult to know this with any certainty and the

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[137] "*Multa quidem et alia videas ibi varii coloris ac diversi generis ornamenta in quibus et sericis aurum intexitur..." in:* Hugonis Falcandi, *La historia o liber de Regno sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane ecclesie thesaurarium,* (ed.) G. Siracusa (Rome, 1897) pp. 178-80.

[138] It was actually made in 1133/1134 according to the Arabic inscription on the cope (*Hegira* year 528) which is three years after his coronation. It is now held at the Schatzkammer in Vienna, Austria.

[139] R. Bauer, 'The mantle of King Roger II and related textiles in the Schatzkammer of Vienna. The Royal Workshop at the court of Palermo' in: R. Varioli-Piazza (ed.) *Interdisciplinary Approach* [sic] *to the Study and Conservation of Medieval Textiles. Approcio interdisciplinare allo studio e alla conservazione dei manufatti tessili d'età medievale.* Interim meeting of ICOM-CC Textiles Working Group. Palermo, 22-24 October 1998, (Rome: Il Mondo 3, 1998), p. 15 of 15-20.

[140] *Ibid.,* p. 17.

[141] *Ibid.*

[142] A. Hicks and M. Hicks, 'The small objects' in: *Excavations at Otranto,* vol II: The Finds, p. 311.

surviving Apulian documentation leaves no clues. The charter body as a whole does not even provide enough evidence to reconstruct, with any degree of detail, the genealogies of prominent Apulian families, unlike for example, Amalfi where the documentary customs were different.[143] A survey of the documents shows that none of the persons mentioned in silk transactions or that of other moveable goods appear elsewhere as, for example, in purely land transactions. Other charters mention trades such as *texitores* (weavers), *parmenterii* (tailors), *mercerii* (mercers - dealers in fine cloths especially silk) and possibly two instances of *fusarii* (spinners)[144] but none of these occur in the documents which contain the silks themselves. In addition, there are no direct clues from the charters to indicate that Venetians were involved in these or other transactions up to 1200. Evidence from elsewhere must be brought together to posit the likely origins for the silks that were exchanged in Apulia.

The most compelling evidence for the production of raw silk in southern Italy comes from an inventory or *brebion* drawn up at Reggio Calabria in about 1050.[145] It is the only one of its kind known. It comprises boundary surveys of properties, mainly monastic, in Calabria with very detailed lists of mulberry trees of the type whose leaves are used to cultivate silk worms. By estimating the quantities of mulberry leaves available for silkworm cultivation Guillou suggests profits would have been high and that the main beneficiaries of this raw silk would have been Apulian cities to where cocoons, raw and finished silk were likely to have been exported.[146] While Guillou's figures have been moderated by Anna Muthesius and David Jacoby, the evidence is still intriguing and worth pursuing in order to construct a feasible context for the exchange of silk

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[143] P. Skinner, 'Room for tension: urban life in Apulia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 66 (1998) 159-176 has succeeded in reconstructing some genealogies through prosopographical analyses; and P. Skinner, *Amalfi and its Diaspora,* (in preparation) reconstructs Amalfitan merchant families from the city's charter collections.

[144] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 423 n. 151.

[145] A. Guillou, 'Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Région (vers 1050)', *Corpus des actes grecs,* 4 (Vatican, 1974). It is contained in a private collection and although Jules Gay knew of the existence of the *brebion* and other Calabrese documents, it was eventually published by André Guillou in 1974.

[146] A. Guillou, 'Production and profit', pp. 95-96.

commodities in the South.[147] The *brebion* does not provide the only source for sericulture in the South. A document from the monastery of San Modesto in Benevento of 1037 is also concerned with the collection of revenue from mulberry tree cultivation and silk manufacture.[148] Whether or not Apulia also engaged in moriculture to such a degree, it seems likely that Apulian cities and hinterlands were used for silk manufacture and export. There is evidence also of other processes in silk manufacture. The dyeing and finishing of cloth was very much in the domain of Apulian Jews, and by the late eleventh century were highly regulated by the Norman state.[149] Benjamin of Tudela during his travels in Italy and elsewhere in the 1160s mentions the Jews of Brindisi as dyers.[150] Various dye sources had the potential of being available in Apulia. Reds may have been produced from *baqqam* (brazilwood) imported via Sicily[151] and the intense crimson for samite, from the *kermes* parasite that breeds on the holly oak tree,[152] are found natively in northern Apulia and the Salentine peninsula.[153] Purples from Egyptian madder and indigo[154] and murex shellfish harvested from coastal areas produce lower and higher quality dyes respectively. There is

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[147] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade' in: D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* ch. 7 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997) pp. 452-500 originally published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 84/85, (1991/1992), p. 476 n. 130; A. Muthesius, 'From seed to samite. Aspects of Byzantine silk production' ch. 7 in: A. Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar Press, 1995), p. 122 originally published in *Textile History,* 20 (1989) pp. 135-149 and A. Muthesius, 'Silk production in southern Italy and Sicily' in: *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200. Anna Muthesius* [*sic*] (eds.) E. Kislinger and J. Koder (eds.) (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997), pp. 113-118.

[148] No. 6 'Memoratorium de bona convenientia' (April 1037) in: *Regesta Chartarum Italiae. Le più antiche carte dell'abbazia di San Modesto in Benevento (Secoli VIII-XIII),* (ed.) F. Bartolini (Rome, 1950), 17-21.

[149] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, p. 421.

[150] M. Adler (trans.), *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* (New York: Philipp Feldheim, 1907) p. 9.

[151] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and Southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', *Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale,* 67 (1971), pp. 11 - a reference from 1065.

[152] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium' p. 483.

[153] R. Bellarosa, M. Cosimo Simeone and B. Schirone, *Country Update on national activities on gene conservation of Mediterranean Oaks* (2003). Fom the European Forest Genetic Resources Programme (EUFORGEN). See R. Bellarosa, M. Cosimo Simeone and B. Schirone, *Country Update on national activities on gene conservation of Mediterranean Oaks* (2003) http://www.ipgri.cgiar.org/networks/euforgen/euf_home.asp.

[154] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium', p. 482.

documentary and archaeological evidence for the harvesting of murex molluscs using bait in baskets along the coasts of the Mediterranean, including southern Italy.[155] Both purple and red silks are present in Apulian charters of exchange and while this does not prove that these particular items were dyed in Apulia itself, it demonstrates a possibility. In addition to Benjamin of Tudela, two other foreign observers, this time from the tenth century, attest to mulberry trees and silk cloth from southern Italy. The first is chronicler, 'Al Bayân 'al Muġrib, who recorded the raid on Apulia in 925-26 by Abu Ahmad Ga'far, the son of Arab chamberlain, Ubayd.[156] 'Al Bayân described the booty as containing unbelievable jewels, precious clothes (silks) and coins. The same chronicler then wrote of silk cloths (*dîbâg*) and money used by the inhabitants of Salerno to bargain for peace in 928-29; and in the same year the Neapolitans did similarly by giving the raiders fine cloths (*tîâb*).[157] The second is the Jewish doctor Shabbetai (913-85) whose medical treatise spoke of wild mulberry trees around Oria, although their use for silk production is by no means certain.[158] In addition, the mention in 1042 of a place called *Kastron Siricolum,* near Montepeloso, in the Annals of Bari, may also suggest Apulian silk manufacture.[159] The reputation for Apulian silk also seems to have been significant enough for their inclusion in the French *chansons* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which recall the silks of Otranto - one of the primary ports of Apulia, itself the subject of many of the tenth-century raids described above.[160]

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[155] *Ibid.,* pp. 455-56 and n.18. No direct reference to the archaeological or written sources is provided by Jacoby.

[156] Ch. 44, 'Kitâb 'Al Bayân 'al Muġrib' in: *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, vol. 2, M. Amari (ed.) versione italiana, (Rome, 1881), p. 151; the anonymous Chronicle of Cambridge has this raid of Oria in 925-6, ch. 27, p. 72 in the present volume.

[157] *Ibid.,* pp. 151-52.

[158] *Ibid.,* p. 94 and n. 12 cites this passage from: R. Shabtai Donnolo, *Le livre précieux,* German trans. M. Steinschneider, 'Donnolo. Pharmakologische Fragmente aus dem X. Jahrhundert, nebst Beiträgen zur Literatur der Salernitaner, hauptsächlich nach handschriftlichen hebräischen Quellen', in *Virchow's Archiv für patologische Anatomie und Physiologie und Klinische Medizin*, 42 (1868) p. 65.

[159] *Ibid.,* p. 95 also makes this suggestion. *Annales Barenses, s.a.* 1042, in: G. Cioffari and R. Lupoli Tateo (ed. and trans.), *Antiche chronache di Terra di Bari,* (Bari: Centro Studi Nicolaiani, 1991).

[160] A. Guillou, 'La soie', p. 79.

William of Apulia, discussed in more detail in the next chapter, spoke of one of Robert Guiscard's cunning plans to conceal weapons with an apparently dead body whose face was covered with a silk cloth, as was apparently customary for the Normans.[161] Whether the cloth being silk is significant to its southern Italian context, however, is a moot point. What these anecdotal sources add up to, would very much be debatable taken on their own, however, taken with the more solid references provided by Apulian charters, a compelling picture may be drawn.

Having established that both manufacture was possible, even likely, and consumption was significant, and that Apulia was politically and strategically important to Venice, what was Venice's actual role in maintaining this local exchange network with Apulia? Clearly the silk industry was crucial to Venetian commerce. However, perhaps the importance of Constantinople as a centre for Venetian trade has overshadowed their engagement in the silk trade nearer to home. There is no reason to think that all silk conveyed and consumed by Venetians came from Constantinople or from elsewhere over-seas. The easy access to Apulian cities would not only have enabled them to buy Apulian silk products and convey them elsewhere, but would also have given them a ready market place to sell foreign silks to Apulian buyers.[162] In addition, any Italian workshop would have been private rather than guild-based and therefore not subject to the strict regulations as evidenced in the tenth-century *Book of the Prefect* whose influence may never have reached the outlying Byzantine themes in Italy (Longobardia/Apulia and Calabria). If the contention between Venetian and other merchants in Constantinople was high so must it have been in Italian centres.

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[161] William of Apulia, *Deeds of Robert Guiscard,* bk. 2, line 343*.* French translation: Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard,* (ed.) M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961) pp. 150-51.

[162] A. Guillou also feels that Venetian merchants would have obtained silk from Apulian producers, 'La soie', p. 80.

Venetians were also active in conveying bulk goods such as grain, wine and olive oil across the Mediterranean, particularly to Byzantium.[163] The preponderance of property transactions involving olive groves and vineyards, in addition to saltworks in Apulian charters might indicate that at least some of the profits from export might have been invested in silks and other expensive goods whether produced in locally in Apulia, or not. Another Apulian Jewish connection may be possible here. In his eleventh century family chronicle, Ahimaaz ben Paltiel mentions one of his ancestors, Rabbi Amittai II (probably living in the late ninth to early tenth century), as one day going out to his vineyard, "his estate beyond the limits of the city."[164] The city was Oria, from where the foreign observers mentioned above, also attested silk production. Could Jewish mercantile interests in heavy goods such as wine and oil also have contributed to their financing of the silk industry in the South? While Hugo Falcandus describes the prominent Barese judge Leo (father of Maio, adviser to William I) as just "a man who sold olive oil" it is very likely his role as a civic leader in the city was based on his business success in the oil industry.[165] Venice would surely have been capitalising on the growing commercial success of Apulia, in olive oil and perhaps also in silk. Venetian links with markets outside Italy add to this hypothesis. The Cairo Geniza documents from the eleventh and twelfth centuries mention southern Italian silks being sold at markets in Fustat (medieval Cairo) where Venetians, among other Italian merchants, were active.[166] The documents also show that silk products were imported as well as exported into southern Italy and Sicily.[167]

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[163] Graham Loud cites the increase in olive oil production around Bari and Molfetta in Apulia in the twelfth century as forming a commercial basis for relations with Venice in: 'Coinage, wealth and plunder in the age of Robert Guiscard', *Economic History Review,* 116 (458) (1999) p. 833. The same may be posited for silk.

[164] *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz,* M. Salzman (ed. and trans.), (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924) p. 86.

[165] 'Introduction' in: *Hugo Falcandus',* p. 17.

[166] S. Goitein, A *Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 1: Economic foundations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) no. 21, p. 417.

[167] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', *passim.*; M. Gil, 'References to silk in Geniza documents of the eleventh century A.D.', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* 61 (1) (2002) pp. 31-38.

The seeming increase in the silk trade in the twelfth century was not just down to the increased revenue from other industries such as that of olive oil. Changes in technology also had in impact and the issue of the different qualities of silk available, attested in the Apulian documents themselves, is again relevant. There are good arguments for suggesting that the prime top quality purples were still in the domain of the Byzantine emperors and this would, of course, have maintained Venetian interest in the Constantinopolitan trade. However, from the twelfth century, the higher demand for, and broader consumption of silks required costs to be cut.[168] This led to a technical innovation some time in the twelfth century for the manufacture of monochrome silk using a *lampas weave* technique which slowly displaced the more complex *polychrome twills*. Anna Muthesius estimates that the costs would have been halved as it did not require the large numbers of different coloured dyes which was a major part of the expense for fine polychrome silks.[169] This also meant that provincial centres such as Thebes, Corinth and the Peloponnesian centres, also operating in private workshops rather than imperial ones,[170] became important rivals to Constantinople. Foreign merchants were attracted to these places to facilitate and profit from them. It is possible then, that a similar innovation occurred in southern Italian centres of silk manufacture. The apparent success of oil and wine production in late eleventh- and twelfth-century Apulia (particularly the former) meant that there would be capital at hand to finance this development.[171]

When considering Venetian involvement in buying and selling silk in Thebes, an interesting link with southern Italy emerges. Venetians are documented in Thebes from 1071 to the latter years of the twelfth century and it has been suggested that they were the most likely intermediaries between Thebes, Sicily and southern Italy, fostering the production of silk in private

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[168] D. Jacoby, 'The migration of merchants and craftsmen: a Mediterranean perspective (12th-15th century)' in: D. Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean,* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997) pp. 537-38 of 533-560.

[169] A. Muthesius, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar Press, 2004) p. 9.

[170] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium', *passim.*

[171] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 362-6 on olive oil production and pp. 358-62 on wine production.

workshops while also importing surplus cocoons and raw silk from Calabria to the city.[172] In return, the Greek silk products were probably imported *into* southern Italy and Sicily. This may explain the designation 'Greek' on some of the Apulian silks - a mark of quality and type to distinguish these from Amalfitan, and Spanish cloths. From about the time of the Norman conquest, southern Italians are documented as property owners in Thebes, probably those fearing the consequences of the change in rule.[173] It is also possible that Venetians aided this emigration with a view to maintaining already well-cultivated commercial relationships with southern Italians. While prosopographical analysis seems to suggest that the documented settlers were from Calabria,[174] Apulian immigrants may also have been among them and if so, are likely to have maintained an interest in the silk industry alongside the Venetians. This hypothesis may be enhanced by later evidence for the removal of Greek silk workers from western Byzantium to Palermo in 1147.[175]

Silk has been used as just one exemplar of an important commodity sustained by southern Italian exchange networks in the tenth to twelfth centuries, particularly in the context of local exchange between Venice and Apulia. The composite processes which sustained the silk industry, from engaging peasants to husband the silkworms and tend the mulberry trees, to the weavers and dyers, and finally the finishers such as embroiderers and garment-makers, illustrate well how the assumptions made about luxury goods as indicators of economy can obscure the realities of the exchanges which created them. After this, those engaged in the actual trade, seamen, ship-builders and their attendant workers all benefited from the demand for high-quality commodities. All these people served to sustain local economies, and by extension, the longer-distance commerce directed by the merchants. When the relationship between Apulia and Venice is put in the context of the model for southern Italian trade proposed by Armand Citarella a more detailed network (or set of networks) is revealed. Citarella suggested a triangular relationship

[172] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium', p. 464.

[173] *Ibid.,* p. 480.

[174] A. Guillou, 'La soie', p. 80.

[175] D. Jacoby, 'Silk in western Byzantium', pp. 460-64.

between the Campanian cities, particularly Amalfi, and Constantinople and Tunisia; from the later tenth century Egypt eclipsed Tunisia as the North African link.[176]

From the tenth to the twelfth century, Amalfi was Venice's most significant commercial rival, no less in Apulia itself. This is emphasised when put in the context of the analysis of East-West movements in southern Italy being dominated by Amalfitans and Ravellesi.[177] The significance of Venetians in Apulia, and their longevity there, is indicated by the presence of an early twelfth-century church dedicated to San Marco in Bari probably built for the Venetian community.[178] The Amalfitans too had their own Apulian church in Brindisi, Santa Maria Amalfitana, demonstrating their sustained interests in the region.[179] However, the presence of a Venetian-Apulian axis of exchange modifies the triangular relationship proposed by Citarella. It is possible therefore to envisage Venetian exchanges with Apulia in places outside both regions, such as Constantinople, western Byzantium (Peloponnese) and perhaps even at markets in Egypt, Palestine and Syria (particularly after the Norman settlement of Antioch). Therefore the relationship did not exist only to keep a clear passage through the Adriatic Sea for Venice but existed as a mutually dependent one, and in addition one that itself was interwoven with multilateral links with other regions in southern Italy. The Amalfitan involvement in these exchanges was probably of a similar extent, albeit perhaps different in nature, to that of the Venetians, and so should also be included in the analysis of commodity networks in Apulia and across southern Italy.

The two case-studies have provided relatively specific but detailed snapshots of local commodity exchange in southern Italy in two periods, the first

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[176] A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages', *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea.* Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XL, 23-29 aprile 1992, (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1993) p. 258.

[177] P. Skinner, 'Did Italy have an East-West divide?', unpublished paper given at the Leeds International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 2006, and P. Skinner, *Amalfi and its diaspora,* (in preparation).

[178] D. Abulafia, 'Two Italies', p. 80; The church of San Marco survives and is still designated as the 'Chiesa di San Marco dei Veneziani'.

[179] A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise'*, p. 276.

approximately from the seventh to eighth centuries, the second from the tenth to twelfth centuries. Although the methods for causing and maintaining local exchanges revealed by these examples are not directly comparable, they both highlight that *local* social, cultural and political situations in southern Italy did impact upon the ways commodities were made and exchanged. Both examples pose important questions about the acquisition of materials and the acquisition of skills. Both examples highlight the importance of bringing together peripheral evidence to give historical context to the objects in question. Consequently it is inadequate to simply view southern Italy from outside-in, or from the point of view of long-distance communications, to realise its role in wider exchange networks across the Mediterranean. In addition, and perhaps most important, is the point that it was the creators, owners and users of these commodities that enabled the commodity networks to exist, not, as is sometimes (tacitly) portrayed, the goods themselves.

Chapter three: Cultural exchange and the problem of description I
Identity and appearance: affinity and difference

This chapter, with chapter four, examines cultural exchange as an evolving process rather than a set of fixed outcomes. Both demonstrate that just as commodities were integral to local networks (not just a product of them), object culture was an essential part of defining social and political affinity and distinction, and was not simply a corollary that followed other factors. 'Culture' is understood as a framework of attitudes and behaviours, rather than standard artistic norms or institutions, in this case, those manifested in objects, their representation and their descriptions.   In the southern Italian context cultural exchange was a process that was internally created while also sharing its inspirations in a broader *koiné* or commonwealth. In this sense these chapters illustrate the limitations of viewing the region simply as variations on 'Byzantine', 'Lombard' and later, 'Norman' themes. While southern Italian locales did share cultural references with their neighbours and invaders, it is important to understand their people as active agents responding to their immediate environs, not passive emulators of distant cultures. Southern Italians used objects to identify themselves according to the different cultural localities they occupied, including those from their past.

The two critical case-studies will each look at how identity and exchange functioned through objects and their representation. Both demonstrate the precociousness of the region in maintaining cultural expressions and customs of its own while making reference to the past and acknowledging new inspirations. First, there follows a general discussion on the importance of objects in the perception and formation of people's identity, followed by two sections each examining problems with the display and characterisation of medieval Italian artefacts in museums and catalogues, and then the interpretation of objects in texts. The first case-study explores the phenomenon of dress in the tenth to twelfth centuries and completes this chapter. The second case-study comprises the whole of the next chapter and makes a detailed, comparative re-

examination of sixth to eighth-century metalwork from a socio-cultural historical stand-point.

Objects and identity: similarity and difference

Studies of medieval identity and cultural exchange have tended to be most concerned with ethnicity both from material and written evidence.[1] While there have been many points of contradiction and criticism, few confront the important issue that the historian's or archaeologist's interest in ethnicity does not really echo contemporary concerns and motivations. This is especially true of objects whose differences have too often been (mis)interpreted as signs of ethnic distinction rather than regional variation based on politics, multiple traditions and taste.[2] In addition, investigations into identity and cultural exchange have concentrated most heavily on periods of political transition, for example, in the

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[1] Recent studies on medieval ethnicity which include studies of medieval Italian material: W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), particularly W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity', 17-69 discussed below and also D. Harrison, 'Political rhetoric and political ideology in Lombard Italy', 241-254, and on insignia (also discussed below), M. Schmauder, 'Imperial representations or barbaric imitation? The imperial brooches (Kaiserfibeln)'*,* 281-296; D. Zancani, 'The notion of 'Lombard' and 'Lombardy' in the Middle Ages' in: A. Smyth (ed.) *Medieval Europeans. Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002); P. Delogu, 'Considerazioni conclusive', in L. Paroli (ed.) *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda,* Atti del convegno, Ascoli Piceno, 6-7 Ottobre 1995, (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1997) which raises issues of ethnicity in early medieval northern and central Italy; I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories: Migration and Identity During the Lombard Invasions* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2005) discusses the material evidence which links Lombard burials in Hungary with those in northern Italy but whose emphases are more cultural than ethnic; for general critique of the significant problems with discussing ethnicity in medieval archaeology, F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', *Early Medieval Europe,* 15 (2) (2007) 159-185; a reappraisal of Byzantine areas of early medieval Italy in E. Zanini, *Le Italie byzantine. Territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia (V-VIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998) and on Italo-Byzantine identity (discussed below): M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration A.D. 650-950' in: H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (eds.) *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 17-52.

[2] A practical example demonstrating the flaws of using objects to infer ethnicity see B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively: Women's brooches as markers of ethnic identity?' in: L. Brubaker and J. Smith, *Gender and the Transformation of the Roman World: Women, Men and Eunuchs in Late Antiquity and After, 300-900 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 165-184; and F. Curta, 'Female dress and 'Slavic' bow fibulae in Greece', *Hesperia,* 74 (2005) 101-146.

period of post-Roman migrations and settlement,[3] and with the advent of Norman government in various parts of Europe and the Middle East.[4] These moments in history have attracted attention because of important questions such as who people in the past were, and how they perceived their world. As contemporary historians such as Gregory of Tours and Paul the Deacon used the discourse of conquest as the vehicle through which cultures changed, so do many modern-day scholars.[5] The problem has arisen in the manner in which these questions are discussed, too often over-emphasising the 'dominant' culture of the ruling elite or assuming strategies of cultural exchange 'flowed' in one direction, for example, "to what degree did the Longobards seek to shield their ethnic identity from the inevitable flow of *romanitas*?"[6] This question asked differently might be: 'What processes of exchange existed between Roman/Byzantine and Lombard cultures and how did this impact on the

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[3] The great number of publications arising from the European Science Foundation's Programme on the 'Transformation of the Roman World and Emergence of Early Medieval Europe' and interest in it is testament to this. See for example: R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (eds.) *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages: Texts, Resources and Artefacts* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) with especial reference to M. Diesenberger, 'Hair, sacrality and symbolic capital in the Frankish kingdoms', 173-212; and essays cited in n. 1 from W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction*; particularly for material representation in late antiquity, albeit with little of note on Italy save W. Pohl, 'The barbarian successor states', 33-47; an artefact centred view in the exhibition catalogue: L. Webster and M. Brown (eds.) *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).

[4] G. Loud, 'How 'Norman' was the Norman Conquest of Southern Italy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies,* 25 (1980) 13-34 and 'The 'Gens Normannorum': Myth or reality?' in: R. Allen-Brown (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1981 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982) 104-116, began many discussions on the nature of southern Italian and Sicilian Norman identity, particularly when compared with England and France; J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: the Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy and Sicily,' *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (3) (1999) 187-202 is in large part a response to Loud and a revision of the evidence, taking more account of Lombard sources; the papers in R. Licinio and F. Violante (ed.) *I caratteri originari della conquista normanna. Diversità e identità nel Mezzogiorno (1030-1130).* Atti del convegno, Bari, 5-8 ottobre 2004 (Bari: Dedalo, 2006) takes much recent research into account, particularly on the issue of continued heterogeneity in the peninsula; the view of southern Italian Normans from outside is usefully discussed in E. Johnson, 'Normandy and Norman identity in southern Italian chronicles' in: J. Gillingham (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 2004 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005) 85-100.

[5] H. Reimitz, 'Social networks and identities in Frankish historiography. New aspects of the textual history of Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*' in: R. Corradini, M. Diesenberger and H. Reimitz (eds.) *The Construction of Communities*, 229-268; W. Pohl, 'Memory, identity and power in Lombard Italy' in: Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.) *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 9-28.

[6] N. Christie, *The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards,* (Oxford: Blackwell,1995) p. 110.

development of southern Italian Lombard identity, and why?' The first question implies a lack of agency and choice on the part of a discrete, presumably elite, group (Lombards) and assumes that the interaction was not so much an exchange but the non-participative reception of Romanising (or Byzantinising) influences which were somehow 'absorbed' into their own cultural expressions. The second question assumes that cultural exchanges require agency: the ability and the desire of a group to construct and reconstruct their tastes and fashions over time according to political and social need. While detailed interpretation may temper ideas of 'cultural flows' the language used to discuss them, including the problem of description, does skew the focus of studies on identity.

Questions of identity have tended to look more for evidence of *difference.* However, the study of *similarity,* or *affinity,* can also help place material culture in a wider historical context. Taken with the idea that examining exchange is more meaningful than looking at 'flows', these chapters use the concept that a shared culture of objects was central to constructing the identities of people and objects. Oleg Grabar demonstrated the value of this approach when examining the court cultures of Byzantium and the Persian and Arab Caliphates in the ninth to twelfth centuries.[7] He argued that between these courts was a shared appreciation of highly luxurious goods, often gifts to one another, and that this appreciation was not drastically different from one court to another, in spite of religious and political differences. Examining the material culture of southern Italy in this way attempts to highlight its shared cultural expressions, mutual appreciation and taste for things, and modes of exchanging them, with other parts of Italy and the Mediterranean at different points in the period under consideration.

All studies to date of Lombard, Byzantine or Norman Italy, have at their heart, often implicitly, the problem of description and representation respective to their sources. In his study of Italo-Byzantine identity, Michael McCormick approached the concept by viewing southern Italy as a region on the fringes of

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[7] O. Grabar, 'The shared culture of objects' in: H. Maguire (ed.) *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997) pp. 115-129.

the Byzantine Empire and therefore tested the hypothesis in a centre-periphery framework.[8] One of the principal examples of how identity was constructed concerns how contemporaries recognised a Byzantine (male) Italian.[9] While brokering allegiance with the Byzantine emperor Constantine V, a promise was made, alleged in a papal letter of 788 to Charlemagne, by the prince of Benevento, Arechis II (duke/prince 758–788 — southern Italy's first prince, following the end of the Lombard kingdom in 774), to dress and wear hair according to Greek fashions.[10] This either suggests that noticeable differences existed between Lombard and Greek areas, at least in elite or court fashion at this time, and that this kind of thing mattered in alliances, or, that as an outsider, the Pope used a cheap analogy of difference to make a political point. Similarly, the description of King Liutprand's punishment of Romans in Campania, following his campaign in the region, to shave and cloth themselves in the Lombard way.[11] In his ninth-century chronicle, Erchempert reported that Charlemagne required Lombards to shave their chins as a sign of submission to the Franks.[12] Two centuries later, the writer of the life of Saint Nilus of Rossano, described an event where some Lombards (described as Beneventans) stoned Saint Nilus because he wore strange headgear and looked foreign.[13] And by the early twelfth century 'Greekness' in southern Italy persisted enough for it to be commented upon from an outsider, such as the

[8] M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration A.D. 650-950' in: H. Ahrweiler and A. Laiou (eds.) *Studies in the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 17-52.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

[10] *Ibid.,* the text of the letter is contained in: *Codex carolinus*, pt. 8, 83, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Epistolae* 3 (ed.) W. Gundlach, (Hanover, 1892) 617, pp. 29-34.

[11] *The Lives of the Eighth-century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 817,* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), Gregory III, 731-41 interpolation.

[12] …*set prius eum sacramento huiusmodi vinxit, ut Langobardorum menium [mentum] tonderi faceret, cartas vero nummosque sui nominis caracteribus superscribi semper iuberet.* Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum* in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX,* (ed.) G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), bk. 4, ch. 4, p. 243.

[13] *Vita Nili Rossanensis* (Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca 1370), *Acta Sanctorum,* 41 (1867), Sept. 7, 285C-286D cited in M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge', p. 18.

description of the inhabitants of Gallipoli by John Skylitzes, spoke of them as wearing Byzantine clothes, using Greek customs and πολιτικὴ κατάστασις (political culture/administration).[14]

Although these examples are chronologically distant from each other, two important issues emerge. First, the opposition of Greek and non-Greek was fundamental to informing how such commentators understood southern Italy. However, isolating such examples deliberately ignores the social and cultural contexts within which the observations were made. Just because the writer of Nilus' life sought to make an example of the perceived differences between Italo-Greeks from Calabria and Latin Italo-Lombards from Benevento, it does not necessarily follow, and indeed does not, that all, or even most, travellers from one area to the next would have been so conspicuous. He may indeed have been more conspicuous dressed as a Greek monk, than a layman from Rossano.   Similarly, John Skylitzes, writing from a conservative imperial Byzantine setting, is describing what, to him, is unexpected, indicating that he would not have expected to recognise such features in a, presumably Latin-Italian context, and in so doing betraying his own preconceptions of the region as a whole. The second conclusion from this comparison is that very often, writers needed a material hook on which to hang their 'telling anecdote', as will also be seen in the discussion of William of Apulia below. Regardless of the cultural origins of a society's other identity-forming customs, appearance perhaps played the defining role in informing contemporaries of a region's character. A good example of this is the *Capitanata* region of Apulia in the tenth to the twelfth century whose people dressed in Greek fashions, but followed ostensibly Lombard customs (or at least called them Lombard) and used Latin as their written *lingua franca* (even if some of their documents, signatures and vocabulary were in Greek).[15] Such combinations of characteristics were what made southern Italy different from its neighbours, particularly to modern

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[14] Johannes Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum* (ed.) H. Thurn (Berolini, 1973) ch. 151 pp. 25-26; also M. McCormick, 'The imperial edge', pp. 18-19.

[15] Local customs and how they are recorded are discussed in chapter five; general themes on this area of Apulia are discussed in: J.-M. Martin and G. Noyé, *La capitanata nella storia del Mezzogiorno medievale* (Bari: Editrice Tipografica, 1991).

scholars of the region, as well as demonstrating the extensive cultural affinities which did exist between it and its neighbours. These do not need to be set up as competing identities but ones which also allowed for variation within the region and for them to mutate over time. While the Greekness of Neapolitans was subtly different to that of Gaetans, Calabrians or people of the Salento, the Greekness of all of these was what promoted the particularity of the whole region to observers, from the outside.

In contrast, Walter Pohl conceives the contradiction present within, and between, 'models' of ethnic and cultural identity as the reality which previous historians have ignored or misinterpreted.[16] He prefers to highlight social contact and the distinctions made between *insiders* and *outsiders* - and how the choice was made - as a better mode than ethnicity to analyse how group identity, particularly regarding Lombard cultural heritage, was constructed.[17] Outward appearance and costume are again seen as one of the significant ways in which people expressed their identity though it should be noted that: "Especially where ethnic identities imply prestige, they do not come naturally; one has to make an effort to live them."[18] This argument suggests that cultural affinity within social groups far outweighed that between perceived ethnic groups and therefore the ethno-cultural analysis of grave-goods, for example, is flawed and that very little archaeological culture actually bears relation to any ethnic categories that existed.[19] Similarly, the trends noted in the type of grave-goods found by archaeologists must take into account innovation and fashion that had a reach far beyond particular political and cultural regions.[20]

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[16] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity'.

[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 19-22.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 22.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 40 and p. 42; see also F. Curta, 'Some remarks on ethnicity in medieval archaeology', argues against *any* discussion of ethnicity in archaeological interpretation.

[20] For an interesting discussions parallels in the material cultures of across Europe in the early Middle Ages see: L. Lørgensen (ed.) *Chronological Studies of Anglo-Saxon England, Lombard Italy and Vendel Period Sweden* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 1992) and the examples given in B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively'.

An important instance has been highlighted in the use of brooches from functional and fashionable items, changing from pairs of bow or S-brooches to single 'Roman-style' disc-brooches, indicated by the change in position on bodies found in cemeteries from the sixth to the seventh century when brooches from graves seemed to disappear altogether in Lombard Italy.[21] The danger of reading too much into such grave positions is first, it is an inexact science owing to the significant movement graves can undergo after so many centuries. Secondly, this assumption ignores changes in garments and dress – both personal ornaments and dress need to be understood together. This trend has also been used as an example of the Romanisation of Lombard culture in Italy. However, viewed as a dynamic process of exchange these kinds of grave-goods provide more nuanced clues about the cultural affinities between newly settled Lombards and their descendants and the longer-settled Roman populations which developed over the 150 years or so demonstrated in the next chapter on comparing metalwork in southern Italy. Rather than the numbing inevitability that concepts such as 'Romanisation' imply, it could be argued that the personal ornaments and accessories people wore and were buried with were central to the kind of social contact Pohl highlights as fundamental to how people constructed their group identities and relationships.

An important addition to this discussion is how material evidence and its description can inform our understanding of cultural memory, or, how people in the past understood and expressed their own past.[22] Paul the Deacon's description of frescoes of early Lombards painted at Theodelinda's palace at Monza provides an instructive example, and will be discussed in more detail in

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[21] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity', p. 49-50; also discussed in: M. Martin, 'Fibel und Fibeltracht', *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 8 (1994) 541-582; N. Christie, *Lombards,* pp. 136-37.

[22] The use of the past in the early Middle Ages was most recently discussed in a conference called: *Past Presented: Uses of the Past in Medieval European, Byzantine and Islamic Material Culture*, 23-24 March 2006, Birkbeck College, London, shortly to be published: C. Goodson, *Past Presented: Uses of the Past in Medieval European, Byzantine and Islamic Material Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

chapter four.[23] It has been suggested that Paul's assumption that the hoses (*osae*) represented in the paintings were adopted from Roman dress, when in fact they had Germanic origins, is suggestive of the acculturation that had taken place by his time.[24] In contrast, the list of Lombard kings in another, later, southern Italian source, the *Codex Casinensis,* described King Adaloald (also early-seventh century) as wearing leggings assumed to be of Parthian (Persian) origin: "*Iste primum calcavit osam particam.*"[25] What both examples demonstrate is the importance of dress and appearance in how the past was understood and represented by contemporary historians. The contradictory descriptions are not necessarily a consequence of a lack of knowledge or interest in the materiality of their past. Both writers chose to express this as a way of simultaneously creating an affinity with their forebears which at once distinguished their socio-cultural group (Lombard), while also identifying themselves with social peers who also shared similar cultural references (Roman/Byzantine, Persian).

Joanna Drell has examined identity and cultural distinctiveness in the Norman period (in formerly Lombard-ruled areas) in the context of continuity and change.[26] While intermarriage obscured traditions of Lombard and Norman given names by 1100, the persistence of Lombard genealogies or lineages cited in late eleventh- and twelfth-century charters is indicative of the desire of some to assert their heritage, and with it, their nobility.[27] In contrast, the lack of genealogies in the charters of the new Norman aristocracy, it is argued, demonstrated a lack of distinction or noble connection with forbears from Normandy, unlike in England.[28] Here, the continuity of a tradition was used by

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[23] Paolo Diacono, *Storia del Longobardi,* (ed.) E. Bartolini, bk. 4, ch. 22, p. 165; Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards,* (ed.) E. Peters (trans.) W. Foulke (Philadelphia, 2003, originally published 1974) bk. 4, ch. 22, pp. 166-67.

[24] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference', pp. 43-44.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 44.

[26] J. Drell, 'Cultural syncretism and ethnic identity: The Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy and Sicily', *Journal of Medieval History,* 25 (3) 187-202.

[27] *Ibid.,* p. 197.

[28] *Ibid.*

one group to signify distinction but just as important to note is the lack of desire by the other group, the Norman nobles, to use the *same* strategy to create an identity for themselves. A preferred strategy for this group, perhaps, was to create a new tradition by representing themselves and their heritage through the creation of new stories, such as Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans* and William of Apulia's *Deeds of Robert Guiscard.* The patronage of sophisticated material culture such as ivories, textiles and books, and their donation to religious establishments, worked with these new histories to create an identity that was both unique to the *Regno* as well as rooted in the cultural exchanges that already existed in the region.[29] Similarly, while the art and styles of middle Byzantine Constantinople certainly did inspire Norman-period art in southern Italy and Sicily, the question of whether these were taken directly from items that were brought to the region or whether the impact was less direct, cannot be adequately answered if local pre-existing traditions and tastes are not taken into account.[30]

Three themes therefore emerge when analysing material culture and the construction of identities as an evolving process of defining similarity and difference. The first consists of the oppositions created in a centre-periphery framework and the permeability of the boundaries between them. The second emphasises the importance of strategies chosen to define insiders and outsiders within social rather than ethnic groups, in addition to the role of material representations of the past, such as those attested by the insignia discussed in the next chapter. The third is the context of how locality and local tradition mediated continuity and change. Although it is the purpose of these chapters to emphasise the central role of objects and their description in the

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[29] Late eleventh and twelfth-century donations to monasteries and churches will be further discussed in chapter five.

[30] This question was posed in: W. Wixom, 'Byzantine art and the Latin West', in: H. Evans and W. Wixom (eds.) *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) pp. 442-43; also L. Safran, *San Pietro at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome: Edizioni Rari Nantes, 1992) which highlights the differences in how Byzantinising influences were adopted both in church building and their decoration particularly in Apulia and Calabria.

cultural exchanges of the region, other aspects of identity-formation such as, language, naming, rituals and traditions (including religious and military), building in the landscape, music, painting and history writing need also to be understood as implicitly important and co-dependent.

Problems of description

The problem of description and its relationship to interpreting identity, similarity and difference has already been introduced. The following discussions aim to frame the concept of cultural exchange by demonstrating the limitations of traditional methods of describing and interpreting material culture. Description is the essential mode through which objects are understood (as opposed to narrative) yet it also poses a fundamental problem to their interpretation and analysis. Typologies and classifications help art historians, archaeologists and museum curators communicate and understand their artefacts often within other object systems such as collections and artistic schools. However these typologies often break down when objects are examined to understand the relationships they helped to form or break. Most often this happens because taxonomic analysis pushes the intimate link between people and objects into the background and the language used for the description itself is deliberately impersonal in order to convey its scientific basis. The questions asked of material evidence are not often enough, those that would have concerned the people who originally created, sold, bought, used and disposed of them. In addition, historians deriving information about 'the material life' from documents have sometimes taken the description of physicality too much at face-value, more to create categories and inventories according to their own classifications, than to use them as evidence of how relationships between groups or individuals were formed (as discussed in chapter five). On the other hand, descriptions of materiality in literary texts are somewhat summarily dismissed as just literary devices rather than assessed for their potential as good historical clues for understanding cultural affinities and identity.

Artefacts and the problem of description

The ethno-cultural classification of medieval artefacts has had a significant impact on their interpretation and integration into historical narratives of the region. Though often equivocal, these labels ('Italo-Byzantine', 'Byzantine Provincial', 'Lombardic' and variant 'Langobardic') leave little room for interpreting objects according to their specific geographic and social contexts. The flaws in ethno-cultural analysis of early medieval evidence have already been highlighted. Its use specifically in object descriptions has also been widely questioned.[31] However the principal concern here is to demonstrate how such descriptions limit the source value of objects, particularly those from southern Italy. When artefacts are published in exhibition and typological catalogues or archaeological reports they tend to become de-historicised in a similar way to the *museumification* of objects when placed in displays and recorded according to material or broad ethnic or cultural classifications; artificially and anachronistically introducing barriers between objects which once existed in the same culture. These de-contextualising processes make the interpretation of artefacts in their spatial and temporal contexts more difficult. As a direct result of problems with description, efforts to centralise the role of objects in historical discourses have been few or only partially successful.[32] If the function of

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[31] A similar critical point of departure has been used by Bonnie Effros on Merovingian art and archaeology: B. Effros, 'Dressing conservatively' and B. Effros, 'Art of the 'Dark Ages'. Showing Merovingian artefacts in North American public and private collections', *Journal of the History of Collections,* 17 (1) (2005) 85-113; F. Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and very many of his other works which challenge established scholarly traditions of early medieval objects in a south-eastern European context; on general approaches: L. Nees, 'Ethnic and primitive paradigms in the study of early medieval art,' C. Chazelle and F. Lifschitz (eds.) *Paradigms and Methods in Early Medieval Studies* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) – I thank Lawrence Nees for some preliminary thoughts on this subject prior to publication; the only successful 'history' written of a place primarily through the medium of medieval objects and known to me to date is D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[32] Some scholars have sought to interpret objects as process (to create biographies of their lives) based upon some of the ideas presented originally by I. Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process' in: A. Appadurai (ed.) *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 64-91; the other essays in this volume have also formed seminal theses on the phenomenology of objects in the past upon which later scholars have built (see discussion in chapter one); for a novel use of Kopytoff's theoretical framework, see: R. Olson P. Reilly and R. Shepherd (eds.) *The Biography of the Object in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006).

objects in processes of cultural exchange is confronted as an historical problem in its own right, the likelihood of more accurate and meaningful interpretations increases.

Lack of scientific provenance for many medieval objects in museum collections has also contributed to the lack of historical analysis beyond art, design and technological histories. In most instances clues about origins have to come from stylistic examination and comparison with better provenanced precedents. This type of analysis has helped to retain the use of ethno-cultural labels as a central method of describing and interpreting artefacts. The last significant factor affecting problems with the description of medieval artefacts is their current locations, both physically and culturally remote. The early medieval objects of Italy are housed in several museums across Europe and the USA. Antiquarians, dealers and archaeologists have fractured original contexts through the process of collecting and creating encyclopaedias of human knowledge through objects.[33] While collections create an air of historicity and authenticate individual objects, this can only happen when aided by their classification by culture (or civilisation), form or material; and this is still the basis of most medieval gallery representation in museums today. What are really being presented are fragmentary snapshots which are then used to construct a story of (linear) progress or development through time. The challenge here is to face these museological problems by approaching objects as indicators of human relationships with other people and with their possessions, thereby increasing their historical source value.

The display of southern Italian objects in museums is symptomatic of how the visual association of one object with another can heavily influence the perception of their origins and their representative role, i.e. as archaeology, art history or relic. In southern Italy itself medieval artefacts, if on display at all, are

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[33] The history of early collecting, cabinets of curiosity and the phenomenon of museums is well-documented and a large field of study in its own right, for example see articles in the *Journal of the History of Collections;* select works on the subject include: T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); J. Baudrillard, 'The system of collecting' (trans. R. Cardinal) in: J. Elsner and R. Cardinal, *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994) 7-24; S. Pearce, *On Collecting. An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995); B. Beall-Fofana, *Understanding the Art Museum* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007).

usually housed in the final showcases of the permanent display telling the story of the area with most emphasis on prehistoric origins, archaic and classical periods.[34]   This reflects the longstanding trend in Italian archaeology to privilege antiquity and more recently, prehistory over later, medieval and post-medieval archaeology. Most often these artefacts are either used to represent the coming of Christianity with the early medieval period often described as '*paleocristiano'* (early Christian) or the 'flourishing' of an area's political importance through its art.[35]   Take for instance, the medieval remains (*resti*) from the port-city of Bari which are used to represent political and administrative urban development. With the exception of coins, this is evidenced more through architectural features than by objects. What is highlighted by city's medieval archaeology is the Normano-Swabian period and the monuments of the Pugliese Romanesque.[36]   In contrast, finds from rural and inland sites around Altamura (Belmonte, Auricarro and Sant'Apollinare in Rutigliano) are used to demonstrate the importance of settlements in these areas in the fifth to seventh centuries particularly concerning early ecclesiastical complexes such as basilicas and baptistries. The presence of gold grave-goods in the cemetery at Belmonte, for example, conveys the sense of the importance and status of the *place* as opposed to the person.[37]   Both examples privilege the linear history of place over the individual histories of people.

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[34] Unfortunately two of the largest archaeological museums in Puglia were closed (long-term) at the time of visiting: the Museo Archeologico in Bari and the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Taranto (the museum at Taranto has since been re-opened (2008) after refurbishment but the one at Bari remains closed at the time of writing).

[35] Note also the publication of much research on late antique and early medieval Puglia for example under the titles: *Puglia paleocristiana* and *Puglia paleocristiana e altomedievale,* 6 vols. (1970-1991).

[36] In the absence of a visit to the main archaeological museum a visit was made to the Centro Operativo per l'Archeologia di Bari, Strada Lamberti, which housed an exhibition entitled *"Bari Archeologica e Palazzo Simi"* at the site of the excavations of the palazzo. Accompanying brochure: M. Cioce, *Bari archeologica e Palazzo Simi,* (Bari: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali / Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia, [no date]).

[37] Objects displayed in showcase 33, Museo Archeologico, Altamura; see also museum guidebook: *Museo Archeologico Nazionale Altamura,* Museum Guidebook no. 59 in *Itinerari del musei, gallerie, scavi e monumenti d'Italia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002).

The largest archaeological museum in the South, at Naples neglects the display of medieval artefacts altogether. The compelling 'Lombard' grave-goods from Senise at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, do not find their way beyond the scholar's cotton gloves in the *medagliere.* Neither have the objects excavated from medieval sites in the 1980s after the earthquake made it to the permanent display galleries.[38] Similarly in Taranto, the Museo Archeologico Nazionale exists specifically as a showcase of prehistoric and classical culture, albeit that several examples of medieval metalwork from southern Italy are housed here.[39] Medieval objects simply do not form part of the narrative of the region as *Magna Grecia.* In contrast, Benevento has its Lombard heritage at the heart of the Museo del Sannio and the story the objects tell is an important one: "caratteri originali della etnia meridionale."[40] The unfortunate reality is, however, that many of the significant objects from Lombard southern Italy are now in museums outside the South, and outside Italy, and Benevento itself is home to few of the objects associated with it. Like the script that took its name from this place (Beneventan), the objects found around Benevento and those related to them are considered to be unique to the South, with discernible Benevantan origins, though clearly from a culture shared in other parts of the peninsula.

Medieval artefacts displayed in church treasury museums, though poor in number owing to both looting and reuse, give an altogether different impression of the culture of the region. The oldest objects (usually not earlier than twelfth-century) are therefore imbued with a sense of myth as well as representing more prosaic ideas such as the advancement of liturgical art. Three such objects are in the treasury of the basilica of San Nicola in Bari. Among the dazzling silver and gold liturgical objects mainly from the seventeenth century onwards are a *champlevé* enamel plaque depicting Roger II's coronation in Bari by St Nicholas (1132) and a copper alloy 'crown' described as that of Roger II.

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[38] Finds from Roman and medieval Naples are published throughout P. Arthur, *Naples* (2002).

[39] C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini* (Taranto: Scorpione, 1989) concentrates on the gold items.

[40] E. Galasso, *Langobardia minor* (Benevento: Museo del Sanno, 1991), p. 12.

The third is an ivory crozier described in the sixteenth-century inventory of the treasury as belonging to San Nicola's first Rector, Elijah (died 1105).[41]   The significance of such objects to a place lies in retaining the links with historical legends that it wishes to convey; a search for their true origins and associations being of secondary or no importance. In the story of church culture in southern Italy, the Norman period, particularly the reign of Roger II, is a primary moment and treasury objects with mythical descriptions help to keep them in the broader narratives of the place.

The representation of medieval southern Italy in Italian museums outside the South is as marginal as those presented in the general histories of the peninsula, discussed in chapter one. Even if the odd object is stored or on display little is said of the significance of its relationship with the region.[42] The red African slip ware displayed at the Crypta Balbi museum in Rome alludes to the role of Naples and Campania in the local exchange routes serving Rome but does so in a way that suggests nothing of the reciprocal nature of this exchange network, for example, the traffic of people (pilgrims and traders) who travelled from Campania and beyond to and Rome on a regular basis.[43] The museum at the Villa Giulia in Rome displays some of the Lombard metalwork derived from the Castellani family's collections but they are presented very much as nineteenth-century collected pieces rather than as part of medieval history.[44] The Museo dell'Alto Medioevo is dominated by the finds from the sixth- to eighth-century funerary complexes discovered at Castel Trosino (Marche) and

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[41] Described in: G. Cioffari, *La basilica di S. Nicola. Breve guida storico-artistica,* (Bari: Basilica Pontificia San Nicola, 1998) pp. 62-3, figs. 80-81.

[42] Palazzo Venezia displays some ivory objects more likely to be of Sicilian rather than southern Italian origin and the Museo Nazionale in Rome holds a some unprovenanced metalwork which may have come from the South.

[43] *Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2000) pp. 61-3 and p. 89.

[44] The museum itself is dedicated to Etruscan collections and is called the Museo Nazionale Etrusco. The collection of the Castellani archaeological jeweller family was the subject of a recent exhibition and associated publication: *I Castellani e l'oreficeria archeologica italiana,* Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, 11 November 2005-26 February 2006, with accompanying exhibition catalogue: A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.) *I Castellani e l'oreficeria archeologica italiana* (Rome: Erma, 2005) and also discussed in: Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia [A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.)], *La collezione Augusto Castellani* (Rome: Erma, 2000).

Nocera Umbra (Ascoli Piceno) in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However very little, if any, meaningful comparison is made between these objects and those discovered elsewhere in Lombard Italy, let alone Byzantine areas, though some efforts are being made to rectify this in recent scholarship re-examining both sites.[45] Like so much of the history of the peninsula, the intense regionalisation of the modern era has perhaps undermined the validity of such comparisons and the need to portray them in museums. The result only adds to the fragmented understanding of cultural relationships between south and north Italy and even less, those that existed farther afield.

Outside Italy, museums with southern Italian material almost exclusively use art historical ethno-cultural classification to describe and interpret their objects. As a consequence, their original contexts are obscured and seem almost ahistorical, the objects suspended both in time and space.   The British Museum houses a showcase of objects from early medieval Italy in the Early Medieval Europe gallery (300-1100). This comprises the grave-groups from late fifth to seventh-century cemetery sites at Sutri,[46] Belluno[47] and Domagnano[48] in addition to singular other objects such as the Castellani brooch found at Canosa di Puglia,[49] discussed in the next chapter. All the grave-groups are portrayed as displaying the fashions and tastes of both Germanic (Gothic or Lombard) and Byzantine (oriental) or Mediterranean influences. Other Italian objects appear in cases related to Byzantium such as the gold seal ring of Gumedruta found at Bergamo which has a rare depiction of of a woman,

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[45] For example, L. Paroli (ed.), *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino bizantini e longobardi nelle Marche*, (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1995) and C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000). It should be noted, however, that the comparisons are largely with other northern and central Italian sites and finds, and not very much with those from the South, with the exception of some items from Venosa in, C. Bertelli and G. Broglio (eds.) *Il futuro*, figs. 52-4 p. 72.

[46] Acc. nos.: 1887,1-8,3-9.

[47] Acc. nos.: AF.529-531, 534.

[48] Acc. nos.: 1933,4-5,1-11.

[49] Acc. nos.: 1865, 7-12,1.

also discussed in the following chapter.[50] There may have been opportunity here to draw a comparison between the portrayal on the ring with the bust on the Castellani brooch (interpreted by the museum as a female), but this is not exploited in the ways illustrated in the following chapter.

American art museums such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore display their collections according to cultural classifications. 'Langobard Art' and 'Byzantine Art' however are very much mutually exclusive and while reference may be made to the 'influence' of one on the other, no explicit relationships are highlighted in the presentation of them, particularly in the context of a particular place or time. Lombard art is art of the 'Migration Period' or 'Germanic art' while Byzantine Art is that which continues on from Classical and Roman forms. The room for explicit interpretation of these artefacts as 'southern Italian' objects (where suspected) is therefore severely limited. An example is the display of 'Langobardic' gold metalwork at the Metropolitan Museum. Jewellery and funerary accoutrements such as shroud crosses are simply described with an introductory blurb describing nothing more than the Lombard settlement of Italy and the eventual downfall of the kingdom in 774. No connection is made between the history of the documentary tradition and that suggested by the objects. Basket earrings are interpreted as items which "quickly became part of Langobardic women's dress."[51] The clear variation between these earrings (one pair was in fact not of the basket type but had M-shaped pendants such as ones found in southern Italy)[52] is left without note. The one object on display of most secure southern Italian origin, a seventh-century gold seal-ring with set with a Roman chalcedony intaglio, found in the territory of Benevento, is labelled as "Byzantine or Langobardic."[53] No explanation mentions the ambiguity of the description, or its relationship with other objects displayed with

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[50] Acc. no.: 1920,10-28,2.

[51] Label panel for object group 3, 'Langobard Art' gallery, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA): nos. 95.15.84, 85, 118, 119, 124, 125, 127.

[52] See earring comparison table six in appendix.

[53] Label panel for object 7, 'Langobard Art' gallery, MMA: acc. no. 17.230.128.

it or elsewhere, save for a generalised comment on the significance of objects with antique carved gems linking "their Langobardic wearers to the illustrious peoples who preceded them on the Italian peninsula."[54]

The interpretation available at the Walters Art Museum, which houses a similar collection, follows the same lines, although in this case the main interpretation board ('Art of the Migration Period') for the early medieval gallery, presents the visitor with a map of Europe displaying arrows showing the direction of the migrations of the post-Roman period. The reason such two-dimensional interpretation of medieval collections persists in museums is directly related to the rigidity and inherent flaws of ethno-cultural classification. In addition, the publication and, necessarily, the display of objects within the collections they accidentally arrived in create further problems when attempting to make meaningful comparisons across collections. The problems with contemporary interpretation in museums are also a consequence of the longstanding dominance of their reliance on now dated typological and collections catalogues.[55] Recent revisions of art historical typologies and collections-based research may however be reflected in re-displays of galleries, such as at the Walters Art Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[56] If

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[54] Label panel for object 7, 'Langobard Art' gallery, MMA.

[55] Examples of major, older, museum and typological catalogues containing early medieval Italian metalwork include: M. Ross, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 1. *Metalwork, ceramics, glass, glyptics, painting* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1962); M. Ross, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 2. *Jewellery, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1965); this is the only major catalogue revised in recent years and is published similarly, with an addendum by S. Boyd and S. Zwirn, 2nd ed., (2005); M. Ross, *Arts of the Migration Period in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1961); O. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien* (Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1950); S. Fuchs, *Die Langobardischen Goldblattkreuze aus der Zone sudwarts der Alpen* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1938); O. von Hessen, *I reperti longobardi* (Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 1981); C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini*; L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1941).

[56] Both museums are redisplaying their medieval collections and the research contained in this thesis has provided curators (Audrey Scanlan-Teller at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore and Susan Walker at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) with up-to-date information and new perspectives on pieces in both these museums; in addition, the medieval galleries at the Victoria and Albert Museum are undergoing major redisplay (due to complete in November 2009) and similarly at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (due to complete late 2008/early 2009).

reference was made, for example, in the description of the Beneventan ring in New York to the Benevento brooch in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,[57] also set with an antique carved gem (cameo), and a very similar seal ring set with an intaglio from the rich 'Lombard' burial at Senise housed in Naples,[58] an altogether more distinct picture may be portrayed to scholars and visiting public, and the historicity of these objects may begin to be revealed, as will be developed below.

In a region whose defining characteristic in the Middle Ages was variation *within* labels such as Byzantine, Lombard and Norman, this must be recognised as the norm and emphasised in analysis, description and interpretation. Wide variations in the styles of seventh- and eighth-century Neapolitan coinage, for example, demonstrate how established typological analyses used on their own can be misleading.[59] Similarly, one would expect, and indeed sees, variation in, for example, eleventh-century ivories made in Venice, Sicily, Puglia and Amalfi. Yet any object that hails from ninth to mid-eleventh century southern Italy (or Venice and Ravenna) can still be labelled 'Italo-Byzantine' and any dating from the mid-eleventh to twelfth-century as 'Norman'.[60] The differences need underlining for their diverse geographic and artistic roots to be recognised. This may then reveal the reality of the range of exchanges that took place, in each milieu, for each of these objects to be produced.[61]

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[57] Gold disc brooch with filigree decoration and Roman cameo with three amethyst sub-pendants, acc. no. 1909.816, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[58] Acc. no.: 153619.

[59] Paul Arthur, *pers. comm.* (email December 2004); P. Arthur, 'Naples', pp. 133-36.

[60] To compare see how mixtures of different objects from England, France, southern Italy and Sicily are used to represented daily life in the exhibition catalogue (section VI: 'Gerarchie sociali e forme di vita') in: M. D'Onofrio (ed.) *I Normanni. Popolo d'Europa 1030-1200* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1994) pp. 422-68.

[61] V. Pace, 'Gli avori' in: M. D'Onofrio (ed.) *I Normanni,* p. 245.

Texts and the problem of description

The second aspect of the problem of description is centred on the close relationship between objects and the words used to describe them. The theory proposed as *Wörter und Sachen* (words and things) suggested that etymologies cannot be understood without understanding the material goods that related to, and evolved, with them.[62] Together, words and things create a system of semantics particular to a cultural group.[63] As language, ethnicity and culture, and therefore identity, have been so closely associated together from an archaeological and art historical perspective, its approach has tended to negate the emphasis on poly- or multivalency, that is, the reality of multiple and competing meanings which existed in the Middle Ages. In an Italian context there has been much interest in the impact of Germanic languages on the development of Italian and its dialects.[64] Elda Moricchio uses the example of the lexicon of cloth-working to investigate the absorption of Germanic words into local vernaculars.[65] Here, Moricchio relates the introduction of new manufacturing techniques to the symbiotic adoption of Germanic words into local usage. While the conclusion regarding the relationship between linguistic and technological innovation is convincing, what is less so is the role of the people concerned. Just as many artefacts are identified and interpreted with

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[62] The concept was first developed by German philologists Rudolf Meringer and Hans Schuchardt with the establishment of a journal called *Wörter und Sachen* in 1904 and a number of treatises on the subject.

[63] The idea of detecting change in linguistics and word use in tandem with archaeological evidence has been incorporated into the field of historical linguistics. For historical linguistics using medieval examples see the work of Cecily Clark who used predominantly medieval English examples: C. Clark, *Words, Names and History: Selected Writings of Cecily Clark,* P. Jackson (ed.) (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), particularly chapter 8: 'Historical linguistics - Linguistic archaeology' and on the particular integration of historical linguistics into the discipline of archaeology: C. Renfrew et al. (eds.) *Time Depth in Historical Linguistics,* 2 vols. (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2000).

[64] See works by C. Mastrelli particularly, 'La terminologia longobarda dei manufatti' in: *La civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa.* Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 24-26 maggio 1971, Cividale del Friuli 27-28 maggio 1971 (Rome, 1974); and particularly in relation to objects and words, E. Moricchio, 'Migrazioni di popoli e di parole. L'eredità linguistica dei Germani in Italia', in: M. Rotili (ed.), *Società multiculturali nei secoli V-IX. Scontri, convivenza, integrazione nel Mediterraneo occidentale.* Atti delle VII giornate di studio sull'età romanobarbarica, Benevento, 31 maggio-2 giugno 1999 (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 2001) 109-125.

[65] E. Moricchio, 'Migrazione di popoli e di parole', pp. 112-16.

little discussion of the people who made and used them, the analysis of words and word-roots lacks similar context: the primacy of interpreting word *over* object. The question of whether the concerns of the philologist are the related to the concerns of contemporary people is once again pertinent to this discussion. A more nuanced picture of how past people embraced new things and new lexicons may be achieved if some attempt is made to understand the responses to these changes and the central role the object and its labels played together.

The example of Philip Ditchfield's work on southern Italian (mainly Apulian) lexicons for material culture (presented as "*vie quotidienne*" – "daily life") demonstrates how the attempt to be technical and systematise according to modern categories loses a considerable amount of local, social and political context and leaves little opportunity for sensing the presence of people *in* their material worlds.[66] As an aid to understanding how people manipulated their material worlds, this book leaves little clue. In addition, the grave assumption that material culture equated only to 'daily life' in the Middle Ages, no less in southern Italy, not only ignores the potential for the sources to reveal the depth of human relationships that existed, but also portrays this aspect of human society as only being of the mundane, and not of the profound, intellectual or creative. Just as museumification can fracture the ties between objects and their historical contexts, the encyclopaedia of words can obscure the relationships that existed between people and their things.

Related to limitations of lexicographical analysis is how physicality was used and represented by writers of the period, as introduced above.   The example of William of Apulia's description of Duke Melus (or Melo) brings many of these issues into focus. William, writing in the 1090s, begins the first book of the *Deeds of Robert Guiscard* by describing the meeting of various Norman mercenaries and Melo of Bari at Monte Sant'Angelo (northern Apulia).[67]

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[66] P. Ditchfield, *La culture matérielle médiévale: l'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande,* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007).

[67] Guillaume de Pouille, *La Geste de Robert Guiscard,* (ed.) M. Mathieu (Palermo, 1961) parallel Latin text and French translation, pp. 98 and 100. Lines 11-27. This is my translation.

Horum nonnulli Gargani culmina montis	Some of these [Normans] climbed to the summit of
Conscendere, tibi, Michael archangele, voti	the Mount, to you, Archangel Michael, fulfilling a
Debita solventes. Ibi quendam conspicientes	vow owed. There they saw a certain man clothed in
More virum Graeco vestitum, nomine Melum,	the manner of a Greek, called Melus. They
Exulis ignotam vestem capitique ligato	marvelled at the strange garments of the exile and
Insolitos mitrae mirantur adesse rotatus.	were unaccustomed to the turban that whirled
Hunc dum conspiciunt, quis et unde sit ipse	around his head. When they saw him they asked
requirunt.	who he was and from whence he had come. He
Se Langobardum natu civemque fuisse	replied to them he was a Lombard, of noble birth
Ingenuum Bari, patriis respondit at esse	and a freeborn citizen of Bari, an exile, forced from
Finibus extorrem Graeca feritate coactum.	his ancestral land by the ferocity of the Greeks

The event, imagined or real, must have taken place a little before 1017 when Barese chronicles describe the victory of Duke Melo and the Normans against the Byzantine catepan and his Greek army.[68] Shortly afterwards in 1019, Melo was forced to flee into exile to the German court of Henry II after a subsequent defeat. Mathieu interpreted this meeting as the 'legendary invitation' like that described in the Campanian chronicle of Amatus of Montecassino where Norman pilgrims saved Salerno from an Arab siege around the year 1000 and were then invited by Prince Guaimar IV to stay in the city.[69] While this passage has largely been discussed to ascertain the year in which the Normans began their settlement of southern Italy, or else the extent of the Lombard principality at the time, little has been said about this curious description of Melo and what it

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[68] *Anonymous Chronicle* (*Ignoti civis Barensis)* and *Lupus Protspatharius s.a.* 1017 in: *Antiche cronache di Terra di Bari,* (eds.) G. Cioffari and R. Lupoli Tateo (Bari, 1991).

[69] *La Geste,* pp. 261-2; The Salernitan event is described in book one of: *The History of the Normans by Amatus of Montecassino,* (ed.) P. Dunbar, revised G. Loud (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2004) bk. 1, chs. 20-24, pp. 50-52; alternative text in: *Storia de'Normanni di Amato*, (ed.) V. de Bartholomeis, (Rome, 1935).

may have signified to the author and the audience of the *Geste*.[70] Melo himself is mentioned in the native chronicles of Apulia, but none describe him.[71]

Over a century later, the Chronicle of S. Bartolomeo of Carpineto in Abruzzo recalls William's description of Melo, repeating it almost intact with the exception of describing his status as *virum nobilem* as opposed to William's *ingenuum*.[72]

Eo igitur tempore, quo Graecorum exercitus dominabatur Apuliae, contigit, quosdam Normannorum ad cryptam S. Angeli sitam in monte Gargano causa orationis venire, ubi dum viderent, quemdam virum nobilem civem Barensem, nomine Meluum, more Graecorum vestibus indutum, caput mirifice habentem quasi mitra ornatum, interrogantes eum, quis, et unde esset, qui se Barensem esse respondit, et Graecorum perfidia exulare a patria...	So in the time when the Greek army dominated Apulia, it happened that some Normans came to the site of the crypt at Monte Gargano for reason of prayer. While there they saw a certain noble man, a citizen of Bari called Melus, dressed in clothes in the manner of the Greeks, his head wonderfully adorned as if with a turban. They asked of him who he was and whence he came, he replied to them that he was from Bari, and through the treachery of the Greeks exiled from his homeland...

Leo of Ostia (Marsicanus) writing at Montecassino around the same time as William of Apulia also includes Melo and the rebellion against Byzantine rule in his Chronicle. However his description is limited to status and personal qualities: "*Melus...Barensium civium immo totius Apuliae primus ac clarior erat,*

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[70] G. Mor, 'La difesa militare della Capitanata ed i confini della regione al principio del secolo XI' in: *Studies in Italian Medieval History Presented to Miss Evelyn Jamison*, special edition of *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 24 (1956) 29-36; E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans in Italy - Legend and history', *Speculum,* 23 (3) (1948) 353-396 both discuss this passage in relation to the extent of the Principality of Benevento in 1017.

[71] He is mentioned once in the *Annals* in 1011, thence as the father of Argyros; three times in both *Lupus Protospatharius* and the *Anonymous Chronicle* in 1017, 1019 and 1020, thence as father of Argyros.

[72] *Chronica monasterii S. Bartholomaei de Carpineto,* (ed.) F. Ughelli in: S. Coleti, *Italia Sacra,* vol. 10, pt. 2 (Venice, 1722, repr. Padua, 1969) bk. III, col. 358. The editor identifies the author as a monk called Alexander writing for Pope Celestine III (1191–1198). This excerpt taken from: E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 378; p. 359 for Joranson's translation and p. 386 nn. 52-57 for explanations of the similarities in the text. This is my translation. On the use of terms relating to citizenship in southern Italy, see P. Oldfield, 'Citizenship and community in southern Italy *c.*1100-*c.*1220', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 74 (2006) 323-338.

strenuissimus plane ac prudentissimus vir; (Melo, citizen of Bari, indeed first in the whole of Apulia who is an illustrious, most vigorous and most prudent man)."[73] That we are told about Melo but without the kind of details about appearance or origins that William and the Carpineto chronicle give may in part be due to amendments made to the chronicle by Peter the Deacon, who replaces Leo's story of the Norman arrival with the Salernitan legend found in Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans,* mentioned above. Like the Montecassino chronicle, Amatus himself only mentions Melo in relation to his exile at the Salernitan court and desire to recruit Norman aid.[74] The debate about which origin myth is more truthful has been in existence since 1705 when Antoine Pagi rejected the Salernitan story in favour of William's account of the meeting at Monte Sant'Angelo.[75] While there remains debate about the authenticity of both encounters, in few of them does William's portrayal of Melo raise interest or questions.[76]

Joranson, while dismissing both origin traditions as fictitious, explains away the description of Melo's Greek dress as an attempt at describing the Lombard rebel's disguise while entering Byzantine territory from either Salerno or Capua.[77] The only remark on Melo's attire provided in Mathieu's edition of the poem was that *mitra* denotes a bonnet of perhaps Phrygian type rather than a turban which in eleventh-century Byzantium belonged, apparently, purely to female attire.[78] On his origins, most conjecture has rested upon his name. Melo and its variants Mel, Melus and Meles (Μέλης) may have derived from the

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[73] E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 356 discusses the use of Amatus's work by Peter the Deacon in his revision of Leo of Ostia's Montecassino chronicle.

[74] Melo's rebellion of 1011 is discussed fleetingly in the *Synopsis Historion* of John Skylitzes but no details about the man are given, nor are any Normans mentioned and is also mentioned in the Chronicle of the monastery of Santa Sophia in Benevento. Psellos does not mention Melo or the rebellion in Apulia at all.

[75] E. Joranson, 'The inception of the career of the Normans', p. 360.

[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 360-64 surveys and summarises different viewpoints from Pagi to those of Jules Gay, Ferdinand Chalandon and Wilhelm Schmidt writing in the early twentieth century.

[77] *Ibid.,* p. 368.

[78] *La Geste,* p. 101 n. 1. This was contrary to the interpretation of *mitra* as turban by Du Cange and Delarc.

Jewish and Arab name Ismael or the Armenian name Mleh or Μελίας.[79] Indeed a certain Melo, son of an Armenian priest (Mele *clericus* son of Simagoni priest, and *armeni*) appears in a Barese charter of June 990 which concerned a land transaction involving, among others, Bartisky *armena* son of Moiseo Pascike, and Cricori, son of Achani *armeni*.[80] It seems, at least from the written sources, that the small Armenian population resident in Apulia for a time in the eleventh century were employed in the Byzantine province's military and administrative services. Indeed, Martin uses this supposition to propose that Melo was in fact one of these Armenian-Byzantine aristocrats, and not a Lombard. He goes on to suggest that William of Apulia exposes Melo's true origins in the very description him in Greek clothes ("N'était-il pas, selon Guillaume de Pouille, habillé à la Greque?") thereby suggesting that he was no Lombard rebel but a disgruntled official who took on the mantle of civic leader (*dux*) for his own ends.[81] Jules Gay was the historian who originally cast doubt on the portrayal of Melo as a local hero who was fighting for Apulian independence.[82] To him, the exaltation of Melo, originated with historians from the German empire (for example Adémar of Chabannes[83] and Raoul Glaber)[84] and was continued by the Normano-Italian historians. The mysterious hero who ended his days at the German court in Bamberg was a figure who these writers saw as a *"type du*

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[79] *La Geste,* p. 262 n. 9 with references to discussion on the name Melo; G. De Blasiis, *La insurrezione pugliese e la conquista normanna nel secolo XI,* vol. 1 (Naples: A. Detken, 1864) p. 45; J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile 1er jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les normands, 867-1071* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904) p. 401.

[80] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)* (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982) no. 4, pp. 8-10.

[81] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993) p. 520.

[82] J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale,* pp. 399-412 critiques the representation of Melo and his revolt of 1017.

[83] *Gesta regum Francorum,* in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores,* 4 (Hannover and Berlin, 1826-1892).

[84] Raoul Glaber's text in: *Historiarum libri quinque,* (ed.) M. Prou, in: *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseingement de l'histoire* (Paris, 1886).

patriote" and mixed history with imagination when assigning Melo to their memory.[85]

Notwithstanding the veracity of either the Salerno or Monte Sant'Angelo origin myths, what may explain the descriptive choices of each of the authors? Why was the materiality in the description of Melo so important to William of Apulia, the chronicler of Carpineto, but not to Leo of Ostia and Amatus of Montecassino who preferred to describe his personal qualities? Some clues may be found in the identity of William himself. Was he *loco Appulus, gente Normannus* as William of Malmesbury described Robert Guiscard's brother Bohemond, or, like Geoffrey Malaterra, *noviter Apulum factum*?[86] It is not inconceivable that Roger Borsa would have commissioned the poem from a sympathetic native, knowledgeable about his past and keen to place it in a new narrative.[87] There is an agenda in the poem to present to the audience the world of southern Italy, in addition to the figure of Robert Guiscard, who himself does not appear until book two and about whose background in Normandy William gives no information. Praises of southern Italian cities feature prominently in the poem: "Not a single city of Apulia was equal to Bari in opulence,"[88] "Trani is a town of illustrious name, riches, arms and large population;"[89] Salerno, he says, is a rich city with fine palaces, honourable men and beautiful women,[90] and of Amalfi, he says: "None is richer in silver, cloths, in gold which come from innumerable places. There are many sailors who live there and know the ways of the sea and the sky. They bring here many different objects from Alexandria and Antioch. Its inhabitants cross many

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[85] J. Gay, *L'italie méridionale,* pp. 399-400.

[86] *La Geste,* pp. 17 and n. 5; p. 18 and n. 2.

[87] Mathieu also feels this is a possibility, especially given William's more impartial view of southern Italians and their involvement in the foreground of the story, unlike in the history of Amatus. Geoffrey Malaterra is also compared with William in relation to his use of Italians in his chronicle, *La Geste,* pp. 22-23.

[88] *La Geste,* p. 158.

[89] *Ibid.,* p. 185.

[90] *Ibid.,* p. 190.

seas."[91] William wanted to portray the sense of place of his land (*patris*) through its materiality and its people as active agents in the cultural spheres they occupied. To William, this was *heimat*. This desire was presumably echoed by his patron, Roger Borsa, whose mother Sikelgaita was herself a Salernitan of Italo-Lombard nobility. The numerous moveable goods she and Robert Guiscard gave to institutions such as Montecassino are recorded in detail in the historical works that were produced here, and will be discussed further in chapter five. The purpose of William's description of Melo may not therefore be an illustration of difference between Normans and southern Italians (Apulians), but framed differently, perhaps a statement of affinity between the author and the figure of Melo and the people he represented.[92] William's instinct for description lay in these visual and tangible aspects of Melo's culture. There was no contradiction in his expression as a Barese-Lombard hero, possibly Armenian name and his Greek dress. These were the signifiers that were the reality of cultural exchange in southern Italy at this time.   The deconstruction of Melo's identity demonstrates the benefits of looking for competing meanings in material descriptions as more accurate reflections of the cultural contexts that existed.

The following case-studies explore in further detail the themes discussed so far. They demonstrate ways in which identity was constructed through objects and use alternative methods of analysis and interpretation to overcome problems of description and offer a new understanding of cultural exchange. The first case-study which follows this discussion will examine evidence for dress from tenth to twelfth-century Apulian charters. It will present southern Italian dress in a comparative framework which attempts to reach beyond identifying fabric, function and fashion by trying to locate the cultural affinities that existed between southern Italy and other regions of the Mediterranean. The second, comprising its own chapter, examines personal ornaments from the sixth to eighth centuries. They comprise decorative gold, silver and bronze

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[91] *Ibid.*

[92] William explicitly says Melo was the first leader of the Normans in Italy further establishing the closeness of the first Norman mercenaries with the local leader. *La Geste*, p. 102.

metalwork, often described as high status or elite objects such as brooches, earrings and rings. This detailed analysis will attempt to re-establish the relationship between objects that have been divided by typological publication and collecting practices, as well as largely divorced from their historical social, political and cultural contexts. Both case-studies will argue that object choice played an essential role in underpinning cultural values and social worth as well as being markers of taste and aesthetics.

Case-study: A shared culture of dress

The evidence of dress from southern Italian charters, when examined in conjunction with evidence from some surrounding regions, highlights compelling evidence for a shared culture of cloth and dress in the central Mediterranean region. Expressions of identity such as dress choices can be viewed not simply as ethnically or socially bound (one-way) but as active exchange (mutual and reciprocal) as highlighted in the discussion on William of Apulia's description of Melo. This kind of exchange has been noted in the dress of elites in Byzantine peripheries such as Cappadocia and Kastoria, the former with Armenian and Islamic neighbours, the latter bordering significant populations of Armenian and Georgian refugees, and whose political point of reference was Bulgaria until the eleventh century.[93] Southern Italy was a similarly heterogeneous and peripheral region, each area comprising multiple and mixed communities throughout the period. In addition to those of Christian Roman, Greek or Lombard heritage, were significant communities of Jews, best attested in Apulia and the Campanian city-states (including Salerno).[94] Other minority communities comprised Armenian and Slav refugees who settled in southern Italy to flee from unrest at home; as mentioned above, the Armenians were

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[93] J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress. Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-Century Painting* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 57-77.

[94] P. Skinner, 'Conflicting accounts. Negotiating a Jewish space in medieval southern Italy, c.800 – 1150 CE' in: M. Frassetto (ed.) *Christian attitudes toward the Jews in the Middle Ages. A Casebook* (London: Routledge, 2007) pp. 1-14; J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 492-503; works of C. Colafemmina particularly on Jewish inscriptions discovered in Puglia and the Basilicata published in several of the volumes in the series *Puglia paleocristiana e altomedievale* (1970-1991).

known to have participated in the Byzantine administration of Apulia.[95] Migrants from Byzantine and previously Byzantine areas also came and left southern Italy throughout the period. Less visible but present were small communities of Muslims in central and southern Italy.[96]

Whether these minorities would have chosen to identify themselves as insiders or outsiders is a difficult question to answer. If, as seems likely, new migrants came to southern Italy for economic reasons, or to seek asylum, it would be reasonable to assume that they would have wanted to blend in with the majority of the population, though perhaps incorporating certain elements from their family tradition into their dress. The resulting combinations, however, may in turn, have been replicated in the costumes of others, particularly those of the elite and wealthy. Like southern Italy, the particular character of elite dress choices in Kastoria and Cappadocia is better explained when understood in the framework of local exchange networks.[97] Both regions were part of important cloth trade routes whose centres were frequented by merchants from within and beyond the empire. Further, again like southern Italy (Apulia in particular), these areas were used to participating in a material-rich life as workers in the industry, as investors, and as consumers. It is not surprising therefore that consciousness of material possessions, especially clothes, was remarkable enough to be recorded in detail and preserved in the surviving documentation.

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[95] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille*, pp. 518-20 on Armenians in Apulia; L. Leciejewicz, *Gli slavi occidentali. Le origini delle società e delle culture feudali* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1991) and the collected papers in: *Gli slavi occidentali e meridionali nell'alto medioevo. Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sul alto'Medioevo, Spoleto, 15-21 aprile 1982, 30* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1983) particularly on Slav communities in Italy and Byzantium, J. Ferluga, 'Slavi del sud ed altri gruppi etnici di fronte a Bisanzio' and L. Leciejewicz, 'Slavi occidentali: loro insediamento ed attività economiche'.

[96] There is little work on this subject before the thirteenth century. The only significant work on the emirate of Bari is: G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari 847-871,* 2nd edition (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1967); a study on communities of Muslims in the area of Molise is, G. Staccioli, 'Insediamenti musulmani medievali nel Molise', *Quaderni medievali*, 58 (December 2004) 84-98; A. Papagna, *I saraceni e la Puglia nel secolo decimo* (Bari: Levante Editori, 1991); later work on the thirteenth century Muslim colony at Lucera: J. Taylor, *Muslims in Medieval Italy: The Colony at Lucera* (Oxford: Lexington, 2004).

[97] J. Ball, *Byzantine Dress,* pp. 74-75.

Another region that was similarly conscious of its materiality was Egypt and other parts of the Arab Middle East, particularly evidenced in the documents of the Cairo Geniza. Comparisons of Apulian and Arab dowry lists demonstrate most remarkably the shared culture of objects discussed above. The trousseau lists of Jewish brides date mainly from the mid-tenth to mid-thirteenth century (Fatimid and Ayyubid periods) and comprise some 750 documents.[98] The relationships between these places have been well explored in terms of trade but not in terms of cultural exchange, or at least similarity, in their customs and traditions (**map 3** throughout).[99] Comparing two near contemporary examples, one dated 1138 from Terlizzi, near Bari, in Apulia, the other contained in a letter written in 1137 from Seleucia (Byzantine Cilicia and modern-day Silifke, a coastal city, in south-central Turkey), this idea may be further developed. **Table three** (see appendix) sets each of these dowry lists side by side to illustrate the striking comparisons that existed between Apulian and (Jewish) Arab dowry (and dress) traditions.

The letter from Seleucia was dated 21 July 1137 and written by an Egyptian Jewish physician to his brother-in-law, later to be deposited in the Geniza archive.[100] In it he described the dowry he provided on the marriage of his daughter to his son-in-law, Rabbi Samuel, grandson of a "Longobardian merchant" also called Rabbi Samuel.[101] Of the recipient and writer of this letter, the following is known: it was written in Hebrew by the physician in his home city of Seleucia and sent to Egypt, probably Fustat (Old Cairo).[102] The

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[98] Y. Stillman, 'The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 7 (1976) p. 579 of 579-589.

[99] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale,* 67 (1971) 9-33; Works of Armand Citarella particularly in relation to Amalfitan merchants, best surveyed in: 'Merchants, markets and merchandise in southern Italy in the high Middle Ages', in: *Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea.* Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo XL, 23-29 aprile 1992 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sul Alto'Medioevo, 1993) 239-284; a new project examining the relationship between the Kingdom of Antioch and southern Italy and Sicily during the twelfth-century is being undertaken by Joshua Birk.

[100] S. Goitein, 'A letter from Seleucia (Cilicia): dated 21 July 1137', *Speculum,* 39 (2) (1964) 298-303.

[101] S. Goitein, 'Sicily and southern Italy', p. 299.

[102] S. Goitein, 'Letter from Seleucia', p. 298.

Map 3: Dress cultures in Apulian, Arab, and Greek Byzantine sources, 10-12th century

Data: Author   Map by: Tom Goskar

physician himself was a Jew who had, at least for a time, lived both in Fustat and Constantinople before moving to this province.[103] He was married to a woman with a Greek name who was probably local to Seleucia.[104] Concerning the dowry itself, he remarked that it was an expensive dowry.[105] Compared with other marriage contracts in the Geniza, this one included large sums of cash, in addition to moveable goods. The dowry itself followed the Arab-Jewish tradition of providing brides with a number of personal possessions, particularly clothing, on her marriage, yet the sums of gold and silver allude to the Byzantine dowry tradition of a cash portion.[106] The physician's letter therefore highlights the shared, yet distinct, marriage traditions co-present at this time. Placed against the context of southern Italian marriage contracts where dowries or morning-gifts often comprised any combination of stable and moveable goods, cash and often a slave, this dowry does not seem exceptional. In this clearly special case, did the descendant of the "Longobardian merchant" and his family themselves request their own tradition be followed?

The Terlizzi dowry was more typical of other Apulian dowries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[107] The transfer of goods was made for the new household of Rogata, daughter of Gadeletus son of Amati, and her husband, Petracca, in Terlizzi. The goods were described as being "all new and good" ("*que omnia nova et bona sint*") and given according to the custom of their city (*"secundum usum nostre civitatis"*). While the detailed comparison of objects between the two is illuminating: the clothing, jewellery, soft-furnishings, furniture and domestic items, the comparison is just as important for demonstrating the close relationship between objects, tradition and exchange. The comparison of the two dowries shows how the description of certain objects leaves room for

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[103] *Ibid.,* p. 302.

[104] *Ibid.,* pp. 302-3.

[105] *Ibid.,* p. 299.

[106] *Ibid.,* p. 303. Goitein however notes that in a Hebrew marriage contract of 1022 from Mastaura, no cash is included in the dowry (see n. 45 with references to: T. Reinach, 'Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile', *Mélanges Schlumberger*, 1 (Paris, 1924) 118-132 and J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641-1204* (Farnborough: Gregg, 1969) 187-190.

[107] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69.

interpretation, for example, the Arabic *bushtain qytyn* (two woollen shirts)[108] have been equated with the Greek *kiton*, also a type of shirt. I have similarly interpreted *sex camisas,* present in the Terlizzese dowry, as 'six shirts'. Although there is consensus of what a 'shirt' was in the twelfth century (an undergarment of varying length over which a tunic and/or robe was worn), would the garments have retained these descriptions if viewed from a different vestimentary culture?

Philological work on textile and dress terms has, as discussed above, helped historians understand affinities between different cultural groups, however closer examination of some examples reveals more than just relationships between word and function. When the objects and their descriptors are placed side-by-side, the idea of a shared culture of objects is made more obvious. **Table four** (see appendix) shows where similarities within groups of objects may have existed across the three material and documentary cultures discussed so far: Apulian, (Jewish) Arab and Greek Byzantine. It should be noted that although there are close parallels between the Apulian and Geniza sources for this information, the Greek evidence is slightly different, reliant largely on a selection of narrative sources, especially the *Book of Ceremonies* and a small number of wills. An important example is the bequest of the *kouropalatissa* Kale Pakouriane from the end of the eleventh century.[109] The other important observation is that all the sources relate to women's dress, and exchanges in which women played an important role in making choices. The question of who was responsible for describing these objects then

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[108] Appearing in other trousseaux as *qamîs:* Y. Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,* (Unpublished thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1972) pp. 222-23.

[109] Discussed in detail, and a major source for: T. Dawson, 'Propriety, practicality and pleasure: the parameters of women's dress in Byzantium, A.D. 1000-1200', in: L. Garland (ed.) *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 41-75. The will comes from the archives of Mount Athos: *Actes d'Ivrion,* II, *Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204. Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 16 (eds.) J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: Lethielleux*,* 1990) pp. 180-81. Other private documents from the same archive are published in the accompanying volume: *Actes d'Ivrion,* 1, *Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle. Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 14, (eds.) J. Lefort, N. Oikonomidès *et al.* (Paris: Lethielleux*,* 1985) and discussed in N. Oikonomidès, 'The Contents of the Byzantine House from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth Century', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 44 (1990) 205-214.

becomes a more interesting one. The following examples illustrate how the reality of dress and textile culture across these regions lay in diverse interpretations and opposing descriptions. **Table four** cross-references the examples given below to give a sense of the parallels that existed across each region's vestimentary cultures. These comparisons have revealed unexpected, and hitherto unrecognised similarities between these Mediterranean regions.

The *mantellum* (mantle, worn by men and women, a sleeveless cloak or shawl worn around head and shoulders or just shoulders)[110] appears in a number of documents, some of which are described as: red (*rubeum*) and worth four gold *tari*,[111] of wool,[112] brown *cum connillis,*[113] blue *(blevi)*,[114] worth three ounces of gold,[115] of sheep's fleece (?) (*cum pelli*),[116] and of silk (*serici*).[117] These examples highlight another element of cultural exchange, that of ownership and use. Two of the examples formed part of bridal trousseaux and a third was bequeathed to a women in a will, possibly for the same purpose. The remainder were documented in their role as reciprocal gifts or *launegilt* and received by men*.* How these objects then functioned is a matter of conjecture but while these may have been mantles specifically for male use, they may also have been garments belonging to a female in the household and used as traditional objects for completing land and property transactions.

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[110] Explanatory descriptions are based on several sources and definitions given by dress historians.

[111] *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 68, pp. 86-87 (Molfetta, 1184) as part of dowry (see table four for full references).

[112] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 39, pp. 55-56 (Terlizzi, 1118) as reciprocal gift (*launegilt*).

[113] *CDB* 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 155, pp. 264-66 (Bari, 1190) bequeathed to a woman called *Sopracore* in a will.

[114] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 22, pp. 37-38 (Molfetta, 1154) as *launegilt.*

[115] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86 (Terlizzi, 1193) as part of dowry.

[116] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 91, pp. 116-117 (Terlizzi, 1162) as *launegilt.*

[117] Beltrani, no. 22, pp. 33-34 (Trani, 1098) as *launegilt.*

Equivalent outer-garments worn by Arab women in the Middle East (both Jewish and Muslim[118]) were the *burd* or *ridâ*, the latter functioning similarly to the *mantellum* and with the veil, was essential wear for outdoors.[119] Other types of outer-garment mentioned in the Apulian documents were the *caia*, *sabanum* and *pallidellos* (with variant spelling). Examples of *caia* and *sabanum* were described as decorated in some way, also with descriptions such as 'Amalfitan-style' (*malfetanescam*), embroidered (*vellata*) and with a fringe or border (*profili*). The former was more a cloak, the latter a large shawl or wrap but both likely to have performed the same vestimentary function as the *mantellum*. A Greek Byzantine equivalent was the *sagion* (σάγιον) described in documents as blue (βέβετον), made of goathair and as a fleece lined cape, similar to the different fabrics of the Apulian *mantellum*.[120] Another Greek cloak or mantle was the *mandyas* (μανδύας) which was described as both plain, of red silk with gold bands, and dark green silk.[121] Two examples of the Apulian *pallidellos* were described as a simple garment (of linen) and also 'French-style' (*franciscas*) indicating something different to a notional norm.

The multiple functions of various garments are also evident when description and function are considered together. This is especially true for items which functioned simultaneously as outer-garments and headgear, and perhaps points to the limitations of modern own garment grouping criteria. The clearest direct clue of this comes from one twelfth-century Apulian document which mentions, *"inter mappas et mandilia septem."*[122] I have interpreted these items as head-scarf (*mappa*) and veil or kerchief (*mandile*) respectively but their function was essentially the same, to cover the head, albeit that the style or size and shape of cloth might have differed or were worn or fastened differently, of

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[118] Y. Stillman [N. Stillman (ed.)], *Arab Dress from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) p. 56 notes that Jewish and Muslim women in the Middle East dressed alike during the Fatimid period as, with few exceptions, laws of *ghiyār* which restricted non-Muslim dress were not enforced.

[119] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

[120] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 49.

[121] *Ibid.*

[122] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86 (Terlizzi, 1193).

which more presently. One suggestion is that the difference lay in their seasonal use: *mandilia* as summer garb, primarily silk and therefore lighter, and *mappe* as winter garb, similar to the shawl-like *sabanum*.[123] However, it should be noted that these items may also be interpreted as items of soft furnishings as their more traditional Latin roots suggest. *Mandile* can be translated as hand-towel or napkin and *mappa* as table-cloth. One instance which demonstrates the duality of the *mappa* is its appearance as *mappa de pane* - a bread cloth, possibly akin to a tea-towel used during the proving of dough. The presence of bread and dough making items in other dowries provides added context to this particular example. The dilemma of interpretation therefore plays a crucial role in how these objects were perceived in their contemporary contexts, and also now. The *reticella* offered an Apulian woman another alternative for headgear. This item is more suggestive of a veil or bonnet (tailored veil), maybe a hair-net made of a fine cloth, perhaps a type of gossamer. Further diversity in head-wear is suggested by the *bitvulum,* if the interpretation is correct, a type of broad band wound around the head in the manner of a turban. This recalls the problematic interpretations of Duke Melo's *mitra,* discussed above*.* Evidence from the Geniza documents shows that both men and women sported headgear that could be described as turbans with the male turban most often called ʿ*imāma* and that worn by women, called the ʿ*iṣāba*.[124] Even in a modern English context, the multiple means of 'turban' can have specific contemporary meanings, used as an object-description relevant to men, women and ethnically or culturally suggestive too.

The manifold function of garments was as much a feature in southern Italy as in the Middle East and Greece.[125] More than half of the garments cited in the Geniza trousseaux were items of headgear including the *mindīl* or *mandīl,* the second most common item cited after the *thawb* (a shawl or wrap).[126]

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[123] P. Ditchfield, *Culture materielle,* pp. 473-74.

[124] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 127-30.

[125] *Ibid.,* p. 40 and T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 47.

[126] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 145-49.

Stillman suggested that this item was philologically and in terms of function related to the Latin *mantellum.*[127] In the context of Apulian garments, its relationship to the *mandile* seems more compelling*.* In similar vein to the *mandile* and *mappa*, the *mandīl* was also a multi-purpose word and object, describing a face-veil, scarf or kerchief, large shawl, and furnishings such as a cloth napkin, cover or item of bed-linen.[128] The Greek *savanion* (σαβάνιον) also had several functions and was described as a kind of cape or napkin as well as a head-dress.[129] Did the *savanion* resemble the Apulian *sabanum*? Dawson suggests that the Byzantine turban may have been similar to the Arabʿ *isāba.*[130] Arab writers also referred to this type of head-dress as *sabanīya* which possibly had a philological relationship to the Greek *savanion.* The same Arab writers mention that the *sabanīya* was imported from 'Armenia' but this possibly referred to anywhere in the Byzantine (or Christian) world. While Dozy argued that this word was derived from Greek and was adopted into Arabic, others have suggested it was originally used in Greek and later absorbed into Arabic.[131] However the difficulty in tracing the origins and routes travelled of descriptors such as *savanion, sabanīya* and *sabanum* is that it contributes only a partial explanation of the purpose and significance of the object itself.

All three areas may have used cognate words to describe, albeit subtly, different items, in size, material, shape or the manner in which it was to be sported. There was probably also variation within each region dependent on individual taste and practicality. In a dowry for Cerbina dated 1193, cited above, two items were mentioned with some indifference: "*inter mappas et mandilia septem.*"[132] Rogata's dowry of 1138 also mentioned both items.

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[127] *Ibid.*

[128] *Ibid.,* pp. 145-46.

[129] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 47.

[130] *Ibid.*

[131] *Ibid.,* cites this from: R. Serjeant, *Materials for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut: Librarie du Liban, 1972) p. 64, n. 24 which makes reference to Dozy's alternative view: R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Maisonneuves Frères, 1927).

[132] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86.

Mandilia appear most often in quantities between approximately three and seven. In the earliest document from Monopoli (1054), Melo *magister* of Bari bequeathed to his daughter Specia eight silk head-scarves or mantles, three of which to be for everyday use.[133] The *reticella dumenecale* mentioned in another dowry may also allude to its specific use as 'Sunday-best'.[134] The conclusions that may be drawn and applied across the three regions are that these were multi-purpose items whose primary function were as essential head-wear for women, just like the multi-purpose *mindîl, mandîl* of the Geniza documents and the Greek *savanion* (σαβάνιον). They functioned as garments for daily use and special occasions. They were probably worn to suit the prevailing fashion of the time (which may have changed rapidly or slowly according to innovations in textile production) or to suit an individual's taste and identity, or for specific occasions as suggested above. The choice of colour would also have varied according to availability, affordability, group and personal taste and vogue.

However, some evidence also suggests that certain garment descriptions were confined to a particular region. An interesting example is *jubba,* a long coat or robe, attested in blue and green, most frequently made of wool, with more luxurious ones of silk or embroidered with silk and gold. In Arab trousseaux they appear most frequently in Syrian marriage contracts but very rarely in Egyptian and Tunisian ones.[135] The Greek equivalent was the *zoupa* (ζοῦπα) found in fine silk, embroidered and heavy wool.[136] In common with its Syrian and Greek neighbours, this garment also appears in Apulia as *juppa* with examples in linen[137] and dark or brown silk (*de sirico fusco*).[138] This term and its variants seem to appear in European literature only from the twelfth-century

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[133] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94.

[134] *CDP* 7, *Molfetta*, no. 68, pp. 86-87 (1184, Molfetta).

[135] Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* pp. 77-78; S. Goitein, 'Four Ancient Marriage Contracts from the Cairo Geniza,' *Leshonu*, 30 (1966) p. 202.

[136] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 55.

[137] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 156, (Terlizzi, 1191) pp. 177-78.

[138] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, (Terlizzi, 1193) pp. 184-86.

and with the survival of the descendent of this term in modern French (*jupe*) and Italian (*giubba*) garment vocabulary, what does this say about the cultural journey of this object?[139]

By the time the *juppa* was recorded in Apulian documents (1191 and 1193) the Norman governance of the Principality of Antioch had long waned, however the cultural ties between Syria (particularly considering its southern Italian settlers) would have remained.[140] Was this therefore the result of cultural exchange between Syria and Apulia, mediated by communication and trade links between both Norman regions early in the twelfth century? And if so, does this also explain its arrival in Normandy? Or could these items have been brought to southern Italy by migrants coming from the crusader states such as Antioch into southern Italy after its loss? If so it is of significance also that in many instances objects did travel with their labels even if they were to lose their original associations at a later date.

A document from Monopoli of 1181 may be indicative of such cultural exchanges.[141] The marriage contract carefully cited the origins of Germana's dowry which came as part of the legacy of her aunt, Kiramaria wife of Nicolai de Viparda of Bari but was now in the hands of her executors lord Petrus *de Antiochissa* and lady Sclavarella *de Corticio* of Bari. The dowry comprised several objects including a bed and bed-clothes, a mantle or head-scarf with fringes, 28 *brachia* of cloth, woollen cloth, another mantle (*pessina*), a shirt and a lace table-cloth (*tobaleam trinatam*), plus 2 ounces Sicilian gold tari. Could the names of the executors give clues to where some of these items may have come from? Was Petrus *de Antiochissa* from the kingdom of Antioch? Or,

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[139] T. Dawson, 'Women's dress in Byzantium', p. 55.

[140] T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130,* (Woordbridge: Boydell, 2000) is the most up-to-date survey of this period of Antioch and Syria's history but is overtly focused on events from the point of view of the western governors and leaders. Evidence of southern Italian (albeit Normano-Italian) involvement in Antioch comes from a certain Richard of Salerno as ruler of Marash between 1108 and 1114, pp. 175-76; see also for relations with the Byzantine Empire, pp. 92-103 and pp. 93-128 on relations with other Latin settlements in the East; C. Cahen, *La syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et la pricipauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1940) takes a more holistic view of economics and social structures.

[141] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-12.

taking this as a matronym, was his mother from Antioch?[142] The relationship of southern Italy and Sicily to Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt, North Africa and the Middle East has been well explored in terms of trade, particularly through evidence in the Geniza documents, but not very much in terms of cultural exchange affinity, in customs and traditions; and less so, the relationship between southern Italy and the new Norman states in the Middle East, particularly Antioch.[143]

Objects with culture or place-related names may provide further evidence for the nature of cultural exchange between southern Italy and its neighbours. Both Apulian and Arab trousseaux contain such descriptors. The most common type in the Geniza documents concern textile types whose descriptions came from the place in which they originated, for example, *dabīqī,* a fine linen from Egypt, originally made in the city of *Dabīq,* used to describe among other garments, the *makhtūma,* a type of robe.[144] Another culture or place related descriptor was *Rūmī,* denoting an item from the Byzantine or Christian world, or perhaps, in the style of something from here. In fact after *dabīqī* it is the most common description for textiles and garments and examples include the *minshafa,* a type of scarf and *mindīl.*[145] As well as describing a type of fabric, the term was also adapted to describe a specific garment. *Rūmiyya* was a type of kerchief or foulard probably similar to the *mindīl rūmī.*[146] Examples included ones made of silk or fine linen and others with borders or decorated bands.

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[142] P. Skinner, ''And her name was...?' Gender and naming in medieval southern Italy, *Medieval Prosopography,* 20 (1999) 23-49 suggests several examples of the use of matronymics in southern Italy.

[143] The principle works which have looked at the socio-economics of trade are: S. Goiten, 'Sicily and southern Italy in the Cairo Geniza documents', A. Citarella, 'Merchants, markets and merchandise'; in addition to a new project examining the relationship between the Kingdom of Antioch and southern Italy and Sicily during the twelfth-century being undertaken by Joshua Birk (Eastern Illinois University).

[144] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* pp. 57-58 and Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* pp. 20-25.

[145] Y. Stillman, *Female Attire,* p. 148, p. 164.

[146] *Ibid.,* pp. 190-91.

Colours varied from white, white-grey, apricot and blue.[147] What factors influenced this variation in description is debatable and may denote more than just a textile or garment imported from abroad. It could be based on a textile made using a technique, pattern or dye developed in Byzantine Europe, an item made in the style of ones worn in this region, or a combination of these. Therefore, does the use of this epithet constitute an affinity or a clear distinction between these two Mediterranean regions?

The place-related object names in Apulian documents, also mentioned in chapter two, were different and do not have known parallels elsewhere. They were also used for objects other than items of clothing. The most similar toponymic to *rūmī* in southern Italian documents is *grecisco,* and variant *gricissco,* were used to describe a kerchief (*faciolo*) in 1054 and a bed in 1110.[148] The most frequently occurring label was *francisca* and variants *franciscas, franciscam, francisum, franciscos* were used to describe types of linen cloak or wrap (*pallidellas franciscas lini*), beds and sheets, in documents from 1138 to 1193.[149] A kerchief was described as *malfetanescam* in 1138.[150] This same label was also used for a mantle or cloak (*caiam malfetanescam*) in a dowry from 1184.[151] One of William, bishop of Troia's gifts to the cathedral in 1157 was a chasuble made from red Spanish cloth (*de panno hispano rubeo*).[152] The reason for the concentration of these descriptions in mid to late twelfth-century documents will, at least in part, be a factor of increased documentary activity and better preservation. However, it also seems likely that such descriptions were used in the inventories found in marriage contracts and wills because there was a need for them. Part of this was due to the

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[147] *Ibid.*

[148] kerchief: *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94 (Monopoli, 1054); bed: *CDP* 20, no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

[149] bed: *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69 (Terlizzi, 1138): Rogata's dowry; two beds: *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, (Molfetta, 1184) pp. 86-87; bed and linen cloaks: *CDB* 3, no. 129, pp. 153-54 (Terlizzi, 1180); bed and sheets: *CDB* 3, no. 163, pp. 184-86, (Terlizzi, 1193).

[150] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69 (Terlizzi, 1138): Rogata's dowry.

[151] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, (Molfetta, 1184) pp. 86-87.

[152] *CDP* 21, *Troia,* no. 81, pp. 252-53.

diversification of goods that were produced or brought into southern Italy during the mid to late-twelfth century, evidenced also in the increased quantity of goods available, especially silk. The other important factor was the need to distinguish between one variety of object and another. If new cultural exchanges facilitated by the Norman administrations in Italy, Sicily and the Middle East resulted in new types of dress, or new names, such as the *juppa*, then it seems likely that other objects would also require and acquire new labels.

The most striking example of the need for such descriptors is the opposition of the toponymics *grecisco* and *Francisco* introduced above. Beds were described as both 'French-style' or 'Greek-style'. What the nature of the difference between these two forms is a matter of conjecture but it was clearly an important one to make. The frequency of *francisco* may further suggest that new styles were introduced to southern Italy during the twelfth century and that these may have been developed or introduced by Norman immigrants, or in response to them. What contemporary Apulians understood as 'Greek-style' is another intriguing proposition especially as they provide the earliest use of a distinctive description. The Greek-style kerchief was bequeathed in Melo's will of 1054 at a time when Apulia was still very much part of the Byzantine periphery.[153] Was the kerchief imported from the heartlands of Byzantium? Or was it made from a particular textile fabricated in the 'Greek-style'? By 1110, at the time when a Greek-style bed was given as part of Delaila's dowry in Conversano, had the meaning of *grecisco* changed? Whatever the likely scenario it seems probable that objects made in Apulia throughout its Byzantine and Norman periods did not require the fact to be stated. Therefore the opposition of *francisco* and *grecisco* in the twelfth-century may not be adequately explained by a desire on the part native Apulians to distinguish their things from those introduced by newly settled Normans. However, an alternative explanation for this description may lie in the context provided by the document. It may have been possible that the bed given in Delaila's dowry of

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[153] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, pp. 91-94.

1110 by Visantio of Conversano was one in the local style but described as Greek by people who were themselves new to the region.[154] As Conversano at this time was settled by a large Norman community this scenario may also be viable.[155] Regional particularity within southern Italy is also be highlighted by the use of *malfetanescam* for a kerchief and a mantle or cloak. The Amalfitan-style kerchief was singled out as one of three others in Rogata's dowry of 1138 and the cloak was contained in a later Molfettan dowry of 1184.[156] These instances suggest that certain differences did exist between the material cultures of southern Italy and that there was knowledge of these differences in each region. The Amalfitan merchant community resident in Apulia may have been introduced these particular styles and fabrics to the region. The example of the bishop of Troia's red Spanish chasuble highlights the longer-distance connections that Apulia's ecclesiasts enjoyed (probably mediated by Apulian or Amalfitan merchants), and with them the specialist knowledge required to describe their possessions.

Yedida Stillman considered the Fatimid period to be the most clothes-conscious than any other across the wide regions of Ifrīqia, Egypt, Palestine and Syria.[157] The involvement of Italian merchants in these places makes it almost certain that textiles formed a fundamental part of their trade, much of it ending up in southern Italy as well as beyond. The examination of the textiles and garments in Apulian documents suggests a similar cultural propensity towards not only using objects to create relationships, but also in recording these exchanges; this theme is the focus of chapter five. The problem of description has both helped, and limited what may be understood about dress cultures from extant sources but comparison between southern Italian evidence and that from neighbouring regions exposes similarities which were hitherto obscured. However the similarities should also not be over-stated. While an

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[154] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

[155] See chapter five on Conversano and its Norman settlers.

[156] *CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, pp. 86-87 (Molfetta, 1184).

[157] Y. Stillman, *Arab Dress,* p. 53.

Apulian might have felt at home wearing her own clothes in eastern Byzantium or Egypt, myriad other signs of distinction would have set her apart from her social peers. Therefore, taking note of signs of differentiation, such as that demonstrated by the opposition of toponymics to describe objects, is just as important as interpreting the affinities which existed.

What may be concluded from this case-study is that both similarity and difference in dress, and other objects, were understood and expressed in very particular, and deliberate, ways. By making comparisons across traditional academic boundaries, this particular investigation has demonstrated that problems of description can be somewhat overcome, and as a result, a region's social and cultural history can be better articulated. The comparison of vestimentary systems in the tenth to the twelfth century across central Mediterranean regions, in addition to the preceding discussions on problems of description, have given practical examples showing the permeability of boundaries which existed between southern Italy and its neighbours.

Chapter four: Cultural exchange and the problem of description II
Politics, society and metalwork: continuity and innovation

Treating southern Italian metalwork from across the peninsula in its own right, in a comparative context, has never before been undertaken, particularly to address questions of identity. This chapter is therefore a first attempt at raising important questions about the significance of early medieval metal objects, personal ornaments made of gold, silver and copper alloy (bronze), to their owners and makers in southern Italy. Its breadth also means that this is the longest chapter and comprises some of the most crucial case-studies presented in this thesis. The examples chosen will demonstrate that cultural exchange between northern and southern Italy was important to both regions during the late sixth to eighth centuries, but particularly in the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century. Further, the diversity inherent within discrete groups of objects, such as earrings and brooches, shows that cultural expressions embodied in them were as much a product of individual and local tastes, perhaps socially or politically motivated, as being suggestive of cultural affinities shared with other places and people. Typologically-based interpretations of these objects are deeply ingrained and their indelibility means that it is difficult to tease these artefacts into new historical contexts. This chapter will therefore also suggest a fresh perspective on these objects as providers of evidence beyond histories of art and technology.[1]

Southern Italy has not yielded the quantity of published finds from archaeology that has been hitherto discovered in northern Italy and many other parts of Europe, less so metal objects. Few cemeteries have been found

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[1] Francesca Zagari's study of metal in the Middle Ages, particularly examining the phenomenological aspects of technology and manufacture, is a significant step towards introducing a different theoretical approach to metal artefacts in an Italian context. Its anthropological approach towards the artisan contrasts with the owner-centred approach of this case-study: *Il metallo nel Medioevo. Techniche, strutture, manufatti* (Rome: Palombi Editori, 2005); metal as a phenomenon in the Middle Ages is discussed in various essays in R. Bork (ed.) *De Re Metallica. The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), however its approaches are in general insular, and focus too heavily on the objects in question, so that in many cases a broader historical contexts for these objects are lost or over-simplified.

comparable in scale to those, for example, at Castel Trosino, Nocera Umbra, Cividale, Parma, Brescia or around Milan, where one would expect to find the kinds of personal ornaments of interest here. While southern Italian archaeology is beginning to be published more systematically, the emphasis is still on ceramic finds and analysis. Therefore, southern Italian metalwork from this period has to be pieced together painstakingly by bringing together scattered items from museum collections around the world with the single or small groups of finds reported from archaeological investigation or chance finds.

For the purposes of dividing this chapter into appropriate themes, five features of early medieval objects and their descriptions will be examined in two parts. The first part challenges traditional interpretations based on the use of ethno-cultural labels and those derived from object typologies. Within this section, the first case-study examines horse brooches, and challenges assumptions that the presence of certain objects, in the art historical and archaeological records of Italy, are simply evidence of acculturation; the second addresses the classification of earrings and suggests a new way, an additional method, of interpreting these artefacts outside the confines of their typologies. Part two addresses the cultural heritage of gold and other precious metal objects, and begins with a study which analyses the changes in use of gold. It will look at the relationship between numismatics and gold objects. The second case-study attempts to reconstruct various possibilities for the political and cultural histories of objects considered as 'insignia', or perhaps more accurately understood as identity-affirming objects. Each scenario will be tested for its historical probability, and in this way, I attempt to introduce a new understanding of their creation and use, beyond their current isolation as *objets d'art*. This will add colour and depth to established paradigms about early medieval southern Italy, which have hitherto relied almost solely on documentary and architectural sources; the emphasis is particularly on evidence for the seventh century, where written evidence from Lombard Italy is especially scant. The third and final case-study considers the difference between the uses of objects as authoritative and commemorative insignia, and

their representation as symbols of a tangible cultural heritage which was shared across the peninsula.

Part one: Challenging typologies

Case-study one: Horse brooches and acculturation

Changes in many object forms in funerary contexts have been considered indicative of acculturation, particularly in an Italian context. Brooches have been particularly singled out for treatment as indicators of changes in ethnic and cultural identity, for example the 'change' from the use of radiate-head bow brooches of Gothic and early Lombard types to centrally worn late-Roman/Byzantine-style disc brooches.[2] Zoomorphic brooches, particularly those in the shape of horses have been found across Italy and Europe, most often in base metals such as copper alloys. They have been interpreted as signs of continuity in local Roman tradition and also their acceptance by those of non-Roman origin (acculturation).[3] Their forms are indeed strikingly similar to those from second and third-century Britain, fourth and fifth-century Germany and fifth and sixth-century Gaul.[4] Their purposes in the Roman world have been subject to broad interpretations from votive offerings (referring to the entire gamut of zoomorphic brooches) to more prosaic functions such as showing a

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[2] S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln* (Berlin, Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1950), *passim*; N. Christie, *The Lombards. The Ancient Longobards* (Oxford: Blackwell,1995) pp. 136-37.

[3] A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi in Italia, materiali e problemi* (Milan: Longanesi, 1982) pp. 118-19, 132-33; O. von Hessen, *I reperti longobardi* (Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 1981) p. 26; M. Salvatore, 'Antichità altomedievale in Basilicata' in: *La cultura in Italia fra tardoantico e altomedioevo*. Atti del Congresso tenuto a Roma dal 12 al 16 novembre 1979 (Rome: Herder, 1981) pp. 947-64; I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1999) pp. 155-56.

[4] A. MacGregor, *A Summary Catalogue of Continental Archaeological Collections, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Roman Iron Age, Migration Period, Early Medieval* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1997) (BAR international series 674) p. 87, no. 40 illustrates two German examples and pp. 148-49, no. 70 illustrates several Romano-Gaulish examples whose forms were later incorporated into Merovingian metalworking tradition; British examples from earlier periods are discussed in: C. Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain* (London: Routledge, 1996) pp. 173-75.

flair for this kind of decoration and personal ornamentation (fashion).[5] Would this range of meanings remain constant into the sixth and seventh centuries? The brooches are also assumed to be items of female dress, perhaps used to fasten a tunic, on account of other items found with them as part of grave-groups which have been interpreted as female, rather than male.[6] The horse brooches and other animal brooches are treated as one 'type' by art historians such as Fuchs and Werner (type F – *Tierfibeln*)[7] and Baldini-Lippolis (type 2 – *fibule zoomorfiche*).[8] Therefore, while brooches as a form of ornamentation have received detailed attention, little attempt has been made to understand the reasons *why* particular forms were used and what these might have meant. This comparison of horse brooches will explore ways of going beyond simplistic interpretations of acculturation.

   Table five (see appendix) (**map 4** throughout, **figs. 7–10**) compares examples in southern Italy with those from other parts of Italy and elsewhere. In southern Italy, the examples have been few, though certainly comparable with those from other parts of Italy. Those from datable contexts have been identified as hailing from the sixth and seventh centuries. Four unprovenanced copper alloy horse brooches, now in the British Museum, were said to have been found in the Naples area and are stylistically dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.[9] Although they are of similar size and proportion, each sports a distinctly different form and pattern: two are predominantly decorated with punched dot-and-ring motifs (H1 and H3), a third is decorated with red-orange enameled spots (H4) and the fourth has roughly incised decoration including a stepped cross-potent in the flank area, reminiscent of those depicted on the reverse of contemporary Byzantine solidi (H2) (all **fig. 7**). This last also has the distinction of a protrusion from the hind legs which indicates a stallion as opposed to a mare. Two examples, also unprovenanced, are thought to have

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[5] C. Johns, *Jewellery,* pp. 173-75.

[6] *Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi* (Milan: Electa, 2000) p. 65.

[7] S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* pp. 45-47.

[8] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 163.

[9] Acc. nos.: OA7116-7117, 10301.

Map 4: Distribution of horse brooches in Italy, 6-7th century

Data: Author   Map by: Tom Goskar

Horse brooches

Fig. 7: Horse brooches, found around Naples (OA 7116-7117, OA 10301, British Museum) (H1-4)   *Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission*

Fig. 8: Horse brooch from Venusio, nr. Matera, Basilicata (Museo Nazionale Ridola, Matera) (H5)

After: F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano', pl. 67, fig. 1

Fig. 9: Double-headed horse brooch from Cutrofiano, southern Puglia (H8)

After: P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 434, fig 4
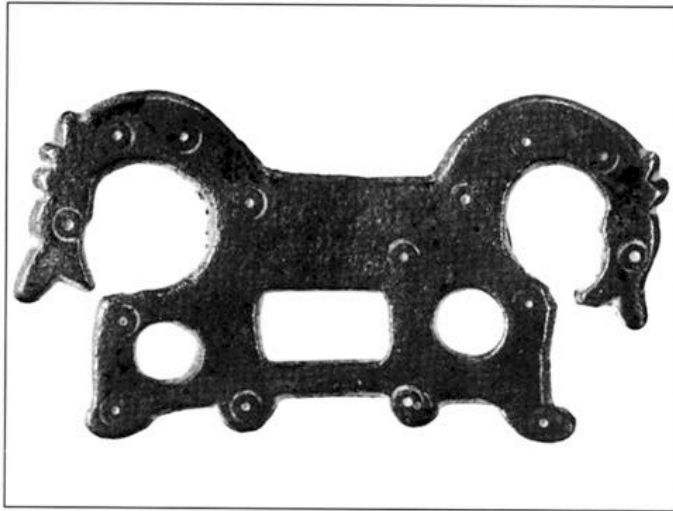
Fig. 4. Fibula da contrada La Badia, Cutrofiano. Non in scala. (Foto P. Pulli).

Fig. 10: Silver horse brooch from grave 121, Castel Trosino, Marche (1624, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome) (H23)

After: M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda*, p. 73, pl. 9

been found in the area around Barletta, Puglia.[10] They are of comparable size and form to the British Museum examples and both are decorated with dot and ring motifs. Both examples, in contrast with the others, have a decoration on top of the head, one a kind of plume (H7), the other a cross (H6).

Better provenanced examples include one from a grave excavated in 1934–35 in Venusio near Matera in Basilicata (H5, **fig. 8**).[11] This copper alloy horse brooch with punched decoration was found in a single person's grave with several other pieces of copper jewellery, a small clay sphere, a jug and fragments of glass.[12] Two other graves with grave-goods were also found in the area. A further two provenanced examples have been reported from 'female' graves at Pietra Durante near Bisaccia in eastern Campania (area of Avellino, and dated to the seventh century) (H9) and at Atella, between Venosa and Potenza (H10) dated to the sixth to the seventh century.[13] Like the Venusio brooch, the one from Bisaccia formed part of a rich complement of grave-goods including a jug, polychrome beads, penannular brooch, comb and chain fragment.[14] The Atella brooch, also compared with those from Dalmatia (Croatia) and Hungary, formed part of a smaller grave-group which included an

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[10] C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico' in: R. Cassano, *Principi, imperatori, vescovi. Duemila anni di storia a Canosa* (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 1992) pp. 912-13 of 909-915; acc. nos. 609 and 595, Museo Civico, Barletta.

[11] A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi,* pp. 132-33.

[12] *Ibid.* These objects were reported originally in the antiquarian journal *Notizie degli scavi di antichità,* 1950, no. 168 and republished in: F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano tra tardoantico e alto medioevo' in: C. Damiano-Fonseca (ed.) *Habitat-Strutture-Territorio,* Atti del III convegno internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medievale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, Taranto-Grottaglie, 24-27 settembre 1975 (Galatina: Congedo Editore,1978) pp. 160-61 of 157-162, pl. 67, fig. 1.

[13] P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule di età altomedievale dal Salento', *Studi di Antichità (Pubblicazioni del Dipartimento di Beni Culturali dell'Università di Lecce – Settore Storico-Archeologico)* 9 (1996) 431-438; the Bisaccia horse brooch was also published in: P. Peduto, 'Lo scavo della *Plebs Baptesimalis* di S. Lorenzo: Dati e proposte di lettura' in P. Peduto (ed.) *Villaggi fluviali nella Pianura Pestana del secolo VII. La chiesa e la necropoli di Altavilla Silentina* (Salerno: Edizioni Studi Storici Meridionali, 1984) p. 58, note 11 and pl. 14, no. 4 and G. Sangermano, 'Avellino longobarda' in: E. Cuozzo (ed.) *Storia illustrata di Avellino e dell'Irpinia.* vol. 2 *Il medioevo* (Pratola Serra: Serrino e Barra Editori, 1996) p. 296 of 289-304; the Atella horse brooch is published in M. Salvatore, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venosa* (Matera: IEM Editrice, 1991) p. 289.

[14] There is no discussion of this grave but all the grave-goods are illustrated in P. Peduto, 'Lo scavo della *Plebs*', pl. 14.

armlet, a pair of earrings and polychrome glass bead necklace.[15] Four examples reported from various parts of Calabria broaden the distribution of these brooches further across the southern peninsula (H11-14). These too, have been compared with examples from Ukraine, Hungary, Dalmatia, as well as northern Italy, and is seems strongly suggestive of the breadth of a shared affinity for horse brooches, and horse symbology more generally.[16] Three further examples from the Polopoli Collection, reputed to have come from Calabria, but lacking provenance, could broaden the evidence-base for these objects in the region still further (H15-17).[17]

The final example from the South is a double-headed horse brooch found at Cutrofiano in the Salento, Puglia (H8, **fig. 9**). It has dot-and-ring decoration like two of the examples from Naples (H1 and H3), including ones for eyes and four hooves. A horizontal bar makes the ground line which also compares closely to the form of the two other Naples brooches (H2 and H4).[18] This, and one other found at Torrano near Pedersano in the region of Trentino-Alto Adige (H29) are the only known examples of the double-headed type hitherto found in Italy, with the closest comparators once again hailing from Hungary and Ukraine (H33 and H34).[19] How these double-headed horse brooches relate to the others is a matter for conjecture, however the use of the horse form for this, the only 'fantastical' creature in the broader group of zoomorphic brooches is intriguing and deserves more detailed research. Could the related pieces from

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[15] M. Salvatore, *Museo archeologico di Venosa,* p. 289. The earrings are not illustrated in this publication but are cited for comparison with the Leonessa earring found near Melfi, pp. 288-89, n. 2.

[16] M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale: complimenti dell'abbigliamento e monoli in metallo nei sepolcreti della costa ionica centro-settentrionale', *Studi calabresi,* 1 (2) (2001) pp. 40-41 of 7-50, does not illustrate these objects and only describes one in detail. She compares them to the Atella brooch published by Salvatore (above) which is illustrated as fig. 43.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

[18] P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule di età altomedievale dal Salento', p. 432, fig. 2 no. 4; fig 4, p. 434.

[19] *Ibid.*; the double-headed brooch from Trento is also published in: V. Bierbrauer, *L'insediamento del periodo tardoantico e altomedievale in Trentino-Alto Adige (V-VII secolo)* in: G. Menis (ed.) *Italia longobarda* (Venice: Marsilio, 1991) p. 125 of 121-173; the double-headed horse brooches from Hungary and Ukraine are illustrated in: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, pl. C, figs. 35 and 36.

Hungary and Ukraine suggest that the symbology of this mystical beast was brought to southern Italy by immigrants such as Avars and Slavs? Was the person buried at Cutrofiano from, married to, or descended from newly-settled Slavs or did very localised cultural changes in the Salento lead to parts of the 'native' population to embrace new forms of belief and decoration? Although such questions may be posed, no firm conclusions may be drawn on the basis of a singular find.

Comparative horse brooches in form and decoration from northern Italy are, overall, not much better provenanced, with the exception of three examples, dated to the seventh century, which came from excavations from the Palatine area in Byzantine Rome (H18-20). None of these display the dot-and-ring motifs that the southern Italian ones do and instead show incised patterns to stylistically indicate different aspects of the horse such as bridle and mane.[20] However, two (H18 and H20) display a zig-zag motif across the length of body which may depict the horse's caparison. As a set of three, these have been alternatively interpreted as appliqués which might have been attached to the collar of the semi-rigid collar of a *maniakion* (a garment attributed to female wear).[21] Five finely-executed examples from the cemetery at Castel Trosino are the only ones found in silver (H21-24 and H26, **fig. 10**).[22] Two of these also show a simple incised cross on the flank, echoing the brooch with the cross potent from Naples (H2) and the unprovenanced example housed in the Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia in Rome (H31). In addition, one uses the same kind of red enamel spot as one of the Naples examples (H4) this time to denote an eye. A sixth find from Castel Trosino was reported to have been found in the chest area of a woman's body in grave 136 (H25). A further two copper alloy

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[20] *Crypta Balbi,* p. 65; Medieval archaeology from the Palatine is reported in: A. Augenti, *Il Palatino nel Medioevo. Archeologia e topografia (secoli VI-XIII)* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1996).

[21] *Crypta Balbi,* p. 65.

[22] Horse brooch from grave 121, Castel Trosino: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, p. 47, pl. C, F22; M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Museo dell'Alto Medioevo Roma* (Rome: Museo dell'alto medioevo, 1993) pp. 51-52 and fig. 51 illustrates the find from grave 121; M. Arena and L. Paroli (eds.) *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda. Il restauro delle necropoli di Nocera Umbra e Castel Trosino* (Rome: Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, 1994) colour plate, illustrates an array of silver finds including the four silver horse brooches.

brooches have been reported from the region of Marche and are now housed in the archaeological museum at Ascoli Piceno, although they lack provenance (H27 and H28).[23] One (H28) shows some stylistic similarities to the Cutrofiano example.

A single copper alloy brooch found at Lanza di Rumo, near Trento (H30) has worn dot-and-ring marks but its legs are joined making this brooch slightly longer than the others and whose section is in clearer relief than the other, flatter examples.[24] Apart from the double-headed brooch discussed above (H29), this seems to be the only example found in the far north of Italy. The Nocera Umbra necropolis yielded no horses but one silver zoomorphic brooch depicting a female lion.[25] Clues about the exact origins of the unprovenanced examples are not forthcoming but they do augment the set for analysing a range of meanings. The Villa Giulia example came from the Castellani collection, purporting to have come from Italy, which does not rule out a southern Italian origin.[26] The unprovenanced brooch now in the Ashmolean Museum (H32) similarly comes with a non-specific Italian origin but the similarity of its shape to one of the Naples examples (H2) is striking, particularly its obvious identity as a stallion going forwards.[27] Finally, two comparative examples found during excavations at Corinth (H35 and H36) suggest the extent to which horse brooches endured not just in southern Italy but also in

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[23] P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432; M. Profumo, 'Le Marche in età longobarda: aspetti storico-archeologici' in: L. Paroli (ed.) *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino. Bizantini e Longobardi nelle Marche* (Milan: Silvana, 1995) pp. 152-54, nn. 18 and 19, of 127-183.

[24] Acc. no. 4926, Museo di Buonconsiglio, Trient (Trento); S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, p. 47 (pl. 51, F18).

[25] Found in grave 118; C. Rupp, *Das Langobardische Gräberfeld von Nocera Umbra,* vol. 1 *Katalog und Tafeln,* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006), pp. 138-39, p. 312 (pl. 129 C, no. 3); S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* p. 47 (pl. C, F27).

[26] Acc. no. 53922, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome; S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* p. 47 (pl. 51, F19).

[27] A. MacGregor, *A Summary Catalogue,* p. 214, no. 101.

other regions which continued to embrace the horse brooch as a symbol of taste and identity.[28]

While their overall form is similar (form, size, method of creation) there is so much variation in the design of these brooches, each one unique, that it leaves open the possibility of both workshop-manufacture on commission by an individual or administrative unit, or their creation by several itinerant merchant-craftsmen, creating a variety of designs and selling them market to market. Could the location of the Venusio horse brooch in a grave near the crossing of the via Traiana that leads from Venosa to Taranto allude to this being a grave of a travelling person? Also, a reconsideration of the other items found in the grave may in fact indicate that the deceased might not have been female but male, perhaps a craftsman, some of whose creations were buried with him. There are other examples which also indicate that craftsmen (or women) were buried with items representing their trade. A striking example is a grave of a craftsman found at the Crypta Balbi which contained belt fittings and *enkolpia* which matched moulds found elsewhere on the site.[29] Several clues to metalworking have also been found in a funerary context at Nocera Umbra, including a bronze smelting crucible, iron slag, bronze and iron rings (possibly the form in which some raw materials were traded) and buckles.[30]

The craftman's ability to influence design, bring together and mix inspirations from elsewhere should not be underestimated as an important fillip for cultural exchange. In particular, their role in maintaining continuity, as well as affecting change, in local regional styles and form was as crucial as technique and material.[31] If the Venusio horse brooch belonged to a craftsman,

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[28] G. Davidson, *Corinth. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens,* vol. 12. *The Minor Objects* (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1952) p. 134, pl. 68, no. 935 and p. 270, pl. 113, no. 2173.

[29] For example finds from grave 37; N. Christie, 'Byzantines and Lombards in Italy: jewellery, dress and cultural interactions', unpublished paper given at a conference of the British Museum Byzantine Seminar: *Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery and Enamel*, held at the British Museum, London, 30 May 2008; E. Possenti, *Orecchini a cestello altomedievali in Italia* (Florence: All'Insenga Del Giglio, 1994) p. 52.

[30] Grave 145; C. Rupp, *Das Langobardische Gräberfeld,* pp. 163-65, pl. 153.

[31] Evidence for bronze working has been found in Otranto (as discussed in chapter 2) and some other sites in southern Apulia though not in a funerary context. See also: P. Arthur and E.

for whom did he make such brooches? Was he a craftsman from abroad who had arrived in southern Italy or a descendant of a Roman artisanal family who continued to cast and decorate horse and other animal brooches into the sixth and seventh centuries? Finally, what were the identities of the wearers of the other southern Italian examples? If the Neapolitan examples, now in the British Museum, belonged to people who lived in Byzantine Naples, were they worn by Neapolitans associated with the old administration of the duchy? Could the Barletta examples have belonged to newly settled Lombards or their descendants, adopting decoration inspired from their new locales, and if so, why?

From a perspective of cultural exchange, the problem with the use of these objects as evidence for acculturation is that it assumes the interred individual occupied only a limited and simple set of identities (gender, status, heritage). It also assumes that their meanings by the seventh century had largely remained the same since the second and third centuries. The idea that these objects, found in 'Lombard' graves but of 'Roman' cultural origin, and therefore a sign of acculturation, negates the likely realities of the time, that is, why and for what purpose these brooches were made and worn. Whether worn exclusively by women, or by both men and women, by the sixth and seventh centuries, it is clear that the horse was a symbol which pervaded most areas of Italy (and elsewhere) whether culturally dominated by a Lombard or Byzantine elite, and whether the people who made and wore them considered themselves to be culturally more aligned to one or the other.

The relationship of human and horse was just as important to early medieval societies as it was to those that came before, regardless of whether their ancestry was from north of the Alps, nomadic or descended from Roman parentage, and in a southern Italian context, regardless of regional differences.[32] Here was a symbol that all people could identify with, and

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Gliozzo, 'An archaeometallurgical study of Byzantine and medieval metallic slags from southern Apulia', *Archeologia Medievale*, 22 (2005) 377-388.

[32] G. Haseloff, *Gli stili artistici altomedievali* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1989) originally published as *Kunststile des Frühen Mittelalters: Völkerwanderungs und Merowingerzeit* discusses typologies of zoomorphic objects though with most examples from northern Europe.

therefore the affinity could be easily shared. To whom these shared symbols belonged is a matter of conjecture but certain ideas may be put forward. The role of the horse in the sixth and seventh centuries changed significantly, particularly given the hypothesis that the stirrup was introduced into western Europe at this time, revolutionising mounted warfare. The evidence from the cemetery at Vicenne, Molise confirms their introduction to Italy at this time, and access to this innovation by the ruling elites.[33] Paul the Deacon describes Duke Gisulf of Friuli as Alboin's 'master of horse' or *marpahis* in Lombard vernacular, meaning, 'to put the bit on the horse'.[34] The practical importance of this innovation, together with the political significance of this cemetery is discussed further below, and in the following chapter.

The motifs on the brooches themselves such as the cross-marks and the plumes, their stance and various depictions of caparisons, if not merely decorative and representational, may allude to a symbolism which was understood by people who could ride: itself a high-status activity whether for transport, racing or warfare. A change of meaning and use by the sixth and seventh centuries, particularly regarding horse brooches, might also have been suggestive of their use by military (cavalry?) families, or those of official rank or possessors of an honorific title.[35] If those with military titles enjoyed an elevated social position in regional authorities (already estranged from central Byzantine authority) by virtue of their position in, or family association with, the imperial army, could these people have, in part, contributed to the continuation of the use of both titles and associated accoutrements such as the horse brooches in southern Italy?[36] The recurrence of deer brooches in Italy, although none so far

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[33] V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne a Campchiaro', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.) *Samnium. Archeologia del Molise,* (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1991) pp. 329-34.

[34] Paul the Deacon*, History of the Lombards,* (trans.) W. Foulke and (ed.) E. Peters, (Philadelphia, 2003, originally published 1974) bk. 2, ch. 9, p. 66 and n. 2.

[35] They may relate to any of those discussed by Brown in: T. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy A.D. 554-800* (Rome: British School at Rome, 1984) pp. 130-143 and those adopted by local aristocracies largely divorced from Byzantine structures but which lack corroborating documentation.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 112 and p. 124.

in southern Italy, may allude to the similarly status-enhancing activity of big-beast hunting, a privilege which might also have been granted to those with title to hunting grounds.[37] Identifying those who might have awarded such honours to people in southern Italy is more problematic, but the Beneventan and Neapolitan dukes, Byzantine administrators or *gastalds* who remained figures of authority in contested areas of Puglia and Basilicata (Lucania) could all have assumed the power to bestow, or carry, such dignities. Local bishops who wielded some temporal authority might also have assumed such a function.

The use of the cross on some of the examples, as in so many other instances, may have not necessarily been included just to affirm identity (as a Christian) but could also have had apotropaic purposes. For the same reason, the form of the horse itself may have had protective or magical beliefs associated with them and these could have had currency in southern Italy as well as elsewhere in the medieval world, illustrating further the cultural affinities the region shared with other places. This may also make more sense of other forms of zoomorphic brooches which depict, for example, doves, chickens, peacocks and lions.[38] A copper alloy peacock brooch found in a grave dated to the first half of the seventh century at the amphitheatre at Larino in eastern Molise (just north of modern Puglia) and another in a grave at S. Lucia al Bradano near Matera in Basilicata, may indicate that although horse and deer brooches predominated, other zoomorphic symbols may yet have enjoyed a continued existence in Italy.[39]

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[37] Selected examples of deer brooches from Italy are published in S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, pp. 46-47, pl. 51 (F10-F11 (Aquileia), F12, F13, F14, F17, F16 and F19 all with unknown provenance) with a close comparative example found near Lyon, sixth century? in: A. MacGregor, *A Summary Catalogue,* p. 148, no. 71.3; and another found with dot-and-ring motifs from a Visigothic context now at the British Museum (1991,10-4,6).

[38] Many examples of other Italian animal brooches are illustrated together with examples from elsewhere in S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* pp. 45-47, pls. 50, 51, C.

[39] Larino peacock brooch: Grave 3, with other grave goods including two pairs of basket earrings, pins and an iron ring: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.) *Samnium,* p. 355, f80 and pl. 10f; Bradano dove brooch with other grave goods including two pairs of bronze hoop earrings, a finger-ring with incised decoration and a ceramic beaker: F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano', p. 160, pl. 46; these compare with another other dove brooch of unknown provenance: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* p. 45, pl. C, F2; two other bird brooches from Italy include a chicken (cockerel?) from Aquileia: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* p. 45, pl. 50, F8; and a silver peacock from

Change of meaning is also an important aspect to consider: the horse brooches of Gaul or Greece or southern Italy may all have enjoyed continuity of use into the sixth and seventh centuries but their perception and cultural uses may, and I suggest, would have changed whichever the accurate scenarios for their uses. It is also entirely possible and plausible that these objects were multivalent and could function at once as badges of office, given as gifts (perhaps from man to woman on occasion of betrothal) and as magical devices. Another theory suggests that each animal might also have been symbolic of a personal name, or nickname, for instance, wild boar (*aper*), lion (*leo*) and dove (*columba*).[40] What naming significance the horse had in southern Italy is yet a moot point but the idea of a person or family wishing to associate themselves with the qualities of a particular animal certainly persists into later centuries in the region.[41]

Case-study two: Earrings and regional variation

Earrings, as much as brooches, have attracted significant attention from art historians of early medieval Italy, although their analyses have seldom been used by other historians to provide an additional dimension to social interpretations which are normally reliant on textual sources and settlement archaeology.[42] The principal problems with their source value, and indeed those of other personal ornaments, are related to the lack of information on their origins (provenance) and also their typological classification. This method of

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grave 13 at Castel Trosino: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln,* p. 45, pl. C, F1.

[40] V. Bierbrauer, 'Un castrum d'età longobarda: Ibligo-Invillino' in: G. Menis (ed.) *I longobardi,* (Milan: Electa, 1992) p. 147 of 144-150.

[41] P. Skinner, '"And Her Name Was …?" Gender and Naming in Medieval Southern Italy', *Medieval Prosopography,* 20 (1999) 23-49.

[42] In addition to publications on the large early medieval sites, catalogues of earrings of Italy are principally: A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo. Contributo al problema e della diffusione delgi "orecchini a cestello"', *Bolletino d'Arte,* 57 (series 5) (1972), 8-19; E. Possenti, *Orecchini a cestello altomedievali in Italia* (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1994) and I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli*; other analyses of earrings are in O. von Hessen, *I reperti longobardi*, and *Il materiale altomedievale nelle collezioni Stibbert di Firenze* (Florence: All'Insenga del Giglio, 1983).

comparison historicises the object but says little (often nothing) of the people that made and used them, beyond broad suggestions on ethnicity and gender. Systems of classification also lend a certain 'scientific' and empirical authenticity to such objects, particularly in the absence of provenance.

These problems can be somewhat overcome if the questions asked of them are relevant to the social and cultural contexts from which they hailed. Typologies are subjective and can mask the notable variations which exist within the same types, and obscure similarities across different types. The complexity of some typologies additionally causes problems for their use by non-specialists because of the often clinical ways in which information is presented. The lack of analytical indexes to catalogues also exacerbates problems with cross-referencing. While some of the more recent catalogues contain analytical chapters, many use the opportunity to simply justify their typology without paying adequate attention to the impact of the investigation on broader understandings of society and culture. Therefore, while typologies can be useful to detect macrocosmic and microcosmic variation over space, and to an extent, across time, their use to understand variation as a result of politically, socially and culturally-informed individual choices, is limited. The following discussion, complementing the previous one which challenged the idea of acculturation, focuses solely on earrings found in southern Italy and interrogates the nature of cultural references present in the region between the sixth to the eighth century.

The accompanying table (**table six, figs. 11-28**) compares earrings of known, or probable, southern Italian origin. It is primarily based on examples given in Baldini Lippolis' typology of Byzantine metalwork and forms a partial concordance with Possenti's typology of basket earrings.[43] The additional material from other sources, particularly the examples from Calabria which were not included in either catalogue is intended to amplify those which populate both typologies. They have also been included to give a more accurate picture of the variety of earring forms and materials that were present in the South at this

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[43] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 88-112 deals with earrings, and coverage of basket earrings is on pp. 109-11.

Basket earrings

Figs. 11-12: Basket earring, gold, Possenti type 2b II, found in Campania (24711 Museo Archeologico, Naples) (E128)
Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission
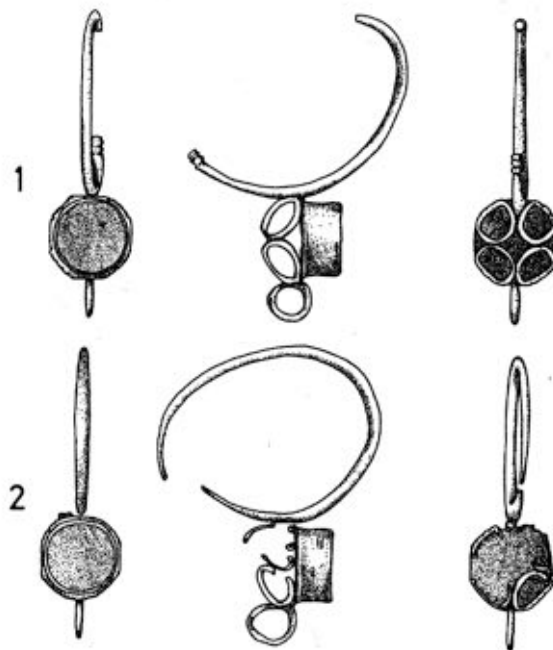
Fig. 13: Basket earring, bronze, Possenti type 2bIII, found in grave 36 of the cemetery of S. Maria dei Bossi,, Casalbore, nr. Avellino, Campania (E121)
After: E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* pl. 34, 1-2
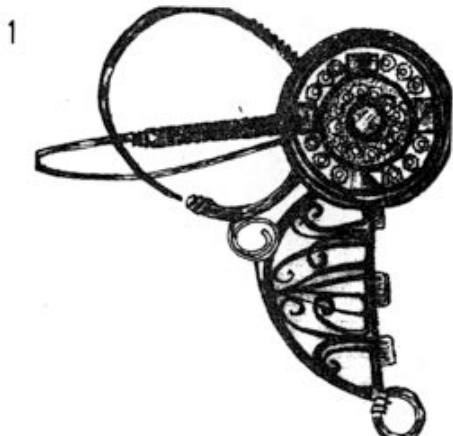
Fig. 14: Dzialynski earring, Possenti type 2a, 7th c. (now lost) (E132)
After: E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* pl. 38, no. 101

3cm
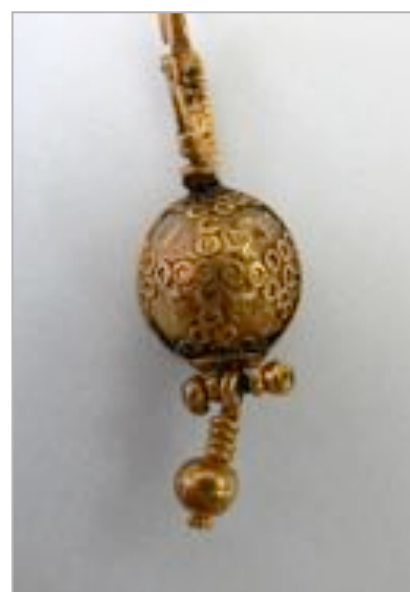
Figs. 15-16: Type 3 earrings, provenance unknown, found in Italy (M.12-1966 and M.12a-1966, Victoria and Albert Museum), showing the similar decoration as a pair from Naples (E133)
    Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 17: Type 2b II earring with radial obverse disc and open-work basket, provenance unknown, found Campania (24653, Museo Archeologico, Naples) (E131)   *Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission*
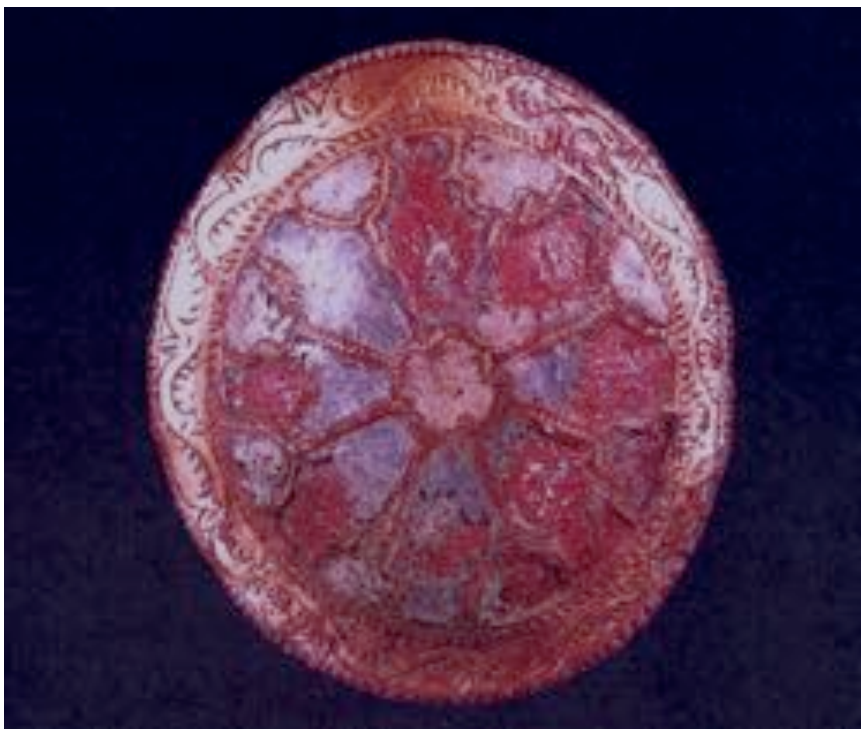
Fig. 18: Circular gilded bronze plaque found in Venosa with radial design terminating in lunette shape collets with blue and green enamel (257502, Museo Archeologico, Venosa)
After: M. Salvatore, *Il Museo Archeologico,* p. 287, fig. t.10 and colour plate

M-earrings

Figs. 19-20: Pair of M-earrings, gold, unknown provenance, found in Italy
(95.15.84, 85 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (E85)
Photos: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 21: Triangle-pendant earrings, gold, with triple-pendants from Sutri, Lazio (1887,1-8,8-9 British Museum, London)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Disc-pendant earrings

Top left:
Figs. 22-23: Naples earring, gold, with Oscan denarius (24774 Museo Archeologico, Naples) (E134)
Obverse after: R. Siviero, *Gli ori e le amber,* p. 119, no. 532, pl. 248
Reverse after: L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie,* pl. 38, no. 1

Top right:
Figs. 24-25: Bargello earring, gold, from Bolsena (943 Museo del Bargello, Florence) (E135)
Photos: Segreteria Gabinetto Fotografico Soprintendenza di Firenze, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 26: Calabria earrings, gold, with cruciform sub-pendant (1872,6-4,1110, 1110a British Museum, London) (E94)   *Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission*

Figs. 27-28: Calabria Christ earring, gold, with image of Christ or a saint on the reverse (1872,6-4,1112 British Museum, London) (E95)
Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission

time. The inclusion of unprovenanced examples has been limited to the 'M-earrings', to be used as a test case, presented below, for suggesting their possible currency in the region.[44]

While Possenti analyses a particular earring type (basket earrings) in the modern geographic entity of Italy, Baldini Lippolis compares, amongst other metalwork, earrings across all regions of the Byzantine Empire. Possenti took her point of departure from the early attempt at categorising basket earrings made by Melucco Vaccaro and retained her classifications while amplifying the corpus with examples produced from archaeology and those unpublished from Italian and foreign museums.[45] In contrast to the horse brooches, this table focuses only on the range of earrings found in southern Italy in this period. However, the discussion below will make cultural comparisons, where appropriate, with objects from elsewhere.

In her study of basket earrings (*orecchini a cestello*) Elisa Possenti noted that, in early medieval Italy, the differentiation between West (western and northern Europe) and East (Byzantium) cannot be clearly delineated through the extant material culture. Byzantium's influence, whether direct or indirect, remained throughout the period of the Ostrogoths, Lombards and beyond.[46] What this 'influence' was, and who created or maintained it, is left largely unaddressed; rather, the emphasis is on using distribution as a way to understand where centres of production existed, albeit without much recourse to the link between producer and consumer.[47] However, the brief discussions on the earrings as evidence for cultural relationships with elsewhere and the funerary contexts of some of the objects are pertinent to this discussion. The

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[44] Some of the unprovenanced basket-earrings, with both filigree open-work baskets and closed hemispherical capsules show stylistic similarities with some southern Italian examples but they have been omitted from this comparison to retain the emphasis on better-provenanced examples. The sheer quantity of unprovenanced examples, scattered in collections all over the world also means that this is perhaps an exercise for a future research project. M-earrings which lack provenance, however, form a smaller, more discrete group and have therefore been included for comparison.

[45] A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo', *passim.*

[46] E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* p. 27.

[47] *Ibid.,* pp. 51-53.

comparison of some of the Italian basket earrings from north-eastern Italy with those from Pannonia (Hungary) interpreted as exports from Italy, and those from north-western Italy with those assumed to be 'local imitations' from Switzerland and Germany add a finesse to the author's interpretations and traditional descriptions.[48] In a similar vein, the striking similarities between a pair of earrings from Avicenna (E117) and finds from Dalmatia widen further the debate on the nature of cultural affinities and routes of local exchange with southern Italy, and how they differed from one Italian region to another.[49] Future archaeology from the Balkans will hopefully articulate this link further.

The funerary contexts of many of the earrings also raise considerable questions, and while Possenti was careful to add caution to interpretations of both status and ethnicity, she nevertheless made the suggestion that these earrings can help understand the integration of new Lombard settlers into local societies.[50] The author's approach is also notable for its attention to microcosmic variations, and where these variations occur. A relatively strong case is made regarding the evolutionary journey of basket earrings in Italy, although significant questions about their typologically-based interpretation remain, and will be discussed further below. The author's detailed analysis looked for differences in workmanship, materials and motifs and therefore is most useful for presenting an alternative vocabulary for such objects. By approaching these earrings as 'Italian' (from the Italian peninsula) Possenti countered the need to use 'Lombardic' or 'Byzantine' as descriptors, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In contrast, Baldini Lippolis' macrocosmic view, across the large cultural polity of the Byzantine *koiné,* has the potential to place metalwork such as earrings on a more historically useful platform. Her typology of earrings shows that some key differences were particularly evident across the central

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[48] *Ibid.,* pp. 55-56.

[49] *Ibid.,* p. 55 cites Z. Vinski, 'Körbchenohrringe aus Kroatien' in: J. Haekel, A. Hohenwart-Gerlachstein and A. Slawik (eds.) *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde, Festschrift zum 25jährigen Bestandt 1929-1954* (Wein: F. Berger, 1956) 564-568.

[50] *Ibid.,* p. 56.

Mediterranean (Italian regions and Sicily) to eastern areas such as Greece, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Cyprus. However, what cultural exchanges might have existed between southern Italy and these areas to produce a 'common' repertoire of earrings and other metalwork, are not adequately questioned. Was it a case of 'convergent evolution', or the result of creative experiences which artisans and consumers absorbed, collected and shared through travel and the movement of ideas, or did elements of both these scenarios contribute to a shared *koiné* of earrings? The other aspect which makes Baldini Lippolis' catalogue stand out, is the context provided by other types of contemporary metalwork, and the author is explicit in emphasising the importance of understanding the interplay between earrings and other personal ornaments, and also the assumptions made about their owners, such as their gender.[51]

As earrings were the most diffuse form of jewellery from this period, Baldini Lippolis emphasised their importance in demonstrating the considerable continuity in metalwork from the late imperial period to the elaborate and innovative forms of evidence in the early Middle Ages.[52] This continuity, however, was tempered by adaptations of style, form and technique.[53] Indeed, innovations in the close scientific analysis of manufacture and materials such as soldering, fixtures, glass pastes and gems, might provide the more detailed information on regional specificity that scholars crave. Some efforts in recent years have been made in this vein, and scientific analysis on the 120 or so metal artefacts conserved by the Museo dell'Alto Medioevo in Rome, including the notable finds from the Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra, has already shown the surprising variety of techniques used to create them in addition to variation in the purity of metals, the use of alloys and amalgam for gilding and silvering, all suggestive of both innovation and reuse.[54] This kind of analysis

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[51] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 67; the author also notes that certain earrings may not have been exclusively worn by women.

[52] *Ibid.,* pp. 67-68.

[53] *Ibid.,* p. 68.

[54] G. Devoto, 'Tecniche orafe di età longobarda' in: L. Paroli (ed.) *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda.* Atti del convegno, Ascoli Piceno, 6-7 Ottobre 1995 (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 1997) 275-283. Text accessed online:

can therefore provide information for the intellectual and practical knowledge that was required for production. Together with an improved understanding of the historical reality behind these objects, this kind of analysis could also challenge or affirm current ideas of specific 'schools' and 'workshops', particularly when making comparisons across regions.[55] However, the current lack of resources, lack of coordinated and systematic effort and the reluctance of conservators to sample objects for testing, mean that this method of interrogation will never furnish more than a very small number of objects with more than fragments of added historical value.[56] Instead, a social or cultural historian or curator's approach might be more effective in excising such objects from their typologies, to re-establish the link between people and their possessions, and to ascertain the basis for the variation that is seen.

The first problem presented by both typologies is their use as chronological indicators, that is, detecting change over time. Basket earrings are the best type to examine this issue (E112-133). Although Baldini Lippolis was more guarded with her hypotheses for dating, Possenti suggested a possible chronological change in basket earring styles from the late fifth to eighth century. With regard to the southern Italian examples, a chronological difference was noted in type 2a basket earrings (open-work basket with a single or a set of stone or paste settings, first half of the seventh century) which the author places chronologically after those of type 2b (open-work basket with a

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http://192.167.112.135/NewPages/COLLANE/BAM131.html, 2 September 2008.

[55] Slightly dated but nevertheless interesting discussions of artistic 'schools' in southern Italy have been suggested by: Rotili on the art of Calabria and Basilicata (emphasis on ninth century onwards): M. Rotili, *Arte bizantina in Calabria e in Basilicata* (Cava dei Tirreni: Di Mauro, 1980), by Lipinsky on the Byzantine goldsmith's art on the metalwork of the South: A. Lipinksy, 'L'arte orafa bizantina nell'Italia meridionale e nelle isole. Gli apporti e la formazione delle scuole' in: *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo*. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale, Bari 1969, vol. 3 (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973) 1389-1477; and Galasso, particularly on the Beneventan and Campanian-Byzantine 'schools': E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania* (Naples: Federazione Orafi Campani, 2005) first published in 1969 by Museo del Sannio, Benevento, pp. 13-36 and pp. 37-51 respectively.

[56] *Ibid.,* p. 50 cites the analysis of some fragments of solder found with earrings at the Museo Provinciale d'Arte in Trento; N. Adams, 'Garnet inlays in the light of the Armaziskhevi dagger hilt', Notes and News, *Medieval Archaeology*, 47 (2003) 167-175 is an interesting discussion of the origins of garnet inlays in the early medieval period, including the pit-falls of some scientific analyses.

single centrally set pearl or bead on the obverse disc, second half of the sixth century). These latter, dominate in examples of basket earrings from southern Italy, and indeed across the peninsula.[57] In contrast, Possenti's type 2c is not present in southern Italy at all. The type 3 earrings (with closed capsule and stone or paste settings on the obverse disc) offer the least amount of scientific provenance and so present considerable problems with comparison (figs. **15-16**). To better understand what distinguishes the closed capsule type 3 earrings, it would be more useful to compare them across types, with those which have similar decoration and materials on their obverse discs. In this case, type 2a earrings with cruciform motifs formed with cloisonné enamel or other glass paste ornaments, for the most useful comparator.

Only one type 2a example has a putative southern Italian connection, the Dzialynksi earrings (E132) from Basilicata (**fig. 14**). The twelve other provenanced examples of this type all hail from northern Italy. Its nearest southern Italian type 3 comparator was reputed to have been found in Campania and has a similarly formed cross motif (E133).[58] Another type 3 basket earring has been found in Licodia Eubea, near Catania in eastern Sicily, and bears a striking resemblance to it.[59] Both have a central circular setting enclosed in a border of applied sheet cones, each topped with a granule and filigree collar; the reverse of each is ornamented with filigree circlets forming a cruciform motif. A third earring is made of bronze and is from southern Sicily, this time from a grave found at Sofiana near Gela, but apart from its hemispherical sheet basket, lacks other similarities with the above.[60] The closest unprovenanced examples matching the type 3 Campania and Licodia

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[57] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 7; E. Possenti, *Orecchini a cestello altomedievali,* p. 46 (chronological chart) and p. 48.

[58] Type 2a examples are discussed in: E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* pp. 42-45 and type 3 examples, pp. 45.

[59] Acc. no. 43034, Museo Archeologico, Syracuse; *ibid.,* no. 109, pp. 100-1, pl. 40, 2 one other unprovenanced example (a pair) displays the same form of decoration on both obverse and reverse, one earring still has a hinged sub-pendant of a large decorated globe, and is held in the museum at Nantes from the Parentau Collection (acc. no. 882-I-450 and 451); *ibid.,* no. app. 35, p. 111, pl. 53, 1-2.

[60] *Ibid.,* no. 110, p. 101, pl. 44, 6; Possenti was not able to verify its location but it was last reported in the museum at Gela.

Eubea earrings are two pairs, both gold, now held in the Victoria and Albert Museum and Musée Archéologique at Nantes, respectively. The first has a central oval setting with a green cabochon stone, perhaps an emerald, surrounded by the same applied cones with granules. They retain their hinged sub-pendants, each a small gold globe suspended on a short rod and embellished with applied gold wire which spirals the top of the rod.[61] The Nantes earrings also display the same forms of decoration on both obverse disc and reverse hemisphere, and one earring retains a hinged sub-pendant comprising a large decorated globe.[62] In addition, are single earrings, also without provenance but now in the British Museum. These also display the characteristic cruciform motif on the reverse formed from filigree circlets.[63]

Another similarity shared by Possenti's type 2a and type 3 is that they formed another chronological development from type 2b, and both are to be dated from the latter half of the seventh to the beginning of the eighth century.[64] However, from a southern Italian perspective, the two quasi-provenanced examples (E132 and E133) are not in themselves sufficient to affirm this chronological development of earring styles in the region. An hypothesis that might be offered on the basis of current evidence, is that the mid-seventh century change in styles was subtly different in northern and southern Italy. The relative absence of type 2a basket earrings in the South, and their frequency in known northern contexts, suggests that the open-work basket earrings of type 2b were largely superseded in the South by those of type 3 earrings with closed sheet capsules. In contrast, people in the North continued their taste in open-work baskets as attested by the type 2a examples, rather than type 3 earrings which are attested in Sicily but not, so far, in northern Italy. On this basis, the chronological change in design seemed to manifest differently in the North and South around the mid-seventh century. While earrings from both regions show

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[61] Acc. nos. M.12-1966 and M.12a-1966, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

[62] Acc. nos. 882-I-450 and 451, from the Parentau Collection, Musée Archéologique, Nantes; E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* no. app. 35, p. 111, pl. 53, 1-2.

[63] Acc nos.: 1872,6-4,1103, 1859,3-1,36, British Museum, London.

[64] E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* p. 45.

a new use of glass pastes, filigree and granulation on the obverse discs and therefore share this affinity in materials and design, the changes to the baskets to closed-capsules in the South and Sicily, but a continuation of open-work baskets in the North, may be indicative of a subtle difference in the evolution of design and manufacture in each part of Italy.

The mid to later seventh-century coins on the reverse of the Senise earrings (E93) themselves using glass pastes, pearls and a decorated suspension loop, provide a useful dating context to enhance the theory that the shift from the simpler central settings of type 2b II earrings, employing a central pearl or bead and reeded borders, dated to the later sixth to mid-seventh century (E113-116, E128-131) to more elaborate settings with cabochons, pastes and enamel of the types discussed above, happened around the mid-seventh century (**figs. 11-12**). However, the mainly bronze basket earrings with set stones and pastes (type 2b III) found across Campania and Molise (E120-124, E126-127, **fig. 13**) have been generally dated much earlier, to the first half of the seventh century, and at least some of these are likely to have been contemporary with those described as type 2b II, highlighting the probability that even after innovations in technique and changes in style, older forms would have continued alongside. The contrast in materials here is also an important factor. Did innovation in design and technique happen first in gold and silver work, and later in cheaper bronze varieties? An earring from Naples (E131, **fig. 17**) provides a somewhat anomalous example in this respect; with an open-work basket, its obverse disc employs both a central setting (missing) recalling those of type 2b II, as well as lunette-shape collets, once for glass paste or enamel, recalling those of type 2b III or even type 2a. However, looking beyond the corpus of earrings, it most closely resembles a circular gilded bronze plaque found in the sixth to seventh-century bath complex at Venosa, and displays the same radial design terminating in lunette shape collets with blue and green enamel. The plaque design is additionally set within an incised continuous border of foliate, undulating wave or vine motifs (**figs. 17-18**).[65] How these two

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[65] Acc. no. 257502, Museo Archeologico, Venosa, 62mm diam. There is no evidence of a pin or hunge attachment on the reverse to indicate it once functioned as a disc-brooch. It may instead

designs were associated is unknown but the plaque's relationship to the earring amplifies the repertoire of design motifs and forms present across southern Italy at this time.

The variation just in this selection of basket earrings both in technique (filigree, reeding, granulation) and materials (gold, silver, bronze, gems, glass pastes) can therefore mask many of the changes in style that evolved and, taken with the breadth of other earrings shapes presented in the table, brings into question whether chronological changes occurred in the same way across the peninsula or whether discernable regionality did exist, at least in the case of earrings, as might have been the case with the development of type 2a and type 3 earrings discussed above. However, it is important to question why such changes occurred in the first place. Cloisonné enamel, for example, in all its forms is well attested in contexts from Merovingian Gaul, Anglo-Saxon Britain to Avar Hungary from the seventh to the ninth century, and beyond, however, its use in early medieval Italian objects is less well understood or dated. The additional evidence provided by coins and other gold objects, discussed in details below, addresses the historical basis for the conjecture that this development principally took place at some time in the latter half of the seventh century.

While the theories on the chronological shifts in dating are just that, there remains a case to be made for improving interpretation in this area. The dating of these earrings and related objects is seldom more accurate than two centuries, with a sixth to seventh-century date being the most frequent designation. Much of this is due to the lack of archaeological provenance and the commonly held belief that a cultural shift some time in the seventh century meant that people mostly abandoned the idea of grave-goods thereby diminishing the source base for early medieval objects after this time, discussed further in chapter five. Compounding this issue is another, regarding the possible recurrence and reuse of particular modes and styles, either based on

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have served as ornamentation on leather or cloth, or perhaps attached to another object such as a casket; M. Salvatore, *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venosa* (Potenza: IEM Editrice, 1991) p. 287, fig. t.10 and colour plate.

older designs from the region, or those from elsewhere. Hoop earrings dating from the ninth to eleventh century are a good illustration of recurring or continuing earring forms, for instance, two pairs of bronze simple hoop earrings from Venosa which typologically could have been dated to the sixth to the seventh century but were found in tenth to eleventh century contexts, including a Jewish grave.[66] Indeed the preponderance of Baldini Lippolis type 1 hoop earrings, particularly in Calabrian contexts, indicates that even a basic chronology, such as that of basket earrings, is precarious. It may however, be more pertinent to this discussion to suggest that earrings in their simplest form (hoops or rings of smooth metal rods, fastened with a simple hook) were worn by the widest variety of people regardless of ethnicity or status for the longest periods of time (E1-40). In other words, the hoop earring probably represents the single most important marker of continuity in the use of earrings across medieval Italy, and beyond.[67]

Other continuing or recurring forms are illustrated in a number of ninth to eleventh century earrings, also from Puglia. The first is a gold hoop earring with rows of applied granules on the lower arc, terminated with open-work spheres, resembling in form, Baldini Lippolis' type 1e earrings (hoops in quadrangular section, E24-39).[68] In addition, two pairs of gold hoop earrings with applied filigree and open-work globes (beads) respectively, both from Taranto, recall Baldini Lippolis type 2, hoops with applied beads (especially E47 and E48 with

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[66] Both pairs are housed in the Museo Archeologico, Venosa. The first pair, acc. no. 257509, are in circular section with small incised markings, were found in the amphitheatre at Venosa; the grave itself comprised a cover with a Jewish inscription which is dated to the ninth century, perhaps indicating an earlier date for the earrings: M. Salvatore, *Museo archeologico di Venosa,* p. 292, fig. t.23; the second pair, acc. no. 389904, are in circular section with a thickening to form a 'bead' in the middle, close to earlier examples of Baldini Lippolis type 1c, but here found in a tenth to eleventh century context in a grave at SS. Trinità: M. Salvatore, *Museo archeologico di Venosa,* p. 292, fig. t.24.

[67] D. Owen Hughes, 'Distinguishing signs: ear-rings, Jews and Franciscan rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City', *Past and Present,* 112 (1986) 3-50 suggests the change in cultural attitudes that took place from some time in the mid-thirteenth century towards women wearing earrings, particularly Jews. This coincides with the introduction of sumptuary laws which also affected textiles and dress at this time, including southern Italy, and requires further investigation.

[68] Housed in the Museo Archeologico, Taranto. Acc. no. 12014, found in a grave at the church of Carmine in Taranto; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini del Museo nazionale di Taranto* (Taranto: Scorpione, 1989) pp. 32-33.

metal beads).[69] These may also be compared to Baldini Lippolis type 3 (hoops with metal polyhedron beads, see also E49 and E50).[70] Finally, two pairs of elaborate gold open-work crescent earrings found in Otranto, also of ninth to eleventh-century date, comprise more elaborate forms of earlier crescent earrings of type 7 such as those found at Belmonte, near Altamura, Puglia (E110-E111).[71] Therefore, typological examinations regarding chronology need to be made with due regard, particularly when understanding the role of the simpler earring forms such as the simple hoop earrings which seemed to endure much longer than other forms. Chronological analyses could also benefit from interpretation which is expressed in terms of degrees of possibility and probability, such as those regarding the change in style of basket earrings.

The second problem with typologies concerns the limitations in interpretation caused by a lack of comparison across types, particularly when a certain type itself contains a number of variations. In addition, while some types are simply based around one or two objects, other 'anomalous' objects are omitted from the corpus altogether. By confronting variation within types, and similarities across types, and being inclusive of comparative material, it may be possible to better understand infra-regional differences as well as inter-cultural similarities. Returning to Possenti's type 2b (Baldini Lippolis 8b) (E113-131), these earrings dominate sixth to seventh-century finds from Italy. In recognition of the wide range of variation within this type, Possenti established a set of four sub-classes with groups II and III most frequent in southern Italy. The more

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[69] Housed in the Museo Archeologico, Taranto. Pair with filigree globes: acc. no. 12632 A-B, found in a grave discovered along the contrada 'Montedoro'; the globette 'beads' are formed from two hemispheres soldered together; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 34-35; pair with open-work globes: 22621-22, found in Otranto; the open-work globettes are formed in the same way as the previous pair and decorated with filigree and granulation; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 40-41.

[70] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 89-90.

[71] Housed in the Museo Archeologico, Taranto. The first pair, in fragmentary condition, employs two open-work globettes which terminate a semi-luna sheet strip with applied filigree and granulation with open-work filigree filling the void of the crescent: acc. nos. 22623-24, found in Otranto; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 42-43; the second pair is strikingly similar but in a better condition: acc no. 22619-20 also found in Otranto. A stone with moulds or models carved into it for the creation of such crescent earrings and other simpler earrings was found in Ruvo di Puglia and the designs are dated to the ninth to eleventh century; C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 14-15.

accurate provenance for this group of earrings, compared to other basket earrings, also means a clearer comparison can be made based on their distribution. Sites in Campania and Puglia have yielded the greatest concentration, while this type is also represented in Basilicata and Molise.

However, a first illustration of the problems caused by divergence within the same type is highlighted with a variation of Possenti's type 2b II basket earrings, which have a star-shaped obverse disc and a central setting. In the southern Italian examples, this variation is attested by a gold earring, probably from Campania (E128) and the fragment of a basket from a silver earring found at Avicenna in Puglia (E139). Their nearest stylistic cousin is a type 1 pair hitherto only attested in the far north of Italy, in Piedmont.[72] It is difficult to infer whether these few examples are indicative of a larger trend, or whether these objects suggest that variation was so strong, that any regionally-based interpretation is going to be flawed. Alternatively, these finds may simply be the result of people and their possessions moving through travel, trade and familial ties from once place to another, and variation caused by individual taste expressed by craftsman or consumer.

A second exercise in comparison within the region also involves basket earrings, or their relative absence, in some parts of southern Italy. So far, a singular find in silver is known from a cemetery near Cosenza, Calabria (E130), and none are known to me from the Salento (southern Puglia). Further afield, comparative basket earrings are known from Sicily at Patti Marina, Salemi, Nissoria, Corleone, and possibly also Athens.[73] The diffusion of this type throughout Italy and Sicily raises questions of why and how this particular style moved from place to place. This distribution also adds an important nuance to the paradigm of infra regional differences. What exchanges existed between Sicily and (Lombard) southern Italy for these earrings to end up on the island,

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[72] Gold earring probably from Campania: acc. no. 24711, Museo Archeologico, Naples; silver basket fragment from Avicenna, Puglia: acc. no. 27925, Museo Civico, Foggia: E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* p. 49 (pls. 28, no. 5 – Campania and 41, no. 3 – fragment from Avicenna compared with the Piedmont example pl. 32, nos. 1-2).

[73] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 110-11; Athens example, of unknown provenance, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, Greece.

but lack representation in Calabria?[74] Were these the result of culturally Lombard Italians emigrating or spending time in Sicily or were culturally Greek Sicilians importing and/or copying, and then wearing these items? Alternatively, is this evidence of Sicilian manufacture (even local 'imitation') for which mainlanders also acquired a taste? The lack of examples to date from the Salento and southern Calabria, albeit that both areas are often considered culturally closer to parts of Sicily than the rest of the mainland, may be significant of the complexity cultural differences which defined how people chose their personal ornaments, and for what they were used.

The lack of basket earring finds from cemeteries in Calabria, particularly those of the central-northern parts which have been well excavated, may have been the result of lack of availability, or even a more obvious difference in taste, but differences in vestimentary tradition and funerary customs could have also played a role in causing this variation.[75] Instead, Calabrian sites have yielded large numbers of simple hoop earrings of varying types (E4-E20, E22-23, E28-39) in addition to examples with glass beads (E42-48), earrings with double and triple rod pendants (E53-62, E68-73), and hoops with applied disc or hemisphere decoration (E99-107). It is taken as a given that the quantity of funerary sites, particularly those yielding such grave-goods excavated in Calabria probably outweigh those of other regions, but even adjusting for this, the data from this area is compelling. Could it be, that in Calabria, funerary tradition dictated that ear ornaments should be simple, rather than elaborate, and made of lesser metals such as bronze or even in one case, iron (E107)? Or, were some of these hoop earrings specifically made for consigning the deceased to the ground? While basket-earrings are, to date, relatively absent from Calabria, the area did share similarities in its earrings with other places across the South such as Venosa (Basilicata), Nola, near Naples (Campania), Campochiaro, near Campobasso (Molise) and Rutigliano, near Altamura (Puglia). Comparison has also been made with several comparative earrings

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[74] Lombard southern Italy in this sense refers to all areas of the South excepting the Salento and south-central Calabria.

[75] M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', pp. 31-39.

from Sicilian sites.[76] Therefore, while Possenti's analysis of basket earrings raised the issue of absence of this type of ornament in Calabria, comparison amongst other types has added necessary articulation to the picture of the cultural similarities which existed.

In addition to these, however, are three gold disc-pendant earrings with enamel and glass paste decoration, filigree and granulation, reputed to have been found in the province in the nineteenth century (E94 and E95).[77] Without knowing their context however, it would be difficult to assess their significance in Calabria. However, the discussion below about the particular function of disc-pendant earrings in southern Italy might illustrate that, at least at an elite level, certain affinities existed across the region, and indeed across the whole of Italy.

The infra-regional differences revealed when making comparisons across different types are also particularly well illustrated when looking at earrings which comprise, or once comprised, multiple sub-pendants. Baldini Lippolis does not use the number, or form, of sub-pendants as a basis for her top-level classification but does use it as a basis for marking the variation within types; for example, type 4b (wire pendants with stones and hook closure) comprises variants with one, two and three sub-pendants, in addition to sub-pendants decorated with globules. Of these, several examples come from Calabria (E53-62) and two come from Venosa and Matera (Basilicata) (E51 and E52 respectively). Comparison outside southern Italy can be made with examples found in Egypt, Athens and Sicily. [78]

Type 4c resembles type 4b in all respects save for the closure of the earring, which in this case consists of a ring which closes to pressure, rather than a hook. It raises the question of whether differences in closure (most commonly closure to pressure versus a hook) were the result of different styles

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[76] Most of the Sicilian earrings have been published in I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 88-112 and much of the archaeology from Byzantine era Sicily was originally published in: P. Orsi, *Sicilia bizantina* (Tivoli, 1942) republished in 2000.

[77] Calabria disc-earrings, acc no. 1872,6-4,1110-1110a, British Museum, London; Calabria Christ earring, acc. no. 1872,6-4,1112.

[78] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli*, p. 71, pp. 91-92.

of manufacture which co-existed or, evolved over time, and in any case why this should be a culturally important difference to make in typology. This type is also sub-divided into variants with one, three and four or more sub-pendants which may or may not comprise other ornamentation such as beading and granulation. This type is as numerous in southern Italy as type 4b (E63-74).[79] Examples with one suspension loop or attachment for sub-pendants come from Avicenna, near Foggia in Puglia (two pairs, one gold, one gilded, E63 and E64) and another pair was found with two other gold objects, a signet ring and a gold *enkolpion* (pendant cross reliquary) set with stones, from Belmonte, near Altamura in Puglia (E65). A silver earring with a suspension loop for a double-pendant has been found at Canne in Puglia (E66) and a further example in bronze with three sub-pendants (E67) from the cemetery at Cimitile, near Naples. In addition to these, once again, are several Calabrian examples (E68-73). Finally, a slightly unusual variant has come from the site at S. Lucia al Bradano in Matera, Basilicata, a pair of bronze earrings formed by a ring with a circular pendant from which are suspended small discs (E74). The geographic comparisons almost mirror those of the preceding type, again with comparative examples from Sicily and Egypt, and the addition of others from Luni in Liguria in northern Italy, and Carthage in Tunisia.[80] Those from Sicily and Egypt bear the greatest similarity to the southern Italian earrings.

Variant 4d earrings (with braided or chain pendants and hook closure) and those of variant 4e (as before but with suspension loops which close to pressure) consist of sub-groups with one or three pendants, and three and four pendants respectively. In both types, earrings with triple pendants dominate with examples from Cyprus, Turkey, Palestine, Egypt and Greece and form a substantial part of the corpus of all the variants of this type.[81] To date, no such earrings have been found from Italy. However, the feature of sub-pendants, and in particular triple pendants, is not altogether absent from southern Italy. If

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[79] *Ibid.,* pp. 72-73, 93-94.

[80] *Ibid.,* p. 73 and pp. 93-94.

[81] *Ibid.,* p. 73 and pp. 94-96.

all earrings with sub-pendants were considered as a whole, cultural affinities between southern Italy and the other areas become more apparent and provide the kind of comparison across types which is generally lacking in typological analysis. Here, relating a key feature of one type with a key feature of another, results in a more nuanced understanding of cultural affinities inherent in this kind of material culture. These multiple-pendant type 4 earrings provide an important context for type 5 earrings, and their variants, which are found in Italy. Type 5 earrings (with sub-pendants suspended from a sheet capsule or open-work setting) generally form a group with the least information regarding provenance. However, they do provide a striking comparison with their type 4 counterparts. Of particular interest to this discussion is sub-type 5c whose earrings comprise a sheet pendant with gem and paste settings and gold wire sub-pendants, and a variant is formed by the M-earrings, whose sheet capsules are characterised by their 'pelta' — or M shape (*lamina non traforata, a pelta*) (**figs. 19-20**). The vast majority of these have no precise provenance but owing to the similarities in their workmanship to other gold earrings are roughly dated to seventh century, perhaps more specifically the latter half of this century.

The M-earrings illustrated on the table all have some kind of Italian provenance and there is reasonable evidence to suggest they enjoyed currency in the South (E76-90). Firstly, the decoration of their pendants with filigree, granulation, set cabochon stones and pastes, and embellishments to their suspension loops recall the basket earrings of Possenti types 2a and 3, discussed above. Therefore, the degree of possibility that the M-earrings are contemporary with these basket earrings, broadly, mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century, is higher than the likelihood of an earlier date in the sixth or even early seventh century. The singular earring with some form of provenance is reputed to have been found in southern Italy and is now housed in the Museo Archeologico in Naples (E76). The other examples, in museums across the world, only come with a general Italian provenance. It is possible that in addition to future archaeology, detailed archival work related to the original collectors, their journeys and their acquisitions, may shed more light on where they were found, or even worn. This find in itself cannot prove or disprove a

southern Italian connection but as the only point of departure it is necessary to use this as a basis for further comparison with other types from the region.

Apart from the earrings' relationship with type 4 earrings with triple pendants, is their relationship with other type 5 sub-groups. The M-earrings, typologically speaking, sit between earrings whose pendants are similarly formed, out of a sheet capsule, but are discoid in form such as those comprised in types 5d (E93-95) and 8d (E134-137) and those of types 4d and 4e described above, again, taking especial note of those with triple sub-pendants; and other type 5 earrings (5a-c) which have triple sub-pendants suspended from open-work pendants which have been found in southern Spain, Sardinia, Greece (?), Lesbos, Turkey, Crete, and Egypt.[82]

The result of this comparison across types is that it strengthens their southern Italian (or at least Italian) connection while also demonstrating their affinity with those earrings from other parts of the Mediterranean. The triangular sheet pendant earrings with triple pendants from Castel Trosino in Marche and

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[82] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 97-100; particular examples with triple-pendants for comparison are: type 5a no. 4, a pair of ring earrings with three pearls from the Mitilene treasure from Lesbos, end 6-7th century (acc. no. 3040, Museum of Mitilene, p. 98); type 5a no. 4, a pair of earrings, gold, with pendant formed of seven octagonal or square sheets linked together with on the obverse, circular or ovoid settings with cabochon gems or paste and on the reverse stamped foliate motifs on each segment, the whole forming a quasi-triangular shape with triple pendants suspended from loops (some amethyst), from southern Spain (acc. no. 57.560-561, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, p. 98); type 5b no. 1, a pair of earrings, gold, with triangular open-work pendant and triple pendants (amethyst as central pendant in each), 7th century, probably from Greece (acc. no. 1807, Benaki Museum, Athens, p. 98); type 5c no. 1, a pair of gold earrings with tripartite sheet capsule pendant, the centre a square, the top circular/hexagonal and the bottom rectangular with wavy bottom edge from which are suspended five sub-pendants, four with pearls, central one with a stone, end 6-7th century, from Turkey (Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, Turkey, p. 98); type 5c no. 2, gold earring with triangular sheet capsule set with semi-precious stones with triple pendants suspended, possibly of blue chalcedony, 7th century, from Aghios Vasileios, Rethymnon, Crete (acc. no. 693, Historical Museum, Heraklion, Crete, pp. 98-99); type 5c no. 3, pair of gold M-earrings, sheet capsule with reeded border, from which are suspended five sub-pendants terminating in old spherical and conical elements, 6-7th century, found at Dolianova, Sardinia (Museo Archaeologico, Cagliari, p. 99); type 5c nos. 8-9, two pairs of earrings, gold, with open-work pendant in an inverted urn shape with foliate motifs, interspersed with circular settings with triple pendants formed from articulated circular and square settings terminating in a pearl, a gold globule or a semi-precious stone (emerald?), from the treasure found at Tomei or Antinoe, Egypt (treasure 1.III.24, 1913, no. 8 - acc nos. 1916,7-4,2-6, British Museum, London; no. 9 from the Freer collection, p. 99); type 5c no. 10, earring, gold, sheet pendant with repoussé and incised motifs of two dolphins with triple pendants formed of articulated rounded sheet gold triangles terminated in small globules forming a trefoil shape, the central one with a pearl, found in Egypt (Archaeological Museum, Cairo, pp. 99-100).

Sutri in Lazio, dated to the later sixth century, could provide a compelling precursor to M-earrings in an Italian context (**fig. 21**).[83] Two further earrings, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, are very similar in form and materials, and loops for three sub-pendants, to the M-earrings (E91 and E92). However, their sheet capsule pendant is in the shape of a belt-end rather than an M or *pelta.* Could this be another type which co-existed with other high-quality gold earrings like the disc-pendant, M- and basket earrings? Thinking about these earrings in a practical cultural context, would a southern Italian wearing M-earrings with triple pendants see something of herself in a Cypriot, Sardinian or Egyptian who also wore similarly shaped earrings with triple pendants? In other words, would this element of a shared culture be understood in the context of differences in language, looks or costume? The nature of the local exchange networks which allowed objects to travel and be exchanged, as discussed in chapter two, will also have had an impact on what was available to whom, from the elements of design and colour to materials. However, it would be reasonable to conclude that sub-pendants, particularly triple pendants, formed an important part of a shared vocabulary of personal ornamentation across (central) Mediterranean regions in the sixth to the eighth century, but especially in the seventh.

Lastly, in this discussion of how infra- and inter-regional differences manifested themselves, are the examples of those earrings whose forms are not included in typologies such as these, and are included in the table as 'unclassified' (E145-148). Two notable examples from southern Italy illustrate

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[83] One pair from Castel Trosino, the triangular pendant decorated with S-scroll filigree, three pale blue cabochon pastes at each corner of the triangle and a central diamond-shape setting with red paste or garnet (missing in one), with triple pendants, two gold-sheet pear-shape sub-pendants and a central amethyst sub-pendant, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome; C. Carducci, *Gold and Silver Treasures of Ancient Italy* (London: The Abbey Library, 1969) p. 73; the other pair, the triangular pendant decorated with filigree circlets and S-scrolls and four sheet domes soldered to the pendant, three sub-pendants all gold-sheet pear shapes as above, acc nos. 1887,1-8,8-9, British Museum, London, from a rich grave found in Sutri, Lazio, though dated so far to the late sixth century as it was found with a radiate-head bow brooch, two glass vases (blue with polychrome pattern), a glass drinking horn, a gold appliqué cross and a garnet cloisonné enameled S-shape brooch. The group can be viewed on the British Museum's website at:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_mla/g/grave_group_from_sutri.aspx (accessed: 3 October 2008).

how variation outside corpuses of 'standard types' must also be considered a part of personal ornamentation in this period. The first is a pear-shape open-work pendant earring from Leonessa, near Melfi in Basilicata, dating to the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century, making it contemporary with the disc-capsule earrings, M-earrings and type 2a and 3 basket earrings (E147).[84] It also shares similar characteristic fixtures on the suspension loop for pearls or other stones. Its pendant however, is quite unique in an Italian context, with its nearest comparator hailing from nearby Atella, near Potenza, also in Basilicata (E148). The pyriform shape of earring has also been found elsewhere in Italy. One example was found in Italy but is now in Baden Württemberg in Germany. A further one was also apparently found in Bavaria.[85] A better provenanced pair in this style has also been discovered in the church of San Zeno at Campione d'Italia, near Milan, dating to the end of the seventh century. The pair also employ four gold strips forming the pear-shaped pendant which then beholds a blue coloured stone or glass paste; each strip has fittings for strung pearls (some extant on one earring) in similar fashion to the Leonessa earring.[86]

The other unclassified type comprises two pairs excavated from the cemetery at Vicenne near Campochiaro in Molise (E145 and E146).[87] They are silver, with decorated double globe pendants, suspended from a small loop. Both pairs were found in seventh-century contexts. They have been compared to those found in several Avar-Byzantine contexts as well as those found in a funerary context in Austria (Linz Zislau), and to others, including gold examples,

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[84] M. Salvatore (ed.) *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 288-89, fig. t.17.2; C. La Rocca, 'I rituali funerari nella transizione dai Longobardi ai Carolingi' in: C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000) pp. 50-53, p. 72, fig. 53.

[85] M. Salvatore (ed.) *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 289.

[86] Found in grave 11, Church of San Zeno, Campione d'Italia, near Milan, Lombardy, found with a finger-ring set with the same dark, lapis blue paste in a simple gold oval setting flanked with four globules (22mm diam.); Soprintendenza Archeologico, Milan and Museo Archeologico, Milan, acc. nos. A.09.149577a-b; F. De Rubeis, 'La scrittura e la società altomedievale: verifica di una possible relazione', in: G. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau, *I Longobardi. Dalla caduta dell'Impero all'alba dell'Italia* (Milan: SilvanoEditoriale, 2007) p. 225, no. 4.13a of 211-225.

[87] S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium*, p. 350, f31 and p. 359, pl. 4f, and p. 351, f38 and p. 360, pl. 5f and pl. 30.

from Hungary.[88] If, as has been suggested, that this cemetery was used by new settlers from eastern Europe, perhaps Bulgars, or those displaced from elsewhere in Italy, their presence here is not surprising. However, their existence as grave-goods with other objects more 'typical' of early medieval Italian burials, whether classed as Lombard or Byzantine, poses more interesting questions about the objects' use during the life of the deceased and how they were understood by the living upon burial. Once again, these comparisons indicate that variation is both indicative of the kinds of differences which existed within the region, as well as similarities with places beyond.

The final challenge for the historian using typologies is ascertaining socio-cultural, even political, meaning and function. The example of earrings continues to be apposite for examining the functional meaning in metalwork. Disc-pendant earrings have an ambiguous status in Baldini Lippolis' classification, split between types 5d and 8d, as introduced above. Only two examples are presented by the author under type 8d, which in fact, form the typology's last variation on basket earrings. One is from Cosimo in Sicily with a discoid open-work basket and a suspension loop for a sub-pendant (missing) and obverse disc with double reeded border and a central setting for a stone or pearl (missing).[89] The second is the Naples earring, a disc-earring with closed capsule pendant, on the obverse settings for enamel and pearls and on the reverse, an Oscan denarius (E134, **figs. 22-23**).[90] Neither of these examples seem to share enough characteristics to genuinely belong to a similar stylistic family. The Sicilian example is more akin to other open-work basket earrings in spite of its cylindrical form. This classification is made all the more problematic in the context of Baldini Lippolis' type 5d which is only represented by the Senise earrings (E93). Type 5d is meant to represent closed-capsule disc-earrings with cloisonné enamel decoration and cruciform sub-pendant. However, it might have been more appropriate in this case to draw parallels

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[88] *Ibid.,* pp. 350-51.

[89] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 111-12, no. 1.

[90] *Ibid.,* p. 112.

between the Senise earrings and the Naples earring with the Oscan denarius, on account either of their shared use of glass paste and pearls, or their shape, or crucially, their use of coins on the reverse which, arguably, might have been more important to the wearer's individuality, as the decoration on the rest of the earring, on which more presently.

Four examples which are not included in the Baldini Lippolis catalogue are three earrings from the British Museum found in the Calabria area, mentioned above (E94 and E 95), the Sambon earring, apparently found in or near Naples (E136) and the Campana earrings of unprovenanced Italian origin (E137).[91]   In addition, a comparative northern Italian example is the Bargello earring, discovered near Lake Bolsena, near Orvieto; it may also be considered part of this group as it comprises a bracteate (integrated coin or medallion) and also displays similarities in the decoration of its obverse disc, particularly with the Campana and Naples earrings) and also has a hinge attachment for a sub-pendant (now missing) (E135, **figs. 24-25**).[92]   Its obverse disc also bears a striking similarity to the, now lost, Dzialynksi earrings (E132).

The Calabria disc-earrings betray many similarities in their obverse design to the type 8d Naples earring, Campana earrings and also the Bargello earring, particularly in the cruciform motif on the obverse disc, formed by triangular or lozenge shaped collets and a central circular setting (E94, **fig. 26**).   On the one hand, their enamelled cross sub-pendants bring them closer to the type 5d Senise earrings. The Calabria earrings also lack the fixtures for strung pearls *on* the face of the obverse disc, which are present in the Campana earrings and Senise earrings, rather, they have fixtures for pearls or other beads around the *edge* of the disc. On the other hand, they have fixtures for strung pearls on either side of the suspension loops, in addition to cloisonné enamel decoration on the front, likening the pair to both the Naples and Senise earrings. The

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[91] Calabria disc-earrings: acc. nos. 1872,6-4,1110 and 1110a, British Museum, London; Calabria Christ earring: acc. no. 1872,6-4,1112, British Museum, London, no. 20 on earring comparison table; Sambon earring, Sambon collection, France, no. 44 on earring comparison table; Campana earrings, Louvre, Paris.

[92] F. Paolucci, *Museo nazionale del Bargello. Reperti archeologici* (Florence: Octavo, 1994) p. 90.

reverse of both disc-capsules is missing and there is a possibility they too, may have contained a coin, medallion or other figurative impression.

The other disc-earring from Calabria is decorated on the obverse with green and red cloisonné enamel and a central circular setting with a blue paste (E95, **figs 27-28**). It has the same fixtures for a border of strung pearls on its obverse disc as the Senise, Naples, and Campana earrings. Although there is a hinge for a sub-pendant it does not survive. On the reverse is an impression, perhaps from a medallion or coin, or otherwise incised or pressed into the sheet from a die, depicting either Christ or a saint. On its suspension loop are the same cloisonné settings and fittings either side of this for strung pearls or beads likening this to all the disc-earrings featuring this decoration – only the Bargello earring does not have this kind of decoration.

The Sambon earring also straddles both types 5d and 8d (E136). The style of the obverse disc shows a circle of globules, either soldered or in repoussé and a central concave-sided square setting within a circular setting, possibly to take glass pastes. These are set within a circular border of fixtures for strung pearls or beads. These features are in line with others of type 8d, as are its fixtures for pearls on the sides of the suspension loop, and cloisonné decoration on the front. However, its cruciform sub-pendant likens it to the Senise and Calabria earrings. Its unusual reverse may emulate a medallion or a coin, though the latter is unlikely as there is no comparison with a contemporary coin. Instead comparison of the composite motif of chalice and peacocks should be made elsewhere, of which more presently. The final ambiguous examples are the Campana disc-earrings with garnet inlays in cruciform motif, central circular setting and fixtures for pearls (E137). The obverse disc design strikingly echoes the obverses of both the Naples and Calabria earrings. Their variation away from the other disc-earrings in this series is their ovoid garnet sub-pendants. These rather echo one of the unprovenanced M-earrings from the Victoria and Albert Museum which also displays ovoid garnet sub-pendants (E82).[93]

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[93] Acc. no. 6570-1855, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Turning now to their meaning and function, I suggest that such disc-earrings, particularly those which incorporated coins and medallions, functioned as insignia just like more 'conventional' devices such as rings and disc-brooches. The particular significance of the iconography and choice of coins and medallions is discussed below in the context of gold production, and the role of gold objects in the political material cultures of the seventh century. The uniqueness overall of the each of the disc-earrings might also suggest that at least some of these were created to signify the particular importance and authority of the wearer, particularly against a ceremonial background. In addition, such ornaments were of personal significance to the wearer, as a form of commemoration. This also raises the question of assigning gender to the owners of such earrings. The politico-cultural context of the time might suggest that these disc-earrings could have functioned as male insignia. If they were indeed worn as insignia by southern Italian noblemen who performed particular official and ceremonial functions (including those in religious contexts) they recall the earlier sixth-century mosaic portraits at San Vitale, in particular the well-known images of Justinian in full official ceremonial vestments, complete with disc-brooch with triple pendants, fastening silk robes on the right shoulder, and diadem with hanging disc pendants. A more contemporary visual comparison would be the representation of Constans II (possibly Constantine IV *Pogonatus*) in the mosaic at Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, showing the emperor and his entourage in classicising garb.[94] While Constans II is also shown with the same triple-pendanted disc-brooch worn on the right shoulder, he is depicted only with a halo and no diadem, nor disc-earrings or *pendilia*. On his coins he is generally in military garb. In spite of their subject matter, the mosaics seem to reflect a distinctly Italian style as compared with contemporary

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[94] Agnellus of Ravenna, probably mistakenly, described this mosaic as a representation of Constantine IV *Pogonatus* granting the Ravennate pontiff (Reparatus) various privileges but has since been correctly identified as the grant of autocephaly made to the Exarchate during Maurus' pontificate by Constans II; however, owing to the inconsistencies of the repaired inscription, some doubt will always remain; Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna,* (trans.) D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Washington, DC, 2004), p. 234 n. 3.

eastern Mediterranean imperial imagery from Constantinople.[95] This difference is discussed further below.

What have been described as 'disc-earrings', therefore, may not have been worn through a pierced earlobe, but may have been used as diadem-pendants or *pendilia* in the same way as Justinian's. However, by the seventh century, Byzantine emperors were not adorning their diadems like this (at least in official representations that have survived). In female representations, such pendants and hanging decoration on crowns and diadems seem to have been limited to strings of pearls.[96] A specifically Italian comparison, however, can be seen in the depiction of Gumedruta on her seal ring which shows her wearing a diadem with triple pendants seeming to emanate from a single pendant, also discussed further below.[97] Indeed, they recall the triple pendant earrings and in particular, the M-earrings. Such comparisons once again make the gendered roles of such 'earrings' ambiguous. If the so-called 'Colossus of Barletta' is of late Roman antiquity, representing an emperor, and possibly once erected at Ravenna, it might be noteworthy that his diadem also sports hanging pendants like Justinian's.[98] The use therefore, of antique forms of representation, as well as antique elements must form a key part of the discussion on cultural exchange. The cultural exchange embodied in such insignia also needs to be examined in a specifically Italian, rather than broadly Byzantine context. Rather than being mediated by Constantinople, Roman inspirations, particularly in southern Italy, could have been found nearer to home, with Ravenna being an obvious but relatively unexplored example. Southern Italian dukes and their elites were likely to have visited Ravenna on official, religious and cultural

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[95] Comparisons studied from imagery presented in the 'Images from History' website of the University of Alabama, Birmingham: http://www.hp.uab.edu/image_archive/ulj/uljc.html (accessed: 8 September 2008).

[96] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* pp. 52-53, fig. 27 compares the profiles of different depictions of male diadems from the fourth to seventh centuries; fig. 36 compares the profiles of different depictions of female diadems from the fifth to sixth centuries.

[97] Acc. no. 1920,10-28,2, British Museum, London.

[98] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 52 mentions suggestions that this statue represents either Honorius (393-423), Theodosius II (408-450) or Heraclius (610-641); however, Theodosius II, an eastern emperor, is doubtful and Valentinian I might be more appropriate in the context (Tom Brown, *pers. comm.,* 29 April 2009).

journeys even if these were not always documented in contemporary sources.[99]

Apart from bringing the typology into question in several more ways, this analysis has also indicated that disc-pendant earrings (broadly defined as sheet capsule earrings with cloisonné enamel or glass paste decoration) may well have had particular currency in southern Italy broadly from the mid-seventh to the eighth century, and those which incorporated a coin or medallion could have functioned as insignia, whether as earrings or *pendilia*. This scenario also has implications for the cultural significance of their relatives in basket and M-earrings. Could these too have functioned as either ceremonial, rather than simply fashionable ornaments, whether in male or female contexts?

Overall, the production of these earrings does show an affinity to a continuity, or revival, of earlier late antique models (particularly the disc-capsule and open-work filigree baskets), perhaps derived from the kinds of visual representations discussed above. It seems, therefore, that certain pre-existing centres of production (or perhaps just the pre-existing skills-base) continued into this period, and there is a strong case for some of these to have been located in southern Italy. In addition to the development of local variations of certain 'standard' styles, the broader vogues present in the Mediterranean world must also have had some kind of impact on design, while also drawing technological inspiration from northern Europe, particularly in the use of glass pastes and enamel.[100] This combination of inspirations, continuities and creation is what made this series of earrings, particularly (southern) Italian. However, different manifestations of a similar combination also existed in other places, particularly those of strong Roman tradition. While the variation in styles might also be explained by imports, then being copied in southern Italian

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[99] Reports of Lombard elites in Ravenna in the seventh century are scant in the ninth century history written by Agnellus of Ravenna, particularly the years of the mid-end seventh century; King Agilulf is mentioned in association with his one-year peace with the *patricius* Smaragdus (life of John IV, 625-631) and then on Liutprand's invasion of Classe during the life of Archbishop John V (726-744), and subsequent problems with the Lombards, before its fall, in the life of Sergius (744-*c.*769) in: Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs,* p. 224, p. 275 and p. 278 respectively.

[100] E. Possenti, *Orecchini,* pp. 51-52.

workshops, both new and longer established workshops, could also have been the mediators to the rest of Italy, and beyond.

The variation in the evidence, however, was not just a result of the cultural mores which influenced the creativity of artisans and consumers. The variety of metals and decoration is an indicator of both availability and taste, but may also suggest that there was a correlation between the availability of a material such as gold and gems up to the end of the seventh century, and their seeming absence in Italy after this point, causing artisans to turn to silver or gilded bronze as a substitute (see also discussion on coinage and goldwork below). Demand for different types of earrings and other personal ornaments were, of course, also determined by cost, but fashion played its role too. Most of the earring types represented in the table, particularly the hoop and ring earrings, in addition to the open-work basket earrings, are attested in bronze, silver and gold with varying amounts of decoration, whereas the disc-capsule and M-earrings were almost exclusively made from high-purity gold and employed the most elaborate ornamentation (cabochon, glass paste inlays, pearls) and high-quality finishes. This may indicate that earring *forms* were as much social indicators as their materials and decoration. Added to this, is the issue of who wore earrings and for what purposes? The suggestion of multiple functions for disc-earrings already indicates that assumptions about earrings firstly being exclusively female wear, and secondly, worn exclusively in pierced ears, and thirdly, whether they were originally always made in pairs, requires re-examining. Returning to the more conventional examples presented here, the assumption may be made that the majority of these earrings were worn in the normal way, by women. The question of how many pairs of earrings a woman owned, and how she made her choices is another important factor for understanding meaning and function. Assuming a woman's property in the seventh and eighth centuries came predominantly from her dowry or betrothal gift, who made the choices?   And did these women choose to be buried with their finest personal ornaments, or was this a family or community expectation? In addition to their sentimental value, their inherent cash value needs also to be

taken into account. All these aspects of personal choice and availability challenge the cultural conservatism of typological interpretations.

What can therefore be brought by the comparison of early medieval earrings to an investigation into cultural exchange in southern Italy? Of the 148 examples illustrated here the first conclusion is, as with the horse brooches, that there were myriad reasons for the sheer variety in the earring evidence, and that these variations are socio-culturally significant. Dating however, on the basis of materials, decoration and form will always be problematic owing first to the how heterogeneous the evidence is, and second the idea that forms and styles recurred over time. Nevertheless, certain changes may be suggested, such as the elaboration of decoration and materials in the mid-seventh century, and the subsequent 'devaluation' of base metals some time at the start of the eighth century, of which more later. Workmanship such as filigree, *opus interrasile,* cloisonné enamelling and reeding also suggest cultural affinities in design were shared with both the Byzantine *koiné* and northern Europe, combining differently depending on place, area, date, individual taste and availability. Another shared element were the sub-pendants, particularly triple-pendants.

The symbolic value of particular gems and pastes might also have been influenced by local belief systems and customs. The southern Italian examples show a fashion for red, green, dark and pale blue, purple and white. The optical effect of these colours particularly on silver and goldwork of different shapes, like light shining through stained glass, or even the shimmer of silk, must have been as striking then, as now, and wearers of these objects would have been fully aware of the effect they had on themselves and others against the background of their physical and social surroundings.[101] The forms of some of the earrings themselves may have echoed features of the environment: the M-earrings in particular echo the *pelta* form of arches found in churches, and possibly civic buildings too. The significance of triple-pendants has its obvious

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[101] D. Janes, *God and Gold in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) also discusses the symbolic significance of precious materials particularly referring to their importance to the late Roman church.

associations with the Trinity, and beliefs surrounding the number three. Both pendant and hoop/ring earrings were the grammar of a common language, spoken across Europe and Byzantium, with each person and place having their own accents. The shared cultural references would have been both recognisable, yet distinction would not have gone unnoticed, whether these pieces were bought for fashion, given as a betrothal or funerary gift, bequeathed as an heirloom or used as cash or as a guarantee for debt.

Part two: Cultural heritage of gold

Case-study one: Coins, politics and power

One area of material culture which might help reconstruct the particular politico-cultural context for gold objects and goldworking, is numismatics. Control of precious metals, especially gold, was an important facet of royal and aristocratic power, for coins to pay the army and civil service, but also for the creation of precious objects such as insignia and other personal ornaments. Having control of precious raw materials, and their manufacture, led to the acquisition of political and monetary capital, as well as symbolic capital.[102] This part of the chapter therefore examines the relationships between precious ornaments and coinage in southern Italy, and also investigates the historical background and possibilities that afforded them.

Understanding coin circulation in southern Italy, in this period, has been problematic, not least because of a lack of comparative studies and published

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[102] The theory of status and symbolic capital, proposed by and Pierre Bourdieu, *La distinction: critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979) and English edition: *Distinction: A Social Critique of Taste,* (trans.) R. Nice (London: Routledge, 1986), its role in creating status and as a quality which cannot be transferred into other kinds of capital (political, economic) has been well debated and used by anthropologists, historians, art historians and archaeologists. This discussion will not add to the debate on the value or application of the philosophy but rather use the term as an ideological standpoint to explore cultural exchange.

archaeology.[103] More generally, evidence seems to point to a rapid decline in coin production and circulation in Italy from a relative high point during the reigns of Emperors Heraclius (610–641) and Constans II (641–668) to ceasing altogether in about 780.[104] This general trend is based on analysis using the specific gravity method on coins from Italy, and other areas which were minting Byzantine coins in the seventh and eighth centuries.[105]

For forty years before final cessation (as far as this can be confirmed) coins minted in Italy contained little or no gold. The analysis showed that the highest quality and quantity of gold coins were minted from *c.*660 to *c.*690 during the reigns of Constans II (641-668) and Constantine IV (668-685) in Rome, Ravenna, Naples and uncertain mints, including a strong possibly for one at Benevento, a centre as politically significant as Naples in the mid-seventh century.[106] Focusing on the uncertain mints, two trends were suggested, the first, between 670 and 695, the second, from 705 until 730-40. The gap between these two 'series' coincides with the exile of Justinian II.[107] After this, debasement seemed to begin on the mainland and Sicily. However,

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[103] W. Oddy, 'The debasement of the provincial Byzantine gold coinage from the seventh to the ninth centuries', in: W. Hahn and W. Metcalf (eds.) *Studies in Early Byzantine Gold Coinage* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1988), 135-142; P. Arthur, *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (London: British School at Rome, 2002) pp. 137-38; the best survey of medieval coins from the tenth century onwards is P. Grierson and L. Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage,* vol. 3 pt. 4 *South Italy, Sicily and Sardinia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[104] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 138; E. Arslan, 'La circolazione monetaria (secoli V-VIII)' in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia,* Atti del convegno internazionale, Siena, 2-6 dicembre 1992 (Florence: All'Insenga del Giglio, 1991) p. 509 of 497-519; See also fig. 3 in: W. Oddy, 'Debasement of coinage' which charts percentages of gold in Italian solidi from the 640s to 850s (reigns of Constans II to Leo V).

[105] W. Oddy, 'Debasement of coinage', p. 135 counsels that the scientific accuracy of the method relies on the purity of binary alloys (e.g. gold and another metal) present in the object. However by the end of the series analysed, both silver and copper are clearly used to alloy with the gold which although illustrates debasement, provides less accurate results. A general trend, however, can be indicated.

[106] The chart showing debasement is in: W. Oddy, 'Debasement of coinage' which charts percentages of gold in Italian solidi from the 640s to 850s (reigns of Constans II to Leo V), p. 141, fig. 3; the argument for a centre at Benevento is not suggested by Oddy but will be expanded below.

[107] W. Oddy, 'Debasement of coinage', p. 138.

while there was a reform of coinage by Leo III (717-741) in Sicily, there is no such evidence of reform on the mainland. As the southern Italian mainland, excluding Naples and its satellites at Sorrento and Gaeta, was firmly under the administrative control of the Beneventan dukes, this might offer an explanation, and also raise the question of, what was happening to the coinage on the mainland from the latter seventh to the mid-eighth century?

The evidence for goldworking of this sort, however, remains ambiguous as even by the ninth century there were indications that anomalous solidi were struck in Naples, with the names Nicephorus I and Theophilus, containing 30-37% gold, at a time when gold seemed otherwise absent in the rest of in Italy.[108] The lack of systemised, centrally controlled moneying, however, is a strong reason for the anomalies, and major variations and inconsistencies in the surviving evidence. By the first third of the eighth century, the quality of gold was so low that the value of payments made to soldiers decreased accordingly, as did income from taxation.[109] Would this situation suggest that some of the objects under consideration in this chapter were used instead of coins for payment, perhaps kept in the form of hoards or treasuries? Does a culture-shift occur some time from the latter seventh to latter eighth centuries from retaining the value of gold in personal ornaments rather than coins?

In Byzantine Naples, a permanent local mint was opened in the mid-seventh century under Duke Basilius (661/2-666), appointed by Constans II, perhaps given permission during the emperor's visit to the city during his campaign in southern Italy (662/3).[110] Production levels were low in Naples and output consisted mainly of bronze coinage such as the half follis (twenty *nummi* piece). Debased gold coins were also produced from the period of Constantine IV to Leontius (695-698) suggesting that coin did not form a principal method of exchange here. It has further been suggested that control of the products of local mints lay with a small elite and may have mainly been used for political

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[108] *Ibid.*

[109] T. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers,* pp. 114-15.

[110] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 134.

and other symbolic, rather than purely monetary, exchanges.[111] The few hoards which derive from datable excavations from the region also suggest that circulation of coins in the seventh-century was very limited. A seventh-century hoard of 129 Byzantine coins discovered at *Lacco Ameno*, on the island of Ischia, just off the Neapolitan coast, contained imported issues of Heraclius and Constans II.[112] In addition, issues of gold solidi from the reign of Constantine IV were relatively plentiful, suggesting a good supply of precious metals and professional die-makers at mints in the imperial capital.[113] Constans II's own expedition into Italy in 662 was said to have brought a large quantity of coin to the region.[114] Also of note, is that the mint at Ravenna seemed to have all but ceased operations at this time.[115] While imported coinage might have played an important role in the absence of local productions, in a period and region which seemed to lack coinage as currency, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that precious moveable goods such as gold and silver personal ornaments were used as well, particularly amongst the newer elites who also had taken control of mints, and therefore also control of the monyers and metalworkers.[116]

If Neapolitan dukes monopolised gold-working for monetary and politico-cultural exchange, relying on gold supplies from the State, what was the basis for a similar situation in neighbouring Lombard strongholds? It was not until the reign of the Beneventan, Duke Gisulf I (689-706) that there is sufficient evidence to suggest an alternative centre of coin production in the South which

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[111] *Ibid.,* p. 138.

[112] *Ibid.*, *Naples,* p. 137.

[113] P. Grierson, *Byzantine Coins* (London: Methuen, 1982), p. 97; W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum,* 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1908) p. xxviii.

[114] W. Wroth, *Byzantine Catalogue,* p. xxix.

[115] *Ibid.,* p. xxx.

[116] On the relationships between minting and goldsmithing in the early Middle Ages, in: E. Coatsworth and M. Pinder, *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith. Fine Metalwork in Anglo-Saxon England: Its Practice and Practitioners* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002) chapter 8: 'Real Goldsmiths: the Historical Evidence', pp. 207-26.

produced higher quantities in a more regulated way.[117] While Lombard kings
were minting coins in its northern centres since the last quarter of the sixth
century in emulation of imperial productions, the major duchies of Spoleto, Friuli
and Trento did not produce their own coins. However, Benevento was given
permission, or independently, had begun to strike its own coins at this time.[118]
The coinages of northern and southern Italy were also noticeably different.[119] It
is generally accepted that the first known coins minted at Benevento were made
around the year 698, and were crude imitations of the solidi of Justinian II (685-
695) including bust and legends (the latter, often with errors).[120] However, a
few earlier examples of 'uncertain Beneventan' production are worth
considering in this context (**fig. 31**).

     Elio Galasso has already proposed the idea that Benevento became an
important centre for producing precious metalwork, although the basis for how it
came to prominence has not been investigated, nor has the link with
moneying.[121] Paul Arthur's suggestion that Naples was also a key centre, and
the presence of its seventh-century mint, also compels a closer look at both
territories as politically important producers in the South in the seventh to mid-
eighth century.[122] Benevento's primary significance was its centrality to the
Lombard duchy. However, this in itself does not explain its role as centre for
moneying or goldworking. The city's further importance can in part be
explained by its situation at the apex of a major communications route (by road

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[117] P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) pp. 66-72; P. Arthur, Naples, p. 136.

[118] *Ibid.,* p. lxii; P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage,* p. 58.

[119] P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage,* p. 51.

[120] W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards and of the Empires of Thessalonica, Nicaea and Trebizond in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1911) pp. lxi-lxviii.

[121] E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania,* pp. 13-35.

[122] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 141 suggests that the Senise gold, discussed below, could have been made in Naples.

Beneventan coins

Fig. 29: Beneventan tremissis, gold, found unstratified at the cemetery at Vicenne, near Campochiaro, Molise (S16)
After: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium*, pl. 30, nos. 2-3

Fig. 30: Reverse of the Vicenne ring, gold, showing a Beneventan tremissis, found in grave 33 of the cemetery at Vicenne (S15)
After: M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', p. 235, fig. 11

BENEVENTUM:—RADELCHIS I (1-3). ADELCHIS (4-6). UNCERTAIN (7-12).

Fig. 31: 'Uncertain' Beneventan coins, late 7th c.
After: W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards,* pl. 25, 7-12

Figs. 32-33: Reverse of (uncertain) Beneventan solidus (S2) compared with the reverse of the Senise earrings (S1); both average 19mm diam.
Solidus after: W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Lombards,* pl. 25, 7
Senise earring photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission of the Museo Archeologico, Naples

and river), the *Via Appia*, as demonstrated in chapter two.[123] Arechis I's (591-641) long reign which saw the conquest of the majority of the southern peninsula might also have precipitated the need to establish a mint with associated metalwork production at Benevento earlier than the traditionally accepted date of 698.

In law, Rothari's Edict (643) stated that the minting of gold or striking of money was only permitted under royal authorisation, on pain of shaving the head and cutting the hand, perhaps a reaction against existing practices, or borrowed from Byzantine Roman law?[124] While there does not seem to be a reason why Benevento might not have been awarded this privilege there is no supporting evidence that it had been granted a die, or right to create its own, at this time. Grimoald I's (king 662-671) additions to the law code did not address the issue of minting coins or related activity at all, suggesting either that the previous prescriptions still stood and did not require attention, or that moneying and the use of gold continued on an 'as-needs' basis, regardless of the law. This might have been the case even more so in southern Italy, which has on other counts been characterised as being driven more by private endeavour than by any state administration, and it is very plausible that goldworking and coin minting continued in key centres such as Benevento and Naples without any recourse to legalities. Elite-sponsored private goldworking in various centres may also have been the political context against which gold objects such as earrings and other personal ornaments were made. One might imagine therefore, that with Grimoald's accession, the first Beneventan Lombard king, the creation and need for high-value gold objects, whether as coins or jewellery, reached a new height, also bringing southern Italian centres into focus to support his politico-cultural endeavours.

The evidence of probable minting at Benevento during Grimoald's reign as duke and king, now requires examination. The 'uncertain Beneventan

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[123] Grierson and Blackburn also comment on Benevento's location as being an important factor in its role as a centre of coin production, p. 67.

[124] *The Lombard Laws,* (trans.) K. Fischer Drew (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1973) Rothari, no. 242, p. 100.

coinages' identified by Wroth refer to the reigns of Constans II and Constantine IV and date from c.660 to 706.[125] They are solidi and tremisses of gold or gold alloy and it has been supposed that they derive from the ducal reigns of Grimoald I (651-662), Romoald I (662-677), Grimoald II (677-680) and Gisulf I (680-706). In addition to these, are two recent archaeological finds of gold tremisses found in the large cemetery at Vicenne, near Campochiaro in Molise. Benevento is the putative point of origin for both coins. One was an unstratified find, with a bust in profile wearing what might be a diadem with pendants and in the field, the letter R (**table seven** S16, **fig. 29**). As on the obverse, the reverse sports an undecipherable inscription which borders a cross-potent. One suggestion has the obverse design stylistically modelled on the silver fourth-century Roman *siliqua.*[126] The other coin was set behind a seal ring with Roman intaglio (S15, **fig. 30**). The profile bust is very similar to that of the previous coin but instead of an R, there is a B in the field, suggesting this was a mint-mark belonging to Benevento, of which more presently.[127] If the B in the field of the coin in the Vicenne ring denoted Benevento, did the R in the field of the other coin refer specifically to Duke Romaold?[128] Both these coins have been dated to the 680s. The two comparative tremisses discussed by Wroth also sport a very similar bust in profile wearing diadems with cross potents on the reverse.[129]

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[125] W. Wroth, *Lombard Catalogue,* pp. lxiii, described pp. 189-92 and pl. 25, nos. 7-10 – the British Museum holds the most comprehensive collection of Lombard coinage outside Milan; other major publications of Lombard coins include: M. Arthur Sambon, *Receuil des monnaies de l'Italie meridionale* (Benevento, 1908); E. Bernareggi, *Moneta Langobardorum* (Milan: Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1983); Milan's collection published: E. Arslan, *Le monete di Ostrogoti, Longobardi e Vandali. Catalogo delle Civiche Raccolte Numismatiche di Milano* (Milan: Comune di Milano, 1978).

[126] E. Arslan, 'Monete auree ed anello con castone da Vicenne', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* p. 344 of 344-45, pl. 30, nos. 2-3.

[127] *Ibid.,* pp. 344-45, pl. 31, 1-2.

[128] W. Wroth, *Lombard Catalogue,* p. lvii suggests from evidence from northern Italy that the incorporation of letters like these in the field of the obverse of coins occurred during the reigns of Pectarit (672-88 – second reign) and Cunicpert (688-700) on tremisses attributed to them.

[129] W. Wroth, *Lombard Catalogue,* pp. 190-91, pl. 25 nos. 9-10.

The political background to the minting of these coins was not insignificant. Grimoald I's role, and that of his son, Romoald, in the crucial defeat of Constans II's attempt at reconquest in 662/3, was instrumental in Grimoald's successful accession to the Lombard kingdom's throne (662). Followed by this was the victory, principally led by Duke Romoald, against the imperial forces of Constantine IV *Pogonatus* (668-685) and this finally led to the Byzantine Empire's official recognition of the Lombard kingdom in about 680.[130] From one point of view, these were great southern Italian victories, led by Beneventans, and marked a definitive change in the way the Lombard territories were treated, and the way they perceived themselves. These events may therefore also indicate a putative date for the establishment of a significant centre of production at Benevento itself. These pivotal moments, would surely have been commemorated in coin, and perhaps in other ways? These events would also have brought elite or courtly cultural exchanges between northern and southern Lombard duchies closer together than at any time before, or indeed, afterwards.

A final example of an 'uncertain Beneventan' coin, I believe, holds the key to connecting together these political events, moneying and goldworking in the later seventh century (S2, **fig. 32**). In contrast to the coins of northern Italy, where Byzantine tremisses were emulated in the mints of Pavia and Tuscany, is a rare example of a solidus, of probable Beneventan origin, and of an earlier date to the two Vicenne tremisses.[131] On the obverse, the coin displays the facing bust of Constans II on the left, sporting a long beard and moustache, and a small bust of his son and co-emperor Constantine IV, who is beardless and also facing. Both wear the *paludamentum* (fastened at the shoulder) and

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[130] The recognition of the Lombard Kingdom by the Byzantine Empire is described in: *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of Anni Mundi 6095-6305 (A.D. 602-813),* (trans.) H. Turtledove (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1982) ch. 356.

[131] Contemporary issues in Lombard northern Italy, in emulation of Constantinopolitan types, at this time from Pavia and Tuscany were just tremisses with busts in profile and the predominance in issues from the territory of Pavia of 'Victory' represented on the reverse and a simple cross potent on the reverse of Tuscan examples from the mid to end-seventh century. See examples in: E. Bernareggi, *Moneta Langobardorum*, pp. 155-160 (*Padania)* and p. 171 (Tuscany).

cuirass and on their heads are crowns with the *globus cruciger*, between their heads is an equal-arm Greek cross.[132] The inscription reads:

•——• NCON τ५VΛTI NOVAT

On the reverse, is a stepped cross potent; to the left the standing figure of Heraclius; to the right the standing figure of Tiberius, both beardless and facing. They wear long robes and a crown with a cross, and in their right hand a *globus cruciger*; underneath the figures is the inscription CONOB – usually the designation for the imperial mint but also used in Ravenna and in other Italian emulations.[133] The inscription reads:

VΛTNI—⌈ ⌉ VΛT ५⌈

The coin recalls a solidus of Constans II struck in Rome and dating to 659-68.[134] The considerable errors in the legends however, suggest an origin outside traditional (imperial) Italian mints, with Benevento being the most likely candidate.[135] Could this, therefore, be Benevento's earliest attempt at producing its own coins? Another solidus, also probably from Benevento, modelled itself on a later solidus of Constantine IV, with the obverse facing bust in military garb and on the reverse, the stepped cross-potent without the co-rulers Heraclius and Tiberius.[136] Grimoald I's regal issues, from Pavia, seem to have been limited to tremisses in emulation of those of Constans II, and another class with a 'blundered' legend accompanying the obverse head.[137] A further

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[132] Acc. no. 1846, 9-10, 155; description based on W. Wroth, *Lombard Catalogue,* p. 189, pl. 25 no. 7.

[133] *Ibid.*

[134] The inscription should read on the obverse: *Dn. Constantinus et Constant. PP. Au.* On the reverse: *Victoria Augu.*

[135] W. Wroth, *Lombard Catalogue,* p. 189.

[136] *Ibid.,* p. 190, pl. 25 no. 8.

[137] *Ibid.,* p. lvi, p. 133.

example indicates that Grimoald issued the coin with a monogram of his name.[138] Therefore, the symbolic and highly significant issue of a solidus in Benevento, minted around 660-68, a precursor to the lesser tremisses from the North, could also suggest that Benevento, at roughly the same time, also became a key centre for precious metalworking. In particular, the city took on this role for both ducal and regal needs. The context of Benevento's control of high quality gold in a period of time between the 640s and the turn of the eighth century, also at the same time as gold content in Italian coins and jewellery seemed to be at their highest, therefore gives other precious metal objects historical currency.

To thoroughly understand Grimoald I and even Romoald's motives for establishing a goldworking and moneying centre at Benevento, it is necessary to turn to complementary sources relating to this period. Paul the Deacon's recollection and retelling of Grimoald I's rule as both Duke of Benevento, and later King of the Lombards, is a useful point of departure to begin the discussion of iconographic and figurative goldwork (insignia) from southern Italy. The late eighth-century *Historia Langobarorum* tells of how both Grimoald and his brother Radoald were brought up in a multi-cultural household in Cividale (duchy of *Forum Julii*) and later Benevento. They were the younger sons of the Lombard duke of Friuli, Gisulf II and the Bavarian princess, Romilda.[139] Their homeland at this time brought them in close contact with Avars and Huns, who later in Grimoald's reign acted as allies and enemies.[140] Around Grimoald's character in particular, Paul the Deacon created an embroidery of words, a hero in myth, which can also be seen in certain objects, discussed below. The close relationship between southern and northern Lombard duchies at this time is also evident in Paul's history, and not just centred around the conflicts between Arian and Catholic parties, and their effect on Byzantine-Lombard-Papal

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[138] *Ibid.,* p. lvi, n. 3.

[139] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 4, ch. 37, p. 180.

[140] *Ibid.*' on Lupus' rebellion, bk. 5, ch. 19, pp. 228-29; bk. 5, chs. 20-24, pp. 229-32 describes conflicts with the Avars who remained in Friuli after this.

relations more generally.[141] This is particularly striking in the description of the coming of the brothers from Cividale to the court of Duke Arichis I (646-51), in Benevento: "they were received by him [Arichis] most kindly and treated by him in the place of sons."[142]

Further episodes with the Avars occur in chapter forty-four as Paul the Deacon recalls the heroics of Duke Radoald, who succeeded Arichis I. On defending Siponto (northern Puglia), in about 642, against invading Avars, Paul said, "…he came quickly and talked familiarly with these Slavs in their own language."[143] This event in particular is a reminder of the cultural elasticity that existed in Italy at this time, and that this was recalled over a century later by Paul the Deacon. After Radoald's death, his brother Grimoald took over the duchy in about 651, by which point he had married Ita, "a captive girl, but one of high birth" (perhaps even a Slav?) and with whom he had his son and successor, Romoald, and two daughters. Also around this time he led a campaign to expel Greeks from Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano, clearly a contested but highly important site to both Greeks and Lombards, as demonstrated in chapter two, and important also for Lombard heroic mythology and iconography.[144]

The story of Grimoald's eventual accession to the Lombard kingship in 662 is well known and discussed by Paul the Deacon at length. The description has an air of oral story-telling and it is possible that certain objects might also have been used as frameworks upon which to weave the story, and to reinforce both authenticity and drama. Grimoald is portrayed as a friend-maker,[145] a wise,

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[141] Paul the Deacon frequently mentions the problems between Arians and Catholics, for example on the accession of Rothari (Arian), see book 4, ch. 42, pp. 193-98.

[142] *Ibid.,* bk. 4, ch. 39, pp. 188-89.

[143] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 4, ch. 44 p. 199; the friendship between the Slavs and Lombards was alluded to by Paul the Deacon on previous occasions.

[144] Paul the Deacon, *History,* ch. 46 p. 200; see previous chapter on penannular brooches associated with St Michael and also many Lombard coins depicting St Michael: E. Arslan, 'La circolazione monetaria'.

[145] *Ibid.*, bk. 4, ch. 51, p. 206 on his journey north, making allies of Spoleto and Tuscany along the way.

charitable and merciful man.[146] The loyalty showed towards his southern Italian (Beneventan) forces is also remarked upon; he kept some near him at all times in Pavia.[147] Paul the Deacon's description of Grimoald's crucial victory against Constans II is itself described in detail and in the tone of a legend, complete with hagiographic interlude which prophesised the Lombard victory against Constans.[148] Although a little inconsistent, the siege of Benevento, Romoald's call for help from his father, and the lifting of the siege, is described in dramatic terms, together with an interesting aside about how some of Grimoald's troops deserted him on the journey south owing to a rumour that the king was to abandon the royal palace, and instead return to Benevento.[149] Was Grimoald's special relationship with Benevento being alluded to here, and was there resentment among Pavians because of it? If so, Paul the Deacon's recollection of the story, through local history/myth is equally interesting. The final victory against Constans was, in fact, ascribed to Romoald, to whom Grimoald had given the leadership of the army.[150]

Grimoald's other main ally at this time was Transemund, Count of Capua, to whom he finally awarded the duchy of Spoleto and the hand of one of his daughters.[151] And before Transemund, Mitola was Count of Capua, another ally of Benevento who was reputed to have defeated Constans' troops at *Pugna,* near Benevento, as the emperor retreated to Constantinople.[152] The protection

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[146] *Ibid.,* p. 207 on sending Pectarit's wife and son, Rodelinda and Cunicpert, to Benevento; bk. 5, ch. 2, p.p. 210-13 on his welcome of Pectarit and subsequent deception, which led to Pectarit's escape; and ch. 3, p. 215-16 on Grimoald's mercy towards Pectarit's servant who had aided his master's escape and that of Unulf, Pectarit's ally, who had master-minded the escape.

[147] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 5, ch. 1, p. 209.

[148] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, chs. 6-11, pp. 217-25: Before his expedition via Athens and Taranto, Constans II consults a hermit with the gift of prophecy on the fate of the Lombards: "The people of the Langobards cannot be overcome in any way, because a certain queen coming from another province has built a church of St. John the Baptist in [their] territories, and for this reason St. John himself continually intercedes for the nation of the Langobards." (p. 219).

[149] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, ch. 7, p. 220.

[150] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, ch. 10, pp. 222-23.

[151] *Ibid.,* bk. 4, ch. 51, p. 206 and bk. 5, ch. 16, p. 227.

[152] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, ch. 9, p. 222.

of Benevento was clearly important to Grimoald, for even after his aid in lifting the siege, he took it upon himself to sack Forlimpopoli, a city apparently mainly inhabited by Romans, because they would often attack him and his entourage on the way to and from Benevento.[153] Apart from the protection of a place he might have called home, and that of his son, is this also evidence that Benevento was a principal centre of production whose arteries northwards to royal and aristocratic seats, needed to be kept clear?

In addition to the Avars, Grimoald made allies of another group of people, described as 'Bulgars' by Paul the Deacon.[154] What is noteworthy is that when their leader, Alzeco, approached Grimoald for a safe-house in Italy, in return for military service, he immediately referred him to his son, Romoald, in Benevento. He, in turn, gave them land in previously deserted areas (also politically contested) such as Sepino, Boiano and Isernia. The community continued to live here, it was said, up to the time of Paul the Deacon, and remained speaking their native tongue in addition to Latin. Alezco himself was given the title *gastaldius.* Was this bestowal sealed with a gift of insignia? The figure and deeds of Grimoald created a great impression upon Paul the Deacon, and presumably the historian's sources too, finally attested in his epitaph-like description following the king's death: "He was moreover very strong in body, foremost in boldness, with a bald head and a heavy beard and was adorned with wisdom no less than with strength."[155]

The stories recalled by Paul the Deacon indicate that the life and times of Grimoald I, and those of his close allies, persisted well beyond his own time. Paul the Deacon's own connection with this family are explained in chapter thirty-seven, which suggests an interesting relationship existed between personal and broader cultural histories at this time.[156] Could objects associated

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[153] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, ch. 27, pp. 232-33.

[154] *Ibid.,* bk. 5, ch. 29, p. 234.

[155] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 5, ch. 33, pp. 236-37; he also remarks on Grimoald's additions to Rothari's Edict which principally concerned the wagering of battles, bigamy, and the adoption of the Roman custom on inheritance, issued *c.*668.

[156] The interlude to tell this family history occurs at the end of chapter 37, Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 4, ch. 37, pp. 184-86.

with these events also have mythologised such memories? What is clear from Paul the Deacon's attention to this period of Lombard history is (the memory of) the vibrancy of the political culture at this time, and furthermore, not withstanding the author's own prejudices, that much of this vibrancy was led by a southern Italian elite.

Case-study two: Insignia and authority

Table seven compares insignia from, or likely to be from, southern Italy which incorporates some kind of iconography or figurative elements (**map 5** throughout). These comprise finger-rings, earrings and disc-brooches with some kind of figurative or iconographic elements and are compared with examples from other parts of Italy deemed to have comparative associations. Here the concept of insignia and its functions will be tested against the historical contexts suggested by the numismatic and political background of the mid-late seventh century as outlined above. It will be argued that the objects were not just status symbols and badges of office, but also products of intellectualism, power politics, and the cultural alignments of the time and places from where they hailed.

The analysis of early medieval insignia has recently been examined not just on the basis of form (shape and features) but also on workmanship. Close examination of the hinge techniques used on so-called *Kaiserfibeln* (imperial brooches) of late antique eastern Europe has been employed to detect signs of either Roman traditional workmanship (and therefore an object bestowed) or, barbarian creation (*imitatio imperii).*[157] However even this approach falls short of properly acknowledging why these choices might have been made in the first place, and what this says about the people associated with the object. If simple imitation was the reason for the production of disc-brooches found in, or associated with, southern Italy, certain other features detectable on their close analysis and the context of the political culture in which the objects themselves

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[157] M. Schmauder, 'Imperial representations or barbaric imitation? The imperial brooches (Kaiserfibeln)' in: W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction,* 281-296.

Map 5: Distribution of insignia in Italy, 5-8th century

Data: Author   Map by: Tom Goskar

Insignia with carved gems

Figs. 34-35: Benevento brooch, gold with Roman cameo and triple pendants terminated with amethyst/jacinth sub-pendants
(1909.816 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (S9)
Photos: Ashmolean Museum, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 36: Benevento ring, gold with Roman chalcedony intaglio and cloisonné enamel decoration
(17.230.128 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (S7)
Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 37: Vicenne ring, gold with Roman carnelian intaglio, from grave 33 at the cemetery of Vicenne, near Campochiaro, Molise (S15)
After: M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', p. 235, fig. 10

Fig. 38: Disc-brooch, gold with late antique intaglio and cabochon pastes, found in grave 16 at the cemetery at Castel Trosino (Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome) (S32)
After: C. Bertelli and G. Broglio (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi*, p. 68, fig. 43

Fig. 39: Disc-brooch, gold with Roman onyx cameo and cabochon pastes, found in the cemetery at Castel Trosino (95.15.101 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (S30)
Photo: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced by kind permission

Insignia with chalice/*kantharos* and peacock motifs

Fig. 40: Calabria brooch from Cirò Marina, near Crotone, Calabria (S17)
After: F. Cuteri, 'La Calabria nell'Alto Medioevo', pp. 347, fig. 6
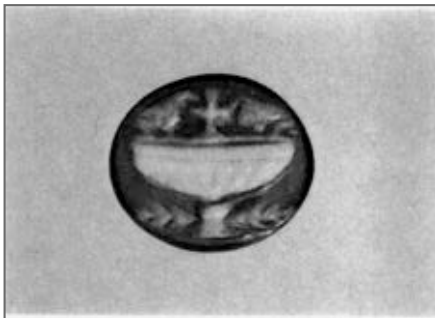
Fig. 41: Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo with chalice and peacocks/doves (48.19 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.) (S45)
After: M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities,* vol. 2, pl. 86, no. 172

Fig. 42: Samon earring with impression of chalice/*kantharos* and peacocks on reverse (S11)
After: M. Rotili, *L'arte a Napoli,* fig. 77

Insignia with representations of a facing bust

Figs. 43-44: Maurice name and seal ring, gold, found in Benevento (Fortnum 341 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (S13)
Photo: Ashmolean Museum, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 45: Gumedruta name and seal ring, gold, found in Bergamo, Lombardy (1920,10-28,2 British Museum, London) (S20)
Photo: British Museum, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 46: Dumbarton Oaks seal, cast bronze with inscription ANACTACIOS (46: 59.54 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.) (S41)
After: M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities,* vol. 1, p. p. 54 no. 61, pl. 38

Fig. 47: Tyler pendant, gold, with repoussé decoration, possibly found in Constantinople (William R. Tyler collection, Washington, D.C.) (S40)
After: M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', p. 149 fig. 9

Disc-brooches with triple pendants

Figs. 48-49: Castellani brooch, gold, with polychrome cloisonné enamel facing bust, found in Canosa di Puglia (1865,7-12,1 British Museum, London) (S5)
Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Figs. 50-51: Walters brooch, gold, with *verroterie cloisonné* enamel facing bust, found in Comacchio (44.255 Walters Art Museum, Baltimore) (S8)
Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission
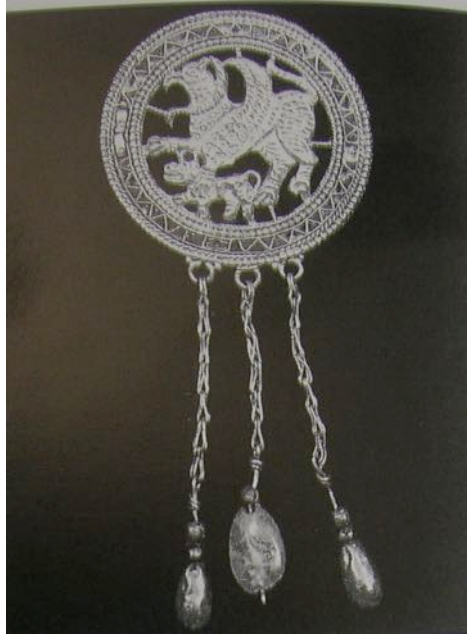
Fig. 52: Capua brooch, gold, with open-work *opus interrasile* and repoussé griffon and triple-pendants (Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) (S10)
After: I. Baldini-Lippolis, *L'oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantonopoli,* p. 164, fig. 4.c.2
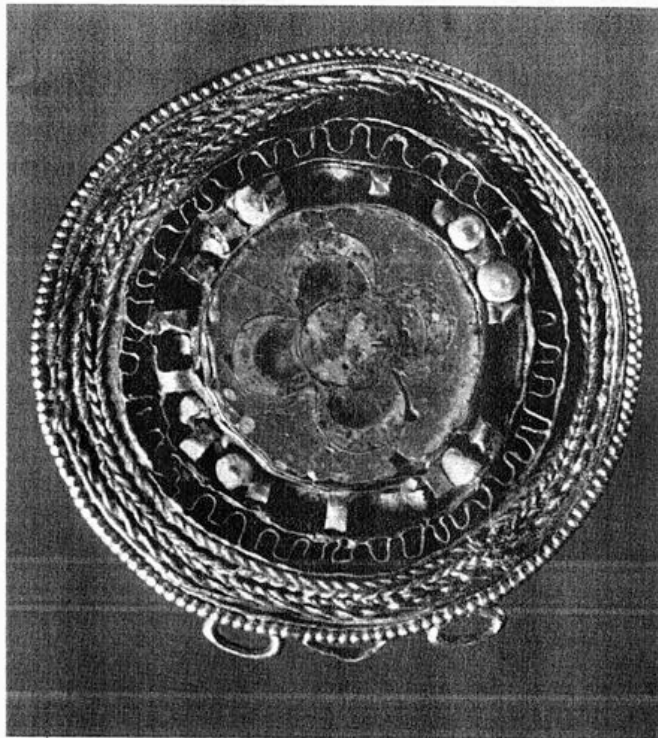
Fig. 53: Gutman brooch, gold, with central quatrefoil enamel and fixtures for pearls (some extant) (Melvin Gutman collection) (S36)
After: E. Galasso, *Oreficeria*, p. 73, pl. VI.a

Senise grave group

Figs. 54-57: Senise earrings, gold, with *verroterie cloisonné* enamel facing bust and solidus on the reverse, cruciform sub-pendant (153618 Museo Archeologico, Naples) (S1)
Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission

2cm

Fig.: 58: Finger-ring, gold, with open-work band and square dark green glass paste setting (153620 Museo Archeologico, Naples)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission
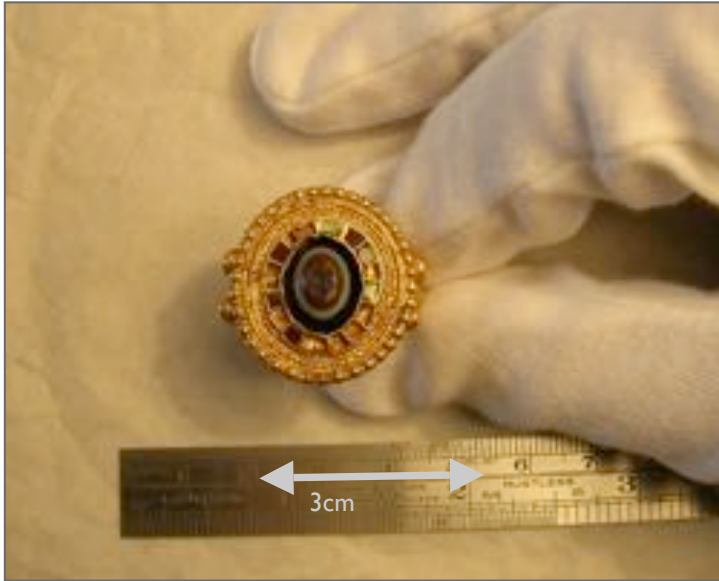
Fig. 59: Senise seal ring, gold, with Roman banded agate intaglio and cloisonné enamel decoration (153619 Museo Archeologico, Naples) (S4)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 60: Senise disc-brooch, gold, with S-scroll filigree decoration and settings for carved gem and cabochons (153621 Museo Archeologico, Naples) (S3)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 61: Equal-arm cross pendant, gold (153622 Museo Archeologico, Naples)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Fig. 62: Fragments, gold (SENISE Museo Archeologico, Naples)
Photo: Author, reproduced by kind permission

were 'active' would illustrate something quite different. The key to the comparison is looking at the use of contemporary innovations in traditional object forms, and the participation in a common material language of power, identity and social affinity, with both past and present. The variation within this group of objects therefore, denoted the different ways in how this could be achieved and communicated.

Late antique and early medieval iconographic personal ornaments, including insignia, from western Europe and Byzantium often incorporated coins and medallions (bracteates) or impressions from dies. The southern Italian examples comprise the Senise earrings which incorporate seventh-century solidi (S1),[158] Naples earring with Oscan (first century BCE) denarius (S12)[159] and Vicenne ring (with Beneventan coin and Roman intaglio, S15).[160] A finger-ring, found near Udine (S27), was set with a solidus of Constantine IV, recalling the simply set solidus of the Zeno brooch found at Canosa di Puglia (S14).[161] The Cividale ring (S28) similarly sets a gold coin of the Emperor Tiberius (572-582), and found in the so-called grave of Gisulf, of which more later.[162] The Sambon earring (S11), possibly found in or near Naples, and Calabria Christ earring (S6) also display figurative impressions but have not been associated with any known extant coins or dies. The Bargello earring, with an impression in relief, on the reverse, may be of a coin, or based on a coin, dating from the reign of Anastasius I (491-518), Justin I (518-527) or Justinian I (527-565)

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[158] Acc. nos. s.n.,153618, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples; see earring comparison table and iconography comparison table for full description and references.

[159] Acc. no. 24774, Museo Archeologico, Naples.

[160] Acc. no. 30682, Soprintendenza Archeologico, Campobasso; S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.) *Samnium,* p. 347, f2, pl. 30, nos. 2-3.

[161] Zeno brooch: C. D'Angela, *La Puglia altomedievale (Scavi e ricerche)*, vol 1 (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 2000) pl. 37, nos. 1-2; C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici e archeologici dell'Alto Medioevo in Puglia', in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'Alto-Medioevo Italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia* (Florence: All'Insegno del Giglio, 1994) p. 307 of 299-332; I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli*, p. 165, no. 4d.1; Udine ring: O. von Hessen, 'Il processo di romanizazzione' in: G. Menis (ed.) *I longobardi*, p. 223 of 222-234, p. 464, no. X.182a, p. 465, fig. X.182a.

[162] G. Menis (ed.), *I longobardi,* p. 470, no. X.191c, p. 472, no. X.191c for colour image.

(S21).[163] Also worth comparison are two necklaces from Castel Trosino with polychrome glass and amethyst beads interspersed with sixth century coins; one necklace (S42) with solidi of Justinian I (527-65), Justinian II (565-78) and Tiberius II (578-82), the other with tremisses of Tiberius II and Maurice (582-602) (S43).[164] Did these coin earrings, rings and necklaces function as insignia, such that conveyed that the wearer's official function, or recognised status, or were they more privately motivated possessions?

The Senise earrings are exceptional in that they incorporate a contemporary coin on the reverse, with a unique enamel figure on the obverse. The coins have variously been interpreted as solidi of Constans II or Constantine IV (assumed to be imperial issue). However, in the light of the discussion on early Beneventan coinage above, were they in fact the same 'uncertain' Beneventan solidi described above (**figs. 32-33**)? The impressions themselves are in relief and the quality of them suggests that they were die-cut rather than created or copied from the coins themselves. The large flange around the edges resembles how many coins were struck before they were trimmed to size. Comparing the dimensions of the coin area of the earrings, to those of the extant solidus from the British Museum, the evidence compels a close relationship between the two, and it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the same die that cut the first Beneventan solidus may also have cut the coins for these earrings. If this is the case, they were perhaps even executed in the same workshop.

The connection between moneying and goldsmithing has been noted in other contexts. Indeed, the Frankish saint Eligius (558-660), later the patron saint of medieval goldsmiths, himself was cleric, moneyer, goldsmith, and royal

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[163] Acc. no. 943, Coll. Fillon, Museo del Bargello, Florence.

[164] Acc. nos. 1535 and 1536 respectively, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome; M. Brozzi, 'Monete byzantine su collane longobarde', *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 83, (1971), 127-131; L. Paroli, *Museo dell'Alto Medioevo Roma,* p. 284, no. 2 and fig. 229 (acc. no. 1535) and no. 3 and fig. 230 (acc. no. 1536); L. Paroli (ed.), *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino,* pp. 282-84, figs. 229-230.

councillor.[165] Given the prominence of Grimoald's rule at Benevento while king, it seems logical that he would not just have had access to the materials required (gold) but also more importantly, to the expertise, possibly from a cleric, required to both mint coins and create jewellery from gold, gems and enamel. Did Grimoald himself (or Romoald), or their court at Benevento, wish the momentous event of the minting of an inaugural gold coin, a solidus, to be commemorated in the earrings? It would be surprising if the minting of Benevento's first gold coin did not in some way, coincide with the momentous defeats against both Constans II and Constantine IV, and might also suggest that the earrings were made to function as visual reminders of the victory, echoing Paul the Deacon's narrative in object form. While the Senise earrings are exceptional in the symbolism of the enamelled bust (discussed below) and the incorporation of gold coins, the coins or medallions used in other disc-earrings now need attention.

The Bargello earring highlights another dimension to these emblematic objects, namely the 'reuse' of older or antique elements (S21). The style and workmanship of the earring suggests a mid to late seventh-century date but the coin, or medallion, belonged to the late fifth to the mid-sixth century, indicating that this element was created by mounting the coin/medallion into the earring when it was constructed. Unlike the Senise earrings, this one does not have a large flange. Where did this bracteate come from? Was it found in a hoard or passed down as a family heirloom or even possessed in an ecclesiastical treasury? The Zeno brooch (S14), like the Castel Trosino necklaces (S42 and S43), may also have incorporated 'out of circulation' coins.

The most striking example of reuse, however, is the Naples earring with Oscan denarius of C. Papius Mutilus (S12). More than seven hundred years after the coin was minted, it was incorporated into this earring, eventually being buried somewhere in the area of the duchy of Naples. The denarius itself was minted somewhere in the region occupied by the Samnites and both Naples and

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[165] E. Coatsworth and M. Pinder, *The Art of the Anglo-Saxon Goldsmith,* p. 207; *Vita Eligii episcopi Noviomagensis,* (ed.) B. Krusch, *MGH. Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum,* 4 *Passiones Vitaeque Sanctorum* (Hanover, 1902) 634-761.

Benevento could have been possible centres.[166] The election of Naples as a *municipium* in 90 BCE might also indicate that the coin was commemorative, also in its original context.[167] Alternatively, is the identity of C. Papius Mutilus suggestive of the coin's importance in honouring his victory, with other southern Italian Samnite rebels, against Rome in the Italic War (91-87 BCE)?[168] The coin could originally have been part of another piece of insignia-forming jewellery. Perhaps the rebel leader's story was preserved in local oral tradition and transmitted to the seventh-century Neapolitan or Beneventan courts? Who possessed the coin over such a period of time? Was it found 'archaeologically' and deemed of great significance and therefore commemorated in an earring? Was there ever a pair? If there was there some knowledge of its history, the creation of the earring and its bestowal (or commission) might have stemmed from desire to create a visual and textural cultural link between contemporary rulers of the area, with those long past. Whether the earring was created in a Neapolitan or Beneventan context, the close links between the ancient histories of both places, makes for an intriguing comparison of cultural exchanges with the past. Whatever the accurate motives for the creation of jewellery with old coins, it points to the fact that there was some kind of consciousness of 'the antique' and its associated history, and that objects played an important role in its transmission, and in the practice of commemoration.

Like the earrings discussed above, bracteates and related objects enjoyed currency across Roman and non-Roman Europe, but their accents varied from time to time and place to place, and communicated political as well as cultural messages. Their figurative representations were important, whether simply to convey a connection with antiquity or to share a physical cultural affinity with a particular past or present. However, an object's political function needs to be

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[166] Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Molise, 'Le monete sannitiche', based partly on R. Cantilena, 'L'economia monetale nel Sannio pentro tra il IV ed il I secolo a.C.', G. De Benedittis (ed.), *Romanus an Italicus. Le conferenze del premio "E.T. Salmon"* (Fondazione Salmon, 1996) http://xoomer.alice.it/davmonac/sanniti/monete01.html (accessed: 12 September 2008).

[167] P. Arthur, *Naples,* p. 6.

[168] E. Gabba, 'Chapter 4: Rome and Italy: The Social War', in: J. Crook, A. Lintott and E. Rawson (eds.) *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. 9, *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp. 118-19 of 104-128.

balanced by its polyvalency, as has been suggested for bracteates from Scandinavia and northern Europe, which were also used as amulets and prestige objects.[169] As with all moveable goods, but particularly goldwork, their exchange may also have been mediated in bridal gifts such as the dowry or morning gift, both of these traditions also being active in southern Italy. Whether or not the object was intended as male or female wear, the possibilities afforded by their historical contexts demonstrate the fluidity with which such objects could have been used. In addition to family heirlooms, they could also have been exchanged as pawns and liquidated for their intrinsic monetary value, particularly at times when coins were in short supply.[170]

However the use of coins in jewellery in the seventh century should also be seen as part of a continuous tradition from late antiquity. Bracteates were used in various ways within the Roman Empire and Byzantium, but also by those beyond the frontiers, particularly amongst Germanic peoples.[171] This was another instance where the use of, and taste for, an object was shared by a newly settled cultural group (Lombards) and those pre-existing societies in Italy (Roman/Byzantine) causing a confluence of cultural exchanges which embodied both personal and group identities. Over time and space, these objects changed their forms, contexts and meanings but always retained their function as a crucial link between past, present and future.

Another form of reuse of figurative devices was the incorporation of Classical and Roman intaglios and cameos into gold disc-brooches and finger-rings. Use of antique pieces to illustrate an affinity with the past, particularly an

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[169] M. Gaimster, 'Gold bracteates and necklaces. Political ideas in the sixth century' in: B. Magnus (ed.) *Roman Gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms. Aspects of Technical, socio-political, artistic and intellectual development, A.D. 1-550.* Symposium in Stockholm 14-16 November 1997 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 2001) p. 143 of 143-155.

[170] These uses can be compared with the similarly multiple uses of tenth to twelfth century silk in southern Italy.

[171] *Ibid.,* p. 152, cites symbolic and practical uses of bracteates discussed in: B. Arrhenius, 'Smycken som diplomati. Föremål som vittnesbörd' in: J. Myrdal, et al. (eds.) *Föremål som vittnesbörd: en festskrift till Gertrud Grenander Nyberg på 80-årsdagen den 26 juli 1992,* (Stockholm: Nordiska Museet, 1992); and M. Axboe, 'A non-stylistic approach to the gold bracteates', *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 8 (1) (1975) 63-68.

illustrious (Roman) past, was not limited to Italy and the general concept of how and why the past was perceived and used in the early Middle Ages has been well-explored, though with particular focus on contemporary law-making, history writing and religious texts.[172] Attention to the reasons why antique devices were reused has been less well articulated. Jas Elsner described the reuse of carved gems as, "spolia" in a "new framing."[173] Using the famous example of the so-called Monza Gospel covers of Theodelinda, allegedly given to Pope Gregory I in 603, adorned with Roman cameos, Elsner considered that the embodiment of the gems in the book-covers, "valorize[d] the royalty of Theodelinda as well as the Pontificate of Gregory with the generalised aura of Roman imperial grandeur made specific through actual precious examples."[174] The point about how the Monza cameos represented a shared cultural past between Queen and Pope is one well made, but the idea that this shared affinity was no more than an "aura of imperial grandeur" is somewhat dismissive of the idea that an intellectual, as well as sentimental, consciousness drove the reuse of antique elements in new settings, as will be demonstrated below.

The variety of objects presented here suggests that there was a broad understanding that in their original contexts intaglios were used as seals, either personal or official, and cameos were incorporated into jewellery for fashion, to mark a personal or family affinity, for example, with an imperial personage, god or family member, as signs of rank or status, and as talismans. The reuse of cameos and intaglios, therefore, might also be viewed as another thread of continuity in Italy from classical to early medieval periods, but whose meanings mutated, or were consciously changed at the point where they were placed in new framings. As with the reuse of coins as bracteates, similar circumstances might have allowed the seventh-century goldsmith to set a Roman or Etruscan

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[172] Y. Hen and M. Innes (eds.) *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); this volume was followed with a conference focusing on uses of the past in material culture: *Past Presented: Uses of the Past in Medieval European, Byzantine and Islamic Material Culture,* Birkbeck College, London, 2005 (unpublished).

[173] J. Elsner, 'Late antique art: The problem of the concept and the cumulative aesthetic', in: S. Swain and M. Edwards (eds.) *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) p. 304 of 271-309.

[174] *Ibid.,* p. 305.

gem into a contemporary piece of jewellery: a commission to repurpose an heirloom, their acquisition as a result of looting ecclesiastical or private treasuries, or even chance finds, particularly if they had been found in hoards, or even clandestinely taken from old graves. I suggest that the prominence of figurative elements in jewellery which used bracteates and carved gems demonstrates the strong cultural affinity that existed amongst the early medieval Italian elite who considered it a cultural relationship with *their* past, and not one which was, for political expediency, simply a consequence of romanisation, acculturation or emulation.

The long tradition of gem carving in southern Italy, particularly of cameos, since antiquity could have also meant that some semblance of the expertise needed to set them existed here in the early Middle Ages, in addition to a greater availability of ancient pieces. There is also some evidence that the creation of cameos continued or was otherwise revived in the seventh century, whether in the traditional manner of gem-carving or newly-developed glass-paste casting (S44-46).[175] The Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo (S45) displays a chalice surmounted with a cross and flanked by two birds, likely to be doves or peacocks. It recalls the impression on the reverse of the Sambon earring (S11), believed to have been found in, or near, Naples.[176] Both also reflect motifs found in stonework from Ravenna, of which more presently.[177] The strong

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[175] Three examples are housed in the Dumbarton Oaks collection: see, M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 2, (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1965) pp. 123-26: Dumbarton Oaks brooch, acc. no. 37.26, no. 171, pl. 86; Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo, acc. no. 48.19, no. 172, pl. 86; Dumbarton Oaks glass cameo, acc. no. 36.62, no. 173, pl. 86. Ross also discusses the continue art of cameo making, both cast and cut.

[176] M. Rotili, *L'arte a Napoli dal VI al XIII secolo* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1978) pp. 55-64, fig. 77 discusses this earring in the context of 'minor arts' from Naples.

[177] M. Ross, *Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 2, p. 124. For comparative examples, see R. Farioli Campanati, 'Botteghe ravennati tra oriente e occidente' in: *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale.* Atti del XVII congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Ravenna, 6-12 giugno 2004, vol. 1 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2005) 361-381: pl. 2 no. 1, peacock and quatrefoil on the Traversari sarcophagus; pl. 4 no. 1, *kantharos* chalice on the ambo at the church of San Spirito (Arian cathedral); in addition pl. 6 no. 1, peacocks from the altar front at the cathedral of Parma; Deborah Deliyannis discusses the appearance of art and architecture in the introduction to her translation of the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* in the introduction: Agnellus of Ravenna, *The Book of Pontiffs of the Church of Ravenna,* pp. 66-90.

sense of continuity, which nevertheless also embraced change, can indeed be seen in a continued interest in carved gems in southern Italy into the thirteenth century, and beyond.[178] Whether or not elite affinities lay with Greek-Byzantine politics, or Latin Lombard politics, all understood that their shared Romano-Italian past could be linked with the present through these objects.

Table seven (see appendix) compares several pieces of insignia which incorporated carved gems. Here, the Senise (S4), Benevento (S7), Vicenne (S15) and Rutigliano rings (S18) may be placed in the same family as other rings which reused intaglios, such as the Metropolitan (S31), Foro di Nerva (S39) and Trezzo sull'Adda (S24) seal rings.[179] The closest comparisons can be made with the two southern Italian rings with the best provenance, the Senise and Vicenne rings. Their forms and workmanship are so similar that, among all the seal rings, the likelihood of their manufacture in the same workshop is high.[180] Their dimensions are very similar, both employ the same beaded and braided borders which surround the central set oval intaglios. The significant difference between the two is the use of a ring of cloisonné enamel in trapezoidal collets (red and green) around the intaglio of the Senise ring, while the Vicenne ring's carnelian intaglio is only set within the braided and beaded borders (**fig. 37**). Their forms, particularly of the beaded setting and the plain gold band terminating in four globules, also echo those of the Udine (S27) and Cividale rings (S28), however these are set with coins. These settings follow late antique precedents in shape and size. Both rings also compare with the use of contemporary coins such as those on the Senise earrings and Vicenne

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[178] See for example the Noah Cameo, acc. no. 1890,9-1,15, onyx, late 12-13th century, British Museum, London and the Cameo with Hercules, acc. no. 38.150.23, sardonyx, early 13th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[179] Senise ring: acc. no. 153619; Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples; Benevento ring: acc. no. 17.230.128, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Vicenne ring: acc. no. 30682, Soprintendenza Archeologico, Campobasso, S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* p. 347, f2, pl. 21 nos. 1-2; Foro di Nerva ring: *Museo Romano Crypta Balbi*, p. 91; Trezzo sull'Adda seal ring: N. Christie, *Lombards,* pp. 130-31; E. Roffia (ed.) *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo dull'Adda* (Florence: All'Insegno del Giglio, 1986).

[180] A useful comparison between the Senise and Vicenne rings is made in: M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise. Riesame critico dei dati' in: L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds.) *Carta archeologica della valle del Sinni. Fascicolo 4: Zona di Senise* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2001) pp. 234-35 of 225-255.

ring. The red carnelian intaglio of the Vicenne ring is also comparable to the two silver rings found with a first-century carnelian intaglio in Rutigliano.[181] The Benevento ring, with chalcedony intaglio, dating roughly to the third century, also has the same characteristic set of four globules flanking the attachment of the bezel to the band, and the beaded border, as several of the other seal rings, such as the Metropolitan seal ring, although in contrast to the others, this one comprises a relatively plainly framed curvilinear rectangular Etruscan intaglio (S31). The cloisonné garnet frame for the Benevento ring's intaglio recalls the border of cloisonné enamel on the Senise ring and earrings, however the Benevento ring's enamel decoration is formed with vesica (lens) shaped collets, rather than rectangular or trapezoidal ones (**fig. 36**). Taking into account the burial contexts of the Vicenne and Senise rings, could they indicate that the people buried with them were important allies or officials of Lombard governed Italy? That either of these insignia originated from Byzantine courts, whether at Naples, Rome or even Ravenna can be discounted because of the evidence from the coins discussed above, particularly the tremissis of the Vicenne ring. The possibility that the coins on the reverse of the Senise earrings, and even the earrings themselves, were of imperial workmanship will be further discussed and challenged below.

Assuming for now, that the seal rings hailed from politically Lombard areas, for what reason were they made? Did they comprise insignia awarded by Grimoald I or his successors? The numismatic evidence connected to both objects certainly suggests that the link between the striking of gold coins from Grimoald and Romoald's reigns, and the creation of high-quality gold jewellery, is a strong one. The funerary context of the Vicenne ring provides very suggestive clues that this might have been the case. The ring came from a well-furnished burial with other grave-goods and a horse. The location of the cemetery at Vicenne, near Campochiaro, is in the same region that Paul the Deacon described as being 'deserted' and later given to migrating Bulgars, by Grimoald and Romoald, in return for their military support. Indeed, this was

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[181] Rutigliano intaglio rings: M. Salvatore, 'Un sepolcreto altomedioevale in agro di Rutigliano (Bari). Notizie preliminari', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana,* 57 (1981) p. 130, fig. 2 of 127-160.

seen as the award of a *gastaldate* by Grimoald to the Bulgar leader, Alzeco. It has been suggested that the 'warrior' buried with a horse, and wearing the Vicenne ring, might even have been the Alzeco himself, or perhaps one of his associates or successors.[182] Considering the significance of the coin integrated into the ring, and the associated unstratified tremissis discussed above could this indeed have been a piece of insignia bestowed on a *gastald* by Grimoald or the Beneventan duke Romoald, and made at the court Benevento itself? If this was the case, the supposition that the Senise ring, and even earrings and brooch (S3) were Beneventan insignia is made more compelling.

Ancient intaglios and cameos were also used in disc-brooches. Can these objects also be interpreted as insignia in the same way as seal rings, or do disc-brooches present another example, like the disc-earrings, of the polyvalency of gold ornaments in this period? The Benevento brooch (S9) with a cameo of Roma, or perhaps a military person, or Minerva, demonstrates close similarities in its S-scroll filigree work with the Senise brooch (whose cameo or intaglio is now missing, S3), the Metropolitan brooch (also with a cameo, S30, **fig. 39**), and four disc-brooches from Castel Trosino (all with intaglios, S32-35).[183] The choice of cameo for the triple-pendanted Benevento brooch, may be telling of a political culture which did not naively imitate the past but used it intelligently and knowledgeably (**figs. 34-35**). In the later fifth to the mid-sixth century, during a

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[182] Grave 33 of the cemetery at Vicenne near Campochiaro; V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne a Campochiaro', in S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium*, p. 334 of 329-334; B. Genito, 'Tombe con cavallo a Vicenne', 335-338, p. 337 fig. 6 illustrates the burial and the position of the grave-goods; N. Christie, *Lombards,* pp. 98-100.

[183] Benevento brooch: acc. no.: 1909.816, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, published in: A. MacGregor, *A Summary Catalogue,* p. 277, no. 97; Senise brooch: acc. no. 153621, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Naples, published in: S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen,* p. 37, pl. 40, C22; O. von Hessen, 'Il processo di romanizazzione' in: G. Menis (ed.) *I longobardi,* p. 224, no. V.2; M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', pp. 230-31, figs. 5-7; Metropolitan brooch: acc. no. 95.15.101, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (possibly also acquired from Castel Trosino, published in K. Reynolds Brown, *Migration Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) pp. 34-35 and pl. 7; Castel Trosino brooches: from grave 220, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome (S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, C23, p. 37 and pl. 41); from grave 16, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo (as before, C24, p. 37 and pl. 41) and C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000), p. 68, fig. 43 and cat no. 32a; from grave G, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome (*Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, C25, p. 37 and pl. 41); from grave K, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome (as before, C26, p. 37 and pl. 41).

period of particular strength for the Roman Senate, municipal issue copper coins (folles and half-folles) revived archaic motifs previously seen in the denarii of the early Roman Republic, such as that of and Romulus and Remus suckling the she-wolf, the fig tree and the goddess Roma.[184] The cameo on the Benevento brooch very closely resembles the figure of the helmeted Roma on the senatorial coins raising both the question of the date of the cameo, and the suggestion that gem carvers and coin designers worked to the same designs and perhaps also from the same places.[185] Did the maker of the Benevento brooch, or the person who commissioned it, understand the iconography of early Rome? Did they also understand the significance of the reuse of the image in the late fifth century? Whatever the reality, the phenomenon of recurring imagery and motifs and changing meanings is a crucial one for the argument that conscious continuity in new settings, was the zeitgeist for later seventh-century metalwork.

The use of intaglios in some of the disc brooches however, indicates that their iconographic importance was greater than their practical use as seals (S32-35). Whether this was the case with the Senise disc-brooch is unknown (S3). It may or may not be noteworthy that no such disc-brooch with classical cameo or intaglio came from the large cemetery at Nocera Umbra, or hitherto known from other sites in the far north. The only comparable disc-brooch with figurative representation is a gilded bronze brooch with a central facing female bust in repoussé (S37).[186] Another disc-brooch, made from a gilded silver sheet disc capsule, whose motif was also created in repoussé comes from a grave at the cemetery at Cirò Marina, near Crotone in Calabria, dated from the sixth to the seventh century, but with a seventh-century date being more likely (S17, **fig. 40**). Its obverse motif comprises two peacocks flanking a two-

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[184] P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage,* pp. 31-33, p. 428 and pl. 6.

[185] Susan Walker, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, *pers. comm.* (email 4 September 2008), identified the cameo of the Benevento brooch as being a depiction of Roma like those found on copper coins issued by the Roman Senate as described and suggests the cameo carvers and moneyers might have worked from the same design.

[186] Nocera Umbra brooch: grave 39, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome, published in: C. Rupp, *Das Langobardische Gräberfeld von Nocera Umbra*, p. 241, pl. 59; S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Die Langobardischen Fibeln*, C39, p. 39 and pl. 44.

handled vase or chalice which resembles the Greek *kantharos.* Comparative brooches have been found in Albanian graves as well. What association did this motif hold for their owners in southern Italy, and what was the significance, if any, of the comparison with those from Albania?[187] It is strikingly similar to the reverse of Sambon earring (S11, **fig. 42**) and the Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo (S45, **fig. 41**).

The symbol of the *kantharos* in antiquity was closely associated with Dionysius (his never ran dry) and the theme of ever-flowing cup or chalice persisted into Christian symbology as one of abundance and Christ's ever-flowing love and kindness. Peacocks too, symbolised among other things, paradise, spring (renewal) and immortality and the 'eyes' of its tail feathers, the watch of the church upon the vanity and pride of people, also perceived in the way peacocks strut.[188] Before the advent of Christianity, the peacock was Hera and Juno's symbol and therefore had associations with family protection, women and marriage. Could the Calabria brooch, the Dumbarton Oaks cameo and the Sambon earring have therefore been made as wedding gifts or marriage talismans? The peacock also recalls the zoomorphic brooches from Larino, Molise and Castel Trosino in the form of the bird, discussed above, and is the motif on the seventh-century Dumbarton Oaks brooch (S44). The motif, shared on earring and brooches, therefore seems to encompass both folk tradition and Christian belief. The manifestation, therefore, of faith and belief, was firstly not limited to the use of cruciform symbols, and secondly was embodied in people's personal ornaments as well as their built surroundings. This composite motif enjoyed currency across Italy and is another example of the cultural affinities which southern Italians shared with their neighbours across the ex-Roman world.

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[187] This is one of four similar brooches found in graves around Crotone, Calabria: F. Cuteri, 'La Calabria nell'Alto Medioevo (VI-X sec.) in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo)* pp. 346-47, fig. 6 of 339-359; M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 41-42, fig. 45; R. Spadea, 'Crotone: problemi del territorio fra tardoantico e medioevo', *La Calabre de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age,* Atti della tavola rotonda, Roma, 1-2 dicembre 1989, *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome,* 103 (2) pp. 569-71 of 553-573.

[188] S. Hill, 'Symbols of birds in Christian art', *Suite101.com* (2006) (accessed: 19 November 2008).

The symbols are also another example of how past symbology, such as that of Roma, was reused in new contexts. Both chalice/*kantharos* and peacock must have been well-recognised symbols even if their meanings had changed to suit contemporary society. Both chalices and peacocks in an early Christian context are well-attested in the mid sixth-century mosaics at San Vitale.[189] One of the most striking examples is on a mosaic in the basilica of Probus of Classe, now the Accademia di Belle Arti, in Ravenna whose central motif is a *kantharos*-style chalice from which sprouts an abundant vine with grapes and is surmounted by a facing peacock.[190] The idea that the objects in some way reflected motifs used in architecture, such as that from Ravenna, requires closer examination and comparison. It may yet yield to a deeper understanding of the ways in which Ravenna and southern Italy were culturally connected in the sixth to the eighth centuries, of which more below.[191]

Brooches in particular have largely been considered to be in the female domain, as demonstrated with horse brooches. The presence of disc-brooches in early medieval funerary contexts has led many archaeologists to assign them as graves of women owing to their assumed use from the seventh century in the fastening of cloaks and robes. One example is the burial in grave 16 at Castel Trosino, which has been interpreted as a female on the basis of the brooch (S32, **fig. 38**), the most similar in style and workmanship to the Senise and

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[189] D. Knight, University of Southampton, *pers. comm.,* email 24 November 2008 provides the following account of peacocks and chalices in mosaics from a field visit to San Vitale, Ravenna: peacocks feature in three places: 1. on the floor (pavement mosaic) of the south-eastern most niche of the inner octagon; this with confidence is dated to the original design of the church (dedicated April 19, 548); 2. on the southern "tympanum" above the chancel entrance; the upper register of the arched southern bound of the chancel and immediately below the matroneum (balcony) ambulatory which terminates at the chancel; 3. the same as 2, on the north side; and chalices: there are several depictions of Mass being celebrated with Eucharist and chalice; at the south and north mosaics of Melchizidek [a two-handled gold chalice resembling a *kantahros*], Abraham, Moses all celebrating the Mass; Theodora holds a Chalice in the well-known mosaic of the empress and her retinue at San Vitale.

[190] R. Farioli Campanati, 'Botteghe ravennati'*,* p, 375, pl. 11 no. 2 dated to the sixth century.

[191] F. Burgarella, 'Ravenna e l'Italia meridionale e insulare' in: *Ravenna da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, pp. 119-33 of 101-133 discusses the relationship of Ravenna and southern Italy from a documentary perspective, concentrating on administration and institutions.

Metropolitan brooches (S3 and S30 respectively).[192] However, as much as it is problematic to interpret brooches as ethnic markers, it may also be just as problematic to assume gender from their presence in graves. If the Senise brooch belonged to a woman, what was it doing in a grave which also contained a seal ring with such strong connections with male insignia? Alternatively, what was a man's seal ring doing in a woman's grave? The problems with identifying the gender of the person buried with the Senise treasure will form part of the final discussion in this chapter, below.

The gender of other insignia owners, however, is less in doubt. Inscribed seal or name rings that have been interpreted as either official or personal seals, created and bestowed as insignia, form an important comparative group of objects for this study. These rings, dated to seventh-century contexts, display a particular adaptation of the figurative motif, recalling busts represented on contemporary coins. Around the engraved facing bust is a name inscription. They have principally been found mainly around Bergamo and Milan (such as in the cemetery of Trezzo sull'Adda) with one near Udine and two others further south around Chiusi (Montepulciano) and Bolsena.[193] Four of these rings are of particular comparative interest here. The first is Gumedruta ring, discussed above in relation to her depiction on the ring with diadem and *pendilia* (S20, **fig. 45**)*.* Found in Bergamo, it is the only known example to depict a woman, complete with diadem with triple pendants (possibly earrings?), patterned (silk?) robe or mantle, beholding a centrally worn disc-brooch.[194] The inscription reads:

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[192] C. La Rocca, 'I rituali funerari nella transizione dai Longobardi ai Carolingi' in: C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.) *Il futuro dei Longobardi*, pp. 50-53, p. 68 fig. 43; M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Museo dell'Alto Medioevo Roma,* p. 47 and fig. 54.

[193] The standard discussion of eight of the seal-rings found in northern and central Italy, with detailed investigations into the possible histories of the individuals is: W. Kurtze, 'Siegelringe aus Italien als Quellen zur Langobardengeschichte', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 20 (1986) 414-451; an earlier analysis of the rings, interpreted as personal seals, was made in O. von Hessen, 'Langobardische Königssiegel aus Italien, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983) 148-152.

[194] Acc. no. 1920,10-28, 2, British Museum, London; Seven of these seal and name rings from northern Italy (see table seven for comparative examples) were published in: W. Kurtze, 'Siegelringe aus Italien' but the Maurice ring was not known to the author; Gumedruta ring discussed, pp. 449-51.

GVMED/RVTA VE

The VE in this case may stand for the epithet *Virgo Egregia* (Illustrious Maiden) although there are other possibilities (see table).

The second ring is the only one with a putative southern Italian find-spot, and that is the ring of a certain *Mauricus*, also known as the 'Maurice ring', now in the Ashmolean Museum (S13, **figs. 43-44**).[195] The Maurice ring is very similar in form to the Gumedtruta ring, and also other of the seal rings above, particularly in its band, attached to the circular bezel with four gold globules (one now missing). The incised bust compares closely with those on the other male rings, particularly those of Ansuald (Trezzo sull'Adda, Milan, S23), Arichis (Palazzo Pignano, Cremona, S26) and Rodchis (Trezzo sull'Adda, Milan, S22).[196] Although degraded, it shows a facing bust with beard and moustache and centrally parted hair. He wears patterned robes and holds his left hand in front of his chest in a gesture, perhaps in affinity of rank or status. The inscription, in impression, would go anti-clockwise and reads:

ꓦ MAVꓤƆI

The initial ligature may be a bungled cross, or an abbreviation for VIL to denote the epithet *Vir Illuster* such as on the Rodchis ring.[197] Maurice could have been an official to the Beneventan duchy.

There is some evidence to suggest that while not all Roman ranks and official titles kept their original meaning by the sixth to eighth centuries, an "index of status" certainly continued to be used in early medieval Italy, both in Lombard and Byzantine administered areas.[198] Analysis shows the quality of

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[195] Acc. no. AN Fortnum 341, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; recently published, very briefly, in: W. Filmer-Sankey, 'A gold seal ring of 'Maurice' in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford' in: *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 9 (1996) 101-102; A. MacGregor, *A Summary Catalogue*, pp. 215-16.

[196] Ansuald ring: W. Kurtze, 'Siegelringe', pp. 419-21, pl. 34, 57, also A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi,* p. 104 and the book cover image on: N. Christie, *Lombards*; Arichis ring: W. Kurtze, 'Siegelringe': p. 421, pl. 34, 58; Rodchis ring: W. Kurtze, 'Siegelringe', pp. 415-19, pl. 34, 56, also A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi,* p. 104 and book cover image; the Maurice ring was not known to Kurtze.

[197] W. Filmer-Sankey, 'A gold seal ring of 'Maurice'', p. 101.

[198] T. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers,* pp. 130-31.

gold used in the Maurice ring was very high, with the bezel comprising 95.8% and the hoop 88.75%. Comparing this with the numismatic evidence from Italy, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the ring was made at a time when there were also high quantities of gold in coins, *c.*660 to *c.*690. If this ring was not awarded by an authority, Maurice may have had the ring made for himself to mark an auspicious occasion, a promotion to a new rank or even grant of territory. The representation of name, title and image combined to provide a practical as well as symbolic function. The combination was a powerful one, and one already used on funerary monuments such as *stelai*. Unlike intaglios and bracteates, these seal rings were new object creations. The identity of their patrons, and presumably wearers, was (and is) in no doubt.

The creation of, and need for, such objects suggest that they were made at a time of relative political stability and strength. The individuals shared their identities with each other (as *viri illustres* or *virgines egregie*) in life and in memory. While other titles seemed to retain a connection to an official function, the honour of the 'illustrate' seemed to be granted as a personal award to those of high rank, and in some cases such titles might also have been extended to wives, making an interesting case for the identity of Gumedruta.[199] The significance of whether such titles meant very different things under Lombard and Byzantine administrations in Italy is not, however, very clear. Once again, these objects may add to the case that (Romano-)Italian-ness was more important in constructing identities than Lombard-ness or Byzantine-ness. That the owners of these rings wished to incorporate their title into their name and image sets up an intriguing picture of the interplay between rank, office or distinction, and personal power in this period. It is difficult to tell whether the intention was to set themselves apart from either an 'old guard' or even others who were bestowed with inferior honours. Alternatively, the choice to have title, name and image immortalised in the object could have aided their closer integration into the historical hierarchies which had governed Italy. When used, the stylised impressions of these people would have been seen on official and

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[199] *Ibid.,* pp. 131-32.

private documents, giving the owner the ability to diffuse his or her image far and wide. While these rings display several 'mistakes' in their legends, the figure of the person was unmistakable, also suggesting a keener interest in iconographic, rather than written, representation. Whether they were bestowed as official seals or made as personal ones, or functioned as both, the rings have inserted these individuals into the history of their localities and regions.

It is tempting to suggest that, as the only southern Italian duke, and only one of two men not from the Bavarian 'dynasty' of seventh-century Lombard kings, Grimoald brought a somewhat different world-view to the throne. Might Grimoald or even his predecessor, Rothari (king 636-52), who after all instigated important legal reforms from 643, have instigated the creation of at least some the rings to authenticate their trusted advisers and allies, and through this, themselves?[200] The bronze incised ring from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, so similar in dimensions and form to these rings, and those with set coins, may itself have been a similarly used seal ring, albeit of lesser status and gravitas (S29). However, the significance of the metal used may indeed be more complex than simply a question of status and cost.

The question of whether the personal images were meant to be accurate representations of the individual or stylised according to a particular paradigm, and/or the ability of the craftsman, is an important one, particularly when exploring cultural identities. This is also crucial for a new understanding of the 'Castellani group' comprising the Senise earrings, the Castellani brooch and the Walters brooch, discussed below (S1, S5 and S8 respectively). Paul the Deacon's description of the appearance of early seventh-century Italian Lombards, depicted in frescoes allegedly commissioned by Queen Theodelinda (c.570-628), wife of King Agilulf (king 590-616), at their palace in Monza, is worth comparing to these representations:[201]

Ibi etiam praefata regina sibi palatium condidit, in quo aliquit et de Langobardorum	Here [Monza] Queen Theodelinda built a palace in which were painted some images of

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[200] Grimoald's predecessor, King Rothari, the other king not from the Bavarian dynasty, should not be discounted as a king who might have also bestowed some of these rings.

[201] Paul the Deacon, *History*, bk. 4, ch. 22, pp. 166-67; my translation is from the Latin version presented in: Paolo Diacono, *Storia del Longobardi,* (ed. and trans.) E. Bartolini, pp. 164-65.

gestis depingi fecit. In qua pictura manifeste ostenditur, quomodo Langobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant, vel qualis illis vestitus qualisve habitus erat. Siquidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa maxime linea, qualia Anglisaxones habere solent, hornata institis latioribus vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti et alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Postea vero coeperunt osis uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerant.

the Lombards: pictures that showed clearly how in those times the Lombards cut their hair, how they dressed and with what ornaments. So they cropped all around the forehead shaving down to the nape, while the hair was divided in two bands to hang down from a parting, across and down to the jaw-level. The clothes were loose, made mostly of linen, like those of the Anglo-Saxons, decorated with wide bands/flounces and woven in various colours. They wore shoes open up to the toe, closed by interwoven leather laces. Later, they began to wear hoses/leggings, and over these, when they went riding, breeches/spats of woolen cloth, a fashion adopted from the Romans.

If Paul had not seen these paintings himself, where did his information come from? Objects with the kind of figural representation shown on these rings may well have, at least partially, mediated the imagery on the frescoes. An alternative is that the stylised figures were part of the same 'family' of imagery which existed in the frescoes at Monza, and also echoed in the famous 'Agilulf plate'. However, by the mid-seventh century, these images were used anachronistically to allude to classic forms and readily identifiable stereotypes.[202] Although the description of the hairstyle matches those on the rings, Paul says nothing of beards and moustaches which was so characteristic of most of the male portraits on the seal rings and, of course, the very term *longobard*.[203] The cultural significance and ambiguity of personal representations on seventh-century objects, particularly the role of facial hair, in the southern Italian context, will be discussed below in the final part of this case-study.[204]

The relationship of the Senise disc-brooch and Senise ring has so far been

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[202] Acc. no. 681, Museo Nazionale del Bargello; the most recent discussion of the Agilulf plate, said to be from Valdinievole, Lucca, is in: G. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau (eds.) *I Longobardi. Dalla caduta dell'Impero all'alba dell'Italia* (Milan: Silvana, 2007), pp. 55-57, no. 1.1.15.

[203] W. Pohl, 'Telling the difference: Signs of ethnic identity' in: W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds.) *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300-800* (Leiden: Brill, 1998) pp. 56-59 discusses changes in Lombard head and facial hair as status and ethnic markers.

[204] *Ibid.,* pp. 58-59 comments on the contradictions inherent in symbolic descriptions and representations of Lombard appearance.

closely analysed against cognate objects from elsewhere in Italy (S3 and S4). The significance of the coins or die-impressions on the reverse of the Senise earrings has also been explored, resulting in a hypothesis that they are likely to have incorporated highly symbolic first gold solidi minted at Benevento (S1). The brooch, ring and earrings have also been placed into the context of their possible roles as insignia, whether personal, official or both. This case-study will therefore end with a discussion of the identity of the people that were buried with, or in some cases, had hoarded, these exceptional objects, and the political significance of this insignia in southern Italy.

The Senise burial, rich in gold, together with related objects forming the Castellani group, telescopes many of the issues of cultural exchange discussed so far. The extraordinary set of grave-goods were found at Senise, by two workmen digging the national route, contrada Lagonegro-Nova Siri (the Salsa road) in August 1915.[205] It has been surmised that the exact location was at Pantano where some other objects were also found, namely, a bronze censer, silver hand cross and gold ring. These other objects have erroneously been referred to as the 'Byzantine treasure' to differentiate it from the Senise burial's 'Lombard treasure'. However it seems more likely that these liturgical items were associated with an early medieval church near the site, and not a burial.[206] Shortly afterwards in 1916, these "gold jewels from the Barbarian period" were published in the early archaeological/antiquarian journal *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità* by Aldo De Rinaldis.[207] He described the objects (gold disc-brooch, gold Greek cross pendant, an open-work band square bezel 'rosebud' setting

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[205] M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', pp. 227-28 describes the background to the discovery and its possible location near the site of an early medieval church.

[206] The censer and cross have been little studied largely owing to the drama surrounding their discovery; the gold ring seems to be missing. The objects were originally published by P. Orsi, 'Oggetti bizantini di Senise in Basilicata' *Rivista Critica di Cultura Calabrese,* 8 (1922) 1-8. The history of their discovery and subsequent controversy is well-described in M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', pp. 227-29 and the liturgical finds with illustrations, pp. 250-54, fig. 17 (censer) 18-19 (cross); the objects are said to be split between the Museo Nazionale in Reggio Calabria (?censer) and the Museo Regionale d'Arte Medioevale e Moderna in Syracuse, Sicily (?cross).

[207] A. De Rinaldis, 'Senise – Monili d'oro di età barbarica', *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità,* 13 (1916) 329-332.

finger-ring, a seal ring with intaglio, a pair of disc-earrings and some gold fragments, **figs. 54-62**)[208] as belonging to a noble woman who was buried not in a cemetery, but on her own.[209] The objects in the burial have long received attention from scholars, in particular the unusual and unparalleled disc-pendant earrings (S1) and to a lesser extent the disc-brooch (S3) and seal ring with intaglio (S4).[210] However, the burial as a whole has not been subject to a thorough re-examination until relatively recently. Here there has been an emphasis is on synthesising fragmentary scholarship from elsewhere to bring De Rinaldis' publication of the objects as whole up to date, rather than to open new debates or interpretations.[211] While it is not the intention here to describe the historiography of these objects and related pieces, it is sufficient to raise three key issues about the importance of these objects to early medieval Italian history.

Firstly, the burial is one of the few from this period which can give some context to the role of the other gold objects in southern Italy at this time. The combination of coins incorporated into the Senise earrings with their use of cloisonné enamelling have provided a much needed chronological analogy to unprovenanced material held in museum collections, particularly those of the Castellani group. The group comprises the earrings, the Castellani brooch (from Canosa di Puglia, S5) and Walters brooch (from Comacchio, near Ravenna, S8). In addition, two sets of grave goods, known as the Benevento treasure, comprising fragments of gold ornaments, including a disc-brooch and perhaps also the Benevento brooch (S9), and the Dzialynksi treasure, found in southern Italy, possibly Basilicata, but now lost, in addition to the other singular

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[208] All objects are now held in the stores of the Museo Archeologico in Naples, and fully described in table seven, and its addition: disc-brooch (acc. no. 153621, see S3); Greek cross pendant (acc. no. 153622, see addition), an open-work band square finger-ring (acc. no. 153620, see addition), the seal ring with intaglio (acc. no. 153619, see S4), the pair of disc-earrings (acc. no. 153618, see S1) and some gold fragments (acc. no. s.n. SENISE, see addition).

[209] A. De Rinaldis, 'Senise – Monili d'oro di età barbarica', p. 331.

[210] See earring comparison table six for a selection of principal references which discuss the Senise earrings.

[211] M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', pp. 230-50.

gold objects from the South, amplify this family.[212] As with the case of the Vicenne ring, a reconstruction of their historical contexts might suggest who the Senise treasures and Castellani group were made for. Secondly, the story of the person buried with the objects, including their gender, has not been confronted with theories about the objects' roles in life, rather than assumptions made from associations with their death. Instead, genre (typology) and the location of centres of production, have taken precedence over questions of meaning and function. Thirdly, there is no adequate consensus on the identity and symbolism of the figure on the obverse of the Castellani group objects, and how this relates to a southern Italian politico-cultural context. Why in particular were these enamelled portraits made, and who are they of?

The *terminus post quem* provided by the coins integrated into the Senise earrings in relation to their close connection with a possible first gold solidus struck at Benevento during the time of King Grimoald I and Duke Romoald, in addition to the context of the Vicenne burial and finds, dates them to *c.*660 to *c.*680, perhaps stretching to c.690-700. This same period also encompassed the issuing of the highest quality gold coins in Italy, and the critical political events, discussed above. The gold content of the Senise and related objects has not been scientifically measured in the same way as the coins or Maurice ring, mentioned above, however close examination suggests that it was of a similar order, and not subject to the debasement seen in later jewellery and coins. There remains the question of the 'enamel' or cold-cut glass (*verroterie cloisonné*) comprising the central figure and frame on the earrings and what clues the use of these materials and technique might yield.

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[212] M. Rotili, *Benevento romana e longobarda. L'immagine urbana* (Benevento: Banca Sannitica, 1986) pl. 54 illustrates the high-quality gold hoop earrings, armlet and fragment of what is believed to be a disc-brooch, found in or near Benevento in the mid 1960s, now in the Museo del Sannio, Benevento; the *armilla*, appliqué cross and two hoop earrings were found in March 1927, along the Viale Principale di Napoli and not far from the ponte della Maorella, part of a cemetery, but only two contained grave-goods (possibly originally a Roman site), originally published in: A. Zazo, 'Rinvenimento di una necropoli longbarda del VII – VIII secoli', *Samnium* 1 (1928), 129-131; the Benevento brooch now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford was bought in Italy by Arthur Evans in 1889 and might have formed part of a similar grave-group to the Senise treasure; the Dzialynski treasure comprised a pair of earrings (discussed above), a disc-brooch and an gold and enameled *enkolpion* (reliquary cross) which contained another smaller cross: E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale* , pp. 21-26, cross illustrated on pl. 8a-b; A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina nell'Italia meridionale', pp. 1400-02, p. 1467.

The study of enamelling in an early medieval context has been fraught with problems, both in the identification of forgeries and then the dating of the pieces. It is also extremely problematic to distinguish the very early, late antique cloisonné enamelling technique from that displayed in pieces from later in the ninth century. These problems significantly limit the use of artistic analysis in understanding the function and historical context of such objects.[213] Devoto noted that the disc-brooches from Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra had been created using a technique where the *cloisons* (collets) were created by soldering them to the gold sheet base and inlaid with irregular glass pastes or gems, especially red garnet, and whose individual shapes were quite irregular – it is this that is often referred to as *verroterie cloisonné*.[214] This technique was also used to create the figure on the Walters brooch and Senise earrings, in addition to many of the earring inlays. In the conventional cloisonné technique the enamel is heated to fuse it in the *cloisons* themselves. The settings for glass paste and cabochons used on earrings, finger-rings and disc-brooches might have been created to fit ready-cut and polished gems and pastes rather than cut to size from the raw material, in order to avoid wastage of what must have been very scarce and precious materials. As with Burmese and Thai rubies and sapphires today, Devoto suggested that the gems might have therefore have been cut in their place of origin, imported, and then used in a workshop to create the jewellery.[215] The choice of flat garnet or paste inlay as opposed to cabochon gems might also have affected both the price and value of the piece if it is assumed that the latter required more work, weighed more and came in rarer colours.[216] However, apart from the cloisonné border or frame on the Senise earrings and ring, this theory does not work for the central figures of the Castellani group whose pieces must surely have been designed

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[213] J. Mitchell, 'An early medieval enamel' in: J. Mitchell and I. Lyse Hansen (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3,* vol. 1, p. 281; G. Haseloff, *Email im frühen Mittelalter. Frühchristliche Kunst von der Spätantike bis zu den Karolingern* (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1990) pp. 31-33.

[214] G. Devoto, 'Tecniche orafe di età longobarda'.

[215] *Ibid.*

[216] N. Adams, 'Garnet inlays', p. 173.

and cut to measure at the site of creation, making these particular pieces even more exceptional.

In addition to innovations which took place over time and was also affected by the availability of materials is the idea that the technique of enameling on gold objects was developed largely outside the Byzantine empire during the seventh and eighth centuries, and was not adopted by Byzantine goldsmiths until after the end of the period of Iconoclasm in the ninth century.[217] As a consequence, it has been suggested, the kind of figurative motifs found in the Castellani group, were not en vogue in Byzantine heartlands because there was no need for them. However, while they were not in enamel, portrait busts on decorative metalwork did exist in Byzantium at this time, although usually in repoussé or incised such as the examples of the Sambon earring, Calabria Christ earring (S6), Calabria brooch (S11) and Nocera Umbra brooch (S37). Rather than categorising the Castellani group simply with other enamels, it would be more appropriate to associate them with this broader family of objects.[218]

Nevertheless, the theory that enamel work in this period remained largely in the domain of north-western to central European artisans, at least challenges any suggestion of a Constantinopolitan or other 'Byzantine' origin for the group, and presents a good case for (southern) Italian manufacture. While there are still arguments for a mixed cloisonné and champlevé enamel belt mount, depicting a bird, from the so-called 'grave of Gisulf' in Cividale, having been made in Byzantium, could it too have been made in Italy? The Cividale ring, from the same grave, whose Italian manufacture is not doubted, corroborates this idea (S28).[219] Its mid-seventh century context might even suggest it could

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[217] This suggestion has been put forward by David Buckton, Courtauld Institute of Art, London: 'Early medieval and Byzantine enamel', unpublished paper given at a conference of the British Museum Byzantine Seminar: *Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery and Enamel*, held at the British Museum and King's College, London, 31 May 2008.

[218] Examples include the Ténès brooch with triple cross-pendants found in Algiers (S38): M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin,* 22 (1964) p. 143 fig. 1, of 142-152; and a bronze seal, reputed to have come from Constantinople (discussed below): *ibid.,* p. 149 fig. 10, p. 151.

[219] The grave of Gisulf finds including the belt mount and several fragments of gold 'thread' are well-illustrated in G. Menis (ed.) *I longobardi,* p. 470 and p. 472, no. X.191d; the material from

have been made in Cividale itself, another centre, like Benevento with a strong probability for maintaining its own goldworkers and artisans as evidenced in the high number of gold artefacts found in its graves. Also, Grimoald's own connections with Cividale meant that there was significant opportunity for cultural affinities to have evolved between this duchy and Benevento during the latter half of the seventh century.

Previous comparisons for the Castellani group, in particular the Castellani brooch's central figure, have been made with later ninth and tenth century enamels like the well-known Alfred Jewel and the Dowgate Hill brooch, which itself might have been a foreign import as it was found dockside at the Thames.[220] Comparison of the figure has also been made with eighth-century figures on the so-called altar of Ratchis and other stonework from Cividale.[221] Such comparisons problematise a broadly contemporary date for the Castellani brooch, the Senise earrings and Walters brooch. Here, there is a danger of comparing what might on the surface be close similarities, in the stylisation of the figures, with the conclusion that they might also be contemporary. This is a challenge for theories which claim mid to late-seventh century date for the brooch, but also to those who might claim a much later date in the eighth or even ninth century. A possible later eighth-century date for the Castellani brooch has also been connected with a putative origin in a Carolingian workshop.[222] However, these comparisons do not address the significance, or

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the Cividale cemeteries is discussed in: S. Lusardi Siena, *Cividale longobarda: materiali per una rilettura archeologia* (Milan: I.S.U Università cattolica, 2002); see also H. L'Orange and H. Torp, *Il tempietto longobardo di Cividale* (Rome: G. Bretschneider, 1977); for recent finds at the cemetery at Santo Stefano, I. Barbiera, 'Affari di famiglia in eta` longobarda. Aree sepolcrali e corredi nella necropoli di Santo Stefano a Cividale del Friuli'' in G. Brogiolo and A. Chavarría Arnau, *I Longobardi. Dalla caduta*, pp. 243-53.

[220] Alfred Jewel: D. Hinton, *The Alfred Jewel and other Late-Anglo-Saxon Decorated Metalwork* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2008) pp. 9-27; Dowgate Hill brooch: D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt,* p. 167, fig. 5.13; Cloisonné enamel disc-brooches, all gilded bronze, from the tenth to eleventh century are discussed in: D. Buckton, 'Late 10th- and 11th-century *cloisonné* enamel brooches', *Medieval Archaeology*, 30 (1986) 8-18.

[221] M. Conway, 'A dangerous archaeological method', *Burlington Magazine,* 23 (1913) 339-348, fig. 2.

[222] Buckton (see above) suggests that Carolingian manufacture a distinct possibility; J. Mitchell, 'Diffusione dello smalto 'cloisonné' in: C. Bertelli and G. Brogiolo (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno* (Milan: Skira, 2000) 454-463, also supports

otherwise, of the brooch's connection with its find-spot in the area of Canosa di Puglia. Unless this 'Carolingian' workshop might have been somewhere nearby, a possible centre being the monastery at San Vincenzo al Volturno some time in the later eighth century, before its destruction in the late ninth century, the historical impulse for the creation of such an object in a Frankish context ignores its clear links with other goldwork from southern Italy. In addition, why would such a brooch be created in a Carolingian context, only to end up in Canosa di Puglia?[223] This is a classic case of the problem of description meeting the problem of historical probability.

It remains to suggest, therefore, plausible historical contexts for the places associated with the insignia discussed in this chapter. What is unique about many of these pieces is their combination of coloured glass paste or enamel and bright lustrous gold. They have a similar visual effect as other objects which combined gold and coloured glass, for instance the Castel Trosino necklaces with polychrome beads and gold bracteates, themselves dated to a likely seventh-century context (S42 and S43).[224] Apart from enamel and pastes, the achievements of colour as a contemporary innovation, can also be seen in the glass beads of these necklaces, cast cameos such as the Dumbarton Oaks glass cameo (S46) and also in mosaic work such as those from Ravenna. The connection between the use of colour and gold (often interpreted as light) should be understood as a cultural vogue throughout Italy at this time, whether in purely ecclesiastical or mixed socio-political contexts, and whether embodied in a piece of jewellery or in architecture. The shared visuality of material culture at this time, therefore, could either be miniaturised in

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this hypothesis and suggests this is an early example of cloisonné enamel work dating from the seventh to the eighth century.

[223] M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', p. 243 cites Melucco Vaccaro's theory that it might have actually been found in the same area as the cemetery at Avellino, near Foggia: M. Melucco Vacarro, 'Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo', p. 12.

[224] M. Brozzi, 'Monete byzantine su collane longobarde' focuses more on the significance of the bracteates, perhaps as amulets, than on the combination of the coloured glass with the gold coins.

jewellery or scaled up in architecture: people mirroring buildings and vice versa.[225]

This suggests that several centres for high-quality gold and glasswork must have existed across Italy in the seventh and eighth centuries, but where would objects likened to insignia be created? The idea that itinerant craftsmen created such pieces does not seem likely. Unlike the creation of the inscribed penannular brooches, the techniques would have not only required a range of tools, but the manipulation of the materials would have required a dedicated workshop with the capacity to acquire the raw materials for adaptation and reuse. Ecclesiastical centres under the patronage of local nobility or royalty, therefore, could also have been manufacturers of these objects, particularly in consideration of the relationship between monastic centres, moneying and goldworking, as demonstrated in Eligius' example above.   On the basis of the numismatic evidence, and the historical possibilities of several pieces from the South, I suggest that Benevento was the strongest candidate as a producing centre, particularly against the backdrop of the probable establishment of a mint here sometime in the 660s or 670s.

The putative origin of the Benevento brooch from the city and its close relationship with the fragment in the Benevento treasure, in addition to the Maurice ring, might suggest that all these pieces were buried or hoarded near to their place of origin. Added to these, is the evidence for a strong Beneventan connection for the Vicenne ring and Senise earrings, discussed above. However, whether they were made in an ecclesiastical or monastic centre, or secular one, identifying an actual location for their production in Benevento is problematic owing to the lack of extant evidence for the presence of a significant physical centre dating to the later seventh century. Candidates might include a precursor to the later eighth-century foundation of Santa Sophia, or the ancient Roman site at what is now known as Rocca dei Rettori, fortified and overlooking the city, at the apex of the *Via Appia* and *Via Traiana*. Rocca might

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[225] J. Elsner, 'Late antique art', pp. 293-309 discusses the difference between the patronage of minature art and large-scale art, and the increase of the former over the latter in late antiquity.

have an historically greater possibility of being the centre, particularly given the context of a Benedictine monastery here.[226] In addition, the possible seventh-century foundation underneath the presbytery of the modern cathedral, could have been the site of a cathedral said to have been consecrated around 600, albeit that this may also refer to the crypt of the eighth-century construction.[227] A final possibility for a goldworking centre at Benevento could have been associated with the church of Sant'Ilario at Port'Aurea (could the name be significant?), constructed close to Trajan's Arch (now integrated into the city walls), which is believed to have its origins at some time in the late sixth or seventh century.[228]

The Senise earrings and Vicenne ring provide the best connection between the person who owned and wore the objects and an elite centre at Benevento, reducing the possibilities for their origin elsewhere in the South, namely Naples. However, as disc brooches such as the Senise brooch and rings such as the Maurice and Benevento rings have also been found in northern Italian contexts, it raises two possibilities. Firstly, that such objects, as alike as they may be on the surface, were made in several centres across Italy: Pavia, Cividale and Milan all being likely in Lombard contexts. Or alternatively, Benevento, for a time, became the epitome of a goldworking centre, particularly while high quality gold was available in the latter half of the seventh century. The single biggest problem with ascribing a Neapolitan origin to the Castellani insignia and their closely related pieces is that from a politico-cultural standpoint, it makes little sense. However, Naples' role as a mediator of ancient and classical elements, might make it a more likely centre for the production of other types of insignia such as some of the disc-earrings, of which more presently.

One might imagine that if the Byzantine emperors paid some kind of tribute to Grimoald I or Romoald and their close successors, that a significant

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[226] E. De Felice, *La Rocca dei Rettori di Benevento: rapporto tra storia e progetto,* (Naples: Sintesi, 1990). Part of the Museo del Sannio is now housed here.

[227] E. Galasso, *Langobardia minor* (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1991) p. 53 no. 37.

[228] *Ibid.,* p. 53 no. 38.1-2.

amount would have been fed to Benevento, particularly in the light of the evidence from Paul the Deacon. Paul alluded further to the inflow of gifts to Benevento (which might feasibly have been reused) by describing the fraud of Garipald, the duplicitous ambassador, for not passing on "whole and entire" the gifts bestowed on the duchy of Benevento during Grimoald's reign.[229] The problem of ascertaining where Benevento acquired its expertise in goldworking and enamelling is just as challenging, particularly as the city had not always been at the centre of the province of ancient Samnium and so cannot claim the same kind of artisanal longevity as Naples.[230] Several possibilities include the use of craftsmen from better established centres, with Naples being the obvious example. Craftsmen and designers were perhaps enticed away with better pay, conditions, projects and kudos. Another possibility is that the craftsmen migrated to Italy, either from Byzantine heartlands or even northern Europe where enamel working on gold was well-established.[231] Benevento's pre-eminence in this period might not just have been within Italy, but was likely to have enjoyed a high profile abroad. Apart from the insignia found in the Senise burial, the Vicenne finds and the Benevento treasure, some other pieces found elsewhere in southern Italy now require their origins to be investigated. Principally, these comprise the remaining disc-brooches with triple pendants such as compared with the Benevento brooch discussed above.

First is the Capua brooch, now housed in Paris (S10, **fig. 52**). The gold, open-work and repoussé brooch retains three long sub-pendants on chains, terminated with amethysts or jacinths. Around the disc's border are inlaid garnets, in the manner of cloisonné enamels. This brooch's central figure is the most diverse of the others with its main motif being a griffon catching a four-legged animal, perhaps a lion or even a bull. While this imagery is not shared in other known jewellery from Italy, a comparison has been made to contemporary

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[229] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 4, ch. 51, p. 207.

[230] G. De Benedittis, 'Crisi e rinascità. Il VII secolo d.C. Introduzione' in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro, (eds.), *Samnium,* pp. 325-26.

[231] J. Bayley (ed.) *The Art of the Medieval Goldsmith,* special issue of the *Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society*, 40 (part 1) (2006).

imagery from Persia.[232] The workmanship of this brooch too, has been set apart from the other pieces of insignia with stronger Beneventan connections. The suggestion that Capua itself was its place of manufacture, and further that this formed part of a Byzantine-Campanian school of art, as distinct from a Beneventan school, compels examination.[233] While the variation in this type of insignia (unique triple-pendanted disc-brooches) is not in doubt, and another centre for manufacture is possible, its uniqueness in itself might not be enough to suggest that it was made in a completely different context to the others. It is also feasible that goldsmiths worked to several different artistic traditions, and used various talents and techniques to fulfil the desires of their patrons.

The fluidity of movement and cultural exchange between Persia, Byzantium, Sicily and Italy indicates that this object could have been a product of very particular political and cultural circumstances. First taking into account its immediate historical context, a link with Grimoald and Benevento arises again. Another of Grimoald and Romoald's allies was Count Transemund of Capua to whom they were not only indebted militarily, as described by Paul the Deacon above, but with whom a family bond was shared through the gift in marriage of one of Grimoald's daughters into the Capuan family. Could such insignia have sealed the royal connection between the two families? Or perhaps it was bestowed to Transemund following Grimoald's gift to him of the duchy of Spoleto? Whoever commissioned this brooch must also have had some notion of the importance of the symbols. The griffon was used since antiquity, and possibly earlier, as a symbol of divine power. Its currency stretched across European and the Mediterranean worlds and their environs, meaning different things in different places and times. If it is a griffon depicted in the intaglio of the Senise ring, this may also attest to an early or revived interest in griffon imagery in southern Italy. The griffon has associations with monogamous marriage (as griffons are said to take one mate and then remain alone after the death of their partner), as a representation of Christ, half man,

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[232] Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina nell'Italia meridionale', p. 1403, suggests affinity with Iranian visual culture.

[233] *Ibid.*

half divine,[234] and the myth of Alexander the Great's heavenly flight with griffons during his eastward conquest.[235] Legends surrounding Alexander the Great were certainly well-known by the eleventh and twelfth centuries in southern Italy as elsewhere, as embodied most dramatically in the pavement mosaic at Otranto – where the griffon is also depicted, but this time in association with King Arthur – and so it might have been much earlier too.[236]

The suggestion that the motif might have had parallels in contemporary Persian culture is intriguing. Indeed, apart from the epics of Alexander the Great, other stories about Persians were known in Paul the Deacon's time. In an interlude, the historian described how the wife of the Persian king (*c.*640-50), called Cesara, departed Persia in private dress with her followers and came to Constantinople to convert to Christianity (she would have been a Zoroastrian at the time). Cesara was received by the emperor and obtained baptism by being raised from font by the empress. Ambassadors tried to persuade her to return, but Cesara refused saying she would only do so if the emperor also converted to Christianity, who by this time, had come to collect her. The king (emperor), apparently Khosrow II (590-628), then decided to come peacefully with an army, was also baptised, and finally they all returned to Persia together.[237] Wherever this story came from, it was certainly well-known enough for Paul to be able to repeat it from his seat at Montecassino, even though by his time, the Muslim Arab invasion of Persia had been complete for some time.[238] Was Persian

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[234] The best known Italian reference to this is in Dante's Comedy, ch. 29, 'The earthly paradise'.

[235] C. Settis-Frugoni, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem: origine, iconografia e fortuna di una tema* (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio Evo, 1973) discusses this legend in Byzantine, Russian and medieval contexts up to the later Middle Ages; for the western medieval context, G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (New York: Garland, 1987).

[236] G. Gianfreda, *Il mosaico pavimentale della basilica cattedrale di Otranto,* 2nd ed. (Frosinone: Abbazia di Casamari, 1965); on the romance of Alexander in southern Italy, D. Castrizio, 'Lo sbarco di Alessandro a Reggio nel "Romanzo di Alessandro" (Ps. Callisth LI, 29)', in: *Calabria bizantina. Il territorio grecanico da Leucoperta a Capo Bruzzano* (Catanzaro: Rubbettino, 1995) 187-188.

[237] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 4, ch. 50, pp. 203-4.

[238] A variation on this event also seems to be somewhat echoed in the unlikely place of a plaque on an eleventh century French cross showing Khosrow II submitting to Heraclius; found in the valley of the Meuse acc. no. MRR 245, Musee du Louvre, Paris, France.

imagery as well, therefore, understood and repeated in small contexts such as this brooch? If, as Lipinksy asserts, this piece came from a different artistic school to the Castellani group and similar objects, it could have been commissioned and made in Capua itself. Rather than the triple-pendant brooch being bestowed directly, perhaps it was the honour that was given, the right to create and bear a triple-pendanted disc-brooch, to be then created in an artistic tradition that was more to the taste of a ruler of (ancient) Capua, than to a ruler of (new) Benevento.

Furthermore, Capua, unlike Benevento, had a much longer ancient history as an important political and ecclesiastical centre in Campania, particularly based at what is now known as Santa Maria Capua Vetere. Perhaps both the awareness of this deeper history, in addition to longer-established cultural links with the heritage of Rome and Byzantium, resulted in the creation of this distinctive brooch, employing the distinctive technique of *opus interassile* and repoussé, used in contemporary objects from Byzantine heartlands, as demonstrated in the Tyler pendant and Dumbarton Oaks seal discussed above (S40 and S41 respectively).[239] The use of imagery with likely religious, parable-like, symbolism also suggests it might have been borne out of a subtly different cultural milieu to those which used a figural bust. Nevertheless, the incorporation of the cloisonné enamel border with triangular and rectangular collets, echoes the decoration on the robes of the figure on the Castellani brooch. Together with the amethyst terminated sub-pendants, might this represent a desire to share some affinity with Beneventan craft, while creating something that was distinctly Capuan? Therefore, while its iconography was notably different, its function was largely the same as that of the other insignia.

The Walters brooch, apparently found in Comacchio, not far from Ravenna, broadens the geographic scope of these objects further (S8, **figs. 50-**

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[239] The *opus interassile* technque is found in one gold earring of tear-drop shape, from Naples (see table six, E75). Another gold earring from Constantinople is strikingly similar, with particular similarity in shape and motifs as the southern Italian example: M. Ross, *Catalogue of Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1962) no. 61; see also, 'Some Longobard insignia', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin,* 22 (1964) p. 149 fig. 11 and p. 151 of 142-152.

51). As with the Castellani and Benevento brooches, there is little information on its exact provenance apart from its reported find-spot when purchased for the collection of Henry Walters.[240] Its connections with cognate objects can be illustrated firstly by the enamelled portrait in *verroterie cloisonné*, recalling most of all, those of the Senise earrings, but also that of the Castellani brooch. Second are its three suspension loops, attached to the obverse plate which most closely resemble those on the Castellani and Gutman brooches (Gutman brooch S36, **fig. 53**).[241] Third are the fixtures for the string of pearls, also found on the Senise earrings, other disc-pendant earrings, the Castellani brooch and the Gutman brooch. Finally, is the braided border which is so characteristic of the other insignia associated with Benevento, such as the brooch, the Vicenne and Senise rings. Unlike the other triple-pendanted brooches, the Walters brooch comprises a ring of repoussé domes, more reminiscent of decorative disc brooches which do not have any figurative representation; however, such domes are found on two of the disc-brooches with intaglios from Castel Trosino (S34 and S35). The brooch's affinities with those objects associated with a Beneventan context therefore, must be reconciled with its putative find-spot in Comacchio.

Information about later seventh-century Comacchio is fragmentary, notwithstanding new data that is being revealed by recent excavations of the medieval port, supporting documentary evidence of its economy, particularly in salt.[242] Its physical and political situation lay between the Lombard kingdom and the Exarchate of Ravenna. Both Byzantine Ravennati and Lombard leaders, therefore, may have courted the city, at this time. By 715 or 730, King

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[240] Acc. no. 44.255. Very scant information is noted about this object and even a date for its accession to the collections is not known.

[241] Gutman brooch: 'Catalogue of the Melvin Gutman collection of ancient and medieval gold', *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin,* 18 (2,3) (1961), pp. 237-38; M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', p. 145, fig. 5; E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale,* p. 73, pl. 6.a.

[242] I have not had the opportunity to analyse data from excavations at the port of Comacchio over the last few years, partly published in: D. Calaon, S. Gelichi, *et al.,* 'Comacchio tra IV e X secolo: territorio, abitato e infrastrutture' in: R. Francovich and M. Valenti (eds.) *IV Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale.* Scriptorium dell'Abbazia, Abbazia di San Galgano (Chiusdino - Siena), 26-30 settembre 2006 (Florence: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2006) pp. 114-123.

Liutprand was making a trade treaty directly with the citizens of Comacchio.[243] The Lombard kings from the time of Grimoald recognised the strategic importance of Comacchio, situated as it is in the delta of the Po, allowing traffic to flow from the Adriatic into Lombard territories.[244] With the relative political stability hailed by the treaty of 680, which recognised Lombard sovereignty in Italy, local tensions at frontiers would have still been present regardless of the symbolic importance of this event, not least, in a place like Comacchio whose resources would presumably have been desired by many in both territories.[245] Could the gift of the Walters brooch — making the assumption that its arrival in Comacchio was contemporary with its creation — have been an attempt by the Lombard king to reinforce the message of the treaty to his allies on the edges of the kingdom, or even given as part of overtures to court favourable terms for trade and access, later to be built upon by Liutprand?

Another politically liminal place is suggested by the find-spot of the Castellani brooch, at Canosa di Puglia (S5, **figs. 48-49**).[246] Canosa, like Comacchio, was part of a contested territory by the mid-seventh century. In its own right, the city continued to be religiously and politically important since Bishop Sabinus' (514–566) foundation of the see here, and its later conquest by the Lombards among other territories in Puglia.[247] An early Christian basilica, dating to the sixth to the seventh century has also been uncovered at the hill of San Pietro, together with the tomb of a man with several wounds and injuries,

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[243] E. Zanini, *Le Italie bizantine: territorio, insediamenti ed economia nella provincia bizantina d'Italia, VI-VIII secolo* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1998) pp. 330-31; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) p. 732.

[244] C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy,* p. 76 – Lombard references to inhabitants of Comacchio as *milites*; importance for trade (especially in salt) pp. 88-90.

[245] P. Delogu, 'La fine del mondo antico e l'inizio del medioevo: nuovi dati per un vecchio problema' in: R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds.) *La Storia dell'alto medioevo italiano (VI-X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia,* p. 20-21 of 7-23 discusses the relative effect of the treaty on political stability.

[246] Acc. no. 1865,7-12,1, British Museum, London.

[247] Paul the Deacon*, History*, bk. 5, ch. 7, p. 219, Constans II took Luceria but was not able to take Agerentia (Acerenza) as it was well-fortified; was Canosa able to defend itself with the aid of Lombard forces? C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', p. 910.

sustained in combat.[248] Could he have been part of the forces defending

Canosa? This foundation may also have been associated with the court at

Benevento. Canosa was also strategically important, particularly at the point

where the *Via Traiana* crossed the Ofanto river via the Roman bridge.[249]

Important access was also provided by this route up to Benevento, and from

here, the main route north led to San Vincenzo al Volturno. In addition, its

proximity to the cult site of Monte Sant'Angelo, discussed in chapter two, cannot

be ignored in the context of a Beneventan government wishing to retain good

ties with local leaders. It has even been suggested that the depiction on the

brooch was meant to be the Archangel Michael and that the brooch might have

been given to the bishop of Canosa by Theoderada, wife of Romoald I, who

was alleged, according to the writer of the ninth-century *Vita Sabini,* to have

encouraged the Lombard conversion to Catholicism through her own

conversion, assisted by Barbato, the bishop of Benevento.[250] Later, the *Vita*

describes how Theoderada organised for Sabinus's body to be interred in a

memorial next to the basilica. Where the ninth-century hagiographer obtained

these stories about Theoderada and Romoald is unclear. However, it is

suggestive of a strong connection between Benevento and Canosa that was

remembered at least three hundred years later.

　　Turning now to the brooch itself, the Castellani brooch is the most

distinctive of the group. The portrait of the facing bust comprises more detail

than the Walters brooch and the Senise earrings. However the same

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[248] S. Sublimi Saponetti *et al.,* 'A case of decapitation in Canosa, South Italy (5th–6th century a.d.), *Forensic Science International*, 176 (2), 11-16.

[249] Paul the Deacon, *History,* bk. 2, ch. 21, p. 76 describes *Canusium* as one of the cities captured by the Lombards under Alboin in the sixth century. J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille di VIe au XIIe siècle,* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1993), p. 122 states that the point where the Ofanto was navigable to Canosa also marked the boundary between ancient *Daunia* and *Peucetia* (corresponding roughly to northern and cenral Puglia respectively*.*

[250] M. Falla Castelfranchi, 'Canosa dale origini cristiane all'invasione saracena (secoli VI-IX)' in: G. Bertelli and M. Falla Castelfranchi*, Canosa di puglia fra Tardoantico e Medioevo* (Rome, 1981) cited in M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', p. 246 n. 137 suggested the association with the Archangel Michael and the context of the *Vita Sabini* which is also then discussed in: C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', p. 910; the relevant passage of the *Vita Sabini* can be found in: *Historia vitae inventionis translationis S. Sabini episcopi,* in: *Acta Santorum Februarii,* II, 327.

expression, the centrally parted hair and the diadem with *pendilia* or disc-earrings, appear also on this portrait. The marked differences include the use of polychrome glass paste for the cloisonné enamel work, more clearly using traditional cloisonné fusion as opposed to cold-cut paste. The additional circular frame of cloisonné enamel, formed of red-pink circles, each framing a diamond or four-pointed star, which were in turn filled with green enamel against a white ground, sets this brooch most apart from the other high-quality gold jewellery from the later seventh century. They may, like so many other motifs, be reflective of architectural details of the time, maybe even those at the cathedral in Canosa. The stylised 'cypress tree' shape elements in the field might also have reflected symbolism embodied in contemporary architecture. The quality of the gold, the two rows of fixtures for strings of pearls and the beaded edge, however, betray the very close similarities with the Walters brooch and Senise earrings. If the brooch was not given by, for example, Theodorada and Romoald I to the bishop of Canosa on account of their conversion to Catholicism, perhaps it was given to a *gastald* or other leader of Canosa, either by Romoald or Grimoald, as another ally of a frontier city on the edges of the kingdom.

There remains the issue of whether Benevento also produced this brooch, or whether there were other historically probable scenarios for its creation. As mentioned above, the comparison of the enamel portrait with others from a later period has also led to the dating of the brooch being put forward into the eighth or ninth century. The political and cultural contexts of all the previously discussed insignia, strengthen my belief that the Castellani brooch was also part of the later seventh-century developments in goldwork in southern Italy. However, given the contradictory interpretations of this piece, it is worth examining the historical contexts behind these so they may be dismissed altogether. Discounting the probability that the Carolingian court in Frankia, some time in the later eighth century, created such a thing, what of the possibility that it came from an Italo-Carolingian context at San Vincenzo al

Volturno, another place well-studied for its own cuspal existence between Carolingian and southern Italian Lombard worlds?[251]

The main route from Canosa di Puglia to San Vincenzo meets at Benevento which must have brought people from both places together here, over a long period of time. It was Gisulf II's patronage of San Vincenzo which first drew the place into the duchy, later to be built upon by Arechis II (774-787) in the mid-eighth century.[252] In spite of simultaneous Carolingian patronage of San Vincenzo from the last quarter of the eighth century, its own artistic productions seemed to remain largely independent of Frankish influences.[253] Fragments of a gilded bronze plaque with cloisonné enamel with surviving motif of an eight-petaled flower resembling a daisy, made against an Egyptian blue ground, was found in multiple contexts during excavations. A date of the third quarter of the ninth century has been proposed for its manufacture, just prior the Saracen destruction in 881, and may have even formed part of a hoard.[254] If, as has been suggested, this object was a successor to a tradition of earlier Italian cloisonné enamelling, such as the possibly mid-seventh century gold mount found in the so-called 'grave of Gisulf', could the Castellani brooch be evidence of earlier enamel work from the mid-eighth century at San Vincenzo, perhaps patronised by Arichis II himself? If so, some reconciliation still needs to be made with the Senise earrings and Walters brooch, in addition to their related pieces.

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[251] See for example, G. West, 'Charlemagne's involvement in central and southern Italy: power and the limits of authority', *Early Medieval Europe,* 8 (3) 1999, 341-367; P. Delogu, 'Lombard and Carolingian Italy' in: R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 290-319; the excavations up to 1986 are published in: R. Hodges *et al.* (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno. The 1980-86 Excavations,* 2 vols. (London: British School at Rome, 1993-1995) and the finds are published and illustrated in: J. Mitchell and I. Lyse Hansen (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3: The Finds from the 1980-86 Excavations,* 2 vols. (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2001); thereafter, in articles regularly published in *Archeologia medievale* and *Quaderni medievali .*

[252] G. West, 'Charlemagne's involvement in central and southern Italy', p. 355.

[253] J. Mitchell, 'An early medieval enamel' in: J. Mitchell and I. Lyse Hansen (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3,* vol. 1, p. 282 and vol. 2, pp. 255-57 figs. 8.1-8.4, colour plates 8.1-8.2.

[254] *Ibid.,* p. 279.

The only historically possible scenario in this case, would have been that the Castellani brooch represented an object commemorative of earlier Lombard heritage and was made in the eighth century from a now lost prototype or design. If the Senise earrings and Walters brooch attest to early gold and enamel work from Benevento, does the Castellani brooch attest to its continuation at San Vincenzo? If so, what was this brooch made for? By the latter half of the eighth century, the Lombard kingdom and duchies were living in a political culture in such marked contrast to that of the later seventh century that the purpose of commissioning such a piece from the *atelier* at San Vincenzo is either obscured or incorrect, even if the hypothetical recipient may have still been a *gastald* of Canosa di Puglia. Another recipient of insignia might also have been the bishop of Canosa who was supported by Arichis to rebuild the old cathedral of San Sabino and rededicate it to Sts. John and Paul (SS. Giovanni e Paolo).[255] However, a later eighth century date for the establishment of any decorative metal and glass-working at San Vincenzo is not supported by the archaeology which indicates a date around 800 for the monastery's conversion from a small settlement, to a monastic citadel, and therefore the earliest time a significant workshop might be established.[256] The precious metal jewellery dated to preceding centuries (fifth to seventh), all in silver and not gold, date from San Vincenzo's late antique phase as a *villa rustica,* and early monastery with associated cemetery. These objects do not form part of the decorative finds from much later phases, such as the daisy plaque, which represent the monastery's establishment and expansion.[257] If the Castellani brooch was made here, reusing a much older prototype known to the Beneventan court, it cannot have happened before about 800 at the earliest, by which date a culturally Italo-Lombard impulse for its creation, for example, under Arichis II (774-787), had passed, whether at San Vincenzo or even Benevento. If Arichis had commissioned this object from a Beneventan workshop, it might

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[255] C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', p. 911.

[256] J. Mitchell and I. Lyse Hansen (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3,* vol. 1, p. 1.

[257] P. Filippucci, 'Artifacts in silver and copper alloy', in: J. Mitchell and I. Lyse Hansen (eds.) *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3,* vol. 1, pp. 329-32, and related illustrations in vol. 2.

just have been feasible that this was done to invoke legitimacy and authenticity from ancestral times. Using such an object to recall the deeds of Grimoald I and Romoald I might have helped to stabilise the Beneventan duchy (as a principality) at a politically sensitive time for the Lombard government in the south, following the loss of the northern kingdom to Charlemagne.

The possibility that Montecassino, the other major monastic centre in southern Italy, might have produced such objects as the Castellani brooch, seems an even less likely prospect as it was largely abandoned from the late sixth to the early eighth century. Paul the Deacon was at his seat at the monastery in the later eighth century and would surely have commented on such artisanal activity occurring here.[258] The main problem with pushing the Castellani brooch's date further forward results in an even more unlikely historical framework for its creation, not least that the production of enamel on gold had, by the ninth century largely ceased, with the much more common use of bronze or gilded bronze, as also in the example of the daisy plaque described above. Even gold coin issues from Benevento during Arichis II's reign were only made with 50% pure gold, significantly lowering the likelihood for high-carat gold jewellery production at this time.[259] Finally, while Canosa di Puglia and San Vincenzo al Volturno continued to pivot their axes at Benevento during the eighth and ninth centuries, the reasons for the production of such an object at San Vincenzo or at Benevento diminish still further.

Finally, the Senise burial needs to be re-examined to ascertain its own place-related political context and who the recipient of this most outstanding set of insignia was. The burial has, from its discovery always been assumed to be that of a woman, "nobile donna." However, if such authoritative insignia, particularly the seal rings and disc-brooches with triple-pendants, are assumed to have been bestowed on men, was the person buried at Senise in fact a noble man? The location of the burial is certainly problematic as it did not seem to be

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[258] H. Bloch, *Montecassino in the Middle Ages,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986) illustrates some of the finds from excavations but none contribute to an understanding that this was a significant place of artisanal production in the same way as San Vincenzo.

[259] P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage,* p. 72.

in the context of a cemetery and not much archaeology has been undertaken in the area since its discovery. De Rinaldis' description of it being a lone burial may have to suffice for now. The possibility that some liturgical objects found near the burial were from an early medieval church based at Pantano, among the hills of Senise, might suggest that there was some kind of settlement here in the seventh century or earlier. The location of the burial was in a wooded area at Pantano, parallel to the left bank of the river Sinni, a little below its confluence with the tributary of S. Arcangelo.[260] The significance of the forests in Calabria and parts of Basilicata are well attested to in contemporary sources for their importance in providing timber for churches, houses, castles and for the building of ships.[261] There were also considerable papal estates in Calabria which were crucial to provide raw materials to Rome and presumably for trade. The outrage at the imperial confiscation and reduction of papal patrimonies in Calabria and Sicily during Pope Gregory II's (715-731) reign is testament to their importance to both parties.[262] If the person buried with the Senise treasure was in fact a local lord who had some ownership or custodianship over these valuable forests, his importance to the Beneventan duchy would have been incalculable, especially if so much of the forests were still in imperial and/or papal hands at this time. A reward therefore of insignia from the Lombard king or Beneventan duke, to a person who oversaw frontier lands, would not be unlikely. In this

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[260] In addition to the references to Corrado's discussion of the discovery, is this one on ascertaining the location based on archives in the Soprintendenza Archeologico at Reggio di Calabria: C. Rescigno, 'Le colline di Senise. Il territorio tra la fiumarella S. Arcangelo e il fosso Bomberto' in: L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds.) *Carta archeologica della valle del Sinni. Fascicolo 4: Zona di Senise* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 2001) pp. 46-47 of 11-223.

[261] Much of this ancient forest is now submerged under an artificial lake precluding the chance of future archaeology unless it were to be drained. The letters of Gregory the Great speak of Calabrian timber (*Ep. 12. 20-22*) and the life of Pope Gregory II (715-31) mentioned the use of timber from Calabria to rebuild the roof-beams of St Paul's (San Paolo fuori le Mura) (*Liber Pontificalis,* translated in: *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes,* (trans.) R. Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), Gregory II, 91.ii, pp. 3-4; on the development of navies, especially Byantine and Muslim, S. Cosentino, 'Constans II and the Byzantine navy in the seventh century', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 100 (2) (2007) 577-603.

[262] T. Brown, 'The church of Ravenna and the imperial administration in the seventh century', *English Historical Review*, 94 (370) (1979) p. 3 of 1-28; 'M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300 – 900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 620 n. 12 discuss this event and the effect on papal-imperial relations; see also the life of Gregory II in: *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes,* pp. 95-96 and Theophanes, *s.a.* 6221 (732-733) p. 101.

case, these frontier lands provided arguably the most important raw material to the duchy, the kingdom, and for lucrative long-distance trade. As at Comacchio, merchants and controllers of raw materials were as central to a governing elite as soldiers and bishops.

Case-study three: The heritage and function of insignia

The discussions so far have concentrated on identifying objects which were used as insignia, and sought to establish the historical basis for their creation. What has emerged is that the idea insignia could work in one of two ways. On the one hand, insignia which reused antique figurative elements such as intaglios and bracteates, or else were using classic frameworks for new creations, such as the incised seal and name rings, connected the present to a shared cultural past drawn from the Italian peninsula. Here the two-dimensional oppositions of Byzantine and Lombard, or Roman and non-Roman are false ones. These may be termed commemorative insignia. On the other hand, are objects which were arguably, overtly political in motivation, such as the triple-pendanted disc-brooches, the Senise earrings and Vicenne ring. These objects may be termed authoritative insignia. This chapter therefore ends with a discussion of how both types of insignia functioned and what choices were made to create them, particularly in relation to their political and cultural contexts.

The most striking example of the reuse of older, or antique, coins is the Naples earring (S12). By incorporating 'history' into a personal ornament, such as this ancient coin, the wearer was in some way invoking stories associated with it. It is also indicative of an object's function as a memory holder. If the earring's Oscan denarius was honouring the legend associated with C. Papius Mutilus and his deeds in southern Italy, whether created in an Italo-Byzantine milieu at Naples, or an Italo-Lombard one at Benevento, both had the potential to share an affinity with this 'local' hero. The disc-earring found near Bolsena, and now in the Bargello in Florence, could have performed a similar function (S21). The obvious historical connection to the coin or medallion was its

association with Justinian I's reconquest of Italy. The inscription, χαρις Θεον ('thanks to God') also suggests its original role was as a commemorative medallion commemorating the Justinianic reconquest of Africa, *c.*535.[263] The reason someone may have wished to remember this event may be better understood by an axiom that cultural exchange between present and present enabled history to be remembered, and that history, or its heritage, drove the cultural mores of a local society. Both objects and texts enabled these reciprocal processes to continue in different ways.

Overall, Justinian's reconquest of Italy was significant to the fortunes of most Italians regardless of their ethnicity or allegiance. However, someone with a more long-standing connection to the Italian peninsula, to whom stories of previous Roman-era ancestors had been recounted for generations, might have had more reason to create such an object, than, say, descendents of more recent Lombard migrants, as the case of the Naples earring. Other examples from southern Italy include the disc-brooch incorporating a solidus of Emperor Zeno (474-491) (S14). What did this signify to the person buried with it at San Severo in Canosa di Puglia? This emperor's reign saw the final break-up of the Western Roman Empire. Like the Reconquest, this event's story would have been understood by almost all living in Italy and passed on and down through generations. This coin, worn in life and death, therefore, was a stimulus to remember.

A good stylistic comparison to the Zeno brooch is the Udine ring with its plainly-set solidus of Constantine IV (S27). Unlike the previous examples whose associations are more historic, the Udine ring presents contemporary elements both in the style of the ring, and the age of the coin, and was quite possibly made in the lifetime of the coin itself, some time between 670 and 680. The reign of Constantine IV was significant for Italians primarily for the political settlement that was reached *c.*680 between the empire and the Lombard kingdom, as discussed above. Its significance therefore as a commemorative piece is not in doubt, and given its local context, suggests it might well have

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[263] C. Diehl*, Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VIe siècle* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1901).

been a ring commissioned by a supporter of the Lombard elite in the duchy of Friuli, and may even have been made at Cividale. This comparative example points again to the kind of affinities that were shared between north and south in this period. The Trezzo sull'Adda gold sheet cross (appliqué) with an impression of a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (613–631) demonstrates another type of object which could have had a similarly commemorative function, albeit that this object was probably commissioned specifically for the funeral and consignment of the deceased (S25).[264] It is also possible that the coin used to create the impression was kept by the family of the deceased to remember him by.

 Both the Vicenne ring (S15) and the Senise earrings (S1) also incorporated contemporary coins. However, apart from their functions as authoritative insignia, they may also be considered commemorative. The coins incorporated in both were deeply representative of a marked change in the way Italy was viewed by others, and in the way it perceived itself, at least politically. The ring and the earrings demonstrate the desire to use objects to turn the intangible into the tangible.

The social and cultural interplay signalled by these objects suggests that the motives for creating such jewellery were not merely decorative, or simply driven by fashion, nor can their study be confined to that of 'art'. They indicate that those who commissioned, or otherwise created them, were politically aware and used personal ornaments (and garments) to weave their own identities into a greater sensation of historicity provided by these objects.

The combination of an old element in a new setting might have had particular significance on the occasion of birth, marriage, or another auspicious occasion such as a promotion. The insignia which invoked auspicious events might have been used as a talisman, and considered desirable for a suitably propitiate start to marriage or a new project. The Sambon earring (S11) and Calabria disc brooch (S17) with their composite symbology of peacocks and *kantharos,* together with the Calabria earring with its impression of Christ or a

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[264] A. Melucco Vacarro, *I Longobardi,* pp 104-5; all Trezzo sull'Adda excavations published in: E. Roffia (ed.) *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda.*

saint (S6), indicate that the use of 'medallions' associated with religious and folk beliefs, in addition to coins, were also important elements in the cultural repertoires of patrons and artisans. While historians tend to seek evidence for political, religious and economic consciousness in charters and chronicles, or castles and churches, the examination of these objects indicate that they too should be considered alongside these sources to form a more holistic picture.

The suggestion that disc-pendant earrings, disc-brooches with carved gems and seal rings continued an Italo-Roman tradition of precious metalwork forms, leads to the question of the special case of the triple-pendanted brooches, and the reason for their use as authoritative insignia. Marvin Ross noted that Byzantine emperors and empresses, from the period of Constantine the Great up to the tenth century used disc-brooches with three sub-pendants, worn on the shoulder, as part of their insignia.[265] In the context of Schmauder's theory on *kaiserfibeln,* they might also be classed as objects created by 'barbaric imitation'. Procopius described the insignia bestowed by the Byzantine emperor on the Armenian satraps as a gold brooch which fastened their cloaks, in the middle of which was set a precious stone, and from this brooch, hung three sapphires from chains.[266] The stone is not described in any detail but a possibility is that it referred to intaglios or cameos present in several of the Italian examples, for instance, the Benevento brooch (S9). Therefore, amplifying the five disc-brooches with fixtures for triple pendants *might* be the disc-brooches with carved gems, including the Senise disc brooch (S3). There is a suggestion that these might also once have had suspension loops for triple pendants.[267] This would largely rely on the examples from Senise and Castel Trosino having suspension loops soldered to their back-plates (all now missing) as in the Benevento brooch, and not attached to the gold sheet of the obverse disc as with the Castellani (S5), Walters (S8) and Gutman brooches (S36).

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[265] M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', p. 142. He compared imagery on imperial coins, mosaics and medallions.

[266] Procopius, *Buildings,* (ed. and trans.) H. Dewing (Cambridge: Loeb Classical Library, 1940), bk. 3, ch. 7, pp. 183-85.

[267] K. Reynolds Brown, *Migration Art*, pp. 34-35.

Procopius also describes the Armenian satraps' garments, which, it must be remembered, formed an essential part of the context in which authoritative insignia was, and should now be seen, much like a modern city mayor's robes with the chains and badge. While there are no adequate descriptions for seventh-century ceremonial wear in Italy, vestments must have played as significant a role as the ornaments in conveying messages of identity, power and authority.

If, therefore, Byzantine emperors were bestowing this kind of insignia to their client leaders in the sixth century, why would a Lombard king have used a similar object for his subjects? A reason may be found in the discussions above on the reuse of antique or traditional elements and the assumption of older, Roman titles, not as emulation but as signs of purposeful continuity in a local, Italian context. The form of the disc-brooch with triple pendants was undoubtedly, and overtly, associated with royal authority and dignity. The Ravenna mosaics are testament to this and those who viewed them would have understood the import of much of the symbology represented in the imagery. After Constans II and Constantine IV's defeat, and the subsequent treaty of recognition in *c.*680, it would have been crucial for Grimoald as king, to both assert his personal authority and provide assurances to his key allies across Italy, particularly at frontiers. As the victors, Grimoald and his allies would have used this as an opportunity to *look* like Italy's leaders as well. This was as much about their own identity as Italian rulers, as a desire to in some way authenticate their sovereignty, particularly in the absence of such authentication from a temporal (and spiritual) peer, such as the pope.

Therefore, rather than interpreting these objects as *imitatio imperii,* they ought to be seen as devices which were used intelligently, as part of a new strategy to exhibit their roles as Italy's new masters. The decision to use the traditional form of the brooch with triple-pendants, widely recognised across all political and cultural boundaries in Italy, was made with a serious regard to Italian political heritage. If it was the king's right to bear and bestow triple-pendanted disc-brooches to their fellow leaders, it might be feasible that the seal rings, and even disc-earrings (or *pendilia*) formed a second tier of insignia

bestowed by the dukes of the kingdom to their *fideles,* as can be demonstrated with the example of the Vicenne ring. What is more difficult to ascertain is what the king's own insignia comprised, surely a disc-brooch with triple pendants, but what else, and how were they worn? What is clear, however, is that the right to bear such insignia was certainly given as a royal prerogative, at least in the seventh century.[268]

The issue of variation within the group, such as demonstrated in particular with the Capua brooch, is testament to the object's status as an exceptional piece of insignia. Each recipient would have wished to compose their insignia on the basis of individual taste, informed by local mores and community, or peer-group, identity. As historical sources, these objects can be viewed as politically-motivated and culturally telling. It would be appropriate therefore to consider them as Italo-Lombard as opposed to simply Lombard insignia. They may also be understood as at least part of the basis for later cultural and artistic developments in the eighth century, which today have remained more visible to historians, particularly those evidenced under Arichis II of Benevento.

A final conundrum remains with the authoritative insignia of the Castellani group. While the forms of the disc-brooches and earrings were traditional, the enamel work heralded a new innovation in Italy. There has not been much attempt at deciphering the identity of the bust on the enamel, with the exception of a general consensus which suggests that all three versions are female.[269] Based on modern expectations of what a stylised female head might look like, possibly also wearing earrings, and also considering its lack of comparisons, it is easy to see why this assumption has prevailed. The figure on the Castellani brooch also ports a centrally-placed disc brooch and wears a *trifolium* diadem over centrally parted hair. Both have been considered female characteristics.[270] Finally, the tear-drop shape pendants adorning the costume of the bust on the

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[268] M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', p. 149.

[269] The most up-to-date summary of the interpretations hitherto of the enameled bust is found in: M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', pp. 242-50.

[270] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 60 discusses centrally parted hair as normal for the coif for Byzantine noble women from the end of the fifth into the sixth century.

Walters brooch as also been compared to the jewels and pearls which drip from Theodora's robes in the San Vitale mosaic.[271] However this interpretation is by no means unequivocal and there have been exceptions who have suggested they are male busts, possibly even of the Byzantine emperor.[272]

While comparison with the most obvious source, the imperial figures on the Ravenna mosaics, have provided a useful comparison for art historians, it would be erroneous to assume that all visual representations of the imperial family followed the same stylistic rules in all contexts. The Tyler pendant (S40, **fig. 47**) and Dumbarton Oaks seal (S41, **fig. 46**) both comprise facing busts in repoussé; they have also been interpreted as representing the emperor.[273] The tear-drop shaped pendant encompasses a small portrait of a facing bust with the same type of *trifolium* diadem as in the Castellani brooch portrait. This figure also sports large earrings, or perhaps these are in fact *pendilia*? The bronze seal portrait, clearly male, does not wear a diadem but does wear what seem like two large disc-earrings ornamented with small globules. The form of the earrings seem also to echo those on the Walters brooch, and may suggest further that the Senise earrings and at least some other of the disc-earrings were indeed also worn by men. If these examples serve to illustrate that imperial portraits differed greatly, even in the display of insignia, then there remains the possibility that the multiple ways in which the similar busts on the Castellani group objects have been depicted may nevertheless reflect the same figure. Given the context established above, the historical probability is greatest for all three to represent the Lombard king.

The most likely candidate would be Grimoald I, taking into account the close links with their southern Italian contexts, the minting of gold solidi and

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[271] M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise', p. 243.

[272] M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', pp. 144-45; M. Rotoli, 'Rinvenimenti longobardi dell'Italia meridionale' in: M. Rotili (ed.) *Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili,* (Benevento: Banca Sannitica, 1984) p. 97 of 77-108 suggests the connection with the Byzantine emperor.

[273] Pendant, gold, from the collection of William R. Tyler: M. Ross, 'Some Longobard insignia', p. 149, fig. 9 and p. 151; seal, bronze, found in Constantinople now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, acc. no. 59.54: M. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,* vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1962) p. 54 no. 61, pl. 38.

tremisses, and the general use of high-quality gold, but his immediate successors up to Liutprand (712-744), should not be altogether ruled out and may, possibly, account for the variations seen in each portrait. Why would a Lombard king such as Grimoald sanction this kind of portrait in the first place, and secondly, why was an enamelled portrait included at all on these objects? The clearest contemporary comparisons are with the name and portrait seal rings, such as the Maurice ring from Benevento. Here, the characteristic centrally parted hair, as also described by Paul the Deacon, mirrors those on the male seal rings. The principal differences are the addition of a diadem, and the lack of a beard. The contradictions inherent in the symbolism of facial hair and hairstyles may also help explain why the enamel portraits lack facial hair while the contemporary seal rings include it. Apart from limitations of using *verroterie cloisonné* to design such images, another reason may have been to set apart the images of the ruler (clean-shaven) from those of his subjects (bearded).

The comparison with imperial portraits at this time may not be useful in this case. Coin portraits in particular show so much variation existed in both Italian and imperial examples, that any symbolic significance is obscured. It is worth adding here that the central enamel of the Gutman leaves few, if any, clues regarding its owner, or even its role as insignia (S36). The central quatrefoil may represent yet another way the personal taste of the object's patron informed its design. Was the quatrefoil, the owner's own sign?[274]

Constans II's coins showed him variously with a long beard or a short one. Both Constans II and Constantine IV were clean-shaven in the mosaic at Sant'Apollinare but shown with a beard on many of his coins. His nickname *Pogonatus,* apparently owing to him leaving Constantinople without a beard and returning from Italy with one, clearly had some significance in this respect. Nevertheless, it might be the case that, at the time when Constans II and Constantine IV were sporting beards on their coins, the Lombard king preferred to show himself on these portraits as clean-shaven, to set his image apart from

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[274] It has not been possible to examine this brooch in person, nor ascertain much detail from the available images. It could also be possible that the central enamel was a later replacement.

that of the emperor, at least on moveable items such as coins and brooches, particularly at a time when imperial portraits continued circulate in Italy during this period.

The eventual development of portraits independent of the imperial image is also echoed in the profiles of the figures on the Vicenne tremisses. The enamel portraits may therefore have derived from prototypes designed for the distribution of the king's image. The combination of the reverse of the (probable) Beneventan solidus with the *imago clipeata* (framed portrait) on the obverse of each of the Senise earrings, convey a similar illusion to that of a coin or medallion. This combination may represent the earliest attempts at creating a brand new royal image for Italy, while also echoing the continued use of Roman medallion portrait forms.[275] The Castellani brooch portrait itself may be a reflection of the king's figure. The bust is shown to wear a triple-pendanted disc-brooch, but almost as if were attached to a necklace around the neck. If misrepresentation by the craftsman who designed the image is discounted, a reason for this position, as opposed the customary position on the right shoulder, may allude to the fluidity with which such insignia was used by the end of the seventh century. It may also suggest that the ceremonial vestments required that such an ornament was fastened in the centre, and not at the shoulder. Another instance of this can be found on the warriors in Justinian's retinue in the mosaic at San Vitale, who were also shown wearing a pectoral device with a central disc placed on the chest.[276] If the hypothesis that the portrait is of the Lombard king, a second reason for its central position may be a traditional gesture of deference towards the emperor by not wearing it in the same place. Alternatively, this was another way of setting the Italo-Lombard royal image apart from that of the Byzantine emperor. Like the disc-earrings, or *pendilia,* disc-brooches with triple pendants may also have been worn in different ways, perhaps for different occasions. Procopius himself did not mention exactly where the Armenian satraps wore their insignia, and surely it

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[275] Compare with Roman military memorial statuary and medallions using the concept of the *imago clipeata*.

[276] I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli,* p. 61.

too would have depended on their costume. In sum, while retaining an important tradition of royal insignia in Italy in shape and form, the Lombard king ordered a new image of authority to be made, with new materials. The Castellani group, then, combining traditional form with artistic innovation were powerful symbols, and indeed mirrors, of contemporary achievements in war and politics.

This comparative study of metalwork in southern Italy has challenged several established paradigms about the role of these objects as both 'art' and as identity-formers. This discussion has also demonstrated the historical source-value of metal objects, particularly gold objects, as products of cultural and political consciousness. While the debate about exactly where such objects were made will always continue, it is sufficient here to say that while the larger Roman-Byzantine centres such as Naples, Rome and Ravenna would have, of course, played important roles in mediating traditional forms and designs to a new culturally Lombard elite (which may itself have included Roman Italians), it does not necessarily follow that they also must have been products of the artistanal heritage of these places. Indeed, ascertaining centres of production becomes a less important historical problem when new questions are posed, such as *why* such objects were produced in this period, and who wanted them. The combination of the evidence embodied in these objects demonstrates that their patrons and craftsmen were creating anew from their own internal influences and traditions. However, they also contributed to a zeitgeist that existed beyond their own cultural milieux, while also borrowing from it. This dynamism is what characterises so much of early medieval metalwork from Italy, and elsewhere. Rather than focusing on 'centres', the shape of an elite cultural network existing between the top-flight of Benevento, Rome, Ravenna and Pavia and perhaps also Milan, Cividale, Naples and Canosa di Puglia, is a topic worthy of detailed and separate consideration.

As with history writers such as Paul the Deacon, the patrons and artisans of these objects created new memories while reinforcing specific cultural affinities. However, they could also form commemorative markers which were both spatially and temporally distinct. In this sense, emulation is better

understood as expression. Rather than imitation or reproduction, decorative metal objects in the seventh century can more usefully be seen as articulators and communicators of choice. Placing these *objets d'art* into their cultural and political contexts in particular has shifted several paradigms: conscious continuity and reuse challenge ideas of acculturation; artistic achievement must be balanced with political expedience and economic worth; typological similarities must give way to the reality of variation, individual expression and the fluidity of cultural ties; commemoration in objects, both private and familial, and public and authoritative, were as important in historical memory-making as documentary histories. These objects were the source and products of active cultural exchange, a holistic and dynamic process which, connected together, looks something like this: person-object-activity-belief-environment-history.

Finally, the comparison of examples across Italy has also illustrated more commonality between south and north than might at first be apparent from more traditional sources, challenging directly, the emphasis of events in northern Italy and the relative marginalisation, or separate treatment of evidence from *Langobardia minor*. The investigations presented in this and the previous chapter sought to understand southern Italian objects in the broad contexts of processes of cultural exchange. The comparison of objects and their descriptions beyond traditional boundaries of historiography, typology or other scholarly tradition has resulted in a better-articulated picture of southern Italian culture in two discrete periods. Each case-study has also demonstrated the value of examining people and their possessions outside of traditional Byzantine, Lombard or Norman historiographies by using southern Italy itself, as the point of departure. By approaching the problems in this way, essentially from two directions, it has been possible to illustrate the many cultural affinities that were shared between southern Italy and elsewhere, and make a case for a more equitable treatment of its history in broader, more general histories of medieval Europe and the Mediterranean.

Chapter five: The *quid pro quo.* Objects in social relationships

The final chapter of this thesis examines the ways in which objects were used to create, maintain and fracture family and community relationships. The thematic framework for this chapter draws inspiration from theories of social exchange and value systems but is not intended to be a critique or demonstration of any one particular way of perceiving them. In exploring local relationships, the theme of memory and the role of objects in memory creation, transmission and mutation is fundamental to the analysis of the evidence. The basis for comparison in this chapter is itself local, and is limited to microcosms of evidence found in southern Italian sources, such as a specific group of graves in a cemetery or a series of donations made to a specific foundation. In similar form to the previous chapters, this one also uses two principal case-studies to illustrate the importance of object culture in the locality.

In the earlier part of the period (approximately the seventh to the ninth century), the clearest object evidence for social relationships comes from grave-goods and finds from settlements. Generally, with the exception of ceramics, there is a paucity of both types of object recorded scientifically, in their original contexts from the South. As a result, this case-study seeks primarily to propose a method of interpretation that can be repeated at other sites both in southern Italy and other parts of medieval Europe and the Mediterranean. The choice of using objects with a funerary association was made because there was an immediacy to their deliberate, and conscious use, to maintain and end social relationships; something that is a little more problematic to ascertain from settlement archaeology. This means the subject has to be considered in the context of relationships that were transformed at the time of someone's death, and their later commemoration at the site, by those of the deceased's family and peers.

Compared with work on funerary cultures in early medieval Britain and other parts of northern Europe, the interest in southern Italian cemeteries as social evidence is much reduced, and seldom taken beyond an enumeration of

finds, the separate treatment of ceramics, tiles and bricks, and general comments on the choice of site, the orientation of graves, and perhaps interpretations of status, ethnic and gender identity.   As with other regions of Europe and Byzantium, a large amount of grave-good evidence from the South has come from singular or small groups of graves, and inferred from chance finds. Cemeteries with well-furnished burials on the scale of Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra have not been found to date in the South. The isolated but rich examples from Senise and Benevento, in addition to small groups of burials found around Venosa, Matera, San Vincenzo al Volturno and elsewhere, offer specific snapshots with limited mileage for a comparative study of how grave-goods functioned in their own funerary communities. Nevertheless, larger sites are not completely unknown and finds from early medieval necropoleis at Cimitile, near Naples, and Avicenna, on the plains of northern Puglia near Foggia, have formed a substantial part of discussions so far, and their uses as markers of cultural exchange and identity have already been discussed in chapter four. The first case-study will deal with a range of examples from sites which have yielded good data not just about the objects, but their burial contexts as well.

In the later part of the period (approximately the tenth to the twelfth century), much of the evidence for object exchange derives from charters. These charters document how objects did, or did not, form an integral part of exchanges that took place at important life moments such as marriage, and familial provisions at death. Other socially negotiated relationships such as those between lay and monastic communities also formed a crucial element in aiding the cohesion of religious institutions within secular spheres, and vice versa. However the object evidence presented here may be skewed by the difference in how these exchanges were recorded in different parts of the peninsula (in a similar way that patchy excavation will, for the previous case-study). Whereas Amalfitan or Salernitan marriage contracts mentioned portions of property, the composition of any moveable goods that may have comprised them are not normally recorded, whereas in Apulia great care was taken to enumerate sometimes up to forty separate sets of items. While this difference

is itself suggestive of the importance of moveable goods to these societies, it is important to stress that the *recording* of objects is as historically significant a phenomenon as the objects themselves.

Social exchange

Theories of social exchange have occupied generations of sociologists and anthropologists since, and before, Marcel Mauss' influential essay on the role of the gift and the misapprehension of the 'free gift'.[1] In spite of the revisions and critiques of the Maussian way of understanding human relationships, the question at the heart of the theory remains valid, "what is the force which compels us to reciprocate the thing received?"[2] George Homans' influential article of 1958 sought to re-establish a paradigm where social behaviour is viewed as exchange, in so saying, that the "interaction between persons is an exchange of goods, material and non-material."[3] The analogy at the heart of social exchange theory is that behaviour can be analysed as economy and interpreted as 'valuable' or 'costly', and that the 'profit' in a social relationship might also be analogised as the subtraction of cost from reward.[4] The principal themes which might be meaningful to an historical enquiry, however, lie in the idea that social exchange is mutually determined, yet it is an exchange which is determined by more than just a person's values or beliefs.[5] The reinforcement of these behaviours would be determined by the frequency with which a certain behaviour is demonstrated between individuals or within a group.[6] This would result in certain, more valuable, activities continuing while those which either

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[1] M. Mauss, *The Gift,* (ed.) M. Douglas and (trans.) W. Halls, (London: Routledge, 2002); originally published as: M. Mauss, 'Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques', *Année sociologique,* (1923-24).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] G. Homans, 'Social behaviour as exchange', *American Journal of Sociology* 63 (6), (1958), 597-606, quoting from p. 597.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 603.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 598-99.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 599.

brought no mutual value, or brought about an imbalance in the exchange, where one party's reward was reduced, tailing off.[7]

Another way of looking at this would be the difference in those who conformed and those who deviated.[8] This opposition assumes that those who conform perform valuable behaviours, and those that deviate are acting in a less (socially) valuable way. The predicted result is that the deviant receives more attention from those who conform in order to make him/her perform more valuable exchanges, and so to conform to the ideal or equitable 'norms' or rules of the group. If the deviant does not conform, they are deprived of social approval and ultimately rejected from the group.[9] This kind of linear and rather clinical dissection of human relationships, does not necessarily merit a scientific basis for explanation. As Homans said, "how plonking can we get? These findings are utterly in line with everyday experience."[10] Approaching such theories of exchange as a social historian might also result in the danger of stating the obvious and missing the point of understanding the importance of how exchanges between people happened, and why.

What, therefore, can social exchange theory inspire in a sociological study of people and objects in medieval southern Italy? Many of the qualifications and challenges to this theory might also be echoed by the reality of the historical contexts of interest in this chapter. Firstly, observing social exchange must necessarily look at the multiplicity and polyvalency of the structures within which people operated and found meaning.[11] Similarly, the complex and multiple identities of a medieval person changed from group to group (gender, class, trade, heritage) and so one could deviate from the norms dictated by

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[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 600; the theory was first put forward by S. Schachter, 'Deviation, rejection, and communication', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 46 (1951) 190-207.

[9] The idea of equilibrium in social exchanges is discussed in G. Homans, 'Social behaviour as exchange', pp. 600-1.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] M. Zafirovski, 'Some amendments to social exchange theory: A sociological perspective', *Theory and Science* (2003) published online: http://theoryandscience.icaap.org/content/vol004.002/01_zafirovski.html (accessed: 8 June 2007), pp. 5-12 presents a multi-level social exchange theory to challenge more linear explanations of social exchange.

each group while also conforming with those of another. This may also be applied to the identification of conforming and deviating behaviours. Rather than expecting that deviation from a hypothetical norm will end in rejection, the relationship might be better framed as competing behaviours, with the contradiction between those that conform to a particular value system, while others deviate from it, were both norms which could coexist or cause the adaptation of one, or the other, without resulting in total rejection. In this instance an historian might look for evidence of negotiation as a bridge between conforming and deviating behaviour.

Secondly, the reduction of human experience as a purely rational, economically derived process, has obscured the significance of other influences on character and action, and assumes that the ultimate goal of the exchange is either mutual gain or intimacy when this may not always be the case.[12] The role of communication, and methods of communication, is therefore crucial to a better understanding of human behaviour. From an historical point of view, one type of social exchange can be seen as the communication of memory (its transmission), and another is the act of recording. Remembering and forgetting in both cases are important. Thirdly, revisions to the theory of social exchange must necessarily involve the consideration of special events and rites of passage on the changes people make to their behaviour through life and their effect on creating and maintaining social bonds.[13] The most important framework for examining the different ways people developed personal group relationships in past societies relates to the application of rules, and therefore is better understood in historical terms as the force of tradition, law, habit or custom and the coincidence of any, or all of these. By extension, extant evidence might be used to interpret the reinforcement of certain social

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[12] K. Miller, *Communication Theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts,* 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2005) originally published 2002, makes several fundamental revisions to social exchange theory, using more up-to-date data, and approaching exchange fundamentally from a basis of communication.

[13] M. Knapp, *Social Intercourse: From Greeting to Goodbye* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1978) examines ways in which relationships are developed such as initiation, experimentation and bonding.

behaviours, and in the context of this study, the particular role of objects in creating that reinforcement.

This chapter now returns to the medieval contexts of southern Italy and keeps at its heart the question of what was the *quid pro quo* in personal and group relationships here? It is beyond the scope of this chapter to make any detailed discussion or critique of the slew of literature which has occupied both historians and archaeologists over the last decade and a half on the subjects of memory, gender and the family, particularly the relationship between these in shaping communities and societies in the Middle Ages. However, some of the themes raised in these studies do merit attention in an object-focused investigation of social exchange. For historians, investigations into the construction of memory and identity have focused on the additional factor of how oral testimony was transmitted and later embedded into medieval literature/history.[14] For archaeologists, the archaeology of death in particular has impacted heavily on understandings of memory and memorialisation in the past. Their focus on both grave-goods and funerary effigies, and the inference of the rites and commemoration constructed for the deceased, has also raised some useful points for the present study.[15] Indeed, the study of death in early medieval archaeology, in particular, has benefited from theoretically informed

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[14] J. Fentress and C. Wickham spear-headed much of the original debate on history and memory in their cross-period treatise: *Social Memory. New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); oft-referenced works which use the idea of memory as an interrogative tool in medieval history include: G. Althoff, J. Fried and P. Geary (eds.) *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) is a classic study for the early Middle Ages; on gender and memory: E. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900-1200* (London: Macmillan, 1999); E. van Houts (ed.) *Medieval Memories. Men, Women and the Past, 700-1300* (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

[15] H. Williams (ed.) *Archaeologies of Remembrance. Death and Memory in Past Societies,* (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003); the works of Howard Williams concentrate particularly on memory and remembrance in medieval Britain but their implications are much broader: *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); similarly Bonnie Effros on Merovingian Gaul: *Caring for Body and Soul. Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); on the significance of the tomb in the Middle Ages: E. Valdez del Alamo (ed.) *Memory and the Medieval Tomb* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories. Migration and Identity during the Lombard Invasions* (Florence: All'Insegno dell'Giglio, 2005) examines graves in Pannonia around the time of the Lombard migrations to Italy.

and holistic studies which understand the moment of death as socially and culturally significant, burial with and without grave-goods as indicative, positions in the landscape and memorialisation as fundamental and the relationship of one interment to another as suggestive of the community of the dead, around which the living also centred important social exchanges.[16] With particular regard to objects as grave-goods, most archaeologists now seek to understand them absolutely in context, particularly their relationship to each other, their relationship to the body, if known, and the relationship of furnished graves to unfurnished ones. The case-study below will therefore make a first contribution to understanding how portable artefacts, placed and removed from graves, might be reflective of broader social exchanges which were made by the families and communities of the deceased in early medieval southern Italy.

The particular importance of memory as a form of social exchange in medieval Italy, however, has tended to concentrate heavily on uses of the past and the constructions of histories found in documentary sources.[17] Evidence presented in the previous chapter has already illustrated the significance of both personal and authoritative commemoration and the role of objects in conveying this. Another form of social exchange, which has similarly relied on analyses of written evidence, is ritual, and here the emphasis has been on reconstructing royal rituals and ceremony.[18] While architecture and fragments of buildings have begun to be seen in their social contexts, particularly in terms of memory

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[16] Notable examples which employ this method are, on Britain: H. Williams, *Death and Memory,* on early medieval Britain; B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul,* on Merovingian Gaul and I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands* on Lombard Hungary and north-east Italy.

[17] Examples of significant works which interrogate this form of social exchange include: W. Pohl, 'History in fragments: Montecassino's politics of memory', *Early Medieval Europe,* 10 (3) (2001), 343-374; P. Skinner, 'Gender and memory in medieval Italy' in: E. van Houts, *Medieval Memories,* 36-52; particularly on Jewish identity and memory in southern Italy, also P. Skinner, 'Gender, memory and Jewish identity: reading a family history from medieval southern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe,* 13 (3) (2005) 277-296.

[18] See for example, essays contained in: F. Theuws and J. Nelson (eds.) *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), particularly in an Italian context, S. Gasparri, 'Kingship rituals and ideology in Lombard Italy', 95-114; from a Byzantine viewpoint, I. Kalavrezou, 'Helping hands for the empire: Imperial ceremonies and the cult of relics at the Byzantine court' in: H. Maguire (ed.) *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2004) 53-80 and A. Cameron, 'The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies'* in: D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 106-136.

and identity, the use of objects has hitherto not formed a central part of studies on the nature of society in Italy in this period.[19] However, the inference of ritual and ceremony from funerary assemblages, and their relationship to the body of the deceased, structures of interment and the landscape setting, has shown how useful it is to anaylse objects in direct relation to the people associated with them. Howard Williams has referred to this mnemonic method of analysis as 'technologies of remembrance'.[20]

In *Phantoms of Memory,* Patrick Geary discussed the concept of 'archival memory', that is, how it is that the mere survival and manner of survival, or loss and manner of loss, of evidence from the Middle Ages has shaped modern understanding of those individuals, communities and societies.[21] Can a similar framework be used to understand 'object memory'? Understanding the methods by which objects and their stories survived, were transformed or destroyed, might in turn, lead to a better understanding of personal and group relationships. Another approach of value is to begin from a starting point of ascertaining how objects were used by people to make sense of their worlds; in other words, how objects informed social memory. This way of understanding history generally, occupies a middle road between the interrogation of a source purely for facts, and the somewhat self-referential method of seeking 'networks of meaning'.[22] A useful analogy which frames this idea in object terms is the act (and value) of reminiscence in all human societies. Objects have been used in controlled settings as triggers for recalling the past and stimulating cognitive brain activity for a number of decades, and efforts to understand what it is that objects stimulate in a person have parallels in similar effects produced by music, taste and smell.[23] How it is that people respond to both feeling,

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[19] An interesting take on the role of memory in rebuilding in medieval Italy: C. Goodson, 'Material memory: Rebuilding the basilica of S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome', *Early Medieval Europe,* 15 (1) (2007) 2-34.

[20] H. Williams, 'Material culture as memory: combs and cremation in early medieval Britain', *Early Medieval Europe.* 12 (2) (2003) 89-128; also H. Williams, *Death and Memory.*

[21] P. Geary, *Phantoms,* pp. 81-114; see also M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307,* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993) originally published 1979.

[22] J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory,* pp. 144-45.

[23] The role of objects in reminiscence has most recently been explored as part of a series of

contemplating and talking about objects is a question that is pertinent also to understanding past societies. Can the sources provide the kind of information required to catch a glimpse of medieval mind-sets, particularly in southern Italy?

Related, though distinct from reminiscence, is oral history, and particularly its value to historians past and present. The idea that oral history is 'real history' and more objective when compared to written sources, has largely been debunked, subject, as it is, to as many biases, errors and other influences which shape a story as texts.[24] Indeed, the identification of oral sources and testimony in medieval texts has in itself been an important pursuit of historians.[25] The recording of objects in documents, therefore, requires careful scrutiny. Why were certain stories woven around objects? Why do descriptions of objects feature at all in some documents and not at all in others? The approach must be somewhat empathetic. To fully understand the past on its own terms, it is important to be involved with it.[26] From an object-centred perspective, this means extracting oneself from temptations of only looking for patterns which answer the questions a modern scholar demands. It requires direct engagement with the protagonists of discrete sources and instead asking what it was that made objects significant in that particular act or story, and why.

Case-study one: Social objects in the ground

This case-study is partly an extension of various themes presented in the previous chapter, particularly the role of objects in personal and authoritative

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workshops in 2006/2007 on 'Touch and the value of object handling', an Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Research Networks Scheme organised by UCL Museums and Collections; workshop 3, 'Touch and memory: the role of reminiscence' paid particular attention to reminiscence. A selection of findings have been published in: H. Chatterjee (ed.) *Touch in Museums. Policy and Practice in Object Handling* (Oxford: Berg, 2008).

[24] J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory,* pp. 173-99; P. Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) on the standard work on both the theory, criticism and practicalities of oral history.

[25] Several of the studies cited above contain essays looking at oral testimony in medieval texts, including their 'reliability and veracity'. The most wide-ranging collections however, are contained in: E. van Houts (ed.) *Medieval Memories,* and G. Althoff *et al.*, *Medieval Concepts of the Past.*

[26] J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory,* p. 201.

commemoration. It also extends the compositional approach to early medieval objects such as that demonstrated with the Senise burial, used to reconstruct the possibilities for the life and labours of the deceased. In contrast however, this investigation into grave-goods in southern Italy seeks rather to understand how these objects helped to create and maintain a link between living and dead, and also how the dead therefore helped the living to continue socially meaningful and valuable acts in their communities.

There is a general (mis)understanding that stipulations made by the Church some time in the sixth century caused the end to grave-goods by the eighth century. In fact, there is evidence for the continued use of grave-goods in southern Italy into the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. An example is found in Puglia, where filigree globe earrings and other personal items were recovered from the eleventh to fourteenth-century cemetery at Auricarro.[27] In burials found at Apigliano and Quattro Macine in the Salento, personal ornaments and some domestic pottery from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been found, likely to be a consequence of interring people while dressed.[28] At the Council of Clermont in 535, the concern raised was not about grave-goods *per se,* but on the shrouding of the body and the burial, specifically, of liturgical objects.[29] The prohibition was similarly extended at the Synod of Auxerre (561-605) during which they banned the interment of any part of the Eucharist, such as the wafer, and also relics.[30] This was a clearly-made distinction which nevertheless focused on the control and care of liturgical objects, rather than on the lay use of objects during burial. The prohibition, as ever, also suggests that adherents, particularly the leaders (priests) and consorts, of local religious communities were not observing the desired practice of keeping the living sacred objects strictly apart from those associated with the dead. Indeed, on a recent visit to

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[27] Now in the Museo Archeologico in Altamura, showcase 34): *Museo Archeologico Nazionale Altamura,* Museum Guidebook no. 59 in *Itinerari del musei, gallerie, scavi e monumenti d'Italia* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002) p. 28.

[28] P. Arthur (ed.) *Da Apigliano a Martano: tre anni di archeologia medioevale, 1997-1999* (Galatina (LE): Congedo, 1999).

[29] B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul,* p. 44.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 45.

the Diocesean Museum in Bari, Pope Benedict XVI, we were told, clearly expressed his desire for the liturgical objects on display to be used, and for them to live the Christian practice of the city, rather than their retention as museum pieces.[31]

The distinction, therefore, between living and usable objects and dead and unusable objects is not easy to articulate, however, it is one that is worth setting out for the purposes of investigating the role of grave-goods in maintaining the *quid pro quo* of the deceased's society. On the one hand, from a religious point of view, holy artefacts such as those used in the Eucharist and other ceremonies ought to be understood as living, and therefore sacred, set apart and kept separate from profane uses. On the other hand, burial of a loved-one was itself a sacred act and the use of artefacts in the burial rite, whether placed in the grave or retained by the living, made those same objects take on a sacred identity.[32] However, in the early Middle Ages when all religious practices were fluid and heterogeneous, even within the same communities, there is a sense that a tension existed between belief in the prohibition on the use of sacred objects (including relics) and the belief in the power objects could embody, particularly for apotropaic purposes, the latter especially important when dealing with the dead.[33] Whether the role of some of the grave-goods discussed below were used apotropaically, or were retained as sacred objects after their use in the funerary rite, what is significant is the multiple uses an object could have.

A transition detected in Merovingian Gaul might also have relevance for southern Italy, and indeed early Christian Europe in general. Here there seems to have been a discernable change, some time in the seventh century, from funerary practice being a personal and family-orientated affair, to one centred at

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[31] Museum guide, *pers. comm.,* 20 October 1006. The pope's visit was in May 2005 for the 24th Eucharistic Congress.

[32] H. Williams, 'Material culture as memory', looks at the role of combs in the rite of preparing and then burying the body of the dead; they are referred to as 'incorporating practices' as compared with 'inscribing practices' such as those of inscriptions, used to remember the dead, p. 90.

[33] B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul,* p. 45 identifies evidence for the continued use of sacred artefacts in saints' lives, particularly in descriptions of offerings being left by the deceased saint's body in order that it *is not* interfered with.

a church, and it is from around this time that evidence for donations from local elites to their local churches seem to begin as part of provisioning their funerary arrangements.[34] Unfortunately, the documentary evidence from southern Italy, principally in the form of charters such as the ones to be discussed below, does not survive from this earlier period and it is only from the ninth century that an indication of how living donations to the Church affected funerary practice, might be understood. However, in this instance, what is important to bear in mind, is that while both the deceased and their living relatives and communities wished to express their religiosity in their mortuary practices, prescriptions from the Church may not have had as much impact on change as local and family traditions. It has also been proposed that the decline in evidence for grave-goods in the seventh century represented more that just a change in commemoration but rather it evolved into narratives which were constructed around objects away from the context of inhumation.[35] It is this idea that is explored in more detail in the second case-study below. In this sense, the interment of grave-goods must also be seen as a deeply personal, albeit public, act which might variously have been dictated by the will of the deceased individual, spiritually and socially directed local custom and by the desire of relatives.

Chapter four has already demonstrated the range of personal ornaments that might be interred with a relative or friend in early medieval southern Italy, and how these might have functioned when used in life. It also demonstrated the limitations of typologies in gaining purchase on the idea of 'social objects', that is, ones whose own lives were inextricably linked with that of their creators and patrons. Typologies remove the object, first and foremost, from the network of objects found in the context of their discovery, and this is most acutely the case with grave assemblages. The first example in this case-study demonstrates how re-establishing the links between object in one of their original contexts (i.e. as grave-goods) can reveal the kind of social relationships that they once helped to create. The two pairs of silver crescent earrings found

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[34] *Ibid.,* p. 205.

[35] H. Williams, *Death and Memory*, pp. 36-37.

at the seventh-century cemetery of Sant'Apollinare, near Rutigliano, in Puglia (table six, E110 and E111) were found in 1985 with various ceramics, other metalwork, bone objects and a unique glass vase and are now displayed together at the Museo Archeologico in Altamura **(figs. 63-68)**.[36]

Rather than the relationships with these other objects forming an integral part of the earrings' descriptions, and therefore travelling with them, they were singularised and pulled out of context and put into a new one (the typology). However, seen in the context of the museum showcase which displayed finds according to site, a more multidimensional view can be presented of the networks of meaning and understanding which existed within the cemetery, and between the living and deceased. The graves contained personal ornaments such as the earrings as well as tools for grooming such as the bone combs. Which relationship did these objects have with the glass vase and fine ceramic jugs, of the type manufactured in Naples, with the pink and brown painted bands? It would be reasonable to suppose that some of these objects were specifically used as part of the funerary rite (the jugs and vases) for which the finest available were employed. Similarly, combs used in life were used for a final time to prepare the body for eternal rest. The lead (?) cross is of course, suggestive of the deceased's Christian spirituality. Together with the silver earrings and bead necklace, what must have been among the deceased family's most valuable possessions, what meaning was being created?

These objects only represent the remains of the energy expended by the deceased's family and community to prepare the body for disposal, to organise and prepare the rituals and prepare of consignment and commemoration, before, during and after a funeral ceremony.[37] One can imagine the perished remains also of clothes or shroud, of food and drink offerings and other items no longer extant. The retention of family wealth in the form of moveable goods has been alluded to in the previous chapters, and will also be explored in detail in

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[36] Field-notes from visit to the Museo Archeologico in Altamura, Puglia, 21 October 2006. Finds in showcase 35. Earrings labelled no. 7 (7a (E111) and 7b (E110)); cemetery briefly described in: Museum Guidebook, p. 28.

[37] I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories,* uses the idea of energy expenditure to analyse the meaning of funerary practices including the identities of the dead and their living relatives, in particular see the summary discussion on pp. 153-54.

Grave-goods from Rutigliano at the Museo Archeologico, Altamura

Figs. 63-64: Altamura earrings 7a from grave 4 (top) and 7b (bottom), silver, crescent earrings from the cemetery at Sant'Apollinare, nr. Moccia, Rutigliano (7a: 32458, 7b: 32470, Museo Archeologico, Altamura, Puglia) (E111 and E110 resp.)

Photos: Author, reproduced by kind permission

Figs. 65-68: Objects from the seventh-century cemetery at Sant'Apollinare, nr. Moccia, Rutigliano; personal ornaments and fine ceramics (top), bone combs, tools and cremation urn (middle and bottom left); glass vase (bottom right)

(showcase 35, Museo Archeologico, Altamura, Puglia)

the second case-study. At least in the tenth to the twelfth centuries, there is considerable evidence that the retention of moveable wealth in a family setting was important enough to many southern Italian families to be recorded, and so the alienation of valuable objects as grave-goods seems incongruous. Nevertheless, the interment of high-quality and expensive goods continued into the later centuries of the Middle Ages, as demonstrated by metalwork found in ninth to eleventh, and even thirteenth to fourteenth-century contexts, albeit at a lower rate than during this early period. Assuming that even though the world views of the seventh-century communities at Rutigliano were very different to those from the twelfth, certain continuities would surely have existed retrospectively as well, in particular the provision of a dowry for a woman's wedding.

Therefore, the choice of which items to retain within the family, and which to release for the benefit of the deceased was an important one. Acceptable choices needed to be made for the dead person, for his or her family and for the community from which they hailed. This was the *quid pro quo.* It also raises questions of ownership. How was ownership of these objects understood at the time? Were personal ornaments such as earrings and necklaces solely the possessions of the woman, especially if they were part of her dowry, or was there a sense that the rights to the objects were shared, either by her own family, or that of her husband? Later in the tenth to the twelfth century, the specific division of possessions became a salient feature of marriage contracts, as will be seen presently. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that the reason certain objects were considered acceptable to alienate as grave-goods was *because* they were consigned to the deceased in life, and no one else. Therefore it would have been socially inappropriate for the relatives making the funeral arrangements to retain the objects which were so inextricably linked with the dead person's life-changing rites. So while the silver crescent earrings and bead necklace might have brought the living family the insurance of wealth, it would have been unacceptable (socially deviating) to alienate them in any other way. However, it is also indicative of stable times that families felt sufficiently economically confident to be able to maintain this tradition.

The combs may indeed allude to their use in preparing the body, as has been suggested for graves in medieval Britain.[38] Once again, these could have been combs used by the deceased in life. Combs, like personal ornaments and tools such as personal knives were also inseparable from the living person. By putting them beyond their every day use, the family who consigned these objects as grave-goods were ensuring that the personal essence of their late relative remained with them, and could not be interfered with. This is somewhat reminiscent of the stories of saints with whom offerings were kept to protect their bodies from posthumous interference; the belief in keeping the body whole, very much at the heart of Christian eschatology (but confronted with the irony of relics and their circulation). The vessels which may have contained offerings for the deceased's soul, or for saints and angels, or for the souls of family and community ancestors, were similarly and deliberately placed beyond use in the profane world in order to take on new roles as protectors of the soul. Just as the relics of saints were considered highly powerful objects in themselves, the relics of the funeral might similarly have been perceived. The constancy of ceramic and other vessels in early medieval graves in southern Italy suggests that the use of offerings formed a significant part of the funeral arrangements. In the context of a cemetery where generations of a community were buried, it would also suggest that the rituals represented by the vessels were not just for the benefit of the soul of the dead family member, but also dedicated to the memories of the whole community which comprised the necropolis. Therefore, it was important too that these objects did not re-emerge into the hands of the living, for it was disrespectful to the ancestral community represented in the necropolis, and quite possibly distasteful to the living. For the same reasons, it would have been important for those families who followed a furnished-burial rite to ensure that they used the appropriate wares for the task, in most cases the fine ware of the type that many places imported from Naples.

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[38] H. Williams, 'Material culture as memory'.

What is more difficult to interpret is the mnemonic significance of these artefacts.[39] The use of grave-goods as commemorative, and as stimuli for personal and group memories is not in doubt. For the funerary rite of an individual to have been meaningful both to the family, and to the person's community, the objects required articulation. The agency of those arranging the funeral in using certain objects to create a living impression of the deceased, i.e. to create social memories around him/her, should not be underestimated. It has been suggested that here was an opportunity for mourners to shape, or re-shape, the identity of the deceased, by using objects to invent, suppress, enhance or even invert the dead person's living identity, and this could even involve the removal of objects at any time after the rite.[40] However, while the intensity of emotion towards the recently deceased by the living will have always resulted in no two burials or burial rites to be the same, certain collective mores of the cemetery, particularly if associated with a church, would maintain a *quid pro quo* for as long as that site was used to bury the dead. Indeed, it would be when the living were no longer served by either, servicing the cemetery or remembering its occupants, whether through force of circumstance or loss of practice, that the equilibrium in the social relationship between the two communities would cease.

The example of the furnished burials at Rutigliano has served to set out the various ways in which the objects can be used to reconstruct the social relationships that existed between living and dead communities. However, the heterogeneity of early medieval cemeteries is such that some account needs to be made for differentiated rites in the same cemetery. The cremation urn with remains associated with the cemetery at Sant'Apollinare might have come from a very different generation of the living community to those with the earrings, or it might have just been another expression of the many methods of disposal which were socially acceptable at the time. This might have especially been the case if different rites were used for different circumstances, for example, the

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[39] The approach put forward by Howard Williams (see above) and in particular, *Death and Memory,* pp. 36-46.

[40] *Ibid.,* p. 39.

death of a child, or of an outsider. In addition to looking at object evidence to ascertain differing rites, is understanding the necropolis as a whole, as enjoying continued commemoration after its practical use had ended. In other words, did cemeteries continue to be sacred sites? There is evidence to suggest that the small late Roman cemetery uncovered in phase III at suburban Otranto continued to host commemoration long after interment had ceased.[41]

In southern Italy, as elsewhere, furnished graves in substantial cemeteries are in a minority. Although sites such as Castel Trosino, have yielded many of the early medieval objects studied from Italy, it is itself, an exceptional case. Artefacts from here were excavated from a minority of the graves, and it is estimated that 46% yielded no, very few, or 'poor' grave goods.[42]   However, such statistics may be more relevant to assess modern archaeology than to be suggestive of contemporary practice as it does not take into account the use of objects in burials which were later deliberately removed, taken by grave-robbers (*clandestini*), or those which had perished naturally. Therefore, the smaller number of extant furnished burials among unfurnished ones, while requiring articulation, does not need to be over-stated.

Turning now to the second example, the seventh-century cemetery at Vicenne, near Campochiaro in Molise. The cemetery, excavated from approximately 1987, comprises 118 known burials, making it one of the largest in central and southern Italy (**fig. 69**). Its situation in between the ancient settlements of *Saepinum* (Sepino) and *Bovianum* (Boiano) has indicated that communities who had settled in both places in the seventh century used the cemetery at Vicenne.[43]   There is a case to be made that this cemetery served populations who were displaced here from the Pentapolis by the Byzantine administration, or who otherwise re-occupied areas which had been deserted

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[41] D. Michaelides and D. Whitehouse (eds.) *Excavations at Otranto 1978-1979*, vol. 1 (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 1992) p. 50.

[42] L. Paroli, 'La necropoli di Castel Trosino: un riesame critico' in: L. Paroli (ed.) *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino bizantini e longobardi nelle Marche* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1995) p. 199 of 197-325.

[43] V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne a Campochiaro', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium, Archeologia del Molise,* (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1991) p. 329 of 329-334.

Cemetery at Vicenne
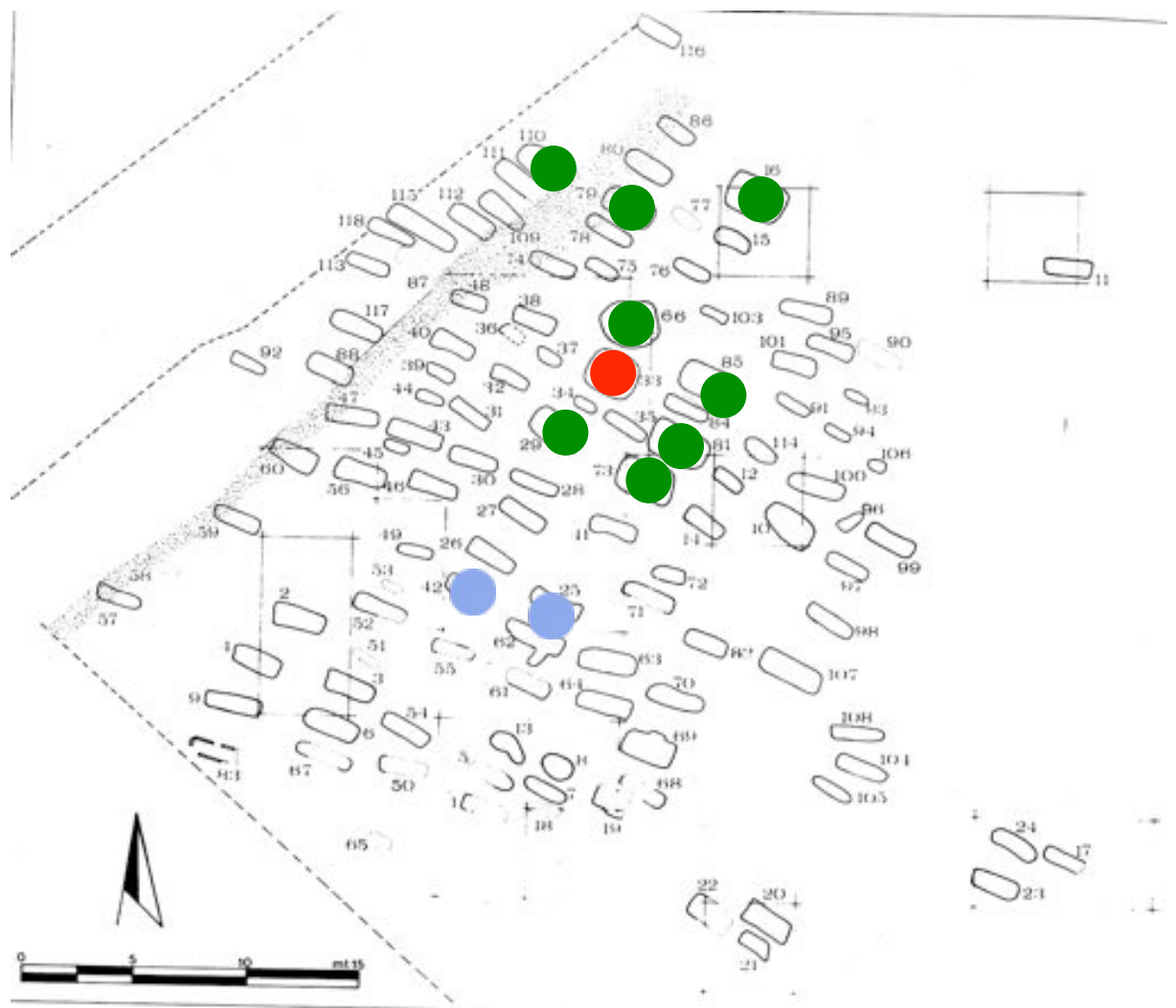
Fig. 69: Plan of the graves found at the seventh-century cemetery at Vicenne, nr., Campochiaro, Molise
After: V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne *a Campchiaro',* in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.)*, Samnium,* p. 330, fig. 2

- 🔴 Grave 33 cavalier-horse burial

- 🟢 Cavalier-horse burials

- 🔵 Burials with silver double-globe earrings

Grave 33 cavalier-horse burial at Vicenne cemetery
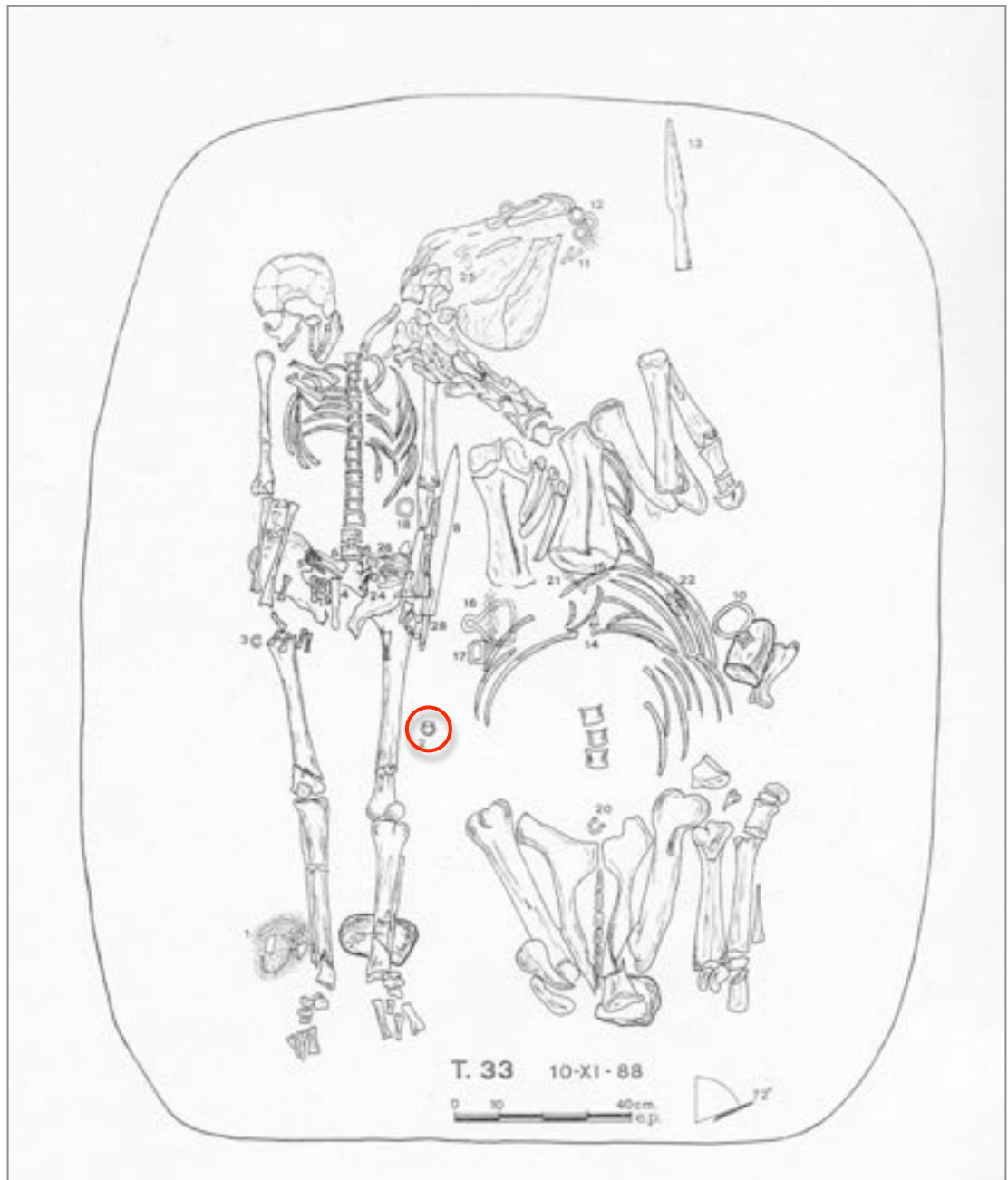
Fig. 70: Diagram of the cavalier-horse burial found at the seventh-century cemetery at Vicenne, nr., Campochiaro, Molise, showing also the position of the Vicenne ring.
After: V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne a Campchiaro', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.)*, Samnium,* p. 337, fig. 6

for a time.[44] Indeed, chapter four introduced the idea that that the cemetery's exceptionally rich burial (grave 33) might have belonged to Alzeco, or a close associate, so-called leader of the Bulgars, described by Paul the Deacon as receiving lands in this area in return for military service.[45] In addition to his seal ring (table seven, S15) and his horse, he was buried with twenty-eight other items which included a ceramic vessel (jar), a brooch, knives, swords and other blades and several belt ornaments and buckles (**fig. 70**). Comparison of these objects has shown that the ornaments in particular have found many correlations with those from elsewhere in central and northern Italy, and for this reason the assemblage does not seem to deviate from the remains of grave-goods from other seventh-century Italo-Lombard areas. Indeed it was in nearby Sepino, that one of the inscribed penannular brooches belonging to a certain Aoderada was found (table one, P14). Similarly, many of the other objects found in this cemetery, and those from smaller necropoleis in the area, at Larino and Morrione, could similarly be considered broadly in the ilk of other seventh-century burials found in Italy.[46]

However, in this example, the grave-goods themselves need to be seen in the context of the physicality of the grave within the cemetery. While the necropolis communities, including those of the living, shared some forms of identity in the nature of the objects they used with those from elsewhere, notable exceptions to the similarity, signal another kind of differentiated rite. First, evidenced by grave 33 and some others in close proximity are burials with horses, of which more presently. Second are two pairs of silver double-globe earrings found in graves 25 and 42 (table six, E145 and E146 respectively), which do not have known parallel in the corpus of other earrings found in Italy, but do have similarities with earrings from Avar-Byzantine contexts and those from a funerary context in Austria (Linz Zislau), in addition to gold examples from Hungary. Both these graves were situated very near to each other. In

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[44] G. De Benedittis, 'Crisi e rinascita. Il VII secolo d.C. Introduzione', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* p. 327 of 325-328.

[45] Grave 33 is illustrated in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium*, p. 337, fig. 6 and described pp. 347-50.

[46] *Ibid.,* pp. 354-55.

addition to the silver earrings, grave 25 comprised a pottery jar or beaker, fragments of a necklace of glass paste beads, a bronze net hook or similar implement for crochet-type work, a bronze buckle, an iron knife and an iron pin. The assemblage which comprised the same type of earrings in grave 42 also consisted of a pottery jar or beaker, fragments of a glass paste bead necklace, a bone comb and a bronze ring.[47] Aside from the earrings, both burials resemble the ones at Rutigliano and other southern Italian sites. The only notable absent elements, which may or may not be of note, are crosses or inscriptions which might have indicated a Christian identity. While it is not the intention of this case-study to explore identity for its own sake, it is important to ascertain contexts of cultural difference in order that signs of a differentiated rite, and therefore differentiated social relationships, present at the same site, might become clear.

With grave 33 were eight others with the remains of horses (graves 16, 29, 66, 73, 79, 81, 85, 110) and the addition of another found in the nearby cemetery at Morrione.[48] The majority of these are clustered near grave 33. The 'cavalier-horse' burials at Vicenne seem to echo funerary practice from east-central Europe and central Asia, but in particular, Avar and Magyar-era burials from the sixth to the eleventh century.[49] However there are western European comparisons, although stylistically different in other ways (such as the way in which the burial was composed) in an area from Scandinavia to south-west Germany, dating from the fifth to the ninth century, found with or without other grave-goods.[50] These comparisons must be tempered with caution on the use of terminology to describe horse burials: there is a difference between the rite which interred a horse *next to* a person, and that which buried the horse and his master at the same time as found at Vicenne.[51]

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[47] *Ibid.,* pp. 350-51.

[48] V. Ceglia and B. Genito, 'La necropoli altomedievale di Vicenne a Campchiaro', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* p. 332.

[49] B. Genito, 'Tombe con cavallo a Vicenne', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* pp. 335-36 of 335-338.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.,* p. 336.

Rather, at Vicenne, what are seen in the cemetery are social relationships which bound a very small community together. This community comprised several elements shared with others over a broad area, but also retained distinction in the type of grave assemblage and also, I would suggest, the ceremonial and commemoration which took place. The earrings and the cavalier-horse burials raise important questions about whether differentiated rites were primarily determined by ethno-cultural traditions perpetuated in family and community groups, or, crucially, were distinct because of the lifestyles and deeds of the deceased and the commemorative practices of their professional peer-groups. In a military context, one's comrades were, and indeed are, regarded as family and certain rites would have been entrusted to peers rather than family, especially if the latter were not near the deceased at the time of death. Whatever proportion of the Vicenne cemetery was used by new settlers in the seventh century, what is more important is that there seems to be evidence here that peer-group social relationships were strong determinants in the nature of these extraordinary cavalier-horse burials.

It has been suggested that the sacrifice of a horse was fundamental to a funerary ideology in which was the horse was as central to the rider's death as it was in life.[52] Here, the *quid pro quo* that was enacted in the funerary and later commemorative rites was as much with the horse as the human, and it is this which differentiated a person's relationship with an animal which fought with you, to one with a domestic animal whose primary function was not as friend, but as food. This idea seems to be corroborated by the other grave-goods found in these burials. The presence of both staff and stirrups alludes to a clear military use in life, and also to a major shift in military innovation in horse-mounted warfare which was thought to have occurred in the eighth century, but from evidence here, probably occurred much earlier, as suggested also in the discussion on horse brooches in the previous chapter. While the inclusion of stirrups and staves in Avar burial contexts is unremarkable, in an Italian context they are unique.[53] They also suggest that some of the grave-goods might have

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[52] *Ibid.*

[53] The stirrups are also of Avar type: *ibid.,* pp. 337-38.

been included for the benefit of the horse, and not just his master. As suggested by the objects found at Rutigliano, and indeed those from Vicenne, certain personal ornaments and perhaps tools also, were inextricably associated with their deceased owners, and could not be retained by their living communities. The sacrifice of the horse in the instances of the cavalier-horse burials also suggests that certain human-horse relationships had to end when the person died. It might have been inconceivable for another to use someone else's staff, sword, or indeed ride their horse, in spite of the great financial value that these items would have represented.

The specific case of grave 33 offers an intriguing insight into how the social relationships of his peers might have manifested in the use of objects in his commemoration. The skeletal evidence from this grave suggests that, at the point of death, the individual was a young adult male, estimated to be around twenty years old and who had almost grown to his full height (169cm at time of death). He retained all his teeth with three molars (presumably wisdom teeth?) almost erupted.[54] What is most striking was a large lesion, rectangular in shape, found on the skull, indicating a sharp blow to the head which had caused a long fracture towards the left of his forehead, and also caused his death. The osteoarchaeologist who examined the skeleton suggested that the nature of the blow (from above) suggested summary execution.[55] Other analyses of his mortal remains are only broadly suggestive of an ethnicity which was shared by large populations across Pannonia and Italy, even the western Mediterranean more generally, with several characteristics shared by the Roman population in Italy.[56] His identity, then, as suggested by his remains may seem incongruous with his distinctive grave-goods which included the gold seal-ring with Roman intaglio and Beneventan tremissis, a set of cavalry equipment of 'Avar style' and of course, the horse and the remains of its caparison. Indeed the horse itself poses another cultural conundrum. The grave 33 cavalier was buried not with

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[54] G. Giusberti, 'Lo scheletro della t. 33 di Vicenne. Un caso di morte violenta', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* p. 339 of 339-343.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 340.

[56] *Ibid.*

the usual kind of German horse and its larger then average frame differentiated it from other late antique-period horses, whether German, Avar or early Hungarian in origin. The horse was about three and a half years old when buried, and its skull had been smashed as well.[57] While it is beyond the scope of the case-study to hypothesise further about the identity of this person and how and why he was killed, two important conclusions may be drawn, specifically about social relationships.

The first is that, as also demonstrated in chapter four, sharing affinities with a cultural group could take on a variety of forms. This young (Italo-Roman) man found his affinity with both an Italo-Lombard elite, evidenced by the ring and other personal ornaments, while also sharing his identity with his cavalier peers, who themselves might have been new settlers who came, or were welcomed here, because of their particular skill in cavalry fighting and horsemanship. Indeed, could this young man have been instrumental in the, perhaps legendary, invitation by Grimoald to Alzeco and his Bulgar troops? As a result, his funerary rite and grave furnishings would have reflected both these affinities, but it was perhaps his comradeship with other cavaliers that resulted in this magnificent burial being made for him. The second conclusion is that, if, for example, his death was caused in combat, his peers would have taken on the role of family to lay him to rest, and indeed was it the deceased's preference that this should happen. By sacrificing his large horse, those conducting the funeral ceremony, and those commemorating him, were making the social bond between him and his horse permanent, to the exclusion of any benefit that horse might have brought to his family or peers. In addition, it was a deep sign of respect and admiration towards this man for his peers to enact the sacrifice, as they were demonstrating that no one else was worthy of riding and fighting with such an evidently special horse. His grave was an especial recording of the life of an extraordinary person, with stories told about him and his comrades, perhaps at the cemetery itself. A similar *quid pro quo* would have existed with the other cavalier-horse burials, and their proximity to each other, in

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[57] S. Bökönyi, 'Two more horse graves from Vicenne', in: S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.) *Samnium,* 342-43.

addition to those elsewhere at the same cemetery, would not have been accidental. There are hints here that continued commemoration of cavalrymen and their families, by future generations and local communities, was a special feature of the social relationships which existed during the life of the site at Vicenne.

The final example of this case-study is more strongly indicative of the family-based social relationships which are evident from the use of objects as grave-goods. In central Calabria, the fifty or so cemeteries recovered have yielded a very small proportion of grave-goods, particularly those which have been archaeologically recorded.[58] However, cemeteries such as Celimarro, near Castrovillari, and Torre Toscano, near Belsito, have both yielded, relatively speaking, a high quantity of metal artefacts, of which some have already been introduced in discussions on earrings, horse brooches and penannular brooches. From the cemeteries and other small finds reported from here, the extant goods apart from the ceramics, range from belt-ends, buckles, decorative mounts with abstract, animal and anthropormorphic motifs such as lions and warriors, or otherwise with an inscription such as those on the penannular brooches discussed in chapter two.[59] In addition, finger rings with a similar range of motifs, including crosses and stars like pentagrams.[60] Earrings, in their full range of styles, materials and forms, as discussed in chapter four, together with belt and other vestimentary ornaments comprise the largest proportion of grave-goods from here. Pectoral ornaments such as brooches and pendants with cruciform and chalice/peacocks motifs, for example, and those in penannular, disc and zoomorphic (horse) form are the least attested.[61] Where it has not been possible to ascertain an original funerary context for some objects, I would suggest that specific use as grave-goods should not always be assumed. 'Lone' or 'chance' finds, if not down to accidental loss,

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[58] M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale: complimenti dell'abbigliamento e monoli in metallo nei sepolcreti della costa ionica centro-settentrionale', *Studi calabresi,* 1 (2) (2001) p. 7 of 7-50.

[59] M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale'*,* pp. 47-49, figs. 2-24.

[60] *Ibid.,* p. 49 figs. 25-31.

[61] *Ibid.,* p. 50 fig. 42-45.

might have related to their deliberate concealment. As with some of the inscribed penannular brooches such as discussed in chapter two, several *enkolpia* (cross pendant reliquaries) have come to light in such a way across Calabria, and also in Naples, dating from the seventh to the twelfth century, perhaps also indicating their significance for pilgrimage or other religious act.[62] Indeed, deliberate concealment of objects outside funerary contexts can also be strongly suggestive of social relationships between a person (pilgrim) and a sacred site such as shrine or church, and also with their broader religious and lay communities.

What are noticeably lacking, however, from the cemetery at Torre Toscana and others in Calabria are gold and silver artefacts. Here, the work of several decades, if not centuries, of grave-robbing and treasure hunting may be the most significant reason for their relative absence. While the region's Soprintendenza Archeologica has recovered some items, these have tended to be objects in baser metals such as bronze.[63] How many of the gold artefacts which have arrived in foreign museums without provenance might have once come from here? There is some semblance of an idea that such treasure hunting led to the three gold disc-earrings, reputed to have come from Calabria, and later sold to the British Museum in 1872 (table six, E94 and E95). Consequently, assessments about the relative wealth or status of the necropolis community must be made with all due caveats in this regard.

The cemetery at Torre Toscana comprises (to date) 44 graves. Twenty-six of these have showed signs of interference or robbing.[64] **Table eight** gives a brief illustration of the twelve graves from which objects were recovered, in addition to four grave-goods which have been identified with the cemetery but whose exact provenance is unknown (G1-4). In addition to grave 15 (G7),

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[62] A. Coscarella, *Insediamenti bizantini in Calabria. Il caso di Rossano* (Cosenza: Editoriale Bios, 1996) p. 26, for crosses and *enkolpia* found in Reggio Calabria, p. 30 for an *enkolpion* from Calanna (Reggio), both dated to the seventh century, p. 47 for an *enkolpion* dated to the eighth century from Drapia, near Catanzaro, p. 62 for a ninth to twelfth century *enkolpion* at Malvito near Cosenza; *Naples: From Roman Town to City-State* (London: British School at Rome, 2002) p. 119, fig. 6.6 and n. 24 for references the reliquary crosses found in Naples.

[63] G. Roma (ed.) *Necropoli e insediamenti fortificati nella Calabria settentrionale*, vol. 1, *Le necropoli altomedievali* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2001) p. 114.

[64] *Ibid.,* p. 129.

graves 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and a group in the middle of the area around graves 19-24 have all been interfered with by clandestines (cemetery: **fig. 71**, grave-goods **fig. 75**). It is imagined that some of these might have been the original contexts for the grave-goods without exact provenance.

The necropolis is situated in the commune of Belsito, along the valley of the Stupino, and was created on top the plain on the hill of Torre Toscana. This vantage point gives views over the valley of the Savuto, and to the south are the *Campi di Malito* (fields of Malito), which are traversed by the ancient road from Reggio to Capua, the *Via Annia* or *Via Popilia.*[65] The northern parts of the cemetery were partly excavated in the 1960s, while the major campaign of archaeological investigation took place in 1999.[66] Investigations have also taken place since but have not been fully published. Small nearby settlements whose population might have used and serviced the cemetery were at *Vurgo* (Burgo) and *Campo.*[67] Evidence from the stratigraphy indicates that the cemetery was used over approximately 150 years between the second half of the sixth century and the duration of the seventh.[68]

Overall, there seems to be a correlation between the deeper burials which are almost completely lacking grave-goods, and those nearer the surface from which virtually all the objects derive. This has led to the idea that two distinct communities were using the cemetery at the same time during its period of use.[69] Alternatively, they might represent generational differences in practice or in the nature of objects used in ritual and interment. Each grave also houses the skeletal remains of the deceased in varying degrees of completeness. In all cases, the person was laid in the supine position, on their backs, as was the case in the rest of the cemetery as well. In grave 15 (G7), however, the remains of another body were found at the feet of the laid out skeleton. This, it seemed, was the result of previously interred remains being moved to make

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[65] *Ibid.,* pp. 113-14.

[66] *Ibid.,* pp. 114-16.

[67] *Ibid.,* p. 128.

[68] *Ibid.,* p. 130.

[69] *Ibid.,* p. 153.

Cemetery at Torre Toscana
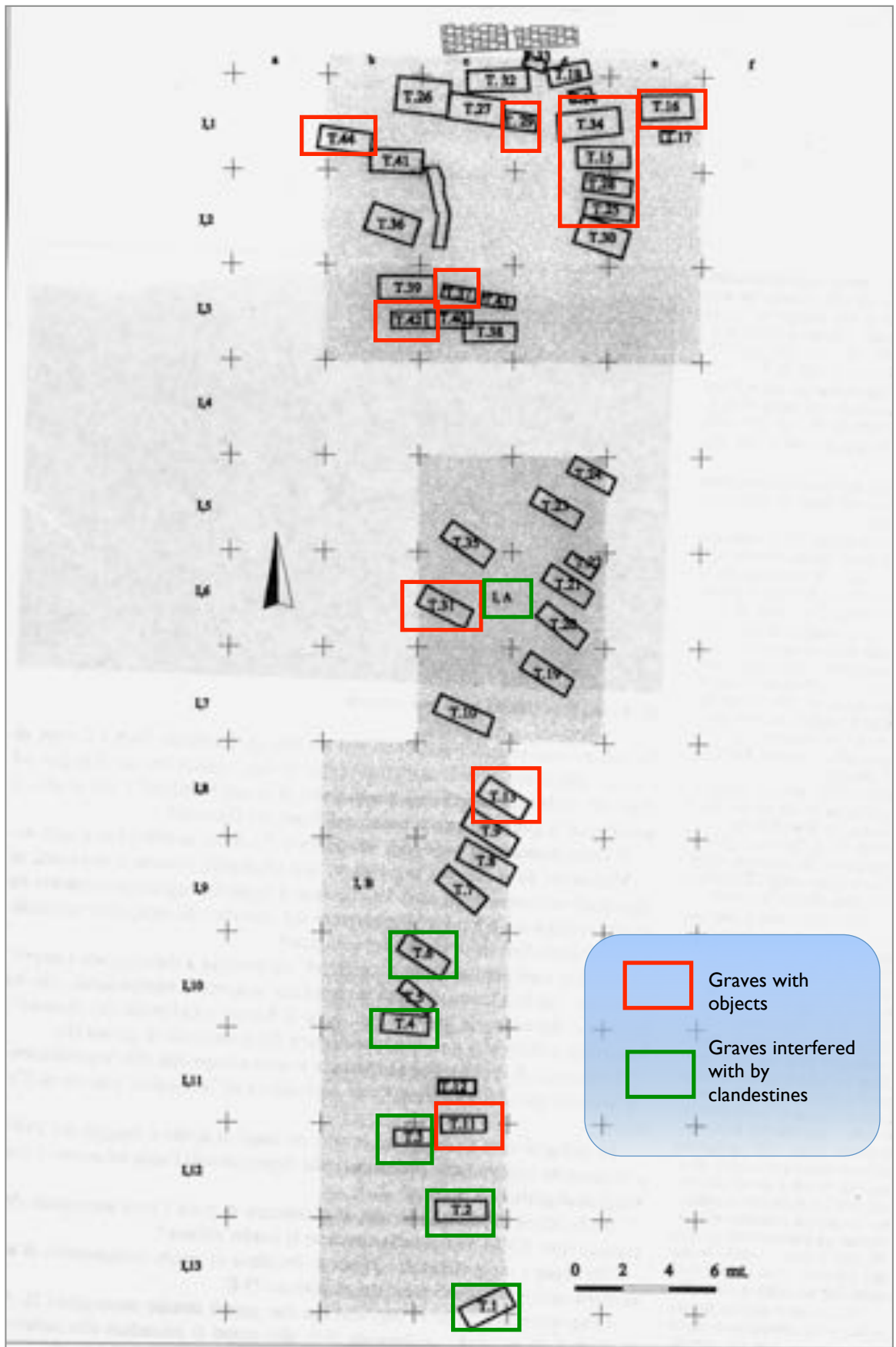
Fig. 71: Plan of the excavated cemetery at Torre Toscana, Belsito, Calabria
After: G. Roma (ed.) *Necropoli e insediamenti*, p. 115, pl. 30

room for the more recent body. There is also significant evidence for grave linings and covers made of stone and brick, and this accounts also for the relatively high preservation of artefacts which have avoided total corrosion. In the area around the cemetery, several fragments of pottery were also recovered. Could these be evidence of commemoration after interment in the service of the deceased community and family members such as evidenced in Otranto?

Demographic evidence of the funerary community is fragmentary but some skeletons have been preserved well enough for their approximate age and sex to be determined, in signs of those who in life had suffered disease or injury. Female skeletons were recovered from graves 25 and 28 (G9 and G10), and one was buried next to the other. Adolescent or young skeletons were found in graves 29 and 37 (G11 and G14). Where identifiable, all others contained the bones of an adult. Malformations of bone were found in graves 16 (G8), possibly one of the female graves (G9), possibly grave 31 (G12) and grave 34 (G13).

From an object comparison viewpoint, a group of five graves in the northern sector of the cemetery offers the most insightful information regarding the possibility, or probability, of a familial setting (**fig. 72**). That this sector is where the majority of the grave assemblages come from may also not be coincidental but indicative of a generational custom of preserving community and family memory through selecting objects for interment, and others for commemoration away from the grave. They were also buried at a similar depth, of between 0.35 and 0.45m suggesting further a connection between this group. Graves 15, 16, 25, 28 and 34 (G7-10, G13) between them accounted for nine of the twenty objects or sets of objects recovered from Torre Toscana. Also in this group were the two bodies positively identified as female (G9 and G10), in addition to three of the bodies which showed some signs of malformation (G8, G9, G13). Also within this group is grave 15 (G7) which contained the remains of one person laid on his/her back, and the remains of another piled at their feet. A single, corroded iron penannular brooch, missing its pin, was recovered from this context. Unfortunately, this was one of the graves interfered with by

clandestines and so it is impossible to make a suggestion about whether objects were either added or removed when the second person was interred. Nevertheless, that a grave could be reopened for a second interment in such a fashion, is suggestive of the attitude with which the living approached the dead. If a family member was interred in the same grave as a previously deceased relative, it might also suggest that it was through ongoing commemoration of that previously dead person, that both the grave and its previously singular inhabitant was remembered. In addition, the practice of 'not forgetting' that occupant, might have, in part, related to the objects that were buried with the original occupant.

The two female burials are also of note for each yielded three objects as part of their assemblage. The body in grave 25 (G9) was also the one with possibly signs of injuries at the bottom of her legs and feet. Another iron penannular brooch, with missing pin, an iron ring perhaps used to suspend a purse or toolset and a single bronze hoop earring came from this grave. The assemblage from grave 28 (G10, **fig. 74**) also comprised personal ornaments, this time a pair of bronze earrings, a buckle found near the stomach area and a small two-handled container resembling a *kantharos* such as those found in other Calabrian cemeteries, and depicted on the brooch from Cirò Marina (table seven, S17). The two remaining graves in this group also yielded skeletons with signs of injury or disease. In grave 16 (G8) were the remains of an adult who had a malformation of the dorsal-lumbar region (lower-back) and with him was recovered a bronze penannular brooch with only the twisted fixture of the pin remaining (**fig. 73**). In the adjacent grave 34 (G13) were the remains of an adult who seemed to have suffered from a disease of the lower limbs indicated by the contracted position of the lower body. From this grave a singular buckle was recovered.

All the burials in this group seem to have been interred wearing some form of clothing with personal ornaments. Whether these were personal ornaments specifically acquired for the person's burial, or whether they were the kind of personal ornaments which were bound to the person in life, such as dowry items, is impossible to assess. What does seem important within this

group is that interring a person in a manner which they resembled in life (as opposed to shrouding) was an important part of the commemoration. This is indicated by their position in supine position, laid out on the back, by the similar orientation of the graves, and alluded to by the nature of the objects remaining extant. If these graves did indeed belong to one family, their *quid pro quo* was to ensure that dead loved-ones were laid to rest similarly so their identities may be shared in death as in life. The presence of a single earring in grave 25 (G9) might also suggest that the pair was split at the time of burial, with one earring being placed with the body, and the other retained by the family for commemorative purposes, or even to pass on as an heirloom, particularly if the death was considered premature (as might be indicated by the apparent foot problems). The *kantharos* in grave 28 may be more suggestive of the woman's role and talent in life (perhaps as winemaker?) than its use in funerary celebrations. Or, once again, it might have been a gift which was considered to be inalienable.

A final feature of these burials, and indeed others, are those which comprise a penannular brooch without their pins, or with their pins removed as suggested most strongly by the one in grave 16 (G8). In many cases, the reason for a missing pin will have been because the commonly iron pin has since corroded. However, deliberate removal of the pin and the reasons for this, as indicated by the one here, should not be discounted altogether. Those brooches that were found without their pins may indicate a function beyond that of pilgrim souvenir or practical item for securing garments. Two possibilities are that this was done so the object could be such as reused as something else, or was deliberately altered to prevent further use. The apotropaic aspect of these the inscribed brooches has already been alluded to, and three examples come from this cemetery alone (G1, G6, G12). Archaeological evidence from Bifrons (East Kent, England) revealed that a zoomorphic penannular brooch was worn at death as a bracelet.[70] Was this as a talisman or charm for the afterlife, or to

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[70] D. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins. Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) pp. 27-28 citing S. Hawkes, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Bifrons', in: D. Griffiths (ed.) *Anglo Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology*, 11 (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), pp. 12-13.

protect the integrity of the body? Or were their magical properties believed to have relieved suffering in life? The *Lupu biba* penannular brooch from Torre Toscana (G12) was found at the level of the body's right shoulder and this body showed signs of injury in the left arm. This might have even been the reason for the pilgrimage. However, there is significant evidence that deliberately putting objects beyond their normal function was practised across early medieval Europe, with evidence also found in the intentional breaking or bending of tools or coins.[71] Could the practice of removing a pin from a penannular brooch have served a similar function? If so, was it the custom of this family group, or even broader community which serviced Torre Toscana, to ensure this was done? In so doing, were the living ensuring that the eternity of their relatives' souls was ensured, so the dead would then bestow their protection to the living?

In all the examples given in this case-study, a variety of ways in which the *quid pro quo* could have been maintained between living and dead, has been demonstrated. The subtlety and complexity with which objects, as grave-goods, should be understood has also been emphasised, and in this regard, the relative position of objects, their possible treatment before interment (splitting a pair, breaking) and the relationship of one furnished grave to another, all worked to create networked social exchanges. While discerning identities from grave-goods is problematic, the increased analysis of osteoarchaeological evidence should help make more meaning for the objects' relationship to the person. Finally, approaching the early medieval cemetery as a community in its own right, or even a set of communities, can illustrate further, the social heterogeneity inherent within southern Italy at this time, and the negotiation of space and social mores that would have had to take place for such sites to be used and preserved.

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[71] R. Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic* (London: Batsford, 1987), particularly chapter 4.

Case-study two: Social objects in texts

The emphasis on chronicles, especially those which emanated from Montecassino, has somewhat obscured the value of other texts from southern Italy as sources that are similarly important for understanding the region.[72] This case-study will therefore identify alternative texts, particularly those that are not naturally called upon as history-tellers, such as charters, to demonstrate their importance in describing the nature of society in the region. The texts shall be interpreted, relatively loosely, as 'recordings' of relationships during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the role of objects in creating and transmitting those recordings.

The *Scroll of Genealogies* of Ahimaaz ben Paltiel has recently been re-examined for its value as a personal and family history whose literary and historic contexts were firmly rooted in eleventh-century southern Italy.[73] The southern Italian backdrop to the *Scroll* is indeed paramount to its interpretation. The grandson of a treasurer at the Capuan court, and son of a governor of the city, Ahimaaz completed the work in 1054 at Oria, Apulia. This was at exactly the time when social upheaval began to affect many parts of the peninsula as Italo-Lombard institutions began to give way to Norman ones and tensions increased in Byzantine-administered territories such as Apulia. It has been suggested that the potential for the loss of family memory and its oral tradition at this time was the main reason for this particular recording, and indeed others

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[72] W. Pohl, 'History in fragments' analyses the origins and transmission of several early medieval manuscripts originally associated with Montecassino as evidence for the Lombard principalities of southern Italy, comprising among others Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (History of the Lombards)*,* Abbot Radoald's *Chronicon Salernitanum* (Chronicle of Salerno) and the so-called *Chronica monasterii Casinensis* (Chronicle of the Monastery of Montecassino); G. Loud, 'History writing in the twelfth-century kingdom of Sicily' in: S. Dale, A. Williams Lewin and D. Osheim (eds.) *Chronicling History. Chroniclers and Historians in Medieval and Renaissance Italy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007) 29-54, discusses history writers of the Norman 'conquest' of southern Italy, principally, Abbot Alexander of Telese's *Ystoria Rogerii Regis Sicilie Calabrie atque Apulie* (History of King Roger of Sicily, Calabria and Apulia), the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus': *La historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurarium* (History of the Tyrant of Sicily) and Falco of Benevento's *Chronicon Beneventanum* (Chronicle of Benevento).

[73] The Hebrew transliteration and English translation is found in: *The Chronicle of Ahimaaz* (ed. and trans.) M. Salzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924); the reassessment is P. Skinner, 'Gender, memory and Jewish identity: Reading a family history from medieval southern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe,* 13 (3) (2005) 277-296.

from the mid to later eleventh century.[74] The men in Ahimaaz's family were recalled for their accomplishments in learning, particularly in religious practice and doctrine.[75] The recollections of the women, on the other hand, are notable for their retelling of family history, especially a matriarch of Ahimaaz's family line, Cassia.[76] Was it a woman's role therefore to be the person remembering and creating the family memories?[77] It has been suggested that such objects, particularly books, formed an alternative to burial sites and geographical landmarks as the foci of family memories, owing to the seeming mobility of Ahimaaz's family across southern Italy and beyond.[78] The house as a locus for Jewish religious expression, as opposed to a Christian's relationship with a church, may also indicate that family possessions like books were more privileged in the formation of Jewish family history than in Gentile families.[79] It has similarly been suggested that prohibition on Jewish ownership of stable property at least in Lombard-administered areas may have precipitated the need for wealth to be contained in moveable goods.[80] However, these conjectures need not be made so starkly as there is significant evidence that Christian family and community relationships, particularly in Apulia, were just as referential to moveable goods as those evidenced in Ahimaaz's chronicle. His writer's identity as an Apulian from Oria, therefore, might, therefore, have had more of an impact on his history writing than his identity as a Jew.[81]

The discussion of objects in the *Scroll* begins with the legendary story of one of Ahimaaz's most esteemed ancestors, Rabbi Shephetiah who lived some time in the mid-ninth century, a time when Jewish communities in Byzantium,

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[74] P. Skinner, 'Gender, memory and Jewish identity', pp. 286-87.

[75] *Ibid.,* p. 289; Ahimaaz, *Chronicle,* p. 62.

[76] P. Skinner, 'Gender, memory and Jewish identity', p. 291; Ahimaaz, *Chronicle,* pp. 82-4 on Cassia's personal qualities and marriage.

[77] P. Skinner, 'Gender, memory and Jewish identity', p. 290.

[78] *Ibid.,* pp. 292-93.

[79] *Ibid.,* p. 293.

[80] *Ibid.,* p. 292.

[81] Evidence for Ahimaaz's southern Italian identity is also found in his use and statement of family lineage, echoing those used in the charters of such places as Amalfi and Gaeta, in: *ibid.,* pp. 294-95.

including Apulia were being actively persecuted under Emperor Basil I.[82] Ahimaaz describes how R. Shephetiah's ability to heal Basil's daughter while he was summoned to the court at Constantinople earned him an imperial boon; the request, to stop the continued mistreatment of Jews in Oria was granted.[83] The personal gratitude from the empress came in the form of her own personal ornaments, a pair of earrings weighting a *litra* of gold and also a girdle of equivalent value, both of which were to be given to Shephetiah's two daughters.[84] Whether these objects remained in the family's possessions as heirlooms by Ahimaaz's day, or whether it was just the story the remained, the use of objects as transmitters of family history is obvious, as they are in numerous other narrative sources. What, perhaps, makes this event more remarkable in Ahimaaz's recording is a subsequent story involving his great-grand father, Rabbi Hananeel III, himself the son of Rabbi Paltiel who was astrologer and vizier at the Arab court of Al-Muizz (Fatimid Caliph 953-975).[85]

Following Arab raids around the southern peninsula in the tenth century, many families both Jewish and Christian were forced to move to avoid the menace. Parts of Ahimaaz's own family moved from Oria to Bari; others still sought refuge in Otranto.[86] The unanticipated circumstances of the family's removal clearly led to much of what they held valuable to be left behind. Ahimaaz recalls that, "sorely depressed and afflicted," Hananeel sought permission from the Byzantine emperor to grant him a license to travel from Egypt to Italy to reclaim the property that belonged to him and his family.[87] In Bari he found an old copy of the Bible belonging to him, personal ornaments and clothes belonging to female members of his family.[88] By reuniting these objects, Hananeel would be able to reunite his family, and more importantly re-

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[82] A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London: Routledge, 1971), pp. 86-92; the event discussed in *ibid.,* p. 289; Ahimaaz, *Chronicle,* pp. 69-74.

[83] Ahimaaz, *Chronicle,* p. 73.

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Ibid.,* pp. 88-97 on Paltiel's deeds in the Arab court.

[86] *Ibid.,* p. 91.

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] *Ibid.,* pp. 91-92.

establish the connection with their memories. However, Hananeel's attempts to reclaim his family's property were met with resistance from the "teachers and sages of Bari."[89] They cited the law in the Mishna which empowers those who save goods from destruction by an army, fire or water to keep them. Countering this, Hananeel reminded the Barese sages that the Mishna also said that the law of the land should be the one that binds obligations, and thus produced his sealed license from the emperor. The end result was a compromise between Hananeel and the sages where he was to take the garments and Bible and whatever was left, could be kept by the community in Bari.[90]

Apart from this object-centred story being another 'peg' for family and community memory, the quest and acquisition of these objects was clearly personally important to Hananeel.[91] Firstly, his desire to reclaim family property was directly related to his wish to return to his ancestral community in southern Italy. Secondly, Hananeel's subsequent journey to Benevento, where he lived for a year, was a prelude to his marriage to a certain Esther, daughter of Rabbi Shabbethai of the family of a Rabbi Amittai.[92] And in Benevento he remained for the rest of his life with his wife and had three sons, one of which moved to Capua whence Ahimaaz himself derived. Was Hananeel's marriage planned from Egypt? If so, was the reclamation of family heirlooms an essential pre-requisite to the wedding? These heirlooms, particularly the clothing, may have functioned as a bride price or *mohar,* required by Jewish law, but also reflecting the southern Italian *morgincaph* or morning gift of Lombard custom, discussed further below.[93] Therefore, it is reasonable to concur that this story, and that of R. Amittai's deeds in the Basilian court were retained and told by the women in the family. The particularly relationship, however, of women, objects and family

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[89] *Ibid.* p. 92.

[90] *Ibid.*

[91] The role of objects as stimuli for memory in this context is also discussed in: P. Skinner, 'Gender and memory in medieval Italy' (see n. 17).

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] L. Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract: A Study in the Status of Women in Jewish Law*, (Clerk, NJ: The Lawbook Exchange, 2004) pp. 53-77.

history should be more overtly stated as all were mutually dependent for their continued roles in keeping the family, and therefore the community, together.

Family histories such as those written by Ahimaaz were not limited to special documents like the *Scroll.* Indeed, much of the information which survives on the interactions between objects, people and recordings come from southern Italian charters, and they too attest to the way in which the recording of objects defined social relationships. The first examples come from tenth-century Gaeta from where two wills stand out. The first was that of Docibilis I, *ypatus* of Gaeta, written in 906.[94] Docibilis I (867-906) is credited as being Gaeta's first independent ruler and progenitor of a ruling dynasty which lasted for around a century.[95] As such, it would have been a significant part of his descendants' duty (and desire) to keep their link with him as close as possible, and maintain his memory in their own activities. However, first, the reason for the recording and alienation of moveable goods in Docibilis I's will requires attention. As a person who used no evidence of aristocratic lineage in his documents, it has already been suggested that his rise to power originated rather in great wealth accumulated in moveable goods through trade and commerce.[96] Combined with this, the comparative lack of land being alienated in his will and his lack of attention to specifying how lands outside the city were to be divided amongst his heirs, seem to privilege his moveable wealth. Docibilis also specified the bequest of moveable goods to all his four daughters and three sons, in contrast to his grandson, Docibilis II, who only bequeathed moveables to his daughters.

In addition to the essential function of a will to ensure property, stable and moveable, was alienated in a controlled and suitable manner, most important for a ruling elite, such documents also functioned as crucial recordings for this new city-state. Amongst his stable property, variously donated to churches and

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[94] *Codex Diplomaticus Cajetanus* 1, (Montecassino, 1887-1967) no. 19, pp. 31-37.

[95] P. Skinner, 'Noble families in the duchy of Gaeta in the tenth century', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 60 (1992) 353-377; p. 360 reconstructs the Docibilan dynastic family tree; discussed also in P. Skinner, *Family Power in Southern Italy. The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours 850-1139* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 57-146; full genealogy from Docibilis I p. 17, fig. 1.1.

[96] P. Skinner, 'Noble families', pp. 355-57.

other religious foundations, he left for his seven sons and daughters, gold, silver, bronze, silk clothes and spices, in addition to slaves.[97] If, as seems likely, Docibilis I was already a successful merchant before he came to power, and also a key negotiator with the Arabs, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that he, while establishing a new ruling elite, would actively wish to reflect the heritage of his power in his will.[98] Although no objects were specifically itemised, as shall be seen with the Apulian examples, the range of precious commodity and the ability to bequeath such quantities to each of his many children is indicative of Docibilis' desire for his descendants to continue in his tradition of acquiring power and standing through moveable wealth, and through these objects, he was procuring a precious relationship with his descendants that his grand-son Docibilis II would later echo.

What is remarkable about the way in which Docibilis II made his will, almost a half century later, in May 954, is the way in which it reflects Docibilis I's will.[99] His will is almost twice as long, paying much more detail to the division of his lands to his beneficiaries, perhaps also indicating that in the time of two generations, Docibilis II was acting more like an aristocrat than a merchant.[100] Gold, silver, bronze, silk cloths, linen, servants and slaves were the goods that he received from his father, Duke John I and left to the church.[101] For the memory of his daughter Maria (married by now?), were given, gold, silver, bronze, silk cloths, servants and slaves.[102] He also gave directly to his four other daughters, Anna, Gemma, Drosu and Megalu, the same goods with the

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[97] One example of the phrasing refers to the bequest to his daughter Eufimia: Item volo et iubeo ut quantum datum habeo eufemie filie meae aurum argentums ramen pannos siricos species familias mascolos et feminas sit ei firmum et stabilem. *CD Caj* 1, no. 19, p. 32.

[98] On other evidence for Docibilis I's association with the Arabs, P. Skinner, 'Noble families', pp. 357-58.

[99] *CD Caj* 1, no. 52, pp. 87-98.

[100] Docibilis II's lands are discussed in: P. Skinner, *Gaeta,* pp. 65-69 and map 3.3.

[101] Haec iterum volo, et iubeo, ut aurum, et argentum, ramen, pannos siricos, et lineos serbis, et ancillis peculiis magnis, et parbis omnia, et in omnibus quicquit da dicto Iohannes Dux datum habemus, sit eis benedictum a Deo Patre omnipotenti. *CD Caj* 1, no. 52, p. 90.

[102] "Volo, et iubeo, ut aurum, argentum, ramen, pannos siricos serbis, et ancillis omnia, et in omnibus quicquit datum habeo bonae memoriae Mariae Principissae filiae meae, sit ei benedictum a Domino Patre omnipotentis. *CD Caj* 1, no. 52, p. 94; the editor of the document suggested Maria was the wife of the Capuan prince.

addition of some stable property.[103] This will was the very last charter Docibilis II requested. Inasmuch as such wills could be seen as 'formulaic' particularly when comparing the recording of moveable goods to those in Apulian documents, what remains important is the connection it maintained between Docibilis II, his heirs and his ancestors. The practical purpose for giving moveable property to his daughters would have been for their dowries and, as such, makes explicit his detailed consideration for their future, and that of his heirs. Unlike his grandfather, but more in keeping with the majority of other wills from southern Italy, moveable property was not explicitly left to his sons. However, recording the transferral of these moveable goods, recalling those of his grandfather, seems to be much more than just making provision for his daughters' hopeful marriages. The objects would come to symbolise and remind future heirs of their heritage, much like those demonstrated in Ahimaaz's *Scroll.* While landed wealth was less easy to control after its alienation, Docibilis II could use his moveable property, itself partly inherited from his father John I and maybe even Docibilis I, to continue a politically important family and dynastic tradition, and connecting him and future heirs directly with his illustrious forefather.

The recording of objects as evidence for social relationships between laypeople and the church are also evident in southern Italy, particularly from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gifts to churches and monasteries can therefore be examined as more than symbolic political gifts, and more than the imperatives for a healthy monastic or ecclesiastical economy.[104] One of the most well-known series of donations made to a southern Italian monastery were those of Robert Guiscard and Sikelgaita to Montecassino, mostly given after 1076 when he visited the abbey himself.[105] Apart from the context of

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[103] *Ibid.,* pp. 94-96.

[104] Graham Loud has been the most systematic of historians examining monastic economies in southern Italy: 'Coinage, wealth and plunder in the age of Robert Guiscard', *English Historical Review,* 104 (458) (1999) 815-843; 'The monastic economy in the principality of Salerno during the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 71 (2003) 141-179; *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) ch. 7, 'The secular Church' pp. 363-429.

[105] 'Coinage, wealth and plunder', p. 836.

refurbishment and the renewed vigour of the monastery and its properties (such as San Pietro at Taranto) under Abbot Desiderius, the inclusion of the list of donations in the *Chronicle of Montecassino* is significant.[106] By the time of the donations, Robert Guiscard had been married to the Lombard princess, Sikelgaita, herself a devotee of the monastery, for over a decade. The large number of donations provided with their names were remarkable in their extent, but also in the detail of their recording. A subsequent book in the *Chronicle* similarly recounted the donations made by Cidrus, viscount or *viceprinceps* of Capua, from the mid-1060s to the early 1090s.[107] Although his gifts of cash and sacred goods were not of the scale of Guiscard and Sikelgaita, the impact of the list in the chronicle may be similarly considered, particularly as he was an associated in the *Chronicle* with the new Norman princes of Capua.[108] How this wealth was in fact transferred to Montecassino is a difficult question, particularly what direct role someone like Cidrus would have had in the acquisition of such items.

It has been suggested that the silks in particular would have been imported from Byzantium, however, as demonstrated in chapter two, there is no reason why some of these textiles might not also have been produced in southern Italy at the time.[109] It is certainly possible that Amalfitan, Neapolitan or Gaetan merchants could provide fine goods, particularly as Capua would have been more closely associated with its neighbours on the Tyrrhenian coast than to Apulia or Calabria. Nevertheless, movement through the peninsula was multifarious and complex and so an exchange which went through several sets of hands whether within or outside of southern Italy is entirely plausible. Cidrus himself, before he eventually retired to the abbey in about 1090, may have had many interests in the manufacture or import of moveable goods like silk and

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[106] *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 34, (ed.) H. Hoffman (Hanover, 1980).

[107] *Chron. Cas.,* bk. 4, ch. 13, p. 482; a discussion of the relevant passage is in: G. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder', p. 840.

[108] It is uncertain if the Richard referred to in the text is Richard I of Capua (1058-1078) or Richard II (1091-1106). The passage was recorded about 1093. *Chron. Cas.,* bk. 4, ch. 13, p. 482.

[109] G. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder', p. 840.

metalwork. Therefore his own desire to have objects associated with him recorded in the great history of Montecassino, might have been as strongly felt as that of more egregious donors, particularly as his latter life was, or intended to be, remote from the materiality of the world.

What exactly was being recorded by the chronicler of Montecassino, for it was more than a practical inventory of monastic property.[110] Aside from the cash and bullion of various types, and stable properties, the range of objects recorded is remarkable. Among the many textiles were *pallia*, silk cloths, usually purple but which could be used for a variety of liturgical purposes such as a pluviale or cope (illustrated in the passage on Cidrus' donations),[111] a silk altar-cloth with purple borders, decorated with pearls and enamels (*coopertorium altaris sericum cum urna purpea ornatum margaritis ac smaltis*),[112] an embroidered Persian tunic – possibly linen (*tunicam unam de panno perso inaurato*),[113] eight albs (long white robe) made from *matassa* cotton (*albas de matassa bambacii octo*) and Arabic wall or arch hangings to be hung over the choir (*duas cortinas Arabicas, que pendent supra chorum*).[114] The variety of cloths in themselves echoes those documented elsewhere in southern Italy, not least in some of the richer dowries, discussed below. While it is entirely likely that the list of money, goods and chattels were recorded originally in a charter principally for the sake of record, its incorporation into the *Chronicle* is wholly suggestive of the same kind of need, as that demonstrated by Ahimaaz, to use the recording of objects to link the future with the past. The interspersal in the list, of occasions which precipitated a donation, is telling in this respect, for example, a great *pallium,* with gold and cash, when Guiscard

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[110] *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, pp. 438-39; a partial translation and discussion is provided in: G. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder, pp. 822-23; note, Loud interprets *cortina* as lantern; I interpret them as hangings or curtains which were commonly used to adorn the spaces between arches.

[111] Throughout the passage containing Guiscard and Sikelgaita's donations; in the passage relating to Cidrus: *Pallium purpeum et listam auream pro pluviale.*   *Chron. Cas.,* bk. 4, ch. 13, p. 482.

[112] *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, pp. 439.

[113] *Ibid.*

[114] *Ibid.*

marched against Tivoli,[115] 190 worsted or silken wool cloths (*farganas*), probably used as blankets or sheets, for the brothers in the dormitory when Guiscard returned from Rome with Pope Gregory,[116] and tablecloths for all tables in the refectory from Sikelgaita after Robert Guiscard's death.[117] William, Bishop of Troia, ordered a charter with similarly well-described objects to record his gifts to the cathedral. These, he said, he was only able to make in better times, following the end of the strife in the city in the mid-twelfth century.[118] Like Guiscard and Sikelgaita, his gifts too were marking auspicious events, in this case, the end of bad times (the devastation caused by Norman attacks and destruction in Apulia under William I) and a period of renewal for his cathedral, an event that he wished to be remembered and associated with. What better way to do this than inserting himself into the fabric of the church in this way. The roll of gifts itself functions, somewhat, as a chronicle of the new cathedral at Troia.

Who was responsible, the chronicler, abbot or benefactors remains the interesting question. Sikelgaita's personal affinity with Montecassino and the mutually politically-motivated marriage to Robert Guiscard, of course, all contributed to the gravitas surrounding the multiple gifts made to the monastery and therefore the list would seem an obvious device for a chronicler to suitably pay tribute to such important patrons. Indeed, the joint issue of the gifts also echoed many of the charters issued in both names since the 1060s and more generally, her role at his side was fundamental to his successful conquest of southern Italy and Sicily.[119] For Robert Guiscard, the donations since the 1070s may have been even more expedient as they offered him a way into parts of southern Italy which might otherwise have remained hostile, particularly near

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[115] Item secunda vice, quando perrexit super civitatem Tiburtinam, posuit… unum pallium magnum.   *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, p. 438.

[116] Tertia vice, quando reversus est a Roma cum papa Gregorio, …hinc missit centum nonaginta farganas fratribus in dormitorio.   *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, p. 438.

[117] Uxor preterea ipsuis quando egrotavit, misit… Item quando venit huc post mortem ducis, …cooperuit omnes mensas refectorii manteliis. *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, pp. 438-39.

[118] *Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese* 21, *Les chartes de Troia*, (ed.) J.-M. Martin (Bari, 1976), no. 81, pp. 252-53; the gifts were made successively in the years 1157, 1158, 1160 and 1162.

[119] P. Skinner, 'Halt! Be men!': Sikelgaita of Salerno, gender and the Norman conquest of southern Italy', *Gender and History,* 12 (3) (2000), pp. 626-28 of 622-641.

the territory of Capua, and a way of limiting the damage to his character caused by his excommunication by Pope Gregory VII.[120] However, one of the principal difficulties with ascertaining the specific circumstances, and therefore exact motives, for the donations mentioned in the *Chronicle* is their date, particularly in relation to his campaigns around Capua and other lands concerning the monastery.[121]

Similarly, Sikelgaita's motives for the donations, while also inextricably connected with those of Guiscard, are not simply delineated. It has been suggested that Sikelgaita took an active role in politics and business, particularly to protect the pre-eminence of her son, Roger Borsa's inheritance to Robert Guiscard's fortune and power.[122] The control of her own property, and her ability to alienate it independently is also testament to her role as a facilitator of southern Italian acceptance of Robert Guiscard — the kinder face of conquest — particularly following his death in 1085 and the succession of Roger Borsa.[123] Did the extension of her royal power, acquired both from her Salernitan heritage and her association with Robert Guiscard, extend to how history itself was written? It has been suggested that far from just being a eulogising chronicle of Robert Guiscard, Abbot Desiderius and the abbey of Montecassino, Amatus of Montecassino's *History of the Normans* (c. 1080) could, in fact, have been motivated and shaped by Sikelgaita herself, not just to lend her son legitimacy, but also herself.[124] This assertion is compelling but it provides important context to the way in which the *Chronicle of Montecassino* might also have wished to convey one of their greatest patrons, in her own right, and therefore it is important to see both the donations and their recording against both contexts, not just that of Robert Guiscard. It is also noteworthy that Amatus himself, much as his descriptions of the coming of the Normans to

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[120] G. Loud, 'Coinage, wealth and plunder', pp. 821-29 discusses the donations along these lines; see also G. Loud, *The Latin Church,* pp. 94-97.

[121] *Ibid.,* p. 95.

[122] P. Skinner, 'Halt! Be men!', p. 630.

[123] *Ibid., passim.* for several examples of gifts of property made in her name and reference to her as *dux,* pp. 629-30.

[124] *Ibid.,* pp. 634-37.

southern Italy were not as materially-based as those of William of Apulia (discussed in chapter three), does no more than make a cursory mention of Guiscard and Sikelgaita's generosity to the monastery.[125]

As Duke of Apulia, Guiscard would of course have had considerable disposable wealth with which to endow foundations such as Montecassino. As demonstrated in chapter two, this wealth was in large part found in the kind of moveable goods, particularly silk, as found in the *Chronicle.* As masters over all this wealth, both Guiscard and Sikelgaita would have been keen to convey their prosperity, and have it remembered, through these objects. Like Docibilis I and II, were Robert Guiscard and Sikelgaita using objects associated with their own history to create a relationship between memory and place? Further, did their new association with Apulia also bring with it a desire to request that the region's tradition of meticulously itemising objects in documents be used? This latter scenario might be particularly true if one or more, now lost or unknown, charters, in the form of a *charta donationis* or *oblationis,* were issued in Apulia itself. However this information was brought together for the purposes of the *Chronicle,* two important factors for understanding this social exchange between Robert Guiscard, Sikelgaita, Montecassino and the chronicler become evident.

The first is that the compilation of the lengthy, painstaking list adds undoubted gravitas to the story of Montecassino and its illustrious supporters. It gives the whole work an air of historicity that is grounded in its material, albeit spiritually imbued, wealth. Secondly, the statement by the chronicler that there were also many other gifts "which could neither be remembered nor catalogued"[126] might also indicate that part of this testament was orally recounted. If the objects which lace the passage in particular, were extant at the time of recording, a monk or even, perhaps, a figure like Sikelgaita, could have used them as triggers for recalling the gifts and their associations (illness,

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[125] *Storia di' Normanni di Amato di Montecassino,* (ed.) V. de Batholomeis, (Rome, 1935) bk. 8, ch. 22, pp. 361-62.

[126] que nec recoli nec numerari possunt. *Chron. Cas.* bk. 3, ch. 58, p. 439.

war, pastoral care for the monks) from their memory of giving and receiving. History could therefore be written.

The case of the monastery of San Benedetto in Conversano provides an interesting contrast to the kind of social exchanges evidenced in the sources above. This time, the donors were not luminaries such as Robert Guiscard and Sikelgaita and the donations were made over a period of time in the mid-twelfth century, contemporary to those made by Bishop William to his cathedral at Troia. San Bendetto was one of only two unattached monasteries which existed before the Norman conquest of Apulia, the other being on the islands of Tremiti, off the Gargano promontory in northern Apulia. San Bendetto was founded around 957 but specific reference to its rule only occurred in its charters in 1092.[127] This situation in itself may have made Conversano an attractive base for religiously conscious Norman settlers. It offered something familiar, a system of relationship formation which they were used to. Indeed, its greatest patron in the latter years of the eleventh century was Count Geoffrey of Conversano (Robert Guiscard's nephew) who made a number of donations of land to the house between 1072 and 1099.[128] The locality of San Benedetto was as much sociological as functional as the majority of gifts made to the foundation came from local people.[129] What implications did this have for the relationships San Benedetto made with its lay patrons and what modes of social exchange did they use? It has been suggested that the mid-twelfth century exchanges from 1148 to 1169, described below, between the abbey and lay patrons might have been the result of a desire amongst ecclesiasts to recover liturgical and sacred objects which had, for one reason or another, fallen into lay hands.[130]

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[127] G. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p. 57 cites document *Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese* 20, *Le pergamene di Conversano,* (ed.) G. Coniglio (Bari, 1975) no. 53, pp. 122-24.

[128] *Ibid.,* p. 102 and n. 167 for references to specific charters; pp. 431-32 and n. 3 for further charter references.

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] *Ibid.,* p. 426.

For what other reasons there was a desire both to give and acquire vestments, books and liturgical metalwork, particularly in this period, are worth exploring further. As mentioned above, the years in which these donations were made to San Benedetto were tumultuous for all inhabitants of Apulia. With Roger II's death in 1154, any accord with Byzantium was doomed as his successor, William I (king 1154-1166) pursued an active and aggressive policy against those who supported Byzantium while he also sought new ties with Venice.[131] While this clearly had an impact on local exchange networks particularly centred in Apulia at this time, as shown in chapter two, the social situation was not peaceful in certain hotspots like Bari and Brindisi where there remained residual loyalty to the Byzantine emperor. Conversano on the other hand, was firmly in Norman hands and the evidence from the charters of donation confirm that San Benedetto, while it was to degrade rapidly in the last two decades of the twelfth century,[132] enjoyed a continued period of strength under the abbacies of Simeon and Eustasius during the years in question. Indeed, the donation of moveable goods in exchange for land use seemed to be a mutually convenient transaction which allowed the monastery to acquire goods for the amelioration of its monks, particularly books, and also permitted its lay donors to cultivate land which they might not otherwise have had access to for income. Socially speaking, both the abbot and the lay donors were social conformers, working with the political and economic conditions of the time, which enabled them to maintain the *quid pro quo* while deviants in Apulia might not have had a similar framework to work within.

The first of the transactions was recorded in October 1148.[133] John, son of Melo of Conversano gave to Abbot Simeon of the monastery of San Benedetto, a book of the Epistles of Paul (*librum unum qui dicitur epistula*

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[131] In around 1154 Venice, put under pressure by the conflict between the Byzantine Emperor Manuel and the Norman king, could see no option but to ally with the Normans in order to retain their privileges in the Adriatic, and presumably also southern Italy and Sicily, A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453,* vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958) 2nd edition, p. 424.

[132] G. Loud, *The Latin Church,* p. 246 and n. 214; p. 455 and n. 207.

[133] *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 99, pp. 208-209; the document is dated 1149 but the editor has made a correction to 1148.

Pauli), in addition to an annual gift of two pounds of wax, all in exchange for the use of some deserted monastic property, as long as John continues to have heirs, and if he should not, the property would revert back to the monastery. The next set of exchanges in June 1149 in February 1154 took place between the same abbot and the brothers Leo and Urso.[134] In 1149, another copy of Paul's Epistles was supplemented by two copes of excellent purple silk (*de obtimo catablactio*) and 320 *ducales.* In exchange, the brothers were given the *castellum* in nearby Rutigliano with its surrounding olives.[135] By the 1154 transaction, the brothers were recorded as being *de castello Rutiliani,* and in this year gave to the monastery, a missal, a further two purple silk copes, a silver chalice, a silver thurible and cash amounting to 233 *ducales.* In this exchange, the brothers received the usufruct of cultivated and uncultivated lands in *Bigecti* (Bitetto).[136] Leo and Urso, in addition to their material donations were also to provide San Benedetto with a tithe of all the produce from these lands. In this document, the notary was also careful emphasise to the abbot and monastery's necessity for the objects being exchanged.[137] This kind of double-exchange would seem, on the surface, to benefit the monastery more than the two brothers. However, taking into account the general principles of the *quid pro quo* and the reciprocity that is essential in forming human relationships, the use of this land, probably to grow olives and vines, would have balanced well with, or even out-weighed, the provision of sacred objects, the large amount of cash and the tithe.

The return of the tithe on an annual basis, much like John's annual provision of wax in 1148, would also have been in mitigation for the likely profits they would generate from the yield. Five years after Leo and Urso's 'gifts', in July 1159, Achilles, son of Rao, of Conversano made donations of similar items,

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[134] *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 100, pp. 210-11 (1149) and *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 103, pp. 215-17 (1154).

[135] Rutigliano is about 12km north-west from Conversano.

[136] Bitetto is due west of Bari and about 27km from Rutigliano.

[137] …placet michi vicariare et accipere in vicaria alias res magis utiles et necessarias eidem nostro monasterio.   *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 103, p. 216.

this time to the new abbot Eustasius.[138] These were two purple silk copes, a silver thurible, a missal, a copy of Paul's Epistles and an annual donation of four pounds of wax. The objects were given in exchange for a house, granary and shares in two small holdings belonging to the monastery. Once again, San Benedetto ensured that they continued to benefit from the exchange with the annual requirement for wax. Whether this wax tax was in addition to that provided by John (above) or to replace now lost returns owing, perhaps, to the benefactor's death, is uncertain, but Eustasius' continuation of Simeon's policy in this vein is revealing of the continued need for San Benedetto to use their social and economic standing in the community to acquire and improve. For the donors too, the equilibrium in the relationship also meant invaluable usage of land they would not otherwise have had access to.

A gift exchange of February 1165 is quite unusual in that the document is prefaced with a clause which stated that for the improvement of the things of a church, permission was given in Roman and Lombard law to make agreements to exchange things of the church, perhaps indicating that some questions had been raised about the way in which the abbots were conducting their business, or indeed did the monastery itself find itself needing to question whether the following transaction was legal?[139] A certain lord Hugo, son of Simeon, also of *castellum Rutiliano,* donated to the monastery, another book of Paul's Epistles, a *gestarium,*[140] a nocturnal antiphon (*librum qui nuncupatur Antifonarium noctornum*),[141] a missal, a purple silk cope and a silver thurible, in addition to 200 *ducales* in new and good silver coins. In return, Hugo received lands in the place called Biiectum (also referring to Bitetto) where Leo and Urso also held property (see above). Indeed, the brothers' holding there is cited in the

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[138] *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 106, pp. 221-23.

[139] Quoniam romanorum ac longobardorum legibus liquet ecclesiarum prelatos res earum ad augmentum tamen sui commutare utiliter cum convenientibus posse.   *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 112, pp. 233-37.

[140] The editor thought this could be a knightly romance or perhaps an historical work; possibilities include the romances of Alexander the Great which were popular in Italy and France at this time, or even a copy of a southern Italian history such as that of William of Apulia's *Deeds of Robert Guiscard.*

[141] For Vespers.

boundary clause of the document. However, this was land that originally belonged to the priest Alecisio which was originally given as a gift to the same monastery. The need therefore to confirm, in albeit equivocal legal terms, that the alienation of such church property was acceptable when it would otherwise benefit the organisation, raises the possibility that there may have been pressure placed on the monastery by Hugo or another to release this land to him. In addition to the statement of legality recorded at the beginning of the charter, the enthusiastic support of the abbot's decision by the prior and all the other brothers, is suggestive of the desire for the monastery to be seen to be acting as one organ, and not one in which there might have been disagreement over the exchange.[142] Nevertheless, Hugo was, as the other lay donors before him, obliged to provide a tithe from the profits of the land to San Benedetto on an annual basis. In the matter of the donations, liturgical metalwork, vestments and books, Hugo's was not unusual. Would Leo and Urso have had association with Hugo at both Rutigliano and Bitetto? If there were personal or business associations between the three of them, it may suggest that, through the brothers, the social network centred on San Benedetto, could be extended for mutual benefit. An alternative view is that the circumstances of this exchange in fact showed early signs that the monastery was willingly, or otherwise, over-extending the *quid pro quo* established in the exchanges described above? Clearly some questions were asked before this agreement of exchange was drawn up for both the legal precedent and the statement of unanimous agreement to have been recorded in such a way.

The penultimate transaction in this series, made also in February 1165 saw the return of an exchange with Leo and Urso, prompting the possibility that Hugo, Leo and Urso may have made these agreements at the same time.[143] On this occasion, they gave to San Benedetto, a missal, a silver chalice, two silver thuribles, six copes, two *de catalaptivo,* two *de palio* (both types of silks,

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[142] …vicariare et accipere inde in vicaria alias res que magis utiles et necessarie sunt eidem nostro monasterio, et dum hoc michi aptum facere visum est habui inde colloquium cum domino Nicolao nostro priore et cum omnibus nostris confratribus eiusdem sancti cenobii, qui omnes illud michi unanimiter facere laudaverunt.   *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 112, p. 234.

[143] *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 113, pp. 237-39.

possibly also purple) and two *de xamito* (samite, a rich, velvety fabric, possibly red), in addition to twelve ounces of Sicilian gold tari. In return, the brothers were granted an olive grove owned by the monastery at Rutigliano, and from this a tithe was to be returned. Once again, it was important to state that this transaction was made with the unanimous agreement of the prior, Nicholas and all the brothers.[144]

If relying on their names is useful to examine both the February 1165 cases, it might be suggested that lord Hugo was associated in some way with the Norman county of Conversano and Loritello, at this time Robert II (died 1182) who himself was in exile between about 1156 and 1170.[145] The relationship between Leo and Urso, probably natives of the area, and Hugo however remains unclear. Were the objects which Hugo donated themselves the property of, or acquired by, the two brothers, or did they meet while themselves conducting business in the silk or other trades? A detailed prosopographical study of the individuals directly involved in the exchanges as well as those mentioned in the boundary clauses of these documents may yet reveal the extent to which new Norman settlers and longer-standing Conversanesi were involved in the network at San Benedetto. Indeed, a comparative study of such exchanges in the rest of southern Italy, over a longer period of time, may also further elucidate how lay-monastic social exchanges functioned through objects.[146] The final exchange in the series is dated to November 1169.[147] In this document, Alamanno, son of Maio, donated to the monastery, a missal, two antiphons, one *de nocturnis* (for Vespers), another antiphon *de diurbis* (for Matins), in addition to two ounces of Sicilian gold tari and an annual payment of 1 pound of wax. In return, Alamanno received a house with land, a courtyard and a well belonging to the monastery in

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[144] *Ibid.,* p. 238.

[145] J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Paris: Ecole Française de Rome, 1993) p. 776.

[146] Of particular interest would be inventories contained in charters from Naples, Cava, Amalfi, Siponto and Bari which would also allow comparison between monastic foundations and secular churches.

[147] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 123, pp. 257-59.

Conversano. In this last case, there did not seem the need to explicitly state that the exchange was made with the blessing of the other monks.

To sum up this investigation of San Benedetto in Conversano, how object exchange as a social process was used to create relationships with the lay community, needs to be articulated. First, on the subject of the objects themselves and access to them, it would seem likely that the abbot was specifically asking for these things to be commissioned and that the donors were either directly engaged in the manufacture or access to raw materials required. Alternatively, they were bank-rolling the acquisition projects and this would be particularly true for the copies of the books. That these exchanges represented a need for the monastery to recover liturgical objects in lay hands may only be true if they were once looted from elsewhere, however the nature of the exchanges, as recorded, seems to indicate that this was an unlikely motive for the kind of exchanges described above. The careful accumulation of several types of the same thing, such as the copes, the chalices and the books rather suggest that the abbots followed a specific scheme of procurement and were not relying on obtaining liturgical items on an *ad hoc* basis. The link between the cultivation of olives for oil and investment in silk and the silk industry, discussed in chapter two, may be of import here too. If the donors were able to acquire such items for the monastery, they must have had something else worthy of trade and exchange, and yields from olives, vines or wheat are all suggested by these documents. In this way, at least for a time, Conversano, already favoured by its Norman overlords, could maintain a flourishing monastery, while entrepreneurial laymen could benefit themselves from San Benedetto's assets. Until the end of the 1160s, therefore, the *quid pro quo* was working.

Unlike many other contemporary documents from Apulia, none of these mention the customary *launegilt* or 'reciprocal gift'. It is therefore likely that while the objects performed an obvious function in increasing the monastery's library and treasury, they also performed the job of the reciprocal gift, possibly removing any stain of these being commercially-motivated transactions which aliented church property into lay hands. The deliberate wording of all these

agreements *as* exchanges rather than property transactions in the strict economic sense, is also revealing (*vicariare, in vicaria*), as is the clause citing Roman and Lombard law. It was at this place that lay and religious spheres could interact and it was objects that enabled the exchange to take place in a mutually, socially, acceptable fashion. However, at some time around this point, the basis of social exchanges between San Benedetto and its lay patrons might have changed. The possibility of disagreement over the alienation of land previously given as a gift, or the continual requests for land from the lay community, regardless of the monastery's gains from such exchanges, would have no doubt put pressure on its own resources, making such exchanges unsustainable in the long term. As much as the involvement of liturgical objects in the exchanges were essential to their success, their meticulous recording in the charters, like the other donations to monasteries and churches used in history writing, would also have aided the historical memory of the monastery.

Through the series of recordings, both the monastery and its lay patrons were woven into its history, a benefit no one could remove, short of destroying the document. This was just as well, as prior to the foundation's severe decline from the 1180s, the county was taken under direct control of the royal treasury, and Hugh Lupin, a financial administrator of King Tancred (king 1189-1194) severely plundered its property, probably removing much of the wealth that Simeon and Eustasius had carefully accumulated.[148] This event was the death-knell for the system of exchange which both monastery and lay community benefited from. Therefore, the recording of such objects was a fundamental way of not forgetting the past (a golden age for San Benedetto?) when the physical evidence had long disappeared. The end of the period of donations in 1169 may also indicate the beginning of the decline as the two transactions between the monastery and lord Hugo, and the final one with Leo and Urso might testify. San Benedetto, unable to repel the deviant royal administrators, were unable to maintain themselves in the *quid pro quo* with their local lay

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[148] G. Loud, *The Latin Church,* p. 246 and n. 214; p. 455 and n. 207 citing charter *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 145, pp. 301-2; on the transfer of the county to the royal treasury, *CDP* 20, *Conversano*, no. 138 (1188) cited in: J.-M. Martin, *La Pouille,* p. 776 n. 653.

patrons, and as a consequence suffered most from this symbolic and material loss.

Turning now to a different set of social exchanges mediated by objects, the following discussion is situated in the secular world of the southern Italian family. The first example concerns a highly complex, contradictory and pithy court case concerning the disposal of the moveable possessions of a certain Guisanda of Bari in 1021 as willed by her prior to her recent death (see **tables 9a** and **9b**).[149] It attests to the tensions which could be caused when the tacit rules of the *quid pro quo* in object exchange were not followed by one or more party, and the result to the social relationship that resulted. The charter which records the dispute is itself the setting out of agreement which resulted between John, son of Maiorano of Noia,[150] Guisanda's widower, and the executors of her will. The case provides a fascinating insight into an exchange that did not result in Guisanda's intended will being carried out. The document begins by citing Guisanda's will according to which, a number of household items and clothing (mattress, mixed silk fabric, shirt, thin gold thread/cord, a low couch/sedan) were to be sold for her soul; to her infant son, Sandulus, she made provision with a woollen blanket, feather pillow and some uncut cloth; and finally for Juliana the nun, a low couch or bedstead.

However, John, Angelus (Guisanda's father) and Guisanda's executors, Urso and Dumnellus having been summoned to court, a rather confused scenario is revealed. According to John, Angelus took all things left by his daughter to his place, in safe-keeping for his grandson, Sandulus. Angelus' subsequent claim that he did not have a case to answer was predicated on his assertion that when his daughter died everything was sent into the hands of the executors, according to Guisanda's will. When summoned to court, the executors confirmed that this was true and that they were witnesses to her will. It transpired that the executors wanted to call John himself to witness and that before a disputation took place between the executors and John, a 'good agreement' was indeed made between them, with John making an oath *per*

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[149] *CDB* 1, *Bari*, no. 10, pp. 17-19.

[150] Noia is a suburb of Bari.

fustem for which he received *launegilt*. The document therefore records this resolution in the rest of the document. This agreement seems to contradict Guisanda's will in large part. Of the moveable goods that Guisanda judged for her soul, the executors gave John the cauldron and the trammel chains, the flax combs and wool carder, and the bed, to keep at his place. The stipulation of this was that John was to safeguard these items until his son came of age at which point his son, Sandulus, would be given the things. The usual penalty clause follows with guarantees to the other party and to the public purse should John renege on the agreement. Further, neither John nor his heirs were to contest the other goods held by the executors on behalf of Guisanda.

According to the will as it was cited at the beginning of the charter, none of the items that formed part of this agreement ought to have been given to John, albeit in trust for his son, if Guisanda's will had been properly followed, nor should Angelus have taken Guisanda's things after her death unless there were circumstances that were not recorded in the document such as a dispute between John and Angelus after Guisanda's death, or indeed between Angelus and the executors. Some of these things were also part of the group of objects intended for the benefit of the Church as the disparity between Guisanda's will and the present agreement attest.

This raises interesting questions about the relative worth of Guisanda's will in the eyes of the judge and the surviving male protagonists, her father, her executors and her husband. It may be that the legal worth of a woman's will possessed less primacy than the 'will' of her male counterparts after her death. In so doing, the executors, John, Angelus and the judge exercised their influence not only to partly override Guisanda's will but also alter the nature of the exchange for the objects concerned. And it is the latter exchange that was protected by the charter through guarantee and penalty, in perpetuity. In this case, the customary *quid pro quo* concerning the fulfilment of a last will and testament, would otherwise have gone undetected in the historical record. It is the instances where the normal order of things is interrupted like this that the significance of object exchanges can be made evident. Who were the social deviants on this occasion? Was it Guisanda who made a will making provision

to all except her own husband and only leaving a small amount of moveable wealth to her infant son? She may have ordered her will, and the alienation of her property, without the permission of her husband, but her father Angelus, who was likely to have remained her legal male guardian or *mundoald* (see below)*,* may in fact have given her permission to do this and in this way she was conforming absolutely to her region's tradition. Perhaps it was Angelus, Guisanda's father, who was accused of taking an unknown number of her possessions for an unrecorded purpose – to safeguard them for his grand-son, Sandulus? Or were the executors Dumnellus and Ursus the main cause of upsetting the *quid pro quo*? Indeed, the document does not make it at clear which items they were now charged with selling in order to make a donation to the Church in Guisanda's name. From John's own point of view, in whose voice the document was written, he may indeed have been more upset at the small amount left for his son, rather than himself as the final agreement suggests. Was John therefore fighting for a principal, that provisions to children ought to be made before those for the Church at this time?

That this dispute over possessions also concerned a young child is also telling. If, as indicated Angelus took as many possessions as he could following Guisanda's death, was this so that he could take custody of his grandson away from John? If so, Guisanda herself might have assented to this before her death, explaining the unique stipulations in her will. In response, was John fighting for the right to keep guardianship of his own son? In such a way, this attritional social exchange, centred on objects, might rather have been an analogy for altogether more serious considerations.

Creating a charter that committed object exchanges into a legal framework gave people an opportunity to ensure that items were moved and transferred in a very prescribed manner, even, as seen above, if that overrides a set of exchanges intended previously. A memo or note from 971, also from Bari, records a pledge of a bridal gift made by Kaloiohannes of Bari to Alefantus (who commissioned the *memoratorium*) on the occasion of his marriage to Alefantus'

niece, Visantia.[151] It is resonant in part of a pre-nuptial agreement. The small trousseau comprises a four-poster bed, a mattress, a pair of linen sheets, a goat-hair blanket, gold earrings and a fur rug/pilch. Some of the items were cited with their monetary values (others may have been lost in the damage to this document). In addition to these items, a slave-girl and then (after one year) a slave-boy were to be given. The *launegilt* given by Alefantus to Kaloiohannes was a silk handkerchief. What stands out later in the document, following Kaloiohannes' gift effectively to his father-in-law, is that they are in turn, gifted *by* Alefantus to the couple and a division of goods is made between Visantia and her new husband: the bed, bed clothes and slave-girl were to be given to Visantia, and the fur rug/pilch, earrings and slave-boy were to be shared *between* man and wife. The existence of the note confirming this gift and how it was to be distributed may indicate that it was this division, rather than the original gift from Kaloiohannes, that Alefantus wanted to ensure was legally binding.

This agreement attempted to ensure Alefantus was seen to be doing his duty as, presumably, her only surviving male guardian by providing the customary dowry for her, even if that had to initially be provided by Kaloiohannes. The division of the provisions made by Alefantus is however the crucial part of the document. It was Alefantus' duty to provide Visantia with a dowry of moveable property on the occasion of her wedding. This was the *quid pro quo* for Apulian marriage arrangements. For whatever reason, Alefantus was unable to provide these himself. The dowry traditionally remained solely the property of the bride: it was her insurance policy against marriage breakdown and widowhood. Therefore it was crucial for Alefantus to ensure that although the goods had to come from her husband, a portion would be hers to keep in the customary way in order that the marriage tradition in Apulia was kept. In this way, he would be conforming to his role as Visantia's male guardian. The earrings and fur rug worth six Constantinian *solidi soterichi olotrachi* and ten constantinian *soterichi olotrachi* respectively, in shared

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[151] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982) framm. 2, p. 98.

possession, indicates that both Kaloiohannes and Visantia would have had the prerogative to sell them, donate them, or have the option for using them as dowry or *morgincaph* (morning gift) for their own children, and so continuing this object-orientated tradition. The attention paid by a significant number of people in Apulia to recording marriage provisions in particular, in such detail is the subject of the final part of this case-study.

In chapter three, the dowry belonging to Rogata, daughter Gadeletus, of Terlizzi in 1138 was used as an illustration of the kind of possessions a bride might expect in twelfth-century Apulia, albeit that the size of this one was exceptional (see table three).[152] The stipulation in the same marriage contract that all the goods, according to the custom of their city (*secundum usum nostre civitatis*), should be passed on to the children of the couple for the same purpose when Rogata dies, on penalty 10 good solidi *sciphati,* further illustrates the attention Apulian families paid to ensuring that such possessions stayed within the family and additionally, were used for the purpose of brokering marriage ties*.* A significant number of the other Apulian marriage contracts from the tenth to well into the thirteenth century comprise similar moveable goods such as furniture and furnishings, especially a bed and bed-clothes, a trousseau, very often full of silk clothes and garments, and tools for living such as wool-carders and flax combs such as evidenced in Guisanda's will above.

The comparison of the tradition of recording moveable goods in such detail with those from the Cairo Geniza illustrated how cultural affinities existed across unlikely boundaries. However, in what ways did this kind of social exchange manifest in Apulia, and was this tradition shared in the rest of southern Italy where one might expect more of a cultural affinity between places? Although landed wealth might also comprise a dowry, there is a strong sense that in Apulia, objects were privileged as the basis for the social exchange which occurred between families and communities upon marriage. Another document from Terlizzi, made only few years after Rogata's dowry in 1141, alludes to the

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[152] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 3, *Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi*, (eds.) F. Caraballese and F. Magistrale (Bari, 1899-1976) no. 51, pp. 68-69.

preference for moveable goods for a dowry.[153] In this example, John Ybanellus was not able to provide his daughter a dowry of moveable goods on her marriage to John of Molfetta and she received six rooms in one of his houses instead. Similarly in Siponto in northern Apulia a house was given to Crassa for her dowry in 1193.[154] In this region, it was usual that the quarter portion of goods provided by the bridegroom as the *morgincaph* would comprise the stable property from which the bride may draw an income and dwell in following his death, or other end to the marriage.

While it is not the intention of this part of the case-study to become entangled in a discussion of the strict legalities of these marriage customs, it is worth pausing for a moment to sketch out the framework which existed for them at this time. In his *Assizes*, King Roger II (king 1130-1154) little on marriage provisions is specifically mentioned.[155] Law number 27, on the legitimate celebration of marriage, enforces canon law that marriage is a holy sacrament and should therefore be celebrated by a priest. Should this not be the case, any heirs would be considered illegitimate and lose their rights to their inheritance as would the women of these unions lose their right to their dowers. Clearly this was a prescription based on practices that existed and adds to the picture that marriage in southern Italy was as much a social and financial transaction as it was a spiritual one. Indeed, the law itself states that the provision was to apply to all future marriages rather than those who were already in contracted marriages, or for widows desiring remarriage. In a document from Trani dated June 1139, Roger II not long after taking the city confirmed its privileges and promises to maintain, uninjured *(illese),* their laws and customs.[156] Similarly, the *Liber Augustalis* or Constitutions of Melfi composed in the reign of Roger's

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[153] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi*, no. 57.

[154] *Regesto di S. Leonardo di Sponto*, no. 104.

[155] G. Loud (trans.), *The Assizes of King Roger*. Unpublished text of *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 8782, p. 27 (Medieval History Texts in Translation, School of History, University of Leeds: http://www.leeds.ac.uk/history/weblearning/MedievalHistoryTextCentre/medievalTexts.htm). Latin text in: G. Monti, *Lo stato normanno svevo. Lineamenti e ricerche* (Trani: Vecchi, 1945), pp. 83-184.

[156] *Documenti longobardi e greci per la storia dell'Italia meridionale nel Medio Evo*, (ed.) G. Beltrani (Rome, 1877) no. 33, p. 38.

grandson, Frederick II (king of Sicily 1198–1250), largely based prescriptions on marriage on the Assizes.[157] Two twelfth-century marriage contracts from Terlizzi in fact exist in thirteenth-century copies.[158] They may have been copied to preserve evidence of the strong marriage traditions which existed in the area, just at a time when such an attempt was made to bring the entire peninsula under the same set of customs. Based on a cursory survey of the marriage contracts from Apulia in the thirteenth century, it would seem that the tradition of providing moveable goods upon marriage continued unabated with the variety of objects instead growing more and more multifarious.

Attempting to understand the origins of marriage customs in Apulia is however, problematic, and therefore the way in which these social exchanges evolved is not clear. From the mid to late ninth century, Apulia functioned again as one of the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire when it was reconquered from both the Lombard principality of Benevento and the Arab emirate of Bari which itself had lasted almost a quarter of a century from 847 to 871.[159] They called the region the theme of *Langobardia,* and aptly so, as Byzantine Roman law or custom did not penetrate much into the realities of legal exchanges here, and less so in marriage contracts. Whatever the extent of knowledge about the law codes promulgated by the Lombard kings of old, or contemporary Byzantine Roman tradition, the consciousness of local tradition seemed to outweigh both, as illustrated in several of the marriage contracts throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the eleventh century phrases such as "*secundum ritus gentis nostre lagobardorum,*"[160] and "*secundum legem nostram langobardorum*" exist. [161] Into the twelfth century, the custom is cited

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[157] *The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi, Promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, (trans.) J. Powell, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

[158] *CDB* 3, *Terlizzi*, no. 163, pp. 184-86, dated 1193, copy from 1232; and no. 170, pp. 192-93, dated 1195, copy from 1229.

[159] The only relatively comprehensive study on the emirate is: G. Musca, *Emirato di Bari, 847-871,* 2nd ed. (Bari: Dedalo Libri, 1967).

[160] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 1, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264)*, (ed.) G. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Trani, 1964-1976, originally published 1897-1899) no. 14, p. 24 (Bari, 1027).

[161] *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I*, no. 18, pp. 36-38 (Bari, 1028).

as a local, civic one, as in Rogata's example, "*secundum usum nostre civitatis,*" or "*ut barensis mos est,*"[162] However even in 1110, in Conversano, a city which was home to many Norman settlers, a dowry was recorded as "*ut mos est gentis nostre langobardorum.*"[163]

The process of marriage negotiations began with the betrothal on which occasion the prospective groom gave the *meffio* to his fiancée and her family.[164] It usually comprised cash as his contribution to the new household and the wedding. In an example from 1073 in Trani, a *meffio* of twelve gold solidi was given by Risando, son of Iaquintus, to the family of the future bride Dunnanda.[165] The document, however, specified that this was for the purchase of a bed and bed-clothes (*pro lecto cum panni*), for silk clothing (*vestimento serico*) – this possibly referred to the wedding gown – and a slave-girl (*ancilla*) of sound limb and without infirmity. To confirm the transaction, the bride's family gave *launegilt* of a pair of buckled gloves (*parium manizzi nuscinei*). It is interesting to note an almost identical *meffio* from Barletta in 1097 where twelve gold solidi are given for the same items by Aquinus, son of John, to Petracca, son of Iaquintus, ostensibly for his wife Marotta.[166] The *meffio* was intended to remain the property of the bride to support her during widowhood unless she survived her husband in which case it return to him.[167] There was a case in Bari in 1167 where the breakdown of an engagement caused a dispute between

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[162] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-112 (Monopoli, 1181).

[163] *CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 64, pp. 150-51 (Conversano, 1110).

[164] The *meffio* in Apulia is discussed in P. Skinner, 'Room for tension: Urban life in Apulia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Papers of the British School at Rome,* 66 (1998) p. 166 of 159-176; P. Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society 500-1200,* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), p. 37-38 and 47; J.-M. Martin, 'Le droit lombard en Italie méridionale', in: F. Bougard, L. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds.) *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2002), pp. 101-5.

[165] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 9, *I documenti storici di Corato (1046-1327),* (ed.) G. Beltrani (Bari, 1923)*,* no. 6, pp. 7-9; other *meffio* contracts*: CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 18, pp. 36-38 (Bari, 1028); *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 36, pp. 75-77 (Bari, 1057); *CDB* 5, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo normanno (1075-1184),* (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito, (Bari, 1900-1982) no. 87 (Bari, 1136).

[166] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 10, *Le pergamene di Barletta del R. Archivio di Napoli (1075-1309),* (ed.) R. Filangieri di Candida (Bari, 1927) no. 4, pp. 7-8.

[167] J.-M. Martin, 'Le droit', p. 101.

the two families and the *meffio* goods were seized as a consequence.[168] Therefore, even at this early stage of marriage negotiations, the provision of moveable goods was fundamental to making the exchange work.

It was customary for the period between betrothal and nuptials not to exceed two years during which time the bride's family gathered her dowry, also comprising cash and objects, as above.[169] However, in one exceptional case, there was a delay of more than three years, before the marriage in 1060, of Alfarana, daughter of John, and Russo, son of Amorusi. The dowry itself was not acknowledged until 1065.[170] One could understand why. Alfarana's dowry was even more exceptional than Rogata's but this was almost eighty years earlier making the exchange more remarkable. In addition to fifty solidi in cash, it comprised several garments of silk and cotton with various decorations, several pieces of gold jewellery including four rings, a bed with canopy and bedding paraphernalia including a bed-cover decorated with lions, various items of furniture and furnishings, a large dinner service comprising items made of wood, stone and metal, cooking utensils and to store it all, a number of trunks and baskets. Patricia Skinner has highlighted the importance of this union in Bari: the daughter of the *Alfaranitis* family, who served in the imperial administration, marrying into an elite clerical family.[171] Each item was given a value and in this instance, the presence of a witness who was a *comerkiari* (collector of customs duty?) may be significant.

In Apulia, the dowry itself was considered also to be the property of the bride, and as was customary, in this case control of it reverted to her family should she die childless or the marriage was ended for some other reason.[172] Once again, the manner of how possessions changed ownership was carefully controlled through recording.

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[168] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 51; also cited in P. Skinner, 'Urban life in Apulia', p. 166 and n. 46.

[169] J.-M. Martin, 'Le droit', p. 102.

[170] *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 36, pp. 75-76 (1057) documents the betrothal, no. 40 documents the marriage; no. 42, pp. 83-85 receipt of the dowry.

[171] P. Skinner, 'Urban Life in Apulia', pp. 173-74.

[172] J.-M. Martin, 'Le droit', p. 103.

Provision for a woman's dowry was also a concern for those making wills, as suggested by those of Docibilis I and II. They often contained specific instructions on the type of goods to be bought, continuing a tradition of recording future object movements in detail.[173] In one instance, Nicolaus, son of Summus, of Giovinazzo, made his will in 1110 in which he left a bed and bed-clothes, (*lectis et pannis eorum*), woollen and linen cloth (*pannis etiam aliis laneis et lineis*) and household goods made of copper, iron, earthenware and wood (*regiminibus ligneis scilicet et fictilibus ferreis et ereis*), in the care of his mother Bella, but intended these things were intended for his sister Tottadonna.[174] In Canne, in 1035, Atenolf, son of Balsamus, left a bed, feather pillow, goathair blanket, and 100 *modia* of grain to pay for silk clothing, to his unmarried sister Letitia.[175] In a dowry of 1181 from Monopoli, the marriage contract carefully cited the origins of Germana, daughter of Petracca's dowry, which came as part of the legacy of her aunt, Kiramaria, wife of Nicholas *de Viparda*, of Bari but which was now in the hands of her executors lord Peter *de Antiochissa* and lady Sclavarella *de Corticio* of Bari.[176] It further stipulated that if the dowry was returned, that is, if Germana and her husband Peter Paul remained childless, the dowry would be given to Kiramaria's own daughters and their heirs, and should *they* die without offspring, it would return to the executors and *their* heirs. The dowry itself comprised several objects: a bed and bed-clothes, a mantle or head-scarf with fringes, 28 *brachia* of cloth, woollen cloth, another mantle (*pessina*), a shirt, a lace table-cloth (*tobaleam trinatam*), and a skin of some description (word missing in document), in addition to, a sum of cash (two ounces of Sicilian gold tari). The cultural contacts suggested by these protagonists has already been discussed in chapter three. Like Rogata's dowry, this one too bears remarkable similarity to the one described in the letter from Seleucia. If Peter *de Antiochissa* was indeed from Antioch or from a

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[173] The provisions made for marriage in women's wills in particular are discussed in: P. Skinner, 'Women, wills and wealth in medieval southern Italy', *Early Medieval Europe*, 2 (2) (1993) 133-152.

[174] *CDB* 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 55, pp. 98-100.

[175] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 8, *Le pergamene di Barletta*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1914) no. 12, pp. 28-29.

[176] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-12.

Syrian family, there might have been close similarities between his experience of undertaking such a task in Syria and in southern Italy.

The social exchange of marriage was finally completed on receipt of the *morgincaph* or morning-gift, given by the groom to his wife on successful consummation. Lombard law specified that this should be no more than one quarter of the bridegroom's possessions but in revisions made by Adelchis of Benevento in 866 it specified that this could be as little as one-eighth or *octaba*. *Morgincaph* documents from the abbey of Cava in the principality of Salerno seemed to follow the new tradition of the eighth while in the rest of Lombard southern Italy, the *quarta* remained.[177] Once again it is in Apulian documents that the detail of these gifts is found. *Morgincaph* documents on their own are rare as they usually comprised in longer marriage contracts which also contained the *meffio* and/or dowry. In the aforementioned marriage contract of Alfarana and Russo, her *morgincaph* is mentioned in the betrothal document in 1057: "*ut tollam et faciam michi uxorem per anulum et morgincap Alfaranam...* (to take and make Alfarana my wife through a ring and morning-gift."[178] Perhaps in this case, according to the sacrament, the couple did solemnise their union in church as a ring is mentioned. Some other examples using the phrases *per anulum* or *per anulum et morgengabe* are found in Bari and Conversano, and in Gaeta in southern Lazio.[179] These instances may indicate that a ceremony to solemnise the partnership did take place shortly before consummation and the formal transferral of morning-gift. The *morgincaph* like the *meffio* was intended to be the property of the bride which she could alienate on widowhood or other dissolution of the marriage, or otherwise with the permission of her *mundoald,* or male guardian. In Salerno this role seemed to

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[177] J.-M. Martin, 'Le droit', p. 102.

[178] *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 36, pp. 75-77.

[179] A. Marongiu, *Matrimonio e famiglia nell'Italia meridionale (sec. VIII-XIII)* (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1976) p. 70 and nn. 2-3 citing: "*per anulum:*" *CD Caj*, no. 239 (1069); *CDB* 5, *S. Nicola,* no. 79 (1130), *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, (1181), *CDB* 4, *S. Nicola,* no. 36 (1057) (cited before), *CDB* 4, no. 13 (1201); "*per anulum et morgengabe:*" *Il chartularium del Monastero di S. Benedetto di Conversano,* (ed.) D. Morea, no. 65 and *CDB* 17, *Le pergamene di Conversano,* (eds.) D. Morea and F. Muciaccia, no. 33 (1284) and no. 51 (1296).

transfer to a woman's husband on marriage but in Apulia, remained with her father, brother of other male relative.

In areas which followed Roman custom, women could, and often did, act on their own.[180] This may indicate further the tighter hold Apulian families had on their own family property than elsewhere, and the expression of this was in the detail of object exchange recorded in the charters. Normally, the *morgincaph* would have been used as part of an inheritance for a woman's children, or if childless, as a donation to a church or monastery. An example of this is made explicit in a donation of *morgincaph* property from June 1028.[181] Husband and wife, Bisantio and Alfarada, childless, give various lands, vineyards and small olive groves which comprised her *morgincaph*, to the archbishop of Bari. As the morning gift often contained land, this may well have been bequeathed to sons whereas daughters may have inherited their mother's or other female relative's dowry as in the examples mentioned before. Where *morgincaph* charters do appear on their own, they seem to take on a more overt symbolic role. A good example of this is again from Bari, drawn up in 1027. It marks the marriage of another Alfarana, perhaps also from the noble *Alfaraniti* family, and Mel, a master craftsman (*magister ferrarius*). Apart from the striking miniature showing Mel presenting the *libellum* or charter to Alfarana, herself dressed in the garments and jewellery given to her for the marriage, is the wording, which is more lyrical than legal:

> This is the morning-gift. I transfer to you a quarter part of all my stable and moveable inheritance... Of vines and vineyards, lands and territories, fields and woods... Of gold and silver, copper and iron... of silk, linen and woollen cloths, of wooden and glass vessels and all other household goods...

A *morgincaph* document with similarly poetic language was drawn up several decades earlier in Trani in 965, perhaps indicating the persistence of this deeply ingrained tradition.[182]

It has already been noted that the Apulian marriage contracts were object-rich and this seems to be as true, if not more so, in the twelfth century than the

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[180] P. Skinner, 'Women, wills and wealth'.

[181] *CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 15, pp. 24-25.

[182] Beltrani, no. 5, pp. 5-6.

tenth and eleventh century, at least as far as the document collections suggest. Was this simply for expedience? It has been proposed that growing fragmentation of land in southern Italy from the eleventh century caused female property to be limited to moveable goods as what land families possessed was required for male inheritance.[183] It has also been suggested that the lack of coins in circulation in Apulia was a reason for objects being substituted in these transactions.[184] Joanna Drell in her work on the principality of Salerno during the Norman period has indicated that notarial tradition may have obscured the composition of dowries, especially if it was only customary for land-transactions to be recorded.[185] But is that all that stands between the apparent difference in Apulia and elsewhere in southern Italy? Or, was the exchange of objects more important to Apulian families than other southern Italians for other reasons? The meticulous attention to stipulating how possessions should be dealt with, and the disputes which occurred when the expected transaction did not go as planned, is most characteristic of these object-centred exchanges and yet, a similar documentary tradition does not seem to exist to such an extent elsewhere.

Comparative evidence from both Salerno and Amalfi does certainly indicate that moveable goods were part of marriage provisions, especially for daughters. In the thirteenth century, cities such as Salerno, Amalfi and Bari drew up descriptions of their local customs or *consuetudines*.[186] The Salernitan example is explicit about items required for marriage and is specific about how social status should inform the composition of the *corredum:* marriage provisions for Salernitan nobles should include a bed with silk bedding, cutlery, curtains, luxury utensils, dishes and bronze vessels "for the purposes of pleasure." While the more general, presumably freeborn populace, could expect linen as opposed to silk furnishings, silk clothing, a bed and bed-

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[183] P. Skinner, 'Women, wills and wealth', p. 152.

[184] *Ibid.,* p. 104.

[185] J. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest. Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period, 1077-1194,* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002) pp. 68-71.

[186] J. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest,* pp. 71-72 cites Romualdo Trifone, *I frammenti delle consuetudini di Salerno (in rapporto a quelli dei territori circostanti)*, (Rome, 1919) pp. 115-17.

curtains, bronze vessels and chests.[187] The odd document from Salerno also suggests such customs were not new to the place, such as one from 1080 where a father gave his daughter and son-in-law land and various furnishings on the occasion of their marriage.[188] The practice of providing moveable goods on marriage probably also existed in areas of southern Italy which followed Roman custom such as Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi but their recording traditions have left this type of social exchange almost invisible. It is also noteworthy that at least in some instances, southern Italians who conducted legal transactions outside their homeland requested it according to their own custom, as with Amalfitans who were resident in the Lombard principality of Salerno who seemed to retain their Roman traditions.[189]

Amalfitan charters like those of Salerno were very land-conscious and documents concerning inheritance and the alienation of women's property almost exclusively involves fixed property such as fields, vineyards and chestnut woods, gardens, wells and ponds, houses and mills. The documents comprising marriage contracts normally include cash as was the Roman and Byzantine tradition.[190] This cash may itself have been to buy provisions for the new household. Amalfi in this period is well-known as a city of international traders particularly in the kind of luxury items found listed in the Apulian charters. Rogata herself given an Amalfitan handkerchief. However, what does close inspection of Amalfitan charters reveal about their object exchange traditions? In 1090, a widow settled a debt by giving her daughter in servitude to an Amalfitan couple on condition that they feed and clothe her and bequeath to her eight gold tari, a couch, items of clothing and two cooking pots. However,

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[187] *Ibid.,* pp. 71-72.

[188] *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis* 10, (ed.) S. Leone and G. Vitolo, (Badia di Cava, 1991) no. 141, pp. 338-40.

[189] H. Taviani-Carozzi, *La principauté lombarde de Salerne IXe-XIe siècle. Pouvoir et société en Italie méridionale,* vol. 1 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1991) pp. 516-20.

[190] *Codice Diplomatico Amalfitano* 2, (ed.) R. Filangieri di Candida, (Trani, 1951), appendix no. 598, pp. 306-7 (Ravello, 1159) a dowry of 28 Sicilian *tari* on successful consummation; *CDA* 1, (ed.) R. Filangieri di Candida, (Naples, 1917), no. 120, pp. 200-201 (Amalfi, 1120) a dowry of 30 solidi of *tari*.

the widow, Asterada, was the wife of Ademari, a Salernitan man.[191] Like the
Amalfitans who acted according to Roman custom in Salerno, did the
Salernitans do likewise when they lived elsewhere? In 1125, Peter, son of Leo,
a priest, made his will in which he gives his *fideli,* Theodonanda*,* some property
as well as his bed and bed-sheets and all moveable goods that he owned.
Were these items for an unmarried female relative, possibly even a
daughter?[192] In this case there is no indication of the origins of Peter. Perhaps
he too came from elsewhere, although that would usually have been indicated
with a suitable toponymic surname if he was not from Amalfi. Alternatively,
Theodonanda may have hailed from elsewhere and was in need of goods to
endow to a female relative of her own, in her own tradition. A group of
documents written in Greek instead of Latin, and preserved at the Abbey of
Cava, comprised marriage contrasts which enumerated goods to be given to a
bride or shared between the spouses, in much the same fashion as those from
Apulia, including one drawn up in Cerchiaria, near Cosenza in Calabria.[193] One
charter was in fact, drawn up in Calabria. Could the protagonists of these
exchanges also be amongst those who wished to record the marriage traditions
of their *heimat*?

As with the example from Seleucia where the dowry's composition
seemed to fulfil Byzantine, local and possibly even southern Italian traditions,
were these recordings of object exchanges in Cava, Salerno, Amalfi and even
Calabria, exceptional? It would seem, overall, that the people of both places
(and Naples and Gaeta may also be added) followed a largely unwritten
tradition of object exchange. The thirteenth-century *consuetudines* was
perhaps indicative of a need for cities to assert, and therefore record, their

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[191] *CDA* 1, no. 85, pp. 136-37.

[192] *CDA* 1, no. 126, pp. 213-15.

[193] 1097, dowry and morning gift comprising clothing, jewellery and land in Calabria, on the
marriage of Alpharana and John, made at S. Trinita, Cava.   *Syllabus Graecarum
Membranarum,* (ed.) F. Trinchera, (Naples, 1865), no. 62, pp. 79-80; November 1166, marriage
contract including household goods and linen cloth on the marriage of Sergius Villarita and
Argentia, daughter of Anna, recorded at Circlarium (Cerchiara Calabria, near Cosenza).
Trinchera, no. 170, pp. 223-24; May 1196, marriage contract with moveable goods listed
between Peter *de Iona* and Alexandria Tzangarim, at Cava.   Trinchera, no. 240, pp. 324-
25.

social customs, in order that they may survive the changes which were to take place at this time. Why people such as Amalfitans, whose reputation and identity was so intertwined with the exchange of moveable goods, chose not to record objects in the same way as Apulia is a conundrum. While it is true that Apulia continued to follow what they called 'Lombard custom' and Amalfi continued to follow Roman custom, this in itself does not explain the desire among some to record objects and their movements in detail, while others did not. Looking for legal origins has also been unfruitful in these cases.

There is a clear difference here in the value systems which informed the social exchange of marriage. Apart from the examples already highlighted in chapter three, nowhere else in Europe or even Byzantium where the documentary evidence is itself sketchy, used objects to document their marriages in such a way.[194] The closest comparison remains the recording tradition found in the documents of the Cairo Geniza. For the period under question, it is also clear that the Norman settlers did not bring with them marriage traditions which displaced existing ones in the documentary record.[195] In neighbouring Sicily, marriage contracts, if they ever existed in numbers, have not survived.[196] A notable exception is a Crusades-period chronicle which discussed the marriage, in 1113, of Adelaide to King Baldwin and listed the goods she brought with her.[197] Whether this was another use of object recording to shape an auspicious historical event in a chronicle, such as the example of Robert Guiscard and Sikelgaita, or whether there may have been some influence on Baldwin (king of Jerusalem 1100-1118) and Adelaide to use local tradition, is unclear. In other parts of Europe, marriage contracts are

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[194] Essays in F. Bougard, L. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds.) *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2002) discuss marriage contracts across Europe; a summary of Byzantine marriage traditions: A.-M. Talbot, 'Women', in: G. Cavallo (ed.) *The Byzantines* (Chicago, London : University of Chicago Press) pp. 117-43.

[195] J. Drell, *Kinship and Conquest,* pp. 75-76 and n. 99 (p. 75)

[196] J. Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: the Royal* diwan, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and A. Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in Norman Sicily. Arabic-speakers and the End of Islam* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002) do not mention anything on marriage in their works. In the appendix of documents in Johns, there is only one marriage contract; also Joshua Birk, *pers. comm.* (email), 3 July 2007.

[197] Chronicle of Albert of Aachen in: *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), pp. 696-97.

difficult to find more generally in charter evidence from before the thirteenth century, tending to be limited, where it exists, to royal marriages so comparison here with southern Italy becomes even more difficult. The relatively recent round table discussion (1999) and subsequent publication of papers on dowers and dowries across medieval Europe edited by François Bougard et *al.* demonstrate this limitation of evidence to royal and aristocratic families, and even then, the enumeration of provisions and possessions is not a great feature.[198] Prescriptive sources too only have limited use. The English legal manual referred to as *Glanvill*, composed in 1188, speaks of the differences between Roman tradition and English tradition where the marriage portion, *maritagium,* given with a daughter or other woman, is differentiated from the dower, *dos*, expected from her husband. Glanvill mentions land and services as part of these gifts but not moveable goods. Similarly, Byzantine custom mentions the *arrha sponsalicia*, or a prenuptial gift, which was given by the bridegroom's family to guarantee the engagement. It was returnable if engagement was broken with a matched sum, or if the groom broke it off, she could keep the *arrha*. This is very reminiscent of the southern Italian *meffio.*[199] The rights to the dowry echoed those of Apulia and elsewhere in southern Italy but again, the composition seemed to be dominated by cash, land or land in usufruct.[200]

Like the examples presented previously, the provision of moveable goods evidenced in marriage contracts is suggestive of the significance and value Apulians and other southern Italians placed in recording their possessions in documents. In the specific context of marriage, moveable goods allowed families to invest their wealth in property that was easier to safeguard and quick to alienate when funds needed to be released, safer than cash and land and less prone to the vacillations of governments, such as that demonstrated at Conversano. These practicalities may indeed have been the origins of why

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[198] F. Bougard, L. Bougard and R. Le Jan (eds.) *Dots et douaires dans le haut moyen âge,* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2002); J.-M. Martin however discusses the customs found in southern Italy.

[199] A.-M. Talbot, 'Women'*,* pp. 120-21.

[200] *Ibid.,* p. 122.

meticulous recording began, particularly from the later tenth century in Apulia which endured a more chequered history than many of its counterparts in Italy. The quantity and quality of goods cited in these documents attest to the growing prosperity of southern Italy, particularly during the twelfth century. While landed wealth revolved around the olive, the returns were invested in items such as fine textiles, jewellery and metalwork, and this wealth was controlled through social exchanges which principally revolved around marriage but also prior to death. In this way, the role of women and their control of moveable goods was crucial both to maintaining their status, that of their family and their community. In addition to their economic importance, possessions recounted in such charters were reflective once again of a desire to use objects to write personal and family histories. Therefore, this desire to conform to local tradition (*…ut mos est… secundum usum…*) enabled the protagonists to leave long-lasting signs about their tastes and beliefs. What the people of Apulia (and the Geniza archive) valued was embodying a life rite like marriage in the transferral of objects. Some of these may well have been heirlooms and therefore also functioned as creators of family and community memory such as that attested by Ahimaaz.

To conclude this case-study, in Apulia at least, objects were power. In spite of change heralded by the Norman political conquest and settlement of southern Italy, this *quid pro quo* persisted. Indeed it enabled new settlers to integrate themselves easily into a solid local tradition and therefore allowed them to cohere more easily with their host communities. Objects drove important social exchanges such as those at marriage and death and those between lay and ecclesiastical spheres. Others still, retained the recording traditions which to them were *heimat* when conducting their social exchanges outside their usual locales. All these exchanges were integral to the stability of local society and to maintain the *quid pro quo* that serviced the values of individuals, families and communities and enabled it to continue.

This thesis has ended with a study in how objects can evidence the sociology of medieval southern Italy. Both case-studies have shown how social exchange, driven by objects, could work in various scenarios faced by families

and the communities. Both case-studies have also highlighted how major moments in an individual's or family's life heralded moments of remembrance, history and recording through objects. In the earlier part of the period, the differentiated use of grave-goods seemed to occur across the peninsula, with only snapshots presented here, from Calabria, Molise and Puglia. There were also suggestions that the use of objects in consigning the dead and commemorating them at the site continued only as long as the community servicing the cemetery wanted to, or was able to, remember. What was also evident was that the use of objects was intensely connected with individual and small-group situations, and less so reliant on regional cultural differences. However, in the later period, the documentary sources for social exchange demonstrated that there was a more definite difference between regions of southern Italy, with Apulian sources far more concerned with creating recordings through objects than other parts. The enigma remains as to how one practice, that of interring the deceased with objects, might have led to the tradition of recording objects, such as those in wills and marriage contracts, and whether this was a particularly southern Italian development.

Conclusion

I began this thesis by asking how the study of material culture, particularly the exchange of objects, could contribute to a better understanding of medieval southern Italy. To address this question, I set out two principal aims: first, to test whether the analysis of material culture, from the region's own perspective, could challenge established paradigms; second, to use comparative methods to examine objects and their descriptions to help re-establish the relationships which existed between people and their things. Such questions sprang from a strong belief that objects were, and indeed are, important indicators and interpreters of human experience. Indeed, our material worlds are what make us uniquely *human,* and therefore we should take more notice of them and what they represented to people in the past. I saw here an opportunity to combine the development of new approaches to a range of historical sources, written and physical, with the examination of how such evidence can develop new, or better articulated, knowledge about a much neglected and marginalised region of medieval Europe and the Mediterranean.

I will conclude by responding to these two aims by highlighting specific issues which came to light during the development of this thesis. The first aim related to the subject matter, from which two principles emerged. The first refers to how I chose the problems or themes to investigate, and the second relates to the geographic limits of my study. It was not adequate to simply examine material culture *from* medieval southern Italy to inform so-called historical gaps. This would have resulted in a rather dry, perhaps disconnected, narrative of a range of material sources from the South, and would have not risen to the challenge of testing whether the study of material culture can actually tell us anything genuinely *new* or different about a place and its people. The success of my approach to object study required that I thought differently about the sources I had at my disposal and allowed their comparison to suggest the cases for investigation. With differently framed ideas of exchange forming the backdrop to each chapter, deep analysis and comparison formed the core of the case-studies which were set up as thematic exemplars. Through these

comparisons I have demonstrated how the region was distinctive, but not *so* different to warrant its liminal status in broader medieval narratives.

The impulse for the thematic framework for each chapter largely lay in a refusal to speak only in the language of the topic in question, i.e. religion can be discussed with economics (chapters two and five); culture can be discussed with politics (chapter four) and society can be discussed with culture (chapters three and five). Each of the chapter themes might easily have taken different topics for their studies but the intention here was to set up ways of viewing the evidence that could then be expanded or extended, spatially and temporally, in future work. For example, the development of a study on local exchange routes (chapter two) might wish to examine in more detail the implications of geography, climate and terrain on the options for movement both inland and around the coast. Similarly, identifying the logistics of conveying raw materials from one place to another by comparing object distribution with evidence for mining, or the cultivation of textile crops, would similarly broaden the scope for studies of commodity exchange networks.

The second principle, concerned with the geographic limits, or otherwise, of the examples I have presented, also concerns thinking differently about the subject matter in question. While the difference between how medieval northern Italy and medieval southern Italy have been treated and perceived by scholars has been discussed in chapter one, the origins or reasons were less well-explored and could provide an appropriate historiographical backdrop to future studies which seek to re-integrate southern Italian history with that of the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean. The intense localism of southern Italian studies, in addition to the privileging of prehistoric and classical pasts as evidenced in southern museums (see chapter three) will continue to marginalise the region in wider studies (which are the ones that tend to have most impact in the scholarly field of history) if no attempt is made to actively seek comparison with elsewhere. It was with this in mind that I felt that it was not appropriate to set out a precise definition of where 'my' medieval southern Italy lay in any part of the period under consideration. With a general idea that objects and their descriptions from areas south of Rome — but not including those from the

island of Sicily except for comparison — would form the core of the study, came the idea that comparison had to be made with other areas with similar objects or similar ways of using or describing them. It was particularly with this in mind that the backbone of this thesis on different aspects of cultural exchange grew. A major part of this was exploring the idea that exploring identity (chapter three) and innovation (chapter four) should not always be bound up with the search for markers of difference, but could also be understood from the similarities and affinities which lay between southern Italian societies and those from elsewhere. Both these chapters re-orientated southern Italy outside of its 'traditional' borders.

In contrast, the sense of the differences, which existed between areas of southern Italy, required better articulation. The most striking instance of this was the investigation into eleventh to twelfth-century social exchange which resulted in a penetrating insight into such differences, namely the recording of objects prevalent in Apulia but absent, largely, from Campania. While it was beyond the scope of the thesis to investigate the origins for this cultural difference, a future project investigating cultural *change* across this period may yet shed light on why such divergent developments took place, of which more presently. It might, at first, seem like I was making strange bedfellows of two diverse areas of medieval southern Italy in the complementary case-study examining grave-goods and cemeteries in Calabria and Molise (chapter five). However, it was precisely in the spirit of contrasting evidence anew, even experimentally, that it was important to show the variety of ways in which a significant social act such as consigning the dead was conducted in these 'extremes' of the southern peninsula. In both areas, the choice of whether a loved-one was buried with or without objects seemed to relate more to social and familial mores than to broader cultural or regional traditions. To make this kind of distinction was another crucial element of the thesis. In every instance different comparisons might have been made depending on the questions being asked and the sources available. What each case-study has shown, however, is that by placing the objects at the historical core of this work, the lasting impression is that medieval southern Italy itself, was, and is, an elastic concept.

The second aim was related to methodology. As an historian of material culture, I had to employ convincing methods of presenting objects and their descriptions as highly valuable historical sources, suggest ways in which such evidence could be 'read', and address how appropriate sources could be placed side-by-side for collective analysis. From a museological perspective, my methodology had to challenge the issues arising from provenance and interpretations based on typology. With these aims in mind, I sought to historicise the objects that I have introduced in this thesis in such a way as to improve their standing beyond the 'minor arts' or 'small finds' or else as attractive illustrations. Each of these perspectives brought to light two significant notions.

The first relates to where object evidence was found, their conceptual framing, and the consequences of this selection for the exploration of chronological change. Chapter one set out how and where I would find evidence relating to objects, but more specifically the *exchange* of objects. This selection resulted in two relatively discrete periods being explored; the first examining extant artefacts from museum collections and finds from archaeological digs dating approximately from the sixth to the eighth century; the second identifying object descriptions in written sources, namely charters and some narrative works from the tenth to the twelfth century. It was important here to demonstrate the credibility and utility of my conceptual approaches to exchange equally in both realms. I did not deliberately seek comparison of a physically present object with a coeval written description of something similar. Such an approach, in many ways, would have negated the value of each type of source by *simply* looking for mutual 'corroboration'. Rather, the search for complementary processes or ideas (a soft-structural approach) proved more fruitful, such as aligning evidence for Venetian participation in the silk trade and its political interests in its Adriatic neighbours, with the highly visible consumption of silk textiles in Apulian charters (chapter two); or challenging the ethno-cultural classification of horse brooches by investigating a range of reasons why horse symbology would have been particularly important to sixth to

seventh-century 'Italians', whatever their cultural identity (chapter four, part one).

The theoretical approach to each chapter was based on a different phenomenon of exchange. This was crucial to develop the idea that in many cases objects *drove* the dynamism of people's relationships and were not just by-products of them. The insistence throughout on maintaining the intimate link between people and objects has resulted in the removal of a major barrier to historians wishing to use both physical and written objects as credible sources. The series of chapters presented here deliberately sought to use economic, cultural, political and social themes to illustrate that it is not necessary to discuss the creation, use and movement of objects in depressingly impersonal terms. While other theoretically-driven studies in medieval history have resulted in the presentation of systems of analysis, it has not been the intention here to do likewise. The development of tenable methods, not models, has brought new perspectives to this study. Understanding exchange in its literal and more abstract forms has also expanded the conceptual horizons of this thesis. Exchange is not just observed in physical movement or commerce, but also in intellectual and sentimental transactions.

The diversity of experience which object exchange suggests is well-demonstrated in the discussions of memory, heritage and commemoration (chapter four, part two and chapter five). These have shown how objects were fundamental to the creation and maintenance of personal, family and community relationships across chronological and cultural divides, even though a chronological thread has not yet been established from one part of the long period in question, to the next. However, that the nature of the evidence for commemoration changes from grave-goods in the early period, to descriptions of objects in charters and chronicles in the later period highlights how the phenomenon of object use across time needs to be looked at more closely, and more critically. It is therefore upon the foundation of these ideas that I wish to build a new, diachronic, study of *cultural change* across the same long time period from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, taking into full account the major changes which occurred in southern Italy during the ninth century. While

specific evidence for object exchange has not been forthcoming in any quantity from the ninth century, similar techniques, which placed comparative evidence side-by-side, may yet lead to new perspectives on changes in materiality at this time.

The second issue arising from my methodology relates to how I dealt with problems of provenance and typological interpretations. The specific problem of provenance relates to some of the artefacts presented in the case-studies. The use of museum objects which lack archaeological or otherwise 'scientific' provenance are often regarded with suspicion and make their use in socio-cultural histories problematic. However, throughout the thesis, my use of scantily provenanced objects has relied on making a convincing case for their close association with better-provenanced items, and then testing all of these against their contemporary historical contexts. A classic example of creating such meaning through association is the Castellani group (chapter four, part two). While the Walters brooch and the Castellani brooch both only came with a reported place of origin, the thorough comparison of their workmanship and materials with other goldwork, particularly that of numismatics and the Senise burial, has hopefully demonstrated now such objects can play a valuable role in history writing – particularly, as in this case, where written evidence for the period is scant. After all, historians tend to be less questioning of anonymous or fragmentary texts, or even those which only survive in a much later copy. Problems of provenance presented by these texts can be overcome when an historian gives them a voice, and so it can be with such objects, as long as the associations made are the correct ones. The important caveat that future discoveries or methods of analysis — such as scientific testing of materials — might dispel a current argument will always remain, but this should not inhibit an attempt at testing the information we do possess in historically feasible scenarios.

The problems with typologically-based interpretations of objects raise another methodological dilemma related to the choice of sources. The flaws in such interpretations have already been discussed in detail (chapter four, part one), and alternative interpretations, using different comparative approaches,

such as prioritising an object's use and re-use (chapter four, part two) have been presented. There remains, however, the problem of how the typologies of objects according to form, material or ethno-cultural classification should be solved. Typologies do have the advantage of giving the scholar a language in which to share information and converse, and so the thought of replacing this method of analysis altogether is just as problematic as taking it at face-value with all the attendant problems of anachronism; and this would certainly not be a recommendation of this thesis. However, what is clear is that scholars engaging in typological work of any kind need to be more open and provide better explanations of the reasons underpinning their classifications, and moreover, need to take the historical realities behind the original creation and use of the object into clear account when making their interpretations.

Finally, I should like to leave a personal impression on the significance of the findings presented here. What I have found most appealing in these studies is the variety of outcomes and meanings that object exchange made possible. While I acknowledge that presenting a range of meanings (polyvalency) and uses (multifarious) for an object can seem ambiguous, and therefore lacking conviction, I would argue that this variation was, and is, the reality of life and death, especially in the Middle Ages. It is a truth that people, past or present, do not compartmentalise or neatly conclude a prescribed set of actions in the ways desired by some scholars. The diversity of interpretations reflects the variety of experience that was the reality of people's lives.

Appendices

Volume two

Table one: Inscribed penannular brooches from southern Italy, 7-9th century

No	Accession no. / Location	Inscription	Gender	Description	Provenance	Nearby cult site	Bibliography
P1	Museo Fondazione Pomarici-Santomasi, Gravina	*Lupu biba*	m	Missing pin, copper alloy, with inscription between two incised arcs, leonine terminals, 35mm diam.	Gravina, Puglia casual find from 'Zingarello',	Grotto of St Michael, Gravina, Puglia	C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule', p. 82, fig. 2
P2	?	*Lupu biba*	m	Copper alloy with leonine terminals	Sarno, nr. Naples, Campania	Olevano, Campania	P. Arthur, *Naples*, p.140 n. 108; M. Ianelli, 'Evidenze ed ipotesi ricostruttive', (1988), fig. 4
P3	Museo Civico, Foggia	*Lupu biba*	m	Missing pin, copper alloy with leonine terminals, inscription preceded by cross	Ordona, nr. Foggia, Puglia, found at the large cemetery at the ancient site of *Herdonia*		J. Mertens, *Herdonia*, p. 352 fig. 354; C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici', pp. 301-2, p. 303, fig. 3; P. Arthur, *Naples*, p.140 n. 108
P4	?	*Lupu biba*	m	Copper alloy with leonine terminals	Beneficio, Monte Marano, nr. Benevento, Campania		P. Arthur, *Naples*, p.140 n. 108; C. Franciosi, 'Area beneventana', pp. 445-46
P5	?	*Lupu biba*	m	Copper alloy with leonine terminals	Casalbore, nr. Benevento, Campania		P. Arthur, *Naples*, p.140 n. 108; reported to PA by Roberto Padrevita (presumed to remain unpublished)

P6	Private collection, Canosa	*Lupu biba*	m	Missing pin, copper alloy, two leonine terminals, the inscription contained within two arcs, 36mm diam.	Provenance unknown	Grotto and Church of St Michael, Minervino Murge, Puglia	M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 332, fig. II.1; C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', p. 913, no. 4
P7	Museo civico, Lucera	*Sinatri viva in D(e)o*	m	Missing pin, serpentine terminals, silver or silver/tin plated, with large eyes formed from two studs surrounded by a ring of granulation or beading (*zigrinato*) in similar form to those which are present on Lombard belt plates dating to the 7th century, 32mm diam.	Provenance unknown ? Lucera, Puglia		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 332-3; fig. II, 2
P8	Sansone collection, Mattinata	*Lupu biba*	m	With pin, copper alloy, and well-made leonine terminals. The inscription is contained between two arcs, 35mm diam.	Mattinata, Puglia from a grave in the locality of *Agnulo*	Monte Sant'Angelo on the Gargano	M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 333; fig. II, 3; C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici', p. 301, p. 303, fig. 3
P9	Private collection, Massafra	*Lupu biba in*	m	Missing pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals, the inscriptions contained between two faint arcs, 35mm diam.	Statte, nr. Massafra, Puglia from a grave, with no ceramic goods but with the remains of two iron cross daggers (*incrociati*)	Buona Nuova (Chiesa rupestre) Massafra. Also other *chiese rupestri* and crypts in the area around Massafra	M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 333-4; fig. II, 4

P10	1591 Museo civico, Ascoli Piceno	*VVinipirg Dom*	f	Missing pin, copper alloy, Comprises three continguous fragments, and the leonine terminals are very similar to other Pugliese examples, not very well executed, the terminals join in the middle; two holes on terminals, the inscription is very crude compared to other examples, 32mm	Provenance unknown ? Italy		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 334-5, fig. II, 5
P11	?	*Lupu biba*	m	Missing pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals; the piece is noted in an appendix of Bruzza's: L. Bruzza, 'Poche osservazioni sopra una fibula cristiana di bronzo', *Bullettino archeologico napolitano* N.S. 3, (1855), table V, 5 and N.S. 4, (1855), pp. 166-68; also CIL IX, 6090, 12	Benevento		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 335-6
P12	?	*Lupu biba*	m	As above; this brooch is also noted in a description by Bruzza; from this it is learned that the example has a pin and the same inscription as previous	Benevento		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 336

P13	?	*Lupu biba*	m	As above; presented by Bruzza at a meeting of the society of the *Bollettino di Archeologia cristiana* in 1879, and described identically to that from Benevento but kept in Naples; it apparently displayed an animal in a strange form which is likely to allude to the terminals; there is some ambiguity as to whether this was a new find or one of the above; the gap of twenty years from publishing the previous two may therefore allude to a new find.	Benevento		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 336-7
P14	20387 Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Chieti	*Aoderada biva*	f	With pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals, niello inscription; 34mm diam., dated to the 7-8th c.	Sepino, (ancient *Sepinum)*, nr. Campobasso, Molise	Shrine to St Michael in Isernia established by San Vincenzo al Volturno	M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 337-8; fig. II, 6; S. Capini and A. Di Niro (ed.), *Samnium,* p. 355, f84, pl. 9f
P15	AF 2718 British Museum, London Franks Bequest 1897	*D(ominu)s in nomine tuo*	-	Missing pin, silvered bronze, leonine terminals, similar to the other Pugliese examples, the inscription contained within two arcs formed by punched dots, 36mm diam.	Provenance unknown Italy		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', p. 338, fig. II, 7

P16	AF 2717 British Museum, London Franks Bequest 1897 (Salvatore has this erroneously as AF 2718)	*Es Clauco viva*	m	With pin, silver or silver/tin coated, form similar to the example held at the Museo civico, Lucera (P7); serpentine terminals, the eyes formed with bearings surrounded by beading or granulation, well executed inscription and preceding cross; the ES may be a Latin transliteration of the Greek 'eis', 30mm diam.	Provenance unknown Italy		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 338-39; fig. II,8
P17	1856,4-17,2 British Museum, London	*Aloara Causo*	f	Pin missing, silver, once with gilt coating, leonine terminals, D-shape profile, varies most significantly in style from other leonine examples, niello inscription, 26mm diam.	Provenance unknown Italy		unpublished
P18	VI 3024 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	*Aliperto*	m	With pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals similar to other Pugliese examples, preceded by two crosses, 36mm diam.	Provenance unknown		M. Salvatore, 'Fibule', pp. 339-40, fig. II, 9
P19	VI 4589 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	*Lucas bibas*	m	With pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals similar to the preceding example, 35mm diam.	Provenance unknown		M. Salvatore, p. 340, fig. II, 10

P20	T.B. 30 Museo di Sibari, nr. Cosenza, Calabria	*Veroni* or *Eufroni*	?m	With pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals, found in good condition, datable to the 6-7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 30, cemetery of Torre Toscana	Cosenza cult sites	G. Roma, *Necropoli e insediamenti,* p. 152, fig. 54; also reported in, C. D'Angela, 'Due fibule altomedievali dalla provincia di Cosenza', *Historiam pictura refert,* (1994), 197-200
P21	806/11 Museo di Sibari, nr. Cosenza, Calabria	-	-	Missing pin, copper alloy, leonine terminals, degraded, no discernable inscription, datable to the 6-7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 13, cemetery of Torre Toscana	Cosenza cult sites	G. Roma, *Necropoli e insediamenti,,* p. 153, fig. 59; also reported in, C. D'Angela, 'Due fibule altomedievali dalla provincia di Cosenza', *Historiam pictura refert,* (1994), 197-200
P22	423/24 Museo di Sibari, nr. Cosenza, Calabria	*Lupu biba*	m	With pin, detached, copper alloy, with leonine terminals, inscription between two incised arcs, in good condition, datable to the 6-7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 31, cemetery of Torre Toscana	Cosenza cult sites	G. Roma, *Necropoli e insediamenti*, 2001, p. 153, fig. 59
P23	108864 Museo Archaeologico, Venosa, Basilicata	*Lupu biba*	m	With pin, copper alloy, crudely executed inscription between two incised arcs (now faded), 36mm diam.	Forenza, nr. Venosa, Basilicata, found along the contrada Irene	Grotto and church of St Michael, Minervino Murge, Puglia, possibly also those sites at at Matera and Montescaglioso, Basilicata	M. Salvatore, *Il museo archeologico*, p. 288, fig. t15

P24	Museo Civico, Foggia	*Lupu biba*	m	With pin, copper alloy with leonine terminals, inscription preceded by cross	Ordona, nr. Foggia found in a grave in a rural area on the contrada Ciaffa, not far from ancient *Herdonia*		C. D'Angela, 'Aspetti storici', p. 302, fig. 4
?P25	?	*Lupu Biba*	m	Similar to the other *Lupu biba* brooches with leonine terminals: it is unclear whether this could be the same brooch as one of the examples given above, from Benevento	Found in the territory of Benevento		C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule', p. 82 n. 12 cites this example from L. Gasperini, 'Fibula inscritta altomedievale dal Beneventano' in: *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra medioevo ed Età modern,* vol. 1, (Rome: 19993), pp. 9-14

Uninscribed examples

					Copper alloy, zoomorphic (serpentine) terminals	Saturo, nr. Taranto, Puglia found in grave 6		C. D'Angela, *Taranto medievale,* pp.158-61; fig. 26
					Copper alloy, triangular terminals appearing to be zoomorphic	Saturo, nr. Taranto, Puglia found in grave 16		C. D'Angela, *Taranto medievale,* pp.158-61; fig. 27
					A number of uninscribed penannular brooches with zoomorphic terminals	Cemeteries at Crotone		C. D'Angela, 'Due nuove fibule', p. 82 n. 11; reported in: R. Spadea, 'Crotone: problemi del territorio fra tardoantico e medioevo', *La Calabria de la fin de l'antiquité au Moyen Age "Mefra",* 103 (1991), 553-573

Table two: Selected silk references from Apulian documents, 10-12th century

Year	Item	Transaction	Place	Reference
971	silk kerchief (*faciolo serico*)	*launegilt* (reciprocal gift)	Bari	*Codice Diplomatico Barese* 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982), framm. 2, p. 98
1021	silk sendal cloth (*zendai*)	will	Bari	*Codice Diplomatico Barese* 1, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264)*, (ed.) G. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Trani, 1964-1976, originally published 1897-1899), no. 10, pp. 17-19
1025	silk kerchief	*launegilt*	Conversano	*Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese* 20, *Le pergamene di Conversano*, (ed.) G. Coniglio (Bari, 1975), no. 37, pp. 82-84
1028	silk cloth sewn with decoration worth 3 gold solidi *sotorichi veteri olotrachi* (*zendai serica cusita ornata*)	*meffio* (betrothal gift)	Bari	*CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 18, pp. 36-38
1028	gold thread (*flectula)* worth 1 solidus	*meffio*	Bari	"
1028	silk kerchief	*launegilt*	Bari	"
1028	silk cloths (*pannis sericis)*	*morgincaph* (morning-gift)	Bari	*CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 15, pp. 24-26
1028	silk kerchief	*launegilt*	Bari	"
1039	white and yellow silk cloth embroidered all over worth 12 solidi *romanati maiuri* (*pannum sericum totum habentem colorem album et citernum fundatineum)*	gift exchange (church)	Bari	*CDB* 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 26, pp. 54-56

1041	silk kerchief (faciolum cum serico)	launegilt	Giovinazzo	Codice Diplomatico Barese 3, Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi, (ed.) F. Caraballese and F. Magistrale, (Bari, 1899-1976), no. 5, pp. 10-12
1054	silk sendal cloth (zenday)	will	Monopoli	CDP 20, Conversano, no. 40, pp. 91-94
1054	8 silk hand-cloths	will	Monopoli	"
1054	silk linen mix sendal cloth (?) (plara de lino zenday)	will	Monopoli	"
1054	embroidered kerchief	will	Monopoli	"
1054	samite cloth (sabano xentarie)	will	Monopoli	"
1054	Greek kerchief (faciolo grecisco)	will	Monopoli	"
1057	silk kerchief	launegilt	Bari	CDB 4, S. Nicola I, no. 36, pp. 75-77
1064/1065	? 5 fine-spun shirts (camise bone subtiles) worth 10 solidi	dowry	Bari	CDB 4, S. Nicola I, no. 42, pp. 83-85
1064/1065	? gipteca worth 3 solidi	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	? red and yellow fuffude worth 14 solidi	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	2 Greek kerchiefs worth 7 solidi (facioli greciski)	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	2 embroidered kerchiefs (coppibillati), one with masuli the other nikyforate	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	? 2 totibillati cum masili with 14 solidi	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	3 kerchiefs, 2 with masuliand the other demme colorinee worth 12 solidi	dowry	Bari	"

1064/1065	? 2 *cale cum masuli* worth 5 solidi	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	*cala guttulata ad serico*	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	*lenula leontari serica* [silk cape decorated with lions?] worth 7 solidi	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	? purse with large roses	dowry	Bari	"
1064/1065	? red cloth	dowry	Bari	"
1067	? curtain	gift exchange (church)	Bari (San Prisco di Sao)	*CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 26, pp. 44-46
1067	? red liturgical cloth *(sabano)*	gift exchange (church)	Bari (San Prisco di Sao)	"
1067	small red embroidered cloth (*sabanello villato cum capore ad sericum*)	gift exchange (church)	Bari (San Prisco di Sao)	"
1067	decorated silk tunic (*serica cum betana*)	gift exchange (church)	Bari (San Prisco di Sao)	"
1072	silk cape	*launegilt*	Giovinazzo	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 15, pp. 25-26
1078	silk cape	*launegilt*	Giovinazzo	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 19, p. 31
1083	silk cloak	*launegilt*	Molfetta	*Codice Diplomatico Barese* 7, *Le carte di Molfetta (1076-1309)*, (ed.) F. Caraballese (Bari, 1912), no. 2, pp. 4-6
1088	? *diopezzi* sewn with decoration	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	*Codice Diplomatico Barese* 5, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo normanno (1075-1184)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito, (Bari, 1900-1982), no. 9, pp. 18-20

1088	? yellow and black *fuffudi*	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	? kerchief *scitto*	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	? 2 *capore masuli*	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	kerchief, embroidered (*coppavillato*)	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	hairnet/bonnet (*reticella*)	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	? bed-cover	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	? carpet *(tappetum)*	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	? bed-frame canopy	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	2 decorated / embroidered kerchiefs (*coppabellati*)	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1088	kerchief *scitto*	dowry	Bari (Monopoli)	"
1091	altar cloth (*pallium altaris*)	*launegilt*	Troia	*Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese* 21, *Les chartes de Troia*, (ed.) J.-M. Martin (Bari, 1976), no. 26, p. 130
1097	silk clothing	gift (cash for)	Barletta	*Codice Diplomatico Barese* 10, *Le pergamene di Barletta del R. Archivio di Napoli*, (ed.) R. Filangieri di Candida (Bari, 1927), no. 4, pp. 7-8
1097	? pair of gloves with buckles (*parium manizzy nuscynei*)	*launegilt*	Barletta	"
1097	silk cloak (*cala*)	gift/legacy	Bari	*CDB* 1, *Bari,* nos. 24-25, pp. 44-45
1110	? 2 bed-covers	dowry	Conversano	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 64, pp. 150-51

1110	? bed-curtain	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	red sendal silk cloth (zendai)	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	[missing] of sendal (de zenda)	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	? decorated / embroidered cloth (coppibillato cum masuli)	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	? bridal veil	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	? mentata cala	dowry	Conversano	"
1110	? 2 cloths (siybani, one of panno pinto, another with borders	dowry	Conversano	"
1130	? 3 bed-covers, one matching, one 24 [legaturas], one for daily use	dowry	Bari	CDB 5, S. Nicola II, no. 77, pp. 133-34
1130	? 2 bed-canopy covers… one for daily use	dowry	Bari	"
1130	? 2 bed-covers, one misaro	dowry	Bari	"
1130	? kerchief / headscarf	dowry	Bari	"
1130	? embroidered cloth (coppibillatum), 28 legaturas	dowry	Bari	"
1130	black silk hairnet / bonnet (reticellam nigram de serico)	dowry	Bari	"
1130	silk hairnet / bonnet	dowry	Bari	"
1131	silk pluvial (de tretasimo)	gift exchange (church)	Bari (cathedral)	CDB 1, Bari, no. 43, pp. 81-83
1131	white silk dalmatic (de diaspro)	gift exchange (church)	Bari (cathedral)	"

1133	silk sendal cover (*di zendadoi*)	*launegilt*	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 46, pp. 63-64
1138	roll or bolster of silk sendal cloth (*buttarella de zindai*)	dowry	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69
1138	silk sendal cloth (*zindai ciogranam manicutam*)	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1138	Amalfitan kerchief (*malfetanescam*)	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1138	2 silk hairnets / bonnets (*reticellas sericas*)	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1148	silk cloak or mantle (*mantellum*)	*launegilt*	Bari	*CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 47, pp. 88-90
1149	2 (purple) silk copes (*de obtimo catablactio*)	gift exchange (monastery)	Conversano (San Benedetto)	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 100, pp. 210-11
1154	2 (purple) silk copes (*de catablattio*)	gift exchange (monastery)	Conversano (San benedetto)	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 103, pp. 215-17
1154	? blue mantle	*launegilt*	Molfetta	*CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 22, pp. 37-38
1157	gold embroidered white silk tunic (*de diaspro… auri frisatam*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	*CDP* 21, *Troia,* no. 81, p. 252-55
1157	gold embroidered chausable of red Spanish cloth (*de panno hispano rubeo*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1157	gold embroidered pall and maniple	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1157	gold embroidered samite dalmatic (*de samito*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1157	2 red samite chasubles (*de samito rubeo*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1157	red samite cope	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1157	red samite slippers	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"

1157	gold embroidered mitre	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1158	gold embroidered purple (Greek) silk dalmatic (*de pallio purpurei coloris auri frisatam*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1158	tunic of silk *bardaskiro*	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1158	gold embroidered red samite cope	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1158	silk altar cloth (*pallium altaris*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	"
1159	2 (purple) silk copes (*catablattuii*)	gift exchange (monastery)	Conversano (San Benedetto)	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 106, pp. 221-23
1160	white silk dalmatic (*de diaspro*)	gift (church)	Troia (cathedral)	*CDP* 21, *Troia,* no. 81, p. 252-55
1160	brocade altar cloth (*pallium de broccato pro altare*)	gift (church)	Troia	"
1160	liturgical garment called *sarcatasmum* (*pallium quod vocatur sarcatasmum*)	gift (church)	Troia	"
1160	violet-coloured samite dalmatic (*de sammeto violaceo*)	gift (church)	Troia	"
1165	(purple) silk cope (*de catalaptivo*)	gift exchange (monastery)	Conversano (San Benedetto)	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 112, pp. 233-37
1165	6 copes, 2 (purple) silk, 2 brocade , 2 samite (*de catalaptivo…, de palio…, de xamito*)	gift exchange (monastery)	Conversano (San Benedetto)	*CDP* 20, *Conversano,* no. 113, pp. 237-39
1178	? flap or piece of a mantle (*pinnam unius mantelli*)	*launegilt*	Molfetta	*CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 60, pp. 77-78
1180	? bed-curtain	dowry	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 129, pp. 153-54
1180	? bed-canopy	dowry	Terlizzi	"

1180	4 kerchiefs / headscarves	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1180	? pair *masulis*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1180	? pair *trezzis*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1180	red silk hairnet / bonnet	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1181	? 28 *brachia* of cloth at 14…	dowry	Monopoli	*CDB* 1, *Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-12
1181	? cloak / mantle	dowry	Monopoli	"
1184	? c*atasfactulum*	dowry	Molfetta	*CDB* 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, pp. 86-87
1184	? Sunday veil / headscarf / bonnet	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	? bonnet / hairnet	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	? 3 kerchiefs, one embroidered (*cappibilatum*) of 24 *ligulis*, the other of 26 *ligulis*	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	? red mantle worth 4 (?) gold tari *(mantellum rubeum)*	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	silk cover (*de catablatio*)	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	small 'barrel' silk sendal cloth *(buctarella de zendato)*	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	silk kerchief	dowry	Molfetta	"
1184	? Amalfitan cloak / cape (*caiam* or *catam malfetanescam)*	dowry	Molfetta	"
1191	? bed-cover	dowry	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 156, pp. 177-78
1191	? bed-canopy	dowry	Terlizzi	"

1191	? bed-curtain	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1191	cover *de guttua*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1191	3 kerchiefs / headscarves	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	? 2 bed-curtains… one with a good lining	dowry	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-86
1193	2 covers, one of sendal *(de zendato)*, the other *de guthone*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	dark silk skirt / coat [possibly in style of smock] *(de sirico fusco)*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	? d*iminum*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	6 kerchiefs / headscarves	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	purse *(zeppam)*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	? pair of gloves *(de guetonibus)*	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	? hairnet / bonnet	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1193	? mantle worth 3 oz. gold	dowry	Terlizzi	"
1195	? cover	will	Terlizzi	*CDB* 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 170, pp. 192-93
1195	? mantle *de persecta*	will	Terlizzi	"

Notes

samite - heavy, high lustre fabric with twill weave

sendal - light fabric with tabby weave

? - likely to have been, or possibly contained, silk

Several examples of sheets some bed-clothes without designation of fabric, or the context of other silk items, are assumed to be linen or of wool, or a mixture. However some of these may have been silk as well. They have been omitted from this table.

Table three: Contemporary dowry comparison: Terlizzi and Seleucia

Seleucia, 1137*

324 pieces of gold
a pound of silver
a brocade robe
two silk robes
two woollen shirts (Ar. *bushtain qytyn* = Gr. *kiton* (p. 299 n. 9)
two Greek pounds [each Gr. lb = 564.4g] of ornaments (*zakhārif* - not known in other Geniza marriage contracts (p. 299 n. 10)
a silken handbag
four tunics
two cotton robes
ten long and short turbans
a bed with a canopy
a round cupboard, decorated with paintings
a copper ewer
washbasin and dipper
rings of gold and silver
blankets
servants
carpets
200 dinars

Terlizzi, 1138^

a French-style bed (*lectum franciscum*)
a mattress (*culcitra*)
a pillow full of feathers (*plumacium plenos pennis*)
three pairs of linen sheets (*tria paria plaionum de lino*)
two bed-covers (*duas investituras*)
bed-curtains (*curognam girantem lectum et aliam ante lectam*)
a woollen blanket (*lena*)
a goathair sheet (*plaionem capernum*)
a quilt ? (*budam*)
a foot-stool with a bar (*suppedaneum cum sera*)
a bench (*bancum*)
six shirts (*camisas*)
six cotton shirts (*banbadices*)
roll (or possibly pillow case?) of rabbit-skins (*buttarellam de pellibus leporum*)
roll (or possibly pillow case?) of sheep-skins (*pellibus agnorum*)
roll (or possibly pillow case?) of sendal silk cloth (*de zindai*)
a red (?) silk sendal garment (tunic?) with sleeves (*zindaim ciogranam manicutam*
three handkerchiefs, one of them Amalfitan (tres *faciolos unam etiam malfetanescam*)
two silk hair-nets or bonnets (*reticellas sericas*)
a head-band or head-dress (possibly for a kind of turban) (*bitvulum*)
two pairs of earrings, of gilded silver (*dua paria curcellorum argenti deaurata*)
two veils (or possibly napkins) (*duas mappas*)
five mantles (or possibly hand-cloths) (*quinque mandiles*)
kneading trough (*facciatoria*)
three tables *(tres tabulas)*
cauldron (*caldara*)
large copper pan (*sartaginam*)
trammels (for suspending pans over the hearth) (*camastras*)
two dishes or bowls (*duas gabatas*)
a basket *(corbellam)*
a wicker container or hamper (*canistrum*)
wool-carder (*cardaturum*)
two flax combs *(duos pectines pro stuppa)*
twelve plates (*duodecim scutellas*)
twenty-four spoons (*viginti quatuor coclaros*)

*S. Goitein, 'A letter from Seleucia (Cilicia): dated 21 July 1137', *Speculum,* 39 (2), (1964), 298-303
^ *CDB* 3, Terlizzi, no. 51, pp. 68-69

Table four: Dress comparisons in Apulian, Arab and Greek Byzantine sources, 10-12th century

Garment group	Apulian sources		Arab (Geniza) sources		Greek (Byzantine) sources	
Wraps and mantles	*caiam, cala*	Mantle or cloak; described as Amalfitan; decorated or embroidered (*vellata*); decorated ? (*mentata*)	*burd, burda (*pl. *abrâd)*	Striped woollen covering (outer wrap)	*sagion* (σάγιον)	Short cape, thigh to knee-length; blue (βέβετον), goathair and fleece lined
	mantellum	Mantle, male and female; described as red (*rubeum*); of wool; of sheep's fleece ? (*cum pelli);* various brown (brunum), one *cum connillis;* of silk (*serici*); blue *(blevi*)	*ridâ* (pl. *ardiya*)	Outer garment or mantle worn over shoulders similar to coat-like wrap, *milḥafa*	*mandyas* (μανδύας)	Mantle or cloak, (see below)
	sabanum, siybani	Shawl or large wrap; one described with a *mandilia* (see below); of coloured cloth (*de panno pinto);* with fringe or border (*profili*)	*sabanîya*	*Possibly related etymologically to female turban *isâba* (see below), described by Arab writers as imported from 'Armenia' - like description *Rumi* possibly referred to broader Byzantine world	*savanion* (σαβάνιον)	Cape, also multi-purpose item, (see below)
	pallidella, pallidellos, palidellos	Cloak or wrap; described as French-style (*franciscas*); of linen				

Garment group	Apulian sources		Arab (Geniza) sources		Greek (Byzantine) sources	
Tunics and robes	*diminum*	Tunic, perhaps related to Greek *dimiton* (δίμιτον) ?	*badan*	Short, sleeveless tunic	*roukhon* (ῥοῦχον)	Floor length tunic, close fitting sleeves to wrist and a high round neck
	coppula	Cloak or robe or wrap; described as of silk	*farajiyya* (pl. *farâjî*)	Long, ample robe slit or entirely open at the front with long, wide sleeves	*hypokamis(i)on* (ὑποκαμίσιον)	General term for a tunic; frequently plain but some decorated with bands on sleeves or with *tiraz* cuffs and hems, or ornaments on the skirt; different version for women from 10th-12th c. is with large sleeves from armpit, (see also below)
	juppam, juppa	Coat or robe; described as linen; of dark-coloured silk (*de sirico fusco*)	*jubba* (pl. *jubab*)	Long, coat-like outer garment open in front with narrow or wide sleeves extending down from between elbow and wrist. Cut different for men and women (only in Syrian trousseaux)	*zoupa* (ζοῦπα)	Same as Arabic version; began as military short jacket; fabrics fine silk, embroidered, heavy wool, possibly also padded
	epillurico	Over-coat or robe; described as silk	*jûkâniyya*	Fine dress with sleeves like a kaftan	*epolorikion* (ἐπιλωρίκιον)	Surcoat, originally military, opening at armpit; others coats with wing sleeves
	camisa	*See below*			*himation* (ἱμάτιον)	Specific or non-specific garment, perhaps generally used for a dress; also as wool undergarment, (see below)
					sphinktourion (σφιγκτούριον)	Robe-type tunic opening down front at centre to waist or a little beyond, fastened with buttons

Garment group	Apulian sources		Arab (Geniza) sources		Greek (Byzantine) sources	
Headgear			*kûfiyya*	Man's head-cloth; woman's kerchief		
			ʿimâma	Turban; male		
	bitvulum, (pl. bittuli, bittulos)	Hair-band or type of head-dress possibly wound around like a turban, maybe with the *reticella* (bellow)? Described as: with hair-pin or wooden faster (*ad ferula*); off wool (*de masule laneos*)	*ʿiṣâba*	Two types: 1) cloth head-band or kerchief, worn turban-fashion. 2) created by a jeweller with a gold fillet with precious stones.	*grammata* (γράμματα)	Ornate head-roll, derived from late antique version, decorated, sometimes with hanging ends, especially in 12th c. examples; worn in figure of eight to form cylinder
	guetonibus	Braid-like hair ornaments (see below)	*kuwâra*	Type of turban		
	reticella	Hair-net or bonnet; described as: black, of silk; blood-red (*sanguinam*); value: *de media libra;* to wear on Sundays (*dumenecale*)	*mĩjar (pl. máâjir)*	White muslin bound around the head. Lady's *imâma*.		
	mandile, mandilia, mandili, mandiles	Head-scarf or mantle (or hand-towel); described as: of silk; for everyday use; 26 *legaturas;* with fringes or border (*cum prefulis*); value: 3 oz of gold; mentioned with *mappa (inter mappas et mandilia septem)*	*mindîl, mandîl*	*Multi-purpose:* face-veil, scarf or kerchief, large shawl but also used to describe cloth napkins or covers or items of bed-linen	*mandyas* (μανδύας)	Mantle or cloak (see above); varying descriptions: purple with pearl-work; red silk with gold bands and dark green silk. Others were more plain

Garment group	Apulian sources		Arab (Geniza) sources		Greek (Byzantine) sources	
Headgear cont...			*rûmiyya* (pl. *rûmiyyat, rawâmî*)	type of silk scarf or shawl or foulard from or in style of those worn in Christian world	*savanion* (σαβάνιον)	*Multi-purpose*; as part of *Protospatharioi's* regalia (eunuch) a kind of cape; or type of napkin as well as a headdress (see also above)
	faciolo, faziolo, faziolos, faciolum, faziolum	Kerchief; handkerchief; described as: silk, Amalfitan-style *(malfetanescam),* embroidered or decorated *(cappibillatum, coppibillatum, cum billo, bellato),* Greek-style *(grecisco)*	*minshafa*	face-towel or a napkin	*kamelaukion* (καμελαύκιον), *kalymma* (κάλυμμα)	Basic head-scarf, essential item throughout Near East and with veil/kerchief (below) terms were interchangeable for any draped textile covering
	mappa, mappe	Veil or kerchief (or table-cloth); described as *de pane*; mentioned with *mandilia* (see above)			*velarion* (βηλάριον), *maphorion* (μαφοριον)	Veil or kerchief. *Maphorion* worn by men and women. Origins probably in Latin *mafors*, a type of hood rather than scarf but a common item
Belts and sashes	*None identified to date*		*fûta*	apron/pinafore/belt/sash	*zone* (ζώνη)	Narrow leather, short, fastened with buckle usually in still antique and classical styles

Garment group	Apulian sources		Arab (Geniza) sources		Greek (Byzantine) sources	
Miscellaneous items / accessories			*bitâna*	lining		
	faciolo, and variations	Multi-purpose kerchief (see above)	*mubaṭṭan*	multi-purpose long cloth		
			kâttûniyya or *khâtûniyya*	linen garment, similar to Greek *chiton*		
	manizzy nuscynei	Gloves with buckles				
	fuffude	A type of tunic/robe decoration or accessory?			*fuffudin* (φουφούφιν)	+Described in KP's will purple: *sphinktourion* with *fuffudin* (τὸ σφικτούριον τὸ φουφούφιν τὸ ἀληθινόν). Term unknown.
	guetonibus	Hair ornament like a braid; described as a pair				
	sandalia	Sandals or slippers (found in ecclesiastical context only to date but may be used generally to denote light footwear)			*hypodemata* (ὑποδήματα), *sandalia* (σανδάλια)	Generic terms for footware
Undergarments	*camisa*	Shirt or tunic; various types, some described as: woven with pale/ undyed thread (*filo pelledellium*), linen	*qamîs*	shirt	*hypokamis(i)on* - (ὑποκαμίσιον) *? kamis(i)ion*	Shirt or tunic, (see above)
	banbandices, camise de bambadiki, bambadicleas	Cotton shirt or doublet	*sirwâl*	drawers	*himation* (ἱμάτιον)	Dress or undergarment, (see above)

<u>Notes</u>

Items from Apulian sources were compiled from a selection of the region's charters, as follows:
Codice Diplomatico del Monastero Benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti (1005-1237) 1, (ed.) A. Petrucci (Rome, 1960), no. 79, pp. 235-239 (1068)
Codice Diplomtico Barese 1, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264)*, (ed.) G. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Trani, 1964-1976, originally published 1897-1899), no. 9, pp. 15-17 (1017)

    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 10, pp. 17-19 (1021)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 14, p. 24 (1027)
    CDB 1, *Bari,* no. 15, pp. 24-25 (1028)
    CDB 1, *Bari,* no. 18, pp. 31-32 (1032)
    CDB 1, *Bari,* no. 26, pp. 44-46 (1067)
    CDB 1, *Bari,* nos. 24-25, pp. 44-45 (1097)
    CDB 1, *Bari,* no. 36, pp. 61-64 (1103)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 42, pp. 73-75 (1105)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 43, pp. 81-83 (1131)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 51, pp. 95-96 (1167)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 57, pp. 111-12 (1181)
    CDB 1*, Bari,* no. 47, pp. 88-90 (1148)
Codice Diplomtico Barese 3, *Le pergamene della Cattedrale di Terlizzi*, (ed.) F. Caraballese and F. Magistrale, (Bari, 1899-1976), no. 5, pp. 10-12 (1041)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 15, pp. 25-26 (1072)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 19, p. 31 (1078)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 39, pp. 55-56 (1118)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 46, pp. 63-64 (1133)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 51, pp. 68-69 (1138)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 57, pp. 79-80 (1143)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 91, pp. 116-17 (1162)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 92, pp. 117-18 (1163)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 111, p. 137 (1171)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 129, pp. 153-54 (1180)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 139, pp. 162-163 (1183)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 156, pp. 177-178 (1191)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 163, pp. 184-186 (1193)
    CDB 3, *Terlizzi,* no. 170, pp. 192-193 (1195)
Codice Diplomtico Barese 4, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo greco (939-1071)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1900-1982), framm. 2, p. 98 (971)

    CDB 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 18, pp. 36-38 (1028)
    CDB 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 26, pp. 54-56 (1039)

CDB 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 36, pp. 75-77 (1057)

CDB 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 40, pp. 80-82 (1060)

CDB 4, *S. Nicola I,* no. 42, pp. 83-85 (1064/1065)

Codice Diplomtico Barese 5, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari: periodo normanno (1075-1184)*, (ed.) F. Nitti di Vito, (Bari, 1900-1982), no. 9, pp. 18-20 (1088)

CDB 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 10, pp. 20-21 (1089)

CDB 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 55, pp. 98-100 (1110)

CDB 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 77, pp. 133-34 (1130)

CDB 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 87, pp. 144-45 (1136)

CDB 5, *S. Nicola II,* no. 155, pp. 264-66 (1190)

Codice Diplomtico Barese 7, *Le carte di Molfetta (1076-1309)*, (ed.) F. Caraballese (Bari, 1912), no. 2, pp. 4-6 (1083)

CBD 7, *Molfetta,* no. 22, pp. 37-38 (1154)

CBD 7, *Molfetta,* no. 60, pp. 77-78 (1178)

CBD 7, *Molfetta,* no. 68, pp. 86-87 (1184)

Codice Diplomtico Barese 8, *Le pergamene di Barletta*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1914), no. 10, pp. 25-26 (1035)

CDB 8, *Barletta,* no. 12, pp. 28-29 (1035)

Codice Diplomtico Barese 9, *I documenti storici di Corato (1046-1327)*, ed. G. Beltrani (Bari, 1923), no. 6, pp. 7-9 (1073)

Codice Diplomatico Barese 10, *Le pergamene di Barletta del R. Archivio di Napoli*, (ed.) R. Filangieri di Candida (Bari, 1927), no. 1, pp. 3-4 (1075)

CDB 10, *Barletta-Napoli,* no. 4, pp. *7-8 (1097)*

CDB 10, *Barletta-Napoli,* no. 6, pp. 10-11 (n.d. 12th century)

Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese 20, *Le pergamene di Conversano*, (ed.) G. Coniglio (Bari, 1975), no. 37, pp. 82-84 (1025)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 40, *pp. 91-94 (1054)*

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 64, pp. 150-151 (1110)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 99, pp. 208-209 (1148)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 100, pp. 210-211 (1149)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 103, pp. 215-217 (1154)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 106, pp. 223-221 (1159)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 112, pp. 233-237 (1165)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 113, pp. 237-239 (1165)

CDP 20, *Conversano,* no. 123, pp. 257-259 (1169)

Codice Dipliomatico Pugliese 21, *Les chartes de Troia*, (ed.) J.-M. Martin (Bari, 1976), no. 26, p. 130 (1091)

CDP 21, *Troia,* no. 81, p. 252 (1157-1162)

Codice Diplomatico Pugliese 31, *Le carte del Monastero di S. Leonardo della Matina in Siponto* (1090-1171), (ed.) J. Mazzoleni (Bari, 1991), no. 3, pp. 3-4 (1144)

Documenti longobardi e greci per la storia dell' Italia meridionale nel medio evo, (ed.) G. Beltrani (Rome, 1877), no. 5, pp. 5-6 (965)

Beltrani, no. 13, pp. 18-19 (1036)

Beltrani, no. 22, pp. 33-34 (1098)

Le carte che si conservano nello Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano della città di Trani, dal ix. secolo fino all'anno 1266, (ed.) A. Prologo (Barletta, 1877), no. 33 (1131)

Items from Geniza sources compiled from Y. Stillman, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt: According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza,* (Unpublished thesis: University of Pennsylvania, 1972)

Items from Greek Byzantine sources compiled from: T. Dawson, 'Propriety, practicality and pleasure: the parameters of women's dress in Byzantium, A.D. 1000-1200', in: L. Garland (ed.) *Byzantine Women: Varieties of Experience 800-1200* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 41-75.

*This information from T. Dawson, 'Propriety, practicality and pleasure', p. 47

+The *kouropalatissa* Kale Pakouriane's will is cited by Dawson from: *Actes d'Iviron* 2, *Du milieu du XIe siècle à 1204. Archives de l'Athos,* vol. 16, (eds.) J. Lefort, N. Oikomidès and D. Papachryssanthou (Paris: Lethielleux, 1990) pp. 180-1.

Table five: Horse brooches from southern Italy and comparative objects, 6-8th century

No.	Accession no. / Location	Description	Dimensions (length mm)	Provenance	Bibliography
H1	OA 7116 British Museum, London (Sir William Hamilton Collection)	Copper alloy, punched dot borders, stamped ring-and-dot motifs including one to denote the eye, incised (?) curvilinear grooves for the main; hinge attachments for pin (now missing); pin catch protrudes into obverse of brooch at horse's shoulder; horse is sitting with legs curled underneath body; horse would face left when worn	48	Territory of Naples, Campania dated to 6-7th c.	-
H2	OA 7117 British Museum, London (Sir William Hamilton Collection)	Copper alloy, punched dot borders, incised palm leaf motif for mane, stylised saddle and stepped cross potent on shoulder, punched dot-and-ring eye; hinge fitting on reverse; pin missing; horse is standing, and about to take a step to walk with front left leg bent; protrusion from hind legs denoting phallus and therefore stallion; horse would be facing left when worn	50	Territory of Naples, Campania dated to 6-7th c.	-
H3	OA 7118 British Museum, London (Sir William Hamilton Collection)	Copper alloy, decorated all over with ring-and-dot marks, incised borders; hinge attachments, pin missing; horse in mid-gallop with front leg(s) bending underneath body; horse would face left when worn	33	Territory of Naples, Campania dated to 6-7th c.	-
H4	OA 10301 British Museum, London (Sir William Hamilton Collection)	Copper alloy, with circular red enamel let into the metal for its eye and to decorate body; incised grooves to denote a harness and nicked decoration for mane and base; hinge and hook on reverse; missing); horse is standing or just about to take a step forward with left front leg bent; horse would face left when worn	38	Territory of Naples, Campania dated to 6-7th c.	-

H5	Museo Nazionale Ridola, Matera	Copper alloy, with punched decoration across body, and three incised dot-and-ring motifs on the rump, flank and one for an eye; a plume rises from the head with a in the shape of a rounded cross pattée with dot-and-ring in the middle; pin is extant.		Venusio, nr. Matera, Basilicata found in a grave with one body, three copper alloy rings, three copper alloy bangles with soldered strip decoration, a simple hoop earring, a small clay sphere, a jug and fragments of a glass chalice, excavated at the same time as two other graves in the area of Venusio	*Notizie degli scavi,* 1950, no.168; A. Melucco Vaccaro, *I Longobardi*, pp. 132-33; F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano', pl. 67, fig. 1
H6	595 Museo Civico, Barletta	Copper alloy, decorated with three dot-and-ring marks on the rump and one for an eye; a cross rises from the top of the head with a central dot-and-ring mark; pin missing; horse would face left when worn	49	Territory of Barletta, Puglia	C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', pp. 912-13; I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria*, p. 163 (no. IV.2.1)
H7	609 Museo Civico, Barletta	Copper alloy, decorated as no. 6 above but with a plume rising from the top of the head; pin missing; horse would face left when worn	40	Territory of Barletta, Puglia	C. D'Angela, 'Il quadro archeologico', pp. 912-13; I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria*, p. 163 (no. IV.2.2)
H8	? Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia, Centro Operativo per l'Archeologia del Salento, Lecce	Copper alloy, representing a highly stylised double-headed horse or a fusion of two horses, both heads curved downwards, with dot-and-ring decoration including ones for eyes and four 'hooves', a horizontal bar makes the ground line; pin is missing	55	Cutrofiano, Puglia found during excavations along the *contrada La Badia*	P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432, fig. 2 no. 4; p. 434, fig 4
H9	? Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Salerno e Avellino, Salerno	Copper alloy, with two incised dot-and-ring motifs on the flank and rump, and one for an eye; horse would face left when worn	42	Pietra Durante, Bisaccia, Campania found with a jug, comb, chain fragment, penannular brooch and polychrome beads, in a female grave dated to the 7th c.	P. Peduto, 'Lo scavo, p. 58, n. 11 and pl. 14, no. 4; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432; G. Sangermano, 'Avellino longobarda', p. 296;

H10	254997 Museo Archeologico, Venosa	Copper alloy, decorated with ring-and-dot motifs across head and body; legs are bent to indicate motion; horse would face left when worn	48	Atella, nr. Potenza, Basilicata found in a female grave excavated on the contrada Magnone, dated to the 6-7th c., with an armlet and a necklace of polychrome glass beads	M. Salvatore, *Museo archeologico di Venosa,* p. 289, fig. t.18.1; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432
H11	? Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per la Calabria, Reggio	Copper alloy		Spezzano Albanese, nr. Cosenza, Calabria found at a site called *Scribla,* 6-7th c.	M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 40
H12	681172 Museo Civico di Castrovillari	Copper alloy		Celimarro, nr. Cosenza, Calabria found in 1957 at the early medieval cemetery site on the contrada Celimarro, nr. Castrovillari, half way between Senise and Cosenza, close to the border with modern Basilicata, 6-7th c.	G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e Insediamenti,* p. 100-1, fig. 37; M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 40
H13	? Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per la Calabria, Reggio	Copper alloy, missing its tail and left fore-leg, with incised ring-and-dot motifs and a pair of vertical lines topped with incised cross-hatching depicting the mane, a small cross at the neck, incised viertical and slanting lines across the body with another cruciform motif and further incised crescents on marking the rear hooves		Cirò Marina, nr. Crotone, Calabria found in an unknown location in the *agro,* 6-7th c.	M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 40
H14	? Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici per la Calabria, Reggio	Copper alloy		Botricello-fondo Marine, nr. Catanzaro, Calabria 6-7th c.	M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 40
H15 -17	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli) Calabria	Three copper alloy brooches of unknown description		? Calabria provenance unknown	M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 40
H18	Museo Nazionale Romano di Crypta Balbi, Rome	[i]Copper alloy, incised decoration for mane and tail; punched cup-and-ring motif for an eye; incised zig-zag pattern across body terminated with shallow crescents at points; incised marking to convey mouth		Palatine Hill, Rome, Lazio found in excavations	*Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, p. 65

H19	Museo Nazionale Romano di Crypta Balbi, Rome	Copper alloy, incised shallow crescent motifs across body and markings for the mane; punched cup-and-ring motif for the eye; incised markings for mouth and nose		Palatine Hill, Rome, Lazio found in excavations	*Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, p. 65
H20	Museo Nazionale Romano di Crypta Balbi, Rome	Copper alloy, incised marks to denote mane and tail; incised zig-zag pattern across body terminated with shallow crescents at points; now degraded incision for eye		Palatine Hill, Rome, Lazio found in excavations	*Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, p. 65
H21	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Silver, with incised bands across middle causing raised ridges depicting saddle or similar; an incised equal-arm cross with flanged ends (cross pattée) on the flank, incised line outlines the brooch with lozenge for an eye and notches depict the mane; horse would face left when worn	50	Castel Trosino, Marche grave 45, early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. 51 (F20); M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda*, p. 73, pl. 9
H22	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Silver, roughly worked	40	Castel Trosino, Marche found in the chest area of a woman's body in grave 11 of the early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, (F21)
H23	1624 Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Silver, with incised crescents all over body and legs, incisions picking out tail and mane; a cross on the flank and an 'S' on its side on the rump; a dot-and-ring for an eye; remains of an iron pin; horse would face left when worn	40	Cemetery of Castel Trosino, Marche found with body of a young girl and a two-handled ceramic jug in grave 121 of the early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. C (F22) (erroneously attributed to grave 12); Åberg, *Die Goten und Langobarden in Italien,* p. 127; M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda*, p. 73, pl. 9; L. Paroli, *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino,* pp. 316-17, fig. 258

H24	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Silver, with circular red enamel let into the metal to form an eye, stylised incision to depict mane and hooves; iron pin; horse would face left when worn	40	Castel Trosino, Marche found with the body of a woman in grave 124 of the early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. C (F23); M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda*, p. 73, pl. 9
H25	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Copper alloy, decorated simply with an incised dot on the rump; stance in full-gallop with both sets of legs off the ground; iron pin; horse would face left when worn	43	Castel Trosino, Marche found in the chest area of a woman's body in grave 136 of the early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. C (F24)
H26	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Silver, with ring-and-dot motifs on rump and flank, one for an eye with a further one below and two incised circlets below along the neck; incised markings pick out the hooves, mane and mouth; horse would face left when worn	43	Cemetery of Castel Trosino, Marche found in the chest area of a young girl's body in grave 171 of the early medieval cemetery	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. C (F25); M. Arena and L. Paroli, *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda*, p. 73, pl.9
H27	Museo Archeologico, Ascoli Piceno	Copper alloy		Territory of Marche provenance unknown, dated to the 6-7th c.	M. Profumo, 'Le Marche in età longobarda', pp. 152-54, no. 18; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432
H28	Museo Archeologico, Ascoli Piceno	Copper alloy, with horizontal bar representing the ground-line and stylistic similarities with no. 8		Territory of Marche, provenance unknown, dated to the 7th c.	M. Profumo, 'Le Marche in età longobarda', pp. 152-54, no. 19; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432
H29	Museo Civico, Rovereto	Copper alloy, representing a double-headed horse or a fusion of two horses, degraded body, with incised dot-and-ring motifs for eyes	43	Torrano nr. Pedersano, Rovereto, Trentino-Alto Adige	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien*, p. 47, pl. 50 (F26); V. Bierbauer, 'L'insediamento del periodo tardoantico e altomedievale in Trentino-Alto Adige', p. 125; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432

H30	4926 Museo di Buonconsiglio, Trento	Copper alloy, with degraded dot-and-ring motifs across body with another for the eye and a further one on the neck; horizontal bar links front and hind legs forming ground-line; horse would face left when worn	57		Lanza di Rumo, nr. Trento	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. 51 (F18)
H31	*53922*[ii] Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome (Castellani Collection)	Copper alloy, incised markings depict tail, mane and eye; two incised equal arm crosses on the flank and rump; horse would face left when worn	46		? Italy provenance unknown	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 47, pl. 51 (F19)
H32	1927.437 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Sir Arthur Evans' Collection)	Copper alloy, with incised punched patterning denoting horse's caparison including chevrons, three large double ring-and-dot motifs on rump and flank and one for an eye; horizontal bar denotes ground-line with one of the front legs raised to depict motion forwards; protrusion from hind legs denotes a stallion; corroded remains of an iron pin with U-shaped catch	54		? Italy provenance unknown; previously from the Alexander Nesbitt collection, sold by Christie, Mason and Woods 1887, then presented to the museum by Arthur Evans in 1927	A. MacGregor, *Catalogue of the Continental Archaeological Collections,* p. 214, no. 101
H33	? Hungary	Copper alloy, representing a double-headed horse or a fusion of two horses with punched dot-and-ring marks all over similarly with no. 8	59		Fenékpuszta, Hungary	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 63, pl. C, no. 35
H34	? Ukraine	Copper alloy, representing a double-headed horse or a fusion of two horses with incised decoration for mane and eyes and two double-ring-and-dot marks on each flank, standing on a horizontal bar representing the ground-line	47		Pastyrskoye, Ukraine	S. Fuchs and J. Werner, *Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien,* p. 63, pl. C, no. 35
H35	? Greece	Copper alloy, with punched decoration			Corinth found during 1930s excavations at Corinth, lacking provenance for dating	G. Davidson, *Corinth,* vol. 12. *The Minor Objects,* p. 134, pl. 68, no. 935; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432
H36	? Greece	Copper alloy, with punched decoration			Corinth found during 1930s excavations at Corinth, lacking provenance for dating	G. Davidson, *Corinth,* vol. 12. *The Minor Objects,* p. 270, pl. 113, no. 2173; P. Arthur, 'Fibbie e fibule', p. 432

<u>Notes</u>

? indicates no firm reference to precise location and therefore assumed that the object and/or its record will be with the region's *Soprintendenza,* where relevant.

Descriptions which are lacking indicate that the examples were cited in publications without detailed information.

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[i] H18-20 have been interpreted as *appliqués* which would have been worn around the collar of a *maniakion.* I have not been able to examine the reverse of these, or find photographs of the reverse to verify this.

[ii] There is possible ambiguity regarding this accession number. Confirmation from the Museum has not been forthcoming to date.

Table six: Earrings from southern Italy, or probably from southern Italy, 4-8th century

<u>I. Full Baldini Lippolis typology</u>

Type 1: Simple hoop earrings (4 variations)

Type 2: Hoop earrings with beads

Type 3: Hoop earrings with polyhedral bead (2 variations)

Type 4: Hoop earrings with pendants (7 variations)

Type 5: Earrings with double-pendants (4 variations)

Type 6: Ring or hoop earrings with applied decoration (6 variations)

Type 7: Earrings with a crescent body (3 variations)

Type 8: Earrings with a basket (4 variations) (8a = Possenti type 1, 8b = Possenti 2, 8c = Possenti type 3)

Type 9: Earrings with a hook

<u>II. Full Possenti typology</u>

Type 1: Floriated chalice basket

    Sub-type 1a: with a reinforcement ring between the basket and the suspension loop

    Sub-type 1b: with a wire for reinforcement between the suspension loop and along the basket, forming a spiral between loop and basket and in cases also forming a small loop at the bottom of the basket to suspend sub-pendants

    Sub-type 1c: with suspension loop forming an oxbow loop behind the basket

Type 2: Open-work basket

Sub-type 2a: with one or more stone or paste settings on the obverse

Sub-type 2b: with a central element, typically a pearl held in place by one or two wires (chronologically precedes 2a) (4 variations)

Sub-type 2c: with basket formed from part or all in metal strips

Type 3: Hemispherical basket with closed capsule and one or more stone or paste settings on obverse disc

III. Table of examples according to type

No.	Type	Baldini Lippolis sub-type, no. (reference)	Possenti sub-type, sub-group, no. (reference)	Description	Provenance	Accession no. / Location
E1	hoop in circular or oval section	1a, 3 (2.II.1, p. 88)		Hoop earring, bronze, 25mm diam., of 'Byzantine' date	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples, Campania Basilica of S. Tommaso, grave 5, phase 1	ST 27 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E2		1a		[i]Hoop earring, silver, in circular section terminating in a stylized head of a serpent, 17mm diam., 5-6th c.	Cervarezza, Banzi, nr. Venosa, Basilicata Grave 3	257506 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E3		1a		[ii]Hoop earring, iron, with circular incised decoration, early medieval	Monopoli, nr. Bari, Puglia contrada Vagone	
E4		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Pair of earrings, silver, circular section, ?6-7th c.	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E5		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		4 earrings, silver, wire, smaller than average, uncertain date	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E6		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, bronze, late antique-early medieval	Riganni, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)

E7		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, bronze, late antique-early medieval	Silipetto, agro di Crucoli, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E8		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		2 earrings, late antique-early medieval	Crotone-Prestica, Calabria	Private collection, (Ernesto Palopoli)
E9		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, fragment, late antique-early medieval	Strongoli-Zuccherificio, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E10		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		1 or 2 earrings, late antique-early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E11		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, bronze, in circular section with pointed terminals, late antique-early medieval	Caracones di Cirò, Calabria	Acquired by the State
E12		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Pair of earrings, silver, similar to above	Cannarò di Cirò Marina, Calabria	Acquired by the State
E13		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, circular section, with one terminal stretched and the other truncated cleanly, with similarities to a bronze earring with incised decoration found at Cimitile, late antique-early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E14		1a (Corrado, p. 31)		Earring, similar to above, silver, early medieval	Botricello-fondo Marine, Calabria	
E15		1a (Corrado, p. 32)		2 earrings formed from a smooth rod, early medieval	Fonte Manele di Crucoli, Calabria from an early medieval burial excavated here but not well-described	
E16		1a		Pair of earrings, silver, simple hoop formed from smooth rods, closes to pressure, with three bands soldered at closure	Belsito, Calabria found in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	T.B. 35, 36 Museo di Sibari
E17		1a (Corrado, p. 32)		Earring, as above	Caparra di Cirò Marina, Calabria	
E18		1a		[iii]Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops with hook closure, one lacking part of the hoop at its closure	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 37 in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	207/26, 27 Museo di Sibari

E19		1a		[iv]Pair of earrings, as above, hook closure, both intact	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 11 in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	834/10, 21 Museo di Sibari
E20	hoop with granulation	1b		[v]Pair of earrings, silver, with three rows of granulation along the lower arc, hook closure, end 6-mid 7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	T.B. 33, 34 Museo di Sibari
E21	hoop in circular section thickening in the centre	1c, 2 (2.II.1, p. 88)		Pair of hoop earrings, bronze, 16.7mm diam., 7-8th c.	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples, Campania Basilica of S. Tommaso, grave G6, phase 2	Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E22		1c (Corrado, pp. 32-33)		Earring, silver, closure to pressure between a pointed ring-nut formed from a double-globule, similar styles found in Campania and Sicily, coeval with similarly styled bracelets with characteristic thickening in the centre and closure to pressure, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria from a grave in the early medieval cemetery	
E23		1c (Corrado, p, 33)		2 earrings, perhaps a pair, as above but with a much smaller bulge and standing out from the hoop, recalling those with the inserted metal bead, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Prestica di Crotone, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E24	hoop in quadrangular section, circular at the extremities	1e, 1 (2.II.1, p. 89)		Hoop earring, bronze, 19.7mm diam., 6th-7th c.	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples, Campania Basilica of S. Tommaso, grave E5, phase 2	Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E26		1e		[vi]Pair of earrings, gold, with soldered granules along the quadrangular section, hook closure, 20mm length, 6-7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino, 1953	54749 Museo Archeologico, Taranto

E27		1e		[vii]Pair of earrings, gold, applied sheet along the hoop with reeded decoration along the length and three sets of four small globules in the centre and at each end of the sheet, the globules attached to each corner of the quadrangular section, at the ends reeded wire decoration wound around the hoop; closure to pressure, mid-7-8th c.	Benevento, Campania found in the cemetery discovered in 1927, the group comprising also a thin armband and two crosses; in 1967 during excavation at via Lungocalore Manfredi di Svevia a fragment of a brooch (disc-brooch?) was found and thought to be contemporary with the earrings and these pieces, also contemporary with the Benevento brooch	Museo del Sannio, Benevento
E28		1e (Corrado, p. 31)		Pair, bronze, quadrangular section, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E29		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Earring, silver, with small rings soldered to the extremities	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria Cemetery	
E30		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Pair of earrings, bronze, as above, decorated with zig-zag incisions, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E31		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		? Pair, as above, poorly preserved	Fonte Manele, Calabria early medieval cemetery	
E32		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Earring, as above	Riganni, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E33		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Earring, as above, comparable with a well-preserved example from grave HH, Cropani-Basilicata (1998)	Silipetto, agro di Crucoli, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E34		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Pair of earrings, in quadrangular section with zig-zag incised decoration, early medieval	Prestica di Crotone, Calabria	
E35		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Pair of earrings, the hoop made from large rods, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Prestica di Crotone, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)

E36		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Pair of earrings, early medieval	Strongoli-Zuccherificio, Calabria	Private collection, (Ernesto Palopoli)
E37		1e (Corrado, p. 32)		Earring, in rhomboid section with deeply incised decoration	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection, (Ernesto Palopoli)
E38		1e		[viii]Pair of earrings, bronze, hoop broadens in the middle, with some incised oblique marks, simple hook closure, 6-7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found in grave 29 in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	48/22, 23 Museo di Sibari
E39		1e		[ix]Earring, bronze, the simple hoop is quadrangular in part up to its simple hook closure, otherwise circular in section, decorated with small incised marks, dated 6-7th c.	Timpone del Pagliaro, Calabria found in grave 7	T.7/30 ? Museo di Sibari
E40	hoop in plane section	1f, 1 (2.II.1, p. 89)		Hoop earring, bronze, 7th c.?	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples, Campania Basilica of S. Tommaso, grave D5, phase II	Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E41	hoop with beads	2, 3 (2.II.2, p. 89)		Pair of earrings, bronze with suspended bead, 6-7th c.	Canne, Puglia, Byzantine cemetery, grave 10	Museo Archeologico, Bari
E42		2 (Corrado, p. 33)		Earring, with a simple hook closure, at the centre of the smaller arc, a single small biconic metal bead, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Prestica di Crotone, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E43		2 (Corrado, p. 33)		Earring, simple hoop with threaded spherical pearl-shape bead of blue and turquoise glass, early medieval	Silipetto, agro di Crucoli, Calabria	
E44		2 (Corrado, p. 33)		Earring, as above with a yellowish bead, early medieval	Castelluzzo di Sotto in Cirotano, Calabria	
E45		2 (Corrado, p. 33)		Earring, bronze, of small diameter, with integrated thick bead, early medieval	Prestica di Crotone, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E46		2 (Corrado, pp. 33-34)		Earring, bronze, perhaps once decorated with a yellow glass bead, with a cylindrical sheet bronze element at the extremity, found in fragile condition, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria grave HH of the early medieval cemetery	
E47		2 (Corrado, p. 34)		Earrings, with metal bead, similar to those from Cotominello nr. Catania, Sicily, early medieval	Marinella di Steccato di Cutro, Calabria	

E48		2 (Corrado, p. 34)		Earrings, as above	Botricello-fondo Marine, Calabria	
E49	hoop with polyhedron decorated with granulation	3b, 3 (2.II.3, p. 90)		Pair of earrings, gold, a rod terminating in a polyhedral ornament decorated with filigree and granulation, 7th c.	Provenance unknown ? Benevento	Museo del Sannio, Benevento
E50		3b, 4 (2.II.1, p. 90)		Pair of earrings, gold, 16mm diam., similar to above	Provenance unknown ? Benevento	24710 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E51	wire pendants with stones; hook closure	4b, 11 (2.II.4, p. 92)		[x]Pair of earrings, bronze, undecorated rod, two pendants, glass paste/enamel bead inserted and two rings for the sub-pendants, each a wound spiral wire with three beads in white glass paste, 30mm, diam., 26mm length, second half 6th c.	Venosa, Basilicata grave 144/85, outside the early Christian basilica of SS. Trinità, found with a bronze penannular brooch	389906 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E52		4b		[xi]Pair of earrings, a ring with a rod comprising glass pastes, 5-7th c.	Matera, Basilicata S. Lucia al Bradano	Matera, Basilicata S. Lucia al Bradano
E53		4b (Corrado, p. 34)		Pair of earrings, hoop with single oxbow as suspension loop, silver, with applied globule, perhaps with pendant suspended from oxbow loop, early medieval	Serrarossa di Roccabernarda, Calabria	
E54		4b (Corrado, p. 34, fig. 33)		Earring, bronze, as above, no pendant	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E55		4b (Corrado, p. 35)		Earrings, fragmentary, which once had a double or single oxbow loop to suspend a pendant	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E56		4b (Corrado, p. 35)		Earrings, comparable to the forms above, fragmentary	Botricello-fondo Marine, Calabria	
E57		4b (Corrado, p. 35)		Earring, bronze, similar to above, missing its extremities	Provenance unknown ? Torre Mordillo di Spezzano Albanese, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)

E58		4b (Corrado, p. 34-35)		Earring, with double pendant formed from an oxbow loop of glass pastes, comparable with pair above from Venosa, and another found in the early medieval cemetery at Voghenza near Ferrara, early medieval	Roccella di Santa Severina, Strongoli-Zuccherificio, nr. Crotone, Calabria	
E59		4b		[xii]Earring, bronze, hoop with triple oxbow loops for the suspension of pendants, two survive of blue glass paste suspended from tightly spiraled wire, the beads are tronconical in shape, hook closure	[xii]Belsito, Calabria found in grave 42 in the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	225/28 Museo di Sibari
E60		4b (Corrado, p. 35, fig. 36)		Earring, bronze, in circular section, three oxbow loops formed from soft wire linked to the arc of the hoop which is decorated with braiding, pendants missing, early medieval	Roccella di Santa Severina, Strongoli-Zuccherificio, nr. Crotone, Calabria	
E61		4b (Corrado, p. 35)		Earring, as above, also preserving part of a pendant, a spiral hooked onto the middle loop, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E62		4b (Corrado, p. 35)		Earring, as above but fragmented	Strongoli-Zuccherificio, nr. Crotone, Calabria	
E63	wire pendants with stones; inserted ring closure (to pressure)	4c, 3 (2.II.4, p. 93)		[xiii]Pair of earrings, gold, small ring for suspension of a pendant (missing), three wire rings on end of hoop closure, 20mm length, 6-7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia Cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino, 1953	s.n. Museo Archeologico, Taranto
E64		4c, 4 (2.II.4, p. 93)		[xiv]As above but gilded bronze, 6-7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia Cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino 1953	s.n. Museo Archeologico, Taranto
E65		4c		[xv]*Belmonte earrings.* Pair of earrings, gold, hoops with a small rod (remains of a loop?) which might once have had sub-pendants attached, 6-7th c.	Belmonte, nr. Altamura, Puglia early medieval cemetery, found with a gold and cabochon gem/paste set reliquary cross (*enkolpion*) and gold ring with braided band and circular bezel with central circular setting now missing	718 a, b Showcase 33 Museo Archeologico, Altamura

E66		4c, 16 (2.II.4, p. 94)		Earring, silver, two pendants (?extant) alternating between triangles formed from globules, closure into a spherical element, 7-8th c.	Canne, Puglia Byzantine cemetery, grave 15	Museo Archeologico, Bari
E67		4c, 17 (2.II.4, p. 94)		Earring, bronze, with three rings for sub-pendants, alternating with same triangular feature as above, 22mm, 7-8th c.	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples, Campania grave 1	BN325 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E68		4c (Corrado, p. 36)		Earring, fragmentary, silver, with triangular elements formed from globules, with comparisons with those found in the Pinguente, Croatia, otherwise as above	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria	
E69		4c (Corrado, p. 36)		2 earrings, a pair?, gold, hoop with hook closure, on the lower arc two eyelets soldered and interspersed with globules, pendants missing, early medieval	Botricello-fondo Marine, Calabria from graves found at the basilica	
E70		4c (Corrado, p. 36)		Pair of earrings, silver, fragmentary, with one surviving triangular 'bunch of grapes' element in the middle of the lower arc of the loop, early medieval	Riganni, Crucoli, Calabria found in a grave at the cemetery	
E71		4c (Corrado, p. 36)		Earring, bronze, with pendant in which is inserted a large glass paste, early medieval	Colle Pietropaolo, agro di Circhi found in a grave	
E72		4c (Corrado, p. 38)		2 earrings, perhaps a pair, silver, with three soldered eyelets attached to the lower arc, interspersed with triangles formed of granules, and a ring of beading along the inside of the hoop, in the central one is suspended 3 beads of blue and green glass pastes, early medieval	Crotone-Prestica, Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E73		4c (Corrado, p. 38-39; fig. 41)		Earring, fragmentary, as above, both of the above with comparisons with unprovenanced examples from Kassel (Germany). dated to the 8-10th c.	Catanzaro, Calabria, Santa Maria di Zarapotamo grave 2	
E74		4c		[xvi]Pair of earrings, bronze, ring with circular pendant from which are suspended small discs, 5-7th c.	Matera, Basilicata S. Lucia al Bradano	Museo Nazionale D. Ridola, Matera

E75	teardrop-shape pendants	4f, 6 (2.II.4, p. 97)		[xvii]Pair of earrings, sheet gold, open-work foliate motifs (*opus interrasile*), 42mm, 7th c.	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy	24746, 24747 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E76	sheet capsule with set stones and sub-pendants	5c, 4 (2.II.5, p. 99)		[xviii]M-earring, gold. With C-scroll filigree and four set cabochon stones, three loops for sub-pendants now missing, 38mm, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy	s.n. Museo Archeologico, Naples
E77		5c, 5 (2.II.5, p. 99)		M-earring, gold and pearls, 36mm, with three set stones, missing sub-pendants	Provenance unknown Italy	GI 200/201 Antikenmuseum, Berlin
E78		5c, 6 (2.II.5, p. 99)		[xix]M-earring, gold, with three set circular stones of blue glass paste, and a further central circular cabochon; two tiny circular settings also contain cabochons; interspersed with filigree circlets, two of three loops remaining for sub-pendants, all missing, 40mm, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	940 Museo del Bargello, Florence
E79		5c		[xx]Pair of M-earrings, gold, of unknown description, resembling E19 and E20	Provenance unknown Italy	Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome
E80		5c		[xxi]M-earring, gold, with five circular cabochon settings, three of which contain green glass paste, a central oval cabochon setting is empty, oxbow filigree work between the settings, two of three suspension loops for sub-pendants, all missing, 50mm length, 6-beginning 7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	941 Museo del Bargello, Florence
E81		5c		[xxii]M-earring, gold with three circular cabochon settings and a larger central setting all missing pastes or gems, filigree circlets decorate the rest of the sheet, two of three suspension loops for sub-pendants, all missing, 46mm, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	942 Museo del Bargello, Florence

E82		5c, 7 (2.II.5, p. 99)		M-earring, gold, with six circular stones of pink and green glass paste/gems (emerald and ruby?) on pendant, filigree and granules set in filigree circlets, three sub-pendants with two tear-drop and central rhomboid/ovoid garnets (jacinth), central sub-pendant with green paste/stone in circular setting, simple pseudo-filigree design on hoop, 67mm, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	6570-1855 Victoria and Albert Museum, London
E83		5c		[xxiii]Pair of M-earrings, gold sheet, with S-scroll filigree decoration and set with four circular cabochons: one larger at the top of the obverse with a dark blue glass paste (missing on one); three red-purple cabochon gems (garnets?); loops for three sub-pendants, two on each present comprising two soldered globules and decorated with applied filigree, 53mm length, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	BJ 345, 346 Louvre, Paris (Campana Collection)
E84		5c		[xxiv]M-earring, of unknown description	Provenance unknown Italy	Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City (Bonifacio Falconi Collection)
E85		5c		[xxv]Pair of M-earrings, gold sheet, S-scroll filigree and granulation framing the obverse of the capsule; four settings for cabochon gems or pastes, all missing; three loops for sub-pendants now missing; front of loop decorated with same S-scroll filigree interspersed with granules and closes to pressure, 68mm length, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	95.15.84, 85 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
E86		5c		[xxvi]M-earring, gold sheet, a little crushed, with remains of filigree curls, arcs and S-scrolls; four circular settings for cabochons, one remaining with translucent or light blue glass paste; three loops for sub-pendants all missing; reeded and notched decoration along the loop, 105mm length, 7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	95.15.86 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

E87		5c		[xxvii]M-earring, gold sheet, decorated with filigree circlets finished with a central granule; reeded decoration along edges of obverse capsule and around four circular settings for cabochon gems or pastes, one extant of dark blue paste; three loops for sub-pendants all missing; loop is decorated with circlets and granules as on the capsule; hook closure, 63mm length, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	95.15.87 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
E88		5c		M-earring, gold sheet with S-scroll filigree and granules; three arcs of the M are embellished with filigree and hashing; six settings for cabochon gems or pastes, three extant though heavily degraded; two filigree C-scrolls bridge the gaps between the lower arcs of the capsule and are terminated by granules; three loops for sub-pendants now missing; the hoop as three applied filigree wires running along the length	Provenance unknown Italy	1872,6-4,598 British Museum, London (Castellani Collection)
E89		5c		M-earring, gold sheet, with granules and filigree collars and shallow filigree S-chain motifs, set with five cabochon gems or pastes in light and dark blue, a central tear-drop setting for a gem or paste now missing; loops for sub-pendants now missing; the hoop is decorated with granules	Provenance unknown Italy	1872,6-4,1111 British Museum, London (Castellani Collection)
E90		5c		M-earring, gold sheet, forms a pair with E24 (object originally housed at the British Museum); description as above except central tear-drop setting houses a light blue paste and two other circular light blue and two dark blue pastes survive, one missing, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	M.122-1939 Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Castellani Collection)
E91		5c		Earring, gold sheet in the shape of a belt-end (arched form), decorated with filigree circlets inside which sits a granule, reeded edges in herring-bone pattern; set with five cabochon gems or pastes, the central one extant of dark blue glass; loops for three sub-pendants now missing, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	8764-1863 Victoria and Albert Museum, London

E92		5c		Earring, gold sheet in the shape of a belt-end (arched form), decorated with filigree and granulation; a singular circular setting for a cabochon gem or glass paste now missing with three reeded or applied twisted filigree wires radiating out from below the setting; three loops for sub-pendants now missing	Provenance unknown Italy	M.21-1959 Victoria and Albert Museum, London
E93	sheet disc capsule with cruciform sub-pendant	5d, 1 (2.II.5, p. 100)	(pl. 54, 1-2)	[xxviii]*Senise earrings.* Pair of disc-earrings, gold, with blue and red glass paste in verroterie cloisonné enamel (cold-cut cell mosaic) depicting front-facing bust with centrally parted hair and wearing diadem with *pendilia* or earrings picked out in red garnet enamel; the face is largely in opaque paste with the eyes in green/blue and the shoulders also green/blue; the face is against a green/blue ground; the bust is bordered by a ring of rectangular collets of red (garnet) cloisonné enamel and punctuated at the cardinal points with green/blue paste and this is bordered by fixtures for a string of pearls; a hinge for a cruciform sub-pendant, also filled with pastes: green/blue for the arms and red for the centre (some elements missing); on reverse of disc, reverse of a ?Beneventan solidus from the reign of Grimoald I, emulating a solidus of Constans II showing himself and co-ruler Constantine IV *Pogonatus* on the obverse (not visible) and co-rulers Heraclius and Tiberius on the reverse (visible); or a solidus of Constantine IV showing himself as sole ruler on the obverse (not visible) and the same impression of the co-rulers on the reverse; the coin is not an impression but struck from a die; prominent flange on coin; suspension loop decorated with cloisonné enamel and fixtures for strings of pearls or beads on the sides; 27mm diam., second half of 7th c.	Senise, nr. Potenza, Basilicata	153618 Museo Archeologico, Naples

E94		5d		*Calabria disc-earrings.* Pair of earrings, gold, filigree, granulation, tear-drop shape collets for paste or enamel (all missing), to create a cruciform motif with central circular motif, fixtures for pearls around edge of disc (all missing), and cloisonné decoration and further fixtures for pearls along suspension loop; setting for glass paste cruciform sub-pendant, 25mm diam., 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, ? Calabria, 1872	1872,6-4,1110, 1110a British Museum, London
E95		5d		*Calabria Christ earring.* Earring, gold, cloisonné enamel (green and red) in circular border on obverse disc, central circular setting with blue glass or stone, circlets of filigree, a border of fixtures, once strung with pearls; Christ or a saint with clenched fists impression on reverse; hinge attachment for sub-pendant now missing, 22mm diam., 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Southern Italy ? Calabria, 1872	1872,6-4,1112 British Museum, London
E96	hoop or ring with applied disc	6a		[xxix]Earring, silver, a hoop with a circular open-work disc divided into four forming a cruciform motif soldered to it and embellished with granules at the cardinal points, 33mm length, 6-7th c.	Venosa, Basilicata SS. Trinità, found with other grave-goods at a site outside the basilica	389902 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E97		6a		[xxx]Pair of earrings, gold, otherwise similar to above	Otranto, Puglia	? Museo Archeologico, Taranto
E98		6a		[xxxi]Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops simple with associated applied disc with rough central circular setting for a central element? Discs are now detached	Rutigliano, Puglia S. Apollinare, nr. Moccia, cemetery	Showcase 35 Museo Archeologico, Altamura
E99	hoop or ring with applied hemisphere or discoid element	6b (Corrado, p. 36-37)		Earring with applied cone-shape hemisphere on the lower arc with some radial decoration around the cone, compared to a gold example from Taormina, Sicily which has the characteristic cruciform motif, also similarities with those found in Egypt, Croatia and Ukraine, 7th c.	Crucoli-Silipetto, Calabria cemetery	

E100		6b (Corrado, p. 36-37)		Earring with applied cone-shape hemisphere on the lower arc with some radial decoration around the cone, compared to a gold example from Taormina, Sicily, 7th c.	Caracones di Cirò, Calabria cemetery	
E101		6b (Corrado, p. 36-37)		Earring with applied cone-shape hemisphere on the lower arc with some radial decoration around the cone, compared to a gold example from Taormina, Sicily, 7th c.	Cannarò, Calabria cemetery	
E102		6b (Corrado, p. 36-37)		Earring with applied cone-shape hemisphere on the lower arc with some radial decoration around the cone, compared to a gold example from Taormina, Sicily, 7th c.	Ceramidio di Cirò Marina, Calabria cemetery	
E103		6b (Corrado, p. 37)		Earring, bronze, as above but with an open-work glass paste bead inserted in the ring at the join of the cone with the ring, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E104		6b (Corrado, p. 37)		Earring, silver, otherwise as above, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E105		6b (Corrado, p. 37)		2 earrings, silver, as above but slightly crushed, a pair of globules, between the join of the cone and the hoop, early medieval	Provenance unknown ? Calabria	Private collection (Ernesto Palopoli)
E106		6b		[xxxii]Pair of earrings, bronze, with conical applied element which are missing their reverse discs, the cone formed from three triangular sheets to form a chalice, closure to pressure, end-6-mid-7th c.	Belsito, Calabria found at the early medieval cemetery of Torre Toscana	T.B. 31,32 Museo di Sibari
E107		6b (Corrado, p. 38)		Pair of earrings, fragmentary, unusually made of iron, with cylindrical application in the form of a hemisphere, comparative iron hoop earrings with basic incised decoration found at Monopoli on the contrada Vagone, nr. Bari, Puglia, and a Sicilian one from the early Christian cemetery at Sofiana, nr. Gela, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	

E108		6b		[xxxiii]2 earring pendants, silver, described as those above, and with comparison to Sicilian examples, mid-7th c.	Campochiaro, Molise Cemetery at Vicenne, grave 40, found with a bronze fixed-plaque buckle of 'Byzantine' type and some glass paste beads from a necklace	
E109	hoop or ring with applied sheet decoration	6f, 1 (2.II.6, p. 103)		[xxxiv]Pair of earrings, gilded bronze, hoop applied with rectangular sheet decorated with filigree and granules, 32mm, 5-6th c.	Venosa, Basilicata SS. Trinità, grave external to the cemetery excavation (53/1973)	257501 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E110	open-work crescent with globules	7b, 26 (2.II.7, p. 106)		[xxxv]*Altamura earrings no. 7b.* Pair of earrings, silver, with open-work and repoussé border with undulating motifs in the central zone a bird with spread-out wings, five globules radiating from edge, 42mm length, 6-7th c.	Rutigliano, Puglia S. Apollinare, nr. Moccia, cemetery	32470 Museo Archeologico, Altamura
E111	sheet crescent with radiating globules	7c, 3 (2.II.7, p. 108)		[xxxvi]*Altamura earrings no. 7a.* Pair of earrings, silver, sheet crescent divided into three parts, in two outer parts repoussé motifs of running waves and in the central zone, two stylized bunches of grapes and simple foliate designs, eight of nine globules soldered to the internal edge, 60mm length, 6-7th c.	Rutigliano, Puglia S. Apollinare, nr. Moccia, cemetery, grave 4	32458 Museo Archeologico, Altamura
E112	floriated chalice shape basket	8a, 3 (2.II.8, p. 109)	1a, 9 (p. 61, pl. III, 2-3)	[xxxvii]Pair of earrings, gold, central circular enamel or garnet, 29mm diam., mid-6-mid-7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino, 1953	54748 A,B Museo Archeologico, Taranto
E113	hemisphere open-work basket with central element on obverse disc	8b, 6 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b II, 75 (pp. 87-88, pl. XXVII, 3-4)	Pair of earrings, silver, 25mm, late 6-early 7th c.	Metaponto, nr. Matera, Basilicata Roman 'castrum' grave 3	12998 Metaponto Antiquarium
E114		8b, 7 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b II, 76 (p. 88, pl. XXVII, 5-6)	[xxxviii]Pair of earrings, silver, 29mm, end 6-mid-7th c.	Rutigliano, Puglia S. Apollinare, nr. Moccia cemetery, grave 6	24284 Museo Archeologico, Bari

E115		8b, 8 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b II, 77 (p. 88, pl. XXVIII, 1)	Earring, fragment, silver, 13mm, end 6-mid-7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino, 1953	27927 Museo Archeologico, Bari
E116		8b, 9 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b II, 78 (p. 88, pl. XXVIII, 2)	Fragment of just the basket of an earring, as above	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino 1953	Museo Archeologico, Bari
E117		8b, 10 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b I, 36 (pp. 70-71, pl. XI, 2-3)	[xxxix]Pair of earrings, gold, obverse of disc decorated with spirals of gold wire and a wire setting for a central pearl, 22mm diam.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia cemetery excavated at Piano di Carpino 1953	s.n. Museo Archeologico, Taranto
E118		8b, 11 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b II?	Earring, gold, open-work basket, suspension loop with reeded decoration, disc decorated with filigree circlets and granulation with globules forming a border, 27mm diam., 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown found in Taranto	U 122 Lippisches Landesmuseum, Detmold
E119		8b, 12 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b I, 38 (p. 70, pl. XII, 1-2)	Pair of earrings, gold, similar to above, 31-33mm length, 6-early 7th c.	Pattano, nr. Salerno, Campania S. Filadelfio, 1981	Ufficio Scavi Ascea Marina, Salerno
E120		8b, 13 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b III, 85 (pp. 91-92, pl. XXXIII, 1-2)	Pair of earrings, bronze, with glass paste/enamel, 23 and 28mm length, first half 7th c.	Altavilla Silentina, Campania S. Lorenzo cemetery, grave 1	125, 126 Centro Studi Archeologia Medievale, Salerno
E121		8b, 14 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b III, 86 (p. 92, pl. XXXIV, 1-2)	Pair of earrings, bronze, similar to above with set with stone, 42mm length, first half 7th c.	Casalbore, nr. Avellino, Campania cemetery of S. Maria dei Bossi, grave 36	489, 490 Ufficio Scavi, Casalbore
E122		8b, 15 (2.II.8, p. 110)	2b III, 87 (p. 92, pl. XXXIV, 3-4)	Pair of earrings, bronze, set with green glass paste/enamel, similar to above, 39-43mm length, first half 7th c.	Casalbore, nr. Avellino, Campania cemetery of S. Maria dei Bossi, grave 37	501, 507 Ufficio Scavi, Casalbore, Avellino

E123		8b, 16 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2b III, 88 (pp. 92-93, pl. XXXIII, 5)	Earring, bronze, fragmentary, similar to above, with set stones/paste, 19.2mm diam.	Cimitile, Nola, nr. Naples S. Tommaso, grave E5, phase II	231215 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Cimitile
E124		8b	2b III, 89 (p. 93, pl. XXXIV, 5)	Pair of earrings, bronze, with slightly floriated disc and suspension loop for sub-pendants, now missing; c.40mm length, first half 7th c.	Battipaglia, Salerno, Campania	Private collection
E125		8b, 17 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2b I, 39 (pp. 71-72, pl. XII, 3-4)	[xl]Pair of earrings, silvered bronze, similar to above, with a white central stone/glass paste, and reeded border, 37 and 42mm length, 30mm diam., second half 6th c.	Larino, Molise, Amphitheatre, grave 3	24888, 24889 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso
E126		8b	2b III, 90 (p. 93, pl. XXXV, 1-2)	[xli]Pair of earrings, bronze, with octagonal disc and centrally set white glass paste gem, 48 and 54mm length, 30mm diam., first half 7th c.	Montagno, Campobasso, Molise S. Maria di Faifoli, grave 1	34901, 34902 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso
E127		8b	2b III. 91 (pp. 93-94, pl. XXXV, 3-4)	Pair of earrings, fragmentary, bronze, very similar to above, 45mm length, first half 7th c.	Castropignano, Campobasso, Molise	21101 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso
E128		8b, 18 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2b II, 84 (p. 91, pl. XXVIII, 5)	[xlii]Earring, gold, basket is open filigree work, obverse disc is an 8-pointed star embellished with granulation and a central circular setting with wire setting for a pearl?, small granules in points, 14mm. diam. 42mm length	Provenance unknown ? Campania, nr. Pompeii	24711 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E129		8b, 19 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2b II, 47 (p. 75, pl. XIII, 3)	[xliii]Earring, gold, border, domed central setting, 36mm length, later 6-early 7th c.	Provenance unknown ? Campania	24712 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E130		8b	2b II -	[xliv]Earring, silver, open-work basket with beaded or reeded border around a central repoussé dome, end-6-mid-7th c.	Paterno Calabro, nr. Cosenza, Calabria found at the early medieval cemetery of Torre Broccolo	Soprintendenza Archeologica, Reggio Calabria / Museo di Sibari

E131		8b, 20 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2b II, 67 (pp. 84-85, pl. XXIII, 4)	Earring, gold, open-work filigree basket, obverse disc was inlaid with glass paste/enamel in cloisonné in lunette shape collets around perimeter of disc (all missing), applied twisted filigree in a radial pattern from central circular setting with three small punched holes, missing stone or paste, loop has been attached backwards (at a later date?) 22mm diam., 54mm length	Provenance unknown ? Campania	24653 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E132		8b, 22 (2.II.8, p. 111)	2a, 101 (p. 98, pl. XXXVIII, 2)	[xlv] *Dzialynksi earrings.* Earrings, gold, basket, disc with four triangular collets for enamel forming a cross motif and a central circular collet for a gem or paste now missing; suspension loop with triangular sub-pendant, 48mm, 7-8th c.	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, ? Basilicata	Dzialinksy Collection, Poland (now lost)
E133	hemispherical basket with closed capsule	8c, 2 (2.II.8, p. 111)	3, 108 (p. 100, pl. XL, 1)	[xlvi]Earring, gold, sheet basket with cruciform motif created by tiny filigree circlets, obverse disc with 11 applied globules arranged in a circle each topped with a granule, a central collet for stone or paste now missing, 16mm diam., 35mm length, second half 7th c.	Provenance unknown ? Campania, near Pompeii	24717 Museo Archeologico, Naples
E134	plane sheet disc capsule	8d, 2 (2.II.8, p. 112)		[xlvii]*Naples earring.* Earring, gold, with suspended ring decorated with lozenge-shape collets and central circular collet with paste or enamel setting to form a cross motif, contained in a border or pearls strung on gold wire, below the disc a sub-pendant with a simple gold globule, on the reverse the impression of an Oscan denarius of *C. Papius Mutilus* (91-88 BCE), cloisonné decoration on front of the loop and fixtures for strung pearls or other beads on the sides, 62mm	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, ? Naples	24774 Museo Archeologico, Naples

E135		8d, 3 (2.II.8, p. 112)		[xlviii]*Bargello earring.* Earring, gold, suspension loop, soldered, is decorated with three granulated rows of beading; obverse disc is decorated with a beaded border, a circular setting with green glass paste, eight smaller alternating rhomboid and circular settings with pink glass paste and filigree circlets; the reverse sheet with an imperial bust in profile looking to the right, shown wearing diadem and pendants, two crosses and the inscription χαρις Θεον ('thanks to God'); may relate to an image on 6th c. bronze coins of Anastasius I, Justin I or Justinian I; hinge for sub-pendant, missing, 48mm length, first half 7th c.	Bolsena, nr. Orvieto/Viterbo, Lazio	943 Museo del Bargello, Florence
E136		8d		[xlix]*Sambon earring.* Earring, gold, with obverse globule decoration (soldered or in repoussé, now squashed or detached) forming a circle and geometric filigree interspersed with gems, coin impression? On reverse showing two facing peacocks with a lamp between them and a monogram underneath, contained in a dotted border, underneath which a stylised head (interpreted as a female head of eastern style) flanked by two fish or similar heads, a cruciform sub-pendant, 7-8th c.	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, ? Naples	Sambon collection France
E137		8d		[l]*Campana earrings.* Pair of earrings, gold sheet, four lozenge-shape collets with red *cloisonné* enamel form a cruciform motif interspersed with four large globules set in a border of fixtures for string of pearls (now missing); a central circular collet with garnet set flush in its setting; filigree circlets intersperse the obverse decoration; hinge for single sub-pendant each with ovoid garnet terminated by a smaller once-round setting for glass paste or garnet; the hinged loop is decorated with cloisonné enamel along its length, 58mm length, 6-7th c.	Provenance unknown Italy	BJ 349, 350 Louvre, Paris (Campana Collection)

E138	earrings with a hook	9		[li]Earring, gold, oval setting attached to hook set with a light blue glass paste bordered with a soldered twisted sheet	Venosa, Basilicata found in the 6-7th c. bath complex in the same location as a circular gilded bronze enameled plaque with radial pattern	254996 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E139	fragments		123 (pp. 103-4, pl. XLI, 3)	Earring, silver, fragment, of the star-shape obverse disc and part of basket, mid 6-mid 7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia	27925 Museo Civico, Foggia
E140			124 (p. 104, pl. XLIV, 4)	Earring, silver, fragment remaining of part of the suspension loop and top of the ring that forms the disc of the basket, mid 6-mid 7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia	27928 Museo Civico, Foggia
E141			125 (p. 104, pl. XLIV, 5)	Earring, silver, fragment remaining of the suspension loop and spiral reinforcement between loop and basket, mid 6-mid 7th c.	Avicenna, nr. Foggia, Puglia	27924 Museo Civico, Foggia
E142			126 (p. 104, pl. XLIV, 3)	Earring, gold, fragment remaining only of the suspension loop and some of the open-work basket, mid-6-7th c.	Provenance unknown ? Campania	negative no. L.39.398 Deutsche Archaeologische Institut, Rome Object previously recorded in the Museo Archeologico, Naples
E143			[no cat. no.] (pl. XL, 4)	Earring, fragment remaining of basket and bottom of soldered suspension loop	Provenance unknown ? Benevento	Museo del Sannio, Benevento
E144		4c (Corrado, p. 35)		Circlets, fragments of the suspension loops of hoop earrings with applied decoration, early medieval	Cropani-Basilicata, Calabria cemetery	
E145	double globe pendants with decoration suspended from a small loop	unclassified		[lii]Pair of earrings, silver, double globe pendant is decorated with granules and the top globe has smaller globules attached, one through which the suspension loop is pierced, c.42mm length, 7th c.	Campochiaro, Molise cemetery at Vicenne, grave 25	30697 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso
E146		unclassified		[liii]Pair of earrings, silver, similar to pair above, one earring only survives as a fragment of the lower, larger globe, 60mm length, 7th c.	Campochiaro, Molise cemetery at Vicenne, grave 42	33956 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso

E147	pear-shape pendant suspended from a decorated loop	unclassified		[liv]Earring, gold, open-work pyriform (pear-shape) pendant, lunette voids are bordered with beading in interspersed with diamond shapes set with pale blue glass paste and beads of white glass paste pearlinate the vertical strips of the pendant, from the pendant is suspended a cluster of tiny pearls; suspension loop has fixtures for a line of pearls or beads similar to the Senise earrings, 97mm length, mid-7-mid-8th c.	Leonessa, nr. Melfi, Basilicata from a grave excavated along the contrada Tesoro and found with a gold ring set with a central cabochon amethyst and four white pearly cabochon pastes and a twisted rope ring and a pendant set with a large stone set in a beaded border	257511 Museo Archeologico, Venosa
E148		unclassified		[lv]Pair of earrings, comparable to the above, 7th c.	Atella, nr. Potenza, Basilicata from a grave excavated on the contrada Magnone	

Notes

This table is based on earring typologies presented in: I. Baldini Lippolis, I. Baldini Lippolis, *Oreficeria nell'Impero di Constantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo,* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1999), pp. 88-112 in concordance with E. Possenti, *Orecchini a cestello altomedievali in Italia*, (Florence: All'Insenga Del Giglio, 1994) for basket earrings, with additions from museum-based research and other reports, to amplify the range of examples from available data; references given below. References to the detailed catalogue entry and to accompanying illustrations have been included for the concordance of Possenti's basket earrings and the catalogue sections of Baldini Lippolis' chapter on earrings.

Unprovenanced examples of Baldini Lippolis type 5c (M-earrings) have been included in this table to accompany the discussion and suggest that they had particular currency in southern Italy. Unprovenanced basket earrings, the most numerous type, have not been included but can be consulted in Possenti's catalogue.

Earrings found in Calabria are not present in either catalogue and therefore summary entries have been inserted on the basis of information from Margherita Corrado's synthesis of early medieval personal ornaments from the north and central ionic coasts of Calabria in: 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale: complementi dell'Abbigliamento e monili in metallo nei sepolcreti della costa ionica centro-settentrionale', *Studi calabresi,* 1 (2) (2001), 7-50. The descriptions are only based on those reported in this article; readers should note that most of the figures are actually illustrating comparable pieces and not those reported in the article. Note also that finds in the private collection of Ernesto Palopoli were originally compared with data from Calabrian rural cemeteries from Crotone in: R. Spadea, 'Crotone: problemi del territorio tra tardoantico e medioevo', *Mélanges de L'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge,* 103 (2) (1991), 553-573, their lack of scientific provenance makes their dating difficult and there is a distinct possibility that some of the Palopoli examples come from much earlier Roman graves or other contexts.

Any dates provided are as suggested in catalogue entries or dated from archaeology where relevant.

i   M. Salvatore (ed.), *Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Venosa*, (Potenza: IEM Editrice, 1991), p. 286, fig. t.3

ii   M. Carrieri, 'Monopoli (Bari), Vagone,' *Taras,* (11 (2), (1991), p. 325, fig. 120 no. 2

iii   G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti fortificati nella Calabria settentrionale,* vol. 1, *Le necropoli altomedievali,* p. 157, fig. 66

iv   *Ibid.,* p. 153, fig. 58

v   *Ibid.,* p. 152, fig. 55

vi   C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini del Museo Nazionale di Taranto,* (Taranto: Editrice Scorpione, 1989), pp. 24-25

vii   E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania,* (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1969), p. 27, pl. 10; M. Rotili, *Benevento romana e longobarda. L'immagine urbana,* (Benevento: Banca Sannitica, 1986) pl. 54, figs. 1 and 3

viii   G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti,* p. 156, fig. 63

ix   *Ibid.,* p. 184, fig. 78

x   M. Salvatore (ed.), *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 287, fig. t.11b

xi   F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano tra tardoantico e alto medioevo' in: C. Damiano-Fonseca (ed.), *Habitat-Strutture-Territorio,* Atti del III convegno internazionale di studio sulla civiltà rupestre medievale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia, (Taranto-Grottaglie, 24-27 settembre 1975), (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1978), p. 161, pl. 36, fig. 3

xii   G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti,* p. 157, fig. 67 and colour image on p. 154

xiii   C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini*, pp. 20-21

xiv   C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 22-23

xv   Displayed in showcase 33; *Museo Archeologico Nazionale Altamura,* Museum Guidebook no. 59 in *Itinerari del musei, gallerie, scavi e monumenti d'Italia,* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 2002), p. 27, fig. 16

xvi   F. D'Andria, 'La documentazione archeologica negli insediamenti del Materano', p. 160, pl. 46, fig. 2

xvii   L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli,* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1941), p. 98 (nos. 1007-1008), pl. 43

xviii   *Ibid.*, p. 97 (no. 1003), pl. 41 nos. 1 and 4

xix   F. Paolucci, *Museo nazionale del Bargello. Reperti archeologici,* (Florence: Octavo, 1994), p. 91

xx   *Ibid.,* p. 91 cites this piece for comparison from: G. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca,* (Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1935), pl. 377, nos. 19-20, who erroneously describes the piece as Etruscan

xxi   F. Paolucci, *Museo nazionale del Bargello,* p. 91

xxii   *Ibid.,* pp. 91-92

xxiii   F. Gautier and C. Metzger, *Trésors antiques: bijoux de la collection Campana* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2005), pp. 71-72, fig. 5.43; no. II.115, p. 142

xxiv   L. Caliò, *La collezione Bonifacio Falcioni,* (Vatican City: Direzione generale dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie, 2000)

xxv   K. Reynolds Brown, 'Langobardic earrings', *Connoisseur,* (August 1980), no. 13, p. 275 of 272-275

xxvi   *Ibid.*, no. 15, p. 275 of 272-275

xxvii   *Ibid.*, no. 14, p. 275 of 272-275

xxviii   A. De Rinaldis, 'Senise – Monili d'oro di età barbarica', *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità,* 13 (1916), 329-332; Y. Hackenbroch, *Italienisches Email*

des frühen Mittelalters, (Basel: Holbein-Verlag, 1938), pp. 12-14, p. 72 fig. 2; L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie,* pp. 95-97, nos. 996-1002; E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania,* pp. 18-20, pl. 4;; R. Siviero, *Gli ori e le ambre del Museo Nazionale di Napoli,* (Rome: Sansoni, 1954), p. 246, pls. 249-254, no. 533; C. Carducci, *Gold and Silver Treasures of Ancient Italy,* (London: The Abbey Library, 1969), p. 77, pl. 77b; A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina nell'Italia meridionale e nelle isole. Gli apporti e la formazione delle scuole' in: *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo.* Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale III, (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1973), pp. 1398-1400; G. Haseloff, *Email im frühen Mittelalter. Früchristliche Kunst von der Spätantike bis zu den Karolingern*, (Marburg: Hitzeroth, 1990), pp. 20-21; E. Galasso, *Langobardia minor,* (Benevento: Museum del Sannio, 1991), p. 40 and cover image; G. Menis (ed.), *I longobardi,* (Milan: Electa, 1992), p. 224, fig. V.2; M. Corrado, 'Manufatti altomedievali da Senise. Riesame critico dei dati' in: L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli (eds.), *Carta archeologica della valle del Sinni. Fasciolo 4: Zona di Senise,* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2001), pp. 236-37 of 225-258

xxix M. Salvatore (ed.), *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 292, fig. t.2 and pl. 35

xxx *Ibid.*, p. 292, n. 3; cited from *Ori e argenti dell'Italia antica,* (Turin, 1961), p. 232, no. 82

xxxi F. Paolucci, *Museo nazionale del Bargello*, p. 91

xxxii G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti,* p. 152, fig. 55

xxxiii M. Corrado, 'Cimiteri della Calabria altomedievale', p. 38 made this comparison and this description is based on her report of it; it is not published in S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium.*

xxxiv M. Salvatore (ed.), *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 286, fig. t.8

xxxv Baldini Lippolis erroneous describes these earrings as gold and cites their location as the Museo Archeologico, Bari; however these and the other crescent earrings (below) found at Belmonte (both silver) are now held in the Museo Archeologico, Altamura.

xxxvi As note above.

xxxvii C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini*, pp. 16-17

xxxviii As note xxvii above, these earrings may now be held elsewhere but are not, to my best knowledge, on display at the Museo Archeologico in Altamura.

xxxix C. D'Angela, *Ori bizantini,* pp. 18-19

xl S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium. Archeologia del Molise,* (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1991), p. 355, f79 and p. 365, pl. 10f

xli S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium*, p. 355, f83 and p. 365, pl. 10f

xlii L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli,* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1941), p. 97 (no. 1004), pl. 41

xliii *Ibid.*, p. 97 (no. 1005), pl. 41

xliv G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti,* pp. 168-69, fig. LII,1

xlv A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina', p. 1400

xlvi Type 3 in Melucco Vacarro's typology: A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo. Contributo al problema e della diffusione degli "orecchini a cestello"', *Bolletino d'Arte,* 57 (series 5) (1972), fig. 24; L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie*, pp. 97-8 (no. 1006), pl. 41

xlvii Type 4 in Melucco Vaccaro's typology: A. Melucco Vaccaro, 'Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo', p. 13, fig. 29; L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie*, pp. 57-8 (no. 224), pl. 25 no. 7 (obverse) and pl. 38 no. 1 (reverse); R. Siviero, *Gli ori e le ambre*, p. 119, pl. 248, no. 532; A. Lipinsky, 'L'arte orafa bizantina', p. 1400; E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania,* p. 26 and pl. 6, fig. c erroneously identifies this as a Roman earring contrary to Lipinksy.

xlviii F. Paolucci, *Museo nazionale del Bargello*, p. 90; the suggestion for the medallion on the reverse was suggested verbally in: M. Corrado, 'Manufatti

altomedievali da Senise', p. 238 n. 66

[xlix] E. Galasso, *Oreficeria medioevale in Campania,* p. 39 and pl. 17b – makes a connection with this possible coin and the minting of coins in Naples during Constans II's stay in the duchy (661-2); M. Rotili, *L'arte a Napoli dal VI al XIII secolo*, (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1978), no. 77 both date it to the eighth century

[l] F. Gautier and C. Metzger, *Trésors antiques*, pp. 71-72, fig. 5.44; p. 142, no. II.118

[li] M. Salvatore (ed.), *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 288, fig. t.14

[lii] S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium*, p. 350, f31 and p. 359, pl. 4f and pl. 30 for colour photograph

[liii] S. Capini and A. Di Niro (eds.), *Samnium*, p. 351, f38 and p. 360, pl. 5f and pl. 30 for colour photograph

[liv] M. Salvatore (ed.), *Museo Archeologico di Venosa*, p. 288-89, fig. t.17.2; C. La Rocca, 'I rituali funerari nella transizione dai Longobardi ai Carolingi' in: C. Bertelli and G. Broglio (eds.), *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, (Milan: Skira, 2000), pp. 50-53, p. 72, fig. 53

M. Salvatore, 'Antichità altomedievale in Basilicata' in: *La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo.* Atti del convegno*, 12 al 16 novembre, Roma, 1979*, 2 vols., (Rome: Herder, 1981), p. 960

Table seven: Insignia from southern Italy and comparative objects, 5-8th century

No.	Accession no. / Location	Name in text	Key elements	Description	Provenance	Cognates
S1	153618 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Senise earrings	gold, glass paste enamel, facing stylised bust, cross sub-pendant, string of pearls; coin	Pair of disc-pendant earrings, gold, on obverse of disc, facing bust with centrally-parted hair and possibly earrings or diadem decoration, made in *verroterie* cloisonné enamel, bordered by a string of pearls, rectangular collets for enamel along loop; hinged sub-pendant of an enamelled equal arm cross; on reverse of disc, coins or impressions from die of Constans II period solidus (? Benevento mint, see S2 below) full descriptive elements E93 on table six. Pendant disc diam.: 27mm; coin relief diam.: 19mm (av.); total length from loop to sub-pendant: 59mm; cross sub-pendant length inc. hinge: 14mm, width 8mm; loop length: 20.5mm; av. depth of pendant disc: 7mm	Senise, Basilicata (ancient Lucania) in a grave at Pantano, found in 1916	Castellani brooch; Walters brooch For other elements: Naples earring; Calabria Christ earring; Vicenne ring; Bargello earring; Sambon earring
S2	1846, 9-10, 155 British Museum, London	Beneventan solidus	gold, coin	Coin, gold, imitated solidus of Constans II, possibly minted at Benevento, c. 647-71; obverse: on the left sporting a long beard and moustache and a small bust of his son and co-emperor Constantine IV (also known as *Pogonatus*) beardless and facing; both wear *paludamentum* and cuirass; both wear crowns and holding the *globus cruciger*; between their heads an equal-arm cross, all contained in a dotted border, inscription garbled (should read: *Dn. Constantinus et Constant. PP. Au.*); reverse: a three-stepped cross potent; to the left the standing figure of Heraclius; to the right Tiberius, both beardless and facing; they wear long robes and a crown with a cross; in their right hand a *globus cruciger*; underneath the figures the inscription CONOB, all contained within a dotted border; another garbled inscription/pseudo legend flanking each figure (should read: *Victoria Augu*). Coin diam.: 18.75-19.05mm	Provenance unknown ? Benevento purchased in the sale of the Cav. J.P. Campana of Rome, sold by Sotheby's of London in 1846, lot 1367	Senise earrings

S3	153621 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Senise brooch	gold, S-scroll filigree, intaglio/cameo, cabochon glass pastes, 8 elements	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, with central setting for cameo or intaglio, 8 square and circular settings for glass or stone, one extant dark bluish glass paste frame fine filigree work in symmetrical mirrored S-scrolls and strings of S-chains radiating from the central setting. Disc diams.: 97mm height, 95mm width; central setting diam.: 33mm longest diam.; square collet: 9mm; circular collet diam.: 11mm diam.; depth: 8mm and 11mm with single extant paste	Senise, Basilicata (ancient Lucania) in a grave at Pantano, found in 1916	Benevento brooch; Castel Trosino brooch; Metropolitan brooch
S4	153619 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Senise seal ring	gold, cloisonné enamel, intaglio, agate, braiding, seal	Finger-ring, gold, thin ovoid sheet capsule bezel decorated with green and red cloisonné enamel in a border set in trapezoidal collets, red might be garnets, around which a braided filigree or reeded border; on the outside a border of beaded granules; all setting an ovoid intaglio made from a banded agate (intaglio in chestnut-brown central zone, bordered with a pearl white band, around which an onyx black ground) showing a winged figure on a chariot, or perhaps a griffon? Uncertain Roman date, ? 1st c.; the plain gold band, also ovoid, in circular section is attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel max diam. 10mm; loop max diam. 18mm; loop thickness 2mm	Senise, Basilicata (ancient Lucania) in a grave at Pantano, found in 1916	Vicenne ring; Benevento ring; Senise brooch; Castel Trosino brooch

| S5 | 1865,7-12,1 British Museum, London (Castellani Collection) | Castellani brooch | gold, cloisonné enamel, facing stylised bust, string of pearls, triple pendants | Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, with central setting of a polychrome glass cloisonné enamel facing bust with centrally parted hair, earrings or diadem *pendilia*, figure also wears a patterned robe and central pectoral disc-brooch (or hung on necklace) with triple sub-pendants; in the field two stylised cypress-tree shapes flanking the portrait; around this a string of pearls, some extant; another border is of cloisonné enamel of red-pink circles, each framing a diamond or four-pointed star shape, filled with green enamel against a white ground; a final border of fixtures for pearls or other beads and then beaded granules complete the disc; three loops to suspend triple pendants (now missing) are attached to the front of the disc capsule; back plate is extant with remains of a hinge, probably made from a now corroded silver and/or copper alloy. Max. diam.: 67mm (vertical); min. diam. 63mm (horizontal); loop width: 4mm | Found in Canosa di Puglia before 1865 | Senise earrings, Walters brooch; Gutman brooch |
| S6 | 1872,6-4,1112 British Museum, London | Calabria Christ earring | gold, cloisonné enamel, filigree circlets, string of pearls, Christ or saint, sub-pendant | Disc-pendant earring, gold, on obverse disc, central circular setting with blue glass or stone, surrounded with filigree circlets, enclosed in a border of fixtures for strung pearls, and around this cloisonné enamel (green and red) trapezoidal collets in circular border, red possibly garnet; on reverse of disc, an impressed facing bust of Christ or a saint with clenched fists; hinge attachment for a sub-pendant like the Senise earrings, now missing? Suspension loop decorated with rectangular collets of enamel, most missing and on the sides of the loop, fixtures for pearls or similar. Disc diam.: 22mm; length 49mm. (see also E95 on table six) | Found in Calabria before 1872 | Senise earrings, Calabria disc-earrings (see E94 on table six), Naples earring, Sambon earring |

S7	17.230.128 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Benevento ring	gold, chalcedony, intaglio, cloisonné enamel, seal	Finger-ring, gold, broad ovoid sheet capsule bezel set with 3rd c. Roman intaglio in dove-grey/blue chalcedony with depiction of sideways bust, male, bearded and possibly with diadem; bordered in an ovoid frame of vesica (lens) shaped collets filled with flat-cut garnets (some extant), and a final border of beaded granules; the side of the bezel capsule displays the same vesica-shape motifs, applied; the plain gold band in circular section is attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel max diam.: 21mm thickness: 7mm; ring diam. 23mm thickness 1mm	Found in Benevento area before 1917	Senise seal ring, Maurice ring and all name seal rings, Metropolitan seal ring; Benevento brooch
S8	44.255 Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	Walters brooch	gold, cloisonné enamel, facing stylised bust, repoussé domes, braiding, triple pendants	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, with central setting in *verroterie* cloisonné enamel of a facing bust with centrally-parted hair, wearing disc-earrings and three tear-drop pectoral ornaments on a patterned robe; the glass paste field of the portrait is dark blue, the face white and other elements green; the portrait is framed with a fixtures for a string of pearls, missing, this border is then surrounded by a ring of 22 gold hemispheres in repoussé, some of which show evidence for being covered or filled on the reverse; the penultimate border is formed of a braid, either from applied filigree wire or reeding; the disc is finished with a beaded border at the edge; three loops attached to the obverse plate for sub-pendants (missing); back-plate, probably similar to the Castellani brooch and possibly made from a copper alloy (traces of green might indicate this), is missing. Max diam.: 50mm; min. diam.: 47mm; depth 11mm	Found in Comacchio, nr. Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna (province of Ferrara)	Castellani brooch, Senise earrings For other elements: Benevento brooch, Vicenne ring, Senise ring, Gutman brooch, Metropolitan brooch
S9	1909.816 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Sir Arthur Evans Collection)	Benevento brooch	gold, S-scroll and circlet filigree, braiding, cameo, triple-pendants, amethysts	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold sheet capsule, with central setting of Roman cameo depicting Roma, or male helmeted sideways bust or Minerva; reeded or filigree braiding borders the whole disc as well as dividing the brooch into four zones and in so doing creating a cruciform motif; in each quarter, filigree s-scrolls and circlets; three small loops to suspend sub-pendants of three amethysts and/or jacinths, attached with gold wire, all present; gold sheet backing onto which sub-pendants are soldered. Diam. 47.5mm; depth: 4.5mm	Found in Benevento, bought in Naples, 1889	Senise brooch, Benevento brooch, Castel Trosino brooch

S10	Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	Capua brooch	gold, open-work (*opus interassile*), and repoussé, cloisonné enamel, triple- pendants	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, open-work *opus interassile* disc setting a repoussé griffon catching a lion or other quadruped in, in an open-work *opus interassile* setting; all contained in a border of triangular and rectangular cloisonné garnet inlay; imagery has been compared to that found in Sasanid Iran, 7-8th c.; three sub-pendants on chains with stones, likely to be amethysts or jacinths.	Found in Capua	Walters brooch, Castellani brooch, Benevento brooch
S11	Sambon Collection, France	Sambon earring	gold, lamp and peacocks, repoussé domes, string of pearls, ?coin cross sub-pendant	Disc-pendant earring, gold, on obverse a ring of globules or domes (soldered or in repoussé, now squashed or detached), geometric filigree motifs interspersed with gems or pastes; on reverse an impression of two facing peacocks with a lamp between them and a monogram underneath, contained in a dotted border, underneath which a stylised head flanked by two fish or similar heads; some extant fixtures for strung pearls on loop; suspended from disc, a cruciform sub-pendant (see also E136 on table six)	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, ? Naples	Senise earrings, Naples earring,
S12	24774 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Naples earring	gold, cloisonné enamel, string of pearls, coin	Disc-pendant earring, gold, obverse of disc has central circular collet with paste or enamel setting, around which four lozenge-shape collets to form a cross motif, contained in a border of pearls strung on gold wire; from the disc is suspended a sub-pendant with a simple gold globule; on reverse of disc the impression of an Oscan denarius of *C. Papius Mutilus* (91-88 BCE); on the suspension loop rectangular collets for cloisonné enamel (missing) and on the sides fixtures for strung pearls or other beads on the sides (see also E134 on table six). Disc diam.: 62mm	Provenance unknown found in southern Italy, Naples, ? Herculaneum	Senise earrings, Sambon earring, Bargello earring
S13	Fortnum 341 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	Maurice ring	gold, seal, name, incised, facing bust	Finger-ring, gold, used as seal and name ring; the bezel a round disc, incised with male facing bust, bearded figure, hair parted in centre, holding a raised cross, inscription Ɐ MAVЯICI (Maurice *Vir Illuster*) or ligature is a bungled cross; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules (one now missing). Bezel diam.: 21mm	Found in Benevento, 1869	All seal rings below

S14	Museo Archeologico, Bari	Zeno brooch	gold, coin, solidus, facing bust	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, set with solidus of Zeno (474-491), enclosed in a beaded border of granules; corroded remains of a pin. Disc diam.: 22mm	Canosa di Puglia found in a grave excavated at San Severo in 1987, provisionally dated to first half 6th c.	Senise earrings; Udine ring
S15	30682 Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso	Vicenne ring	gold, intaglio, braiding, coin, bust in profile	Finger ring, gold, ovoid disc-capsule bezel, on the obverse, sets an oval red carnelian intaglio, Roman 1st c. BCE, probably from the Claudian period, depicting a pair of scales with a bushel on top and some grains and poppies below; gem is bordered by two rows of filigree or reeded braids and close beaded on the outside; the reverse incorporates a Beneventan tremissis of Duke Romoald I (duke 662-677), or King Grimoald I (king 662-671) showing a military figure in profile with diadem and a B in the field and a pseudo-legend on the left of the bust, dated to *c.*680; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel diam.: 17 x 25mm, depth: 5mm; ring diam.: 22mm, thickness: 1mm; gem dimensions: 7 x 10mm	Vicenne, nr. Campochiaro, Molise found with other grave-goods in grave 33 in a horse warrior burial, of possible Bulgar origin, 1987	Senise seal ring, Benevento ring, Senise earrings; Rutigliano rings
S16	Soprintendenza Archeologica, Campobasso	Vicenne tremissis	gold, coin, bust in profile	Coin, gold, tremissis; obverse: a bust in profile wearing what might be a diadem with pendants, the field the letter R and a pseudo-legend; reverse: a pseudo legend/inscription which surrounds a cross-potent; the design may have been modelled on the silver 4th c. Roman *siliqua,* dated to *c.*680.	Vicenne, nr. Campochiaro, Molise found unstratified at the early medieval cemetery	Vicenne ring
S17		Calabria brooch	silver, gold, peacocks, *kantharos*	Silver, gilded, sheet capsule disc-brooch with showing two peacocks flanking a two-handled vase or chalice, resembling the Greek *kantharos,* bordered with a wavy line border ornamented with chevrons and then a final incised border; with pin	Cirò Marina, nr. Crotone, Calabria found in a grave at the early medieval cemetery, with a pair of silver earrings	Sambon earring, Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo, Dumbarton Oaks brooch

S18	? Museo Archeologico, Bari	Rutigliano rings	silver, carnelian, intaglio	2 silver rings found with an incised red carnelian intaglio dating to the 1st c. CE	Rutigliano, nr. Altamura from a grave found on the road at Purgatorio di Rutigliano	Vicenne ring
S19	Now lost	Dzialynski brooch	gold, S-scroll, circlet and spiral filigree, string of pearls, braiding	Disc-brooch, gold, decorated with S-scroll filigree, in a very similar fashion to the Senise brooch with symmetrical facing scrolls, double spirals and circlets, two borders of pearls, 10 glass pastes, twisted filigree edge (braided?)	Provenance unknown found somewhere in southern Italy The treasure was last reported in Paris, France and reputed to have been found in 1887, possibly in Basilicata near to the Senise treasure. In addition to the brooch, the group comprised: a pair of earrings (E132 on table six), a cross reliquary (*enkolpion*), decorated with enamel and niello containing smaller cross decorated with niello, and set with almandines (violet garnets or amethysts), dated to 7-8th c.	Senise brooch, Benevento brooch, Metropolitan brooch, Castel Trosino brooch

S20	1920,10-28,2 British Museum, London	Gumedruta Ring	gold, seal, name, incised, facing bust	Finger-ring, gold, used as a seal or name ring, circular bezel with incised facing female bust wearing triple-pendant earrings, possibly M-earrings (or diadem decoration), patterned garments and beholding a central disc-brooch; inscription reads: GVMED/RVTA V(irgo) E(gregia) ('Gumedruta Illustrious maiden'), all contained in a border of small incised marks; alternative interpretations of the inscription: U(xor) E(xcellentissima) or Gumedrut ave; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel diam.: 23mm	Found in Bergamo, nr. Milan, Lombardy	Maurice ring and other seal/name rings
S21	943 Museo del Bargello, Florence Image also kept in: Coll. Fillon: Deutsche Archaeologische Institut, Rome, Rome, Neg. L. 39.16.17	Bargello earring	gold, 8 elements, filigree circlets, glass pastes, coin	Disc-pendant earring, gold, obverse disc with a beaded border, a circular setting with green glass paste, 8 smaller alternating rhomboid and circular settings with pink glass paste and filigree circlets; the reverse sheet with an imperial bust in profile looking to the right, shown wearing diadem and pendants, two crosses and the inscription χαρις Θεον ('thanks to God'); may relate to an image on 6th c. bronze coins of Anastasius I, Justin I or Justinian I; hinge for sub-pendant, now missing; suspension loop with three rows of gold beading. Length: 48mm (see also E135 on table six)	Found at Bolsena, nr. Orvieto/Viterbo, Lazio	Senise earrings, Naples earring, Sambon earring, Zeno brooch
S22	Museo Archeologico, Milan	Rodchis ring	gold, seal, name, incised, facing bust	Seal ring, gold, with incised facing male bust with centrally parted hair up to the ears, a full beared, also parted in the middle, wearing patterned robes and raising right arm with index and middle fingers outstretched in a gesture of blessing or rank; an inscription reads: + RODC/HIS VIL (Rodchis *Vir Illuster*), all contained in an incised dotted border; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules.	Trezzo sull'Adda, nr. Milan, Lombardy found in grave 2 with swords, other weapons, belt decorations, a sheet gold cross with repoussé monogram and decoration; coin finds from the cemetery date the site to 600-60	All seal and name rings

S23	Museo Archeologico, Milan	Ansuald ring	gold, seal, name, incised, facing bust	Seal ring, gold, with incised facing male bust with centrally parted hair up to the ears and full beard, wearing patterned robes and either beholding a disc or similar item in right hand or wearing a disc brooch or pectoral on the left shoulder; an inscription reads ANSV+ALDO; all contained in an incised dotted border; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules	Trezzo sull'Adda, nr. Milan, Lombardy found in grave 4	All seal and name rings
S24	Museo Archeologico, Milan	Trezzo sull'Adda seal ring	gold, seal, intaglio	Finger-ring, gold, setting an intaglio of Roman date.	Trezzo sull'Adda, nr. Milan, Lombardy coin finds from the cemetery date the site to 600-60.	All seal rings, Trezzo sull'Adda seal ring
S25	Museo Archeologico, Milan	Trezzo sull'Adda cross	gold, cross, repoussé, coin	Sheet gold cross appliqué, decorated with winding animalistic motifs (impressed or repoussé) and in the centre, an impression from a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (613-631)	Trezzo sull'Adda, nr. Milan, Lombardy found in grave 5 of the early medieval cemetery with belt fittings, sword and other weapons	Senise earrings, Zeno brooch, Bargello earring, Udine ring
S26		Arichis ring	gold, seal, name, incised, facing bust	Seal ring, gold, with incised facing male bust with centrally parted hair and full beard, wearing patterned robes, his right arm raised with the index and middle finger outstretched in a gesture of blessing or rank; an inscription reads: + ARI/CHIS; all contained in an incised dotted border; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules	Found at Palazzo Pignano, Cremona	All seal and name rings

S27	5841 Museo Archeologico, Cividale	Udine ring	gold, coin	Finger-ring, gold, circular bezel sets a solidus of Constantine IV (668-680), bordered with a ring of large gold granules; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel diam.: 22mm; ring diam.: 24mm	Magnano in Riviera, nr. Udine, Friuli-Venezia Giulia found in a male grave with a pair of spurs, a knife and belt ornaments, the coin dates the burial to the mid-7th to early-8th c.	Zeno brooch
S28	169 Museo Archeologico, Cividale	Cividale ring	gold, coin	Finger-ring, gold, circular bezel sets a coin of Tiberius II Constantine (572-582), bordered with a ring of large gold granules; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel diam.: 28mm	Cividale, Friuli-Venezia Giulia found in the so-called grave of Gisulf with other gold objects such as fragments of gold thread or flakes, a cross set with stones, various belt ornaments, also in bronze, including an gold mount enamelled with a bird	Zeno brooch, Udine ring
S29	95.15.95 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Bronze incised ring	bronze, seal, incised	Finger-ring, bronze, with undecipherable incised motif, possibly a crudely cut head. Bezel diam.: 25mm	Provenance unknown ? Italy	All seal and name rings
S30	95.15.101 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Metropolitan brooch	gold, S-scroll filigree, braiding, 8 elements, onyx, cameo, glass paste cabochon	Disc brooch, sheet gold, set with an onyx cameo showing a female figure in a *triga* driving horses, possibly representing Nox or Persephone, of Roman date; decorated in two zones with S-scroll filigree and an outer border of filigree or reeded braiding; 8 circular settings with glass or gems of dark red and green paste cabochons; back plate missing. Disc diam.: 63mm	Found in Castel Trosino, Marche	Senise brooch, Castel Trosino brooches, Benevento brooch

S31	95.15.4 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Metropolitan seal ring	gold, intaglio	Finger-ring, gold, a curvilinear rectangular bezel sets an Etruscan (Greek?) black banded agate, dating from 225-110 BCE showing 3 warriors, the sheet frame is simply grooved; the plain gold band, in circular section was attached to the bezel with four gold globules. Bezel dimensions: 20 x 24mm; ring diam.: 17mm	Found in Castel Trosino, Marche	Benevento ring, Senise ring, Rutigliano rings
S32	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Castel Trosino grave 16 brooch	gold, S-scroll, C-scroll and circlet filigree, intaglio, cabochon glass pastes, 8 elements	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, set with oval intaglio, of late antique date, made of garnet or other dark purple stone with depiction of bust in profile of a man with short beard and a Greek cross above his head/attached to a diadem or crown; disc is decorated with C-scroll, S-scroll and circlet filigree and 8 alternate square and circular settings for cabochon gems or paste and a central. Disc diam.: 65mm	Castel Trosino, Marche found in grave 16	Senise brooch, Castel Trosino brooches, Benevento brooch
S33	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Castel Trosino grave 220 brooch	silver, S-scroll filigree, intaglio, onyx	Disc-brooch or pectoral, silver, set with onyx intaglio and decorated with S-scroll filigree, a thin granulated border around the edge of the brooch. Disc diam.: 36mm	Castel Trosino, Marche found in grave 220 on the contrada Fonte	Senise brooch, Castel Trosino brooches, Benevento brooch
S34	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Castel Trosino grave G brooch	gold, S-scroll filigree, intaglio, female, standing figure, carnelian, repoussé, domes, filigree circlet, glass pastes, 8 elements	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, set with a carnelian intaglio of Roman date depicting a female standing figure, decorated with S-scroll filigree and 4 repoussé domes, each topped with a filigree circlet, and 4 triangular collets for glass pastes. Disc diam.: 57mm	Castel Trosino, Marche found in grave G	Senise brooch, Castel Trosino brooches, Benevento brooch
S35	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Castel Trosino grave K brooch	gold, S-scroll filigree, intaglio, repoussé, domes, filigree circlet, glass pastes, 8 elements	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gold, set with an intaglio depicting Cupid with a bunch of grapes, of Roman date; also decorated in three concentric zones with S-scroll and circlet filigree in addition to 4 repoussé domes topped with filigree circlets and 4 triangular collets for glass pastes, in very similar fashion to S34. Disc diam.: 52mm	Castel Trosino, Marche found in grave K	Senise brooch, Castel Trosino brooches, Benevento brooch

S36	Melvin Gutman collection	Gutman brooch	gold, cloisonné enamel, quatrefoil, string of pearls, braiding, triple-pendant	Disc-brooch, gold, with central cloisonné enamel quatrefoil motif in translucent green, in the centre of which a circular opaque white paste setting and at the base of each lobe of the quatrefoil white crescents, all set in an opaque blue field, the enamel setting is framed by a border of pearls followed by a ring of cloisons formed from meandering gold sheet soldered to the base, the enamel missing, in turn surrounded by braided reeding or filigree wires, the outermost edge is beaded and from this obverse disc, three suspension loops for sub-pendants now missing, backing now missing. Disc diam.: 36.5mm	Provenance unknown	Castellani brooch, Walters brooch, Benevento brooch
S37	Museo dell'Alto Medioevo, Rome	Nocera Umbra brooch	bronze, gold, repoussé, facing female bust	Disc-brooch or pectoral, gilded bronze disc-capsule with repoussé design and a central facing bust (damaged) of a woman beholding or wearing a tear-drop shape pendant or circular brooch or pendant in the middle of her robes. Disc diam. 46mm	Nocera Umbra, nr. Perugia found in grave 39	Castellani brooch, Walters brooch
S38	?	Ténès brooch	triple-pendants, repoussé, female bust	Disc-brooch with three sub-pendants in the shape of crosses, the central one Latin, the other two Greek in form, with representation in repoussé of a female bust in Classical style, identified with Galla Placidia or Aelia Flacilla.	Ténès treasure, found in Algiers with other objects and a liturgical item, could have been Vandal loot taken to North Africa, 4-5th c.?	Nocera Umbra brooch
S39	Museo di Crypta Balbi, Rome	Foro di Nerva ring	gold, intaglio, Roman, seal, standing figure	Finger-ring, gold, set with oval intaglio, probably onyx depicting a standing figure; the ring ornately decorated with interwoven animalistic motifs.	Found in Foro di Nerva, Rome dated from late-6th to beginning of 7th c., possibly made in Rome itself	All seal rings
S40	William R. Tyler collection, Washington, D.C.	Tyler pendant	gold, tear-drop, facing bust, repoussé	Tear-drop shape pendant, gold, with repoussé vine and foliate motifs framing a central front-facing bust wearing *trifolium* diadem and *pendilia* (or earrings), said to be a portrait of an emperor	Possibly from Constantinople	Castellani brooch, Walters brooch, Senise earrings

S41	59.54 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.	Dumbarton Oaks seal	bronze, incised, facing bust	Seal, bronze seal, cast, circular, with four circular perforations, made much later for attachment at a plaque; the inscription is engraved in relief, framing a front-facing portrait, wearing large earrings with small pendants; an inscription reads ANACTACHOC (Anastasios); Letters are not reversed suggesting that if it was a seal it would be inverted when in relief. Diam.: 50mmS42-	Found in Constantinople in 1959 ? 5th c.	Castellani brooch, Walters brooch, Senise earrings
S42	1535 Museo dell'Alto medioevo	Castel Trosino necklaces	polychrome, glass, coins	Necklace, polychrome glass and amethyst beads interspersed with sixth century coins, one necklace with solidi of Justinian I (527-65), Justinian II (565-78) and Tiberius II (578-82)	Castel Trosino, Marche found in grave 115	Castellani brooch, Senise earrings, Walters brooch
S43	1536 Museo dell'Alto Medioevo	Castel Trosino necklaces	polychrome, glass, coins	Necklace, polychrome glass and amethyst beads interspersed with tremisses of Tiberius II and Maurice (582-602)	Castel Trosino, Marche	Castellani brooch, Senise earrings, Walters brooch
S44	37.26 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.	Dumbarton Oaks brooch	gold, cameo, agate, peacock, spiral filigree	Box-brooch, in ovoid form, gold, set with agate cameo depicting a peacock; the frame is decorated with simple filigree spirals; plain black plate, also gold, fixtures for pin but pin missing; cameo contemporary with goldwork. Dimensions: 35 x 40mm	Provenance unknown ? Italy dated to 7th c.	All disc-brooches
S45	48.19 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.	Dumbarton Oaks agate cameo	cameo, agate, peacock, chalice/*kantharos,* cross	Two-layer brown and white agate cameo depicting chalice/*kantharos* and doves or peacocks and surmounted with an equal-arm cross, and at the foot palm branches. Dimensions: 14 x 16mm	Provenance unknown ? Italy dated to 7th c.	Sambon earring, Calabria brooch
S46	36.62 Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C.	Dumbarton Oaks glass cameo	cameo, cast, glass paste, woman	Cameo, cast glass paste in two layers, upper layer in relief is iridescent white, lower layer is dark green, depicting profile bust of a woman, with similarities to other cast glass cameos from Brescia (cross) and six from Cividale; style of bust compares with coinage from 7th c. Italy. Dimensions: 45 x 30mm	Said to have been found in Constantinople but of Italian workmanship dated to 7th c.	

Additional objects in the Senise treasure

153622 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Senise cross pendant	gold, cross	Wooden cross framework that sheet gold arms are attached to forming a hexangular section tapering out to dove-tail into broader rounded ends; arms are soldered to a sheet gold ovoid capsule of which one face is missing snowing the wooden framework (? conservation); onto the capsule a cylindrical attachment soldered to one terminals of one of the arms, possibly to thread a tie or other necklace. Length: 64mm; height: 68mm; central capsule max. diam.: 17mm
153620 Museo Archeologico, Naples	Senise finger ring	gold, glass paste, open-work	Finger-ring, gold, the band open-work with stylised vine motif; the setting is a square dark-green glass paste in a 6-prong claw/rosebud setting. Ring diam.: 20mm; setting: 8mm without claw/rosebud setting 15mm in the setting
SENISE (no acc. no.) Museo Archeologico, Naples	Fragments	gold	Two fragments of gold fittings, sheet gold, one a small ring, edged with filigree, the other, in quadrangular section, with three tiny round settings containing paste, two dark blue, one pearly opaque white, on a protruding square sheet, possibly belonging to the cross pendant or another pendant.

Notes

The bibliography for each object is given in full in the notes to chapter four.

Table eight: Grave-goods from the cemetery of Torre Toscana, Calabria

No.	Grave no. (reference)	Burial	Body	Grave-goods / acc. no.	
G1	?			Penannular brooch, bronze, with inscription +~VERONI, leonine terminals, with pin, 6-7th c.	T.B. 30 (P20)
G2	?			Pair of earrings, bronze, hoops with applied cone, hoop closes to pressure, end 6-mid-7th c.	T.B. 31, 32 (E106)
G3	?			Pair of earrings, silver, hoop with hook closure and rows of granulation on the lower arc, end 6-mid-7th c.	T.B. 33, 34 (E20)
G4	?			Pair of earrings, silver, simple hoops which close to pressure	T.B. 35, 36 (E16)
G5	11 (p. 132, pl. 36)	0.5m deep, orientated N-SW, cut into ground with one end against natural rock (at northern end), some of the earth removed created a support for the cover	Partial remains of an adult, laid out on the back in supine position	Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops with hook closure	834/10, 21 (E19)
G6	13 (p. 134, pl. 38)	0.65m deep, orientated E-W, found with some fragments of tiles as lining, and some material for the original cover	Very few remains of an adult laid out on the back in supine position	Penannular brooch, bronze, perhaps once with inscription, leonine terminals, pin missing, with remains of an iron pin, 6-7th c., found on the right of the body	806/11 (P21)
G7	15 (pp. 139-40, pls. 31, 32)	0.4m deep, orientated E-W, partially robbed by clandestines, towards the head a stone slab and some other pieces at the sides, the original cover mostly preserved	Remains of an adult laid out on the back in supine position; this body replaced the remains of another, which were left as a pile of bones, at the feet of the previous	Penannular brooch, iron, in rectangular section, missing pin	77/12

G8	16 (p. 140, fig. 61, pls. 31, 32)	0.35m deep, orientated E-W, some slabs of the cover remain, recovered with earth more recently	Fragile remains of an adult, with parts related to the pelvis and torso in an anomalous position, indicating a malformation of the dorsal-lumbar area	Penannular brooch, bronze in circular section, with fragments of the pin still attached (iron) to the brooch by twisting, 6-7th c.	14/13
G9	25 (p. 147, fig. 62, pls. 31, 32)	0.44m deep, orientated near E-W, the grave is cut into the rock, the cover has been removed, some other remains of a stone lining	Female adult skeleton, laid on the back in supine position, characterised by the form of the distal extremities and fewer bones in the feet	Penannular brooch, in poor condition due to oxidation, iron, with turned out terminals, pin missing	127/15
				Ring, iron, heavily oxidised, perhaps used on a belt for the suspension of a purse	127/14
				Earring, bronze, simple hoop, thicker in the middle than at the extremities	127/16
G10	28 (p. 147, pls. 40, 48)	0.45m deep, orientated near E-W as above, cover shows signs of having been removed, only some pieces of stone remain	Female adult skeleton, laid on the back in supine position, with arms spread along the sides	Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops, ovoid, thicker in the middle and thinner towards the hook closure, found either side of her head	110/17, 18
				Buckle, ring, iron, fragmentary, with attachment for the pin, found near the level of her stomach	110/20
				Small container, two-handled, with flared mouth, long neck going into a broad base, like a *kantharos,* wheel-turned*,* made from a dark maroon clay (5YR 8/3), semi-refined, with few inclusions, painted in brown bands, deposited on its side at the right side of her head	110/19
G11	29 (p. 142, fig. 63, pls. 31, 32)	0.3m deep, orientated near E-W as above, under the cover was a layer of earth with some stones on top and fragments of slabs	Remains of an adolescent mixed up with the earth	Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops with incised decoration, found in proximity to the head	48/22, 23 (E38)

G12	31 (pp. 138-39, fig. 64, pl. 39, fig. 51)	0.42, deep, orientated NW-SE, fragments of stone and ceramics of small to medium size, also caused by the removal of the cover, rock at the bottom	An adult laid on the back in supine position, the positioning of the body a little off-centre, and seemed to have compression of the left humerus (fore-limb of arm) against the side, possibly caused by movement relating to the arm laid down on the pelvis with respect to the right arm which remained along the other side	Penannular brooch, bronze, inscribed with +LVPV BIBA, leonine terminals, with pin (but unattached), 6-7th c., found at the level of the person's right clavicle (shoulder)	423/24 (P22)
G13	34 (pp. 143, 145, fig. 65, pl. 42, fig. 46)	0.45m deep, orientated near E-W, the cover of the grave comprises several pieces cemented together of various sizes, some other brick fragments line the grave	An adult laid on the back in supine position, with right arm resting on the stomach and the left laid along the side; a disease of the lower limbs probably caused the contracted position of the lower area of the body	Buckle, of *Corinth* type, bronze, with articulated (hinged) ring in rectangular shape and pin, triangular plaque with two open circles and a triangle, missing fixtures for attachment to belt, 7th c., found in the area of the person's stomach	68/25
G14	37 (pp. 149-50, fig. 66, pls. 33, 34)	0.38m deep, orientated near E-W, the grave is on a small heap of irregular stones with some brick fragments which covered the original stone slab, five bricks were deposited across the head of the grave, also stone and clay fragments	An adolescent in a compacted layer	Pair of earrings, bronze, simple hoops with hook closure	207/26, 27 (E18)
G15	42 (pp. 150-51, fig. 67, pl. 47)	0.15m deep, orientated E-W, with remains of a cover and cement, large brocks of irregular size with some fragments of clay	An adult in a compacted layer, laid on the back in supine position with the right arm resting on the torso with the left resting the stomach	Earring, bronze, the hoop with three oxbow loops from which are suspended two sub-pendants with blue glass pastes in the shape of truncated cones	225/28 (E59)
G16	44 (p. 146, fig. 68, pl. 64)	0.66m deep, orientated near E-W, on a soft pile of stones of medium to large size, fragmented, a few fragments of tiles, five large stone bricks line the grave	An adult in a layer of fluid earth, laid on the back in supine position	Penannular brooch, bronze, in rhomboid section, with stylised zoomorphic terminals (serpentine? bird?), decorated with incised stipples, with pin, two hollows to lodge the pin near the terminals, found between the second and third ribs of the person	74/29

<u>Notes</u>

All finds have been deposited with the Museo di Sibari; they are fully described, and some illustrated, in addition to information on the ceramic finds found outside the burials and the grave linings and covers in: G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti,* pp. 152-65

Table 9a: Court case about Guisanda's will, Bari, 1021 (English translation)[1]

Summary

No.10

Bari

Requested by Urso, deacon and notary.

An agreement between John, son of Maiorano of Noia, and the executors of the will of his wife, Guisanda, regarding the disposal of the moveable goods mentioned in this document.

AD 1021 May, the 4th of the current indiction

Document

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the 62nd year of the imperial rule of Lord Basil and Lord Constantine, in the month of May of the fourth year of the current indiction. I Iohannes [John], son of Maiorano, from the place of Noa [Noia] just inside the city of Bari, before all of the good witnesses under-signed. I declare that before these days when she came to death my wife called Guisanda, daughter of Angelo, who is an inhabitant in this city of Bari, judged her soul and disposed of all her moveable things and did it herself [before] witnesses Dumnellus, son of Pufanus priest and Ursus, son of Ermengardus from the place of Noa [Noia]. And she sent into their hands in order to sell, a mattress and a silk garment and a shirt and thin gold twine and a small litter / sedan old and broken, and a cauldron and a chain trammel, and a pair of flax combs and and wool carder she gave on behalf of her soul for priests and paupers.

And so a blanket with a feather pillow and an uncut piece of cloth my wife, the aforementioned, left to Sandulus our infant son. And she disposed to give to Iuliana, a low couch / bedstead.

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[1] *Codice Diplomatico Barese* 1, *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264*), (ed.) G. Nitto de Rossi and F. Nitti di Vito (Trani, 1964-1976, originally published 1897-1899), no. 10, pp. 17-19; my translation, original punctuation and rhythm retained as much as possible

And according to her order that she committed in the hands of the executors they fulfilled it. Now however, I summoned there to the court of Lord Romuald *protospatharius*, the above-named Angelus, my father-in-law, before the presence of Alefantus judge, because my father-in-law judged me that he took all the things of his grandson Sandulus after the death of his mother, as many moveable goods [as] my wife had and he has [these] with him. My father-in-law was questioned and he responded to the judge that he did not have a case to answer, because when his aforementioned daughter came to death, she disposed of everything and committed [them] into the hands of the executors to fulfill [it] as it is written above. The judge Alefantus made the nominated executors to come before him, and he asked if it was true concerning the judgement of her soul. They replied it was true and she sent into their hands that which is written above. The judge judged this to be true, that she gave to the two witnesses who were in the same place when my wife judged her soul everything that was asked above and they saw and heard it, and thus they pledged their testimony upon the Gospels. And the judge made me pledge an oath with the witnesses at the meeting, and those witnesses came in order to make pledge to me. In the end, before they swore an oath to me, I came to a good agreement with them, and I gave them an oath *per fustem* and I received *launegilt* from them. And through this agreement the abovementioned executors gave to me, of the moveable goods that my wife judged for her soul, the abovementioned cauldron and the aforesaid pot stand, and the flax hackles and the wool carder and the aforesaid bed which I have with me. However I received them in order to keep them safe and look after them until my aforesaid infant son comes of age, and so at full age I will give the prescribed things that I have received to my son. Henceforth, I the abovementioned Iohannes willingly gave a pledge to you the abovementioned Ursus and Dumnellus, my wife's executors, in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses. And I appointed a guarantor for you by this means in order that at any time now or ever, neither I nor my heirs shall bring a claim to you or your heirs neither through our deputy nor through our person, concerning all the things that my aforementioned wife committed into your hands that you gave over for her soul as read above.

Always I and my heirs, should we be held in contempt of that which is written above through this agreement I have received in the manner stated above, by no means shall we have the power to contend with you or make demands for these things through another vicissitude, but I and my heirs shall become guarantors for you and your heirs from all men who thereupon wish to lay claim to the aforementioned things which you have spent for the soul of my aforesaid wife. And if in such a manner we did not wish to do such that we were obliged and through another vicissitude we wished to make demands and contend with you for the things mentioned, and that if I should not safeguard the things that I have already received for my son such that is stated above, I and my heirs shall be obliged to compensate you and your heirs twenty Constantinian solidi and twenty for the public purse and always unwilling to be your opponents we shall be silent, and also we will fulfill everything just as it is read above. Through distraint, through guarantee and obligation I gave freedom to you and your heirs to pledge to me and my heirs through every lawful and unlawful assurance without violation wherever you may find my things as long as we shall fulfill to you everything that is read above. And the charter of the agreement in the manner stated above will be valid for all time. As we requested you Ursone deacon and notary to write the abovementioned who was present here in the city of Bari.

+ Πετρος μαρτης ὑπεγραψα.
+ ego Ioannes testis sum.
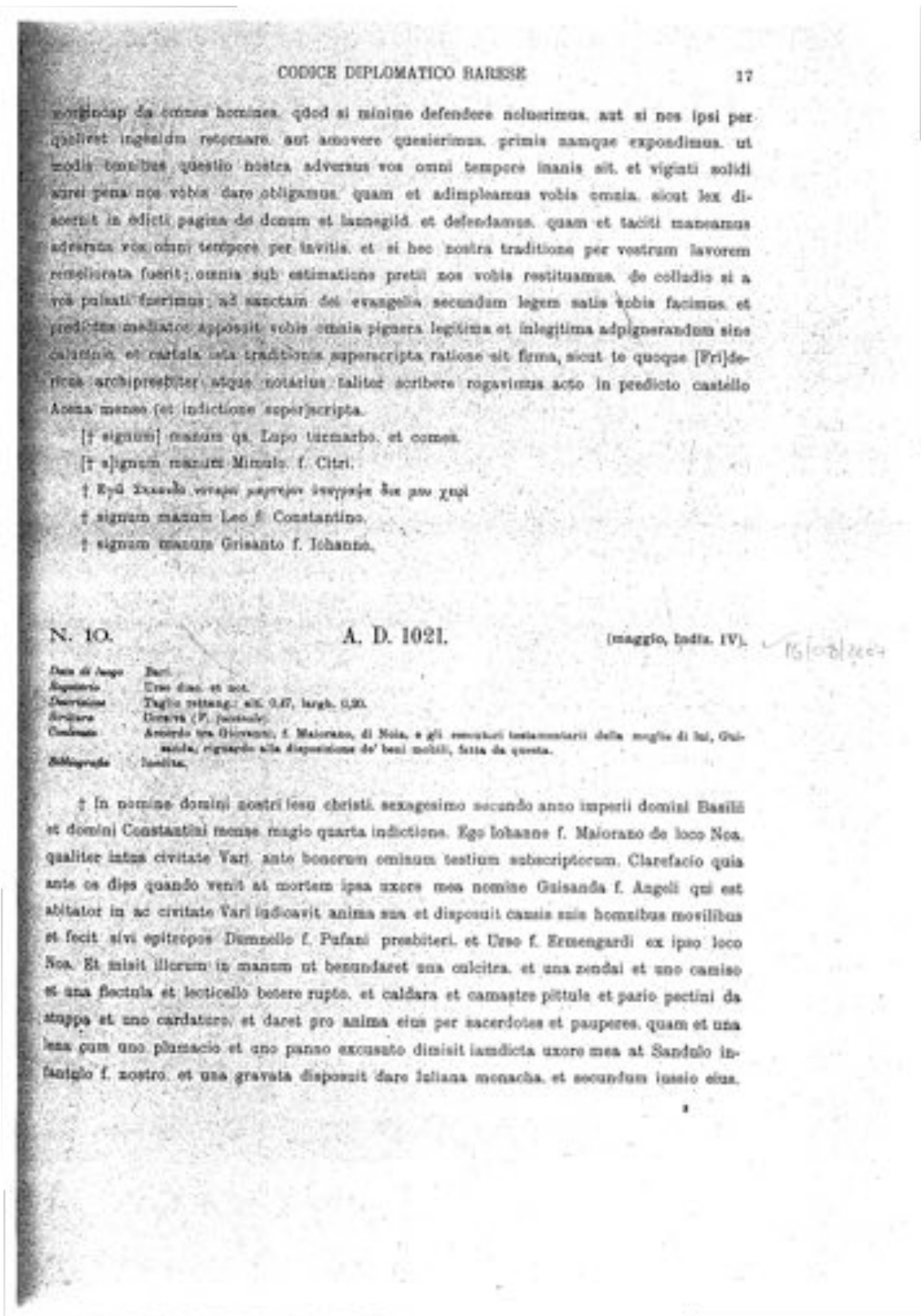
...giudicap da omnes homines. qdod si minime defendere noluerimus. aut si nos ipsi per qualivet ingenium retornare. aut amovere quesierimus. primis namque expondimus. ut modis omnibus questio nostra adversus vos omni tempore inanis sit. et viginti solidi aurei pena nos vobis dare obligamus. quam et adimpleamus vobis omnia. sicut lex discernit in edicti pagina de donum et launegild et defendamus. quam et taciti maneamus adversus vos omni tempore per invitis. et si hec nostra traditione per vestrum lavorem remeliorata fuerit; omnia sub estimatione pretii nos vobis restituamus. de colludio si a vos pulsati fuerimus; ad sanctam dei evangelia secundum legem satis vobis facimus. et predictas mediator apposuit vobis omnia pignera legitima et inlegitima adpignerandum sine calumnia. et cartula ista traditionis superscripta ratione sit firma. sicut te quoque [Fri]dericus archipresbiter atque notarius taliter scribere rogavimus acto in predicto castello Acena mense (et indictione super)scripta.

[† signum] manum qs. Lupo turmarho. et comes.

[† s]ignum manum Minulo. f. Citri.

† Εγώ Σκαχλὸ νοταρ μαρτυρον ευεγραψα δια μου χηρι

† signum manum Leo f. Constantino.

† signum manum Grisanto f. Iohanne.

N. 10. A. D. 1021. (maggio, Indit. IV).

Data di luogo	Bari.
Regestario	Una data. et not.
Descrizione	Taglio rettang.: alt. 0,47, largh. 0,30.
Scrittura	Greca (?. facsimile).
Contenuto	Accordo tra Giovanni, f. Maiorano, di Noia, e gli esecutori testamentarii della moglie di lui, Guisanda, riguardo alla disposizione de' beni mobili, fatta da questa.
Bibliografia	Inedita.

† In nomine domini nostri iesu christi. sexagesimo secundo anno imperii domini Basilii et domini Constantini mense magio quarta indictione. Ego Iohanne f. Maiorano de loco Noa. qualiter intus civitate Vari. ante bonorum ominum testium subscriptorum. Clarefacio quia ante os dies quando venit at mortem ipsa uxore mea nomine Guisanda f. Angeli qui est abitator in ac civitate Vari iudicavit anima sua et disposuit causis suis homnibus movilibus et fecit sivi epitropos Dumnello f. Pufani presbiteri. et Urso f. Ermengardi ex ipso loco Noa. Et misit illorum in manum ut benundaret una culcitra. et una zendal et uno camiso et una flectula et lecticello botere rupto. et caldara et camastre pittula et pario pectini da stuppa et uno cardatore. et daret pro anima eius per sacerdotes et pauperes. quam et una lena cum uno plumacio et uno panno excusato dimisit iamdicta uxore mea at Sandulo infantulo f. nostro. et una gravata disposuit dare Iuliana monacha. et secundum iussio eius.

quod in manus epitropos commisit adimpleverunt illut. Modo autem ibi ego et compellavi
in curte domini Romualdi protospatharii. super iamdicto Angelo socer meus. aput presentiam
Alefanti iudicis. quia iudic(e)t michi de ipso socer meus quia tulit omnia causa Sando in-
fantulo nepoti suo post mortem matrem eius. movilem quantum abuit ipsa uxore mea. et
abet illut aput se. set interrogatus est ipse socer meus et respondit ipsius iudex ut causa
ipsa non aberet. set quando venit at mortem iamdicta filia sua. omnia disposuit et in ma-
nos epitropis commisit ut adimpleret sicut supra legitur. set ipse Alefantius iudex fecit
venire suam presentiam nominati epitropis ipsa. et interrogavit si esseret verum de indi-
dataione anima ipsa. illis responderunt verum esseret. et in manus illorum se misisset sicut
supralegitur. ipse vero iudex iudicavit. ut daret illis duas testimonias qui ibidem fuerat
quando ipsa uxore mea indicavit anima sua. et omnia quod supra demandavit vidissent et
audissent illis. et taliter at evangelia testimonia ipsa firmaret. Et guadiare me cum illis
fecit ipse iudex iurandum michi testimonia ipsa in consti(tuto?). set et venerunt illorum
testimonia. et michi iuraret. set antea quam iuraret michi veni cum illis in fine et con-
venientia vota. et donavi eis ipsum sacramentum per funtem et launegilt ab illis recep-
tura ego. Et per ipsa convenientia dedit mihi de movilem quem iudicaverat ipsa uxore
mea pro anima sua iamdictis epitropis ipsa caldara. et iamdicto camastre. et ipsi pec-
tini de stuppa et ipso cardaturo [et iam]dicto lecto quod aput me abeo. Ego autem recepi
illut at abeam salbam et segurem me cum illut donec veriret iamdicto. infantulo f. meo
legitimo etatis. et sic ad legitima etate den ego causam ipsam prescriptam quod recepi
ipsius f. Meo. Unde modo ego qs. Iohanne bona mea voluntate coram supradictis testes
guadiam vobis Urso et Dumnello supradicti epitropi uxoris mee dedi. et mediatorem vobis
me ipsum posui eo tinore. ut aliquando iam atveniente tempore nec ego nec heredes meos
queramus vos aut vestros heredes nec per summissa nostra persona.¹ de omnia quod in
manus vestras commisi iamdicta uxore mea quod pro anima eius dediatitis ut prelegitur.
set semper ego et heredes meos. in tantum flamus contemti de illut quantum supra modo
dominatum per ipsa convenientiam recepi cedine dicto ut prelegitur. et per nullo ingenio
abeamus potestatem vobiscum pro causa ipsa alia vice contendere vel compellarem. set
flamus ego et heredes meos vobis et vestris heredibus defensores. da omnes omines qui
exinde queere voluerit pro iamdicta causa ipsa, quod expensam abella pro anima iamdicta
uxori mee. Et si taliter facere noluerimus sicut obligavimus et alia vice compellare. et que-
rere vobis voluerimus iamdicta causa. quam et si salvam non abeseo causa quod iam re-
cepi at ipsum f. meum sicut superscripta est; obligo me et meos heredes componere vobis
et vestris heredibus solidi constantini viginti et viginti in pubblico et per invitia semper
adversus vos faciamus atque omnia vobis percompleamus qualiter supra legitur (1). per di-

(1) R. · supra · è diviso del · legitur · da un foro originale della carta.

strictum me ipsam mediatorem et obligatorem qui vobis et vestris heredibus dedi licentiam pignerare me et meos eredes per omnia legitima et inlegitima pignera sine calumnia ubicumque causa mea inveneritis. donec percompleamus vobis omnia quod supralegitur. Et carta convenientie in superdicta ratione omni tempore sit firma. quam te Ursonem diaconum et notarium taliter scrivere rogavimus iamdicta civitate Vari qui et interfuit.

† Πετρος μαρτυς ϋπεγραψα.

† ego Ioannes testis sum.

† In nomine domini nostri iesu christi sexagesimotertio anno imperii domini Basilii et domini Constantini mense martius quinta indictione. Ego Grisa[atus] f. Iohanne clerici de loco Casamaxima. Congrua mea voluntate per fuste seu per hanc cartam venditionis. presentia Mili clerici et ordi[na]to iudice de predicto loco Casamaxima. et de aliis nobilibus subscriptis testibus, vendidi tibi Leoni f. Cutunio <clerici> de predicto loco uno bineale meo quam abeo in predicto loco ubi dicitur Campofritdo que michi est pertinente a supradicto genitore me[o et est] bineale ipso per has finis. de prima parte a media fenestra est vinea Rogati et est aliquanta terra mea quod michi [re]serbabi trasita et exita. de secunda parte a medio limite est terra baciba de Fuscari germano meo. de tertia [parte] a medio limite est terra iterum baciba de Benedicto cognato meo. de quarta autem parte pergit via puplica. Infra has autem fines ipso predicto vineale tibi prephato Leo vendidi trasactibe sicut prelegitur. cum inferiora et superiora [sua andi]to trasito et exito suo. cum gira et tornatoria sua. et cum omnia infra se habentes. Unde nec michi qa. vendi[tor a]eo ad heredes meos. nec in morgincaph uxori mee vel mundoaldis earum. nec ad nullum hominem reserbavi exinde aliquam portionem. set trasactibe illut tibi vendidi possidendum. Et pro confirmandam atque staviliscendam tibi vel tuis heredibus venditione ista. nunc de presente recepi a te exinde pro ea pretium hoc est de auro constantino solido uno et medium solidum [eo tincore?] quatenus a presenti die in antea in tua et de tuis heredibus sit potestatem et dominatione. abendi et possidendi vel omnia exinde faciendi quodcumque volueritis. sine omni mea et de meis heredibus vel de cuiuscumque hominum contrarietatem et requisitione. Et ego vel mei heredes defensemus tibi vel ad tuos heredes venditione ista

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