

LONGOBARDI

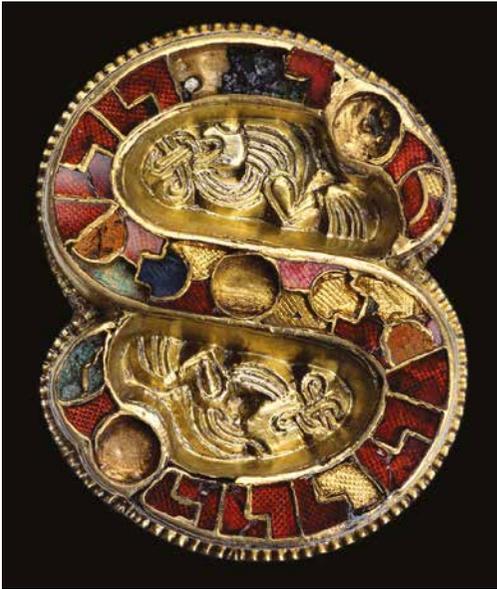
Un popolo
che cambia
la storia

Pavia
Castello
Visconteo

1 settembre —
3 dicembre
2017

**Dall'1 settembre
i Longobardi
riconquistano
il loro Regno**

**From 1st September
the Lombards
re-conquer their
Kingdom**



1

Una grande mostra-evento in tre tappe fa rivivere il mito di questo grande popolo rivoluzionario. Prima sede: Pavia capitale longobarda.

Dopo la fine dell'Impero d'Occidente, l'Italia, sotto il dominio dei Goti, era rimasta il cuore economico, culturale e religioso dell'Europa. Tutti i tentativi di riunire l'antico Impero si infrangono nel 568 con l'arrivo di un popolo "invasore" – i Longobardi – che varca le Alpi Giulie e inizia la sua irrefrenabile espansione sul suolo italiano. Da quel momento la storia dell'Italia non sarà più la stessa. Gli "uomini dalle lunghe barbe" contribuiscono ad avviare



2

quel lunghissimo periodo di frammentazione politica della penisola che si protrae sino al Risorgimento. Ma la storia di questo popolo è anche il racconto di grandi sfide economiche e sociali, di relazioni e mediazioni tra Mediterraneo e Nord Europa, di secoli di guerre e scontri, di alleanze strategiche e contaminazioni culturali tra differenti civiltà, di grandi personalità. Un'epopea che ha visto Pavia diventare capitale del Regno Longobardo e il Sud Italia, con il Ducato di Benevento, memoria e retaggio sino a oltre metà del XI secolo del dominio pavese abbattuto da Carlo Magno nel 774.

1 Fibula a "S" da Cividale del Friuli (Udine), 600 circa Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

2 Bronzetto altomedievale con figura di militare VIII secolo (?), bronzo e vetro Pavia, Musei Civici

3 Codex Legum Langobardorum. Capitularia regum Francorum Benevento, 1005, Codice membranaceo, Cava de' Tirreni, Biblioteca della Badia della Santissima Trinità

4 Frammento di arco di ciborio con iscrizione, metà dell'VIII secolo, calcare bianco cristallino Aquileia, Museo Paleocristiano

5 Croce in lamina d'oro con intreccio antropomorfo dalla tomba 19 di Cividale del Friuli, inizi del VII secolo Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale



4



5

A great exhibition-event in three phases brings to life the myth of this great revolutionary people. First venue: Pavia, the Lombard capital.

After the fall of the Western Empire Italy, under the rule of the Goths, had remained the economic, cultural and religious heart of Europe. All attempts to reunite the ancient Empire were shattered in 568 with the arrival of an "invading" population: the Lombards, who crossed the Julian Alps and began an irrepressible expansion on Italian soil. From that moment Italian history would no longer be the same. The "men with long beards" contributed to setting in motion that very

long period of political fragmentation of the Peninsula which continued until the Risorgimento. But the history of this People is also a story of great economic and social challenges, of relationships and mediations between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe, centuries of wars and clashes, of strategic alliances and cultural intermingling between different populations, of great personalities. An epic which saw Pavia become the capital of the Lombard Kingdom and Southern Italy, with the Duchy of Benevento, memory and legacy until beyond the mid 11th century of Pavia's rule, overthrown by Charlemagne in 774.

**Una mostra-evento
tra novità e
capolavori**

**An exhibition-
event between
masterpieces
and the new**



6



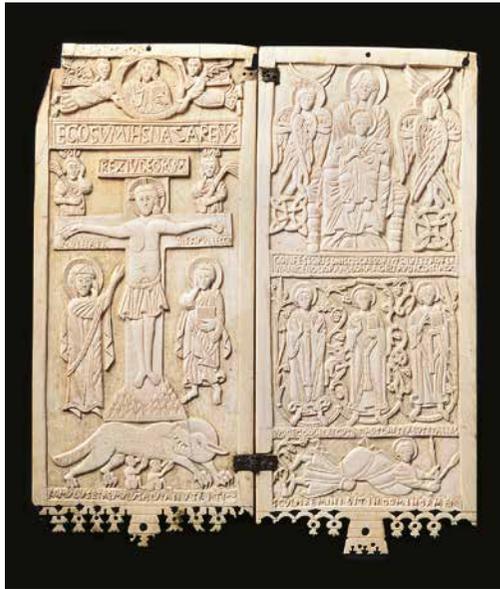
7

Oltre 300 opere provenienti da quasi 80 Musei ed enti prestatori italiani e stranieri sono pronte a svelare la grande storia dei Longobardi in una mostra – curata da Gian Pietro Brogiolo e Federico Marazzi – in cui confluiscono oltre 15 anni di nuove indagini archeologiche e scoperte inedite, grazie alla collaborazione di oltre 50 studiosi. Poderose armi, incredibili corredi funerari, superbi gioielli, eleganti manufatti, preziosi manoscritti, tanti capolavori a rappresentare questo popolo di “barbari” guerrieri, capaci di divenire straordinariamente raffinati e di raggiungere vette artistiche sorprendenti, gettando così le basi dell’Europa carolingia. Un viaggio attraverso i momenti cruciali

della saga longobarda reso ancora più unico da un allestimento di assoluta novità in campo archeologico, che incrocia creatività, design e approfondimenti multimediali – ologrammi, video e touchscreen – ad accompagnare il visitatore in mostra. Dal cupo contesto in cui s’innesta in Italia l’arrivo dei Longobardi ai modelli insediativi ed economici introdotti dalla loro presenza; dalle strutture del potere e della società nel periodo dell’apogeo alle testimonianze della Longobardia meridionale tra Bizantini e Arabi, principati e nuovi monasteri. Oltre 32 siti e centri longobardi rappresentati in mostra con straordinarie testimonianze che uniscono il nord e il sud Italia.

6 Orecchino aureo a tamburo o a disco con decorazione cloisonné e pendente cruciforme VII secolo
 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ori di Senise (Potenza)
 7 Lastra di ambone con pavone dalla basilica di San Salvatore a Brescia, 760-770, marmo bianco a grana media
 Brescia, Museo della città, Santa Giulia

8 Dittico di Rambona IX secolo circa, avorio intagliato
 Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani
 9 Fibula a disco a cloisonné da Torino Lingotto
 Torino, Musei Reali – Museo di Antichità
 10 Elementi di collana dalla tomba 21 di Szólád (Ungheria), metà del VI secolo, Kaposvár (County Somogy, Ungheria), Rippl-Rónai Múzeum



8

9

More than 300 works from nearly 80 Museums coming from Italian and foreign institutions are ready to reveal the great history of the Lombards in an exhibition curated by Gian Pietro Brogiolo and Federico Marazzi, the result of over 15 years of new archaeological investigations and unprecedented discoveries, thanks to the collaboration of more than 50 scholars. Mighty weapons, incredible grave goods, superb jewellery, elegant objects, precious manuscripts, numerous masterpieces representing this people of “barbarian” warriors who showed a capacity for becoming extraordinarily refined and achieving surprising artistic peaks, laying the foundations of Carolingian Europe. A journey through the

crucial moments of the Lombard saga, entered even more unique by a set-up that is absolutely unprecedented in the archaeological field, with a blend of creativity, design and in-depth multimedia aids – holograms, videos and touchscreens – that accompany the visitor to the exhibition. From the gloomy context in which the Lombards arrived in Italy, to the models of settlements and economics introduced by their presence; from their structures of power and society in the peak period, to the testimony of Southern Lombardy between Byzantines and Arabs, principalities and new monasteries. Over 32 Lombard sites represented in the exhibition with extraordinary witnesses unifying North and South Italy.

10

Pavia, capitale del Regno, tra storia, leggende e itinerari

Pavia, capital of the kingdom, between history, legends and itineraries



11

La mostra *“Longobardi. Un popolo che cambia la storia”* è anche occasione speciale per scoprire la magnifica città lombarda, centro nevralgico e scenario di tante fondamentali tappe della storia italiana: capitale prima con i Goti di Teodorico, poi con i Longobardi, quindi carolingia e italiana. Fu proprio il dominio longobardo una delle fasi salienti della storia pavese, un'avventura che durò 200 anni, iniziata nel 572 quando Re Albonio la conquistò dopo un lungo assedio narrato epicamente da Paolo Diacono. Due secoli ricchi di importanti vicende politiche, militari, religiose, culturali a fronte delle quali oggi rimangono evidenze monumentali che vanno rintracciate

e ricomposte nel tessuto edilizio storico della città. La mostra diventa quindi fondamentale punto di partenza per la scoperta della Pavia longobarda: dalla sezione dei Musei Civici che custodisce reperti di altissimo valore come i due finissimi plutei di Santa Maria Teodote, le oreficerie e le epigrafi funerarie di illustri personaggi pavesi (sovrani, nobili e badesse), il viaggio alla scoperta della capitale del regno prosegue con la visita delle cripte di Sant'Eusebio, dell'ex monastero di San Felice e della chiesa di San Giovanni Domnarum fino alle testimonianze conservate nelle basiliche di San Michele Maggiore e di San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.

- 11 Cripta della chiesa di San Giovanni Domnarum Pavia, Via Mascheroni 36
 12 Cripta di Sant'Eusebio Pavia, Piazza Leonardo da Vinci
 13 Pluteo in marmo con albero della vita tra draghi alati Pavia, Musei Civici

In copertina:
 Spada con impugnatura con decorazioni auree dalla tomba 1 di Nocera Umbra (Perugia), fine del VI – inizi del VII secolo Roma, Museo delle Civiltà – Museo dell'Alto Medioevo

Percorsi speciali

↳ Mostra + percorso Pavia Longobarda (S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro e Cripta di S. Eusebio, durata totale circa 3 ore) per gruppi fino a 25 persone: €120 + biglietto ridotto €8 (1 accompagnatore gratuito)
 ↳ Mostra + percorso Pavia Longobarda (S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro e Cripta di S. Eusebio, durata totale circa 3 ore) per scolaresche fino a 30 alunni: €100 + biglietto €4 (2 accompagnatori gratuiti)

Scopri tutti i dettagli chiamando il call center 0382 1990037 o visitando il sito mostralongobardi.it

Special Itineraries

↳ Exhibition + Pavia Longobarda itinerary (S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and Crypt of St. Eusebius, duration about 3 hours) for groups up to 25 persons: €120 + reduced ticket €8 (1 tour manager free)
 ↳ Exhibition + Pavia Longobarda itinerary (S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro and Crypt of St. Eusebius, duration about 3 hours) for school groups up to 30 pupils: €100 + ticket €4 (2 tour managers free)

Find out all the details from the call centre on 0382 1990037 or the site mostralongobardi.it



12



13

The exhibition is a special occasion for discovering this magnificent Lombard city, nerve centre and scenario of so many fundamental phases in Italian history: a capital first with Theodoric's Goths, then with the Lombards and subsequently Carolingian and Italic. The rule of the Lombards was one of the salient phases in Pavia's history, an adventure that lasted 200 years, begun in 572 when King Alboin conquered it after a long siege, epically narrated by Paul the Deacon. Two centuries rich in important political, military, religious, and cultural events of which significant testimony remains today, traceable and recomposed in the historic constructional fabric of the city. The exhibition is therefore

a fundamental point of departure for the discovery of evocative places in Lombard Pavia, normally not seen by tourists. From the section of the Civic Museums that houses high value finds such as the two very fine plutei with peacocks and dragons of Santa Maria Teodote, and the precious goldsmithry and funerary epigraphy of illustrious Pavia personages – involving legends of kings, queens, abbesses and notables – the journey in search of the capital of the kingdom continues with a visit to the crypt of Saint Eusebius, the former monastery of San Felice and the church of San Giovanni Domnarum and the testimony found in the Basilicas of San Michele Maggiore and San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro.

INFORMAZIONI
INFORMATION

Sede/Venue

Castello Visconteo, Viale XI
Febbraio, 35 – 27100 Pavia

Date/Dates

1 settembre – 3 dicembre
2017/1st September-
3rd December 2017

Orari/Opening hours

↳ da martedì a domenica:
10-18/Tuesday to
Sunday: 10 am-6 pm
La biglietteria chiude
45 minuti prima. Ultimo
ingresso per i gruppi
prenotati: ore 16.40/
Ticket office closes 45
minutes earlier. Last entrance
for booked groups at 4.40 pm.
↳ lunedì: 10-13 (solo per
visite guidate autorizzate
dal Museo)/Monday:
10 am-1 pm (only for
guided visits authorized
by the Museum)

Prenotazioni/Booking

Per singoli, gruppi e scuole
For individuals, groups
and schools
Call center: 0382.1990037
(attivo dal lunedì al venerdì:
8.30-18, sabato 9-13)

(active Monday to
Friday: 8.30 am-6 pm,
Saturday 9 am-1 pm)
www.midaticket.it
Costo preventivato/
Advance sale:
↳ €1,50 a biglietto/
€1,50 per ticket
↳ €1 a biglietto
per scuole e omaggio/
€1 per ticket for schools
and complimentary

Biglietti/Tickets

Intero/Full: €12
Ridotto/Reduced price: €8
(gruppi tra 20 e 25 persone
con prenotazione obbligatoria;
convenzionati)
(groups of 20 to 25 persons
with obligatory booking;
special arrangements)
Ridotto scuole e giovani/
Reduced schools
and young people:
€4 (scolaresche con
prenotazione obbligatoria;
under 26, portatori
di handicap con 1
accompagnatore, personale
Mibact, possessori
My Museum Card dei
Musei Civici di Pavia)
(school groups with obligatory
booking, under 26, disabled
people with helper, staff
of MIBACT, holders of Pavia

Civic Museums' My Card)

Gratuito/Free entrance
(minori di 6 anni non in
gruppo, guide turistiche e
giornalisti dotati di tesserino
professionale, soci ICOM,
possessori Abbonamento
Musei Lombardia Milano)
(children up to up to 6 years
not in a group, tourist
guides and journalists with
professional credentials,
ICOM members, holders
of Abbonamento Musei
Lombardia Milano)

Il biglietto d'ingresso alla
mostra consente l'accesso
gratuito alla sezione
longobarda dei Musei Civici
(sala VI) e alla Cripta di
Sant'Eusebio (limitatamente
agli orari di apertura stabili).
Per visitare le restanti sezioni
museali è possibile acquistare -
solo presso la biglietteria
al momento della visita -
un biglietto supplementare
di €2. The entry ticket to the
exhibition permits free access
to the Lombard section of the
Civic Museums (room VI) and
the Crypt of Saint Eusebius
(within the established opening
hours). To visit the other
Museums' sections a
supplementary €2 ticket must

be purchased at the ticket
office at the time of your visit.

**Visite guidate e laboratori
su prenotazione/Booked
guided tours and workshops**

↳ Gruppi fino a 25 persone:
€90 + biglietto ridotto €8
(1 accompagnatore gratuito)
↳ Groups up to 25 persons:
€90 + reduced ticket €8
(1 tour manager free)
↳ Scolaresche fino
a 30 alunni: €70 +
biglietto ridotto €4
(2 accompagnatori gratuiti)
↳ School groups up to 30
pupils: €70 + reduced ticket
€4 (2 tour managers free)
↳ Visita guidata in mostra +
laboratorio didattico fino
a 30 alunni (durata totale
circa 2 ore): €90 +
biglietto ridotto €4
(2 accompagnatori gratuiti)
↳ Guided visit to the show +
educational workshop
up to 30 pupils (total duration
about 2 hours):
€90 + reduced ticket €4
(2 tour managers free)

Web e social

www.mostralongobardi.it
#mostralongobardi



@mostralongobardi

**... I Longobardi sono tornati!
... The Lombards are back!**

PAVIA
Castello Visconteo
1 settembre – 3 dicembre 2017

l'antica capitale rivendica
orgogliosamente il suo ruolo ponendosi
nuovamente al centro dell'attenzione
sulla storia longobarda e proponendo
al pubblico le sue eccezionali
testimonianze.

1st September – 3rd December 2017
the ancient capital proudly vindicates
its role, once more placing itself at the
centre of attention in Lombard
history and offering the public
its extraordinary testimony.

**Tre date da ricordare
Three dates to remember**

NAPOLI
Museo Archeologico Nazionale
15 dicembre 2017 – 25 marzo 2018

la città partenopea – bizantina ma
punto di riferimento economico e
culturale del Ducato di Benevento –
appare la sede ideale per riflettere sulle
varie relazioni che i Longobardi del sud
intrattenero con le terre rimaste
all'impero dei Romani d'Oriente.

**15th December 2017 –
25th March 2018**
a Byzantine city but economic and
cultural point of reference for the Duchy
of Benevento, Naples is the ideal venue
for reflection on the various relationships
the Lombards of the south maintained
with the territories remaining under
the Eastern Roman Empire.

SAN PIETROBURGO
Museo Statale Ermitage
aprile – giugno 2018

In Russia si accendono i riflettori
sulla storia longobarda in un inedito
incrocio di civiltà che rappresenta
una prima assoluta.

April – June 2018
in Russia the spotlight falls
on Lombard history in an
unprecedented crossroads of
civilizations. An absolute first.



Ministero
dei beni e delle
attività culturali
e del turismo



PAVIA CULTURA | MUSEI



museo
archeologico
nazionale
di napoli

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ
ЭРМИТАЖ
The State Hermitage Museum

Con il contributo di Regione Lombardia



COMUNE DI PAVIA



Camera di Commercio
Pavia



Regione
Lombardia

Con il patrocinio di

Sponsor

Con la collaborazione di

Media Partner

Organizzazione generale Catalogo



Fondo
Ambiente
Italiano
Touring Club Italiano



ERMITAGE ITALIA

CORRIERE DELLA SERA





LONGOBARDI

**Un popolo
che cambia
la storia**

Pavia
Castello
Visconteo

1 settembre —
3 dicembre
2017

**Exhibition's
Sections
& Captions**

mostralongobardi.it
#mostralongobardi

1

6th century: Goths, Franks and Lombards in Pannonia

THE GOTHS IN PAVIA AND IN TORTONA

In the Ostrogothic kingdom, Pavia was one of the seats of power privileged by king Theodoric: it had a palace which was subsequently occupied by the Lombard sovereigns. Finds in the Pavia area indicate Goth settlements in proximity to significant thoroughfares, in zones connected with the city, probably also in order to protect it.

Torre del Mangano, Pavia
Isolated find, late 5th century
Pavia, Musei Civici

- 1 Woman's belt buckle
gilded and nielloed silver, almandine, green and white glass

Torriano, Pavia
Female grave goods, late 5th century
Pavia, Musei Civici

- 2 Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver, almandine
- 3 Ring
gold leaf, garnet
- 4 Bracelet
partly gilded silver leaf, iron core

The city of Tortona, a strategic station along the via Postumia cited by Cassiodorus in the *Variae*, also saw reinforcement of the fortified redoubt at Theodoric's behest. The presence of high ranking Ostrogoths in the town is already well known thanks to the finds formerly in the Di Negro-Carpani collection.

Tortona, Alessandria
Three belt buckles
Late 5th- first three decades of 6th century
Alessandria, Museo Civico;
Tortona, Museo Civico

- 5 Buckle
damascened iron, gold cloisonné, almandine garnets and white and green vitreous paste
- 6 Buckle
rock crystal, silver

- 7 Buckle ring
sepiolite (meerscham)

THE GOTHS OF COLLEGNO

Collegno, Torino
Tomb 3, female grave goods
First half of 6th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo Reale

- 1 Fabric threads
gold leaf
- 2 Necklace beads
vitreous paste, amber
- 3 Dove fibula
silver
- 4 Hinged fibula (incomplete)
gilded silver, almandine
- 5 Three beads
amber, glass
- 6 Case
silver, almandine

Finds 4, 5, 6 could be contained in a bag

- 7 Perforated element
amber
- 8 Six beads
vitreous paste
- 9 Two plaquettes with loop
bronze

Finds 7, 8, 9 could have been hung from a belt

Collegno, Torino
Tomb 4, male grave goods
First half of 6th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo Reale

- 10 Belt buckle
gilded bronze
- 11 Buckle, perhaps of bandolier
iron

Collegno, Torino
Tomb 6, female grave goods
First half of 6th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo Reale

- 12** Necklace beads
amber
- 13** Pair of hinged fibulae
*gilded silver, green gem,
red glass, gold leaf*
- 14** Belt buckle
gilded and nielloed, almandine
- 15** Three beads
glass

Collegno, Tomb 4
First half of 6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana Torino

- 16** Adult/old skull, artificially deformed at an early age

Collegno, Tomb 5
First half of 6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana Torino

- 17** Child's skull, artificially deformed at an early age

Both skulls have the typical morphology of the so called oblique frontal-occipital deformation, with elongation back-wards and upwards and broadening of the face. Probably the child too was male, perhaps a descendent of the man and destined to succeed him in the role of community guide.

RELATIONS WITH THE FRANKS

In the 6th century the kingdom of the Franks, under the Merovingians, extended over present day France, annexing the kingdom of the Burgundians to the south and, to the east, the areas of the Thuringians and Alemanni. During the resistance put up east of the Rhine, maybe some families fled and were welcomed into Ostrogothic Italy. This is a possible explanation for the Alemanni jewellery found in Alcagnano.

Alcagnano, Vicenza
First thirty years of the 6th century
Milano, Civico Museo Archeologico

- 1** Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver
- 2** Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver
- 3** Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver
- 4** Pair of torques
gilded silver

- 5** Pair of brooches
gilded silver
- 6** Armilla (incomplete)
silver
- 7** Beads
vitreous paste

Illustration: The kingdom of the Franks in the mid 6th century

RELATIONS WITH THE FRANKS: VAL DI SUSA

The rule of the Franks also extended to Val di Susa, with control of the Alpine passes: an expression of this could be the settlements of Bardonecchia and Cesana, which face each other at a height to control the valley. The two burial grounds excavated (23 and 33 individuals), with numerous reductions, remained in use from the 6th to the beginning of the 7th century. The military nature of some members of the community is indicated not only by weapons but also by broken bones and head injuries caused by cutting weapons. Analyses of the mitochondrial DNA on the skeleton remains highlighted a great homogeneity between the two groups and a marked genetic distance with regard to the Lombards sampled by Piedmontese sites, supporting the hypothesis of Frankish nuclei.

Bardonecchia, Torino
Tomb 5, child, 6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 1** Small two-handed amphora
glazed pottery
(recipient from late 4th – 5th century)

Bardonecchia, Torino
Tomb 7, young girl's grave goods
First half of 6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 2** Earring with moulded capsule and three pendants
bronze, amber
- 3** Necklace beads and closure hook
glass, amber, bronze
- 4** 5 beads
glass
- 5** Armilla with probably stylized snake heads at the open extremities
bronze
- 6** Tacks for nailed footwear
iron

Bardonecchia, Torino
Tomb 12
Second half of 7th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 7** Scramasax and elements of the sheath
iron, bronze, organic remains
- 8** Belt buckle
iron
- 9** Nail
iron

Illustration: The Bardonecchia Burial Ground

Cesana, Torino, loc. Pariol,
Tomb 1, an adult's
6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 10** One handled flask
glazed pottery
(recipient, late 4th – 5th century)

Cesana, Torino, loc. Pariol,
Tomb 2, female grave goods
First half of 6th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 11** Pair of earrings with moulded capsule
bronze
- 12** Ear cleaner
bronze

Cesana, Torino, loc. Pariol,
Tomb 8, female grave goods
Advanced 7th century
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 13** Pair of basket earrings
silver, blue glass

Illustration: The Cesana burial ground

THE BUILT-UP AREA OF CESANA

On demolition of the Roman age structures, the following were built: a building with dry-stone walls, at least two rooms and a pitched roof with the very steep slopes sustained by wooden poles; a great wooden shed, as may be deduced from sequences of holes for the support poles. In all probability contemporary with the nucleus of tombs, they are part of one of the rare high altitude settlements documented for the age.

Cesana (Torino), loc. Pariol, built-up area
6th and 7th centuries
Torino, SABAP città metropolitana

- 14** Armilla with pointed extremities
bronze

- 15** Armilla with snake head extremities
bronze

- 16** Finger ring
bronze

- 17** Three hooks
bronze

- 18** Bell
bronze

- 19** Container
sheet bronze

- 20** Needle
bronze

- 21** Punched sheet metal
bronze

Illustration: The built-up area of Cesana

RELATIONS WITH THE FRANKS: VALLE D'AOSTA

Today's Valle d'Aosta was part of the Merovingian kingdom, which is reflected by the grave goods in Aosta, church of San Lorenzo. At the beginning of the 7th century, in the lee of the cruciform paleochristian basilica an area was fenced off as the privileged cemetery of three bodies: two of them wore gaudy belt trimmings of transalpine manufacture.

Aosta, San Lorenzo, Tomb 1
Beginning of 7th century
Aosta, MAR-Museo Archeologico Regionale

- 1** Belt trimming
damascened iron "pseudo-plated" in silver and copper alloy

- 2** Beaker
earthenware (chlorite-schist)

- 3** Knife
iron

Aosta, San Lorenzo, Tomb 4
Beginning of 7th century
Aosta, MAR-Museo Archeologico Regionale

- 4** Belt buckle
damascened iron "pseudo-plated" in silver and gold

Illustration: Aosta, Church of San Lorenzo

RELATIONS WITH THE FRANKS: EXOGAMY

The reigning Lombards established dynastical and matrimonial relations with the Merovingian court. Individual female mobility towards Piedmont might also be linked to episodes of exogamy: some women from Mero-vingian areas could

have been integrated into Lombard communities stationed in the zones closest to the Frankish kingdom. In the burial grounds of Sant'Albano Stura and Testona-Moncalieri, of Collegno and Avigliana, female jewels were found which recall productions that were widespread beyond the Alps.

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 70, female grave goods
Second half of 7th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria, Asti e Cuneo

- 5** Buckle of transalpine production
damascened iron
- 6** Buckle
iron
- 7** Armilla with asymmetrical extremities
bronze

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 721, female grave goods
End of 7th – beginning of 8th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria, Asti e Cuneo

- 8** Buckle of transalpine production
bronze

Testona-Moncalieri, Torino
Finds from the Merovingian environment
Second half of 6th – 7th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo Reale

- 9** Belt buckle with perforated plate and gryphon
bronze
- 10** Belt buckle with punched ring
bronze
- 11** Small buckle, perhaps for a bag, with protome of bird of prey
bronze

THE LOMBARDS IN PANNONIA

After an age-old migration outside the frontiers of the Roman Empire, in the 6th century the Lombards settled for around fifty years in the former Roman province of Pannonia (today's Hungary). In the 1960s, at Mosonszentjános, a rich male tomb was discovered by chance, but was partially destroyed. Nearby there was a second tomb and a pit containing animal bones.

Mosonszentjános, County Győr-Ménfőcsanak-Sopron
Tomb 12, mid 6th century
Mosonmagyaróvár, Hansági Múzeum

- 1** Stocking trimmings
gilded and nielloed silver

- 2** Sheet metal for bucket
gilded bronze

- 3** Game pieces
ivory, red painting

Illustration: The migration of the Lombards

THE SZÓLÁD BURIAL GROUND

Szólad, County Somogy
Tomb 6, child's, mid 6th century
Kaposvár (County Somogy), Rippl-Rónai Múzeum

- 1** Belt buckle and shield form appliqué
gilded bronze
- 2** Comb with two rows of teeth
deer antler

The tomb also contained two wild boar tusks.

Szólad, County Somogy
Tomb 21, female, mid 6th century
Kaposvár (County Somogy), Rippl-Rónai Múzeum

- 3** Hairpin
bronze, organic remains
- 4** Necklace beads
glass, bronze
- 5** Pair of S-shaped fibulae
gilded silver, almandine, iron
- 6** Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded silver, almandine
- 7** Keys
bronze
- 8** Knife
iron
- 9** Highly smoothed jug
clay

The tomb also contained: belt buckle, shears, comb with sheath and fusarole.

2

Towards the other world: the lombards' traditional culture

FUNERARY CUSTOM

The funeral ritual of the first generations of Lombards in Italy involved burial dressed and the inclusion of offerings. The social ostentation during the ceremony serves to communicate the roles in the community, and it is at the same time the expression of a religious vision and cultural language still imbued with traditional values.

Cividale del Friuli, Udine, loc. San Mauro
Tomb 51, female grave goods
End of 6th century
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Hairpin
bronze
- 2 Necklace
vitreous paste, amber
- 3 Necklace with pseudo-coin pendants
vitreous paste, gold
- 4 Pair of S-shaped fibulae
gilded silver, almandine
- 5 Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver
- 6 Decorations of knife sheath
silver
- 7 Ferrules for stocking bands
punched and tinned bronze
- 8 Comb with case
bone

Illustration: The Burial Ground of San Mauro at Cividale del Friuli.

Fara Olivana, Bergamo
Tomb 60, male grave goods
First quarter of the 7th century
Brescia, SABAP prov. Bergamo e Brescia

- 1 Cross stamped with animal interweaves
gold leaf
- 2 Sword with pommel and reinforcements of the sheath
iron, bronze, silver wire

- 3 Lance point
iron
- 4 Shield boss and loops
iron, copper alloy
- 5 "Five piece" belt trimmings with decorated studs
iron, silver wire
- 6 Trimmings of multiple belt in spiraliform style
iron damascened in silver and copper alloy
- 7 Buckle of garment belt
iron
- 8-9 Wild boar tusks
bone
- 10 Knife
iron
- 11 Knife
iron
- 12 Razor (?)
iron
- 13 Bucket handle
iron
- 14 Fragmentary comb
bone or horn
- 15 Tool extremity
iron

Illustration: The Burial Ground of Fara Olivana, Bergamo.

HORSE AND DOGS

Burial of horses and dogs is already well known in Moravia, lower Austria and Hungary. Sometimes in the same grave as the human, sometimes separate, the horse is often headless. There is not always a connection with a well-off personage showing off his prestige. In some cases it may have been a collective practice, harking back to pagan beliefs linked to the psychopompal function of these animals which are also attributes of Germanic divinities.

At Povegliano Veronese, the first generation soldier is not close to the pit with the animals, and later tombs proliferate around it. At the edges of the cemetery, two horse's heads seem to be the result of a practice reiterated at a distance of time.

Illustration: The Burial Ground of Povegliano Veronese.

Povegliano Veronese, Verona
Grave with horse and two dogs (reconstruction)
Last thirty years of the 6th century
Povegliano Veronese, Villa Balladoro

Skeleton of headless horse, with cervical vertebra and few caudal vertebrae. Gelding of adult age, about 140 cm. high at the withers. The pathological alterations that limit the flexibility of the spine suggest that it was used for transport or pulling loads.

Skeletons of two dogs, both about 1 year old, stature greater than 60 cm and with characteristics similar to present day greyhounds (elongated skull and muzzle, bones of the limbs rectilinear and slender).

POVEGLIANO VERONESE, THE TOMBS NEAR THE HORSE

In the area of the grave with the horse and dogs, the only tomb of a first generation soldier is Tomb 35, but it is not the nearest to the animals. These are surrounded by graves, also of women and children with less grave goods. The tombs persisted in the area until the end of the 7th century; there were also common graves with the reburial of several individuals who may have been exhumed from numerous graves found empty in the other sectors of the extensive burial ground. All this seems to indicate a collective and not individual value in the burial of animals and the persistence of its symbolic value.

Illustration: The Burial Ground of Povegliano Veronese.

Povegliano Veronese, Verona
Tomb 35, male grave goods
Last thirty years of the 6th century
Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio

- 1** Short *scramasax*
iron
- 2** Shield boss and loops
iron
- 3** 3 arrows
iron

- 4** Buckle of garment belt
iron
- 5** Buckle
iron
- 6** Ring
iron
- 7** Lighter
iron
- 8** Flint stone
flint
- 9** Small buckle and cap for bag
damascened iron
- 10** Knife
iron

Povegliano Veronese, Verona
Tomb 4, male grave goods
Mid 6th century
Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio

- 11** *Scramasax* and 3 pins of the sheath
iron, bronze
- 12** "Five piece" belt trimmings
bronze
- 13** "Long-bearded" axe
iron
- 14** Lamina
bronze

FOOD OFFERINGS AND ANIMAL AMULETS

Food offerings, provisions for the journey, were often left in the tombs. Over and above jars (also covered by small slabs to protect the drink) there remain animal bones, eggs, fish bones and mollusc shells. Other animal parts (wild boar tusks, deer antlers, shells and other things) might have had an apotropaic function: in Tomb 19 near the railway, in Cividale, there were the telemetacarpal or tele-metatarsal bones of a horse. The most rigorous practice of excavation moreover documents pottery fragments, carbons and animal bones combusted in filling the grave, probably leftovers from the banquet held close to the tomb during the funeral.

Cividale del Friuli, loc. San Mauro
Tomb 50, child's, with food offerings
End of 6th century
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 15** Jug and covering slab
cast bronze, stone
- 16** Olla and covering slab
pottery, stone

- 17** Pig's humerus
bone
- 18** Belt buckle for garment
damascened iron
- 19** Small buckle and cap for bag
bronze
- 20** Ring with monogram
silver
- 21** Buckle
bronze
- 22** Flint stone
flint
- 23** Knife
iron
- 24** Studs
iron
- 25** Comb
bone
- 26** Needle
bone
- Eighth of a siliqua of Justin II
(565-578)
silver
(on show in section 3)

In filling up the pit there were carbons, combusted bones and fragments of glass and pottery recipients.

Cividale del Friuli, near the railway
Tomb 19, female, with horse bones
Early 7th century
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 27** Cross stamped with anthropomorphic interweave
gold leaf
- 28** 3 horse bones, tele metatarsal or tele metacarpal
bone
- 29** Hairpin
bronze
- 30** Stamped earthenware pot
ceramic
- 31** Comb (incomplete)
bone or horn

Leno, Brescia, loc. Campo Marchione
Tomb 164, violated in ancient times
Late 6th – early 7th century
Brescia, SABAP prov. Bergamo e Brescia

- 32** 4 eggs (in a block of earth)

Looted in ancient times, the grave goods included a stamped pottery flask and a clay oil-lamp.

RITUAL GESTURES

Observing the grave goods one may recognize gestures carried out during the ceremony. Belts, weapons, combs and crockery could be broken and rendered non-functional. Moreover, for the prestigious belts with various metal trimmings, the elements of the forefather's belt were removed and divided among other individuals, probably bound by ties of kinship (and they are found in other tombs): a possible symbolic vehicle of transmitting immaterial heredity (social role, prestige, charisma) on the act of succession. Testimony of the 7th century also perpetuates the gesture of breaking up and sharing out the most precious belts.

Collegno, Torino
Tomb 69, male grave goods
Mid 6th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo reale

- 1** Trimmings from multiple belt
damascened iron
- 2** Scramasax
iron
- 3** Knife
iron

Collegno, Torino
Tomb 60, male grave goods
Advanced 7th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo reale

- 4** "Five piece" belt trimmings with ritual breakage
iron, copper alloy
- 5** Plaquette of multiple belt, extraneous to the whole
iron, damascene and 'pseudo-plating' in silver and copper alloy
- 6** Scramasax and two pins for hanging
iron, bronze
- 7** Knife
iron
- 8** Whorl
soapstone

Ritual breakage of several trimmings of the belt of Tomb 60. A plaquette from Tomb 60 might come from the set of Tomb 69, a generation older and positioned in the vicinity.

Illustration: The Lombard Burial Ground in Collegno, Torino.

Leno, Brescia, loc. Campo Marchione
Tomb 180, male grave goods
Second half of 6th century
Brescia, SABAP prov. Bergamo e Brescia

- 9** Part of the “five piece” belt trimmings
bronze
- 10** *Scramasax*, cap and reinforcement
of sheath
iron
- 11** Knife
iron

Leno, Brescia, loc. Campo Marchione
Tomb 234, male grave goods
Second half of 6th century
Brescia, SABAP prov. Bergamo e Brescia

- 12** Part of the “five piece” belt trimmings
bronze
- 13** Buckle of garment belt
bronze
- 14** Lighter
iron
- 15** 2 flint stones
flint
(one formerly an arrowhead)
- 16** Remains of comb
bone or horn, iron
- 17** Knife
iron

Part of the trimmings of Tomb 180
was detached and applied to the belt
of Tomb 234: (brothers? father and son?).

Illustration: The Burial Ground of Leno,
Brescia, loc. Campo Marchione.

In the bags, together with useful objects,
curious items are often found, such
as isolated if not broken belt trimmings,
engraved gems and glass beads, which
were perhaps amulets or something
else. They may have had an apotropaic
or symbolic value, also with reference
to personal ties.

Tomb 5 of Testona, Villa Lancia, was
the only one with grave goods in a small
nucleus with the presence of a horse.
Semi-interred huts and wells have been
brought to light, suggesting an extensive
settlement and crafts area. Some simple
graves without grave goods were among
the huts, an expression of less interest
in social ostentation.

Illustration: Testona-Moncalieri, Torino,
Villa Lancia: a sector of the built-up area.

Testona-Moncalieri, Torino, Villa Lancia
Tomb 5, male grave goods
Last thirty years of the 6th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo Reale

- 18** Short *scramasax*
iron
- 19** “Three piece” belt trimmings
iron, bronze
- 20** Buckle of garment belt
bronze
- 21** Knife
iron
- 22** Bag buckle
bronze
- 23** *Follis*, Constantine I (322-325)
bronze
- 24** Probable Lombard imitation of a
quarter of a *silqua* of Justinian I
(540-565)
silver
- 25** Plate for the system of hanging
a sword
silvered bronze
- 26** Buckle ring (broken)
silver
- 27** Lamina with zoomorphic decoration
silver
- 28** Perforated and engraved element
(broken)
bone
- 29** Tweezers
bronze
- 30** Fire set
(lighter, pin and 3 flint stones)
iron, flint

Illustration: Testona-Moncalieri, Torino,
Villa Lancia: a nucleus of tombs.

TOOLS

Some burials involved the depositing
of tools of the trade. In the male tombs
the sporadic presence of metalwork
tools is well known (crucibles, small anvils,
hammers, tongs etc.), bearing witness
to the social prestige of blacksmiths and
goldsmiths. In the female tombs one finds
loom blades, whorls, hooks and small
shears, utensils linked with weaving activities,
domestic or artisanal. In a tomb in the Belluno
area there were two small tablets in horn
with holes at the corners, part of the
“tablet weaving” loom for making bands.

Another two tools with bone handle and iron tip could, if they are not textile beaters, be awls for working leather.

Illustration: "tablet weaving" loom for making bands.

Belluno, Palazzo Fulcis
Tomb 1, female grave goods
Late 6th – early 7th century
Padova, SABAP area metropolitana
Venezia e prov. Belluno, Padova e Treviso

- 1 2 loom tablets
deer antler
- 2 2 tools with handle
bone, iron
- 3 Whorl (?)
lead, bronze
- 4 Ring with engraved gem
gold, cornelian
- 5 Comb with single row of teeth
bone and deer antler
- 6 2 cylindrical containers
iron
- 7 Beads set in metal elements
vitreous paste, iron
- 8 Knife
iron

The grave goods also included: a cross in stamped gold leaf; necklace beads; two buckles; a drinking glass; pendants and chains in bronze of 6th-early 5th century BC. Ceramic fragments seem to refer to the funeral banquet. The deceased may have been laid down on feathers.

Belluno, Palazzo Fulcis,
Tomb 7, male grave goods
Last thirty years of the 6th century
Padova, SABAP area metropolitana
Venezia e prov. Belluno, Padova e Treviso

- 9 Sword
iron, organic remains of sheath
- 10 Trimmings of belt for hanging sword
iron, bronze, bone
- 11 Shield boss, loops and studs
iron, organic remains
- 12 Lance point
iron, organic remains of shaft
- 13 Comb with single row of teeth
deer antler, iron
- 14 Knife (incomplete)
iron

The grave, broad and deep, was entirely lined with wooden planks to create a burial chamber; the deceased may have been laid down on feathers.

Illustration: The nucleus of tombs in Belluno, Palazzo Fulcis.

MATERIAL CULTURE: GLASS

The traditional matrix may be noted also in certain typologies of objects, with their related functions and socio-cultural value, as well as in the methods of craftsmanship. In glass production the prestigious drinking horns, in various colourings and of excellent quality, were blown in a conical mould and curved while hot. The form – well known also in animal horn and in wood, with finish in metal lamina – was widespread in central-northern Europe where it persisted for a long time. In the tombs they hark back to the conviviality and social ostentation of the banquet. The same may be said of other types of glassware, also of Mediterranean tradition, such as glass goblets.

Cividale del Friuli, Udine, loc. San Mauro
Tomb 27, female
End of 6th century
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Drinking horn
red-purple glass, translucent and opaque white

Castel Trosino, Ascoli Piceno
Tomb 119, male
Early 7th century
Roma, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo

- 2 Drinking horn
blue and opaque white glass

Given its shape, the drinking horn must have been suspended or rested on a support. Tomb 119 at Castel Trosino also brought to light silver laminas interpreted as decorations of a second horn, in organic material, with shoulder strap.

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 591
Late 6th – early 7th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria, Asti e Cuneo

- 3 Goblet with disc foot
light blue glass
- 4 Belt buckle
iron
- 5 Knife
iron

Illustration: Banquet scene from the Bayeux Tapestry, 1070 ca.

In the necklaces, not only does the form of the beads often reflect a typical fashion, but physical-chemical analyses carried out on beads from various burial grounds (including Trezzo sull'Adda) have revealed artisan usages proper to the *Barbaricum*, tangibly different from those of the Mediterranean, in the use of different materials for colouring raw glass and rendering it opaque.

The family cemetery of Trezzo sull'Adda consists of aristocratic graves (unfortunately most of them looted in ancient times) which were inside the subsequent oratory; reduced grave goods were found in the tombs of lesser members, who remained outside, opposite the façade.

Illustration: The cemetery and oratory of Trezzo sull'Adda, loc. Cascina San Martino.

Trezzo sull'Adda, Milano,
loc. Cascina San Martino
Tomb 2, female grave goods
Mid 6th century
Milano, SABAP città metropolitana Milano

- 1 Necklace beads
vitreous paste, amber
- 2 Comb with double row of teeth
bone or horn

Trezzo sull'Adda, Milano,
loc. Cascina San Martino
Tomb 12, adolescent grave goods
First thirty years of 7th century
Milano, SABAP città metropolitana Milano

- 3 Necklace beads
Green and violet glass, garnet
- 4 Shoe trimmings
gilded and nielloed silver
- 5 Comb with engravings (incomplete)
bone or horn
- 6 Listels perhaps of an icon with doors
bone
- 7 3 tacks
gold

The tomb, looted in ancient times, also contained golden threads of a garment and an iron nail with the remains of wood.

Trezzo sull'Adda, Milano,
loc. Cascina San Martino
Tomb 21, little girl's grave goods
End of 6th century – first decades of 7th century
Milano, SABAP città metropolitana

- 8 Necklace beads
vitreous paste

- 9 Pair of earrings
gilded silver

- 10 Stamped cross
gold leaf

Trezzo sull'Adda, Milano,
loc. Cascina San Martino
Tomb 25, little girl's grave goods
Mid 6th century
Milano, SABAP città metropolitana

- 11 Necklace beads
vitreous paste opaque and translucent

The tomb also contained the remains of a comb in bone or horn with iron rivets.

DECORATIVE STYLES

The traditional Germanic decorative language is populated by animals rendered in an abstract manner. From symmetrical and specular compositions to modular interweaves, by way of chaotic and convulsive tangles, the dominant imagination, and everything pertaining thereto, contemplates dogs or wolves, wild boar, eagles, snakes and horses, sometimes intermingled with human masks or other anthropomorphic features. Derived from mythology and ancient beliefs, they are attributes of the divine or they embody extraterrestrial force and the force of nature: they may have totemic or apotropaic and goodwill value. Motifs of a Nordic lineage which gradually soften and are coloured with new content in contact with Romance, Christian culture and with a more naturalistic figurative language.

The S-shaped fibula is a two-headed animal with a sinuous ribbon-like body. On the hinged fibulae the animal element is almost obsessive: beyond the terminal protome, of greater plasticity than those set radially around the head and those pendant at the sides of the oval, there appear animal motifs also on the internal surfaces. The subjects are characterized by heads and paws that are bound and knotted in the eel-shaped bodies which, increasingly sinuous, describe knots and volutes.

Cividale del Friuli, Cella
De-contextualised female finds
600 ca.
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Pair of S-shaped fibulae
gilded silver, almandine, glass

Cividale del Friuli, San Mauro,
Tomb 53, female
Early 7th century
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico
Nazionale

- 2** Pair of hinged fibulae
gilded and nielloed silver

Nocera Umbra, Perugia
Tomb 162, female
First decades of the 7th century
Roma, Museo dell'Alto medioevo

- 3** Large hinged fibula
Gilded and nielloed silver

THE DECORATIVE STYLES

With the barbaric cultures, belts for hanging weapons on had a great apotropaic value and expressed social prestige. The metal trimmings are often decorated with animal intertwining; with time the subjects became subtler, more minute and displaying virtuosity. The spiraliform style was also widespread.

Unknown provenance
Sporadic find
First thirty years of 7th century
Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
dell'Umbria

- 1** "Five piece" belt trimmings
silver

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 331, male grave goods
Second quarter of the 7th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria,
Asti e Cuneo

- 2** Trimmings of multiple belt
*iron with damascening
and 'pseudo-plating' in silver
and copper alloy*

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 26, male grave goods
Second half of 7th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria,
Asti e Cuneo

- 3** Trimmings of multiple belt
*iron with damascening
and 'pseudo-plating' in silver
and copper alloy*

- 4** Scramasax and sheath pins
iron, bronze

- 5** Lance point
iron, organic remains

- 6** Ring
iron

Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo
Tomb 356, male grave goods
Mid 6th century
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria,
Asti e Cuneo

- 7** Trimmings of multiple belt
*iron with damascening of silver
and copper alloy*

- 8** Arrowhead
iron

- 9** Cap, perhaps of a bag
iron

- 10** Flint stone
flint

- 11** Shears
iron

- 12** Knife
iron

The burial ground of Sant'Albano Stura (Cuneo) is in its wider sense exceptional. The 776 tombs excavated to date are set in long rows with a north-south layout. The study of decorated belts has led to understanding its development. The cemetery was established around 600 AD in the northernmost sector, where the oldest damascened belts were found, and then extended progressively southwards in the course of the 7th century, concluding in the southernmost portion at the beginning of the 8th. It must be assessed whether a burial ground so large (around 320 individuals every 40 years) was used by a single community (like the burial grounds that count 80-100 individuals every 40 years) or by several villages.

Illustration: The Great Burial Ground
of Sant'Albano Stura, Cuneo.

THE RICH FEMALE TOMBS

In the first half of the 7th century the grave goods of the élites evinced an increase in richness, before the goods were reduced and then disappeared, first in the female tombs and later in the male. The rise in disparity at the level of wealth seems to reflect a greater differentiation in the society of the Lombard kingdom.

The female parures show a progressive reception of jewels of a Mediterranean matrix, replacing the traditional accoutrements: basket earrings, chain necklaces, rings, large disc fibulae, albeit with possible inserts in animal style.

Torino, Lingotto
Rich female parure
Late 6th – early 7th century
Torino, Museo di Antichità – Polo reale

- 1 Cross stamped in animal style
gold leaf
- 2 Pair of basket earrings with pendants
gold, amethyst
- 3 Disc fibula in *cloisonné*
gold, almandine, vitreous pastes
- 4 Chain
gold
- 5 Pair of S-shaped fibulae
Gilded and nielloed silver

The grave also contained a hand-basin
in cast bronze.

Parma, borgo della Posta
Rich female parure
Early 7th century
Parma, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 6 Cross
gold leaf
- 7 5 stamped leaves
gold leaf
- 8 Necklace beads and pendants
*vitreous pastes, gold, rock crystal,
amethyst, aquamarine, bone,
terracotta*
- 9 Disc fibula in *cloisonné*
gold, almandine, vitreous pastes
- 10 Ring with setting
gold
- 11 Band ring
gold
- 12 Threads of fabric
gold leaf
- 13 Belt trimmings
gilded bronze

The grave also contained a hand-basin
in cast bronze.

THE RICH MALE TOMBS

In the course of the 7th century male armaments adopted Christian salvation symbols (such as peacocks around the *cântharos*), also displayed on the ample surface of the shield. Precious items began to spread, such as multiple belts with trimmings in gold or silver, at first produced by workshops in areas under Byzantine control.

Conversion to Christianity also determined new choices of burial places: churches and funerary oratories offered a new monumentality to perpetuation of the memory of the dominant group. Nevertheless, weapons as grave goods persisted for a long time, no longer in view of an extraterrestrial warrior world but for social ostentation. This is the case of the Warrior of Lucca, church of Santa Giulia.

Lucca, church of Santa Giulia
(via del Suffragio)
Rich male tomb
Mid 6th century
Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi

- 1 5 crosses
gold leaf
- 2 Chest cross (*encolpion*)
gold
- 3 Multiple belt trimmings with dolphins
gold, gilded bronze
- 4 Shield boss, appliqués and loops
iron, gilded bronze

The grave goods also included: a *scramasax*, a knife, a sword, a “halberd” (maybe *harpago*), a glass bottle, a horse’s jawbone which have been lost.

The appliqués on the shield depict: Daniel in the lions’ den; two peacocks around the *cântharos*; horses’ heads; central motif with six rays. On the brim the engraved inscription reads: “...AD A[D]IUVANDUM...”, perhaps “[Domine] ad a(d)iuvandum [me festina]” (Psalm 70).

TOMBS IN THE CITY: TUSCIA

More rarely than the extensive burial grounds in the open country, there are well known cemeteries within the urban fabric, in a closer relationship between the space of the living and that of the dead. The recent excavations at Fiesole, Piazza Garibaldi, are increasing our information about the large funerary area within the city walls. Suburban cemeteries, also in several distinct nuclei, are documented around Chiusi. On the colle dell’Arcisa, there is an aristocratic group near the tomb “of the golden cavalier”, exceptionally rich and with grave goods currently dispersed among several foreign museums, and the tomb of Faolfo, owner of a gold seal-ring.

Illustration: Lombards finds in Chiusi, Siena

Chiusi, Siena, loc. Arcisa
Tomb 2, male
Late 6th – early 7th century
Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1** Multiple belt trimmings
silver

The grave goods also included: sword, shield boss, lance point and probably the remains of a breastplate.

A MULTIETHNIC SOCIETY

Paul the Deacon narrates that the Lombards arrived in Italy followed by other minority groups (Swabians, Saxons, Gepids, Bulgari, provincials), but foreign communities could integrate into the kingdom also subsequently. In the burial grounds of Campochiaro, in Molise, indicators of a nomadic culture among the accessories of the horseman (stirrups, reflex bow) and among female jewellery, especially earrings, and the frequency of burying horses (19 graves with horse and horseman) have led to the hypothesis of the settlement of allochthonous communities (Bulgari? Avars?). The circumstance recalls Paul the Deacon's note on the subject of Bulgari settled in the zone by Romualdo, duke of Benevento (671-687).

Campochiaro, Campobasso, loc. Vicenne
Tomb 150, male with horse
Second half of 6th century
Campobasso, Museo Provinciale Sannitico

- 1** Sword
iron
- 2** Lance point
iron
- 3** Bag buckle
bronze
- 4** Fire set (lighter, pin, firestone)
iron, flint, bone
- 5** Knife
iron
- 6** Bit
iron
- 7** Harness trimmings
silver, bronze
- 8** Buckle for attaching saddle
iron
- 9** Stirrups and related closure elements
bronze
- 10** Trimmings for the horse's breastplate
silver
- 11** Pin
bone

Campochiaro, Campobasso, loc. Morrione
Tomb 185, female
Second half of 6th century
Campobasso, Museo Provinciale Sannitico

- 1** Box fibula
silver, stamped gold leaf

For its working and iconography this item is extraneous to production on the peninsula, finding correspondences in central-northern Europe. Two stylised birds face each other, recalling the crows with wings spread that are linked to the god Odin.

Campochiaro, Campobasso, loc. Morrione
Tomb 28, female
Second half of 6th century
Campobasso, Museo Provinciale Sannitico

- 2** Pair of global breast-shaped earrings
silver leaf
- 3** Necklace with cruciform pendants
vitreous paste, amber, bronze
- 4** Small buckle
bronze
- 5** Small jar unsmoothed
clay
- 6** Knife
iron
- 7** Perforated coin (illegible)
bronze
- 8** Mounting
lead

Campochiaro, Campobasso, loc. Vicenne
Tomb 134, adolescent
Second half of 6th century
Campobasso, Museo Provinciale Sannitico

- 9** Comb with lateral grip
bone, iron
- 10** Knife with decorated clasp
iron, gilded bronze
- 11** Belt pendant
Damascened iron
- 12** Olla unsmoothed
clay
- 13** Jug painted in brown bands
clay

In the tomb there was also a fraction of siliqua with monogram of Heraclius, *silver*

Campochiaro, Campobasso, loc. Vicenne
Tomb 48, child
Second half of 6th century
Campobasso, Museo Provinciale Sannitico

- 14** Comb with case
bone, iron
- 15** Olla unsmoothed
clay

THE "BYZANTINE GOLD"

Byzantium's control over large parts of the peninsula, as of the Mediterranean, brought a strong artistic and cultural influence, as well as significant flows of trade. Works of goldsmithy – easily transportable, precious and conferring an elite status – were a preferential means for spreading a Byzantine fashion. This must have conditioned local production and been appreciated also in the territories of the Lombard kingdom. The jewels are characterized by the use of *opus iterrasile*, by floral settings, by openwork, by elaborate 'droplet' pendants and by the polychrome of *cloisonné*.

Nucleus of "Byzantine" jewellery
6th – 7th century
Napoli, Museo archeologico Nazionale

- 1** Decorated pendant
gold
- 2** Decorated pendant
gold
- 3** Decorated pendant or bead
gold
- 4** Basket earring
gold
- 5** Basket earring
gold
- 6** Basket earring
gold
- 7** Pair of earrings with droplet pendant
gold
- 8** Pyramidal pendant
gold

Nucleus of "Byzantine" jewellery
6th – 7th century
Cagliari, Museo archeologico Nazionale

- 9** Disc fibula
gold
- 10** Earring with floral calyx setting
gold
- 11** Earring with calyx setting
and pendant
gold
- 12** Pair of earrings with pelta
shaped pendant
gold

- 13** Earring
gold
- 14** Belt buckle
bronze
- 15** Belt buckle
bronze
- 16** Belt buckle with U-shaped plate
bronze
- 17** Jug
bronze

THE "GOLD OF SENISE"

In Senise (Potenza) at the beginning of the 20th century eleven objects were found – goldsmithy and liturgical ornaments – placeable to the second half of the 6th century and pertaining to a place of worship with annexed elite cemetery. If some pieces seem referable to types of matrix exquisitely Byzantine, spread in southern Italy through channels of importation from the East, others have a far more marked peninsular imprint, with reinterpretations of Lombard and late Roman models, probably produced by workshops in Campania. Over and above the identification of a precise *èthnos* of those buried in the locality of Pantano, they certainly must have been persons of high social rank.

"Gold of Senise"
Napoli, MAN
Second half of 7th century

- 1** Chest cross
gold
- 2** Disc fibula
gold, gem
- 3** Ring with openwork collet and shank
gold, gems
- 4** Ring with drum collet
gold, gems and enamel cloisonné
- 5** Ring with 'bud' collet
gold
- 6** Pair of drum earrings with
cruciform pendant
gold, enamel cloisonné
- 7** Cylindrical element with collets
gold, gems

The pendants of the earrings present an *imago clipeata* of a woman; on the gold lamina of the reverse there appear the other side of a Byzantine solidus of Constant II (641-668) representing Tiberius and Eraclius. The inscription reads: "VICTORI AUGYS" in the legend, "CONOB" in the exergue.

3

The economy and the settlement

AT THE TOP OF THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY: THE SYMBOLS OF POWER

Certain graves stand out from others for greater variety and preciousness of the grave goods, a reflection of particular wealth and an important role in the heart of the community.

In a culture based on warrior values and in a highly militarized society, the sword sums up vigour in battle and social pre-eminence; a precious hilt of excellent manufacture, which brings together different craft traditions, exalts the rank, wealth and influence of its owner.

Nocera Umbra, Perugia
Tomb 1, male
Early 7th century
Roma, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo

Sword with hilt decorated in filigree and *cloisonné*
Iron, gold, almandine, white glass

The double interwoven ring is the symbol of a bond: it is hard to establish whether it is between the warrior and his weapon or between the warrior and a more powerful member of the élite.

The grave also contained: a shield boss with a battle scene in gilded bronze; a lance point; golden trimmings of a multiple belt; a *sella plicatilis* (folding saddle); a gold leaf cross and a bronze hand-basin.

“Rosamund, as Alboin slept, removed all his weapons and tightly bound his sword to the bedhead so he could neither grasp nor unsheathe it. [...] Waking with a start Alboin rapidly put his hand on his sword but since it was bound he could not draw it. [...] That man of great bravery died due to the intrigues of a worthless woman. His body was buried beneath a staircase next to the palace (of Verona). In our own days Giselperto, duke of Verona, opened the grave and removed the sword and all the decorations he could find...”
(Paul the Deacon,
Historia Langobardorum, II, 28)

Figures of power were buried near the place where in life they had carried out their duties. In Verona, king Alboin was buried in his palace. The ducal court and the royal court

were also in the city. Near the “high court” a rich female tomb (Palazzo Miniscalchi) was found, and recently a male grave which, in spite of dating to the end of the 7th century, contained grave goods of a varied nature: weapons, and two belt sets.

Verona, Vicolo Bernardo da Canal
Tomb with individual in anatomical connection and reductions
End of 7th century
Verona, SABAP prov. Verona, Rovigo e Vicenza

- 1 Sword and elements of sheath
Iron, organic remains
- 2 Scramasax and elements of sheath
Iron, bronze, silver
- 3 Trimmings of “five piece” belt in late animal style
Iron, damascene and ‘pseudo-plating’ in silver and copper alloy
- 4 Trimmings of “five piece” belt
Silver plated copper alloy
- 5 Pair of spurs and trimmings for the straps
Copper alloy
- 6 Fire pin
Iron
- 7 Knife
Iron
- 8 Small vase
Spatula decorated pottery

Illustration: Verona, Tomb of Vicolo Bernardo da Canal

PRODUCTION AND TRADE “BEYOND THE FRONTIERS OF THE KINGDOM”

In the areas remaining under Byzantine control, and in particular the important cities of Rome and Naples, between the 6th and the 7th century, the economy still enjoyed several transmarine importations which inspired local production. Excavations in the *Crypta Balbi* in Rome, as in the complex of San Lorenzo in Naples, demonstrate how craft activity

– for luxury items as well as goods for everyday use – was flourishing and many-sided in the 7th century. “Roman” society too, like Lombard society, had a well structured hierarchy: *comes clarissimus Petrus* was a member of the upper ranks.

EXCAVATION OF THE CRYPTA BALBI IN ROME

The excavation at the Roman theatre of Balbo offered the occasion to investigate, in the centre of Rome, a stratigraphic sequence uninterrupted from the Augustan age to our own days, and particularly rich for the early Middle Ages.

It allowed the outlining of a picture of the pottery in use in the city and of the circulation of goods; moreover it documented the production of a craft workshop which created luxury goods in various materials (metals, ivory and bone, gems, glass and others) in the 7th century.

CLAY OIL-LAMPS

Lamps of the “Sicilian” type with decorations in beads, and crosses found on the disc in one case, vine-shoots in the other; the bottom has a cross formée with convex arms. The spreading of these examples in the Mediterranean dates to the 6th century. They were originally produced in eastern Sicily and then also in other regions of peninsular Italy, such as Campania and Lazio. Production in Rome was confirmed by laboratory analyses of the samples from the *Crypta Balbi*.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
End of 6th – 7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

1 Lamp,
clay

2 Lamp
clay

BRONZE LAMP IN THE FORM OF PEGASUS

Rare lamp with a double spout configured as a winged horse, with untitled *tabula* which kept it stable when not suspended. Of highly realistic manufacture it is equipped with chain and hook for hanging. Between the 6th and 9th century monogram inscriptions were engraved in connection, resolved in: MONASTERI + SANCTI MARTINI NURSIE, or, for the last connection, TURENSIS, making reference to the Roman monastery of the basilica dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours, built at the behest of pope Symmachus (498-514), subsequently demolished and rebuilt under pope Sergius II (844-847) with an adjoining monastery dedicated to Saints Sylvester and Martin.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
End of 6th – 7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

3 Lamp
cast bronze

CENSER

Rare example of cylindrical vessel censer, equipped with feet for setting it down and chains and hook for suspension. The few extant examples are referable to the Sicilian area and to Mediterranean Asia Minor.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
Second half of 6th – 7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

4 Censer
bronze

MOULD FOR RELIQUARY CROSS

Front casting valve of a cross, with appendices at the two extremities for articulation of the valves. On the back there is a circular hollow for insertion of the relic. Within the medallions, in capital letters with the exception of the uncial M, from top to bottom, S(an)C(t)E / PETRE / TV / CVST / ODI // FAM / VL(um) T / VVM and, from left to right, A (nimu)M / MEV / M / TV / CVST / ODI / S(an)C(t)E / AVGV / STE.

This is one of the tools of the 7th century workshop; it demonstrates the presence in Rome of a relic industry, well known also in precious metals, to contain relics of the chains of Saint Peter.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

5 Casting mould
lead

THE SEAL OF THE EXARCH THEOPHYLACTUS

Exarch of Ravenna and patrician, Theophylactus was in office in the earliest years of the 8th century. The seal is one of 15 found in the *Crypta Balbi* and datable from the second half of the 6th century to the 8th century: they are probably all that remains of documents kept in the archives of the nearby monastery of San Lorenzo in *Pallacinis* and constitute the most important excavation find in Italy of such historically precious objects.

D/ Cruciform monogram ΘΕΟΤΟΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΕΙ, with the inscription Τω Cω Dou Λω within a beaded frame, in the four fields of the cross.

R/ Cruciform monogram ΘEOFYL[A]KTω
con ΠAT – PIK – SEZ – ARX within a
beaded frame, in the four fields of the cross.

“O Mother of God, extend help to your
servant Theophylactus, patrician and exarch”.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
Early 7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

6 Seal
lead

WEIGHTS

The square find bears the indication of weight in Greek characters, corresponding to 2 ounces. It is part of a rich collection, with the different units of weight used by craftsmen, traders and moneychangers. They expressed official units of measurement and their marking in Greek letters indicates control by the Byzantine authorities in Rome. The circular weight, which bears the inscription in capital letters + CAROLI PONDVS – a clear reference to king Charlemagne – inherited the Byzantine tradition of public control of weights in the context of the new Frankish domination of Italian territory.

Rome, *Crypta Balbi*
7th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

7 Square 2 ounce weight
bronze and silver

Provenance unknown
9th – 10th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

8 Circular weight
cast bronze

POTTERY PRODUCTION IN NAPLES

From excavations in the monumental complex of the Basilica di San Lorenzo Maggiore in Naples, the finds included items produced in North Africa and traded at long distance, such as the two lamps with a cross on the disc; imitations must have developed locally, as borne out by another two examples on show. Pottery is an expression of the passage from late-antique to early mediaeval local production.

Naples, San Lorenzo Maggiore
6th – 7th century
Napoli, Museo dell’Opera di San Lorenzo
Maggiore

9-10 Lamp in light terra sigillata
(African production, late 5th –
early 6th century)
clay

11-12 Lamp, imitation of light terra
sigillata/6th century)
clay

13 Jug painted with red bands
(6th – 7th century)
common pottery

LOCAL POTTERY PRODUCTION FROM LACCO AMENO, ISCHIA

Excavations carried out in the sanctuary of Santa Restituta brought to light one of Campania’s richest archaeological sites, inhabited since the Graeco-archaic age and always characterized as an area dedicated to the production of crockery and terracotta materials for building. It was intensely frequented especially in the late-antique and Byzantine age, leaving us a collection of ceramic materials with few equals in Italy for variety and production quality.

Lacco Ameno
6th – 7th century
Ischia, Museo Diocesano

14 Lamp of local production imitating
African production
clay

15 Mould for upper part of lamp
clay

16 Basin of local production
painted common pottery

17 Jug of local production
painted common pottery

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF COMES PETRUS

The inscription, introduced by four *signa crucis*, bears the sepulchral epitaph of *comes Petrus*, buried on 4th December, of whom it is mentioned that he belonged to the lowest grade of the senatorial order (*clarissimato*). The chronology is inferred from the indication of the post-consulate of Basilio, whose *lacunae* however mean that the proposed date of 549 cannot be guaranteed.

+ + + | + Hic requiescit in pace Pe|trus
v̄(ir) c̄(larissimus) comis | qui vixit annus
| plus minus LXVIII | depositus sub d[i]e
pridiae nona|rum decembrium | [i]ndict(ione)
decima | [--- p(ost) c(onsolatium) Ba]sili v(iri)
c(larissimi) an[no] | [---o---].

San Prisco, Caserta
Post 547
Marble
Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

COINS

On their arrival in Italy, coins had multiple values for the Lombards. Not only as a means of exchange but also as a symbol of wealth and prestige, to show off like a jewel inserted into necklaces, brooches and rings; a coin could have the function of amulet. With the political and economic stabilization of the kingdom, in the territories under Lombard control, only Lombard coins circulated, as distinct from Byzantine. Every duchy had independent issues. The coins are in three metals, gold, silver and copper, although the copper ones seemed to run out. It must have depended on a private local production with little circulation. Tremisses in gold were coined (third of a Solidus weighing 1.5 gr.), with few Solidi (about 4.5 gr.) only in the beginning. From presumed imperial authorization there is a reproduction on the obverse of the (symbolic) effigy in the name of the ruling emperor; on the reverse, Victory bearing her garland and cross on the globe.

In the mid 7th century there were attempts at a “national” issue, also with the royal monogram (Grimoald I). The aim was achieved with Cunincpert (688-700): on the obverse of his coins, of full weight (1.5 gr.) and excellent gold, is his name as *rex* (updated with his successors) while on the reverse is an image of the national saint, the Archangel Michael. In the course of the 6th century the Byzantine silver coin of Ravenna was imitated; in the 7th century it was used for very small face values, with the monogram of the king and perhaps of certain dukes. Tuscia had an autonomous monetary tradition: the Tremisses bore the monogram of the city (Lucca). They evolved into the “starry” (due to the central symbol), which with king Desiderius were issued from numerous mints and would also be inherited by Charlemagne, prior to imposition of the single metal silver system.

- 1** Lombard solidus, pseudo-imperial, from a prototype of Justinian I 569/570 – post 584
Minted gold, 4.42 g, 20 mm
From Cividale del Friuli, San Mauro, Tomb 2
Cividale del Friuli,
Museo Archeologico Nazionale
- 2** Lombard gold tremissis, pseudo-imperial with pseudo legend, with a ring for wearing it on a chain, from a prototype of Justinian I 569/570 – post 584
Minted gold, 20 mm
From Cividale del Friuli, Cella Cividale del Friuli,
Museo Archeologico Nazionale
- 3** Two fractions of Lombard siliqua with *Chrismon* in garland, from Byzantine prototype 569/570 – end of 6th century
Minted silver, 1/4 siliqua, 0.60 g, 15 mm; 1/8 siliqua, 0.41 g, 12 mm
From Cividale del Friuli, Cella and San Mauro, Tomb 50
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
- 4** Gold tremissis, pseudo-imperial for Justinian I 569/570 and ff.
Minted gold, 1.44 g, 17 mm
From Castelseprio, near San Giovanni Milano, SABAP prov. Como, Lecco, Monza, Pavia, Sondrio
- 5** Four gold tremisses for Justinian (one Byzantine, one pseudo-imperial) and Justin (two pseudo-imperial) Age of Justinian and Justin II (until 578)
Minted gold, 17-18 mm
From Luni, found in the forum Genova, SABAP città metropolitana e prov. Imperia, La Spezia e Savona
- 6** Coin necklace with seven Lombard tremisses, pseudo-imperial in the name of Justinian 569-584 circa
Minted gold
Nocera Umbra, Tomb 17
Roma, Museo dell'Alto Medioevo
- 7** Coin necklace with antoninianus in silver alloy and 13 examples in bronze End of 6th – early 7th century
Offanengo, Cremona, Tomb 5
Milano, SABAP città metropolitana
- 8** Three examples from a find of unofficial “minimum units” in bronze Third quarter of the 6th century
Minted bronze, for the type with expanded Cross,
Average weight 0.36 g, 9 mm
From Brescello (Reggio Emilia), find of 293 examples
Biassono, Museo Civico
- 9** Quarter of Lombard siliqua with *Chrismon* in garland 565-578
Minted silver, 0.51 g, 11 mm
From Brescia, *Capitolium*
Brescia, Musei Civici
- 10-12** Nine fractions of Byzantine siliqua; a Byzantine *folles*; five Byzantine monetary weights 570 circa – 643
Minted silver and bronze
From Sant'Antonino di Pertini (Savona) Finale Ligure, Museo Archeologico del Finale

- 13-14** Six fractions of Lombard siliqua with monogram (two welded together); a late Roman *folles* For Aripert I (653-661) and Grimoald (662-671)
Minted silver and bronze
From Sant'Albano Stura, Tomb 338
Alessandria, SABAP prov. Alessandria, Asti e Cuneo
- 15** Gold tremissis with double monogram;
Mint of *Ticinum* (?) 661-662
Minted gold, 1.38 g, 20 mm
From Brescia, Santa Giulia
Brescia, SABAP prov. Bergamo e Brescia

FRANKISH COINS

They bear witness to routes of trade and pilgrimage along the Valle d'Aosta in the 8th – 9th century.

Denier, Pipino of Antrain (751-768)
Denier, Charlemagne of Milan and
Denier, Charlemagne of Pavia (781-814)
Minted silver; 1.22 g.; 1.08 g.; 1.45 g.
From Aosta, Church of San Lorenzo
Aosta, MAR – Museo Archeologico Regionale

- 1-3** Part of the Naples Find, acquired 1896, but originating from Lombard Campania, with Byzantine and Lombard coins of Benevento, first half of the 7th century:
Six Lombard tremisses;
one semissis of Heraclius;
one tremissis of Heraclius
Third quarter of 7th century
Minted gold, from 11.5 to 17 mm
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano, Coll. Reale.
- 4** *Follis* Constans II/Constantinople
641-668
Bronze
From Santa Restituta in Lacco Ameno
Ischia, Museo Diocesano
- 5** $\frac{1}{2}$ *folles* Constantine IV/Constantinople
668-685
Bronze
From Santa Restituta in Lacco Ameno
Ischia Museo Diocesano
- 6** *Follis* anonymous Byzantine
Bronze
From Santa Restituta in Lacco Ameno
Ischia Museo Diocesano
- 7** Fraction of siliqua, Constantine V/
Rome.
741-775
Silver
From Santa Restituta in Lacco Ameno
Ischia, Museo Diocesano

4

From the *gens* to the christian kingdom

SCULPTURE

Sculptures are often all that remains of early mediaeval churches that have disappeared or been radically transformed in time. Sculpted liturgical accoutrements are in fact closely linked to the architecture and define its spaces and functions. In architectonic decoration even stucco work and terracotta could be integrated with the components in stone. The iconographic and decorative repertoire reprises early Christian compositional themes and schemes, but develops ornamentation (plant volutes or interwoven ribbons) which first frames and then, in the 8th – 9th century manifestations, occupies the entire surface. The sculpture of this period sometimes calls for pictorial finishes, often integrated by vitreous pastes inserted in the honeycombs.

PLUTEUS WITH CROSSES BENEATH ARCHES

Four round arches on small columns with three lobe Corinthian capitals, each framing a Latin cross formée. The composition is slightly out of axis to the left. The engraved decoration is executed with clear lines albeit not very deep. It may be compared with works from the 5th to the 7th century. Given the limited height of the slab, we may surmise that it was completed by a plinth or a cymatium.

Castelseprio, Basilica of San Giovanni
7th century

Marble

Gallarate, Museo della Società Gallaratese per gli Studi Patri

PLUTEUS OR ALTAR-FRONTAL WITH GEMMED CROSS AND LAMBS

Between the upper plant fascia and the frame of small juxtaposed heart-shaped leaves, a great gemmed cross formée has at the sides two doves with their heads retroverted and two lambs, a structure that recalls the late-antique tradition. The subjects are engraved; only the upper frame evinces a lowering of the bottom plane and an equally reduced undercut. The piece in question finds its most direct reference in the pluteus with gemmed

cross and lambs formerly in the *oraculum* of San Giovanni, built in Monza at the behest of queen Theodelinda, in which the engraving technique is also employed.

Milan, Church of Santa Maria La Rossa
7th century

Marble

Milano, SABAP città metropolitana Milano

PILASTER STRIPS IN TERRACOTTA

The fragments found in the church of San Salvatore in Brescia constitute the largest nucleus of this particular type of decoration. They had to scan a vertical surface; the decorative motifs are the same as the masonry elements of the basilica (plant volutes with leaves and bunches of grapes). The pieces were created in a mould and, in some cases, the surface was sculpted after firing.

Brescia, Monastery of San Salvatore
7th century

Stamp decorated terracotta

Brescia, Santa Giulia – Museo della città

AMBO SLAB WITH PEACOCK

This relief is one of the most important and refined examples of early mediaeval sculpture in Italy. The decoration is developed above a fascia of interwoven ribbons; within a rich plant volute of vine-shoots in relief, with vine leaves and bunches of grapes, a peacock proceeds towards the left (symbol of the resurrection and immortality of the soul), sculpted with calligraphic precision.

Two fragments remain of another slab, identical but specular: probably the two reliefs were placed to embellish the parapets of two staircases faced by an ambo, set in Desiderius' basilica.

Brescia, Monastery of San Salvatore
760-770

White marble

Brescia, Santa Giulia – Museo della città

FRAGMENT OF AMBO WITH DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN

The Novara pieces constitute one of the rare examples of anthropomorphic

depictions in Lombard age stone sculpture. They were evidently part of the central parapet of a two flight ambo. In the first fragment, in frames with vines, bunches of grapes and leaves, there is a clothed man with cloak, footwear and conical headgear in the act of praying between two wild beasts set vertically: the scene is identifiable as Daniel in the lions' den; the clothing recalls the iconography of the Byzantine world.

Novara, Cathedral (?), San Gaudenzio (?)
First half of 8th century

Marble

Novara, Musei della Canonica del Duomo

FRAGMENTS OF AMBO WITH BEARDED FIGURE AND FANTAIL PIGEONS

Within frames with vines a bearded man holds a hammer or an axe in his right hand; he wears a military belt with hanging elements, well known from the 7th century tombs. It has also been suggested that the depiction carries iconographic echoes of pagan Germanic deities: Thor who holds the hammer (Mjølner), wears a belt, symbol of strength, and gloves. If this is so, it could be a reinterpretation of traditional images in a Christian key. In the fragment below, two fantail pigeons face a bunch of grapes.

Novara, Cathedral (?), San Gaudenzio (?)
First half of 8th century

Marble

Novara, Musei della Canonica del Duomo

THE PALATIUM OF CORTEOLONA, PAVIA

In Corteolona, near the present day Cascina Castellaro, there was a *palatium* built by king Liutprand; it is mentioned by Paul the Deacon and in some epigraphs now lost but transcribed in ancient times. They speak of the magnificence of the rooms, for the construction of which the king had marble and columns sent from Rome. Modifying the first plans, Liutprand decided to renounce the construction of baths and to build within the palace a church and monastery dedicated to Saint Anastasius, whose relics he had venerated in Rome. Few stone fragments remain of that ancient splendour; it has not yet been possible to excavate one of the few investigable seats of early mediaeval power in Europe.

FRAGMENT OF PLUTEUS WITH LAMB'S HEAD

A lamb's head stretches out to drink at a *cântharos*: another lamb must have been in a specular position at the other side of the bowl, source of life according to an iconographic scheme very widespread from the 5th century onwards. The projection of the reliefs from the

background is unusually profound; the surface is perfectly smoothed; also the masterful use of the drill recalls techniques of finish employed in late Antiquity. Considered one of the highest products of the so-called "Liutprandian renaissance", the fragment gives full confirmation of the magnificent furnishings in the palace of Corteolona.

First half of the 8th century

Marble

Corteolona, Pavia, Cascina Castellaro
Pavia, Musei Civici

ARCH OF CIBORIUM WITH INSCRIPTION

The left part of an arch, framed on the side by a threefold skein and by an inscription in capitals whose residual letters are: *Arvigeris | veri | et [..]*. Above the archivolt, embellished by a vine shoot with liliated leaves, a lion is facing a figure interpretable as a lamb or a deer. The space in the corner is filled by a rosette.

The relief, which finds comparison in the arches of the Baptistery of Callisto in Cividale, bears witness to the continuity of the paleochristian tradition in the upper Adriatic area as late as the 8th century.

Provenance unknown

Mid 8th century

White crystalline limestone

Aquileia, Udine, Museo Paleocristiano

MANTUA, THE TOMB IN THE BAPTISTERY OF VIA RUBENS

A grave with a wooden chamber (indicated by the four holes at the corners for poles) for the burial of a child was found in the ambulatory of a late antique baptistery, perhaps dismantled and transformed into a privileged burial place. It is one of the two baptisteries in the city: also at the other, later and still functioning, tombs with grave goods of weapons have been found.

Mantua, Via Rubens

Late 6th – early 7th century

Mantova, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Cross
gold leaf
- 2 Belt trimmings
gold leaf, silver (buckle)
- 3 Necklace with cross, beads and coin pendant with solido of Constant II
silver, gold, vitreous pastes
- 4 Olpe
bronze
- 5 Beaker with handles
common pottery

TYMPANUM WITH ROTAE

This possible crowning of a door or the façade of an aedicule, also funerary, is delimited by a fascia of S face to face and one with acanthus shoots and rosettes. In the central field a square contains a lilled cross; at the sides there are a first tondo with daisies and a second with flower and peacock. In part the relief has not been finished, which allows us to grasp certain phases of the process of creation. This, like other works in stone, might have been finished in polychrome, painted and inserted in vitreous pastes and metals.

Cividale del Friuli, Church of San Giovanni in Valle
8th century
Marble
Cividale del Friuli, Udine, Museo Cristiano e Tesoro del Duomo

PLUTEUS WITH CROSS AND FOUR ANIMALS

Beneath a plaited frame, a Latin cross with a tangle in the background. At the sides, facing each other, there are two fantail pigeons and two quadrupeds with their jaws open: a lion with mane and a unicorn with a tree below it. The theme of the victory of the lion over the unicorn, after the latter sticks its horn into a tree, is also present in a ciborium arch at Cividale del Friuli and in a pluteus at Santa Maria in Cosmedin, in Rome. Filling elements are supplied by two rosettes, lilled elements and two great sequences of concentric circles.

Lucca, Church of San Concordio
8th – 9th century
Marble
Lucca, Museo Nazionale di Villa Guinigi

THRONE ALTAR FRONTAL

Below the upper horizontal frieze, with central *càntharos*, doves and vine shoots, there is a great circle with an inscribed Greek cross, lilled elements and on the arms of the cross in capital letters: + NIE|V|IOS, of uncertain meaning. Two large peacocks with long tails, with their elegant two-dimensional outlines, are set at the sides of the clipeus; an oriental influence has been suggested with regard to the elements that branch off from the neck.

Provenance unknown
Mid-second half of 8th century
White crystalline limestone
Aquileia, Udine, Museo Paleocristiano

FRAGMENT OF PLUTEUS OR ALTAR FRONTAL WITH GRYPHON

A gryphon stands within a broad frame of S-shapes, opposed and bound, with

an angular element with lanceolate leaves: the figure projects forcefully and is characterized by the roundedness of the profiles. The surfaces and the relief are clear and indicate the work of sculptors with good technical and formal training. This is a significant episode in the quality achieved by Trento sculpture workshops between the 8th and 9th century, borne out by the high number of fragments distributed between the cathedral and the church of Santa Maria Maggiore.

Trento, Cathedral of San Vigilio
Second half of 8th century
Oolitic limestone
Trento, Museo Diocesano

FRAGMENT OF HONEYCOMB PLUTEUS

The smooth upper fascia bears an inscription: “[w] est di[...]”. The field is occupied by juxtaposed geometric honeycombs, perhaps to compose concentric frames. The bottom of the cavities have pitting functional to the anchorage of elements probably in small slabs of coloured glass, to simulate the setting of gems. In the panorama of early mediaeval sculpture it represents an episode of particular rarity. Similar results would be found later in the reliquary coffers (10th century?) of the crypt in the monastic church of San Felice, in Pavia. It might be an enclosure pluteus or a wall cladding (wainscot).

Pavia, area of the Monastery of San Tommaso
Mid 8th century
Marble
Pavia, Musei Civici

PLUTEUS WITH FACING PEACOCKS

Two facing peacocks and a central element (*kantharos* or cross) no longer recognizable. This symbolic Eucharistic iconography (with peacocks as the image of salvation in the eternity of Paradise) was widespread between the late-antique age and the early middle ages. The example of Polesse is highly significant for an understanding of the passage of similar iconographic themes between these two ages. The listel in relief on the sides was functional to setting in the newels to compose a presbytery enclosure; there is no material evidence regarding the church of the Lombard period.

Vicenza, district of Polesse,
Church of S. Maria Etiopissa
7th – 8th century
Greek marble
Vicenza, Museo Diocesano
“Pietro Giacomo Nonis”

5

Writing

ARCHITRAVE WITH DEDICATORY TABLET

The item bears intact a dedicatory tablet with inscription in capital letters, seemingly set in a central position and flanked on both sides by a procession of cruciferous lambs. The iconographic scheme is still linked to the late-antique tradition, with a modest artistic level which would suggest provenance from a peripheral cultural area.

+ *In nomine D(omi)ni | in honore s(an)c(t)i Iohan|ni ego Ianuarius | presveter una cum | famolo tuo [E]rtoaldo (?) et Iohannes fa(mo)lo tuo.*

Invillino-Villa Santina, Udine,
Parish Church of Santa Maria Maddalena
7th – 8th century
Grey limestone
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF BISHOP GAUSOALD

After the formula “in fond memory of”, the expression taken from the parable of the Talents is often used by Christian authors to recall the heavenly reward for the just. Though only the last two letters remain of the commemorated prelate’s name it is possible to recognize Gausoald, who probably lived in the first half of the 8th century. A eulogistic text then. Gausoald’s noble origins are pointed out; he sustained the local church, remaining faithful to the divine dogma, fulfilling the evangelical precepts and distinguishing himself by the virtue of chastity. We are reminded that the body is in the tomb while the soul has reached heaven.

The epigraphic panel is defined by a broad frame of foliage. The relief is executed in a fairly rough manner, drawn more than sculpted, and the composition is somewhat careless.

[+b(onae)] + m(emoriae) +
[+Euge] serve bone
[et fide]les intra
[in gaud]io . D(omi)ni D(e)i tui
[pausat] sacer . Chr(ist)i .
[Gausoa]ld pontifex
[. . . mem]bra tenet tumolo

[. . .] aethera (per)get huius
[. . . ant]istis praeuit
[. . .] urbem . apostoli
[. . .] dogma . sine du=
[biis . . . i]nplevit praecep=
[ta . . .]v genere cla=
[rus na]mque a Lami[. . .]
[. . .]ere ortus cus=
[toduit corpus] castum sine cri=
[mine vitae] quem paren=
[tes . . .]unt militem
[. . .]

Provenance unknown
First half of the 8th century
Musso marble
Como, Musei Civici

COMMEMORATIVE INSCRIPTION FOR KING LIUTPRAND

The epigraph evinces solemnity, as much in content as in form, notwithstanding the reduced size of the letters. The final part should apparently be read “v[ir excellentissimus]”. Its original location is not known, but it seems to hark back to an evergetic act by Liutprand in favour of the monastery, documented both by intervention for the realization of St. Cumian’s tombstone and by capital endowment.

+ *D(ominus) : Liutprand rex v[. . .]*

Bobbio, Abbey of San Colombano
First half of the 8th century (712-744)
Marble
Bobbio, Museo dell’Abbazia

SMALL COLUMN OF CIBORIUM WITH INSCRIPTION

The lower portion of the small column has also been preserved plus a second column with the inscription: “In the name of the lord Jesus Christ, from the gifts of St. John the Baptist, this ciborium was built in the times of our king Liutprand, of bishop Domenico and his custodians, the presbyters Vidaliano and Tancol, and Refol, gastald. Signed by Gondelme, unworthy deacon. Master Orso with his pupils Iuvantino and Iuviano built this ciborium. Vergondo and Teodolfo scari (functionaries)».

+ *In n(omine) d(omi)ni Ih(esu) Xp(ist)i de
donis | s(an)c(t)i Iuhannes | Bapteste edi/
ficatus est hanc | civorius sub tempore [...]*

San Giorgio di Valpolicella
First half of the 8th century (712-736)
Soft stone
Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH FOR ABBESS

What remains of the text, in hexameters, allows us to refer the epigraph to the burial of an abbess or a nun. A portion of the framing remains in the lower part; the formal characters, with exuberant decoration and fleshy elements, precisely executed, are found in various other fragments in the same convent which was founded by king Perctarit. The graphic characters elaborate the classic canon by producing elongated and sketched letters with a taste for ornamentation and variation, according to a peculiar tendency in epigraphy of the Longobard age in Pavia.

[...] *es debellar[e]?* [...] *cuit sermone lo* [...] *ius dulcido loquil[is]?* [...] *Iura reticui.* [...] *a)m hoc ipsum summutin* [...] [...] *s)p(iritu)m et elari (?)*. [...] *t domine venio.*

Pavia, Convent of Sant'Agata al Monte
Second half of the 8th century
Marble
Pavia, Musei Civici

EPITAPH OF QUEEN RAGINTHRUDA

The frame of vine shoots shows traces of brown colouring, while a black colouring fills the letters of the inscription. In hexameters, it is set out in more or less regular rows separated by engraved horizontal lines, also painted in red. Various forms of engraved foliage elements often mark the end of the verses. Nothing is known of a queen Raginthruda. The epigraph states that she died young, shortly after coming to the throne. She showed devotion to the Church and priests, often abandoning her regal apparel and becoming a servant to the needy for whom she provided food. It has been suggested that she was one of Liutprand's wives or the wife of the latter's nephew, Hildeprand.

[...] *condita priorum |
Raginthruda piis semper / memoranda
loquillis . |
De vita cunctorum quam / mors surgentibus
annis . |
abstraxit subito regalia scamna tenentem |
quae licet in paucis finisset iura diebus . |
taliter ornabat concessi exordia regni |
templa D(e)i venerans sacerdotesq(ue)
ministros |
ecclesiae s(an)c(t)o devota colebat honore |
purpurea cotiens simul et diadima/ta vestes . |
deposuit famulans Xp(ist)o in paupere certe |
sicque suis manibus ieiuna minis/trat egenis . |
ut regale decus vilis mutaret amictus . |
[ve](s)t[iv]t[nu]dos mis[.].e[.].o [re]creavit inanes
[...]*

Pavia, destroyed church
of Santa Maria in Pertica
First half of the 8th century
Marble
Pavia, Musei Civici

“... buried (in the place of her ancestors) Raginthruda, to remember always with reverent words, whom death took suddenly from the life of everyone while she was in the flower of her years and occupied the royal throne. And though her reign closed in few days, She was a great embellishment for the start of the reign that was granted her, worshipping the temples of God; and the priests, the ministers of the church she honoured them, devoted, with holy reverence each time she set aside the purple robes and diadems and became a servant of Christ in the person of the poor. Thus with her own hands she offered food to the poor, thus with humble clothes replacing regal elegance. She clothed the naked [...] restored the afflicted

(translated from the Latin by F. E. Consolino)

6

Italy in the Europe of the Carolingian Empire

THE EDICT OF ROTHARI

This is the oldest of the codices containing the Edict of 643 and was seemingly composed in the 7th century. It reached San Gallo from Italy after the 9th century. It starts with the beginning of the *Edict* and ends with title 377; another part of the same manuscript is in Zurich (10 folios). The numbering of the titles is in red letters, the initials composed of fish or birds or terminating in small dragon's heads. Over and above borrowings from 6th century codices, strong Irish influences have been identified. It has been suggested that the codex was written in Bobbio, which apparently functioned as the chancellery of the Pavia royal palace.

Edictus Rothari
7th – 8th century
Parchment codex, ff. 72
San Gallo, Switzerland, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 730

HISTORY OF THE LOMBARDS BY PAUL THE DEACON

One of the oldest testimonies of the *Historia Langobardorum*, and the only complete one, was probably written in Cividale del Friuli by one person. Paul the Deacon himself had Cividale origins and wrote about the exploits of the people from whom he descended – from mythical origins to the death of king Liutprand in 744 – in the last days of his life, just a few years after the fall of the kingdom and only a few decades before composition of the codex.

(copy)
Historia Langobardorum
Second quarter of the 9th century
Parchment codex, ff. 96
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivi e Biblioteca, cod. XXVIII

THE LAWS OF THE LOMBARDS

The manuscript contains the Edict of Rothari of 643 and the provisions added by Grimoald (668) and Liutprand (712-744), brought together in 552 chapters. It was drawn up by several copyists, in the late uncial of Northern Italy. The rubrics are of a red-orange colour, while the apparatus

writings are red-orange, green and pale yellow. The letterheads have phytomorphic and geometrical motifs interwoven with elements of foliage or zoomorphic motifs, fish and reptiles, with the exception of two decorations with an anthropomorphic theme.

Leges Langobardorum
First half of the 8th century
Parchment codex; ff. III (modern) + 169 + II (19th century) + III (modern)
Vercelli, Archivio Arcivescovile e Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. CLXXXVIII

THE LAWS OF THE LOMBARDS

This codex, in Benevento writing, is one of the few that also contains the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, preceding the Lombard laws and the Frankish capitularies. Of great importance are the full page miniatures on the first sheets which illustrate the saga of the origins of the Lombard people. The other miniatures, all the work of the same master, depict the Lombard and Frank sovereigns as legislators, most of them seated on a *sella plicatilis*, surrounded by warriors, scribes and cup-bearers, but also on horseback at the royal hunt.

(copy)
Codex Legum Langobardorum. Capitularia regum Francorum
Year 1005
Parchment codex, ff. 249
Cava de' Tirreni (Salerno), Biblioteca della Badia della Santissima Trinità, ms. 4 Leges

MEDICAL MISCELLANY

An important testimony of the knowledge of ancient medicine, the main nucleus is assigned to Montecassino and the age of abbot Bertario (856-883). After an epistle of Hippocrates the codex contains the *Erbario* of Pseudo-Apuleius with botanical illustrations, the *Liber medicinae ex animalibus* by Sextus Placitus, which offers a sampling of various animals captured with vivacity and naturalness; plus the *Liber medicinae ex herbis feminis* by Pseudo-Dioscorides, with coloured drawings of plants.

Varia medica
9th century
Parchment codex
Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,
inv. od. LXXIII, 41

CASSIODORO INSTITUTIONES

One of the most influential and oldest illustrated witnesses of the *Institutiones* by Cassiodoro probably produced in Montecassino on the eve of the 8th century. Very close to the official edition, it reproduces the subscription (67v). The figurative and iconographic patterns are of late antiquity. The *Institutiones*, composed around 560, are an encyclopedic work that introduces the study of the Sacred Scriptures and the liberal arts; it had a great influence on subsequent compilations of a similar nature, beginning with the *Etymology* of Isidore in Seville.

End of the 8th century
Parchment codex
Bamberg, Germany, Staatsbibliothek
Bamberg – Kaiser-Heinrich-Bibliothek,
Msc. Patr. 61.

DE PROELIIS ALEXANDRI MAGNI

This codex, in Benevento writing, contains the translation made by the priest Leo of *De proeliis Alexandri Magni*, novel attributed to an anonymous Greek writer called Pseudo-Callistene. Leo was sent to Constantinople at the court of Costantino Porfirogenito, and then of Roman II Lecapeno, by the dukes of Naples Giorgio III and Marino I, rulers from 941 to 968. In 1022, Emperor Henry II gave the codex to the Bamberg cathedral. From the translation of the work developed the body of legends known as the *Romance of Alexander*, a prototype of medieval chivalric literature.

Pseudo-Callistene,
De Proeliis Alexandri Magni
Second half of the 10th century
Parchment codex, ff. 192v-219r Bamberg,
Germany, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg –
Kaiser-Heinrich-Bibliothek, Msc.Hist. 3

RELIQUARY IN BONE FROM NOVALESA

The casket of Novalesa was inside the chest of Sant'Eldrado in the parish of Novalesa. The wooden structure is faced with listels in bone with engraved and perforated decoration, four of which function as feet for the casket. There are traces of red and black paint; in the holes, the wood was clad with silver leaf. The Abbey of Novalesa – in Val di Susa, already under Frankish control – was founded in 726 by Abbone, a functionary

of the Merovingian kingdom. Charlemagne himself donated the relics of Saints Cosmas and Damian to the Abbey, part of the contents of the Novalesa casket.

Novalesa, Turin, Church of Santo Stefano
7th – 8th century
Bone, wood
Susà, Torino, Museo Diocesano

RELIQUARY IN BONE FROM SUSÀ

Traces of gilded metal were also found on the bottom of this reliquary casket, part of the treasure from Susa cathedral. The decoration is similar to that of the Novalesa casket, with bone tiles engraved, punched and perforated. The decorative “dice eye” motif on both caskets was a widespread type of ornamentation in the Lombard age.

Susa, Turin, Cathedral of di San Giusto
7th – 8th century
Bone, wood
Susà, Torino, Museo Diocesano

DIPTYCH OF RAMBONA

Ageltrude, wife of duke Guido di Spoleto, king of Italy from 889, had a monastery built at Rambona, in the Marche. Odelrico, the first abbot, commissioned this diptych. In the left panel, between the image of the Redeemer supported by two angels and the crucifix, one reads EGO SVM IHS NAZARENVS. Above the arms of the Cross are personifications of the Sun and Moon and beneath, the Virgin and Saint John. At the bottom, a she-wolf with a threatening aspect suckles Romulus and Remus.

In the right panel at the top, the Virgin enthroned with a boy blessing and the words CONFESSORIS DNI SCIS GREGORIVS SILVESTRO FLAVIANI CENOBIO RAMBONA AGELTRVDA CONSTRUXI. At the centre, the three saints to whom the abbey is dedicated: Saints Sylvester, Flavian and Gregory the Great. Beneath, the inscription QUOD EGO ODELRIGUS INFIMUS DNI SERBUS ET ABBAS and the termination SCULPIRE MINIBIT IN DOMINO AMEN

Rambona, Pollenza, Macerata
Late 9th – early 10th century
Ivory
Vatican City, Musei Vaticani

“HEAVY GLASS” POTTERY (FORUM WARE)

In the early Middle Ages the production and circulation of mass consumption goods like pottery took on features very different from the antique age when, created in specialized areas on an almost industrial scale, they were distributed over great distances. In the centuries from the 8th

to the 10th crockery was produced and sold chiefly at local level, in the context of a market that was often very small. In this picture "heavy glass" pottery (from the type of thick external glazing) was one of the few items that circulated widely.

The place where the Roman nucleus was found is particularly significant since it was an intentional deposit within the tank of the Fonte di Giuntura, perhaps linked to the dismantling of the nearby monastery of San Antonio, or the diaconia of S. Maria Antiqua, which according to a recent interpretation may, after the collapse of the church of the same name, have continued its liturgical function in the adjacent Oratorio dei Quaranta Martiri.

Rome, Boni excavations, *Fons Juturnae*
Second half of the 9th century
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano –
Crypta Balbi

1-3 Jugs
*glazed pottery with decoration
of applied petals*

Found initially in Rome, "heavy glass" pottery must also have been produced in Naples. Both cities spread their products into the hinterland and overseas, penetrating the whole of the Tyrrhenian basin.

Naples, excavations at San Lorenzo Maggiore
9th century
Napoli, Museo Basilica di San Lorenzo
Maggiore

1 Jug with globular body, decorated with a few stylized petals applied in an ordered manner
glazed pottery

Cimitile, Naples
9th century
Nola, Diocese

2-5 Jug
glazed pottery with applied petals

7

Southern lombard kingdom: land of the capitals

THE EPIGRAPHS

The epigraphs on show, apart from the Neapolitan one of Gregorio Tribuno, recall personages of the aristocracy of Capua and of the territory who lived between the 9th and 10th century. The noble families dedicated brief compositions to the dead, exalting their qualities and social role. The Lombard elite by this period had followed the practice for two hundred years: we find the models in the longest and most attentive inscriptions of the Benevento princes. They communicated Christian piety; in origin they might have been connected to churches that their families had built. Their diffusion and quality bear witness to the importance of Capua in the 10th century as a centre of production of writing destined for public and monumental use.

Illustrations:

Benevento, cathedral, inscription of bishop David (796)

Benevento, Diocesan Museum, inscription of prince Radelgario (851)

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF MADELGRIMA

The epigraph transmits *the charitable virtues of Madelgrima*, wife of count Radoaldo of whom nothing certain is known.

Sant'Agata de' Goti, Benevento, Church of Sant'Agata de Amarenis
End of 9th – early 10th century

Limestone

Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

+ *Hoc Radoald coniux comitis prolesq(ue) mari[ti] | Madelgrima iacet contumulata loco | moribus i[!]la suis vitam decoravit honestis | pauperibus curam sem(per) opemque ferens | ultima namq(ue) dies maio de mense restabat | qualiquit fragilis corporis antra sui | inspector tumuli compuncta dicit oment[e] | illius o Xp(ist)e crimina cuncta s[ine] ---.*

Here lies Madelgrima, wife of count Rodoald, daughter of Marino (?). She illustrated the course of her life with honest habits, always giving help and money to the poor. It was the last day of May when she left the prison of her fragile body:

O you who come to see this grave, say with sorrowful mind: O Christ, forgive all her sins! (translated from the Latin by E. D'Angelo)

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF COUNT SICHENOLFUS

The epitaph remembers count Sichenolfus: in the absence of specific references, it may be a person linked to prince Landulf IV and mentioned in 981.

[H]ic comitis recubat Sichenolfi c[orpus ---] | natus erat pariter hic fuit ast[---] | [c]ognitis carus cristicoli [---] | tris annisque duo[---] et [---] | tulit vos rogo qui le[gite ---] | tum illius ut sol[---].

Provenance unknown

Second half of the 10th century

Limestone

Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF SADIPERTUS

Though the identity of *Sadipertus* is not known, the composition in verse with an invocation to the apostle Peter reveals his high social status; the elegance of the writing system is also notable.

[---]r hic Sadipertus humatur que[---] | [--- re]paravit et istum tegmin[---] | [---]ul beat[i]ssime Petre ut sua laxen[---] | [---]t produ[---] sic dicite fratres parce D[omine ---].

Capua, Church of San Pietro a Ponte (?)

End of the 9th century

Marble

Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF GREGORIUS TRIBUNUS, HIS WIFE CALI AND THEIR CHILDREN

Introduced by apocalyptic letters, here is the profession of faith in resurrection on the part of the *tribunus* Gregorius and his family. The expression “gaviu” refers to the rise from the ranks in his career. The graphic-decorative apparatus is elegant, with circular framing of corymbs and ivy leaves.

α ω | *Ego Gregorius tri|bunus ex arma
gav|iu et Cali uxor mea u|na cum filiis
nostris | de hoc sepulghro | credimus
resurg|imus in aeterna | bita amen.*

“I tribune Gregorius, soldier in earthly life, with my wife Cali and our children, believe that we shall rise from this grave to eternal life, Amen”.

Napoli
First half of the 10th century
Marble
Napoli, Museo dell’Opera di San Lorenzo
Maggiore

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF ADENOLFUS

This is the epitaph of a not better specified *Adenolfus*. It has been suggested that he was the archbishop of Capua, active from 981 to 990. Without considerable distinctions, the alphabet recalls that used in the contemporary epigraph of Sichenolfus.

*[Hic requiescun]t Adenolfi me[m]bra ---] |
[---]sit si d(e) ubiq(ue) ca[---] |
[---] na]tus sapiens et pulch[er ---] |
[---]e vigebat illius ut cu[---] |
[---]ro priore ferebat sem[per ---] |
[---]xisset et annos ce[---] |
[---] pr]opriam re]tulit spo[---] |
[---]e poscite frat]res iutr[---] |
[---]as [---]anu[---].*

Provenance unknown
End of the 10th century
Limestone
Capua, Museo Provinciale Campano

FUNERAL EPIGRAPH OF DEUSDUNA

The name of the deceased, *Deusduna* who died aged 12 and was buried on 19th August of 560, is part of the category of Christian theoforic names and appears, in the variant *Deusdona*, in a second Neapolitan epigraph of the same period. The epigraphic tablet has been reworked from an older item. The letters have a non-uniform module, while the line is irregular in numerous points.

*+++ | In hoc tumulo | requiescitDe|
usdunafiliuscon]dam pro berenti | qui
bissitannus XII | depositus est XIII |
kal(endas)septembris | in(die)VIII anno
XVIII]p(ost)c(onsolatum) | Basili v(iri)
c(larissimi)*

“In this tomb *Deusduna* rests in peace, son, for future merit, who lived 12 years and was buried 14 days before the calends of September, on the eighth day, nineteenth year after the consulship of the illustrious Basil”.

Capua
year 560
Marble
Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

GOLD LAMINA WITH CHRIST AMONG THE ANGELS

In the centre, with a crossed aureole strengthened by small globes, the figure of Christ stands out, rendered with simple strokes and stylized garments. At the sides, two angels with plain aureole. Upholding the form of the piece, they are bent forward and surround the son of God. Though the function of these laminas is uncertain, the iconographic choices and the references to divine power expressed in the words “AGIOS” (“saint”) and “CHRISTOS” lead us to assume an apotropaic character, attracting divine protection to the possessor. Some have also been found in graves.

Provenance unknown
7th century
Embossed gold leaf
Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

SCULPTURE

Between the 9th and 10th centuries the interiors of southern Lombard churches were richly furnished with sculptures intended to place emphasis on the most sacred parts of their spaces. Important sculptural nuclei come from the cities of Benevento, Capua, Naples and Sorrento; they often evince oriental influences, perhaps brought by Sassanid or Byzantine textiles, which in any case had long been present in peninsular sculpture. In the complexity and variety of southern sculpture production, the group found in the churches of bishop Leo III (about the year 900) around the tomb of San Felice in Cimitile constitute an important chronological reference. It has been suggested that they came from a Naples workshop.

Illustration: Rosciolo, L’Aquila, Church of Santa Maria in Valle Porclaneta; on the right, an example of presbytery *pergula* (early 12th century)

ARCH OF CIBORIUM WITH OX AND LION

An ox and a lion face each other at the sides of the tree of life. Given the small size of the arch, it must have been an altar ciborium and not one free-standing on the ground.

Cimitile, Napoli, chiesa di San Felice
Late 9th – early 10th century
Marble
Cimitile, Napoli, Antiquarium

ARCHITRAVE WITH INSCRIPTION IN GREEK

Engraving inscription on two re-use marble blocks (presumably of a door) of late-Roman period decorated with coffees, floral elements, ovules and astragals and reused in the Middle Ages. An Ecclesia Sant'Apaciri is in fact mentioned in Naples.

[...]PON ΠΡΟCΑΓΩ ΧΘΙ CQN
ΧΑΡΙCΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΚΥΡ[ΟΥ]
† ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΔΙ'ΩΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΑΙΘΗCΙΝ
ΕΚΤΕΝΟC Α[...]

[...] o Cristo, conduco alla casa dei tuoi doni, i santi Ciro e Giovanni, per i quali la mia preghiera ferventemente [...]

Napoli
9th century
Marble
Napoli, Museo dell'Opera di San Lorenzo
Maggiore

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF THE GASTALDIUS AUSENTIUS

Ausentius the Castaldo (administrator of the prince's property) played a significant role during the government of Sicard (832-839). The funeral eulogy consists of twenty-one hexameters, the first letters of the uneven lines giving the acrostic "Ausentius Ga", to which is added "staldius" in the last line.

There are numerous nexuses and insertions; references to the uncial writings derived from the codices are lacking. The chiaroscuro rendering and the regularity of the pagination speak of the presence of specialized craftsmen in Capua in this period.

Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Caserta
835
Marble
Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo
Archeologico dell'Antica Capua

+ Acerrima mors et furivunda te conclusit |
Auseñti dū(m) mātris eñ uxoris liquisti darñña
ruñe | vūlti conspicuus modeña tus figura
benustus | ocior in cunctis pariter ad bella
sueñus | sed tem̄pore ductūris Sichardi sū(m)
mā potestas | iam inter noviles cepit esse
facundus | eique nolanum commisit regere
castrum | propter Romanorum sollers struere
bella | nā(m)q(ue) cum et ille Cyrita bella
conspexit | per campis et in viis inimicis vires
struebat | tum deinde sacra cum Xpi(sti)
claresceret dies | proxima latrunculi vastarunt
Parthenopenses | inimici mille audens sic
quasi cervo ad instar | donec iuxta urbe
inimicorum terga cedebat | unianimiter ex
urbe properantes ad illum | eum vallo dedere
fortiter undique cedentes | sed gradiens et
bellans stridebant iaculi peltis | cum iam

in ipso certamen heu et ipse peremptus |
gemebat et mater simulque dulcis et uxor |
evellentes criñes tegerunt velamina sacra |
audiens eñ eiulans tundeat pectoris ima |
te celebrant om̄nes pro patria qui morte
subisti | staldius hic situs quiescit in antro |
qui vix(it) annos XXXVII menses VII deposito
est | XII k(alendas) ap̄(ri)l(is) in ind(ictione)
XIII die dominico.

The text tells how Ausenzio, who had been commissioned by Prince Sicardo to hold the castle of Nola, had defended it from the Neapolitan raids (called "Romans" as subjects of the Byzantine Empire). The gastaldo is defined as one of the most prominent among the longobard aristocrats: the eulogy praises his beautiful and noble appearance as well as his military capabilities. He died in the Easter period, following a heroically combat against a Neapolitan latrunculi band. His death, when he was 37 years old, disrupted his mother and wife, who took care of the burials by covering the body of the deceased with sacred draperies, and left to the posterity the memory of a man capable of sacrificing himself for his homeland. Depending on the Easter calculation, the epigraph should date back to the first half of the '30s of the 9th century.

8

The southern lombard kingdom: land of monasteries

WRITING AT SAN VINCENZO AL VOLTURNO: THE EPIGRAPHS

In the monastery, writing was everywhere: in books, on the painted walls, on the tombstone epigraphs and even marking the terracotta floor tiles: from the solemn and composed “official” writing on stone or in frescoes to the devotional graffiti traced out on the columns, cornices and architraves of venerated tombs. Only a minimum part of this heritage has come down to us. This notwithstanding, the collection of 9th century Volturno epigraphs is one of the richest in Europe: it bears witness to an original, high quality graphic style. Form and dimensions suggest that they were not set on the tomb of the deceased but rather on the walls of the funerary buildings.

Illustrations:

Graffiti drawing. Bottom left, the signature of abbot Epifanio “*Dom(I)nus Epifanius abb*”
Brickwork with inscription: *crux Christi confusio diaboli est*

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF THE PRIEST TAMFRID

The inscription is outstanding for high graphic quality and the poetic content of the text in elegiac distichs describing the soul of the deceased in the act of rising, after death, to the starry sky. The expression “*spiritus astra petit*”, harking back to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, finds precise comparison with the inscriptions of the baptistery of Callisto and the slab of Sigwald in Cividale del Friuli.

+ Membra | sacerdotis | licet fûmûla|ta
sepûlchro | hoc iaceañt | Tamfrid spi|ritus
astra | petit (hedera).

“The bones of the priest Tamfrid lie in this tomb, but his spirit rises to seek the stars”.

San Vincenzo al Volturno
First half of the 9th century
Marble
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

FUNERARY EPIGRAPH OF MAGNUS PRESBITER

The cross in relief on which the inscription is carved is embellished at the intersection of the arms by a fleshy flower which probably housed a polychrome element at the centre (perhaps glass); the flower motif is repeated in the spaces between the upper arms of the cross. The refined decorative and written apparatus make the epigraph traceable to a specialized atelier whose presence we deduce in the monastery concurrent with the site set up between the abbacy of Giosuè (792-817) and that of Epifanio (824-842).

[H]i[c] | re|qui|es|cit || [Ma]gñus pr(es)b(ite)r.

San Vincenzo al Volturno, out of context from an area north of the *Basilica Maior*
First half of the 9th century
Marble
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

FUNERARY SLAB WITH DECORATION AND EPIGRAPH

The inscription is set around a Greek cross formée, with central clipeus containing the palm separate from the *Dextera Dei* and with tangled motifs on the arms. The text occupies the two lower quadrants; in the remaining upper compartment there is a lamb in bas-relief and above it a six-petal flower. The graphic layout follows the canons in vogue at San Vincenzo al Volturno between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, derived from epigraphic manifestations in the Benevento area.

[Hic] requies[cit] | [Hil]demari eo[---]

San Vincenzo al Volturno,
south of the *Basilica Maior*
Early 9th century
Marble
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

METALS

The working of metals was habitual practice at San Vincenzo al Volturno, as in all great monasteries of the age.

In the Molise monastery the remains of the workshop where these activities were carried out came to light. Among the finds however there were several that had come from far away: the set of sword belts might have originated in the heart of the Carolingian empire or been derived from models widespread in the Frankish world.

San Vincenzo al Volturno
9th century
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Set of sword belts with plant decoration
iron with silver damascening and copper alloy
- 2 Floral decorative element
bronze and silver

ENAMELS

Polychrome enamels couple metallurgical skills with those of working glass. They were in fact produced in the same monastery workshop where windows were made, together with glass vessels for liturgical use and the most prestigious panels. The evangelistary cover shows how books in which texts with the word of God were copied were treated as treasures to be kept in splendidly embellished sheaths.

San Vincenzo al Volturno
9th century
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 3 Evangelistary cover (fragment)
copper alloy, enamel cloisonné
- 4 Plaquette with floral motif
copper alloy, enamel cloisonné
- 5 Plaquette bearing a knot with points
copper alloy, enamel cloisonné

Illustration: Lindau Evangelistary from the abbey of San Gallo (New York Morgan Library)

FIGURATIVE SCULPTURE

These small heads are very rare examples of early mediaeval figurative sculpture in the South. Since they were nomadic pieces it cannot be said with certainty where they were located, but it is possible that they functioned as corbels of an architectonic cornice, as they are widely known to have done in subsequent epochs. The different quality of work process leads one to believe that they were not visible in the same way. For one of the two pieces – the one that appears scarcely rough-shaped – we might surmise that

it was a trial for the wholly finished model in the other case.

San Vincenzo al Volturno
8th – 9th century
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Male head
white marble
- 2 Anthropomorphic head
white marble

Illustration: nomadic corbel for architectonic cornice, 12th century (Marnay, Champagne, France)

ITEMS OF EVERYDAY USE: KITCHEN POTTERY

Pottery items found at San Vincenzo al Volturno tell us about the eating habits of the monastic community. The excavations brought to light dozens of earthenware cooking pots used for pastas and soups, which were the main hot dishes, together with plenty other kitchenware items both with and without lids.

Moreover, in the kitchens, suddenly abandoned in 881 due to the Arab attack, the remains of the last meals were still there, so it was possible to reconstruct the monks' autumnal diet: freshwater and saltwater fish, galliformes and only rarely mammals, which were excluded by the Rule of Saint Benedict; cereals, beans and grapes.

Illustration: The kitchens at San Vincenzo al Volturno Bottom: (re-constructural drawing of San Carracillo)

PORTABLE OVEN AND EARTHENWARE DISH

This little oven in the form of a lid, fairly rare, is one of the best preserved examples of this type of kitchenware, used for baking bread and flat loaves or for roasting vegetables. Set on the flame and perhaps covered with burning embers, the ceramic material rapidly absorbs the heat, thus cooking the food set beneath the lid. The use of lid-ovens is often associated with that of earthenware dishes.

San Vincenzo al Volturno, kitchens
Second half of 9th century
Venafrò, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1 Lid-shaped oven
pottery
- 2 Earthenware dish
pottery

EARTHENWARE POTS

These pots, without handles and often blackened by smoke, could be hung over the flame to cook legumes such as lentils and field beans, chopped fish and meat.

San Vincenzo al Volturno, kitchens
Late 9th century
Venafro, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

3-6 Olla
pottery

POTTERY FOR REFECTORY AND PANTRY

The jugs were for serving drinks: it is possible that the ones decorated with red and brown bands were for the refectory and pantry while the ones without decoration were for the kitchen. The pantry needed various containers for preserving food. Crockery was probably produced within the monastery, although the typologies are typical of the whole Campania and Molise territory.

The almost total absence of bowls leads one to imagine that they were in wood, like the great containers: amphorae had been replaced by barrels. Also the lack of large serving dishes makes one suppose that meat and fish were brought to table on wooden chopping-boards.

Illustration: The refectory of San Vincenzo al Volturno

San Vincenzo al Volturno, kitchens
9th century
Venafro, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 1** Jug
pottery painted with red-brownish bands
- 2** Small jug
colourless pottery
- 3** Large truncated-cone bowl
pottery
- 4** Truncated-cone cup with handle
common use pottery

AMPHORAE AND BASIN

The small amphora, found in the Volturno monastery kitchens, is unique of its kind. The shape recalls small containers of a similar sort that were very widespread in antiquity but far more rare in the early Middle Ages. Its function may have been to preserve sauces for cooking. Other amphorae and the great two-handed basin must have had a collective use in the pantry.

San Vincenzo al Volturno, kitchens
9th century
Venafro, Isernia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

- 5** Small amphora
pottery painted with red-brownish bands
- 6** Amphora
pottery painted with dark red-brownish bands
- 7** Large two-handed basin
pottery painted with red-brown bands

Pavia

- Ottavio Ballada, parish priest of San Giovanni Domnarum, was the author of a kind of monograph on the church in Pavia which remained unpublished (the manuscript is now in the Episcopal Seminary Library of Pavia) and in which the Lombard founding is amply underscored. He also commissioned a series of engravings which would appear to be related to the monograph. Among these, the one used as title-page or flyleaf, engraved by Giacomo Piccini of Venice from a drawing by the Milanese Ranuzio Prata (1), presents the title of the book at the top in a scroll borne by angels; in the centre on a pedestal, the two saints to whom the church is dedicated and, kneeling at the bottom, queen Gundiperga with a model of the building on the left and the canon himself on the right. There also exists a series of copperplates (2-8), apparently conceived to illustrate the never created printed version. They are depictions of historical episodes linked to the events of the church in Pavia, or are directly referable to Ballata's unpublished text, often diluted in long stories which are resumed even at many pages of distance. It is probable that the writer also commissioned a print from the Genoese engraver Silvio Maria Curletti (9) depicting a tower on the city walls of the Aurelian age, traditionally acknowledged as the place where Boethius was imprisoned, and that this too was to be included in his manuscript. Since at the bottom there are the words "Tower of Boethius in the Palace of Theodoric and of the Lombard kings, today the home of the Author". We cannot miss the cross reference with the Pavia priest's text where he says, "my hereditary home is on this site, thenceforth called the Tower of Boethius", specifying that the building had been bought by his father Paolo and that the tower had collapsed forty-eight years earlier, which would date the writing to around 1632.
- 1** Ranuzio Prata (attested Milan mid 17th century), from a drawing by Jacopo Piccini (1617 – 1669 circa) *The Glories of the Piety of Gundiperga, Queen of the Lombards [...]* Engraving, mm 243 × 176 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 22)
 - 2** Iacopo Cotta (Bergamo, 1627 – 1689) *Pope Saint Gregory dedicates his dialogues to queen Theodelinda and sends her by the nuncio Giovanni, deacon, many gifts, and in particular three rings, two sapphires and one albula for queen Gundiperga, with congratulations on peace in Italy achieved through her work.* Engraving, mm 247 × 344 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 24)
 - 3** Cesare Bonacina (Milan, 1620 circa – ?) *Queen Gundiperga demonstrates her innocence in God's judgement with her servant Carello, and presents king Arioald with the plan for the church of San Giovanni Battista* Engraving, mm 243 × 329 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 23)
 - 4** Carlo Sacchi (Pavia, 1616 – 1706) *Queen Gundiperga, her innocence recognized by the duel, fulfils her vow by founding the church of San Giovanni Domnarum in 657 and giving it vast lands and very precious ecclesiastical ornaments.* Engraving, mm 249 × 346 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 25)
 - 5** Carlo Sacchi (Pavia, 1616 – 1706) *Zenone, sacristan of the church of San Giovanni Domnarum, disguised in the royal arms of Cunincpert king of the Lombards, duels with prince Alahis, who aspired to the rule of Pavia, and is slain. The king had him buried with great pomp in the vestibule of the temple gate.* Engraving, mm 240 × 346 (trimmed sheet) (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. St Mal 2740)
 - 6** Giuseppe Testana (Genoa, 1648 – Rome, 1679), from a drawing by Carlo Sacchi (Pavia, 1616 – 1706) *Saint Theodore bishop of Pavia baptises king Desiderius' daughter Theodora in the church of San Giovanni Domnarum. She had been Charlemagne's wife but was afterwards repudiated by him.* Engraving, mm 248 × 341 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 26)

7 Carlo Sacchi (Pavia, 1616 – 1706)
Ratleic, transporting from Rome to the temple of Odanuald in Germany the bodies of the holy martyrs Petrus, Marcellinus and Tiburtio, found miraculously due to Regimbald his son being cured of tertian fever, deposited them in the church of San Giovanni Domnarum, giuspatronato by the kings, and whose provostship was provided by Einhard, son-in-law or secretary to Charlemagne. Having rested the pack animals for some days, he continued his journey.
 Engraving, mm 248 × 336
 (trimmed sheet)
 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. St. Mal. 2741)

8 Giovanni Battista Del Sole (Milan, 1615/25 circa – after 1673)
Liutprand, Pavia deacon, provost and canon of the church of San Giovanni Domnarum and subsequently bishop of Cremona, sent once more as ambassador, after king Berengar II, by emperor Otto the Great, the empress Adelaide and by her son Otto II to the emperor of the East.
 Engraving mm 245 × 341
 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP D 27)

9 Silvio Maria Curletti (Genoa, attested mid 17th century)
Tower of Boethius in the Palace of Theodoric and of the Lombard Kings, now the Author's Home.
 Engraving, mm 230 × 144
 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP C 268)

Giuseppe Crastona (or Cristona)
 (Pavia, 1664-1723)
The Angel of the Plague
 oil on canvas, cm 165 × 121
 formerly in San Pietro in Vincoli
 (today in the Bishop's Residence)

Duration of the fortune enjoyed by Paul the Deacon's text, also mediated by numerous reprises by subsequent historians and scholars, is documented by this 18th century work by the Pavia painter Giuseppe Crastona (or Cristona) which originally hung in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

In fact the canvas illustrates the passage in chapter 5 of the sixth book which tells of a terrible plague epidemic that claimed victims also in Pavia:

[...] it seemed to many that a good and an evil angel passed through the city by night, and many times, on the orders of the good angel, the evil angel, who apparently carried a spear, rapped on the door of a house, and the number of raps was the number of people in that house who died the next day.

The plague apparently ceased only following the erection of an altar to Saint Sebastian martyr in the church of San Pietro and the moving of his relics from Rome to Pavia.

Bronze bust of emperor Augustus
 inserted in red marble drapery.
 cm 72 × 48
 from the Frascini Theatre,
 formerly in the Museo Bellisomi
 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. C 241)

Bronze bust of emperor Vitellius
 inserted in red marble drapery.
 cm 72 × 48
 from the Frascini Theatre,
 formerly in the Museo Bellisomi
 (Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. C 242)

The height of parochialism and self-celebration of their caste with which the Pavia patricians looked back at the city's Lombard past may perhaps be recognized in the choice of placing busts of presumed Lombard sovereigns, formerly kept in the private museum of marchese Bellisomi, in the spandrels between the boxes of the Quattro Cavalieri Theatre, built between 1771 and 1773 to the design of Antonio Galli Bibiena, commissioned by four Pavia aristocrats and deliberately lacking a royal box. Two of these busts might perhaps be identified with two examples now in the Civic Museum, inasmuch as they must have come from the Theatre (subsequently named for Gaetano Frascini) and previously belonged to the Museo Bellisomi. If this hypothesis is correct, we are dealing with a singular case of the interpretation of the iconography of two Lombard sovereigns, since the two bronze busts are of Roman emperors, Augustus and Vitellius, set in red marble draperies of the modern age.

Filippo Barbieri (Pavia, 18th century)
Liutprand had them dig in various parts of the church of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro for a place to hide the body of Saint Augustine where it could not be easily found or stolen, 1728. Drawing from a painting in the former Casa Negri, subsequently Jesuit College. (Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 428, registro f. 51, cart. A)

In 1728 it was still visible, with the inscriptions partially erased, though defined as antique: a frescoed cycle with nine scenes depicting the deeds of king Liutprand, probably dating to the tail end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. It was in a room on the upper floor of Jesuit College which had incorporated an older palazzo that belonged to the Negri family, inhabited in the 15th century by Agnese del Maino and previously the residence of Bianca of Savoy. Although we have an idea of the cycle thanks to transcriptions of the scrolls,

the only image of which a trace remains consists of two copied drawings by the Pavia painters Filippo Barbieri (kept in the Pavia University Library and on show here) and Bernardino Ciceri (kept in the Venice National Library) depicting Liutprand in the crypt of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro where his men are digging to seek a place to hide the relics of Saint Augustine.

Giovanni Ramis, from a drawing by Giuseppe Veneroni,
Longitudinal section of the church of Santa Maria alle Pertiche, 1772
Engraving, cm 19.4 × 37.8
(Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. SP C 67-70, 556)

Carlo Giuseppe Dalloro
Planimetric survey of the complex of Santa Maria alle Pertiche, 1808
Pen drawing on paper, mm 499 × 354
(Pavia, Archivio Storico Civico, fondo U.T.C., cart. 100)

Antonio Maria Ruggeri (Milan, attested 1700 – 1728)
The Baptism of Agilulf
oil on canvas, cm 56 × 72
(Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. P 453)

Antonio Maria Ruggeri (Milan, attested 1700 – 1728)
The Miracle of the Reliquary
oil on canvas, cm 56 × 72
(Pavia, Musei Civici, inv. P 461)

These two fine canvases represent two episodes in Lombard history. In the first, narrated by Paul the Deacon, the bishop of Trent (or of Non), trusted counsellor of queen Theodelinda, is baptising king Agilulf who is kneeling at his feet. The other is narrated by pope Gregory the Great in a letter of 597: a Lombard soldier, who intended to profane with a knife a golden reliquary in the form of Saint Peter's key, is stabbed by his own weapon which turns on him, and he dies amid the awe of those present.

A. Marini
Plan of Pavia drawn up in 1585
by Giovan Battista Clarici of Urbino,
military engineer on the payroll of Spain, copied in the archives of count Andrea Sola of Milan.
Drawing from which the lithograph was made, published in C. Magenta, *I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia*, Milan 1883.

The knowledge and reflections of scholars at the end of the 16th century regarding the Lombard city could be condensed into the definition of the view of the city known as "del Claricio", transmitted to us by

a drawing (Pavia University Library, on show here) copied in the archives of count Andrea Sola of Milan from an original, for the moment untraced, and from two variants of a lithograph (published by Carlo Magenta in 1883) declared to be a copy of an original, dated in one as 1585 and in the other around 1590. But in both cases attributed to the engineer of Urbino Giovanni Battista Clarici who in 1597 had been effectively engaged by the municipality to produce a map of the city. In truth, the original of the 19th century copies should be dated between 1599 – since the gate on the southern head of the bridge appears in its aspect of that year for the passage of Margaret of Austria through Pavia – and 1602, year of the presumed author's death. This perspective view is a sort of historical restoration of the city, reduced however to its essential elements: the city walls, the most important churches (often with an indication of the founders) and the presumed palaces of Theodoric, Liutprand, Arioald and the Roman consuls, as well as Theodoric's small fortress, the Arsenal and Borromeo Collegio.

Drawing of the silver box in which the relics were found in 1695, declared in 1728 to be those of Saint Augustine.
drawing in pen and watercolour, mm 175 × 235
(Pavia, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. Ticinesi 428/C)