

# Byzantines, Goths and Lombards in Italy: Jewellery, Dress and Cultural Interactions

Neil Christie

## Introduction

This is not a paper that will analyse in detail the design, inspiration, cultural affinities and production or manufacturing techniques of specific jewellery or craft items; nor is it one that identifies how jewellery or dress items were carried, worn or displayed and how such forms and fashions evolved. Instead it seeks to place objects into a cultural and socio-political-economic context and to highlight the ways we might look at or interpret their presence, movements and functions; it will question the cultural labels we apply to these and at the same time assess the fluidity of these and highlight the contacts, sharings and borrowings between peoples through objects. The study area is a highly pertinent one, since Italy between the 6th and 8th centuries was, for much of the time, a divided and confused set of regions, territories, provinces, principalities, duchies and kingdoms, split between Byzantines (East Romans and Italians) and Lombards, and internally split between powers such as archbishops, exarchs, dukes, gastalds and counts; and before the Byzantine-Lombard split, Italy saw Ostrogothic rule and then Byzantine invasion and extended military upheaval. The temptation is naturally to seek differences or contrasts from one power to another, to reinforce the conflict and tension identified in contemporary historians – e.g. Byzantine/imperial coinages against imitations and local and royal Lombard issues; diverse religious beliefs and leanings (Catholic versus Arian Christianity; residual paganisms); diverse languages and laws; different fighting styles and socio-military systems; and distinctive dress – with Lombards distinctive also through furnished burial rituals and with males often associated in death with weaponry. It is easier if the archaeology and material culture fit this image of ethnic belonging, but, as will be seen, the divisions are often blurred and the tendency – sometimes a little forced – is now to seek out the borrowing or sharing between groups, peoples and powers.

Thus this paper will first outline the main historical events and impacts and then trace something of the range and types of dress artefacts and other materials that survive for the imperial or Byzantine territories, particularly in the territory of the capital, Ravenna. Much more visible – or rather better preserved and recovered archaeologically – are finds from Lombard contexts, chiefly burials. These provide a fuller image of dress styles and their evolution, but also enable discussion of the ways in which these differed or converged with materials and styles in non-Lombard occupied territories. The excavated evidence of bulk manufacturing in 7th-century Rome then provides a platform for debating contacts and trade between Romans/Byzantines and Lombards and the level of ‘differentness’. The data utilised here will focus mainly on northern and central Italy, including Sardinia; the paper by Isabella Baldini Lippolis (this volume) analyses in more

knowledgeable depth the evidence for Byzantine-period jewellery and fittings in southern Italy and Sicily.

## Historical context

Key to understanding the debate and problems is a broad understanding of the historical context of 6th- and 7th-century Italy, to highlight the period as one generally of social, political, military and economic change and upheaval, albeit with zones and phases of stability and security. Whilst fairly well deciphered nowadays historically, there is nonetheless a tendency to overemphasise the military disruptions and, in so doing, to expect that the archaeology also reflects divisions between powers and peoples.<sup>1</sup>

In the case of the Ostrogothic Kingdom in Italy (493–533), however, we see a mix of images. The kingdom was created under King Theoderic after he and his followers were dispatched by the eastern emperor to the West, to wrest control of the Italian province, held independently since 476 by the *generalissimo*-King Odoacer. After a period of conflict and uneasy alliance, Theoderic installed himself as sole ruler at the court of Ravenna. The king then established a stable and prosperous kingdom, and promoted a coherent working relationship between his soldiery and nobility and the extant, substantial native Italo-Roman population; letters and documents issued in both Rome and Ravenna indicate an active administration, dealing with internal and external matters, pursuing trade and religious links; marriage alliances with Germanic neighbours in Gaul, Spain and north Africa helped further secure the kingdom, whose vitality is illustrated well in the high level of trade maintained with Africa and the East.<sup>2</sup> Relations with the east Roman court weakened from the 520s and eventually culminated in a Byzantine assault against this and other Germanic powers (Vandals, Visigoths) in a search to regain mastery of the Mediterranean.

Although the fine mosaics of the Emperor Justinian and his empress in San Vitale at Ravenna signify the new authority in the 540s (Pl. 2), these gloss over ongoing military, political and religious vicissitudes in the rest of the peninsula, where sieges, raids, and food shortages ensured an ongoing insecurity through into the early 550s. (The narratives of contemporary Byzantine historians, Procopius and Agathias, are more than eloquent.) While southern Italy avoided serious damage, northern and central Italy did not, and tensions between soldiers and civilians, Goth and Roman, will have been high; unsurprisingly, the military remain dominant even after Byzantine control was secured. Although imperial input is evident in Ravenna and Classe with new churches, heightened mint activity, and a fuller flow of eastern goods (plus a flow of eastern administrators, clerics, monks, and traders), overall few of Italy’s other cities saw little beyond basic restoration.<sup>3</sup>

Although fair stability existed for well over a decade, any

renewal plans for the rest of the Byzantine towns and territories in Italy (as indeed in Spain) were cut down in the wake of an invasion in 568 by the Lombards, moving *en masse* (with modern estimates of between 40–70,000 – one that is matched in many a ‘barbarian’ occupation force, including the Ostrogoths in Italy and the Vandals in Africa) from Pannonia. As former allies, with many a soldier and chief having served in the imperial ranks, including in the Byzantine-Gothic wars in the peninsula, the Lombards had a fair awareness of Byzantine military strength and numbers (or relative lack of) in Italy.

After establishing a first duchy in Friuli, dukedoms were created in a set of strategic towns in the north and progressing into the central territories – sites like Verona, Milan, Brescia, Como, Turin, Perugia and Spoleto, many of which had gained strong fortresses in the earlier conflicts (in the 5th as well as the 6th century). Liaison between Lombard dukes was variable, and royal control was initially weak, leading to an *interregnum*, which the Byzantine authorities tried to exploit, but struggled in part due to the scattered warfare that ensued, with different ducal forces securing lands and forts in diverse areas. Byzantium resorted to tried and tested methods such as bribes, tribute, buying over of Lombards (many of whom did fight loyally for the imperial side, although others switched back depending on where more fortune lay), but also paying for a Frankish alliance and incursion – this too backfiring and leaving the stretched Byzantine forces (further stretched as the eastern Roman forces had other military distractions along the lower Danube) on the defensive. New, strong Lombard rulers from the mid-580s saw treaties drawn which recognised a divided Italy, with Byzantines pushed increasingly towards coastal zones. Military commanders on both sides remained active and prominent but many regions needed to look to their own resources to secure themselves.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of the 7th century there was general stability but with phases of renewed Lombard aggression, notably in the north (conquest of Liguria in the 640s, gains in the Veneto in the 660s); growing economic strength is evident, marked from the 680s by many religious foundations (and an official Lombard conversion to Catholic Christianity). Lombard kings held variable control over the southern dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento. In a similar vein we see an occasionally problematic articulation of imperial/Byzantine power in Italy: whilst strong in the south and in the territory of Ravenna in the north-east, Rome’s Pope gained increasing authority from c. 600; imperial interventions (by emperors like Constans, stripping churches for the war effort in the 660s, or by governors who even in the 8th century intervened forcefully in papal elections, or *via* legislation on key religious issues such as icons) often created more tension and distrust – arguably relegating the Lombards to less of a worry. The weakening imperial position enabled further Lombard expansions in the 720s, eventually gaining Ravenna, and prompting the popes to look for Frankish succour.<sup>5</sup>

In sum, the 6th century is a disturbed, destructive period, with disrupted control and with the military prominent: in a divided peninsula featuring fractured communications and a broken internal economy, new authorities emerged within regions and perhaps even within communities. Differences between sides and powers were most probably heightened, fostering creation or exhibition of specific identities. This is

when, in the decades either side of 600, Pope Gregory the Great is variously treating with generals, bishops, untrustworthy Franks, the Byzantine emperor but also with the Lombard royalty – his efforts to encourage peace with the king, as well as to get him to convert, using the Catholic Queen Theodelinda as a go-between (aided by many rich gifts, books, crosses, relics but also trinkets), were to counter the destructive divisions potentially being deepened. (The gifts and negotiations are well documented in Gregory’s own letters and also in many of the extant gifts now in the Monza Cathedral Treasury.) His efforts drew more anger from the emperor and his military representative in Italy. In other letters – not sent to the enemy of course – the Lombards are recorded as ‘an unspeakable race’, showing the pain with which Gregory regarded treating with them, but someone had to do it to help his battered world and flock.<sup>6</sup> These gifts from the pope were a mix of Roman and Constantinopolitan manufacture, but were precious and in recognition of the Lombard king installed at Milan as a figure of lasting power. Indeed, by installing himself in a former imperial capital and gathering around him imperial garb and courtiers as well as rituals (depicted thus on the so-called Helmet of Agilulf), the king no doubt viewed himself as an equal. In this context mention can also be made of the appearance of distinctive Lombard seal-rings, generally with images and names of the bearer, and associated with high-ranking military commanders and dukes; these are presumed to denote royal badges of office, and may be an instance of royalty securing bonds (the seals also indicating movement of official correspondence). For example, the seal-ring of Aufret from Civita di Bagnoregio may have belonged to the Lombard commander (but then in Byzantine pay), Ansfrid, who communicated with Pope Gregory in 600.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the 6th century, the relative stability of the 7th century in territories, powers and society will presumably have lessened the differences as dialogues improved (albeit with periods of renewed tension); laws, history-writing, monastery building, and pilgrim movement all reflect a more settled and communicative Italy. Potentially, therefore, the observation of the material cultures of these centuries – jewellery, dress items and accessories being key (rarely will ceramics be explicit markers) – offers scope to test these perceived changes and to observe levels of display of distinctive identities.<sup>8</sup> As noted in the Introduction, other routes exist to flag differences between ‘sides’, notably in terms of language, law and belief, and these too evolved at a pace – much like the contrast between a Victorian gentleman and a 1970s punk in England, a mid-7th-century Lombard in north Italy will have talked, thought, and interacted in a quite different way from a mid-6th-century Lombard on the Danube. Analysis of these equally vital forms of identity is not the target here as they have been proven elsewhere to show much fluidity, particularly in stable political and economic climates.<sup>9</sup>

## **Materials and identities**

### **Ostrogoths**

First we can return to the Ostrogothic rule in Italy, which was, for the most part, peaceful and stable. Important evidence comes from excavations at Classe, the port city of Ravenna, revealing busy workshops, depots, mercantile exchange and



**Plate 1** Early 6th-century Gothic belt plaque (4 x 4cm) of twinned beaked-head design, made of gilded bronze, with glass paste settings, recovered in the 1974 excavations at Building 1, podere Chiavichetta, Classe

kilns, and at Ravenna itself, where there are numerous building works, especially churches, but also private houses and renewal of urban services such as water and drainage systems. Without the documentation the archaeology alone would suggest that this was still a 'Roman' city. Indeed, the standing archaeology, comprising a series of churches with their stunning architecture and art, show a continued sharing of design and styles with Roman and eastern Roman ('Byzantine') worlds: Theoderic in fact sought both materials (marble, mosaic) and craftsmen from Rome and from Constantinople in particular to fulfil his programme of urban regeneration and embellishment. There are differences, however: the Gothic churches were Arian in dedication and a specific set of edifices (cathedral, baptistery, plus additional churches and monasteries) were established for relevant groups of the Germanic population; these did not, of course, replace existing Catholic complexes which still served the bulk of the inhabitants (and visiting dignitaries, merchants, clerics and tourists). The Arian churches were not physically distinguishable from the Catholic ones, but their services and staff and some of their art were different, and when the Byzantines gained control of Ravenna in the 540s, churches were reconsecrated, relics and items removed, and some artwork either cancelled out or modified (as best witnessed in the reworkings of the Palatium mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). The claim for a 'Gothic quarter' in the north-east of the city cannot easily be traced archaeologically as the houses and material culture have no distinctive 'Gothic' character; the claim lies mainly with the presence of Theoderic's mausoleum and contemporary tombs in the spaces beyond the north-eastern circuit wall and a number of (mainly lost) Gothic-period churches within the circuit.<sup>10</sup> Materially, very few objects of Ostrogothic design, namely eagle brooches or *cloisonné* buckles (Pl. 1) or earrings, have been recovered in or around the city or in the well-excavated deposits at Classe – such objects may have been paraded at court and in town, but were not discarded in any quantity for archaeologists to recover.<sup>11</sup>

Some contemporary dress styles can arguably be viewed in the imagined processions and biblical scenes in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in particular, though of course the main secular depictions of king and court were almost all removed in the Byzantine takeover and rededications and so we lack any

helpful displays of eagle brooches and *cloisonné* jewellery.<sup>12</sup> Ostrogothic Italy lacks the high number of cemeteries and furnished tombs recovered in Visigothic Spain; indeed, furnished burial – inhumations with dress fittings, possessions or gifts – is largely limited in Italy to high status females. Theoderic as king requested that materials not be placed in tombs, perhaps as an additional route to attempting to narrow the differences between Goths and Romans. Why not all noble females followed this directive is unclear, unless these burials related to an older generation who desired 'traditional' burial – but of course we do not know how many 'Gothic' women reached Italy and some of the deceased may have been native Italians married into the new ruling elite.<sup>13</sup>

### Byzantines

Whilst the tradition of burial without grave items or gifts was prevalent in imperial Byzantine zones, as had been the case from the 4th century, often this did not exclude dress items relating to outfits worn in death or other items such as knives and combs. In certain territories different expressions prevailed, some relating to older, regional traditions – combs and knives, for example, are more regular finds from tombs in north Italy, whereas in the south and in Sicily ceramic vessels appear the more usual components.<sup>14</sup> Thus we can next draw on some excavated burial data along with materials recovered from hoards, other archaeological contexts, or from casual discoveries from ploughing or building work to consider Byzantine dress and identity.

We may begin with the Exarchate, equating to Emilia-Romagna, with tombs and materials of 5th–7th-century date recently catalogued and re-assessed by Cavallari.<sup>15</sup> For the Late Roman and Ostrogothic period (5th to early 6th century), burial finds (these generally found in more rural contexts) comprise predominantly ceramic items and jewellery, but with limited dress items. In the Byzantine period, from the mid-6th to mid-7th century, Cavallari observes how personal objects feature more prominently, with combs a particular component, followed then by jewellery and dress items (such as zoomorphic brooches, earrings); rarely are there weapons or vessels in tombs, although one 7th-century tomb at Sarzana near Rimini had a long knife, five arrowheads and a belt buckle and fittings. There appears to be a shift in location of tombs and cemeteries to towns and forts, perhaps in recognition of the wider insecurity. On the western fringes and then, from the 7th century, within former imperial territory as Lombard gains were made, Lombard cemeteries with weapons accompanying male burials appear normally as units distinct from Roman burial grounds. A key site for Late Roman-Gothic period burials and Lombard tombs is Imola-Villa Clelia.<sup>16</sup> Cavallari also suggests that it is in centres closer to the court at Ravenna that wealthier or more showy burials occur, although this normally applies more to female burials.<sup>17</sup>

In Ravenna itself the picture is fairly limited, but Byzantine period and Early Medieval tombs are known from a number of intramural and extramural locations (in some cases in groups, and occasionally cutting into abandoned buildings), of variable form, but often in stone coffins or built tombs, many unfurnished, but some with bone combs and/or simple bronze bracelets; Gothic-period burials have been uncovered in the area of via Darsena and Theoderic's mausoleum.<sup>18</sup> Few burials



**Plate 2** San Vitale, Ravenna: panel depicting the Emperor Justinian, the Bishop of Ravenna, other clergy, court officials and soldiers, highlighting dress, fittings, footwear, hairstyles

of Byzantine date are yet known from the Classe zone, but excavations at the port and canal warehouses have recovered some dress fittings of Gothic to Byzantine date, including the foot of a stirrup brooch, and varied belt buckle types – ring, lyre, perforated and cruciform (Pls 3–5) – suggestive of items shipped into the court's port city from the East but also from regional workshops such as in Sicily.<sup>19</sup>

There is therefore little direct comparison from the ground with the stunning imagery of the mosaics of San Vitale of Ravenna, depicting the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora (Pl. 2): here colours and jewels express visually the wealth of the Byzantine imperial court and in so doing indicate the formal dress of the state authorities, as well as that of bishops, high elites and even soldiery and household officials – cloaks, tunics, vestments, dresses, shawls, trousers, footwear, buckles and belts, brooches, earrings, rings and hairstyles are all displayed. The powerful panels do not recreate posed scenes at Ravenna itself, since neither Justinian nor Theodora made it to Italy, though the Ravennate bishop is depicted, along with, potentially, some of the emperor's victorious generals in Italy, such as Narses.<sup>20</sup> Clearly the elite will have emulated as far as possible the designs and fashions advertised by the court, but whilst glimpses of this come from other mosaics, illustrations and texts, only hints of this come from the buried archaeology (although, as we shall see, the Lombard elite burials give some sign of the display mechanisms available).

Down the eastern Adriatic coast, the archaeology of Late Antique and Byzantine Abruzzo has been much enhanced through urban and landscape study by the regional Soprintendenza and particularly through the excavations at Crecchio.<sup>21</sup> The former work has helped identify Late Roman through to Early Medieval imprints and changes, with valuable conclusions drawn from place names, burials, rural sites and forts on a contested frontier between 580 and 610 as Lombard forces pushed towards the coast from the west; as elsewhere in Italy, Lombard settlers took over many of the existing sites and merged with residual local populations. Crecchio, meanwhile, relates to a Byzantine fort imposed over a former villa (at the locality of Vassarella) and fortunately features dumps of contemporary materials, notably in a cistern: analysis of this deposit has been exceptionally valuable in identifying how this part of eastern coastal Italy was well served by trade from the east Mediterranean, Egypt as well as north-east Italy. The so-called Crecchio ware, with painted decoration, is thought to derive from Egypt, and was then imitated in urban potteries locally; it is argued that either Egyptian regiments were posted to the zone or the Byzantine Abruzzo ports enjoyed favoured trade connections with Egyptian merchants.<sup>22</sup> Contemporary burials (e.g. at Penne, Moscufo, Tratturo di Vasto) in the slowly shrinking Byzantine territories often contain at least one such Crecchio jug, but rarely feature much in the way of dress items or jewellery; however, the Crecchio excavations did recover



**Plate 3** Seventh-century bronze openwork buckle-plate, front and back (4.5cm long), from Classe



**Plate 4** Presumed mould for a belt plate of lyre-shape (5.6cm long), featuring a smiling lion and, to its rear, a circle enclosing a Greek monogram; excavated in 1978 in Building 3 at Classe and dated to the 6th–7th century



**Plate 5** Seventh-century Byzantine openwork buckle (4.9cm long) from Olbia, London, British Museum (PE 1923,7-16,81)

examples of ring- or kidney-shaped belt buckles, and a few zoomorphic brooches and arm bracelets with serpent-head terminals. Noticeably, similar brooches and buckles occur alongside more Germanic items in Lombard graves (e.g. Teramo, Martinsicuro) to the west, indicating access to the same sort of markets or at least integration with natives and their dress styles.<sup>23</sup>

If for Emilia-Romagna Byzantine-period material culture and dress fittings are limited, for the Abruzzo data are better for piecing together Byzantine settlement and economics rather than personal ornamentation, a different picture prevails for the island province of Sardinia, where much fuller displays in death are evident.<sup>24</sup> Problems exist with the available artefacts, as the majority come from old and poorly documented or illegal excavations, and numerous museum acquisitions (including some in the British Museum) are unprovenanced; however, the picture has improved greatly with controlled excavations of cemeteries such as Santa Maria della Mercede di Norbello (Oristano province), enabling these early finds to be better understood.

Perhaps most striking is the visibility of soldiery – claimed as Byzantine *limitanei* or farmer-soldiers, settled (with families) in groups across the island, sometimes on estates, some based around the ancient *nuraghi* – and the provision of related finds extending even into the 8th century (e.g. Domu Beccia-Uras, Moseddu-Cheremule).<sup>25</sup> Such ‘weapon graves’ are very rare in Byzantine contexts on the mainland and suggest either a Sardinian tradition of burial ritual, or might even indicate that the rite was imported with the imperial units stationed on the island – potentially Avars, Huns, or even Lombards. The principal weapon types deposited in these graves are lances and knives, with far fewer swords or arrows, but the presence of some horse fittings and spurs indicates at



**Plate 6** Seventh-century gold basket earring (5cm long) with filigree decoration and garnet and green glass inlays, presumed from an Italian (Lombard burial?) context, London, British Museum (PE 1872,6-4,595)

least some cavalry component. Belt mounts were largely not of the multiple type, and there is a good variety of buckle types, ranging from shield-shaped plates, to Corinthian, Syracuse and Hippo Reggius types, suggesting imports from Greece, Sicily and North Africa, although for each it is as likely that they were also manufactured in workshops in the main Byzantine *castra* on Sardinia.<sup>26</sup>

Female tombs, intermingled with the males, feature a variety of personal jewellery, with earrings the more commonplace and distinctive, in gold, silver and bronze, ranging from looped globular and basket types (cf. **Pl. 6**) to extended ‘a pelta’ pendant forms. As with the belt buckles, whilst some imported items might be claimed from workshops in south Italy or from Rome, the likelihood is that many forms evolved through local production on the island, such as the distinctive ‘a globo mammelato’ (‘nipped sphere’) earrings.<sup>27</sup> Variations also exist in the brooches (disc, cross and zoomorphic) and beaded necklaces, but other accessories in graves might include arm-rings (also found in male tombs), hairpins and rings. Ceramics, regular features of Roman and later Roman tombs, are far fewer in the Byzantine period on Sardinia, but remain present and are indicative of a maintained ritual of food offerings.<sup>28</sup> All told, status and social position appear to be displayed in the dress and jewellery or equipping of these dead.

### Lombards

These finds offer perhaps a valuable guide to the dress codes of the living in imperial cities and spaces on the Italian mainland where, overall, the ritual of burial either did not encourage the disposal/transmission of such material possessions or else communities held onto many items and buried the dead simply, if often with a few personal dress items. As noted, a strong contrast lies with the Lombards, who are distinguished archaeologically by their – in a good number of cases – expansive necropoleis, often with burial numbers extending into the hundreds, and with a high proportion featuring accompanying grave goods, personal fittings and ornaments, food offerings, or military hardware; the practice, evolving with time, prevails fully till the mid-7th century, and for some regions even into the very late 7th.<sup>29</sup> The long-established analysis of such grave goods is of course vital in showing the changing modes of deposition and display, in revealing status markers, and in identifying processes, levels and rates of acculturation – *i.e.* the take-up of indigenous or ‘Roman’ fittings and styles, the merging of or loss of designs and forms, the integration of Italians, adaptation to existing styles and new influences, as well as trade and contact. All modern cemetery excavation reports and finds analyses thus chart material types, chronologies, influences and changes as a route to interpreting site origins, status of community/ies, social composition (*i.e.* how ‘Lombard’ or how far a mixing of native and newcomer), regional and wider contacts, as well as changes through extended settlement (intermarriage, modified rituals, full transition to Catholic Christianity, etc.). Palaeopathological study of the actual human bones meanwhile provides insights into age, gender ratios, diet and health, but less weight is now put on classifying skeletons and thus burial population groups by race – ‘Nordic’, ‘Mediterranean’, etc. All of these efforts mean that studying



**Plate 7** Silver belt buckle (4.2cm long) of 'Bologna' type of the first half of the 7th century, from the Cella cemetery at Cividale del Friuli

these tomb finds gives as many insights into Byzantine Italian material culture as Lombard.

Some problems exist still in that a tendency is to divide and label tombs and finds simply as 'Lombard' or 'late Roman' or 'autochthonous'. Potentially we might argue for a first generation of incomers who viewed themselves strongly as Lombards, but, as noted, right from the outset in their occupation of Italy, these groups occupied existing towns which had resident and more numerous (if reduced) native populations, and no doubt at least part-functioning local industries in ceramic manufacture and metalworking. Lands were divided up by the Lombard elite, but many native farmers remained in place.<sup>30</sup> Take-up of native/Roman/Italian/Byzantine goods will have been automatic in these contexts, although in the noted period of insecurity into the earlier 7th century, the Lombard elites especially probably sought to maintain some distance in identity, even if this may have been limited to hair, dress style, weapon display and name; the seal-rings mentioned above would form part of this formal display. The wealthy weapon-dominated burials at Trezzo sull'Adda are emblematic of this position, as is the group of five burials (elite soldiery and family) excavated on the height of the *castrum* at Monselice (near Padua) – a Byzantine fortress but held by the Lombards from 601–3. Each set of tombs retain the display symbolism of the invasion era, but the finds themselves, notably some of the belt-fittings (silvered work and bronze fixed-plate buckles with stamped and openwork decoration – cf. **Pl. 7** from Cividale), combs and knives, demonstrate borrowings from Byzantine Italian contexts, in form and design, and denote either direct purchases (obtained from merchants from Rome or Ravenna) or local workshops producing to similar styles. There is in effect a merging (active and passive) with local forms and markets.<sup>31</sup>

A final cemetery to draw upon, and one whose old excavation (in the 1890s) and whose materials have seen rigorous modern analysis, enabling fruitful discussion on displays of status and identities (clear, unclear, conscious and unconscious) and of contacts, is Castel Trosino in southern Le Marche province, ancient *Picenum*.<sup>32</sup> Its context fits the picture outlined for the Abruzzo province discussed above, namely Byzantine territory worn down and conquered by the Lombards in the last decades of the 6th century – the key protagonists being Lombard forces from the duchy of Spoleto – but with imperial lands remaining along the coastline (reformed into the *Pentapolis* province). The Lombard-period burials are known in diverse points near the fortified township,

including one isolated and early rich burial featuring elaborate horse fittings. But the bulk of the burials, numbering 240, were gathered at the locality of Santo Stefano, the place name relating to a mid-7th-century church. This main necropolis appears distinct from an earlier Roman to Byzantine period burial ground (whose last depositions belong to the later 6th century); burials begin perhaps c. 580 and run for two generations until the second half of the 7th century.<sup>33</sup> This is not a burial ground with a mass of males in military garb, but it is one with strong status display in terms of the use of gold and silver by the elite members (**Pl. 7**). There are clear objects of Germanic tradition and perhaps production such as the stunning pair of gilded silver multiple animal-headed bow brooches in Tomb S or the more Gepid-Gothic designed pair in Tomb R. Tomb 90, with long sword, horse fittings, 'parade shield', belt sets, arrows, glassware, comb, brooch and other items, is perceived as belonging to one of the local Lombard leaders in the early 7th century; dress items and fittings are in gold, silver and bronze and all of high quality, and parallels exist in rich tombs from other well-known Lombard cemeteries at Nocera Umbra (Umbria) and at Cividale (Friuli).<sup>34</sup> But this same tomb contains a North African ceramic plate and a 'Coptic' bronze bowl (this perhaps Italian in production), and the gold saddle and multiple belt fittings are – from their simple droplet, 'dot and comma' decoration – deemed to be of Byzantine derivation, probably from workshops in Rome and Ravenna, as indeed is supported by finds from the Crypta Balbi in Rome (see below).<sup>35</sup> Zoomorphic brooches (particularly doves and horses) are fairly common in female tombs, which may also feature beaded necklaces, basket earrings or simple belt buckles. Gold disc-brooches – some of magnificent craftsmanship – occur only in the wealthy tombs (**Pl. 8**).<sup>36</sup>

Profumo summarises the evidence from Castel Trosino thus: 'Offre corredi di cultura squisitamente bizantina accanto a quelli germanici, sicchè se è pensato ad una precoce e profonda penetrazione dell'arte di origine romana nella cultura dei Longobardi'.<sup>37</sup> Two material cultures are being displayed alongside each other and are sometimes shared, with 'native' presences in the cemetery fully apparent (46% of the total burials lacked gravegoods or had no more than plain dress items), suggestive of a rapid fusion of populations. There is no explicit division of Lombards and others here (or elsewhere, arguably, in the region), but far more of a



**Plate 8** Gold disc brooch (6.5cm diam.) from Castel Trosino; decoration in filigree and central garnet setting, London, British Museum (PE 1989,9-6,1)

'bizantino-longobardo' material culture. The relatively few rich burials stand out and gain the limelight, but in the fuller cemetery context they might be viewed simply as a small dominant non-Roman elite, but one living, working, trading and interacting with a largely 'Roman' or Italian world (unless one claims local elites who adopted some of the traditional Lombard display systems – a logical route to retain land and status); their displays are used to forge or reinforce their own local identity of status. Acculturation is active from an early stage at Castel Trosino but it is by no means a process of Lombards simply becoming more Italian; rather, the Italians are already there and the process is one of diverse material influences coming into play or prominence. Yet even when the church is founded around the mid-7th century (interestingly in the central area of the necropolis which had been where many 'native' burials were sited), some symbolic display by the local elite persists, with a privileged (founder's) tomb (no.49) inside the church and featuring a silvered brooch, a large high quality comb, and a glass bottle. Tombs 67 and 44 are also closely associated with the church's construction period and these held a small number of finds such as gold cloth, a lance head and belt fittings.

### Production, exchanges and connections

The finds catalogues for Castel Trosino, as for many other large Lombard cemeteries (though few have seen as much detailed modern scrutiny), identify therefore a number of items – especially high quality pieces like belts and brooches – determined to be of Roman-Byzantine manufacture, from city workshops and master craftsmen. In part the claims derive from decorative and iconographic parallels and from items not being of the standard Germanic mould, since often we lack direct Byzantine *comparanda*.

Most significant in the Italian context, however, are the 500 and more objects recovered from a dump of c. 680–700 of production materials (finished, incomplete, rejected, broken, draft, and other waste) and over 200 manufacturing components (scales, weights, scalpels, hammers, crucibles, lead models, moulds and matrices, etc.) of 7th-century date at the Crypta Balbi site in Rome (located not far from the Capitoline Hill).<sup>38</sup> Glass, metal, ivory and bone, and perhaps cloth production are all attested in this incredible assemblage, probably equating with workshops (of uncertain scale in terms of workers but in output deemed 'industrial') associated with an adjoining monastery; crucially all stages of production of specific artefact types can be followed.<sup>39</sup> Items included a whole range of buckles to suggest that types such as 'Corinthian' or 'Syracusan' were in production in Rome too (a logical act so as to supply troops and officials rather than to rely on imported supplies); and also included jewellery and zoomorphic brooches of the types noted above. But most importantly for our discussion, the Crypta Balbi finds contain both finished products and preparatory elements with clear links as well as direct parallels in Lombard necropoleis like Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra. Thus, for example, in the case of Tomb 37 at Castel Trosino, a bronze bag-buckle, datable to the first half of the 7th century, is viewed as associated with 'Italo-Byzantine dress', and most probably was manufactured in Rome's Crypta Balbi, from where were recovered three identical buckles and a tongue (unfinished). In the same tomb

a multiple belt set in silver, comprising 13 components, with simple line, 'dot and comma' decoration, can, along with like sets in Tombs 90 and 199, be connected to a matrix/mould from Crypta Balbi.<sup>40</sup>

This workshop centre was clearly designed for high status goods: belt sets, parade items, brooches, horse (bridle and saddle) fittings appear in precious metals, and the waste and dumped materials testify to a busy output. The elite at Castel Trosino can have been only one small outlet, the implication being that such 'Roman/Byzantine' goods were widely traded fully into Lombard zones and were clearly sought after. Ricci discusses the modes of operation and sale of goods and he questions whether major production points such as Crypta Balbi dominated.<sup>41</sup> But did this mean itinerant smiths and craftsmen lost out? Were urban industries preferred (Italy was after all still a landscape dominated by towns, smaller than under Roman rule, but still the main *foci* for power and administration)? Were moulds sold on to other production points from the main ones? Were Lombard craft workers perhaps even trained here in Rome?

In terms of other materials, Sagui refers to the evidence of changing glass production in Rome and Italy generally in the 6th to 8th centuries.<sup>42</sup> She highlights movements of glassware tied especially to pilgrims and relics, which include small ampoules which were amongst the items given to the Lombard Queen Theodelinda by Pope Gregory. Similar glassware will have been purchased at and sent out from Rome, thereby gaining a very wide distribution, cutting across territorial and cultural boundaries. Chalices are also noteworthy (but not rare) finds from urban, rural and military contexts (e.g. Santa Giulia at Brescia, at via de' Castellani in Florence, the fort of Castelseprio near Milan, and the hilltop settlement and *castellum* of Invillino in Friuli), but also in burials in Lombard territories. The assumption is that these were part of a wider Byzantine production with scattered (or regional) glass workshops (best known at Rome in the south, notably *via* the production waste at Crypta Balbi, but also on the island of Torcello in the Venetian lagoons in the north) in the 7th and 8th centuries. These chalices, like other goods, were being produced for markets clearly beyond the Byzantine spaces. But recently new excavation and finds suggest that we need to modify this rather simple image: certainly finds analyses at Florence<sup>43</sup> and at Brescia<sup>44</sup> identify evidence for local production, perhaps active from the Late Roman period in Florence's case, but changing in output as markets and tastes changed (perhaps responding indeed to output from the major manufacturing centres like Rome and Ravenna).

In this regard, a valuable approach to highlight is the work by Carlo Citter,<sup>45</sup> seeking to explore an archaeology of production, as applied to materials from Lombard Tuscany (*Tuscia*). He takes the picture back to the Roman period to consider how the documented late imperial arms factory or *fabbrica* (for swords in particular) at Lucca was supplied with raw materials (mineral extraction occurring on Elba and near Luni); his expectation is that Lucca remained a point of production for iron work especially into the Early Middle Ages, although it is clear from both archaeological and then 8th-century documentary references that under the Lombards it was also home to various bronze- and goldsmiths; furthermore, as a seat of a Lombard duke, Lucca featured a

mint.<sup>46</sup> Finds from burials in *Tuscia* point to local or regional craftsmen producing Lombard but also Italo-Mediterranean jewellery such as disc-brooches, operating, he argues, ‘secondo tecnologie e modelli di tradizione mediterranea, fornendo prodotti destinati alla nuova committenza longobarda or longobardizzata’.<sup>47</sup> Effectively there was no major rupture, but more a shift to serving new markets, producing new/modified goods alongside the old.<sup>48</sup> There are also evidently imported items – the western seaboard of Tuscany will not have been avoided by merchants moving from Rome in the south to Sardinia and Corsica and on to Byzantine Liguria. At the eastern end of Liguria, excavations at the Byzantine fort-town of Luni have revealed busy levels of importation of goods from the southern and eastern Mediterranean; Citter draws attention to the find made here in 1978 of a marble matrix/mould for jewellery, specifically for elements for basket earrings; moulds may well have also been traded items. Such regional analyses offer, therefore, much scope for determining how courts, communities and individuals may have been supplied with metalwork and for determining how far there were continuities of production.

### Conclusions

Labels can be difficult things. The basic divisions or labels in use in this paper – Gothic, Byzantine, Lombard – are necessary but not straightforward. Used as chronological, legal or politico-military labels they appear logical: it was essentially, for example, a conflict between Lombards (king, dukes, soldiers and allies) and Byzantines (generals, dukes, counts, soldiers and allies) in the later 6th century, and territories formulated by c. 600 were either Lombard or Byzantine/imperial. But, in the imperial spaces, differences existed between Italian/Latin and Greek zones, between north, centre and south, and between pope and governor-general. The privileged world of Ravenna will have been much different from society in a frontier town such as Luni in Liguria. Furthermore, the Byzantine military forces were drawn variously from the eastern provinces, from Egypt (as suggested for Byzantine Abruzzo), from frontier groups (e.g. Isaurians, Huns, even Lombards), or were native Italians.<sup>49</sup> Lombards too were no homogenous ethnic whole – Paul the Deacon knew that they included Saxons, Pannonians, Heruls, Huns, Noricans and others in their invasion force in the 560s; and they also used occasional allies such as Slavs and Avars. Once settled in Italy, Lombard duchies were not a unified entity under coherent royal control: geographically scattered dukedoms, such as in Tuscany, in Spoleto and in Benevento, were often fairly independent of the king and might treat with Rome separately.

When discussing the material cultures of these centuries therefore we should similarly expect problems in applying labels. As discussed, we can certainly recognise a ‘Lombard’ system of display in burial ritual, best observed in males being buried with weaponry and in certain artefact types (such as S-brooches, stirrup and bow brooches) in female graves, but this practice necessarily adapted and evolved: perhaps it was, for a while, fairly static in more militarised zones (as might be argued for Friuli in north-east Italy, facing diverse frontiers), but in zones where numbers of Lombards were fewer (perhaps the case for Benevento), these modes or items of display will

have been prone to more rapid change and acculturation. The furnished Lombard burials enable us to follow persistences of Germanic design and decoration and to observe new influences, changes in dress style, or preferences for artefact decoration, and so allow us to question rates as well as types of acculturation. But without comparable burial data for the ‘Byzantines’ in Italy – city dwellers, administrators, churchmen, farmers, merchants – we struggle to see how far Lombard or Germanic material culture and ideas influenced these; indeed, we learn more about ‘Byzantine’ art and dress and design from the Lombard graves. Some display (perhaps not designed though as actual ‘display’) in death is visible in some areas, however, notably in Sardinia; and this, in comparison with regions like the Abruzzo, provides at least some insight into regional or wider identities, even if these insights remain restricted. Our other partial guides are those natives discernable in Lombard cemeteries and also the craft products manufactured in centres like Rome, where the Crypta Balbi materials show imperial craftsmen receptive to working on and even developing goods and jewellery for the ‘Lombard’ market – but with the likelihood that non-Lombards too bought and displayed these. Does this make such finds less Lombard? And by Lombards wearing or using ‘Byzantine’ products, does that make those objects more Lombard and less Byzantine? Did a well-to-do or a middle ranking Lombard really dress any differently than a fellow Italian/Byzantine?<sup>50</sup>

There is scope certainly to explore further how far Rome remained central to production and dissemination of prestige goods and to explore the geography of such contacts – was the diffusion strongest around Rome (e.g. extending into the duchy of Spoleto, into Tuscany and down into Benevento) or did it fully reach northern Italy? Or did similar production centres exist in Ravenna and even in Lombard *foci* like Milan and Cividale? How easy is it to distinguish Roman from Ravennate Byzantine products or even Lombard copies of these – after all, the moulds and matrices attested at Crypta Balbi could themselves have been sold on or duplicated. We also need to consider more the modes by which these products moved: direct orders commissioned by Lombard or other elites, orders made *via* commercial agents or traders meeting in urban markets, items gained from gift exchange or even tribute, or elites purchasing these on visits to the key urban centres? Whichever the case – and conceivably all the above may well have happened – the movements of people and objects reflect also the movement of ideas and desires beyond political and ethnic boundaries in 6th- and 7th-century Italy.

We can end on a final piece from the Crypta Balbi workshop ‘rubbish’ (though it is anything but rubbish for archaeologists!). The item is the lead seal (but not a ring) of a Lombard duke, Anso, which was found along with 14 other seals, although these others were all attributable to high-functioning Byzantine or papal functionaries of the 7th century. Given the Anso seal’s quite diverse iconographic format, the likelihood is that this was a Roman product made for a specific Lombard elite order. Marazzi<sup>51</sup> notes how the seal might well have been due to go to a duke on Lombard soil; at the same time, however, he may well – like the Aufret at Bagnoregio noted above – have been a Lombard who had transferred allegiance to Byzantium or Rome. Alternatively, the presence of his seal still at Rome indicates that Anso might have switched back to the Lombard

side and so was not sent his more 'Byzantine' seal. Whichever the case, the biography and identity of its owner are as complex – or perhaps as simple – as this piece of lead that bears his name and forms our only guide to one of the many people living, working, interacting and dying in Early Medieval Italy.

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### Notes

- 1 For historical summaries see: N. Christie, *The Lombards*, Oxford, 1995; *idem.*, *From Constantine to Charlemagne. An Archaeology of Italy, AD 300–800*, Aldershot, 2006; C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000*, London, 1981; J. Moorhead, 'The Byzantines in the West in the 6th century', in P. Fouracre (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History I: c. 500–c. 700*, Cambridge, 2005, 118–39; *idem.*, 'Ostrogothic Italy and the Lombard invasions', in *ibid.*, 140–61; M. Innes, *Introduction to Early Medieval Western Europe, 300–900. The Sword, the Plough and the Book*, London, 2007.
- 2 See in particular the papers in: V. Bierbrauer, O. Von Hessen and E. Arslan (eds), *I Goti* (Exh. cat., Milan - Palazzo Reale), Milan, 1994.
- 3 For a discussion on war and its effects on towns, population and land, see: Christie 2006 (n. 1); on Byzantine Ravenna see these excellent publications: A. Augenti and C. Bertelli (eds), *Santi, banchieri, re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato*, Milan, 2006; *idem.*, *Felix Ravenna. La croce, la spade, la vela: l'alto Adriatico fra V e VI secolo*, Milan, 2007.
- 4 For an excellent guide to the conflict and the changes wrought on society, administration and landowning in the later 6th to 8th centuries, see: T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers. Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, AD 554–800*, Rome, 1984.
- 5 On the Lombards in general, see: G.C. Menis (ed.), *I Longobardi* (Exh. cat., Codroipo-Cividale), Milan, 1990; Christie 1995 (n. 1); there are also important papers in: G. Ausenda, P. Delogu and C. Wickham (eds), *The Langobards before the Frankish Conquest*, Woodbridge, 2009.
- 6 R.A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, Cambridge, 1997, 99–107.
- 7 See the papers in S. Lusuardi Siena (ed.), *I signori degli anelli. Un aggiornamento sugli anelli-sigillo longobardi*, Milan, 2004, notably by: W. Kurze, 'Anelli a sigillo dall'Italia come fonti per la storia langobarda', E.A. Arslan, 'Ancora sugli anelli-sigillo', M. De Marchi, 'Il problema degli anelli in oro langobardi sigillari', and Lusuardi Siena, 'Osservazioni non conclusive sugli anelli sigillari langobardi "vecchi" – the latter two identifying the contexts of discovery, including some from privileged burials in churches. Two non-church examples of the first half of the 7th century come from the high status burial ground at Trezzo sull'Adda near Milan: E. Roffia (ed.), *La necropoli longobarda di Trezzo sull'Adda*, (Ricerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale, 12–13), Florence, 1986, tombs 2 and 4.
- 8 Pohl notes how the later 8th-century Lombard historian Paul the Deacon observed, from viewing imagery of the early 7th century, that Lombard dress has changed much by his day: W. Pohl and H. Reimitz (eds), *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, Leiden, 1994, 24. A key recent volume is by G.P. Brogiolo and A.C. Arnau (eds), *Archeologia e società tra tardo antichità e alto medioevo* (Documenti di Archeologia 44 = 12° Seminario sul Tardo Antico e l'Alto Medioevo, Padova, 29 Sett. – 1 Ott. 2005), Mantua, 2007, exploring archaeologies of status in particular. Relevant here are papers by E. Zanini, 'Archeologia dello status sociale nell'Italia bizantina: trace, segni e modelli interpretativi', 23–46; S. Brather, 'Vestito, tomba ed identità fra tardo antico e altomedioevo', 299–310; and C. Giostra, 'Luoghi e segni della morte in età longobarda: tradizione e transizione nelle practice dell'aristocrazia', 311–44.
- 9 E.g. B. Luiselli, *Storia culturale dei rapporti tra mondo romano e mondo germanico*, (Biblioteca di Helikon, 1), Rome, 1992; P. Amory, 'The meaning and purpose of ethnic terminology in the Burgundian laws', *Early Medieval Europe* 2:1 (1993), 1–28; papers in Pohl and Reimitz (n. 8), notably B. Pohl-Resl, 'Legal practice and ethnic identity in Lombard Italy'; W. Pohl, 'Invasions and ethnic identity', in C. La Rocca (ed.), *Italy in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2002, 11–33, at 17–27; S. Gasparri, 'The aristocracy', in La Rocca, *ibid.*, 59–84; cf. more generally papers in L. De Finis (ed.), *Civiltà classica e mondo dei barbari. Due modelli a confronto*, Trento, 1991. The best summary overview is by: G. Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376–568*, Cambridge and New York, 2007, essential being chapters 2 'Defining identities', and 14 'New peoples, new identities, new kingdoms'.
- 10 E. Cirelli, *Ravenna: archeologia di una città* (Contributi di Archeologia Medievale 2), Florence, 2008, 98–100. Cirelli's book is an excellent review of the available (and archive) archaeology of the Roman to Early Medieval city.
- 11 A summary of Gothic Ravenna and its territory is in M.G. Maioli, 'Ravenna e la Romagna in epoca gota', in Bierbrauer *et al.* (n. 2), 232–51; but note much more recent archaeology and ideas in, for example, the exhibition publications *Santi, banchieri, re* (n. 3) and *Felix Ravenna* (n. 3), notably the papers by I. Baldini Lippolis, 'Abbigliamento e simboli di rango', in *Santi, banchieri, re* (n. 3), 134–7, and A. Augenti, 'Ravenna e l'alto Adriatico: sfere di interazione. Una prospettiva archeologica', in *Felix Ravenna* (n. 3), 27–32, who argue against straight ethnic associations in elements such as eagle brooches and stress instead rank and social cultural choices.
- 12 Dress fittings of the court are discussed by Baldini Lippolis (*ibid.*).
- 13 The main work on Gothic material culture and burials and hoards in Italy is V. Bierbrauer, *Die ostgotische Grab- und Schatzfunde aus Italien*, Spoleto, 1975. But see also the short overviews in E. Possenti, 'Abbigliamento e rango in Italia settentrionale tra V e VI secolo', in Brogiolo and Arnau (n. 8), 279–98 and in P. Porta, 'Considerazioni sull'oreficeria e sui metalli preziosi goti e longobardi in Italia', in I. Baldini Lippolis and M.T. Guaitoli (eds), *Oreficeria antica e medievale. Tecniche, produzione, società*, Bologna, 2009, 173–200, and noting at 176 the directives from the king of 510 (Cassiodorus, *Variae*, IV, 34). The sections in Bierbrauer *et al.* (n. 2) cover Visigothic Spain as well as Gothic traces and materials from south Russia and Romania in the 4th century and 6th-century Crimea where Gothic material culture endured. Many of the artefacts of the latter zone are described and discussed in the British Museum publication of the Berthier-Delagarde Collection: J. András, *The Berthier-Delagarde Collection of Crimean Jewellery in the British Museum and Related Material* (British Museum Research Publication no. 166), London, 2008. Much is offered in the analysis by K. Greene, 'Gothic material culture', in I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeology as Long-Term History*, Cambridge, 1987, 117–42, with an emphasis on discerning the symbolic value amongst the Goths of eagle brooches, which were distinctive elements of high status dress from Spain to the Crimea.
- 14 See the papers in G.P. Brogiolo and G. Cantino Wataghin (eds), *Sepolture tra IV e VIII secolo (7° Seminario sul tardo antico e l'alto medioevo in Italia centro-settentrionale. Gardome Riviera, 24–26 Ottobre, 1996)* (= Documenti di Archeologia, 13), Mantua, 1998, for northern Italy, *nb.* G. Gastaldo, 'I corredi funerari nelle tombe "tardo romane" in Italia settentrionale', 15–59, on 'late Roman' tombs, and A.M. Giuntella, 'Note su alcuni aspetti della ritualità funeraria nell'alto medioevo. Consuetudini e innovazioni', 61–75, on 6th- and 7th-century ritual on Sardinia.
- 15 C. Cavallari, *Oggetti di ornamento personale dall'Emilia Romagna bizantina: I contesti di rinvenimento*, (Studi e scavi, nuova serie 13), Bologna, 2005.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 53–64.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 122–5. Arguably, however, data are far too few currently to support this attractive hypothesis. Her summary paper, 'Oreficeria tardoantica e altomedievale in Emilia Romagna: il problema dei contesti', in Baldini Lippolis and Guaitoli (n. 13), 149–171, identifies how few finds come from secure contexts or modern, controlled excavation.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 93–8. More detail on sites and numbers is provided in Cirelli (n. 10), 114–30, who also notes the high status sarcophagus burials at or in churches.

- 19 One lyre buckle from Classe, without settings to actually be worn, appears in fact to be a possible mould (Pl. 4), suggesting thereby local production of these items, otherwise viewed as Sicilian in origin: Cavallari (n. 15), 140–66, *nb* fig.128, 153.
- 20 Images and dress are discussed briefly in Baldini Lippolis (n. 11) and in her 'Appunti per lo studio dell'oreficeria tardoantica e altomedievale', in Baldini Lippolis and Guaitoli (n. 13), 103–25, stressing at 111 how here, 'la gerarchia di corte viene espresso mediante la collocazione dei personaggi, i loro abiti e gli ornamenti identificativi del grado sociale'. Cf. Zanini (n. 8), 29–32.
- 21 A. Staffa, 'L'Abruzzo fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo: le fonti archeologiche', *Archeologia Medievale* XIX (1992), 789–853; A. Staffa and W. Pellegrini, *Dall'Egitto copto all'Abruzzo bizantino: I Bizantini in Abruzzo (secc.VI–VII)*, Castello Ducale di Crecchio, 1993.
- 22 Staffa and Pellegrini (*ibid.*), 45–8 on wares and forms; Coptic style wooden seat and box fittings are seen as a further Egyptian link: 54–5, 59. On the site, cistern and other finds, see 30–7.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 24–7, 43–4, 60.
- 24 *Le sepolture in Sardegna dal IV al VII secolo, IV Convegno sull'Archeologia Tardoromana e Medievale*, (Cagliari, 27–28 June, 1987) (= Mediterraneo Tardoantico e Medievale. Scavi e Ricerche, 8), Oristano, 1990; Giuntella (n. 14); P.B. Serra, 'L'armamento', in P. Corrias and S. Cosentino (eds), *Ai confini dell'impero. Storia, arte e archeologia della Sardegna bizantina*, Cagliari, 2002, 149–57; D. Salvi, 'La gioielleria', in Corrias and Cosentino, *ibid.*, 159–63.
- 25 Serra, *ibid.*
- 26 *Ibid.*, 152–3.
- 27 Salvi (n. 24), 161–2.
- 28 Giuntella (n. 14), 65–8, who notes how such dress fittings and ornaments are found in cemeteries and graves beyond, around or inside churches.
- 29 Summarised in: Porta (n. 13), 187–97; N. Christie, 'Longobard weaponry and warfare, AD 1–800', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 2 (1991), 1–26; Christie 1995 (n. 1); Christie 2006 (n. 1); best illustrated in Menis (n. 5); each with related and key bibliographies; the latter has short summary pieces, such as by O. Von Hessen on Lombard dress forms, ceramics, technologies.
- 30 For Friuli in north-east Italy, see M. Brozzi, *Il ducato longobardo del Friuli* (Publicazioni della Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli, 6), Udine, 1981, and *idem.*, *La popolazione romana nel Friuli longobardo (VI–VIII sec.)* (Publicazioni della Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli, 19), Udine, 1989. Brozzi discusses both Lombard and native or autochthonous tombs – the latter lacking the weapons or female dress and gift and ritual items of Lombard burials, although he does not properly consider the possibility of 'natives' within the Lombard cemeteries or of Lombards (of varied status) being buried without accompanying materials. Cf. also I. Ahumada Silva, 'Necropoli longobarde a Cividale ed in Friuli', in *Paolo Diacono e il Friuli altomedievale (secc.VI–X)*, *Atti del XIV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Cividale-Bottennico di Moimacco, Sett. 1999), Spoleto, 2001, 321–56. More critical comment is by G.P. Brogiolo, 'Urbanistica di Cividale longobarda', in *Paolo Diacono, ibid.*, 357–87. On artefact types see Menis (n. 5), 364–475 (entries), with introductory comments on dress and manufacture by A. Tagliaferri, 'Il ducato di Forum Iulii', at 358–63. An excellent analysis of identity and cemeteries is by I. Barbiera, *Changing Lands in Changing Memories. Migration and Identity during the Lombard Invasions*, Florence, 2005, comparing Lombard Pannonian sites and north-east Italian (Friulian) necropoleis, and her 2007 paper, 'La morte del guerriero e la rappresentazione delle identità funerarie in Friuli tra VI e VII secolo d.C.', in Brogiolo and Arnau (n. 8), 345–61.
- 31 Trezzo: Roffia (n. 7); Monselice: P.M. De Marchi and E. Possenti, 'Rocca di Monselice (PD) - le sepolture longobarde', in Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin (n. 14), 197–228, who also note the distinctive use of decorative monograms as a Byzantine-Italian trait.
- 32 The essential recent publications are: 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*, Milan, 1995, 198–325, and *idem.*, (ed.), *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda* (Atti del Convegno, Ascoli Piceno, 6–7 Ott., 1995), Florence, 1997, with full related bibliographies. The full catalogue of finds and related plates are published in two volumes by L. Paroli and M. Ricci, *La necropoli altomedievale di Castel Trosino* (Ricerche di Archeologia Altomedievale e Medievale, 32–33), Florence, 2005.
- 33 Paroli 1995 (n. 32), where chronologies and finds types are analysed; she notes, at 208, that the re-examination of finds does not allow for an extension of the cemetery's lifespan into the 8th century as suggested elsewhere.
- 34 Nocera Umbra: M.S. Arena and L. Paroli (eds), *Arti del fuoco in età longobarda. Il restauro delle necropoli di Nocera Umbra e Castel Trosino*, Rome, 1994; Cividale and territory: Tagliaferri (n. 30) and Ahumada Silva (n. 30), though this latter without consideration of trade, Italo-Byzantine influences and rates of acculturation.
- 35 Paroli 1995 (n. 32), 216–36. Cf. Tomb 9 with a like mingling of Lombard and Byzantine including silver belt ends and a Syracuse-type buckle.
- 36 E.g. S and 115: Paroli 1995 (n. 32), 273–81; Paroli and Ricci 2005 (n. 32), 33–5, 75–9. Tomb 115 also contained two necklaces with glass paste and amethyst beads plus attached Byzantine gold coins.
- 37 M.C. Profumo, 'Le Marche in età longobarda: aspetti storico-archeologici', in Paroli 1995 (n. 32), 127–83, at 130.
- 38 See the summary volume: M.S. Arena, P. Delogu, L. Paroli, M. Ricci, L. Sagui and L. Venditelli (eds), *Roma dall'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, Milan, 2001; on the finds and their production and exchange, see M. Ricci, 'Relazioni culturali e scambi commerciali nell'Italia centrale romano-longobarda alla luce della Crypta Balbi in Roma', in Paroli 1997 (n. 32), 239–72.
- 39 As the later example of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Molise province shows, monasteries became major foci for trade manufacturing and dissemination in the Early Middle Ages: J. Mitchell and I.L. Hansen (eds), *San Vincenzo al Volturno 3: The Finds from the 1980–86 Excavations* (Studi e ricerche di archeologia e storia d'arte, 3), Spoleto, 2001; K.M. Bowes, K. Francis and R. Hodges (eds), *Between Text and Territory. Survey and Excavations in the Terra of San Vincenzo al Volturno* (British School at Rome Archaeological Monograph 16), London, 2006.
- 40 Paroli 1995 (n. 32), 237–41.
- 41 Ricci (n. 38).
- 42 L. Sagui, 'Produzioni vetrarie a Roma tra tardo-antico e alto medioevo', in L. Paroli and P. Delogu (eds), *La storia economica di Roma nell'alto medioevo alla luce dei recenti scavi archeologici* (Atti del Seminario, Roma, 2–3 Aprile 1992), Florence, 1993, 113–35, at 127–31.
- 43 M. Mendera, 'Materiale vitreo', in F. Cantini, C. Cianferoni, R. Francovich and E. Scamporrì (eds), *Firenze prima degli Uffizi. Lo scavo di via de' Castellani: contributi per un'archeologia urbana fra tardo antico ed età moderna*, Florence, 2007, 551–93.
- 44 M. Ubaldi, 'I vetri', in G.P. Brogiolo (ed.), *S. Giulia di Brescia. Gli scavi dal 1980 al 1992. Reperti preromani, romani e alto medievali*, Florence, 1999, 271–307; M. Verità, 'Analisi di reperti vitrei e scarti di lavorazione di tarda età romana provenienti dagli scavi del monastero di Santa Giulia a Brescia', in *ibid.*, 309–14.
- 45 C. Citter, 'I corredi nella Tuscia longobarda: produzione locale, dono o commercio?', in Brogiolo and Cantino Wataghin (n. 14), 179–95.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 183–5.
- 47 *Ibid.*, 183.
- 48 Landscape exploitation and mineral extraction thus continued, albeit at a reduced scale, and Citter argues that lesser but accessible extraction sites may have been employed; at the same time more recycling of metals may have occurred: *ibid.*, 185–89.
- 49 See Brown (n. 4) on soldier identities and a presumed progressive Italianisation of the army units.
- 50 Cf. Ricci (n. 38), 269.
- 51 F. Marazzi, 'Il sigillo plumbeo del 'dux' Anso dall'edera della 'Crypta Balbi' in Roma', in Lusuardi Siena (n. 7), 85–8, at 87.