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VOLUME II

APPENDIX 1 : FORUM WARE AND THE QUESTION OF ITS CHRONOLOGY

The earliest recognised medieval lead-glazed ceramic from Rome and the Campagna is Forum Ware. This was first discovered in 1900-1901 in excavations carried out by Boni in the Lacus Iuturnae in the Rome Forum in the deposit which formed the fill of the basin.<sup>1</sup> This contained no less than 1500 pieces of glazed pottery, including 83 whole or near-whole vessels, of which all but three were of Forum Ware, and all but one of these were jugs.<sup>2</sup>

'Forum Ware from Rome has a coarse, fairly hard fabric, which varies in colour from dark grey to red, with greyish or pink unglazed surfaces. The fabric may contain small white inclusions. The great majority of Forum Ware consists of jugs, glazed thickly on the outside and the inside of the neck. Splashes of glaze are common on the interior, and the underside of the base, too, may be wholly or partly covered. Although some vessels have a rich and even finish, on others the colour (which varies in colour from dull green through yellow-brown to chestnut) is patchy and the surface blistered'.<sup>3</sup> Minerological study of the pottery suggests Rome as the probably centre of production, as supported by the finding in the deposit of both wasters and seconds.<sup>4</sup>

Whitehouse's analysis of the Rome assemblage distinguished five principal types, which can be set into the following sequence:<sup>5</sup>

1. Globular pitcher with tubular spout and a broad or narrow cylinder neck (type 1). The body is plain, or decorated with combing or incision. (Types 4 and 5, a high-necked jug and a jar respectively, may also belong to Stage 1).
2. Biconical jug with tubular or, more often, pinched spout and a broad

or narrow cylinder neck (type 2). Decoration is incised and applied or simply applied (the applied decoration is of scales, set either all over the body, or in single vertical rows of varied number - usually of four to eight petals each) (pl.50).

3. Ovoid jug usually with pinched spout and a narrow neck (type 3).

Decoration is usually applied.

However, the similarity between all the Forum Ware found in the Lacus may imply that the suggested development, if correct, took place rapidly.<sup>6</sup> If this sequence reflects a chronological development then it is possible that the Rome vessels are a relatively late deposit of this ceramic. This may be confirmed by the fact that the three remaining vessels from the assemblage were sparse-glazed, a type generally dated to the mid-9th century. Indeed later Forum Ware jugs with pinched spouts 'more closely resemble the forms associated with sparse-glazed pottery and the earliest maiolica'.<sup>7</sup>

Boni dated Forum Ware to the 8th - 9th centuries. He claimed this on the basis of associated sculptural finds in the Lacus fill and the likely abandonment of the fountain - a pagan construction - with the construction of the nearby church of S. Maria Antiqua in the mid-8th century.<sup>8</sup> Since this excavation finds outside Italy, while reopening the question of the first appearance of glazed wares in the Western Mediterranean in the post-Roman period, have broadly confirmed this crude dating for Forum Ware.<sup>9</sup> Although the dubious 7th century Byzantine glazed ware from Tharros in Sardinia has been dismissed, the glazed finds from the Great Palace, and more recently from Sarachane, in Istanbul, and in sherds from Corinth signify a glazing tradition in the Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean between the mid-7th - 8th centuries:

indeed Whitehouse considered one spout at Corinth identical to spouts of Rome type 2, while from Otranto in Southern Italy come unpublished finds of imported Byzantine brown glazed ware with applied petals.<sup>10</sup>

Confirmation of an 8th century production in Rome comes from the excavation at Santa Cornelia, an open farm site which had produced Forum Ware sherds in the course of the South Etruria Survey. Santa Cornelia has been identified with the papal domusculata of Capracorum, which headed an estate created by the merging of existing farms during the pontificate of Hadrian I (772 - 795), designed principally to aid in feeding Rome.<sup>11</sup> The site was excavated between 1962-64 by C. M. Daniels, revealing a three-phase occupation sequence (fig. 20):<sup>12</sup>

Phase 1: No large buildings, but floors, post-holes, trenches, and pits: parts of farm(s). Unclear chronology, but ultimately linked to a classical Roman villa. Dated pre-774.

Phase 2: A roughly trapezoidal enclosure, 70m across, with two-phased church and baptistery to north-west. On east side of the enclosure a series of farming buildings. Dated to the foundation of the domusculata, c.774-6. Church continues in Phase 3.

Phase 3: Reduction of the enclosure to c.55x40m. Church rebuilt on a larger scale, with plan and construction typical of the 11th-12th centuries. Cloister added to the south side of the church. Dated to 1026-35 when the S. Cornelio church and baptistery was transformed into a monastery. Phase ends after 1238. Church in ruins by 1647.

In brief, Forum Ware appears primarily in Phase 2 and thus presumably at the time of Hadrian's domusculata. Eleven sherds are also present in Phase 3, but these are regarded as residual. However, the Phase 2 sherds (20 in all) were associated with numerous sparse-glazed vessels



(137 sherds, forming 15.5% of the sample in this period), which should post-date the Forum Ware. These pieces of Forum Ware could therefore also be residual. The sole stratified Phase 1 sherd of Forum Ware, sealed beneath a plaster floor of Phase 2 thus forms our only secure datum. Its findspot, unassociated with sparse-glazed ware, should pre-date 774 and the domusculata.<sup>13</sup>

This interpretation is not devoid of problems. As Whitehouse admits, 'Santa Cornelia is an important, but frustrating, site'.<sup>14</sup> Important in that it appears to provide a chronological framework for the early medieval - medieval pottery of Lazio, and frustrating in the lack of an adequate site stratigraphy from which to draw this framework. The site had suffered heavy ploughing, leaving little more than foundations and a few intact floors. This prevents the secure attribution of structures to definite phases.<sup>15</sup>

We know that Hadrian created the Capracorum domusculata out of existing farms, and it is possible that he simply readapted structures already present here. In support of this we note the varied alignments of Phase 2 buildings, notably between the church and the eastern range of outbuildings (fig.20). It is equally possible that Hadrian's creation saw the construction of new buildings at Santa Cornelia after 774-6. Whitehouse should be correct, however, when he argues that these eastern farm buildings (Area W) were at some point part of the estate: these show single period plaster floors which denote a relatively short occupation, not extending into Phase 3.<sup>16</sup>

The earliest phase, best identified in Area W, is represented by an amalgam of trenches, post-holes and stone wallings of indeterminate date. The earliest features should be the series of three c. 1m wide

trenches, identified by Whitehouse as vine-trenches, but perhaps too large for such; they may be associated with a number of post-holes of unclear function. A later set of smaller trenchings, c.25cm wide, may have been for vines.

At a later date this zone was covered by the plaster floor of a building with stone piers and slender outer walls. When this building was erected is uncertain, but it may perhaps be contemporary with the foundation of the domusculta. The residual late African Red Slip Ware and Roman roofing tiles from the vicinity, but not directly associated with this construction, may record a previous farmstead. Nor is it to be dismissed that Area W represents a survival of an earlier estate.

Whitehouse 1980a lists the excavation units which demonstrate the three occupation phases at S. Cornelia.<sup>17</sup> Phase 1 is principally identified in Area W, which was in disuse by Phase 3, and in little use during the currency of sparse-glazed ware. As suggested, 'the farm buildings of period 2 may have been abandoned in the 9th century for domuscultae were attacked and burnt in 814 (Llewellyn 1971:251-2) and there is no evidence whatsoever for the survival of the Capracorum domusculta after the Pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) (Wickham 1978b:177)'.<sup>18</sup>

All but one of the stratified sherds of Forum Ware originate from Area W, and of these only one, sealed by a Phase 2 plaster floor in unit W76, is of Phase 1.<sup>19</sup> This predominance should itself suggest the farm buildings in Area W being of relatively early date, i.e. dating to the foundation of the domusculta. If correct, the W76 sherd predates 744-6. The Phase 2 vessels need not be residual, but may mark the floruit (at least of petal-type vessels) in the late 8th century. The presence

of associated sparse-glazed sherds in units W2, W18, W99 and W118 may then show a replacement of Forum Ware before the mid-9th century and the postulated termination of Phase 2.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately W76 provides no chronological guide as regards the appearance of Forum Ware save that it is earlier than Hadrian's estate.

This general chronology, first proposed by Whitehouse in 1965, is encountered elsewhere in South Etruria, but with little calibration. Excavations at both the promontory village of Mazzano Romano and the abandoned Castel Porciano have produced sherds of Forum Ware antedating the appearance of sparse-glazed ceramic and marking the initial phase of early medieval occupation at these defended sites. This picture is repeated elsewhere in the Ager Faliscus, demonstrating conclusively that in this zone at least, nucleation on these defended promontories is a process which can be first recognised in the mid- to late-8th century (using the above date for Forum Ware), and thus at a date well before that documented in regions closer to Rome. The sparse documentation may offer support for this: Porciano and Mazzano first appear in the late 8th century as fundi in the lands of the Capracorum domusculata.<sup>21</sup> Mazzano is only designated castellum in 945, however, while Porciano is only recorded as a fortified site in 1295.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, Forum Ware findspots (including S. Cornelia) in the Ager Veientanus south of the Faliscus, testify to the persistence of the classical system of dispersed farming and settlement in the proximity of roadlines, with only later recourse to defensive positions (fig. 21).<sup>23</sup> At Santa Rufina sherds were located beneath a floor mosaic stylistically dated to c.750, although the evidence of the Liber Pontificalis which records renovation here by Hadrian I may challenge this.<sup>24</sup>



Despite this apparent continuity a late Roman - early medieval ceramic sequence has remained elusive. As Potter noted in 1979: 'we have in fact a typological gap of more than 150 years ' due to the 'lack of stratified groups of 7th and early 8th century material'.<sup>25</sup> At S. Cornelia the stratigraphy was badly distorted through ploughing. At S. Rufina the church does not overlie nor stand close enough to the Roman villa to provide significant stratigraphy. At those villas juxtaposed with the promontory sites of the Faliscus surface finds reveal no continuity into the Forum Ware epoch; all appear abandoned - on the basis of ARS evidence - around A.D. 600, although excavation has not yet verified this. Even at the Veientine villa of Le Mura di S. Stefano (Anguillara) the post-Roman sequence was poorly recognised: the three-storey villa-building underwent structural transformations between 450-550 to make it defensible (deep ditch around, and lower-storey windows blocked); to its north lies a church of three phases of late Roman - early medieval date with a plan directly comparable with the first church at S. Cornelia. This date is also recommended by Forum Ware sherds in the floor make-up.<sup>26</sup>

It was in an attempt to bridge this ceramic hiatus that Whitehouse recently utilised Reece's reexamination of the coins from Boni's excavation of the Lacus. These date principally from the early 4th century to the end of the Roman era, but also include one of the Athalaric (526-534) and one of Justin II (565-578). As Reece concluded, 'none of the legible coins is later than 578, and from the module and general appearance of the illegible pieces there is no reason to expect any to be later than c.600'.<sup>27</sup> To this Whitehouse adds the revised dating for the foundation of S. Maria Antiqua, which is probably contemporary with Phase 4 of the mural decorations within, which extend



from the 4th/5th century to the Pontificate of John VII (705-7). Phase 4 saw a major remodelling of the building from palace wing to church, and associated with this event was the insertion of columns. Beneath the base of one of these was a coin of Justin II. In consideration of the fact that Phase 4 is demonstrably earlier than Phase 5 (datable to the Pontificate of Martin I, 649-655), a date of c.600 is hypothesised for the dedication of S. Maria Antiqua.<sup>28</sup>

Combining this data, Whitehouse proposed that the Lacus Iuturnae, the centre of a pagan cult of healing, was abandoned with the conversion of the palace wing into the church of S. Maria Antiqua in c.600. 'If the two events were contemporary, the basin of the Lacus was backfilled within a generation of c.600, by which time Forum Ware was already in use'.<sup>29</sup> Forum Ware was thus regarded as an 'early Byzantine' ceramic: its presence on villa sites in the Ager Veientanus was considered evidence of continuity of settlement, and on the promontory sites of Faliscus proof of a late 6th century occupation of defended positions, perhaps encouraged by the Byzantine authorities in order to strengthen the frontier zone north of Rome.<sup>30</sup> Simultaneously Whitehouse propelled backward in time the date of the sherds in S. Cornelia, S. Rufina and Anguillara, arguing that these could all be seen as residual.<sup>31</sup>

Although attractive, there remain many problems regarding this revised chronology. The principal question concerns the date of the abandonment of the Lacus Iuturnae. As Whitehouse himself notes, we do not know the find-spots of the coins of the Boni excavation, and nothing demonstrates the association of these with the pottery fill of the basin.<sup>32</sup> Similarly there is no direct proof that the Lacus was abandoned when S. Maria Antiqua was founded. The Lacus had been a

pagan cult centre, but this function will have long been discarded since the advent of Christianity. It is perhaps more fitting to think of the Lacus as the fountain for this new church: as Ward-Perkins has recently demonstrated 'amenities like fountains in front of churches were obviously appreciated' in late antiquity.<sup>33</sup> By the 7th century the water supply had certainly become 'supported by the new Christian patrons for motives of charity, hygiene and ritual'. As well as baths for the clergy and the poor, 'a similar ritual concern was the main motive for another area of Christian patronage of water, that of fountains set in the atria before churches'.<sup>34</sup> If applicable here, the Lacus Iuturnae may have remained in use until the 8th century (the last phase of mural decoration in S. Maria Antiqua is of 705-7) and only then filled with rubble. In this regard we should not forget that the Forum Ware was associated not only with 8th-9th century sculpture, but also 3 sparse-glazed vessels.<sup>35</sup>

Significant were the results of the excavations at Ponte Nepesino, a project designed to test Whitehouse's hypothesis of 1980.<sup>36</sup> Here, within the early enclosure of a castello which guarded the Via Amerina, Forum Ware was indeed found, soon supplanted by sparse-glazed wares which were uncovered in notable quantities. The lack of 6th century ARS in the earliest deposits casts doubt upon the proposed early dating for Forum Ware. The site undoubtedly formed a Byzantine road fortress, but as argued above, we need not seek its origin before the early 8th century. Analogous should be the circumstances of many castelli of the Faliscus.<sup>37</sup>

In sum the Lazio evidence argues for the absence of a closely datable ceramic in the years after the Longobard invasion. This certainly provoked some dislocation of settlement, and in the Faliscus perhaps a

permanent transfer to refuge sites, a move first archaeologically documented by Forum Ware. The ceramic hiatus was inevitable given the breakdown of supplies of finewares from Africa in the early 7th century and the collapse of the distribution networks under the strain of the military situation in Italy. As the centre of an imperial duchy, Rome no doubt received some imports from the East, but we know nothing of these. In the countryside, old vessels may have continued in use, soon replaced by local coarse wares, probably imitating the lost ceramics.<sup>38</sup> The eventual production of Forum Ware in Rome may have been in response to demand for imported glazed vessels from the East of a type found in Otranto and Corinth. Whether this marked a revival, rediscovery or reintroduction in Rome of glazing techniques is unknown at the current state of research. Only after the reign of Agilulf did the Italian situation stabilise, and it is perhaps only then that trade contacts fully reopened. It is thus possible that glazed wares began reaching Rome before the mid-7th century, but we cannot say when Forum Ware and Italian glazed wares appeared in Central Italy.<sup>39</sup>

While we await clarification of the Lazio ceramic sequence, attention can meanwhile be drawn to the chronology established outside this region, notably from the excavations in the Volturno valley in Molise.

The excavations below Vacchereccia (Rochetta Nuova) uncovered traces of a post-Roman - early medieval habitat, occupying a mid-slope position between the later medieval hilltop village and a Roman farmstead (1st-4th centuries) at the south base of the hill.<sup>40</sup> Consequent to the abandonment of the farm the inhabitants may have taken a lower-slope position unidentified in the survey. In the 6th century, however, the classical sites of the region appear to be replaced by hilltop



settlements like Colle Castellano, although at San Vincenzo, the later monasterial centre of the Upper Volturno, there seems to be a 7th-8th century settlement break.<sup>41</sup> In contrast, for indeterminate causes, at Vacchereccia a mid-slope seat was preferred.<sup>42</sup>

The date of initial settlement was determined through analysis of the pottery finds. Although no definite late Roman wares were recovered, the first phase at Vacchereccia is distinguished by the 'presence of coarse wares with late Roman features as well as the two coins of later Roman date' (well-worn 4th century bronzes).<sup>43</sup> Unlike the assemblages from San Vincenzo, where excavations yielded 'well-dated late Roman pottery of the 5th-6th centuries, and early medieval pottery of 8th-10th century date' which petrologically and typologically are quite different, the domestic wares from Vacchereccia 'reflect no such contrast; petrologically and typologically they are almost identical to the early medieval wares from San Vincenzo. The only difference is the presence at Vacchereccia of handmade wares with late Roman features'.<sup>44</sup> Although the minimal stratigraphy warrants caution in discussion, it may indeed be possible that 'these vessels represent crude attempts by the inhabitants at Vacchereccia to imitate later Roman forms following the collapse of the central Italian pottery industry' which supplied this area until c.550.<sup>45</sup> The few sherds present suggest that 'such attempts at imitation were shortlived'. However, at the appearance of the monastery of San Vincenzo in the 8th century 'an early medieval pottery tradition was well underway', no doubt replacing the poorer coarse wares until then used at Vacchereccia.<sup>46</sup> The early medieval coarse wares from Vacchereccia and the deep deposits of San Vincenzo compare well with material from D85 in the Biferno and indeed Santa Cornelia to show



these are of standard type. The large presence of red-painted wares also supports an early medieval date for the pottery assemblage.<sup>47</sup>

The collection of glazed pottery is also of this phase: this is a mixture of pitchers or jugs, and bowls with internal glaze, and appear in five fabrics which may derive from centres outside the immediate region. Although the dating of these green glazed sherds remains to be resolved, Patterson notes that 'a number of similar glazed wares have been found at San Vincenzo, almost without exception in eighth or tenth century contexts. It seems likely therefore that these are early medieval vessels'.<sup>48</sup>

Vacchereccia probably obtained much of its pottery from the 8th century monastery. How extensive the contacts were between the two sites remains as yet uncertain. However, glazed wares are noticeably absent from both the 5th-6th century phase at San Vincenzo and the vague 7th century level at Vacchereccia - the fabrics and forms of the glazed sherds from the latter compare closely with the types from the monastery. It is likely that the rise of this complex prompted the introduction of imported (and glazed) wares into the zone; the extent of this will only be revealed through the final analysis of the pottery.<sup>49</sup> At the same time it is interesting that the 7th-9th century site of D85, a position open to trade contacts along the Biferno possessed just one glazed sherd.<sup>50</sup> An 8th century date can therefore be claimed for the appearance of a glazing tradition in the Volturno valley.

Against this Central Italian evidence, Blake has demonstrated for Upper Italy the reappearance of Roman glazing techniques in the early 4th century, on the basis of tomb finds and settlement debris.<sup>51</sup> The bulk of the material hails from 4th-5th century contexts in North-West Italy, notably Upper Lombardy and Italian Switzerland; this distribution,

however, is probably reflective of 'past and present archaeological interest', for there is a 'wider distribution of glazed material found in settlement refuse'.<sup>52</sup> This dating is confirmed by the two known kiln sites producing glazed pottery in the north-east, Carlino (prov. Udine) and Classe (Ravenna).<sup>53</sup> It is to this phase that Blake attributes the unusual glazed jug found at S. Maria in Padovetere near Comacchio, which has decorative parallels with Forum Ware. This vessel, he notes, came from a tomb 'on the margin of the area excavated where the graves appear to be thinning out', in an analogous position to a grave containing an African lamp of c.450-550: 'both may thus date to the same period'. With regard to the comparison with Forum Ware, he argues that 'although the lid, all-over glaze and the pellets (i.e. petals) applied to the lower half are broadly similar, nothing like the biconical shape with a disc base, narrow mouth and short tubular spout has yet been published from Lazio. The recent discovery of glazed wasters in a late Roman context at Classe, c.25km away, diminishes the value of such a long-distant analogy'. Likewise its dissimilarity in form with late Roman glazed vessels in the north sets it apart.<sup>54</sup>

In Northern Italy glazed vessels of the 4th-5th centuries bear forms markedly distinct from the Lazio ceramics. In the Upper Adriatic in c.400 narrow ovoid jugs with occasional decoration predominate, while at the west end of the Po plain we find in burials principally globular narrow-necked jugs with external glaze, and in rubbish deposits the flanged and lipped mortaria with glazed work-surfaces; decoration, impressed or incised, is rarely applied on the inland finds, and relief decoration is largely limited to the coast.<sup>55</sup> 'Assessment of later developments is inhibited by the lack of evidence': in the north-west,

glazed wares extend into 6th-7th century contexts, but are poorly represented and consist chiefly of mortaria (as from Castelseprio).<sup>56</sup>

In Central Italy, however, 'the so-called Forum Ware was both decorated and glazed in the late Roman manner, but consists mainly of a quite distinct and presumably later jug form'. We cannot thus yet link the north Italian tradition 'with the Lazial phenomenon, whose local antecedents have not yet been adequately explored'.<sup>57</sup>

In conclusion therefore, whereas in Upper Italy there is evidence for continuity of late Roman glazing techniques into the Early Middle Ages (we still lack the reassessment of the material recovered in the Torcello glass workshop), but with obscure developments after the 7th century, in Central Italy the reverse appears to be true: a glazed tradition seems to emerge in the 8th-9th centuries, but with little sign of a local late Roman origin. As Blake has recently summarised in connection with the glazed wares of the north, 'in the search for evidence of continuity, the alternatives should be borne in mind: reintroduction and rediscovery; and the possibility of a combination of all three should be entertained'.<sup>58</sup> This conclusion also applies to Lazio. While we must await further findings related to the mechanics of this problem, it is already clear that notable regional diversities are to be expected.<sup>59</sup>



NOTES TO APPENDIX 1

1. Boni, Il sacrario di Juturna, Not. Scavi 1901, p.41-144, n.b. p.97ff.
2. Cf. Whitehouse 1967, p.48.
3. Ibid. 1978, p. 479-480; cf. 1965, p.57-9; 1967, p.48-9.
4. Ibid. p. 52; 1978, p.480.
5. 1965, p.57-9; 1967, p. 49-51; 1978, p.480.
6. Ibid. 1967, p.51.
7. Ibid. p.51, 53. Sparse-glazed ware: 1967, p.53-5; 1980a, p.150f, n.b. p.154-5.
8. Ibid. 1967, p.52; 1980b, p.13: this date was itself based on the mural portrait of Pope Zaccharias (741-752) in the church.
9. Ibid. 1967, p.42-48, 52-3; 1978, p.481.
10. Corinth and Otranto: Whitehouse 1978, p.481. Tharros: 1967, p.43, 46-7. Petal decorated vessels in Istanbul appear in Stage II at the Great Palace, at a date in the 8th century: 1967, p.45-8; Sarachane lead-glazed ware dates to c.650: see Appendix by Hayes to the 5th Sarachane Report, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 1968, p.203f. My thanks to Prof. Harrison for this reference.
11. Whitehouse 1973, p.861f; 1980a, p.125f. Cf. Wickham 1978b p.172-9; and Potter 1979, p.146f. Domusculatae in general: Partner 1966, p.68-78.
12. Whitehouse 1980, p.125-129 with fig.2, p.127. I am most grateful to Mr C. M. Daniels who kindly discussed the excavations and clarified problems concerning the site sequence.
13. Sherd distribution in the 3 phases: Whitehouse 1980a, p.151-3.
14. 1980a, p.150.
15. Ibid. p.150, claims 'the general sequence of construction was clear enough'.
16. Ibid. p.154.
17. p.129-130.
18. Ibid. p.154.
19. Findspots: ibid. p.146-8. Sherd no.131, p.147 came from unit T5, which was of Phase 3. The Forum Ware is illustrated in fig.13.



20. Sparse-glazed ware findspots: *ibid.* p.148 (illustrated in fig.13); dating: p.154-5. In 1967, Whitehouse (p.54) recognised a sparse-glazed jug sherd 'with the scale decoration characteristic of Forum Ware', but in 1980a, p.146, no.129, corrects this earlier view, stating: 'the decoration and glaze, which is thin, patchy and therefore reminiscent of pottery with sparse-glaze, are exceptional'.
21. Potter 1979, p.166. Castel Porciano: Mallett, Whitehouse 1967. Mazzano Romano: Potter 1972.
22. The promontory site of Calcata is a castellum in 974. The use of fundus may be misleading, however, for in the 8th century it meant a farm centre, village, or even fields. Its use instead of castellum may perhaps signify the absence of military structures - like towers which formed the principal defensive element in these promontory villages. Cf. Wickham 1978b on terminology.
23. Cf. Wickham 1979, p.83, map 8.
24. Potter 1979, p.150-1.
25. *Ibid.* p.147.
26. Excavations: Whitehouse 1979; 1982. Summaries in Potter 1979, p.154-5 with fig.45; Hodges, Whitehouse 1983, p.43-4 and fig.15. Its pottery is recorded in Whitehouse 1978, p.479, shown to be associated with 8 painted-ware sherds - of probable 8th century date - and some sparse-glazed ceramic; seen as residual in 1980b, p.15 and 1981, p.587.
27. Whitehouse 1980b, p.14,
28. *Ibid.* p.14-15.
29. *Ibid.* p.15.
30. Whitehouse, Potter 1981, p.209; cf. 1983, p.4.
31. 1980b, p.15; 'In other words, if we knew that Forum Ware was in use c.600, it would not be hard to dismiss sherds as residual'.
32. *Ibid.*, p.14 noting that as 'there is no coin later than c.600 from the site as a whole, there can be no coin later than this from the feature which concerns us here: the basin'. Cf. Francovich 1983, p.227.
33. 1984, p.153. They were, however, little recorded.
34. *Ibid.* p.141. Our main evidence concerns the Pine-Cone fountain in the atrium of St Peter's in Rome. Although the aqueducts were often in disrepair, the Forum probably retained a good water supply. Cf. *ibid.* p.119ff on Water and Water Supply.
35. Unfortunately no stratigraphy is recorded to show whether the sparse-glazed vessels were a subsequent deposition. See note 20.

36. Cameron et al. 1984.
37. Chap. 5, Section E, p.335f.
38. Cf. Wickham 1979, p.87.
39. As Whitehouse says in 1978, p.481, we can see Forum Ware in use c.750-800, but 'we still do not know the dates at which it was introduced or went out of production'.
40. Hodges et al. 1984, p.151, 187-8.
41. Hodges 1982; Hodges, Mitchell 1983.
42. Hodges et al. 1984, p.185, 189; possible causes include: better protection from climate, presence of spring and capability of spotting hostile forces from afar. Presumably in the event of attack refuge was taken on the summit, although it is interesting that the site is named a castellum in 985, that is before its transfer to the summit - p.151-3.
43. Patterson in *ibid.* p.171.
44. *Ibid.* p.171. On pottery in general see p.165-174; dating and discussion p.170-4.
45. *Ibid.* p.167, 171-2. See fig.16, nos.13-7, p.168.
46. *Ibid.* p.172-3. These new forms differ strongly from the 'later Roman types'.
47. *Ibid.* p.167-9, 171.
48. *Ibid.* p.172-3. On fabrics see p.169-70 with fig.16, nos.24-9, p.168. It is also noted that the glazed wares are not later than the 10th century.
49. *Ibid.* p.172-3.
50. Hodges, Barker, Wade 1980, p.89 - this is no longer regarded as of Forum Ware. Although undated, the excavators note its similarity with the 'later Fabric A' - p.89-90.
51. 1981, p.22f and 38.
52. *Ibid.* p.28 - it could also reflect a particular burial custom of the region.
53. *Ibid.* p.23-4.
54. *Ibid.* p.29-30. In addition its glaze is thin and pitted, and less thickly applied than those from Lazio. Cf. Francovich 1983, p.277.

55. Blake 1981, p.38.
56. Ibid. p.38; Francovich 1983, p.282, who shows that the closed glazed forms in Longobard burials - as from Testona and Biella - have few parallels with Italian products and may be imports from Central Europe.
57. Blake 1981, p.38 - both quotations.
58. Ibid. p.39-40.
59. Finally we can note that the recent (as yet unpublished) excavations at the Crypta Balbi, Rome, have apparently found Forum Ware in 11th century A.D. deposits. - if so, this date would of course put it in line with the 'high' chronology proposed by some Italian scholars: cf. M. M. Cardinale, *Contributi al problema cronologico della ceramica tarda rinvenuta negli scavi all'Isola Sacra, Archeologia Laziale II (Quaderni del Centro di Studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica 3)*, p.250-1 and pl.LV, however, which considers Forum Ware in probable 9th century contexts. We still await suitable excavations to clarify the problem of chronology; cf. Chap. 2, p.53 with note 94.



APPENDIX 2 : CLAUSTRA - CLUSURAE - CLUSAE

This appendix briefly considers the meaning and evolution of the terms Claustra, Clusurae, Clusae, and their variants in the period between the Roman and Carolingian epochs, and observes the relationships between each.<sup>1</sup>

In the Roman period the significance of the term Claustra was clear: it referred primarily to physical (usually artificial) barriers blocking routes or limiting passage. This is the case in both Africa and in the north-east Italian Claustra Alpium Iuliarum where barrier walls, often buttressed by towers, were erected between forts and hills at points where nature did not provide a tight channelling of traffic approaches. This idea is adequately illustrated in the sketch in the Notitia Dignitatum relating to the Italian Claustra.<sup>2</sup> These systems of barrier walls do not appear, however, to have physically extended beyond c.A.D.400.<sup>3</sup>

With the decay of these Roman systems, however, the terminology altered, chiefly through their resulting disuse. The reawakening of analogous defensive needs under Theoderic witnessed the revival of such terms, though now in a slightly different context: claustra appears to signify descriptively the importance of positions in a defensive framework without relating to specific structures, while the term clusurae, and also limes, refers to frontier dispositions. Hence Cassiodorus' Variae III, 48, describes the imposing castellum Verruca over Trento as a fortress tenens claustra provinciae; likewise in XI, 14 Como is a munimen claustrale...provinciae; in the same vein the Raetian provinces are recorded thus: Raetiae namque munimina sunt Italiae et claustra



provinciae (VII,4). Thus these are positions so well sited that they act as 'bolts to the doors of the province (of Italy)'.

The exact meaning of clusurae-clausurae, on the other hand, is less clear. In Variae II, 19 Theoderic informs all the Goths and Romans 'Vel his qui portibus vel clusuris praesunt' to be on the alert for the servants who had murdered their master Stephanus: clearly the order is to prevent their escape from the Kingdom, and thus it is issued to troops at points where escape could be made, that is, at the ports and the frontiers. This picture is confirmed by our other reference to the clusurae, in which Theoderic asks the praepositus Faustus to ensure that the 60 soldiers keeping guard in Augustanis clusuris receive their annonae without delay (Variae II,5); to clarify the situation we are informed that these men are in finalibus locis, maintaining the peace and keeping out the barbarians quadam porta provinciae. The garrison size argues against this being a major centre like Aosta and indicates rather that the clusurae formed a post sited in a naturally strong position requiring few troops and capable of visual communications with rearward garrison centres in the event of an enemy attack. No running barrier wall is indicated, which in this instance would be extremely sparsely manned.

While there is no direct evidence for Byzantine clausurae in Italy, the comparable contemporary data from the East should heighten the likelihood of these in the Byzantine provinces of the peninsula and in the Alps. Procopius is quite explicit in his references to natural gorges or narrow passes 'which are usually called kleisourai'. On four separate occasions he states that these are narrow passes between close-set mountain sides, and that to block the passage of these kleisourai

fortresses were erected.<sup>4</sup> Most demonstrable is the case in the district of Sophanene (Proc. de Aed. II, 3.2-7): 'Beyond this place (i.e. Pheison, in the district of Sophanene, Armenia), at about the 8th milestone, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains come together to form two passes, very close to each other, which they are wont to call kleisourai...And for the purpose of checking the enemy's advance in that region (both being lines of obligatory passage), these places were, as it happened, worth making thoroughly defended and well-equipped in every way. Yet they remained altogether unguarded by men of earlier times. But the emperor Justinian, by establishing admirable forts at Pheison and in the passes and posting in them invincible garrisons, has made this region altogether inaccessible to the barbarians...' We thus have a picture of narrow defiles guarded by strong forts garrisoned by regular troops, behind which lay a command base or castrum. This is closely paralleled in de Aed. III, 7.5: 'He also built a fortress in Lazica named Losorium and he fortified the mountain passes of the country which they are wont to call kleisourai, with the purpose, of course, that the enemy might be shut off from the entrance into Lazica'.

Only in one case, in Greece, is a barrier wall mentioned, set between two forts on opposing hill sides (Heraclea and Myropolis); noticeably, however, Procopius applies the term to the defile, and not to the wall.<sup>5</sup> The fact that one fort rebuilt by Justinian in Thrace is actually called Kleisoura, and another in Africa bears the name Chusira, paralleling a later case recorded in Julian of Toledo of the castrum quod vocatur clausuras, shows that the denomination was often transferred to the actual fort entrusted with the defence of a pass.<sup>6</sup> This is perhaps also valid for the Theoderican garrison post in Augustanis

clusuris noted above. The official military texts of the 5th-6th centuries may support this: in 443 the Codex Justinianus decreed that ' super omni limite sub tua iurisdictione, quemadmodum se militum numerus habeat castrorumque ac clausurarum cura procedat' (I,31,4), and likewise 'castrorum refectionis clusiarumque curam habeant' (the commanders of the limites should attend to the upkeep of the castra and of the clusurae).<sup>7</sup> While the clusurae are closely associated with forts, these appear to be subordinate to the castra, but superior to the burgi.<sup>8</sup>

Confirmation of form and function appears in Theophylactus Symocatta (Hist.7,14.8): 'then the barbarians encircled the fortresses of the passes. The Romans, in their tongue, call these kleisourai. A number of Romans perished. After their heavy losses, the Roman infantry formed the phalanx and drove away the barbarians. The violence of the attack against them made the Avars abandon the pass'. <sup>the Suidas notes</sup> And Suidas notes:

'Kleisourai: this is how the fortresses of the passages are called in the mother tongue of the Romans...'<sup>9</sup> These demonstrate the eventual identification of some forts with the technical term for the valley gorge. They do not, however, aid in dating toponyms. Thus for the Italian sites like, Chiusa-Sabione, Chiusaforte, Chiusa di Venzone and Chiusa di S. Michele which long functioned as Alpine pass guards, a late Roman, Gothic or even Byzantine origin can be argued. For other positions which corresponded to frontier zones only for certain periods, dating may be more precise: for instance, in the Maritime Alpine watershed between Liguria and Lombardy, sites like Chiusanico and Chiusavecchia could well represent Byzantine blocking-forts, while the nearby Castellodi Teco may even record a Byzantine barrier wall (Map 12).<sup>10</sup> A similar case may also be made for sites in the Balkans bearing the name



klissoura.<sup>11</sup>

The development of these terms in the Longobard and Carolingian epochs has been examined by Duparc (1951). He shows its designation in mountain areas to narrow passages, defiles or bottlenecks, which could be physically closed off, and more particularly to control frontier check-points: indeed in post-Carolingian times the word cluse predominantly referred to tollstations (not always on a frontier) where was paid the toll, the exclusiaticum or clusiaticum.<sup>12</sup> The Edicts of Ratchis (A.D.746) and of Astulf (750) give a clear indication of the late Longobard meaning of the term: the clusae appear as guard-posts blocking outlets of the Alpine valleys into the Po basin, set under subordinates of the iudex, the clusarii; only with direct permission from the king could one cross these border sectors. As Duparc summarises: 'The Longobard kingdom was a closed state, with closely surveyed frontiers, and the clusae played an important role in this social and economic system' (1951, p. 20-1). The mid-8th century was, however, a time of renewed threat to the Longobard kingdom, principally from the Franks, and it is likely that the Edicts record a tightening of the frontier guards. The Carolingians maintained this system of frontier surveillance without apparent modification, even though many of the areas were no longer functioning border zones except in the concept of between Francia and Italia Carolingia.<sup>13</sup>

A principal source for the identification of the siting of the individual clusae of the Carolingian and thus presumably also of the Longobard epoch (and earlier?) is the 10th century Honorantie civitatis Papie. This records: 'Intrantes negociatores in regnum solvebant decimam de omni negocio ad clusas et ad viasque sunt hec regni pertinentes,

videlicet, prima est Secusia, secunda Bardo, tertia Belinzona, quarta Clavenna, quinta Balzano, sexta Volerno, septima, Trevile, octava sanctus Petrus de Julia via de Monte Cruce, none prope Aquilegiam, decima Forum Juilii...<sup>14</sup> These clusae can be equated with the following

locations: Susa, Bard-Ivrea, Bellinzona, Chiavenna, Bolzano-Sabione/Chiusa, Volargne-Chiusa di Rivoli, Treviso (perhaps Chiusaforte), Zuglio, Aquileia (or maybe Chiusa di Venzone ?) and Cividale.<sup>15</sup> The chief feature of these clusae is their siting at narrow defiles, normally dominated by single fortifications. Their effectiveness is witnessed in an event at the Bard clusa: in 894 the German king Arnulf was blocked in the region of Ivrea by a count, who, with the aid of Burgundian troops, held both the Ivrea fortress and the clusa which were dominated by another castle; Arnulf dared not force a passage but instead made a perilous detour into the mountains to reach the Aosta Valley before returning to Germany.<sup>16</sup> As Duparc demonstrates, the clusae should lie at the defile of Bard, a valley bottleneck just before the the outlet of the Dora Baltea into the Po plain, and thus in a position comparable to the clusae of the Susa Valley. In both instances we should recognise Longobard creations, erected at a date after 575.<sup>17</sup>

Only in the case of the Susa clusae, however, do we have indications of a structural composition beyond that of a single blocking fortress: indeed, the 11th century Chronicle of the Novalese monastery describes the remains of a wall which ran de monte Porcariano usque ad vicum Cabrium, that is, from the foot of the hill on which stands the monastery of Chiusa de San Michele, across to the castello of Caprie. The source attributes this work to Desiderius, the king who suffered the decisive defeat at the hands of Charlemagne in 773; the apparent aim of the Longobard defenders was to omnes valles et aditos Italiae, per quos de Gallia ad

Italiam transiri potest, muro et calce de monte ad montem claudere, et sic per propugnaculis et turribus aditum ipsum prohibere.<sup>17</sup>

There is no comparable evidence, either documentary or archaeological, for any of the other clusae, which appear to possess only a single defensive work: in the case of the Verona clusae, the Chiusa di Rivoli or di Volargne, the defences focus on the natural fortress of Rocca di Rivoli which dominates at the gorge of the Chiusa both road and Adige, in advance of the outlet of the river into the plain. A barrier wall system was superfluous here.<sup>19</sup> Significantly the toponym Chiusa at Rivoli designates the gorge and not the fortress.

Whatever their structure the clusae formed the frontier zones of the Longobard kingdom. Centred on individual castelli dominating the Alpine roads in their passage through narrow defiles, the clusae at least in part follow the general guide-lines set out for the Byzantine and Ostrogothic clusurae, and before these the late Roman Tractus Italiae circa Alpes. but clearly do not represent their direct successors. Likewise our limited documentation obscures the extent of continuity between the Longobard and Carolingian clusae of Italy.



NOTES TO APPENDIX 2

1. This discussion is part-derived from the Napoli, Rebuffat 1984 paper, but considers the evidence for Italy.
2. Not.Dign. Occ. XXIV Comes Italiae, Seeck, p.173.
3. Chapter 3, Section A.
4. Procopius, De Bello Pers. II.29.25; De Aed. III.3.2-7; III.7.5; IV.2.17. Cf. Napoli, Rebuffat 1984, p.1-2.
5. Proc. De Aed. IV.2.17; cf. Napoli, Rebuffat 1984, p.8f on the Byzantine terms for linear barriers: teichos is the most used in the sense of walling; De Aed. IV.2.7 and 27-8.
6. Chusira: Pringle 1981, p.193; Castrum Clausuras: Thomson 1969, p.26-7, note 2.
7. Cf. also Novels of Theodosius 24, 1; Napoli, Rebuffat 1984, p.3.
8. Cod. Just. I.27,2,4 of 534 to Belisarius in the East.
9. Napoli, Rebuffat 1984, p.4.
10. All three sites lie north of Imperia near the Impero torrent, with Teco to the north and the two Chiusa sites behind, opposite one another: cf. Lamboglia 1970, p.106. On Teco - teichos see note 5.
11. Duparc 1951, p.27-8.
12. Ibid. p.29-31.
13. Ibid. p.20-1; MGH Ep.Kar.Aevi. IV, n.38, p.310.
14. Duparc 1951, p.19, n.1; p.29.
15. Discussed in the relevant sections, Chapter 4.
16. Duparc 1951, p. 14. We hear of the firmissimas clausas obseratas desuper posito lapideo castello...
17. See Chap. 4, Sections A and B.
18. Chronicon III, ch.9 - cf. Duparc 1951, p.13, n.3. The reports in the Continuatores of Fredegarius regarding the invasions by Pippin in 755 and 756 against Aistulf through the clusae at Susa show that such entrenchments were erected at an earlier date than Desiderius: MGH Script. rerum Merov. ii, p.183-5.
19. Cf. Barfield 1964; Hudson, La Rocca Hudson, 1982. M. Castello to the north of the Rocca may also have played a part in the Chiusa defence.

### APPENDIX 3 : THE EVOLUTION OF LONGOBARD GRAVE-FINDS<sup>1</sup>

This appendix briefly lists the chronological sequence of Longobard tomb-finds in Italy between 568 and the late 7th century, as a guide principally to changes in weapon usage and dress among the invaders.

#### (i) Pannonian - Invasion Era Phase<sup>2</sup>

Military Dress: Sword or spatha (long, slashing weapon); short sword or scramasax; willow-leaf section lanceheads; shields with umbo of narrow brim, with conical central section and flattened conal cup. Initially simple belts, with the later arrival of quintuple belts (consisting of 5 sets of fittings: buckle and plate, counterplate, back-plate and small tongue or thorn) from Merovingian contacts.

Dress Ornaments: Male brooches include the 'Longobard' stirrup brooch, composed of semi-circular headplate and oval base, ending in stylised animal head; its geometric Kerbschnitt evolves rapidly into Longobard zoomorphic designs - Style 1. Female brooches include rosette or S - brooches (worn in pairs, as with most Germanic brooches), stirrup brooches (set on straps hanging from a belt). Necklaces made up of clay and paste-glass beads, with later use of pearl beads. Various amulets and charms were attached to the belt.

Ceramics: Longobard 'Pannonian' stamped wares succeed older incised forms; predominant are vessels of 'pumpkin' form and gourds and bottles.

#### (ii) Early Italian Phase (Later 6th - early 7th century)

The Longobards took most of their Pannonian material and tradition into Italy, as indeed reflected in the earliest graves at Cividale.<sup>3</sup> In general there was a slow but ready assimilation of Byzantine-

Mediterranean fashions into most Longobard items. In some cases this meant a 'Romanisation' of the Pannonian forms, but in others a discontinuation.<sup>4</sup>

Military Dress: The long swords or spathae remain in use; scramasax replaced by wider, heavier-bladed sax of mid-sword length; prevalence of laurel-leaf section lancehead, characterised by central shaft-rib in head; no clear evolution in axes or arrowheads (latter of rhomboid, swallow-tail or willow-leaf forms); the 7th century shield had a wide-brimmed umbo with conical central section and hemispherical cup - there also appears the distinct Italo-Longobard parade shield decorated with gilded bronze rivets and applied gilded bronze-sheet decorative elements, figures or even crosses (belonging to rich nobles, and apparently lasting for only two generations during the first half of the 7th century). Occasional helmets or cuirasses. More spurs, featuring decorative silver inlay. With the advent of quintuple belts, the 2nd animal style develops sometime after 568. 'Longobard' belts chiefly of bronze (later iron), repeating the composition of the quintuple belts but lacking ornament save for rivets with pearled or dented borders also appear (of presumed Frankish or Roman origin). Eastern Multiple Belts appear in the early 7th century, featuring, in addition to the main buckle and plates, small secondary straps hanging from the belt bearing small decorative tongues and plates; originally these were of precious metals decorated in Byzantine style, but were soon copied in iron and in the 2nd zoomorphic style.

Dress Ornaments: In place of the female S- and stirrup brooches the larger disc brooch of Mediterranean fashion become common (as with finger-rings). Gold, silver or bronze Byzantine-Mediterranean style



earrings, in particular of basket-form become popular. The old necklace forms fall out of use.

Gold-Sheet Crosses: These crosses, of purely funerary function (attached to the garment of the deceased), were probably adopted in the late 6th century as a result of contacts with the Mediterranean - they were also rapidly diffused north of the Alps during the 7th century. Where decorated, the crosses were moulded and featured Christian or old pagan symbols (often animals), or had punched ornament of geometric design. They demonstrate a subsequent decorative evolution into the 2nd animal style and into forms with so-called Byzantine motifs. This process continues into the later 7th century.

Ceramics: Of the Pannonian forms only the double-cone or pumpkin vessels are not transplanted into Italy. There is a gradual adoption of Italian forms with the introduction of jugs with spouts, and bottle-beakers. This development remains insufficiently documented, but the Pannonian forms perhaps continued to be produced in the Transpadane into the early 7th century, with the gradual loss of the stamped ornament. There are few 'Pannonian' finds in the south and they are poorly represented at Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino, where local Roman forms were presumably swiftly adopted (the two stamped beaker-bottles in Tomb 148, Nocera Umbra denote an early grave).

(iii) Longobard Italy (Mid - Late 7th century)

This marks the final phase in Longobard tomb-finds, since at the end of the 7th century 'the usage of funerary gifts ceased both among the Longobards and among other peoples of the Merovingian ambit'.<sup>5</sup> This phase contains little change in the basic funerary equipment, although pots are less frequently inserted in the tomb and no longer conform to

older Longobard forms.

Military Dress: Most weaponry remains in use; there are developments in the lance with the introduction of short pikes and longer lance-heads with small wings. Spurs remain common in noble tombs, showing more ornate silvered-inlay decoration. Multiple Belts appear more widespread by the mid-7th century with decoration predominantly of the 2nd animal style; after this date the buckle-tongues lengthen, with a subsequent replacement of the zoomorphic ornament with more simple geometric designs.<sup>6</sup>

In both the dress ornamentation and the gold-sheet crosses older forms persist under a strong Byzantine-Mediterranean influence until the close of this final phase.

NOTES TO APPENDIX 3

1. See in particular von Hessen 1978; 1983.
2. Cf. *ibid.* 1978, p.262f.
3. Tombs and finds from Cividale: von Hessen and Brozzi, 1973, p.1133ff.
4. On this phase see von Hessen 1978, p.264f.
5. *Ibid.* p.262.
6. Development of Multiple Belts and their ornamentation: *ibid.* p.266f.



ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ACISPP</u>	Actes du Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques.
<u>AM</u>	Archeologia Medievale.
<u>AN</u>	Aquileia Nostra.
<u>Ant. Alt.</u>	Antichità Altoadriatiche.
<u>ASBFC</u>	Archivio Storico di Belluno, Feltre e Cadore.
<u>ASPP</u>	Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi.
<u>AV</u>	Arheoloski Vestnik.
<u>BAR</u> (S- )	British Archaeological Reports (International Series).
<u>BSBS</u>	Bollettino Storico e Bibliografico Subalpino.
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</u>
<u>Corso di Cultura</u>	Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina.
<u>CSAM</u>	Atti del 6 <sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo).
<u>Fasti Arch.</u>	Fasti Archeologici
<u>FORUM IULII</u>	Forum Iulii (Annuario del Museo Nazionale di Cividale del Friuli).
Guide Arch. Lat. 1980	Guide Archeologiche Laterza - Umbria, Marche (Bari, 1980).
Guide Arch. Lat. 1981	Guide Archeologiche Laterza - Emilia, Venezie (Bari, 1981).
Guide Arch. Lat. 1982	Guide Archeologiche Laterza - Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria, Lombardia (Bari, 1982).
<u>I Longobardi</u>	I Longobardi e la Lombardia (Exhibition Catalogue, Milan, 1978).
ILS	<u>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</u> , H. Dessau (1892-1916).
<u>JÖAI</u>	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.

<u>JRGZM</u>	Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz.
<u>JRS</u>	Journal of Roman Studies.
<u>MAH</u>	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire.
<u>Med. Arch.</u>	Medieval Archaeology
<u>MEFRM</u>	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Moyen Age, Temps Modernes.
<u>Memorie... G. Capellini</u>	Memorie dell'Accademia Lunigianese di Scienza 'G. Capellini' - Scienze storiche e morali.
<u>MGH</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</u>
<u>AA</u>	<u>Auctores Antiquissimi</u>
<u>Epp. I, II</u>	Epistolae in Quarto, vols. I-II (Letters of Pope Gregory I) (Berlin, 1887-99).
<u>Epp. III Austr.</u>	<u>Epistolae Austrasicae</u> , Epistolae in Quarto III, (Berlin, 1892), p.110-153.
<u>Epp. Kar. Aevi</u>	<u>Epistolae Karolini Aevi</u> , Epistolae in Quarto IV (Berlin, 1895).
<u>SRL</u>	<u>Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum</u> (Hanover, 1878).
<u>SRM</u>	<u>Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum</u> (Hanover, 1888).
MVRG	Medieval Village Research Group, Annual Reports.
<u>NAM</u>	Notiziario di Archeologia Medievale.
<u>Not. Scavi</u>	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei : Notizie degli scavi di antichità.
<u>PBSR</u>	Papers of the British School at Rome.
<u>RAC</u>	Rivista Archeologica Comense
<u>Ravenna e il Porto</u>	Ravenna e il Porto di Classe : venti anni di ricerche archeologiche tra Ravenna e Classe, ed. G. Bermond Montanari (Bologna, 1983).
<u>RDSL</u>	Rivista di Studi Liguri.
<u>Reunia</u>	Reunia : Bollettino di informazioni culturali a cura del Gruppo Archeologico Reunia e del Museo Civico di Ragogna.

<u>RII</u>	Rivista Ingauna e Intemelia.
Romans and Barbarians	Romans and Barbarians (Exhibition Catalogue, 1976-77), Museum of Fine Arts, (Boston, 1977).
Roselle	Roselle : Gli Scavi e la mostra, Soprintendenza archeologica della Toscana (Pisa, 1975).
<u>Settimane di Studio</u>	Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo.
<u>S. Gor.</u>	Studi Goriziani
<u>SM</u>	Studi Medievali
<u>Studi e Ricerche 2</u>	Metodologia nella ricerca delle strutture fortificate nell'alto medioevo, V <sup>a</sup> tavola Rotonda Nazionale, Studi e Ricerche 2, 1967 (Udine, 1975).
<u>Studi Trentini</u>	Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche.
<u>TIR</u>	<u>Tabula Imperii Romani</u> : L32 (Milano), 1966 L33 (Trieste), 1961.
<u>VF</u>	Vorträge und Forschungen.



ANCIENT SOURCES

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- AGN.                            Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SRL, p.273-391.
- Amm. Marc.                    Ammianus Marcellinus, trans. J. C. Rolfe (Loeb, 1935-39)
- Anon. Rav.                    Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia, ed. J. Schnetz, Itineraria Romana, ii (Leipzig, 1940).
- Auct. Havn.                   Auctarii Havniensis Extrema, ed. Mommsen, MGH, AA IX (Berlin, 1892), p.337-9.
- Cass. Var.                    Cassiodorus Senator, Variae, MGH, AA XII (Berlin, 1894), p.3-385.
- Cass. Chron.                   Cassiodorus Senator, Chronica, MGH, AA XI, p.1-161.
- Chronica Patr. Grad.        Chronica Patriarchum Gradensium, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SRL, p.393-397.
- Const. Porphy.               Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, ed. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, I, Text (Washington, 1967).
- Enn.                            Ennodius, Opera, ed. Vogel, MGH, AA VII (Berlin, 1885).
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- George of Cyprus             George of Cyprus, Descriptio orbis romani (Honigmann, 1939).
- Greg. Reg.                    Gregory the Great, Registrum epistolarum, ed. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, MGH, Epp. i and ii (Berlin, 1887-1899).
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- Lib. Pont. Le Liber Pontificalis, texte, introduction, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886-1957).
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- Maur. Strat. Maurice, Artă Militara (Strategicon), ed. H. Mihaescu (Bucharest, 1970).
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- MGH Epp. III Austr. MGH, Epistolae in Quarto III, Epistolae Austrasicae, ed. W. Gundlach (Berlin, 1892), p.110-153.
- Not. Dign. Notitia Dignitatum, ed. O. Seeck (Berlin, 1876).
- Origo Origo gentis Langobardorum, ed. G. Waitz, MGH, SRL, p.2-6.
- Paul Paul the Deacon, Historia Langobardorum, ed. L. Bethmann and G. Waitz, MGH, SRL, p.12-187.
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- Procop. De Aed. Procopius, De Aedificiis, trans. H. B. Dewing (Loeb, 1940).
- SHA Scriptores Historiae Augustae, trans. D. Magie (Loeb, 1922-32).
- Ven. Fort. V. S. Mart. Venantius Fortunatus, Vita S. Martini, liber IV, MGH, AA IV(1), ed. Leo (Berlin, 1881).
- Vita S. Sev. Eugippus, Vita S. Severini, MGH, AA I(ii), ed. Sauppe (Berlin, 1877).

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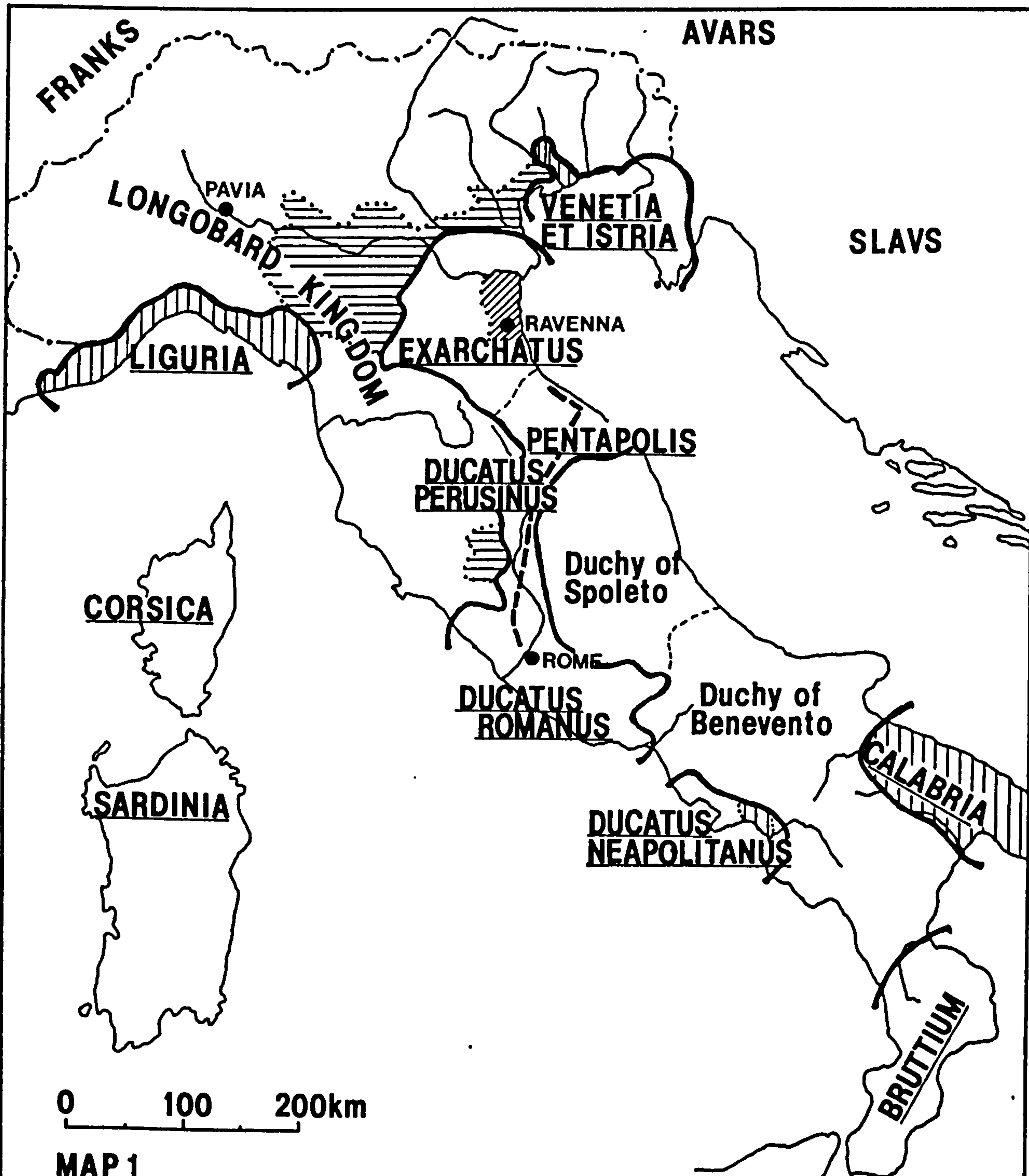
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**MAP 1**  
**POLITICAL DIVISIONS IN ITALY c.590-751**

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>BRUTTIUM</b> | BYZANTINE PROVINCES                       |
|                 | BYZANTINE TERRITORY AT TRUCE OF 605       |
|                 | TERRITORY CONQUERED BY AGILULF (590-615)  |
|                 | TERRITORY CONQUERED BETWEEN c.636 AND 675 |
|                 | EXTENT OF EXARCHATUS IN 744               |
|                 | VIA AMERINA                               |

( After Brown )

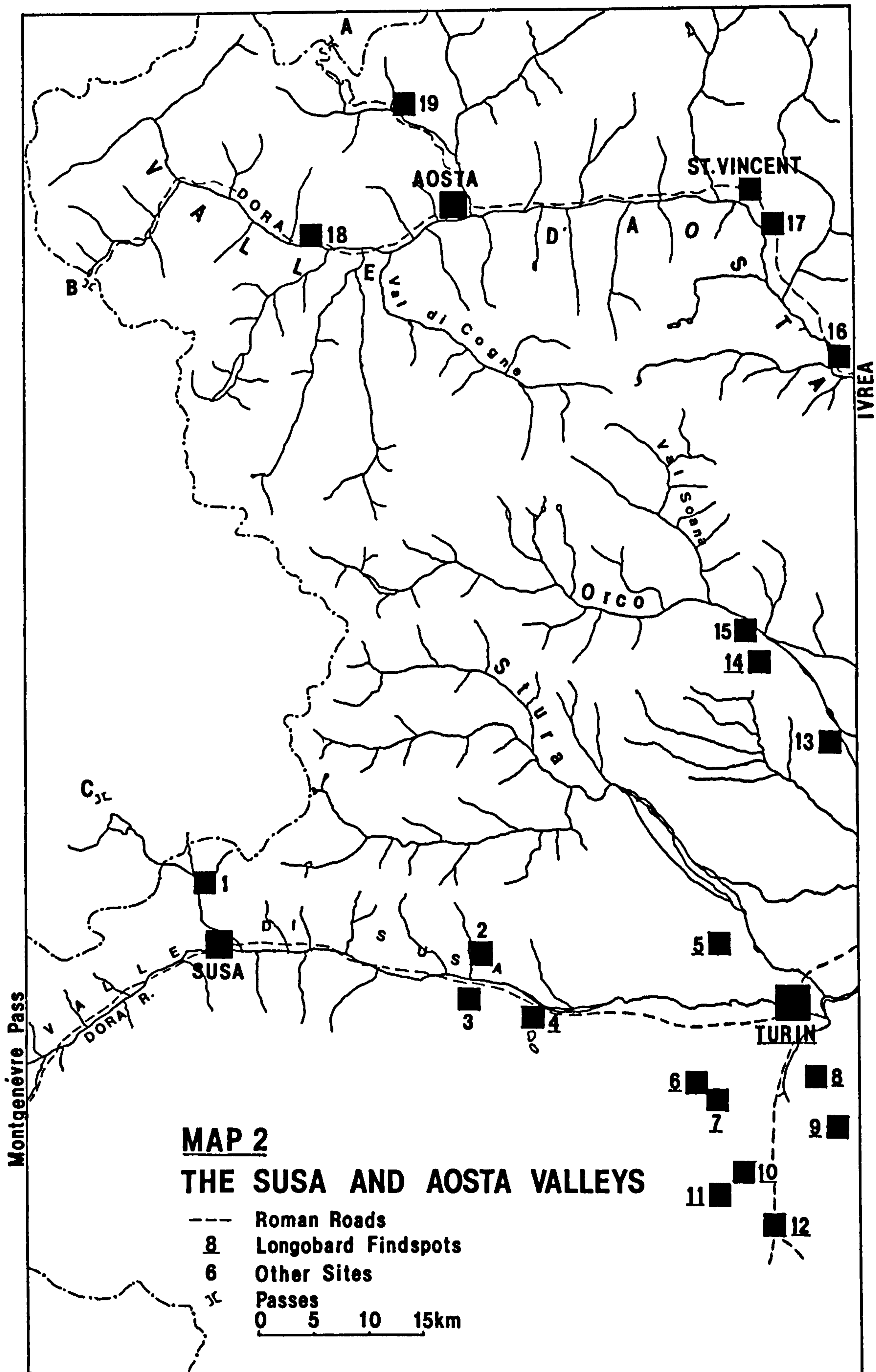
MAP 2

THE SUSA AND AOSTA VALLEYS


- |    |                          |    |                          |
|----|--------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| A. | Great St. Bernard's Pass | B. | Small St. Bernard's Pass |
| C. | Mt. Cenis Pass           |    |                          |

- |     |                     |     |                    |
|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------------|
| 1.  | Novalesa            | 2.  | Caprie             |
| 3.  | Chiusa S. Michele   | 4.  | Avigliana          |
| 5.  | Madonna in Campagna | 6.  | Frosasco           |
| 7.  | Beinasco            | 8.  | Testona            |
| 9.  | Trofarello          | 10. | Vinovo             |
| 11. | Piobesi Torinese    | 12. | Carignano          |
| 13. | Feletto             | 14. | Belmonte, Valperga |
| 15. | Cuorgne             | 16. | Bard               |
| 17. | Montjovet           | 18. | Avise              |
| 19. | Etroubles           |     |                    |





MAP 3      UPPER LOMBARDY AND CANTON TICINO

Longobard tomb findspots  6 :

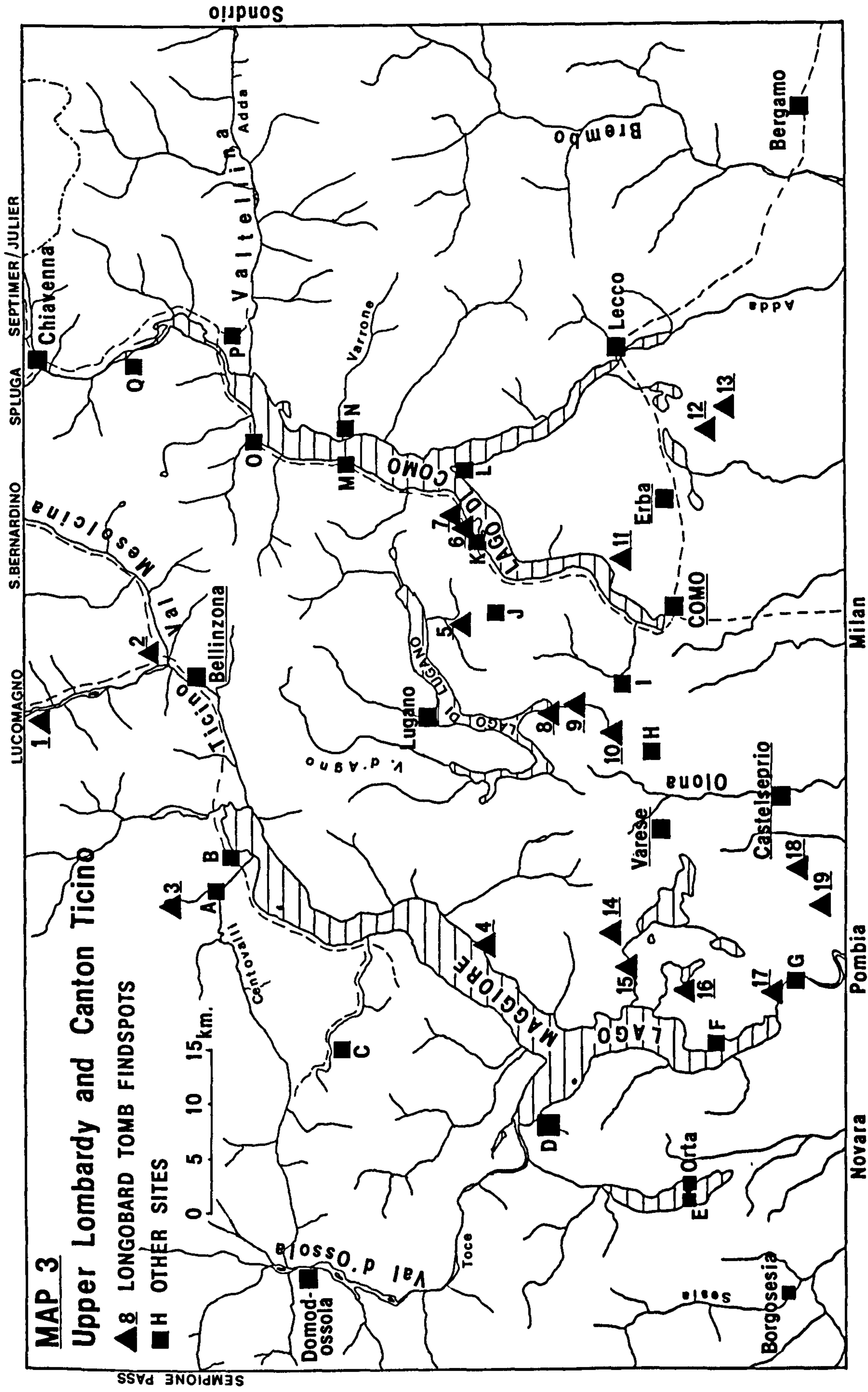
- |                      |                              |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Iragna            | 2. Castione                  |
| 3. Vedretto          | 4. Ligurno Portovaltravaglia |
| 5. Laino             | 6. Lenno                     |
| 7. Ossuccio          | 8. Riva S. Vitale            |
| 9. Besazio           | 10. Stabio                   |
| 11. Molina           | 12. Garbagnate               |
| 13. Bulciago Brianza | 14. Coquio                   |
| 15. Bogno (Besozzo)  | 16. Cadrezzate               |
| 17. Seste Calende    | 18. Lagozza                  |
| 19. Arsago Seprio    |                              |

Other Sites     A :

- |                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| A. Tegna                    | B. Locarno               |
| C. Gurro                    | D. Gravellona Toce       |
| E. S. Giulio d'Orta         | F. Angera                |
| G. Castelletto sopra Ticino | H. Roderò                |
| I. Balerna                  | J. Castiglione d'Intelvi |
| K. Isola Comacina           | L. Bellagio              |
| M. Rezzonico                | N. Dervio                |
| O. Gravedona                | P. Nuova Olonio          |
| Q. Samolaco                 |                          |

# Upper Lombardy and Canton Ticino

- ▲ **8 LONGOBARD TOMB FINDSPOTS**  
■ **H OTHER SITES**





Passes

A. La Mendola

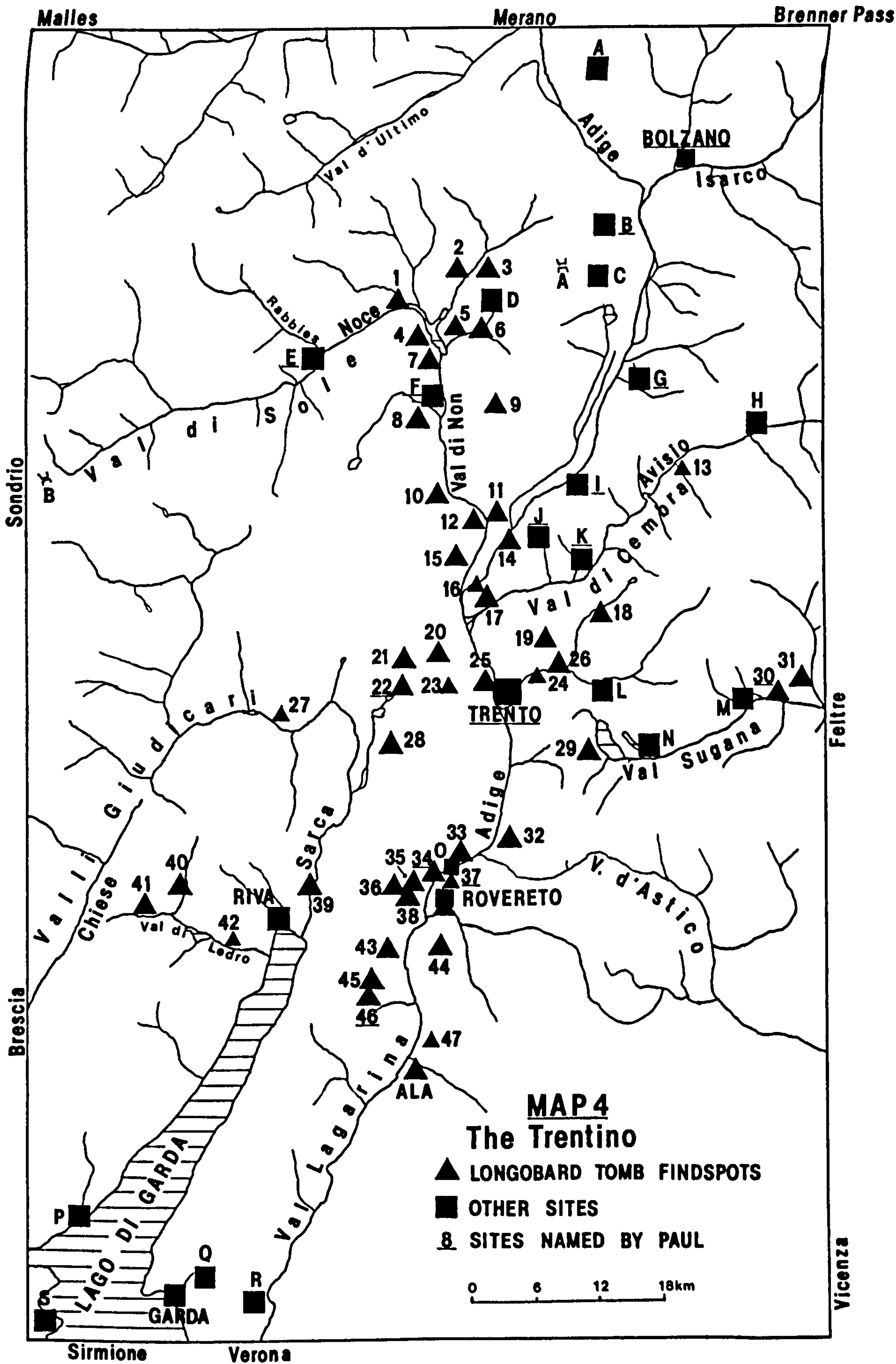
B. Tonale

Longobard tomb findspots :

- |                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mostizzolo          | 2. Cloz                  |
| 3. Seio                | 4. Cles                  |
| 5. Sanzeno             | 6. S. Romedio            |
| 7. Rallo               | 8. Flavon                |
| 9. Vervo               | 10. Dercolo              |
| 11. Mezzocorona        | 12. Mezzolombardo        |
| 13. Casatta            | 14. S. Michele all'Adige |
| 15. Fai                | 16. Pressano             |
| 17. Lavis              | 18. Piné                 |
| 19. Montevaccino       | 20. Terlago              |
| 21. Ciago              | 22. Vezzano              |
| 23. Sopramonte         | 24. Povo                 |
| 25. Doss Trento        | 26. Civezzano            |
| 27. Stenico            | 28. Lasino               |
| 29. Bosentino          | 30. Borgo Valsugana      |
| 31. Telve di Sopra     | 32. Besenello            |
| 33. Nomi               | 34. Villa Lagarina       |
| 35. Nogaredo           | 36. Noarno               |
| 37. Volano             | 38. Brancolino           |
| 39. Arco               | 40. Lenzumo              |
| 41. Tiarno di Sotto    | 42. Prè                  |
| 43. Mori - Mont'Albano | 44. Lizzana              |
| 45. Cazzano            | 46. Brentonico           |
| 47. Marani di Ala      |                          |

Other sites :

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| A. Meltina            | B. Appiano            |
| C. Caldaro            | D. Romeno             |
| E. Malé               | F. Nanno              |
| G. Egna - Castelfeder | H. Castello di Fiemme |
| I. Salorno            | J. Faedo              |
| K. Cembra             | L. Pergine            |
| M. Roncegno           | N. Levico             |
| O. Savignano          | P. Maderno - Fasano   |
| Q. Costermano         | R. Rivoli             |
| S. Manerba di Garda   |                       |



MAP 5

THE BELLUNESE

- A. Praderadego Pass
- C. Fadalto Pass

- B. S. Boldo (Ippolito) Pass

- 1. Polpet
- 3. Fara d'Alpago
- 5. Godega di S. Urbano
- 7. Farra di Soligo
- 9. Fara di Mel
- 11. Zumelle
- 13. Pez
- 15. Farra di Fonte
- 17. Solagna
- 19. Pieve / Castello Tesino

- 2. Ponte nell'Alpi
- 4. Cor
- 6. S. Pietro di Feletto
- 8. (Casteldardo) Castelrotto
- 10. Castelvint
- 12. Moldoi
- 14. Cesiomaggiore
- 16. Arten
- 18. Lamon

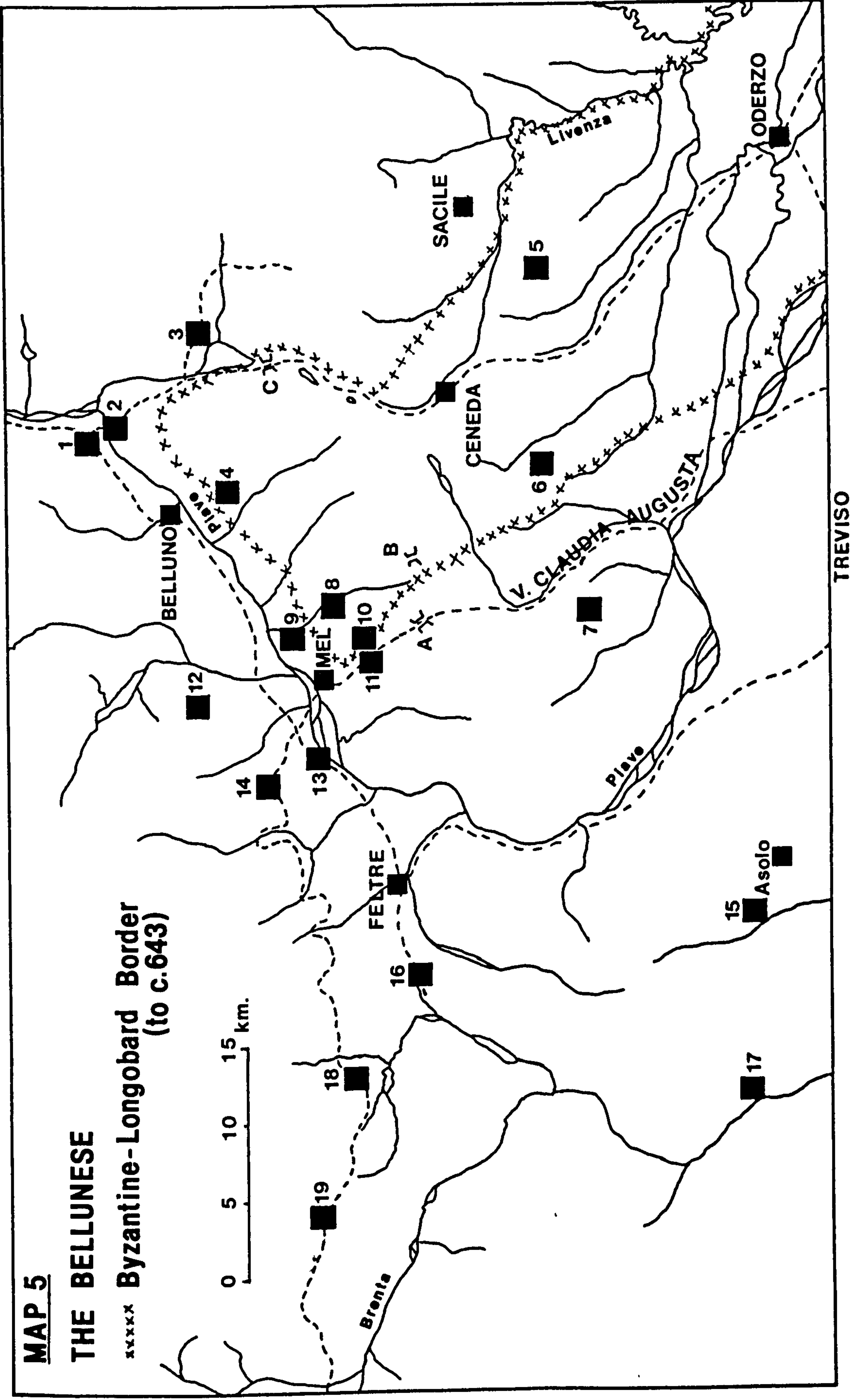


**MAP 5**

**THE BELLUNESE**

xxxxx Byzantine-Longobard Border  
(to c.643)

0 5 10 15 km.



MAP 6

FRIULI AND NORICUM SITES

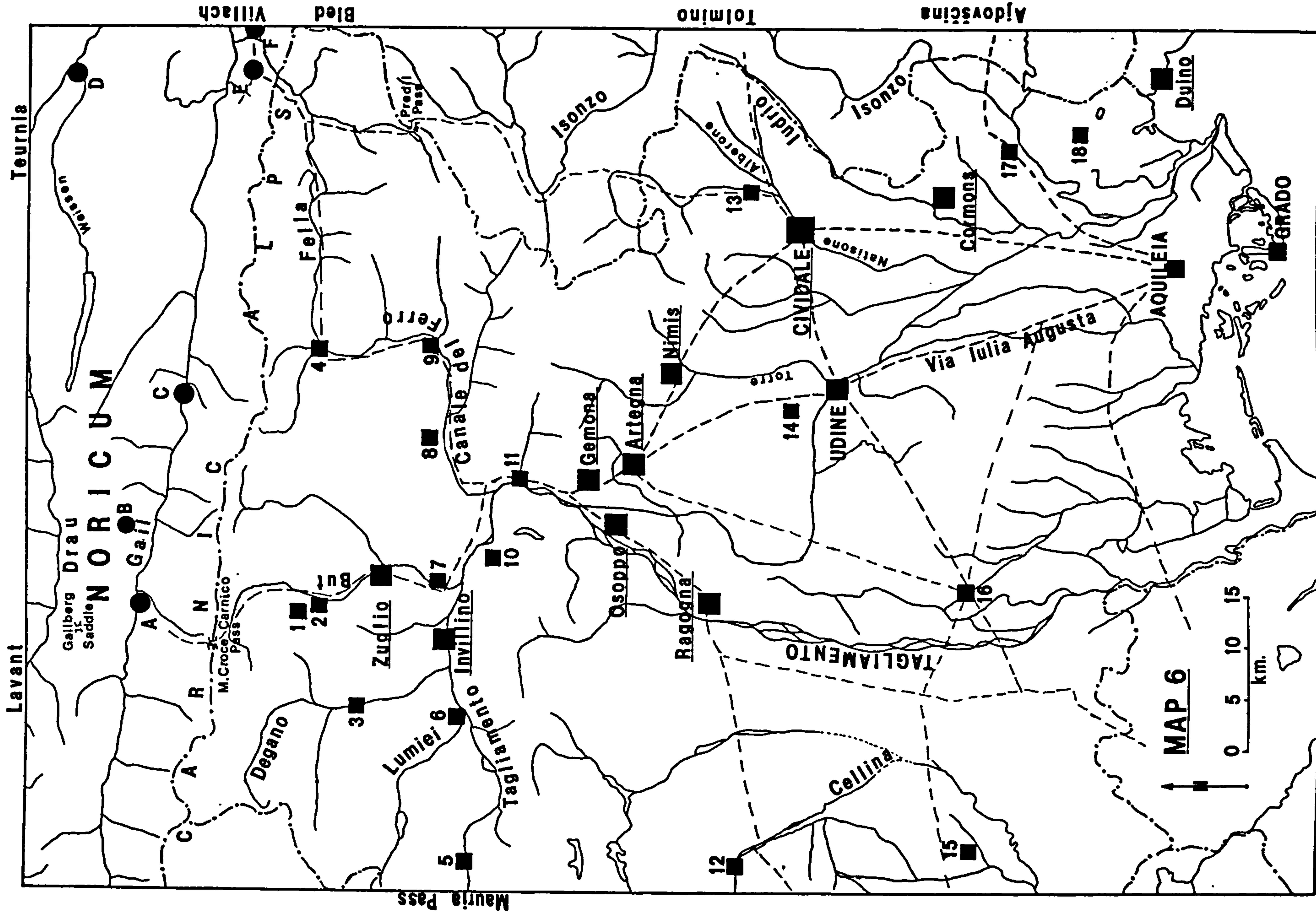
Castra named in Paul underlined

Other sites in Friuli :

- |                           |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Cervicento             | 2. Sutrio                 |
| 3. Ovaro                  | 4. Pontebba               |
| 5. Forni di Sotto         | 6. Socchieve              |
| 7. Tolmezzo               | 8. Moggio Udinese         |
| 9. Chiusaforte            | 10. Cesclans              |
| 11. Venzone               | 12. Montereale Valcellina |
| 13. S. Pietro al Natisone | 14. Feletto Umberto       |
| 15. Pordenone             | 16. Codroipo              |
| 17. Farra d'Isonzo        | 18. Doberdo del Lago      |

Noricum sites :

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| A. Mauthen               | B. Gurina            |
| C. Rattendorf            | D. Duell - Feistritz |
| E. Maglern - Hoischhügel | F. Arnoldstein       |

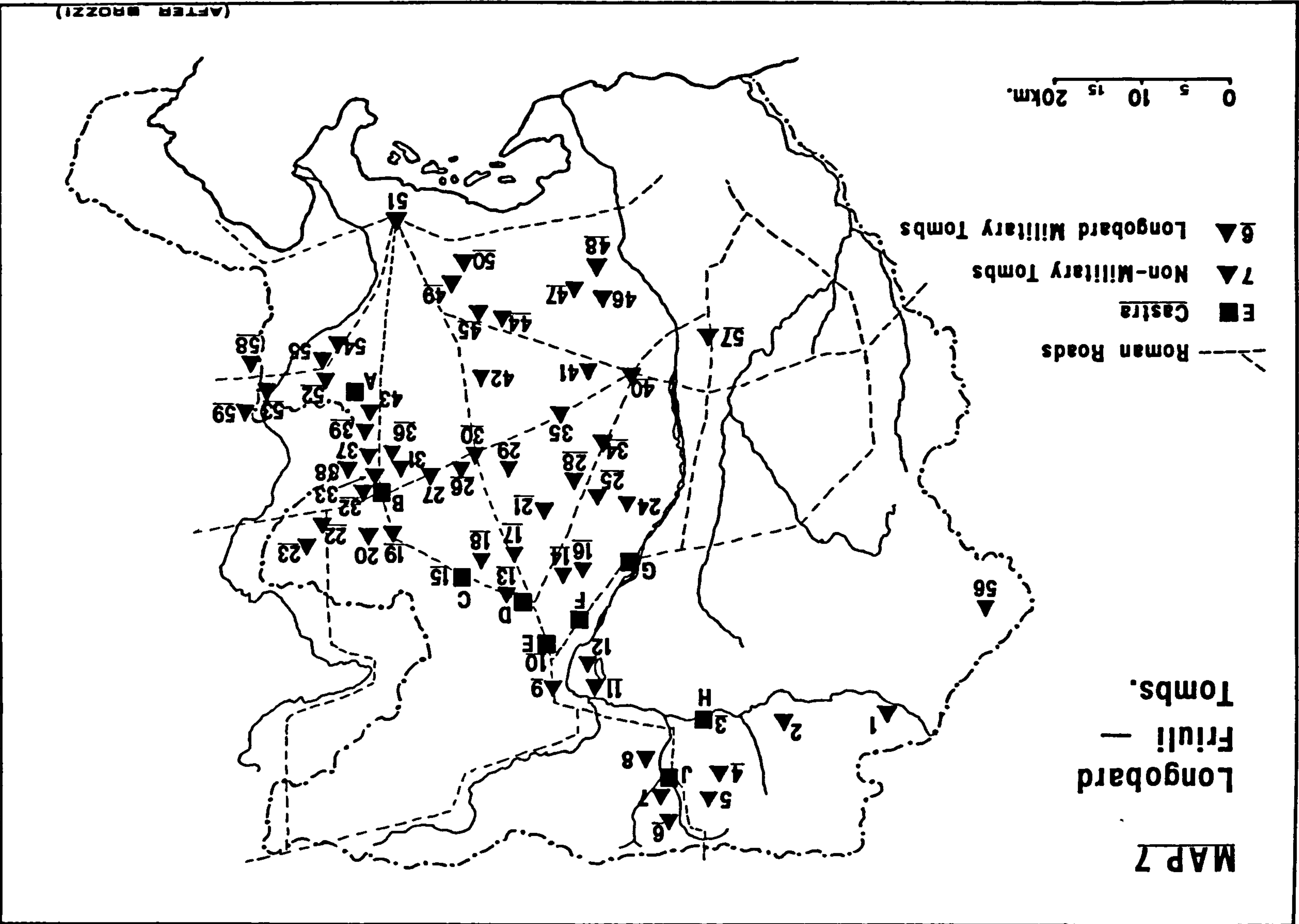




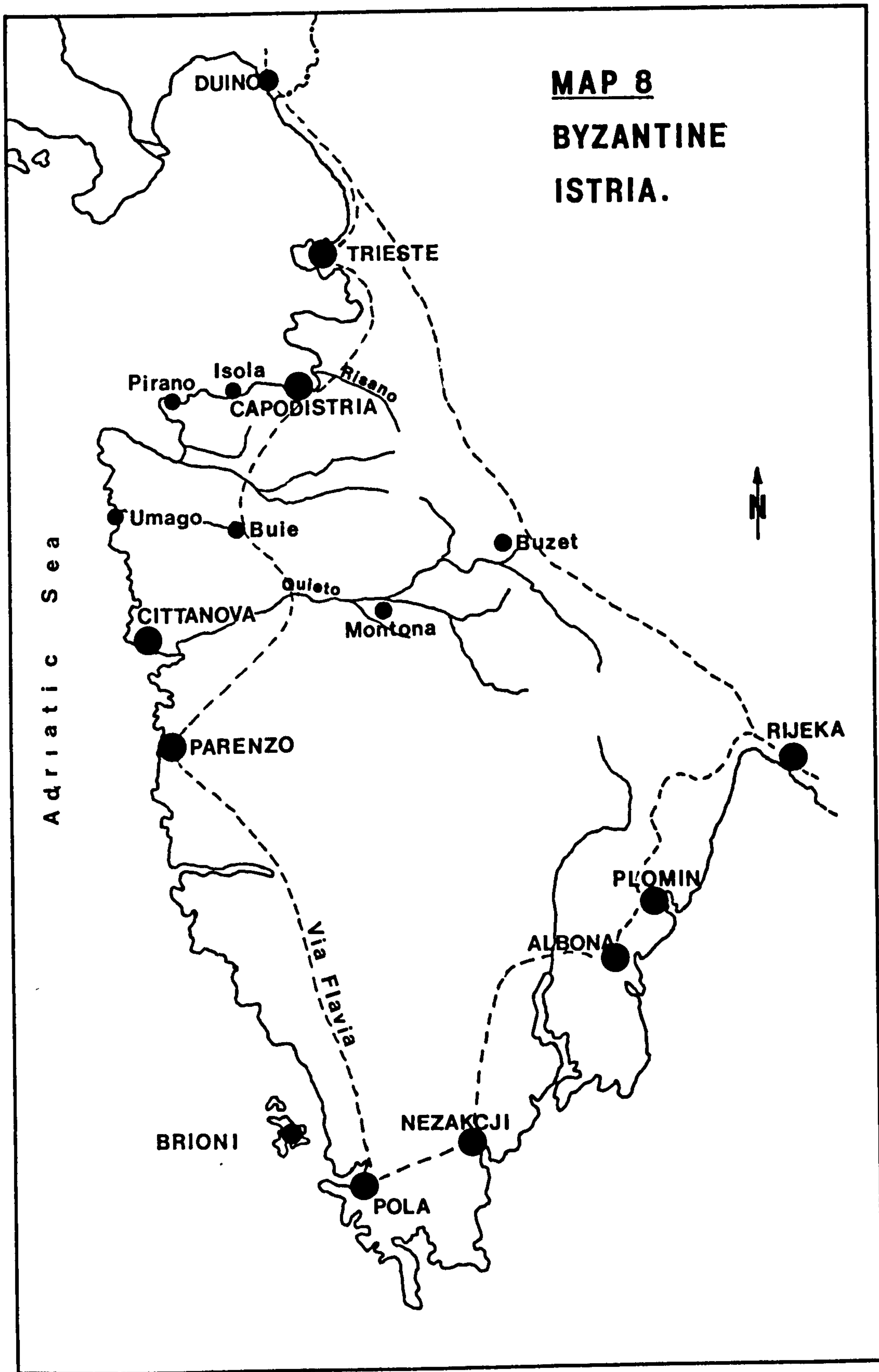
- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Andrazzo                  | 2. Ampezzo                   |
| 3. Invillino M               | 4. Luint M                   |
| 5. Luincis                   | 6. Paluzza M                 |
| 7. Arta                      | 8. Illegio                   |
| 9. Venzone M                 | 10. Gemona M                 |
| 11. Casanova M               | 12. Cavazzo                  |
| 13. Magnano in Riviera M     | 14. Colosomano di Buia M     |
| 15. Nimis M                  | 16. S. Salvatore di Maiano M |
| 17. Tricesimo M              | 18. Savorgnano del Torre M   |
| 19. Fauluzza di Magredis M   | 20. Torreano di Cividale     |
| 21. Moruzzo M                | 22. S. Pietro al Natisone M  |
| 23. Savogna M                | 24. Rodeano Alto             |
| 25. Ciconicco M              | 26. Godia M                  |
| 27. Remanzacco               | 28. S. Vito di Fagagna M     |
| 29. Passons                  | 30. Udine M                  |
| 31. Premariaco               | 32. Purgessimo di Cividale M |
| 33. Firmano                  | 34. Mereto di Tomba M        |
| 35. Basagliapenta            | 36. Orsaria M                |
| 37. Azzano d'Ippolis ?       | 38. Prepotto                 |
| 39. Visinale dello Iudrio M  | 40. Codroipo M               |
| 41. Virco                    | 42. Tizzano                  |
| 43. Giassico                 | 44. Gonars M                 |
| 45. Fauglis M                | 46. Romans                   |
| 47. Flambruzzo M             | 48. Rivignano M              |
| 49. Sevegliano M             | 50. Porpetto M               |
| 51. Aquileia                 | 52. Moraro M                 |
| 53. Gorizia M                | 54. Gradisca d'Isonzo        |
| 55. Farra d'Isonzo           | 56. Erto-Casso               |
| 57. S. Giovanni di Casarsa M | 58. Bilje (Bilia) M          |
| 59. Solkan (Salcano) M       |                              |

- A. Cormons  
 C. Nimis  
 E. Gemona  
 G. Ragogna  
 J. Zuglio

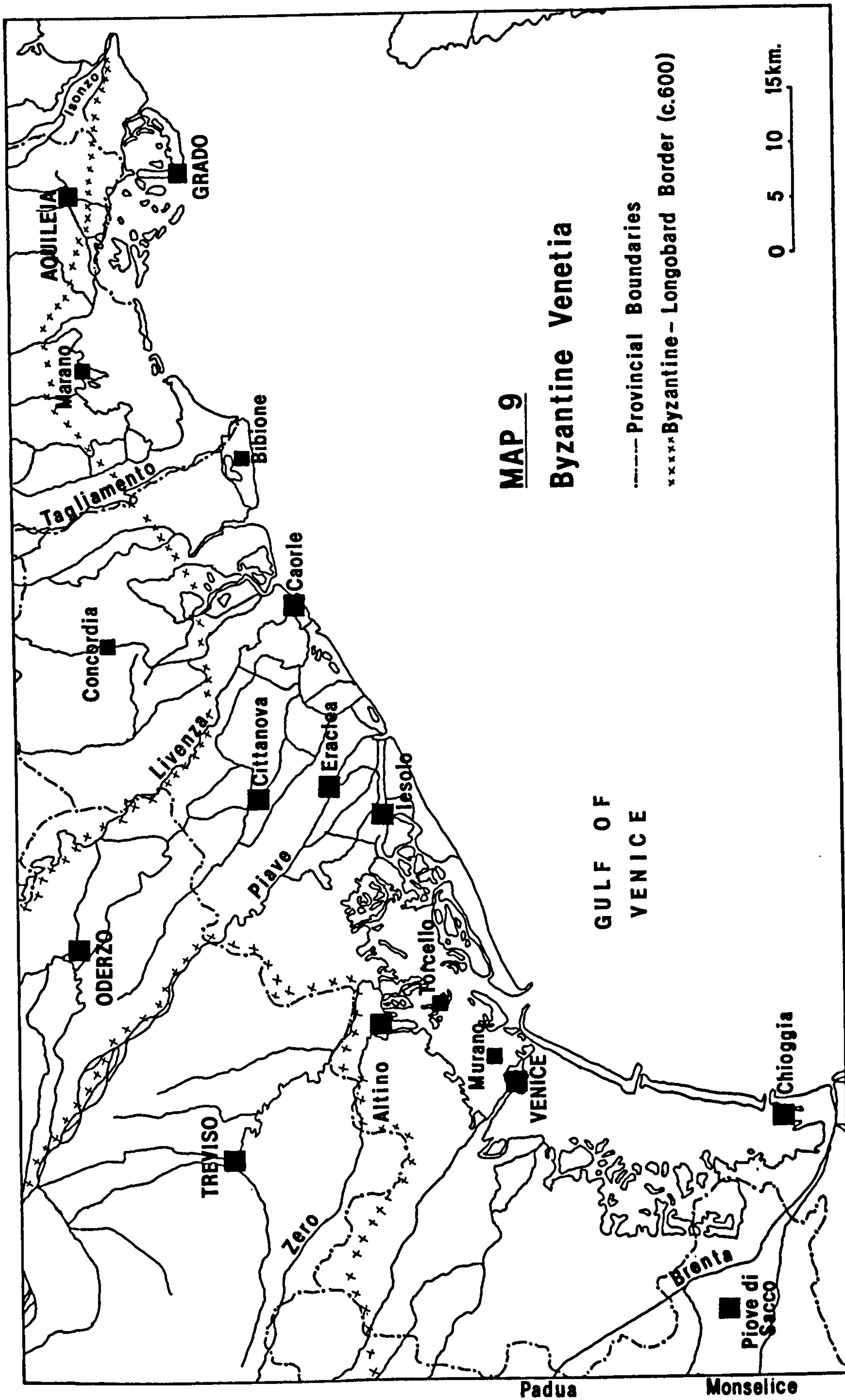
- B. Cividale  
 D. Artegna  
 F. Osoppo  
 H. Invillino



(AFTER BROZZI)



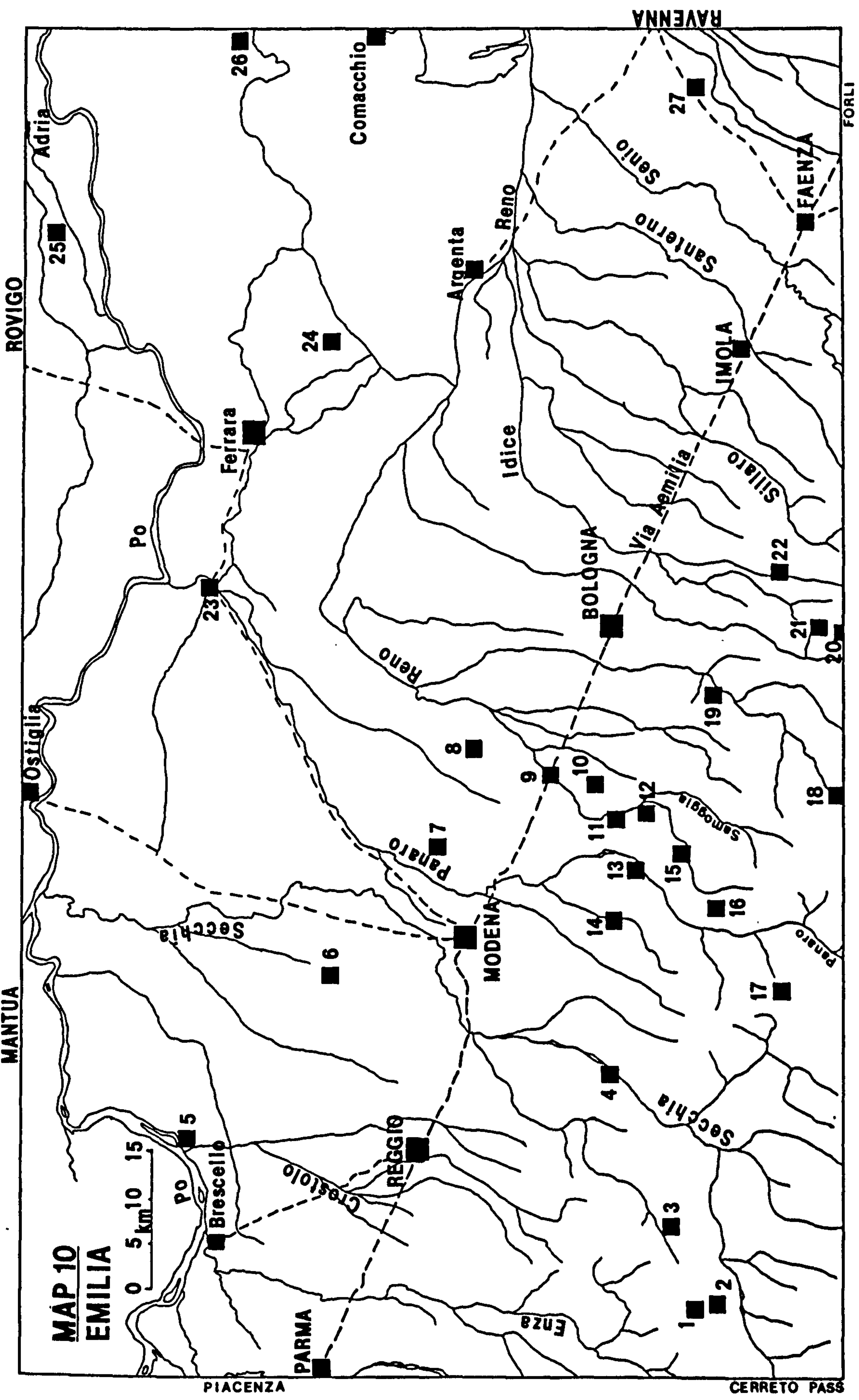




MAP 10

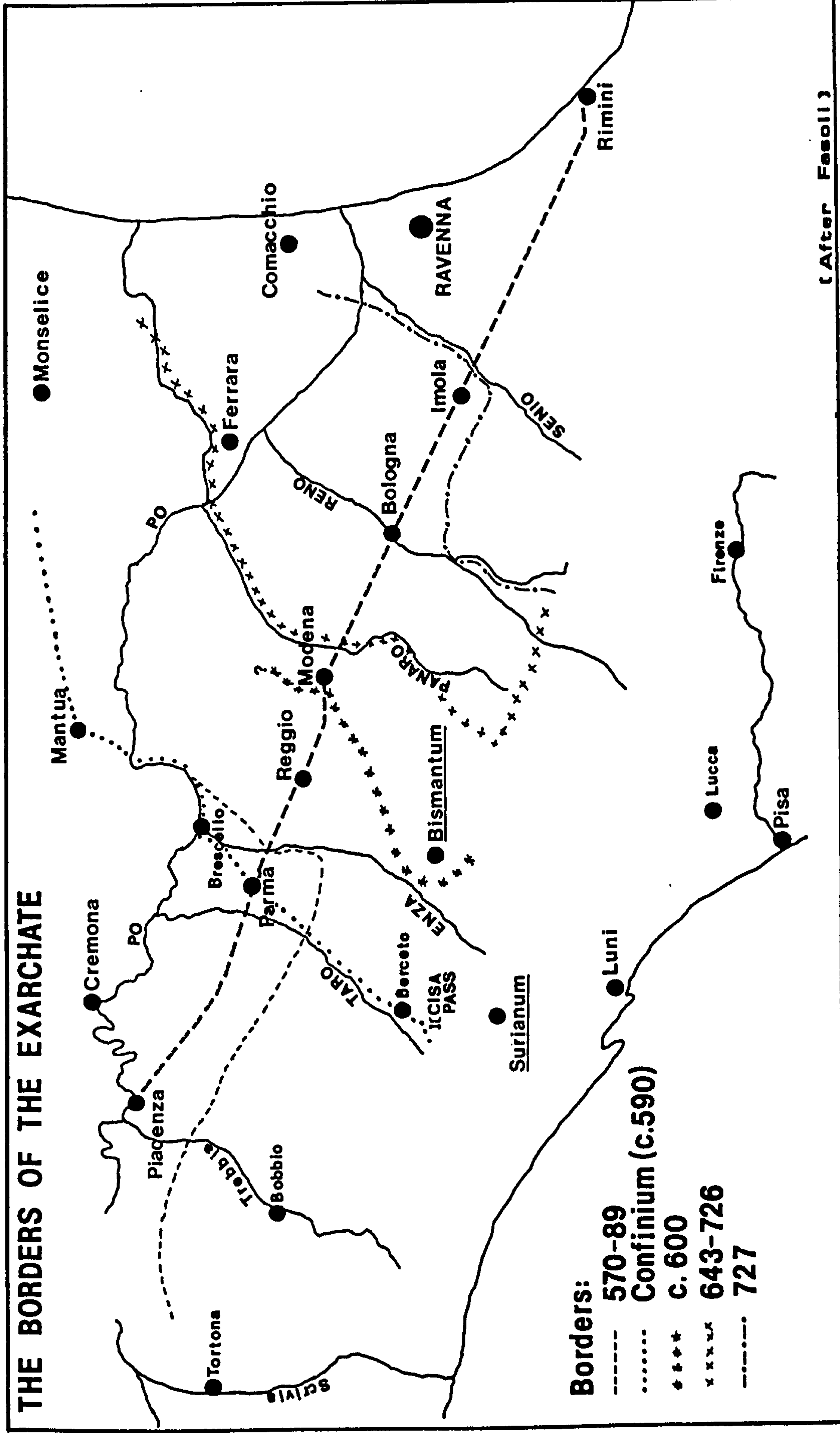
CENTRAL EMILIA - THE WESTERN EXARCHATE

- |                            |                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Castelnovo ne'Monti     | 2. Bismantova               |
| 3. Carpineti               | 4. Castellarano             |
| 5. Guastalla               | 6. Carpi                    |
| 7. Nonantola               | 8. S. Giovanni in Persiceta |
| 9. Ponte Samoggia          | 10. Crespellano             |
| 11. Bazzano                | 12. Monteveglio             |
| 13. Vignola                | 14. Castelvetro di Modena   |
| 15. Castello di Serravalle | 16. Pieve Trebbio           |
| 17. Pavullo nel Frignano   | 18. Vergato                 |
| 19. Sasso Marconi          | 20. Loiano                  |
| 21. Sabbioni               | 22. Monterenzio             |
| 23. Bondeno                | 24. Voghiera                |
| 25. Gavello                | 26. Pomposa                 |
| 27. Godo                   |                             |



MAP 11

THE BORDERS OF THE EXARCHATE



(After Fasoli)

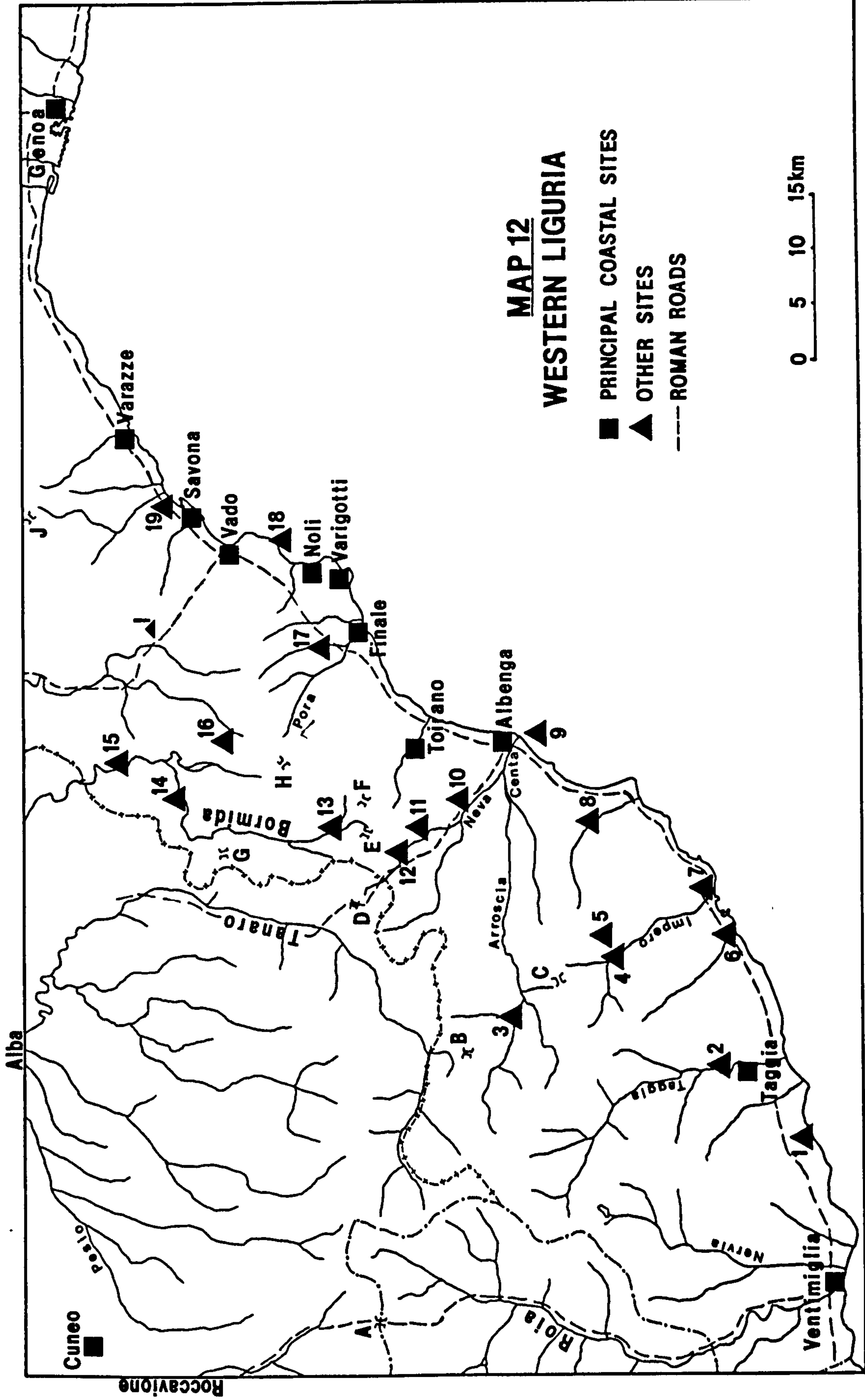


MAP 12

WESTERN LIGURIA

- |    |                      |    |                      |
|----|----------------------|----|----------------------|
| A. | Colle di Tenda       | B. | Colle di Nava        |
| C. | Colle di Bartolomeno | D. | Colle di S. Bernardo |
| E. | Colle Scravaion      | F. | Giocodi Toirano      |
| G. | Colle di Giovetti    | H. | Colle di Melogno     |
| I. | Colle di Cadibona    | J. | Colle di Giove       |

- |     |                                  |     |                   |
|-----|----------------------------------|-----|-------------------|
| 1.  | S. Remo                          | 2.  | Campomarzio       |
| 3.  | Pieve di Teco                    | 4.  | Chiusavecchia     |
| 5.  | Chiusánico                       | 6.  | Porto Maurizio    |
| 7.  | Oneglia                          | 8.  | Andora            |
| 9.  | Isola Gallinara                  | 10. | Cisano sul Neva   |
| 11. | Castelvechio di Rocca<br>Barbena | 12. | Erlì              |
| 13. | Bardinetto                       | 14. | Murialdo          |
| 15. | Millesimo                        | 16. | Bormida           |
| 17. | Castrum Pertice                  | 18. | Isola di Bergeggi |
| 19. | Albissola                        |     |                   |



MAP 13

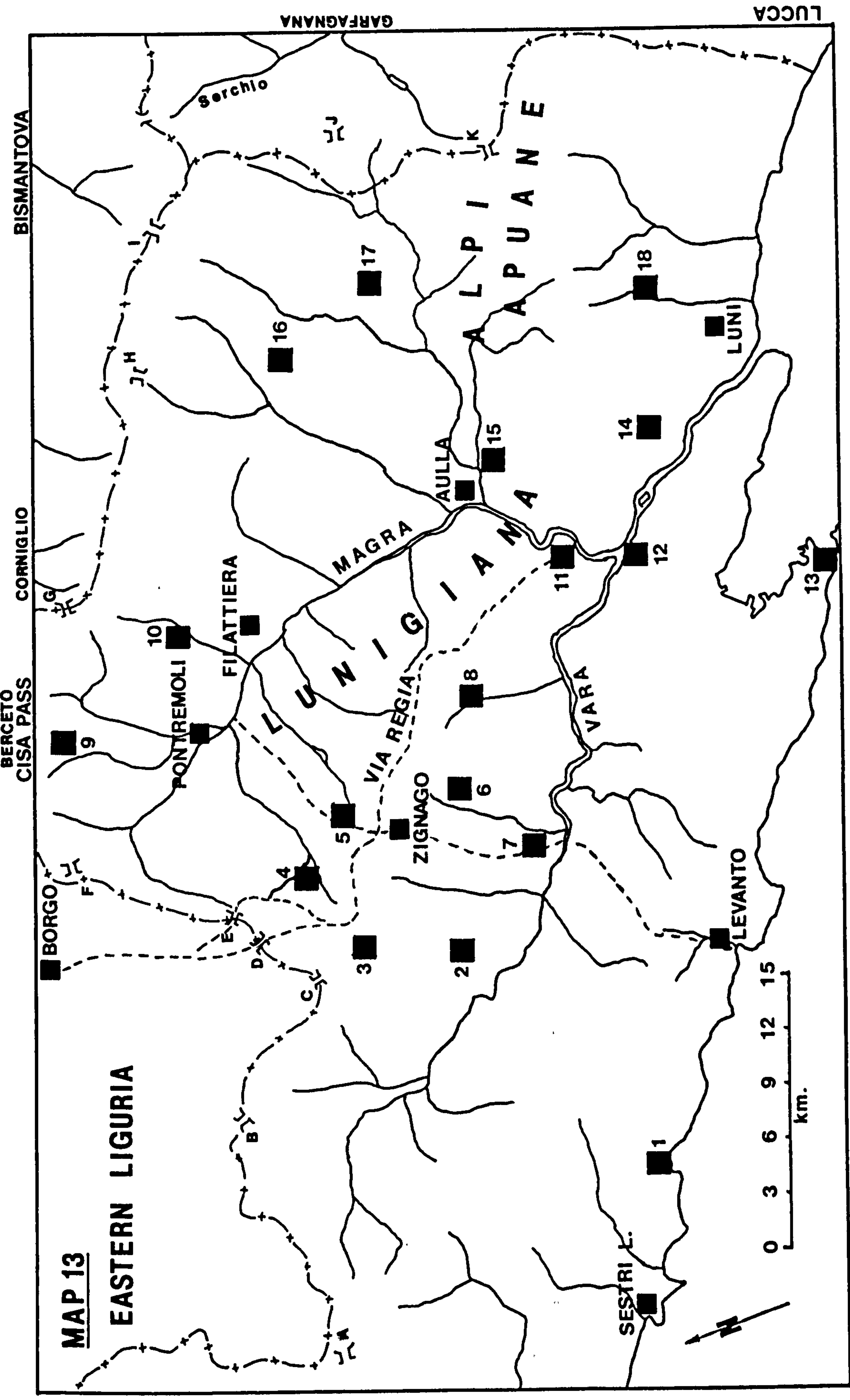
EASTERN LIGURIA AND THE LUNIGIANA

- A. Passo di Bocco
- C. M. Gottero
- E. Passo dei Due Santi
- G. Passo del Cirone
- I. Passo del Cerretto
- K. Foce di Giove

- B. Passo di Cento Croci
- D. Passo di Valdena
- F. Passo del Bratello
- H. Passo di Lagastrello
- J. Foce Carpinelli

- 1. Moneglia
- 3. Chiusola
- 5. Rossano
- 7. Brugnato
- 9. Montelungo
- 11. Ceparana
- 13. Portovenere
- 15. Bibola
- 17. Luscignano

- 2. Sesta Godano
- 4. Gretta (Zeri)
- 6. Suvero
- 8. Calice al Cornoviglio
- 10. M. Castello (Rocca Sigillina)
- 12. Vezzano
- 14. Sarzana
- 16. Tor Nocciola
- 18. Ortonovo

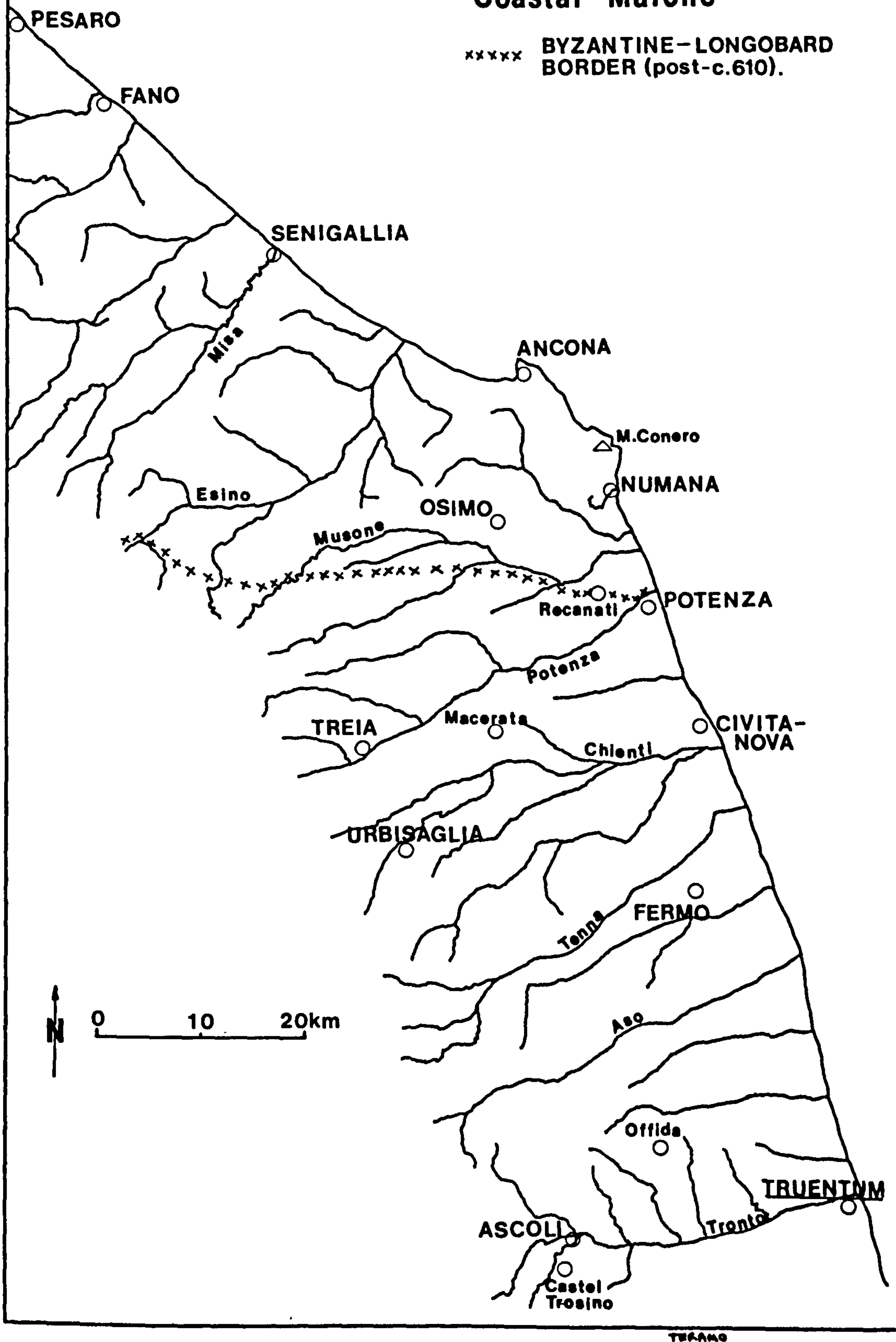




## MAP 14

### Coastal Marche

xxxxx BYZANTINE-LONGOBARD  
BORDER (post-c.610).



MAP 15

NORTHERN MARCHE - PENTAPOLIS

- |                          |                                   |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Pennabilli            | 2. Badia Tedalda                  |
| 3. Sestino               | 4. Gola del Furlo - Petra Pertusa |
| 5. Castelleone di Suasa  | 6. Ostra Vetere                   |
| 7. Filetto               | 8. S. Angelo in Vado              |
| 9. Serra S. Abbondio     | 10. Cantiano                      |
| 11. Pontericcioli        | 12. Sassaferrato                  |
| 13. S. Vittore di Chiuse | 14. Cupramontana                  |
| 15. Cingoli              |                                   |

RIMINI  
PESARO

RIMINI S.LEO  
F E L T R O

M O N T E F E L T R O

Conca

Marecchia

Foglia

SENIGALLIA

Cesano

Metauro

URBINO

FOSCOMBRONE

Metauro

ALPE DELLA  
LUNA

ANCONA

Misa

BURANO

SERRA  
MAGGIO

CAGLI

ARCEVIA

SERRA  
SQUIRICO

Musone

Esino

Metauro

M.CATRIA

GUBBIO

PERUGIA

NOCERA  
UMBRA

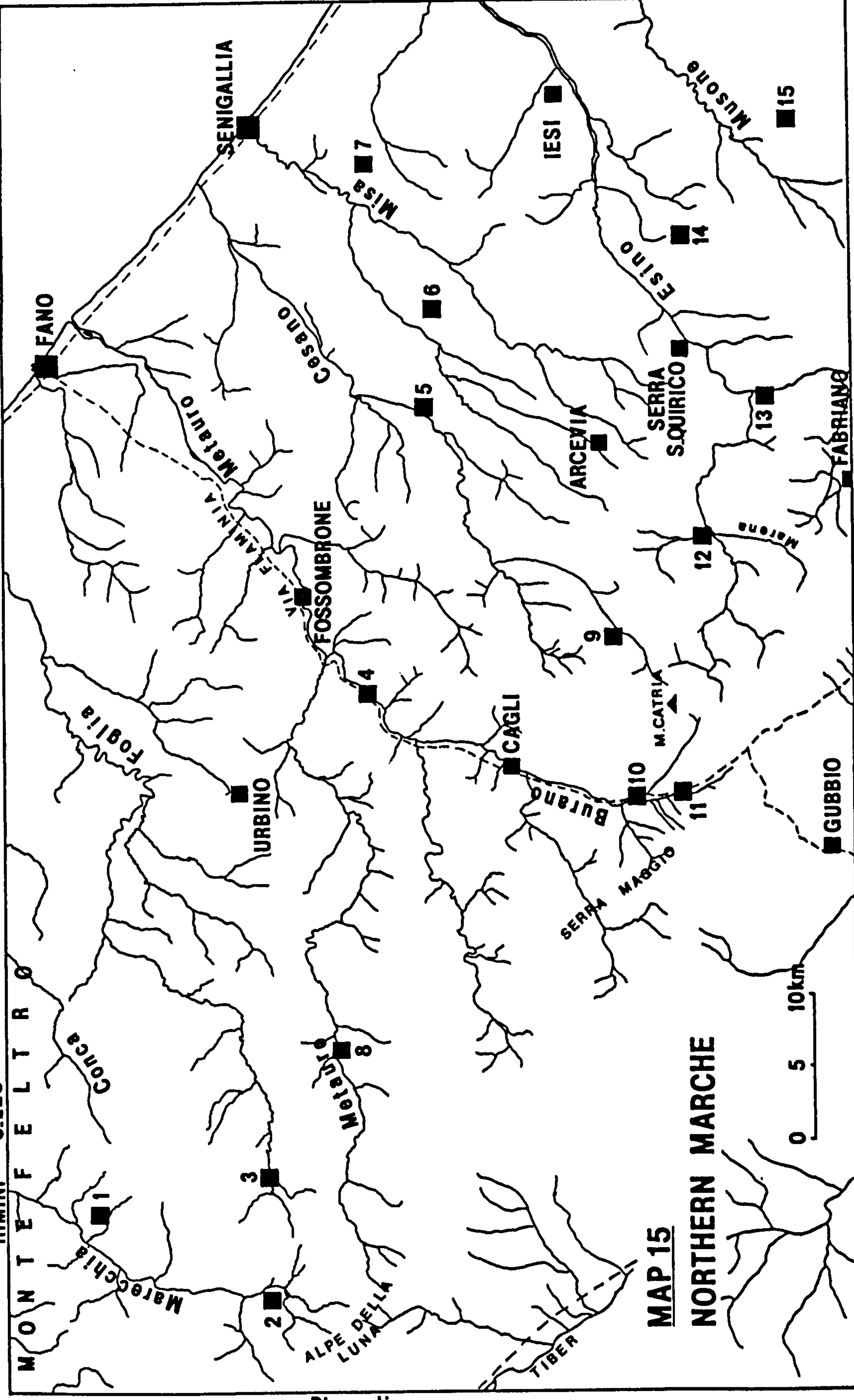
FABRANO

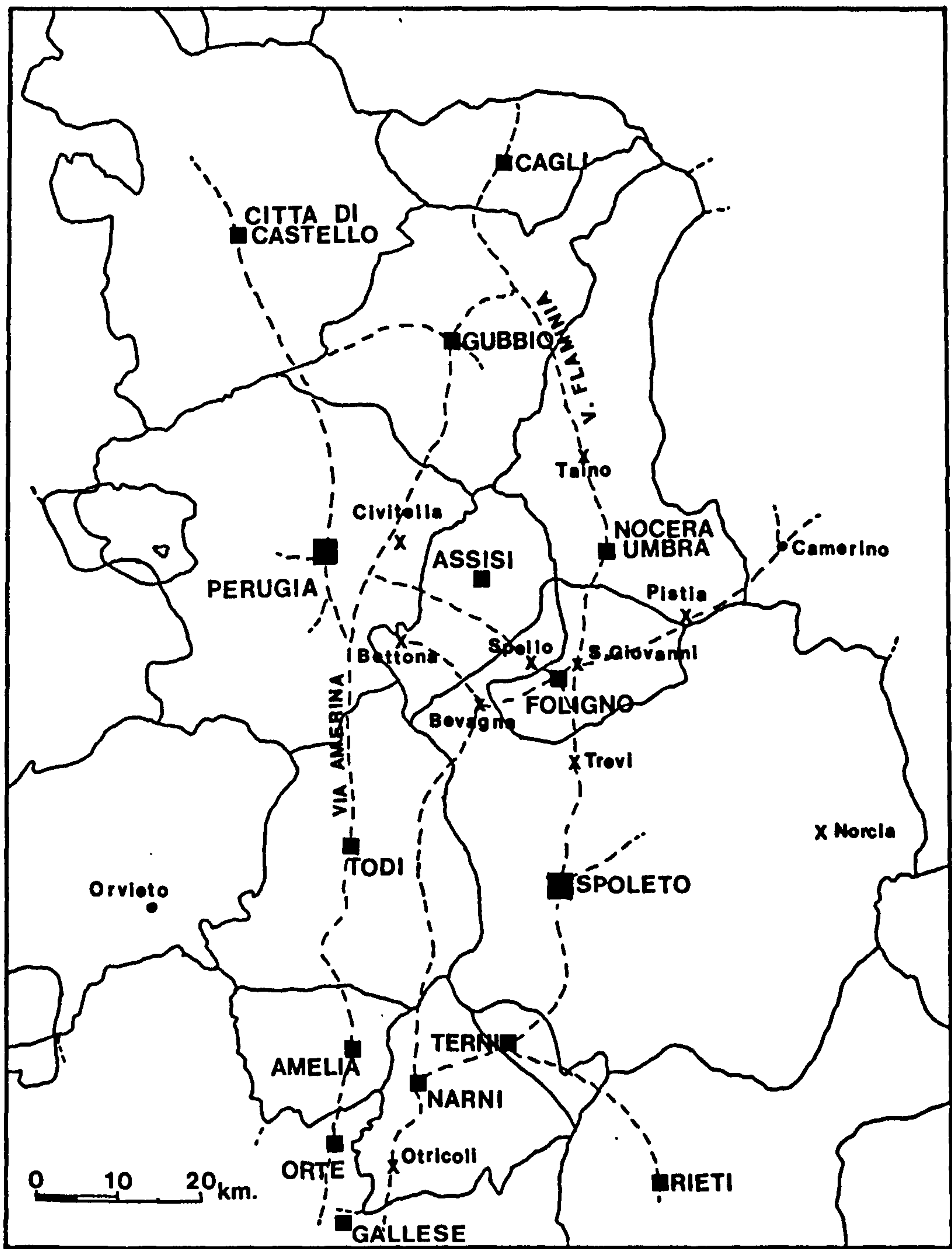
MAP 15

NORTHERN MARCHE

0 5 10km

Pieve di  
S.Stefano





(After Bullough)

**MAP 16 MEDIEVAL DIOCESES OF UMBRIA**

- Roman Roads
- Bishop's Seat
- x Former Bishop's Seat



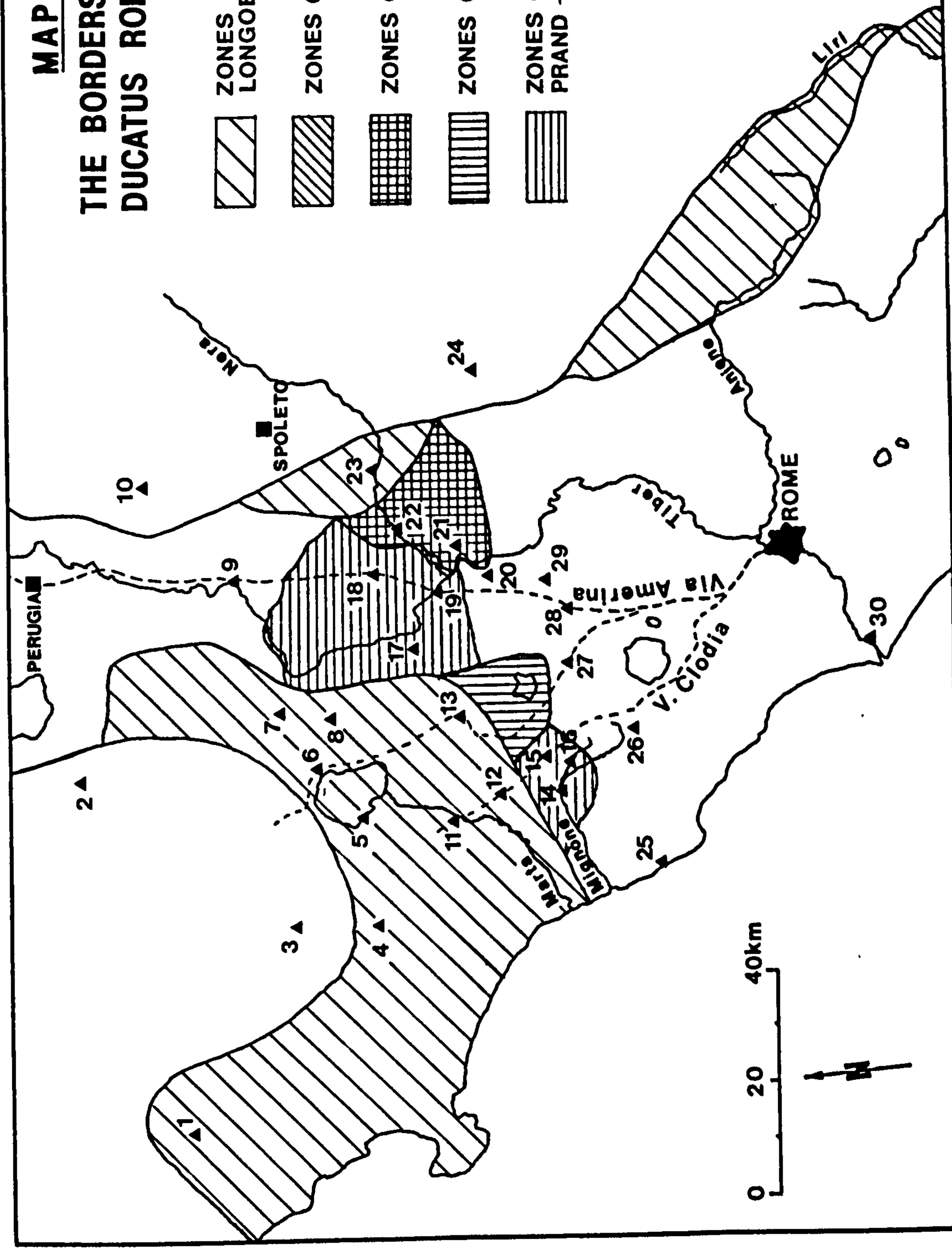
MAP 17

THE DUCHY OF ROME (after Bavant)

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Rosellae                   | 2. Chiusi            |
| 3. Sovana                     | 4. Castro            |
| 5. <u>Visentium</u>           | 6. Bolsena           |
| 7. Orvieto                    | 8. Bagnoregio        |
| 9. Todi                       | 10. Bevagna          |
| 11. Tuscania                  | 12. Norchia          |
| 13. Viterbo                   | 14. Luni sul Mignone |
| 15. Bieda                     | 16. S. Giovenale     |
| 17. Bomarzo                   | 18. Amelia           |
| 19. Orte                      | 20. Gallese          |
| 21. Otricoli                  | 22. Narni            |
| 23. Terni                     | 24. Rieti            |
| 25. Civitavecchià             | 26. Monterano        |
| 27. Sutri                     | 28. Nepi             |
| 29. Falerii/Cività Castellana | 30. Ostia            |

# **MAP 17** **THE BORDERS OF THE** **DUCATUS ROMANUS**

- ZONES CONQUERED BY THE LONGOBARDS BY 605
- ZONES CONQUERED 701-5
- ZONES CONQUERED 721-4
- ZONES CONQUERED 728
- ZONES CONQUERED BY LIUT-PRAND - RECOVERED UNDER ZACCHARIAS



(After Bavant)

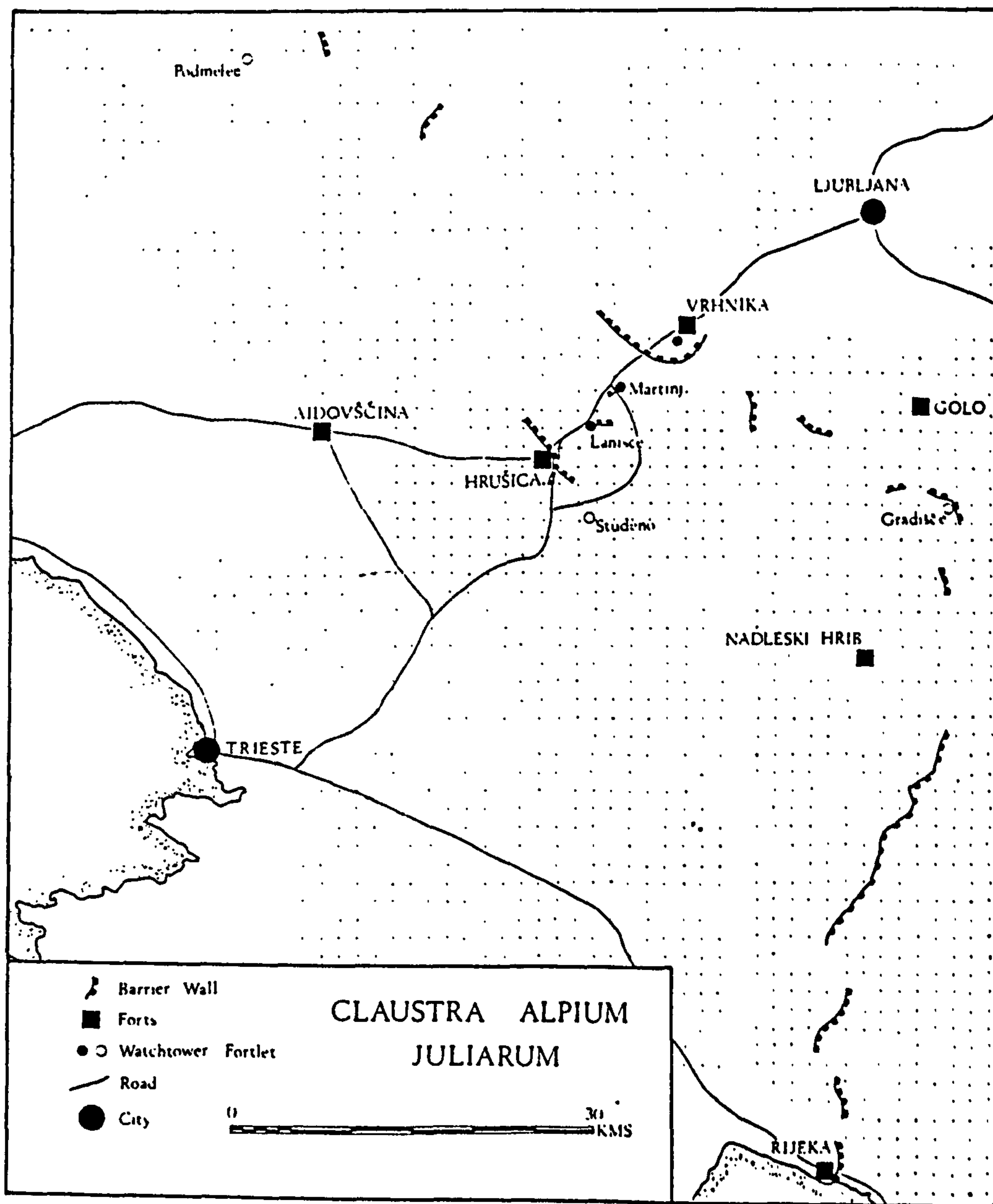


FIG. 1

Claustra Alpium Iuliarum (after Johnson)

SITES LISTED IN FIG. 2.

- |                                       |                     |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Zillis                             | 2. Chur             |
| 3. Pfaffenhofen                       | 4. Säben            |
| 5. Bolzano                            | 6. Lienz            |
| 7. Aguntum                            | 8. Lavant           |
| 9. Zuglio                             | 10. Invillino       |
| 11. Laubendorf                        | 12. Duell/Feistritz |
| 13. Hoischhügel                       | 14. Ulrichsberg     |
| 15. Grazerkogel                       | 16. Hemmaberg       |
| 17. Rifnik                            | 18. Velike Malence  |
| 19. Grado                             | 20. Vrsar           |
| 21. Nesactium                         | 22. Osor            |
| 23. Čarakovo                          | 24. Zenica          |
| 25. Dabravine                         | 26. Mokro           |
| 27. Mogorjelo (after Vranje Church I) |                     |



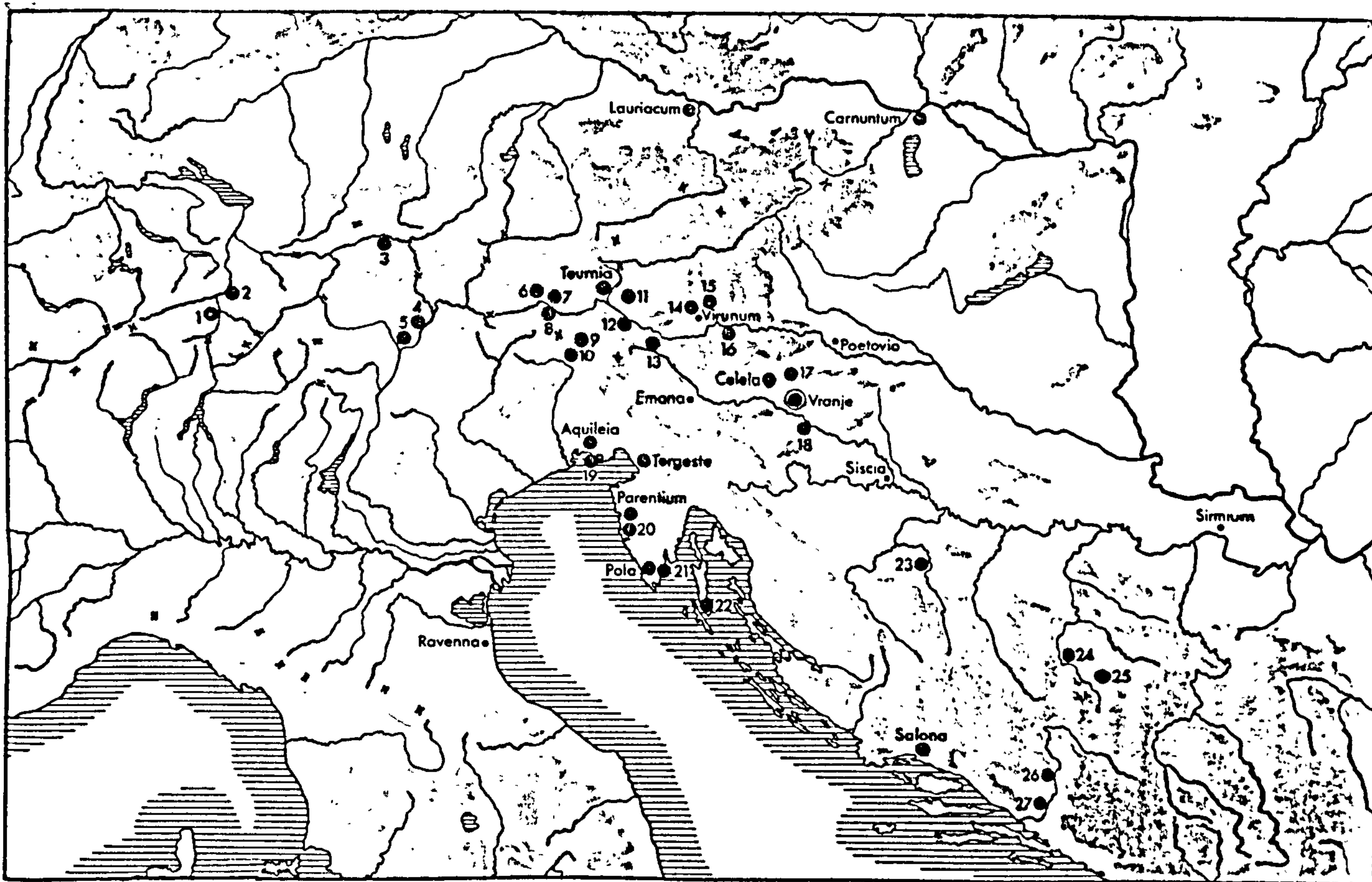


FIG. 2

Vranje and the distribution  
of comparable churches (after Ulbert)

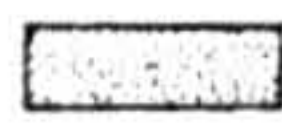

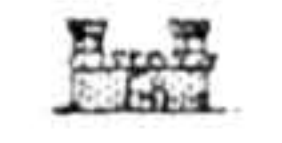
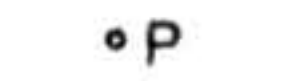


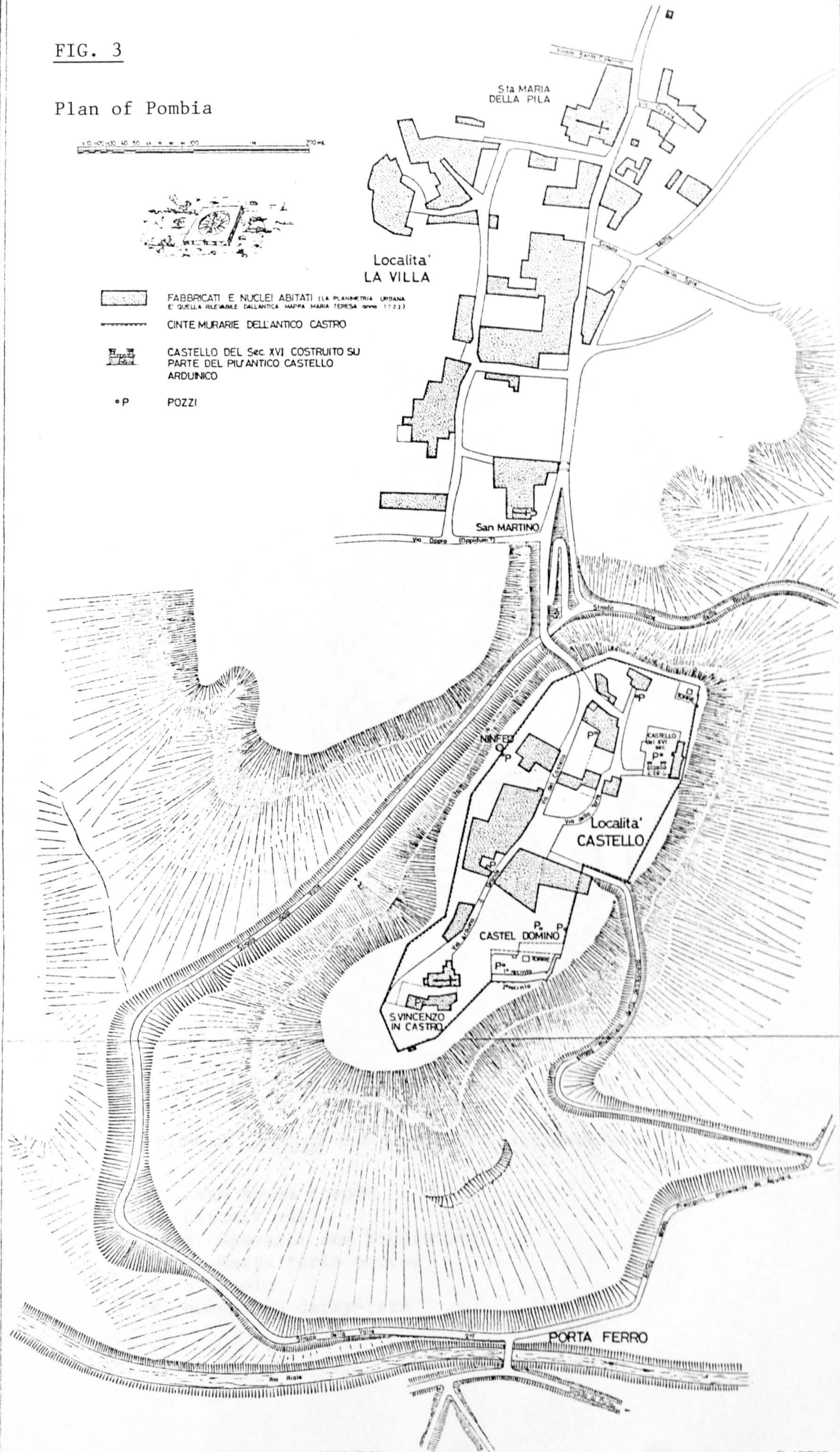
FIG. 3

Plan of Pombia

1:0 100 200 400 600 800 1000



-  FABBRICATI E NUCLEI ABITATI (LA PLANIMETRIA URBANA E' QUELLA RILEVABILE DALL'ANTICA MAPPA MARIA TERESA anno 1723)
-  CINTE MURARIE DELL'ANTICO CASTRO
-  CASTELLO DEL Sec XVI COSTRUITO SU PARTE DEL PIU' ANTICO CASTELLO ARDUNICO
-  POZZI





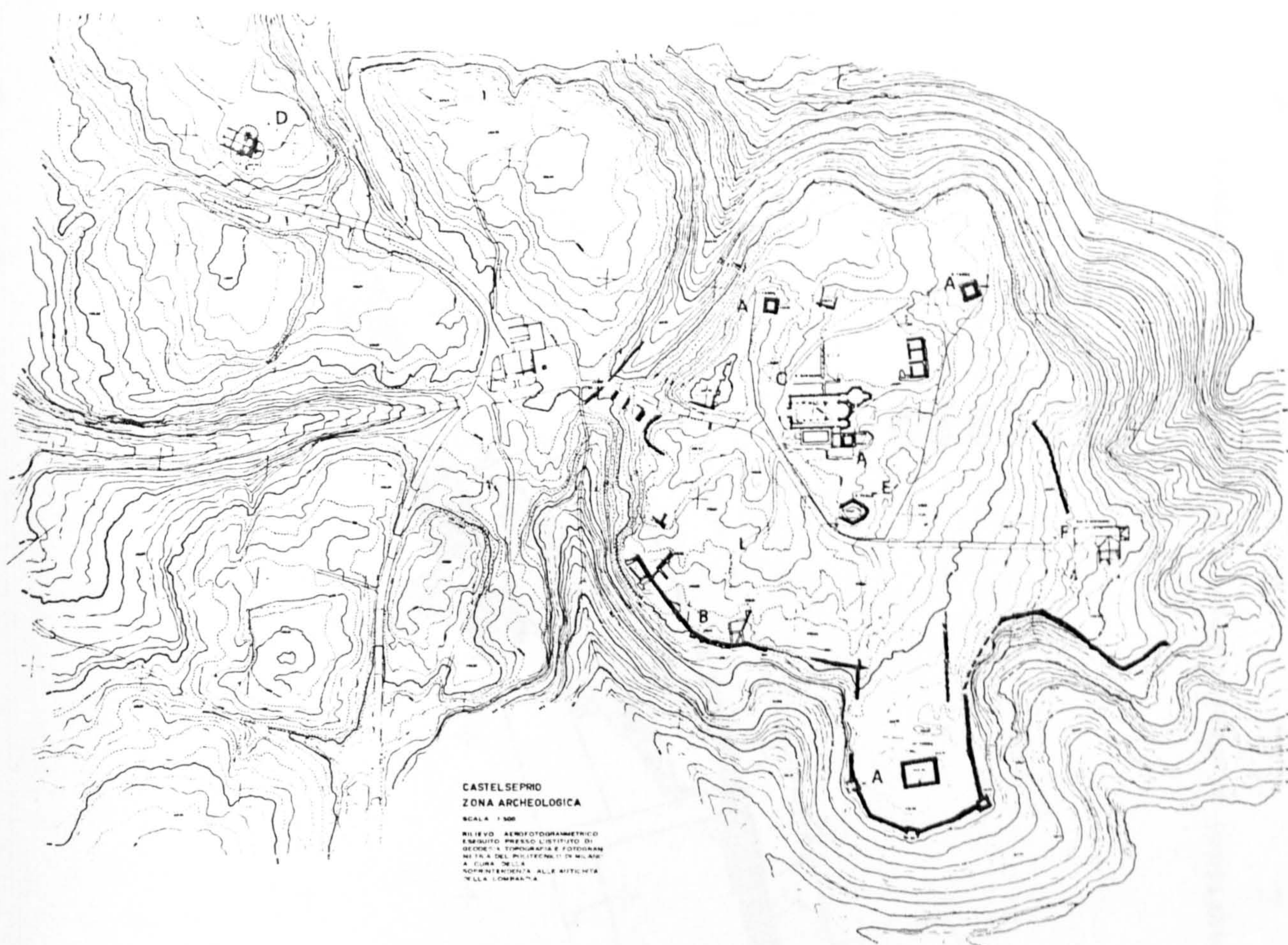


FIG. 4

Plan of castrum and borgo of Castelseprio

- A Late Roman towers
- B Circuit wall
- C S. Giovanni and baptistery
- D S. Maria foris portas
- E S. Paolo
- F Monastery dairy-farm



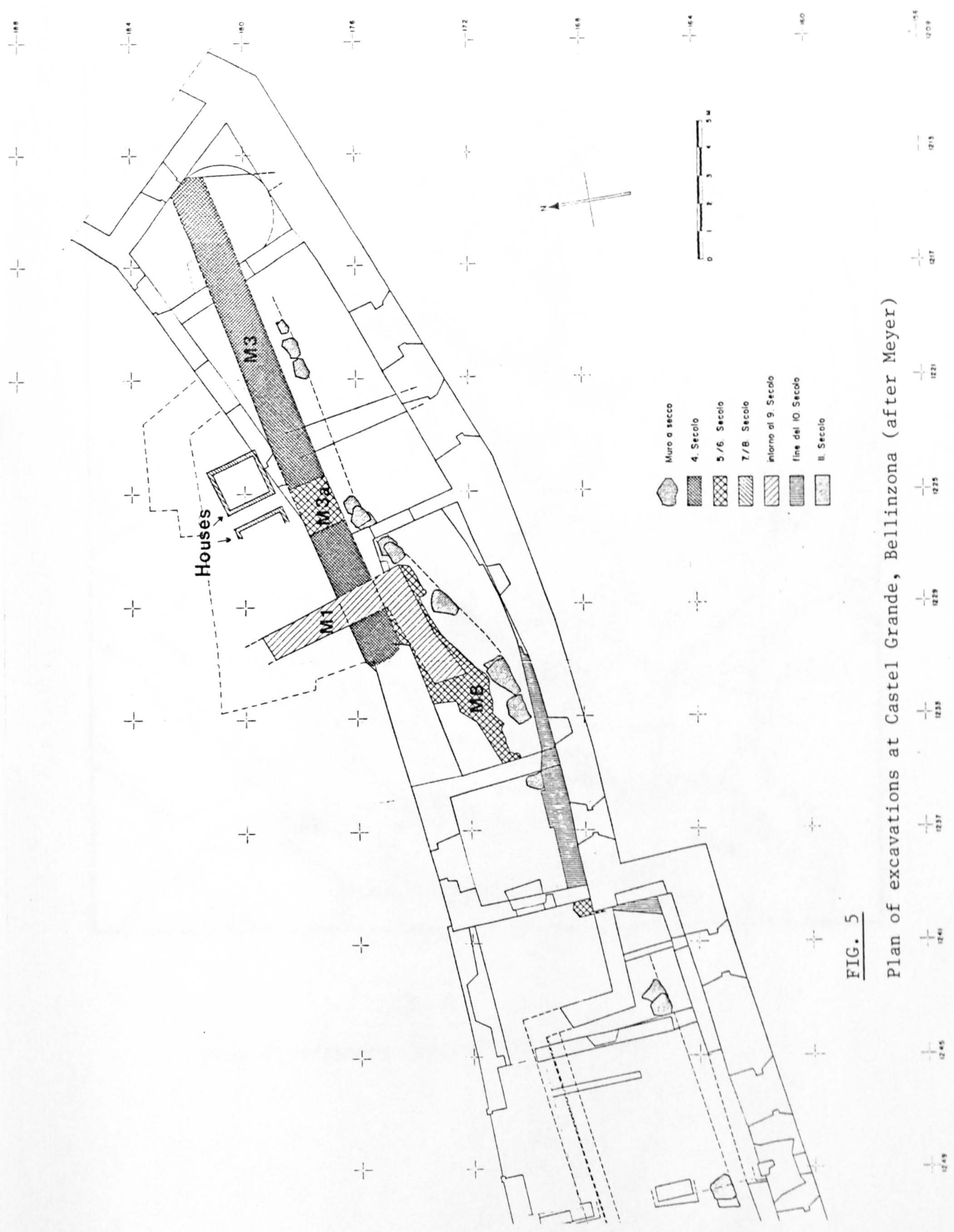


FIG. 5

Plan of excavations at Castel Grande, Bellinzona (after Meyer)



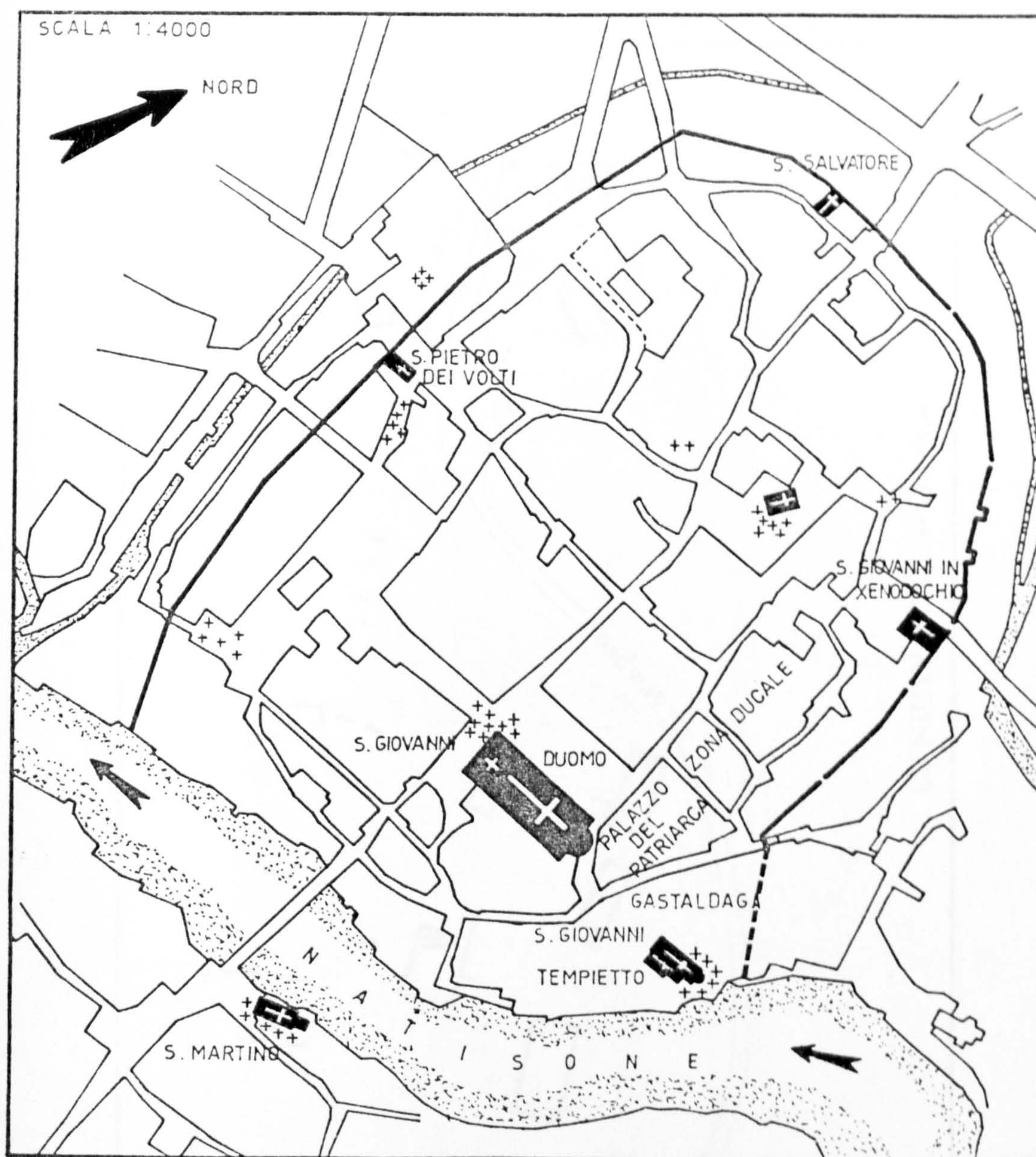


FIG. 6

Plan of Longobard Cividale (after Brozzi)



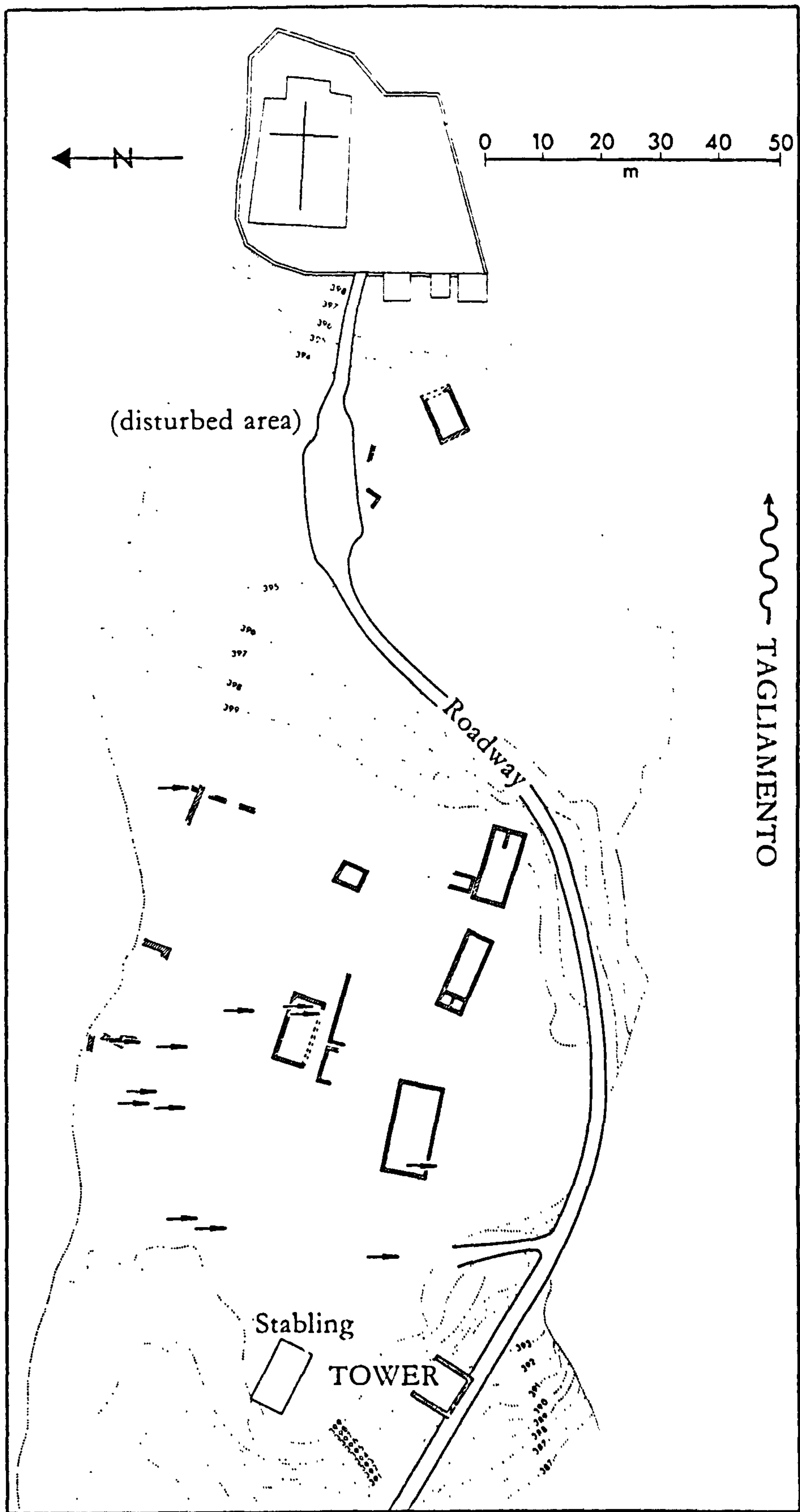
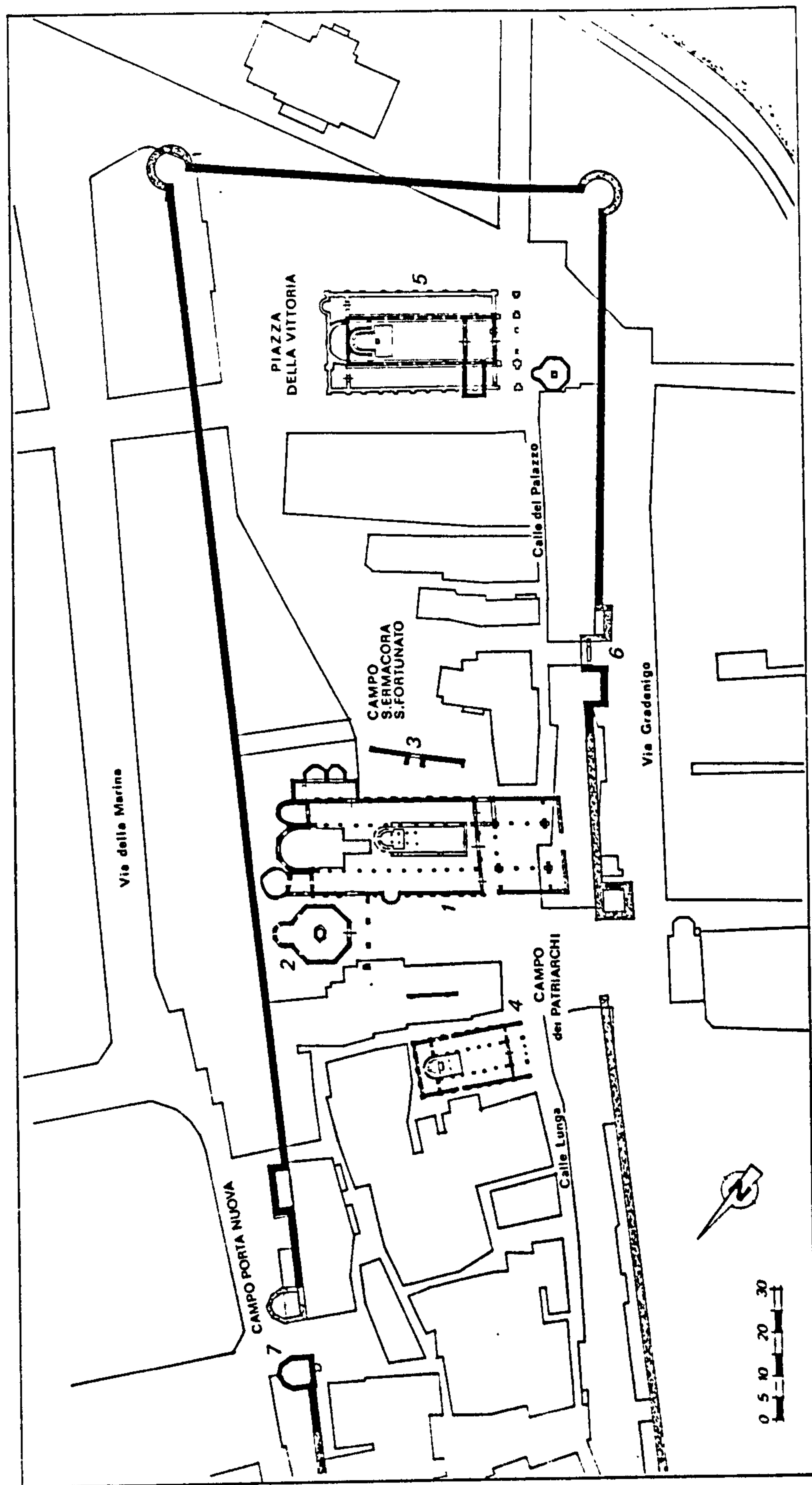


FIG. 7

Invillino: Plan of castrum (after Pauli)



**FIG. 8**

Grado: Plan of castrum (after Mirabella Roberti)







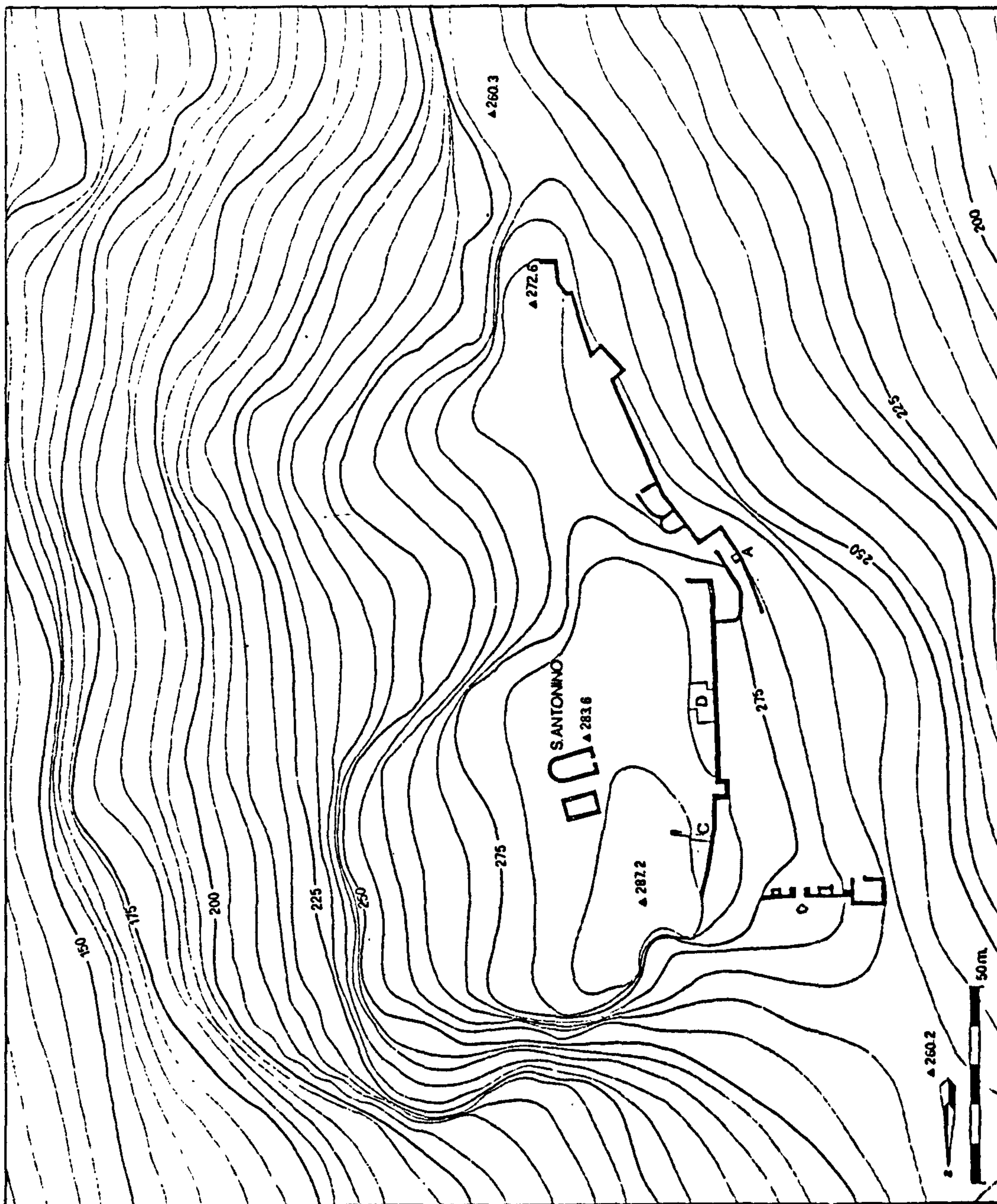


FIG. 11

General plan of the castrum Pertice, noting  
excavation zones (after Bonora et al.)



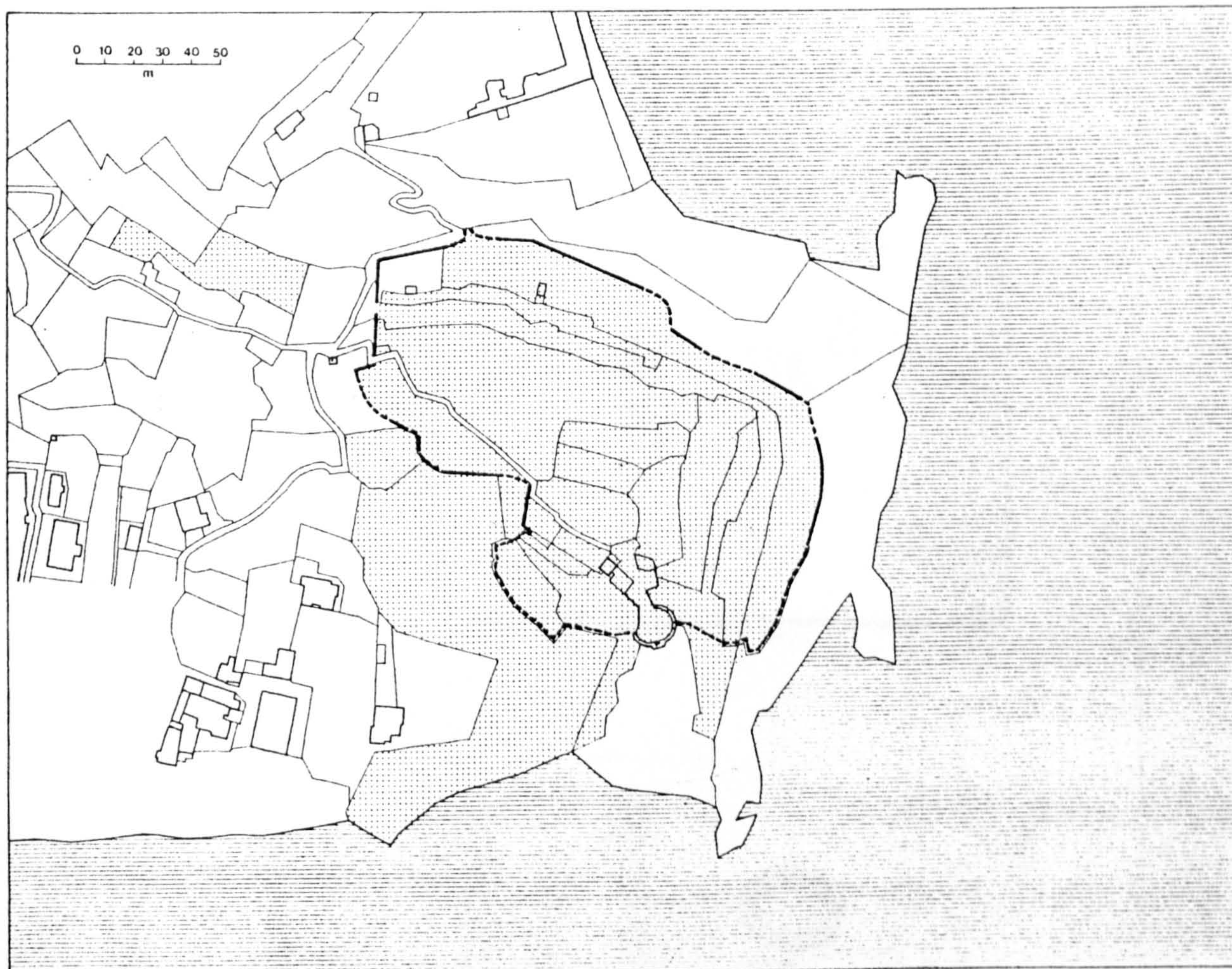


FIG. 12

Plan of the castrum at Varigotti (after Lamboglia)



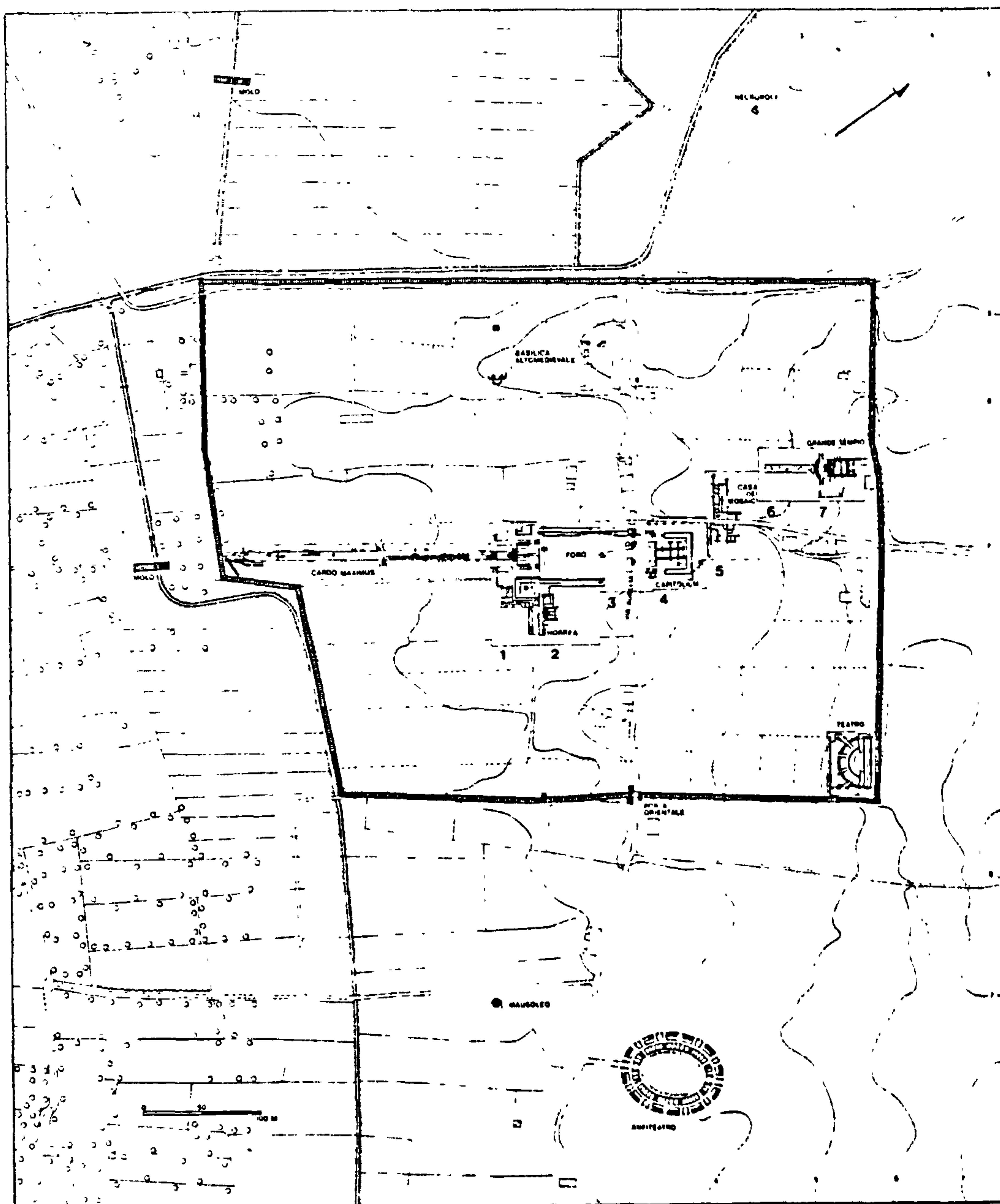


FIG. 13      Luni: the classical excavations up to 1971. Plan by Stanisław Kasprzysiak. (Frova, 1973.)

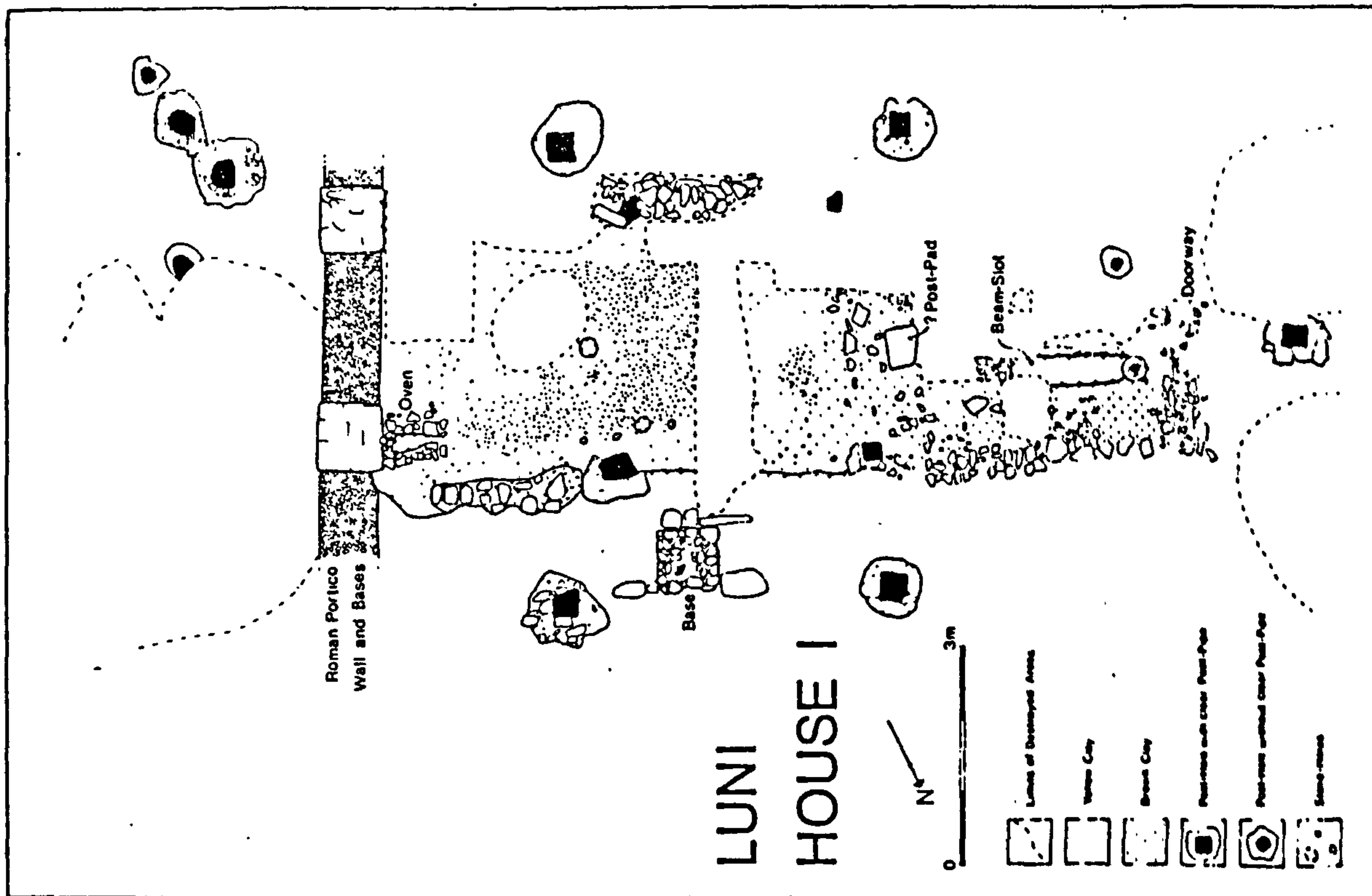


FIG. 15

Luni: Plan of the two Byzantine houses

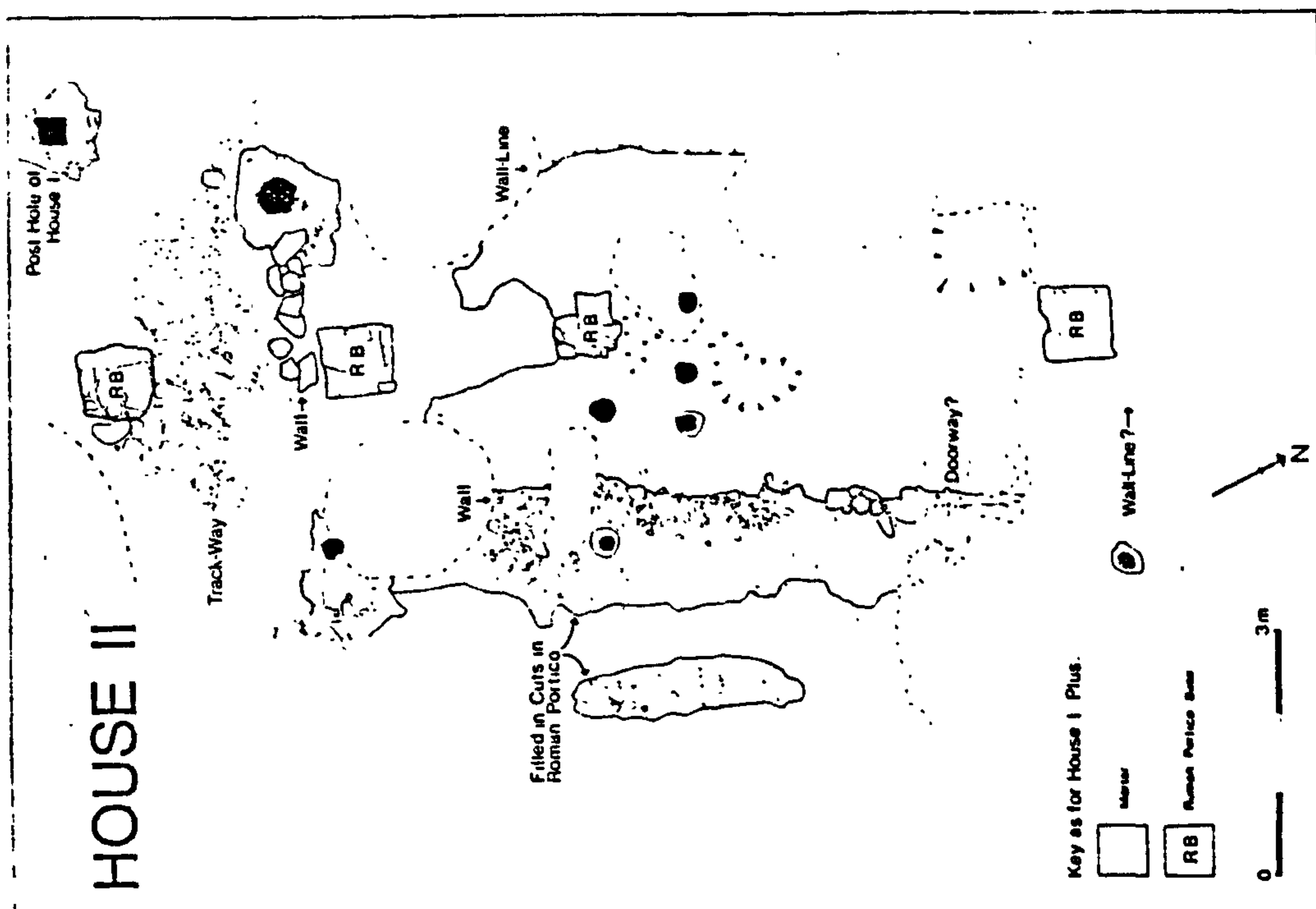


FIG. 14

Luni, HOUSE II. (Plan by Charlotte Harding and Bryan Ward-Perkins)

Luni, HOUSE I. (Plan by Mark Blades, Charlotte Harding and Bryan Ward-Perkins)

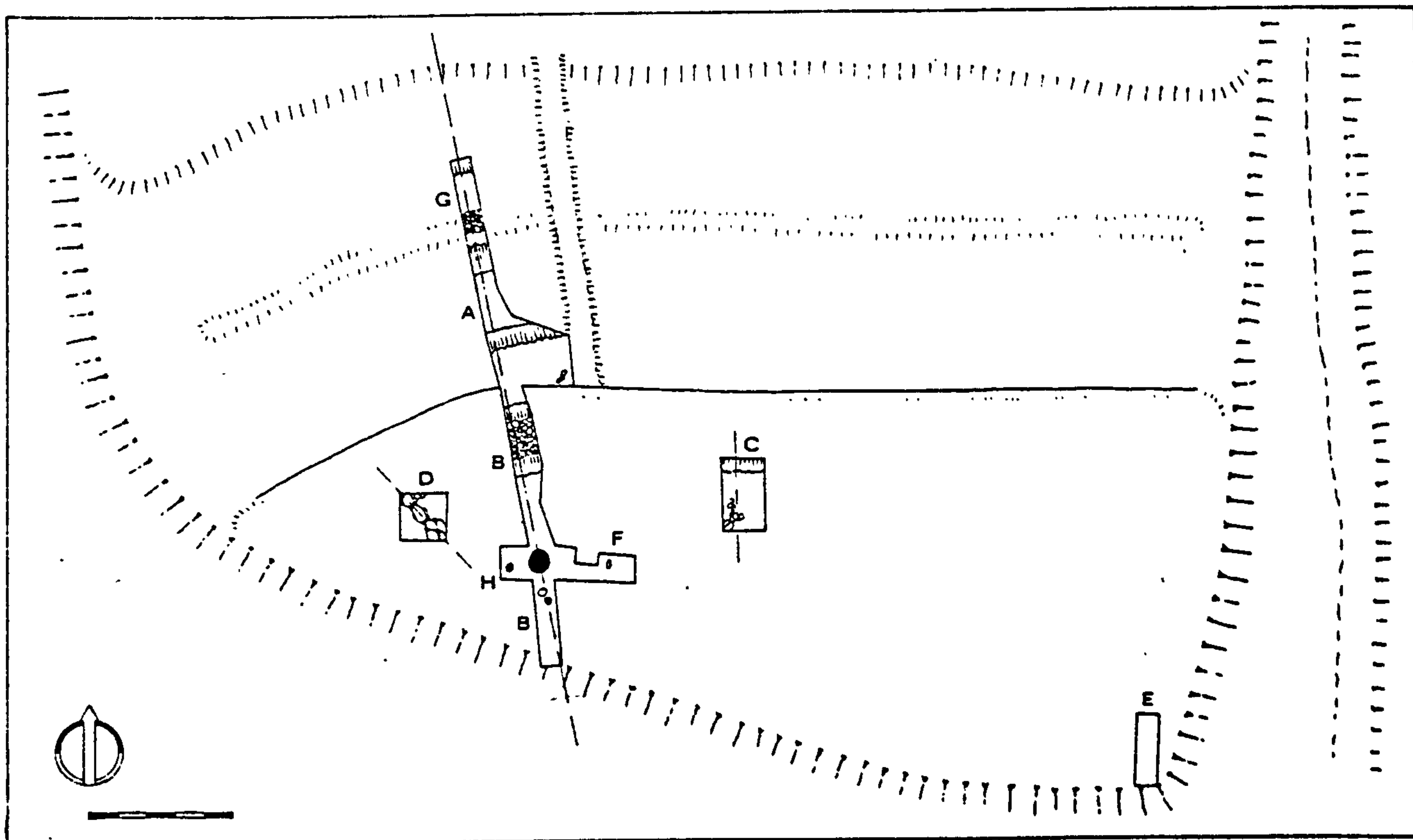


FIG. 16

Castelvechio, Filattiera: Plan of the excavated zone (Cabona et al.)

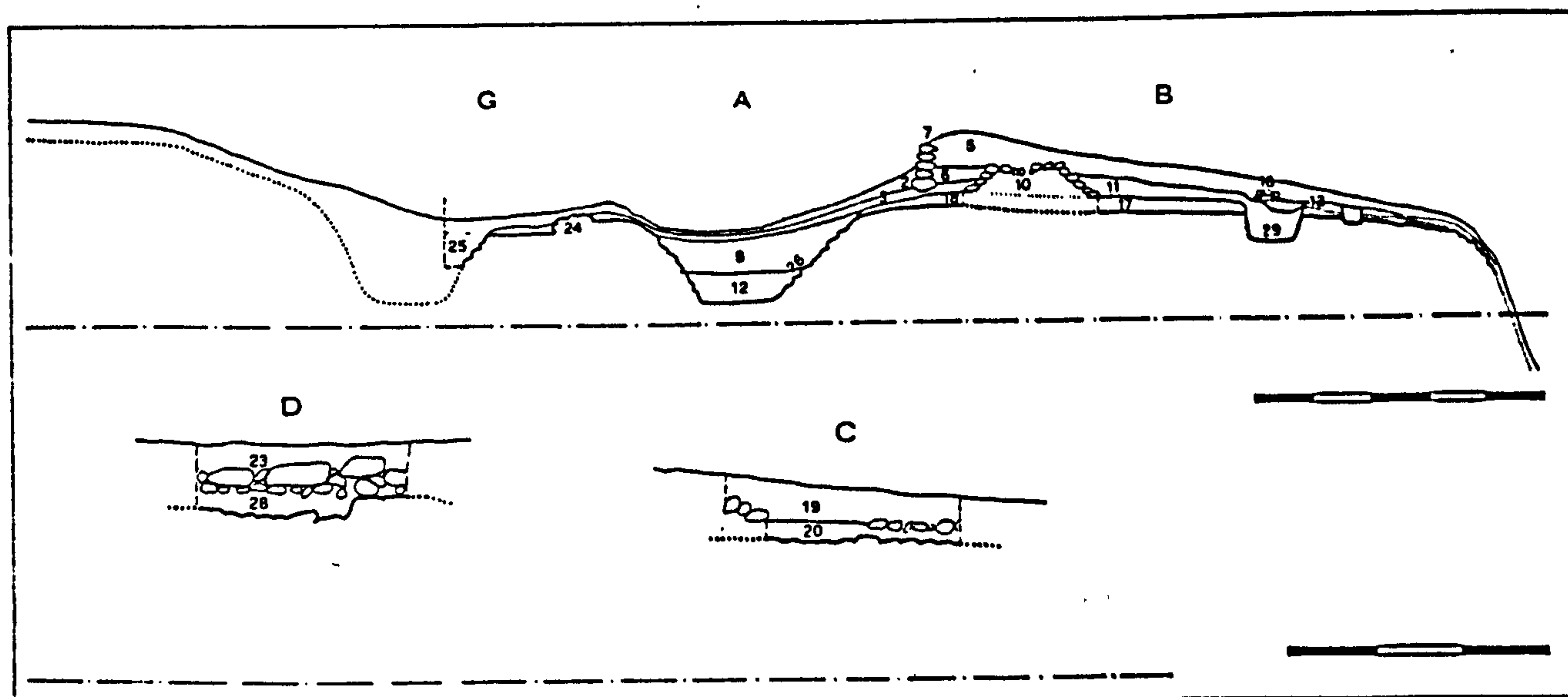


FIG. 17

Castelvechio: Stratigraphic sections (after Cabona et al.)



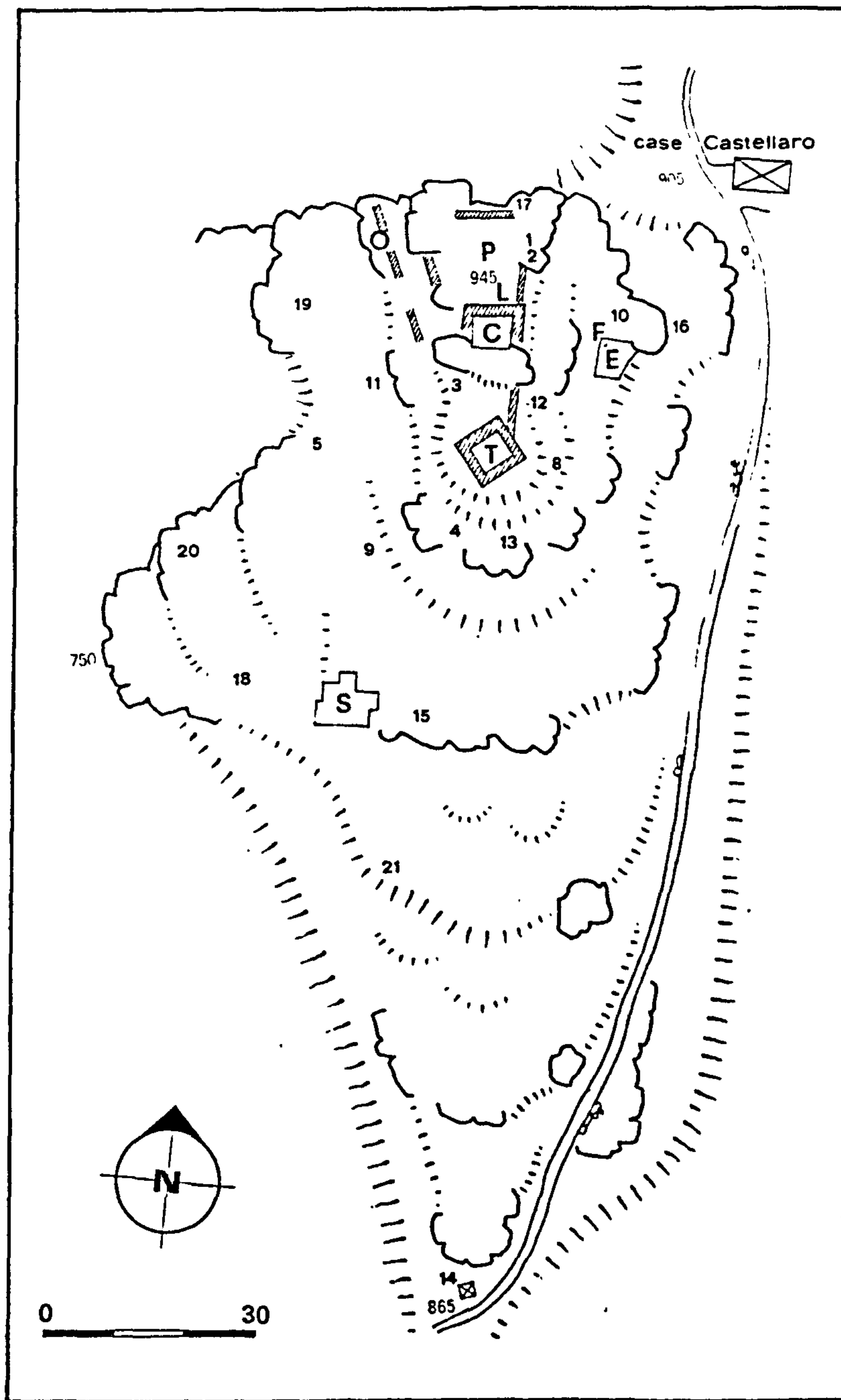


FIG. 18

General plan of the 'Castellaro', Zignago. Zones C, L, P, O and T denote medieval remains (after Cabona et al.)

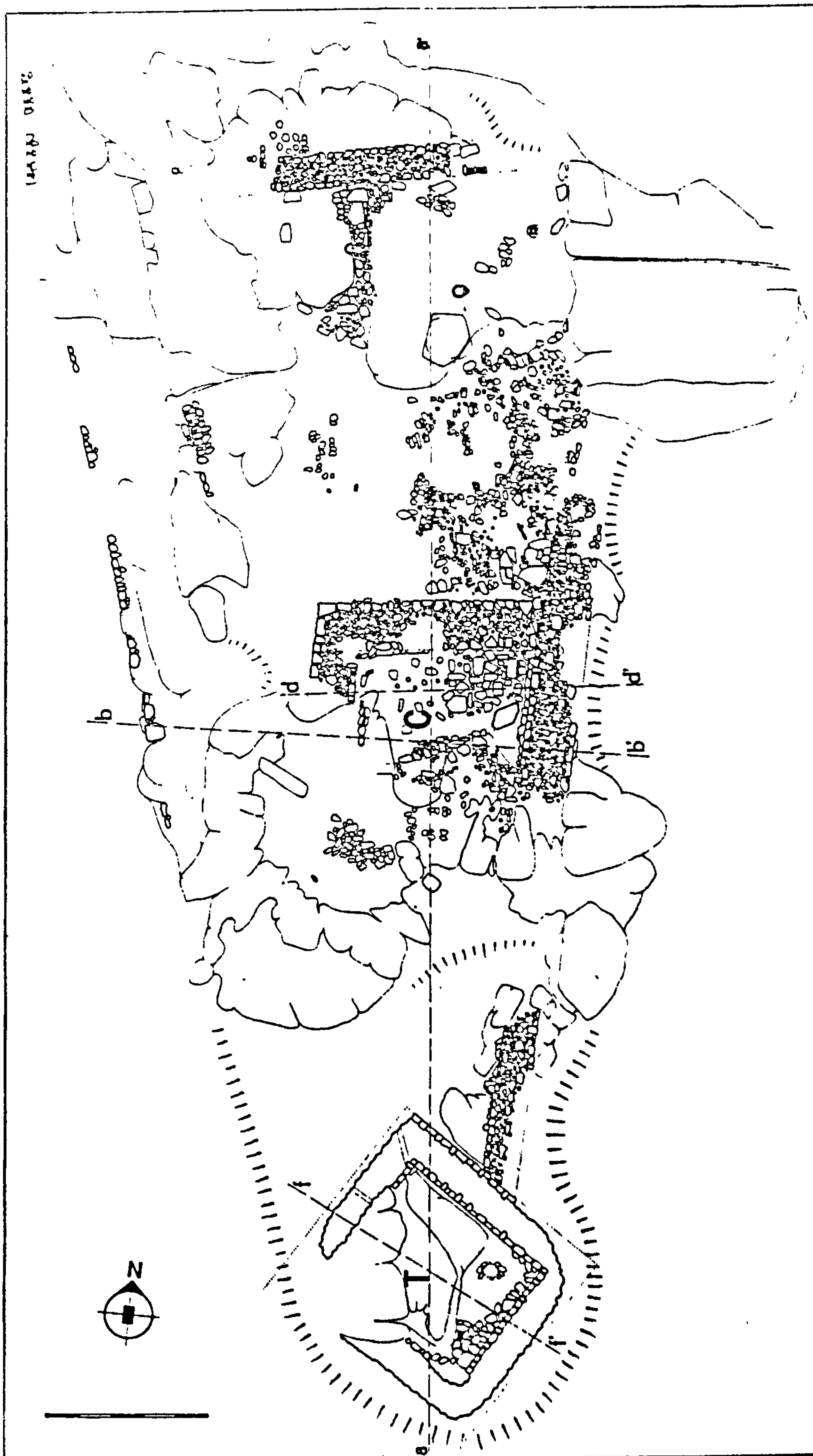
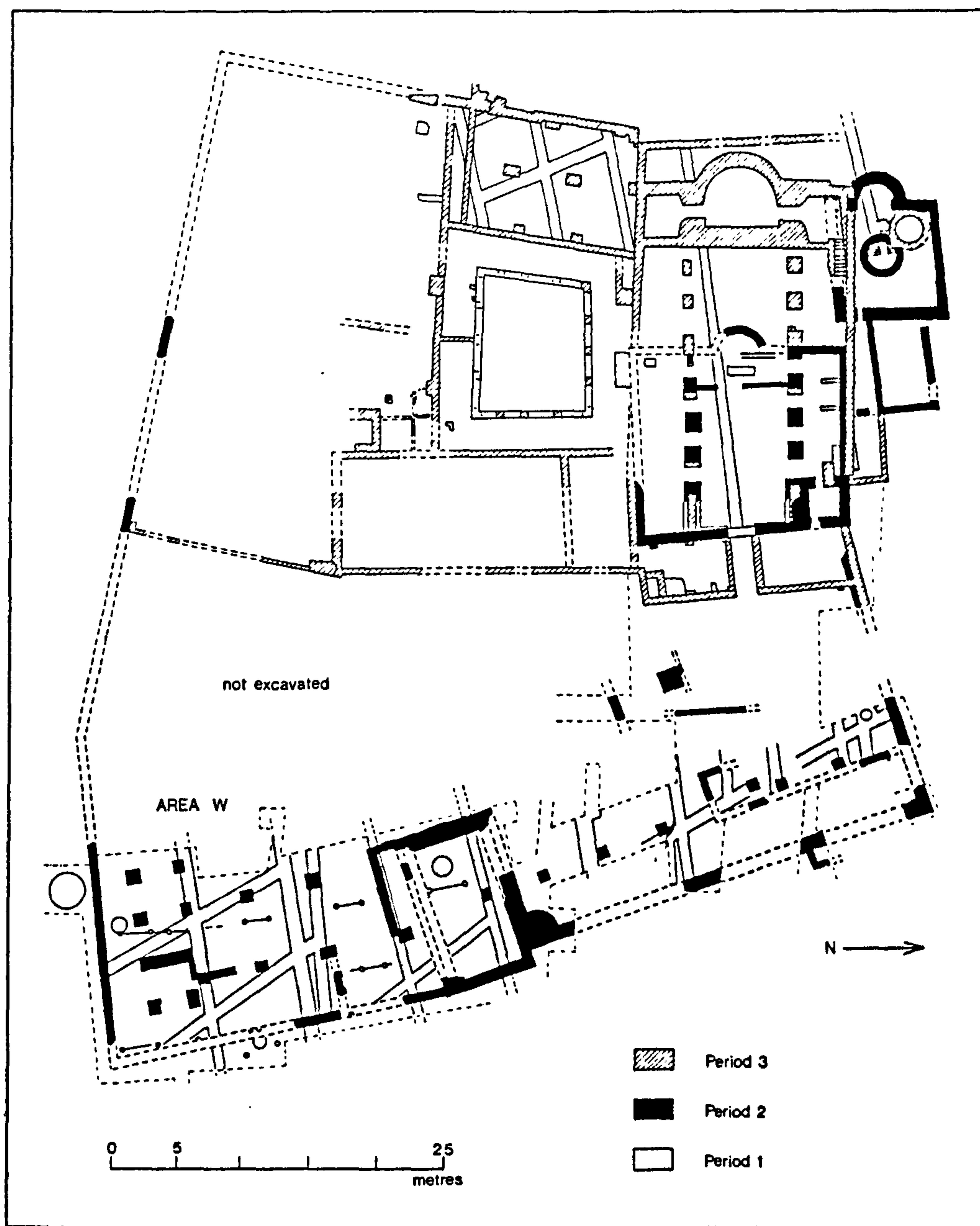


FIG. 19

Castellaro: Plan of excavated medieval remains  
(after Cabona et al.)



**FIG. 20** S. CORNELIA. PROVISIONAL SITE PLAN  
(after Whitehouse)



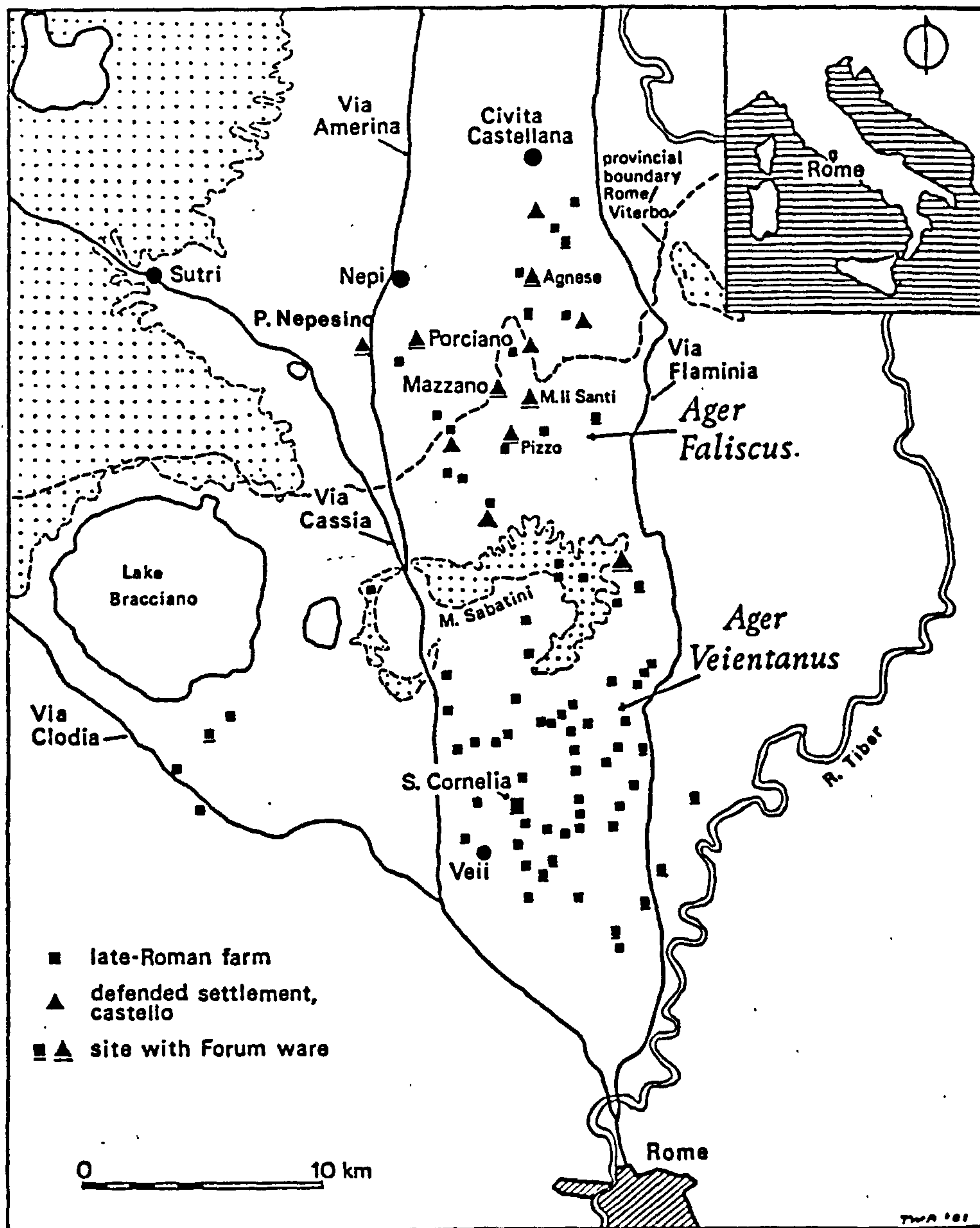


FIG. 21 *The distribution of Forum ware*

(after Potter)

### LIST OF PLATES

1. Castello d'Adelaide, Susa.
2. Interior of Castello circuit, Susa.
3. Porta Savofa (Interior), Susa.
4. Castello di Caprie.
5. Sacra di Chiusa S. Michele.
6. Medieval circuit tower, Aosta.
7. S. Giulio d'Orta.
8. Circuit Walls, Pombia.
9. External tower 2 and circuit, Castelseprio.
10. South-east corner tower, Castelseprio.
11. Castel Grande, Bellinzona (Photo : Donati).
12. Isola Comacina, and the promontory of Lenno.
13. Tower in flank of S. Eufemia, Comacina.
14. Doss Trento (Verruca), Trento.
15. Gateway on Doss Trento, Trento.
16. Grotte di Catullo, Sirmione.
17. Castel Telvana, Borgo.
18. Circuit interior, Castel Telvana.
19. Cividale del Friuli over the Natisone River.
20. Traces of the circuit wall, Cividale.
21. Torrione, Cormons castello.
22. The Church of SS. Gervasio e Protasio, Nimis (Photo : Menis).
23. Artegna castello hill (pre-1976).
24. Circuit wall, Artegna.
25. Castello hill, Osoppo.

26. Castello, Ragogna (pre-1976) (Photo : Cerutti).
27. Castello and Church of S. Pietro, Ragogna.
28. Castello, and duomo, Gemona (pre-1976).
29. Gemona and castello, 1982.
30. Invillino : Colle di Zuca (to left), M. Santino (right) (Photo : Pauli).
31. Church on the Colle di Zuca, Invillino (Photo : Pauli).
32. Late Roman circuit, Aquileia.
33. Mosaic inscription recording Numerus Tarvisianus, Grado (Photo : Cuscito).
34. Centro storico, Torcello.
35. Late antique walls in theatre, Ventimiglia.
36. Promontory and castrum, Varigotti.
37. Possible gate tower, Varigotti.
38. S. Paragorio, Noli.
39. 'Mura della Cittadella', Luni.
40. Aerial photograph of Filattiera (Photo : Schmiedt).
41. Spur of Castelvechio, Filattiera.
42. Traces of circuit, Castelvechio (Filattiera).
43. Castellaro, Zignago (to right) (Photo : Lamboglia).
44. Repairs in Roman circuit, Fano.
45. Nocera Umbra.
46. Arch of Augustus, Perugia.
47. City Walls, Spoleto.
48. Promontory of Calcata, S. Etruria (Photo : Potter).
49. Circuit towers, Terracina (Photo : Conticello , Terracina, Guida, 1976).
50. Jug, Forum Ware (Photo : Sopr. Arch. di Ostia).



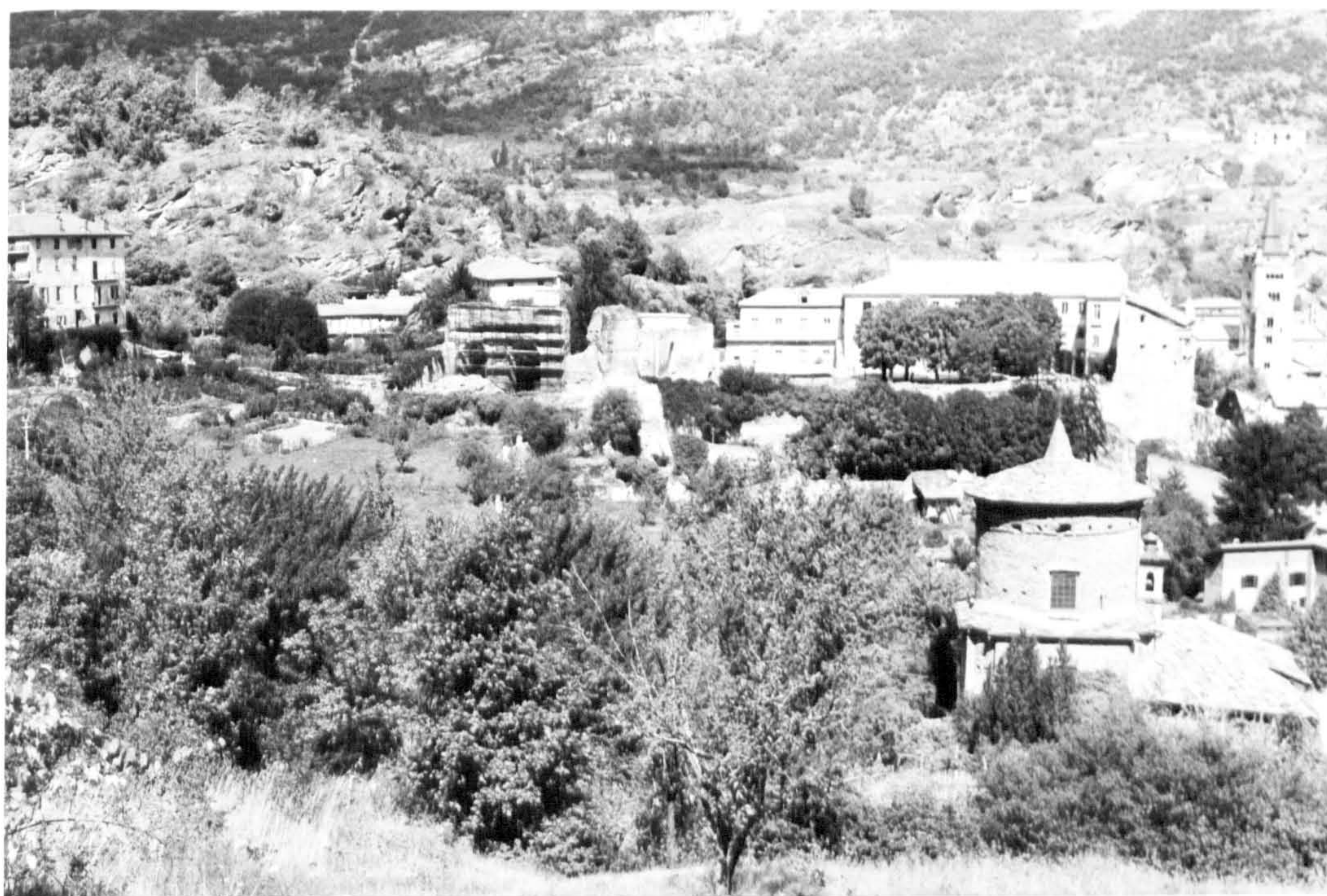


Plate 1



Plate 2



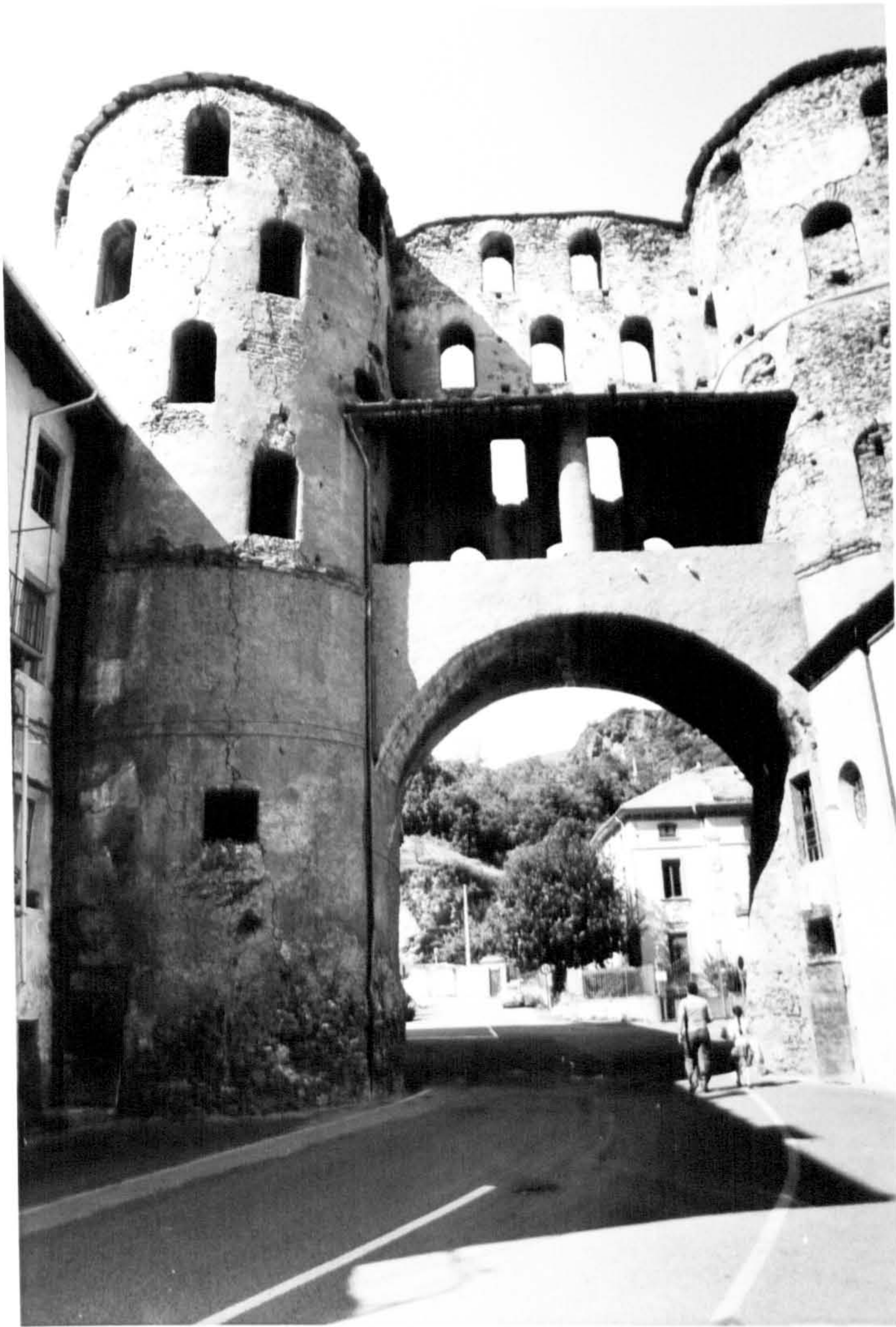


Plate 3



Plate 4



**MISSING**

**PAGES**

**NOT**

**AVAILABLE**



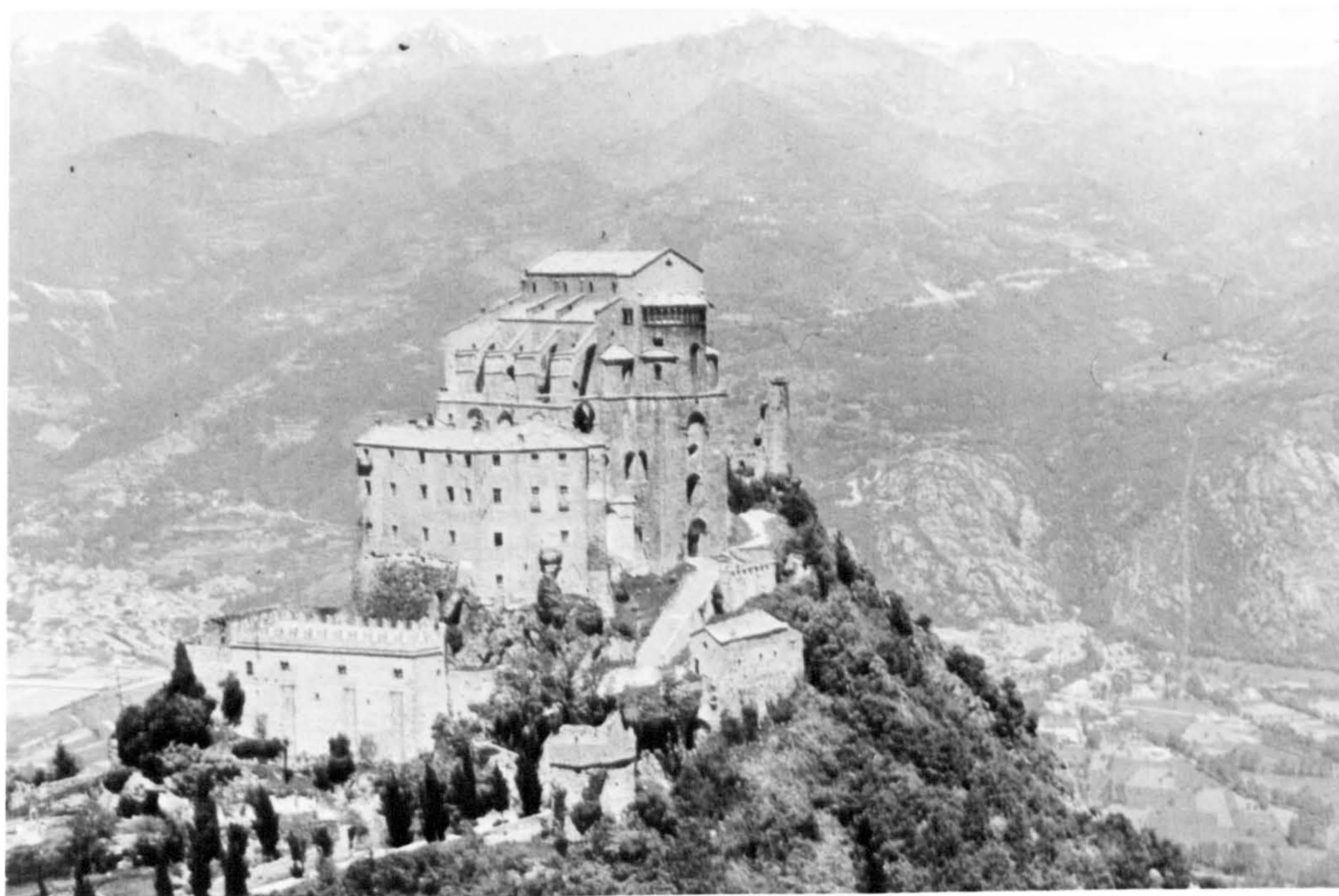


Plate 5



Plate 6





Plate 7



Plate 8





Plate 9



Plate 10





Plate 11



Plate 12





Plate 13



Plate 14





Plate 15



Plate 16





Plate 17



Plate 18





Plate 19

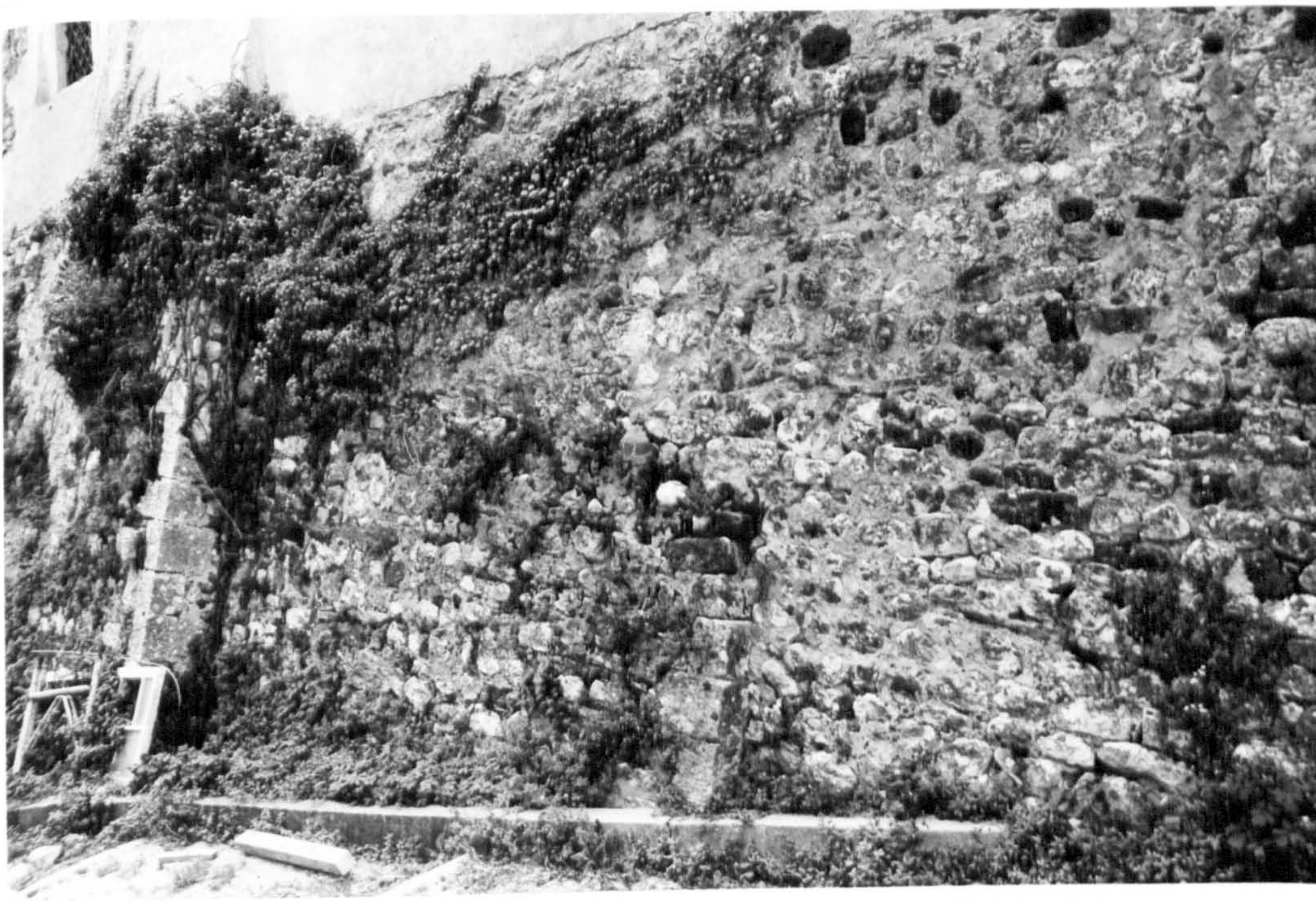


Plate 20



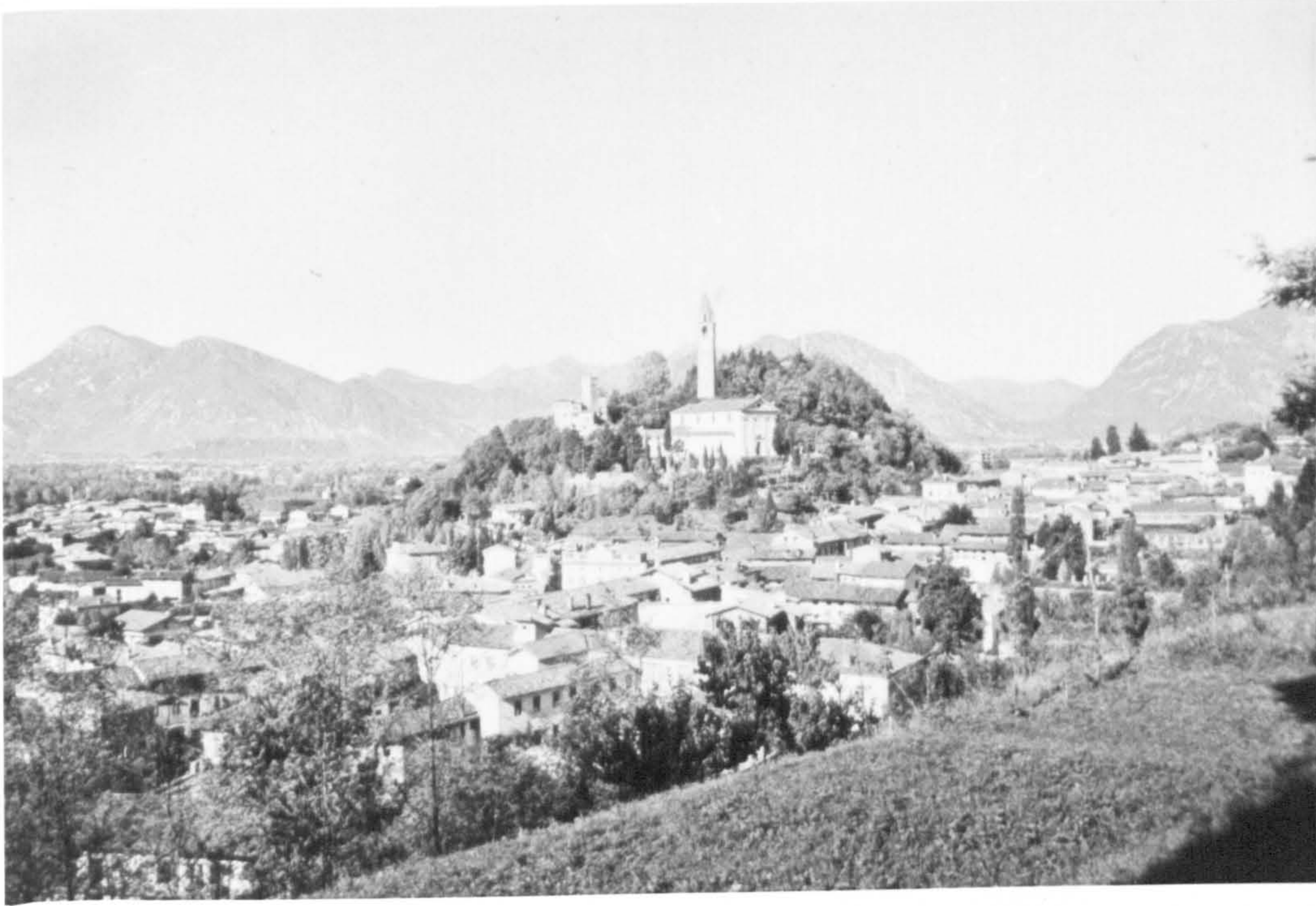


Plate 23



Plate 24





Plate 25





*Il Castello visto da San Pietro come si presentava nel 1975.*

Plate 26



Plate 27



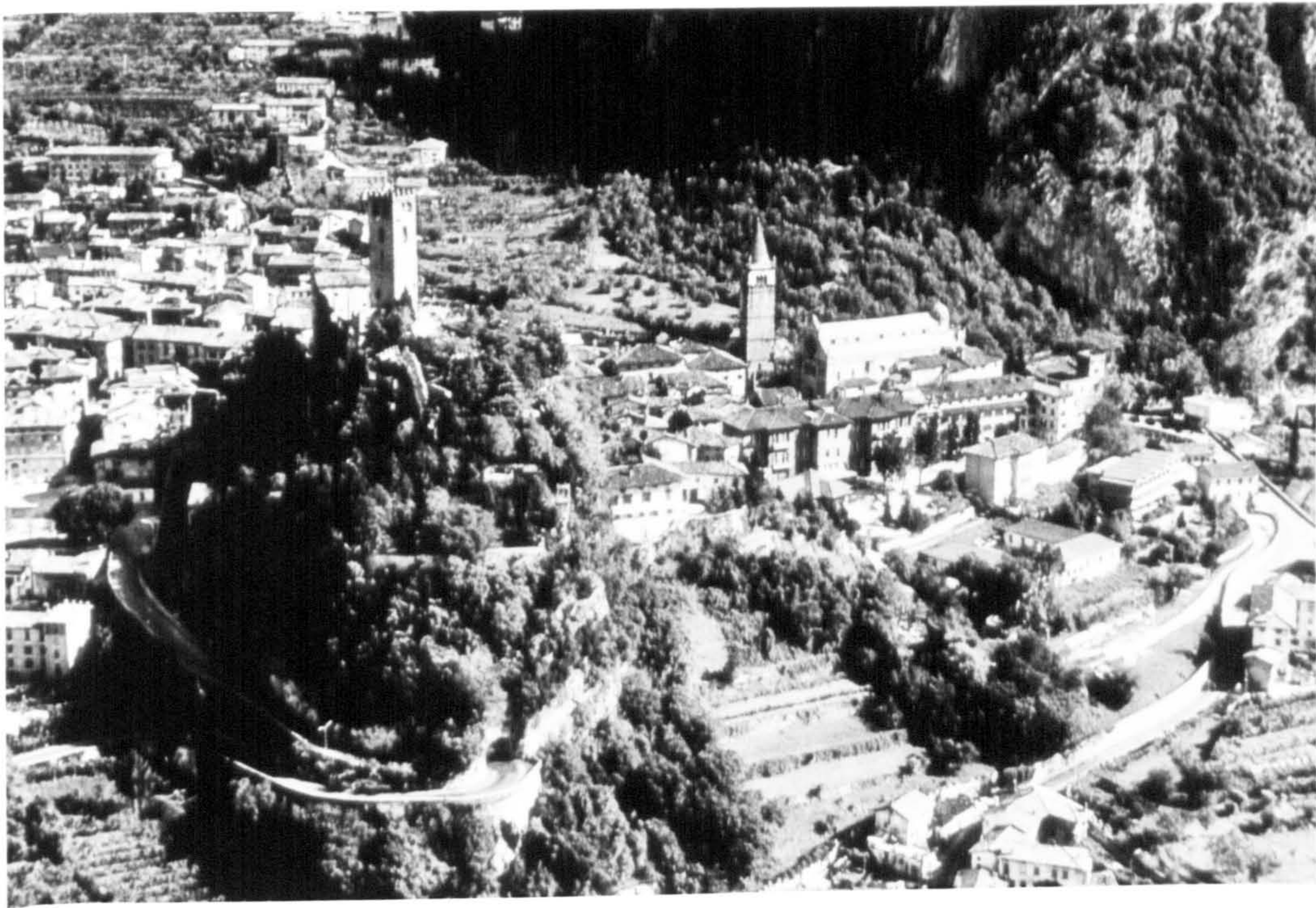


Plate 28



Plate 29





Plate 30

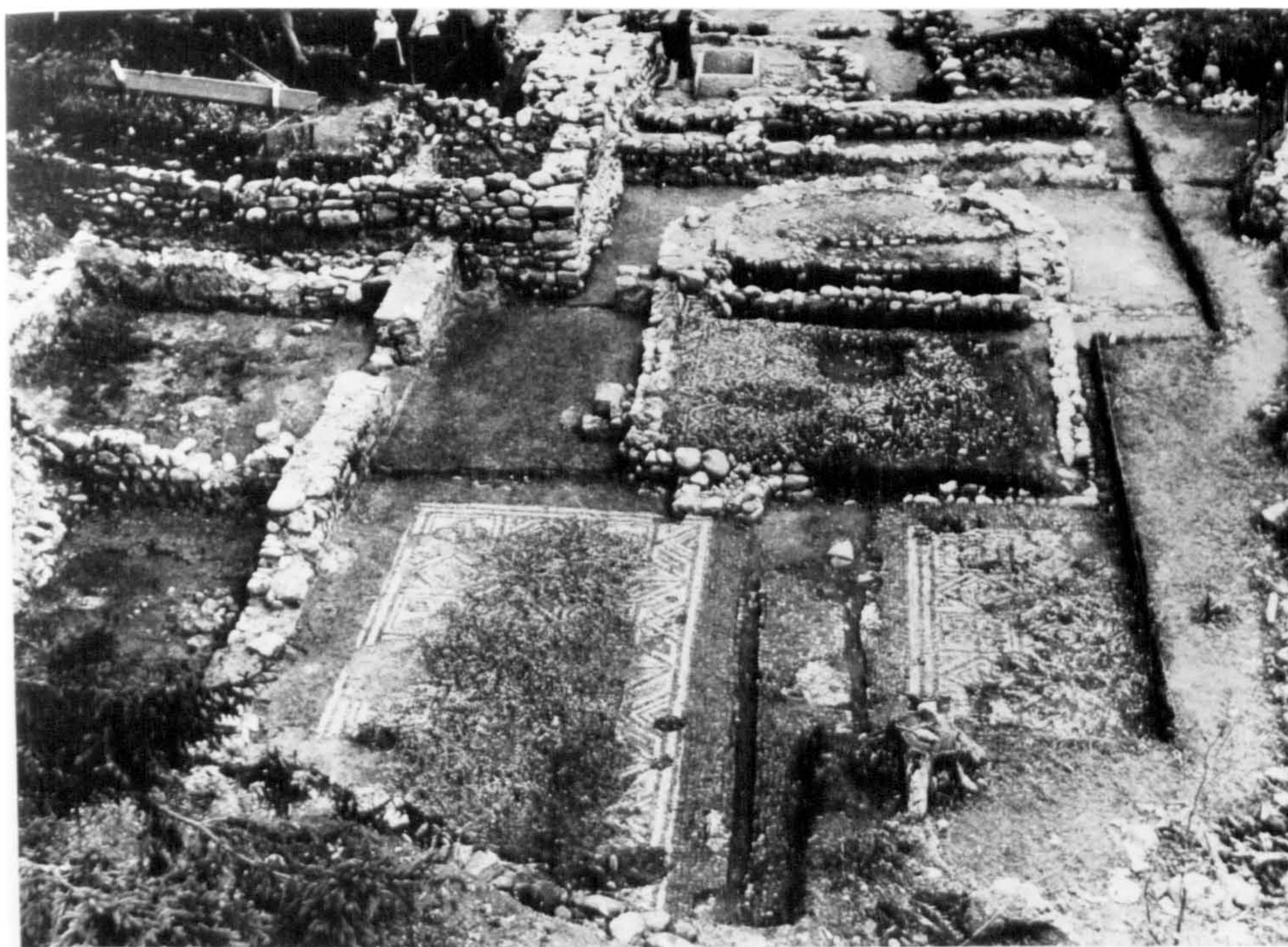


Plate 31





Plate 32



Plate 33





Plate 34

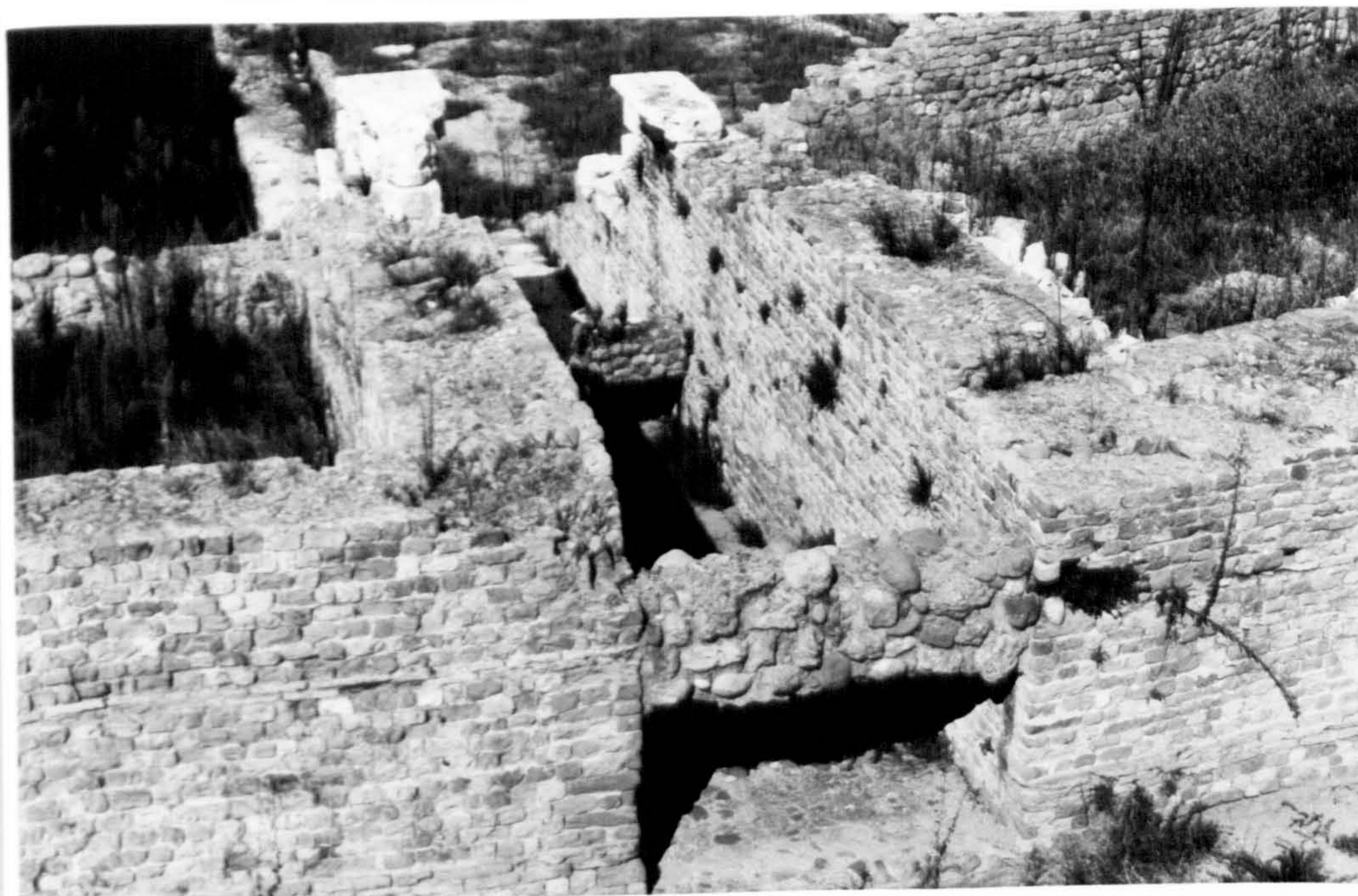


Plate 35





Plate 36



Plate 37





Plate 38



Plate 39





Plate 40



Plate 41





Plate 42



Plate 43





Plate 42



Plate 43



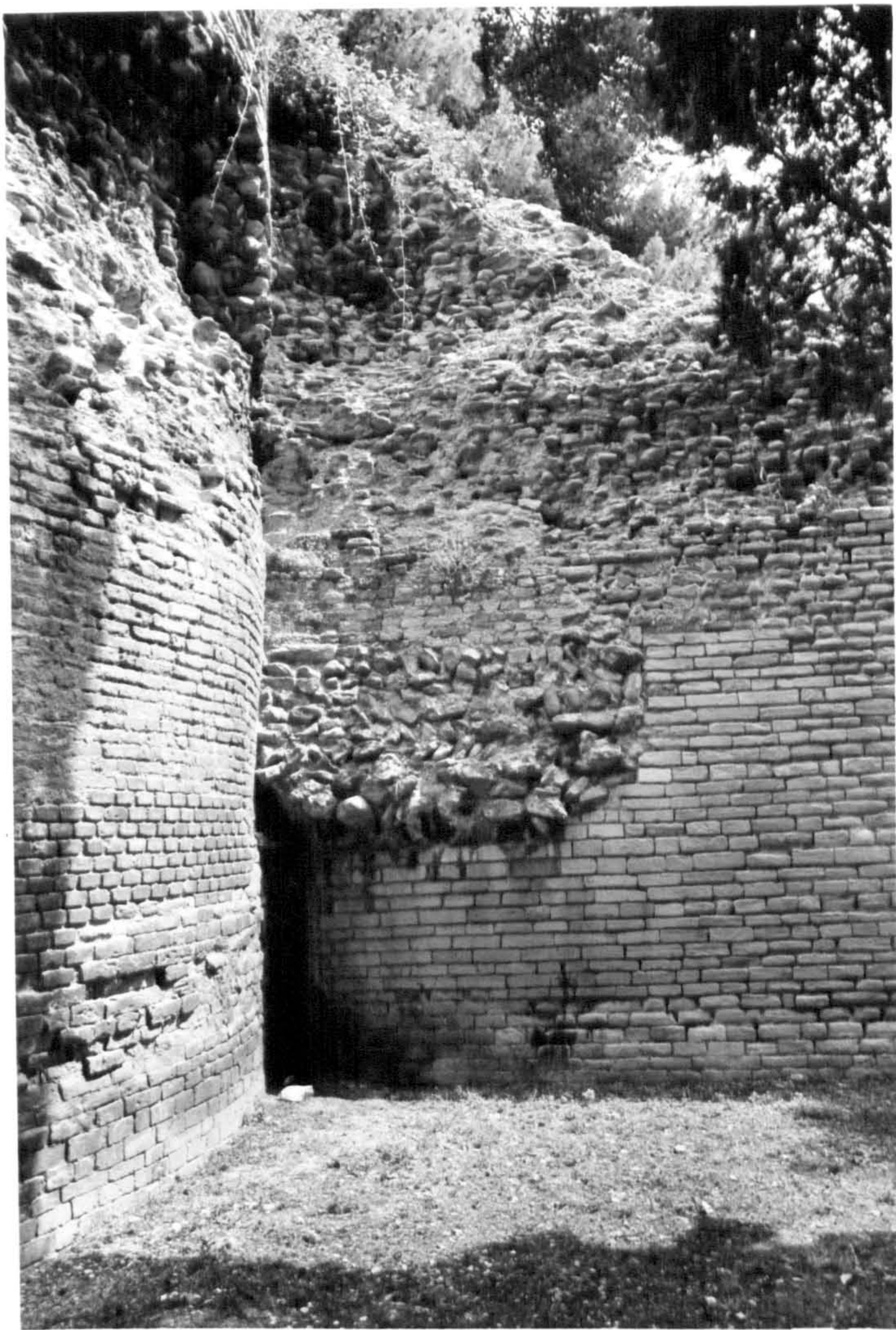


Plate 44



Plate 45



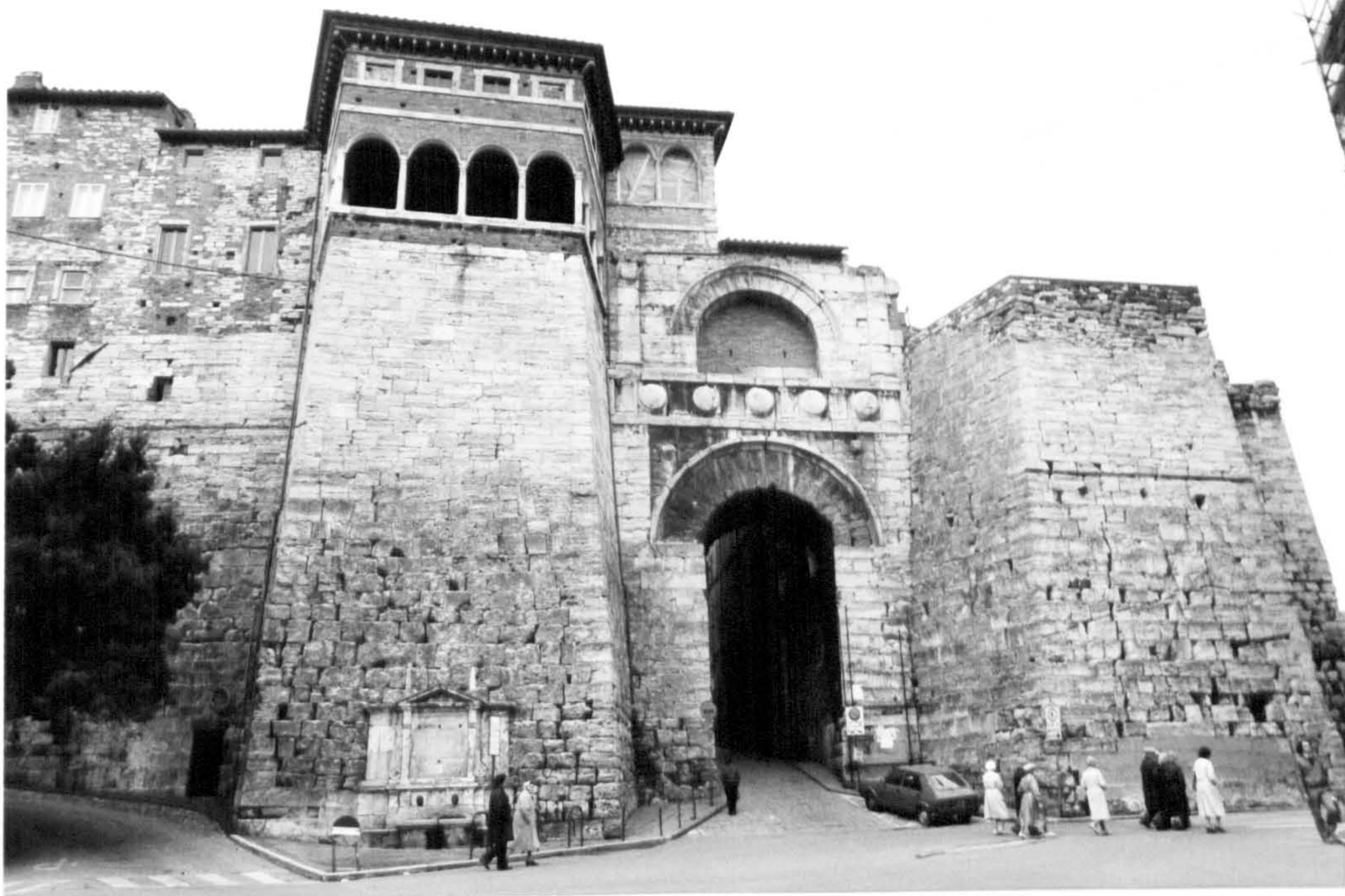


Plate 46



Plate 47





Plate 48



Plate 49





13 - Boccale invetriato dal Foro Romano