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Abstract.

Erica D'Amico

**Byzantine Finewares in Italy (10th to 14th Centuries AD):
Social and Economic Contexts in the Mediterranean World.**

This study is an investigation of the Byzantine glazed pottery of the 10th to 14th centuries recovered within the Italian peninsula. The aim is to establish the nature of the relationship between the material culture, represented here by Byzantine tablewares, and its consumers. An interdisciplinary approach is used to develop our understanding of how pottery vessels arrived in the households of the sites being considered, and how they were used within the interior rooms of the different contexts (such as urban, religious, rural, magnate residencies). Byzantine glazed pottery from excavated archaeological sites, surveys and chance finds have been recorded and examined. Historical evidence, history of art and architectural sources have also been used in support of the archaeological evidence, to add weight to the hypotheses and to place the pottery within a wider social context.

The results demonstrate that Byzantine glazed pottery was similarly used in a very varied range of site types within the Italian peninsula, and that these were mostly wealthy groups. There is little evidence to suggest that these vessels were consciously used by medieval people as a display of cultural identity, except perhaps in first period under consideration here (10th to 11th century). This investigation presents a completely new perspective on Byzantine glazed vessels within the Italian peninsula and the main types which were circulating in here. Variation in the three different periods analyzed (10th to 11th century, 12th century, and 13th to 14th century) has been recorded in terms of types, shapes, and quantity of pottery fragments. By looking at pottery vessels, as here, in a much broader context, this thesis has moved research forward into the lives of past people.

**Byzantine Finewares in Italy
(10th to 14th Centuries AD):
Social and Economic Contexts in the
Mediterranean World**

Two volumes

Volume 1

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Ph.D.

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2011

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank several institutions, local museums and individuals who contributed to the completion of the present dissertation, in Italy: Prof. Tiziano Mannoni – the ISCUM and the Sovrintendenza archeologica della Liguria; Prof. Carlo Varaldo and Dott. Paolo Ramagli – Museo del Priamar, Savona; Dott.ssa Francesca Saccardo – Museo Ca' D'oro, Venezia; Prof. Luigi Fozzati – NAUSICAA, Sovrintendenza archeologica del Veneto; Prof. Sauro Gelichi, Dr Diego Calaon, Dr Alessandra Cianciosi, Dr Margherita Ferri and Dott.ssa Corinna Bagatto – University of Venice; Dott.ssa Elvira Lo Mele and Dr Enrico Cirelli – University of Bologna; Prof. Enrico Zanini – University of Siena; Prof. Paul Arthur-University of Lecce; Dott.ssa Gabriella Tigano, Sovrintendenza archeologica di Reggio Calabria and Dott.Massimo Brizzi. In Greece, my thanks go to the team of the excavations of Corinth directed by Dr Guy Sanders from the Institution of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and to the Director of the excavations of the Agorà in Athens, Prof. John McK. Camp II.

Furthermore, the team of the Centre for Medieval Archaeology of the University of Venice has for many years represented the foundations of my studies and work, and I would especially like to thank Professor Sauro Gelichi, for the many conversations about archaeology and for his constant support; Dr Diego Calaon, Dr Margherita Ferri, Dr Elena Grandi, Dott.ssa Corinna Bagatto and Dott.ssa Cecilia Moine, for their constant availability in answering my questions, and for their friendship. Dott.ssa Speranza Fresia for the work we did together on medieval pottery, which taught me a great deal and was a stimulus to my own research, and also for her friendship.

Other people have constantly been available to answer to my emails and queries, such as Pamela Armstrong and John Hayes (Oxford University); Dr Yona Waksman (Laboratoire de Céramologie CNRS, Lyon), Dr Joanita Vroom

(University of Sheffield); Dr Marco Milanese (University of Cagliari); Dott. Alexander Gardini (Sovrintendenza archeologica della Liguria); my dear friend and colleague Dr Pietro Riavez.

Victoria Leitch corrected the English of this text and carried out further editing work. My friend Dr Richard Hartis read through the very first drafts of the chapters making many corrections. I would also like to thank my friends in Durham for the very important discussions we had about archaeology, nationalism and theoretical archaeology, and for the unforgettable time spent together: Dr Thomas Cucchi, Dr Masakatsu Fujita, John Gould, Dr Christos Hadjichristidis, Akira Nishitani and Francesca Mazzilli.

Finally, I would like to thank my supervisors Dr Anna Leone and Professor Chris Gerrard, first for their professionalism and passion for their subjects; for their patience with my errors; for their teaching and availability. They have contributed to changing the way in which I look at archaeological topics. Furthermore Dr Alejandra Gutierrez has been fundamental for the development of this research and a continuous help with many useful suggestions; her work has been a guide in my career as a PhD student.

The last and most important thanks goes to my family: my sincere thanks go to my father and mother-in-law, Nino and Rosanna, and especially to my parents Gaetano and Clementina, always present and there to help me, with many sacrifices. Last but not most significant thanks go to my husband Alessio, for the stimulus he gave me in discussing archaeology, his passion in our 'adventures' and for his incredible and constant support; and very finally to a new born little girl, my daughter Irene, who has experienced with me the final stages of this thesis.

*Ai miei genitori, Gaetano e Clementina,
e alla mia nuova famiglia, Alessio ed Irene.*

The pottery fragments from the Museum Ca' D'Oro of Venice have been provided on gentle concession of the Italian Ministry of the Cultural and Touristic activities and patrimonies- Museum pool of the Veneto Region (Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del Turismo-Polo Museale del Veneto), according to the protocol number 6065, date 29/11/2017.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates fineware pottery manufactured in Byzantine territories between the 10th and 14th centuries AD. The most important production centres for this pottery were the capital Constantinople, Corinth and Sparta but there were many other workshops in mainland Greece, the Greek islands and Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Together with other goods, pottery from these centres circulated around the eastern Mediterranean in the boats of merchants, and particularly on board of Italian¹ vessels. It is no surprise then that Byzantine finewares have been recovered at a range of excavated sites on the Italian peninsula and it is this distribution which forms the particular focus of this thesis.

A primary aim is to provide the most comprehensive overview possible at the present time of reliably identified Byzantine finewares in Italy. This is a body of archaeological material which has hitherto been greatly understudied. Up to today the key works on this topic have been mainly published by British, American and French scholars, who did work in the territories of the ex Byzantine Empire. Early pioneering works by David Talbot Rice (1930) and later by Charles Morgan (1942) and Robert Stevenson (1947) have been consolidated by the remarkable excavation at the very important site of Constantinople where an immense work by John Hayes has been based on the examination of the pottery from Late Antiquity to the Ottoman periods. More recently, the PhD thesis by Guy

¹ From now the adjective 'Italian' will mean the indigenous people of the Italian Peninsula

Sanders (1995) has revisited the data-set proposed by Morgan (1942) in Corinth, also expanding the volume of pottery vessels. Other works based on scientific fabric analyses have been carried out mainly by Yona Waksman (1997; 2004–2005; 2006; 2007; 2008). While lately a large examination of Byzantine pottery has been carried out by Joanita Vroom (2003) for the territory of Boeotia in Greece.

Italian scholars have developed only a modest interest in Byzantine finewares (they are mainly focused on the records from excavations, see for example in Gelichi 1993), especially when compared with other imported finewares, such as the Islamic ones (eg. Berti and Torre 1983, Blake and Aguzzi 1990). This is due partly to the number and size of the sherds recovered and partly due to the problem of identification. At the same time there are wider concerns about the state of medieval pottery studies across Italy among which are a reluctance to synthesise and a lack of engagement with the possible reasons behind the ‘consumption’ of pottery at specific sites. This thesis therefore aims to consider these issues by looking at only one type of imported pottery in the Italian peninsula, the Byzantine finewares, but taking as its study area the entire territory of the peninsula.

In summary, the overall aims of the thesis are fivefold:

- To summarise recent information concerning production sites, including the latest information on forms and fabrics of Byzantine finewares. While there is no intention to make an original contribution to the recognition of Byzantine pottery centres of production, the synthesis offered here will be useful to others and help to develop research questions for the future;

- To identify Byzantine finewares in Italy where material was accessible and add to that corpus any well published identifications to create a corpus of finds and findspots (Appendix 2);
- To examine the changing distribution of Byzantine finewares in Italy over a 400 year period;
- To place these distributions into a wider historical and social context, taking into account different site types and site histories;
- To present and analyse these findings within a theoretical context which includes an awareness of post-Processual concepts and addresses issues such as consumption, ethnicity and the physical context in which Byzantine pottery was used in the medieval household.

1.1 The study area

The main study area for pottery finds considered for this thesis is the Italian peninsula. In particular, the regions where Byzantine finewares occurs lie in the north of the country: Veneto, Liguria, Emilia Romagna; in the centre: Tuscany, Latium and Sardinia; in the south: Campania, Calabria and Sicily. The major centres where Byzantine fineware has been recovered in larger quantities are in three regions: Genoa in Liguria, Venice and Equilo (Jesolo) in Veneto, and Egnazia and Otranto in Apulia (Figure 1.1). A conscious effort has been made in this study to achieve full geographical coverage of modern Italy rather than focus on single sites in order to highlight changing distribution patterns.

We are aware that Italy was not a political entity at this time and in the period under study was dominated by different powers. In the 10th century, while in the north were important lords under the power of the

German Ottonian Empire, in the centre the Church with its state was in a period of weakness, in the south the Arabs were pushing hard until the gates of Rome. The Byzantines were present in several areas scattered in the peninsula as at Venice, the Dukedom of Naples, Apulia and partly Calabria. In the 11th century the Normans started their rise to the power in the south of Italy, while in particular in the 12th century the development of the Italian cities, *comuni liberi*, is particularly attested in the north of Italy. Finally in the 13th and 14th century the south was characterised by the presence of the Sicilian Kingdom, under Emperor Frederick II, while the centre was ruled by the Vatican state which managed to fit within the dynamics of the powers of the rest of the peninsula. The north was instead represented by the strength of the cities, which slowly become the centres of the *Signorie*, systems ruled by important feudal families, as happened in cities such as Ferrara, Verona, Vicenza, Padova, Mantova etc.

The pottery discussed here was manufactured in territories which fell under the Byzantine cultural sphere of influence. During its maximum extension in the 6th century AD, these territories included the Italian peninsula, north Africa, the Balkans, the Steppes, Anatolia and Iran, and the 'Byzantine heartland', a term used by Wickham (2005a, 5), which included the Aegean and western Anatolia (Figure 1.2). In the period under consideration here, between the 10th and 14th centuries, the Byzantine territories were mainly represented by parts of the Italian peninsula (with the provinces of Apulia and Calabria, the dukedom of Naples and Rome and Venice), part of the Balkans territory, the territory of modern Greece and only part of the west coast of modern Turkey. A more in-depth consideration of Byzantine history is provided in Chapter 2 (Figure 1.3).

1.2 The data set

Overall, the total number of Byzantine fineware sherds recorded in Italy is around 1130 sherds (we are aware of the existence of sites where Byzantine glazed pottery is present but we do not know the exact number of sherds recovered there. Therefore this number is surely higher. For the name of those sites see note 27). This pottery derives from 57 archaeological excavations which have been carried out since the 1960s, mainly from rescue excavations. The most were carried out from the mid of the 1970s to the mid of the 1980s. The types of site investigated include castles, palaces, religious sites, urban sites and rural sites where the pottery was found exclusively from contexts of secondary deposition, that is to say, from rubbish pits, beaten earth roads or dumping layers for pavements. There are no cases so far in Italy where Byzantine pottery has been recovered from primary contexts, that is, materials recovered *in situ*.

It is also important to stress that the quality of the data used for this thesis varies greatly from site-to-site in terms of methods of excavation, recording, and level of publication. The latter can vary from notes to short unpublished reports to full publication. Although this research gathers as much information as possible, archaeology developed quite late as proper scientific discipline in Italy (Gelichi 1997) and the quality of excavation inevitably varies. The excavations here were carried out by several institutions with dissimilar aims in mind and at different periods (Mannoni 1978, 305). For example not all sites record the area and volume of soil excavated, the total quantification of the pottery assemblage and moreover the size of the rest of the material culture present such as glass, metals bones, which have been very often discarded.

A major effort therefore has to be made to try to 'level out' the data, by carefully examining each intervention in turn and placing them into appropriate categories (Chapter 4) so that the data retrieved can be used with confidence and with an understanding of its limitations. These concerns, as we shall see, particularly apply to excavations carried out before c.1980. After that date the earliest post-Classical archaeology was quite strongly influenced by British methodology, particularly in the field and specifically in urban context (Gelichi 1997, 12). For example, among the most influential works of field archaeology in Italy was that by Carandini in his famous pamphlet *Archeologia e cultura materiale*, published in 1975. Important developments have also occurred in the last 20 years, with the contribution of important personalities such as Tiziano Mannoni, Hugo Blake, Riccardo Francovich, Giampietro Brogiolo, Sauro Gelichi, Paul Arthur, Richard Hodges, Andrea Augenti whose work has underpinned the main centres of medieval archaeology in Italy (see below).

Several further drawbacks can be identified. At a national level, Italy lacks statistical data on numbers and types of excavations with which to make a proper analysis of the situation. In spite of its permit system, it is not possible to say, for example, how many excavations there have been in all on sites of different periods nor when those excavations were undertaken. The national overview is therefore lacking and this is one of the factors which inhibits synthesis². Another is the uneven pace of research; the study of Byzantine pottery lags behind the state of knowledge of Islamic pottery, for example. While there are scholars, mainly French, who work

² However, a website exists, 'Fasti on line' (www.fastionline.org), which collects information on a large number of rescue excavations in Italy, at least since 2000, but it is limited only to the Classical World.

intensively in the eastern Mediterranean and who are producing some important results in terms of Byzantine finewares classification, publication is slow and sometimes complicated by their particular approaches. Contributions tend to be intricate and characterised by the prolific addition of details without ever providing an ordered overview.

There is also a particular set of problems associated with Classical archaeology in as much as there are still archaeologists who have no consideration for stratigraphy and no interest in recording the post-Classical period, especially in Sicily and southern Italy. For instance, among our sites, the Egnazia (Biancofiore 1995) or Brindisi (Patitucci-Uggeri 1976) sites in Apulia do not provide any information about the quantification of the pottery types.

A certain type of Classical archaeology is still carried out for single sculptures with no interest in the wider processes which lie behind the artistic objects (Barbanera 1998, XIX). In part, this is a direct reflection of the higher education system in Italy; the majority of archaeological departments still run modules on Classical archaeology named 'Greek and Roman Archaeology and History of Art' or, for the medieval period, 'Christian and medieval Archaeology.' These divisions within Italian archaeology have also inhibited the spread of more innovative and open research coming from the Anglophone world; theoretical archaeology, in particular, has not diffused through Italian archaeological culture, and this is the subject of the next section.

1.3 Conceptual evolution

To better understand historically the dataset which will be presented in this thesis, and the bias in the records mentioned above, we will consider now a brief introduction on the development of the idea and value of Italian cultural heritage, and subsequently of the evolution of archaeological discipline – and more specifically medieval archaeology. The main legislative acts will be dealt with first, from the period of the pre-Unitarian states (before 1860) up to the formation of the *Ministero dei beni culturali* (1975), and second through a short history of the discipline focusing particularly on medieval archaeology and on the study of medieval pottery in Italy.

1.3.1 *The main legislative acts*

The history of the development of Italy's cultural heritage is quite contradictory, as it is in the nature of this country. The idea of conservation and care of the National cultural patrimony is rather precocious compared to the rest of European states. According to the scholar Salvatore Settis (Settis 2002, 5), the conservation of the cultural heritage in Italy had been established from the time of the pre-Unitarian Italian States - as for example in the Pontifical state, the Borbonic states of the south and the Dukedom of Tuscany - because it provides stronger links between the State organism and its citizens in terms of national identities. In fact, according to Margarita Díaz-Andreu, the interest of the common past was part of the strength of Nationalism, which 'became a useful machinery to bind the citizens to the state organism' (Díaz -Andreu 2007, 373).

Traditionally, Italy is strictly split into regional communities with strong cultural and linguistic identities, which were formally represented by the pre-Unitarian states, and the idea of cultural heritage was originally linked

to these individual territories, which had individual identities for many centuries. This cultural awareness was borrowed by the unified Italian State and formalised through several acts, which were disappointingly ineffective compared to the former ones, because they attempted to create homogeneity within a state which had been culturally and administratively separated for many centuries. The first unified act is dated to the 1875, when the new born Italian government created a state department with responsibilities for the cultural heritage, named *Direzione Generale degli Scavi e dei Monumenti* (General direction for excavations and monuments) (Tamiozzo 2000, 307), which was part of the *Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica* (Department of Education).

In the following century, after the foundation of this first significant organism, which dealt with the protection and valorisation of the Italian cultural patrimony, another important act concerning cultural heritage was passed. This was the law 1089 of 1939 which embodied three remarkable elements which were developed within Italian institutions and society. According to this law, first, the patrimony is public and is the property of the State and its citizens; second, the state has the duty to protect it (the public and private patrimony) by improving knowledge through research; third, the patrimony, since it is public property, is inalienable. A further important principle is present in the Italian constitution, issued in 1948, (after the Second World War and after the creation of the Italian State as a Republic) in article 9, which decrees that 'The Republic protects the landscape and the historical and artistic patrimony of the Nation' clearly referring to the 1089 law (Settis 2002, 30).

In 1975, the *Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali* (Department of Cultural Heritage and Environment) was formally established, largely in answer to the emergency's situation that occurred as a result of the destruction that the Italian patrimony was experiencing after the economic/building boom of the 1960s (Tamiozzo 2000, 308). This ministry is composed by Regional institutions, named *Sovrintendenze*. These preserve the cultural heritage of a specific territory, generally on a regional base. Their activity consists, in brief, in the investigation of the cultural heritage and subsequently in the protection and control of it, allowing or denying the restoration and the whole activities, e.g. excavations, which concerns with it. Finally they contribute to value the national/regional patrimony through promotion and development of cultural activities (Settis 2002, 36).

1.3.2 A short history of Italian archaeology

1.3.2a. Pre- war archaeologists and evolution of the discipline

At the end of the 19th century, two main approaches to archaeology can be identified within the European panorama. One, mainly followed by Germany, which have influenced the Italian scholars, developed by the antiquarian tradition. The other one, instead, followed the positivistic³ attitude, that lead to the development of stratigraphical archaeology and favoured an early identification of archaeology as a scientific discipline (Manacorda 1982, Barbanera 1998). According to Schnapp (Schnapp 1994, 269–278) there is a remarkable distinction between philological/antiquarian archaeology and natural/positivistic archaeology. The first

³ Positivism represents a philosophical current of thought of the 19th century which states 'that every rationally justifiable assertion can be scientifically verified or is capable of logical or mathematical proof, and that therefore rejects metaphysics and theism'[ORIGIN: from French *positivisme*, coined by the French philosopher Auguste Comte .]

type has emerged from the Winckelmann's ⁴ work on Greek and Roman sculpture, mainly in the German environment, and include all of those who studied the monuments of classical antiquity assisted by data on written source (Díaz -Andreu 2007, 2). The second was based on typology and found its roots in geology and anthropology, and based its initial studies on the prehistoric period, mainly developing in the Great Kingdom and France.

In this panorama, the first question to be answered is: why was Italy influenced by the German tradition? German archaeology was between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, making the most important discoveries dated to the classical period in territories such as Greece and Turkey, bringing to light antique cities (such as Olympia, Troy, etc), proving that archaeology could demonstrate effectively the evidence of ancient civilisations and compared to written sources. Moreover Italy was particularly familiar with Germany and its scholarship, as German was considered the intellectual language par excellence. This strict link is also testified by the nomination of the German Scholar Emmanuel Löwy (1857–1938) as first chair in *Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Antica* at La Sapienza University in Rome in 1890. His inaugural lecture constitutes the synthesis of the philological/antiquarian approach, giving a leading role to historical artistic research and works of art, through the philological method of archaeology (Manacorda 1982, 88). He taught in Rome from the 1891 until 1938. On the other hand, the young school of thought as was the British one, which had only just started to

⁴ J.J. Winckelmann (1717–1768) was a famous German and art historian, whose work has been mainly focused on the chronological distinction of the art styles in the history of art.

create a scientific archaeology, probably less spectacular, appeared to be very far from the Italian history and culture (Barbanera 1998, 56).

Therefore the Italian approach to archaeology developed using the traditional more familiar antiquarian imprint. In this panorama the British approach struggled to find its way. However, British positivism in archaeology was been introduced mainly in the north of Italy thanks to the important positions of the northern bourgeois. They were represented mostly by geologists and naturalists working in the *Pianura Padana* who started to have an interest in prehistoric topics and the evolutionist aspects of science. Their interest also had a nationalist feature as they looked for the origins of Italian identity in the study of prehistory. The intellectual Luigi Pigorini (1842–1925), for example, working on a project on the marshy settlements, using a positivistic approach, examined all periods at the sites from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages, even though the latter was represented by only slight remains.

Some others can be mentioned as Paolo Orsi (1859–1935), Rodolfo Lanciani (1845–1929) and Luigi Bernabò Brea (1910–1999), Giacomo Boni (1859–1925). In this brief summary only the figure of Giacomo Boni will be discussed. He worked also in Rome and started his career by applying new methodological approach borrowed from British archaeology, although towards the end of his career he lost his good intentions and started to excavate with no accuracy and even using dynamite.

Giacomo Boni had scientific leanings as he was a hydraulic engineer, for this reason he started his career digging in Venice and Rome, in the *forum romanum*, notoriously a very problematic area to excavate due to the

underground water sources (in the medieval period, after the Cloaca Maxima was abandoned, a vast section of it became a marsh – Meneghini and Santangeli Valenzani 2007). His position in the history of archaeology in Italy has been well described by several intellectuals such as Carandini (1979), Manacorda (1982), Gelichi (1997), Barbanera (1998), Augenti (2000a), therefore I will only underline here his importance in the acquisition of the stratigraphical approach in the archaeology of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. In fact Giacomo Boni was the first archaeologist in Italy to adopt the stratigraphical methods from prehistoric archaeology and palaeontology, by using them first in the excavations of the foundations of the San Marco bell tower in Venice (1885) and applying them later on the important excavations of the Foro romano in Rome (1898). Further, he paid attention to the whole question of material culture (including botanical and geological issues). He was clearly influenced by the British approach probably due to his scientific background and to his interest in the medieval period (Michelini 1993, 61), a subject which has been forming its roots in this period in Britain (Gerrard 2003, 59). His words can give a clear account of his approach: 'The stratigraphical analysis [...] offers the tool to know the age of each layer which shows the monuments brought to light and uses them as chronology tool. [...] It distinguishes the accidental aspect from the general trend of the people's life'⁵ (Manacorda 1982, 91: translation by the author). At the end of his career, Boni developed a major interest for Classical archaeology and eventually, a strong nationalism influenced by the fascist ideas which were circulating in that period; these negative aspects reflect the devolution of archaeological research which was going

⁵ 'L'analisi stratigrafica [...] offre il mezzo di conoscere l'età di ogni strato che involupa o porta i monumenti tornati in luce e di servirsene come scala del tempo. [...] Distingue l'accidente passeggero dal fatto assiduo della vita di un popolo'.

towards Fascist dictatorships which brought Italy to the Second World War.

Subsequently, it is important to register in this period the dramatic destruction of the ancient historical centre of Rome. In fact the years of the building up of Rome as the capital of a European monarchy (last decades of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century) under the *Savoia* kings, and the years of Fascism (circa 20s and 30s of the 20th century), are unhappily famous for the destruction of the main archaeological deposits present in the centre of Rome. This has contributed to the disappearance of the material culture from the Middle Age to the 19th century, named by the dictator Benito Mussolini the 'decadence period of the Italian nation', in favour of the antique standing remains of the Roman period.

Further, this period witnessed the huge removal of 600,000 cubic metres of earth from the site of Ostia, to bring to light the ancient port of Rome, by selecting and destroying millions of archaeological markers from centuries considered as inhabited by poor people without historical or archaeological significance '[...] Una quantità di ripieghi adottati dagli ultimi poveri abitatori ostiensi. [...] Elementi tutti che non hanno alcun valore storico od archeologico e dai quali non vien fuori alcun alito di vita' (Calza 1953, 49).

Therefore, archaeology as we know it did not exist in this period, extensive excavations were carried out, but with no specific recording, massive destructions of the later phases were taking place. Overall, we see at the beginning of the 1920s the defeat of positivism. In the 1930s few figures arise from the common background of antiquarian and colonial

Italian archaeology. Among them, however, is the remarkable Nino Lamboglia (1912–1977), who contemporary to the destruction of *Ostia antica*, was carrying on a stratigraphical excavation in *Albintimilium*, Roman *Ventimiglia*. He was a positivistic figure who followed the methods of Giacomo Boni.

1.3.2b. Post-War classical archaeology and the influence of British Archaeology

Only in the 1960s a sort of change is notable, when the first English book on the Wheelerian methods of stratigraphy, 'Archaeology from the Earth' (1954), was translated into Italian by K.M.Kenyon in 1966 with the title 'Introduzione all'archeologia'. Until this date the debate on these methods was almost completely absent amongst formal archaeologists. In 1966 a famous article (Bianchi-Bandinelli 1966) by Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli (1900–1975), an archaeologist, chair of Archeologia e storia dell'art classica Italiana at the University La Sapienza of Rome (who studied in Italy under the antiquarian tradition) finally criticised the archaeology of his period as highly destructive and lacking in publications. Thanks to him in 1967 the journal *Dialoghi di Archeologia* was conceived, which was representing an alternative position to the archaeology intended as history of art and which contributed to the creation of a generation of new archaeologists, among them Andrea Carandini (1937), one of the pupils of Bianchi Bandinelli and the scholar who introduced to Italy the British stratigraphical archaeology, as said above. His first two publications that were revolutionary for the Italian approach to archaeology were: 'Anatomia della Scimmia', published in 1979 and 'Storie dalla Terra', published in 1981.

It is interesting to note here the fact that the British methodologies influenced the Italian environment, while the 'Theoretical Archaeology' which was developing in the same period mainly in the US and UK, represented by New Archaeology, did not infiltrate the Italian debate (see below, and Gerrard 2003). This situation remains apparent even today.

However, the formal Classical antiquarian archaeological approach was weakened and at last in decline (although there is some resistance, still today), while a new discipline was taking shape, which considered all aspects of material culture from all periods as worthy of examination. In this background, medieval archaeology was formally conceived.

1.3.2c. Medieval Archaeology in Italy: the first development. Second half of the 19th century to 1945.

This section owes much to the volume by Gelichi (Gelichi 1997), and the article published in *Archeologia Medievale* by Augenti (Augenti 2003). In fact these two works represent the better published material on the history of medieval archaeology in Italy up to today. Also, worth mentioning is the article by Mannoni published in the *Papers in Italian Archaeology* in 1978 when the discipline was very much at its beginning (Mannoni 1978), and a recent volume by Ardizzone (2007) on Medieval Archaeology in Italy.

The first elements of this discipline's development in Italy can be traced back to two main themes. One consists of the spread in Europe and even in Italy in the second half of the 19th century of the school of thought known as positivism, as said above, which partially contributed to the evolution of new approaches in archaeology. The second was a sort of evolution of archaeological research which covered now not only the

Classical period, but also developed into the archaeology of the 'Barbarians' and 'Christian' archaeology and stimulated further interest in post-Classical archaeology, which as we will see, developed properly only much later.

It is during this period that Post-classic archaeology split into two main strands. One looks at the period of the Barbarians (so called 'Archeologia Barbarica', for a definition of this general term widely used since the 19th century, see the contribution from Von Hessen (1976)), which particularly focused on the necropolis of the Goths and the Longobards (5th–6th centuries). The other was usually defined as 'Christian archaeology', still very popular today mainly in Rome. Why in Rome? Because Christian archaeology has been searching since the beginning for the origins of Christianity and focused principally on religious buildings and catacombs. This approach was lacking in stratigraphical analysis and reflected in the major interest for the artistic patrimony of the religious contexts considered (Gelichi 1997, 29).⁶ This latter developed in particular at the Istituto Pontificio di Archeologia Cristiana. The main representatives were Gian Battista De Rossi (director of the Pontificio Istituto) and Pasquale Testini, who held the first chair in Christian Archaeology at the University La Sapienza in Rome.

Within the intellectual panorama some scholars realised at an early stage that a different discipline was developing in other European countries, this was medieval archaeology. Among those, the archaeologist Paolo Orsi (1859–1935), affirmed the lack of medieval archaeology at a time when in

⁶ We will not consider more widely here the 'Christian archaeology' because part of a very different stream of the discipline, which did not really contribute to the development of the formal medieval archaeology we are discussing in this research.

France, Carolingian and Merovingian archaeology were developing. Though he did not consider the period after 1000, he precociously considered the problem of the 'Barbarian migrations'. He was also interested in the archaeology of the populations of the post-Classical period and the dynamics between the local people and these nomadic tribes, defined as 'Barbarians'. From the end of the 19th century, in the centre and in the north of Italy, Longobard and more in general Barbarian archaeology took form, mainly through work in the necropolis. This was the only aspect which kept a sort of *continuum* in this type of archaeology between the two World Wars; in fact it was always concentrating on the necropolis, without considering the settlements, because they permitted the immediate discovery of artefacts.

EARLIER APPROACHES IN MEDIEVAL CERAMICS STUDIES

Therefore, as it would be clear after the sections on the archaeology and medieval archaeology in Italy before the wars, also the study of the medieval pottery until the end of the 1960s, focused mainly on history of art and museum collections (e.g. Ballardini 1933, Ballardini 1938, Liverani 1956, Liverani 1957).

The main feature considered was the aesthetic quality of the vessels, taking into account only their artistic and technical qualities (Mannoni 1978, 304). Interest is principally directed towards the *maioliche italiane*, resulting in the neglect of plainer pottery. Lacunae in knowledge were frequent, courtesy of a scholarly focus upon only a few specific periods and places in Italy (such as the town of Faenza). More seriously, descriptions of artefacts and typologies seemed to be the only aim of this 'traditional view', which therefore constrained archaeology to a very

descriptive subject, focused on details, as Hugo Blake discussed in 1978 (Blake 1978, 435). Today pottery specialists, generally working in museums, still carry on mainly with an art historical approach, such as in the MIC (Museum of International Ceramics) in Faenza, Emilia Romagna (a recent example publication could be represented by Ravanelli-Guidotti 1996). Infact, the choice to examine only the decorated pottery is still quite a frequent activity, as said before, in particular within structures such as museums of the history of art. We can offer as an example the project carried by the team of the Ca' Foscari University of Venice (in which the author took part) at the MIC in Faenza where in the store rooms hundreds of pottery sherds excavated from several trenches (c.190) within the town, a core centre in the Late medieval/Renaissance period, between 1945 and the 1980s are collected. Most of the excavations (essentially the earliest ones) are not stratigraphical and unfortunately the percentage of coarsewares, unglazed wares etc. is far lower and in some sites almost non existent compared to the collection of decorated pottery (Gelichi *et al.* 2008). Certainly the vessels of lower quality were discarded together with the rest of the material culture recovered. The potentiality of a study such as this has been irremediably affected by this 'antiquarian' approach, in one of the most important medieval towns for the production of terracotta vessels (Ferri *et al.* 2008, 13). We have however to admit that in this area at least a large part of the pottery has been saved by the museums and not lost in the often inaccessible storerooms of the *Sovrintendenze* .

The antiquarian-art historical approach followed in those institutions and also in some departments of archaeology in Italy is still nowadays producing publications of lengthy descriptions of decorations and forms with no attention to distribution, trade or cultural interpretations. Pottery

represents in the better cases only a dating tool. The focus was, and partly still is, on recognizable styles, which owing to the lack of stratigraphical data continue to be studied as pieces of art, by making comparisons between decorations and basing their evolution only on the changes of style (Gerrard 2003, 59).

Among our data fortunately we do not have examples of such descriptive works in terms of pottery types, but the publications completely lack quantification (as said above at Egnazia and Brindisi). Furthermore Byzantine fine pottery here is decorated so it has fortunately been recorded during the excavations.

1.3.2d. Medieval Archaeology: the second post-war period

This period saw the development of Barbarian and Christian archaeology which were naturally selective in terms of periods and sites. The first, as said above, mainly collected artefacts from necropolis, cataloguing them without any proper understanding of contexts in terms of settlements, while the second considered only the iconographical/liturgical aspects of churches or the artistic features within them.

However, this period, as said above, saw also the figure of Nino Lamboglia (1912–1977), who started to use stratigraphical methods in his excavations, from the second half of the 1930s. He was an important force in Roman archaeology, and though his innovative approaches are not directly relevant to medieval archaeology, a topic which is not within his research portfolio, he has contributed by using the new methodologies to development medieval archaeological methodologies.

Concerning the development of proper medieval excavations, the two pioneering sites in terms of applied methodologies are Torcello, an island in the Venice Lagoon, one of the sites under consideration here, and Castelseprio, *castrum* situated in the pre-alpine area close to Varese. These sites were excavated by a team of Polish archaeologists in the 1960s, directed by the Italian Gian Pietro Bognetti, an important historian of the Longobards in the post-war period. These two excavations were truly innovative in terms of their approaches, particularly the excavations in Torcello, where they used stratigraphical methods, chemical analyses of the glass remains, petrographic analyses of the stone and pottery vessels, and detailed examination of the human bones. However, sadly, this remarkable work was published only later, in 1977, and its potential impact on the evolution of the discipline was not fully realised at the time (Gelichi 1997).

1.3.2e. The final development of medieval archaeology up to today

It was really in 1974, after the publication of the first edition of the journal *Archeologia Medievale*, that this discipline was truly born in Italy. Then in 1979 the *Ministero per i Beni Culturali ed Ambientali* advertised for four medieval archaeologists in the Ministry offices (*Sovrintendenze*). This event signalled the formal awareness of the presence of a post-classical patrimony in Italy and its need for protection.

In the last 30 years medieval archaeology has successfully developed as a proper discipline, progressing importantly in several areas, which are relevant for a full understanding of Mediterranean and European dynamics during the Middle Ages, since Italy sits in between the two geographical areas and has always played a central role in the history of

the peoples of these territories. This development can be traced through a few key elements.

- The fundamental work of important academies of archaeology, such as the British school at Rome which carried out important projects in the centre of Italy, at Apulia, Abruzzo, Latium, Molise, Tuscany (see section 4.3).
- Important historic discussions that needed to be solved (like the debates on abandoned villages, early medieval cities, etc see below), which steered medieval archaeology towards particular territories and periods;
- Enlightened scholars who adopted new methodologies and have created groups and schools of research (as in Liguria, around Tiziano Mannoni);
- The interest from local communities and therefore the availability of funding in the right places, which has permitted the creation of large research projects and the development of important topics (as at Siena University in Tuscany).
- Increasing levels of emergency archaeological work in the cities, which has brought much new evidence from medieval periods, but which has also suffered from a lack of planning and management of the massive quantities of material and potential information produced. This issue was partially influenced by the innovative work going on in Britain since the 1980s (Gerrard 2003, 167) – in fact thanks to British models, the first archaeological risk management policies and archaeological evaluations developed in Italy – and brought about the maturity of the discipline. Why the British model has been generally adopted in terms of methodology, and not those of other European country? I think because of the remarkable innovation of British archaeology above all in terms of methodology (see for instance the paragraphs titled ‘Techniques and scientific application’ in Gerrard 2003). An other aspect of influence

could be derived by the strong presence in Italy of British archaeologists since the 1970s, due in particular to the remarkable work of the British school at Rome (represented by among the others John and his son Brian Ward-Perkins, David Whitehouse), and other British archaeologists such as Graeme Barker, Hugo Blake, Neil Christie, Richard Hodges, John Hudson, who brought and still bring innovative knowledge and new ideas to the local scholars. Furthermore, among the historians the most important contribution in recent years to Italian medieval archaeology comes from Chris Wickham.

NEW ARCHAEOLOGY AND PROCESSUAL ARCHAEOLOGY FROM A MEDIEVAL CERAMICS PERSPECTIVE

A major influence on research focused on medieval pottery in Italy was 'New' or 'Processual' archaeology which aimed to develop a more scientific approach rather than focusing on detail, just as science tests its data and progresses towards an understanding of general trends (Johnson 1999, Dark 1995). A particular application of this 'New' approach consisted of the construction of systems to explain societies, one of which was trade and economy. One case study which can clearly be defined as processualist is represented in the volume 'Dark Age Economics' by Richard Hodges (Hodges 1982), which analyses the social and economic context of towns in the early medieval period around the North Sea. This work explains the re-emergence of towns in the 9th century through the emergence of trade, economy and social relations, and attempts to create a general law applicable to other societies. This work made specific use of medieval pottery (Hodges 1982, 120).

In the Italian context, processual approaches encouraged both the classification of chronologies and types of regional pottery, and the understanding of common trends linked to pottery evidence within the Italian peninsula. An example of this is the origin of lead-glazed pottery, known as *ceramica a vetrina pesante* (CVP). This is a type of pottery with a thick lead glaze, characterized by a single firing glaze. The systematical recording of this type of pottery in a work of synthesis for several Italian key sites (Paroli 1992) has led to the identification of the main trends linked with the production of these vessels, permitting to understand the different technical knowledge of potters in different regions. This type of pottery in fact seems to reconfirm the use of glass on the vessels after several centuries (after the end of the Roman Empire?).

Another influence of Processual archaeology was the stress placed on methods of scientific analysis. In Italy pottery research made great strides when scholars started to examine the different technologies at the disposal of medieval potters. This allowed conjecture on the origin and transmission of the knowledge of specific techniques, as for example the works of the scholar Tiziano Mannoni (Mannoni 1975). Mannoni proposed a classification of medieval pottery from the region of Liguria. He divided ceramics into broad classes on the basis of technical aspects such as the fabric, the shape and the different coverings, before going on to define more detailed pottery types. This volume remains a fundamental tool for the classification of medieval and post-medieval pottery in Italy and has been influential on other studies, for example, pottery of the early Middle Ages in northern Italy. This research defined the main technological transformations in the production of coarseware in this area between the 6th and 13th centuries (Brogiolo and Gelichi 1986). Moreover, the

important excavation of the *Crypta Balbi* in the very heart of Rome created the opportunity for a new study of central Italian medieval pottery (Paroli 1990). This contrasts with the situation in the south of Italy, where there is only a very sketchy knowledge of the circulation of medieval artefacts. Fortunately, a southern region like Apulia possesses a number of excellent excavations and resulting pottery classifications – for instance in Otranto by the British School at Rome (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992), which is among the sites considered in this thesis.

Since the 1980s a major focus for pottery studies in Italy has been trade, defining the main sites as well as considering aspects of local and long distance exchange across the Mediterranean. Important research into *bacini*, bowls principally inserted into the façades of medieval churches in northern Italy, has been studied especially with respect to Pisa's churches (Berti and Tongiorgi 1981; Berti 1993) and this has led to discussion of the main pottery types circulating in the Mediterranean between the 10th to the 14th centuries (Blake 1980, Blake and Aguzzi 1990). Most importantly, detailed chronologies of these vessels could also be deduced because the bowls were added to buildings during different phases of their construction.

This research stimulated many new theories on trade and exchange between different areas. Furthermore one theory in particular provides the precursor to this thesis and that is the last detailed analysis of Byzantine pottery in Italy which was published in an edited volume by Sauro Gelichi in 1993. This volume includes several articles focused on the evidence for Byzantine finewares within the peninsula, several of which are similar to excavation reports in choosing to describe finds rather than to interpret

them. The introductory article stands alone in its aim to reassess the *status quo* from archaeological data (Gelichi 1993). Gelichi's research concludes that Byzantine imports are mainly concentrated in the 12th century, the main Italian ports, with the exception of Venice, making use of western Islamic pottery in the preceding two hundred years. Evidence from the 13th century then shows a general decrease in foreign imports (Gelichi 1993, 16–19). Since Gelichi's work in 1993, however, no new major studies have been undertaken despite the availability of fresh material.

How can we summarise the impact of Processual archaeology on Italian pottery studies? There are several studies on Italian pottery which do have a processual approach, but they do not explicitly mention that, probably because the scholars were not aware of this aspect (Terrenato 1998, 2000; Giannichedda 2002). The impact seems to have taken the form of a need to assess and re-order in a more scientific and rigorous manner the data which were growing fast from new excavations and the new knowledge coming from sites elsewhere across the Mediterranean.

However, what is important to stress is that medieval archaeology, contrary to Classical archaeology, has been developed since the beginning within the New archaeology or processualist disciplines, where all the components of modern archaeology were taken into consideration (Bietti-Sestieri 2000). The main difference between modern archaeology and antiquarian-historical approaches, which are carried out (partly still today) by Classical archaeology has been to consider material culture as an element of study in its own right, and not simply to confirm historical written sources. Archaeology and the study of material culture come first

and the aim is to understand the context in all its elements and the relationship between them.

The creation of models and trends has been the aim between the 1980s and 1990s of the most developed part of medieval archaeology in Italy, represented, as said above, for instance by the researches carried out by the University of Siena and Professor Riccardo Francovich, who through his important work on the territories has created a model for the understanding of the development of the fortifications and villages in Tuscany from the early Middle Age, and hence of the material culture including pottery (for instance see Valenti 2005). Therefore archaeology has contributed to the creation of a model to explain the past, and the quantitative data are essential to discover laws of cultural behaviour. Sauro Gelichi, working in Emilia Romagna in the 1980s, transformed the knowledge of northeastern Italian pottery sequences, thanks to a strong focus on the excavations and a systematic data recording process which included rapid publication, for instance the excavations carried out in Bologna (Gelichi 1987) and Ferrara (Gelichi 1992a). He also had started to look at material culture and pottery as functional items, for understanding social groups through the analysis of urban disposal systems (Gelichi 1992a; Gelichi 1992b). The important contribution of this type of research has been to comprehend the process of acculturation of the human past and the change of material culture as a result of economic and social contacts.

POST PROCESSUAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN MEDIEVAL CERAMICS STUDIES

Post-Processual archaeology was influenced by many different currents such as sociology, anthropology, feminism, structuralism, Marxism and by cognitive and gender archaeology (Johnson 1999, 102–108; Dark 1995). It represents a rejection of the scientific positivist approach of New Archaeologists with their testing of evidence and data. For post-processualists the main interest is on humans, about ideas and meanings, beliefs and perceptions, a more anthropological and sociological approach rather than testing hypotheses (eg. Chapman 2000).

An example of post-Processual archaeology applied to later medieval pottery is work by Alejandra Gutiérrez on Mediterranean imports in southern England (Gutiérrez 2000). Her work shows how pottery can illuminate areas other than chronology, and descriptions of forms and fabrics can inform through a consideration of themes such as pottery and its prices, pottery and social identity, by looking at the social groups interested in buying the imported pottery in Britain. She also examined dining habits, to understand the function of these tablewares on the table and how they changed over the centuries; pottery decorations related to symbols such as colours and religious associations, demonstrating that colours and symbols were chosen both by the potters and the purchasers on the basis of cultural identities.

These new approaches would not have been fully formed without their followers in Italian archaeology (Augenti 2009). Though they are inhibited by the quality of the data available, Gelichi and others-included the author- (2007) have considered gender and consumption, for example the

work developed on the island of San Giacomo in Paludo in the lagoon of Venice. Here the research has been focused on the cultural environment of three specific communities living on the island from the 13th to the 20th century. First, evidence of a Cistercian monastery is present, followed by a Franciscan Priory and finally by a military occupation. These three communities living in a single closed system but in different epochs have been analyzed through the organization of space, the differences in material culture in terms of consumption and the examination of refuse deposits (Gelichi *et al.* 2007).

Nevertheless, it would be wholly wrong to suggest that post-Processual archaeology has been embraced by Italian archaeologists. Far from it. In part the reason for this is that archaeology in Italy is linked with history in universities. They are often part of the same department and formally linked; this situation contrasts with that in north America, for example, where archaeological lectures are often provided by a department of anthropology. In Italy archaeology usually takes its conceptual lead from developments in history. Bietti Sestieri (2000, 215) describes this sort of unequal relationship between historical and archaeological sources in Italian archaeology, defining archaeology as '*ancella della storia*' (history's servant). According to Bietti Sestieri, in the Italian view, history represents 'the truth', while archaeology can confirm the historical data or help to shape the chronological and spatial framework of history (Bietti-Sestieri 2000, 215). Needless to say, this is in complete contrast with the equal status awarded to history and archaeology in some studies in western Europe where it is now common to write a coordinated text which moves between sources and to recognize the strengths and weaknesses of each.

As Alejandra Gutiérrez (2000, 146) says, 'Both archaeological and historical sources need to be used in conjunction'.

Another factor in the lack of take-up is the sheer dominance of Roman or Classical archaeology in Italian archaeology (Bietti-Sestieri 2000, 213). The influence of prehistory or, for that matter, post-medieval archaeology are far less strong here and these are both sub-disciplines of archaeology which have a long history of theoretical engagement. Medieval archaeology in Italy lacks obvious 'period partners' and, of course, has far less contact across faculties with geographers and other social scientists. The integration between elements such as history, archaeology, and anthropology has simply not yet evolved in Italy to any degree. It might also be said that there is sometimes less awareness of the global context in which the research is taking place. Italian archaeology includes numerous specializations, which do not really think about the general problems of research (Bietti-Sestieri 2000, 215). The institutions are differentiated and not homogenous, and academic archaeology is strictly divided into sub-archaeologies (e.g. medieval, Classical etc.) (Mannoni 1978, 306). Scholars do not meet to discuss archaeology and methods in a wider perspective, they only analyze their topics in detail, and the main problems correlated with these topics.

While recognizing some of these deficiencies, the approach used in this thesis has, nevertheless, been enriched and informed by post-processual approaches. I have attempted to go beyond the traditional boundaries of research and to consider people and society, not just pottery sherds and typologies in their own right. In particular, I have focused in this thesis on questions of consumption; not just who is purchasing and using pottery

and why but also where that pottery is being displayed and deployed. This requires a multi-disciplinary approach and one that goes well outside the parameters of traditional pottery studies to consider the biographies of people, their table habits and the buildings and spaces in which pottery was used.

In this I have followed theories such as the *habitus* one defined by Cumberpatch (1996, 1997a, 1997b) and I have tried to test hypotheses provided by Brown (1988, 1993, 1997). The character action approach defined by Campbell (1993) is another interesting point from which I attempted to answer the main questions of this research. Each of these theories has been explained before being tested, in the respective chapters 5, 6, 7, 8 so will not be explained here in detail.

The challenge is to reconstruct a puzzle with different elements where pottery is only one of the components. The aim is to stimulate research and discussion and to render it more challenging than previously.

At the same time, this thesis is not an explicit and exclusive application of the most recent conceptual approaches. There is still a solid corpus of material to be catalogued and described, and trade and exchange still form part of this inquiry. The quality of the Italian data set prohibits that because for Byzantine pottery we lack secure data about key issues such as provenance and classification. Work on Byzantine pottery in the Mediterranean is still very much in progress.

DISCUSSION

Concluding this section on the history of medieval archaeology in Italy it can be stressed that main topics such as the study of castles, urban sites and monasteries, developed from issues that originated within historical debates, and which the new born discipline has largely helped to solve. Their progress is due to the combination of remarkable figures such as Riccardo Francovich, as said above, in the case of castles' examination and the territory of Tuscany in the Middle Ages, who has generated funding that allows for the continuation of the work, in the interests of the local community, which is a fundamental partner in the development of research, as it provides the means which generally the state cannot provide. Important excavations have been carried out also in Sicily, for instance in the case of Segesta, fully published by Alessandra Molinari (1997, 2000b, 2008) and one of the sites considered in this thesis.

Research on urban sites, largely started in the 1980s, does not have a precise schedule of research as much of it was excavated in emergency conditions, and much archaeological material has been lost in the deposits of the *Sovrintendenze*, without sufficient examination. However major excavations have been carried out in key cities of the peninsula such as Rome, Venice, Verona, Brescia etc. (Wickham 1999, 7). The historian Cristina La Rocca is an important exponent of the new interest in urban areas of early medieval Italy. She developed her research on medieval Italy at Birmingham University under the direction of Chris Wickham (La Rocca Hudson 1986). Furthermore the work by Giampiero Brogiolo in Brescia has been of fundamental importance for the understanding of the urban material culture of Early Middle Age northern Italy (Brogiolo 1987). There are examples of very good practice for example in Emilia Romagna,

with excavations of the centres of Bologna and Ferrara, thanks to the good management of the local *Sovrintendenza* (amongst others see Gelichi and Merlo 1987, Gelichi 1992, Guarnieri 2006). In the '80s also the important medieval excavations at the Crypta Balbi were carried out, which is one of the most important urban excavations in Italy (Manacorda 1985, Saguì and Paroli 1990, Manacorda 2003), directed by Daniele Manacorda, who was emerging from the school of Andrea Carandini in Settefinestre, where stratigraphical methods were being applied in Italy. In Rome, very recently, the excavations of the 'Fori Imperiali' have been published in an important monograph edited by Roberto Meneghini and Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani (2007), the two archeologists who have for 20 years been investigating this area. In the Middle Age this area of the capital appears to have been relatively de-structured by the monumental structures, with significant spoliation in the 9th century, and the formation of the medieval quarter (Santangeli Valenzani 2007, 115–165). Another fundamental work carried out in the capital has been done on the Palatine by Augenti, especially focusing on the early medieval period (2000b). In the south of Italy very important works in terms of urban archaeology have been done in Naples thanks to the investigations directed by Arthur (2002), particularly in the area of Carminiello ai Mannesi (1984). Also in Naples, as in the other cities of the north of Italy and at Rome, dark earth layers in the early medieval phases are present, that are cultivated areas within the cities (*horti*). Otranto has been investigated thanks to the activities of the British School at Rome, and is one of the urban sites considered in this thesis.

Work on monasteries was started initially by the British school in San Vincenzo al Volturno, where a long lasting and well-funded research

project has proved to be the right combination for a successful mission (Hodges 1995, Bowes *et al.* 2006, Marazzi 2008). In the wake of this, another important project such as the excavation in the abbey of Nonantola in Emilia Romagna, directed by the University of Venice and Professor Sauro Gelichi, contributes to the understanding of this important site in the early Middle Ages being the first archaeological research on the site (Gelichi and Librenti 2005).

The study of rural sites has not been well developed, other than recent work in the Salento territory (concerning the early medieval period see Arthur 2006) and in Sardinia where Wickham mentions a few cases from the early medieval period (Wickham 1999). As Mannoni assessed in 1978, the problem is essentially the inability of Italian archaeologists, to undertake such large-scale excavations, which have only been carried out by foreign academies (Mannoni 1978, 308). This is due partly to difficulties in excavating the countryside, which is distant from the frenetic emergency works usually carried out in industrial and urban areas. For this reason it is often left out of the interests of university researchers, who have difficulty funding such long projects, therefore rural assemblages are generally poorly represented in every region.

Churches and cemeteries did not contribute strictly to the main topics under consideration, apart from the archaeology of the architecture and in anthropological terms. Finally, the artefacts and the pottery in particular are essential for the progress of the discipline, because they represent good chronological and social markers, and are largely studied by archaeologists (Blake 1978, 435). Sadly, in most cases, they still represent

the aim of the archaeological research and not a fundamental tool within the discipline.

1.4 Format

Having provided a full report of the state of research and the discipline and the tools used to evaluate the limits and the weakness, as well as the strength of the present research, the discussion can now enter the subject in more detail. This thesis is structured in five main sections.

Chapter 2 introduces a general overview of Byzantine history between the 10th and the 14th centuries, the period which saw the peak and the diminishing of commerce between the Levant and the West. The aim here is to contextualize the centres of production discussed below and to explore links with Italian shores, in particular with the Italian communities trading throughout this territory. Historical, geographical, cultural and economic issues of the Byzantine State are outlined. This chapter also evaluates, through archaeological evidence and historical documents, the types of goods exchanged with Byzantine finewares between the two areas under consideration.

Chapter 3 examines the centres of production of Byzantine finewares between the 10th and the 14th centuries, with a complete discussion divided by fabric types, shapes and decorative styles. This chapter is intended to be an update of all the information available in the field (at 2009), and should provide a basis for further discussion on this topic as well as a useful synthesis for pottery researchers.

Chapters 4 and 5 are the core of the research presented here. Chapter 4 considers the 57 Italian sites (set out in Appendix 1) at which Byzantine pottery has been recovered and considers some of the biases in the archaeological record. Chapter 5 is organised around the corpus of 1130 sherds of Byzantine wares imported to Italy (detailed in Appendix 2). It provides an identification of the sherds and identifies, where possible, the origin of sherds imported to Italy, before considering the value and role of the Byzantine finewares within medieval Italian material culture. Finally, this chapter considers the distribution of pottery within Italian sites and looks at the negative evidence of a number of classes of Byzantine finewares at several locations on the peninsula.

Chapter 6 discusses how consumption of Byzantine finewares might have developed by considering the consumers of the pottery and their motives for obtaining it. This discussion is supported by models taken from other disciplines, such as sociology, for consumption theories and anthropology for ethnicity. Dining habits and historical documents, architecture and history of art for a description of the context (the *sale*) where the pottery was used, are instead developed in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND TRADE

The aim of this chapter is to contextualize, within a historical, geographical and social framework, the Byzantine pottery which is the main subject of this thesis. The focus is therefore on Mediterranean history between the 10th and 14th centuries and will include geographical, political and economic insights into the territories under consideration. The aim here is first to provide the general historical clues regarding Byzantine history by looking particularly at the dynamics of trade within the Mediterranean, followed by a more detailed focus specifically on trade between the Byzantine territory and the Italian peninsula, which introduces the evidence for commodities being traded during this period and key locations. The intention is not to reproduce a complete history of Mediterranean trade, but to consider the theories of Pirenne (1939), whose work strongly influenced successive studies carried out by scholars of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, especially on the topic of the disintegration of Mediterranean society, which was mainly due, according to him, to the arrival of the Muslims in the basin from the 7th century onwards. Other studies include those of Lopez (1996), McCormick (2001), Horden and Purcell (2000) Abulafia (2003), Wickham (2005a).

2.1 Historical background; a broad overview

Two major events can be identified as key moments in the history of the Byzantine Empire: these are the foundation of Constantinople in 324 AD

and its surrender by the Ottoman Turkish in 1453 (Figure 1.2 and 1.3). These eleven centuries of domination are conventionally divided into three main periods. First, from 324 AD to the 7th century AD, the 'early' Byzantine period spans the creation of the eastern Empire to the appearance and the rise of Islam and the occupation of the eastern and southern coasts of the Mediterranean by the Arabs. Secondly, the 'middle' Byzantine phase which for some scholars (e.g. Mango 1990) continues until the occupation of Asia Minor by the Turks (around 1070 AD) while others extend this chronology up to the capture of Constantinople during the fourth Crusade in 1204 (e.g. Whittow 1996). This is the chronology chosen here. Finally, the final Byzantine period ends in 1453, with the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks.

It should be noted that these dates have only partial relevance for pottery production. While the orthodox historical overview provided above is useful to establish terminologies and broad chronologies, the date range of the pottery under study here, that is the 10th to 14th centuries, crosses the second and third periods. Even the definition of the 'Byzantine Empire' is somewhat hypothetical since, throughout its existence, the state still considered itself as the Roman Empire with its capital in Constantinople. The inhabitants living in this territory called themselves *Rhomaioi*, or simply 'Christians', as this was also intended to signify the 'Christian Empire'. The entire extension of the territory under its control was called *Rhomania*, whilst the term *Byzantios* was only used to identify the citizens of Constantinople. The use of the term *Byzantius* originated during the Renaissance (Mango 1990).

2.1.1 Period I (324–c.600 AD)

In its earliest phase Constantinople remained part of a wider Late Antique world, completely absorbed by a Roman cultural background (Ostrogorsky 1956, 27). This period represents the peak of power of the Byzantine Empire in terms of dominance, supremacy, culture and religion. Greek culture, the Roman structure of the State and Christian religion combined to create the Byzantine State (Ostrogorsky 1956). Constantine I (274-337) was the Emperor who moves the seat of the Empire from Rome, founding Constantinople on the site of ancient Byzantium in 330 AD, a key location between the Aegean and the Black seas. Under this Emperor, the Roman/Byzantine Empire experienced a period of recovery and stability. Furthermore in 4th century, the eastern Empire was getting stronger compared to the western part, which was continuously under Barbaric invasions (as Attila and the Huns) until it collapsed, in 476, conventionally when the Germanic Roman general Odoacer deposed the western Emperor Romulus Augustulus. Justinian I took the throne in 527 and recaptured important western territories, such as North Africa and in the Italian peninsula Sicily, Ravenna, Rome and Naples. Under his power the Roman/Byzantine Empire reached its maximum extension again. Furthermore, Justinian I became famous for his legislative work, in fact under him Justinian's code was established, which revised the earlier codex Theodosianus (Mango 1990, 45).

At the end of the 6th and during the 7th centuries a severe crisis took hold, caused by several factors, but principally by Persian invasion and Arab expansion. These events deprived the Byzantine Empire of some of its most prosperous provinces (Syria, Palestine, Egypt and North Africa), drastically reducing the number of inhabitants and the geographical

dimensions of the Empire. These transformations have been identified by scholars as the end of the Late Antique world, characterised by the final fall of the Classical/Roman epoch and the beginning of a rather different period: the 'Middle Ages'. In terms of economy, this change determined a general trend that saw the development of a more local and regional production, with long-distance trade progressively reduced in scale (Panella 1993, Giardina 1993b, Saguì 2001).

In the 7th century Byzantine pottery did not circulate in the Italian peninsula, nevertheless it is in this commercial, political and social environment that the first production of our pottery, specifically Glazed White Ware I (GWW I, Chapter 3), started to appear on tables mainly in the Eastern Mediterranean, in association with the open forms of Red Slip Ware from Africa and Phocaea in Asia Minor (Hayes 1992; Abadie-Reynal 1989, 154). Very tiny fragments have been identified from Butrint in Albania and at Carthage, for example.

The presence of this pottery in Albania and Carthage is indicative of the way in which the direction of trade had changed since the collapse of the western Roman Empire. Since the 2nd century AD, supplies of grain had been traded from Africa to Rome and to the main cities of the Roman Empire such as Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria since they could not produce enough in their hinterlands to feed themselves (Sirks 1991, 13). These territories were linked by sea trade, which was a much cheaper mode of transport than movement by land (McCormick 2001). Apart from grain, which was the most essential commodity, Rome also received products such as olive oil and wine from North Africa and meat from southern Italy along tried and tested routes (McCormick 2001, 90).

However, when Constantinople became the second capital of the state, this change precipitated the decline of some western ports, such as Rome, which was, for instance, farther from Egypt than Constantinople. At the same time the development of Constantinople meant an increase in its population, while Rome's population was decreasing; Constantinople therefore needed more supplies (McCormick 2001, 65). Thereafter, trading routes began to close down, once Egypt was occupied first by the Persians and then by the Arabs. The only significant trading link which remained open in the Mediterranean was north-south between Constantinople and Carthage, and this is why Glazed White Ware I has been found earlier in Carthage (Hayes 1980), reaching there possibly through local shippers once the state system had collapsed (McCormick 2001, 117).

The historical context for the appearance of this pottery is therefore argued to be an important moment of change when power structures were changing and new administrative structures were developing (Wickham 2005a, 323). Late Roman urban culture was in crisis, along with the whole ideology of urbanity, including the fiscal system, administration, and economic demand and the old senatorial establishment, with much of the literary culture associated with it, disappeared to be replaced by a very different elite, of different social, cultural and often ethnic origin, mainly from the east (for example Armenia, Cappadocia) (Haldon 1990, 444). Medieval elites were no longer based on the life and activities of the ancient cities but their power instead focused on the estates of the Empire or within the strict environment of the court. The first local production of GWW I is interpreted as reflecting the need for this new local self-sufficiency. The pottery itself is characterised by the new technique of glazing, which seems to have declined in the previous centuries, and is

linked to function; it was only applied on closed vessels used to keep liquids. GWW I, which is the precursor of lead-glazed ware, deeply influenced the tradition of Byzantine glazed ware discussed in Chapter 3, and indeed much of the medieval pottery in the Mediterranean.

2.1.2 Period 2 (c.600–1204 AD)

The middle Byzantine period is characterised by the rise of the Islamic world, which favoured the development of a lively urban civilisation and therefore a new competitor power. At the same time, the Empire's sphere of influence switched from the western Mediterranean to the north-east, the Balkans, the Black Sea, and eventually towards Russia. This was due to the strong religious missionary activity that moved up towards the Baltic Sea (Mango 1990, 9).

Although during the late Roman/Early Byzantine period the main axis of Mediterranean commerce had been characterised by a global movement from the main cities of the West and the East and vice-versa, this second period was marked by an economic shift away from the capital towards the provinces of the Empire.

After the middle of the 8th century spices were imported from the east (McCormick 2001) and availability of these and other products improved north of the Alps, for example spices were consumed and available in the Carolingian Empire, mainly among churchmen. In northern England, in 735, the Venerable Bede was able to distribute on his deathbed 'pepper, incense, fancy stoles' (McCormick 2001, 709). However the 8th century is eventually generally considered by scholars a period of decrease and probably stagnation of international exchange (Wickham 2005b, 324).

Around the 9th century the town of Venice was rising and becoming a fundamental link between the inland world of the Carolingian Empire and the Near East. The centre of commerce in the Mediterranean was shifting towards the Venetian lagoon, and its competitor within a nearby lagoon, the town of Comacchio located in the modern region of Emilia Romagna. The latter was actively trading with eastern territories, such as the Black Sea and Constantinople, at least until the beginning of the 10th century, as the latest archaeological research on the site demonstrates. Here the presence of amphorae, most probably imported from these eastern territories, has been recorded along with important wooden structures that suggest an early medieval *emporium* (Gelichi and Negrelli 2007). Therefore ships seem to have sailed into Venice, and probably Comacchio too, which represented the centre of this commercial area around 800 AD. The explosion of wealth due to these new trading activities can be read in the influx of Arab *dinars*, recovered also on the island of Torcello, as well as finds of Carolingian, Byzantine, Ummayyad and Abbasid coins from the 8th century in Venice (Asolati and Crisafulli 2005) and the construction of churches in the lagoon (McCormick 2001, 633). Furthermore, Venice concluded a series of treaties with the Longobard, Carolingian and Ottonian rulers, so as to create its own sphere of independence which helped Venice to trade in eastern goods north of the Alps. The construction of ships was another key factor in the development of Venice as sea power, and by the 9th century the adoption of a Byzantine type of galley (*zalandriae* in Greek) had accelerated its superiority (Jacoby 2009, 373).

In addition to these centres on the Adriatic arc and the Po valley in the north of Italy, in the south, the other strategic trading points in the early

medieval Mediterranean were Rome, southern Campania, and Byzantine southern Italy, including Sicily. In Rome, Venetians, who attempted to set up a market here around 748 AD were selling merchandise and buying Christian slaves. Rome is rarely mentioned in the early medieval sources, although there was clearly some consumption of eastern products here (McCormick 2001, 618). In fact, Rome, despite its sharp decline, was still the greatest centre of pilgrimage; at the other pole was Pavia (now in Lombardy), as the capital of the Longobard kingdom, which had excellent communication via rivers, which kept it economically active. Pavia attracted merchants from Venice, Amalfi, Sorrento and even England (Cittarella 1993, 264). The southern Tyrrhenian coast, which was composed of the small cities of Gaeta, Amalfi, Naples and Sorrento, continued to control commerce in the Mediterranean, particularly in North Africa as written sources attest (see for instance the Geniza documents – see paragraph 5.2 and Goitein 1967); Campania's coast was in fact very active in terms of ship movements by 800 AD (McCormick 2001, 541).

Taking into account the Byzantine territories, an important change occurring was the development of agricultural production during the 11th and 12th centuries. This was thanks to a general improvement in rural life, which created a surplus in the state economy, and subsequently increased the prosperity of landlords in the provinces. Demand for metalwork and glass objects, items of silver and gold, all stimulated the manufacture of goods and the presence of skilled craftsmen. This growth in demand for goods in the Empire's other principal cities is thought to be the origin of local and regional production in the Byzantine territories (Harvey 1989). As we shall see later in this thesis, a similar trend is recorded in pottery production, including pottery exported to the Italian peninsula.

One important factor which contributed to the economic expansion of the provinces was the developing trading link with the rich cities of northern Italy from the 10th century onwards, something which was particularly facilitated by a charter (strictly, a chrysobull) of 1080 AD granted by Alexius I which makes special reference to the Venetians. This charter conferred remarkable economic advantages and, as a result, the Venetians were the first and most regular merchants to explore the Byzantine sea and its markets, followed by the Pisan and Genoese in central Greece and afterwards in Constantinople (a more detailed discussion of this document is provided in section 2.2.1). There is no doubt that the presence of these 'foreign merchants' strongly stimulated the economy of the Byzantine cities and of the Empire (Laiou 2002, 749).

To conclude, after the decline of Late Antique cities, due to several changes taking place between the end of the Late Roman culture and the new ideologies of the early Middle Ages, towns themselves changed significantly. In the period under consideration, the main cities were Constantinople and the capitals of the *themata*, the provincial administration of the State, which had evolved due to the demand of the rulers who were developing markets for their own consumption. Although there are some exceptions, 11th century Asia Minor was being hounded by Turkish invasions, for example, which created great instability and depopulation. The final decades of the 12th century were marked by demographic increase, due to the extension of ecclesiastical and secular estates, and the revival of towns, which had begun to recover from the 9th and 10th centuries and then expanded in the 11th and 12th centuries (Harvey 1989, 55). This expansion is visible archaeologically

through the formation of markets, workshops and artisan activities, and depended on the resources of the countryside. The rural world was still the main environment of the Byzantine Empire (Dragon 2002, 394) and it was thanks to the richness of the countryside, and the possibility of selling products, that the market started to develop, cash began to circulate, and surplus was generated with which wealthy members of society could buy consumer goods (Harvey 1989, 164). The 'consumption' of these commodities, which included the pottery discussed in this thesis, logically varied according to the different regions and available resources. In this period the internal Byzantine market and the productive capacity of the Empire's economy generated the supplies for export, in conjunction with a growing demand from the territories of the Italian peninsula.

2.1.3 Period 3 (1204–1453)

The third and last period shows different trends, with an increased interest in the West. The Byzantine Empire had by now lost nearly all of Asia Minor, conquered by the Seljuk Turks, and Italian maritime republics had acquired a central role along the main trade routes in the Mediterranean. Byzantine manufacture now decreased due in part to the increased presence of non-Byzantine products, such as Italian ceramics. These started to be traded from many Italian port cities such as Venice and Genoa. The arrival of Latin 'western people', included the Normans in southern Italy (see below), and the formation of the Crusader states created a different, more heterogeneous, cultural context (Folda 1996, 81). This can be seen especially when looking at changes in late Byzantine pottery production, as we shall see.

The processes involved in the disintegration of power had been ongoing since the end of the 12th century, caused primarily by the sack of the capital Constantinople in 1204. Latterly, the formation of western kingdoms in the Levant and in Greece, as well as the western landlords of the Fourth Crusade (13th to 14th century), caused further problems. After these events, Byzantium somehow managed to maintain its unity for the next 100 years, however, the centres of power were by now very different. In 1453 the Ottomans Turks eventually managed to enter the gates of Constantinople and definitively to put an end to the Christian Roman Empire.

As can be seen from even this brief description, the Byzantine Empire had a varied and complex history and, in many ways, the idea of the 'state' was the only element which bound it together. Among the factors which are particularly worthy of note in the context of this thesis are: changing neighbours, the loss of territories and subsequent border modifications. The Empire might be thought of over the centuries as a kind of an intermittent 'squeeze-box' moving between an increase or decrease of territories, people, armies, attacks and defences. Above all, Constantinople was the major consumer centre and its urban revival in the 11th and 12th centuries intensified the development of manufacturing workshops and coastal trading centres. Furthermore, the capital, due to economic stability, was increasing its demand for different products, from agricultural to luxury goods, such as silks, brocades and spices (Laiou 2002, 748). At the same time, the presence of Italian merchants in the Empire, mainly in the 12th century, also stimulated trade as they bought eastern products and re-sold them in the Italian port cities (see below). On the borders, the situation was slightly different, as the population and the culture was

influenced by the presence of the army. Even here, this social group stimulated demand for agricultural goods and military products. Religious establishments such as monasteries were also important, and represented significant consumers because of their wealth. Many of the original *kastra*, castles, and monasteries, developed into proper larger towns with their own markets and trading activities.

Not only were there differences in demand from different social groups, there were also differences between geographical regions within the Empire. Greece experienced significant rural development when compared to Asia Minor, due to a longer period of political stability and because its cities were far enough away from the capital to require the formation of specialised workshops and industrial activities, which elsewhere were covered by the capital (for example, the making of pottery, silk, glass, purple dye, leather) (Laiou 2002). This created a sort of dependency between cities in Asia Minor and the capital. Another important factor affecting Greek markets was that they lay on routes between the West and the Middle East, close to the northern Italian cities (see below), which were also flourishing (Harvey 1989, 208). As we shall see below, Athens, Corinth, Chalkis, Patras, Sparta, Thebes and Thessalonica were all developing important industrial production in pottery, glass, and silk manufacture not only for self sufficiency, but also for trade. For cities such as Ephesus, Miletus, Smyrna (Izmir), Sardis and Trebizond (Trabzon) in Asia Minor, historical and archaeological sources for this period are still too scanty to allow for a complete overview of their development.

2.2 Italian trade; 10th to 14th centuries

After a general discussion of the main elements of Byzantine history which are relevant to an analysis of Mediterranean trade, this section investigates more deeply the role of the Italian peninsula, and in particular the dynamics that directed pottery from the Byzantine Empire to Italian shores between the 10th and 14th centuries. Published historical data is examined to develop our understanding of the personalities of the merchants acting in this scenario. It has been more difficult to portray the ambitions of the merchant families of the southern Italian peninsula than those of the northern-central territories, because for this latter area we have a larger number of texts, letters and documents as we will see in the '*pratica di mercatura datiniana*' for example. There are, conversely, few references to *mercatores* southern Italian sources until the 14th century (Caskey 2004, 29). This historical data is linked in the next section with other material to obtain a picture of the diffusion of imported pottery and other wares in Italy, and to understand how this fits in with broader Mediterranean patterns.

2.2.1 10–11th centuries (Figure 2.1–2.2)

In this period, as said above, between the two main systems of Byzantine (Black and Aegean seas) and Islamic (Spain, North Africa, Sicily) trade, lay the Italian maritime cities, particularly Amalfi, which had a key role in exchange between the southern Italian peninsula and the Empire (Filangieri 2005, 438) and Venice, who traded with both sides.

Furthermore, from the 10th century to the time of the Crusades (see for details the section below) the Italian merchants integrated themselves in

the Levant, largely thanks to the new Latin kingdoms in the east, through the ports of Acres (Akko), Antioch, Tripoli, and others (Lewis 1978, 501).

Actually Venicians seem to be present in Jerusalem from the 8th century, presumably in connection with the pilgrimage activities and interest in commodities coming from the eastern world (Jacoby 2009, 372). In 1047, the Persian poet Nasir-i Khusrau noted in the city of Tripoli, in Lebanon, ships from Byzantium, Andalusia and the Maghreb, as well as from the lands of the Frankish people, which must be Venetians and Amalfitans as they are the only ones attested to have traded in Muslim countries before the mid 11th century. Moreover, a Venetian commercial contract attested the *taxegium* (trip) to Tripoli, which implies regular travel to the Levantine city, stopping also at the ports of St. Symeon and Antioch. In those cities silks were traded, a local production, and oriental commodities come from Egypt (Jacoby 2009, 385). According to an account of the transfer of the relics of St Nicholas of Bari occurring in 1087, rich Venetians purchased silks, carpets and gems in Antioch (Jacoby 2009, 389). Hence commerce is broadly attested even before the establishment of the Latin kingdoms in this part of the Muslim world, together with the Amalfitans.

Moreover, as said above, Alexius I's charter of 1080 AD formally permitted the Venetians free trade in the Byzantine Empire, in particular in 30 cities and on two islands. Recent studies (Jacoby 2009) have indicated that this was just confirmation of situation already occurring: the Venetians were already sailing into the ports of call along the coast to reach Thebes or Constantinople. The Venetians were therefore the first merchants to exploit the Byzantine sea and its markets regularly, followed by the Pisans and Genoese in central Greece and afterwards in Constantinople. They

strongly stimulated the economy of the Byzantine cities and of the Empire (as said above), for instance Thessalonica, where the fair of St Demetrios was held, where the sale of silk fabrics from Boeotia and the Peloponnesos is mentioned in 1110 (Bouras 2002, 498–499). In fact, these cities were no longer self sufficient, but developed new markets. Furthermore, Venetians, Amalfitans, Genoese and Pisans had, in the long term, the opportunity to build their own merchant communities in those cities, with houses and churches (Riley-Smith 2002). It was Venetian merchants who first began to live in Greek cities in order to have a better control over commercial matters, securing their own quarters within Constantinople (Jacoby 2009).

Nevertheless, in the 10th century, the greatest difference between the eastern and western territories of the Byzantine Empire was the more rural character of western territories. However, in the Italian peninsula, inland cities such as Lucca and Milan were active with Pavia, as capital of the Longobard kingdom, in monopolising the silk trade, whose manufacture was principally based in the Byzantine provinces of Thebes and Corinth from the mid 11th century (Jacoby 2009, 379). Unfortunately, these manufacturing trends are scarcely visible in the archaeological records in the areas so far excavated (Sanders 1995, chapter V).

As Jacoby (2009) confirms, the Venetians in particular represented the most notable link with the city of Thebes, and the document ‘Journey to Thebes’ (*taxegium de Stives*) dated to 1071 and 1073 assessed that Venetians were regularly travelling to Corinth. Sailing of Venetian ships seems to be widely recorded here between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries (Jacoby 2009, 379, see also below). Corinth was also an important manufacturer of pottery. As we shall see, Corinthian pottery

represents the largest group of pottery recovered in the Italian peninsula in the first half of the 12th century.

A part from silks, imported from Syria-Lebanon, Venetians were also importing furs from the Black Sea region and Dalmatia (see below), and spices, and dyes were imported from Egypt. Navigational patterns forced Venetian ships to pass by the Balkans coast, crossing the Aegean on the way to Constantinople or Asia Minor, and Egypt and therefore to stop constantly in these territories. In these ports of call Venetians relied on demand for specific goods, stimulating the manufacture of particular materials, including silks, spices, pottery, and cheese and oil among the agricultural products (see below) (Jacoby 2009, 377). Furthermore alum was already traded from the southern Sahara towards modern-day Libya, and from there it was shipped aboard Venetian and Amalfitan galleys. In this period Alexandria became one of the major ports for the export of oriental spices, dyes and aromatics, with an intensification of trade with Venice as well. The materials present in Egypt were in fact also widely exported towards Germany: Thietmar of Merseburg (a German religious man) mentions the loss of four Venetian cargos of 'pigmenta' (spices) in 1017 (Jacoby 2009, 381).

A well-known scene which illustrates this point, and which is an example of trade in this period, is the *vitae* of French St. Gerald of Aurillac described by Odo of Cluny (Bocchi 1993). Odo describes the saint's visit to Pavia to attend one of the trade fairs between 879–909 AD. The noble Gerald receives the richest merchants who want to sell him textiles and spices. Gerald does not want to buy anything but, as he had just returned from Rome and bought some textiles there, he wants to know from them if

he did good business. A Venetian merchant asks for the price of one of the drapes which the saint had bought, and tells him that if he had bought that same piece in the city where it had been made, Constantinople, the item would have been much more expensive (Bocchi 1993, 145). This document illustrates the contacts between different markets, merchants and wares, which would seem to have been quite advanced around the Mediterranean. Pavia in particular, as the capital of the Longobards, had a European outlook, and the Venetians were allowed to sell there only by paying tolls, as were merchants from Amalfi, Gaeta and Salerno.

Another important point to stress in this period is the almost total absence in the written sources of Byzantine merchants in Italian ports and territories. It is generally assumed that merchants within Byzantine society carried a minor role. Certainly, an important social difference between the western merchants and the Byzantine ones was the fact that noblemen were never engaged in merchant or banking activities, and this did not favour the development of commercial activities, whereas in the Italian peninsula they were the main social groups involved in this sort of work. Only the monasteries could compete with the Italians in terms of market activities, because they could benefit from tax privileges (Laiou 2002, 751). Indirectly, however, the Byzantine landowners were the main beneficiaries of this renewal of trade, first because the products from their lands were in demand from new and active markets, and secondly because they could enjoy new products and items circulating with commercial activities. By contrast, the position of the Byzantine middle social groups, the merchants in particular, remained modest and without privileges.

One idea which has been put forward to explain this is that a Byzantine merchant may have been regarded as a sinner because of his natural predisposition towards theft (Guillou 1977, 19). The mentality of the Empire was that their dignity was debased by any profit made through commerce (Giardina 1993a, 582), and merchants were considered artful and shrewd, in particular by the Church, because of their capacity to make 'easy' money. Surely there are more reasons than this, that we have already explained above. Perhaps it is for this motive that we start to have some clues of Byzantine merchants only in the 13th to 14th centuries, a part from rare evidence of rich Byzantine merchants present in Il Cairo for example in 1102, which was the principal base for the purchase of spices (Jacoby 2009, 386).

On the other hand, in the western territories the merchant groups had been present since the early Middle Ages. The lack of institutional government control allowed the merchants to freely develop, particularly on the border territories of the Byzantine Empire, where commerce was prohibited or dangerous, but also more profitable (Lopez 1978, 31) – a phenomenon present mainly among the Italian cities which were on the borders of the Empire. This created a group of merchants/warriors who were as inventive and commercially aware as the Venetians (Bragadin 1978).

One illustration of this is provided by Liutprand of Cremona, in the *Relatio De Legatione Constantinopolitana* (the embassy to Constantinople) which notes purple cloths purchased from the Venetian and Amalfi traders in Italian markets in the 10th century, and which were therefore not goods exclusive to Constantinople, as the Greeks had been trying to prove

(Wright 1930, 268). This documents stresses the new trade power being developed by Venetians and Amalfi traders in this period, who were already protagonists of the local markets in Constantinople buying and exchanging the local goods.

'« Such garments can hardly be called unique», I said, «When with us streetwalkers and conjurors wear them». «Where do you get them from», they asked. «From Venetian and Amalfitan traders», I reply, «Who by bringing them to us support life by the food we give them »' (Wright 1930, 212).⁷

2.2.2 11th to 13th centuries (Figure 2.3)

As said above, from the 9th century, Mediterranean trade had been mainly characterised by the presence of Venetian and Amalfitan ships, which, thanks to their relations with the Byzantine Empire had important links in terms of trade, together with good commercial relationships with the Islamic territories. This reasonably steady situation was interrupted and partially changed by the arrival of the Normans in the Italian peninsula, who occupied the southern territories from the 11th century onwards.

The nobles living in southern Italy in this period, between the 11th and the 13th centuries, were essentially the Norman lords, who evolved, with Frederick II, into the Norman/Hohenstaufen family. The Normans came from the Normandy region of northern France, and from there headed towards three main territories: Britain, Spain and the south of Italy. They were mainly mercenaries. In this way, from the first half of the 11th

⁷ *'« Haudquaquam singularis » -inquam- « haec vestis fieri potest, cum penes nos obolariae mulieres et mandrogerontes his utantur! ». « Unde » -« inquiunt-vobis ? ». « A Veneticis et Amalfitanis institoribus », -inquam-« qui nostris ex victualibus, haec ferendo nobis, vitam nutriunt suam »' (Wright 1930, 212).*

century, they accumulated a certain amount of wealth and managed to obtain the Aversa County in Campania. Thanks to the rule of the Altavilla, the most powerful family amongst the Norman conquerors in that period, they managed to spread throughout the southern Italian peninsula. They conquered, by defeating the Byzantines, the regions of Campania, Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, this last one had been taken by the Muslims during the second half of the 11th century (Piccinni 1999, 200). They created one large kingdom in the southern Italian peninsula based on the feudal system, with the capital at Palermo. The cities of the south slowly lost their autonomy, despite trying several times to rebel against the new occupants, for instance at Salerno and Bari. In this way they developed differently from northern Italy, where cities became the main focus of power and the 'Comuni' developed with their own Government palaces, universities and so on, as at Bologna, Padua and Genoa.

Amalfi, from the middle of the 12th century, due to this new occupation by the Normans, the continuous attacks from Pisa and the development of other ports such as Gaeta and the cities of Calabria (Tangheroni 2004, 128), lost its position. The city, together with the citizens of Gaeta, Naples and Salerno, seemed to participate in trade directed by the Genoese or on local trade towards the Sicilian coast (Filangieri 2005, 442). While in the case of Venice the presence of the Normans brought new opportunities, in fact their occupation of Dürres in Albania involved the military support of the Venetians with the Byzantine Empire, which resulted in trade privileges granted by Alexius I.

From the end of the 11th century to the 13th century, there were three major players in Mediterranean commerce: Venice, Constantinople and the

Norman kingdom. Venice was an unopposed sea power; Constantinople, as capital of the Roman Empire, remained an important trading centre with Europe; the Normans, meanwhile, had created a new nucleus of power in the south of the Italian peninsula, between the West and the East (Abulafia 1977, 9), moving the centre of gravity of the Mediterranean towards themselves, both in terms of trade and politics. The city of Messina is attested to have had a central role as an emporium, which naturally attracted ships passing through the *Stretto*. The Arab geographer Edrisi in the 12th century confirms Messina as 'among the most beautiful and prosperous towns; here and there a permanent anchoring, unloading of goods, sailing of ships coming from the whole maritime places of the Rums [...], there are awesome markets, many merchants and purchasers, very easy is the sale (English translation from the author taken from Amari 1880-1881).⁸ The presence of numerous families from Amalfi attest its role as the heir of Amalfi (Filangieri 2005, 448). The other important *città marinara*, Genoa, was also significant, but in a slightly later period.

Venice's power and independence had greatly developed in this period, even if during the 12th century the successors of Alexius I (1056-1118), such as John II, Manuel I and Alexius III, tried to impede its commercial independence by taking away the privileges provided originally by Alexius I. The emperors worried that although Venice could provide military support, its power and freedom to circulate within the Byzantine territories could pose a threat for the Empire as a whole (Borsari 1988).

⁸ *'Tra i più egregi paesi e più prosperi che va e viene; qui l'arsenale; qui ancorare, scaricare, salpare di legni provenienti da tutti i paesi dei Rum [...] splendidi i mercati, numerosi i compratori, facilissima la vendita'* (Amari 1880-1881).

In fact, the Venetian ships represented the main link between the different coastal ports of the Byzantine and Italian territories which they used as ports of call. Here they stopped to resupply ships with sweet water, and most probably here they were loading goods and new passengers. Those goods could have been then re-sold in the ports of the Latin East, in Antioch, Tripoli and other places, producing a good investment (Jacoby 2009). The pottery evidence here confirms this traffic through the presence of Byzantine fine pottery also in those territories, for instance in Acres (Stern and Waksman 2003). The Venetian merchants controlled patterns of commerce from the Alps and northern Europe towards Constantinople, mainly in timber, furs and ships built by the Venetians themselves (Borsari 1988, 126), while, thanks to their commercial privileges, they were also trading with Byzantine cities, such as Corinth, Sparta and Thebes towards Constantinople, in this case by land, passing through the Via Egnazia (one of the sites discussed in Chapter 4), which started in Egnazia, (Apulia), passing through Dürres in Albania to arrive finally in Constantinople.

Most of the documentation regarding the trading activities of the Venetians relates to finance, for example to properties in Constantinople owned by Venetian families. Unfortunately, only very few documents mentioning the products imported and exported before the 13th century have survived and these are mainly lists of goods travelling within cargoes. There is one notable survival which outlines the kinds of products that Constantinople was able to obtain from the Byzantine territories, specifically in this case from Nauplia in the Peloponnese (Greece) as a cargo of Venetian ships. This document, dated 1182, is worth translating here in full:

'[...] to be saved the above mentioned ship and to have it with everything is inside, the above mentioned sailors have 67 thousands of **oil** and a whole other [...] , clearly **copper**, and other 9 of oil, and **linen drapes** and [...] **soap** and **almonds** and **raisins** and **copper bowls** and **wax** or **dyes** and **olives**' (Translated by the author).⁹

Among the list are copper and copper vessels, textiles including linen, soap, wax, and various foodstuffs such as almonds, oil, olives and raisins (Borsari 1988, 102). Furthermore, there is other good evidence from documents which demonstrates commerce in cheese and wine, particularly from Crete to Constantinople (Jacoby 2009, 378).

From Constantinople the exported products seem mainly to have been handcrafted ones and products from Asia and eastern lands (Borsari 1988, 91). Unfortunately we do not have published documents clearly attesting to this though there are occasional records such as this trade from Constantinople towards Alexandria and Crete in the 12th century:

'[...] Anno Domini 1161, Constantinople. Under my supervision I received from the above mentioned Iacobus Venerio of the above mentioned Fuscari a **sack of horsehair** which costs 25 perperos, to be transported from here to Crete and then Alexandria' (Translated by the author).¹⁰

⁹ [...] salvandi suprascripta nave cum toto habere quod est intus, abeant suprascripti marinarii miliaria de **oleo** sexaginta septem et totum aliud habere de **callumpnia** quod est in suprascripta nave, videlicet **rame**, et alia de **oleum** nove, et **drapi de lino** et osbergi sex et gambere quattor et **sapone** atque **mandule at uva passula** et **conces de rame** et **cera sive grana** et **olive**' (Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, 326–327).

¹⁰ [...] Anno Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo primo (1161) [...] Constantinopoli [...] in meo testimonio receipt suprascriptus Iacobus Venerio de predicto Fuscari saccum unum de **setis de caballo** valentes tunc perperos viginti quinque [...] ad portandum de hinc in Cretis et hinde in Alexandria [...] (Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, 148).

From these documents we have at least an impression of the presence of the Venetian ships in the Aegean, and of the types of goods which were distributed among the Mediterranean ports. Activity in other important Italian ports such as Ancona, Bari, Gaeta, Genoa, Messina, Otranto, Pisa, Reggio Calabria, Salerno and Savona (Benente 1992–1993; Abulafia 1977, 42) are also attested through historical records, such as lists of goods present in cargoes (see section below), merchant's letters, merchandise books, and archaeological documents. Current archaeological research also confirms the presence of Byzantine material culture in the territories around these cities (see below and among our sites in Chapter 4). However, the primary role of Venice seems to be unquestioned in terms of archaeological evidence, as we shall see in the significant presence of Byzantine material in areas on the Venetian trade routes throughout the Mediterranean in the 12th century.

Merchant communities were a feature of Byzantine ports and cities and there is a significant amount of historical information concerning Venetian traders and their houses and shops (Borsari 1988). Through these, we can single out particular families. One of the most important family archives is that of the *Zusto* family, which includes several political and public documents from the end of the 11th century attesting the presence of the family's members in the main ports of the Mediterranean. In one of the documents dated to September 1111 from Constantinople, Enrico Zusto, received from Kalopetro Xantho, a merchant in silk clothes from Constantinople, a maritime loan for the return trip from Constantinople to

Damietta¹¹, attesting that relationships between Italian and Byzantine merchants existed.

Further, there are Venetians merchants present in Corinth where Pancrazio Staniario (Borsari 1988, 110), formed a society with Leone Greco in 1139. This same merchant then gained a loan a year later to undertake commerce in Corinth for two years (Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, 75–76). One 12th-century merchant, Romano Mairano, is well represented in the written sources on his different travels and from his commercial activities from Venice to Constantinople (Borsari 1988, 112–130). Taken together, this all suggests a peak of commerce between Byzantine territories (mainly in Corinth) and Italian shores in the 12th century: as we shall see, Byzantine pottery is also most abundant in the Italian peninsula at this time.

2.2.3 13th to 14th centuries (Figure 2.4)

Genoa was the other main competitor with Venice on the seas. In terms of commerce, this city was at first focused mainly on the western areas of the Mediterranean, such as the south of Spain and France, Sardinia, Sicily and north Africa, as we know from artefacts and written sources (Benente 1994–95) but it developed its commerce also in the eastern Mediterranean. The first documents attesting the presence of Genoese in Byzantine and eastern territories date from the mid 12th century (Origone 1998, 46). However, Genoa then expanded through its colonial merchant quarters

¹¹ *'Plenam et irrevocabilem securitatem mitto ego Kalopetrus Xantho vestioprata et imperialis vestarcha Costantinopolitanus cum meis heredibus tibi Heinricho Iusto filio Ambrosii Iusto de capite Rivoalto et tuis heredibus de illis centum viginti quinque bizantiis perperis bonis aureis quos tu michi debitor fuisti pro aliquantis palliis quos de me acceptisti et tecum in taxegio de Damiatas portasti cum nave in qua nauclerus fuit Iohannes Grancairolo'* (Lanfranchi 1955, 23).

within the city of Constantinople and through Black Sea trade, by helping the Emperor to re-conquer the capital (1261) after its siege in 1204. This expansion increased from the second half of the 13th century towards the Aegean sea (Origone 1998).

The date 1204 represents a significant episode, the Fourth Crusade, which was one of the most terrible events in the history of Byzantium. The city was destroyed by the Latins (westerners) who were supposedly heading towards the Holy Land to free it from the Muslims. The history of the Crusades lies beyond the scope of this research but it is important to stress that the first Crusade started at the end of the 11th century with the aim to gain back the Holy Land from the 'infidels', as the westerners used to name the non Christian people. The Italians shared in the conquest of Palestine and Syria. The presence of the new Latin kingdoms in the east, particularly in the territory of Nicaea (Iznik), and in the cities of Edessa (Urfa), Antioch and Jerusalem, had permitted Pisa, Genoa and then Venice to have commercial privileges in the Levant as recompense for transporting the crusaders to the Holy Land; and also for their military assistance, as in 1124 the Venetians destroyed an Egyptian fleet off Ascalon and helped besiege Tyre which fell in July of the same year; the Venetians were then rewarded with a third of Tyre and its territory. Therefore in cities such as Antioch, Acres, Tyre, and Jaffa (Tel-Aviv), large communities of Italians grew up (Piccinni 1999, 240). The Second Crusade (1147–48) was a failure. From then on the Muslims unified themselves in Egypt and Syria under the sultan Salah-Ad-Din, who managed to defeat the Latins. With the 3rd Crusade (1190–92) the Latins retained only Acres.

The Fourth Crusade stopped at Constantinople. The Venetians were the main protagonists of this attack and they also gained much from it. In fact after this the Venetians had a large part of Constantinople under their control and Venice began to build a colonial Empire in the Aegean, which by 1207 included areas such Korone, Methone in Messenia (Greece), Chalkis in the island Euboea (Greece), Crete and many other small islands on the Aegean. Genoa started to have a major role as well in these territories, thanks to the Crusades, and became the main rival of Venice in many ways. In particular, the city, by helping the Byzantine emperor Michael Paleologus to re-conquer Constantinople, had managed to get free access to the Black Sea with the colonies of *Pera* within Constantinople and Theodosia (better known in Italian as Caffa) (Michel Balard 2005, 61)(see Figure 2.4).

From the First Crusade onwards the westerners inaugurated a Latin occupation on the Levantine territories which lasted for 200 years. The Latins were people from many parts of Europe such as Flanders, Normandy, Languedoc and Lorraine, referred to as 'Franks' by the Muslims and Latins of the East. The capture of Cyprus in 1191 had reinforced their power in the East, and after the sack of Constantinople in 1204 they managed to control large territories of the East, including the Byzantine Empire. The main territories of the Latin East were fourfold: the kingdom of Jerusalem, the county of Tripoli (Lebanon), the county of Edessa, the principality of Antioch. Here the ports became nodal centres of commerce in particular for cities such as Venice, Pisa and Genoa, and particularly in Tyre and Acres (Phillips 1995). The Italians had their own districts, with their churches, *piazze*, and ducal palaces, bakehouses and shops, while the Amalfitans established a hospice for pilgrims in Antioch

around the end of the 11th century (Jacoby 2009, 385). Pilgrims, in particular, stimulated the economy of the territories of the Latin East. Relations here were crossed between Muslims from North Africa, Greeks from the Byzantine Empire, Franks and Italians, and exchange of goods and habits was regular (Folda 1996, 81). The Italians however were the only ones to enjoy large privileges in term of trade and settlement (Phillips 1995, 116), they in fact represented the main link between those people, because they were involved in the trading of their goods and in the transport of their pilgrims between east and west (Riley-Smith 1973).

According to Riley-Smith (2005, 224–5), Italian merchants were given property, administrative buildings, churches, baths and ovens. In Acre, Genoa were three towers, 65 houses with shops, and six palaces with warehouses (Poleggi 2005, 302). Sometimes there was more at stake, in 1124 the Venetians were given a third of the city-territory of Tyre in which they settled. Other than property they also attained jurisdictional rights and, most importantly, rights to enter and remain in certain ports, reduction of sales dues and sometimes the possession of their own markets. These privileges encouraged the setting up of quarters in which merchants might stay when fleets were in port. At other times of the year it appears that these settlements were less full, only 300 people are estimated to have lived throughout the year in the Genoese quarter at Acre in the 13th century.

Until 1180 most of the spice trade passed through Egypt, and the Italians were able to take little advantage of their Palestinian and Syrian ports. Trade tended to be in products such as sugar, cotton and imported cloth. After 1180 spices from India and the Far East bypassed Egypt and instead

passed through centres like Damascus, Aleppo and Antioch. The chief ports of Damascus, Acre and Tyre, were in Christian hands and so Acre came to rival and even to overtake Alexandria as the chief market on the eastern seaboard. It is no surprise that the Italians responded by increasing their administrative presence; the Venetians established a consul in Acre in the 1190s to be shortly followed by representatives from Pisa and Genoa. The intention, one which widely succeeded, was to increase their influence as shippers, money lenders and money-changers. In all some 150,000 Latins are estimated to have been resident in the region.

Archaeological evidence illustrated quite well the common characteristics of a city of the Crusade period such as Acre. Here in fact since the 1970s, but particularly in the 1990s, excavations of old Akko took place, mainly under the direction of Edna Stern (Stern 1999a, 1999b). The shape of a medieval emporium is still very much present (see Figure 4 in Kool 1997, 194). This city was in fact conquered in 1104 by the Crusaders and it was subsequently organised into quarters mainly divided by Venetians, Genoese and Pisans (their quarters were respectively built in 1110, 1104 and 1168) and also by the military orders of the Hospitalers, the Templars and the Teutonic knights (Jacoby 1979, 7). The city then became the capital of the reign of Jerusalem until 1292. As said above these quarters were characterised by their own patronal church, for instance St. Mark for Venice and St. Saba for Genoa, squares, military towers, warehouses, shops and households. The city was fragmented into several cores and did not assume the shape of a typical western city with one single centre, but it kept the former Arabic structure with a decentralised economic and social life (Jacoby 1979, 39). However, clearly, cities like this were modified by the construction of the quarters for the occupants, which became

overcrowded during the Crusade period due to the continuous flow of pilgrims and the transit of goods from east and west (Jacoby 1979, 43). The examination of the Crusade period well attests this flux of goods (Stern 2003, Stern 1997).

In this period, the Byzantine Empire, even if formally unified from 1261, was limited only to Tracia, Macedonia, Peloponnese and the area around the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, while new smaller kingdoms such as Trebizond, took power in other areas. The decentralisation of power brought a new independence to the Byzantine cities and a different dynamic to the economic situation. In places such as Corinth, Thessalonica and Trebizond, Greek and Italian merchants worked in close contact with Muslims, Jews and Armenians (Karpov 1986, 31). The final Byzantine Empire was a mix of peoples continuously crossing the borders of the ex-state. At the same time, the emphasis changed from export trade to import trade. The west was in fact much richer and more skilled at this time in manufacturing technologies (Bouras 2002, 516). Textiles were now *imported* by the Byzantine cities from the Italian peninsula and other European countries.

To gain an understanding of these new directions of trade, one of the most remarkable written sources on medieval trade in the Mediterranean is the volume '*La pratica di mercatura datiniana*', dated 1385–86. This is a merchandise book designed to be used in the training of merchants in the Italian peninsula (Ciano 1964). In the text various prices and goods traded in several ports of the Mediterranean are discussed, as well as their commercial traders. One of the texts refers to the wares sold and acquired

in Constantinople and Thessalonica (and therefore within Byzantine territory) and traded around the Mediterranean:

'In Constantinople [...] thin mastic is sold [...], thousand of thin linen and cotton are sold. Thousand of thin silver is sold. Hides are sold by 'cantare gienovese' [...]. Thousand of oil of Ancona corresponds in Thessalonica to 21 metres. Two 'moggia 'of grain of Thessalonica are in Ancona [...]. 100 pounds of wax and cotton from Thessalonica are in Florence 100 pounds [...]. Kermes of Rhodes is in Genoa 'mine' 3. 10 pounds of silk of Thessalonica are in Florence 9 pounds. Grain is loaded in Bulgaria, in Varna and in Oristo, before entering in Constantinople [...]' (Translated by the author).¹²

Mastic, linen, cotton, silver, leather, grain, wax, silk, kermes were all being traded from east to west and only the oil of Ancona seems to be traded from Ancona itself to Thessalonica. However, compared to the other main ports, which were widespread from the east up to northern Europe, Constantinople seems now only to have a minor commercial role (Ciano 1964, 17).

The archaeological evidence also shows the decentralisation of power in the Byzantine Empire from the 12th century, when the provinces started to have their own manufacturing activities, distinct from Constantinople. This helped Venice, which expanded to areas such the Black Sea, Cyprus and Rhodes (with its fine harbour), places which were by now of greater

¹² *In Costantinopoli [...] sottile si vende masticha [...] Lino e cotone si vende a migliaio sottile. Ariento si vende a migliaio sottile. Chuoia si vendono a cantare gienovese [...] Lo Migliaio de l'olio d'Ancona torna in Salonichi metri 21. Le due moggia di grano di Salonachi sono in Achona [...] Libre 100 di ciera e di cotone di Salonachi sono in Firenze lib.100[...]. Lo mogio de la grana di Rodisto torna in Gienova mine 3. Libre 10 di seta di Salonichi sono in Firenze libre 9. Grano si caricha in Bolgaria, a Varna, e a Oristo a l'entrare di Chostantinopoli [...]' (Ciano 1964, 52).*

importance because of their strategic location at the centre of the passage between the Levant and the West. Evidence of pottery from these places is present in the Italian peninsula during this period.

A number of documents also testify to the importance of the island of Cyprus in this new period of decentralisation, with the Genoese very much present in the city of Famagosta. In particular, a significant series of legislative acts was issued in the city between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century. In a document dated 1301, Giacomo *speciarius* (the shop-keeper), a citizen of Famagosta, declares to Damiano De Lezia that he has received 2662 *bisanti saraceni d'oro* (a type of measure) from him in cotton to be traded in Venice: ' [...] *implicates in cotone, causa mercandi ire debeo in Venecias et deinde qui Deus et cetera* [...] (Pavoni 1982, 203), sixteen other documents also deal with this same cotton business (Pavoni 1982, 245–261).

From the second half of the 14th century, Italian trade suffered a series of setbacks. In 1347 the Plague, or Black Death, devastated the population in Europe, and Venice and Genoa were badly affected by this tragedy (Kedar 1981, 5). In the case of Genoa, political instability brought with it many problems. In Venice, despite development in its colonies in the Aegean, there were constant struggles against the new Ottoman Empire, who slowly occupied more territories. The competition between these powers was increasing on the seas and on the mainland, where Venice was trying to improve its control. Two factors in particular highlight the stagnation of the sea traffic: the decrease in the size of the Venetian galleys going towards Romania between 1373 and 1430 and the stopping of construction activities around port facilities from the 1325 onwards, for example in the

Arsenal of Venice (Kedar 1981, 16). This coincided with the more sedentary life of the traders and the advent of sedentary businessman (Kedar 1981, 19). As we shall see, Byzantine pottery also ceases to be present in Italian sites at this time.

2.4 The goods traded (Figure 2.6)

As seen up to now, the history of relations between the eastern and western Mediterranean, perfectly represented by the Italian peninsula and the Byzantine Empire, was one of constant flux. The mix of dependence and tension that existed between the Italian merchants and the Byzantine Empire, particularly the Amalfitans and the Venetians, nevertheless saw a period of autonomy and strength for these cities in the 11th to 12th centuries, and culminated in the possession of a colonial Empire in the Aegean, or for Genoa on the Black Sea, with opportunities for commerce in the Far East.

Byzantine/Greeks merchants were also important in the later period. According to scholars such as Karpov and Matschke (Karpov 1986, 33; Matschke 2002, 790), Greek merchants evolved particularly thanks to the stimulus provided by the Italians, and by often working in association with them they learned a lot, gaining free routes of long distance trade or getting onto the routes opened up by the Italians. However, the control of the Byzantine State on merchants' activities was always very tight, and only in the very last period, as these controls were diminishing, were the merchants free to work almost as the westerners (Matschke 2002). Regardless, they mainly traded locally while the real suppliers of exotic goods remained the Italians.

Throughout Europe and the Mediterranean many goods and people were thus involved in trade, including pottery: Byzantine pottery probably travelled mainly with luxury goods, foodstuffs and spices used for cooking, dyeing clothes and as medicine. There were in fact an enormous variety of products largely traded through Venetian galleys to markets in Europe. There are a few surviving merchandise books, as stated above, from the 14th and 15th century which describe in detail the products sold and the prices and details of the trade system in each region.

Regarding the documents available, other exist, as discussed above, in particular the cargo which traveled on Venetian ships from Nauplia to Constantinople, with oil, copper, line, soap, almonds, raisins, wax, kermes (dyes) and olives, dated to 1182, and further the cargo which traveled from Constantinople to Alexandria and Crete with sacks of horsehair, dated to 1161. Furthermore we have discussed a subsequent period (the 14th century), thanks to the document included in the *'La pratica di mercatura datiniana'*, which reveals more or less the same products described below.

However, one document in particular shows in detail the main goods traded from east to west and vice versa. It can be considered as the best representation of wares traded and chronologically closer to our period. It is a corpus of letters included in the volume *'Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchello'* (Morozzo della Rocca 1957): the letters are dated from 1336 to 1350. Pignol Zucchello was a noble merchant born in Pisa but living in Venice in the first half of the 14th century. This document lists the prices of goods in Famagosta (Cyprus) in 1349. In addition to the discussion of the goods traded from this last document (see below), a table is presented here

which summarises the main data on commerce (Figure 2.5). Among the most traded goods were:

Spices: they included cinnamon, cardamom, ginger, incense, indigo, saffron and pepper. They mainly came from India to Europe and were considered a real luxury, worthy of long-distance trade. In fact their low weight and small volume rendered them perfect for transportation (Constable 1994, 151). These had a key-role in ancient trade and can be used as medicine, mordant, to dye clothes and as ingredients for cooking. Their market expanded particularly during the 13th century, thanks to the stability of the Asian powers and the political strength of Venice and Genoa in the Levant.

According to the volume by Pegolotti '*La pratica della mercatura*' (Evans 1970, 360) dated to 1340, pepper has to be round and dried to be of a good quality, and it can last for 40 years preserved in a dry spot. It was one most diffused spices traded in the medieval period, and was also mentioned frequently in the Geniza documents (Constable 1994, 155). Ginger is of various types, it originated from India and it comes also from La Mecca, it has to be clean from the earth and with a good flat peel, it can last for 10 years in a temperate spot (Evans 1970, 360). The good quality of cinnamon is tested by its taste which has to be sweet. It has to be preserved in crates or hide baskets so as not to lose its flavour, it can last 10 years (Evans 1970, 361). It originates from south-east Asia to the western Mediterranean (Constable 1994, 151). Incense leaves must be large and white and clean of earth, stones and their tree bark; it must be preserved in well-covered crates. '*Incenso vuol essere grosso e bianco e netto di terra e di pietre e di scorze del suo albero [...]*' (Evans 1970, 370). Saffron had to be preserved in hide

sacks, in a dried spot, it can last for 10 years. *'E vuolsi guardare in sacca di cuoia, ne' troppo umido, ne' troppo asciutto, durerà in sua bontade 10 anni'* (Evans 1970, 376).

Alum: it is a chemical compound, the specific compound is hydrated potassium alum. This is one of the most important mordants, a fixer for dyes, traded in the medieval period. The best alum is derived from Phocaeen Asia Minor, and the Republic of Genoa controlled its monopoly through its colonies in this territory, where it was abundant. Alum is essentially the salt, which forms on certain salty minerals and is found naturally in the earth. It was employed in dyeing; the light coloured alums were useful in brilliant dyes while the dark coloured ones were used for very dark colours (Balard 2001, 208). It was also used for cosmetics and medicines, to prevent bleeding from cuts or infection. However it was mainly exported for textile manufacture. It is present in the tolls of Bruges, Fiandra and Genoa according to the *'Pratica di mercatura Datiniana'* (Ciano 1964, 113).

Precious metals: these are recorded in documents in several tolls in the Mediterranean. The merchant book of the *'Pratica di mercatura datiniana'* records various types of silver, such as *'argento di Carlino* (silver from Carlino-Udine-), *argento fine* (fine silver), *argento di ogni lega* (silver of different leagues), *argento sardesco* (silver from Sardinia)' present in Naples, then *'argento veneziano'* (silver from Venice) present in Chiarenza (modern Romania) Naples and Venice; *'argento vivo'* (vivid silver) traded in Nimes (France). Gold is only of one type and is present, according to the same source, in Barletta, Bruges, Candia, Chiarenza, Florence, Istip, Paris, Regno, Tunis and Venice. These two metals were mined (Constable 1994,

164): gold was generally imported from the Far East such as India, though silver came from Byzantine territories. In the 6th–7th centuries the mining areas for silver were located in the Taurus region (southern Anatolia) and on the southern coast of the Black Sea (Mango 2009, 222). The production centres were also here and in Constantinople and are documented up to the 10th century (Mango 2009, 227).

Textiles: these are divided within the documents into hemp, canvases, cotton, drapes, wool, linen and silk. They are among the most frequently mentioned items traded, and they were considered to be luxuries. They were produced within the Byzantine Empire, for example at Corinth, Thebes and Constantinople – where silk was mainly manufactured; or they originated from the Islamic regions (Jacoby 2001, 252). The volume of textile trade grew in the 13th century, especially after the defeat of the Mongol kingdom in Asia, and the consequent freedom of commerce with the Far East. Genoa and Venice were the main importers of those products, especially silk imported from China, Laiazzo (Armenia) and the Black Sea. The Venetians were more interested in Greek silk but from the 13th century started to import silk from the Levant (Jacoby 2001, 204), including coloured silks.

Hemp '*canapa filata*' (spun hemp) or '*non filata*', was traded in Genoa, from where it appeared in drapes in Brussels, Cambrai, Douai, Lille, Lucca, Malines, Paris and Venice. Drapes with gold decorations are recorded in Provence and silk drapes in Fiandra and Genoa (Ciano 1964, 119). In the Tuscan merchandise book of Francesco Balduccio Pegolotti, dated to 1340, linen is mentioned from Alexandria in Egypt and Romania (Evans 1970, 34); then wool from Romania and from Turkey (Evans 1970, 34), which

appeared in Constantinople markets. The silks are to be kept tight in bundles and preserved in a dry place.

Wax: this was mainly used for the production of candles. In the merchandise book of the Pegolotti it states '*Cera zavorra è la migliore cera che discenda in Romania [...]*' (Evans 1970, 43): the best wax is the one from Romania. Furthermore, wax is long lasting. It has to be yellow and clean. '*Ciera si è una viva mercatantia e dura lungamente che mai non si guasta; e vole essere netta e gialla [...]*' (Evans 1970, 365).

Hides: normal *cuoia* (skins), were very widespread from Constantinople to Provence; but others were more special, such as the *cuoia di Bue* (Ox skins) from Florence; and *cuoime non concio* (not tanned skins) which are attested in Genoa (Ciano 1964, 118). The hides had to be large and cleaned of their horns, legs and big claws, to be of good quality (Evans 1970, 379).

Foodstuff: products such as grain were the monopoly of the *Serenissima* in Crete. The island was obliged to supply Venice with a quantity of grain decided by the Senate (Balard 2001, 208). Before the 13th century a large part of the grain for Venice was imported from Apulia and Thrace, when they were under Byzantine control. Dried fruits such as figs from Mallorca and Spain: '*fichi secchi di Maiolica (Maiorca) e di Spagna in isporta*' are mentioned in the Pegolotti merchandise book (Evans 1970, 34). Wine was very much present from the middle of the 12th century onwards in Crete, where the Venetians started to produce *Malvasia* (malmsey wine), a sweet type of wine. In fact we have in the merchandise book a distinction between the general wine and wine from Crete in the markets of Candia. '*Vino greco si vende a Napoli* (Greek wine is sold in Naples)[...] *Vino di Turpia*

di Calabria e vino di Patti di Cilicia, e vino di Pescia di Puglia, vino di Cutrone di Calabria, vino della marca, vino di Creti, vino di Romania' , 'wine from Turpia is sold in Calabria and the wine from Patti of Sicily, and wine from Pescia of Apulia, wine of Cutrone of Calabria, wine of the Marca, wine of Crete and wine of Romania was sold in Constantinople' (Evans 1970, 39). The Italian peninsula also exported oil from the Ancona region to the East, together with grain and wine for Venice: '*Olio chiaro e giallo di Vinegia, olio chiaro e giallo della Marca, olio di Puglia, olio di Gaeta [...]*'. Salt was mainly imported from Corfu and Crete (Balard 2001, 208). Salt sturgeons had their origins in the '*Mare del Sara*' (Caspian Sea) but they were traded in Tana (today Azov in Southern Russia) and then finally in Pera and Constantinople. They had to be large and fat (Evans 1970, 380).

Kermes: these were small insects, beetles, (*Coccus illicis*) which could be dried and crushed to extract their colour to make a dye, which produced a crimson colour, and was also used in medicines. This was called in Latin 'granum' because the product was present in granules. Kermes used as dyes comes from several places around the Mediterranean. Pegolotti specifically mentions Spain, Provence and Greece and its islands. It was preserved in hide sacks (Evans 1970, 372). The Geniza documents (Goitein 1967) refer to kermes in western Mediterranean but they are also attested in Jerusalem in 1050, requested by a woman (Constable 1994, 171). They are also present in later centuries in places such as Bruges and London, transported by Spanish, Venetian and Genoan galleys (Constable 1994, 216).

Mastic: this is a tree (*Pistacia lentiscus*), mainly cultivated on the Greek island of Chios, located close to the Turkish coast, used for its aromatic

resin, which was extracted from the plant. It had been used in medicine since Antiquity. The Republic of Genoa had the monopoly on its export. Mastic appears only in the market of Constantinople (Ciano 1964, 123). The good quality of it can be seen through its colour, it has to be white; and by the dimension, it has to be quite large (Evans 1970, 370).

Soap: in Constantinople there are records of the sale of '*Sapone di Vinegia, sapone d'Ancona e sapone di Puglia in casse, [...], sapone di Cipri e sapone di Rodi insaccato*': soap of Venice, of Ancona and of Apulia in boxes, [...], soap of Cyprus and of Rhodes in sacks (Evans 1970, 33).

There is no direct archaeological evidence for the products listed above before this point – 13th to 14th centuries – on Italian sites. However, at the monastery of Nonantola (see Chapter 4), there are two examples of Byzantine silks whose manufacture is dated to the 8th to 9th century, which were used to wrap martyrs' bodies (Fangarezzi and Peri 2006, 63; Caselgrandi 1998) (Figure 2.8). These may have been brought in Nonantola together with the relics of the Saint's cross at the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century. It is thought these objects were part of the treasure of the Nonantola abbey, which contained other items of Constantinople/Byzantine manufacture such as reliquary boxes decorated in silver and gold leafs (Caselgrandi 1998). This is important evidence of the close links of the Nonantola abbey with the Byzantine Empire, seen also through Byzantine ceramics. Furthermore, as said above, we are sure of the presence of Venetians buying textile in Corinth and Thebes. From documents it is also attested that in the reign of Alexios I (1081–1118) the high quality silk clothes of Thebes were used as diplomatic gifts (Harvey 1989, 219). Therefore we would expect to have evidence of these items on

archaeological sites, though the archaeological sources in Italy have not yet revealed such evidence.

Other famous European churches conserve prestigious Byzantine silks from the 8th century onwards, for example in the tombs of Charlemagne at Aachen (Aquisgrana in modern Germany) and St. Germain at Auxerre in modern France. Also the Geniza documents of the 10th–12th centuries record the request of Byzantine clothes by Islamic brides from Il Cairo (Mango 2002, 168).

This deficiency in the archaeological record of these perishable goods is due to the lack of scientific analyses (such as archaeobotany) or of proper sieving on excavations. The only possible indicator of trade and items that may have since perished could be from the medieval amphorae records, which, at least, attest the connection between the different tolls and offer physical markers (Figure 2.9). Among the sites under consideration there is evidence from Andora's castle and Priamar's castle (both in Liguria, see Chapter 4) of amphorae dated to the 12th to 13th century: the archeologist who excavated here suggested that they were probably used for the transport of oil, malmsey wine (probably imported from Attica), olives and spices, on the basis of historical documents (Benente 1992–93, 116). Furthermore in Marettimo (Sicily), one of the religious sites used in this research, there are amphorae of probable Byzantine production of 7th to 9th century date (Ardizzone *et al.* 1998). In Previtiero (Apulia) we have amphorae from Ganos in Turkey, dated to the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century (Arthur 1997a) and finally in Venice, at the site of Ca'Vendramin Calergi, amphorae dated to the 7th to 8th century of probable Byzantine production (Gobbo 2006). Shipwrecks also provide

good evidence of trade, and the Mediterranean is scattered with medieval shipwrecks attesting this aspect. Those of particular interest for this research are mentioned below.

Further key evidence worth considering is the presence of eastern or Byzantine coins on Italian sites, which suggest commercial links between the territories or at least some sort of exchange. The integration of important regions of in the southern Italian peninsula within the Byzantine State has been demonstrated through evidence of coins from Constantinople in those areas (as at Apulia, Lucania and Calabria). The documentary sources also attest that in the south of the Italian peninsula the monetary system was in significant use and directly linked to the capital, suggesting that the natural economy was not the main system of exchange (Martin 1983, 189).

In our case, we have examples in Torcello of coins of Alexius I Comnenus (11th century) and Manuel I Comnenus (12th century); in Otranto there are *anonymous folles* of the 10th and 11th century (seen also in Venice) of the Emperors Basilius I (9th century), Romanus IV (11th century) and John II Comnenus (12th century); in Reggio Calabria there is a significant number of Byzantine coins dated between the 9th and the 11th century together with Byzantine amphorae of the same period; in Egnazia there are coins of the 9th, 11th and 14th century; in Capaccio, 17 Byzantine *folles* of the 10th and 11th century are present; and finally in Vaccarizza two coins from the time of Emperor Romanus I (10th century) represent the earliest archaeological evidence at this site (Figure 2.7).

Ultimately, commerce from west to east mainly included metals such as iron, lead, copper and tin, together with timber, military arms and wool (Jacoby 2001, 253). Furthermore, particularly from the 13th century onwards, the textile industry in the Italian peninsula underwent substantial development, for example in Florence; and glass was exported from Genoa and Venice, where the glass industry largely developed in the 13th century, due to high demand, mainly from Northern European markets.

2.5 Circulation of pottery

Understanding exactly why Byzantine pottery circulated in the Italian peninsula is difficult to ascertain as the only data available, from an archaeological point of view, are the shipwreck records (see Chapter 3), and from a historical viewpoint, a very small number of indirect historical sources. Pottery in general could circulate for many different reasons: first as a **container for certain products**. Historical documents for the use of amphorae are not available until the 13th to 14th century, but we do at least have the evidence of the amphorae themselves, since the early medieval period.

Unfortunately we are not completely aware of the volumes of goods traded in the early medieval and medieval periods. During the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity the main goods traded were oil, wine, garum which represented a massive quantity of imports (probably larger in quantity compared to the medieval period), but which could be traded both in amphorae and wooden boxes. However we have certainly in ancient times a larger volume of goods traded and therefore a large

presence of amphorae in the archaeological record (which also are not perishable like the wooden materials).

From the 11th century onwards, Byzantine glazed pottery seems to be present in the Italian peninsula, perhaps in **its own right**, for example in the case of the *Bacini* vessels, which were used to decorate Italian churches. For instance at Nonantola, a Longobard/Carolingian abbey (see Chapter 4) there is evidence of imported pottery from the 11th century, probably used as a luxury gift, perhaps obtained from diplomatic sources or through relationships with Constantinople (unpublished data, Centre of medieval Archaeology, Ca' Foscari University of Venice). Slightly later examples of *Bacini* are present in 12th century contexts outside the abbey's apses. When commerce between the Byzantines and the Italians started to fully cover all Byzantine tolls, as described above, this pottery increased, from the 12th century onwards. There are three main reasons for this circulation.

- 1) The presence of pottery within galleys together with other imported wares. However, as we have seen, pottery is not listed among the imported goods, but a couple of sources do suggest this indirectly. One is a document of March 1168, when King William II of Sicily granted to the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary Latin free taxes on some items exported annually from Messina to their properties in Jerusalem (Pringle 1986). In the document there is a specific mention of 50 *scutellas* (bowls) made.

Another later document of 1397, from the book-keeping of the Pisan commercial company Pacini-Tolomei, reveals the sale of a number of

products to Antone Maccierife from Pisa who lives in Massa (Tuscany), sent through Iacopo di Giovanni, *barcaiuolo* (boatman). Among these products is large amount of glass vessels together with pottery jugs, barrels, empty sacks, mats (Stiaffini 1999, 135). In the 15th century, similar examples are well recorded in English port books from London and Southampton (Gutiérrez 2000, 109).

Shipwreck evidence provides useful information about pottery circulation, such as the ship that sank off Pelagonesos in the Northern Sporades, Greece, which was carrying thousands of plates, bowls and cups of Byzantine glazed ware, together with amphorae and millstones (Van Doorninck 2002); or the early 13th century wreck off Kastellorizon near the southern coast of Asia Minor (Philothéou and Michailidou 1989), which contained Aegean Wares. These records testify to the significant movement of pottery around the Mediterranean and show that pottery could have travelled unrecorded on boats/ships.

2) The second reason for the presence of this pottery is as ship's cargo, as in the Yassi Ada (Turkey) shipwreck, where Glazed White Ware (GWW) was used by the captain and crew (Parker 1992; Bass 1982). Historical document describes the journey by Santo Brasca from Venice to the Holy Land in 1480. He wrote: 'There there were pots of different dimensions, many pans and vases, not only made in copper but also of terracotta, spits to roast, and other kitchen vessels' (Translated by the author)¹³; listing the bulk of pottery present in the ship's kitchen, for the pilgrims and the crew of the ship.

¹³ *Li erano caldaroni e caldarozi, padele e pignate quante se possa dire, non solum de rame ma anchora de terra, spedi de far el rosto, et altri utensili de cucina'* (Momigliano Lepschy 1966, 30).

3) Finally, pottery was on ships as the property of pilgrims who came from the west to the Holy land and vice versa, passing through the main Byzantine-Venetian commercial routes, such as Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Modone, and Rhodes -Greece- (Momigliano Lepschy 1966, 31). The items were bought as souvenirs or for use during the voyage.

2.6 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to provide an overview of the trading system in the Mediterranean during the medieval period, using both historical and archaeological sources. This has been useful to contextualize the circulation of pottery and particularly of Byzantine Glazed pottery among the goods traded especially between the eastern and western Mediterranean. The main protagonists of this movement of people and goods were the merchants of the *città marinare* such as Venice and Genoa but also many other Italian city-ports played an important role in the development of commercial traffic. The main trading links seem to have developed between those cities and the Levant, the Greek/Byzantine cities, but places such as North Africa with the port of Alexandria and Il Cairo were also significant. The quantity of goods traded did vary but generally seems to increase through the centuries, to reach the peak for our pottery around the 12th century, due in part to demand for products from both east and west and of course to the development of manufacturing activities and high quality products in several parts of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER 3

BYZANTINE GLAZED FINEWARES: AN OUTLINE

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the Byzantine glazed fineware pottery which forms the basic material evidence for this thesis. It includes a brief history of research, definitions and a catalogue of the main centres of production based on archaeological evidence from kilns, kiln wasters and scientific analysis. Finally, there is a typology of fabrics, techniques, forms and decorative styles of wares dating between the 10th and 14th centuries. The intention is to provide as complete a review of the evidence for Byzantine glazed pottery production as is possible at this time and one which will serve as a resource for pottery researchers across the eastern Mediterranean.

3.1 Medieval pottery studies in Greece and Turkey

3.1.1 The state of knowledge

The main focus of production for Byzantine finewares between the 10th to the 14th centuries lay within the modern countries of Greece and Turkey. Medieval archaeology and pottery studies in these two regions are substantially under-developed, principally because of a dearth of interest in the period itself. Neither Greece nor Turkey possess adequate academic forums for in-depth or general analysis of the period. This is compounded by a lack of information and data relating to medieval pottery; most stratigraphic excavations of medieval sites are undertaken by the regional

prehistoric and classics departments rather than falling under the auspices of the medieval or Byzantine specialists.

Furthermore, art historical aspects of material culture tend to be the most heavily patronised with a preference for documenting and conserving standing monuments, such as Byzantine religious buildings (Sanders 1995, 4). For more than a century such places have been investigated by foreign archaeologists with the foundation of the various schools (American, British, French and Italian) serving as bases for research. These foreign schools, however, inevitably bring with them their own research agendas and, consequently, tend to concentrate primarily on periods other than Byzantine, focusing particularly on prehistoric and Hellenistic Greece. Only at Corinth and, more recently at Sparta, have stratigraphic excavations been undertaken which target medieval and post-medieval archaeology. Corinth, in particular, stands out for its archaeological potential for thorough and systematic excavations, being one of the most important medieval cities in the Aegean.

3.1.2 The main studies on Byzantine pottery

Given this uneven basis for medieval research in the region, it is no surprise that studies on Byzantine glazed pottery are few. Only three works of synthesis can be considered to be pioneering studies of the subject. They all display a similar viewpoint and, as contemporary publications between 1930 and 1947, they exerted an influence over one another. The common starting point for this work was the first important excavations in Constantinople which were carried out by the British Academy in 1927/1928, investigating the area of the hippodrome in particular. Subsequently, a British scholar of history of art at Oxford

University, David Talbot Rice proposed a primary classification of Byzantine pottery in his volume *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Talbot Rice 1930). As was the case for all other pottery studies at this period, the main criteria used for the classification of pottery were the pottery fabrics which were divided very simply into red and white. For example, Talbot Rice distinguished three principal 'Byzantine' groups: Unglazed wares, Glazed White Wares, and Glazed Red Wares (hereafter GWW and GRW). GWW was defined as 'faïence' (Talbot Rice 1930, 6) with a white fine sandy clay, covered directly by a variable glossy glaze. This group also included a more elaborate style which was termed Polychrome Ware by Talbot Rice and characterised by luxurious painted decorations and included floor tiles. GRW were defined as 'earthenware' (Talbot Rice 1930, 5) with a red or beige coloured clay covered by a layer of white slip which was then glazed. Since Byzantine pottery bears very detailed decoration, differences in style, technique and motifs can be distinguished and further classifications were therefore made on the basis of their decorative styles.

Charles Morgan, an American scholar working at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, then published a second important volume, *Corinth XI*, which discussed the pottery from the Corinth excavations of 1929 and 1936–7, focusing on the local and imported pottery from the 9th century through to the Ottoman period (Morgan 1942). Morgan's contribution contained three main sections: the first focused on the network of modern workshops in modern Greece and tried to draw parallels with their medieval counterparts. The second section described the various wares based upon their decoration. Finally, Morgan included a catalogue of around 1,800 fragmentary and complete glazed vessels. Morgan's contribution was therefore that he considered local productions

for the first time, including Byzantine kilns and workshops and set them into a geographical context (Morgan 1942, 3–25).

Later work, by Robert Stevenson, an other British scholar of archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, conducted at the behest of the Walker Trust in 1936 and 1937, investigated Byzantine glazed ware recovered from the Great Palace of the Emperors in Constantinople (Stevenson 1947). His volume considers 7,000 fragments, focusing only on the glazed wares. He studied the pottery from homogenous and closed deposits, trying to identify the characteristics of the material within these contexts. The pottery was studied initially on the basis of the Talbot Rice's classification system but Stevenson was soon obliged to enlarge the number of categories (Stevenson 1947, 41). Furthermore he provided statistical analyses of the percentages of the different pottery types present in each deposit. He divided the corpus of ceramic material into groups which he called *stages*, and included a catalogue of descriptions for the pottery present within each stage. The pottery from one stage could be found in different layers; their groupings infact were based only on stylistic similarities.

All three volumes provide tables that include drawings of complete vessels, which give some impression of their decorations and the colours. These are included alongside sections illustrating the characteristics of the shapes. Furthermore, the authors equated their pottery chronologies with Byzantine imperial dynasties, spanning a wide chronology. Talbot Rice correlated the GWW between the Isauric dynasty (717–867 AD) and the Latin occupation (1204–1237 AD); GRW are broadly aligned between before the Palaeologue dynasty (1261–1391 AD) and the end of the

Byzantine Empire (1453). Morgan discussed fabrics and shapes and then suggested the chronological range for their production. Stevenson dated the material using, and largely taking at face value, the few coins within the main strata examined. The pottery was then subdivided into six stages, ranging from the Late Antique period to the 13th century.

All three authors, however, were interested largely in relating their findings to an established historical chronology. If we consider the distinction made by Orton, Tyers and Vince (1993) about the different phases of approach to the pottery studies, divided in an Art historical phase, a Typological phase and a Contextual phase we can for sure include those three studies in the first one, particularly in the case of Talbot Rice, where a higher interest was dedicated to the study of the finewares of the eastern world, being Talbot Rice also an expert of Islamic art. In the case of the work of Charles Morgan at Corinth we can consider it as a good start towards a Typological phase of the study of Byzantine pottery. In fact even if it is based mainly on glazed wares, he did try to create a more prolific classification of the vessels, also on the base of the fabric and forms. However the consideration of the stratigraphy was still very distant from this work.

These three works have been fundamental to the overall progress of the topic, and their classifications and definitions are still used to some extent in modern catalogues of finewares. What they lack, however, is an accurate link to the archaeological evidence, as dates were often assumed rather than proven. After the Great Palace publication, studies on Byzantine pottery did not develop for fifty years until two further works appeared. The first is the monograph on the important excavation of

Saraçhane Djami in Istanbul (Hayes 1992) carried out from the 1960s by Dumbarton Oaks and the second is an unpublished PhD thesis by Guy Sanders, which reassesses Morgan's chronologies of Byzantine pottery from Corinth (Sanders 1995).

The excavation at Saraçhane in Istanbul investigated the remains of the Aghios Polyeyktos church, founded between 524 and 527 AD by Anicia Juliana, daughter of the western emperor Flavius Anicius (472 AD) and Placidia. Data from these excavations have been published in two volumes: volume II being dedicated to the finds and divided into sections on Late Antique, Byzantine, Ottoman pottery and glass. Here Hayes (1992, pers.comm.) proposes a new way to group pottery, based on the different fabrics and shapes, rather than solely on the decorative styles. On this basis, Hayes identified 62 new groups of medieval ceramics, their chronology spanning the period before the construction of the church through to its eventual destruction 'shortly post 1204' (Hayes 1992, 3). Hayes' approach was underpinned by the fact that he had an overall view of the finds from each context, in fact he studied all the finds (not only pottery and, importantly, not only Byzantine pottery) from the whole excavation. This not only gave him a wider perspective on Late Antique and medieval Constantinople but also enabled him to discuss important issues such as the transition from red slip ware (Sigillata) to the first glazed wares. His innovative description of GWW provides a systematic classification, as well as accurate chronologies, of the different types. The only limitation is in the identification of the different fabrics, which is merely descriptive and in the lack of compositional analysis. This section is, consequently, rich in detail but not yet scientifically informed. In considering the GRW, Hayes was forced to use traditional classifications

based on the decorations, since the fabrics themselves can be varied and very little is known about clay sources.

Sanders' work (1995), builds on Hayes' approach, aims to reassess the chronology of the fabrics, decorations and forms of Byzantine Glazed pottery in Corinth. He first reviewed the pottery from contexts of several excavations carried out in Corinth between the 1930s and the 1970s; second, the pottery associated with coins and other well-dated pottery was investigated; he also eliminated errors by not considering contexts containing contaminated material, a possibility which earlier studies had ignored. He looked in detail at the coins associated with pottery deposits in order to define more precise chronologies; finally, he compared the finds with the pottery from Saraçhane (Sanders 1995, 28; pers.comm.).

As a result of this work, many types and decorations were re-dated by up to a quarter of a century, and in some cases Sanders noted shapes and decorative styles that had been previously erroneously dated by up to 150 years (Sanders 1995, 28). Methods of excavation differed greatly between the 1930s and 1970s, and in many cases layers dated to different periods had been wrongly grouped together. Unfortunately, the standard of documentation and recording from the 1930s rarely permits a reconstruction of the original contexts.

Concluding, the main data on Byzantine pottery are provided largely by only two cities: Constantinople and Corinth. Both were important centres in the Byzantine period, consequently they are now home to large archaeological projects that specifically consider medieval contexts. The principal problem concerning the study of Byzantine pottery is the fact

that the literature, mostly post-dating Stevenson (1947), has routinely repeated the chronologies and the detail proposed by early scholars. In the same way the current literature suggests chronologies only based on the excavations at Saraçhane, since new large excavations which produce fresh data have not been undertaken. Only Sanders has tried to reassess the Corinth evidence but data from old excavations carried out in other main Byzantine sites, such as Sparta and Thebes, should also now be highlighted for reconsideration.

Recently, several other articles and conference papers on Byzantine pottery have appeared and there is now a flourishing of activity and debates in this field of research, mainly by French and British scholars. All these works will be referred to below and they have been useful in trying to sketch a general updated panorama of the *status questionis* in this field. However, only one full monograph has been produced recently on this topic; this is the PhD thesis published by Joanita Vroom (Vroom 2003). This scholar has been working on Byzantine pottery produced from survey activities in Boeotia in Central Greece. Her work is remarkable for the introduction of the analysis of social themes in the eastern Mediterranean (particularly for Greece and Turkey) through pottery evidence. It includes discussions of, for example, table manners. Vroom's work has been influential in the writing of this thesis, particularly when attempting to push the boundary of research beyond typology and description.

3.2 Defining Byzantine finewares

This chapter considers Byzantine finewares characterised by Byzantine *koinè* (for forms, decorations and types of glaze). This includes both

products that have been manufactured within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire between 10th and 14th centuries and pottery produced in areas not politically ruled by the government of the Empire, but still under its cultural influence. This is the case for both Corinth and Cyprus, which even in the Frankish period (12th to 14th century) continued to produce pottery with Byzantine styles and above all made by Byzantine/local potters (see below). As this example illustrates it is problematic to define the production of Byzantine fine pottery so neatly. There is neither a categorical caesura between the end of one form of production and the beginning of a new one, nor a caesura between historical periods, as the nomenclature might be taken to imply.

The new approach used by Hayes and Sanders has encouraged the development of studies on centres of production whereas previous studies, based on decoration, had produced infinite categories, making the processing of vessels and the development of studies very complex indeed, if not impossible. However, these old chronologies cannot be entirely discarded. The original division made by Talbot Rice between GWW (Glazed White Wares) and GRW (Glazed Red Wares) pottery remains valid and attributable to the Middle Byzantine (9th to 13th centuries) and to the Late Byzantine period (13th to 15th centuries). In this chapter I classify medieval and Byzantine pottery on the basis of their fabrics into two large categories which correspond to different purposes and functions: finewares and coarsewares. Broadly, medieval and Byzantine pottery vessels can also be divided into two forms: open shapes (such as dishes, bowls, cups, goblets) and closed shapes (such as jugs, jars, chafing dishes).

Generally speaking, the main characteristics of medieval-Byzantine finewares in the Mediterranean are fine clays and fabrics and the presence of coverings (glaze and slip, or tin glaze). These wares are very distinctive and can provide more precise chronologies than other classes of pottery such as the very homogenous coarsewares. Although many medieval pottery forms were multi-functional and many individual vessels certainly changed their function through their lifetime, it is generally true to say that the coarsewares are generally unglazed and intended for kitchen use or for other domestic activities, such as storage; while the finewares, with a rather refined fabric, are used as tablewares during meals, or as storage vessels for liquids, and they can be both glazed and unglazed. In particular, the glazed wares bear a glazed coating which can be transparent or coloured (through the addition of pigments) (Mannoni 1975; Berti *et al.* 2001a, 20). Concluding, the pottery under consideration in this chapter is Byzantine (because it is produced within a Byzantine *koinè*), has a fine fabric and is glazed. It is thought to have been used mainly on the table because it is refined both in terms of the fabric and surface decoration.

3.3 Classification and centres of production

Figure 3.1 is an attempt to synthesis information for all production centres known within Byzantine territory. Compiling such a table is complex, as some of the evidence is difficult to identify and categorise; for this reason there are still several question marks. It is perhaps too early to impose a rigid categorisation of the typologies and the centres of production of Byzantine pottery, however, research cannot progress without first understanding where we need to direct our focus. Furthermore it is

important to stress here that we have presented the two main types of production of Byzantine finewares, the GGW and GRW, in two different ways. The GWW, being produced in a single area, are described mainly by types, while the GRW, being composed by many different types produced in different centres of the Byzantine Empire, are mainly discussed by centre of production.

3.3.1 Glazed White Wares (GWW): a Constantinople production

In order to make sense of the development of Byzantine glazed ware production, it is necessary to briefly outline its background. Constantinople, with its Saraçhane sequence, represents the best attempt at sketching out its evolution. Earlier Byzantine tablewares here were principally represented by so-called 'Late Roman Finewares'. They can all generally be dated from the 4th to the 7th century (Hayes 1968). From the 7th century, the main change in Mediterranean pottery was the appearance of medieval lead glazed wares which progressively replaced these Late Roman Finewares.

Thereafter, the main pottery class produced in the Mediterranean was *ceramica a vetrina pesante* (CVP). This pottery has a thick lead glaze, characterized by a single firing (mentioned in Chapter 1). The most recent hypothesis is that this technique continued to be used among Italian potters, given the discovery of CVP sherds dated to the 4th to 5th centuries in Northern Italy (Brogiolo and Gelichi 1992), and that somehow the knowledge of the production of this pottery was not lost in the period after the fall of the Roman Empire. This type of pottery reaffirms its presence in the Italian peninsula by the 8th century in Rome, with the so-called Forum Ware, while in Constantinople evidence of it is already

present from the 7th century with the so-called Glazed White Wares I (GWW I).

Recent fundamental research on archaeometric analyses (Waksman *et al.* 2007) has confirmed a reintroduction of the CVP technique in the eastern provinces of the Empire, particularly in Constantinople in the 7th century. This seems to have been forgotten from the Late Roman period, but here came through 'regions which were then the western provinces of the Byzantine Empire' (Waksman *et al.* 2007, 134; pers.comm.), such as the Italian peninsula, before the 7th century. Therefore, it is only with the introduction of lead glazed ware in the 7th century that Constantinople assumes its role as a major pottery producer with the production of Glazed White Wares.

Hence, Constantinople's pottery production is mainly represented by GWW, a lead-glazed pottery. This was manufactured from the 7th to the 13th centuries and exported from the 10th century onwards. Production appears to stop at the beginning of the 13th century. At other centres, Corinth in Greece for example, imports of GWW ceased early in the reign of Alexius I (1081–1118). In the Italian peninsula the evidence of GWW seems to last until the 12th to 13th centuries (D'Amico 2007 and see below). The sequences of Mediterranean excavations appear to show GWW as the first imported medieval fine tableware. Various fabrics are recorded.

Hayes' analysis (1992, 13) of the pottery from excavations at Saraçhane and the large presence of GWW in the Great Palace of the Emperors (see Stevenson 1947), drew the same conclusions. In both these areas a notable

amount of GWW was found, indeed in Saraçhane there are more than 20,000 fragments. Hayes (1992) therefore deduced that the production centres were located in Constantinople itself. In fact, until the arrival of Glazed Red Wares (GRW) in the 12th century, GWW is almost the only glazed pottery recorded in the Byzantine capital. Hayes' hypothesis of a local origin is strengthened by the observation that the previous dominant type of unglazed White Ware, the Colour-Coated White Ware (Hayes 1992, 11–12) was made with the same clay as that of GWW, and it has not been found in other parts of the Mediterranean. This evidence suggests that the Colour Coated White Ware was a local production. Further, the presence of locally produced vessels of White Ware type from the Ottoman period, again using the same type of fabric as GWW, implies that the use of this particular kaolin-rich fabric was common from the early Byzantine period until Ottoman times, and that it is most probably local.

3.3.1.a. GWW production (Figure 3.2)

Five main classes of GWW have been recognised and categorised thanks to the research of John Hayes (1992), plus a highly technical production, the Polychrome Wares. They all have the same White Ware fabric, probably originating from workshops around Istanbul (as said above) but with diverse characteristics due to the different periods in which they have been produced. However, chemical analyses of the fabrics have been carried only for the most common type of GWW, the GWW II (see below).

a) GWW I

This category is considered to be the most ancient type of GWW, produced from the 7th to the 8th centuries and probably destined for local use, since

it is very rare outside Constantinople.¹⁴ This ware is characterised by a slightly coloured fabric, rather coarse compared to other groups and is 'virtually never plain white' (Hayes 1992, 15). The glaze is 'dark-toned, mostly olive green to sepia (with partially reduced firing), or brown to orange brown to deep yellow (with oxidized firing)' (Hayes 1992, 15). The application of glaze in a single firing is used for the first time here after the fall of the Roman Empire. Forms are broadly divided along the lines of shape, the earlier generally being closed, and the latter characterised by dishes (Hayes 1992, 16).

b) GWW II

GWW II started to be produced and traded from the late 9th/early 10th century through to the end of the 12th century. It is the most common type of GWW in the Mediterranean (Hayes 1992, 18) and Italian finds seem to confirm this (D'Amico 2007).¹⁵ Compositional analyses of White Wares, particularly of GWW II, indicate a possible origin somewhere near modern Istanbul (Megaw and Jones 1983, 256–258).

The high aluminium and low calcium content of the ceramic body is indicative of kaolin clay deposits. Kaolin is not particularly common in large exploitable deposits, but there are several potential sources on the coast of the Marmara Sea. Deposits are to be found on the south shore of the Dardanelles, a few kilometres inland, at Subasi Yenice (near Lâpseki). On the Bithynian peninsula kaolin can be found at Beykoz and near Asagi Dudullu (Figure 3.3). In this general region there are also exploitable

¹⁴ Currently known: fragments from Carthage (Hayes, 1980). One fragment seems to have been found in Butrint (Joanita Vroom pers. comm.).

¹⁵ In the Italian peninsula this type is the most common and found in larger quantities than other types of GWW

resources of manganese, in Çatalca for example, as well as lead, copper and iron, all of which were used as colorants for glaze (Sanders 1995, 233). At sites like Corinth and Athens, in which GWW II are numerous and often found in association with local products, the data appears to confirm that they are imported from elsewhere, because the local clays from Corinth and from the Attic region are not a white kaolin fabric. Finally, to confirm the hypothesis of production in Constantinople, it is worth quoting the recent discovery in Istanbul of a workshop of glazed, sgraffito, and unglazed wares in the area of Sirkeçi between the 13th and 14th century (Waksman and Girgin 2008). Analyses have shown differences of clay when compared to the White Wares recovered previously in Istanbul; although the clay may come from the surrounding area in the same region. This has been suggested by the scholars to be at Nicaea/Iznik (close to Istanbul), because of the presence there of wasters of White Ware tiles (Waksman and Girgin 2008, 468).

The fabric itself is generally very white with small circular grey or red inclusions and a brilliant yellow or green glaze which is applied directly onto the vessel body. The type of glaze differs from GWW I (see above), because it is double fired and has a higher alkaline content. It is therefore more closely comparable to Middle eastern fabrics (Waksman *et al.* 2007, 134). Forms include dishes and small vessels like cups; semi-closed and closed shapes are less frequent (for a more complete description of the main GWW II found in Corinth see Sanders 1995 and D'Amico 2003).

These vessels are mostly decorated with impressed motifs which are 'poorly' stamped on a central medallion generally on the internal part of large bowls. Red paint decorations are often visible on both the surface of

the closed vessels and on the internal surface of the open vessels (Figure 3.4). This type of GWW II (also called Red Painted Ware: Sanders 1995; Morgan 1942; D'Amico 2003) generally takes the form of cups with stemmed feet, chafing dishes, large bowls with tall feet, jugs and small cups (see the main forms in Figure 3.5 and main decorations in Figure 3.6). There are also two rather rare types of GWW II: the first, so-called Petal Ware, has the surface decorated by clay pellets; the second bears inscriptions on the exterior surface, and is referred to as Inscribed Ware. Petal Wares are commonly small cups, while the Inscribed Wares are usually bowls, dishes and chafing dishes.

GWW II certainly appeared on the tables of different users outside Constantinople. It was distributed in Greece to sites like Sparta and the Peloponnesus, in Athens, and inland cities such as Thebes and Thessalonica, and on the islands of Cyprus, Crete, Aegina and Eubea. In Turkey it has been recorded in Ephesos, Ganos and Hierapolis as well as in Romania and on the Black Sea at Chersonesos (D'Amico 2003, D'Amico 2007). The archaeological evidence from various contexts around the Mediterranean suggests that these were the only imported tablewares to be found in the Italian peninsula from the late 10th century, together with the first imports from the Islamic world.

The likely Constantinople origin of these tablewares may have added value to these vessels as they were coming from the capital of the Empire. Certainly there is not much variety among the imported wares, and local domestic products generally dominate excavated assemblages, stressing the importance of the presence of GWW as the only imported ware.

c) GWW III

Hayes suggests these vessels are the 'products of a number of smallish pottery-making centres' (Hayes 1992, 29) dated from the second half of the 11th century. The fabric seems to be similar to the Polychrome Ware, 'white hard, fairly clean, with occasional red inclusions, or small stony particles (generally greyish)' (Hayes 1992, 30). The surface is usually a glaze generally green or blue-green, or deep brown to sepia, which decays easily and is produced using techniques similar to Islamic wares (Hayes 1992, 29). The forms are mainly represented by open shapes.

GWW III does not seem widespread outside the Constantinople region, and was probably produced for a local market. Possibly it had with only a minor economic value, or was less expensive than GWW II because of its lower quality.

d) GWW IV

This group represents a further production which may have replaced GWW II and III during the 12th century through to the beginning of the 13th century. It is characterised by sandy micaceous clay, covered by a thin glaze and generally painted (Figure 3.7). The most common form of GWW IV are dishes and bowls, with the former being prevalent in earlier contexts. The main difference compared with previous GWW is the presence of smaller and thinner vessels (Figure 3.8). These vessels constitute the so-called 'painted ware' of Morgan's classification (1942). In deposits of the 12th/13th century in Saraçhane they are the commonest tableware, however in Corinth and Mediterranean sites in general they are not so widespread (for the characteristics and distribution of the Corinthian finds, see Sanders 1995 and D'Amico 2003).

e) GWW V

This class is, at the moment, not well defined. Hayes described these vessels as juglets which 'combine the gritty texture of GWW IV with a glaze characteristic of the GWW II' (Hayes 1992, 33). In the Saraçhane excavations their chronology spans the whole of the 12th century.

f) POLYCHROME WARE (PW)

'Polychrome Ware' is very luxurious and technically complex pottery type. Produced between the early 10th century and the end of the 12th century, it is thought that PW was manufactured in two centres: Constantinople and Bulgaria (Hayes 1992, 35). These are described below:

CONSTANTINOPLE

The main centre of manufacture lay in the Constantinople region (Mason and Mundell-Mango 1995). The fabric appears to be closer to the later productions of GWW III and IV. It is generally glazed and beautifully painted¹⁶ and can be divided into three groups, the most recent being comparable to Islamic traditions. It is widespread but present in very small quantities, for instance in Saraçhane it represents only 1% of the total of Byzantine pottery sherds from the 7th to the 13th centuries. All three groups are characterised by a similar range of vessels which consist mainly of small globular cups, small bowls, large dishes, and more rarely, jugs (Figure 3.8) and are generally covered by both an alkaline and lead glaze (Figure 3.9). The first group is characterised by yellow and green decoration with black outlines; the second group uses red dots which

¹⁶ These vessels bear elaborate painted motifs, generally vegetal or animal, the third group (see below) is characterised by the presence of imitation Kufic motifs.

cover the whole surface; the third group has a thick black pigment on the surface of the vessel together with alkaline and lead glaze; in a few cases tin glaze is used. Tin glaze was typical of the Islamic tradition and must reflect an exchange between Byzantine and Arab potters resulting in the acquisition of new skills and techniques. In this particular example the presence of Islamic craftsmen in the Constantinople region can also be suggested.

In Constantinople and Bithynia (for instance, Nicaea/Iznik, Nikomedia/Izmit and Bursa) tiles in Polychrome Wares are present principally in the main religious and civic buildings (D'Amico 2003, 34). Scholars (Mason and Mundell-Mango 1995) have suggested that these tiles were used to cover the interior surface mainly of religious buildings; they are present on walls, in niches within chapels and on the columns, replacing the decorative function of mosaics. Generally their chronology spans from the 9th to the 11th centuries (Figure 3.9).

Technological and compositional analyses have recently brought to light the mode of production and the location of these tiles workshops. The conclusion is that they were produced for one building at a time, and fired very close to the building itself, as in the case of Bulgaria (see below). Some small and temporary workshops were probably built by craftsmen-potters. Therefore tile production seems to have been episodic, the work being limited to itinerant craftsmen (Lauffenburger *et al.* 2001). This is a common mode of tile production found across medieval Europe.

BULGARIA

Bulgaria lays claim to a production site of decorative Polychrome Ware tiles in the area around Preslav¹⁷ (Figure 3.10). Workshops of Polychrome wares known are four. In the Palace Monastery, which has a permanent workshop, and the Round Church complex, which shows instead a temporary character of the atelier: these are situated within fortified town of Preslav. While Plateina e Tuzlalŭka, with permanent workshops, are situated outside the walls (Kostova 2009, 100). These provides remarkable evidence of production with the discovery of pottery kilns for the period between the end of the 9th and the first half of the 10th century (Totev 1987, 65–80). Furthermore mines of kaolin clay have been identified in the proximity of the river Rumska, close to the Preslav monastery. Many fragments of pottery, including Polychrome White Ware vessels, have also been found in the neighbourhood of the ancient capital (Schwartz 1982, 46). But eventually the local character of the polychrome ceramics has been proved also on the base of scientific analyses of fabrics, pigments and glazes (Kostova 2009, 98).

It is interesting to note that artefacts from Turkey and Bulgaria are very similar in terms of clay used, styles of decoration and production techniques. Scholars had long debated the origins of these Polychrome Ware tiles. Bulgarian scholars suggested an origin in their country (Schwartz 1982), whilst archaeologists in Turkey used to believe in the existence of a single production centre in the Constantinople region (Talbot Rice 1954, Sanders 2002). The debate was recently solved with the suggestion that a separation of the production of White Ware tiles occurred in the Middle Byzantine period into two areas, one centred in

¹⁷ Preslav was the capital of the Bulgarian Kingdom from 864 to 972 AD (Schwartz 1982).

Preslav and the other in Constantinople. New research suggests that 'given [...] the chemical differences in glaze and body compositions, it does appear that while the technology may have been transported from place to place, raw materials were derived locally' (Lauffenburger *et al.* 2001, 78). One possibility is that skilled Constantinople craftsmen working in the same workshop, producing Glazed White Polychrome Ware vessels, were drawn to work in places outside Constantinople and to teach their skills to local Bulgarian potters, under royal patronage, if we consider the importance of the buildings which make use of this polychrome ware materials (architectural ceramics), as the Royal Palace and the royal Round Church in Preslav (Kostova 2009, 116). This would result in Bulgarian potters becoming the direct producers of these types of pottery, so it may not have been a case of simple reproduction of techniques.¹⁸

3.3.2 Glazed Red Ware (GRW)

In the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, Glazed Red Ware occurs in much greater quantities than White Ware. This is explained by a shift from centralised to dispersed production which occurred in the 11th century (Figure 3.11) when Constantinople seems to lose its role as primary exporter and several different centres started their own manufacture (Armstrong *et al.* 1997, 226–227; Armstrong and Hatcher 1998, 2–6; Gelichi 2000, 118). The location of Glazed Red Ware kilns is, however, still not well understood. Traditionally, excavation reports have only provided the most basic description of pottery decoration and form. Only in the past 25 years have scholars started to consider the identification of centres of production

¹⁸ This is also the case for the beginning of Venetian production in the second half of the 12th century. It is well established that there was an exchange of techniques between Byzantine craftsmen to Venetian ones, and that the local manufacture started to develop its own products and to imitate the Byzantine style (Berti *et al.* 1995).

in a more scientific way. Megaw and Jones (1983) published the results of chemical analyses, including spectrographic analysis, of a comprehensive series of fabric examinations from mainly Byzantine sites in the eastern Mediterranean. This work demonstrated the importance of centres of production such as Constantinople (see above) and Corinth. Chemical studies and analyses based on Corinthian fabrics and ceramics, carried out at the Fitch Laboratory¹⁹ at the British school at Athens, were the logical continuation of this avenue of compositional analysis (Jones 1986).

Elsewhere, notable analyses on GRW have been carried out in Italy in Venice. Calogero and Lazzarini (1983) in particular contributed to the identification of the origins of Byzantine fine pottery found in Venice through analyses, by thin sections with X-ray emission, obtaining the chemical and physical composition of the fabrics (Calogero and Lazzarini 1983, 61–62). Constantinople, Thessalonica and Corinth were identified as the main centres for the pottery found in Venetian contexts. Ten years later, in Genoa, Mannoni produced an interpretation based on petrographic analyses of 12th century Byzantine fineware and amphorae found in Ligurian excavations, and 4 *bacini* (bowls, see the definition below) from Pisa (Mannoni 1993, 341–346). This analytical data suggested a source in Greece, perhaps in the Attica region (Mannoni 1993).

Recently, many more publications have shed light on pottery manufacture in the Byzantine Empire, especially the work of Yona Waksman and other

¹⁹ 'The Fitch Laboratory was founded in 1974 to promote the integrated use of scientific methods and techniques in the archaeological study of material culture and the human past. Its mission is to initiate, execute, facilitate and publicise science-based archaeological research in Greece and its neighbouring areas' (<http://www.bsa.gla.ac.uk/fitch/index.html>).

institutions who have made greater use of scientific methods. Waksman has classified and analysed the pottery from Pergamum using PIXE (particle-induced X-ray emission), which determines all the major chemical elements of the clays and INAA (instrumental neutron activation analysis), then Istanbul, Ephesos and Chersonesos, by Wavelength Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (WD-XRF) considering the chemical compositions of the clays, attesting a local production for these sites respectively located in Asia Minor and the Crimea (see below) (Waksman and Spieser 1997, Sauer and Waksman 2005, Waksman 2007, Waksman and Girgin 2008). Most recently Waksman has investigated the issue of the re-introduction of glaze on the pottery, represented by the production of *ceramica a vetrina pesante* in the Italian peninsula in the Late Antiquity (see above) (Waksman *et al.* 2007). She is also focusing on the discoveries from the centres of production of exceptional productions such as Zeuxippus Wares and Aegean Wares, in an attempt to reassess all the recent data in the light of new archaeometric and chemical analyses (Waksman and François 2004–2005, Waksman and Von Wartburg 2006) (see below).

Nonetheless, it is still quite difficult to link a specific sherd, for instance one recovered in Italy, to a specific production workshop through macroscopic examination alone. Since it is impossible to gain any security on the provenance of each fabric from macroscopic study, and forms and decorations are very similar, what is required for the future are a far greater number of analyses on the sherds recovered from well excavated sites in Greece and Turkey, to provide a better classification of types.

3.3.2a. Corinth (Greece)

Evidence for local GRW production in Corinth begins in the 9th century. These are principally chafing dishes²⁰ but, from the mid 10th century, locally manufactured GRW chafing dishes begin to imitate the shapes of GWW (imported from Constantinople, see above). This early Corinthian production is rather conservative in terms of shapes (mainly chafing dishes, pitchers cups and pilgrim flasks) and Sanders proposes that the use of glaze in this period appears to have a functional rather than cosmetic purpose, being used only to waterproof the vessels (Sanders 2003, 394).

Subsequently, early in the reign of Alexius I (1081–1118), Corinthian production underwent an important revolution both morphologically and decoratively. The shapes of GRW increasingly imitated the GWW forms, such as large bowls, cups and dishes, even in the application (Figure 3.12, 3.13) of the white slip which was used not only as decoration but to cover the red fabric. This technological shift took place in the last two decades of the 11th century. Corinth appears to be the first centre to experiment with this change. Local GRW represents 0.7 % of 10th and 11th century pottery, with a rapid increase in the following centuries (Sanders 2003, 394). Morgan originally suggested the presence of at least four pottery kilns, however, contrary to this, Sanders (2003, 396) indicates the certain presence of one single kiln, part of the complex of the monastery of St. John in the centre of Roman and medieval Corinth.

²⁰ A chafing dish is made in two parts, the lower one in which a stoking hole and vents were cut was used to keep a small fire or coals to warm the upper part which was a bowl often covered by a lid. A hot sauce could be served and kept warm when in use on the table (Arthur, 1997). The dish which held the sauce was glazed, generally only on the inside. The form remained in popular use from the 7th to the beginning of the 12th century when, from Corinth to Constantinople, it rapidly fell into disuse (Sanders 1995).

The production of Corinthian GRW is the most notable and famous of Byzantine pottery, and the quality of its manufacture was unparalleled among the Byzantine finewares. This is the most exported Byzantine fine tableware, above all in the sgraffito style (see below). Finds are generally widespread around the Mediterranean but recovered only in small quantities. GRW is present in all Byzantine sites as well, and in general in all medieval Mediterranean sites from the Italian peninsula to Russia, for instance it is present from Genoa to Messina, along the Slavic coast and throughout the whole of Greece, Romania and Turkey. Corinthian GRW may have reached its export peak with the sgraffito production during the second quarter of the 12th century (Sanders 1995). A decrease in terms of quality in the production is recorded from the 13th century onwards (Figure 3.15) (Williams 2003).

PLAIN GLAZED WARE

This class is represented primarily by simple brown glazed vessels, a large proportion of which are decorated with relief petals, spots or figures, or incisions (Figure 3.16). These vessels started to be produced in Corinth from the 9th century and were most probably for local use. This type remains uncommon until the 11th century when production increased (Sanders 1995).

Somewhat coarse fabrics and poorly controlled firing conditions characterise the earliest wares, while improvements in firing processes in the early 11th century, combined with the use of more refined fabrics, resulted in the production of clearer, cleaner glazes. Plain Glazed Wares from the 9th to the 11th centuries employed a plain yellow to amber glaze,

which produced a brown effect on the dark clay. Pitchers, mugs, chafing dishes and cups are the most common forms and suggest storage and table use (Figure 3.12). Local use of glaze for decoration rather than practical purposes was a relatively late development. Evidence outlined by Sanders (1995) indicates that this change was rapid and started at the end of the 11th century, sometime between 1080 and 1090 AD.

SLIP PAINTED WARE

Slipped Painted Ware is decorated with a white clay coating, often of a kaolin origin. After the first firing, the vessel is covered by a lead glaze and prepared for the second and final firing. This class of Slip Painted Ware includes two smaller groups which are traditionally separated out on the basis of decoration: Light-On-Dark-Slip Painted Ware I and II.

1) *LIGHT-ON-DARK-SLIP PAINTED I*

The simplest form of Slip Painted Ware decoration is a very pale slip painted directly onto the untreated surface of the vessel referred to as Light-On-Dark-Slip Painted I (Sanders 1995). The preferred fabric of Corinthian potters in the early stages of production was a refined version of local red clay, usually employed for cooking wares. This afforded the greatest contrast between the light slip painted design and its dark background. The detail and the effort expended in the decoration of Slip Painted Ware vessels varied greatly from vessel to vessel, for instance intricate geometric patterns, large spots or small dots and even asterisks, vegetal and kufesque designs²¹, in a thinner slip, and covering a smaller portion of the pot. In many respects these decorations are reminiscent of,

²¹ A kind of stylised writing used as a design, is often called 'Kufic' or 'Kufesque.'

and perhaps derived from, those found on Polychrome Group 3 which was more or less contemporary. The glaze is usually clean, clear yellow and is thickly applied to both the interior and exterior parts of open vessels, usually just inside but sometimes covering the entire foot. Coins found in association with Light-On-Dark-Slip Painted I indicate that it was current after the 1070s, and that it continued in use down into the last decade of the 11th century (Sanders 1995). This group displays a great variety of forms, in particular plain deep bowls (sometimes with a hole for suspension) and widely flaring dishes.

The most rudimentary type of slip painted decoration is a covering of small dots or large spots over much of the surface, this style is dated between 1080 to the mid 1100s (Sanders 1995, 63). This group consists more often of cups, with two ring-shaped handles.

2) *LIGHT-ON-DARK-SLIP PAINTED II*

A later production is that of the so-called Light-On-Dark Slip Painted II (Figure 3.17) which is decorated on the whole interior of the vessel. Examples of this decoration include very stylised radiating kufesque, as well as radiating triangles with alternating vegetal and geometric fillers. This style can be easily distinguished from the earlier types because of the thinness of the slip, the difference in patterns and the quality and colour of the glaze which is usually a murky and uneven green, as in Figure 3.17 (Sanders 1995). This is, moreover, limited to the interior and only occasionally covers the rim outside. The fabric is generally quite fine and hard in texture, dark pink or red with many medium to large white inclusions and small voids.

This group presents shapes similar to the Light-On-Dark-Slip Painted I, mainly bowls, again occasionally with suspension holes, though infrequently one ring handle cups are present. Corinth lacks sealed contexts for this type, though these generally contain numerous coins of Manuel I (1143–1180), which strongly suggest that it is a mid-12th century style (Sanders 1995). This last variety in particular is widespread and has been reported from a number of regional centres including Athens, Dinogetia, Ephesus (Barnéa 1989, Parman 1987), Sparta and Thebes. At these sites, it appears as imported pottery where it influenced other local products in cities like Sparta and Thebes (Sanders 1995).

SLIP WARE (Figure 3.18)

This large class includes several pottery types: Plain Slip Ware, the Green and Brown Painted Ware, Dark-On-Light-Slip Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware, Incised and Slip Painted (Measles) Ware and finally Painted Sgraffito Ware. In this class the slip covers the entire vessel. The purpose of this surface covering appears to be threefold: to hide the colour of the clay; to create a light background making the glazes and colours more vivid; finally, more commonly, it is used to show off the sgraffito decoration through the removal of part of the slip (Berti *et al.* 2001b). This innovation in fine-glazed ware production may have possibly been a conscious effort to imitate the surface appearance of imported pottery like Constantinople White Wares (GWW). This type of pottery is usually slipped and glazed with pale yellow, greenish yellow and dark green, from the first half of the 11th century. The same glaze was used for later slipped decorated pottery.

1) *GREEN AND BROWN PAINTED*

The earliest type recognised by Sanders (1995, 64) of slipped decorated ware is Green and Brown Painted, which corresponds to Morgan's group I (Morgan 1942, 72–75, nos. 398–432). After the application of a white slip to the surface, irregular lines of both green and brown glaze were applied probably after the application of a greenish over-glaze (Figure 3.19). When fired the green and brown colour bled into the over-glaze thus blurring the edges of the coloured portion.

The style probably was fairly short-lived, perhaps only surviving into the second decade of the 12th century (Sanders 1995). This earlier style shows, in addition to the usual range of bowls (Figure 3.12), a wide range of various shapes, including quatrefoil cups, small jugs, pilgrim flasks and chafing dishes. All the chafing dishes and some small jugs have plastic decoration.

A later development, corresponding to Morgan's group II (Morgan 1942, 75–77, nos. 433–73), was to decorate green and brown glazed vessels with geometric motifs thereby replacing the abstract lines of the earlier style of Green and Brown Painted Ware (Figure 3.20). The glaze firing stage was more closely controlled thus reducing the degree to which the colours ran and bled into the over-glaze (Sanders 1995). The motifs, filling the entire interior, include clear parallel or radiating lines and parallel curved lines in alternating green and brown.

Sanders proposes a highly detailed chronology, between 1110 and 1130, on the basis of associated coins (Sanders 1995, 65). The variety of this latter style is more limited; cups and juglets are rare whilst chafing dishes are

unknown. Fragments of pottery of this class are known from Kythera and Sparta (Dawkins and Droop 1910).

Morgan's third group of Green and Brown Painted Ware (Morgan 1942, 77–80, nos. 474–505) breaks with earlier tradition by replacing a darker brown pigment whilst keeping the green glaze element. The brown produces sharp, clearly defined lines; it does not bleed into the green glaze (Figure 3.12, 3.21). The date of this last style, as Morgan originally suggested (Morgan 1942, 474–505, 77–80) spans from the second quarter of the 12th century and continued into the third quarter (Sanders 1995, chapter III, no page numbers). No closed vessels, cups, chafing dishes or flasks are recorded within this last group, instead deep bowls over plates and dishes with vertical rims appear in far greater quantity (Figure 3.12). This seems to be the most common style in circulation. The evidence in Athens and Constantinople suggests the pigment can be almost black, thus this pottery is also named Black and Green Painted Ware (Hayes 1992, Frantz 1938).

The fabric of the three groups can be defined as a soft matt-pink with voids and inclusions (probably micaceous) of differing shapes.

2) *DARK-ON-LIGHT- SLIP PAINTED*

Dark-On-Light-Slip Painted refers to both the appearance and the method in which these vessels were decorated (Figure 3.22). The fabric is red, finer than the Green and Brown Painted, laminar in texture with small white inclusions and rare voids. The decoration relies on the use of red clay, painted onto a white slipped surface. The background is essentially white; the colour of the clay consists, unlike some other styles, of a mixture of red

earth and beige clays. There is a tendency to favour redder clays early on moving to paler mixes later. Chronologically this type ranges from c.1125 to before 1150. It is sometimes found with coins of Alexius I (1092–1118) (Sanders 1995) as well as Measles Ware (see below). The shapes employed are closely related to those of Light-On-Dark II (Figure 3.12).

3) *SGRAFFITO*

Sgraffito is the general name given to glazed pottery on which a design has been incised through a white slip to reveal the fired biscuit beneath. The fabric is the same as Dark-On-Light-Slip Painted. Its Byzantine origins as glazed pottery can be traced to 10th to 11th century GWW in which a red wash, sparingly applied, serves as a background for crude gouged designs or wavy lines. At Corinth, glazed Sgraffito is recorded in small quantities after the introduction of slipped glazed pottery probably in the first half of the 11th century. Its popularity as a technique at Corinth only became dominant in the second quarter of 11th century, where it competed with Measles Ware, a slip painted sgraffito style, for market share (see below). In the second half of the 12th century sgraffito techniques are widespread and, although the following century saw the emergence of painted decoration, various forms of this type continued to be popular down to the present day.

Many categories of sgraffito exist; Morgan characterised 'Duochrome' (Morgan 1942, 123–25, nos. 1050–81, figs. 99, 100) with untidy decorations (Figure 3.23). These are generally dark green glazed and the decoration appears almost black in comparison with the green background. This type is dated to the late 11th to the early 12th century

and generally takes the shape of hemispherical bowls and flaring dishes (Figure 3.13). Its distribution is presently limited to Corinth.

A later style, partly included in Morgan's 'Spiral Style' (Morgan 1942, 120–23, nos. 992–1049, figs. 95–98, pl. XLI) typically bears decorations that consist of a perfect compass-drawn incised central medallion and concentric bands of decoration (Figure 3.24). The date of this latter style is the second quarter to mid-12th century. Again, the form is generally that of hemispherical bowls.

Champlevé, or Incised Ware (Figure 3.25), is a very elaborate Sgraffito style that involves removing large parts of slip, leaving only the relief of the design on the surface. This is dated to around the early 13th century (Sanders 1995) and usually is found on hemispherical bowls and dishes (3.14).

Generally, the Corinthian vessels of Sgraffito Ware, apart from the Duochrome style, are very widespread across the entire Byzantine territory, and are quite common also on the Italian peninsula. The technique has influenced numerous new types and styles in other Byzantine centres of production. Indeed, in the Italian peninsula the origin of Sgraffito pottery is directly linked to Byzantine influences with the most ancient evidence of slipped and sgraffito wares coming from centres of production like Venice and Savona (Berti *et al.* 1995)

4) *INCISED AND SLIP PAINTED (MEASLES)*

Measles have probably started to be produced in the second quarter of the 12th century and it may have lasted as late as the middle of Manuel I's

reign (1143–1118, Sanders 1995). The fabric is the same as Sgraffito. Measles decoration appears on forms of pottery that have an affinity with Dark-On-Light-Slip painted and especially with later types of Green and Brown painted ware (see above).

Measles Ware combines styles of decoration from both Sgraffito and Dark-on-Light-slip paint (Figure 3.26). Designs are, without exception, formally laid out in a manner reminiscent of Dark-On-Light-Slip painted, Green and Brown Painted group 3 and Sgraffito. Large vegetal and figural motifs include large gallinaceous birds which use the entire area of the open shapes. Red slip spots act as a filler for motifs incised through a white slip.

The origin of manufacture was originally thought to be the Peloponnesus region of Greece (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992); the same style is also produced in the Sparta region (see below and Sanders 1993).

5) PAINTED SGRAFFITO

This is essentially a 'Spiral Style' Sgraffito technique in which the *tondo* and outer register are decorated with an incised vegetable scroll (Figure 3.27). The fabric is red hard fine in texture with rare inclusions and voids. Sanders suggested more recently that this is not Corinthian, or at least it is taken from a different clay deposit compared to the previous productions. Coloured glaze, usually brown, is used to highlight those areas not decorated with incision. More precisely, it seems to be a contemporary of Dark-On-Light-Slip Painted, though probably surviving down into the mid 12th-century with shapes consisting primarily of flaring dishes (Sanders 1995). It is uncommon at Corinth and, if it was produced locally at all, it was only available in negligible quantities. Painted Sgraffito seems

to be more popular at Athens (Frantz 1938) and is certainly found in use in eastern Phokis (Sanders 1995). Hence, secure centres of production for these imported wares remain unknown, however it is plausible it could correspond to Corinth given the type of forms and decorations.

3.3.2b. Others centres of production

Apart from Corinth, there were other centres of production, though not all have been archaeologically defined as secure workshops (these are identified with a question mark in Figure 3.1). Many others, mentioned in articles by Zekos (Zekos 2003) and Bakirtzis (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2003), are not listed here; the aim being to collate information for major workshops only and in particular those probably distributing their products to the Italian peninsula.

CENTRAL-SOUTHERN GREECE

In **Thebes**, **Sparta** and the **Lakonian region** a number of excavations have been carried out (e.g. Armstrong 1993; 1996) but there has been little discussion of the probable local origins of Byzantine glazed pottery between the 9th and 13th centuries (Figure 3.11). The hypothesis is that these cities developed a local manufacture which was heavily influenced by Corinthian vessels (Armstrong 1993, 295–335), therefore the types described above for Corinth are still thought to be valid even for such distant centres of production. A more detailed evaluation of the characteristics of local production is certainly required, but an initial examination of the local pottery production has been made by Joanita Vroom (2003). She has analysed 48 wares of pottery collected from several surveys in the Boeotia region, the region in central Greece where **Thebes** is

situated. She has not been able to establish the provenance of all the pottery she examined, but she suggested that most Middle Byzantine pottery (10th to 13th centuries) was probably made on the Greek mainland, perhaps at Thebes itself (Vroom 2003, 362).

In **Sparta** the situation is better defined (Dawkins and Droop 1910, Sanders 1993), including survey in the Lakonia region close to Sparta (Armstrong 1996). Tripod stilts or cockspurs and fragments of unfinished vessels have recently been recovered here from rescue excavations carried out in the ancient/classical layers of the cities but unfortunately not a single workshop has so far been identified (Bakourou *et al.* 2003, 233). Chemical analyses has not yet been completed.

The main types of pottery in Sparta generally consist of glazed painted wares, for example, Green and Brown Painted Ware. Decoration with Sgraffito or Champlevè Ware (see above) seems to be the rule rather the exception in the late 12th century, although examples of Plain Glazed Wares do exist. Particularly common are Slip Painted Wares and Sgraffito Wares, usually appearing as Incised and Slip Painted Wares (Measles Ware, see above). Sanders (1993, 1995) suggests a wider circulation of the Measles Ware of Spartan production, especially towards the Italian peninsula (finds have been recovered in Brindisi, Otranto, Padova and Venice) on the basis of the larger quantity of fragments recovered in Sparta when compared to the rest of Greece.

In the case of **Argos**, production centres are better defined, in fact chemical analyses distinguishing the composition of the clay have been carried out on the Middle Byzantine ceramics found at a kiln site in the city. It appears

from these analyses that suitable Argos clay does exist (Bakourou *et al.* 2003, 233). The pottery production seems to be very similar to that from Corinth, as was suggested some time ago by Megaw and Jones (1983, 235). The author did not have the chance to examine the pottery from these 3 sites.

NORTHERN GREECE

During the late Byzantine period a shift in production seems to take place from Peloponnesus towards northern Greece (Figure 3.11). **Thessalonica** becomes a prosperous centre of pottery manufacture as a result. The early assumption that Thessalonica was a centre for the manufacture of Late Byzantine Slip Ware has been fully justified by discoveries in the centre of the city²² (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989) and by isolated finds of tripod stilts or cockspurs and wasters (Megaw and Jones 1983, 243). The workshops of Thessalonica develop mainly at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries.²³ Furthermore, production carried on until well after the Byzantine period (through the whole of the 16th century). Chemical analysis also suggests a local production (Megaw and Jones 1983, 243).

The fabric of this group itself is of a pink or yellowish buff colour. This group generally takes the form of deep hemispherical small bowls of different sizes or high goblets. The vessels are Slipped and Sgraffito Ware, often bearing common iconographic decorations, such as the so-called

²² One excavation has been conducted on the area of the Hippodrome in the centre of Thessalonica, 213 vases have been found within 32 tombs (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1989).

²³ This is linked with a flourishing of the city in the late medieval period.

'bird of Thessalonica'. Other decorated styles consist of the usual sgraffito or champlèvé geometric, floral and figural patterns. These can also be Slip Painted Ware, Marbled Ware, and are characterised by splashes of colour glaze on the slipped surface. No data about their circulation can be inferred at present (Bakirtzis 1997).

Mikro Pisto is situated in Thrace. During excavation here thousands of tripod stilts or cockspurs were discovered together with wasters. The suggestion is that many workshops operated, whose structures have been also recovered (Zekos 2003, 456). The description of the fabric is missing for this pottery. The most common forms of glazed tablewares discovered at the site are represented by bowls, followed by plates; these can be identified as Monochrome Ware, Slip Painted Ware and the large group of Sgraffito Ware, characterised mainly by vegetal and geometric decorations. The workshop seems to be linked to the route of the Via Egnatia and is dated to after the 13th century period because of the presence of the tripod stilts. These were not used before the production of Zeuxippus Ware (see below) in the 13th century (Zekos 2003).

Serres is another centre of production recently discovered in Macedonia in northern Greece. Unfinished wasters are associated with the production of Brown and Green Sgraffito Ware (Figure 3.15, 3.28), dated to the Late Byzantine period (13th to 14th centuries), with decoration of birds, floral designs, mainly on bowls and flaring dishes. The vessels has a light red gritty fabric with small white inclusions (Bakirtzis 1997, 138). Further archaeometric analyses by neutron activation analyses (NAA) to comprehend the composition of the ceramic bodies have confirmed the

local origin of these vessels by comparing the wasters with the finds (Wiseman *et al.* 1997, 158–160).

TURKEY

The area around Constantinople including the **Nicaea region** is considered to be both a centre of production of GWW and more recently of GRW. In fact recent discoveries in Istanbul confirm the presence of a workshop of glazed and unglazed wares in the area of Sirkeçi (Istanbul) active between the 13th and 14th centuries (Waksman and Girgin 2008).

The mountain of **Ganos** lies south of Constantinople, on the northern shore of the Dardanelles sea. It was a monastic centre with a coastal harbour during the middle Byzantine period. The name of Ganos is associated with the settlement that developed around the harbour. Several kilns have been discovered here and it appears to be a centre of production of amphorae from the beginning of the 11th century (Armstrong and Günsenin 1995, 199; Günsenin 2003). The production of glazed ware begins at the end of the 11th century ²⁴ (Armstrong and Günsenin 1995, 179–201).

All the Byzantine finds were found in the fortified citadel located on the highest point of the village, and around the kilns; the source of clay itself is found on the north-western shores of the Sea of Marmara. It is very 'pure and rich in minerals', red-brown in colour and it is still used today for pottery production in the nearby village (Armstrong and Günsenin 1995,

²⁴ The authors suggest that this was caused by a development of the society and by technical evolution, thanks to the introduction of the lead glaze.

179–180). The authors believe that almost all Byzantine fragments have a local origin, and they are macroscopically similar to the 19th century fragments and wasters.

The development of pottery forms from Ganos seems to reflect that of other productions within the Empire, though forms and decoration are less elaborate when compared to the Corinthian vessels, for example. Finds from Ganos include simple slipped bowls and jugs decorated with red painted, or just white slip painted, ware and slipped-glazed pottery with incisions. Zeuxippus is also present and considered to be a local production. The authors suggest a local use for this pottery, as it does not appear to be exported; its comparatively poor quality would seem to reinforce this hypothesis (Armstrong and Günsenin 1995, 201).

A recent archaeometric examination of samples of pottery found at **Pergamum**, some distance inland from the Aegean coast, has confirmed a local production for the important centre that originated here in the Hellenistic period (Waksman and Spieser 1997). Tripod stilts or cockspurs, unfinished sherds (used as reference samples) and fired sherds have been found in association in archaeological layers dated from the 12th to the 14th century. The three groups of pottery identified as being local are: Plain Glazed Wares, Light-on-Dark Painted Wares and Zeuxippus Ware, part of the Zeuxippus Family Ware (Waksman and Spieser 1997, 106) (see below).

Due south of Pergamum along the Ionian stretch of coastline lies **Ephesus**. Recent discoveries here have confirmed a late production of Byzantine

wares, dated from the 12th to 15th century, but which seem to be mainly concentrated in the 14th to 15th century. The evidence includes tripod stilts, and a single waster. This has been confirmed also by the archaeometric and chemical analyses (Sauer and Waksman 2005). Vroom describes the fabric of the wares as typically Ephesian: 'fine, porous, micaceous, orange red in colour' (Vroom 2005, 29). The pottery recovered consists of Polychrome Sgraffito Wares, Green Sgraffito Wares (dated to the 14th to 15th centuries), mainly represented by hemispherical bowls and dishes, slipped and glazed, and sgraffito petals coloured in purple, set off by green bands. Monochrome Turquoise-Blue Glazed Ware and Monochrome Green Glazed Wares, large dishes or shallow bowls, show similarity with the Celadon and Raqqa Ware from Syria (14th to 15th century). These types, among them Monochrome Green Glazed Wares, are also made in Syria, and the Ephesus region seems to have been heavily influenced by pottery from Syria, Iran and Iraq, at least in terms of decoration, technique and forms (Vroom 2005, 31).

Amorium lies in the inland eastern part of modern Turkey, between Izmir and Ankara. Here, ongoing British excavations over 21 years have been uncovering the remains of the Byzantine city, though little survives archaeologically from the Roman and Hellenistic periods. According to one Arab source this was one of the most important cities in Anatolia in the post-classical period. The majority of the pottery recovered here seems to be locally made, and includes Plain Glazed Ware, Sgraffito Ware, Amorium Ware (Bohlendorf-Arslan 2007, 291). A pottery kiln discovered during excavations in the upper city in 1995, revealed unfinished pottery which imitates GWW I but uses a red clay. The red clay is defined as clean

and homogeneous, with only a small quantity of sandy and quartz inclusions (Bohlendorf-Arslan 2007, 292). This type is classified as Amorium Glazed ware (AGW) and lasts from the 8th to 9th century until probably the 11th century.

UKRAINE

Chersonesos is one of the main outposts of the Crimea region under the Byzantine Empire, particularly in the later period of the Byzantine rule. Here production of glazed wares has been confirmed by the presence of tripod stilts or cockspurs on the site (Waksman 2007, 384). The glazed wares recovered from the excavation of the harbour by the University of Iekaterinburg has shown types such as Plain Glazed Wares, Slip Painted Ware and Slip Ware in the Sgraffito style, dated to the 13th–14th centuries. Waksman has classified and analysed the pottery from Chersonesos using Wavelength Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (WD- XRF) and compared the results against the chemical composition of local clays, confirming a local production for this pottery (Waksman 2007).

CYPRUS

Byzantine pottery production was also developed on Cyprus with a majority of vessels being dated between the 13th and 14th centuries. Some of these vessels, however, appear to date as far back as the 10th century and there is a strong Byzantine tradition continuing through to the 16th century. Western pottery tradition has also influenced and affected Cypriot production, which developed comparatively late at the point of transition of power from the Byzantine government to the western kingdom (Chapter 2). Cyprus was a prominent industrial centre during the Frankish

period, under the Lusignan dynasty, a French family who occupied the island during the Crusades period from 1191 to 1487 (Piltz 1996). However, eastern influences persisted, developing a distinctive mixture of western and eastern traditions.

At least five centres of production on Cyprus can now be defined thanks to discoveries of pottery workshops, as well as wasters and discarded kiln furniture (Megaw and Jones 1983). A number of medieval kilns are known, and **Lapithos**, in the district of Kirenia on the central-northern coast of the island, had an important pottery industry until the 1970s. A notable amount of wasters have been recovered during emergency excavations. This is also the only post-Byzantine pottery production centre identified in the island. The soft fabric, is of a light orange colour. It is generally represented by bowls, also with high feet, in Sgraffito Wares with green and brown pigments (Riavez 2007, 625).

Near the village of **Lemba**, north of Paphos, excavated pottery is dated to an early phase of the 13th century and furthermore wasters and kilns have been recovered (Riavez 2007, 625). The fabric of this centre is characterised by a grey-dark orange colour, while the shapes are mainly deep bowls or jugs frequently as Slip Painted Wares with sgraffito decorations (Riavez 2007, 626).

A further workshop has been suggested at **Enkomi**, in the area of Famagosta (Papanikola - Bakirtzis 1989). The fabric is of a brick red colour in the earlier 13th century production phase; whilst the 14th century

vessels are composed of whitish clay, examples of which can be seen in the production from Enkomi. As with other later productions, including Thessalonica, the vessel forms evolve slowly. They are mostly deep bowls with a high carination, similar to western pottery shapes; these western bowls were largely exported thanks to the strong trading links with the Italian mercantile republics. The typical characteristic of Cypriot bowls is a high vertical stem. **Nicosia** and **Kouklia** represent two other places where wasters have been recovered, very similar to the pottery from Lapithos in the case of Nicosia.

Generally the vessels from Cyprus are in Sgraffito Ware, dated to the 13th century and covered by glazes speckled in three colours: green, yellow and brown. The decoration of near eastern style consists of various geometric and anthropomorphic motifs, palmette and pseudo-Kufic motifs, scratched through the white slip and belonging within the repertoire of Glazed Cypriot pottery (Papanikola - Bakirtzis 1989, 243). Furthermore, Slip Painted Wares and Plain Glazed Wares were also present, normally simple deep bowls. These bowls, with their typical high stems, in sgraffito ware were distributed widely from the Italian peninsula to Athlit in Palestine and Al-Mina in Syria (Piltz 1996, 13).

UNCERTAIN CENTRES OF PRODUCTION

There were several other sources for the Glazed Red Wares of the period under consideration here (Figure 3.29). The most important work on medieval pottery from **Athens** was published in 1938 (Frantz 1938, 429–467), however, since then there has been no subsequent research on medieval Athenian pottery. Frantz presented five groups of pottery

spanning the 11th to 13th centuries. Data used for the classification came from the contents of a cistern placed in the Athenian Agora dating to the first half of the 11th century, and two further contexts dating to the first half of the 12th century (Frantz 1938, 431–435). The Byzantine finds consist of Brown Glazed Ware, Black and Green Painted Ware (beginning of the 11th century) and Sgraffito Ware (end of the 11th century), which are then supplanted by the Painted and Sgraffito Ware. According to Frantz, the Agora material casts no light on the difficult problem of the provenance. There is no evidence for the existence of pottery workshops in the Athenian Agora itself until the Turkish period, and the presence of a small amount of pottery in comparison with other centres could suggest that at least tablewares were imported. The fabric is certainly red and fine but it does not seem to resemble the Attican type (Frantz 1938, 467) which is soft sandy pinkish fabric with very frequent pink inclusions. Megaw and Jones (1983) scientifically confirm this hypothesis, and have shown that some of the late 12th century pottery published by Frantz is not of Attic origin. Its exact provenance, however, remains unknown.

Kalapodi is a site in Greece, not far from Thebes, with evidence for Slip Painted Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware and Painted Sgraffito Ware. These are made in the same red fabrics that appear in quantities across the Empire in the 11th century. Armstrong, who published this pottery from a survey carried out in eastern Phokis, considers it to be a local production (Armstrong 1995, 83-87).

Other centres of production may exist at cities such as **Dinogetia** (Romania) (Barnéa 1989), **Alexandria Troas** (Japp 2007, 67) and **Troy** (Asia

Minor). This last site in particular seems to have finds of regional Zeuxippus Wares (see below) continuing until the first half of the 14th century (Hayes 1995). Reports of the excavations, which are generally not excavated stratigraphically, contain detailed descriptions of each fragment (normally the imports of Byzantine fineware include GWW from Constantinople and GRW from Corinth) and there is a range of pottery with Byzantine forms and decorations of an unknown origin. Such products are most probably local.

3.3.2c. GRW of uncertain origin

It can be difficult to categorise Byzantine pottery and allot sherds definitively to specific centres of productions, especially where full macroscopic descriptions are absent or compositional analysis is unhelpful in helping to pinpoint the source. Three good examples of this are Spatter Painted Ware, Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware (Figure 3.30).

SPATTER PAINTED WARE

Technically this pottery is a slipware; decoration involved adding a powdered, dark brown colorant onto the surface of the wet glaze. In places, this results in a densely speckled surface. The style itself seems to imitate the form of decoration seen on GWW IV, employing an azure blue and a bright red. Bowls, cups and dishes are all decorated in this style that dates to the last two decades of the 11th century and to first decade of the 12th. This type appears rather widespread in the Byzantine territory (e.g. Sparta and Constantinople) and also in the Italian peninsula, particularly Venice. According to Sanders (1995), Spatter Painted technique examples

are rare amongst the inventory of pottery from Corinth, however the clay is similar to the Painted Sgraffito Ware which was manufactured there.

ZEUXIPPUS WARE

Zeuxippus ware is named after the site where it first appeared at the Zeuxippus Baths in Constantinople.²⁵ It is a slipped sgraffito pottery (Figure 3.31) whose origins are much debated. The main area of contention is the fact that it is very widespread in its distribution and seems to be imitated throughout the Mediterranean, originating and flourishing at the end of the 11th century. One notable find from south Russia is a plate covered by a design including St. George and a Dragon, a typical example of Byzantine iconography. Production appears to take place steadily from 1204 until around the beginning of the 14th century, though this later period consisted mainly of imitations (Megaw 1989, 266).

The first detailed examination of this ware was undertaken by Megaw (1968) who suggested a classification into two main groups. Class I is a plain glazed ware. Class II is a glazed ware with added colours, decoration being mainly palmettes and trefoils within circles. The forms in both classes are similar; hemispherical bowls of medium size and flaring dishes, though Class I is more commonly found in bowl shapes. The Saranda Kolones castle in Paphos provides the only evidence for closed vessels.

The studies of this ware (Gelichi 1993, 3–4) suggested that 'real' Byzantine Zeuxippus Ware is that of Class II, while several vessels included in Class I, although similar to each other in decoration and form, consist in fact of a

²⁵ In the earliest classification, by Talbot Rice (1930) it was called 'Shiny Olive Incised Ware'.

large family of Zeuxippus Ware imitations, for forms and decorations. The traditional Zeuxippus (Class II) is usually incised in a central medallion with very fine incised spirals, totally slipped and glazed, and represents the most thinly walled products of the middle/late Byzantine period. An origin in the Aegean region has been suggested (Megaw 1968, 87), however, this is yet to be confirmed from wasters or kilns. Fragments analysed are analogous in composition to early 13th century ware of Aegean affiliation (Megaw and Jones 1983, 257). The fabric itself is a refined hard dark red clay with rare, small black inclusions. It is one of the most refined fabrics among Byzantine Glazed Wares.

The classification of Zeuxippus Wares is in need of reassessment, and most recently this has been partly achieved by Waksman and François (Waksman and François 2004–2005), who have reconsidered the most remarkable finds of Zeuxippus Wares across the Mediterranean. These vessels have been examined using archaeometric and chemical analyses, by Wavelength Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence (WD-XRF), to accurately define the chemical composition of the clay, and the conclusion reached is that the Class II and IB (a further division of Class I, so differently from what Gelichi thought previously) are the ‘genuine’ Zeuxippus Ware, defined ‘*stricto sensu*’, and that they have an origin in Asia Minor at a single workshop.

The precise location of this workshop is not known. Other productions of Zeuxippus Wares which imitate the genuine one are found at Pergamum, Nicaea and on the island of Cyprus, including the production of ‘*Spirale cerchio*’ in Venice which is characterised by coarser sgraffito decorations and dated to the first half of the 13th century (*c.*1250).

Moreover, various imitations or 'Zeuxippus Family Wares' seem to have been discovered in the Mediterranean, as in Sparta, and date to some time after the early 13th century and are characterised by poor quality glaze (Armstrong 1992, 1995), near Haifa and Acre as well in Israel (Pringle 1986); in these latest sites the identification of local production has not yet been satisfactorily verified.

The introduction of new firing techniques during the evolution of this ware appears to be the main reason for such a massive volume of production. From the beginning of the 13th century vessels were put in the kiln on one side with the other separated by tripod stilts. They were mainly bowls, which were easier to produce and stack together, and this brought a certain standardisation to the products. This innovation permitted much tighter packing of the kiln and substantially increased production yields. From now on all the medieval fineware in the Mediterranean was fired using this technique.

AEGEAN WARE

Aegean Ware is common in the Late Byzantine period. The first description was completed by Megaw (Megaw 1975) who identified this type of slip and sgraffito pottery, discovered for the first time in the abandoned Byzantine-Frankish castle at Paphos in Cyprus. Aegean Ware is dated to the first half of the 13th century and has a rather coarse gritty red body with shades which differ according to its firing; it appears in the standard form of open dishes (Figure 3.14). The white slip and the glaze are limited to the interior, and the glaze is always a yellow mottled green (Figure 3.28). They are decorated with coarse incisions, through the slip,

and there are two types of decoration: one, in a central medallion, and a second free-filed type of design covering the whole of the interior.

Even if part of a later production, they have strong affinities with Byzantine wares. Their origin is still unknown, but they are probably from the Aegean area. The discovery of the shipwreck of *Castellorizzo*, a tiny island on the south shore of Turkey, on the maritime route between Cyprus and Rhodes recovered 92 plates of Aegean Ware which were described as originating from a single 'mysterious' source (Philothéou and Michailidou 1989, 175). This group of dishes has been dated, as has the shipwreck itself, to the 13th century. Aegean Ware seems to be less widespread than Zeuxippus Ware, although it almost follows the same routes. Both were traded around the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, a commerce encouraged by the Italian mercantile republics.

3.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe and classify the fabrics and forms of the main classes of Byzantine finewares and their centres of production. We acknowledged first that the principal studies of Byzantine finewares have been on sites in Greece and Turkey and that there has been a long history of pottery research on this topic which has moved from an art-historical phase in the first half of the 20th century through to a more contextual and scientific phase in the later 20th century. Taken together, this research enables us to identify two important classes of pottery; the GWW, characterised by a white fabric, and the GRW, characterised by a red fabric.

The first large group, GWW, can be divided in 6 main classes, and is now thought to have been produced in the area of Constantinople as well as in Bulgaria between the 7th and the 13th century. The second large group, GRW, is divided in many different classes among which there are about 14 which are better defined (Figure 3.1). Many others probably exist. GRW was produced in several workshops which were active from the 11th century onwards, and these can sometimes be differentiated macroscopically or through compositional analysis of their fabrics which can differ from centre to centre.

It must be acknowledged here that our understanding of this subject is far from perfect. Information is widely dispersed in several languages, written up according to differing standards and academic traditions and results cannot always be interpreted with complete confidence. To reduce this uncertainty only three indicators have been used to identify pottery workshops; the presence of wasters, kiln remains and the chemical analyses of the fabrics. Even these are not always necessarily proof of the existence of a kiln, however, on this basis there are about 20 'secure' centres of production of Byzantine fineware currently known (Figure 3.11), to which might be added a further 5 evidence for which is not fully convincing (Figure 3.29). Nevertheless, this chapter represents the most up-to-date dataset of the main centres of production of Byzantine finewares available. We are aware of the limits of the research due to the small and dispersed amount of information regarding this topic. In the next chapter I consider which of the products from these different centres arrived on the Italian peninsula and when.

CHAPTER 4

POTTERY AND PLACES

This chapter analyses in greater detail the distribution of Byzantine glazed pottery on the Italian peninsula between the 10th and 14th centuries. Categories of sites are defined at which Byzantine glazed pottery has been recorded and these are then examined in turn. A section on the recent history of archaeology in Italy is used to contextualize this information, detailed analysis being the subject of Chapters 5 and 6.

4.1 Excavated monuments

4.1.1 Archaeological investigations in Italy

Some 57 excavations in Italy have recovered Byzantine glazed pottery. Forty-seven of these have been considered in the following analysis, while the remaining nine sites, which have very partial and incomplete records, cannot usefully be included.²⁶ All these excavations are fully listed in Appendix 1 together with any specific detail relating to the contexts from which Byzantine pottery has been found. Nearly two-thirds of this material (70.6%; 855 sherds) are published, the rest (29.3%, 266 sherds) being supplied by unpublished works such MA and PhD thesis and the author's own analysis of unpublished material (Figure 4.1). In all, the

²⁶ These are Velia, Ravello-Villa Rufolo, Salerno-Castello di Arechi in Campania; Venice-San Giovanni Elemosinario, Venice Lagoon-Bacino di San Marco, La Cura, Lido, S.M. della Misericordia, S.M. di Gaia, Rocca di Monselice, Bassano del Grappa, Cittanova Eraclia in Veneto; Genoa - Via Ginevra, Genoa - S.M. delle Grazie la Nuova in Liguria; Tropea in Calabria; Lecce-Caserta Roasio in Apulia.

author handled circa 331 sherds, 29% of the total of c.1130 sherds and nearly a quarter of the total assemblage available from Italy.

In the following section the analysis of the different sites where Byzantine pottery has been recovered are discussed and divided between the following types of site: castles and fortifications, palaces and other elite residencies, religious sites, towns (urban sites), villages (rural sites), and other types of sites that could not be easily classified within a single category (Figure 4.2). This division is conventional and it is accepted that some sites do have overlapping functions which can make them difficult to allot to a particular category. The idea is to group monuments/sites together into broad groups, make comparisons in terms of the frequency and types of pottery recovered and so provide a picture of the types of site where Byzantine pottery has been found.

Since the recovery of pottery is influenced by many different factors, there follows a discussion of: the definition of the monument, where this has been possible; the number of sites and their locations; the institution that directed the excavations; the history of the site; the chronology of the Byzantine pottery and the type of deposit where the pottery was recovered (in some cases only associated material is available). The recovery of Byzantine glazed pottery will not be discussed here in detail, apart from a few cases where it is useful to mention it for the purposes of discussion.

In terms of evaluating the quality of the dataset, it is clearly important to have some knowledge of any associated archaeological material because this reveals the general context in which Byzantine glazed pottery was

used (for example, the absence of other open vessels or glazed vessels). Similarly, considerable effort has been made to gather information for each site on both the total number of cubic metres excavated and the total number of sherds recovered. Data on excavated volume of earth is used to calculate the density of Byzantine pottery in the soil at the site, so that more meaningful comparisons can be made between sites, while some assessment of the total number of sherds excavated allows the percentage of Byzantine pottery in the assemblage to be calculated. As we shall see, levels of archaeological information available for each site do vary hugely. There are only three cases in our dataset where a full set of information is provided, the fortification at CastelDelfino, the Ducal Palace in Genoa, and the monastery at Nonantola.

4.1.2 Castles and fortifications

4.1.2a. Definition, sites and locations

In Latin *castellum* and *castrum* both indicate a *locus munitus*, *arx* or *munitio*. The composition of the building complex can be quite different, for instance, structures defined as castles are made of wooden and earth near a bridge, walls surrounding monasteries, fortified houses in the city, fortified monasteries and regal palaces (Settia 1985, 42). In most parts of the Italian peninsula *castelli* are first mentioned in the late 10th and early 11th centuries and were set up initially to draw the population into a centralised area (Osheim 2004, 161). Later, markets were established within or beside the castles, making them economic and religious centres in the countryside. In the late Middle Ages they tended to be re-designed as residencies for lords.

The eight sites under consideration here as fortified are: CastelDelfino, the Andora Castle and the Priamar Fortress (Liguria); Treviso Motta di Livenza (Veneto); Rocca San Silvestro (Tuscany); Vaccarizza (Apulia); Pozzuoli Rione Terra (Campania); Segesta and Monte Iato (Sicily). At all these sites Byzantine pottery has been recovered (Figure 4.3).

The concentration of sites investigated in Liguria reflects research carried out by ISCU (Istituto di Storia della Cultura Materiale: Institute for the History of Material Culture), together with the *Sovrintendenza* (see definition below) and the universities, who have helped to develop a greater number of investigations in this area. The *Sovrintendenza* covers the majority of the excavations in the Veneto region as well, while the south of Italy has been mostly colonised by foreign schools (Brogiolo 1997, 13), as the case for Vaccarizza (Cirelli and Noyé 2003) and Monte Iato (Ritter-Lutz 1991) where excavations have been conducted respectively by the French school in Rome (*École Française de Rome*) and the University of Zurich over the last 35 years. Rocca San Silvestro in Tuscany was excavated by the group of researchers from the University of Siena, directed by Riccardo Francovich.

In these excavations sieving was not undertaken, but the standards of excavation were generally quite good among the total of excavated sites considered in this thesis, other than perhaps Monte Iato, which was carried out using traditional techniques that make analysis difficult. The best excavations in terms of methodology and publications are represented by Rocca San Silvestro, Vaccarizza and Segesta.

4.1.2b. History of the sites

Fortifications were erected for different reasons, and it is important to recognise this when seeking to place pottery finds into a wider historical context. In the south a *castrum* such as Vaccarizza, dated to the 10th century, was a state project of renovation and construction designed to defend the Byzantine border, from Longobards and Arab attacks. The Byzantine settlement here and the *cittadella* walls can both be attributed to campaigns which followed the Byzantine re-occupation of the Italian peninsula (Cirelli and Noyé 2003, 484). On the other hand, between the 11th and the 12th centuries in Veneto, we see the phenomenon of the *incastellamento*, that is the phenomenon of the agglomeration or nucleation of dispersed rural settlements (Settia 1985). In the plains and the piedmont of the Veneto region there were many fortified structures. Between the river Piave and the site of Livenza several citadels were present, among them Oderzo, Motta and Porto-Buffole. These were small castles included within a *burgus* (a town) which was itself already fortified; in other cases the castle enclosed the *burgus*. There are also single watch towers, and small isolated castles on the plain (Mingotto 1994, 212).

In Liguria the construction of the CastelDelfino and Andora castles in the 10th and the 13th centuries respectively, and in Tuscany, at Rocca San Silvestro, were all initiated by important local landlords (Francovich and Parenti 1987). The case of the Priamar Fortress is different. Here the *castrum* is mentioned for the first time in the written sources in 887 AD as a settlement of the Early Middle Ages, which, thanks to its strategic position, partially defended the population from the Arab attacks of the 9th and 10th centuries. Archaeological excavations have further tested the documentary records (Varaldo 1992, 19). At the beginning of the 11th

century the inhabitants still lived within the fortress under the government of the bishop, ruler of the settlement. Only a few decades later the *burgus* evolved, with the construction of the fortified walls. This is paradoxically the end of the Priamar fortress, because with the evolution of the *civitas*, the city of Savona, the castle lost its central role and was slowly being abandoned by the end of the 12th century (Varaldo 1992, 20). Continuous battle and rivalries with powerful Genoa changed the functions and aspects of the Priamar for the whole of the later Middle Ages, until 1542, when Genoa imposed a large reconstruction programme on the site (Varaldo 1992, 14). The situation in Sicily is different, and for Segesta in particular, as this had an important past as an ancient city. During the early medieval period this site was completely abandoned, only to be re-settled by Arab peasants in the 12th century and occupied in the Norman period by vassals who founded a *castrum* and a church on the acropolis.

4.1.2c. *Types of deposit*

Finds of Byzantine pottery at these castles are mostly concentrated in the 12th century. In terms of association, at Pozzuoli Rione Terra, for instance, the pottery is very heterogeneous and recovered from one rubbish pit. Byzantine pottery is also commonly found re-deposited in sites of this type, for example in layers built up to create a horizontal surface for flooring or a pavement or incorporated accidentally into foundation trenches, as for example at CastelDelfino (Milanese 1982). It is worth noting that the structures of the castles under consideration are generally constructed in stone, apart from the Motta di Livenza, which consists only of wooden structures.

Only at Vaccarizza does the pottery seem to be strictly connected to layers associated with occupation of the artificial *motta*²⁷ (Cirelli and Noyé 2003). The city of Segesta is also a special case where the pottery is independently dated because it has been recovered in layers deposited within a household which was built above the sepulchre of the Islamic necropolis itself dated to the second half of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries (Molinari 1997).

4.1.2d. Summary

Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered in castles both in the north and the south of the Italian peninsula. The pottery has been found from deposits such as foundation trenches, beaten earth, rubbish pits and hollows, dated between the 11th and the 13th centuries, which is also the period at which imports peak in the Italian peninsula. The most important castle in term of structure and longevity is the Priamar Fortress at Savona, while the CastelDelfino, Andora and Motta di Livenza castles have smaller structures and are defensive and isolated complexes, as in the case of Segesta/Calatabarbaro and Vaccarizza in the south of the Italian peninsula. The latter was built by the Byzantines but was further developed and inhabited later by the Normans, as is the case of the *Castrum Puteoli* (Pozzuoli) which can be better defined as a probable fortified *burgus*.

The largest volume of earth excavated – at around 472.5 cubic metres - is at the site of Motta di Livenza. This is a large excavation but the pottery finds are only two fragments of Zeuxippus Ware II present. The largest number

²⁷ The *motta* is a natural or artificial rise on a plain or on the piedmont of a slope, generally occupied by a fortification.

of pottery fragments recovered from sites in this category is from Vaccarizza with 2,058 sherds for 2500 cubic metres of earth excavated, and this site also has the best evidence for Byzantine glazed pottery represented by 13 fragments. Vaccarizza is dated a little earlier than the rest of the castles (11th to 12th centuries) and confirms the stronger presence of Byzantine/Greek material culture in Apulia, with the Byzantine presence being in evidence for several centuries.

Other pottery assemblages vary considerably within the later castles of 12th-13th century date, presenting generally a remarkable volume of glazed tablewares imported from the Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula. The large excavation of Segesta (see Appendix 1) is typical; here pottery found in association with the Zeuxippus Ware consists of a large number (unfortunately we do not have more specific data on quantification) of tablewares and several imports.

4.1.3 Palaces and other elite residencies

4.1.3a. Definition, sites and locations

Palaces are major structures within medieval northern Italian cities and generally have governmental significance, such as the ducal palaces in all larger communes. They were also often built as private elite residencies in the richest cities, such as Venice, from the late medieval period onwards. Only two sites in Italy with evidence for Byzantine pottery can be listed from this category of sites (Figure 4.2): the Ducal Palace in Genoa and the Palazzo Selvadego in Venice. Both were located in central areas at the heart of Genoa and Venice in the Middle Ages.

The Ducal Palace in Genoa, excavated by ISCUM, was built in 1284 in an area of the city which has traditionally been at the core of central government (Figure 4.4). Since the 11th century, local power here was controlled by the bishop, though from 1100–1150 onwards the consuls ruling the neo-commune also played a role in governing the city. Consuls exercised their power at three churches in the city: Santa Maria di Castello, San Siro (the old cathedral), and San Lorenzo, where the new seat of the archbishopric lay (Epstein 1996, 35). The commune meanwhile settled upon the public space between the port at Mandraccio and the San Lorenzo for their market, and established a local tax to improve the harbour (Epstein 1996, 46). The Ducal Palace is therefore at the heart of political and social life in the city, characterised by the presence of the government, the church and the market and very close to the main complexes of medieval life in the city such as the *Consorteria dei Doria*, an association of noble families united in the interests of security. Several other sites nearby have also produced Byzantine pottery including the Canonici di San Lorenzo cloister, the San Silvestro abbey and the Sant'Agostino convent (Figure 4.4).

Rather less is known about the private residency of Palazzo Selvadego in Venice, today the location of a prestigious hotel close to San Marco square. Excavation here by the *Sovrintendenza* covered a modest area of only 40 square metres, but is nonetheless interesting because the excavation is close to the centre of political and social life of the most important *città marinara* in the Mediterranean.

4.1.3b. *Types of deposit*

Byzantine pottery from the Ducal Palace in Genoa is represented by 70 sherds mostly dated to the 12th century. In association with these are local wares, imports such as the Raqqa Ware from Syria, Lustreware from the Islamic territories and industrial material such as glass wasters and crucibles. The context from which the pottery comes is an open dump onto which domestic refuse and workshop wasters were thrown. The material is therefore not strictly *in situ* but does presumably represent local discard rather than material which has travelled any distance.

Two fragments of Byzantine Sgraffito ware II were found within the Palazzo Selvadego, dated to the 12th century. They were recovered from post-depositional layers used to complete different phases of construction inside the building, perhaps for the preparation of a pavement or to fill a vat, specific information on the site is lacking. The Byzantine pottery is associated with vessels which date up to the first half of the 14th century (Scarpa 2003–2004, 59). Neither palace site contributes to our understanding of their plan or form, which in this period, around the 12th and 13th centuries, were generally basic constructions compared to the development experienced from the 13th century onwards with palaces (still rare) such as Ca' Dandolo on the Grand Canal in Venice. In the 14th century we have a remarkable change with the influence of the Gothic architecture and the real establishment of the exceptionality of the Venetian architecture (Concina 1995, 73).

4.1.3c. *Summary*

Byzantine glazed pottery has only been recovered from palaces in the north of the Italian peninsula. In the case of the two palaces where

Byzantine pottery was recovered, the ceramics came from open refuse and post-depositional deposits dating between the 12th and the middle of the 13th centuries. Other than re-stating that both palaces are located within the urban areas of Genoa and Venice, two *città marinare*, more specific information about the 12th and 13th century contexts is limited. The Genoa excavation was carried out within the ammunition hall, enclosed between a cistern wall and a building dated to 1583. Only 8 cubic metres were excavated but the stratigraphy totals 60 layers and the deposits were rich, 6,500 sherds recovered in all (Cabona *et al.* 1986). From this total there were some 70 sherds of Byzantine glazed pottery, a density of 1 sherd for every 0.11 cubic metres of earth excavated. The site at Palazzo Selvadego in Venice produced 267 sherds of which only two are Sgraffito Ware II. For this site we do not have more information to be compared with the previous one.

What we have is the pottery assemblages from both these sites, which are relatively large and the percentage of Byzantine glazed pottery comparable; 1.07% of the total collection from the Ducal Palace in Genoa and 0.7% from the Palazzo Selvadego in Venice. Until further datasets from new excavations become available, this proportion of Byzantine glazed pottery may be taken as indicative of what might be expected from a high status 12th/13th century site, at a time when local pottery production was already well developed in different areas of the Italian peninsula. Imports from the Mediterranean were increasing too at this date, so the amount of pottery circulating was considerably greater than had been the case in previous periods (Appendix 1).

4.1.4 Religious sites

4.1.4a. Definition, sites and locations

Monasteries, and ecclesiastical sites generally, were among the first medieval monuments to be excavated in Italy, primarily for their importance in the dynamics of medieval Italian history (Figure 4.5). Among the 16 sites with Byzantine pottery identified here, 10 lie in the north of Italy, the majority of excavations having been carried out by the *Sovrintendenze*, with others undertaken by local universities. The foreign Schools are represented by teams of archaeologists who have been called in by Italian scholars, such as Giampiero Bognetti in the case of Torcello, and Tiziano Mannoni in the case of the excavation of the San Silvestro abbey in Genoa. The aim here was to improve the standard of investigations and add new skills to Italian archaeology through an exchange of experience between Italian and foreign scholars.

4.1.4b. History of the sites

Of the 16 sites under consideration here, nine are monastic houses. Best represented is the Benedictine Order (Figure 4.6). This is not surprising, given that the Benedictines had been the most powerful and widespread Order since the 7th century. But they were not alone in using Byzantine pottery, the Basilians have a role in the 'consumption' of these vessels as well. This Order was originally an Oriental community and is two centuries older than the Benedictine. It was widespread in southern Italian peninsula, mainly in Sicily, Salento (Apulia) and Calabria and is found there particularly; this is because many Basilians of Greek origin escaped towards the Italian peninsula in the 8th century AD. It is particularly interesting that Byzantine pottery should have been used by Greek communities established in the Italian peninsula, for example at

Marettimo (Appendix 1), and this is a feature of the archaeological record we shall return to later. The Cistercian, Augustinian and Dominican Orders are chronologically the latest of those to be considered here, originating respectively around the end of the 11th century and the middle of the 13th century. From the data collated here, it would seem that these three orders are the least likely to receive Byzantine pottery amongst our monastic sites.

The Benedictine abbey of Nonantola represents a significant site in the panorama of early medieval settlements, as it was one of the most powerful abbeys founded by Longobard monks in the 8th century. Polychrome Wares recovered there are among the earliest in the Mediterranean and date to the 10th century (unpublished data). In the same region of Nonantola, Emilia Romagna, a plate in Zeuxippus Ware has been recovered at the Dominican convent of San Domenico in Bologna (Gelichi 1987, 183), dated to the end of the 13th–beginning of the 14th century. In the south, Santa Patrizia of Naples, Otranto Porto Badisco, Marettimo and Salerno San Pietro a Corte were occupied mostly by foreign rule, firstly the Normans in 11th to 12th centuries, and subsequently the Normans-Hohenstaufen dynasty in the 13th century (Piccinni 1999, 200; 300). Their role in the southern Italian peninsula will be discussed in the Chapter 6.

On the other hand, the presence of Byzantine pottery at the religious sites in Genoa, dated between the 11th and the 13th centuries, reflects a remarkable flourishing of the city in this period which was due to a combination of different factors. A new and efficient group of traders had evolved and, in the period between the 10th and the 11th centuries, the

city of Genoa was preparing for its commercial activities on the sea (Lopez 1996, 20–23). After 1142 Genoa was allowed to trade freely in the Byzantine territories and established a colony in Constantinople, just as the Venetians, the Amalfitans, and then the Pisans had done previously (Lopez 1996, 96).

Evidence for Byzantine pottery from the island of Torcello in the Venice lagoon stresses the still lively relationship between the *ex emporion mega* (literarily, large emporium), as mentioned by the emperor *Constantine Porfirogenet* (905-959 AD), and the Byzantine Empire. This is the first imported pottery and also the first glazed wares in any quantity to be used on the island. It was found in the deposits of a cemetery dated to the 12th to 13th centuries, during which time Torcello was an important religious centre. The nearby islands of San Lorenzo in Ammiana, Sant’Arian in Costanziaco and San Leonardo in Fossa Mala are part of the same history. Unfortunately, there is little precise data about the contexts from which this pottery was excavated, though there were clearly substantial quantities of it, especially at San Leonardo in Fossa Mala where some 77 sherds have been recovered in all (Saccardo *et al.* 2003). The lagoon of Venice was full of monasteries during this period; these had occupied the scattered islands around the lagoon since Late Antiquity (Gelichi 2006, and Chapter 6 for a more detailed analysis).

4.1.4c. *Types of deposit*

The different types of Byzantine glazed pottery recovered from these religious sites cover the full range of imported wares travelling from the Byzantine territories towards the lagoon of Venice. As stated above for Nonantola and Genoa, within the earlier contexts (10th–11th century) the

first types of glazed ware are present, whereas in later deposits such the 13th century Genoan ones, Byzantine pottery is found in association with a larger number of other local glazed wares and pottery of Islamic tradition, attesting to the widespread commercial networks available to traders in cities such as Genoa, which lay at the centre of the western Mediterranean in this period.

The pottery itself is derived from various kinds of deposits, mostly representing re-depositional activities such as on earth pavements, vaults, in garden soil and in a vat of a baptistery in Rome. Only the finds from the cemetery in Torcello and from the beaten pavements of the *cenobium* in Marettimo reflect their probable context of use, as both sites are quite small islands and were inhabited mainly in the period under consideration. In Nonantola the Polychrome Wares recovered from fill layers are likely to be associated with a domestic context dating to the Carolingian period of the abbey in the 10th-11th centuries (Alessandra Cianciosi pers.comm).

Byzantine glazed pottery has also been recovered during two archaeological surveys. One is located in the territory of the Sant'Ilario monastery (Venice) and the other one is in the area of San Giovanni Monicantonio monastery (Otranto). At the former, 10 sherds of Byzantine Sgraffito wares were recovered, one is 13th century, another is Sgraffito Ware II which can be dated to the mid of the 12th century but the rest proved difficult to date because they are so abraded.²⁸ The monastery of Sant'Ilario was founded in the 9th century and is located close to the

²⁸ I have to thank the team of the Centre for medieval archaeology of the University Ca' Foscari of Venice, for letting me examine the pottery, in particular the Dott. ssa Margherita Ferri and Dott.ssa Corinna Bagatto. This survey is not published yet.

mouth of the river Brenta, outside the lagoon of Venice, and near the San Leonardo in Fossa Mala monastery discussed above (Calaon 2006, 81).

The second survey site was also an important monastery abandoned in 1396, located in the Terra d'Otranto (Cuteri 1987). Field survey of this badly plough damaged site revealed 4 fragments of Sgraffito Ware II (Arthur 2007). No further information is available. However, it is interesting to note that these two further examples reinforce our impression of large concentrations of Byzantine glazed pottery around the lagoon of Venice and the Terra d'Otranto in Apulia.

4.1.4d. Summary

The majority of the religious sites discussed here are located in the city of Genoa (with four sites) and the lagoon of Venice (with four sites), in other words the most active commercial centres in the Mediterranean (Figure 4.5). Perhaps the most intriguing contexts to come to light from this analysis are from the small excavation in Marettimo, a little island off the west coast of Sicily. This is one of the few sites with Byzantine pottery in Sicily. The crucial point to highlight is the presence of GWW II pottery from Constantinople, a very early type dated to the 11th to 12th centuries, but found here in an area historically more connected to the North Africa shores and the Tyrrhenian Sea.

The largest excavation at any of these religious complexes is at Via San Vincenzo in Genoa, where 3960 cubic metres of deposits were removed. 6,734 pottery sherds were recovered, among which only five are identified as Byzantine glazed wares. This may reflect a weaker consumption of Byzantine pottery in this part of the city: in fact the presence of urban *horti*

at this location suggests a relatively uninhabited area (Chapter 6). The deposits are relatively late in date, 12th to 13th centuries, and the associated pottery relatively rich, as stated above; while the earlier deposits such as Nonantola show Byzantine glazed ware in association with coarsewares, *pietra ollare*, unglazed ware and glass (Appendix 1), an assemblage of materials which is quite typical of the early Middle Ages in the Italian peninsula.

4.1.5 Towns

4.1.5a. Definition, sites and locations

The total number of sites historically defined as *civitas* (urban towns) from the written sources and confirmed by archaeological evidence, is 16. The majority of the Byzantine vessels are concentrated in the north of the Italian peninsula (7) where inland towns also showed good evidence of glazed pottery. In the south, Byzantine pottery is also present in seven cities, with the town of Otranto producing the most from three different sites. Although the individual site totals are not large, this does hint at a more widespread presence of Byzantine pottery in the north. Furthermore, in the south the pottery is notably concentrated on the coastal sites of the Tyrrhenian Sea, while on the Adriatic coast it is very much concentrated in the ports of Otranto and Brindisi (Figure 4.7). The majority of these towns have been investigated by the *Sovrintendenza*, and were mainly excavated stratigraphically as rescue exercises. Research excavations carried out by the universities are only five in number and here the level of research and publication is not always of the highest quality.

4.1.5b. History of the sites

The cities under discussion here (Figure 4.7) have classical origins, apart from Venice and Ferrara which became *civitas* from the early Middle Ages. The rest such as Pescia and Caputaquis Medievale (Capaccio) are much smaller localities today, and in some cases have even been abandoned and their locations shifted (as Capaccio). These smaller towns are examples of cities founded in Late Antiquity/Early Middle Ages.

From a historical perspective, which is too complex to discuss in great detail here and goes beyond the scope of this research project, we can nevertheless see on a basic level that the progress of the Italian cities went in two different directions in the 12th century. The arrival of the Normans changed the dynamics of power in southern Italy, as they focus their power around castles which were generally located on the outskirts of the city walls or in the countryside, detached from cities and their development. The Normans therefore weakened the vitality of the local autonomies, sucking their resources for the benefit of the kingdom. The cities in this way became more like rural centres. The system in fact was based on the power of the castles and the cultivation of the countryside (see below), and had a strict military character, disadvantaging the social dynamics of the cities. However, market activities, which were the foundation of medieval city economies were, on the contrary, controlled by the northern cities. In fact the Normans preferred to give privileges to the Venetians merchants, who already had strong commercial links with the Levant and represented the perfect vehicle for their introduction to the Byzantine world (Musca 1981, 51). The northern territories were developing as locally autonomous market places, as in Padua, Verona, Treviso, and Venice (see Chapter 2). They became strong 'Comuni Liberi',

fighting against the power of the different German sovereigns of Italy, in order to gain their own independence and privileges. The combination of the Municipalities and the Universities as innovative cultural centres, trading activities and a new rich and active bourgeoisie fed the development of those cities, building the foundations for the great period of the Italian Renaissance.

4.1.5c. Types of deposit

In association with the Byzantine pottery recovered in these contexts there are often amphorae, coarsewares, unglazed storage vessels and the first production of local wares. In the area of Venice, in Ca' Vendramin Calergi, Equilo (Jesolo), and Verona, pottery from the Islamic world such as the Fritware from the Near East or Egyptian Lustreware started to appear with Byzantine pottery in the 12th and subsequently in the 13th centuries (about this see Blake and Aguzzi 1990). In the south, in Reggio Calabria, Byzantine pottery is found in association with polychrome glazed wares produced in the Islamic Sicily (traditionally defined Siculo-Magrebine Wares) while in the remaining cities glazed tablewares are scarce, other than Byzantine wares. The most intriguing deposit is perhaps the Porticus Minucia in Rome, where the contents of a pit include an almost complete glazed Byzantine bowl as well as domestic faunal remains and a number of cooking pots. Byzantine pottery here is notable for its quality and rarity. We can therefore note a difference with the previously mentioned deposits, in this case we have in fact a closed pit deposit, which can show in better details the consumption of a probable 12th century Roman household (Enrico Zanini pers.comm). Elsewhere the types of deposits are typically dumping layers used to level the ground or to construct river banks, rubbish pits, earth or clay beaten pavements or agricultural soils.

Inevitably such sherds are generally out of context and difficult to link to specific consumers (see Chapter 6).

In Italy the majority of the investigations of medieval-period archaeology are carried out by the *Sovrintendenze*, and there is very little information about the rescue excavations carried on by these institutions, which are neither published nor brought to the attention of the academic world. A good example of this situation is the Venetian Lagoon, where rescue operations dominate. In this case, however, the full range of evidence has been brought together by a project conducted by the team at the Centre for Medieval Archaeology at Ca' Foscari University of Venice. The total number of excavated sites is therefore known, and the number of unpublished and published works and the amount of sites where Byzantine pottery has been recovered can be fully appreciated.

In this area the first archaeological investigations using innovative methods, both in terms of methodologies and of queries proposed, were carried on in the 1960s (see the Torcello site above). From the 1990s the investigations developed in the Lagoon amounted to **250** sites²⁹ (in the 1980s, apart from a few excavations carried out, the archaeological activities in the Lagoon were few in number; Gelichi 2006, 156). Amongst these, **154** sites have been investigated within the historical city centre of Venice, but only **37** sites, including the most recent Ca' Vendramin Calergi within the city, have produced information. Sadly, only 15 of these 37 have been published in preliminary reports, while the other 20 have only been mentioned in local newspapers or in very preliminary reports (Figure 4.8). Not one of these sites has been published in a final scientific volume, other

²⁹ These statistics stop at the year 2004.

than Ca' Vendramin Calergi and the Ca' Foscari Palace. The majority of the excavations have been rescue operations, while only two were planned in advance; further, most of the investigations are inside religious structures (Gelichi 2006, 158).

Among the 37 sites for which there is sufficient information to be able to make an assessment, the only two sites with Byzantine pottery are Ca' Vendramin Calergi and Palazzo Selvadego, (Figures 4.9). The crucial element to highlight here is that the majority of the sites excavated in Venice are religious, yet Byzantine pottery appears only in household contexts (Figure 4.9). Furthermore, the Byzantine pottery seems to be more concentrated in the contexts of the Venice lagoon and not in the city centre.

4.1.5d. Summary

In towns throughout the Italian peninsula Byzantine glazed pottery seems to be quite widespread with a greater concentration on the eastern side of Italy on account of the presence of Venice and the city of Otranto. Pottery has been recovered in deposits such as dumping layers, rubbish pits, agricultural soils and beaten roads dated from the 10th to the 14th centuries, with a peak in the 12th century. The largest excavation carried out is that at Caputaquis Medievale, Capaccio Vecchia, which also produced the largest amount of Byzantine pottery, represented by over 350 sherds, with a frequency of 1 sherd for every 9.5 cubic metres of excavated earth. An important collection of Byzantine glazed pottery can also be found at the Ca' Vendramin site, where 30 sherds of Byzantine glazed ware from an excavation of modest size (320 cubic metres of earth) produced a frequency of 1 sherd per 10.6 cubic metres of earth excavated.

Associations with other materials are varied: sites where the chronology extends to the 13th to 14th century, such as Brindisi, Caputaquis Medievale and Pescia, have a remarkable volume of glazed tablewares imported from the Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula, while the earlier sites such as Otranto and Venice (see Appendix 1) are mainly associated with coarsewares, unglazed ware, amphorae and *pietra ollare*. The Byzantine tableware is a notable rarity in those cases. The main difference with deposits noted in previous categories of site such as monasteries and castles is the larger number of refuse pits and the use of layers of earth to level the ground inside the rooms. These deposits are generally linked to households, routes into town or indirectly to the bishop's palace in the case of the large excavation of Equilo (Jesolo) (Gelichi *et al.* 2014).

4.1.6 Rural sites

4.1.6a. Definition, sites and locations

Rural sites are defined here as small settlements connected with the exploitation of the countryside. Just two sites have been identified with Byzantine glazed wares (Figures 4.11; Appendix 1) at Quattro Macine in Apulia and Geridu in Sardegna. They lie in the centre- south of modern Italy. It may be the case that rural sites in the south are better preserved than in the north due to the greater activity of industrialisation in the north where much of the countryside has been destroyed. On the other hand, Byzantine table pottery probably reached the south of Italy through a different system of trade routes. This evidence may explain the widespread presence even in the countryside of Byzantine pottery in comparison to the north, where it seems that pottery was concentrated in the urban areas. Furthermore, the towns of the south were less populated

than in the north in the medieval period (Ward-Perkins 1988, 16). However, in the south, for example in Sicily, rural areas were largely inhabited and mostly organised in large villages from late Antiquity to the Byzantine period, with the decline of the towns, particularly on the mountains of the western Sicily (Molinari 2008, 403). For example, until the middle of the 13th century Segesta and Monte Iato (see above) are considered to be rural villages inhabited by an Islamic community, but the strong Norman impact and the construction of fortifications completely changed their character, transforming them into *castra* (see above). Furthermore, in Apulia, Masseria Quattro Macine is not far from the main cities and the ports of Salento such as Otranto and Lecce. It appears from written and material sources that the form of villages common nowadays in the Salento countryside has its origins in the Byzantine villages (named *choria* and *kastellia*) of the 8th century onwards, which contributed to the creation of this very densely populated territory (Arthur 2001, 187). At Geridu in Sardegna the picture is similar. Romangia, the ancient region surrounding Geridu, was occupied by several important settlements in antiquity, including Otheri, Gennor, Uruspe, Taniga, Settepalme, Erti, Plaiano and Querqui.

Excavations on these sites have mostly been carried out by universities, highlighting the absence of rescue work in the countryside (Arthur 2001, 189). This reflects the fact that the universities potentially choose the most interesting targets to research (rural sites and wooden houses are little known) but do manage to work only on few examples, while the rescue archaeology, which mostly operates in the cities, has produced a larger number of excavated sites but a relative smaller amount of new information (as said in Chapter 1).

4.1.6b. Types of deposits

Geridu and Masseria Quattro Macine are two deserted villages which were abandoned more or less in the same period, in the 15th century. They are both known from the written sources (Milanese 2001, Arthur 1996). The presence of a church at Geridu and of a monastery at nearby Quattro Macine, Le Centoporte, represents the oldest settlement in the locality. In terms of chronology, the origins of the village of Quattro Macine are earlier, with evidence of the first imports of Byzantine pottery among which there is a base of GWW II, a residual find. The pottery recovered from Quattro Macine reflects the strongest evidence of a link with the eastern Empire, with Byzantine glazed material such as GWW II, and further Painted Sgraffito, Light-On-Dark and Measles Ware (see Chapter 3). At Geridu, located in the west of Italy only a single piece of Zeuxippus Ware II was recovered, this being the most common and widespread type of Byzantine glazed pottery in the last period (13th-14th centuries, Chapter 3). This type of pottery is widely distributed in the Mediterranean world by the Italians merchants, as seen in Chapter 3 and 6. It underlines different commercial trends compared to the first imports period (10th-11th centuries).

4.1.6c. Summary

Byzantine glazed pottery has only been recovered at rural sites in the south of Italy. The two villages of Geridu in Sardegna and Masseria Quattro Macine in Apulia have similar histories, both were abandoned at some point around the 14th to 15th centuries. Unfortunately no further information exists about the cubic metres excavated or total number of sherds excavated, however it is known that both were 'large' excavations.

The most remarkable site in terms of the quantity of Byzantine glazed ware is the village Masseria Quattro Macine, the earliest site. The 11 sherds here which are dated to the 11th to 12th centuries indicate the well-established influence of Byzantine culture in the region.

4.1.7 Other site types

Two sites with Byzantine pottery cannot be categorised among the other classes, mainly because it is very difficult to detect their true nature. These include Fusina, an underwater medieval site in the Venice Lagoon and Egnazia in Apulia, a city which was important in the Greek and Roman periods (Figure 4.12). It has proved impossible to understand, from the publication, the situation of the city in the Middle Ages (Biancofiore 1995) and above all to comprehend from which type of deposit and context the Byzantine glazed pottery was recovered (Fontana 1995).

Both sites were excavated by the *Sovrintendenze*, but the results have been only partially published. In the case of Fusina, 73.5 cubic metres of earth were excavated, producing nine sherds of Byzantine glazed pottery with a frequency of one sherd per 8.1 cubic metres of earth excavated. This site is completely submerged by the waters of the lagoon due to works in the '*Canale de petroli*', where the site is situated; it was probably a medieval port, used for an ecclesiastical *sanitorium* from the 12th century. The pottery too is mainly 12th century in date, and in particular in Egnazia the sherd count for Byzantine glazed pottery is as high as 173, one of the highest volumes recovered anywhere in Italy. Sadly, there is no stratigraphical information available.

4.1.8 Discussion

Aside from the not inconsiderable difficulties in the data collection process, a brief synopsis is possible. First, it is interesting to note that the site with the highest frequency of Byzantine glazed ware sherds (Figure 4.17) is the Ducal Palace in Genoa with one sherd of Byzantine glazed ware for every 0.11 cubic metres of earth excavated. This is followed by the Porticus Minucia site in Rome with one sherd per 0.26 cubic metres (but here only the pit where the pot was recovered was considered) and then Previtro, Otranto (urban site) with one sherd per 1.14 cubic metres of earth. Following is Fusina (other type of site) with one sherd per 8.1 cubic metres of earth excavated followed by Capaccio, Ca' Vendramin Calergi in Venice, Santa Cecilia in Rome and Via Giovanni XXIII in Otranto with respectively one sherd per 9.5 cubic metres, one per 10.6 cubic metres, one per 12 cubic metres and one per 15.14 cubic metres. The remainder account for between one sherd per 27 cubic metres to one sherd per 500 cubic metres at the urban site of Via Dei Mille in Treviso. Generally speaking those sites with the greater densities of Byzantine glazed sherds are therefore mainly urban sites or immediately peripheral to them, for example, in the Venice area and near Otranto.

Of all the different categories of site examined, it is the rural sites which have the least contextual data. During the course of this research it proved impossible to acquire information on the size of the excavations or the total number of fragments recovered. The case study from Venice demonstrates that good data can lead to a useful evaluation. Of course, some categories of site have very little Byzantine pottery at all; this is the case for some castles, in particular CastelDelfino in Liguria, Motta di Livenza in Veneto, and the Vaccarizza *castrum* in Apulia (Figure 4.14).

Other categories of site, namely palaces, seem to vary considerably in the quantities of pottery they have produced, so that whereas at the Ducal palace in Genoa pottery is relatively abundant (Figure 4.10), the Palace Selvadego in Venice produced very little pottery. Overall, the site category which provides the most useful and complete data is the religious sites, for which information on the cubic metres of earth excavated does usually exist (Figure 4.10). Furthermore, the Orders that occupied the sites under consideration are known, which enables us to consider the possible consumers of imported Byzantine pottery and their way of life in a little more detail (Chapter 6). The number of religious sites represented in the sample is also larger than for the other categories (apart from towns) and the descriptions provided by their excavators more detailed.

Byzantine glazed pottery is also widespread among the urban sites, although in varying concentrations. In the south these sites are mainly along the coast, as at Reggio Calabria, while in the north they are also widespread inland in *Pianura padana*, such as in Ferrara and Treviso. This may have been due to the well-established river system in this region and the extremely good connections with the city of Venice. In the centre-south of the Italian peninsula Byzantine glazed ware is present on important coastal sites and slightly inland sites such as Rome and Caputaquis Medievale (Capaccio), which has the most remarkable evidence of Byzantine glazed pottery if compared to other sites (Figure 4.10). However, the city with the greatest number of excavations with Byzantine glazed ware is Otranto where three different sites at Via San Giovanni, Previtro and the area close to the Spanish gate have all been productive. The overall peak for the presence of Byzantine pottery covering all the different site categories is the 12th century.

4.2 Archaeological contexts

Most of the pottery studied here was recovered from stratified contexts (74.4%) and from a wide range of deposit types, which are presented schematically in Figure 4.13. Amongst these, primary contexts are not represented at all as the sites have been in continuous use for centuries with building interiors kept clean. It is impossible to find material culture *in situ* in the exact position in which it was used or abandoned unless in the case of fire and building collapse. Most of the material discussed here is therefore from secondary contexts, mainly places where the pottery was discarded. This is of little value for spatial analysis or for associations with other artefacts in the house, though it may inform us broadly about rubbish disposal habits.

Typically, Byzantine pottery is found in the fills of rubbish pits and cesspits (35%). This is true especially of the towns (Brindisi, Messina, Otranto, Padua and Rome), castles (Pozzuoli – Rione Terra) and the Ducal Palace of Genoa. However, the pottery is disposed of in much the same way on all sites, either as very fragmentary materials or, more rarely, as almost complete bowls. Examples of the latter include vessels from the pit of the Porticus Minucia excavation in Rome which were recovered from the cellar of a medieval household, the *castrum* of Pozzuoli where pottery was excavated from the surface of the pavement of the building, and in Equilo (Jesolo) and Padua where the pottery, much of it intact, came from pits located outside of the main buildings (see below).

Some rubbish disposal can potentially be linked to individual properties, as at Brindisi where a refuse pit can be linked to a probable high status

household nearby, on account of various features including the high quality of tablewares (Appendix 1) and the absence of the kinds of repairs to pots, something which is taken to indicate a greater appetite for consumption and therefore wealth (Patitucci-Uggeri 1976). The same example from Rome are the pits excavated within the cellar of a medieval house in the core of the city very close to the Crypta Balbi (the *Castrum Aureum* in the medieval period) (Saguì and Paroli 1990; Manacorda 2003). From the 11th century, a general revitalisation of the area can be seen in the increasing improvement of housing, which was built over the top of Roman structures. The area was densely inhabited by the 12th to 13th centuries and by this time one of the most important areas of the city. At a time when Rome was generally characterised by sparse settlement intermixed with rural areas, this area seems to have been occupied by the wealthier social groups of the city, according to the archaeological (the outstanding excavation of the Crypta Balbi) and written sources, which are mainly of religious nature, such the papal bull of Celestino III, dated to 1192 (Manacorda 2003, 67-74).

Similarly, Messina and Otranto in the south provide useful examples where properties and pottery from refuse pits can potentially be linked. In an interior setting, the pit of the *castrum* Rione Terra of Pozzuoli near Naples obliterates the pavement of an ancient space and was probably in use during the medieval period when it was attached to a wealthy residence. Its identification as a magnate household is based on the presence of imported wares of slightly later date than the Byzantine sgraffito pottery, which probably accumulated here over a century or so, either that, or they were removed from other smaller pits and re-deposited in this pit. In the case of the Ducal Palace in Genoa the area was a large

refuse space, used to dispose of domestic and production waste, connected to the life of the palace and nearby workshops.

At other sites, however, linking pots and properties and people is much less convincing, particularly where the proximity and concentration of plots with very different ownerships and histories tends to reduce the possibility of detailed interpretation or where there is simply not enough published information to make an informed judgement, as is the case at Padua. Post-depositional deposit activities also confuse the picture. Medieval pottery appears in the make-up of surfaces (20% in our case) or walls (5%), in garden soil (10%) and in foundation trenches (5%). As much as 26% of the total number of sherds has been moved from its original location and re-deposited in later contexts, some as recent as the present day. This residuality complicates any understanding of the records, particularly over issues such as re-use or the extended life of pots, especially if the pottery is only occasionally used. It would be extremely useful to discern between the dates of manufacture for a pot and the date of its discard, but this is possible only rarely.

Nevertheless, examining imports derived from a single context, such as an individual pit, is an important exercise. It is clear from this that, for the most part, Byzantine vessels were probably acquired in small groups rather than singly, and that purchasers seem only rarely to have combined different forms with a single style of decoration. The only combination of forms of the same class of pottery includes bowls and cups in Green and Brown Painted Ware, and small bowls and dishes in Light-On-Dark, recovered pits for instance in the sites of Brindisi and Otranto (Patitucci-Uggeri 1976; Patterson-Whitehouse 1992).

4.3 Bias in the record

The text above considers the distribution of Byzantine glazed pottery from the perspective of findspots across the peninsula. This is a valuable exercise in its own right but confidence in our interpretations of distributions is limited because we lack an understanding of an essential part of the pattern, namely those contemporary sites where Byzantine glazed pottery has not been found. Not only that, it is hard to get a feel for whether the pottery is rare or common if we do not have some idea of the full sample of excavated sites.

Unfortunately, it is still impossible within Italy to give an accurate account of the total number of sites that have been investigated by archaeologists. Nevertheless, some attempt can be made by considering the section in the principal Italian journal for medieval archaeology, *Archeologia Medievale*, which since 1975 has collected data on medieval excavations. This source alone cannot provide data for all excavations of the medieval period carried out in Italy and the intention here is only to provide a sample. However, we can select the first 10 numbers of the annual Journal, from 1975 until 1985, a period during which 46.8% of the sites under consideration here were investigated. Some 34% were dug during the 1990s while the rest were excavated during the new millennium. We can see the range of data in Figure 4.15.

The total number of recorded medieval excavations in this 10-year period is 397. The obvious bias is towards religious sites (41%), whereas other categories have received far less attention. In the light of this data, the number of castles and urban sites listed above at which Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered assumes a different importance, as they have

been far less frequently excavated than religious sites. On the other hand palaces and the rural sites have been the least investigated in Italy (15% and 9%) in this time period.

The conclusion from this observation is that most Byzantine pottery is from religious sites but this is because more religious sites have been excavated, whereas urban sites at this point seemed to be less excavated, but nevertheless show a notable presence of Byzantine pottery. These are probably the main site categories from where our pottery was consumed.

There are not only biases in the categories of site which have been investigated, there are also important biases in the numbers of excavations in the various regions of Italy. The regions in which the majority of these excavations have been carried out are Piedmont (16.8%), Lombardy (16.3%), followed by Liguria and Emilia Romagna (9.8%), Tuscany (9%) and Apulia (7.8%). In the remaining regions the percentage of excavations of this period is much lower, ranging from the 4.7% in Latium to 0.2% in Sardinia and Calabria (Figure 4.18). Given these statistics it is relevant that Byzantine finewares have not yet been recovered from any excavations in the Piedmont region, though one 12th century *bacino* was inserted into the tower of the S. Giulio d'Orta church (Novara) (Gelichi 1993, 127). This lacunae exists in spite of some outstanding and thorough excavations such as that undertaken at San Michele di Trino (Vercelli) in 1980-81 where the interior of a 10th-12th century church was investigated (Negro Ponzi Mancini *et al.* 1991) revealing a lively and well populated place with economic resources and manufacturing activities from Late Antiquity onwards.

The region which lies second in the table of excavated medieval sites is Lombardy. Here Byzantine finewares are present only as *bacini* in Pavia, on the façades of the churches of S.Maria in Bethlem, S.Lazzaro, S.Lanfranco; in Mantova on the S. Leonardo church (Gelichi 1993, 131). Notably, the very important excavation of the urban site of Brescia which contributed so much to our knowledge of the medieval Italian city and produced large quantities of cultural material (Brogiolo 1987) failed to reveal any further evidence of this pottery. Similarly negative evidence comes from the most important campaign of excavations carried out in the monastery of San Salvatore a Brescia at the beginning of the 1980s by Giampietro Brogiolo, during which 40% of the original early medieval complex was discovered (Gelichi 1997, 171). Finally Santa Maria foris portas is located very close to the early medieval *castrum* of Castelseprio in the province of Varese. Here between 1980 and 1985 archaeological excavations were carried out which dated the structure to the Carolingian period (9th century) (Gelichi 1997, 189). Though there was little material culture from the site, Byzantine glazed pottery was again absent.

While in the large excavations of Liguria and Emilia Romagna Byzantine finewares have been recovered both in archaeological contexts and as *bacini* (see next chapter), in Tuscany this type of pottery is much rarer, though it is present as *bacini* dated to the 12th century in Pisa, at the churches of S. Sisto, S.Andrea, S.Silvestro, as well as at S.Michele degli scalzi, S.Stefano *extra moenia* churches in the 13th century (Gelichi 1993, 145-184). All the more curious therefore that at the castles of Scarlino (in the province of Grosseto) and Montarrenti (in the province of Siena), two other important large excavations carried out in the 1980s under the direction of Riccardo Francovich, did not produce any Byzantine

finewares. The first site is a *curtis* dated to the second half of the 10th century, here the process of *incastellamento* happened between the late 10th and the 12th century and overlay a previous village. Montarrenti represents a similar case where the excavation has confirmed the occupation of the settlement earlier than the Middle Age, characterised by a strong division of space, with the lords part higher up and the village just below (Gelichi 1997, 146).

In Apulia, on the contrary, large excavations, mainly run by the University of Lecce, have produced important evidence of Byzantine finewares.

Other two important Benedictine monasteries complexes which can be paralleled in importance to the Benedictine buildings of San Salvatore a Brescia and Nonantola are Farfa abbey and San Vincenzo al Volturno, where Byzantine finewares have not been recovered. These two substantial projects are of great importance for Early medieval/medieval archaeology of the centre-south of Italy and have been developed by the British School at Rome over many years (see below).

The conclusion to be drawn from this exercise is that the main archaeological projects have been focused for many years in only a small number of regions, namely Lombardy, Piedmont, Liguria, Tuscany and Emilia Romagna. Blake (1993, 5) drew similar conclusions. Since these excavations cluster at inland sites, it is plausible that Byzantine finewares did not arrive there easily. It is also important to stress that in the regions of the north (such as Lombardy and Piedmont) the use and consumption of pottery is generally less evident when compared to other materials such as stone, bronze and copper which are mentioned in the written sources (Blake 1993, 7).

Even more remarkable biases are present in the Italian regions when we consider the archaeological surveys undertaken. As said in Chapter 1 the first focus in archaeology in Italy was on Classical archaeology, which even in terms of ancient topography has especially focused on the major imperial cities and on the monumental architecture. This aspect is due to the remarkable presence of the remaining standing monuments. Therefore the main focus of the archaeological investigations have been urban, whereas British archaeology instead has developed an outstanding tradition of landscape archaeology due also to the different conformation of the geographical territory, which is less urbanised and where settlements are more visible in fields (Barker 1995, 6). This is the reason why the most important survey campaigns in Italy have been undertaken by the British school at Rome, starting at the beginning of the 20th century with the intensive fieldwork of the 'Roman Campagna' directed by Thomas Ashby, followed by the important 'South Etruria Survey' developed after the second world war, directed by the Director of the British school John Ward Perkins. Subsequently the Biferno Valley project directed by Graeme Barker is fundamental in the discovery of the settlement of a region as Molise, which had remained completely unknown archaeologically until the 1970s (Barker 1995, 15). This has been followed by the important work on the territory of the monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in the Upper Volturno Valley (see above) carried out by Richard Hodges in the 1980s (Bowes *et al.* 2006). The Tiber Valley Project carried out again in the territory Northern of Rome is also noteworthy, and was a continuation of the South Etrurian project (Patterson *et al.* 2000)

Looking again at the regions of the Italian peninsula and the surveys undertaken here the scenario is extremely different and recent in terms of research. The projects which can again be attested among the more structured ones are in the region of Tuscany (see above for details on the territory) and Emilia Romagna, particularly in the developed area of the city of Cesena, dated to the Middle Ages (Gelichi and Negrelli 2009) and by Mauro Librenti in the area of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna and Modena from circa the 1980s, focused especially on the Early and Late medieval periods (Librenti 2000; Gelichi *et al.* 2005). We can include also Apulia thanks to the work of Giulio Volpe in northern Apulia, which however does generally stop at the early Middle Age, like the Ofanto Valley project carried out since 2003 by the University of Foggia (Goffredo and Volpe 2005). Byzantine finewares are not present in these surveys, which are mostly focuses on inland sites, attesting again a probable concentration mainly on the coastal sites and particularly on ports and urban contexts.

4.4 Conclusions

Byzantine finewares have been attested in five main sites categories. When considering the archaeological records for the medieval excavations relevant to this study, it is the work of the *Sovrintendenze* in Italy that provides the main source of information, even if still a large part of their work is not published. As we can see in the Figure 4.16 the number of excavations carried out both in the north and in the south of Italy by the *Sovrintendenze* is the largest one, followed by universities in the south and by local centres such as the ISCUM (see above) in the north.

The data set here therefore represents a small but notable case study of how medieval archaeology has progressed over time – with its mix of

emergency and research information. The bulk of information comes from rescue excavations, without proper detailed investigations in well-focused spots. This reflects the analysis provided above about the main obstacles to the progress of Italian archaeology. Unfortunately, even though urban archaeology has been prolific in some cases, only a very few cases have followed rigorous research agendas and techniques, such as in the case of Capaccio, Ferrara, Otranto, Rome, Verona. The analysis of the data here aims to reveal both the limits but also the positive sides of these mixed levels of research. In the next chapter we deal with the Byzantine fineware evidence recovered from those sites, and in particular their distribution patterns.

CHAPTER 5

POTTERY OVER TIME

This chapter considers the data-set collected on the Byzantine glazed fragments recovered in Italy. Some 1,121 sherds of Byzantine pottery, representing around 807 different vessels, have been identified and recorded from Italian excavations. A small percentage of this collection is from occasional finds (30 sherds), the vast majority, however, is from archaeological investigations (1,091 sherds). Figure 1.1 shows the main excavated sites in the Italian regions of Liguria, Apulia and Veneto mentioned in the text, which represent the three regions with the best quantitative samples.

A total of 57 sites with Byzantine glazed imports have been explored; these are located in the following regions: in the north – Veneto, Liguria, Emilia Romagna; in the centre – Tuscany, Latium and Sardinia; in the south – Campania, Calabria, and Sicily. Of these, 48 sites can properly be considered ‘scientific’ excavations where attention appears to have been paid to stratigraphy and recording, so little is known of the other nine sites that they cannot meaningfully be included in the discussion. Even so, among the 48 sites, 13 have good stratigraphic reports, but even they do not provide a complete record of the pottery finds (Appendix 2). The

discussion of the pottery evidence here must therefore be based principally on the most reliable 35 sites.³⁰

Much of the discussion here on the context for Byzantine glazed pottery has to be based on published reports. Furthermore, a number of specialists in Italian Byzantine/medieval finewares and institutions were contacted for access to the published and unpublished materials and in order to verify whether there was additional evidence of Byzantine pottery within their regions.³¹ Initially, the institutions and the scholars were cooperative, but later on, this assistance was in part rescinded for various reasons (generally due to the state of conservation of the material and the accessibility of store rooms). For this reason, it also proved impossible to collect fabric samples for further archaeometric analysis. To overcome this problem, digital photos of the fabrics were taken and a macroscopic description of the fabrics, decorations, forms and technologies was used to record and distinguish the pottery. The main source for this discussion was published material (2/3=855 sherds); but other unpublished materials have also been included wherever possible.

³⁰ Of these 34 sites the material from 16 sites has been examined macroscopically by the author.

These are: in Liguria Genoa, Palazzo Ducale; Savona, fortezza del Priamar; in Apulia, Vaccarizza; Previtro; Quattro Macine; in Veneto, San Leonardo in Fossa Mala; Venezia Ca' Vendramin Calergi; Fusina; San Lorenzo in Ammiana; Sant'Arian in Costanziano; Malamocco; Torcello; in Calabria, Reggio Calabria; in Emilia Romagna, Nonantola; in Lazio, Roma, Porticus Minucia. For this I would like to thank, respectively: the ISCUM-Sovrintendenza archeologica della Liguria; Dott.ssa Elvira Lo Mele, University of Bologna; Prof. Paul Arthur-University of Lecce; Dott.ssa Francesca Saccardo, Museo Ca' D'oro, Venezia; NAUSICAA, Sovrintendenza archeologica del Veneto; Dr Alessandra Cianciosi, University Ca' Foscari of Venice; Dott.ssa Gabriella Tigano, Sovrintendenza di Reggio Calabria; Prof. Enrico Zanini, University of Siena; Prof. Carlo Varaldo and Dott. Paolo Ramagli, Museo del Priamar, Savona.

³¹ This work has been updated until the year 2009, when the data collection has stopped and writing up of the thesis has properly started.

The aims of this chapter are threefold. First, to define the probable centres of production for Byzantine glazed imports found across the Italian peninsula. Second, there follows a general discussion of the various classes of Byzantine pottery recovered from the Italian peninsula by period (10th to the beginning of the 12th; 12th; end of the 12th to the 14th centuries). Finally, classes, forms and the provenance of the pottery are all analysed, together with other Byzantine material recovered from the sites under consideration, in order to form a broad appreciation of pottery distributions. To this is added a discussion of those classes of Byzantine pottery not recorded in the Italian peninsula, where one would have expected them to be present, and the possible reasons for their absence. Finally, at the end of the chapter the available data on Byzantine *bacini* are discussed. Our knowledge of the provenance of Byzantine pottery in the Italian peninsula has, in the past, been based largely on the study of these fine bowls, generally imported from the Islamic and Byzantine world (the largest majority are however the Islamic ones), which were inserted in the façades of the medieval buildings (see Chapter 1).

5.1 Pottery production centres

Between the 10th and the end of the 14th centuries a wide range of Byzantine glazed pottery types arrived on the Italian peninsula from modern Greece, Turkey and the Aegean (Figure 5.2). These included glazed tablewares in association with goods from eastern Islamic culture (for example Fritware), and the western Islamic world (such as glazed tablewares from Sicily or Northern Africa, Lustreware), which are not considered in detail here.

At the outset it is important to stress that, in the absence of detailed compositional analysis (NAA, ICP or petrology, for example), the identification of centres of production for this thesis has had to be evaluated at two different levels:

- sherds not considered macroscopically by the author. In these cases the author has followed the excavators's hypothesis on the provenance of the published sherds;
- sherds examined macroscopically by the author. In this case the author attempted to understand the origin of the fragment using typologies of Byzantine glazed ware, its fabrics and forms. Those centres of production in Greece, Turkey and the Aegean which have been demonstrated to be secure workshops are illustrated on Figure 3.1, with question marks highlighting the more insecure cases. As we have seen in Chapter 3, some of these production centres lack detailed published data (Yona Waksman pers.comm), others are difficult or impossible to tell apart macroscopically (for example the clay of Pergamon rather than the one of Thebes), while identification is further complicated by the general high level of fragmentation of Byzantine finewares sherds recovered.

The data are therefore admittedly incomplete, but there is enough to suggest some general patterns of distribution on the basis of the identifications made in Chapter 3. The main centres of production that

have been identified as exporting Byzantine fineware to the Italian peninsula are as follows (Figure 5.3):

- 1) Constantinople. Rough estimates suggest that as much as a third of all the Byzantine glazed wares were imported to the Italian peninsula from this one centre, which may itself represent several workshops. Discoveries in the Constantinople area suggest that this is the most probable production centre and exporter of different types of Byzantine glazed wares (Figure 3.1: GWW and Slip Wares) traded to the Italian peninsula over a long period (10th–12th century) (Megaw and Jones 1983; Hayes 1992; Waksman and Girgin 2008; Chapter 3). Scholars agree on the existence of a production centre of GWW in Constantinople, even though no kilns for this type of pottery have yet been identified there. Concentrations of material are known mainly from Otranto, Venice, Vaccarizza.
- 2) Corinth (Megaw and Jones 1983). The majority of the sites considered have pottery probably imported from Corinth.
- 3) Sparta (Bakorou *et al.* 2003). Major sites with material from Sparta are probably Otranto, Padua, Venice.
- 4) Other centres of production including:
 - Greece – the Attica region. Production here is debatable, however, analyses seem to prove the existence of a production centre (Cabona *et al* 1986, 470; D'Ambrosio *et al* 1986, 603); Athens, and Kalapodi in eastern Phokis, are less secure centres of production.

- Anatolia – and Aegean region (Waksman and Spieser 1997). This area is defined as ‘Aegean region’, probably located in western Anatolia, which still has not been definitively identified, and mostly probably produces Zeuxippus and Aegean Wares (Megaw and Jones 1983).
- Cyprus – the Paphos, Lemba, Enkomi, Kouklia and Nicosia production centres must also be taken into account (Megaw and Jones 1983; Riavez 2007), together with Chersonesos in the Crimea.

5.2 A chronology for Byzantine pottery imports

It is worth placing here the finds of Byzantine glazed pottery within the context of each period to understand their value (cost) and role in the society of the time. This will be achieved here through the analysis of three key elements, which can be obtained mainly from archaeological data, again for the 10th to the beginning of the 12th centuries; 12th century; and the end of the 12th–14th centuries. The case studies used in the development of this discussion have been selected on the basis of the level of archaeological reliability of the deposits and the material’s association, and their geographical locations, from the north to the south of the peninsula.

The key elements here considered are:

- 1) The volume of Byzantine pottery imported for each period, information that provides an idea of the distribution in each period.
- 2) The survey of the local pottery produced and used in the Italian peninsula for each period, providing a broader picture of the

material culture associated with Byzantine pottery circulating, through the comparison with the contemporary wares produced in the Italian peninsula.

- 3) The production and circulation of Byzantine glazed pottery in the Byzantine Empire in each period (Chapter 3), comparing the products consumed in the Byzantine Empire and the ones which arrived in the Italian peninsula. This allows also for an understanding of whether the 'Italian' consumers used only selected forms of vessels produced in the Byzantine Empire.

From the point of view of the written sources, these could be very helpful in identifying the real cost of the pottery in medieval societies, as for example is the case with Alejandra Gutiérrez's research on the imported pottery in Wessex in the medieval and post-medieval periods, where the scholar is able to compare the costs of local pottery against imports (recorded mainly in port books) and conclude that imported pottery generally cost twice as much as local wares (Gutiérrez 2000, 178). An other good example could be provided from the work of Spallanzani (1997). Here the costs of eastern goods, particularly Islamic pottery and porcelain from China, are analysed in the context of the Renaissance Florence through the examination of private archives.

Any similar interpretation could also be based on the Geniza Documents, 200,000 Jewish manuscripts dated from 870 to 1880 AD which were recovered in the *genezah* or storeroom of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat, modern Cairo (Egypt). They have been widely published, mainly by Goitein (Goitein 1967). As was the custom of the 'genizas', these manuscripts would have been buried in a cemetery every once in a while,

but they were not destroyed. Written in Hebrew alphabet, these manuscripts, made up of different documents, such as letters, marriage contracts and trade contracts, shed light on the life of the Jewish people who were at that time a completely integrated section of medieval Mediterranean society (Chapter 2).

The evidence those works contain on pottery prices will be discussed below, however the documents do not refer directly to our case, so they must be used with caution. They do represent the only available source which can help us to gauge the costs of medieval pottery against the prices of other objects.

5.2.1 10th to the beginning of the 12th centuries

The sum of the pottery present in these two centuries is 10% of the total volume of Byzantine glazed pottery recovered in the Italian peninsula by sherd count (Figure 5.5) – a limited amount. However, this period is poor in terms of evidence of material culture (wooden vessels were probably present as well, though they are not often preserved). Also, the archaeological deposits are generally quite modest and very difficult to identify chronologically due to their very limited presence. One of the most recent examples of material culture in an early ‘Italian’ medieval deposit is the site of Comacchio, a northern Adriatic emporium, where amphorae, soapstone (*pietra ollare*), unglazed and glazed wares and glass vessels are recorded typically between the 7th and the 9th century (Calaon *et al* 2009, 38). In general one could argue that the deposit recorded in Comacchio represents a typical early medieval deposit of a northern commercial site, however with only amphorae recorded to come from the Byzantine Empire (Negrelli 2007, 441).

From the 10th century, we have the first arrivals of Byzantine glazed imports on the Italian peninsula. These pots most probably originated from the area around Corinth and Constantinople, and are represented respectively by the Brown Glazed Wares, in a red fabric, and the GWW of the types II and IV, and the luxurious PW type I, in a white fabric (Figures 5.6, 5.6a, 5.7, 5.7a, 5.8 and see Appendix 2). A range of forms is present including closed forms, mainly in Brown Glazed Ware, and open forms mainly in GWW (for a detailed discussion on this change of forms see Chapter 6). The Brown Glazed Wares were essentially kitchen wares, while the GWW of a very refined manufacture were used on the table (Chapter 3). In this first period, trade by sea was still in progress and the key ports for this early commerce with the eastern territories were mainly Venice and the Campanian cities, among them Amalfi, Gaeta and Salerno (Chapter 2). Byzantine glazed pottery is also found in regions such as Apulia (in urban ports, castle, rural site), Campania (urban and religious sites), Veneto (urban and religious sites), Sicily (religious site) and Emilia Romagna (religious site).

Overall, the rarity of this pottery plus its innovation in manufacture (represented by the use of the double firing as said in Chapter 3 and see below) suggests the use of the pottery *in its own right*, perhaps transported by Byzantine lords travelling between the Byzantine Italian regions such as Apulia (see below). Here, in Previtro, in the suburbs of modern city Otranto, amphorae have been identified from Ganos in Turkey dated to the 10th–11th century, while in Otranto (an urban site) *anonymous folles* of the 10th and 11th centuries are present as well as those of the Emperor Romanus IV (1068–1071). Furthermore, in Vaccarizza castle there are two

coins of the Emperor Romanus I (920–944) dated to the 10th century. In Campania, in Capaccio (urban site inland) there are 17 Byzantine *folles* of the 10th–11th century, also in Veneto, where Byzantine coins of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081–1118) have been found in Torcello (religious site). Furthermore, in Sicily the GWW II recovered was most probably used by the monks of the Basilian Order in Marettimo, and the PW I was almost certainly a gift for the abbey of San Silvestro in Nonantola, Emilia Romagna. Here, there is other evidence of products coming from the Byzantine Empire, such as the Byzantine silks whose manufacture is dated to the 8th and 9th century, but which were probably brought to Nonantola with the trade in religious relics at the end of the 10th to beginning of the 11th century (Chapter 2). Other items of Constantinople/Byzantine manufacture are present in Nonantola such as reliquary boxes. With regard to Byzantine *bacini*, there is no clear evidence of Byzantine bowls inserted in medieval churches in this period, apart from the church of Pomposa (Emilia Romagna), which is still under debate. The most recent article on these *bacini* (Gelichi and Nepoti 1999) confirms a chronology of the mid 11th century for the exotic pottery inserted in the religious building and furthermore the authors assessed, also thanks to petrographic analyses (Gelichi and Nepoti 1999, 222-223) that the majority of the vessels have an Egyptian origin. However, there are still a number of vessels with uncertain origins; from the published photos they seem to be Green and Brown Painted Ware, anyway the chronology of this ware is produced in Corinth in the first half of the 12th century (see Chapter 3) therefore the date does not fit with the Pomposa evidence.

At this date, local pottery in the Italian peninsula is mostly represented by domestic wares in terracotta with scattered examples of glazed closed vessels, (the so-called *ceramica a vetrina pesante* or CVP, see Chapter 3) which are mostly found concentrated in the Latium region and particularly Rome (where this type of pottery is generally called 'Forum Ware') and where the use of the glaze is quite relevant since it appears during the so-called Carolingian Renaissance in the 8th–9th centuries under the rule of Charlemagne and afterwards (Paroli 1992, 58). However, important recoveries of local CVP are also known elsewhere in cities such as Otranto, Naples, Reggio Calabria and Salerno (Paroli 1992, 57), though local production in these areas seems relatively minor when compared against production in Rome. There is, however, a great difference in quality between these local CVP wares, which adopted a single firing glaze technique and produced closed vessels with a bubbled green glaze, and the much finer Byzantine and Islamic vessels which used the double firing technique. Moreover they applied a tin glaze or a slip coating to the surface of the pottery. Indeed, in Sicily, which was under Islamic rule at this time (see Chapter 3), production of polychrome ware, in a double firing glaze, is known from the 11th century (Fiorilla 1991, 124–132). For the northern Italy territory, particularly in Emilia Romagna, a scenario which is quite similar to the Latium one can be suggested: in the 9th–10th century there is a presence of closed shapes with a sort of sparse glaze, probably produced in the area of Ravenna. The Sant'Alberto type (named after a place nearby Ravenna), with a partial glaze coating and without any relief decoration, is much more present in the contexts of the 10th–11th century both in the Venice lagoon and in the Emilia Romagna area, which may have originated from the same area of production which is still difficult to ascertain, and could be anywhere between Ravenna and Venice

(Gelichi and Negrelli 2007, 637). Furthermore evidence of a glazed production similar to the CVP has been attested in this area as well, well recorded in the eastern part of the Emilia Romagna region and in Venice dated to the 10th-11th centuries (Gelichi and Sbarra 2003, 123). The main forms are represented by jars and jugs. Thanks to the analyses carried out, we can suggest that production seems to have been carried out in the area of the river Po, probably in the territory of Ferrara (Gelichi and Sbarra 2003, 124).

What then was the level of consumption in the Byzantine world of Byzantine glazed tablewares? Until at least the middle of the 11th century, tablewares are represented uniquely by GWW which was produced in Constantinople. This type of pottery is widely scattered around the Mediterranean at different sites and is routinely found to be the only early tableware present (see Chapter 3; D'Amico 2003, 25–26). A good case study with recent data and reliable archaeological deposits is Corinth, which was part of the Byzantine Empire. In Corinth, GWW is present from the beginning of the 9th century. Until the middle of the 11th century it represents between 70–90% of all the total glazed wares recovered (Sanders 1995). By the end of the 11th century the GWW percentage drops down from 60% to 10%. In this case the local Corinthian glazed forms never produced dishes and bowls, but only chafing dishes and jugs (D'Amico 2003, 177). In fact between the 9th and 11th centuries the beginning of local glazed production is attested in Corinth (after the sporadic *mortaria* of the 6th to 7th centuries) and is represented mainly by chafing dishes, to be used directly on the table to keep food warm. They resemble GWW II chafing dishes forms. Once more, the variety of GWW forms is very rich in Corinth when compared with the Italian evidence. In

Corinth there are dishes, bowls, little cups, cups, jugs, little jugs, chafing dishes and goblets (see Chapter 3), whereas in the Italian peninsula the forms are mainly jugs, cups and bowls (Figure 5.9). It is clear that in those cases imports, fine tablewares, act to fill the gaps of local production (see Discussion below).

To conclude (Figure 5.10), in this first period Byzantine glazed pottery became a common item in the Byzantine world (for instance in Corinth) and probably held a certain prestige, due to the innovative use of the glaze both as a decorative and a functional element since it was present in both closed and open forms and used to waterproof the vessels. Specifically, for the Italian peninsula, the rarity of this first production of Byzantine ware does not allow much refinement to this interpretation. However, two hypotheses might be offered, namely:

i) This pottery was a rarity on account of its surface technique. It had a certain visual and textural appeal. It could have been bought, or been given as a gift, by people ('Italians') who had already satisfied their primary needs; those who had obtained a certain level of *surplus* from their occupation and had a desire for more refined goods which were not commonly found in circulation and were not widely available in local markets. Their acquisition would therefore better express social status. At this time Byzantine wares could not easily be replaced by other products, and this is why their definition as a 'luxury' object is applicable (Berry 1999, 25).

ii) The pottery was used by the 'Byzantine people' themselves who brought their own material culture and customs to 'Italian' sites. This is

certainly difficult to disprove. However, I think, as long as the value of the product is recognised, its value increases proportionately with the 'distance' from the centre of production (both in terms of physical and social distance) and therefore the more difficult it was to get hold of the product, the more valuable it was, both for 'Byzantines' (who lived in the Italian peninsula and in the Byzantine provinces and were distant from home) and 'Italians'.

In the end, the imported Byzantine products were generally technically superior to local products and it was this which made them desirable. However, imported wares were still very limited at this period, and it is arguable whether any real 'trade' existed. It seems more likely that these vessels moved as a by-product of people travelling within the borders of the Byzantine Empire and that they were considered to be precious and representative of a very high social status (Chapter 6).

5.2.2 12th century

More than half of all the sherds count of Byzantine pottery (63%) in the Italian peninsula belong to the 12th century (Figure 5.5). During this peak period for imports, Byzantine glazed tablewares seem to arrive from Constantinople, maybe Chersonesos in the Crimea, Corinth, and Sparta in Peloponnese. Different centres supplied specific products, for example only Black and Green Painted Ware came from Constantinople. This class has been recovered in Egnazia in Apulia (Fontana 1995) and is similar to finds recorded in Constantinople (Stevenson 1947). It is in fact similar to Green and Brown Painted Wares in terms of decoration, but instead of the brown colour, a black-sepia pigment is present. Plain Glazed Wares are more likely to have arrived from Corinth, Chersonesos; together with

Dark-On-Light, Sgraffito Wares I and Painted Sgraffito from Corinth; Green and Brown Painted Ware is probably from Corinth, Sparta and Ephesos, while Measles Ware are from Corinth and Sparta (Figure 5.12a, Figure 5.12b), Light-On-Dark are attested to come from Corinth, Sparta, Chersonesos; while Sgraffito Ware II were most probably arrive from Corinth, Sparta and maybe Chersonesos (Figure 5.11a, Figure 5.11b, Figure 5.11.c, Figure 5.11d, Figure 5.11e, Figure 5.11f); finally Spatter Painted Ware most probably came from Attica. These are the production centres from which these types of pottery possibly reached the Italian shores in the 12th century. On the basis of our data we cannot exclude one centre or the other, because they were all certainly centres of manufacture of these pottery types (Chapter 3). The forms are mainly represented by bowls and dishes, apart from lamps and closed vessels in Black and Green Painted Ware (Figure 5.11) and cups in Green and Brown Painted Wares (Figures 5.12, 5.13, 5.14). All this pottery was used on the table and imported and seemingly traded in its own right, though not necessarily directly.

Circulation across the Italian peninsula seems to be very wide, 12th century Byzantine pottery has been found in Veneto (urban and religious sites, palace), Liguria (palace and religious sites), Emilia Romagna (urban sites), Latium (urban site), Campania (religious and urban sites, castle), Apulia (rural urban and religious sites), Calabria (urban site), and Sicily (urban site). Furthermore, this pottery was traded together with other goods, as argued in Chapter 2, with evidence in Torcello (religious site in Venice) and Otranto (urban site in Apulia) of coins dated to the 12th century. *Bacini* too mainly date to this period. In northern Italy 38 vessels are inserted in 8 buildings, mainly churches (Berti and Gelichi 1993, 144). Most of these buildings are in Emilia Romagna, where excavations have

produced only three underground sites with Byzantine glazed pottery; one church is in Piedmont; two in Lombardy (in those two regions there are no records of Byzantine glazed pottery from excavations-as said in Chapter 4) and one church is in Veneto (eight archaeological underground sites with Byzantine glazed pottery are instead present in this region). In central Italy there is only one example of *bacino* in Rome and six vessels are from Pisa spread over three churches-S. Sisto, S.Andrea, S.Silvestro. It is worth stressing that in this city most of the imports are attested to be imported from the Islamic world (Berti and Gelichi 1993, figure 36). Hence it seems that the evidence of *bacini* in Byzantine finewares does not really follow the coastal trends of the evidence in the archaeological sites, as they are also recovered in inland regions such Piedmont and Lombardy, which are also among the best investigated regions in Italy (as said in Chapter 4).

In the 12th century the panorama of local pottery in the Italian peninsula changed radically and the situation was quite different between the north, the centre and southern Italy (Berti *et al* 1995). The principal production centres of the double firing technique are to be found in southern Italy, especially in Sicily, where the presence of Green Glazed Ware is recorded from the end of the 11th century (Fiorilla 1996, 85) together with the production of Spiral Ware (with painted spirals under a transparent glaze). Towards the second half of the 12th century, the Apulia region shows evidence of Green Glazed Ware in sites such as Otranto, while the most active centre of production seems to be in southern Latium and Campania, especially Naples, which mostly produced and exported Spiral Ware (Paroli 1985, 224–238; Molinari 2000a). In the centre of Italy, in Latium and Tuscany, the tradition of the single firing technique (CVP) continued and was generally applied to closed vessels, which have been found in

association with open vessel imports from southern Italy or from the Islamic and Byzantine world. In the area surrounding Latium, such as Tuscany, Abruzzo, Molise, Umbria and so on, Sparse Glazed Ware (still single fired, but with only spots of glaze on the surface) is found, generally in closed forms. Therefore, in terms of the production of fine tablewares the only centres competing with the Byzantine pottery lay in Campania, Sicily, and partially in Apulia. In the north of Italy the only local production is CVP, called 'ceramica tipo Sant'Alberto' (Brogiolo and Gelichi 1992, 27), which continued to be produced up to the 12th century. In this area the situation is harder to explain. It is assumed that Green Glazed Ware exists in Genoa but it is still difficult to say which are the imports and which are locally produced (Cabona *et al* 1986, 464).

The explosion of production at this period is particularly evident in the Byzantine Empire. Many different types were being manufactured from the middle of the 11th century and distributed across the Mediterranean. These are mainly bowls and dishes for use on the table. Compared with the Italian situation, certainly in terms of production, the demand and the consumption of these objects was more developed in the Byzantine territories, while on the peninsula imports were almost the only way to obtain tablewares at the beginning of the 12th century. Only after the second half of the 12th century does a more mature production of tablewares, such as Spiral Ware and Green Glazed Ware, start to circulate alongside the imports which arrive from outside the peninsula. As a result, Figure 5.15 shows that in Corinth the range of local forms is quite different when compared to the rest of the cities chosen as case studies among the Italian sites, with the exception of Otranto.

In conclusion, as shown on Figure 5.16, there is a far wider distribution of Byzantine glazed pottery in the 12th century. As explained in Chapter 2, several factors contribute to this, namely: an increase in the population, the development of trade routes, a general sense of security within society, and improved welfare. This leads to the circulation of people and goods, and a probable new communication and influence on desire for objects such as tablewares. Our evidence particularly stresses the point that it was mainly open forms which were imported in this period (Figure 5.17, 5.18). These were still rarely rare in the range of available Italian pottery, suggesting a need to acquire Byzantine imports. However, we have to stress that the pottery production consisted largely of these forms in the Byzantine territories (see Chapter 3). Therefore probably production was also driven by this export market, even so for other products such as textiles (Chapter 2).

5.2.3 End of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th centuries

Just under a third of the total volume of Byzantine pottery (27%) in the Italian peninsula dates to this period (Figure 5.5), a decrease in imports from Byzantine ports to Italian shores when compared with the 12th century. Byzantine glazed pottery seems to have arrived mainly from Attica, and especially from a generic area defined as 'the Aegean', including Cyprus. The pottery types recorded are Champlè Ware which probably arrived from Corinth and Sparta, while Slip and Glazed Ware and Glazed Green Ware came from Attica. Although these last two types have not been listed among the 'official' types of Byzantine pottery recorded in the territory of the Byzantine Empire, they have been recovered from Italian sites, above all in the region of Genoa where analyses confirm an origin in the Attica region (Cabona *et al* 1986, 470;

D'Ambrosio *et al* 1986, 604). Cypriot Sgraffito Wares came from Cyprus, while the Zeuxippus Ware family (Figure 5.20a, Figure 5.20b), Aegean Ware, Monochrome Slip and Glazed Ware and Monochrome Sgraffito Wares came from the area roughly defined as 'Aegean'. Again, these last two types are not recorded among the 'official' types of Byzantine glazed pottery, but they have been recorded, mainly in Liguria, and after analysis they are thought to originate from this area (Mannoni 1993; Capelli and Mannoni 1999, 119). The forms are again bowls and dishes, the bowls being defined as smaller and deeper than previously (Figure 5.19, 5.20, 5.21). Only one jug is known in Monochrome Slip and Glazed Ware from CastelDelfino.

The use of this pottery is clearly as a tableware, traded in its own right, in a period of greater development of commercial traffic between west and east (Chapter 2). At the same time, however, there is a notable decrease in the pottery imported from the east to west, due to the new competition which had evolved in the Italian peninsula from the beginning of the 13th century. Nevertheless, even though quantities are smaller when compared to previous period, Byzantine glazed wares are widespread across the peninsula (see below). They are recorded in Veneto (urban and religious sites, castle), Liguria (religious sites, palace, castles), Emilia Romagna (urban and religious sites), Tuscany (castle, urban site), Campania (religious and urban sites), Apulia (urban sites), Sicily (castles), and Sardinia (rural site). In this period there is archaeological evidence for other products coming from the east at the castles of Andora and the Priamar, both in Liguria, where amphorae have been recorded dated to the 12th and 13th century, for the transport of oil and malmsey wine, olives and spices (Benente 1992–1993, 116). Furthermore, Byzantine coins dated

to the 14th century have been recorded in Egnazia (Apulia). *Bacini*, meanwhile, are present in only six buildings dated to the late 12th and first half of the 13th century. Half of the vessels are Zeuxippus Ware II 'stricto sensu' (Chapter 3). The majority of these *bacini* are on the west coast – at Pisa with nine vessels in two buildings and one single vessel in Champlevè in the Cathedral of Gaeta in Campania (Berti and Gelichi 1993). Excavation data, on the other hand, records little difference in the distribution between the two coasts (Figure 5.22).

Against this backdrop of imports, local 'Italian' pottery from the 13th century is extremely diverse and rich in terms of production (Figure 5.23). A detailed description of all the centres of production of 'Italian' pottery would go beyond the scope of this research, but the key centres for production can be divided into three areas. In the south the most popular tableware is generally characterised by bowls of various diameters, called *Protomaiolica* and produced mainly in Sicily, where the use of tin glaze was adopted from the 13th century, and in Otranto and in the Tavoliere (northern Apulia), where this type of vessel seems to be extremely widespread from the middle of the 12th century, and largely exported towards the Levant and the Byzantine/Frankish territories (Patitucci-Uggeri 1997, Riavez 2000, Riavez 2007). It should be stressed here that a completely new trade route started in this period, from west to east, particularly from Italian regions, such as Apulia, orientated towards the Levant (Chapter 2). Among the best documented sites for imports of *Protomaiolica* is, once again, Corinth (the most recent data on the Italian pottery from this site can be found in Riavez 2007) and generally throughout the eastern part of the Mediterranean, for example in Montenegro, where a good case study is Stari Bar (D'Amico 2006) or in

Albania, where there is evidence from Butrint (Vroom 2004). Furthermore, the centre of Italy, particularly the Tuscany region, was a pioneer in the production of Archaic Maiolica, mainly as closed vessels such as jugs, covered by a tin glaze. It is thought that the use of the tin glaze was introduced to Pisa by Spanish potters around the beginning of the 13th century. In the north, in regions such as Liguria and Veneto, the technique of slip and sgraffito (which is of Byzantine origin) seems to be preferred to tin glazing, and may have been introduced to the harbour city of Savona at the end of the 12th century by Syrian-Palestinian potters, and in Venice, at the beginning of the 13th century, by potters perhaps of Aegean origin (Gelichi 1993, 21). The vessels produced in these two cities started to be exported towards the east by the 14th century, after the *Protomaiolicas* from the south of Italy had begun to circulate during the 13th century.

Byzantine ware production in this period was still healthy, but there was increasingly competition from local suppliers on the Italian peninsula. What circulated in this period in the Byzantine territories? In this last period evidence of mainly large bowls in Zeuxippus Ware and Aegean Ware is attested along with productions from northern Greece (Chapter 3). These late vessels, among them late Byzantine pottery from Thessalonica and Cyprus, are rather traditional in their use of decoration. The change is visible in the shapes, which start to become slightly deeper and smaller, for instance deep bowls to keep liquids for individual use.

In conclusion, the possession of tablewares can no longer be explained by the purchasing power of certain individuals who could afford them; by this date the presence of Byzantine glazed pottery is part of a different dynamic. In particular there is evidence of increased commerce, so that

Zeuxippus ware is extremely widespread in the Italian peninsula and across the Mediterranean (Figure 5.24), indicating stability in Mediterranean trade, just as the written records suggest for this period (Chapter 2). Late Byzantine glazed wares by now represent a residual part of the traditional cultural/economic links between the two territories (the Italian peninsula and the Byzantine Empire) which are definitively changing, mainly due to the slow decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire as opposed to the remarkable development of the western cities (Chapter 2) which are no longer under the strict cultural influence of the Empire.

5.2.4 Discussion

Taking a broad overview and comparing Figures 5.9, 5.15 and 5.23 some general trends emerge from this discussion. The first is that the variety of Byzantine glazed ware vessel forms decreases with time (Figures 5.17, 5.18).³² During the 10th and 11th centuries, there is a richer presence of different forms in GWW II for use on the table (the type of pottery produced in Constantinople) in Corinth and on the Italian peninsula, both places where local production of tableware is noticeably absent. In this phase the local wares, both in the peninsula and in Corinth, are restricted to vessels with a purely domestic function, such as those for cooking or the storage of food. The other very interesting aspect is that for this first period, it seems that where Byzantine glazed pottery is found, other tableware imports are not thought necessary (a part cases such as Genoa and the Liguria region), or, more likely, are part of very different trade routes and consumption patterns. An important evidence of this is attested in Pisa, where for instance excavations in Piazza Dante, have allowed to

³² For a general analysis on the changes of the vessels forms and development of table manners and food habits see Chapter 6.

discover an important presence of tablewares coming from the eastern and western Islamic areas, such as the same vessels present as *bacini* in the religious buildings of Pisa, against an almost total absence of Byzantine pottery (Berti 1993, 119-123). A very similar scenario has been very recently attested during an excavation located south of the Church of St. Stefano dei Cavalieri in the area of St. Sebastiano in Pisa, where only a very small quantity of Byzantine glazed wares dated to end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 13th century was recovered (information taken from the poster made by Gabriele Gattiglia and Marcella Giorgio at the AIECM 2-Association Internationale pour l'étude des céramiques Médiévales Méditerranéennes, held in November 2009 at Venice).

During the 12th century, several imports reached their highest numbers on the Italian peninsula. In this period there is a greater presence and production of bowls and dishes, both of which were used on the table. Bowls and dishes were also a large part of the production of the key centre, Corinth, which now reached its production peak. Further, imports from the Islamic territories were increasing on the Italian peninsula, and in most cases are larger in volume than the Byzantine wares, for instance on sites in Liguria and Tuscany (Chapter 4). Finally, we start to note the appearance of local fine tablewares, particularly in Sicily and Naples. At this time, the local wares of the 'Italian' sites under consideration were still mainly for domestic use. Nevertheless, the first evidence of 'Italian' tableware production was starting to be visible.

During the final period under consideration here, at the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 14th centuries, there was decrease in Byzantine glazed imports and generally of other imports too. This was obviously

caused to some extent by the strong upsurge in local production and by the fact that the Italian peninsula was now starting to export tablewares of its own, and that these were now reaching as far as Corinth and the Levant, territories widely inhabited by the Latins, the western people, and citizens of the Latin kingdoms (Chapter 2). It was during this period that 'Italian' tablewares started to become commercially important, particularly products from Apulia, while for example in Corinth the local production was rapidly decreasing in terms of quality, at least when compared to the 12th century. Finally, the forms that vary least are mainly bowls and dishes, though these are deeper in shape than in the previous period. It is probable that the use of other materials, such as glass and metals for the closed vessels, did increase, and replaced the role of closed vessels in terracotta (Chapter 6).

It is important to try to place this discussion of pottery into a wider commercial context, in particular to try to develop some understanding of the value of pottery in medieval Mediterranean society. Very little historical evidence exists to help with this. The only documents which can provide a general idea of the value of pottery in the Middle Age in the Mediterranean are the Geniza documents. However for the 14th century onwards period we have a number of documents attesting the prices of pottery in the Italian peninsula. Among them a price of 30 small *albarelli* for '*sei soldi*' was given to Donino Dagl'Orcioli in the second half of the 14th century, while Guido Dagl'Urcioli required '*Un soldo ed otto denari*' for 7 small *albarelli*, in Emilia Romagna (Gelichi 1992b, 81). Though, the most important evidence comes from the work of Spallanzani where it is clear, through the examination of written sources of the 14th-15th centuries Florence, that the value of Oriental pottery, represented by Islamic pottery

and Chinese porcelains, was quite modest (Spallanzani 1997, 108). The costs of these items is valued on the base of the *fiorini* of Florence. The conclusion is that the Islamic pottery, mainly imported from Egypt or Syria, is much cheaper than porcelain, which is generally attested to be valued between 1 and 3 golden *fiorini*, while the Islamic pottery was always paid in *lira di piccioli*, coin used in the most modest operations (Spallanzani 1997, 116). However comparing those objects with the rest of the precious items such as glass, metals, paints, tapestries, carpets, furniture, clothes, which could somehow have the role of embellishment of the households of the time, is clear that the Oriental pottery in the Renaissance Florence was part of these prestigious products but located on the lowest levels. In fact it was certainly bought by the most elevated groups of the Florence society as the daily salaries of the simpler workers as small artisans, blacksmiths etc would not been enough to buy a set of porcelain bowls or Egyptian dishes. An example well described by Spallanzani is that the set of porcelain bowls of Lorenzo il Magnifico corresponds to 9 working days of a stone-cutter (Spallanzani 1997, 125). It seems also that in the other market Italian cities the costs of these items were somehow similar and cheaper than in the rest of Europe where the items were rarer. On the other hand in Venice the easier availability of eastern goods, makes Oriental pottery cheaper (Spallanzani 1997, 127-128).

The best we can do in our case is gather a general impression about local and imported pots from these documents from places widely separated in time and place (in Imola-Emilia Romagna, Florence-Tuscany) in the 14th century and in Il Cairo (Egypt) between the 10th and 12th centuries.

There is a single mention, in the Geniza documents, of imported pottery prices, of an Indian pottery which unfortunately is included in the price of a group of vessels, so we cannot appraise individual values (Ashtor 1963, 177–179). We have to make do then with generic references to pots of different forms. The vessels from Il Cairo form part of a trousseau. In order to help contextualise their value, their prices can be compared with other items on the same list, in particular clothes and household utensils. We find this information especially in marriage contracts, which contain long lists of kits, or in similar lists that are attached to these contracts. It has been suggested that almost all marriage contracts were drawn up by lower social groups, and it is true that we see very little silk clothing and household utensils made of precious metals. Dowries tended to vary between 23 and 50 dinars (Ashtor 1963, 165) (Figure 5.25).

Even if the comparison between these data and the Byzantine glazed pottery imported to the Italian peninsula in this period is a somewhat limited measure of value, due to the different types of pottery and the different geographic areas, we can at least gain a general idea about the worth of the pots. The price of the terracotta vessels compared to the rest of the items is quite high. Ashtor (1963) in his analyses of the marriage contracts suggests that the value of the objects, and of the vessels in particular, was increased deliberately because the family wanted to show off its wealth. Even if this were so, however, one can argue that they would do this for all objects, so their relative prices are probably comparable. Local pots seem to have a similar value to the rest of the household items and personal accessories, for example the price of the silk sofa cover seems to be quite low (only 3–4 dinars, the same as a large bowl), though this may be because of the easy availability of the textile.

The scenario presented by Alejandra Gutiérrez (2000) about costs and prices of medieval imported pottery to England reveals that imported pottery was 4 or 5 times the price of local equivalents if we include also the cost of transport, customs and marketing (Gutiérrez 2000, 176). She suggests this on the basis of historical documents such as probate inventories and port books. Regarding this aspect Brown (1993) has a slightly different opinion on the value of imported pottery. He considered the case of the port of 15th–16th century Southampton where he assumed that imported pottery had a remarkable value simply because there was no local alternative in terms of tablewares (Brown 1993, 78). Therefore he attests that imported pottery was not expensive, and furthermore fine pottery was apparently used and discarded as casually as a mundane object: this represents a larger popular consumption of it (Brown 1993, 80).

On the basis of what we understand about pottery prices during our periods the consumption of pottery was not very common, as demonstrated before, and these imported wares had a certain cost. According to our dataset, as said above, three different periods have been considered in which Byzantine finewares was exported towards the Italian peninsula. In the first two periods (see sections above) it represents import substitution of the local finewares which were still lacking, and it was only starting to appear in specific parts of the Italian peninsula. Therefore it had a certain value in terms of forms (mainly open, which were useful for the table) and in terms of technology, which as clearly superior to the local wares. We can partly agree with Brown's opinion, but the difference consists in the relative low percentage of pottery materials in the archaeological deposits of these two periods (Appendix 1), while it starts

to increase exponentially by the end of the 12th century when the production of the local finewares eventually exploded. Hence I suggest that the consumption of pottery was still not so developed, and that the imported *terracotta* can still be considered as quite valuable between the 10th and the 12th century.

In the last period (13th–14th century) the panorama completely changed and the presence of different types of local and imported wares is widely attested in the Italian peninsula rendering this material culture certainly more standardised and less valuable (see section above).

Furthermore the important evidence from Spallanzani shows how the imported pottery had a certain value in terms of consumption and it was used by the most elevated groups of the society even if it occupied the lowest level of value compared to the other prestigious objects. I believe that Byzantine glazed pottery could have covered a similar role in the medieval societies of the Italian peninsula where the use could be attested among the nobles and former bourgeoisie and not among the more modest social groups where the presence of Exotic pottery was almost certainly unknown.

5.3 The distribution of pottery

All the main pottery types produced in the Byzantine territories, and which also generally appear on medieval Mediterranean excavations, have been identified on Italian sites. Only a few Byzantine finewares found elsewhere in the Mediterranean are missing from the Italian collections. Among the Constantinople production of the earlier period, GWW I is absent. This product has been found in Albania – Butrint – (Joanita Vroom

pers. comm.) and in North Africa – Carthage (Hayes 1980). It is therefore possible that GWW I has been overlooked in Italian assemblages, possibly mistaken for a local Monochrome Lead Glazed Ware. Published finds are certainly very fragmentary and hard to compare while the fabric, described as reddish-grey by Hayes (Hayes 1992), is not as distinctive as a white ware, with its very white clay, small circular grey or red inclusions, and brilliant yellow or green glaze. The evidence does suggest, however, that this class of pottery was not widely exported. GWW III and V are also not found on the Italian peninsula, but these are atypical products and have not been recovered outside Constantinople. Another absence from the Constantinople workshops are the Polychrome Wares II and III, which are also quite rare across the Mediterranean, due also probably to their highest quality of manufacture, which makes them resemble gold and silver vessels (see Chapter 3 and D’Amico 2003).

Among the Corinthian pottery, no mid-13th-century Sgraffito or Slip Painted Wares bowls have so far been identified in the Italian peninsula, and these types do not seem to have been exported to other Mediterranean sites either. Another major omission in the Italian assemblages is Late Slip and Sgraffito Ware from the north of Greece. Apart from the unstratified bowl from the area of the lagoon in front of the San Marco church in Venice, which has been chemically identified as a Thessalonica product (Lazzarini 1987), no other pottery from this area has been recognised in the Italian peninsula at all. Again, some of these products from northern Greece could have been misidentified. It was in this period that Italian potters started to develop sgraffito styles for themselves. Even the Late Sgraffito Ware from Serres could have been misidentified, in fact the polychrome sgraffito from this workshop could be very similar to the

Zeuxippus derivatives. The main issue, however, is that the majority of Byzantine pottery products have simply not been completely described, characterised and published. Since they lack any diagnostic characteristics it is very difficult to attribute pottery to a specific workshop, even if it is obvious that several workshops are present. Absences can safely be attributed to a lack of rigorous recording and training, rather than being a genuine feature of the archaeological record.

Besides these absences in certain types of pottery, there are also noticeable gaps in the distribution pattern. Byzantine finewares have been recovered in nine Italian regions (Veneto, Liguria, Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Latium, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and Sardinia) out of 19. Regions such as Val D'Aosta, Piedmont, Lombardy, Trentino Alto Adige, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Marche, Umbria, Abruzzo, Molise, Basilicata stand out as voids. Sites in Piedmont and Lombardy, in particular, have been the subject of some good quality excavations without any evidence for Byzantine finewares, even though there is evidence here of Byzantine *bacini* (see above). It is especially striking that Marche and Abruzzo in central Italy have produced no evidence for finewares in spite of their location on the Adriatic coast which might be expected to reflect commercial traffic towards the east (Evans 1970; Chapter 2). Sicily is another suspicious gap in the distribution, though large but unstated quantities of Byzantine red wares have been found in Messina (Scibona 2003).

Turning now to the positive data on the distribution maps, Figure 4.2 shows the number of excavated sites which have produced finewares in the study area, broken down by monument categories and period. Obviously, problems of residuality and post-depositional processes need

to be considered. Furthermore, overlaps *between* chronologies and social groups remain an issue. However, by considering the overall pattern suggested by these statistical analyses and taking into account large social groups such as magnates, urban, religious sites and excavations of rural settlements, some patterns do emerge. Generally, finewares are concentrated equally in urban settlements (16) and religious sites (16) while the peak of imports in urban areas is concentrated in the 12th and 13th centuries. The urban settlements are mainly coastal sites/ports (9), while there are seven inland sites (see maps 5.10; 5.16; 5.24). These data neatly suggest that these coastal urban areas might have played a significant and early role in shaping demand.

5.3.1 The two coasts (Figure 5.26)

By the 11th century, as Figure 4.2 shows, a broader spectrum of social groups had adopted the use of these imports. They were widespread in castles, urban and religious sites. In the 12th century the picture changes as the largest concentration of pottery seems to be from religious sites and is generally present in all types of sites. One aspect worth consideration here is the presence of the majority of Byzantine Glazed pottery in Adriatic Italy, on the eastern coast, with 423 sherds from 26 sites, geographically inclined towards the Byzantine lands, particularly in the second period (12th–13th century). By contrast, the Tyrrhenian west coast shows only a minor quantity of Byzantine imports, 293 sherds from 21 sites, compared with a much more significant presence of western Islamic products. It is especially interesting that on the Tyrrhenian coast the majority of the Byzantine pottery is found in monastic sites as well as castles in Marettimo, Naples, Rome, and Genoa (see above), and seven castles mainly in Liguria.

On the opposite coast the majority of recoveries are found mainly in ports and urban sites, apart from the concentration of monastic sites in the Venice Lagoon. These are, Egnazia, Ferrara, Padua, Otranto, Treviso, Venice and Verona. On the one hand this suggests that, while on the east coast the presence of this pottery is part of the normal supply from the eastern market, in fact eastern goods were easily available in those areas and the same applies on Tyrrhenian coastal sites with the western Islamic merchandise. On the other hand, this pottery arrives on the west coast only through the strong demand of specific social groups or through donations/gifts. Therefore, the presence of these imports, particularly in the 12th–13th centuries, is down to two main reasons: it is a matter of availability for the eastern Italian sites, and there is a demand which arises from certain social groups, such as the ecclesiastical or landowning, at the western Italian sites.

5.3.2 Coastal and inland sites

The largest group of wares found in the Italian peninsula is concentrated in Capaccio (33%), even if it is hard to estimate how far this is a realistic picture since the evaluation is based only on published material and not on a macroscopic analysis of the material. This inland town would have been a significant importer of the earlier production (10th–11th centuries), such as the GWW. The town is quite close to main port-cities compared with the other sites, such as Amalfi and Salerno, which, in the first period, were the main market areas for the east (see above), therefore the definition of inland town in this case has to be taken with more caution.

The other main concentration of Byzantine imports is at Egnazia (15%) although the range of types found here differs from the previous site, as mainly middle Byzantine production appears to be present. The pottery evidence confirms links with the Greek inland as the main classes present are the Green and Brown Painted Ware, Light-On-Dark-Slip Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware II, Measles Ware, Painted Sgraffito Ware; while Capaccio and the Campania ports were in the earlier period linked more to the Constantinople products.

Otranto and Genoa represent also sites where Byzantine pottery seems to be highly concentrated, with their respective import assemblages representing around 12% for both. These sites show more or less equal quantities of Byzantine pottery, therefore both the inland (Capaccio, which is only 35 kms from Venice) and the port sites (Egnazia and Otranto) present examples of heavily concentrated points of import. This could be a sign of the market system working from the port site to the inland, at least on a small scale.

One question is how imported pottery moved from coastal and port sites to inland areas. Mainly local smaller scale movement of pottery were active from ports to the sites where they have been excavated (Cittarella 1993, 266). The distribution of Byzantine pottery found in the Italian peninsula, seems to follow a common pattern (Figure 5.27): the port sites considered in our research are, from the south, Marettimo, Reggio Calabria, Otranto, Egnazia/Brindisi Salerno/Amalfi, Naples, Genoa, Savona, and Venice. In these towns some goods arriving at the port probably remained in the town and were sold there. The customers would most probably change depending on the regions, they could have been

rural landlords who held properties in the town, but mostly they were the local urban elites who had easy access to these goods. In this scenario it is in fact very difficult to explain the almost total absence of our table wares within Amalfi, other than the random evidence of Byzantine finewares (Sgraffito Wares and Champlevè Wares) from the Rufolo Palace in Ravello (see Appendix 2), especially if one considers the presence of the flourishing community of merchants there, such as the Rufolo family (Caskey 2004, 34); but again this is most probably due to the lack of archaeological investigations carried out in the area.

The inland sites are all reasonably close to the ports. For instance Ferrara (114 km³³), Treviso (36km) and the castle of Motta di Livenza (67km), Verona (120km) and Padua (50km), are all easily connected to Venice, mainly by a very good river system along the river Po. For the markets themselves, we have very little evidence particularly on the issue of how merchandise was distributed to local markets. In regards to historical documents, the more ordinary goods such as textiles and spices were traded through local agents (Cittarella 1993, 266), while the expensive items must have had particular methods of protection. Such expensive items were present only in the great markets like Rome, Naples and Salerno where protection could be provided to face threats against person or property. Written sources provide evidence for luxury goods in places like Amalfi and Gaeta. For instance, in 1065 when the Abbot Desiderio of Monte Cassino was informed of the forthcoming stay of the emperor Henry IV, he demanded gifts for the event and went in person to Amalfi to buy the best goods (Cittarella 1993, 266).

³³ These distances are calculated from Venice.

The only sites, which are quite distant from the main Mediterranean ports, are Rome, Vaccarizza and Nonantola, though with very different distances from the sea as Vaccarizza and Nonantola are really inland sites while Rome is quite close to the port site on the Tyrrhenian coast (Chapter 4). In the case of Rome, the presence of international markets and of specific goods was common in the capital, due to the intrinsic administrative importance of the site. In contrast in northern Apulia, the pottery from Vaccarizza may represent the possessions of a Greek/Byzantine social group present at the fortress. Nonantola is the site of a Benedictine monastery in the heart of Pianura Padana; a site powerful enough to obtain exotic pottery through donations (Chapter 6). In short, pottery distributions were mainly centered on larger towns, especially on Venice and Otranto, which provided a strong demand from a wealthy and travelling sector of the urban population and who did not depend on local markets.

5.3.3 *Bacini*

Research on the *bacini* has been extremely useful in studies of the provenance of the imported wares from Mediterranean sites towards the Italian peninsula from the 11th century onwards. Therefore examination on the *bacini* was applied to focus on the matter of centres of production in the Mediterranean and on the trade traffic and pottery circulation in the Middle Ages. The *bacini* represent a different type of archeological evidence, as they cannot record matters of consumption as household habits and types of context or deposit; it is infact still worth using as a comparison with the data collected from our excavation sites, as we did above.

As stated in the Introduction (Chapter 1), the aim here was to collect and examine the Byzantine glazed pottery from the excavation carried out in Italy. Therefore up to now the *bacini* have not been considered in detail in this work. From the 1980s until the mid 1990s they were widely studied by other archaeologists (Blake 1978; Berti and Tongiorgi 1981; Gelichi 1986; Berti and Gelichi 1993) who collected an important corpus of data on these bowls which were inserted into several buildings such as civic towers and bell towers from the north of Italy down as far as Rome – apart from a single example found in Gaeta (Berti and Gelichi 1993, 188). This use has been identified as a northern-central phenomenon and there are no records of similar practice in the south of Italy.

Many suggestions have been formulated to justify the presence of these fine bowls in these buildings, the most probable being that they were used as decoration on the façades of churches and structures (Berti and Tongiorgi 1981). In Rome, for example, marble inlays of several colours on the façades are found particularly on Romanesque churches (e.g. Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Maria in Trastevere), instead of *bacini*. Furthermore, these *bacini* were imported, in their own right, from several parts of the Mediterranean, giving evidence of both Byzantine and Islamic wares of extraordinary manufacture. The most up-to-date collection of data on these Byzantine *bacini* is in Gelichi and Berti 1993.

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter we have tried to delineate the main issues related to the production centres of Byzantine finewares, which are still mostly unknown, a situation that does not allow a sophisticated analyses in terms of distribution processes (seen for example in Vince 1984). However, the

distribution, among our sites, can be examined through a consideration of ports and inland sites. As we have seen the inland sites are always relatively well connected to ports and never really distant from the sea, other than sites such as Nonantola and Vaccarizza where the finewares probably represented respectively gifts and the equipment of a Byzantine household moving to the Italian peninsula. It is important to stress that they both date to the first period (10th-11th century) when these wares were still not part of a wider market.

However through the examination of our evidence in the Italian peninsula we have managed to characterise the distribution of Byzantine finewares in terms of percentage of quantity in the three different periods: the local pottery produced in the Italian peninsula was compared with the manufacture of Byzantine finewares and types of pottery used in the Byzantine Empire in the same period, to gain a clue of the value of this tableware in each period under consideration in the Italian peninsula. This examination has been supported by analyses on the prices of pottery in a number of medieval sources, unfortunately regarding quite distant areas (Egypt) and quite distant chronologies (post medieval). Nonetheless we have managed to comprehend that our pottery, the Byzantine finewares, can be placed among the most prestigious items present in 'Italian' households' for their rarity, technique and for the fact that they were an import, though as terracotta were placed at the lowest level of the imported items when compared to items such as luxury glass, metals, textiles etc.

CHAPTER 6

POTTERY AND PEOPLE

Following a detailed discussion of the different types of Byzantine glazed pottery, their technologies, provenance, chronologies and production (Chapter 3) and their distribution (Chapter 5), the principal objective of this chapter is to identify and understand the motives of purchasers and consumers of Byzantine pottery in the Italian peninsula between the 10th and the 14th centuries. In particular, the chapter is informed by some of the models of consumer behaviour applied recently by archaeologists of the Middle Ages.

6.1 Consumption behaviour

'Trickle down theory', first defined by Simmel in 1904, describes how subordinate groups in society emulate higher groups by adopting their fashions of purchase in objects and clothing. Subsequently, the superordinate and wealthier social groups, whose fashions have been copied, feel the need to purchase more valuable items. This creates a cycle of imitation and, as a result, a continuous process of differentiation as different social groups attain, or seek to attain, new items (McCracken 1988, 93). Simmel's model therefore proposes that fashion dynamics are directed wholly by socio-economic issues and their hierarchical relations (Figure 6.1) (McCracken 1988).

Moving away from trickle down, one alternative is to focus on the motives of the individuals who were actually doing the purchasing, though this is

of course more difficult to do in an archaeological study where there is no longer the possibility of asking the individuals concerned. Campbell (1993) suggests that the only way to deal with these meanings is to combine what is known of their historical, cultural and social circumstances (Campbell 1993, 46).

Campbell applies his theories specifically to the environment of Romanticism of the 18th century explaining types of behaviour and motives of consumption of fashions objects such as clothes, furnitures etc. The aim of character-action theory in the context of this thesis would be to understand the social and ethical patterns of the time under scrutiny and to understand how these ideals could have influenced the consumption (Campbell 1993, 55). The aim here would to try to sketch a view of the different characters of the specific period, considering their ideological peculiarities it becomes possible somehow to define how those different social groups engaged in consumption activities. According to this view, possession of certain type of clothes, shoes and even pots can be directly explained by the ideological climate of the time. We will therefore try to investigate if there are cultural motives at work behind the choice to buy a Byzantine pot.

This theory demonstrates how it is inapplicable to explain consumption only as a means to gain higher status, the method assumed in the trickle-down theory (Campbell 1993, 55). Furthermore, it represents a shift away from economic history to a more moral and culturally centred view. The research of Alejandra Gutiérrez has proved the value of looking beyond objects and their economic value, and therefore the *status* level of the consumers in gaining an understanding to a period. What we will try to

do here is to comprehend the environment in which the probable consumers of Byzantine finewares lived, in terms of historical, social, cultural features (see below), and see if this background may have influenced the choice to buy a certain type of pottery.

6.2 The consumers

To understand the different sorts of consumers involved in this study is a complex task, the categories of sites listed in the previous chapters sometimes overlap, for instance monasteries may include lay communities and could be found in both town and country. Once more, we cannot be sure if the pottery was recovered from its original context. As we discovered in Chapter 4, post-depositional processes are a major factor affecting the quality of deposits. Medieval pottery often appears in foundation trenches, in garden soil, and so on. Only certain case studies are therefore appropriate for this part of our analysis.

6.2.1 Nobles/Rulers (Figure 4.3)

Considering first the castles in the north of the Italian peninsula, it is clear from written sources that the majority of the nobles living here belonged to local families. A good example is Delfino Del Bosco, owner of CastelDelfino (Liguria), at the beginning of the 13th century. This date coincides with the chronology of the Byzantine glazed pottery recovered there (Milanese 1982). The Marquis Delfino is thought to have lived there for over 35 years, from 1180 to 1216, after he inherited a portion of the territories of his brother Arduino who had gone to the Holy Land as a Crusader. The marquis was therefore mainly a landlord, though he also had family contacts further east. When he died, the castle was occupied by Ugo Del Carretto due to a previous debt owed by Delfino. However, in

1223, the castle was officially sold to the Republic of Genoa, which was enlarging its lands at that time in order to control the region. A group from the Genoese army occupied the castle, which then became a military outpost. In 1272 it was occupied by the Grimaldi family, one of the four most important families of the Republic of Genoa, and then destroyed shortly afterwards by their enemies.

Given the short chronology involved and the lack of independent dating for the stratigraphy at the site, it is difficult to say who actually used the Byzantine glazed wares at CastelDelfino, though all three families probably did over a period of 100 years. Nevertheless, we are fortunate in this case that pottery and property ownership can be so closely tied. The Delfino story in the 12th–13th centuries immediately also provides certain key details of the families who purchased and used Byzantine pottery on their tables. They had income and were well connected through family and society. As we shall see, this is a profile of consumer and pattern of distribution which is repeated on other sites.

In Veneto, the family Da Camino, or Caminesi, lived in the castle at the Motta di Livenza (Veneto) in the 12th and 13th century, a chronology that overlaps with the date of Zeuxippus Ware II (Chapter 3) found on that site. Like the Delfinos, the Caminesi were essentially landlords who had under their control several other castles, among them Serravalle and Fregona. Their main rivals were the city of Treviso and later the dictator of Bassano del Grappa, Ezzelino da Romano, who conquered the castle in 1246 (Lepido 1897, 33).

The Clavesana family occupied Andora castle in Liguria between the 12th and the 13th century, a chronology which corresponds to the Byzantine glazed pottery recovered from the site. Descendants of the sir Bonifacio di Clavesana, after his death in 1121 and until 1140, kept the estates of the family together. These were only split up after 1150, generating the large estate of the 'Signoria di Clavesana', in the territory of Albenga. From this moment they became landlords. In the 13th century many sources relate to the fortified village which was developing around the residential castle. An important market is known to have been held here once a year on 1st August selling goods brought from Genoa. Eventually, weakened by rivalries with Genoa in the second half of the 13th century, the family was obliged to sell Andora castle, the farm and the village to the city of Genoa. Afterwards, the castle and the village increased in importance and assumed an important role as military outpost in the western part of Liguria (Benente 1992–1993, 93–99).

The family Della Rocca 'visdomini' of Rocca a Palmento, as the site is called in local chronicles, occupied the castle of Rocca San Silvestro (Tuscany) in the same period at which Zeuxippus Ware II is present (second half of the 13th century). The family was in part living in the castle, basing their economic wealth on land, both cultivated and pasture, and on metal-working activities, but they were also linked to the city of Pisa where the family began to hold public offices from the end of the 13th century (Ceccarelli-Lemut 1985, 326). The profile of the Della Rocca family therefore fits well the profile of pottery consumer built up from the other sites. However, more detailed examination of the excavation reports reveals that the pottery seems to relate to the consumption of a household located inside the *burgus* of the Castle (area 8000) and not found in the part

of the castle occupied by the main family (Cuteri 1987, 87; Francovich and Parenti 1987, 14).

This begins to suggest a socially broader spread for this late Byzantine import. Furthermore, in the *'area signorile'* (the high status residential area) there is Islamic pottery which dates to the 11–13th centuries (Capelli *et al.* 1987), a period which is slightly earlier than that recognises for the Zeuxippus Ware II (see Chapter 3 for discussion). This confirms the use of imported tablewares from the Islamic world by the residents of the castle, something which is more typical in Tuscany in the same period (see for instance Berti 1993).

As will be evident from the discussion above, for most of these families there is little personal detail available but two exceptions to this are the Bassano and Monselice castles³⁴ (Veneto). These two were the property of Ezzelino da Romano, the dictator living in Marca Trevigiana in the 13th century, the same period at which Zeuxippus Ware II is found at the same sites. The life of Ezzelino da Romano is well known, he is mentioned in several legends and stories in this part of Veneto. His family came from Tyrol in southern Austria at the end of the 11th century and established themselves in the two villages of Onara and Romano between Padua and Bassano del Grappa. Ezzelino was born in 1194 and became one of the most terrible tyrants of the medieval Italian peninsula, occupying together with his brother Alberico many castles and lands, properties of local families such as the Caminesi of Motta di Livenza, and the municipalities of Padua and Treviso (Cracco 2001, 135). He symbolised the perfect

³⁴ No further information is available concerning the archaeological excavations at these two sites.

conqueror and medieval lord, always fighting and living with his soldiers in very rigid and cruel environments. His lifestyle was apparently very austere, far from the opulence of the Norman/Housteufen court that ruled the southern Italian peninsula during the same period. Despite this image, imported Zeuxippus Wares II are present at his castles. This raises an important issue with respect to any link between pottery and individual. It is difficult to say whether the pottery was imported there by the original occupants, such as the Caminesi, as is the case of Motta di Livenza, or personally by Ezzelino or indeed by their respective households since Ezzelino is unlikely to have bought the pots himself. Unfortunately, this ware has a wide chronological span and the stratigraphy from the sites provides no further assistance which might help to refine the dates of pottery use.

Moving now to consider palaces, there are only a couple of sites with information about its occupants: the Doria family and the Rufolo family. The formers were the probable owners of a group of palaces in the 12th century, which were later sold and rebuilt as the Ducal Palace of Genoa at the beginning of the 14th century (Grossi Bianchi and Poleggi 1980, 172). The Byzantine glazed pottery recovered from this site dates to the 12th century. The Doria family are one of the most famous names in European medieval history. They were powerful in the neighbourhood of Borghetto San Matteo, ruling the *Liberio Comune* (Free Municipality) of Genoa, and, as is common in other medieval Italian cities where important families controlled a sector of the city, they built their own palaces, churches, and also militarily defended their own estates. Their history essentially coincides with the history of Genoa. Beginning as active merchants, soldiers and conquerors, the Doria family later became key politicians of

the *Comune* (Fusero 1973). When in the 12th century the city was mainly made up of wooden buildings, the first palaces of important families such as the Doria set themselves apart by being constructed in stone. This emphasised their social and political power through the construction of new and refined architectural monuments. At the same time, eastern goods were reaching Italian shores, and particularly Genoa, where *Ripa* (the port) lay very close to the neighbourhood under their control (Fusero 1973) (Figure 4.4). The Doria family are therefore an interesting case study of a ruling family linked to urban markets.

In the south of the Italian peninsula, it is more difficult to identify family groups due to a lack of information in the written sources, a part from the patrician families of the Amalfitan coast such as the Rufolo. Random Byzantine finewares have been recovered in the magnified palace of this merchant family (see Chapter 7).

The adventures in particular of Landolfo Rufolo of Ravello are told in the Second Day, Fourth Novel of the Decameron (Boccaccio 1955). Landolfo has risked his immense fortune on a shipment of goods directed to Cyprus and yet managed to return to Ravello still as a rich man. This Landolfo represents a portrait of a historical figure, Lorenzo Rufolo. The Rufolo family served in the administration of the kingdom of Sicily as merchants, tax collectors, inspectors of ships and ports and this procured them large rewards (Caskey 2004, 6). They show off their formidable richness through the construction of beautiful palaces which dotted the Amalfitan landscape, above all the sumptuous House which the *paterfamilias* Nicola built on the Ravellese plateau (Caskey 2004, 47).

However, more generally, Byzantine glazed pottery seems to coincide with the occupation of the Normans between the 11th and the 12th centuries, and also subsequently with the Norman/Hohenstaufen family between the 12th and the 13th century. In particular, the castles of Pozzuoli and Vaccarizza (previously founded by the Byzantines) were taken over and it was the Normans who probably used the Byzantine glazed pottery found at the site. In Pozzuoli the pottery assemblage was recovered from a pit which also contained a large amount of table glass and pottery probably imported from Apulia (Sogliani 2000).

At Vaccarizza we know of the presence of the *defensor* (defender) of Barbilla, who took part in the first Crusade in 1120, and the Bretone family who were the lords of Sant'Agata di Puglia (Lo Mele 2004–2005, 13). Despite the lack of detailed information, it can be argued that the vessels recovered archaeologically had been in use since the arrival of the Byzantine rulers, and that later they were probably used again by the Normans lords, as the chronology of these vessels dates between these two occupations. Finally, in Segesta (Sicily), Zeuxippus Ware II was probably used by the Norman/Hohenstaufen lords at the end of the 12th and first half of the 13th century. The same happened at Monte Iato, very close to Segesta (Maurici 1997, 128).

Figure 4.3 shows that the castles of Vaccarizza and Pozzuoli are situated where Byzantine influence was strongest, as they were part of the main Byzantine provinces in the Italian peninsula. Subsequently, the Norman lords living there are described by the local chronicles principally as conquerors, however, it appears that they followed the refined style of fashion in material culture characteristic of Greek/Byzantine culture (von

Falkenhausen 1978, 175) in order to distinguish themselves as the ruling group (see Chapter 8, Conclusions). In the cases of Segesta and Monte Iato the castles were built by the Norman/Hohenstaufen kingdom to control the Muslim *casalia*, which were located high on the mountains of western Sicily. The *castellani* who occupied the castles were selected from the principal noble families for their wealth and noble progeny in order to control the local communities of Muslims (Maurici 1997, 188; Licinio 1994, 53).

Concluding, these rulers and nobles were certainly educated to be chivalrous fighters. They were wealthy, connected to markets and fairs, as seen in the case of the Clavesana family in Andora or the Doria family in Genoa. Sometimes they were also Crusaders, therefore aware of the money coming from trading activities. They did sometimes travel to the East, where the Oriental world had a remarkable influence on their taste and culture, as for instance happened to the Norman kings who wanted Byzantine artisans to build and decorate their chapels and cathedrals in Palermo, Monreale and Cefalù in 11th century Sicily.

6.2.2 Religious people: nuns and monks (Figure 4.5)

Of the ecclesiastical monuments, general religious areas are: in Genoa, the Bishop's Palace, San Lorenzo cloister, the area of Via San Vincenzo, attested in the Middle Ages as *Domoculta* (a papal estate under the control of the local Bishop, with possible buildings within) and, in the Venice lagoon, the square in front of Torcello's cathedral. The Bishop's Palace in Genoa was essentially a stately home, probably frequented by the bishop and his guests, and it is known that Pope Gelasio II was present here in 1118 (Mannoni and Poleggi 1974, 178). The San Lorenzo cloister is part of

the San Lorenzo cathedral, located in the central part of Genoa which in the 12th century had a key role in trade/commercial activities and the political life of the city. It lay just behind the *Ripa maris*, close to the palaces occupied by the *Podestà* (ruler of the city) and the Doria's quarter, the 'Borghetto' (Di Fabio 1990, 193). The *Domoculta* of San Vincenzo, situated between San Siro and the River Bisagno, was the property of the Bishop and formed part of the extensive gardens there which were only urbanised in the late medieval period (Figure 4.5). Finally, there is the square of the cathedral of Torcello, the island of the Venice lagoon where five other monasteries were present between the second half of the 10th century and the 19th century, and where the bishop of Venice was based. It is difficult to say more about the occupants of these generic religious areas, apart from the definite presence of the bishop in a couple of locations.

Among the monasteries with known Byzantine imports, Santa Cecilia in Rome was occupied in the 12th century by a male Benedictine Order. This site was directly linked to the port of *Ripa Grande* on the River Tiber, which was largely occupied by Jewish merchants (Gigli 1977–87, 5). At San Domenico in Bologna the Dominicans were present by the beginning of the 13th century, the date at which Zeuxippus Ware II is found there (Gelichi 1987).

The best evidence, however, comes from Nonantola. This monastery had a key role in the *Pianura Padana* (the flood plain of the river Po) and throughout Europe in the early Middle Ages. Founded by the Longobard Duke Anselmo of Friuli in the 8th century on the border between the Longobard kingdom and the Byzantine Empire, the monastery's estates here increased substantially between the 10th and the 11th centuries under

the Carolingian Empire. This allowed the monks to increase their wealth and gain privileges and protection from the Emperors and nobles. Polychrome Ware, dated to the second half of the 10th century, was recovered here in association with wall paintings, glass wasters and a fragment of early medieval goblet, a large assemblage of animal bones, slag metalworking, nails, many seeds and paleobotanical remains (work in progress by the University Ca' Foscari of Venice). This material overlaps chronologically with a known political relationship between the monastery and the important and wealthy family Canossa and the Emperor Otto I. Furthermore, from a document dated to 990 (Armandi 1984, 98), it is clear that the monastery had a strong link with the capital of the *Regnum Italiae*, Pavia, and the important city of Cremona, where the counts were vassals of the monastery. Only at the beginning of the 12th century did the monastery start to lose power, due in particular to the rule of abbot Bonifacio, infamous in local chronicles for his unfair behaviour, mismanagement of money and personal acquisition of the goods of the monastery (Armandi 1984). However, pottery evidence shows that the *bacini* of Byzantine wares displayed on the apses of the church are dated to this period, the 12th century (see Chapter 5), when the rural monasteries were experiencing a crisis due to the development of the urban areas and the importance of the new convents built in the centre of the cities by the new Orders of mendicants such as the Franciscans (see below). In this case therefore the presence of imported pottery is unlikely to be linked with a particular wealthy and powerful state, as were the earlier instances of Byzantine finewares. Their presence at Nonantola may reflect instead the greater frequency with which the pottery was circulating by this time.

The monasteries on the islands of Ammiana and Costanziaco³⁵ were also mainly Benedictine. These islands are very small nowadays, the landscape is mostly marshy, almost completely covered by the water of the lagoon. However, in the Middle Ages, this area was one of the most active of the Venetian lagoon. Although there is no trace today of ancient buildings, historical sources attest to the presence of several religious centres (Moine 2008–2009, 30). In terms of recovery of Byzantine pottery, unfortunately we do not know exactly where the fragments were found, but it is very likely that they belong to these lively religious institutions. In fact, we know from written sources and through recent archaeological investigations carried out by the University Ca' Foscari of Venice that in the group of islands named San Lorenzo in Ammiana six monasteries existed from the 10th to the 14th centuries. However, the monasteries which can be related to the pottery evidence, dated to the 12th to 13th centuries, number only four; the earliest is Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana, occupied by a male Benedictine Order, probably founded at the beginning of the 10th century; Sant'Andrea di Ammiana founded in the 12th century; San Lorenzo in Ammiana, the most important one because it included the *pieve*³⁶ founded in 1185 by two pious women, Agnese and Berta, which had under its control the remaining monasteries of the island; and Sant'Angelo in Ammiana founded in 1195 by Berta and Benvenuta, a female foundation (Moine 2008–2009, 31). All of these were under the

³⁵ These two group of islands are named today after their main monasteries, San Lorenzo in Ammiana and Sant'Arian in Costanziaco; each is a small group of islands (see Chapter 4).

³⁶ The term '*Pieve*' indicates generally rural churches with a baptistery, from which other churches without baptisteries depended. The term derives from the Latin *plebs*, which, after the expansion of Christianity in the Italian peninsula, defined the community of baptized people.

control of the bishop of the Venetian Lagoon who was based on the island of Torcello.

The group of islands called Costanziaco includes four monasteries. Byzantine pottery imports dated from the 12th to the 14th centuries are recorded there, such as Sgraffito Ware II dated to the 12th century and also Zeuxippus Ware II dated to the mid of the 13th century, and Sgraffito pottery from Cyprus dated to the 14th century, and they may be directly associated with monasteries, these being the only institutions and building documented in this part of the Lagoon. They are San Mauro di Costanziaca founded in the 12th to 13th century, Santi Giovanni e Paolo di Costanziaca founded in 1228, San Matteo Apostolo ed Evangelista di Costanziaca founded in 1229 and Sant'Adriano di Costanziaca (Sant'Arian) dated to 1238; all of them female monastic communities.

Needless to say, the wide variety of religious sites throughout the Italian peninsula in the different periods under discussion here makes reconstructing the life of probable consumers living in those communities difficult to generalise. Those sites where Byzantine finewares have been recovered are: Basilian, Benedictine, Augustinian and Dominican (Figure 4.6). However, it is possible to suggest a general model using the evidence from the monasteries of the Lagoon in Venice. Here we know that in the 10th century the power and the importance of the monasteries was increasing due to the intellectual and noble origins of their founders, for example the Santi Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana (Moine 2008–2009). Only in the 12th century did the phenomenon of religious communities become truly popular, attracting different social groups, including an increase in

the presence of female Orders, with a peak in the 13th century (Moine 2008–2009).

In terms of daily life, Benedictine monks spent most of the day in silence, private meditation and spiritual reading, manual labour for the support of the community, or in eating and sleeping (Brooke 1974, 59). In winter and during Lent, only one meal was allowed. In summer there were two meals, at noon and in the evening. The food consisted of eggs, fish, cheese, beans, milk and honey. Meat was not allowed, but birds were accepted on the table, as the consumption of birds was associated with Godliness (Grieco 1999, 308), and therefore considered a more refined food compared to the pork, which was preferred in rural areas. However, many rules started to be broken from the 11th century, for example on Sundays and feast days. At the Abbot's table meat then became common.

Generally, sons of the rich elite were pushed into monasteries for educational purposes, since in this period these institutions were the only islands of culture present. They were in themselves a unique sort of intellectual social category. There were important links between the religious houses in terms of learning and culture, and in their relationship, and dependence, links with the outside world. We know the names of some nuns who founded the monasteries in the northern Lagoon in Venice, Berta, Benvenuta and Agnese, who fought against central power to gain more autonomy and resources since they did not have as many assets as the male communities (Moine 2008–2009). The economy of these nunneries was often based on some estates, largely on the mainland of modern Veneto, Friuli and Istria, and they survived there thanks to the payment of taxes by inhabitants of these territories. What does not emerge

from the written sources is any particular evidence of relations between monasteries and traders. However, outside the religious world, the medieval Venice was starting to have a major role in the development of society at this time and this is surely the main reason for the presence of imported pottery in such isolated monasteries.

6.2.3 *The citizens*

The investigation of pottery consumers in urban areas is complicated by the fact that it is often difficult to link the finds to specific quarters of a town inhabited by specific people (characterised by its complex stratigraphy (eg depth, later buildings and cellars, etc, size of interventions) (Roskams 2000). The difference with the previous site categories is that, while for the monasteries and castles we can be fairly confident that the material is associated with a specific building or institution, in cities the area where the pottery has been recovered may have changed function and inhabitants several times, even over a short time frame. The pottery could easily have been moved from one part of the city to another, thereby losing its link to its original context. To try to overcome this, at least to some extent, a number of case studies have been selected where the data is more secure.

A total of 16 cities have been identified with Byzantine glazed pottery and these are more or less equally distributed between the south and the north of the peninsula (Figure 4.7). Otranto, Naples and Reggio Calabria are among the principal urban settlements of the three most important regions (respectively Apulia, Campania and Calabria) in the south during the Byzantine period and the Norman occupation. In Naples, the excavation of the metro in Piazza Bovio lay within the medieval circuit of city walls,

between the quarter called 'Regio albiensis' (later Donna Albina) with its *castellione novum* built after the 10th century, several churches and gardens, *horti* (Capasso 1984, 63) – and the area named 'Media', which was close to the quarter named the 'Moricino', just outside the walls (Figure 6.2). From the 12th century the houses of servants were located in the 'Moricino' and they obtained their land through dukes or monks. This was followed in the 13th century by the appearance of merchants' houses and shops (*loggie*), due to their proximity to the port and the sea (Capasso 1984, 65).

The presence of Byzantine glazed pottery in this area, including 12th to 13th century vessels such as Sgraffito Ware II and Champlevè Ware in association with other imported material such as *Siculo-Magrebina* (polychrome glazed pottery produced in Sicily under Islamic influence) and pottery from Islamic territories in the western Mediterranean (Carsana 2002, 503), can be linked to the port nearby and therefore probably to merchants, as well as to the monasteries and the castle. Although it is possible to provide some general comments on the possible consumers in Naples, it is somewhat difficult to come to a more detailed understanding of the exact association of the pottery – were the consumers merchants, monks or the inhabitants of the castle, or all of these?

Otranto is the city with the largest number of sites (three) with Byzantine material located respectively near the port, near a pottery workshop and within a residential household of Norman date (see Chapter 4). Taken together, this suggests the continued presence of Byzantine glazed pottery in the city of Otranto between the 10th to 14th centuries (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992, 182-190). In the medieval period this town was dominated by the Byzantine élite, mainly functionaries of the state, who

seem to remain for longer here than in other Italian regions. Furthermore, this is one of the most Hellenized regions in the Italian peninsula with strong Greek influences in language, traditions and culture (Pertusi 1964, 114). This suggests that the Byzantine glazed vessels recovered here, together with *pietra ollare* (from northern Italy), glass and an anonymous *folles* of the 11th century from Constantinople all recovered in one site of the city, from the waste of a nearby probable Norman household (Semeraro 1995), or due to the presence of the ports and trading activities (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992), were part of an elite Greco-Byzantine consumption pattern to be referred to the 1st period under consideration (10th–11th century-see above). While in the second period (12th century, see above) they may represent the material culture of more western tastes linked to the Crusades and the nobles who travelled throughout the Mediterranean (see Chapter 2). Otranto reflects this perfectly because it was one of the key ports between the Levant and the West, as it is reflected by the archaeological evidence (among the others Michaelides and Wilkinson 1992). It is important to stress also that the ‘Terra d’Otranto’ was one of the most hybrid of Italian regions, and moved from the Latin Longobard culture to the Greco-Byzantine one (Pertusi 1964, 109) and then finally to a Norman culture with Latin roots. This makes the admixture of different cultures and materials here much more likely than in other Italian regions.

Reggio Calabria is the oldest Archaic Greek colony after Cuma in southern Italy and was one of the areas most deeply influenced by Byzantine culture. Immigrants from different parts of the Byzantine world, such as Syria and North Africa, travelled here over many centuries (Pertusi 1964, 80). The evidence of this culture remained steady and widespread

throughout the region, and remains even today in the mountain villages where they speak an Ancient/Byzantine Greek dialect (Mosino and Caridi 1993, 101). The city was both rich and dynamic, one of the core markets of the Mediterranean. According to the Arab geographer Edrisi in the 12th century, 'Reggio is a small but populated city, it is abundant for fruits and vegetables, it has crowded markets, baths and stone walls [...], it has rich markets and it is a place of exchange of travellers who pass by' (English translation by the author taken from Amari 1880-1881). This flourishing picture of the city environment seems to happen even during the Norman occupation, against which the city resisted strongly. The Byzantine pottery here was discovered near storage rooms, together with Byzantine coins, glass and metals dated to the 11th–13th centuries (Chapter 4). Given the location of these finds near the sea and the port, it is suggested that these spaces may have been used as warehouses for stocking goods ready for market. The context here is therefore not domestic but commercial. Sadly, the sparse information available for the material assemblage is unhelpful in defining the character of this assemblage when compared to domestic ones.

Rome is the only urban site in the centre of the Italian peninsula where Byzantine glazed pottery has been found. The *Urbs* (as Rome is called in Latin) has a completely different profile to the other sites under consideration because it is inland and on the west side of the Italian peninsula where Byzantine pottery is rarer. The site of the Porticus Minucia, in particular, provides valuable information about the material culture of the period and the type of household which might have used this pottery. Here an almost complete bowl, in Sgraffito Ware II, was recovered from a rubbish pit excavated within the cellars of a medieval

house. This site is on the 'Via delle Botteghe Oscure' (Figure 6.3), where one of the most important urban excavations in Rome took place at the Crypta Balbi (Saguì and Paroli 1990, Manacorda 2003). From the 11th century, a general revitalisation of the area can be seen in the increasing improvement of housing which is built over the top of Roman structures. The area also became one of the central *burgus* of Rome, with the development of a market between the Castrum Aureum – built over the Roman Crypta Balbi, and several monastic and ecclesiastical sites which grew rapidly during this period – and the river Tiber (Manacorda 2003, 70). In 12th to 13th century Rome this area was densely inhabited and one of the most important areas of a city otherwise characterised by sparse settlements intermixed with rural areas. The same area is also attested in archaeological and historical records as being occupied particularly by the wealthier social groups of the city (Manacorda 2003, Manacorda and Zanini 1997). A Byzantine bowl was found in association with several chicken and rabbit bones and a number of cooking pots and domestic amphora which were used to store food in the house (Chapter 5). This pot is one of the very few complete vessels out of all the Byzantine glazed pottery in the Italian peninsula, and it is a remarkable case of a well preserved domestic assemblage.

To conclude, social development did not differ greatly between the northern and southern cities in the 12th century. Society, particularly in the north, was becoming much more differentiated with the presence of merchants, then artisans, judges, doctors, and so on, compared to the more ordered social structure of the early medieval period, where there are three definite groups: 'oranti-guerrieri-aratori' (orators, warriors and peasants) (Gurevič 1987, 283–4). For the lower stratum of the society living in Naples

or Venice, in that period, there was probably no significant difference; what did differ between north and south was the character of the rulers (most probably the consumers of our pottery). These individuals are represented by a sort of middle class/bourgeoisie in the north, while in the south there was a foreign (Norman) noble group mixed with the local one which formed the basis of the ruling group in the following centuries. This situation in the south was particularly unique in that the nobility shared none of the characteristics of the bourgeoisie, such as initiative and ambition, which we see in the north. Instead the power of the southern nobles was based essentially on the land and the exploitation of peasant labour.

Despite these differences in terms of the development of the wealthier between northern and southern Italian peninsula, demand and consumption in the different medieval cities seems to have been quite similar. Daily life was marked by work and traditional religious celebrations such as weddings, baptisms, carnivals or the celebrations for local saints. On these special occasions exotic tablewares might be used and where they have been found demonstrates wealth in terms of objects and the material culture of some urban families.

The novel of Andreino da Perugia, from the Decameron of Boccaccio (Riva and Papio 1994–95), which outlines his life in Naples and the many adventures he encountered in this big medieval city gives us a colourful illustration of life during this period (end of the 14th century). The market squares where he spent so much of his time meeting people from other regions such as Sicily are witness to the exchange of knowledge and cultures between people from different areas. Andreino sleeps in an inn,

and we hear of an invitation to dinner in a two-storey house with a 'toilet' built within a small cellar between two detached buildings (Boccaccio 1955, Second Day, Novel Fifth). The vibrant medieval city he portrays provides a powerful image of the environment in which the pottery was circulating.

6.2.4 The peasants

There are only two rural sites with Byzantine glazed pottery which merit discussion; Masseria Quattro Macine in Terra d'Otranto, Apulia and Geridu in Sardegna (Figure 4.11).

At Terra d'Otranto, excavation of the village Masseria Quattro Macine revealed 11 sherds of Byzantine glazed pottery dated to the 11th to 12th centuries, which is the period where Byzantine and Norman rule overlap. They consist of GWW II (11th century), Light-On-Dark and Dark-On-Light Slip Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware II, Measles Ware and Sgraffito Painted Ware (12th century). Other material evidence consists mainly of coins of Byzantine manufacture (Chapter 4) and household items such as spindle hooks, limestone spindlewhorls, a decorated pewter spoon, as well as crossbow bolts and spearheads for defence or hunting. There was also slag from metalworking and mortars in stone for work uses; animal remains represented mainly by ovicaprids, sheep and goat, attesting to pastoral activities, together with pig and cattle bones (Arthur 1996, 222-223).

In this area, in the medieval period and above all with the arrival of the Normans, the rural landscape, which in the Roman period was organised in square miles of centuriated Roman field systems, with roads, private boundary ditches, farm enclosures and vineyards, completely changed

(Bradford 1950, 91). It was reorganised into feuds, controlled by landlords (Costantini 1991, 28). Feuds are the ancestors of the 'Masserie' in Terra D'Otranto, which developed towards the end of the Middle Ages, and are still apparent today in Apulia. The Masseria, as Masseria Quattro Macine was, consisted of a group of buildings used by the farmers and peasants for resting in between work in the fields, and for storing the goods and keeping the animals used for agricultural activities. They were generally inhabited only on a temporary basis and controlled by the family of the *massaro* after the Norman period, but were already developing on the former feudal estates (Costantini 1991, 61–66).

The second and last site is Geridu in the island of Sardinia. The Sardinia region is another extremely rural area in Italy. It has always been sparsely populated, with very small villages. The island became important for those cities which were developing on the opposite coast, Genoa and Pisa, which had several ports and were nodal links in the Tyrrhenian Sea such as Porto Torres. Their importance derived from their agricultural potential (Milanese 2004, 73). We know the case of the Doria family, discussed above, who had properties covering one third of the lands of Geridu (Meloni 2004, 133). The excavations revealed traces of a row of houses inhabited by farmers, quite small and similar to one another, and also a residential palace and church built using better materials and technical skills than the farm houses. The palace was, of course, inhabited by a wealthy family (Milanese 2001, 34). The Byzantine pottery recovered here is Zeuxippus Ware II.

The question of who were the consumers of the pottery in those two sites remains. The character of the rural consumer seems to be the one of a

temporary worker, who moves from his own household towards the lands where he provides his works. It is difficult from the limited amount of information we have from the rural areas (see Chapter 1 and 4 about this topic) to build a secure figure of the peasant, and we cannot be sure that they are the consumers of our pottery in these two cases. There were wealthy landlords in these areas, in particular the Doria family in Geridu, and it might be that they were the users of this vessel, which was widely circulating in the Mediterranean ports at the end of the 13th century (see Chapter 3).

6.3 Discussion: pottery and social identity

We concluded in Chapter 5 that imported pottery represented by Byzantine finewares is mainly present in urban sites, especially ports, and at monastic sites. In the 10th–11th century its presence seems to be linked with Byzantine household consumption, in the specific regions under imperial control, while in the 12th century and during the 13th–14th centuries the pottery was more generally present across the Italian peninsula and complements local production. However, the contexts which can be linked to this consumption can be again attested as related to high status groups, as Figure 6.4 shows, where it is notable that in the south there is greater consumption at sites occupied by the Normans while in the north of the Italian peninsula the pottery is limited to local noble families.

The theory which we have delineated at the beginning of this chapter, the ‘character-action approach’, considers consumption in a wider sense, including the motives, subjective meanings and the intentions of different profiles of consumer. The aim of the first section of this chapter partially

represents the effort to build and understand the personal scenario in which our consumers (nobles/rulers, nuns and monk, citizens and partially the peasants), were living, and in which the imported pottery would have been involved in their households. In the next chapter we will deal in more details with the interior of their environments, trying to sketch out also the physical surroundings of their life.

Certainly we are aware of the different panorama we can obtain from a study focused on the 18th century England as Campbell did, or on late medieval Wessex as Alejandra Gutiérrez (2000) developed, compared to such an early period as ours, which lacks the fundamental tools for the reconstruction of social behaviour. However our aim was to apply to this research the 'character action approach' to comprehend consumption more from a social angle. In the next sections we will refer to topics very much present on the Post-Processual agenda to offer a further view of the meaning of the consumption of this pottery among different ethnic and cultural groups present in the Italian peninsula in the periods under consideration.

6.3.1 Cultural and ethnic identity

A question is whether or not we can speak of a wider Byzantine cultural identity and what part pottery may have had to play in that. An interesting overview on identity has been discussed by Richard Hingley in his volume 'Globalizing Roman culture', where he reflects on how the 'Romanization', that is the influence of the Roman world, has worked in the different territories of the Roman Empire, mainly in the provinces of northern Europe, at its peak of power under Emperor Augustus (Hingley 2005).

The Italian peninsula in the medieval period was quite different to the scenario of the provinces of the Roman world, illustrated by Hingley. Whereas during the Roman period, the peninsula was densely inhabited and bound by a strong Roman culture, and the local pre-Roman identities were almost completely lost (Hingley 2005, 17), or at least absorbed within the general Roman identity, in the early Middle Ages instead, strong local identities were forming, represented for example by the development of cities such as Venice and Genoa.

The presence of Byzantine rule in the Italian peninsula, which was one of its provinces, did not represent equivalent binding as the Romans did for their provinces (such as Britain), even because historically they represented the Roman Empire itself and were part of a *koiné* and Classical-Christian culture, which was already common and did not represent a totally external *corpus* to the Italian one. We cannot speak of 'Byzantinization' in the same way as 'Romanization' within Europe.

Although there was no one over-riding sense of cultural identity, the ethnic groups which were probably using our pottery were of three types: local indigenous 'Italians', mainly in the North; Byzantines; and Normans, mainly in the South. Another sophistication to this is that ethnicity is mutable: it changes over time (Jones 1997), as in some contexts it could be related to biological features, as is probably the case of the Byzantines who managed to maintain a sense of identity in Italy; in other cases it can reflect political groupings or class implications (Wood 1998, 299), as was probably the case of the Normans, who instead partly adopted a politic of

intermarriage to insinuate themselves within southern Italian society (Skinner 2002, 111).

Our Byzantine pottery data-set indicates modest quantities of imported pottery at sites such as Venice, San Leonardo in Fossa Mala (Veneto), Genoa (Liguria), Nonantola (Emilia Romagna), Vaccarizza, Egnazia, Quattro Macine, Previtro, Otranto (Apulia), Capaccio (Campania) in the 10th and 11th centuries. There is some evidence to suggest that Byzantine lords could be involved with this pattern, all those regions had strong relationships in this period with the Byzantine Empire, and here Byzantine functionaries were covering political roles (Falla Castelfranchi 2006, 207). An examination of local pottery production (Chapter 5) shows that the Byzantine forms were not paralleled locally, instead they were introduced to meet specific demands from this social group. There is a debate as to whether this pottery was traded into the Italian peninsula to meet demand or whether the pottery travelled with the Byzantines. Since the range of forms is wide and trade at this time was limited it seems most likely that pottery travelled with households, at least this can be proposed as an initial hypothesis, as stated above.

In the 12th century, there is some documentary evidence to confirm the presence of Normans at many of the sites with Byzantine pottery located in the south of the Italian peninsula. Once again, the same dilemma presents itself; is this a case of foreign groups choosing to use foreign pottery or are there further complications at work? Possession of these pots probably could reflect somehow a desire to emulate the more sophisticated, centralised Byzantine world, or even a desire to challenge the Empire, which is different from the mere imitation of its culture (Wood

1998, 300). This could be done together with other forms of visual culture, as seen before, such as textiles from the Byzantine territories, and metalwork objects mainly present in the treasure houses of abbeys.

I believe that general consumption of these pots, however, mostly represents the simple need and demand for good quality vessels by the wealthier who became more affluent with the opening of trade and the development of cities after the 12th century. This demand came from a wealthy social ranks of locals 'Italians' in the north, and in the south from the Normans who probably wanted to use the good quality wares adopted by their predecessors, the Byzantines, and at the same time their status symbolism. The use of such coloured and well-refined tablewares could be interpreted as a component of elite display, enabling lords to express their capacity to show off their goods and hospitality (in the interior of their households) (Hadley 2008, 174). The Normans were so few in the southern Italian territory that they could not effect a 'Normanisation' of culture, but rather they adapted and assimilated the prevailing customs present in the different territories (Skinner 2002, 111) (see Chapter 7). Norman identity was transformed, in combination with the indigenous influence (Hadley 2008, 183).

The pottery may have been produced and designed to meet also this demand from the 12th century and attest a sort of cultural assimilation by the producers of these items, which explains the wider use of hunting animals decorations (typical of western upper group activities) and the larger production of bowls for individual use from the 12th century onwards. This new demand revitalised production in the Byzantine

Empire and the Islamic world, where the knowledge for creating quality products was already well developed.

In short, imported vessels were used both by locals and Normans, since other glazed pottery was not available at a local level (Chapter 5), and the Byzantines probably already owned these vessels which they carried with them, mostly to Apulia. Byzantine occupation was unstable, shorter-lived and was mainly developed as a military force rather than a secular one, even though partly in Apulia and Calabria the Greek-Byzantine influence was stronger in terms of culture, language and religion (Di Gangi and Lebole 2006, 482; Falla Castelfranchi 2006, 205). The fact that Byzantine pottery was used by all three groups emphasises the point that the use of Byzantine glazed pottery does not represent, as in the case of Roman *Terra Sigillata*, a pure symbolic way of entering Byzantine culture, instead it was chosen for its superior quality and beauty, in consideration also of its rarity.

For example, in some countries of medieval Europe archaeologists have equated high concentrations of imported pottery with individuals or groups from a specific region or country. A case in point are the large quantities of Dutch redwares from Colchester and Norwich in south east England in the 15th century. These have been associated directly with immigrant communities (Gaimster and Nenck 1997). Or furthermore on the opposite side of Europe, in Corinth, glazed tableware imported from the Italian peninsula between the 13th and the 14th century, were located specifically where the westerners used to live, such as in the monastery of St. John and in the hospice of Samson and in their surrounding areas (Riavez 2007). Here the presence of religious communities is attested,

while in the rest of the city is intriguing to see the scarcity of this 'Italian' pottery. This is probably linked to the presence of mainly Greek ethnicity groups in the rest of the city, which used to have their own way of food habits and therefore their own tablewares (Riavez 2007, 669). This could be an other hint of the distribution of specific pottery linked to specific ethnical groups, which from the eastern side did not particularly care to have imported pottery from the Italian peninsula and the West in their households, and from the western side they did choose to have their own material culture and not the indigenous one. Other archaeological studies refute this point of view, preferring to see large quantities of imports as a reflection of trade, without link it to any specific ethnical reasons (Brown 1993). Therefore in this opinion, foreign people, for instance the westerners in Corinth had more a disposal of imported pottery because they were just more concerned with market activities and goods traded. In StariBar, in Montenegro, a similar situation can be compared to Corinth: where the Venetian buildings and quarters are located, the Venetian and 'Italian' pottery of the 14th century onwards is very much present. However here the local/indigenous production is totally lacking in this period, therefore it was most probably more a need to have tablewares on the tables than an ethnical choice, even for the locals (D'Amico 2006; D'Amico and Fresia 2008).

In our case once we reach the end of the 12th century it is apparent that pottery is less used as a means of social identification, considering also the higher frequency of *terracotta* vessels in the archaeological deposits in the Mediterranean and in Europe, as also Brown suggests remarking the low value of local and imported pottery in the 15th century Southampton

(Brown 1988, 80). Possibly other artefacts were being used in this way (glass, metals), as it will be explained in the next chapter.

To conclude, there is a debate in archaeology about the ways in which material culture and specifically pottery might reflect ethnicity (Jones 1997). This is one of the leading archaeological tools in the study of material culture, where different material types are categorized according to specific styles and characteristics. This method helps archaeologists to understand the provenance of objects and patterns of trade. However, this type of analysis has not been widely developed in analyses of consumption patterns, and instead looks mainly at the production and circulation of goods. For instance most debate has taken place for the medieval period (Gutiérrez 2000, Brown 1993). The study of ethnicity is broadly on the post Processual agenda because it embraces the study of minority groups in society.

The presence of this pottery in the Italian peninsula could be somehow due to an ethnic occupation and the product of the dynamics of new ethnic groups only at the beginning of our period, when the earliest evidence of Byzantine glazed wares appear, and when the Byzantine elite were moving to the Italian peninsula, mainly from Constantinople, taking with them the symbols of their social status.

6.3.2 Conclusions

Returning now to the consumption models described at the beginning of this chapter, there are several difficulties with a direct and simplistic application of these ideas.

'Trickle down' has been criticised for many reasons. The first problem is the term 'trickle down' itself, which defines luxury objects as cultural components which can descend the social scale. The implication is that these objects are necessarily desired by, and are available to, those who occupy the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. However, the contrary may also be the case, that is an 'upward movement' (McCracken 1988, 94), a process through which the less wealthy groups have the possibility to buy and consume those items which are normally purchased by the bordering upper stratum, that may be the driving force. This is, it would appear, a dynamic which is driven by the economic situation of the society and the possibility of gaining a *surplus* in order to imitate the material culture of richer groups.

The second problem, identified by McCracken, involves the existence of multiple social classes. The trickle down model proposes that the upper classes do not have anyone else to imitate and the lower orders do not have anyone else beneath them from whom to differentiate themselves. Furthermore, the classes in the middle could act as either imitators or differentiators; therefore we cannot predict in advance what the real changes in patterns of fashion might be (McCracken 1988, 94).

Thirdly, the theory completely lacks any consideration of links to human behaviour and culture. There is, for example, no consideration of the particular society we are dealing with, and it is a theory which is more suitable for certain types of complex society with specific social classes (for example, 18th century England), and which is not easily adaptable to simpler societies like the medieval era. This point is supported by Gutiérrez's research on the consumption of medieval Mediterranean

pottery in England. Here it seems that imported pottery was never purchased by the lower classes, rather it simply trickled down from the uppers to the middle levels of the social scale and no further (Gutiérrez 2000, 178–179).

Furthermore, the theory does not consider aspects such as gender, age, ethnicity and historical features. These are all elements that can widely influence consumption as the works of Gilchrist (1997) on the English monasteries can demonstrate or the works quoted above on ethnicity and which are not at all connected with the concept of emulation of hierarchical status. However, even emulation does not always imply the desire to be part of the upper level, emulation of different social groups can be made for various 'subjective' reasons. Even the act of consumption cannot be predictable in advance without the consideration of other subjective and cultural factors, which might influence the purchase of an object (see Campbell 1993, 41–44).

Hence, the trickle-down theory explained cannot be considered valid for the 10th–11th centuries because there is no apparent emulation of material culture either downwards or upwards in the social scale. In spite of large excavations we do not see it at any other site types, because it is probably restricted to that social status at that time.

In the 12th century the consumption of Byzantine pottery seems to be used more or less by the same level of the social stratum, who partly try to emulate the Byzantines. The reasons for this are probably more cultural than economic, as there are other high quality ceramics as the one imported from the Islamic areas which are not always being purchased in

our contexts. However I suggest that the consumption of that pottery prevails for its beauty and functionality. The emulation was also developing in terms of decorations of churches, architecture (see the Normans in the south of the peninsula) or the general use of the Greek language as example of erudition (von Falkenhausen 2002), all aspects which we will be discussing in the next chapter. In brief there is no a lower group trying to emulate an upper stratum. Most probably because it's expensive and they have suitable substitutes made of local pottery. They also do not understand the value of exotic pottery, without having any interest in having objects to embellish their houses.

In the 13th–14th centuries this pottery seems to be used by a wider section of the 'Italian' society, but in smaller quantities. At this time the pottery is used to complement local tablewares. Its presence might be related to social emulation in the case of Rocca San Silvestro where Zeuxippus Ware II is found in the context of the *burgus* and not in the high status residence, attesting to a slight 'trickling' of this type of pottery down the social scale. At this period those of the highest status seem to dispose of many more of the items they show off at their tables, such metals, glass and much more refined terracotta vessels (Chapter 7).

Concluding, another model of consumption is worth mentioning that could be tested with a better data set: the 'theory of patina'. The patina is both a physical and an abstract factor. It is the former because it is actually the layer of material (dust, etc) which accumulates on the surface of very old objects; it is the latter because it symbolises the antiquity of an object and, by association, its value. For the upper classes, patina served to prove that their families had enjoyed a wealthy *status* for a long period (as

demonstrated by the object, such as oil painting or antiques, through their patina) and this demonstrated the importance of the family's history (McCracken 1988, 31). This theory implies the use of objects to legitimate *status*; those who possessed new items meanwhile were considered to be part of a new, and therefore not noble, wealthy class.

Patina is a visible characteristic which may serve to authenticate *status* by rendering it visible. In this sense 'material culture makes culture material' (McCracken 1988, 39), and creates the visible symbolism to see the social *status*, something which can only generally be understood by the people of the same rank. In medieval England the *status* symbol of a noble man was confirmed only after the purchase of many different items, which could indicate a process of gentrification and testify the high standing nature of the family (McCracken 1988). In this way such actions became part of gentle society. 'Consumption' was, in this case, seen as one means to move up the social scale. Only after five generations could they be considered part of the noble class, so patina was a visible marker of this process (McCracken 1988, 38).

In the 18th century, with the growth of consumerism and fashion, patina was replaced by the concept of novelty (McCracken 1988, 40). Real distinctions between the objects of the different social classes ceased to exist and the need to differentiate and to innovate became part of the higher class. The constant purchase of new items now became the norm for the higher classes (trickle down theory). In the modern industrial world it is conceivable that the idea of keeping old object on display is more related to the concept of souvenirs from different places, objects are considered more as memories. Even in the past this could possibly be the

case, and the idea of the need to join or highlight a certain social status is perhaps over-emphasised. A simple subjective motive could be the key (Campbell 1993). We did not deal specifically with this model in our reconstruction of the social past in the Byzantine world because we would need far more information which is not available for our periods and for our consumers.

6.4 Summary

This chapter brings together all the data discussed in the previous chapters and the archaeological theories on consumption to see whether specific models can be applied. The consumers of this pottery have been identified and divided into categories of nobles, monks, citizens and peasants. The results show that the pottery is generally located in sites where the upper levels of society were present. A most interesting distinction is that between southern and northern Italy, where two different political systems were developing due to the presence of the kingdom of the Normans in the south. Here, the oppressive political system mainly focused on rural areas and feudal castles, rather than on cities, and did not allow for the evolution of a middle group living in urban areas, as happened in the north. We therefore have two types of wealthy groups, respectively, part of the former bourgeoisie in the north together with nobles, and in the south mostly limited to a noble stratum made up of rulers and diplomats.

The conclusion suggests that an ethnic influence from Byzantium in the use of the vessels may have been present, at least in the early period, the 10th–11th centuries, but it is difficult to separate this motive from the alternative - that this pottery was selected on the basis of its beauty and

quality. In a world where this material was rare and coming from the centre of the power and of the culture of the time, Byzantium, the choice to have it on the table was generated also by the need to show off something which was used by sophisticated sections of society thus highlighting the social status of those who used it. The consumption of Byzantine finewares thus seems more concerned with social identity than with ethnicity.

CHAPTER 7

POTTERY AND THE INTERIOR

The first part of this chapter attempts to examine the contemporary environment in which Byzantine pottery was used. Archaeologists traditionally use their data to look at material culture and place it within a historical, political and economic context; here an attempt will be made to interpret and understand the ancient societies who used this pottery from a more anthropological angle. The intention is to travel back in time and enter the rooms, the interiors of the buildings and sites that have been revealed by the trowels of modern archaeologists and to think about where and how pottery was used and displayed. The second part of the chapter examines the possible use of colour and symbolism on Byzantine pottery, again to gain an overview of the cultural background in which it was used.

7.1 *Habitus*

As a brief background to the approach taken here, particular use has been made of significant work by Cumberpatch (1997b), who applied the tenets of phenomenology to help comprehend the use of medieval artefacts. In his work Cumberpatch suggests a move away from traditional studies of pottery, which he characterises as being largely focused on dating stratigraphies and on patterns of trade and exchange. His recommended approach is to analyse vessels within their social context through the notion of *habitus*, an understanding of concepts of space and its

contribution to social relationships between different groups.³⁷ To evolve his ideas, Cumberpatch analyses the texture, colour and shape of pots, as different aspects of the decision of the individual potter who follows the taste and demand of the consumers. The analysis of colour on the pottery is assessed within the wider physical and social context of the household as a whole, so that a thorough understanding of medieval buildings is required. Through the study of shapes Cumberpatch attempts not only to understand pottery functions but also broader issues of consumption in medieval English households and make full use of both economic history (Dyer 1989) and anthropological understandings of cookery and food (Goody 1982).

A similar approach is set out in another volume edited by the same author (Cumberpatch 1996), this time an important excavation report carried out in South Yorkshire (UK). The report on the pottery begins by defining the use of ceramics 'as a means of dating the archaeological features' (Cumberpatch 1996, 53). Secondly, the author identifies the typologies of imported pottery, their origins and any links that may help to explain the local and international economy. This is placed together with a detailed analyses 'of the functions of the various buildings' (Cumberpatch 1996, 55) and of the material culture as a whole. The work is carried out partly in a traditional way, with the compilation of a catalogue and the dating of the pottery 'by comparisons with stratified and dated sequences on other sites' (Cumberpatch 1996, 55) but also attempts to reconstruct the *habitus* of everyday life. Cumberpatch argues that the fact that vessels were produced with particular features at a

³⁷ In his concepts of phenomenology and *habitus*, Cumberpatch has been influenced by the French sociologist Bourdieu.

particular time, following the tastes of its users and makers, and that this presents insights into central aspects of the society, as the way people moved within their environment, what they saw, how the artefacts distributed around the rooms affected their perception.

These two studies by Cumberpatch were developed on the basis of, firstly, a solid corpus of data to discuss about chronology and, secondly, social archaeology, through a 'thick description' of the context. The work of Alejandra Gutiérrez (2000), which represents a perfect example of this model, has largely worked on the collection of the most updated data on the imported pottery towards England and on the examination of the contexts of the households in which it was used.

In this chapter the aim is also to look at the 'living' context of Byzantine glazed ware: the rooms of castles, monasteries and city households, and the *sala* or living rooms which were the principal areas in the house where our tablewares were used. These will be investigated by looking at the full range of objects and furniture present. It is important to underline also that the *sala* and the objects described are only found in wealthy households, there is infact insufficient evidence to discuss the houses and spaces of rural settlements. Social behaviour and table manners will also be examined, since dining was the main activity taking place in the *sala*. Finally, colours and decoration of Byzantine finewares will be discussed to provide a broader view of the Byzantine cultural context in which our pottery has been produced and consumed, in parallel also with other forms of art of the time.

7.2 Secular buildings

In the northern Italian peninsula, **castles** were inhabited and owned mainly by local families. Villages developed around the main castle structure which was surrounded by walls. Within this precinct, the architecture of these castles was largely influenced by the German Hohenstaufen style in the 12th/13th century (Tuulse 1959, 55). The main structure consisted of a keep alongside turreted buildings. In the south, castles were mainly built and occupied by the Normans and the Hohenstaufen families, who 'already in the second generations verged towards the people of the Orient in their customs and general way of life' (Tuulse 1959, 30). They combined military strength with a new elegance due to the presence of the courts. An eclectic mixture of northern European, Arabic and Roman/Byzantine styles emerged, as seen for instance in the buildings at Palermo (the Monastery of Monreale built by William II, the palaces of the Zisa and the Cuba) and its surroundings, which also developed in the Latin kingdoms where several castles were constructed. The marvellous building constructed by the Normans, as the Zisa in Palermo, represents a perfect fusion of two cultures, on the one hand the western and Norman and on the other the eastern and Muslim. This royal summer residence was constructed near the city of Palermo between the 1165 and 1175 AD by King William I. The exterior walls of the Zisa were austere and resembled the Norman constructions of Northern Europe, while the interior on the ground floor provided a place to relax with a main room and a fountain wall on the upper floors were private chambers with natural light from the windows and fireplace (Caronia 1982, 50)

An exceptional building, where Byzantine finewares have been recovered, defined '*magnifico palagio*' (wonderful palace) by descriptions of the second half of the 18th century (Peduto 1996, 60), is the one constructed by the Rufolo family. Mainly constructed between 1260 and 1283 the Rufolo House represents one of the most splendid examples of medieval domestic architecture in the West (Caskey 2004, 11). Its main characteristic, similar to the Palaces of the Normans in Sicily such as the Zisa or the palaces conceived by the Hohenstaufen family in the south of the peninsula (Caskey 2004, 85), is the application of Arab-Islamic architecture with its abundant use of gardens, fountains, springs, baths and ample halls. Its fame and luxury was not an isolated case on the Amalfitan coast, which was characterised by the presence of other patrician homes (Peduto 1996, 64), again dated to the 13th century, such as the Confalone and the De Imperatore Palaces distinguished by the presence of complete Islamic baths. These houses consisted of structures with varying degree of autonomy. References are present to rooms such as the *coquina* (kitchen), the *balneum* (bath) and the *caminata* (hall with a fireplace). Present also are porticos and halls which cluster around a courtyard. This helps to separate, particularly in the Rufolo house, three storeys of living quarters for the *familia* above and the *familiares* below (Caskey 2004, 88).

The palace-castle (*Palacium castris*), defined also as *caminata* or *casa solariata*, began to be widespread in the Italian peninsula in the 12th century. The characteristics are well summed up by the definition '*tutum and pulcrum palacium*' coined by Ezzelino da Romano (Chapter 6) in defining, in the mid of the 13th century, his castle of San Zenone. It was in fact both a fortress and a comfortable residence (Settia 2003, 210). The historical sources suggest a building with two ample superimposed *sale* and with

loggie, as is the case, for instance, at Andora Castle (Chapter 6) with its defensive structure (Settia 2003, 210). Here, the palace, the central residence of the castle where the marquis of Clavesana (Chapter 6) lived, is called the *Paraixo* (De Maestri 1963, 74–81). While it has the characteristics of the fortress with few windows and several loopholes, the *Paraixo* also has an ample hall on the first floor and two upstairs rooms with two large windows which opened towards the west and an adjacent valley (Figure 7.1). The *paraixo* was at once defensible and a place to appreciate the countryside.

In general, the division of the rooms within the typical Italian medieval castle was simple, with the living space in the upper storeys. As in the example above, the windows of the first period (12th century) were quite small, due to defensive needs, while later, probably from the end of the 13th century, larger windows were more in vogue and gave greater visual contact with the outside world and the countryside, and improved light for the interior (Tuulse 1959, 24). The scholar Tuulse describes the main hall thus: 'The hall in the castle was the main set for the life of the knights, with lord and guests. There solemn routines were enacted, there justice was dispensed, and there they used to gather for the meal' (Tuulse 1959, 29). Examples of Norman castles, such as Adrano in Sicily dated to the second half of the 12th century, show a building with 5 floors divided in several rooms, with the hall probably present only on the upper floor, where it was lit by a *bifora* (the *bifora* is a type of window divided in two parts by an architectural element as a little column) (Grossmann 2005, 110).

With respect to **houses** in Italian medieval cities, early documents and archaeological sources for a well-studied example such as Venice, reveal a city composed of scattered small villages with wooden buildings, which generally faced the 'canale' (the channel), a 'rivus' (smaller channel) or a 'piscina' (a cordoned off area in the water, probably fenced with poles, where fish were bred) (Dorigo 1993, 830). From the documents analysed by Dorigo, among 57 certificates dated to the 12th century, only three mention stone and brick buildings, probably re-used material from the ancient Roman town of Altino (on the mainland), and only four reveal the existence of buildings on two floors (Dorigo 1993, 804). Structures were more commonly built on one level with a courtyard (the modern 'campi' or 'corti') behind, where the well, workshops and service buildings were housed, together with gardens, vineyards and space for domestic animals, property of one single family, as attested by the toponymy of the Venetian *corti* which often have patrician appellations. Access to the main buildings was via a private callis ('*calle*'), generally used by one family, which was often closed off with a gate. Only later on, from the 13th century, with a fragmentation of the properties of the patrician families, the *corte* (as for *calle*) became public and were used by normal citizens (Gianighian 2005, 161). Access to the sea was with boats which were moored in the 'cavana', a structure that functioned both as an entrance and as a mooring for boats within the main body of the house. The area of modern Venice was at this time still largely covered by gardens, *horti*, and the main occupations in the 12th century were still fishing and agriculture, though trading activities were beginning to spread, even among the less wealthy social groups.

These Venetian examples of dwellings were therefore still quite modest in the first half of the 12th century, and even the properties of the mercantile nobility were constructed from wood. Nevertheless, there is, as we have seen, ample evidence of exotic tableware. It must be remembered, however, that Venice was a new city then: probably the change from the use of wood to stone and brick materials took longer here because of the logistical difficulties of constructing and transporting those materials across the lagoon. On the other hand, Venice developed innovative market systems, and was open to the most important commercial traffic, and therefore to trade in exotic goods. The exact site under consideration here, Ca' Vendramin Calergi (Chapter 4), can be compared to the household of Judge Andrea Michiel who bequeathed a property consisting of '*solario petrino super ripam, edifici lignei e petrinei, l'orto, la cavana ed il forno*' to his son Marino in 1115, ('a stone-floored house on the bank, wooden and stone buildings, the garden, the 'cavana' and the domestic heart'; English translation by the author; Dorigo 1993, 830). The Ca' Vendramin house, though it was made of re-used Roman stones and bricks, can therefore be seen as the property of a wealthy family, with exotic pottery arriving from the east including Byzantine glazed wares (and Fritwares from Syria), in association with Byzantine coins, daily use items and ring with a gem setting (Gobbo 2006, 50). It is possible to see these portable luxury items as an expression of wealth and status, in a way that residential buildings could not express. What was inside the buildings was as important as their façade or plan.

From the 13th century the Venetian merchants' group developed rapidly, due in part to the decentralisation of Byzantine power and the interest of Italian cities in trading with eastern territories (see Chapter 2). At this time

we also see significant developments in construction activities, with the use of wood being replaced by stone and brick, and houses on two floors becoming more common (Dorigo 1993, 811) with the use of a *porticus* (today in Venetian 'portego' -porch-) on the upper floor and the *androan* ('androne' or hall) on the lower floor, with adjacent storerooms. The precise form of these buildings was influenced by Byzantine and eastern buildings which the Venetians knew well from their trading activities. This is visible in the use of new architectural elements such as cusps, floral decorations, acanthus leaves, crosses etc made with marble. The typical Venetian *casa-fondaco* (household-warehouse) is characterised by the superimposition of porches and large windows which run on the entire length of the building (Concina 1995, 69) (Figures 7.3). However, windows in the *sale* are characteristic of the richest household, and also more common in the late medieval period (13th–15th centuries) (Collareta 2003, 317). Presumably the light was far more natural.

Medieval houses in Rome were high and narrow, similar to towers (*case-torri*). The large entrance was closed off by iron gates. The lower part of the house was laid on cut columns removed from ancient temples. The walls were often extremely thick, as in the 'Casa de' Crescenzi', but a sort of physical connection is maintained with the exterior thanks to a *loggia* and a balcony on the upper floor, so the light here is not direct but creates a sort of *chiaroscuro* (Rendina 2005, 9). An other example of *casa-torre* in Rome is still present in Via dei Chiavari, with a store room on the ground floor and direct access through an external stairway to the upper floors occupied for residential use (though they are very narrow). This could be part of a larger fortified structure present in the area at the end of the 13th-century property of the Tartari family of Rome, defined in the document as

'palace with a little tower behind it' (*palatium cum turricella retro eum*) (Bianchi *et al.* 1998, 330).

In the ancient cities of the south, innovation in terms of structures was much more apparent and easier to achieve as they were surrounded by many ancient buildings of brick and stone which could have been reused for house construction as in the case of Amalfi (Caskey 2004, 57), even if the use of humble materials such as wood were still very much in use, in the area of Salerno for example (Caskey 2004, 56). The remaining cities in the *Pianura Padana*, such as Treviso, Padua, Verona and Ferrara also experienced this transition from wooden buildings to stone and the development from villages to proper towns, the 'Comuni liberi'. This express the new wealth of the families prospering in those towns. The first evidence of exotic tablewares here marks this change and new wealth in the area. Furthermore as we said before the majority of the forms in this period is represented by dishes and bowls and generally a greater quantity of tablewares from this period onwards, however more standardised than before.

In Genoa a document of the De Volta family shows that in 1293 they built their own house in the 'contrada San Damiano'. The document describes the house as '*solaria vultarum, solarium de caminata, solarium de cameris*' (floor with porch, floor with chimney, floor with rooms) (Grossi-Bianchi and Poleggi 1980) (Figure 7.2). Wooden houses were transformed into more solid structures, made out of brick and stone, in the 12th century, for example in Albenga in Liguria (Puerari 1990, 364, 369). Another significant development was the more vertical nature of the houses which were now organised into rows (Miller 2000, 110). One

document relates that Egidio Mazarello, of the Ferro family, and his wife Antonia Trincheri, lived in a house in the St. Eulalia quarter at Albenga alongside the public road. Their house was probably built on two floors with a *solarium de suptus* (ground floor) and a *solarium de supra* (upper floor). Their extended family (*famula*), the servants, occupied a modest *domuncula* (small house) adjacent to the principal building (Puerari 1990, 370). The urban panorama thus seems to be characterised by one- or two-storey buildings, where the artisans worked on the ground floor under the *loggie* and *volte* ('porches') while the wealthy lived on the upper floors. The backyards were used as a cellar or warehouse. Other buildings to be found in an urban setting included churches, towers, and tower-houses (*case-torri*), the latter being where nobles lived and defended themselves (Puerari 1990, 372). An example of a house-tower, as said before, is that owned by the De Crescenzi family in Rome, made out of bricks, with a *loggia* on the ground floor and an arch on the upper floor. This building is dated to the 13th century and still survives (Rendina 2005, 45).

The common denominator in all the medieval Italian buildings was the *sala* (hall). Here wooden furniture was modest (Puerari 1990, 365) and made to serve several generations, with tables made up of rectangular boards (*tavole*) resting on two or more trestles (*trespides*, *tripedia*, *tripodes*) for support (Thornton 1991, 205). The 'tavola' (*deschus*, *discus*, *disscetum*, *tabula de ligno*) represented in medieval iconography is always rectangular, and was made by setting several boards side-by-side. This was placed in the centre of the hall or at least the largest room in the house such as the *caminata*, where the chimney was housed and where the majority of daily activities took place (Puerari 1990, 378). In lay households the boards were often crafted out of expensive wood and the 'tavola' covered by a

tablecloth when in use. Some trestles were highly decorated. The fact that it could be easily dismantled and moved meant that the room could then be converted for other purposes (Paolini 2007, 33). Flexibility of use within medieval houses is a common trait, for example Boccaccio describes tables being taken down after a meal (Boccaccio 1955, Eight Story, Fifth Day). In a period when nobility and those of high status were always on the move and tended to take their furniture with them, this kind of portability was essential. Benches were generally placed only on one side of the table, and the most important guests and the owner of the house were seated on this *scannum* (*caree, cathedre pallearum*).

On the table, the cloth would probably have been white linen for festive days, and cotton or hemp during the working day. In the *Decameron*, Federigo mentions '*Messa la tavola con tovaglie bianchissime*' ('Set the table with very white table clothes'; Boccaccio 1955, Ninth Story, Fifth Day). Such a cloth was also used to clean the mouth and hands during the meal, but water bowls, in terracotta or copper, were also supplied for hand washing. According to iconographic and written sources of the late medieval/Renaissance period (14th–15th centuries) (Thornton 1991), *scutelle* (small bowls) in terracotta were used for drinking, and were for individual use. In addition, there were *senaverii*, small terracotta bowls, for sauces, spices and to hold marinades for meat. A knife (*gradius*) was used only by official carvers for cutting meat, as eating was generally carried out with the hands. The meat, having been sliced by the carver, would have been placed on wooden boards which were shared by a couple of people. In the late medieval/Renaissance period, large bowls made from wood, copper or terracotta were used for soups, while dishes were used for serving (Liefkes 2006, 255). In the evening, candles would have been

used on the table or terracotta lamps. Close to the table were jars for oil and barrels for wine, and a wooden or copper bucket for water. Later on, towards the Renaissance period, sideboards (the *credenza*) became more common. Here the family displayed its most important possessions on special occasions, atop fine table covers (Thornton 1991, 216). During the Renaissance the *credenza* is typically depicted as covered with large plates in *maiolica* of different sizes that would be used during important meals (Ajmar-Wollheim 2006, 210). It is quite probably here that the larger Byzantine glazed wares would have been placed on view, they were in fact also allowed to be seen better thanks to the light of the large window mentioned above. The pottery was therefore partly for display and occasionally for use and contrasted against the more ordinary Italian/local medieval products described in Chapter 5.

The pots were not, however, the only decoration present. Although the floor was generally covered by mats and reeds (Collareta 2003), on the walls were colourful tapestries and trophies. Benches would have been covered by rugs and platforms set up for the most important diner guests, at least towards the Renaissance period. Medieval interiors were therefore colourfully adorned and pottery was one element of this colour scheme. Their delicacy and detail would have contrasted against the solidity of massive stone walls and heavy carpentry in castles and magnate residencies. After nightfall, this setting would have been viewed by candle light from oil lamps, producing an effect of light and shade which is very different from modern electric light (Pastoureau 2003, 422). In fact candles produce pool of intense light around them and not an equal coverage of the room. Certainly parts of the rooms were in darkness and then slowly

revealed as the candles were lit as someone walked through a darkened room.

7.3 Religious buildings

The architecture of monasteries remained unchanged during the Middle Ages due to the continuity of religious rule and the exigencies of monastic life. In some cases, cultural centres developed around monasteries, contributing to the agglomeration of the town. From the 12th century onwards the development of artistic and architectural styles is reflected in monastic buildings which, by the time of the Renaissance, saw monasteries emulating palaces, especially in their interiors that were sometimes enriched with frescoes in their refectories, for instance at Monte Cassino (Bosi 1990, 1). In particular, the Benedictine Order imposed a division into different buildings with distinctive functions: the refectory, the chapter house, the *scriptoria*, and, of course, the garden with its agricultural activities and workshops (as is well demonstrated by the San Vincenzo al Volturno excavations for the production of glass and tiles (Marazzi 2008, 323) (Figure 7.4). All these rooms faced a quadrangular cloister, the characteristic architectural element of western monasticism (Bosi 1990, 2). Monasteries were almost completely autonomous, at least until the development of the Mendicant Orders in the 12th to 13th centuries who were located in well-populated towns and cities and whose contact with the lay population was altogether different.

In the monastery, the refectory was the place where meals were served and eaten. This was a long rectangular room with windows with a wooden roof or with vaults, and tended to have fixed furniture, including a table with fixed legs (Prache 2003, 152). The walls of the refectory were sober

and colourless. The table setting would have been more or less the same as for castles, despite the fact that the Benedictine Order, for example, did not eat meat (other than birds), and differed in that there was no carver and no wooden meat boards, as seen at the tables of the lords and nobles. It is very likely that pottery, glass, wood and copper were used on the tables of monasteries (Collareta 2003), and our Byzantine glazed pottery, due to its colourful and brilliant glaze (Chapter 3), would have stood out tremendously in contrast to the white of the tablecloth and the monochrome colours of the rest of the vessels, as it would against the monochrome colours of religious clothing. Here the pottery was a series of pinpoints of colour against a plain backdrop.

7.4 Dining habits

Information about dining habits in medieval Italy can be collated from written documents, including lists of meals, and volumes on medieval cuisine such as the 'Liber De Coquina', a 13th century recipe book written in Naples (part published by Capatti and Montanari 1999 or Benporat 2001), as well as from history of art, including paintings, frescoes and mosaics with both religious and secular scenes, and archaeological evidence, mainly pottery. For the period before 13th century there is no comprehensive source of evidence for recipes.

From the written documents, we learn that Italian cuisine in the Middle Ages retained some of the characteristics of Late Roman cuisine such as the use of vegetables and legumes and pasta, made in the form of *lasagne* (*lagana* in Latin) using water, flour and eggs (Dosi and Schnell 1986, 40). This contrasted with other European countries where meat was much more important. During the medieval period, other elements typical of

Mediterranean/Greco-Roman cuisine were re-introduced with the arrival of the Arabs in Sicily in the 9th century; particularly the use of *agro-dolce* ('sweet and sour') flavours obtained by mixing sugar with salt and spices, and also dried pasta, which in the 12th to 13th centuries was called *vermicelli* and *maccheroni*. This marks Sicily as the centre of innovation for Italian cuisine in the medieval period, since its influences became widespread throughout the Peninsula via the 'city ports'. Genoa, for example, in the 12th century, had the monopoly of the export of *maccheroni* and *vermicelli* from Sicily towards the northern regions (Capatti and Montanari 1999, 60).

Despite appearances, the main course of the wealthy was meat, though eaten with vegetables and pasta, which generally go unrecorded in both written and iconographic sources (see below). Eating pasta by itself was considered typical of peasant society, and it was generally eaten off *tagliere*, 'wooden boards'. There is also evidence in the Italian peninsula for the use of wooden forks as far back as the 13th century, because it was easier to eat hot pasta in this way; the rest of Europe continued to eat without forks until the 17th century (Capatti and Montanari 1999, 61).

One document, dated to 1191, outlines the menu followed by the monks of the monastery of Sant' Ambrogio in Milan (Lombardy) (Capatti and Montanari 1999, 149). A list of nine plates, divided into three courses, is based mainly around meat. The first course consists of cold meats including pork and chicken, the second is of stuffed chicken and beef in a pepper sauce (*salsa piperata*), and the third course, roast chicken, pork loins with bread (*cum panicio*) and stuffed pigs. Another document from 1266 lists the food included in an agrarian contract stipulated in Asti

(Piedmont) by a man called Dominus Pancia. It describes a lunch starting with a lemon (to open the stomach for the meal to come), two pounds of pig meat with white chick peas and a capon for each person, and sauces for everything. Then chestnuts and fruits to finish. White bread and white wine are included and the meal is served on a white tablecloth (Capatti and Montanari 1999, 150).

What we are seeing here is a large quantity of food on 'important' lordly tables. But what was it served in? From paintings of the medieval period, particularly religious ones, we see a scattered presence of vessels on the table, such as wooden boards, increasing in number during the Middle Ages, as well as large bowls, probably for vegetables and soups. The use of the knives is hardly notable initially, but increases during the course of the Middle Ages along with the use of forks (Figures 7.5, 7.6). The problem, of course, is that the images of these meals, particularly within religious scenarios, are symbolic. For instance, more costly and extravagant food is often represented, such as meat, bread and wine which are symbolic in Christian liturgy, as are fish which are generally represented on the table of saints and monks. Legumes, cheese and spices are less often depicted as a consequence (Bidon 1997, 417), not because they were not present in the daily diet but because the other foodstuffs were probably appreciated more highly by the nobles who were generally the clients of the painters.

Nevertheless, the modest presence of vessels on the medieval table represented in medieval paintings is probably a genuine reflection of contemporary practice. The custom in this period was to share food from common boards or bowls, which involved taking the food from these

common vessels and eating it on a piece of bread which was essentially used as we might use a plate today. This tradition of sharing became less common during the medieval period as is shown by comparing Late Antique and Early Middle Age paintings of the Last Supper (Vroom 2003, 309-313, Figures 7.7, 7.8, 7.9) with its medieval and late medieval versions. In the early paintings, such as the Last Dinner in the mosaic of the Basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna dated to the 6th century, one bowl is depicted at the centre of the table and is used by all 12 apostles, or else one or two wooden boards are present for everyone to use. In later paintings eating becomes less communal and food is taken from individual bowls. These points have been highlighted in recent work on Byzantine pottery in Boeotia (Greece) by Joanita Vroom (2003) who uses Mediterranean iconographic sources to argue for a change in dining habits in the Byzantine territories between the Early Byzantine (4th–7th centuries) to the Late Byzantine period (13th–15th centuries), a change she attributes to the influence of western occupation of the Levant (Vroom 2003, 329-330).

For Corinth (Greece) Williams (2003) has also suggested that a change in culinary traditions took place under the western (Frankish) occupation in the 13th century, with a greater preference for stewed meat over legumes and vegetables, which were more typical of Mediterranean/Byzantine cuisine. This change may also be observed in the different characteristics of the cooking pots, which are modified in shape to allow different ways of cooking (Williams 2003). Deeper bowls also appear on the tables and are used to eat stewed meat with broth, signalling the mix of western influences within a traditional Byzantine culture.

Reflecting upon the changes in dining habits in an Italian context, it would seem that this particular change did not occur so neatly, though there was certainly a change in culinary styles during the Middle Ages. In particular there were new vegetables (such as aubergine, spinach, citrus fruits, salt, pepper) and dried *vermicelli* pasta, thanks to the Arabs, and novel ways of cooking meat. For example, from northern Europe came the method of stewing meat instead of roasting it, and also a greater consumption of meat in the cuisine. Such influences would have been due to the exchange of cultures that resulted from wider trading links, as well as greater wealth and an appreciation of luxury displayed through food and meals that demonstrated the prosperity of those doing the entertaining.

From the archaeological data displayed in Figure 5.18, it is apparent that, in the 10th to 11th centuries, Byzantine glazed bowls and dishes were present alongside other forms such as cups and jugs, while in the 12th century and 13th to 14th centuries, when the use of bowls/dishes probably increased with the move to more individual methods of eating, we see far more vessels of this form. What we cannot say is whether, from a wide selection of forms, bowls were being chosen and purchased by the consumer. Instead, the production workshops themselves seem to reflect the changing habits of the consumers and so produced a more limited range from which consumers could choose. Either way, bowls do become the main vessel manufactured and used on the Italian peninsula, perhaps partly due to the greater volume of production of this form in Byzantine territories (Chapter 3).

On the face of it, Vroom's thesis seems to be confirmed. However, to some extent, the restricted presence of bowls also reflects the wider range of

vessels which were now available in materials other than ceramic. The ceramics must be seen in the context of the whole table setting and not merely as objects in their own right. Thus, the presence on the table of metal and glass vessels, alongside terracotta bowls, should be stressed. Copper or tin jugs and bowls filled with water for hand washing during the meal are also a constant. *Cuncha, concheta, conchum*, which are generally copper bowls, though they were sometimes made out of brass and wood, were used as soup tureens, as attested in documents from Albenga (Liguria) dated to the second half of the 13th century (Puerari 1990, 382-383). The archaeological evidence of metal vessels for this period, however, is very poor, due to the fact that they perish easily and were largely melted down and recycled. However, iconographic sources, mainly from around Tuscany from the 13th century onwards (Zagari 2005, 135) demonstrate that they were commonly in use, either as small and large bowls, but mostly as jugs (Zagari 2005, 136).

Glass finds have been reasonably well studied from Mediterranean contexts. There was glass production in Corinth from the second half of the 12th century, for example. Williams (2003) suggests, from the varied assemblage of archaeological materials, that in the 12th to 13th centuries glass cups and beakers were used at the table there together with glazed terracotta wares. Large-scale glass production and consumption seems to begin from the 13th century there, as demonstrated in the vessel glass present at StariBar (Montenegro) which probably had a Venetian/Italian origin (Ferri 2008). In the Italian peninsula the production and circulation of glass is well attested from the early Middle Ages, through the large number of records from the 11th century, together with archaeological data, written sources and iconographic records (Stiaffini 1999, 24). Glass

vessels are admittedly rare from excavation, because they too were easily recycled, and because they do not survive well in the archaeological record, but we must be careful not to see this as proof that glass was rare. Glass was a sought after and useful material, being completely odourless, tasteless and transparent, perfect for the conservation of food and drinks (Stiaffini 1999, 106). For these reasons it has been always considered more valuable than terracotta. In the Middle Ages, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, the presence of goblets and open vessels such as bowls and cups on the table is very rare, and instead the evidence points to the use of bottles and glasses. This record fits perfectly with our ceramic data, where bowls and dishes only appear from the 12th century onwards, while in the 10th to 11th centuries the range of terracotta forms was wider, including closed shapes. On an average medieval table of middling income in the Italian peninsula in the 12th/13th centuries, imported bowls, such as Byzantine glazed ware, sat alongside wooden boards, glasses and glass bottles, and metal bowls (Figure 7.10) (Benporat 2001, 19).

7.5 Colours and decoration

When considering the **colours** present in the interiors of households/palaces/castles/monasteries we have to remember first that Byzantine glazed pottery had its origin in the Mediterranean world, where the presence of rich colours was more common when compared, for example, to northern Europe, in terms of the natural landscape, with its brighter light, and its blend of material culture including textiles, sculptures and architecture (Gage 1993). Islamic culture was the richest in the medieval world in terms of the use of colour because of its iconoclastic nature (in which the representation of living things was prohibited), and here there was a well-developed knowledge of the techniques of colour mixing,

probably helped by readily available raw materials such as dyes as kermes, indigo and cinnabar. Byzantine culture was widely influenced by its classical heritage and eastern/Islamic taste, and it was really a mix between the two, but it was also a Christian culture. The colours found on Byzantine pottery are therefore very different to those on medieval French, German or English pottery of the same date.

The widest spectrum of colours was applied on Polychrome Wares (Chapter 3) where they imitated the iconography and styles of mosaics, the most common form of art present in the Byzantine culture. Dark-sepia colours were used to define the line of the forms, while colours provided glittering, sparkling effects, giving symmetry by filling the empty spaces. This effect was admired in mosaics and sculpture, where bright colours were especially appreciated. According to James (1996, 68), in the Byzantine world there was no symbolism behind this choice of colours. Colours are present where they are needed, the aim being to provide brilliancy, dynamism and changing effects with shining effects. In a general sense, however, the colours blue, white, gold/yellow and red were probably used to indicate the divine light, while green was more commonly used on other forms of art, for instance to cover the surface of terracotta vessels.

One colour which may have been significant is white which was present in particular on GWW. In Byzantine art the colour white is thought to represent purity (Dark 2002, 107). In mosaics, for instance, light colours such as white and gold correspond to the idea of the immaterial world, but they are also necessary to bring out shapes when they have to be depicted at the great height and they are thus generally used in the upper

zones of the buildings/churches. Darker colours such as brown, green, blue, and violet are used to create the outlines of form, and they dominate the lowest parts of buildings and are used in a hierarchical sense from the darkest to the lightest ones, from the ground towards heaven (Demus 1953, 37).

Icons of saints, a common feature of Byzantine religious art, are not well represented in archaeological evidence, either on finds of Byzantine pottery recovered in Greece or finds of pottery recovered in the Italian peninsula. They are, however, found on ceramic tiles in churches and monasteries, and sometimes hung there for many centuries (for instance in Constantinople; Ettinghausen (1954). Polychrome Ware tiles (10th–11th centuries-Chapter 3) do sometimes bear the images of saintly icons (Dark 2002, 110) (Figure 7.11) and these make use of colours such as aubergine, bright yellow and grass green, light purple and lapis-lazuli blue, which gives them a very oriental appearance (Ettinghausen 1954, 81). Polychrome Wares produced in Constantinople also used pseudo-kufic motifs which recall the influence of the Islamic world but which do not mean anything.

Colours were also used in particular combinations. From written sources amply studied by the scholar Pastoureau (2003, 417) in the Middle Ages the union between yellow and green represented the colours of the mad because it was considered to be a very strong contrast, while the union of red and green was very much common, above all in the clothing. At the same time, the use of different colours depended not only on the personal tastes of the makers or the users of the vessels, but also on the availability of pigments, techniques, the fashions of the time and the symbolic

language, the role of colour in the daily life and in the material culture, the rules, the creation of the artists of the time in other forms of art (Pastoureau 2003, 425–6).

Besides the use of colour, some of the **symbols** depicted in Byzantine art can also be found in pottery decoration. The Byzantine Empire was one of the most important producers and exporters of clothing and textiles, above all during the Early (4th–7th centuries) and Middle Byzantine (7th–13th centuries) periods. We have a good evidence of habits and various textiles where non-Christian character decorations are present, dated to the early period (4th–7th centuries) and which resemble very closely some of the decorations present on the Byzantine pots (Figure 7.12). Generally speaking, in these forms of art, symbols were directly linked to the Classic/Imperial panorama and the Roman past and included decorations such as knots and interlaces forming shapes such as stars. These symbols were part of the ‘supernatural realm’ and meant ‘to enchant’ and they were also very much present in the decorative patterns on floor mosaics (Maguire 1990, 216) (Figure 7.12).

Another common image found both on textiles and pottery decoration is the rider triumphing over a beast, commonly a lion. The rider could represent either Solomon or Alexander the Great and derives from Hellenistic and Greek models (Armstrong 2006b, 10). Another category of non-Christian design present in textiles and also in clay vessels is nature, drawings of flowers, plants and animals such as fishes and birds which aim to attract prosperity (Maguire 1990, 217). These are actually the most common figures present in our evidence. Among the Christian symbols, the cross is frequently depicted also on vessels, especially on the

Polychrome Wares, but it is absent among our records recovered in Italy. The cross was also very much present on clothes and it was thought to protect bodies from demons (Maguire 1990, 218). Another very common Christian figure, mostly in the later period, is represented by a warrior saint, St. George or Theodore, who holds a cross in his left and in his right a spear with which he fights a dragon. A proliferation of their images is attested on portable objects such as ivory triptychs, steatite icons, cameos, enamels, seals and coins (Parani 2003, 150). The symbolic meaning is always of protection from evil (Maguire 1990, 219) (Figure 7.13). This image is often depicted on Zeuxippus Ware II, dated to the third quarter of the 13th century (Armstrong 2006a, 84–86). A very famous plate with this image has been found in Cherson, Crimea in modern Ukraine. The warrior here is depicted with very eastern characteristics and carries a distinctive round shield in contrast to the oblong one, defined as Norman and used in other Byzantine imagery, and he also has curly hair (Parani, 2003, 127). Instead, a major presence of elements associated with the western military tradition is evident from the Late Byzantine period, as seen in the imagery of hunting animals (see below). This demonstrates the strong impact of western society on the Byzantine world.

These are among the most common artistic symbols from the Early to the Late Byzantine period. Other forms of art such metalwork, ivories and manuscripts (mainly with religious themes) from the 10th century onwards show a sort of Renaissance after the Iconoclastic period, but they are much more focused on figural forms or Imperial scenes, Byzantine Imperialism with religious scenes, as Emperors in the Christian world, surrounded by saints etc. They were generally made as gifts for functionaries of the State (Parani 2007, 174). Therefore, there is no

particular correspondence in decoration between this kind of 'high art' and our pottery, at least no so frequently as it could appear from the description above. The peak of production of art has been reached with silk textiles, in this case as mentioned above, there are more visible links between the types of decoration on textiles and on pottery forms, see examples in Figure 7.14 (Talbot Rice 1959, 74).

Human figures are less often represented on Middle Byzantine vessels (7th–13th centuries) when compared to the earlier ones (4th–7th centuries), as said above, saints are common only in tiles present in the churches. For instance, examples can be found among the pottery collection from Corinth, in Measles Ware, where a man with long curly hair is shown wearing a full-length tunic, who could be the Greek hero Digeni Akrita fighting against a lion (Figure 7.15). Another outstanding plate from Corinth in Champlevè Ware shows a couple, with both man and woman with long hair represented in a courtly and bucolic scenario, with a hare running behind them (Dark 2002, 99).

In the earliest period, on GWW II are impressed scenes with lions, eagles and, griffins. The lion symbolises earthly power and the eagle divine strength (Amigues 1995), the latter being a symbol of the Roman and Byzantine Empire (Talbot Rice 1959). It seems that western habits were starting to be adopted mainly from the 13th century onwards. Among the decorative themes on pottery, most of the middle Byzantine (12th–13th century) sgraffito pottery generally shows birds and, to a lesser degree, fish, which is a mere Christian symbol (Von Wartburg 2001, 118) and more common in the earlier period. Many different species, such as pigeons, rails (partridges), wading birds (curlew, bustard, crane), birds of prey

(*falconidae* such as *falco peregrinus*) are present elsewhere on the Byzantine pottery (Figure 7.16). The scenes are drawn from life, probably from observations of hunting falcons. The falconry and hawking imagery indicates the influence of the western world on the Byzantine one, where the ideal of chivalries and courts were developing with the construction of the feudal system on the western lands and of the values brought by the lords and their vassals (Zug Tucci 1983, 408). The representation of hawks symbolised the power of the lord as protector (Standley 2008, 201). Falconry was restricted to certain specific groups of society, like the nobility or the new bourgeoisie and this stresses again the division of the social classes into the groups who used these vessels, as attested in the previous chapter on consumption (Norman lords in the south and local bourgeoisie in the north of the peninsula). For instance, according to Franco Sacchetti (from *il Trecentonovelle* *novelle CXXVIII, CXCIV, CCX*), in order to be a real gentleman one should be able to hunt and ride (*'uccellare e cacciare e cavalcare e ogni altra cosa da diletto ottimamente'*) as was the tradition amongst the young lords of Florence who in September used to hunt quails between Pistoia and Prato. The quantity and variety of birds used for this hunting is evidence of the richness of the community (Zug Tucci 1983, 421). Fighting animals such as lions hunting deer or hares are also very frequent (Figure 7.16).

Returning to the examples indicated above, this figurative language does not seem to be very widespread in other forms of higher quality art and craftsmanship such as textiles, ivory, mosaic, sculptures which in the later period (13th century) are less developed in the Byzantine Empire. These high status items seem to select more often from a range of Imperial-religious imagery which in turn attests to their more sophisticated nature

and consumption. Clay vessels are obviously part of a more popular consumption, even if represented by the nobility of the time, which started to play and spend its free time in these sorts of leisure activities, such as reading the poets of courtly love and hunting. In an Italian context, these new values are well illustrated in the description in the *Decameron* of Federigo degli Alberighi, who loved his falcon, but when left without any food in the house, is obliged to cook it for the lady he loves ([...] *Per che, ricordandomi del falcon che mi domandate e della sua bontà, degno cibo da voi il reputai e questa mattina arrostito l'avete avuto in sul tagliere, il quale io per ottimamente allogato avea* [...]) - 'Therefore, thinking of the falcon which you now ask of me, and of its excellence, I deemed it a dish worthy of you, and today you had it served roasted on a platter' (Boccaccio 1955, Fifth Day, Ninth story). The *Decameron* also helps us to characterise some elements of this society further, in particular by considering the social occasions at which the lords might have met. Thus Boccaccio mentions a young boy 'who [...] spent all his time hunting' (Boccaccio 1955, Tenth Story, Tenth Day), another character 'used to play, to use weapons and giving parties and presents' (Boccaccio 1955, Ninth Story, Fifth Day) and a third who 'invited for dinners and meals these and other people [...]' (Boccaccio 1955, Eighth Story, Fifth Day). However, despite this evidence in the written sources for hunting and feasting in castles, faunal data from archaeological sites has not yet been used to any extent in Italy to study this aspect of high status daily life. Animal bones are not always reported and studied but this would certainly be one area worthy of further investigation to determine the quantity and type of animal hunted (for a case study in an English royal context see James and Gerrard 2007). At Rocca San Silvestro, however, there are bones from game animals. Hunting is represented by bird bones from starlings, by mammal bones from rabbits, deer, roe, and

possibly by reptile such as turtles. In all, this amounts to 12.5% of the total assemblage of animal bones from the site between the 10th and the 13th centuries, therefore, in this case game made a significant contribution to the diet of the occupants of the castle (Bedini 1987).

Finally, it is important to stress that while in the Byzantine territories a wide portfolio of decoration of different kinds does exist, not all of these were imported onto the Italian peninsula. While there are sgraffito vessels with pseudo-kufic³⁸ decorations (in Sgraffito Ware II), depictions of animals such as rabbits in Champlevè Wares are much rarer finds (Chapters 3 and 5). These are mainly in urban sites and the distribution is not so significant. Plain Glazed Wares are also very common (without incised or sgraffito decorations), with spatter painted colours, as on the Green and Brown Painted Wares. This does suggest a deliberate selection of vessels with certain decorative styles for export. The pseudo-kufic designs are perhaps more exotic, more ethnically specific and so demonstrated, through their acquisition, an understanding of a link with the eastern Mediterranean, and they are found in almost every types of sites. Furthermore, among the Italian evidence we mainly have pots in yellow, green, green and brown, as the colourful Polychrome wares are extremely rare (Chapter 3 and 5). In brief, in the Italian peninsula we have the most standardised and common items of Byzantine finewares, compared for instance to Corinth as widely described above.

7.6 Summary

The physical places where our pottery has been used were most probably represented by these halls (*sale*) present in the sites described in the

³⁸ This adjective means that the decorations imitate the Kufic symbols.

previous chapters, mostly belonging to the wealthiest groups of society. The pottery was mainly represented by open forms, like bowls to be used on the table, together with other vessels made of glass and metals, constituting in most cases closed vessels. The use of terracotta bowls was formerly communal but became, during the course of the Middle Age, more individualistic, due to dining habits changing through time.

The imagery on the Byzantine finewares also became more European when the contacts between the two spheres increased due to the Crusades, the Latin kingdoms which formed in the *Terra Santa*, and the exchange activities happening between East and West. Indeed, images of hunting falcons and bucolic environments typical of the European courts is became quite common even on our pottery, especially from the 13th century, which instead previously displayed mainly Imperial, Christian (in the 10th–11th century) and pseudo kufic motifs (in the 12th century). The presence of this imagery is not connected to a specific type of site but it is quite widespread, even in the Byzantine world, so it is not linked to a specific social group but it is more a matter of social status. For a general view of the images present in the Byzantine finewares see Figure 7.17

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions to this work can be organised into three main points. First an overview of the main themes investigated in this thesis is presented, with the aim also to define some of problems encountered in the analyses of the records. Secondly the methodological approach followed is assessed, providing also the main conclusive points which have been traced above. Thirdly, the problems of the nature of the records and how this topic, and in general medieval archaeology, could better focus its research to improve knowledge, is proposed.

8.1 Summary

This research has been developed by looking for pottery sherds in different Italian sites, from the north to the south of the peninsula. The excavations were generally quite old investigations carried out from the 1960s until the present century, and bear very different types of information and approaches. The author did not manage to gain all the data that were important for a complete structuring of the research, therefore the level of the dataset is quite unbalanced from site to site. Sometimes in fact reports lacks full quantification of the pottery, and very often also the volume of soil excavated is not specified, not allowing in this way a full comparison between sites. Furthermore, on several occasions, it was not possible to access the Byzantine finewares stored in the different excavations sites, and moreover information on the complete assemblage was lacking, over-

stressing always the role covered by the pottery. As Figure 4.1 shows, the majority of the work has been done using published material. As a result, the author did not have the opportunity to examine the fabrics of all these wares.

Nevertheless, this work has attempted firstly to clarify within a certain range of probability the centres of production of Byzantine glazed pottery. As said in Chapter 3, this topic has encountered a number of significant obstacles. In fact the aim was to provide as schematic as possible a view of the most up-to-date information on the topic of the provenance of Byzantine glazed pottery. This of course meant forcing the data somewhat, increasing the risk of error. However, this was the only way to formulate a meaningful debate, and propose further research on the data set.

An up-to-date clarification of the main typologies of Byzantine glazed pottery circulating in the Mediterranean (Chapter 3) was presented, and particularly those arriving in the Italian peninsula (1130 sherds circa) from the Byzantine territory, including the most common forms of vessels present here and the type of contexts from where they were recovered (Chapter 5). The imported pottery was linked to the presence of other imported goods. This proved a holistic view of trade in the Mediterranean in different periods (10–14th centuries), and we can see the trade-men and families who were actually dealing with trade activities, thanks to the support of historical sources. Pottery covers only a minor role within the enormous quantity of other wares circulating from east to west and vice-versa in the medieval period, though unfortunately the archeological records show only the pottery, as it is the most durable and resilient object over times. This is why it is important to use both the sources in support of each other: ar-

archaeological and historical. However the potentiality of historical sources for such an early period is quite limited compared to the works dealing with later medieval periods (Gutiérrez 2000, Chapter 2).

The nature of the sites where the Byzantine finewares have been recovered has been analysed (they are 47), outlining where this pottery was mainly used in the Italian scenario. The records are mostly attested in religious sites, mainly monasteries, and urban sites, mainly port-cities. It has also been stressed that the nature of the deposits where the pottery has been recovered (Chapter 4), affected the interpretations of the contexts (see below).

Chapter 6 focused on the probable consumers of Byzantine finewares, divided into different categories such as nobles/rulers, nuns and monks, citizens and peasants. The focus was on trying to understand their roles within society, their main activities and the social and economic reasons for their consumption of Byzantine tablewares imports. Furthermore matters on social and ethnic identities were investigated by basing the interpretations on a couple of works on these themes, such as Jones (1997) and Hingley (2005) (see also below).

Finally (Chapter 7) was dedicated to the construction of the social and cultural world where the Byzantine tablewares were used in the Italian peninsula, by adopting a phenomenological perspective (Cumberpatch 1997): a journey into the exterior and interior parts of the castles/palaces, monasteries, households. Our pottery was used in these contexts, therefore the next question presented was 'How was it used' and 'What food was served on it?'. In this reconstruction of the medieval world made mainly

thanks to iconographic, historical and history of art sources, an analysis of the colours and decorations of our pottery has been investigated, by considering the cultural and artistic imagery from which the potters manufacturing our tablewares could have been influenced, trying to assess the reasons for the presence of specific colours and symbols on the vessels. However in the Italian peninsula only the most common items were imported, generally decorated with pseudo-kufic decorations, interlaces and knots, very typical of an eastern taste. The most frequent imagery present on Byzantine vessels was represented by religious symbols, whereas scenes taken from battles and hunting activities are much rarer among our finds.

8.2 Methodological framework and conclusive points

The methodology which has been established in this work can be paralleled to the symbolic image of a puzzle, presented in Chapter 1. What we have been trying to create is a model, which can hopefully be used by other researchers. This model is based on another research which has worked particularly well and certainly could function well for other analyses of material culture: the volume by Alejandra Gutiérrez (2000).

The puzzle here is composed of several elements which represent the single issues which needed to be studied to build a picture that represents the most complete understanding of how people lived within the society where the material culture under consideration was used (in this case Byzantine tablewares) (Brown 1988, 20). Therefore what we need is a large amount of information, not simply pottery data.

First, it is very important to have a good knowledge of the deposits which have been excavated, trying to understand how the pottery was recovered, to understand matters of residuality and hence of the pottery assemblage, to be able to give better interpretations of the material. This can also lead to the knowledge of the way in which people of the past discarded their objects and garbage in general, depending on the level of fragmentation of the vessels and the type of deposits where they were discarded. Therefore a good excavation can provide scientific and cultural evidence.

Secondly the study on the pottery needs analyses on the typology (which is known from a combination of fabric, decoration and form) of the vessel to understand its provenance, which can also reveal important patterns of trading activities. The study of forms can also give information on the cultures of the people who used these vessels and on their social status such as the presence of more cooking wares or tablewares etc-. In fact to gain this information pottery needs to be divided and quantified to give a complete view of the site we are dealing with, together with an analysis and quantification of the rest of the materials. The distribution of all the materials divided by type and form can be plotted within the site to give an understanding of the probable areas of consumption. This information can then be related to the probable inhabitants and therefore consumers of that area/households/contexts and therefore subsequently we need information on the history of the site and of their people.

It would be useful to gain more ethnical and social evidence rather than simply using historical sources about sites, to enable the reconstruction of the cultural and social environment within which our pottery was used. For this, written documents, history of art sources or other material ana-

lyses can be very helpful. All those elements are framed by a theoretical approach, which provides the basilar question: *Why* was this pottery made/used/discarded?

Certainly our research has not established complete profiles of all these aspects, above all due the lack of data, but what we did was to think on the basis of alternative patterns. This is one method for researching material culture, with the aim also of creating a completely new challenging debate and new questions for Mediterranean archaeology.

The *main conclusive points* from this work can be summarised as follows. First, the percentage of consumption of Byzantine finewares in the Italian peninsula consists of only 10% in the first period (10th–11th centuries), to be followed by a strong increase in the 12th century with 63% and a further decrease from the 13th century onwards with 27%. The consumption of this pottery is therefore mainly happening in the 12th-century Italian peninsula (Figure 5.5).

These data lead to the observation that in the Middle Age, according also to iconographic sources presented in Chapter 7, from the 11th to the 13th centuries, the evidence points to the use of forms such as bottles and glasses on the table. This records fits perfectly with our ceramic data, where in the first period (10th-11th centuries) the range of terracotta forms was wider, including also closed shapes (Figure 5.17), while bowls and dishes in terracotta mainly appear from the 12th century onwards. This could also be due to the fact that the latest pottery was produced in a standard manner and traded in much larger quantities compared to the first period, which were probably personal transports.

Furthermore, the analysis on the consumers based on the examination of each occupant of these 48 sites has permitted some suggestions. It appears to be generally concentrated in sites where the higher social class groups were present. Obviously problems of residuality and post depositional processes need to be considered, forcing us to re-evaluate the data. As Figure 4.13 shows, the deposits where our pottery has been recovered do not always represent secure contexts for secure interpretations, and this can affect the conclusions in a research of this type.

In the 10th/11th century this pottery was mainly used by the Byzantine power stratum itself present in Italian provinces and subsequently or contemporarily by the Normans rulers. The consumption in the case of these wares was a matter of cultural identity. The Byzantine material culture in fact symbolised the social status of the upper social stratum, representing the only high-quality items available.

In the 12th century the Byzantine finewares reaches their peak in the Italian peninsula. They became more common, but they were still exotic and more refined than the other pottery circulating at that time. A very interesting distinction came out between southern and northern Italian peninsula, where two very different political systems, mainly in this core century of our research, were developing, due to the presence of the kingdom of the Normans in the south. We have two types of wealthy groups who are the probable consumers of our wares, respectively part of the former bourgeoisie in the north together with nobles and in the south mostly limited to a noble group of rulers and diplomatic people, who chose to have

this imported pottery on their tables for its availability and also due to a lack of high quality local tablewares.

In the 13th–14th century its circulation is smaller, and it probably has less value, due to the strong increase in this period of Italian manufacture. It is more difficult to say who the consumers were now. The distribution was probably socially varied. One aspect worth consideration is the well known presence of the majority of Byzantine glazed wares in the Adriatic area of the Italian peninsula, on the eastern coast, with 26 sites, geographically inclined towards the Byzantine lands, particularly in the 12th–13th centuries. The Tyrrhenian coast, as it is widely known, shows only a minor quantity of Byzantine imports, with 21 sites, compared with the significant presence of western Islamic vessels. However it is interesting to stress that on the Tyrrhenian coast the majority of the evidence of Byzantine glazed wares is present in ecclesiastic sites and castles, while on the opposite shore the majority of recoveries are found mainly in ports and urban sites, other than the strong concentration of monastic sites in the lagoon. This aspect suggests that while on the east coast the presence of this pottery is part of the normal supply from the eastern market (eastern goods were easily available in those areas), on the west coast this pottery arrived only through the strong demand of specific social groups or through donations.

Perhaps the presence of those imports, particularly in the 12th–13th centuries, was due to two main reasons: availability for the eastern Italian sites and demand arising from certain strong social groups such as the ecclesiastical or landowning for the western Italian sites (Figure 5.26).

8.3 How we can learn more

This work has been structured within a theoretical framework. This means that we have been trying to apply theoretical archaeological approaches to a topic regarding Mediterranean pottery. This has been the most difficult and challenging aspect for a study of the Middle Age Mediterranean.

In fact, theoretical approaches have been developed mainly in Anglo-phone countries. The mere selection of data has been surpassed by interests in other aspects, with the aim of gaining a more complete picture of the context from where the archaeological material was recovered, see for instance the article from Brown (1988).

This approach needs to be based on solid archaeological research, coming from good investigations, frequent publications, challenging debates and conferences, and finally awareness of the direction of that archaeological research (through the history of archaeology). All these elements are present in the methodologies carried out in the UK, where this work has been shaped. It could sound rhetorical, but this represents a different world compared to the Mediterranean scenario in terms of research.

Bias in the records of this work are apparent due to the impossibility of solving problems of provenance. To have a secure view of what was circulating in the Byzantine territories we would need continuous and focused archaeological work on well-dated and excavated sites in Greece and Turkey (which do not exist). Unfortunately in almost 20 years very little work has been done to solve the main problems on the origins of the Byzantine finewares. In brief, a real understanding has not been developed, I think for instance to the debate of the origin of the Zeuxippus Ware II, which has

been presented in a recent long and very complicated article by the scholars Veronique François and Yona Waksman, but which in synthesis does not really lead to a real understanding of the issue (2004–2005). Also according to the scholars (Yona Waksman pers.comm.) the mere analyses of pottery sherds without a secure link to a centre of manufacture is useless. What the research needs is the significant development of good archaeological excavations in those countries such as Greece and Turkey and finally a program of physical and chemical analyses of fabrics from sherds which have been stratigraphically excavated (Claudio Capelli pers.comm) (as up to today the majority of the Byzantine fine ware sherds analysed originate from random recoveries or museums).

Furthermore, it is important to stress that this peninsula in the Middle Age was not a homogeneous entity. We have spoken of the Italian peninsula throughout this thesis, constraining it into a single phenomenon to clarify the development of the topic, but in this period the nature of this country was very different from the rest of the European countries, which were creating the roots of nations. In the Italian peninsula the situation was the opposite, due to several geographical, political and historical reasons which would go beyond the scope of the discussion here (Gasparri 1997). We have dealt for instance with sites such as Rocca San Silvestro, a castle, and the port city of Otranto, which were part of completely different scenarios and they can easily be compared to the difference that existed between a castle in France and a port city in Spain. In brief, we have dealt with sites which are really part of different countries; moreover those countries were not stable and changed continuously, as Italian history shows.

We were forced in this work to think nationally about broad issues, but it is very difficult in Italy to have a national view of the main issues developed in archaeology. This is because of the extreme differences in the archaeological methods of the different regions, and moreover in different cities within the same regions. This is because the type of archaeology developed can be linked to a specific department within a specific university and moreover to a specific person/scholar. In brief, to make an example in the field of medieval archaeology, the only areas where good archaeological investigations have been developed are in Liguria, thanks to the group developed around the figure of Tiziano Mannoni, in Lombardy thanks to the activities of Giampiero Brogiolo, in Tuscany, because of links with Riccardo Francovich, in Emilia Romagna thanks to the investigations of Sauro Geli-chi, in Rome thanks to the teams which have been working in the Crypta Balbi, the Fori Imperiali and the Palatine hill excavations, partly in Apulia thanks to the presence of Paul Arthur and Giulio Volpe, and a few other cases scattered around the peninsula. In the remaining regions generally the information is not comparable to the state of knowledge present in the well-excavated regions. This is why in many cases in this research we were obliged to work with case studies, taking into account only specific territories and not the broad scenario of the country. Italian research too often lacks a broader perspective, and the non development of theoretical issues reflects this (Ammermann 2000, 169 and Chapter 1).

Due to the problems exposed above, this research has not always been able to answer or present important interpretations to particular problems, but the suggestion, defined by Post-Processualism, to attempt, *at*

least to move towards an interpretation of social aspects, and to think about the people who are part of the past (Wright 1993), has driven this research.

Archaeology in this view is not enough by itself. The aim of archaeologists should be to reconstruct a story, as we were storytellers. Archaeology can attain this point through vast amounts of research, however we can also look for a little part of the story and try to understand it through the items of the past that we can obtain with all their related information.

It is worth stressing that to provide a wider interpretation we are obliged to force our data into very strict categories, which somehow did not exist in past societies, or which probably overlapped between each other, as the reality is much more blurred than science. But to interpret the reality we need the science. Our aim was to make the archaeological data speak, and we hope they did somehow.

**Byzantine Finewares in Italy
(10th to 14th Centuries AD):
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the
Mediterranean World**

Two volumes

Volume 2

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2011

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All photographs have been taken by Erica D'Amico unless otherwise stated.

All drawings and maps have been completed by Erica D'Amico unless otherwise stated.

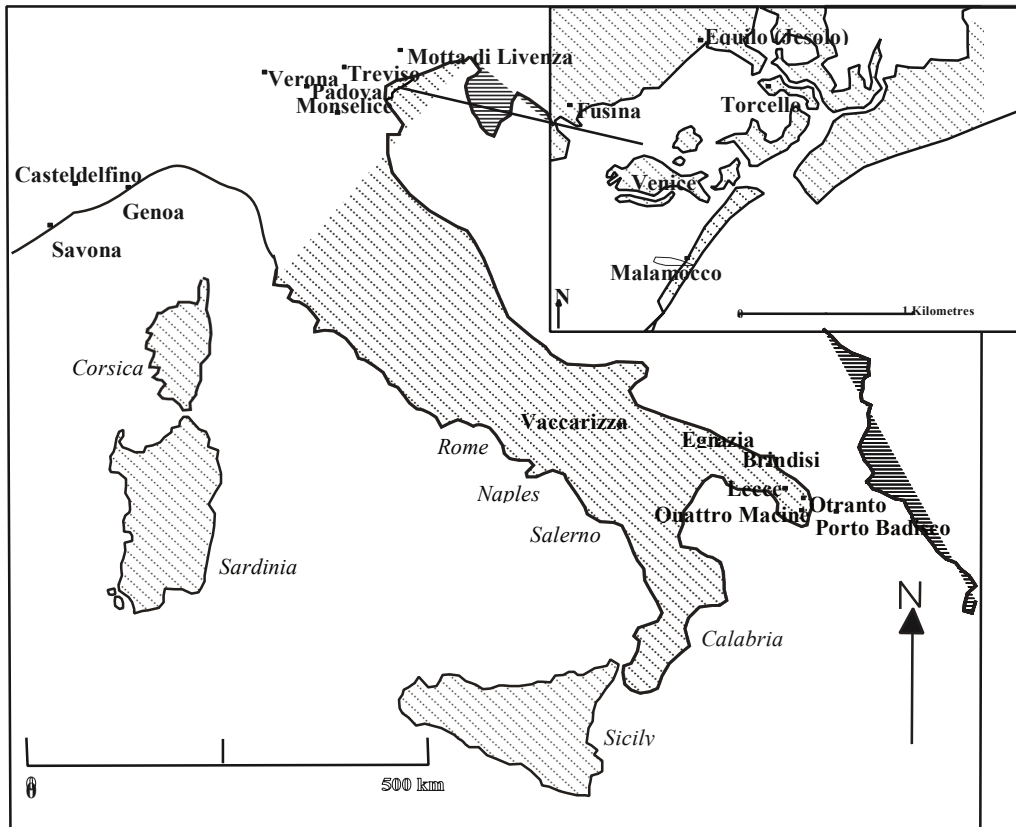


Figure 1.1. Main sites with Byzantine glazed wares evidence in the regions of Liguria, Apulia and Veneto

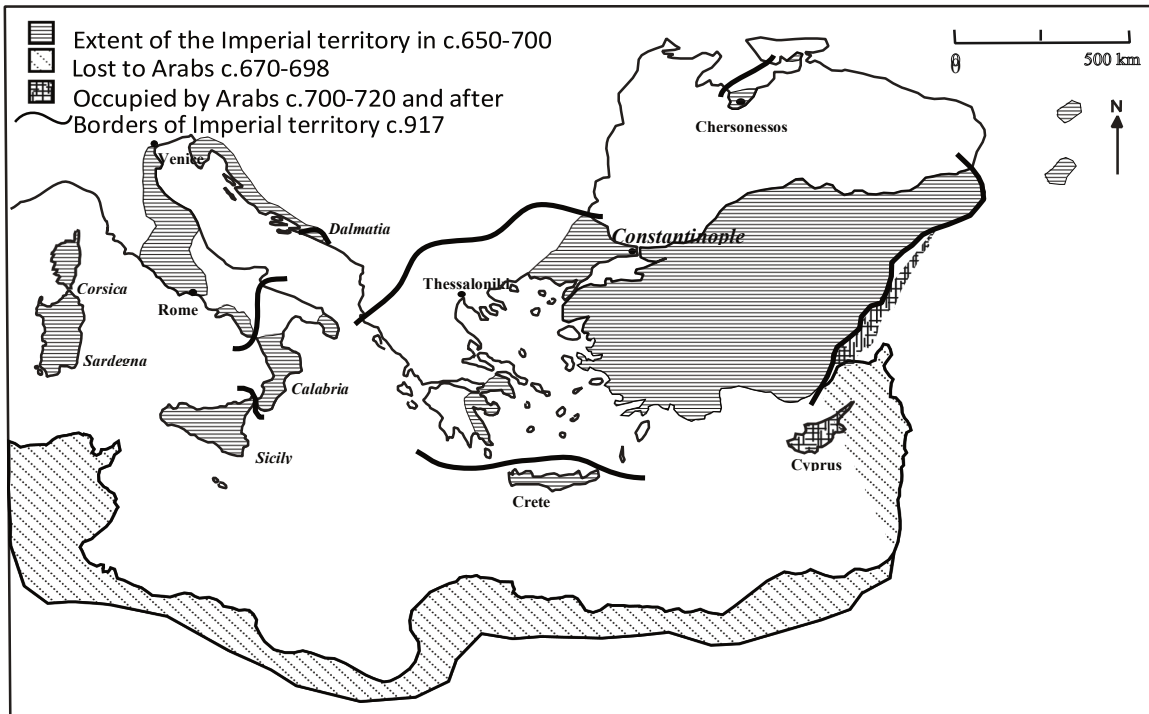


Figure 1.2. The Byzantine Empire extension between the 7th and the 10th century (after Haldon 1990)

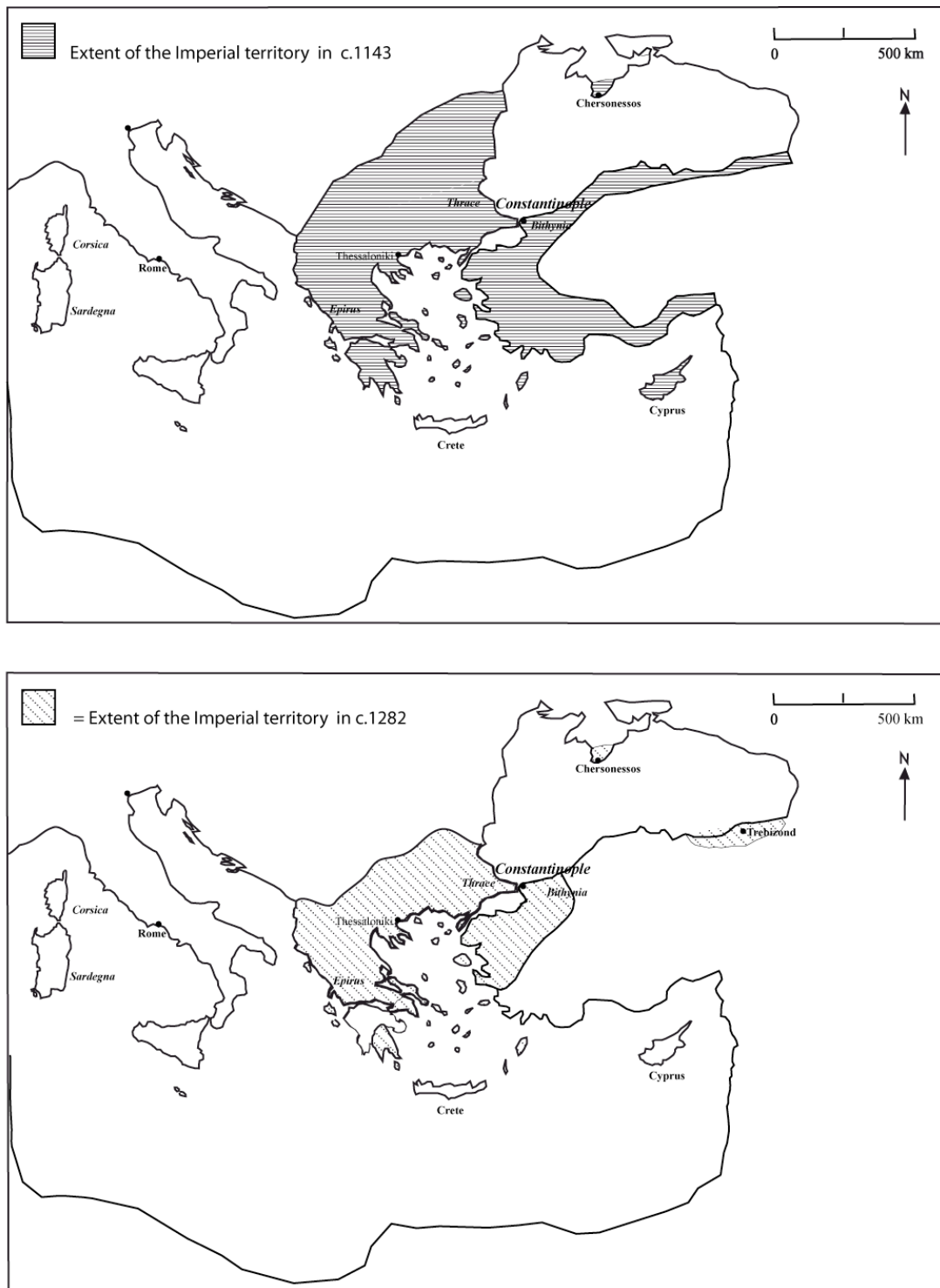


Figure 1.3. The Byzantine Empire extension between the 12th and the 13th century (after Treatgold 2001).

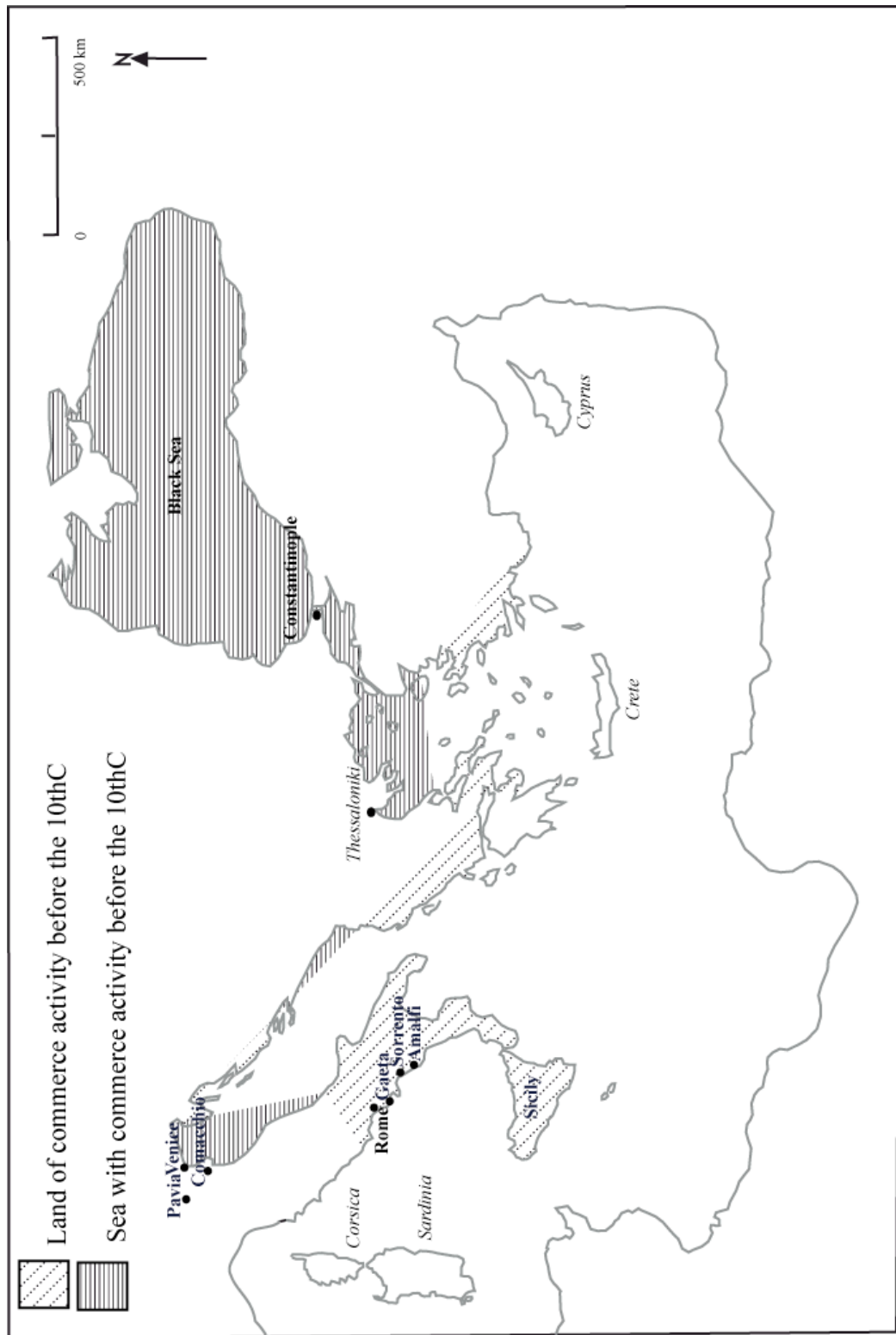


Figure 2.1. Trades before the 10th century.

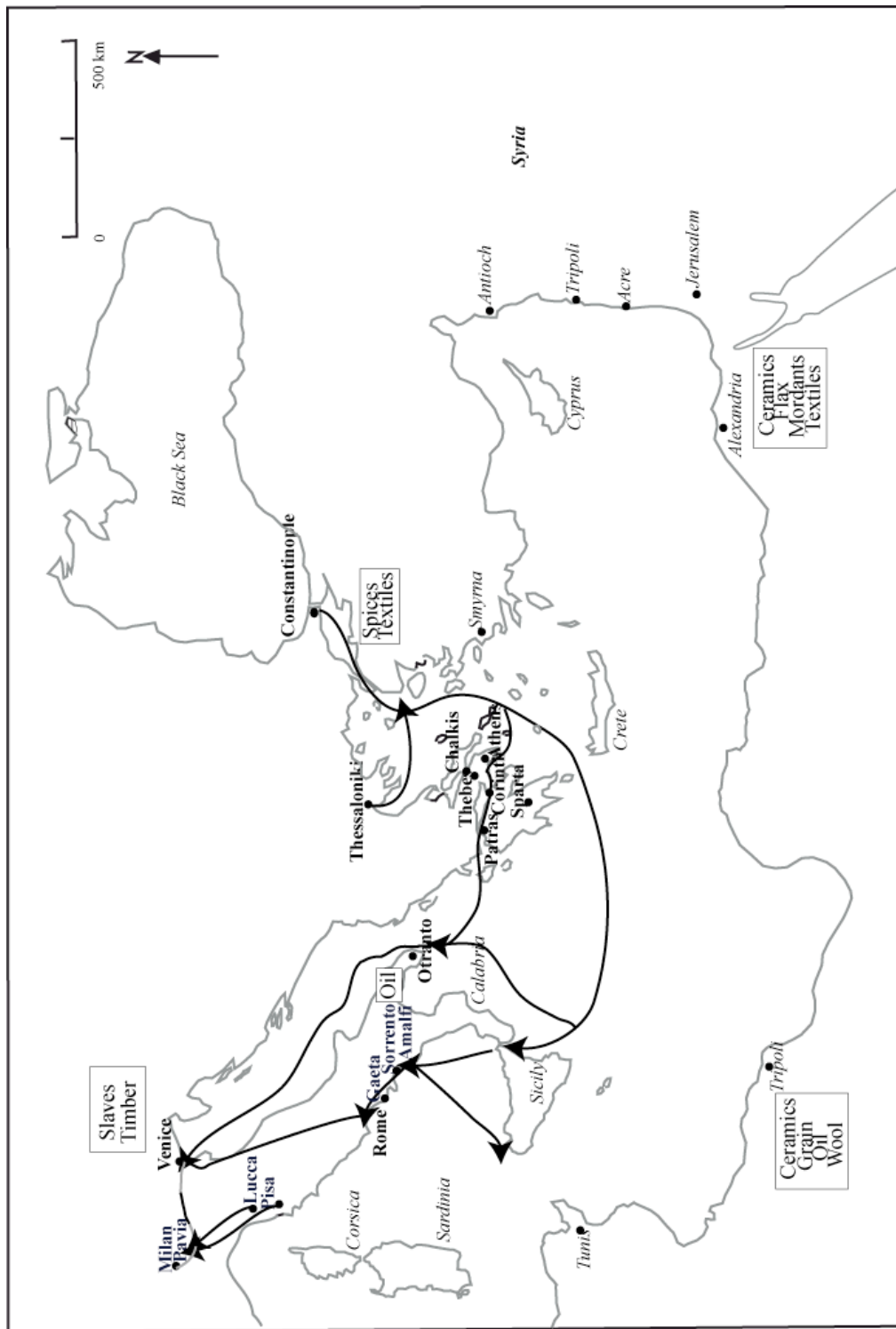


Figure 2.2. Trades between the 10th and the 11th century (after Gutierrez 2000).

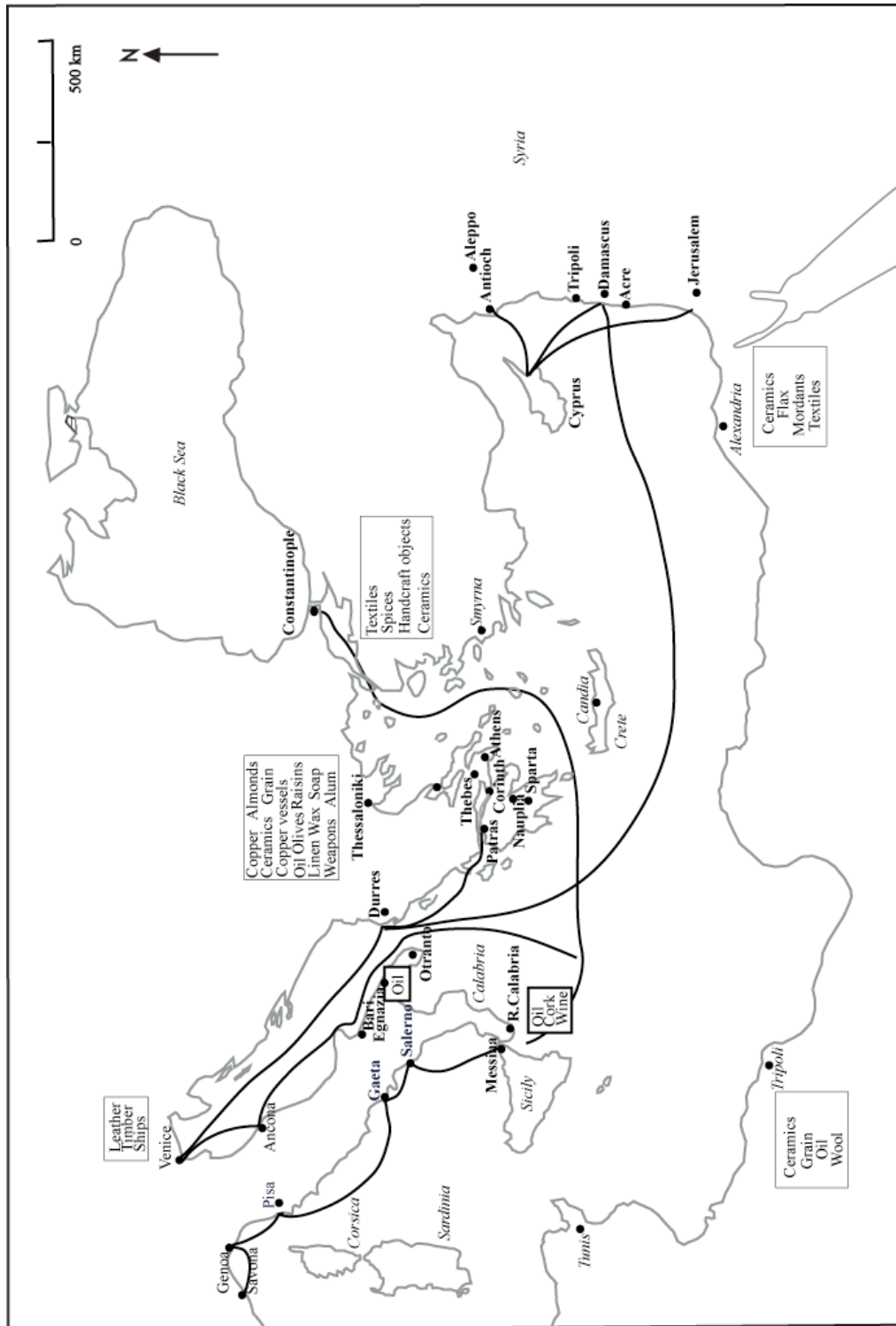


Figure 2.3. Trades between the 11th and the 13th century (after Gutierrez 2000).

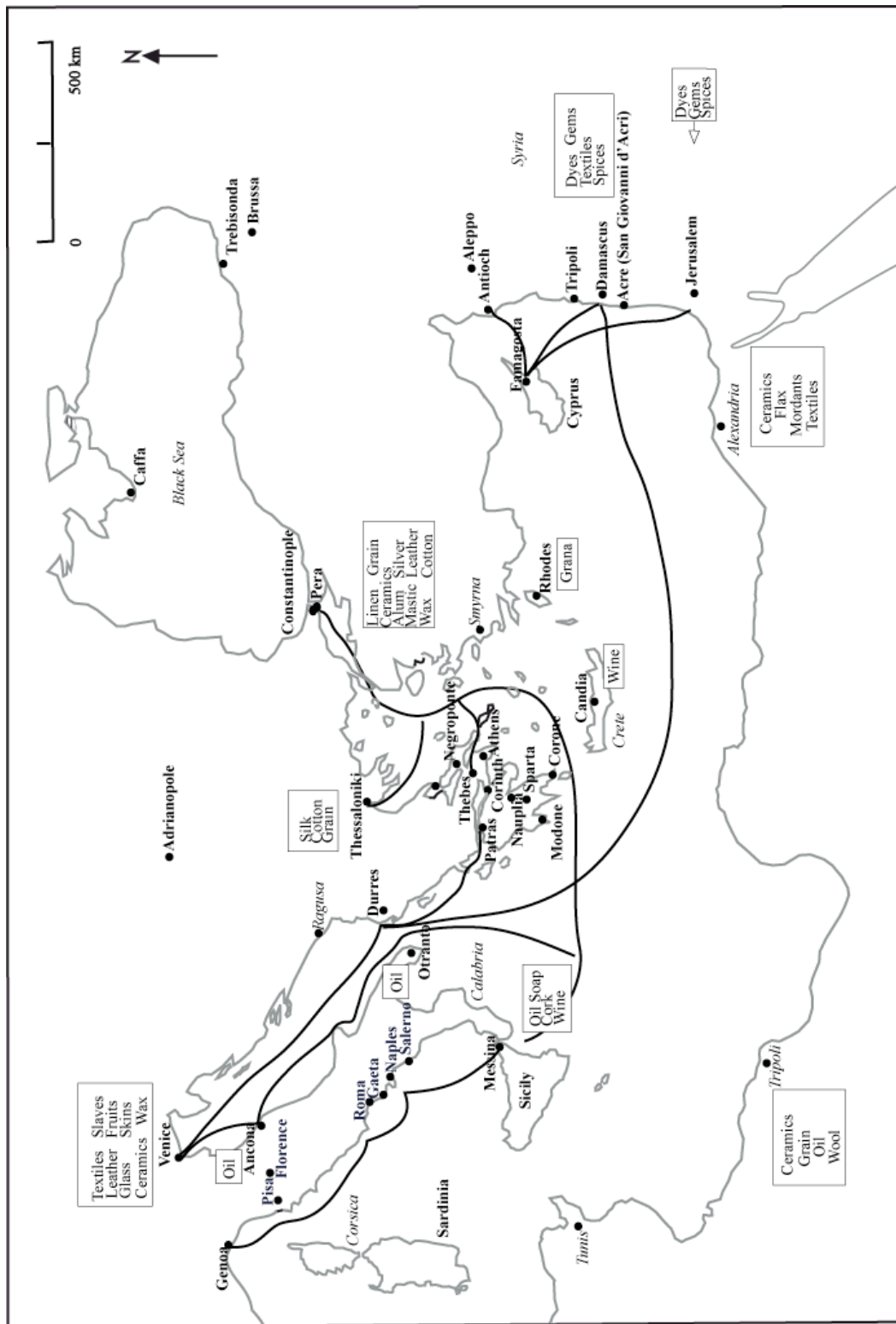


Figure 2.4. Trades between the 13th and the 14th century (after Gutierrez 2000).

MAIN PRODUCTS TRADED	MAIN PLACE OF ORIGIN	HOW IT WAS TRADED
Spices	India	Crates, Hides baskets
Alum	Asia Minor, South Africa	?
Precious metals	India (gold)/ Byzantine territories (silver)	?
Textiles	Byzantine and Islamic Regions (Levant), China	Tight in bundles
Wax	Byzantine Territories	?
Hides	Constantinople	?
Foodstuff	Thrace, Crete, Corfu, Southern Italy	?
Grana	Spain, Provence, Greece and its islands	Hides' sacks
Mastic	Chios	?
Soap	Cyprus, Rhodes, Venice, Ancona, Apulia	Crates, Sacks

Figure 2.5. List of the main products traded in the Mediterranean around the 14th century.

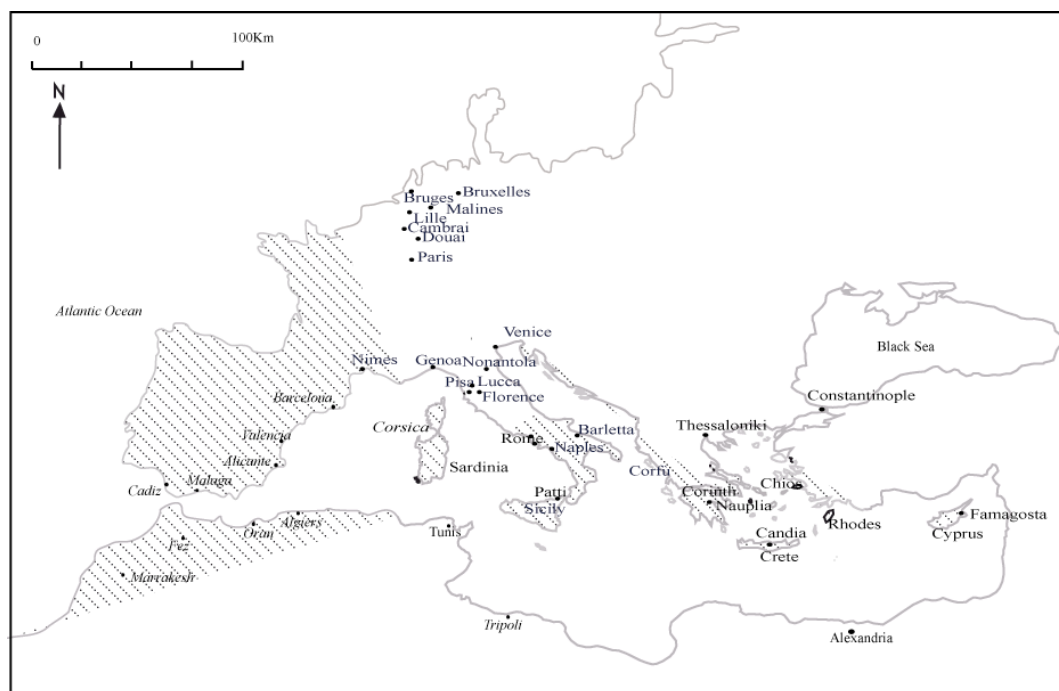


Figure 2.6. The main sites and tolls mentioned in the text.

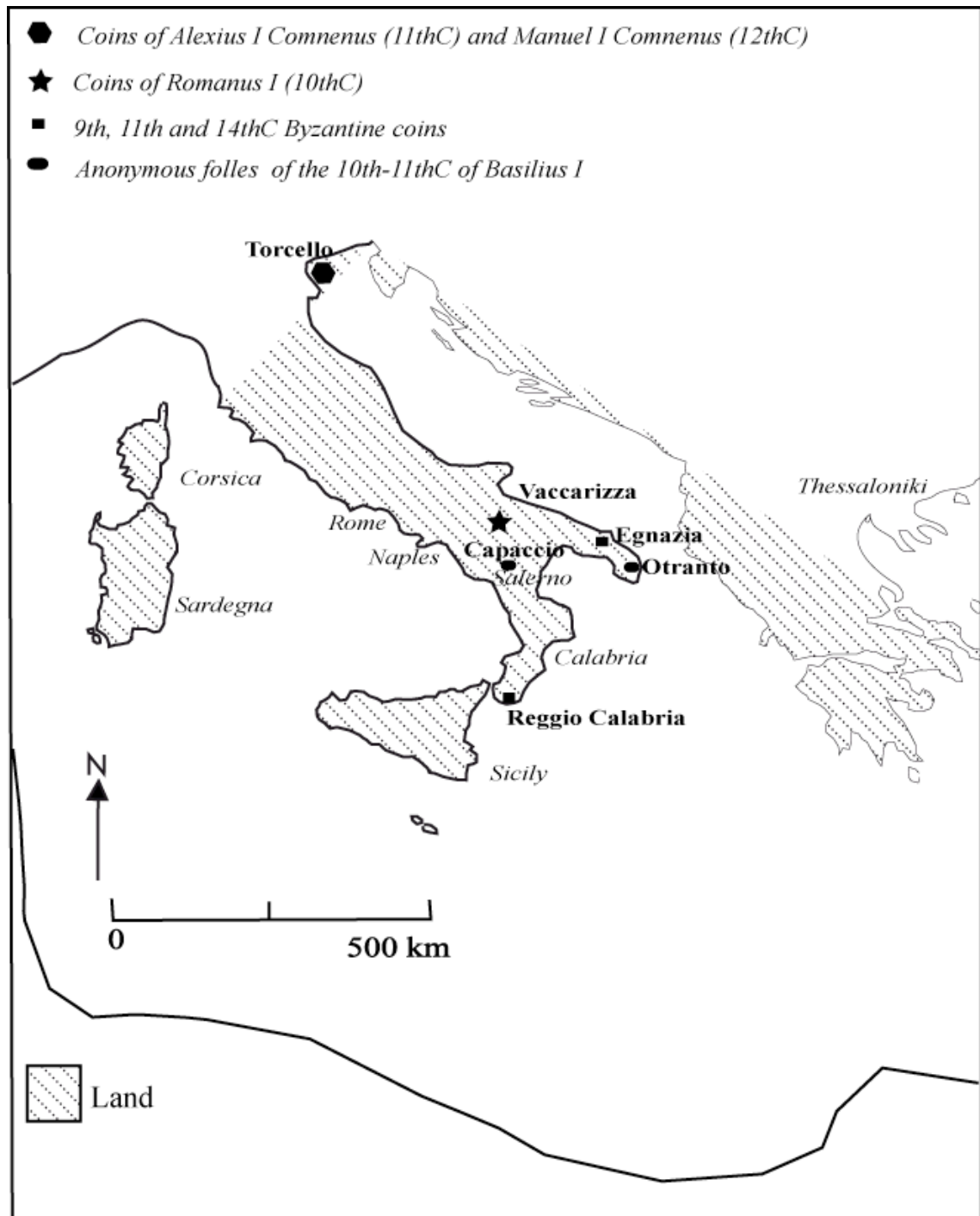


Figure 2.7. The sites with evidence of Byzantine glazed pottery and records of Byzantine coins.



Figure 2.8. 8th to 9th century Byzantine silks recovered in the Nonantola Abbey (from Fangarezzi and Peri 2006).

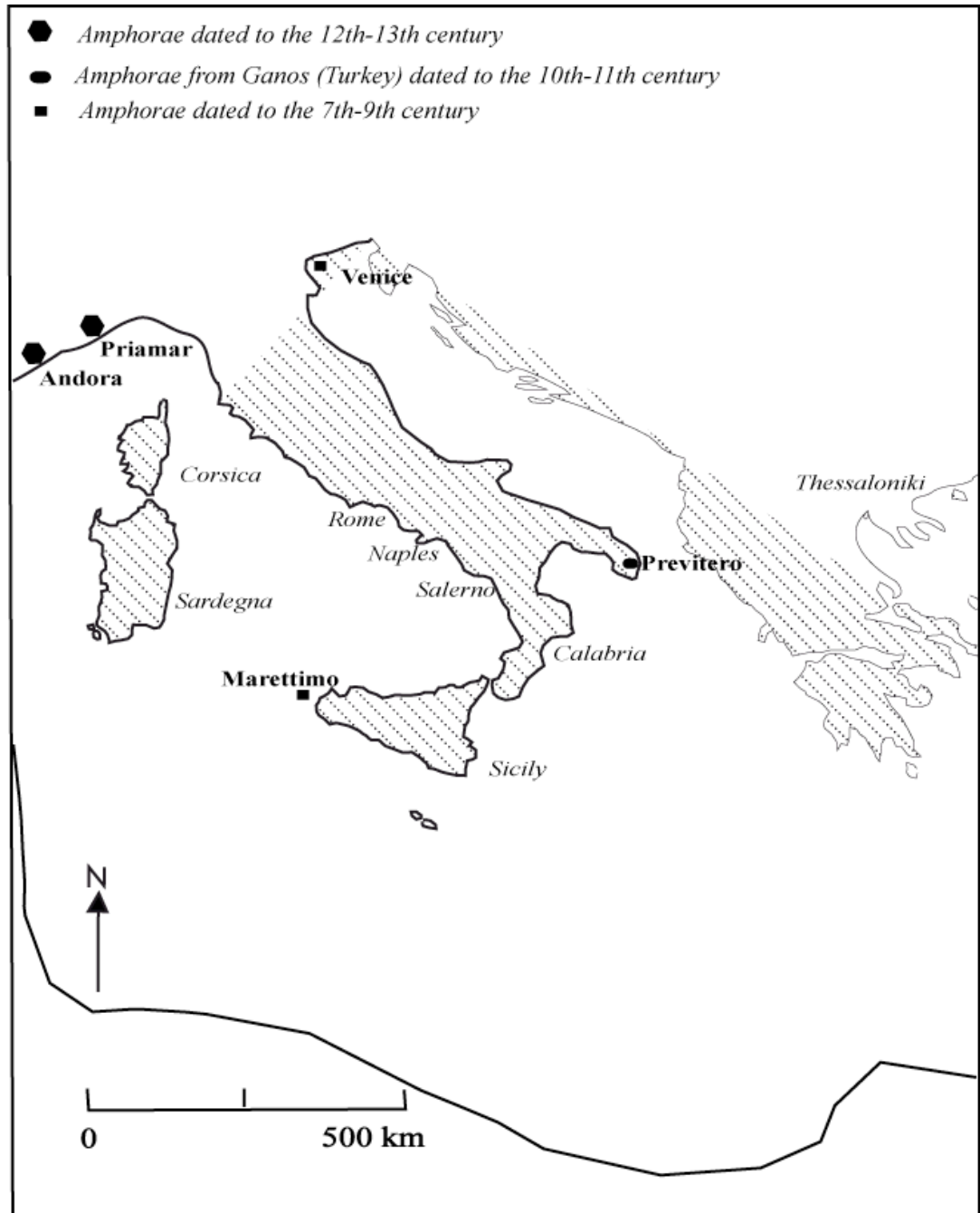


Figure 2.9. The sites with evidence of Byzantine glazed pottery and records of Byzantine amphorae.

GWW		
TURKEY	CONSTANTINOPLE and surroundings	GWW I, II, III, IV, V, Polychrome Ware
BULGARIA	PRESLAV and surroundings	Polychrome Ware
GRW		
GREECE	CORINTH	Plain Lead Glazed Ware, Slip Painted Ware (Light-On-Dark Slip Painted I, II, III), Slip Ware (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Dark-On- Light Slip Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware, Measles ware, Painted Ware)
	SPARTA AND ARGOS	Plain Lead Glazed Ware, Slip Painted Ware, Slip Ware (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Painted Wares, Sgraffito Ware, Measles Ware), Zeuxippus Ware Family
	THESSALONICA	Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito ware)
	MIKRO PISTO	Late Plain Glazed Ware, Late Slip Painted Ware, Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito ware)
	SERRES	Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito ware)
	THEBES (BOEOTIA)	Plain Lead Glazed Ware, Slip Painted Ware (Light-On-Dark Slip Painted I, II, III), Slip Ware (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Dark-On- Light Slip Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware, Measles ware, Painted Ware)
	ATHENS (?)	Brown Glazed Ware, Slip Ware (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware)
	KALAPODI AND EASTERN PHOKIS (?)	Slip Painted Ware, Slip Ware (Green and Brown Painted Ware, Sgraffito Ware, Painted Sgraffito Ware)
TURKEY	CONSTANTINOPLE	Slip Ware (Sgraffito Ware, Slip Painted Ware)
	NICAEA	Zeuxippus Ware Family
	GANOS	Plain Glazed Ware, Slip Ware, Zeuxippus Ware Family
	PERGAMON	Plain Glazed Ware, Slip Painted Ware (Light-On-Dark Slip Painted), Zeuxippus Ware Family
	EPHESOS	Slip Ware (Polychrome Sgraffito Ware, Green Sgraffito Ware); Monochrome Turquoise-Blue Glazed Ware, Monochrome Green Glazed Ware
	AMORIUM	Amorium Glazed Ware, Plain Glazed Ware, Slip Ware (Sgraffito Ware)
	ALEXANDREIA TROAS (?)	Zeuxippus Ware Family
	TROY	Regional Zeuxippus Ware, Zeuxippus Ware
BULGARIA	CHERSONESOS	Late Sgraffito and Painted Ware
CYPRUS	LAPITHOS	Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito Ware), Late Slip Painted Ware, Plain Glazed Ware
	LEMBA	Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito Ware), Late Slip Painted Ware, Zeuxippus Ware family, Plain Glazed Ware
	ENKOMI	Late Slip Ware (Sgraffito Ware), Late Slip Painted Ware, Plain Glazed Ware

Figure 3.1. List of the main Byzantine pottery types. In bold are the secure centre of productions, while with question marks the insecure centres of production. The centre of Thebes and Troy (without question mark and with a regular font) seems, from recent pottery studies, to be a centre of production, however we do not have secure archaeometric evidence for this: it is therefore considered in between the secure and the insecure centres of productions.

Zeuxippus Ware family means a group of vessels recognised as a unique typology but produced in different centres of production, therefore with slightly different characteristics from centre to centre.

GWW I	7 th –8 th C.	Plain	Jugs, dishes	
GWW II	9 th –12 th C.	Impressed vegetal, zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and geometric motifs, 'poorly' stamped on central medallion. Red stylised decoration very common, also in conjunction with geometric inscribed motifs. Petal clays applied on the surface.	Cups with stem feet, chafing dishes, large bowls with high feet, bowls, jugs, small cups, dishes	Figure 3.4, 3.5, 3.6
GWW III	Second half 11 th C.	Plain	Dishes, one handled cups	
GWW IV	12 th –beginning 13 th C.	Simply painted on glazed surface with colours in blue or green and brown	Dishes and bowls	Figure 3.7, 3.8
GWW V	12 th C.	Plain with patches of yellow glaze often mottled reddish	Juglets	
PW I, II, III	Beginning 10 th –end 12 th C.	Figurative, geometric, stylised and vegetal motifs with yellow and green decoration with black outlines Decorative style rather similar to the first group, the main difference is the presence of red dots covering the whole surface. Thick black pigment on the surface generally in pseudo-kufesque motifs	Small globular cups, small bowls, large dishes, jugs, tiles	Figure 3.8, 3.9

Figure 3.2. Constantinopolitan GWW phasing.

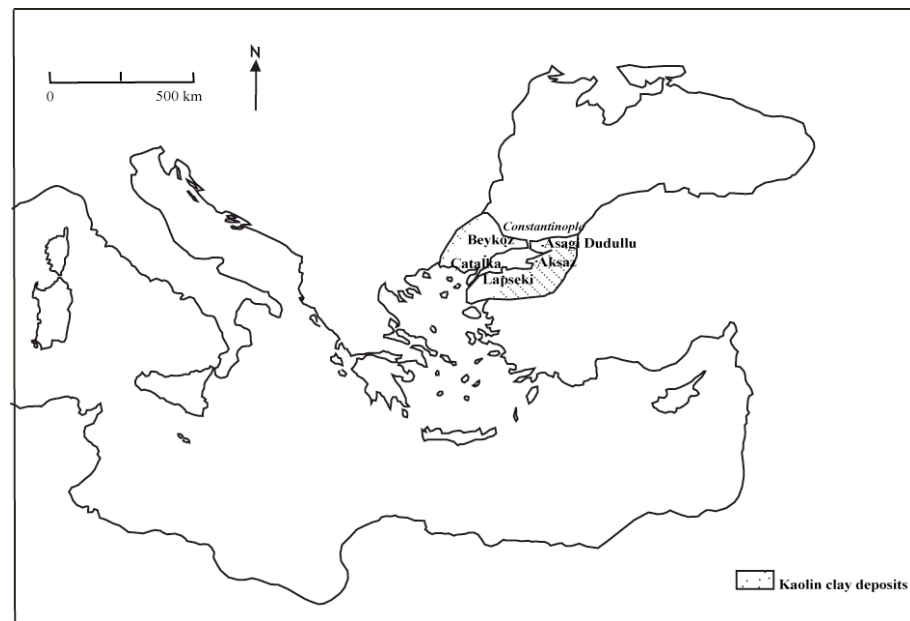


Figure 3.3. Kaolin clay deposits in the region of Constantinople (after Sanders 1995).



Figure 3.4. GWW II, 10th to 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

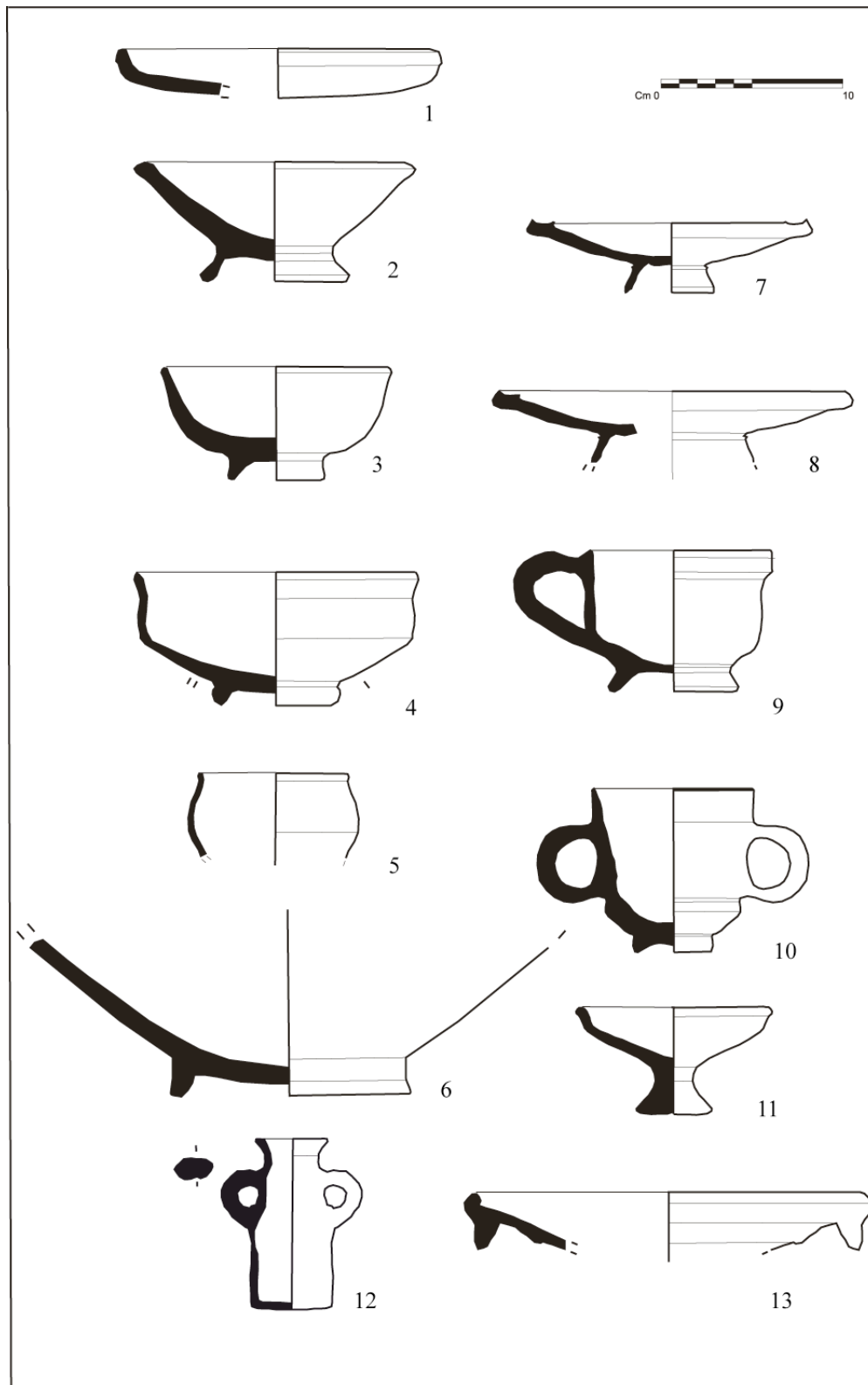


Figure 3.5. GWW II main forms: 1,2,6 Impressed decorations; 3,9,10,12,13 Plain; 5 Petals decorations; 7,8 Impressed and Red painted decorations; 4 Red painted and inscribed decorations.

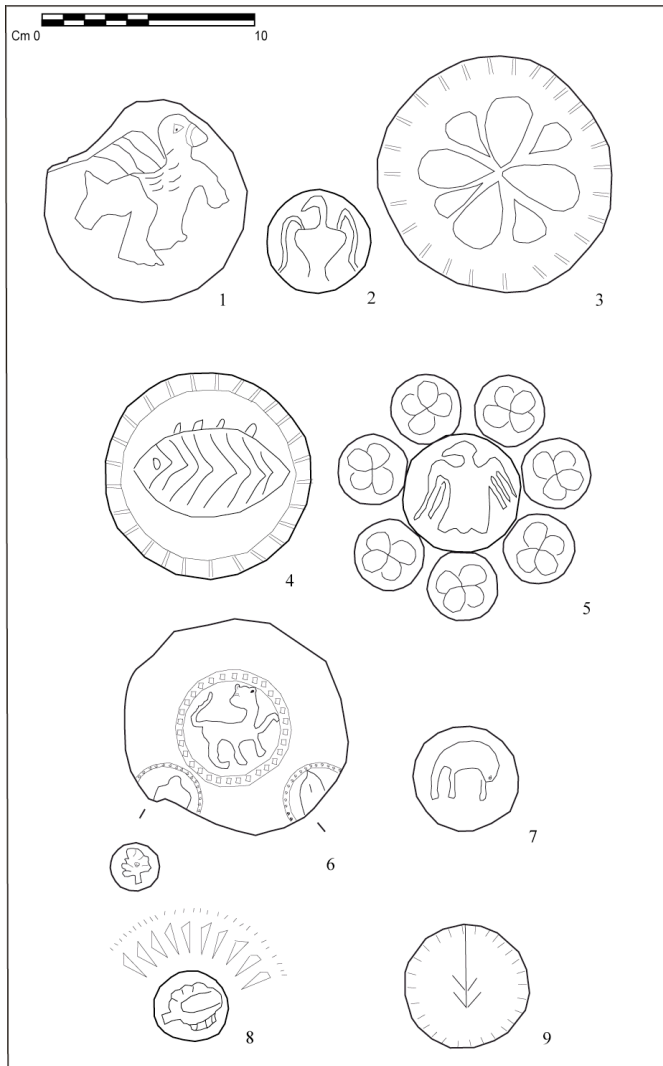
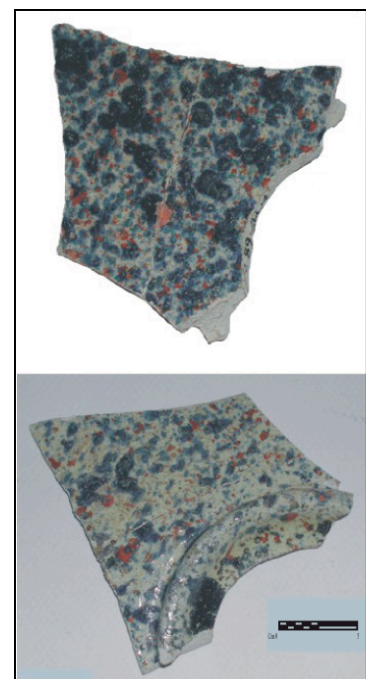


Figure 3.6. GWW II most common impressed decorations in relief.

Figure 3.7. GWW IV, 12th to 13th century. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



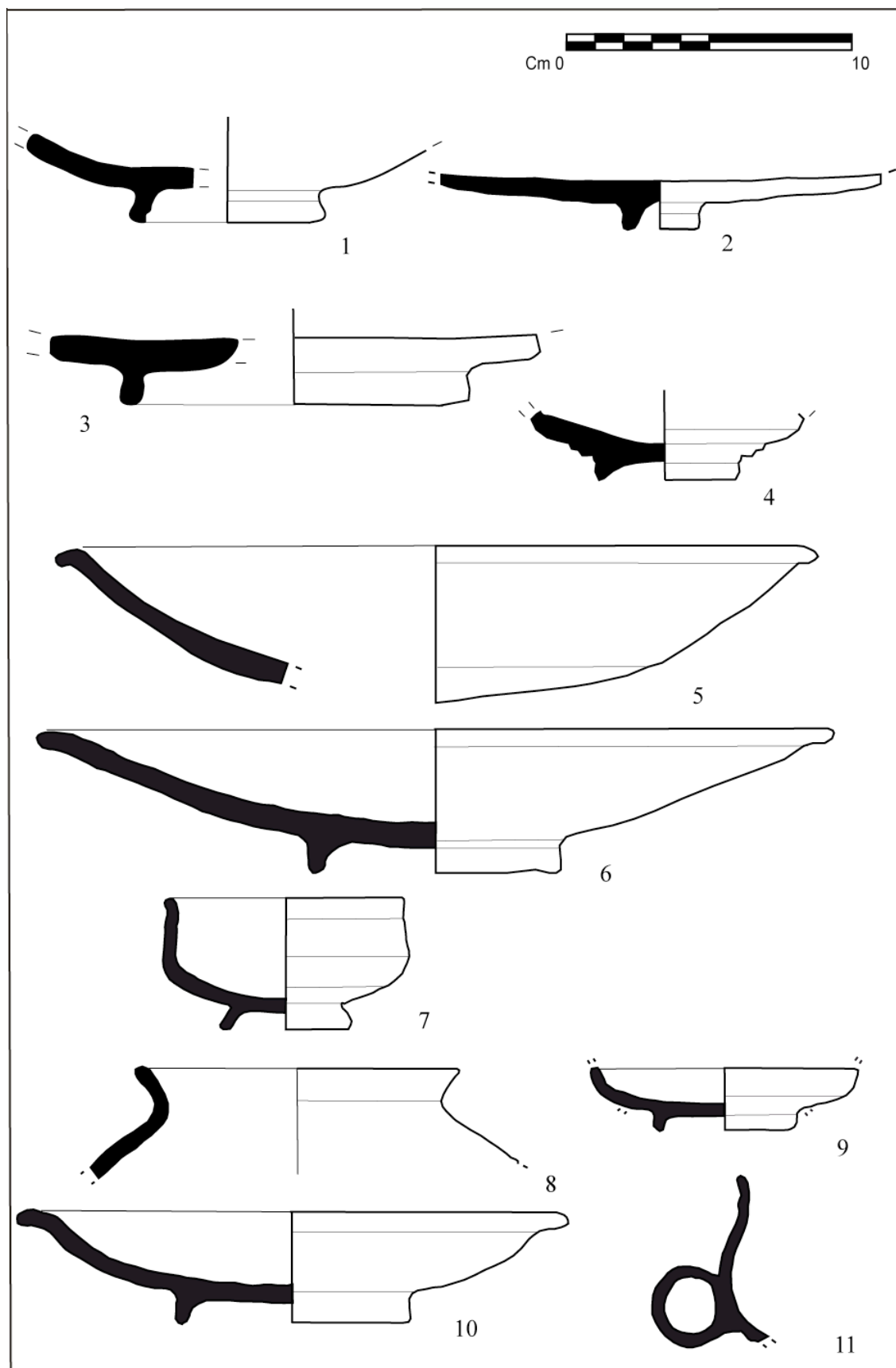


Figure 3.8. GWW IV and PW main forms: 3 GWW IV with Green and Brown painted decoration; 2 and 4 GWW IV with Spatter painted decorations; 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 PW II; 5 and 8 PW I.

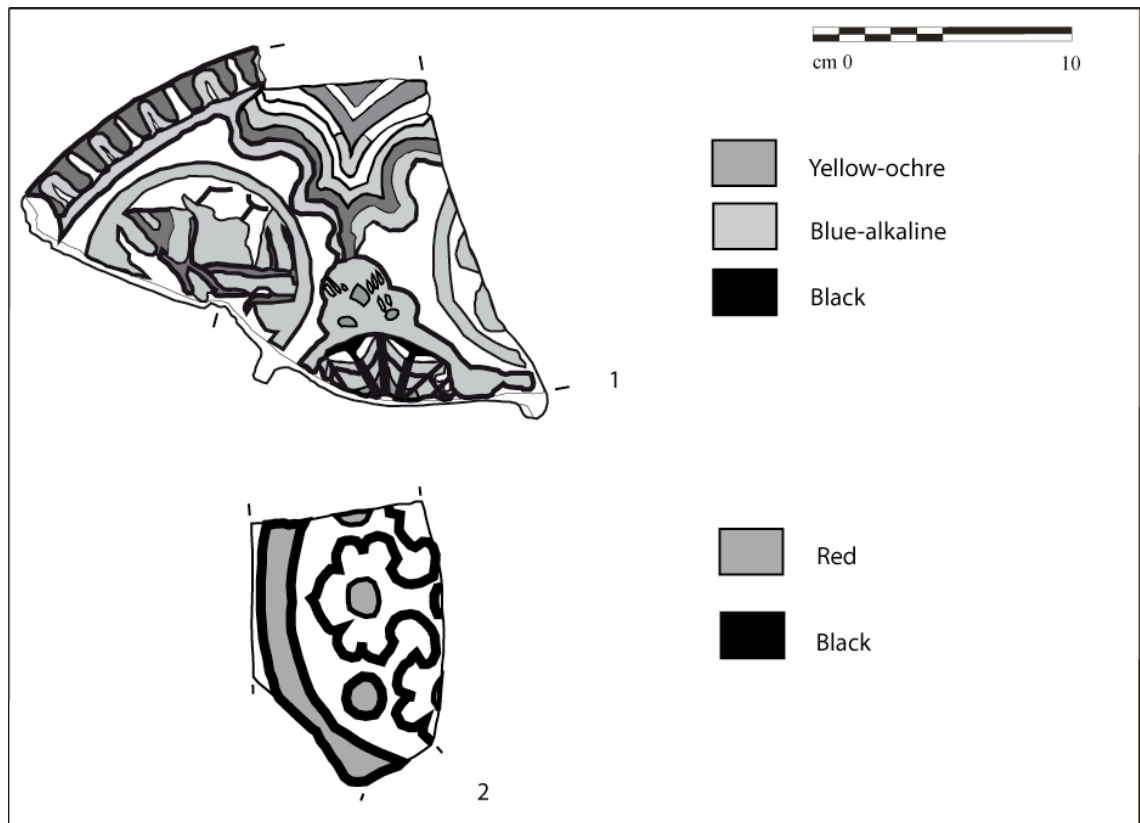


Figure 3.9. Polychrome wares, respectively representing a plate (1) in PW I and a tile (2). (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Museum of the pottery of Faenza-MIC).

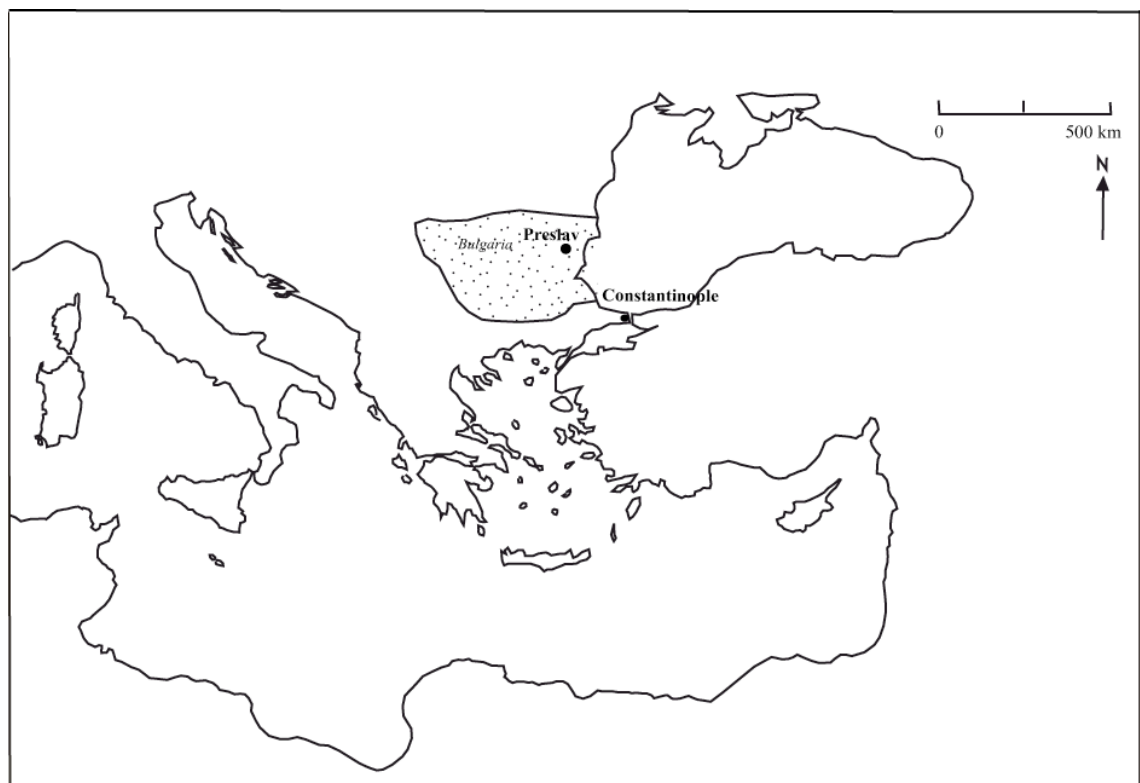


Figure 3.10. Preslav: area of a probable production of PW.

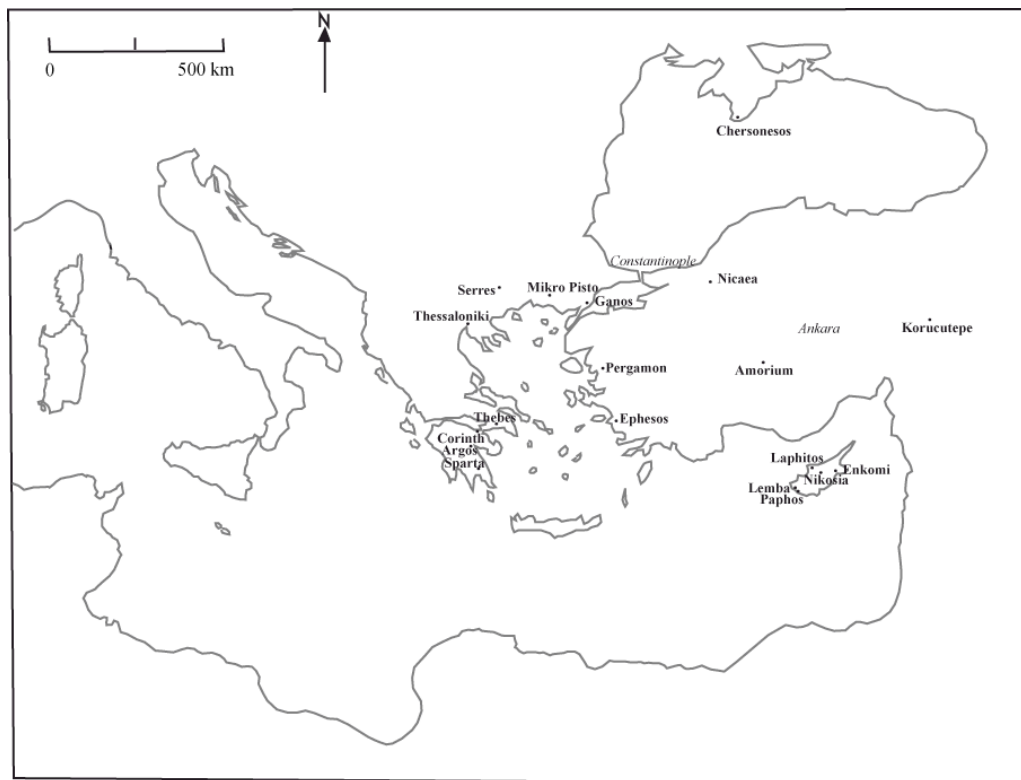


Figure 3.11. Main centres of production of the Byzantine red glazed wares.

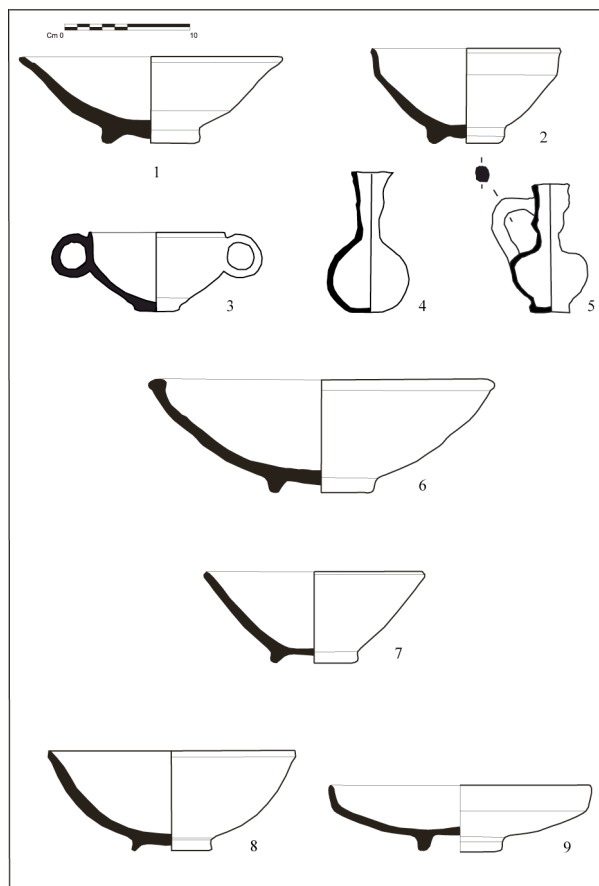


Figure 3.12. RGW main forms: 1-5 Plain Glazed Wares; 6 Dark -On-Light Painted Ware; 7-9 Green and Brown Painted Wares.

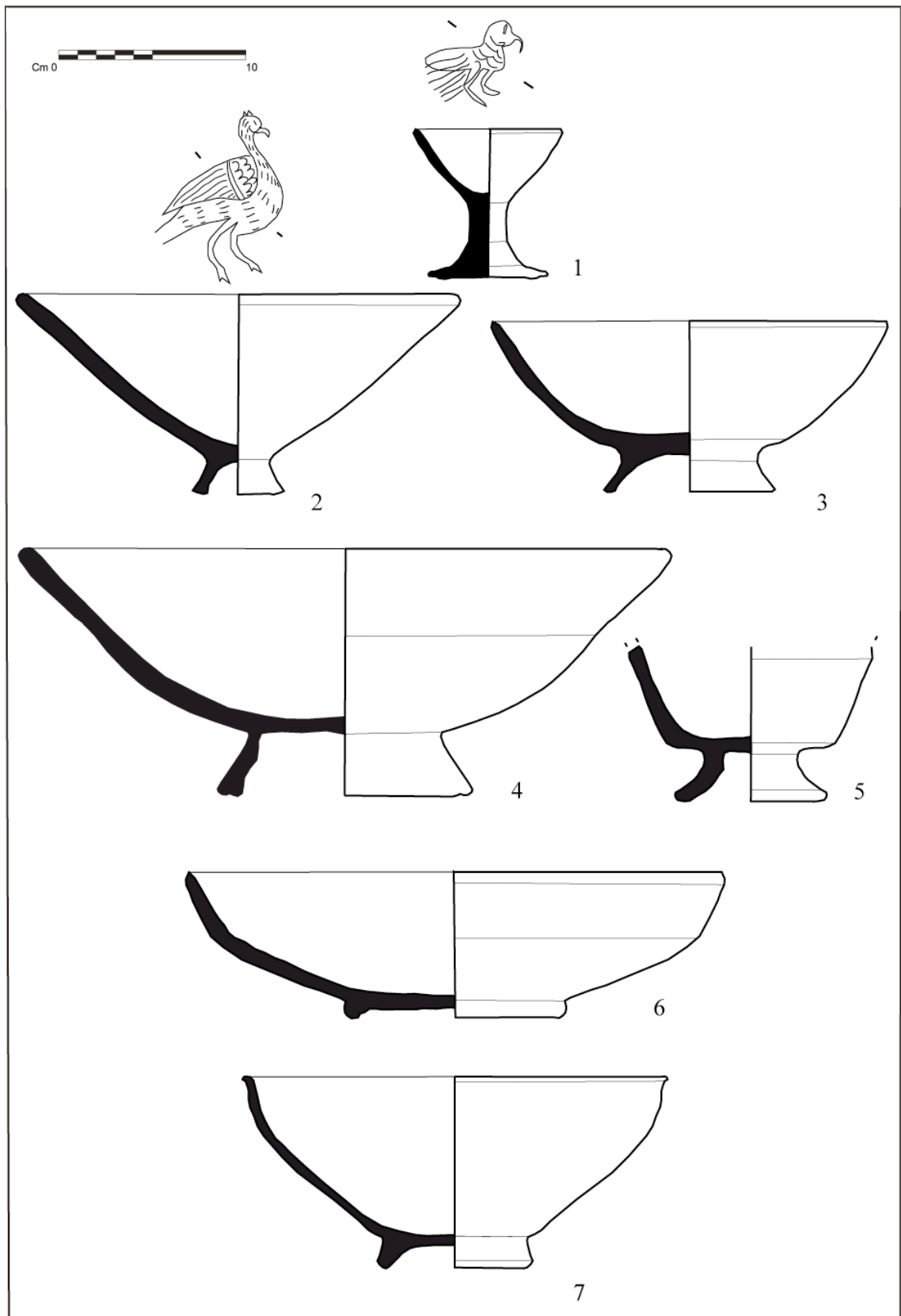


Figure 3.13. RGW main forms: 1-7 Sgraffito Wares II.

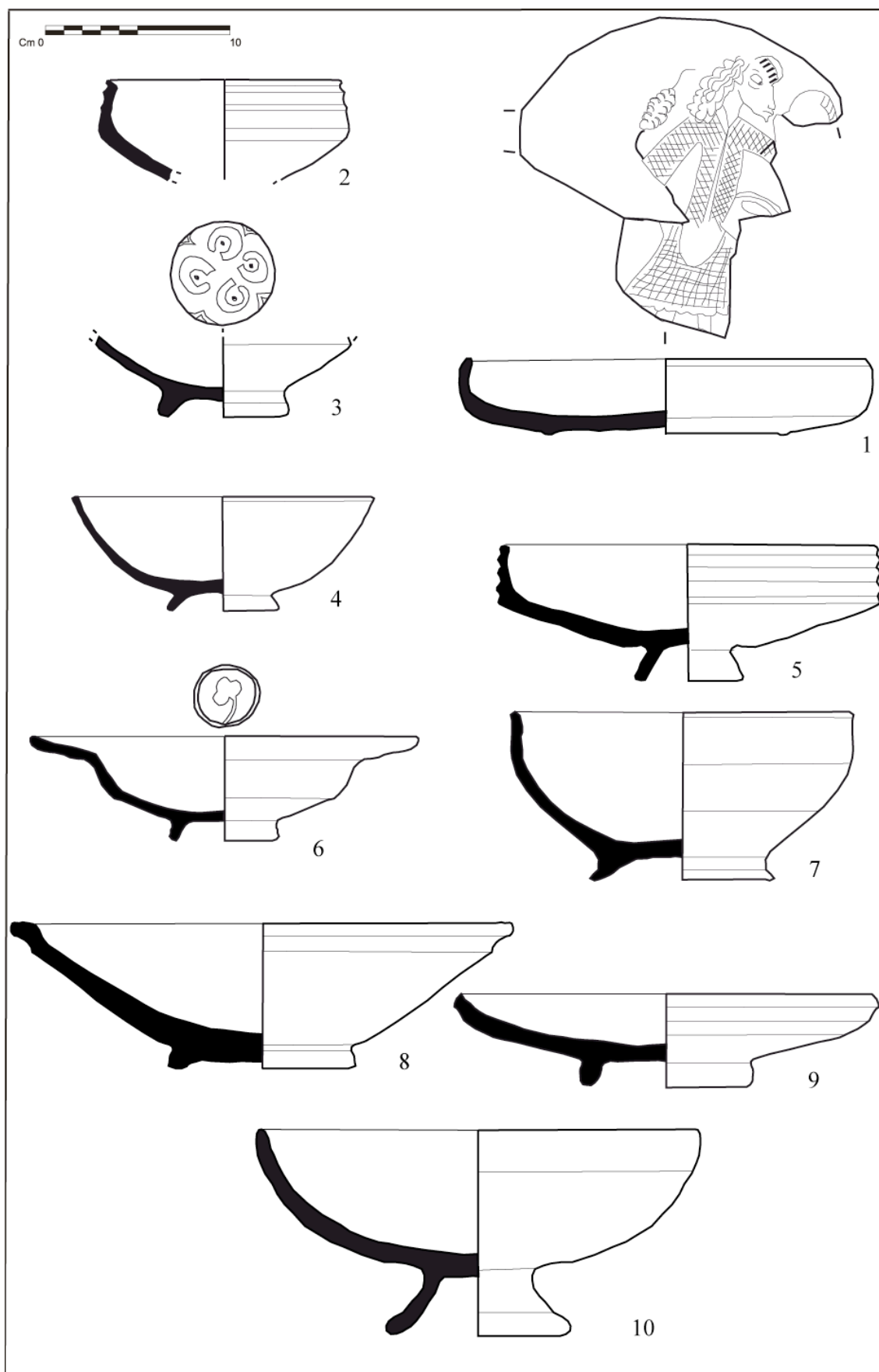


Figure 3.14. RGW main forms: 1 Champlevè Ware; 2-7 Zeuxippus Wares II; 8-10 Aegean Wares.

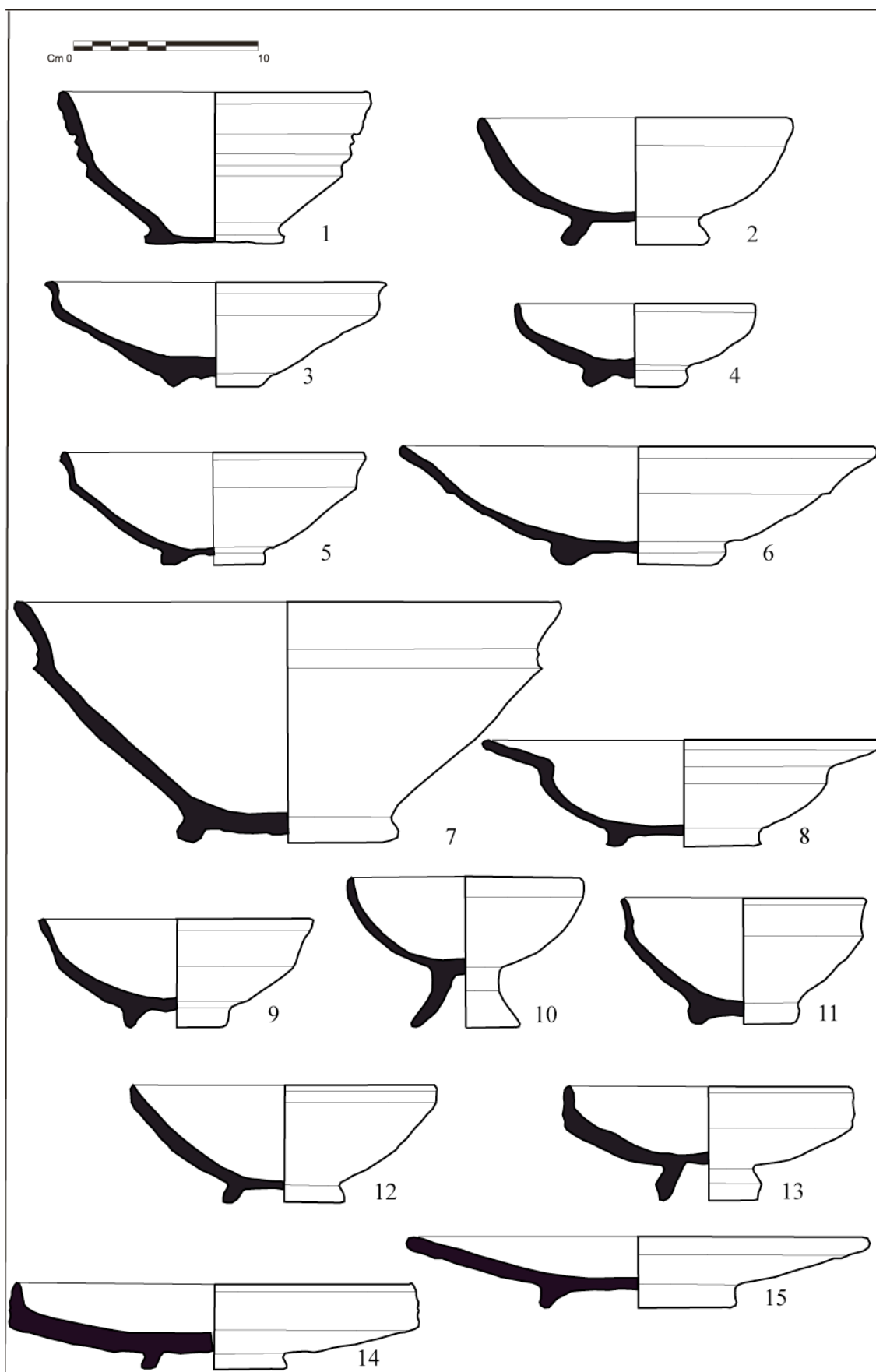


Figure 3.15. RGW main forms: 1-5 Serres Wares; 6-15 post -12th century Corinthian Wares.

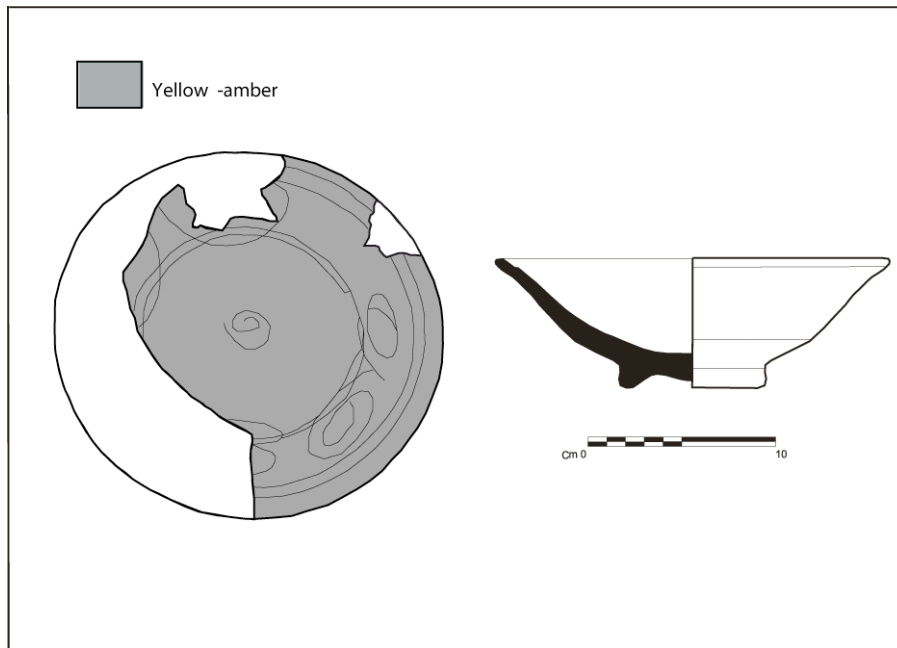


Figure 3.16. Corinthian Red Glazed ware, Plain Glazed Ware, 9th-11th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical studies).

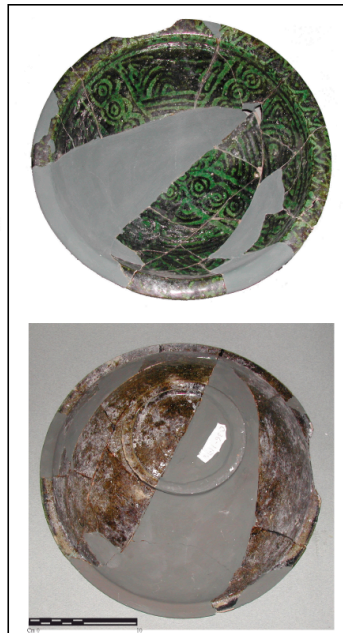


Figure 3.17. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Light-On-Dark Slip Painted II, mid 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



Figure 3.19. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware I, beginning of the 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

Green and Brown Painted Ware	Group I	Until c1120	Irregular lines of both green and brown glaze	Usual range of bowls, range of various shapes, including quatrefoil cups, small jugs, pilgrim flasks and chafing dishes.	Figures 3.12, 3.19, 3.20, 3.21
	Group II	c1110–1130	Geometric motives, include clear parallel or radiating lines and parallel curved lines in alternating green and brown.	Deep bowls, dishes with vertical rims.	
	Group III	c1115-1130	Clearly defined lines in darker brown pigment	Deep bowls, dishes with vertical rims.	
Dark-On-Light Slip Painted Ware		c1125–1150	Red clay painted onto a white slipped surface	Bowls, sporadically one ring handle cups.	Figure 3.12, 3.22
Sgraffito Ware	Duochrome Ware	Late 11thC–beginning 12thC	Rather coarse decorations, almost black	Hemispherical bowls and flaring dishes.	Figures 3.13, 3.14, 3.23, 3.24, 3.25
	Spiral Style Ware	c1115-1130	Perfect compass-drawn incised central medallion and concentric bands of decoration.	Hemispherical bowls	
	Champlevé, or Incised Ware	Beginning 13thC	Large part of slip have being removed, leaving on the surface only the design on relief.	Hemispherical bowls and dishes	
Incised and Slip Painted Ware (Measles Ware)		c1130–1160	Red slip spots as filler for motives incised through a white slip. Large vegetal and figural motives, include large gallinaceous birds.	Deep bowls, dishes with vertical rims.	Figure 3.26
Painted Sgraffito		Until mid 12 th C	Sgraffito spiral decorations in vegetal motifs. Spots of brown glaze on the surface	Flaring dishes	Figure 3.27

Figure 3.18: Phasing of Corinthian Slip Ware.



Figure 3.20. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Green and Brown Painted II, 1110-1130 (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

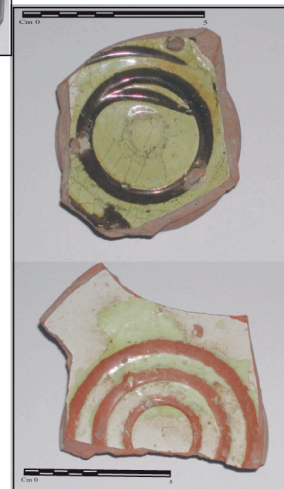


Figure 3.21. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Green and Brown Painted III, second quarter of the 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

Figure 3.22. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Dark-On-Light Slip Painted Ware, 1125-1150 (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



Figure 3.31. Red Glazed Ware, Zeuxippus ware, end of the 11th-mid of the 13th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).



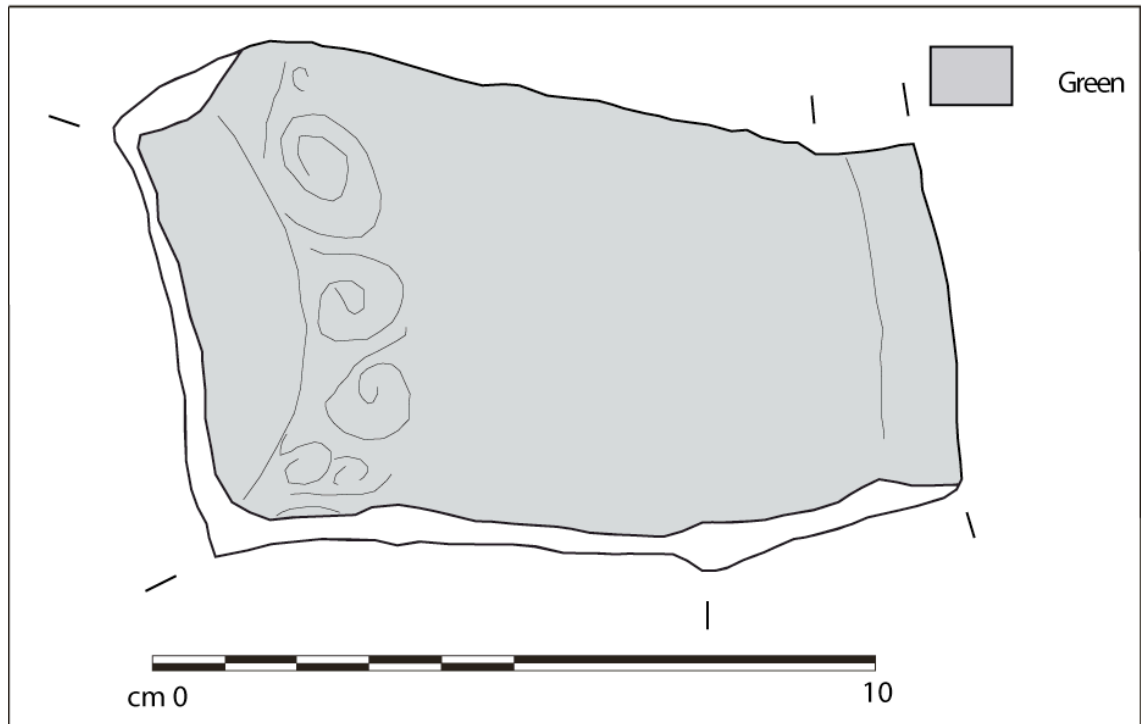


Figure 3.23. Corinthian Red Glazed ware, Sgraffito I, late 11th –early 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical studies at Athens). Profile not available.

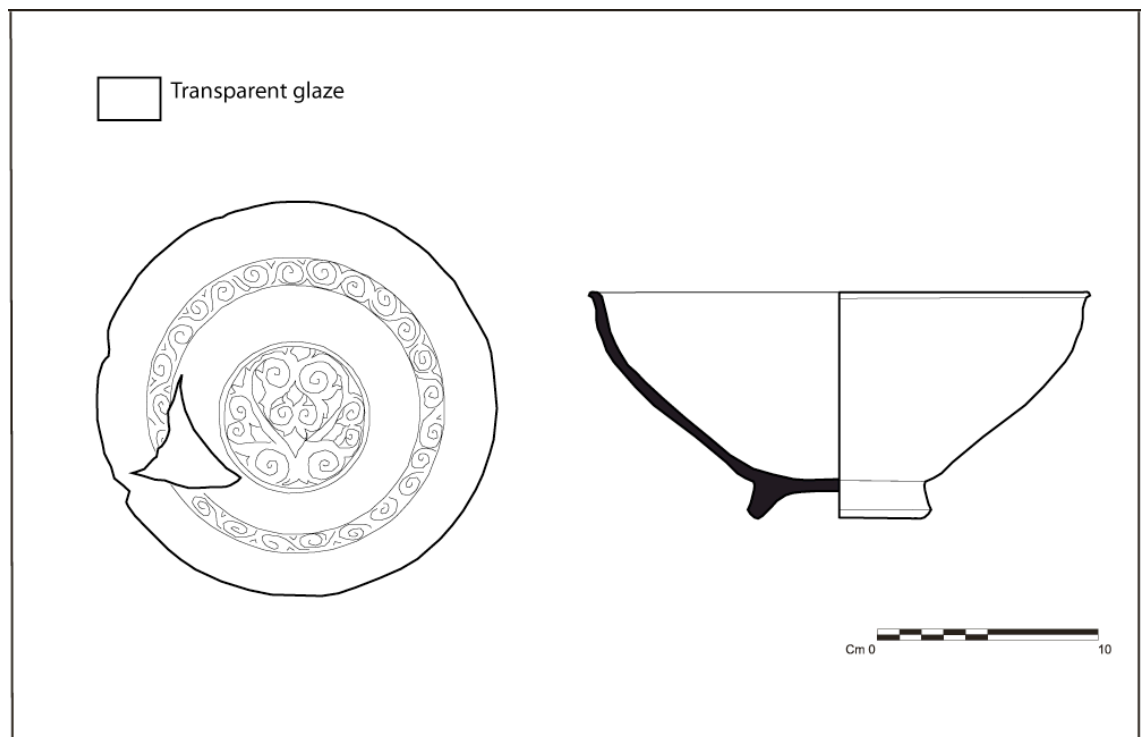


Figure 3.24. Corinthian Red Glazed Wares, Sgraffito II, second quarter to mid 12th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

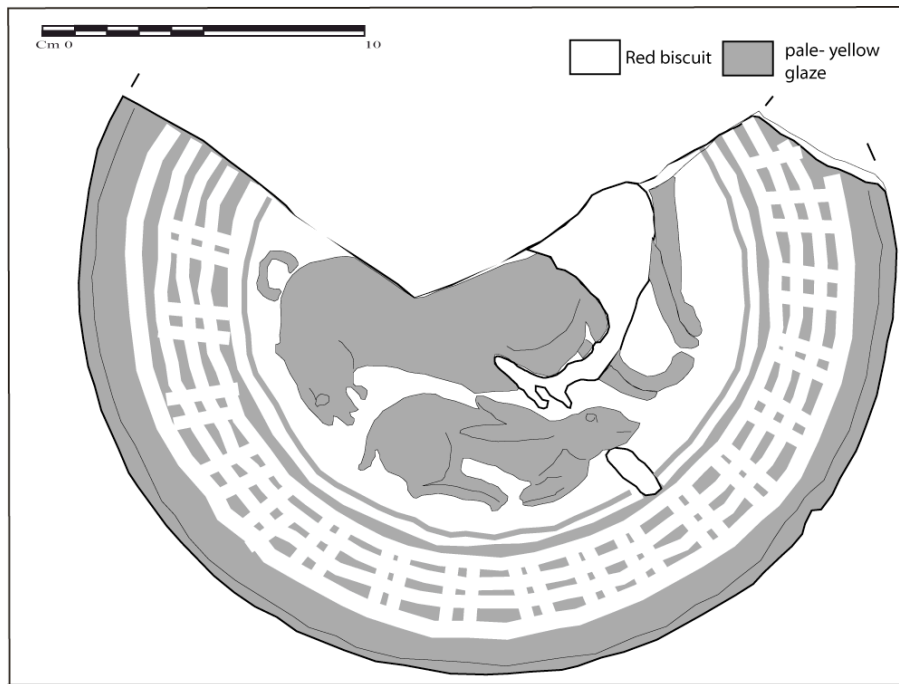


Figure 3.25. Corinthian Red Glazed Wares, Champlève Ware, early 13th century (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Profile not available.



Figure 3.26. Corinthian Red Glazed Wares, Measles Wares, second quarter of the 12th century. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Profile not available.

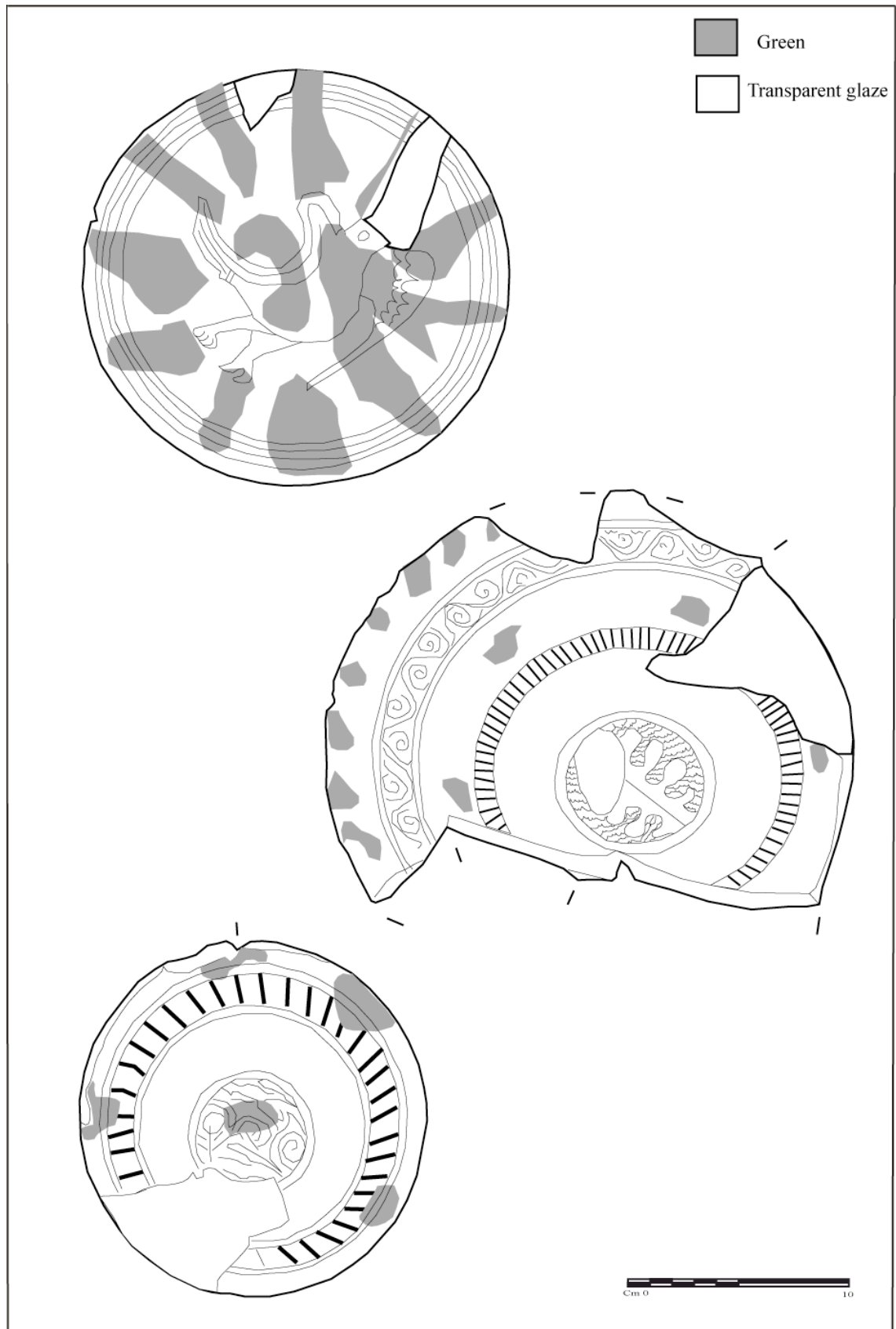


Figure 3.27. Corinthian Red Glazed Ware, Painted Sgraffito Ware, until mid 12th century. (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens). Profiles not available.

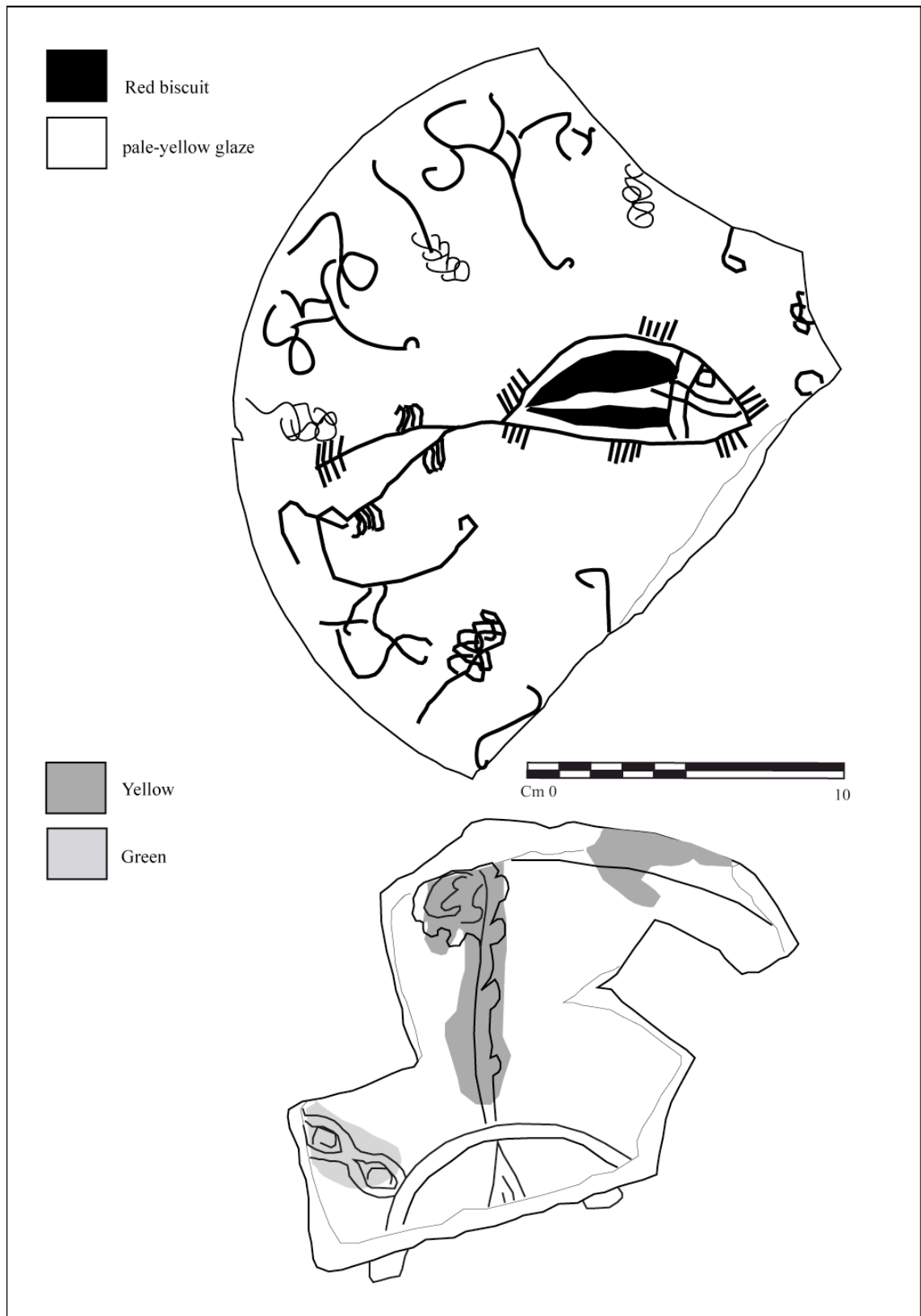


Figure 3.28. Aegean Ware, first half of the 13th century, and Serres Ware, 13th to 14th centuries (Reproduced by courtesy of the Corinth Museum, American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

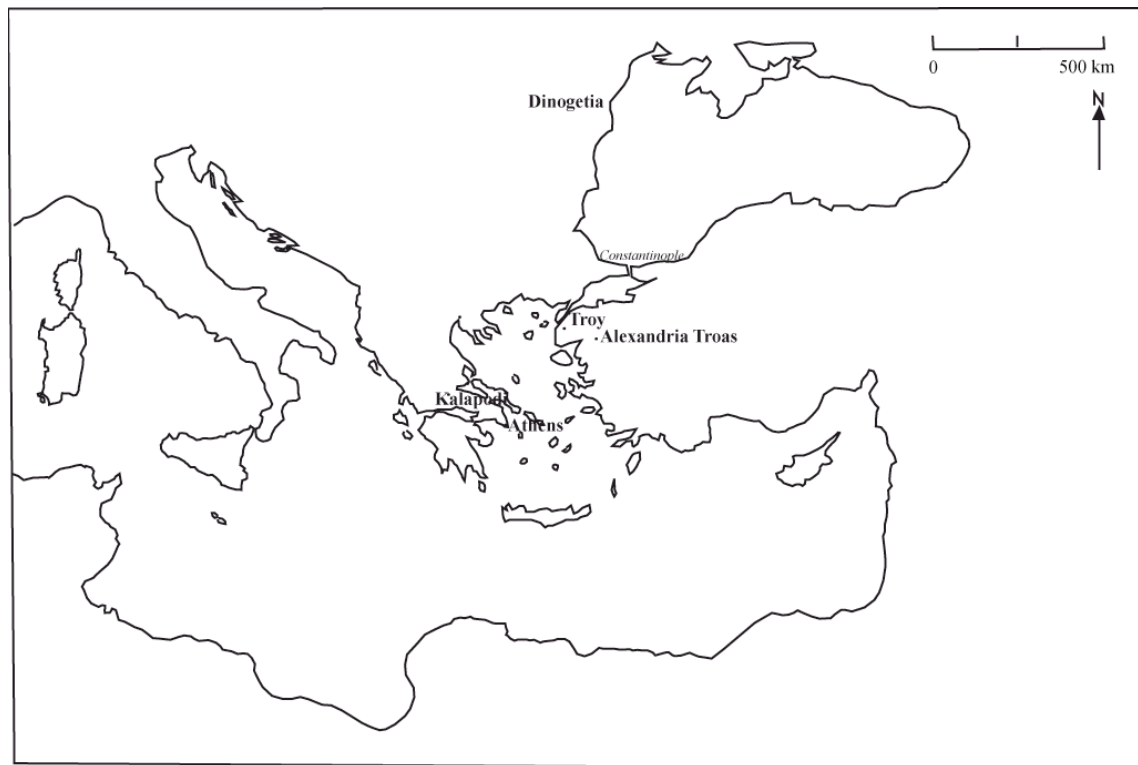


Figure 3.29. Uncertain centres of production of Byzantine glazed wares.

Spatter Painted Ware		c1080–1110	Powdered, dark brown colorant onto the surface of the wet glaze. In places, a densely speckled surface	Bowls, cups and dishes	
Zeuxippus Ware	Group I	13 th C.– beginning 14 th C.	Plain	Hemispherical bowls of medium size and flaring dishes	Figure 3.14, 3.31
	Group II	End 11 th C.– mid 13 th C.	Usually incised in a central medallion with very fine incised spirals	Hemispherical bowls of medium size and flaring dishes	
Aegean Ware		First half 13 th C.	Yellow mottled green glaze. Decorated with coarse incisions, through the slip. Central medallion or with a free filled design covering the interior	Dishes	Figure 3.14, 3.28

Figure 3.30: Pottery from the Byzantine/ Aegean area.

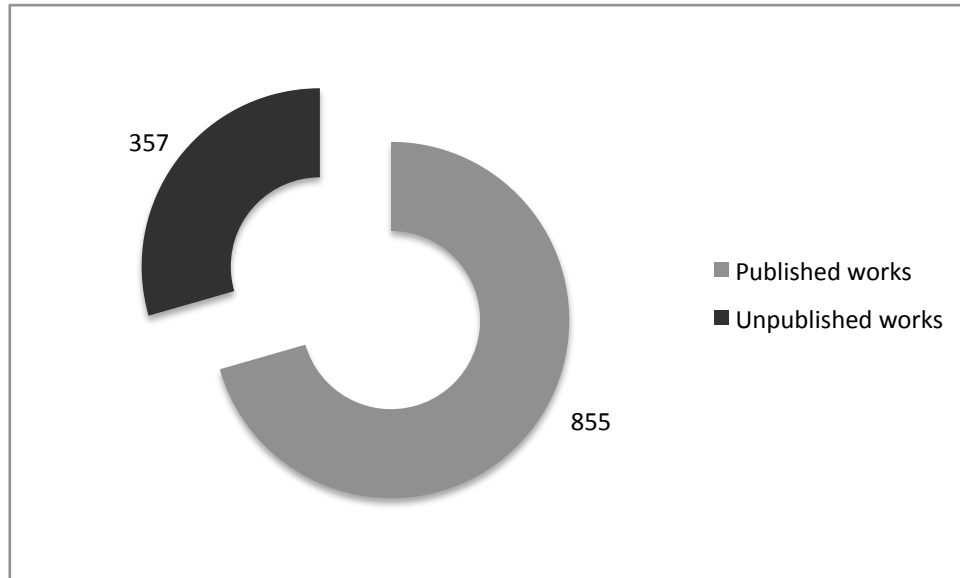


Figure 4.1. Publication records for Byzantine fine wares in Italy by sherds count.

	sites with imports	10thC		11thC		12thC		13thC		14thC	
		sites	n. of sherds	sites	n. of sherds	sites	n. of sherds	sites	n. of sherds	sites	n. of sherds
MONUMENT TYPE											
CASTLE	9	0	0	1	11	4	6	6	15	1	1
PALACE	2	0	0	0	0	1	70	1	2	0	0
RURAL SETTLEMENT	2	0	0	0	0	1	11	1	1	0	0
URBAN SETTLEMENT	16	1	12	3	65	11	398	6	273	1	1
MONASTIC/ ECCLESIASTICAL SITE (abbey, priory, churches)	16	0	0	3	12	15	117	7	25	2	4
Other sites type	2	0	0	1	17	2	158	1	7	0	0
Total	47	1	12	7	105	34	760	22	323	2	6

Figure 4.2. The distribution of Byzantine finewares by date across a range of monument classes in Italy.

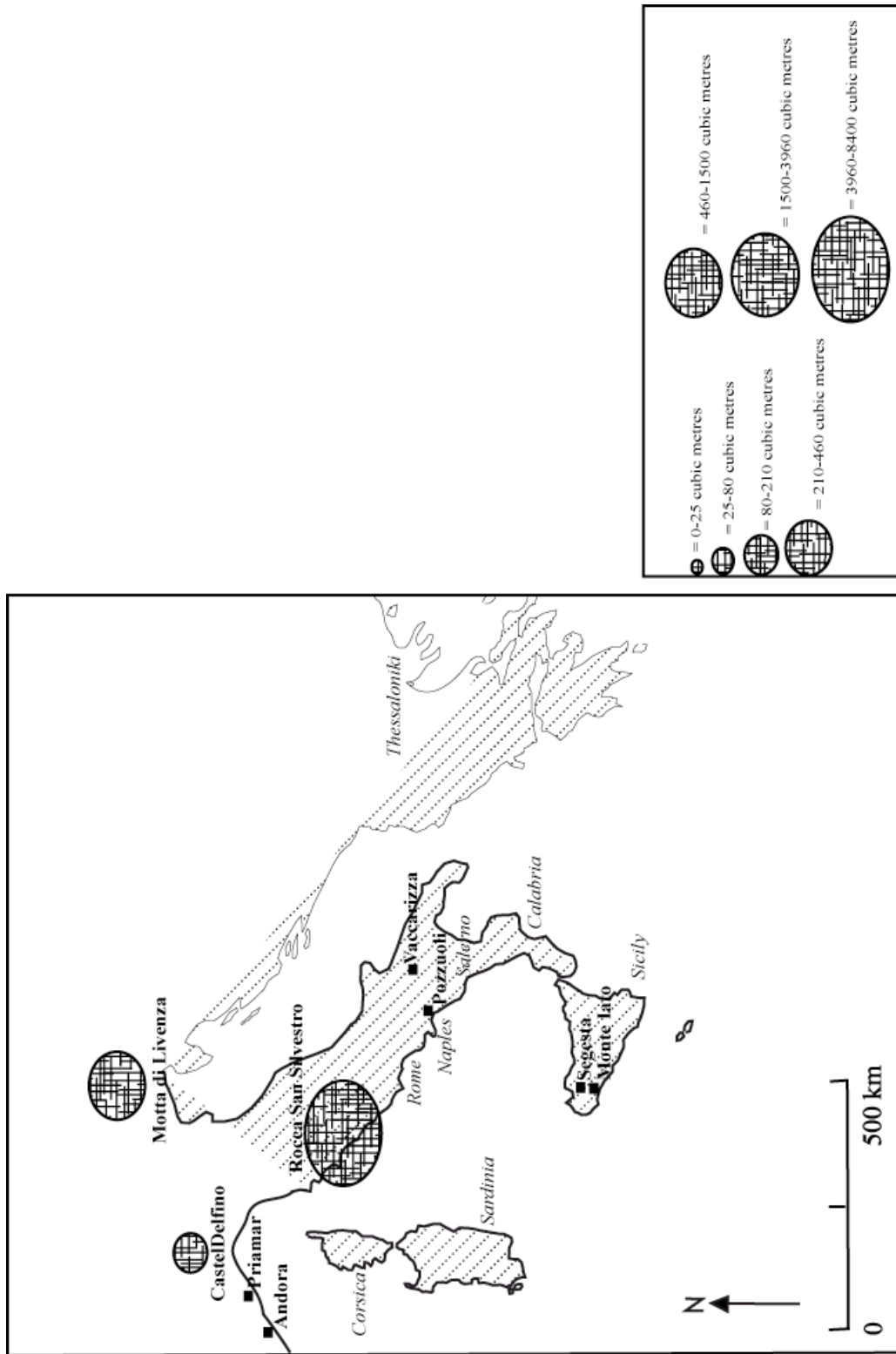


Figure 4.3. Location of castles where Byzantine glazed wares have been recovered with the related cubic metres of earth excavated.

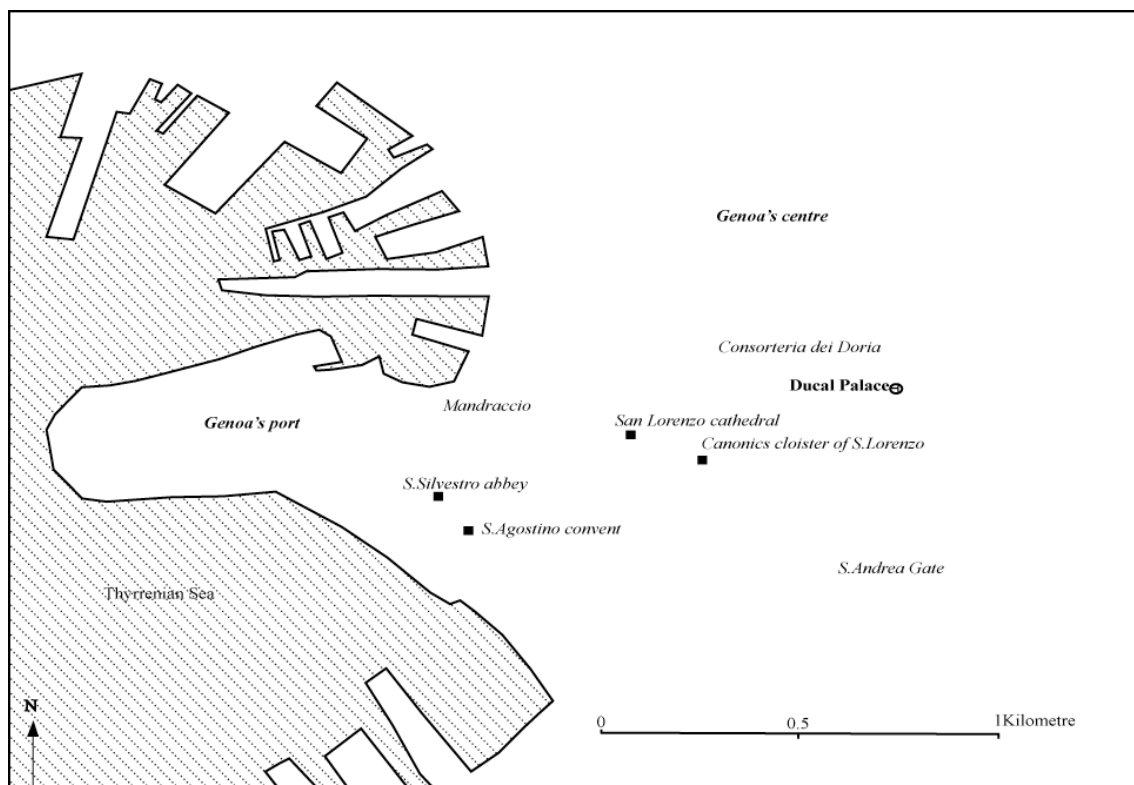


Figure 4.4. Locations of the Palace (in bold) where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered in Genoa (Liguria), with the related cubic metres of earth excavated.

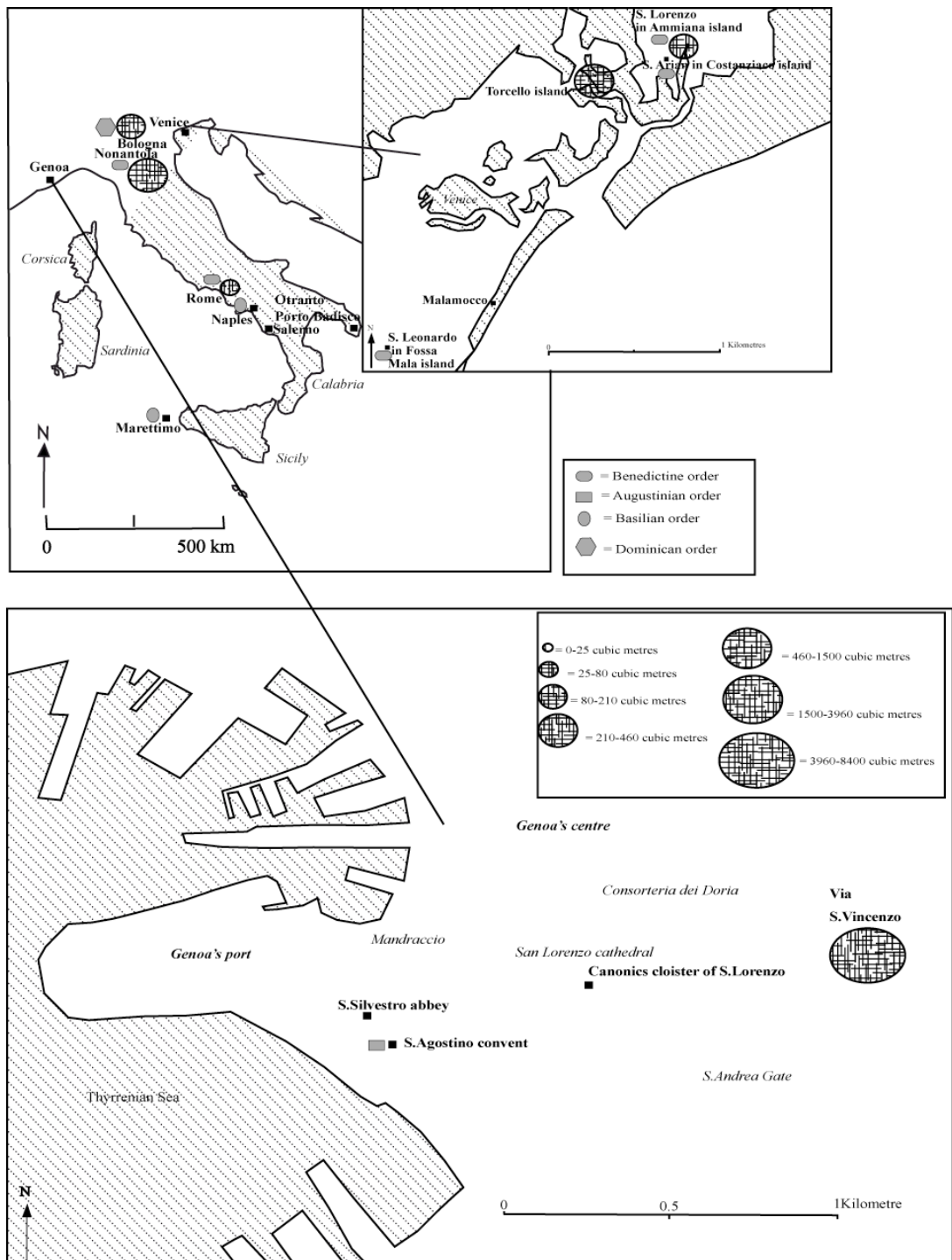


Figure 4.5. Locations of the religious sites where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered, with a detail of Venice's lagoon (Veneto) and Genoa (Liguria) sites, with the related cubic metres of earth excavated; symbols indicate the different type of monastic orders.

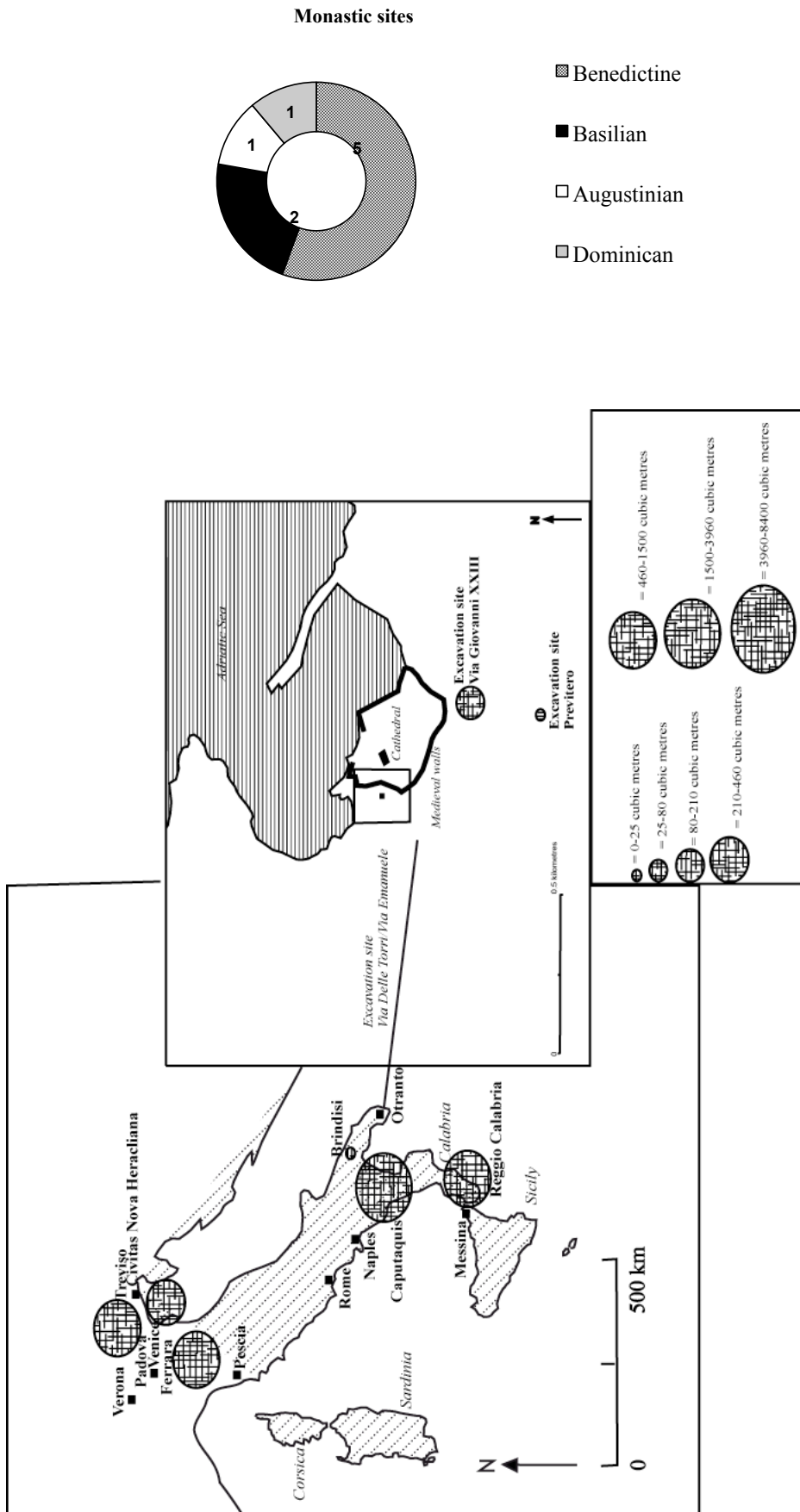


Figure 4.6. The monastic orders which consumed Byzantine pottery in Italy.

Figure 4.7. Locations of the urban sites where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered.

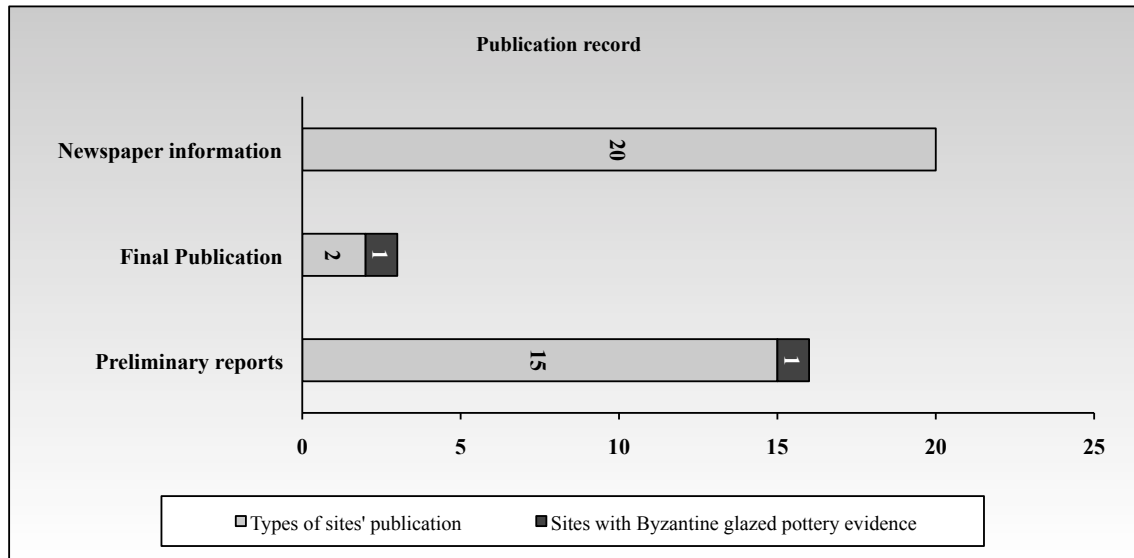


Figure 4.8. Publication record of the published excavations carried out in Venice (after Gelichi 2006).

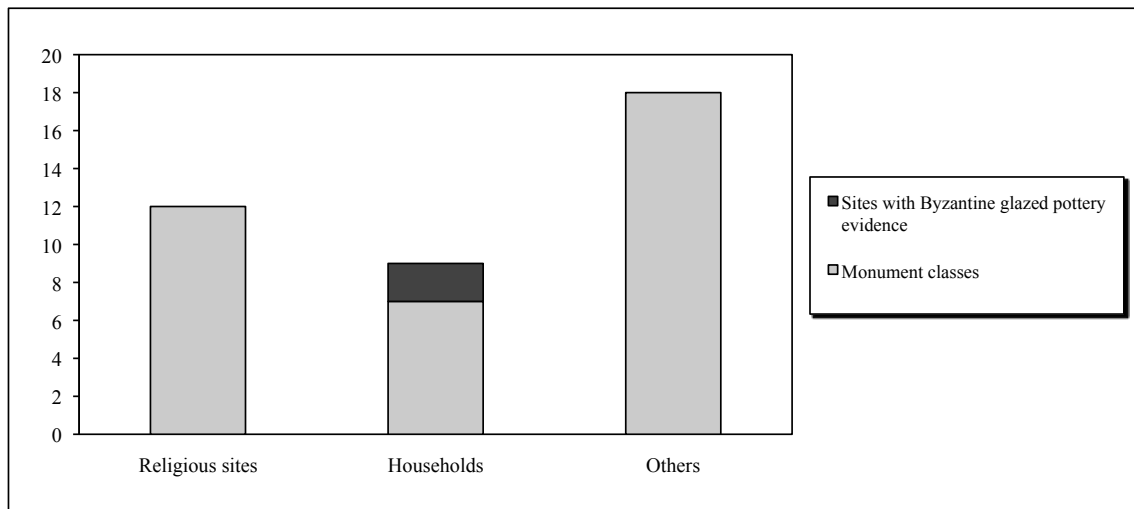


Figure 4.9. Monument classes excavated in Venice.

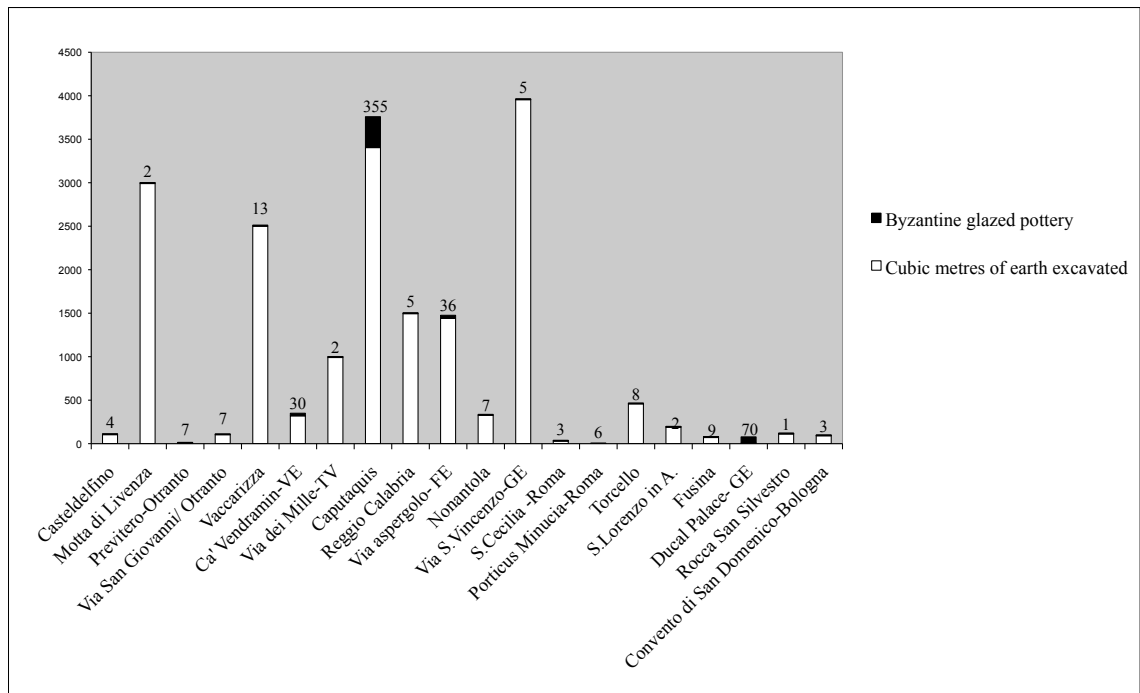


Figure 4.10. Amount of Byzantine Glazed pottery in relation to the cubic meters of earth excavated for 16 sites.



Figure 4.11. Locations of the rural sites where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered.

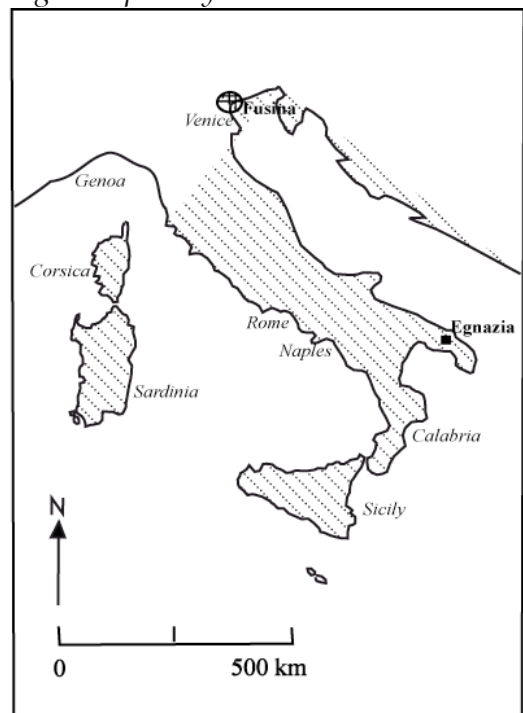


Figure 4.12. Locations of the other types of sites where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered, with the related cubic metres of earth excavated.

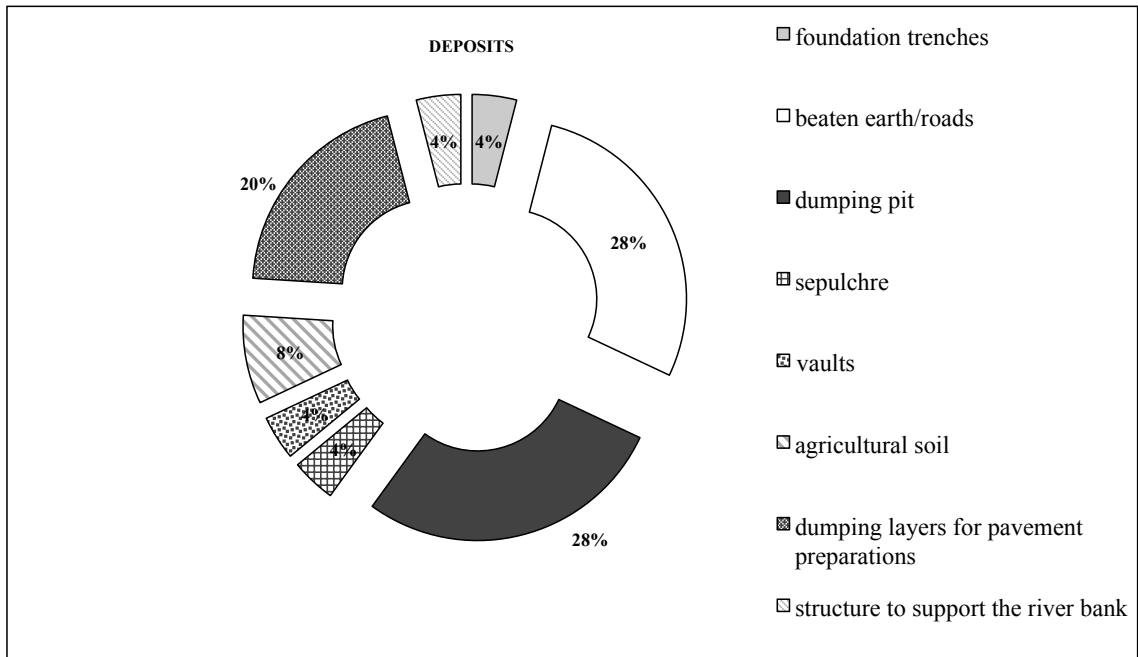


Figure 4.13. Types of deposits where Byzantine pottery was recovered.

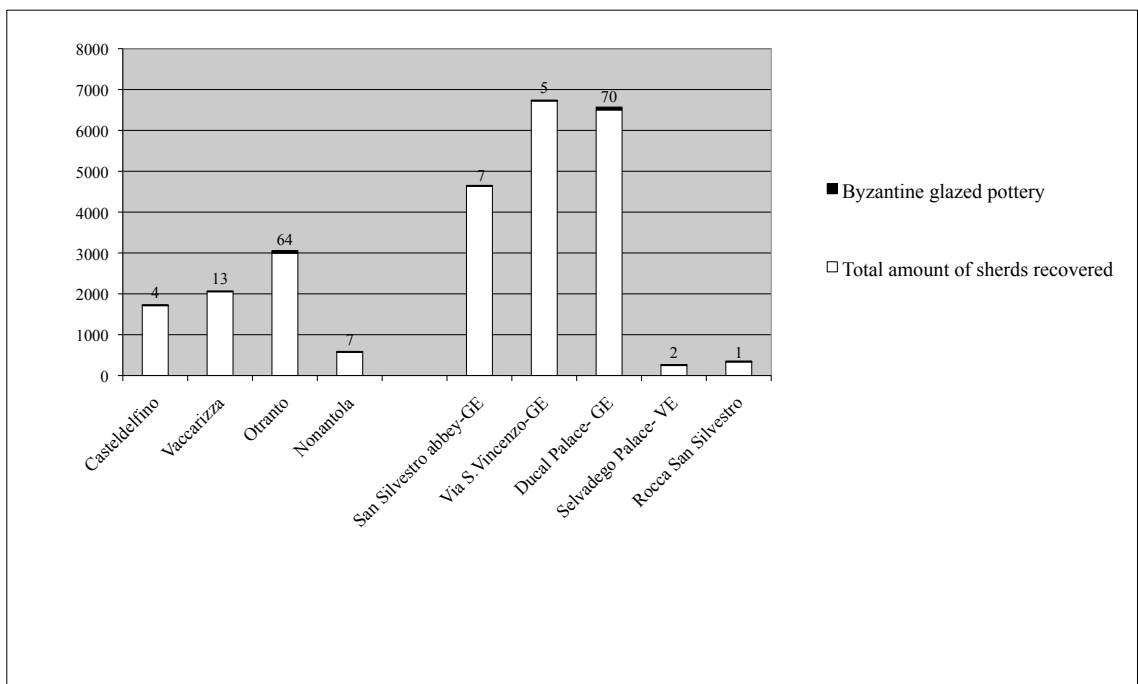


Figure 4.14. Amount of Byzantine Glazed pottery in relation to the total number of sherds recovered in 9 sites.

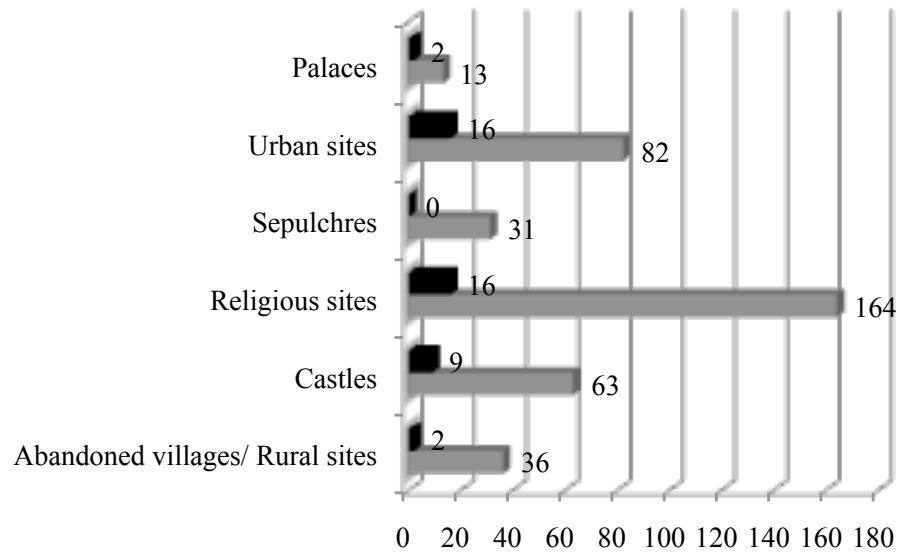


Figure 4.15. Medieval sites in Italy: in grey colour the categories of excavations published from 1975–1985 in the journal 'Archeologia Medievale', in black the categories of sites/monuments where Byzantine glazed pottery has been recovered. Cemeteries also included here.

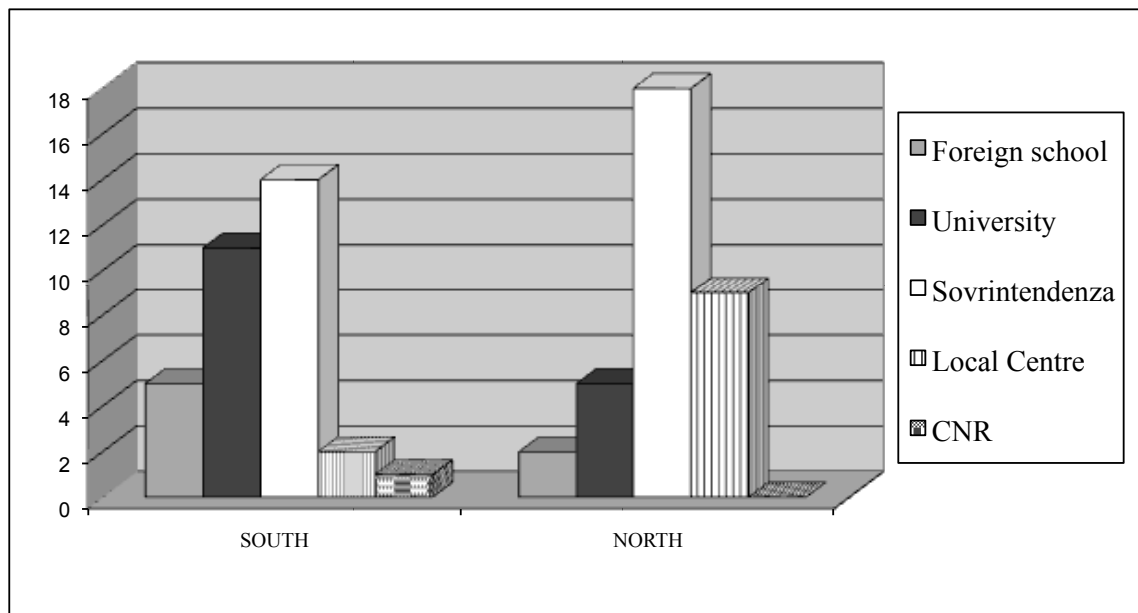


Figure 4.16. Number of excavations with evidence of Byzantine pottery carried out by different institutions in northern and southern Italy.

Site type		Cubic meters of earth excavated for 1 sherd	Byzantine glazed pottery nos.	
<i>Castles</i>	Casteldelfino	27.5	4	
	Motta di Livenza	236	2	
	Rocca San Silvestro	120	1	
	Vaccarizza	192.30	13	
<i>Urban sites</i>	Previtero-Otranto	1.14	7	
	Via San Giovanni-Otranto	15.14	7	
	Ca' Vendramin Calergi-Venice	10.6	30	
	Via dei Mille-Treviso	500	2	
	Caputaquis	9.5	355	
	Reggio Calabria	300	5	
	Via Aspergolo-Ferrara	40	36	
	Porticus Minucia-Roma	0.26	6	
	<i>Religious sites</i>	Nonantola	47.14	7
		Via S. Vincenzo-Genova	792	5
S.Cecilia -Rome		12	3	
Torcello		57.5	8	
S.Lorenzo in Ammiana-Venice		98.5	2	
Convento di San Domenico-Bologna		32.5	3	
<i>Other site type</i>		Fusina-Venice	8.1	9
	<i>Palace</i> Palazzo Ducale-Genoa	0.11	70	

4.17. Frequency of Byzantine pottery in some of the excavation considered here.

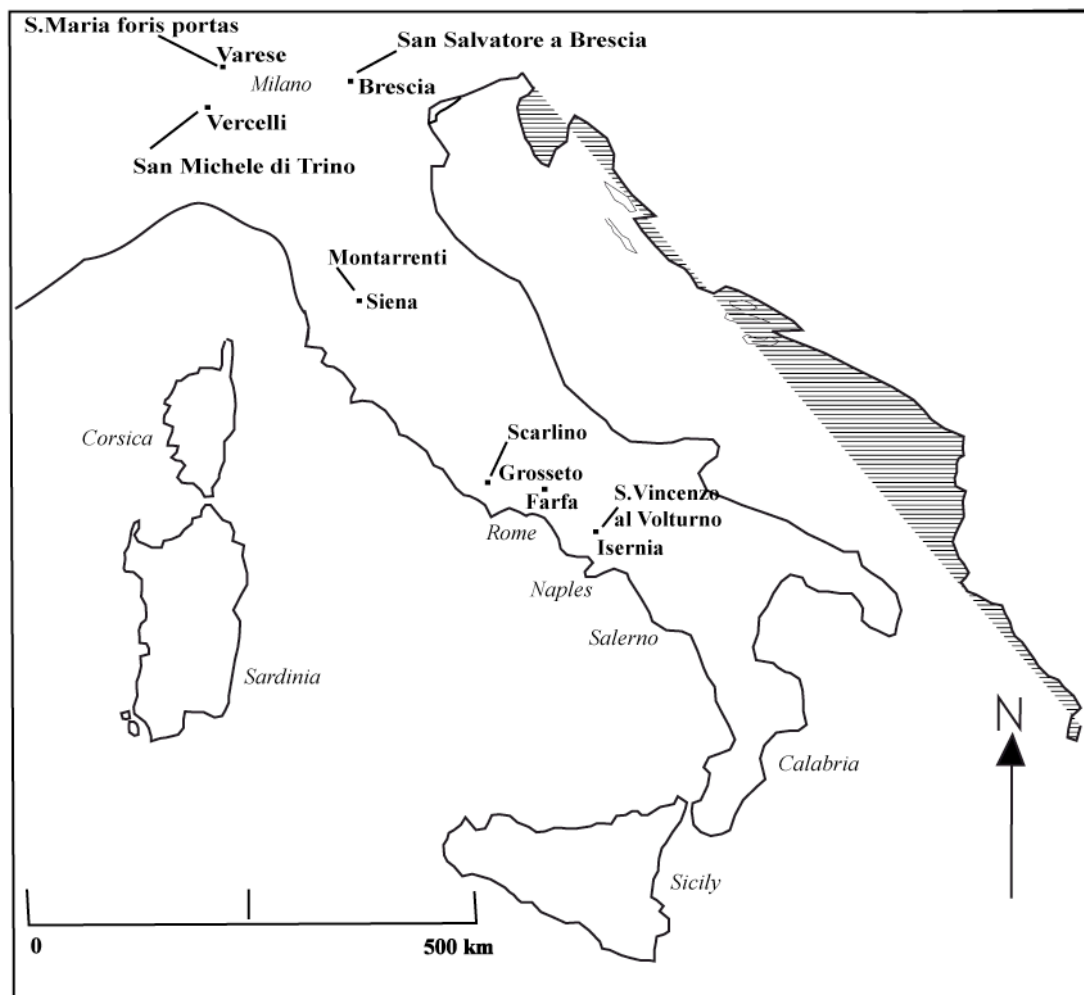


Figure 4.18. Large excavations from the 1970s and 1980s with no evidence of Byzantine finewares.

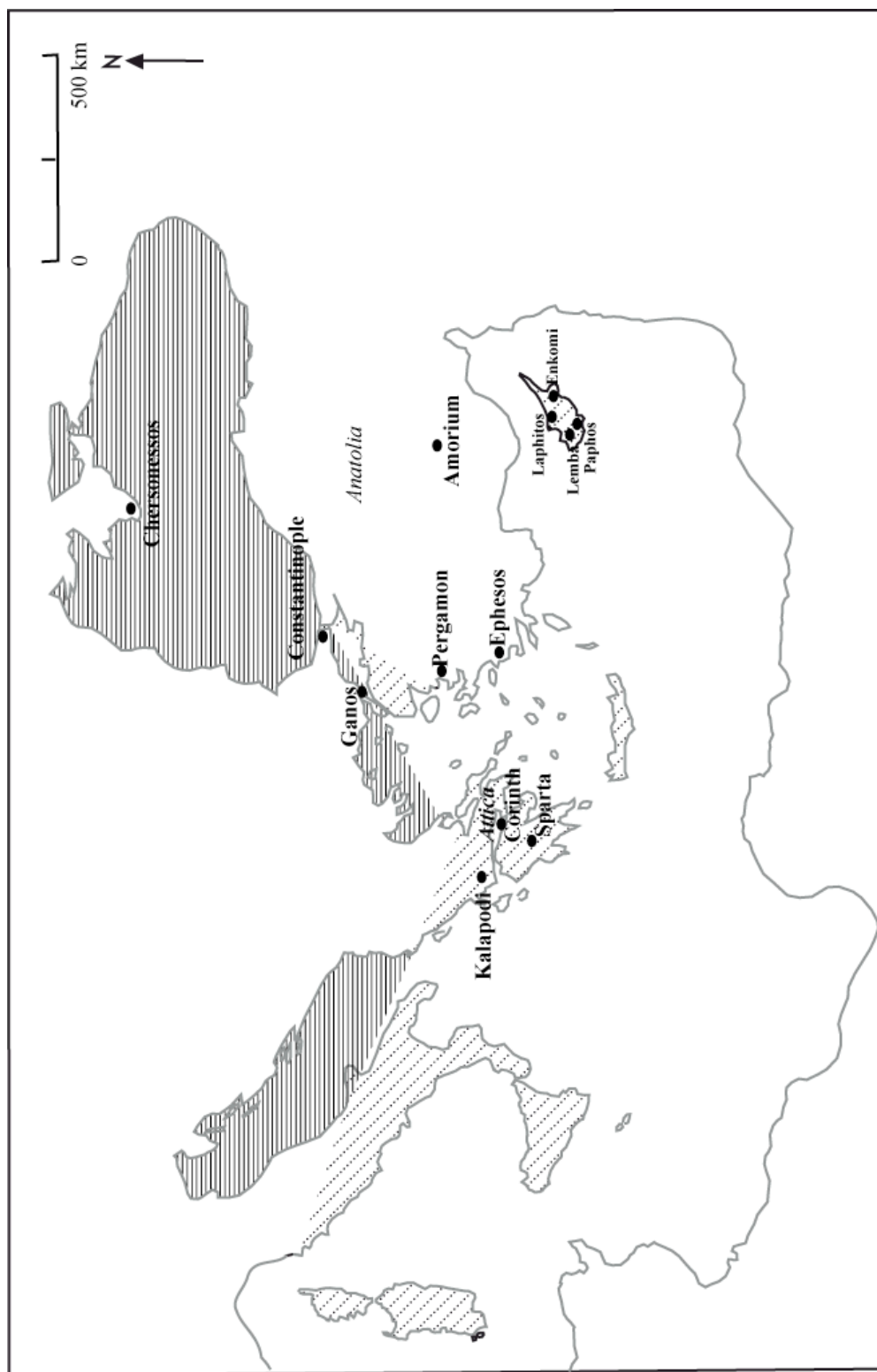


Figure 5.2. Main sites which may have exported Byzantine glazed pottery towards Italy.

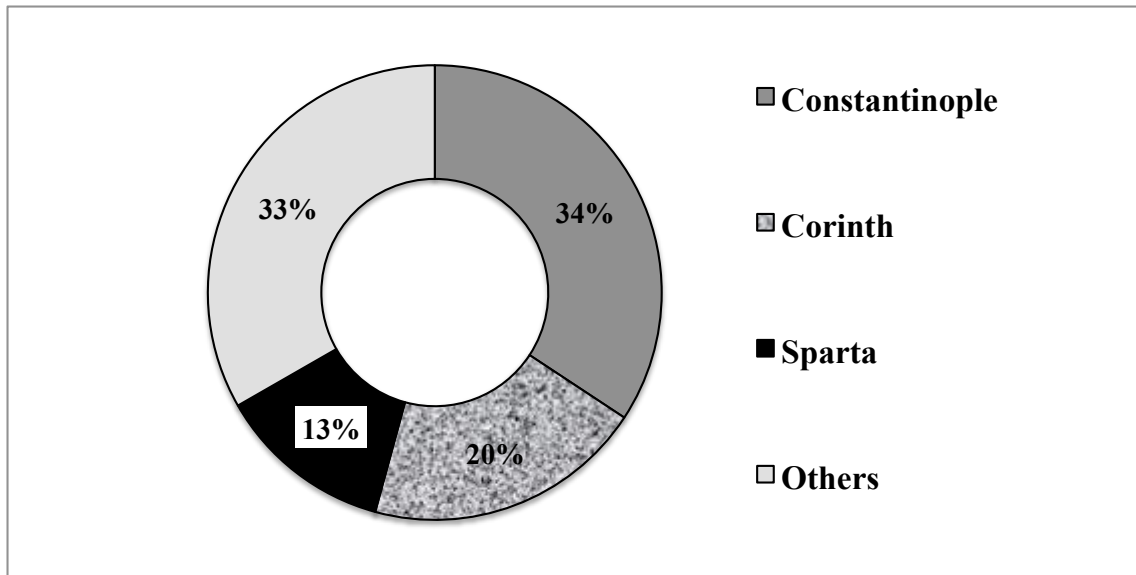


Figure 5.3. Main areas of provenance of Byzantine Glazed pottery recovered in Italy.

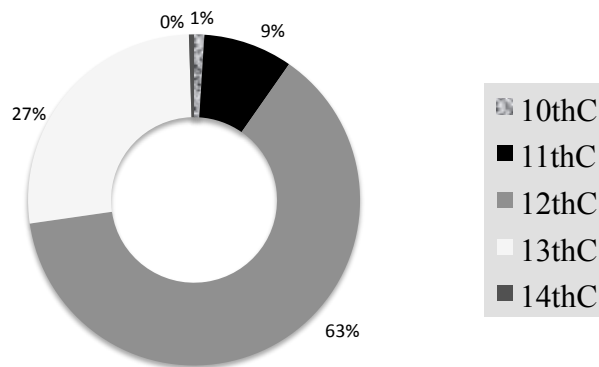


Figure 5.5. Percentages of Byzantine glazed pottery recovered in Italy by period.

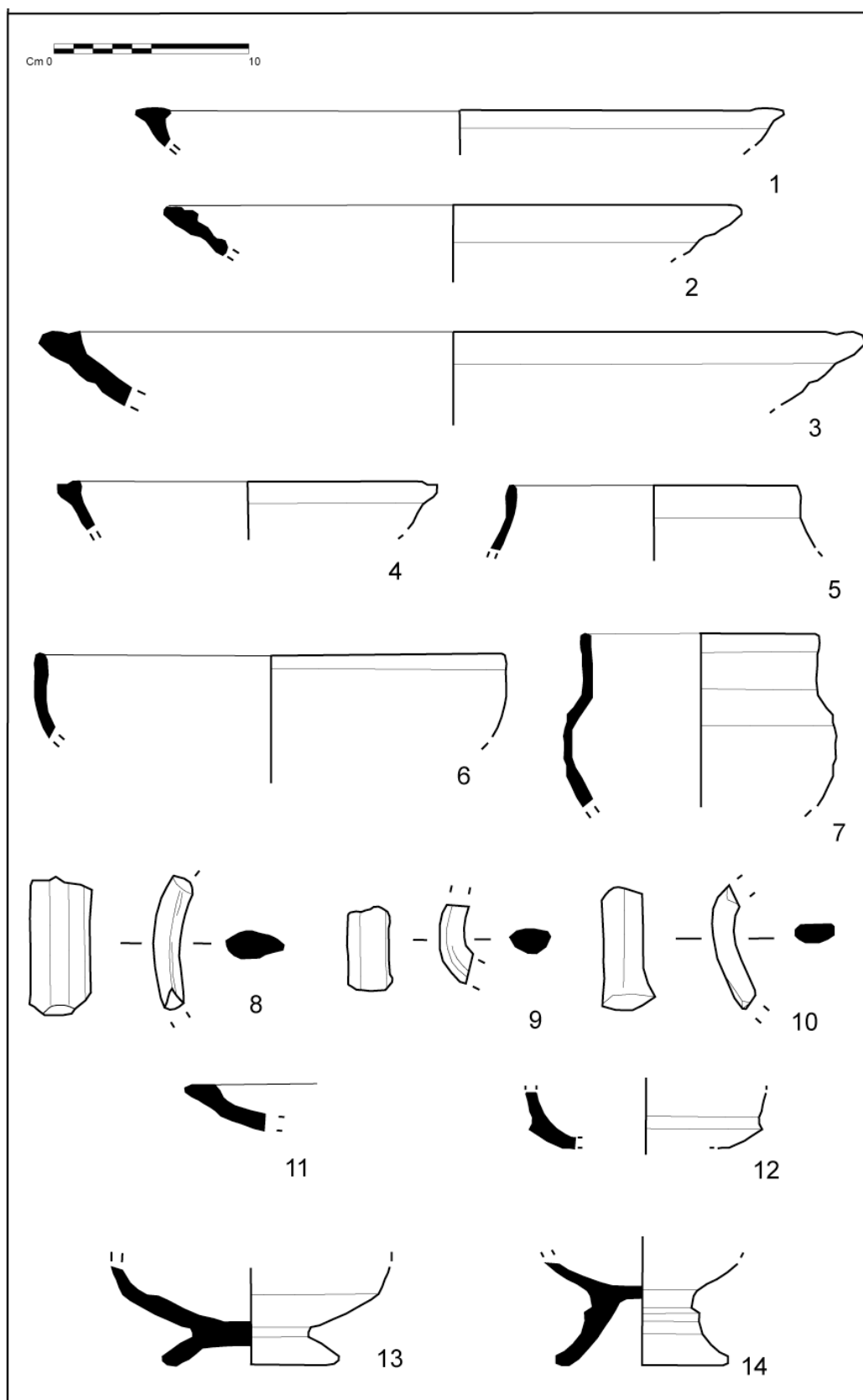


Figure 5.6. GW II from Otranto-Apulia (after Patterson and Whitehouse 1992).



Figure 5.6a. GWW II respectively from Previtro and Vaccarizza -Apulia (Reproduced by courtesy respectively of the University of Lecce and University of Ravenna)

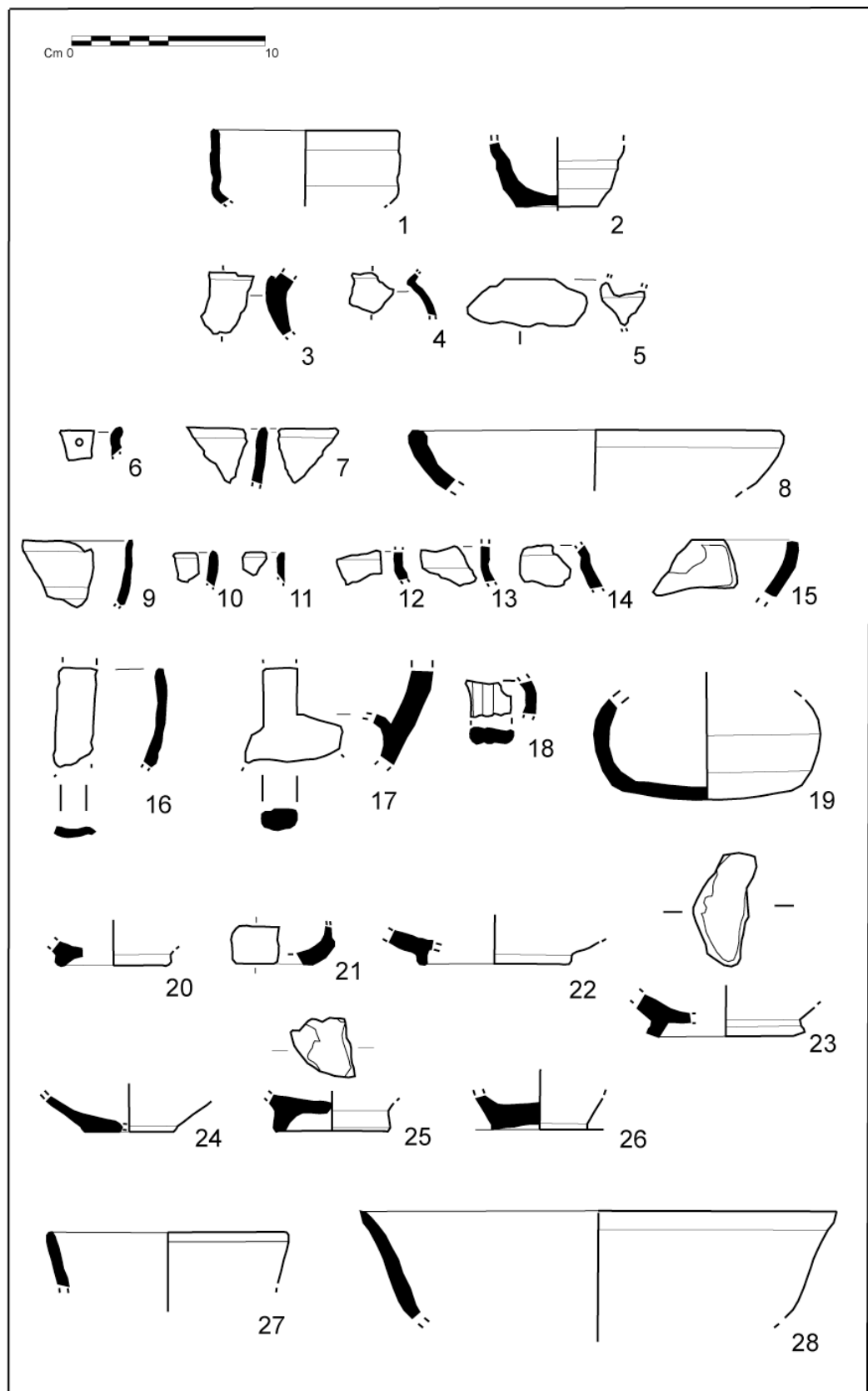


Figure 5.7. GWW II from Capaccio-Campania, 1-26 (after Buko et al. 1984) and GWW IV from Vaccarizza-Apulia, 27-28 (after Lo Mele 2004).



Figure 5.7a. GWW IV and PW I from 1)Vaccarizza -Apulia- and 2)Nonantola -Emilia Romagna- (Reproduced by courtesy respectively of the University of Lecce and University of Venice).

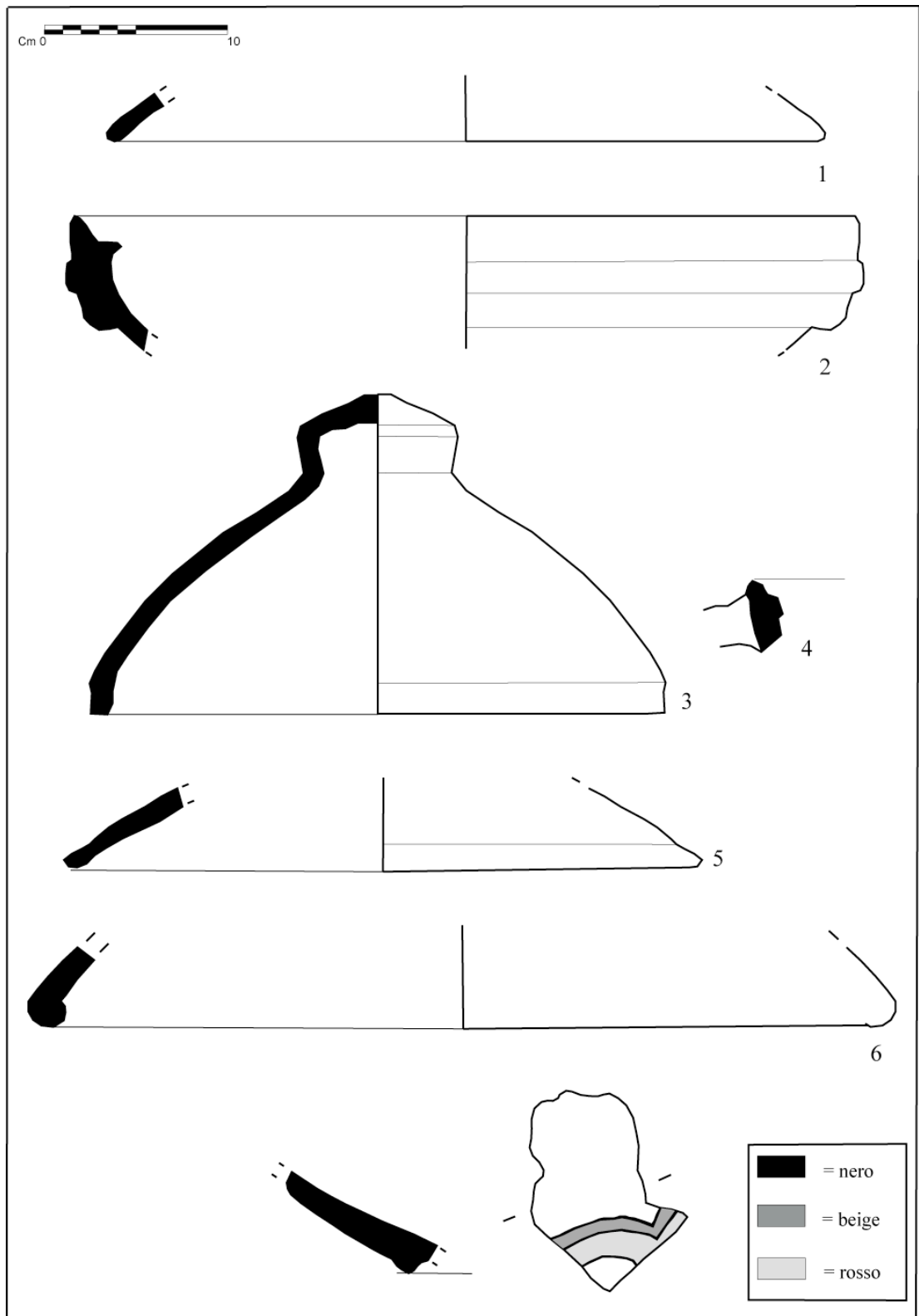


Figure 5.8. Brown Glazed Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 1-6 (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992) and Polychrome Wares from Nonantola-Emilia Romagna, 7.

Mid of the 10th century–11th century					
	Local wares		Byzantine glazed imports		Other imports
	Glazed wares	Unglazed wares	Open forms	Closed forms	
OTRANTO (Patterson and Whitehouse 1992)	---	Jugs and amphorae with painted broad lines decoration/ <i>paioli</i> Pots with grooved decoration Pots in <i>pietra ollare</i>	Cups in GWW	Jugs, Chafing dishes/lids, Lamps in Brown Glazed Ware	---
NONANTOLA (unpublished data)	---	Pots in coarseware Pots in unglazed ware Pots in <i>pietra ollare</i>	Small cup in GWW-Polychrome Ware	---	---
CORINTH (D'Amico 2003, 134–135)	Chafing dishes in Brown Glazed Ware Cups in Brown Glazed Ware	Pots in coarseware Jugs and amphorae used as storage wares Jars with a trilobate mouth	Cups, bowls in GWW Dishes in Polychrome Ware	Small jars and chafing dishes in GWW	---

Figure 5.9. Pottery from three sites with archaeological deposits dated to the 10th and 11th centuries.

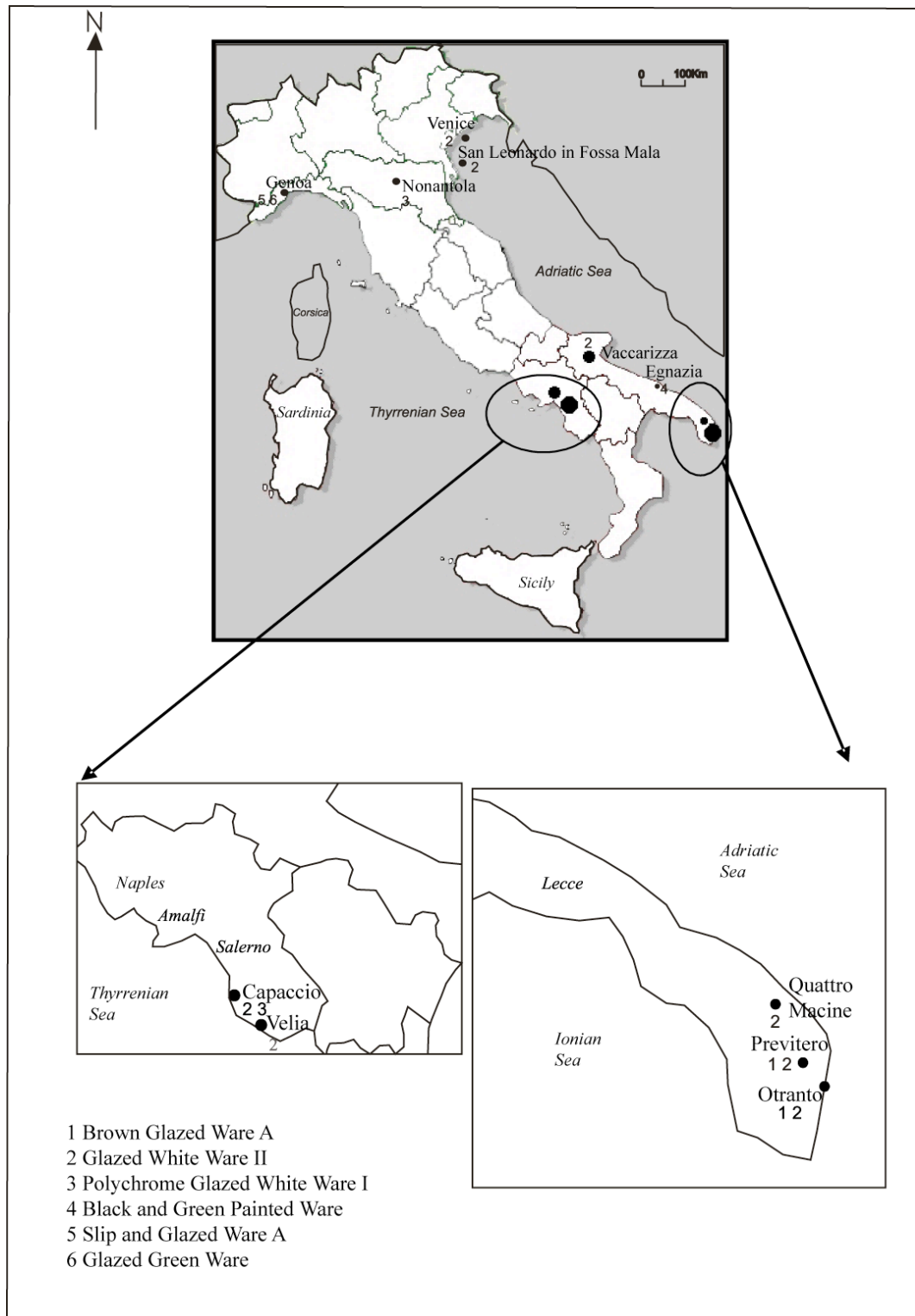


Figure 5.10. Distribution of major types of 10th to 11th century Byzantine glazed pottery In grey the sites with poor archaeological data and the unsecure cases.

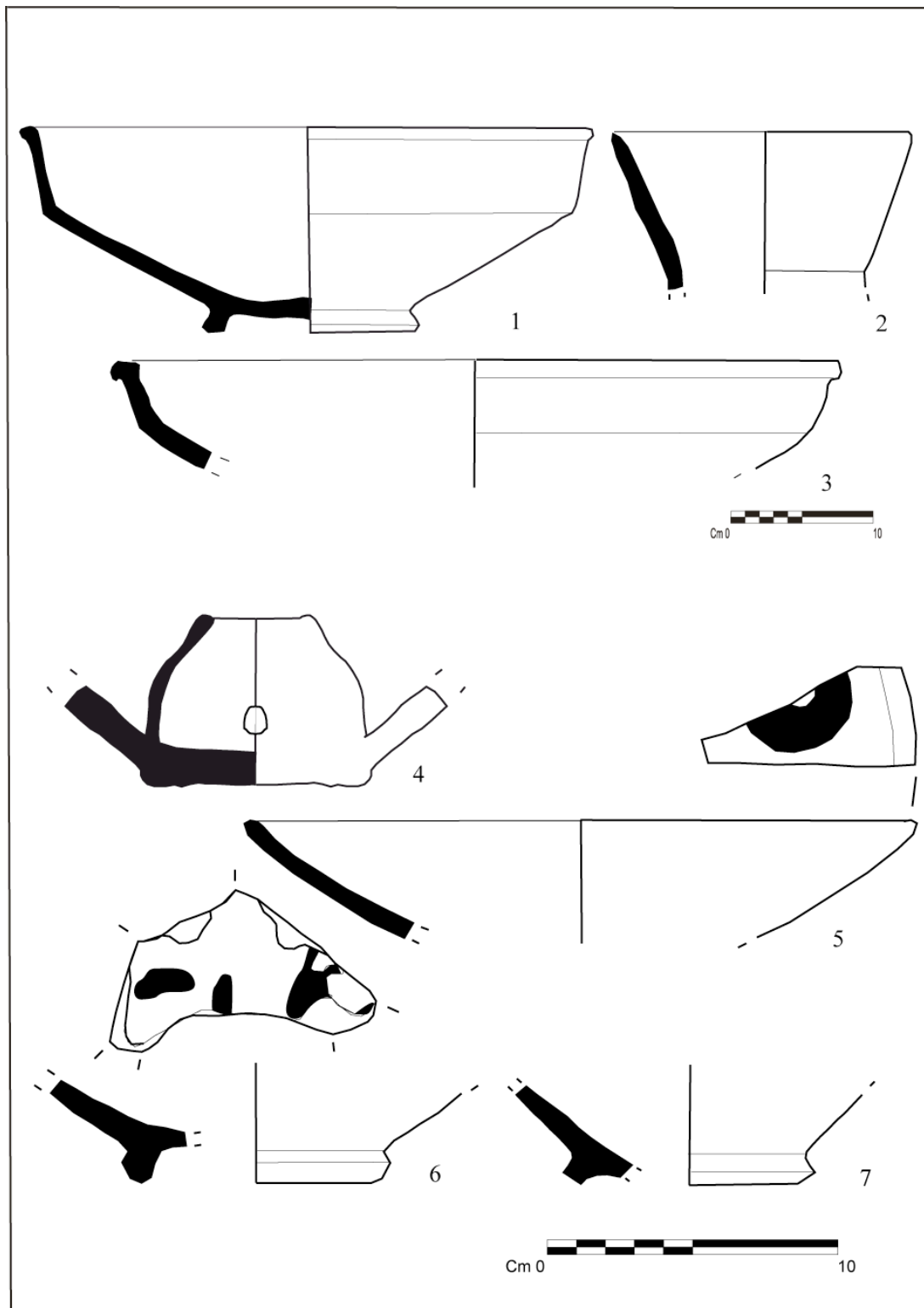


Figure 5.11. Black and Green Painted Wares from Egnazia-Apulia, 1-3 (after Biancofiore 1995); Plain Glazed Ware from Ca' Vendramin Calergi-Venice (4); Dark -On- Light Painted Wares from Ferrara-Emilia Romagna, 5-6 (after Guarnieri-Librenti 1996) and Sgraffito Ware I from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala-Venice, 7.

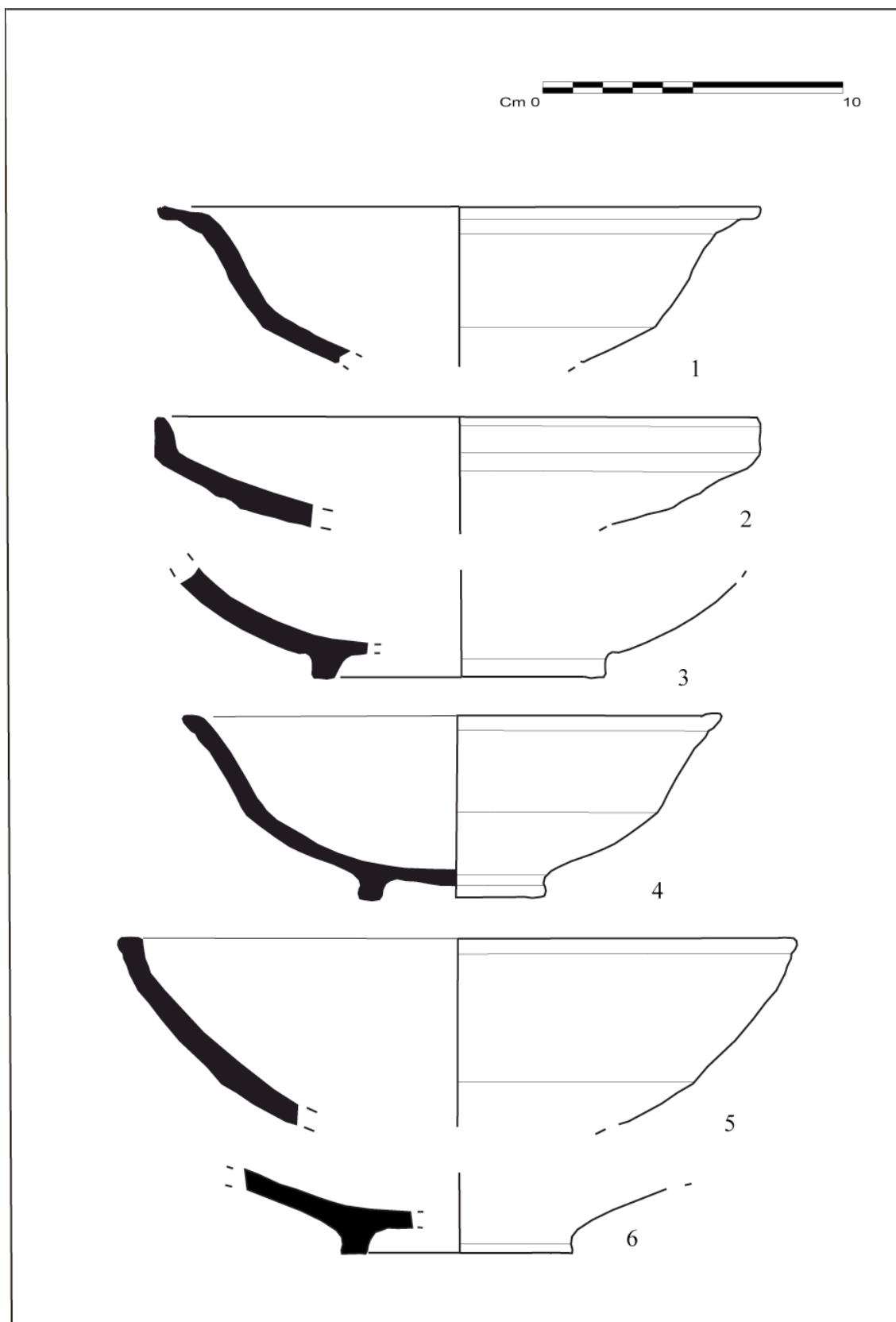


Figure 5.11a. Sgraffito Painted Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 1-6 (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992).

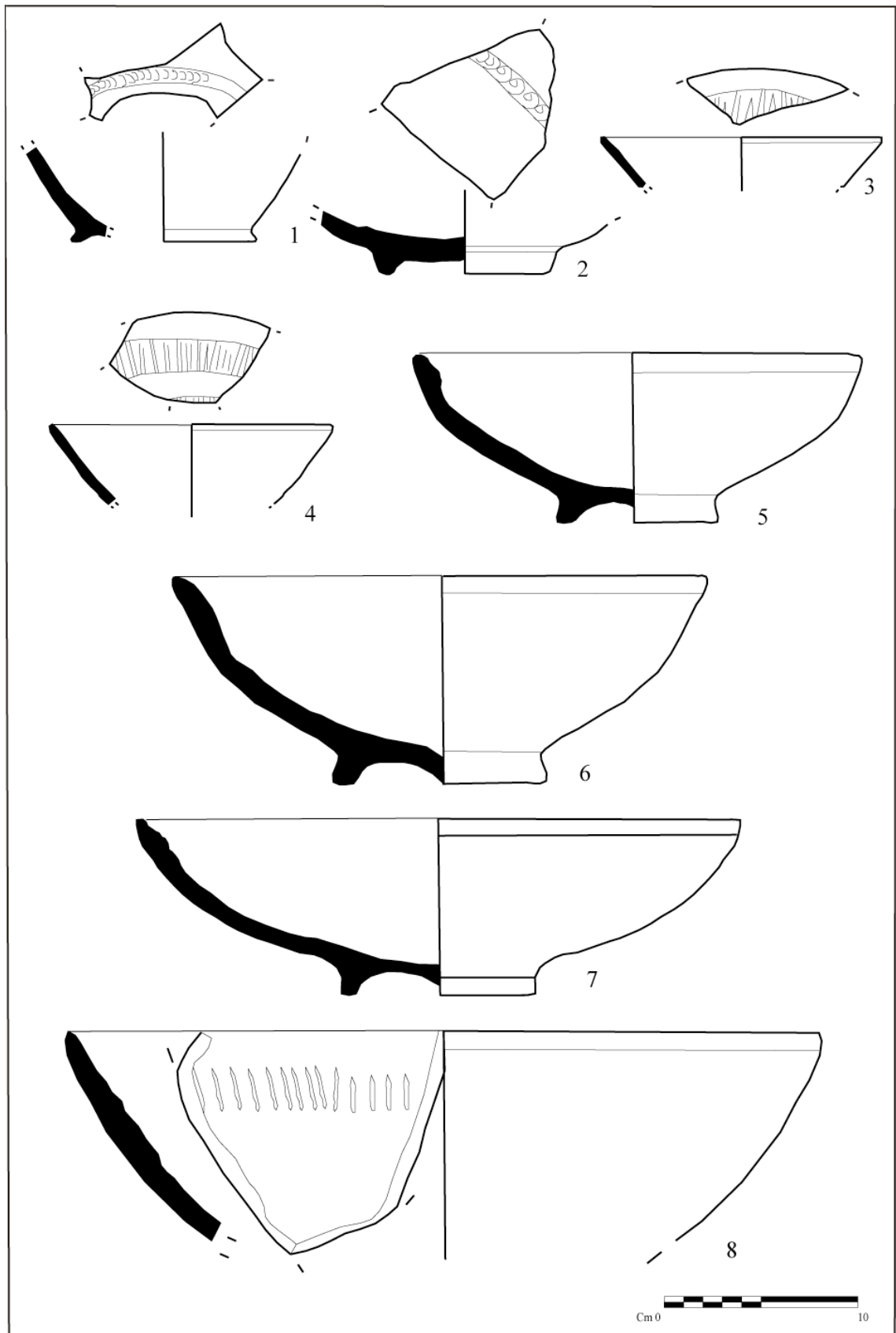


Figure 5.11b. Sgraffito Wares from Reggio Calabria-Calabria, 1-4, Pozzuoli-Napoli, 5-6 (after Sogliani 2000), Napoli Piazza Bovio- Campania, 7-8 (after Carsana 2002).

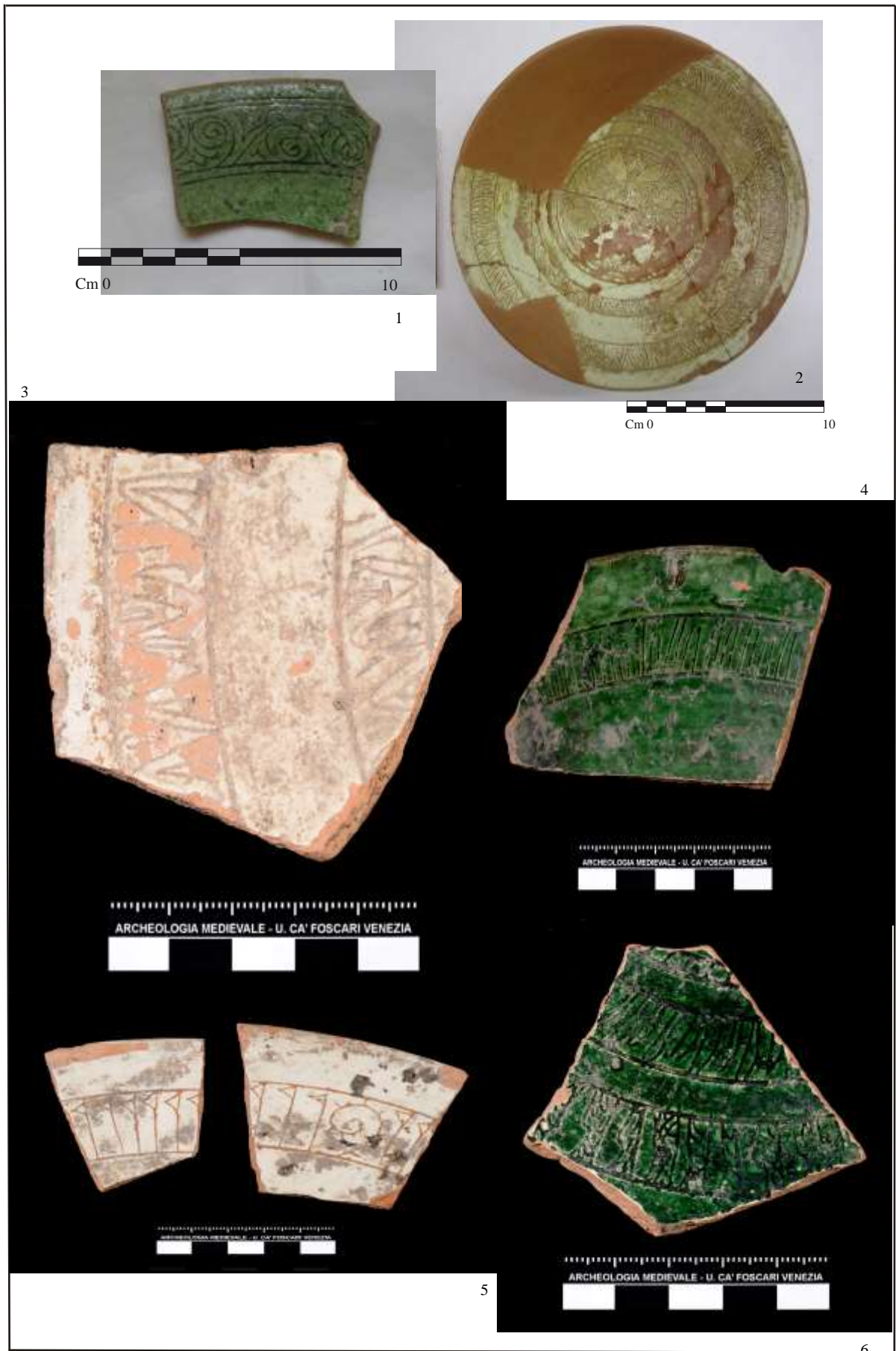


Figure 5.11c. Sgraffito Wares from Fusina-Venice ,1, Rome,2, Jesolo, 3-6,(Reproduced respectively by courtesy of Museo Ca' D'Oro, University of Siena, Ca' Foscari University)

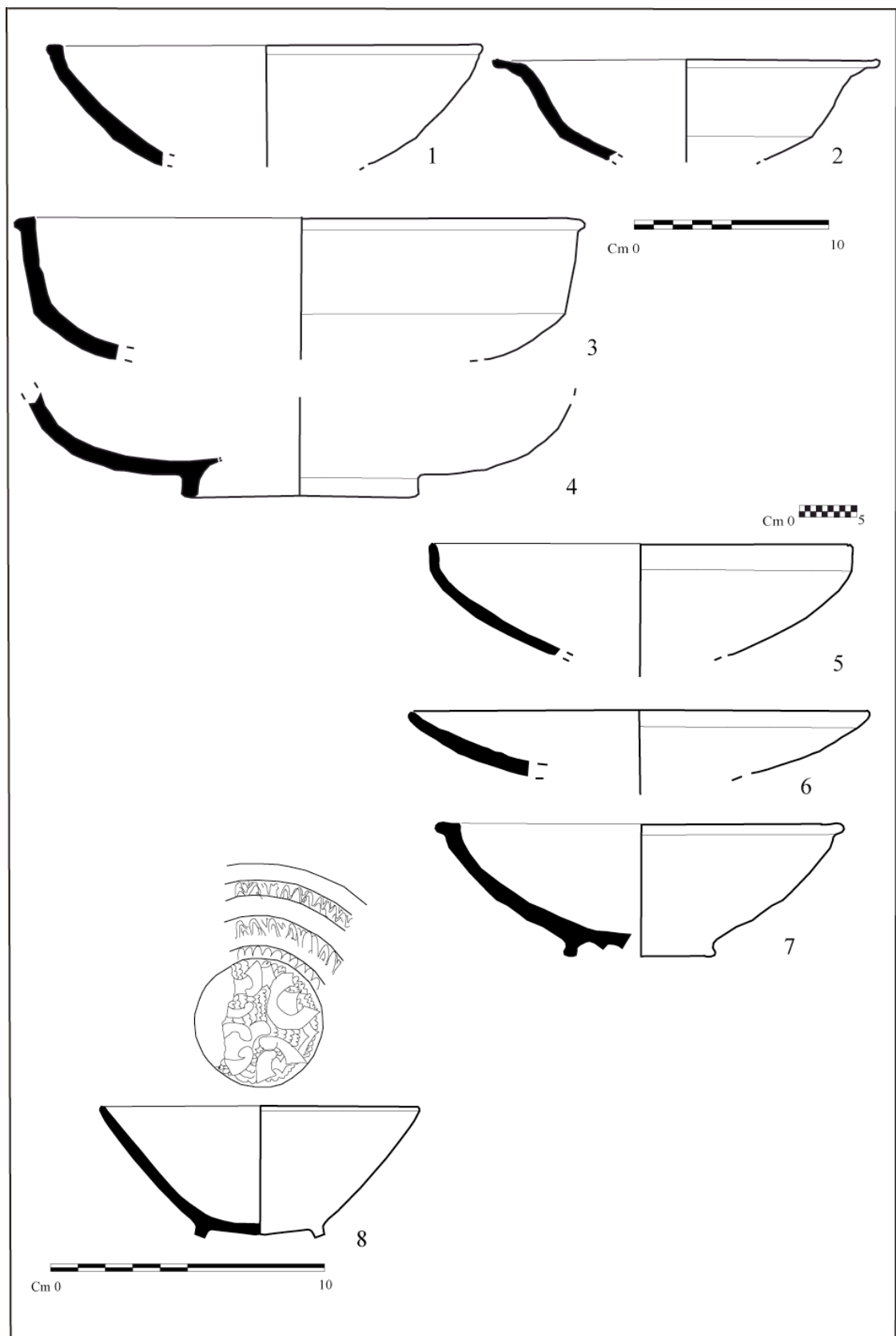


Figure 5.11d. Sgraffito Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 1-4 (after Patterson-Whiethouse 1992), San Leonardo in Fossa Mala-Venice, 5, Messina- Sicily, 6-7 (after Scibona 2003), Rome-Lazio, 8.

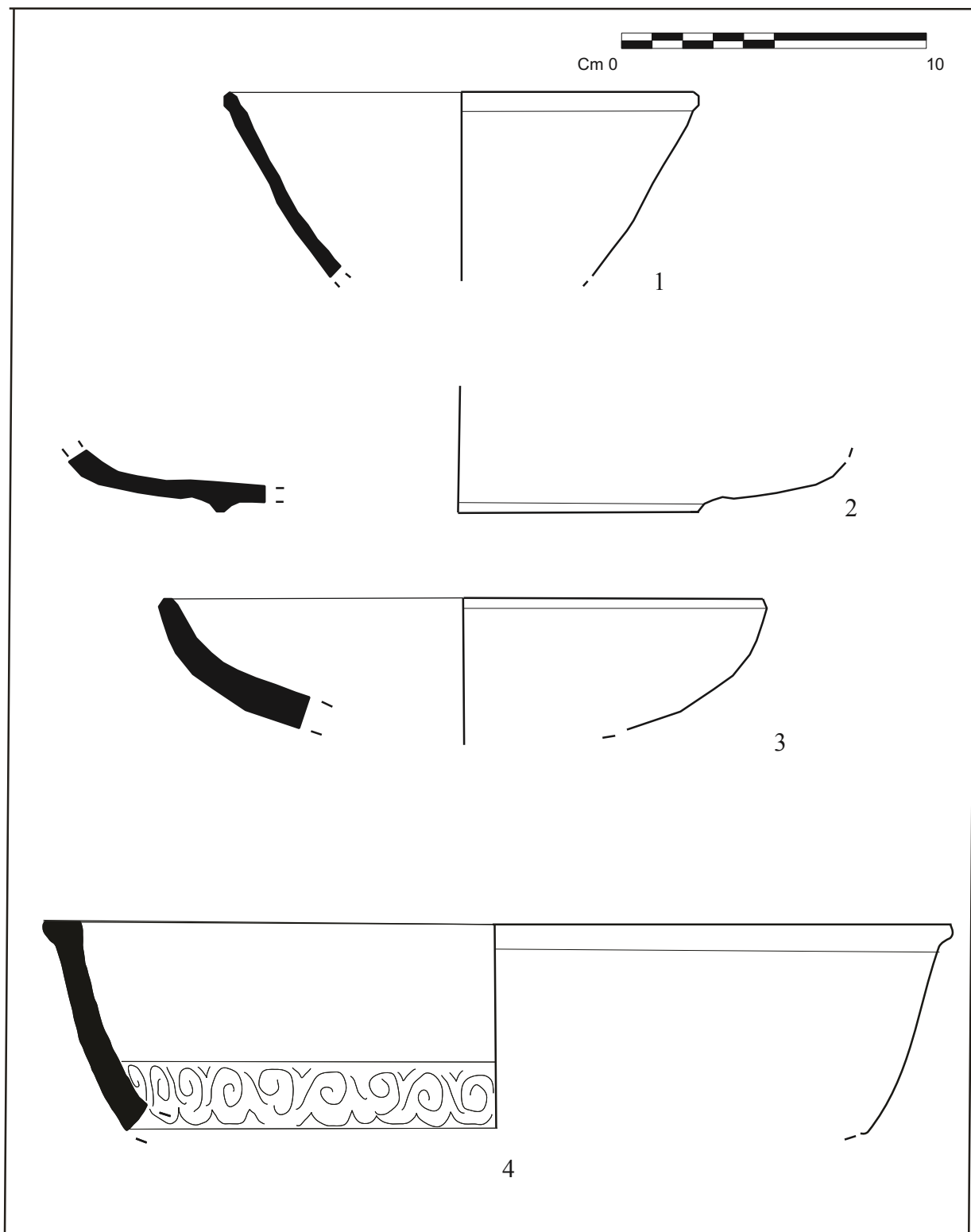


Figure 5.11e. Sgraffito Wares from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala-Venice, 1-3; Egnazia-Apulia, 4 (after Biancofiore 1995)

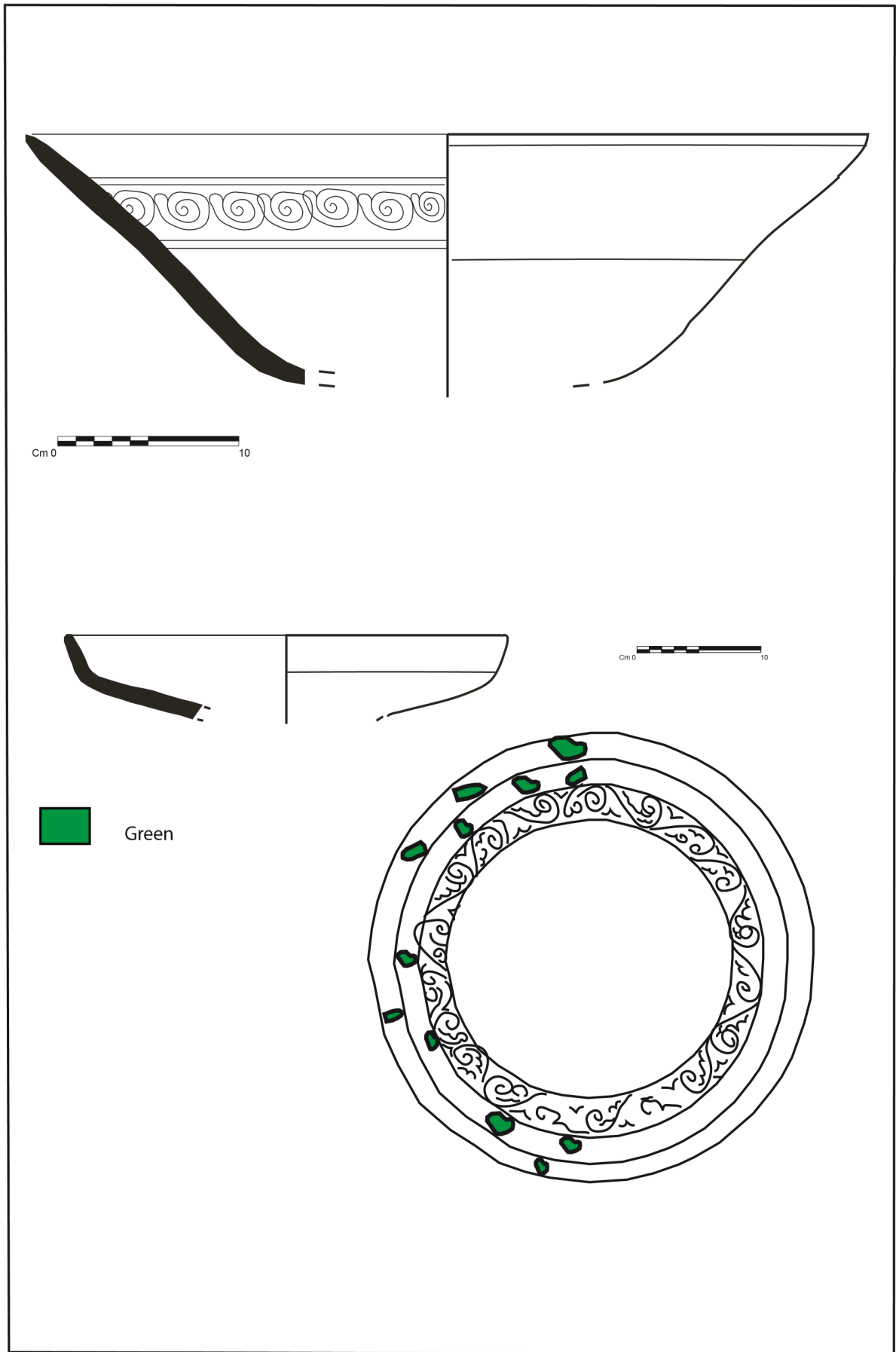


Figure 5.11f. Painted Sgraffito Wares from Egnazia (after Biancofiore 1995)

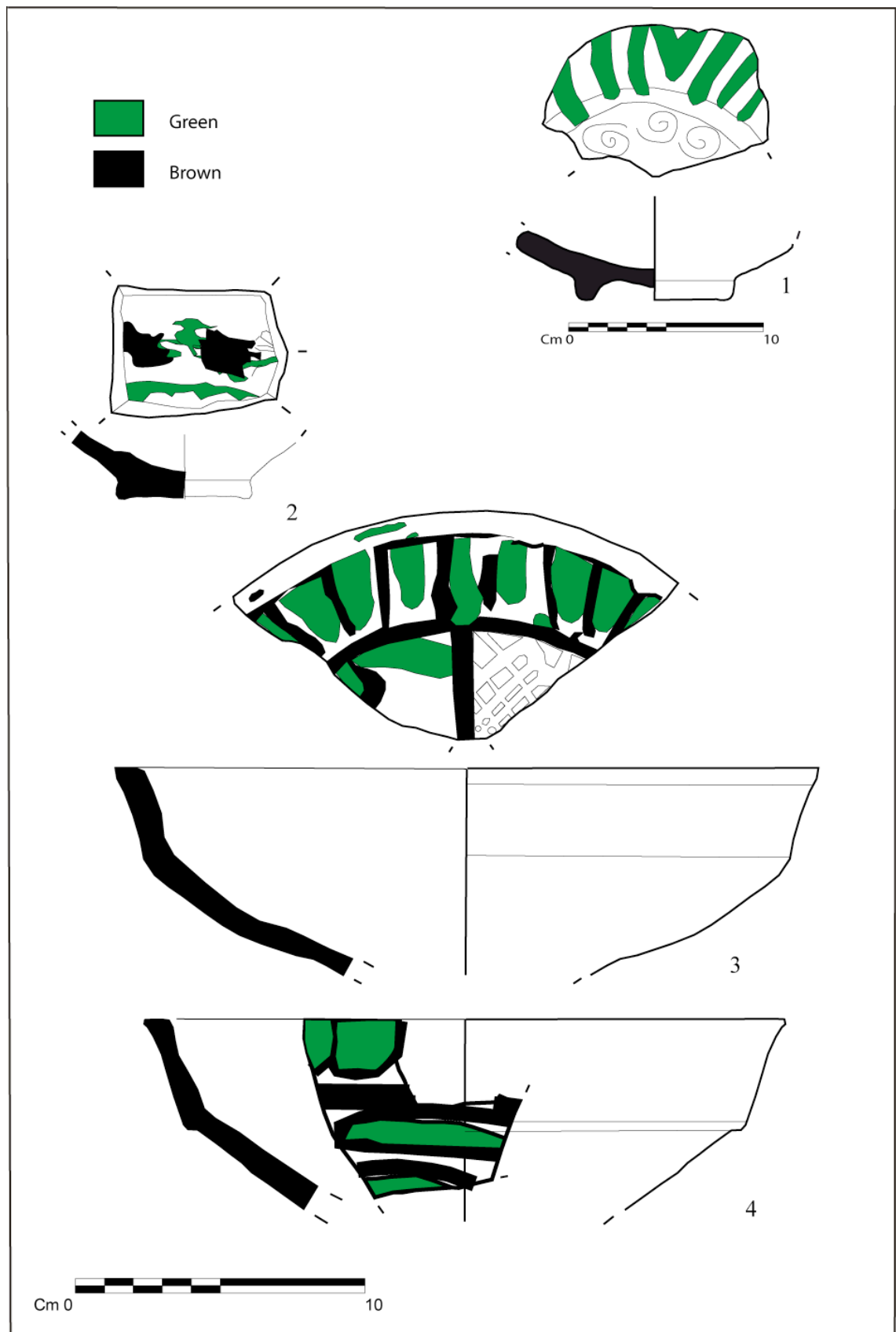


Figure 5.12. Sgraffito Painted Wares from Ca' Vendramin Calergi-Veneto, 1; Green and Brown Painted Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 2-4 (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992).

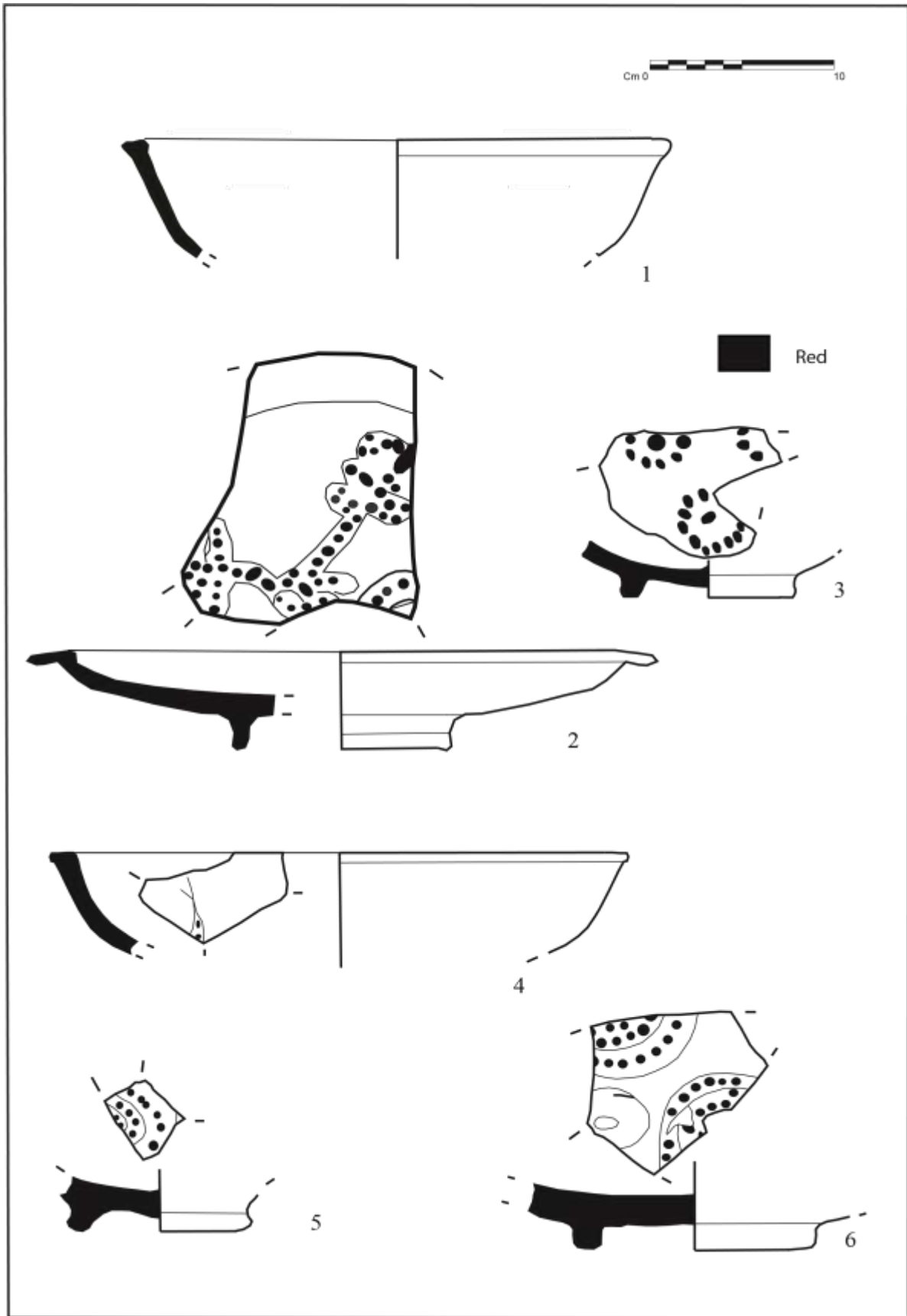


Figure 5.12a. Green and Brown Painted Ware from Egnazia, 1 (after Biancofiore 1995); Measles Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 2-6 (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992)

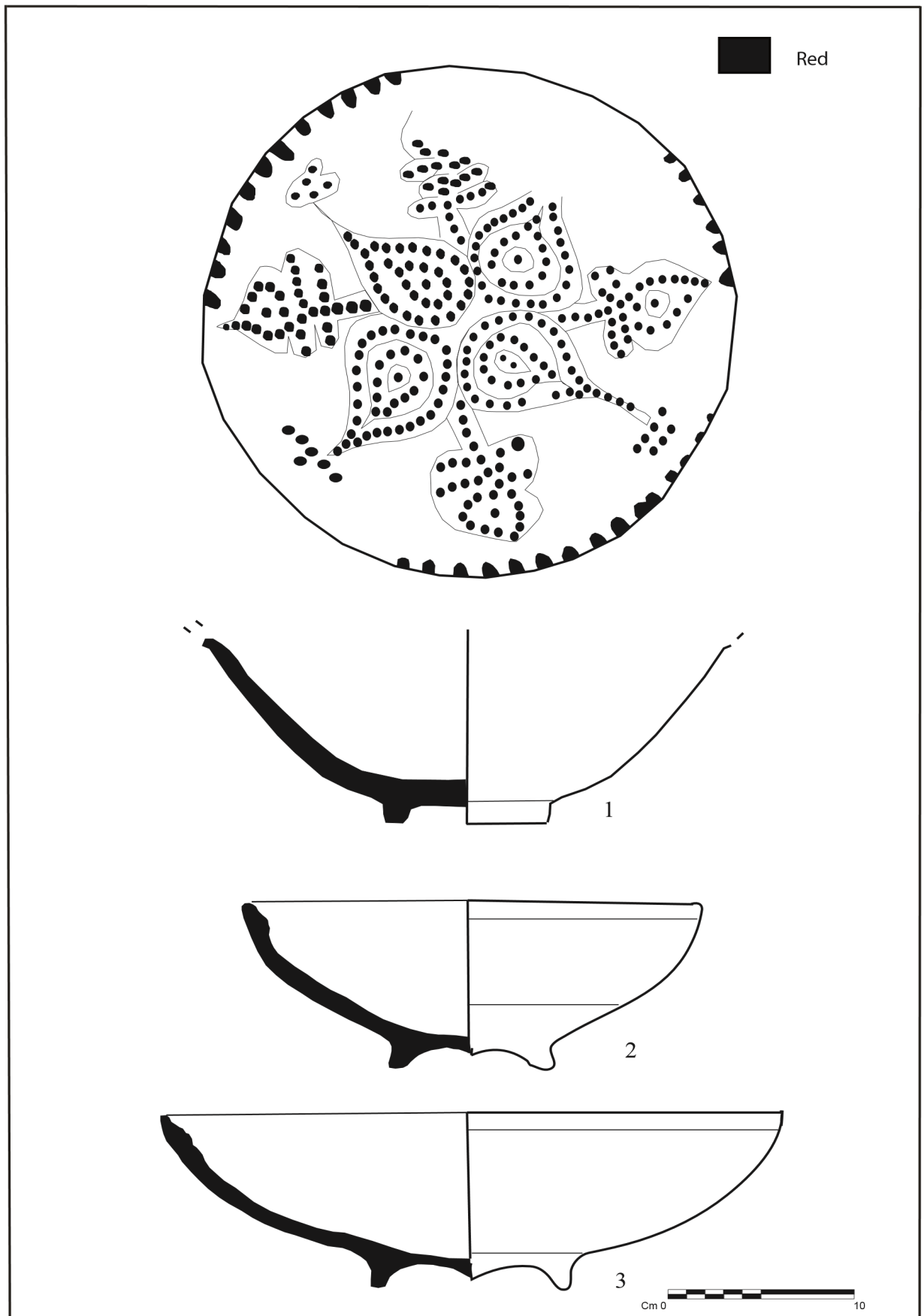


Figure 5.12b. Measles Wares, 1: from Padova (after Candiani 1980)-Veneto and Sgraffito wares from Pozzuoli, 2-3 (after Sogliani 2000)

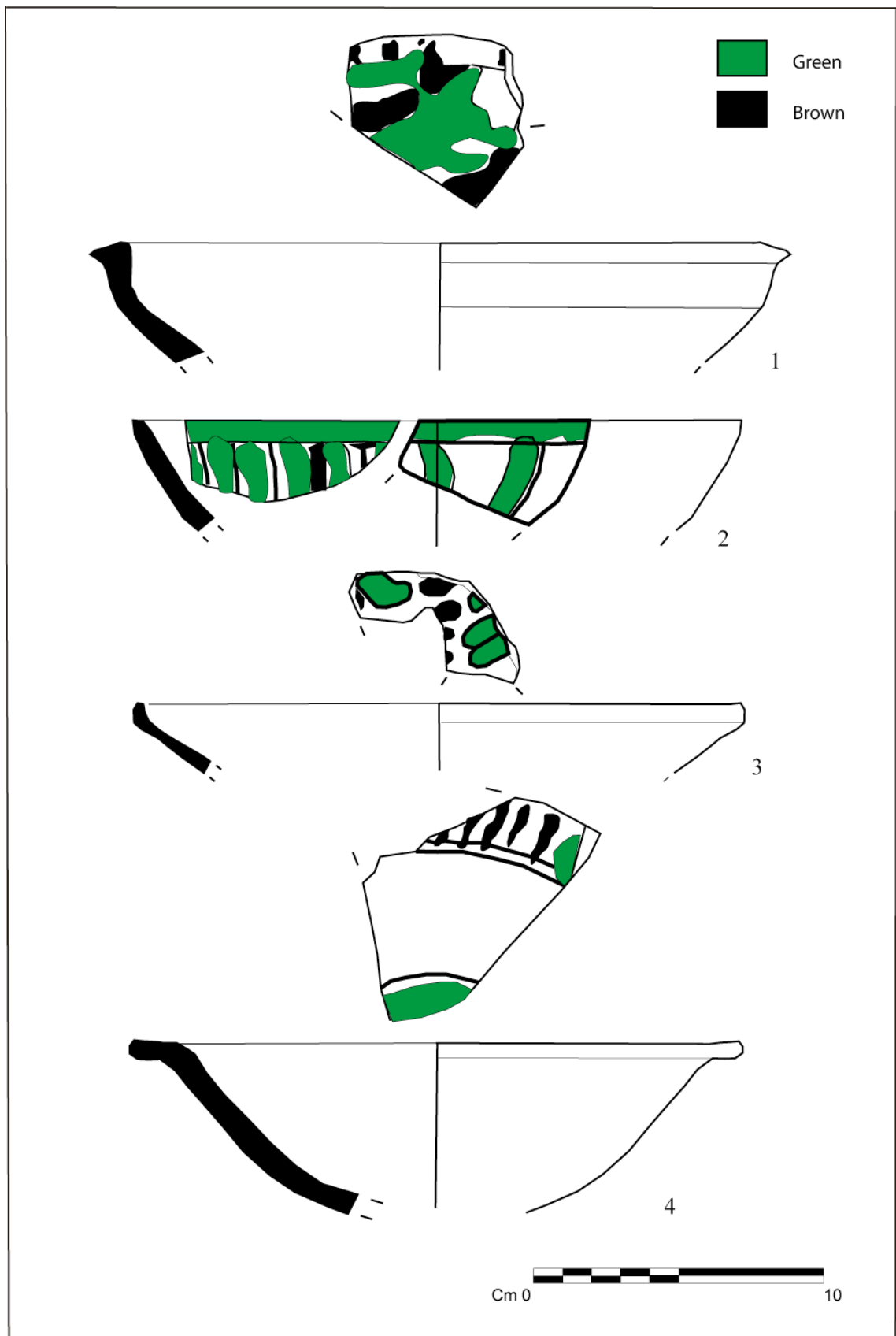


Figure 5.13. Green and Brown Painted Wares from Otranto-Apulia (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992).

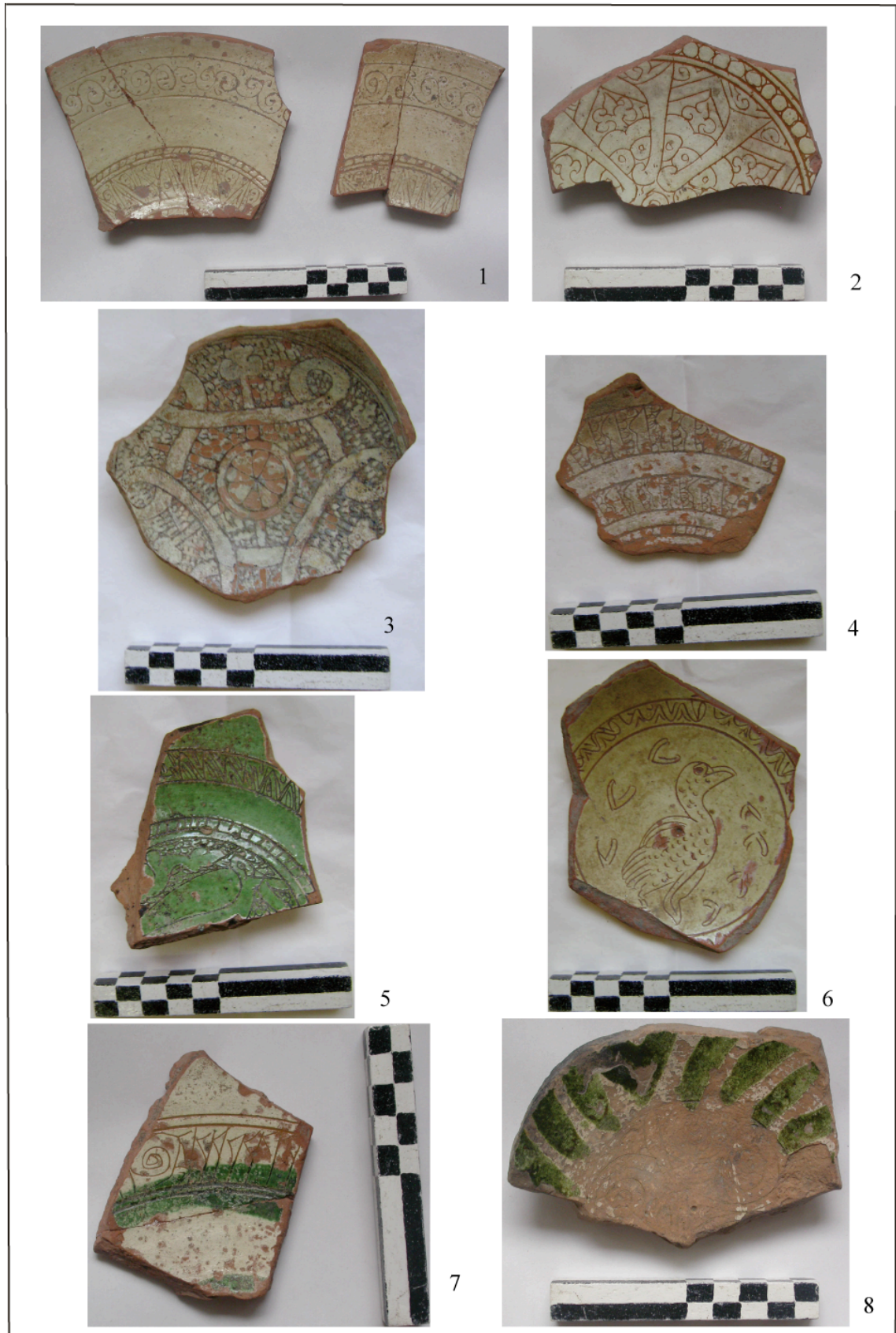


Figure 5.14. Sgraffito Wares from Ca' Vendramin,1-2, San Leonardo in Fossa Mala,3-5, Sant'Arian,6; Green and Brown Painted Wares from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala,7, and Ca' Vendramin ,8-Venice (Reproduced by courtesy of the Museo Ca' D'Oro).

First half of the 12th century					
	Local wares		Byzantine glazed imports from different centers of production		Other glazed imports
	Glazed wares	Unglazed wares	Open forms	Closed forms	
OTRANTO (Patterson-Whitehouse 1992)	Closed vessels in CVP Green glazed vessels	Jars and jugs in Painted pottery with narrow line decoration	Bowls/dishes	---	Bowls, vases and little dishes from Maghreb/Sicily Bowls, vases in Frit Ware from Egypt Bowls in Green Glazed Ware from Naples (?)
ROME (Paroli 1985)	---	Amphorae used as domestic wares Cooking pots in coarseware	Bowl	---	Bowls from Maghreb/Sicily Bowls in Green Glazed Ware from Campania
VENICE (Gobbo 2006)	---	Closed vessels in CVP Pots in coarseware	Bowls/dishes	Lamps	Small bowls in Frit Ware from Syria Amphorae from East Jugs in Forum Ware from central Italy Open and closed vessels in Green Glazed Ware from unknown source
CORINTH (D'Amico 2003)	Usual range of bowls, dishes with vertical rims range of various shapes, including quatrefoil cups, small jugs, pilgrim flasks and chafing dishes.	Unrecorded during excavations but most probably present	Bowls, cups and dishes	---	Small bowls in Frit Ware from western Asia Small bowls from Maghreb/Sicily

Figure 5.15. The pottery from four sites with archaeological deposits dated to the 12th century.

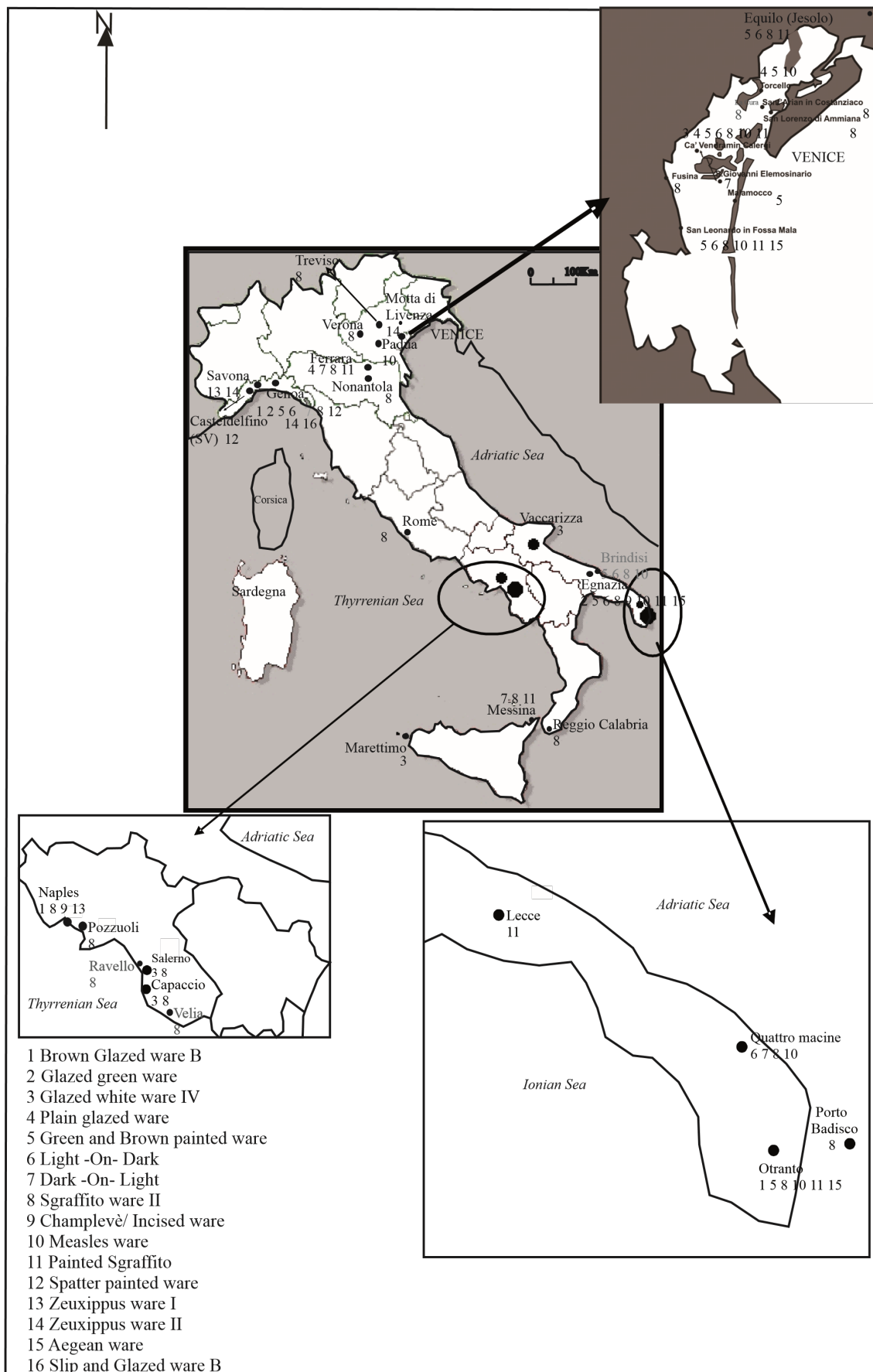


Figure 5.16. Distribution of major types of 11th to 13th century Byzantine glazed pottery. In grey the sites with poor archaeological data and the insecure cases

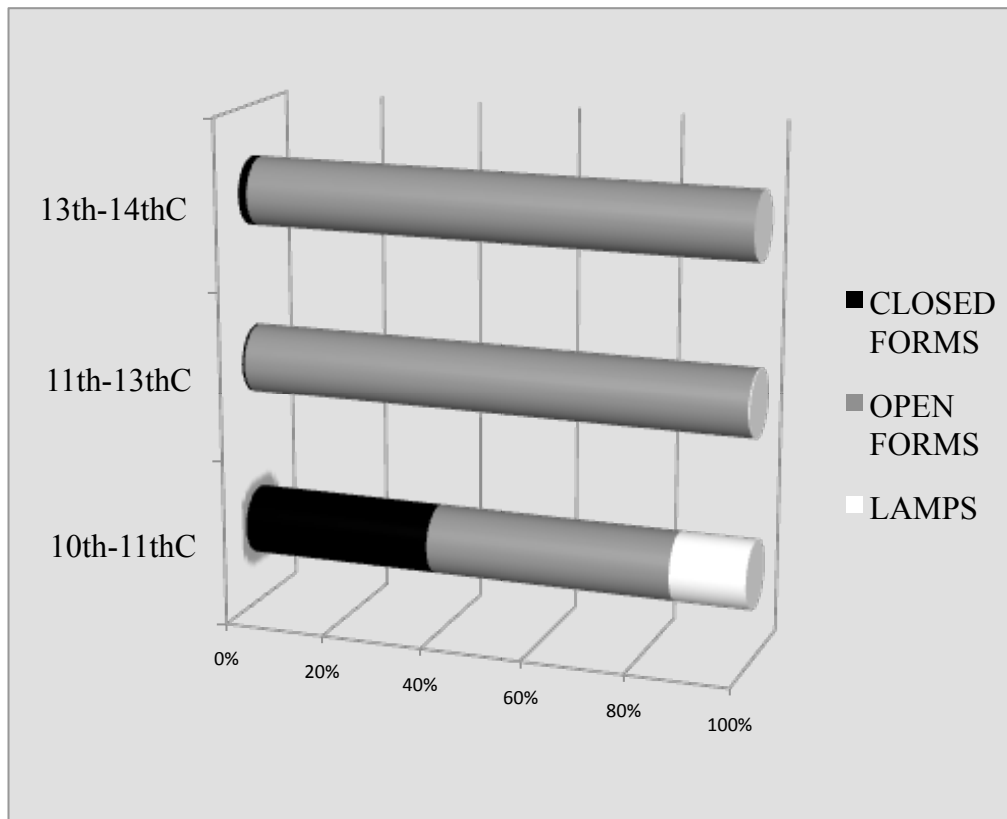


Figure 5.17: Forms of Byzantine glazed pottery in Italy by period.

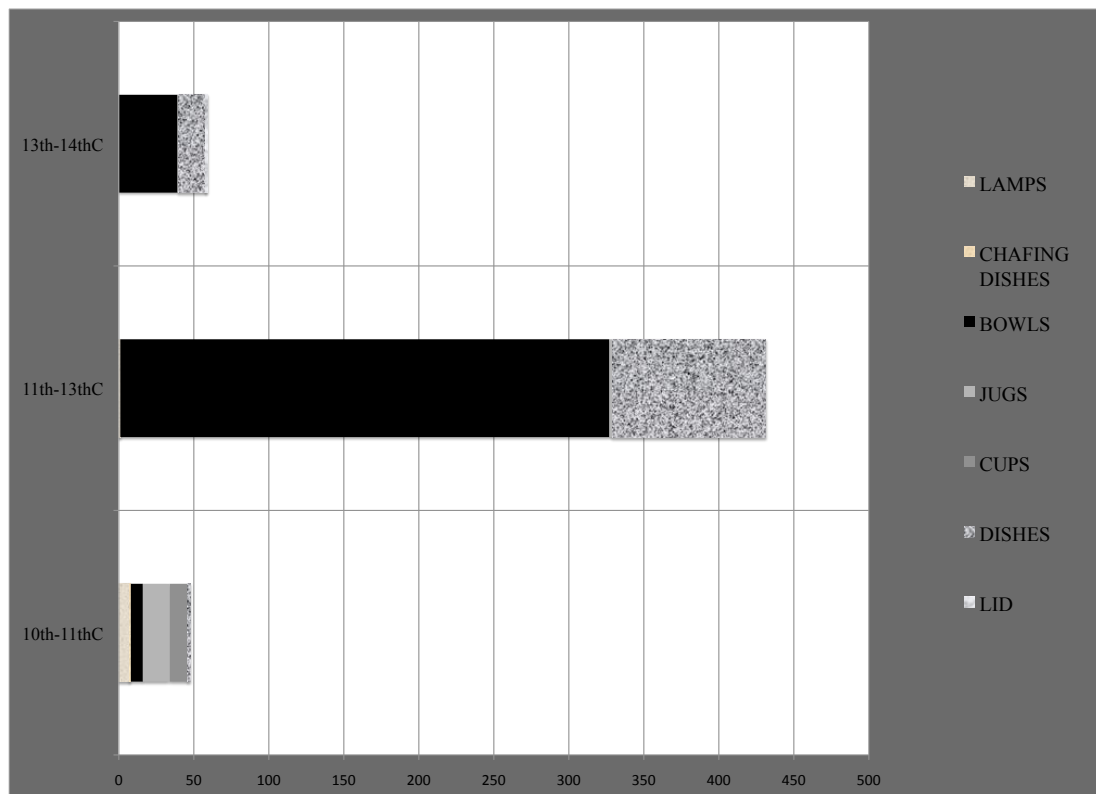


Figure 5.18. Main forms of Byzantine glazed pottery in Italy recorded by period.

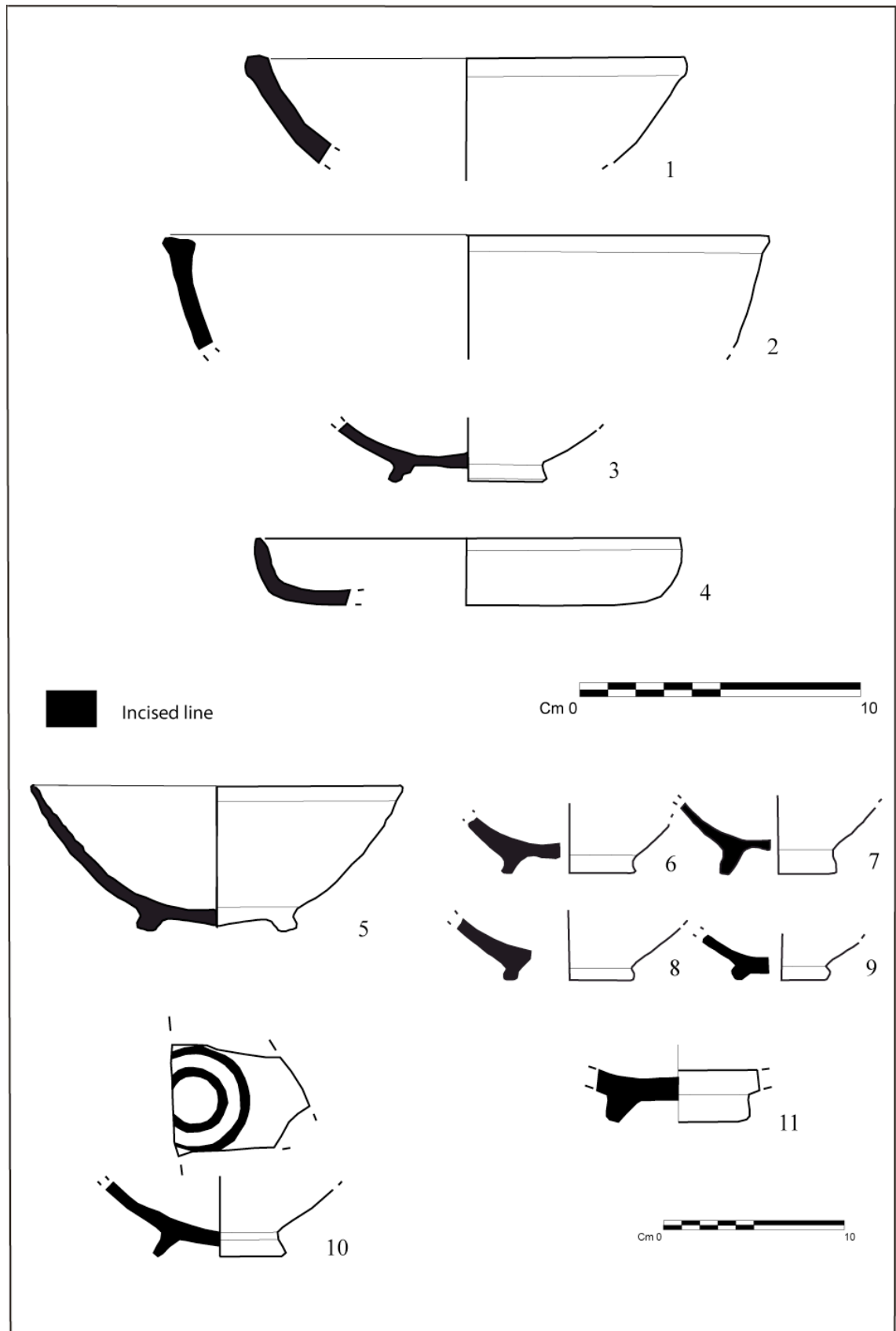


Figure 5.19. Champlèvè Wares from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala-Venice, 1-2; Santa Patrizia of Naples, 3-4 (after Arthur 1986); and Ravello, 5 (after Peduto 1993)-Campania; Spatter Painted Wares from Ducal Palace of Genoa-Liguria 6-9; Zeuxippus Wares I from Ferrara, 10 (after Guarnieri-Librenti 1996) and Fusina -Venice, 11.

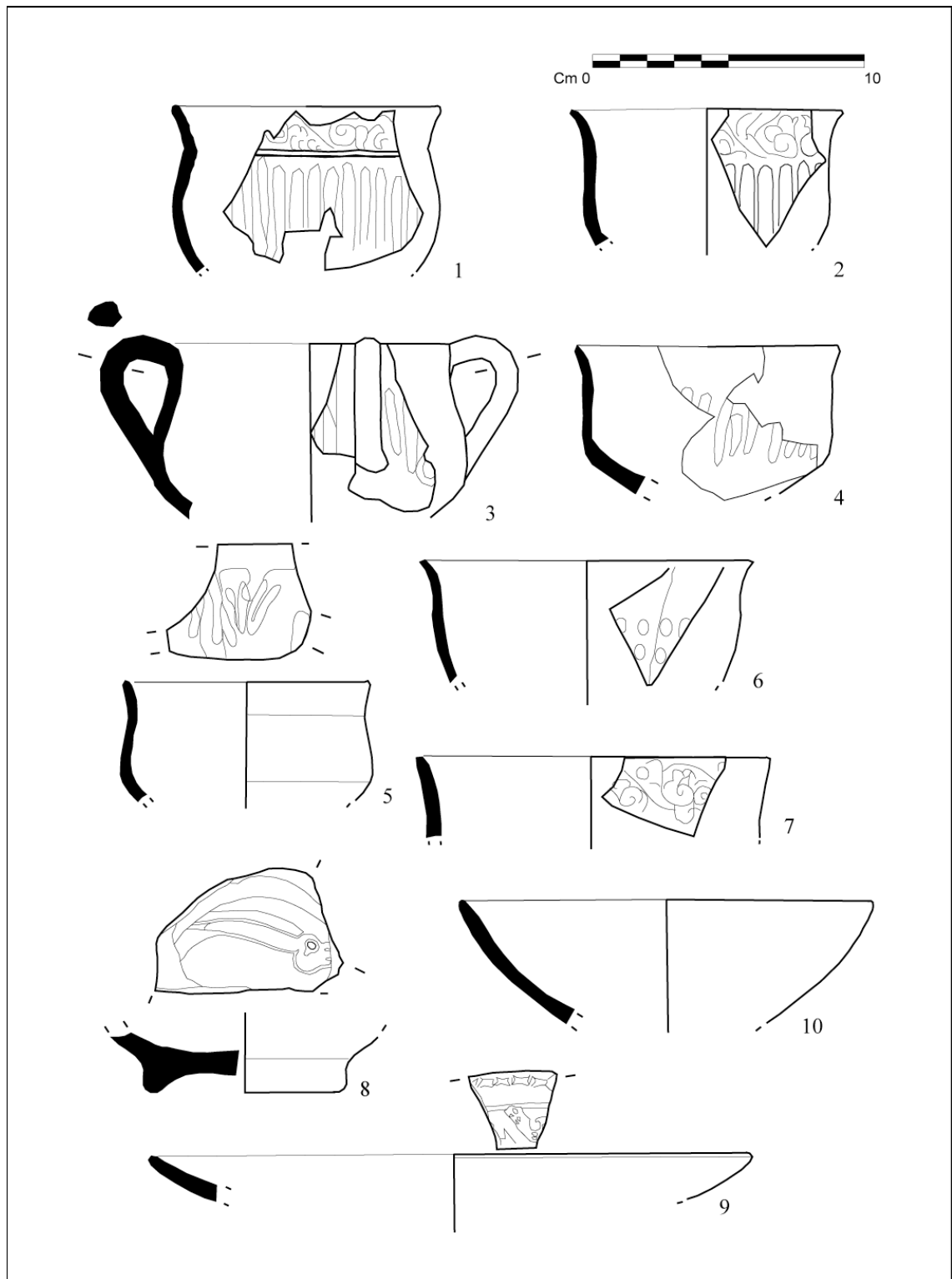


Figure 5.20. Champlevè Wares from Otranto-Apulia, 1-7(after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992), and Piazza Bovio in Naples-Campania, 8-9 (after Carsana 2002); Fusina-Venice, 10.



Figure 5.20a. Painted Sgraffito Wares from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala,1-2, Dark -On-Light Slip Painted Ware from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala,3; Zeuxippus Wares II from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala-Venice,4-8, (Reproduced by courtesy of the Museo Ca' D'Oro).

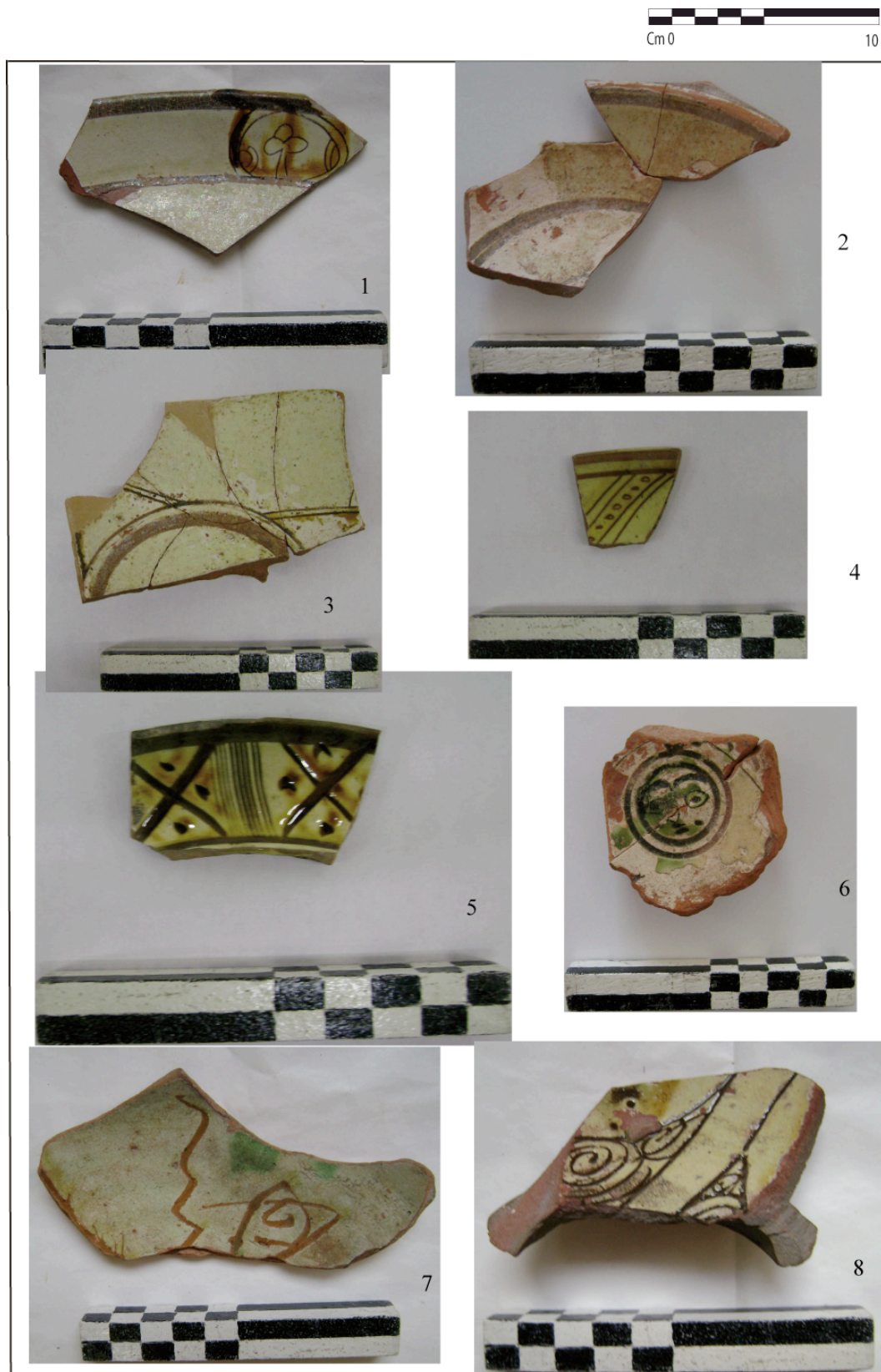


Figure 5.20b. Zeuxippus Wares II from Sant'Arian-Venice,1, Priamar Castle-Savona,2, Ducal Palace in Genoa,3-5, Andora Castle -Liguria6; Aegean Wares from San Leonardo in Fossa Mala,7, and Malamocco,8,-Venice (Reproduced by courtesy respectively of Museo Ca' D'Oro, Sovrintendenza archeologica della Liguria, Museo del Priamar).

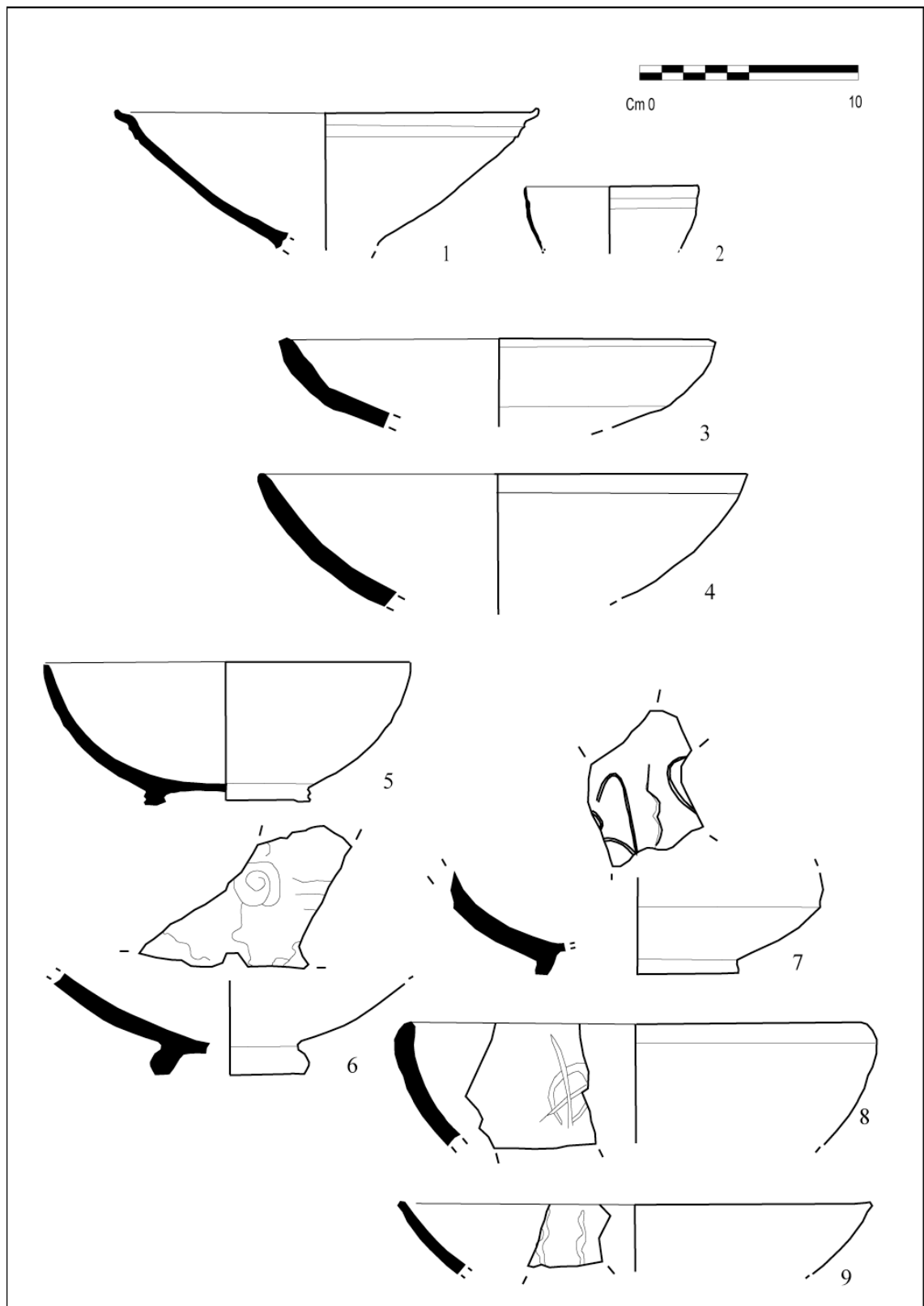


Figure 5.21. Zeuxippus Wares II from Bologna-Emilia Romagna, 1-2 (after Gelichi 1982), Sant'Arian -Venice,3, Fusina-Venice,4; Aegean Wares from Egnazia, 5 (after Biancofiore 1995), and Otranto, 6-9-Apulia (after Patterson-Whitehouse 1992).

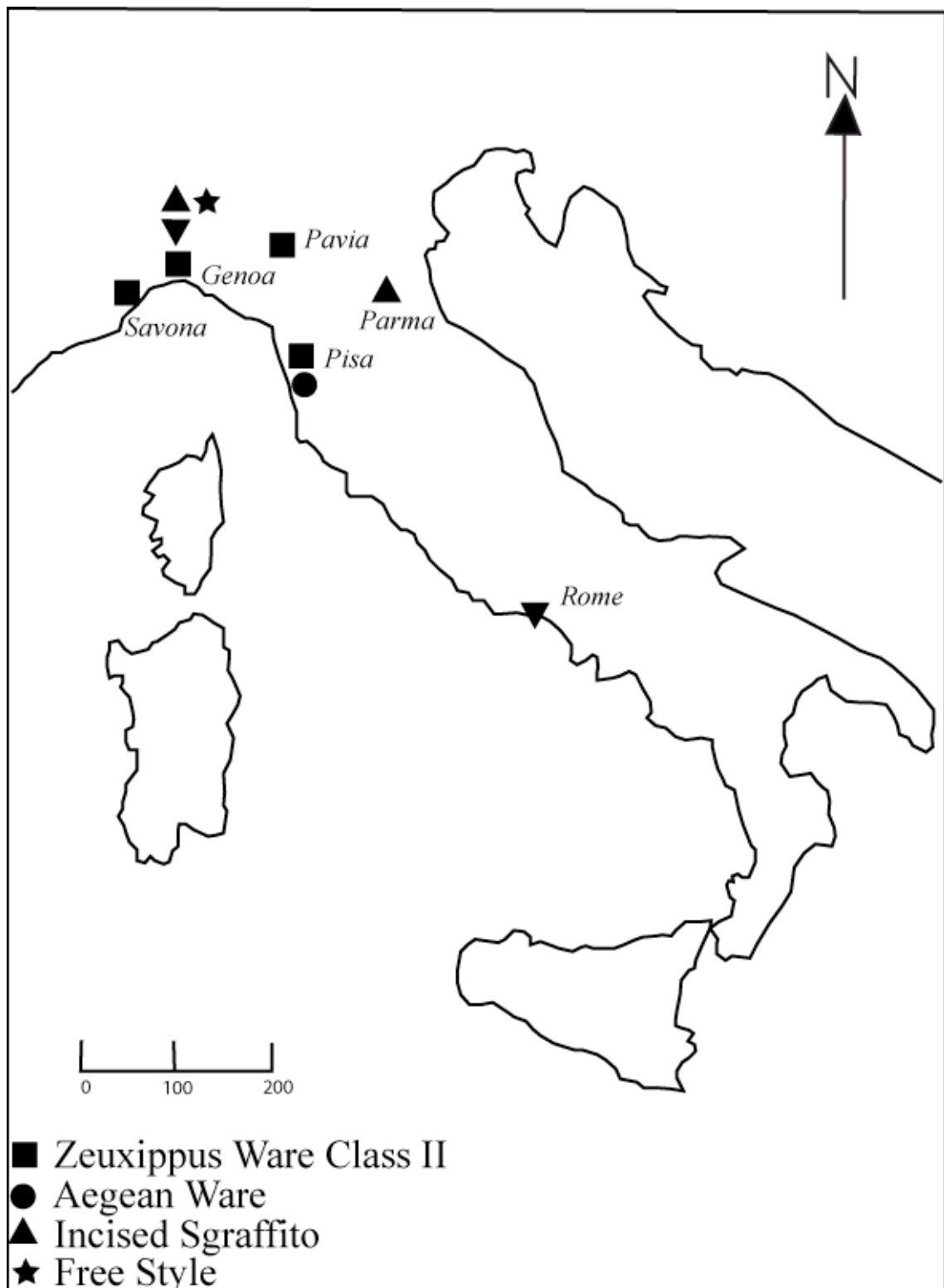


Figure 5.22. Distribution of the main 13th century bacini in Byzantine glazed pottery (after Gelichi 1993).

End of the 12th–beginning of the 14th century					
	Local wares		Byzantine glazed imports from different centers of production		Other glazed imports
	Glazed wares	Unglazed wares	Open forms	Closed forms	
OTRANTO (Patterson-Whitehouse 1992)	Green glazed vessels; Bowls in Protomaiolica/Lead Glazed Painted Ware-RMR (Ramina Rosso Manganese); Bowls in Spiral Ware	Jars with handles in kitchen glazed ware Bowls and closed vessels in coarseware Domestic ware in narrow line painted wares	Bowls in Aegean Ware	---	Islamic Wares Bowls, vases and little dishes from Maghreb/Sicily
BOLOGNA (Gelichi 1987, 183–197)	Jugs and lamps in Green Glazed Ware (from the 14thC) Jugs in Archaic Maiolica (from the 14thC)	Pots and pans in coarseware	Bowl in Zeuxippus Ware II	---	Bowl defined as San Bartolo type, from Venice
CORINTH (D'Amico 2003)	Mainly deep large and small bowls/dishes with a less refined style, in Sgraffito or Painted Glazed Wares	Unrecorded but most probably present	Bowls in Serres Ware; Bowls in Zeuxippus Ware II; Bowls in Aegean Ware	---	Bowls in Protomaiolica/Lead Glazed Painted Ware-RMR (Ramina Rosso Manganese)/ Monochrome Glazed Ware from Apulia Deep and small bowls in Glazed/Sgraffito from Venice Jugs in Archaic Maiolica from the northern Italy

Figure 5.23. The pottery from three sites with archaeological deposits dated from the end of the 12th and beginning of the 14th centuries.

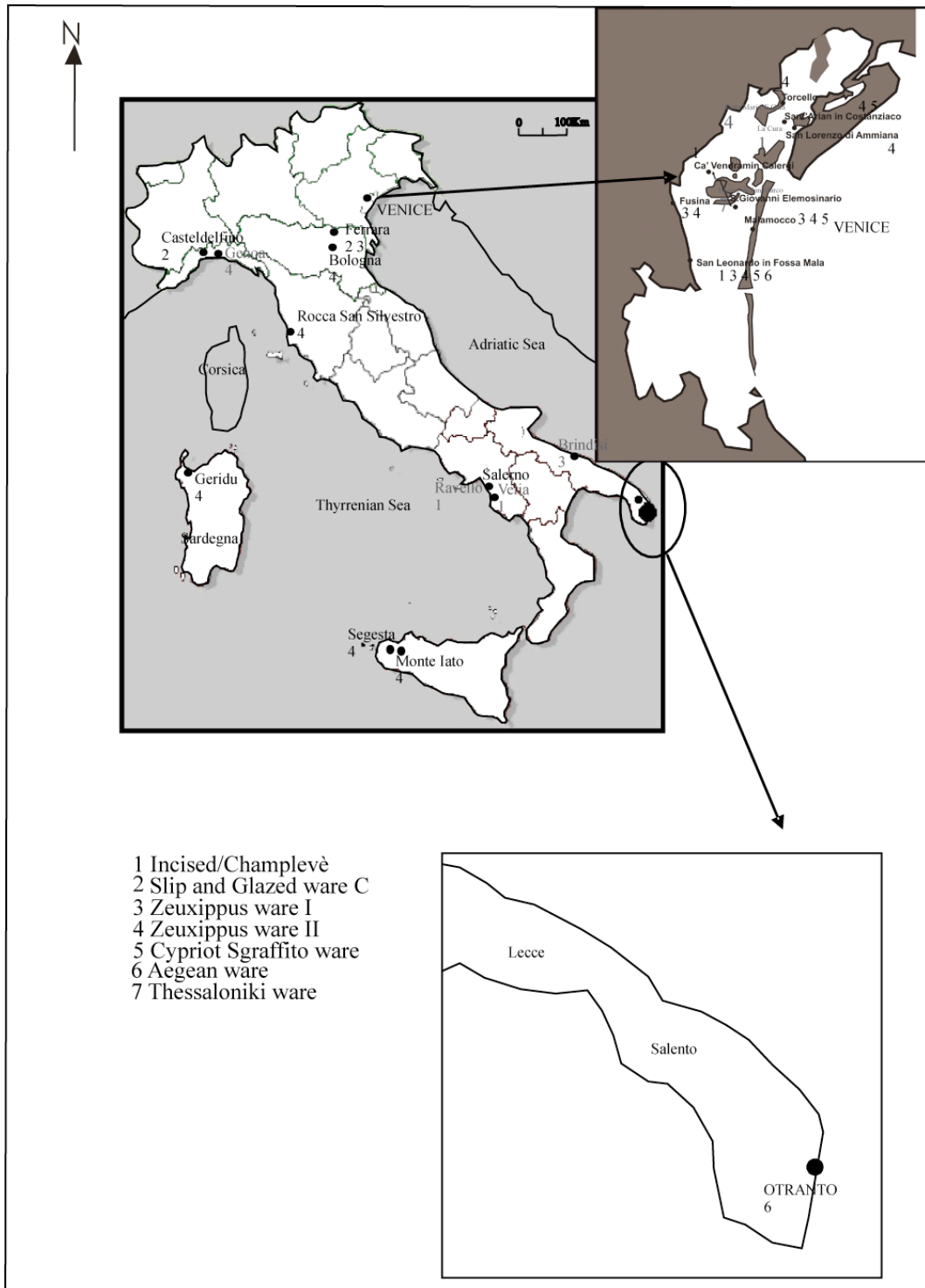


Figure 5.24. Distribution of major types of 13th to 14th century Byzantine glazed pottery. In grey the sites with poor archaeological data and the unsecure cases.

End of the 12th century		10th–13th centuries .	
← Pottery	← Value	Items	← Average Value
Vase	From 1 to 5 dinars	Coats	3 dinars
Vase enriched of pearls	6 dinars	Elegant shawl	3 dinars
Oil lamp	From 1.5 to 4 dinars	Belt	2 dinars
Bowl	2 dinars	Veil	1 dinar
Oil lamp; candlestick; cup; Indian jar; Indian large dish (imports)	7 dinars	Turban	2–3 dinars
Jars	From 0.5 to 1 dinars	Small headgear	1/4–1/2 dinars
Flask	1.5 dinars	Skullcap	6 dinars
Large bowl	4 dinars	Silk sofā cover?	3–4 dinars
Dish	1.5 dinars	Blanket	1–2 dinars
Candlesticks	From 1 to 7 dinars	A spoon and a knife	1 dinar

Figure 5.25. A selection of prices for pottery and household items from Medieval II Cairo (Ashtor 1963, 177–179).

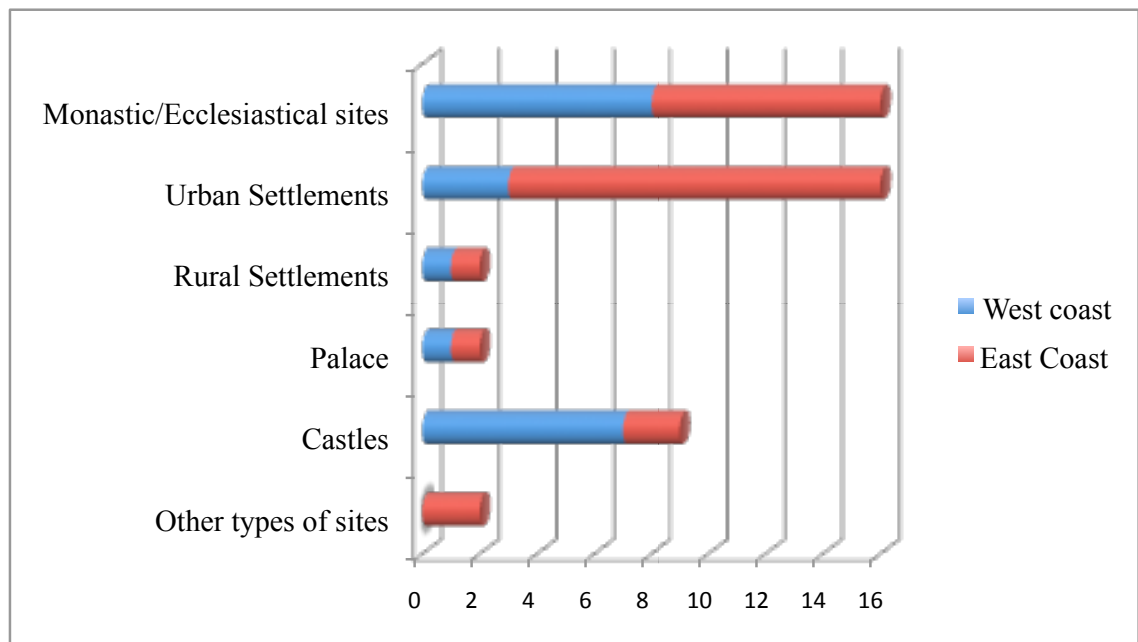


Figure 5.26. Distribution of Byzantine glazed pottery by range of monument classes in Italy.

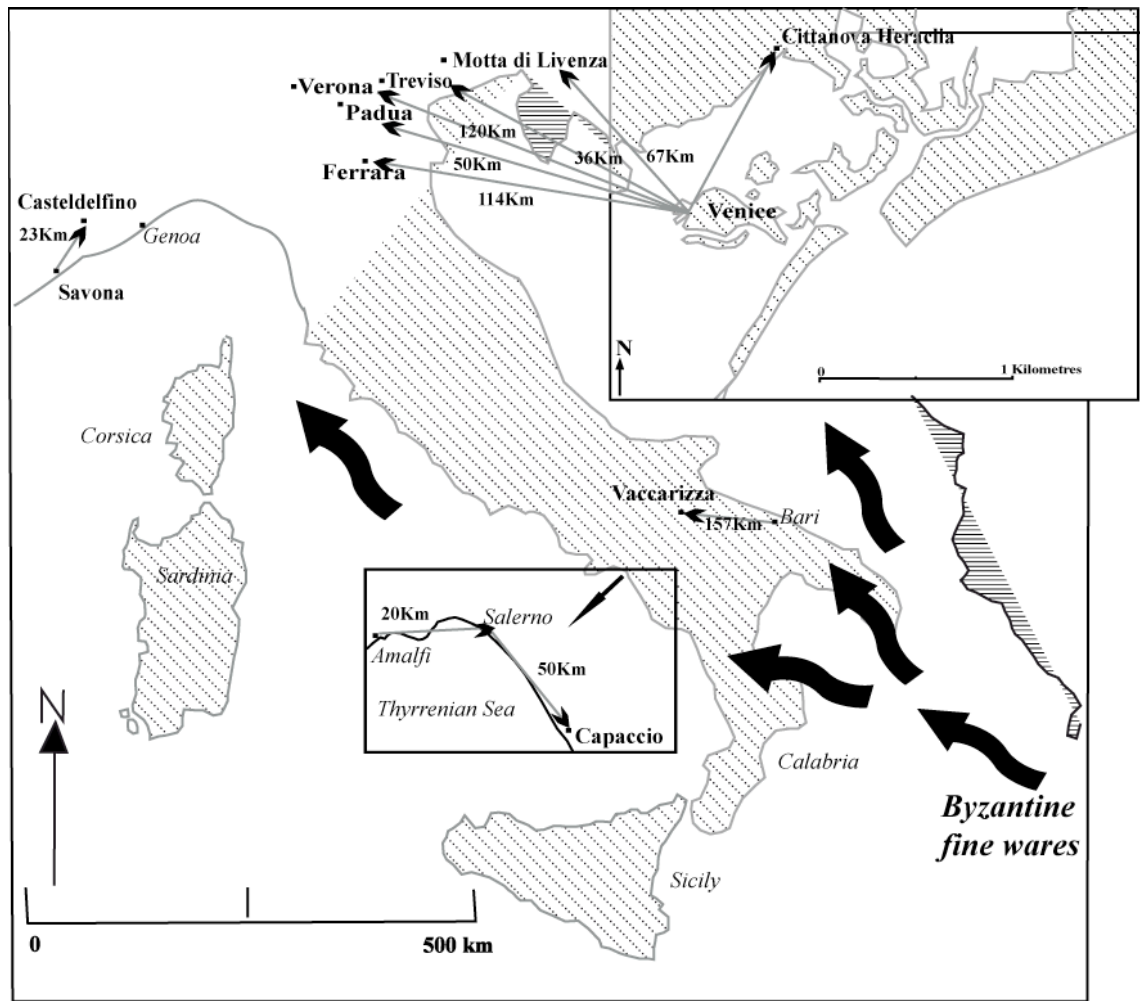


Figure 5.27. Examples of port and inland sites distances, where Byzantine finewares have been recovered.

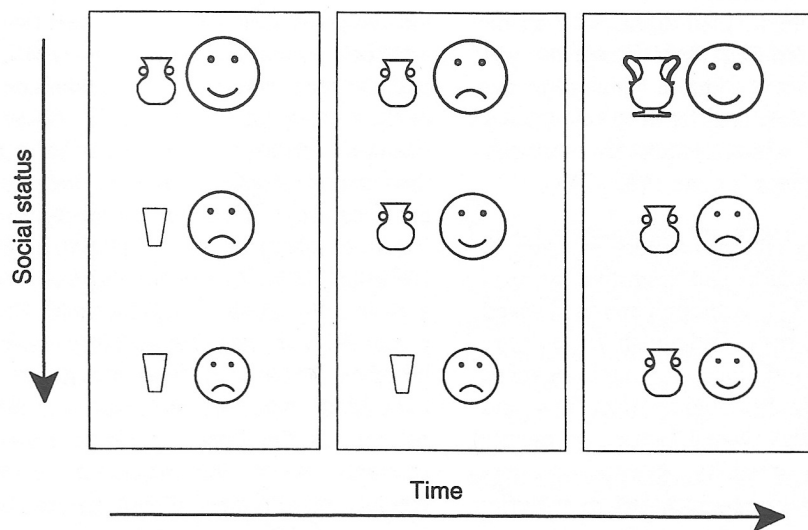


Figure 6.1. Illustration of the trickle down theory (from Gutierrez 2000).



Figure 6.2. Naples in the 11thC (after Capasso 1984). The quarters under consideration in the text are underlined in black.

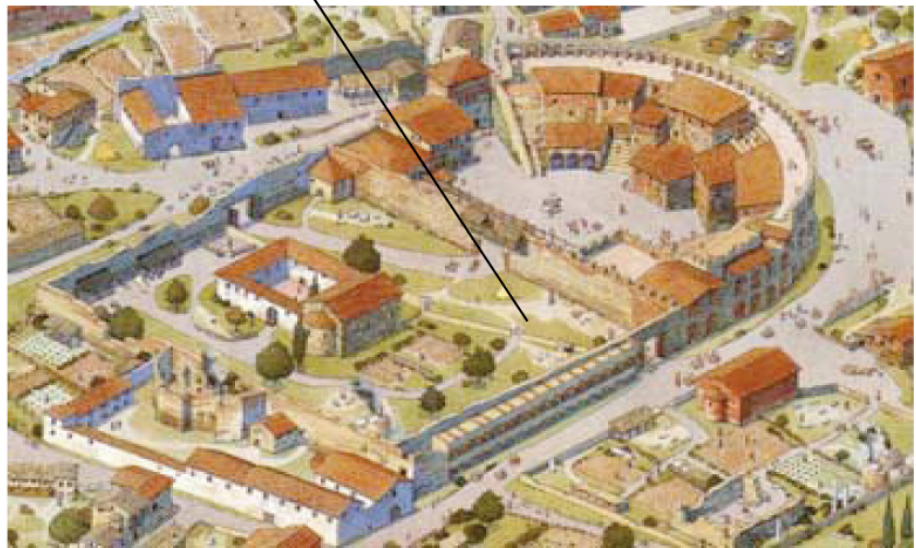
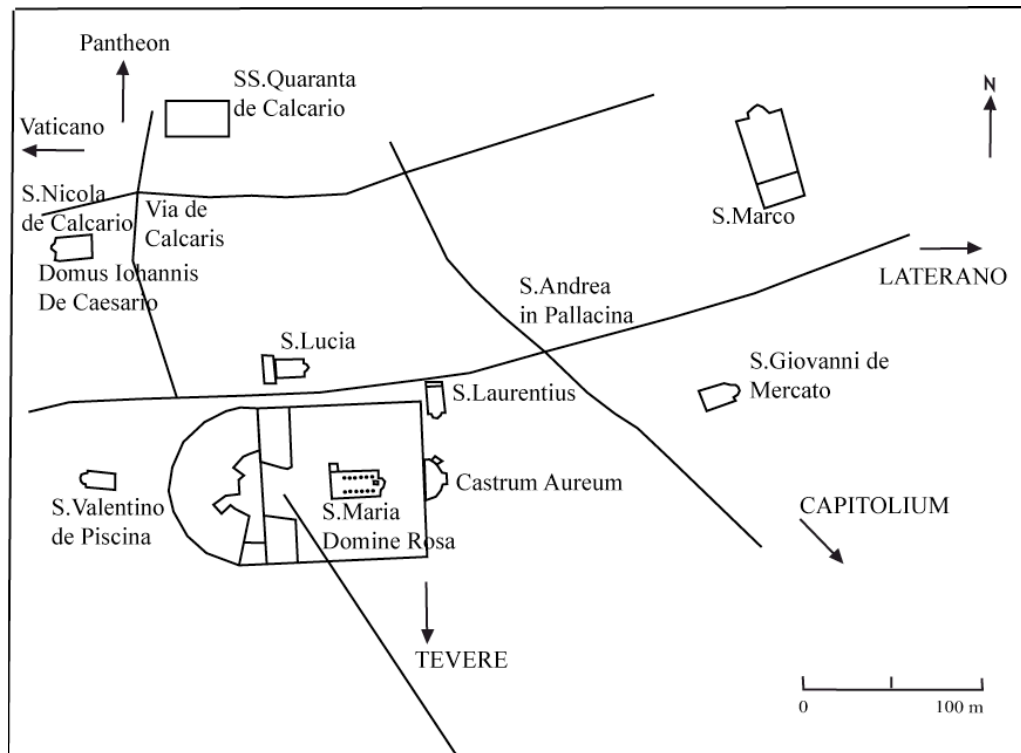


Figure 6.3. The site of 'Via Delle Botteghe Oscure' (after Manacorda 2003): in the Middle Age it was named the Castrum Aureum. Underneath reproduced is the Castrum Aureum with the church of S.M.Domine Rosa.

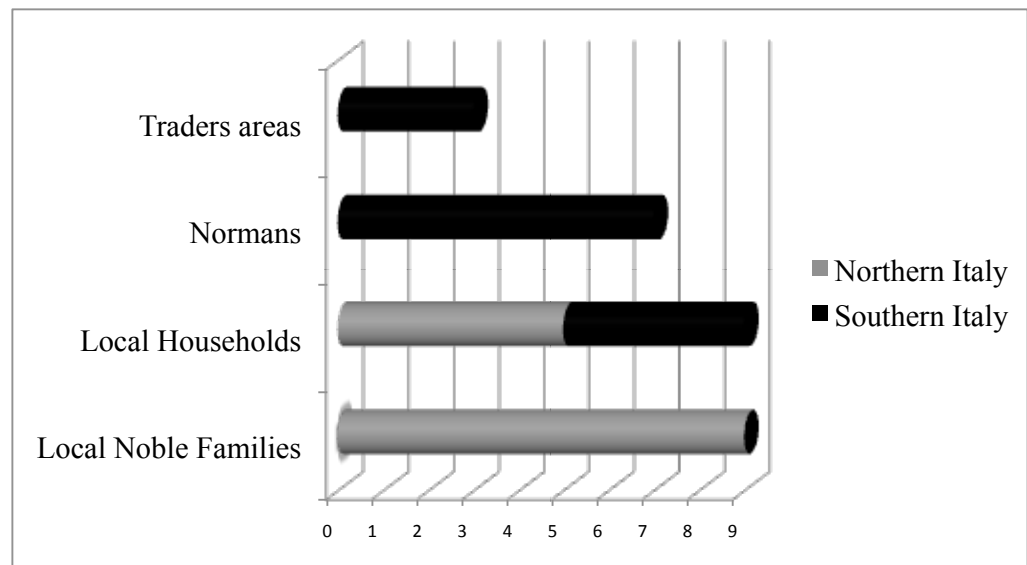


Figure 6.4. Byzantine finewares consumers' categories distribution in northern and southern Italian peninsula.

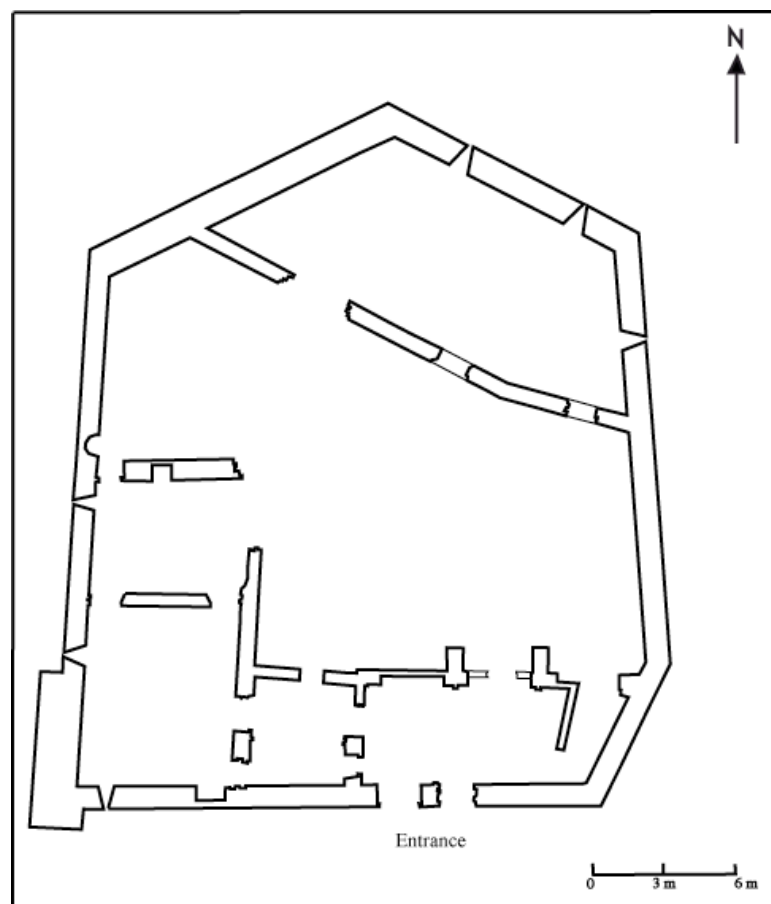
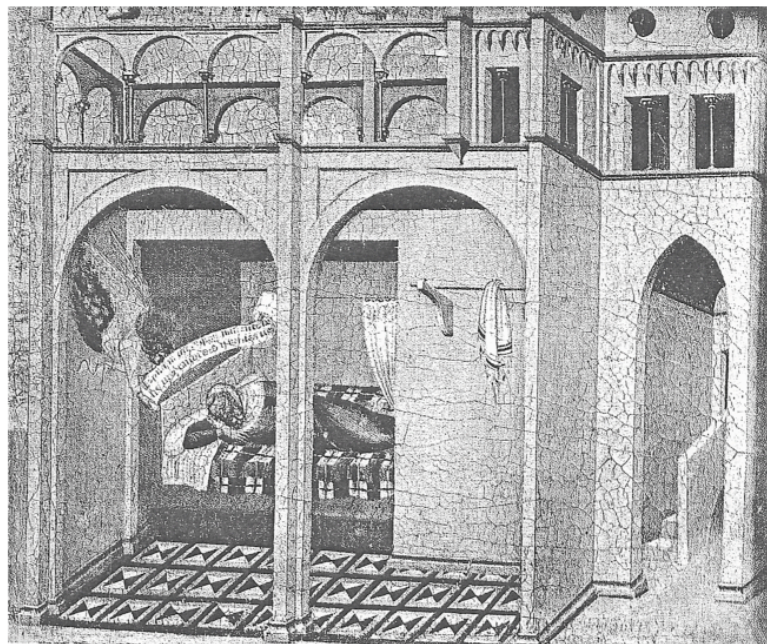


Figure 7.1. General plan of the 'Paraixo', the Palace within the castle of Andora (after De Maestri 1963, 77). Difficult to locate precisely the hall, which is however on the 2nd floor.



1



2

Figure 7.2. Examples of interiors of households in the Medieval Italy. 1) Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Miracolo di San Nicola*, 1325-1330. Firenze, Uffizi; 2) Pietro Lorenzetti, *Il sogno di Sobach*, 1329. Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale.

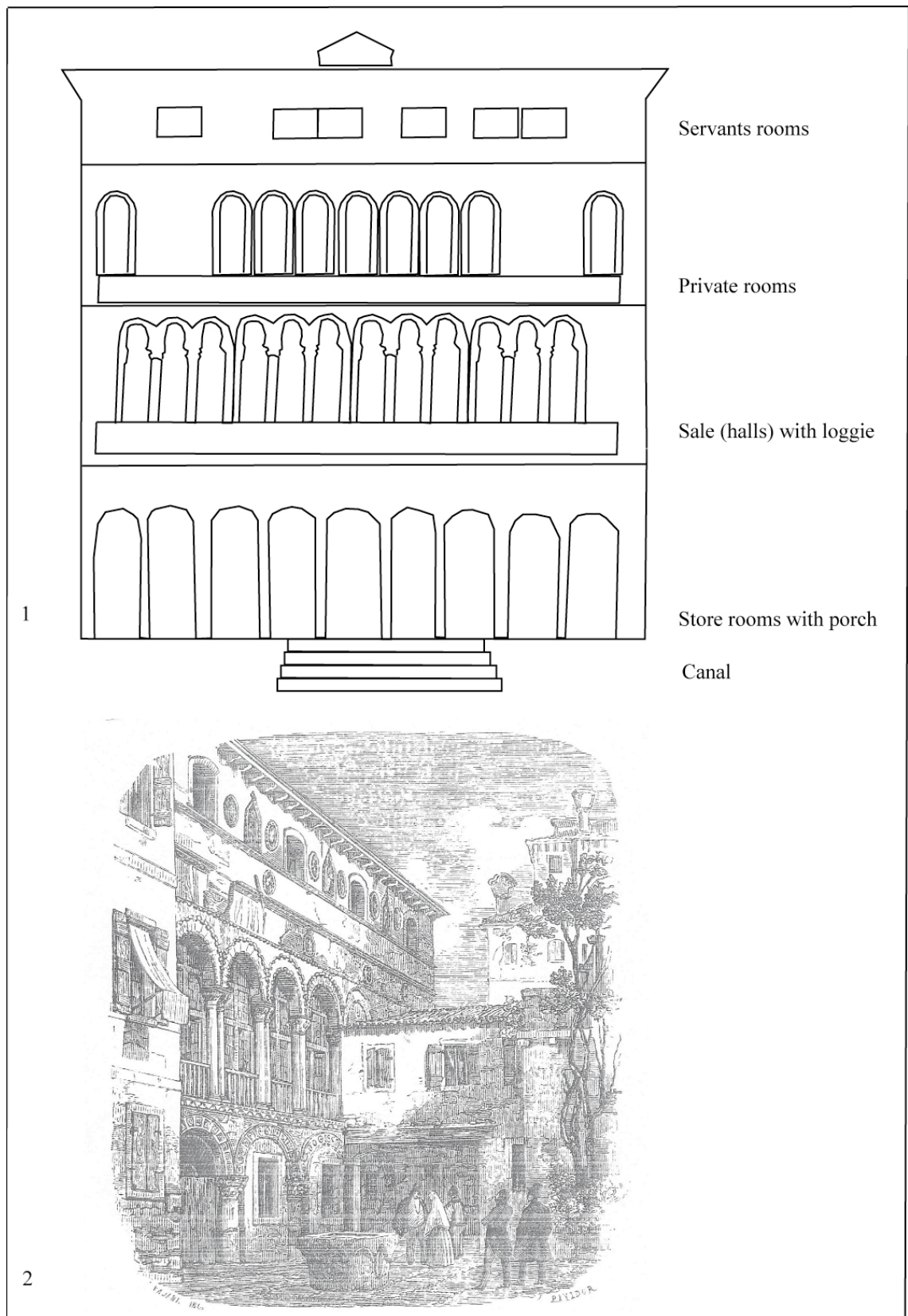


Figure 7.3. Example of a Venetian Palace on the Canal Grande (drawn by the author after photograph in Concina 1995, 68). 2: Household in San Moisè, Venice, of the mid of the 13th century, demolished in c.1844 Incision of Giovanni Pividor (from Dorigo 1993, 853).

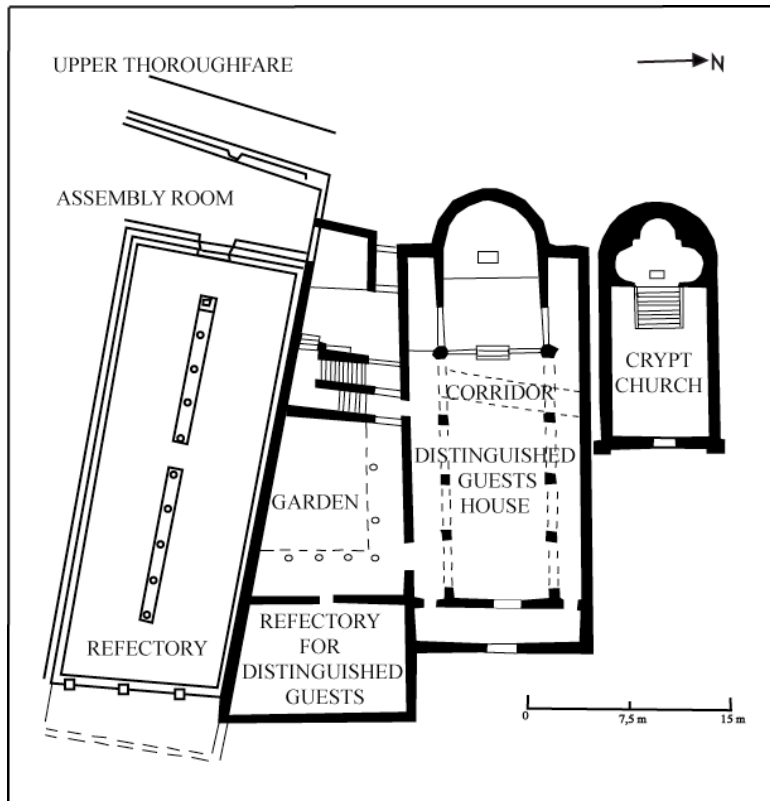


Figure 7.4. General plan of the monastic buildings recovered in the northern area of San Vincenzo al Volturno complex dated to the 9th century (after Marazzi 2008, 359).

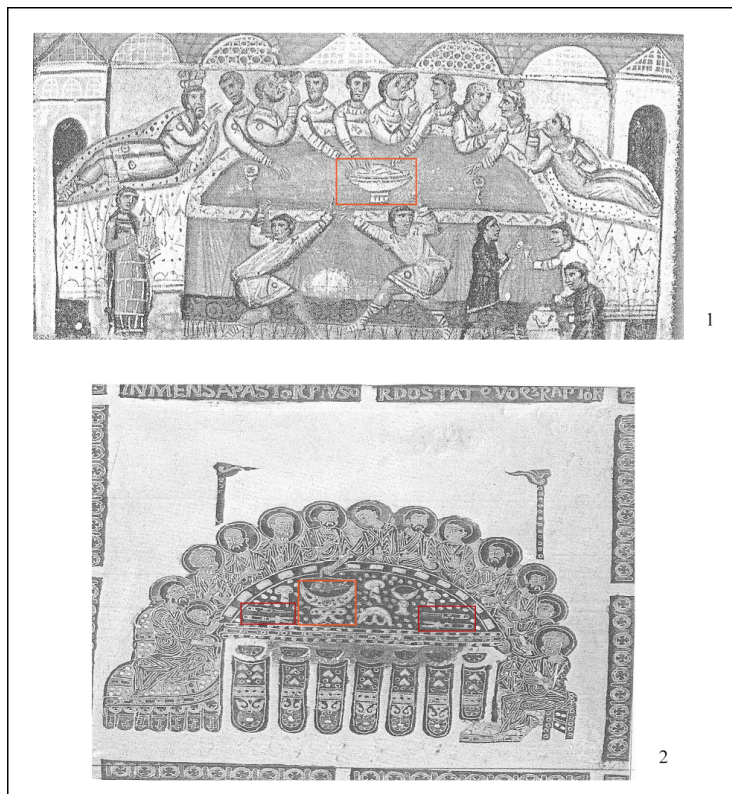


Figure 7.5. Examples of dining tables in the Middle Age. 1) Miniature of Job's Children, St. Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, 11th century (after Vroom 2003); 2) Pala D'oro, San Marco Venice circa 1105 (after Vroom 2003).



1



2

Figure 7.6. Examples of dining tables. 1) Fresco, Sant'Angelo in Formis, Capua, 11th century (after Vroom 2003) ; 2) Fresco, Karanlik Kilise, Goreme, Cappadocia, circa 1200-1210 (after Vroom 2003).

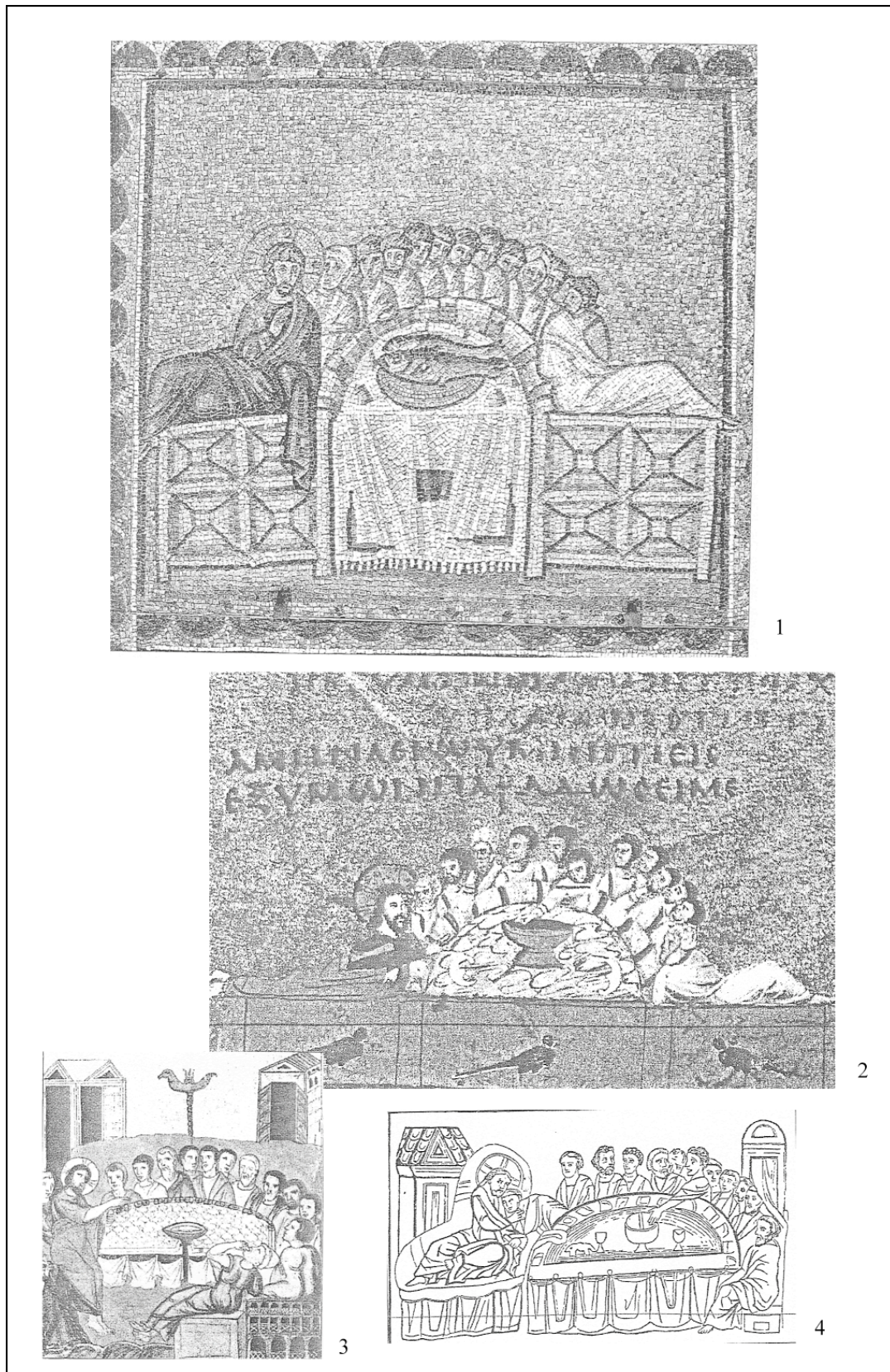


Figure 7.7. Changes of dining habits through times. 1) Mosaic, Basilica Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (from Dosi and Schnell 1986); 2) Miniature, Arcivescovado, Codex Purpureus, Rossano (from Vroom 2003); 3) Copy of fresco, Bibl.Vaticana, circa 8th or 10th century? (from Vroom 2003); 4) Miniature, Monastery in Gelai Tetraevang, Georgia, 11th century (from Vroom 2003).

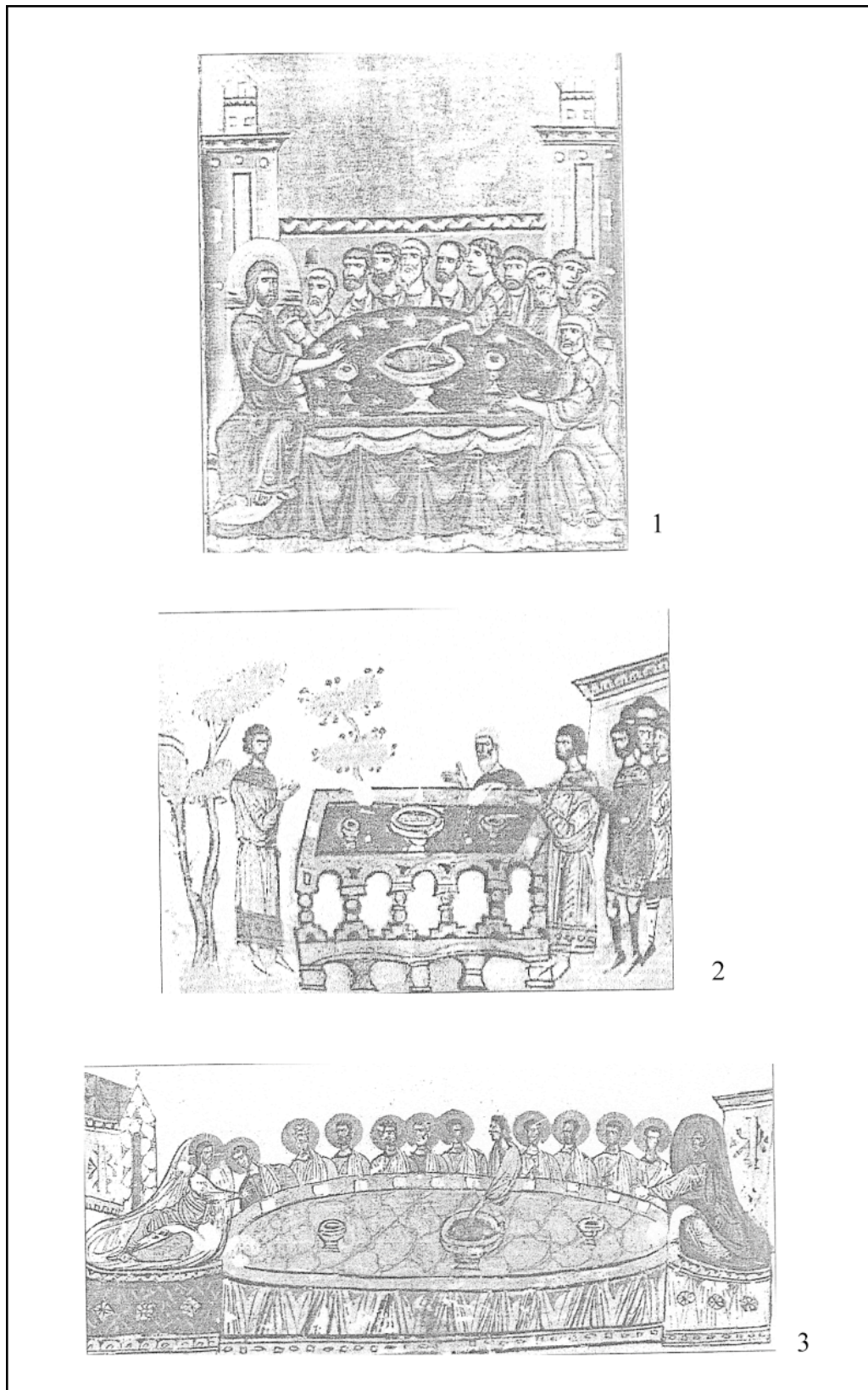


Figure 7.8. Changes of dining habits through times. 1) Miniature, Gospel of Queen Melisende, British Library, London, beginning of the 12thC (from Vroom 2003); 2) Miniature, Bibl. Nationale, Tetraevang, Paris, 3rd quarter of the 11thC (from Vroom 2003); 3) Miniature, Bibl. Nationale, Tetraevang, Paris, 3rd quarter of the 11thC (from Vroom 2003).

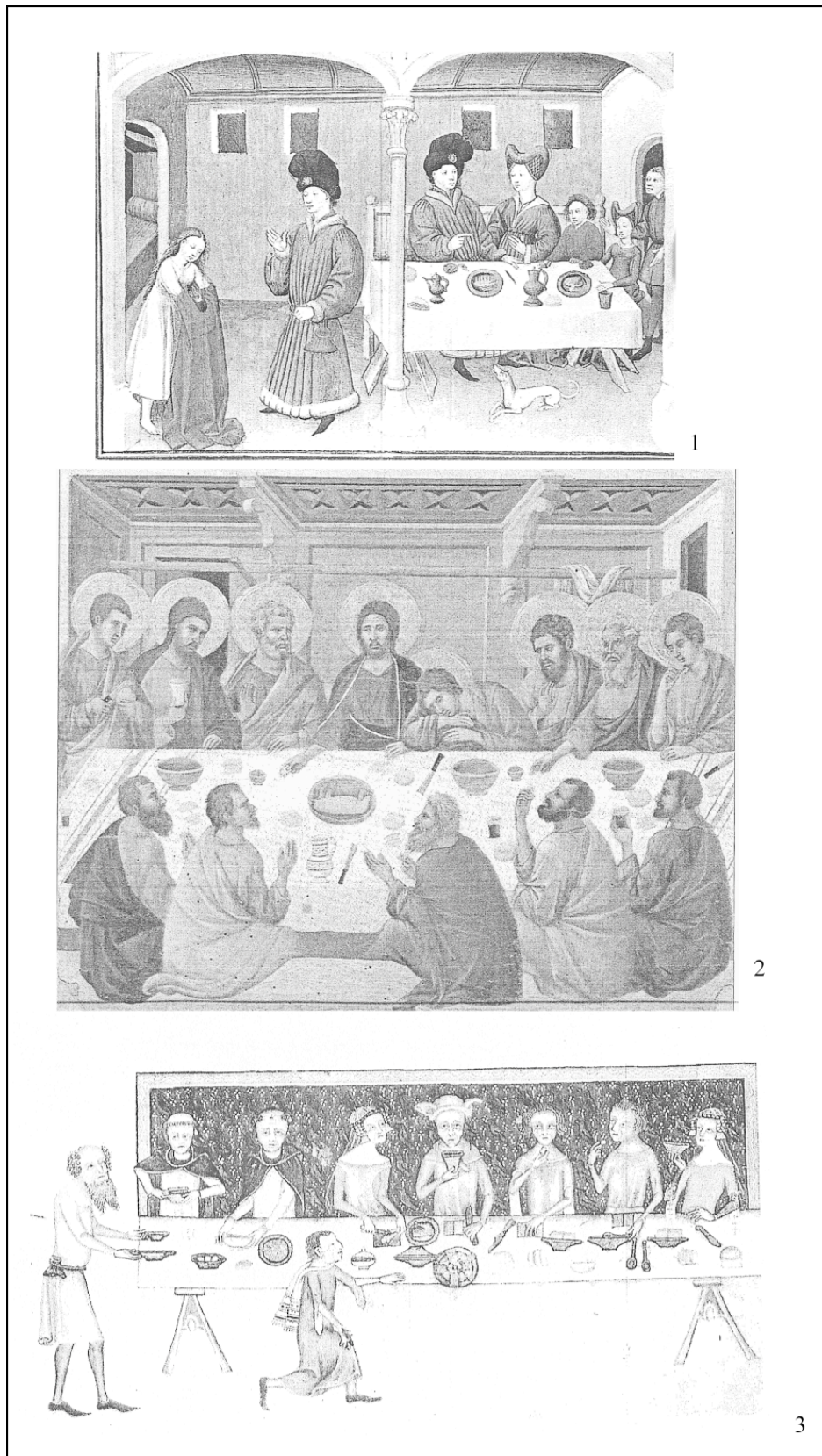


Figure 7.9. Changes of dining habits through times. 1) Boccaccio, *Decameron* (France, mid of the 15th century)(from Althoff 1997); 2) Fresco by Duccio, *Opera del Duomo*, Siena, 1308-11 (from Vroom 2003); 3) *Luttrell's Psalter* (England, mid of the 15th century)(from Althoff 1997).

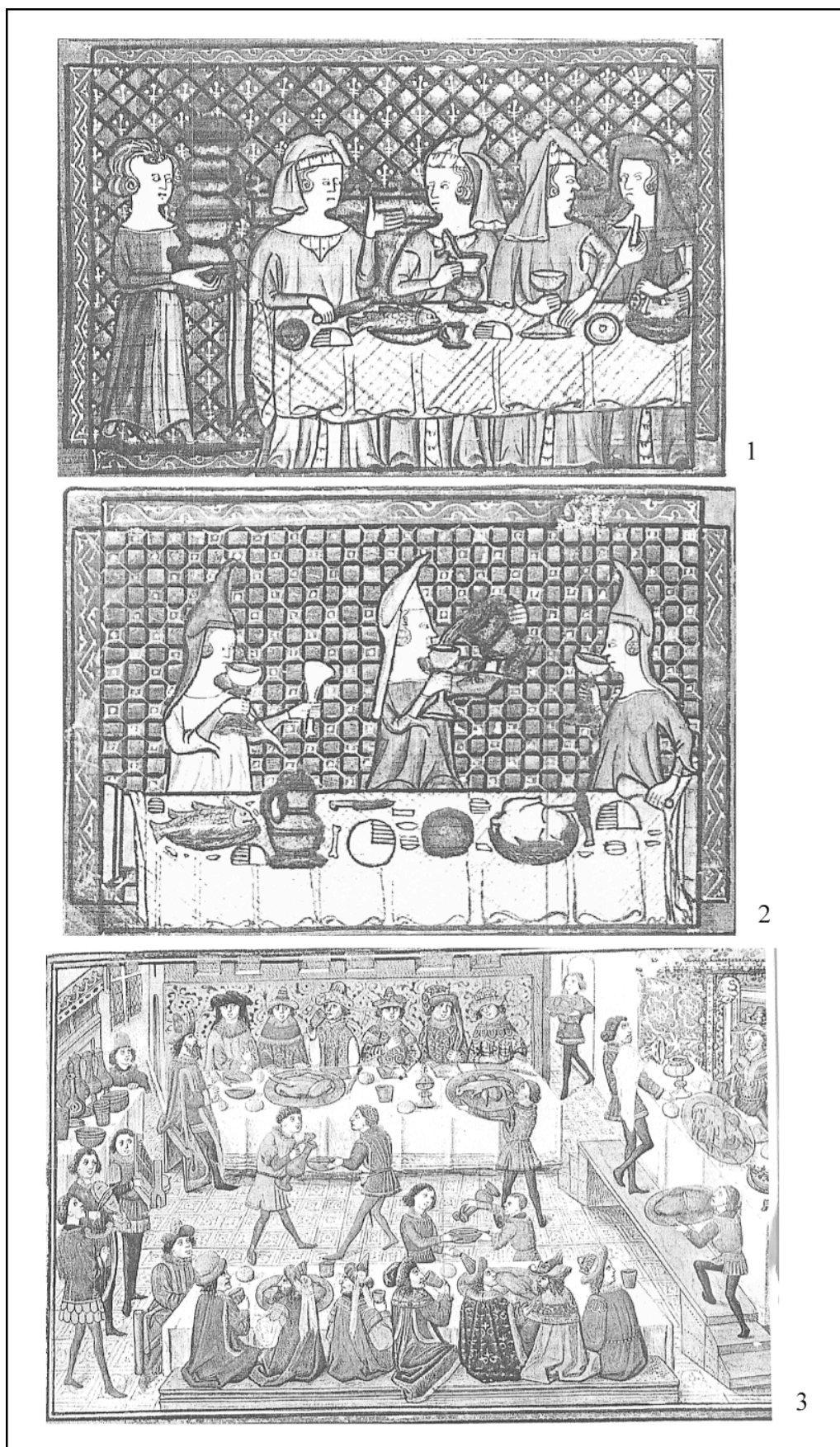


Figure 7.10. Examples of dining tables. 1 and 2) Watriquet de Couvine, Dits (France-14th century) (from Althoff 1997); 3) Histoire du grand Alexandre (15th century) (from Althoff 1997).

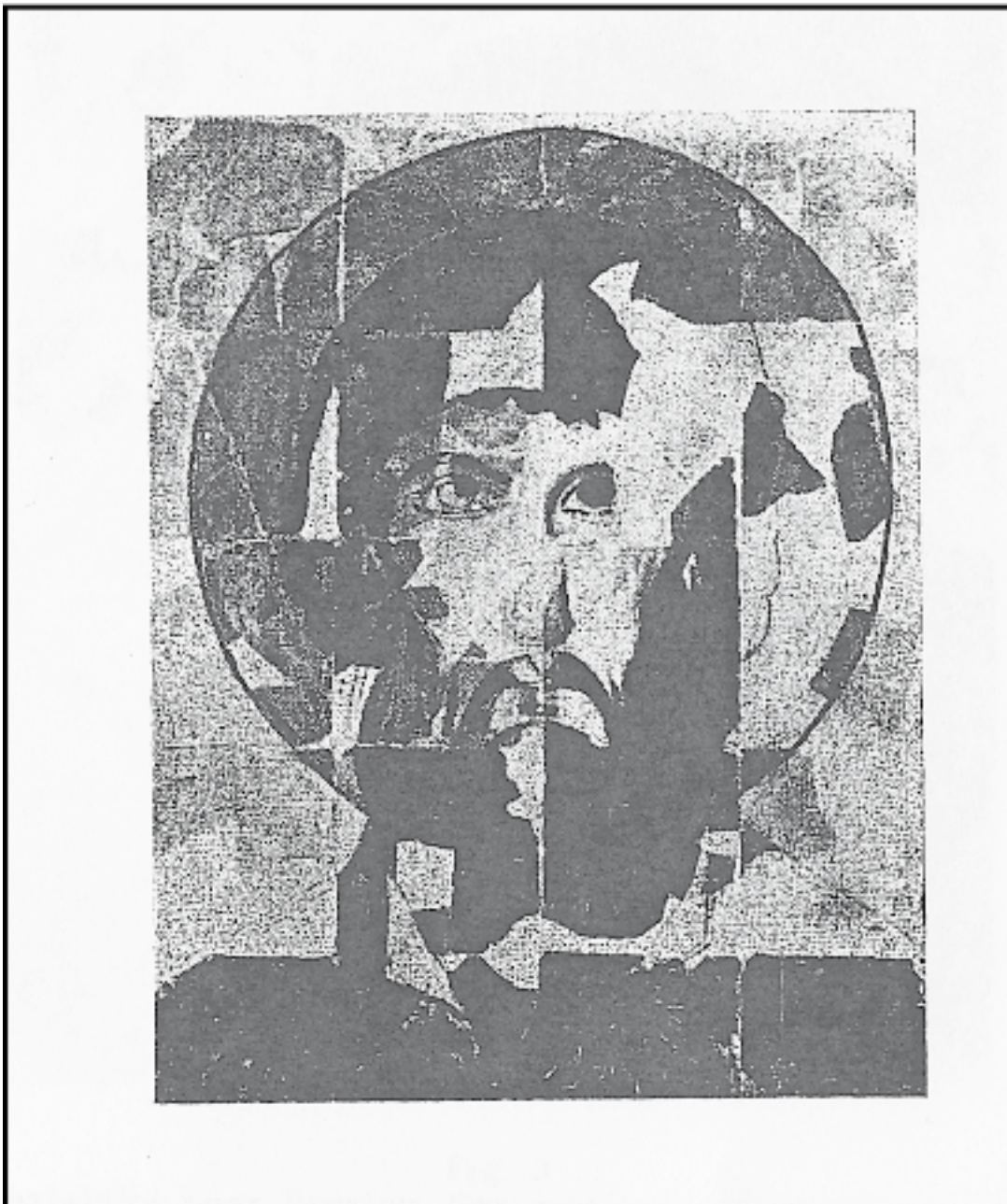


Figure 7.11. Example of a Byzantine icon (after Schwartz 1982).

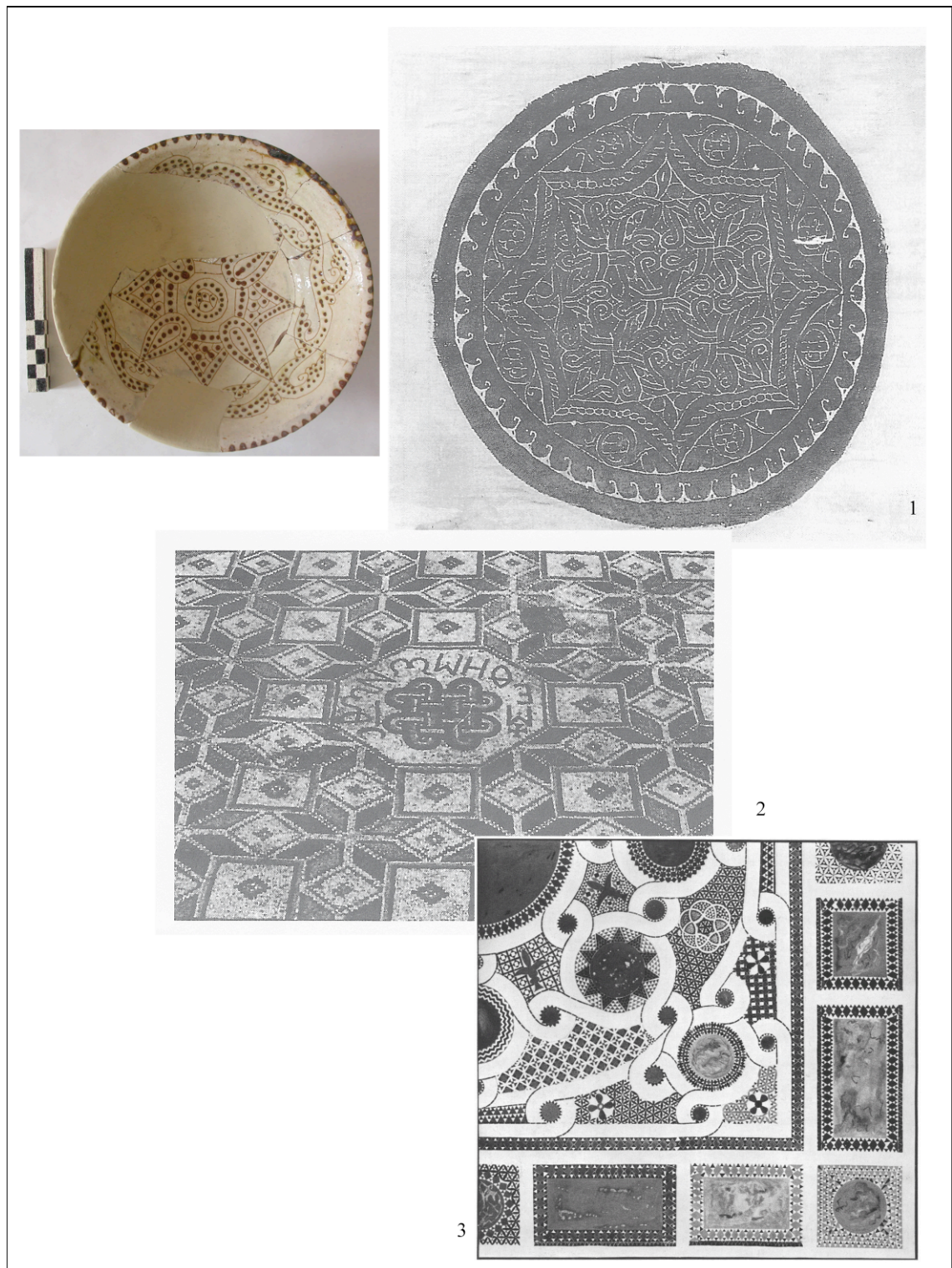


Figure 7.12. 1: Comparison between the decoration on Measles Ware bowl from Corinth (photograph by the author) and interlace and knots decoration on a tapestry woven medallion, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (from Maguire 1990); 2: Knot decoration on a floor mosaic in Shuneh-Nimrin (from Maguire 1990); 3: Interlaces and stars on a mosaic pavement in Haghia Sophia, Iznik (Nicaea) (from Eyice 1963).



Figure 7.13. *Saint George and the dragon on a Zeuxippus Ware II plate, from Cherson (from Armstrong 2006a).*



Figure 7.14. *Examples of Byzantine imagery, 'Rider and lion', on tapestry-woven medallions. 1: from Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (from Maguire 1990); 2: from the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. (from Maguire 1990).*



Figure 7.15. Digeni Akrita, Greek hero, represented on a Champlevè Ware from Corinth.



Figure 7.16. Examples of decorations representing birds on Dark-On-Light Slip Painted Ware, Light-On-Dark Slip Painted Ware (1-3), and hunting animals on Champlevè Ware and on Sgraffito Ware II from Corinth (4-5).

Images	1st period (10-11th centuries)	2nd period (11-13th centuries)	3rd period (13-14th centuries)
<i>Lions, Eagles, Griffins</i>	+		
Crosses	+		
<i>Knot and interlaces forming stars</i>	+	+	
<i>Flowers, plants, fishes and birds</i>	+	+	
<i>Pseudo-kufic motifs</i>		+	
Rider triumphing over a beast		+	+
Saint George fighting a dragon		+	+
<i>Human figures in courtly background</i>		+	+
<i>Christian symbols as birds and fishes</i>		+	+
<i>Hunting birds as falcons</i>		+	+

Figure 7.17. Images occurring in the Byzantine glazed pottery in the different periods. The images written in *Italic* are the ones also present among our evidence.

Appendix 1

This appendix is a gazetteer of sites with Byzantine pottery in Italy divided into sections according to site type (castles, palaces, religious sites, etc). It includes information on the numbers of sherds recovered, the volume of the excavation, types of deposit and contexts, as well as chronology. When we do not have specific information on the extension of the archaeological sites we use the term ‘Large excavations’ for excavations superior to 200 cubic metres of earth, and ‘Small excavations’ for the ones inferior to this.

1. Castles and Fortifications

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
CASTELDELFINO(SV), LIGURIA c. 110 cubic metres excavated.	Medieval castle on high ground with a polygonal surrounding wall, a massive defensive sighting tower and remains of inner settlement and houses. Built by the marquis Delfino Del Bosco (1206–1223). Inhabited until 1272.	4 Total assemblage c. 1727 sherds.	In association with: Unglazed Ware, Glazed Ware and Archaic Sgraffito Ligure, Green Glazed, Slip and Painted Ware, Cobalt Manganese Ware, Maghrebine, <i>Protomaiolica</i> imitations, Archaic Majolica, glass, coins of the first half to middle of the 13 th C, terracotta and metal objects.	Foundation trenches; tightly documented start and end date for occupation. Pottery well dated on documentary evidence.	13 th C Milanese 1982; Capelli and Mannoni 1999

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
<p>ANDORA CASTLE, (SV), LIGURIA</p> <p>Large excavation</p>	<p>Origins dated to the 10thC. Property of the Clavesana family, lords of the Albenga province. Feudal castle in the 12thC, given to Genoa in 1252. From this moment onwards the village developed.</p> <p>Excavations concentrated inside the castle, within the 12thC residential <i>palatium</i>, nearby the kitchen area.</p>	<p>3</p> <p>347 sherds in phase S in the 12thC.</p>	<p>In association with: imports (38%), jars and pans in coarseware (54%) or <i>Pietra Ollare</i> (4%), amphorae from the east and Glazed Ware (4%). Large amount of malacologic and faunal remains</p>	<p>Layers pertinent to the life of the ancient feudal <i>palatium</i> dated to the first half of the 12thC.</p>	<p>12thC; 12th–13thC</p> <p>Varaldo 2003; Benente 1992-1993</p>
<p>PRIAMAR FORTRESS, SAVONA, LIGURIA</p> <p>Large excavation</p>	<p><i>Castrum</i> first mentioned in 887 AD when Savona was part of the Frankish kingdom. Fortress defended the city from the Saracens in the 9th and 10thC. The development of the <i>castrum</i> is reflected by the enlargement of the main walls, until the division between <i>castrum</i> (Santa Maria) on the Priamar and the <i>civitas</i> down in the centre. At this point the <i>castrum</i> started to decay, at end of the 12thC.</p> <p>Various excavations concentrated in the area of the Loggia del Castello nuovo, in the Piazzale del Maschio and in the Palazzo del Commissario.</p>	<p>6</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage.</p>	<p>No information</p>	<p>11–12thC layers within the fortress with later floor levels relating to the life of the 13thC Castello di Santa Maria.</p>	<p>11th–13thC</p> <p>Varaldo 1992; Benente 1992–1993</p>

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
MOTTA DI LIVENZA (TV), VENETO c.472.5 cubic metres excavated.	Wooden castle with little brick. Several hearths identified. Mentioned after 1195 The excavation was run in the inner part of the castle.	2 No data on total sherd assemblage.	In association with large quantity of coarseware	Beaten earth with hearths	12 th –13 th C Ravagnan 1998
ROCCA SAN SILVESTRO (LI)TUSCANY c.120 cubic metres excavated (Area 8400).	The Rocca di San Silvestro Castle has been founded by the family 'Della Rocca', exploiting the territories for metallurgic and agricultural activities, since the 12 th C. Later this was the site of the <i>burgus</i> . Excavation 8000 undertaken on the highest hill where the 'Rocca di San Silvestro' was constructed.	1 Total assemblage c. 351 sherds.	In association with: coarseware, Unglazed Ware, Arcaic Majolica, Glazed Kitchen Ware	The pottery in phase V, relates to the life of the household at the end of the 13 th and beginning of the 14 th century.	End of the 13 th –14 th C Francovich and Parenti 1987

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VACCARIZZA, FOGGIA, APULIA c. 2500 cubic metres excavated	<p>Built during the Byzantine re-conquest of southern Italy in the 10th C as part of the fortifications on the border between the Lombards and the Byzantines. Later occupied by the Normans, who raised the <i>motta</i>, while the <i>burgus</i> was lower down the slope.</p> <p>Within a peripheral wall, the western area was occupied by houses, a road and 2 <i>piazzas</i>. At the foot of the <i>motta</i>, several houses lay within an important enclosure wall. Excavation identified storage spaces, food preparation areas, a church and a stable. On the <i>motta</i> evidence of structures of Norman origin was recovered.</p>	<p>13</p> <p>Total assemblage c. 2058 sherds.</p>	In association with coarseware, Unglazed Ware and Red Painted Amphorae.	Occupation layers on the <i>motta</i> .	<p>11th –12thC</p> <p>Cirelli and Noyé 2003; Lo Mele 2004-2005</p>

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
POZZUOLI RIONE TERRA (NA), CAMPANIA Small excavation	<p>Puteoli was an important Roman port, later part of the Byzantine empire and the Dukedom of Naples until the mid-11thC when the Normans arrived.</p> <p>Between the 10th and the 13thC the Rione Terra was linked to the mainland by a narrow passage. Defensive structures are mentioned here for the first time in 1217 when the <i>castrum Puteoli</i> was inhabited by a descendent of the Normans.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	<p>In association with coarseware, Unglazed Ware, Red Painted Ware, Glazed Kitchen Ware, Spiral Ware, Glazed Green Ware, Green and Brown Painted Ware, Brown Painted Ware, Polychrome Glazed Ware, Lustreware, Turquoise Tin Glazed Ware, Glass</p>	<p>Rubbish pit and dumping fills.</p>	<p>Second half of the 12thC</p> <p>Sogliani 2000</p>

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
<p>SEGESTA (CALATABARBARO-TP), SICILY</p> <p>Large excavation</p>	<p>Calatabarbaro, on Montebiarbaro mountain, 305 metres above the sea level, is the Medieval toponym of ancient Segesta and lies in NW Sicily in the province of Trapani. In the Medieval period several groups of houses developed over the theatre here. After abandonment during the Early Medieval period, the site was reoccupied in the 12th and 13thC, L-shaped medieval houses being built along the curvilinear course of the theatre wall. The 12thC Islamic village is testified by a mosque, houses and a cemetery. During the Hohenstaufen period the acropolis was occupied by a castle and church. Two types of populations were living in Segesta in this period, the Islamic peasants and the Normans: the feudal class.</p>	<p>1</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	<p>In association with coarseware, storage vessels, Unglazed Ware, Green Glazed Ware, Glazed Ware, Fine Imported Wares, lamps</p>	<p>Pottery recovered from households lay on top of the graves of the Islamic necropolis, placed between the <i>cavea</i> of the theatre and the external walls of the castle. The houses were abandoned in the mid 13thC.</p>	<p>Second half of the 12thC– first half of the 13thC</p> <p>Molinari 1997</p>

CASTLES AND FORTIFICATIONS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
MONTE IATO (PA)*, SICILY Large excavation	Site occupied by Arabs who organised riots against the Hohenstaufen domination. Frederick destroyed the town in 1246 and deported the population to Lucera di Puglia; thereafter the town was abandoned	2 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information, though site provides a well documented end date.	End of the 12 th –13 th C Ritter-Lutz 1991, though information for the Byzantine period is not available.

* This symbol denotes those sites which provide only partial data but which are nevertheless considered in this analysis because of their relevance as medieval archaeological investigations.

2.Palaces and other elite residencies

PALACES AND OTHER ELITE RESIDENCES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
DUCAL PALACE, GENOA, LIGURIA c.8 cubic metres excavated (sector A1).	This site lies adjacent to San Lorenzo cathedral. In 1120 the Doria family built a group of houses here which became the <i>Doria Consorteria</i> (an association of noble families). The area was used as an open dump, into which domestic refuse and workshop wasters were thrown.	70 Total assemblage c. 6500 sherds.	In association with Unglazed Ware, coarseware, <i>Pietra Ollare</i> , Glazed and Painted Ware, iron wasters, Raqqa Ware, Archaic Graffita dated to the beginning of the 13 th C (US 84 and 85), as well as Unglazed and Painted Ware, dated to the 12 th C (US 88). Also decorated stone, glass, crucibles. In US 91, dated to the half of the 12 th C, are Monochrome Glazed Ware, Glazed and Painted Ware, Green Sgraffito Ware. In US 98 Lustreware is present.	Space with open refuse	12 th C <i>Cabona et al.</i> 1986

<i>PALACES AND OTHER ELITE RESIDENCES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SELVADEGO PALACE, VENICE, VENETO Small excavation	No information	2 Total assemblage c. 267 sherds.	In association with coarseware, glazed jugs, Glazed bowls, Slip and Glazed bowls, Santa Croce Ware, Slip and Painted bowls, Sgraffito bowls, <i>Protomaiolica</i>	Pottery residual in later contexts.	Mid 13 th C Scarpa 2003-2004

3. Religious sites

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
TORCELLO, VENICE LAGOON, VENETO c.460 cubic metres excavated (Area 8400).	Island base of the <i>magister militum</i> of the province 'Delle Venezie' from the first half of the 7 th C when the bishop's residence was moved there from Altino. In the 9–10 th C Torcello was the emporium of the Lagoon but lost its role as a commercial centre from the beginning of the 11 th C, acquiring the role of a religious centre.	8 No data on total sherd assemblage	Associated with <i>Sigillata</i> , unglazed storage vessels, coarseware, amphorae, <i>Pietra Ollare</i> . Among other finds were coins (one Roman coin dated to the 4–5 th C; one dinar of Charlemagne, one Arabic dirham), bricks, stones, marble, plaster sherds, glass from a glass workshop, mosaics and metal finds.	Cemetery with 59 tombs. Byzantine pottery was recovered from the area of the cathedral, particularly the cathedral square.	12–13 th C Leciejewicz <i>et al.</i> 1977; Baudo 2006

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SAN LORENZO, AMMIANA, VENICE LAGOON*, VENETO c.197.56 cubic metres excavated (sector A1).	Roman maritime villa of 3 rd C date succeeded by military fortress in 4 th – 6 th C. In 1185 the <i>pieve</i> was modified into a chapel for a Benedictine community, who left the island in 1439. Similar monastic occupation took place on other islands.	2 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	No information Baudo 2006

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SANT'ARIAN, COSTANZIACO, VENICE LAGOON*, VENETO Small excavation	Island in the Venice lagoon in the diocese of Torcello; later a <i>sede plebana</i> in the 11thC but two <i>pievi</i> are attested in the 12thC. Other monasteries seem to have been present on the island, one of Benedictine monks dedicated to San Mauro, a Cistercian monastery dedicated to San Matteo, and another Benedictine monastery of SS. Giovanni and Paolo.	19 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	No information Baudo 2006

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
MALAMOCCO*, VENICE, VENETO Small excavation	The ancient Malamocco, Methamaucus, whose location is still under debate, represents one of the key centres of original Venice. Part of the group of 6 bishop's residencies in the lagoon of Venice which included Torcello, Malamocco, Carole, Olivolo, Jesolo and Cittanova Heracliana. The base of the government was here until it was moved to Rivoalto in 810 AD because of a seaquake.	4 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Byzantine pottery recovered from the Malamocco Nuova in the area of St. Maria Assunta church square, founded in the 12 th C	12 th –13 th C Calaon 2006; Saccardo 1991

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SAN LEONARDO, FOSSA MALA, VENICE LAGOON*, VENETO Small excavation	San Leonardo church was founded c.1000 AD as a dependent of Sant'Ilario abbey in nearby Malcontenta. Between 1178 and 1248 written sources testify to the presence of several priors. In 1267 the widow of Giacomo Gradenigo offered 20 <i>denari</i> to all the whole monasteries and hospitals of the Lagoon among which was <i>Sancto Leonardo de Fossamala</i> . The island seems to have been completely unpopulated by the 17 th C.	77 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	No information D'Agostino 1998, 212-211

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SAN SILVESTRO ABBEY, NONANTOLA (MO), EMILIA ROMAGNA c.330 cubic metres excavated (UTS 11000).	Benedictine monastery built in 752 AD by the Lombard Duke of Friuli, St. Anselm. The <i>burgus</i> of Nonantola developed together with the abbacy, and in the late Medieval period were enclosed in one single curtain wall.	7 Total assemblage 584 sherds.	In US 11283 associated with coarseware, <i>Pietra Ollare</i> , Unglazed Ware, and glass. In US 11028 associated with coarseware, glass, metal wasters and a bronze bowl.	Fill layers. Context dated to the early Middle Ages probably partly related to the Carolingian house in UTS 11000. Radio carbon dating has been done for the UTS 11000	10 th –11 th C; mid 12 th C Gelichi and Librenti 2005 Alessandra Cianciosi pers.comm.
CONVENTO DI SAN DOMENICO, BOLOGNA, EMILIA ROMAGNA c.97.5 cubic metres excavated (Sector 14).	Rural convent some distance from the centre of Bologna whose site was occupied first by the church of San Nicolò delle Vigne, at the end of the 12th-beginning of the 13th century	3(from 1 vessel) No data on total sherd assemblage -	No information - can't you ask gelichi	No information- can't you ask gelichi	End of the 13 th –beginning of the 14 th century Gelichi and Merlo 1987

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SAN SILVESTRO ABBEY, GENOA, LIGURIA Large excavation	Castello hill and San Silvestro abbey developed in importance when the bishop settled there, probably from the 10 th C. The old fortifications were included in the larger bishop's palace during the 12 th C. The site was transformed to a Dominican convent in the 15 th C.	7 (only 1 in context -phase M, 6 are residual). Total assemblage c.4647 sherds. 768 sherds in Phase M.	In association with Unglazed Ware, Glazed Ware, Glazed and Painted Ware, Green Glazed Ware, Slip and Glazed Ware, Islamic Ware, Raqqa Ware, Red Painted Ware, pre-Roman Ware, <i>Ceramica a Vernice Nera, Sigillata</i> .	Archaeological evidence of a settlement preceding the construction of the kitchen of the bishop's palace. At this time the use of this space as a kitchen is probable, placed maybe within a wooden structure adjacent to the tower of the main residential building, which left no trace of its existence (Phase M?).	1170–1200; 15 th C <i>Andrews et al. 1977</i>

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
CLOISTER OF THE SAN LORENZO CANONS, GENOA, LIGURIA Large excavation	Residence of canons in the second half of the 12 th C. Site lies adjacent to the 12 th C cathedral of San Lorenzo which became the commercial core of the city.	12 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association with glazed pottery from the Islamic world, such as Morocco and Egypt	No information	12 th –13 th C Bozzo 1996
CONVENT OF SANT'AGOSTINO, GENOA*, LIGURIA Small excavation	Augustinian monastery documented from 1260. Archaeological evidence of the first church, the bell tower and a cloister.	3 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	The area occupied by the quadrangular cloister was used as a garden until the construction of a pavement dated to the 13 th –14 th C	Chance finds Bozzo 1996; Melli 1990

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VIA SAN VINCENZO, GENOA, LIGURIA c.3960 cubic metres excavated.	Area on periphery of the city, part of the <i>Domoculta de Besanio</i> property of the bishop mentioned for the first time in 1100. In the 13 th C it is described as a garden and a church property.	5 Total assemblage 6734 sherds.	Little information. In trench A layer VD, Medieval ceramics imported from the Eastern Mediterranean are present.	garden soil.	11–12 th C Gardini 1989

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SANTA CECILIA, ROME, LAZIO c.36.9 cubic metres excavated (vat sector).	The baptistery of St.Cecile, a separate building used for baptism, was installed by the Christian community of Trastevere in Rome in the 5thC and lies above significant Roman remains. In the 9thC Pasquale I ordered a new basilica and the monastery of the SS. Agata and Cecile. During the 12th and 13thC the basilica underwent several expansions. The baptistery was raised up 2.17 metres in this period, with a new pavement.	3 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	The pottery was recovered within the immersion receptacle identified within the baptistery, beneath the medieval pavement. It was therefore part of the deposit used to raise up the floor level.	12th –13thC Parmegiani and Pronti 2004

RELIGIOUS SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
SANTA PATRIZIA OF NAPOLI, NAPLES, CAMPANIA Large excavation	The area traditionally associated with a Benedictine monastery, which was founded during the 7 th C as a Basilian order, adjacent to the monastery of the SS. Nicandro and Marciano.	4 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Vaults infilled with pottery and earth, domestic refuse	End of the 11 th –mid 12 th C Arthur 1984; Arthur 1986; Galante 1985
SAN PIETRO A CORTE, SALERNO*, CAMPANIA Large excavation	Excavation of two rooms under the brotherhood of St. Stefano recovered a Roman baths complex and a 5 th C church with cemetery. This was used as the foundation of the Arechi Palace in the 8 th century. In the 12 th C, the Norman period, the structure became an oratory. Salerno itself was the second city (after Benevento) of the Byzantine Dukedom of Naples after 639–40AD. The Palatine Chapel is one of the main symbols of this renovation.	6 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	No information Peduto 1988

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
PORTO BADISCO, OTRANTO, APULIA Small excavation	Investigations recovered a sepulchre and a structure tentatively identified as San Martino church which is documented for the first time in 1219. Part of a long sequence of occupation at a port site which was an alternative to Otranto in the Middle Ages.	1 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	12 th -13 th C Gorgoglione 2000; Auriemma 2004

<i>RELIGIOUS SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
MARETTIMO- TRAPANI, SICILY Small excavation	<p>The island was an important commercial link during the Middle Ages between Sicily, Africa and Sardegna. The investigated structures were the only stone-buildings present in the island for many centuries. These are a late Roman republic age military building, a small Basilian church, <i>a croce greca atrofizzata</i> and a cistern.</p> <p>The excavations have been developed within the Roman structure and in the area outside its entrance. The military building was probably occupied in the Late Roman period and partly transformed in the Middle Ages, and used as a <i>coenobium</i> by the small community of Basilians monks present in the island in the 11thC</p>	<p>1</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	No information	Beaten earth	<p>12thC</p> <p>Ardizzone et al. 1998</p>

4. Towns

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
EQUILO, JESOLO, (VE), VENETO Large excavation	Most probably a relevant centre of the Venetian lagoon between Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages period. The Medieval phase is attested by the presence of the Romanesque cathedral built above two older churches and of the early Medieval monument of St. Mauro dated probably to the 9thC.	61 Total assemblage c. 17441 sherds in UTS 3000	In association with 5th-7th century amphorae, <i>Sigillata</i> , Frit Ware, faunal and molluscan evidence as well as marble <i>crustae</i> .	Two large refuse pits along the north eastern part of UTS 3000. Evidence of a medieval settlement within the town.	Mid 12 th C Gelichi <i>et al.</i> 2013; Gelichi <i>et al.</i> 2014
VIA CALATAFIMI, PADUA, VENETO Small excavation	Occupation layers and rubbish pit sealed by a garden walkway dated to the 15 th – 16 th C. In the Middle Ages, Padua was an important <i>comune libero</i> (free municipality) and part of the <i>Lega Lombarda</i> which defeated Fredrick Barbarossa in the first half of the 13 th C.	5 (from 1 vessel) No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Rubbish pit	12 th C Candiani <i>et al.</i> 1980

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
CA' VENDRAMIN CALERGI, VENICE, VENETO c.320 cubic metres excavated.	Multi-phase site whose earliest phases date to the origins of Venice in the 7 th and 8 th C when a wooden <i>casone</i> , a typical fisherman's house stood here. After a period of abandonment, probably due to rising water levels, the area was again occupied in the 11 th -12 th C, this time by a new building constructed of reused Roman materials, together with a garden. In the first half of the 13 th C this house was destroyed. After another phase of construction, a palace was built around the first half of the 14 th C. This was a <i>casa da stazio</i> , <i>casa fondaco</i> whose ground floor was used for storage or shops while the principle rooms were on the first floor because of the high levels of humidity.	30 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association with Venetian and Byzantine coins, a gemstone, Byzantine and Islamic pottery; amphorae dated to the 7 th -8 th C originating from the Palestine area and Late Roman II. Specifically, in US 127, there were 2 coins of Romano IV (1068-1071) and Giovanni II Comneno (1122-1137) and Frit Ware. In US 145 there was a coin of Basilio I (879-886 AD) and early medieval glass. Single firing Glazed Ware, Coarseware and Early Medieval glass were found in US 151.	Several layers of occupation in the internal area of the building. These different pavements are divided by very thin layers of carbon and ashes where Byzantine pottery was recovered.	12 th -13 th C Fozzati 2006

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
CORTILE DEL TRIBUNALE AND VIA DANTE, VERONA, VENETO Large excavation	Area of Roman occupation and roads in use from Late Antiquity until the end of the 11 th C for agriculture. Building continued alongside the former Roman roads, such as Via Dante, but the interior of the <i>insulae</i> were left empty. The monastery of Maria Antiqua was founded here in the first half of the 8 th C. In the 11 th C there was new housing and the development of the monastic cemetery. Contemporary were a tower house and two adjacent households.	2 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association with one fragment of Egyptian Lustreware, and 20 sherds of Green Glazed Ware.	No information	Mid 12 th C Hudson 1985

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VIA DEI MILLE, TREVISO, VENETO c. 1000 cubic metres excavated.	Site used first as a cemetery before being converted to agriculture. Treviso was an important <i>comune libero</i> (free municipality) from the Early Medieval period and part of the Lega Lombarda which defeated Fredrick Barbarossa in the first of the half of the 13 th C.	2 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association with the first production of Venetian Glazed pottery and many coarseware fragments.	Area used for agricultural functions (' <i>livello ortivo friabile</i> ')	Mid 12 th C Bianchin Citton 1999

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VIA ASPERGOLO, FERRARA, EMILIA ROMAGNA c. 1440 cubic metres excavated.	Excavation in the centre of the medieval city of Ferrara recovered wooden housing and several dumps and dunghills. In the mid 12 th C a house constructed here was already using brick and by the mid-13 th C the area was already built up. Masonry structures followed. Ferrara was founded as a Byzantine <i>castrum</i> to protect the 'esarcale' boundaries in the 7 th C. The city was already called <i>civitas</i> from the 10 th C when it was divided into a <i>burgus</i> inferior and a <i>burgus</i> superior.	36 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Pottery recovered occupation and levelling layers for pavements. Rubbish pits offered less potential.	1100–1300 Guarnieri and Librenti 1996

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
PORTICUS MINUCIA, ROME, LAZIO c. 1.57 cubic metres excavated of the pit	<p>Area of demolished and re-used Roman civic buildings in Rome including St Lucia church and several domestic houses.</p> <p>During the Middle Ages this was one of the central <i>burgus</i> of Rome, with a market situated between the <i>Castrum Aureum</i> (constructed on the structures of the Roman building <i>Crypta Balbi</i>), the many monastic and ecclesiastical sites which grew in this period, and the river <i>Tiber</i>. This was one of the most populated parts of 12th – 13thC Rome, and included vast rural areas within the city walls. The area is usually considered to have been inhabited by wealthier social groups.</p>	6 (from 1 vessel) Total assemblage c. 136 sherds.	In association with domestic faunal remains and jug in Sparse Glazed Ware and <i>olla</i> in coarseware, dUnglazed Ware to keep foodstuff	Rubbish pit which had cut the podium of the <i>cella</i> of the ancient temple	Mid 12 th C Sagui and Paroli 1990; Manacorda 2003; Manacorda and Zanini 1997; Enrico Zanini pers.comm.

<i>TOWNS</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
PESCIA, PISTOIA*, TUSCANY Large excavation	Excavation carried out in the city centre of Pescia	1 No data on total sherd assemblage	Material dated to the 11–12 th C is represented by Unglazed jugs, coarseware jars, and a few fragments of Sparse Glazed Ware	No information	12 th –13 th C Milanese and Vannini 1998

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
PIAZZA BOVIO, NAPLES, CAMPANIA Small excavation	Excavations in Naples recovered 11 th century fortifications and later, in the second half of the 12 th C, an urban quarter developed nearby. The excavated sequence covers the 11 th to 17 th centuries. The Normans had occupied the city of Naples in 1137, ending the period of the dukedom of Naples which was under Byzantine control. It became part of the Principato di Capua, within the new Regno di Sicilia with Palermo as capital. After the Hohenstaufen domination the Angioini occupied the city in 1266 and Naples became the capital of the new kingdom.	7 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	1150–1210 Carsana 2002

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
CAPUTAQUIS MEDIEVALE, SALERNO, CAMPANIA <i>c.</i> 3404.8 cubic metres excavated (not including the <i>sagrato</i> area)	<p>Capaccio was an especially important core of commercial trade. Founded at the end of the 9th century, the city was totally destroyed by Federico II in 1246 and abandoned. The written sources attest to the presence of a <i>castellum</i> from the mid 10thC., which has been interpreted as the residence of the bishop. From this moment forward the village seems to have been a lively ecclesiastical and civic centre.</p> <p>The excavated contexts represent the initial phases of wooden buildings, the first masonry settlement, and finally the bishop's palace (<i>sagrato</i> area).</p>	<p>355</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	<p>In association with Unglazed Ware, Slip Ware, Red Painted Ware, Glazed Ware. Glass represented by bottles and glasses Metals and terracotta objects</p>	<p>No information</p>	<p>10th –end of the 13thC</p> <p>Delogu <i>et al.</i> 1976; Buko <i>et al.</i> 1984</p>

<i>TOWNS</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
OTRANTO, APULIA Large excavation	<p>The site investigated provided a cross-section of the history of Otranto from pre-Classical times to the 15thC. In particular the harbour of Otranto was active during the Medieval period.</p> <p>The phases under consideration here are Phase IV, covering the period from the 9th to the late 11thC when Otranto seems to have been fortified. This quarter was further reorganised during Phase V, dating from the late 11th to the 12thC. Remains of several building blocks have been analysed, including a massive block, almost certainly military in nature. Phase VI covers the 13thC, during which the buildings from the previous phase continued in use.</p>	<p>136 (64 vessels)</p> <p>Total assemblage 2995 sherds of medieval vessels</p>	<p>In association are coins dated to 870–77 and 913–19 AD, pottery with Painted Broad Line Decoration, two <i>paioli</i>, pottery with Grooved Decoration, Green Glazed Ware, CVP Amphorae, glass, animal bones, small finds.</p> <p>There are also coins dated to the 945 AD, Byzantine <i>Anonymous folles</i> of the 11thC and 12thC, local Kitchen Ware, Corinthian Kitchen Ware, and Siculo-Maghrebina table wares.</p>	Dumping layers used to level the ground.	<p>10th–14thC</p> <p>Michaelides and Wilkinson 1992; Patterson and Whitehouse 1992</p>

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
PREVITERO AREA, OTRANTO, APULIA c.8 cubic metres excavated.	No information The phases under consideration are probably linked with a pottery kiln.	7 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association are Unglazed and Painted Ware, jug and glass, Slip Ware, Unglazed Ware, coarseware, unglazed lamps, Amphorae Otranto Type 1, Gunsenin 1, Late Roman 1, local amphorae and 59 brick fragments.	Mainly refuse material from the Byzantine occupation.	End of the 10 th –first half of the 11 th C Arthur 1997

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
VIA GIOVANNI XXIII, OTRANTO, APULIA c. 106.9 cubic metres excavated.	The site can be dated from the 11 th to the 13 th C. This Norman-Hohenstaufen period is one of the most important for Otranto. Evidence includes the Romanesque cathedral with its mosaic pavement of Pantaleo (1163–5) and the foundation of the monastery of Casole. The city had a fundamental role as a crossroads between the east and west, and at this time it was also the main port for the Crusades. The specific archaeological context here is an important residential household probably of Norman age, which could have been occupied by the nobles present in Otranto at this time.	7 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Dumping fill used for levelling.	12 th C Semeraro 1995

<i>TOWNS</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
BRINDISI*, APULIA c.25.2 cubic metres excavated.	<p>During the 12th century Brindisi was the crucial port for travel to the Holy Land and for the whole Eastern Mediterranean. This is reflected in the presence of imported pottery.</p> <p>In the 13thC the city fell under the domination of emperor Frederick II; in 1225 he married Isabella di Brienne in Brindisi's cathedral. An important mint was established in the city and in 1227-28 Frederick moved here with his troops and court, aiming to depart for the fifth Crusade.</p> <p>Layers 4, 5 and 6 of a small trench excavated here are dated to the Norman period. They represent a pathway (layer 4) covered by hearths (layer 5) and then cut by the destruction of a wall (layer 6). Pottery and faunal remains recovered from the first half of the 13th century cover the age of Fredrick (layers 7 and 8).</p>	<p>??</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	<p>In association with Unglazed Ware as amphorae and jugs, coarsewares, Red Painted Amphorae with narrow and large stripes, Glazed Ware and Green Glazed Ware, local Sgraffito Ware and pottery with Green Splashes; local Green and Brown Painted Ware; Glazed Kitchen Ware, <i>Protomaiolica</i>; food remains, roof tiles, glass finds, metals</p>	<p>Layers 7 and 8, where Byzantine pottery was recovered, represent material dumped in a pit and on the ground, after the filling of the pit, under the roofing which collapsed and on which the rubbish carried on being dumped. This is the refuse of a nearby household of a probable high status suggested by good quality pottery without signs of repair.</p>	<p>13thC</p> <p>Patitucci-Uggeri 1976</p>

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
REGGIO CALABRIA, CALABRIA c. 1500 cubic metres excavated.	Reggio Calabria has a long history, first as a Greek colony and later in the Roman and Byzantine periods. In 1060 the city was occupied by the Normans. The Norman phase dated from the second half of the 11 th to the 12 th C, is the richest in terms of archaeological evidence. One building has been recovered in this phase divided into several small spaces used variously as a workshop for bronze and a kiln.	5 No data on total sherd assemblage	In association to Siculo-Maghrebine, glass and coins of Ruggero I and II, dated to the 12thC	Beaten clay track, dumping fill used for levelling.	11–13th C Massimo Brizzi pers.comm.

TOWNS					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAG E	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY/ KEY BIBLIOGRAPHY
MESSINA*, SICILY Large excavation	Excavations inside the urban area in the Middle Ages recovered domestic and structural materials. Ruggero II in 1080 allowed for planning and development in this part of the city	?? No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	Several dumps with food remains, pottery and roof tiles.	11 th –12 th C Scibona 2003

5.Rural sites

<i>RURAL SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY
MASSERIA QUATTRO MACINE, CAMPANIA Large excavation	<p>The village at Quattro Macine seems to have developed from about the 10thC onwards. Excavations have recovered two 10th-12th century churches with their respective cemeteries, craft production and what may be a defensive area.</p> <p>Most of Salento is occupied by small agro-towns. Quattro Macine is one of these settlements and the <i>masseria</i> (farm) to which it has given its name was probably constructed around the 15thC and partially overlies the site of the deserted medieval village. Quattro Macine was deserted at the end of the Middle Ages.</p>	<p>11</p> <p>No data on total sherd assemblage</p>	No information	No information	<p>11th –12thC</p> <p>Arthur 1996</p>

<i>RURAL SITES</i>					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATIONS	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY
GERIDU*, SARDEGNA Large excavation	Noted in written sources since the 12 th C, this village lies in the province of the Romangia. Geridu was the most populated centre of this province. In the 13 th C the village flourished. The village started to decline after the Catalan-Aragonese occupation and became dependent on the city of Sassari. The only structure visible today is St. Andrew's church.	1 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	13 th C Milanese 2004

6. Other site types

OTHER TYPES OF SITES					
LOCATION/ SCALE OF EXCAVATION	GENERAL SITE DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF BYZANTINE SHERDS/ TOTAL ASSEMBLAGE	ASSOCIATION	TYPE OF DEPOSIT	CHRONOLOGY
FUSINA, VENICE LAGOON*, VENETO c.73.5 cubic metres excavated.	The name Fusina derives from the Venetian dialect lizza (mud) and fusina (mouth). Settlement is attested here since 1191 and located on the mouth of the Oriago river as a sanitorium/ ecclesiastical centre with its own oratory. In 1578 it was abandoned.	9 No data on total sherd assemblage.	No information	The many wooden structures and poles and holes for wooden poles suggest a probable port located at the head of the river Brenta where it enters the Adriatic sea.	12 th – 13 th C Calaon 2006, D'Agostino 1998
EGNAZIA (BR)*, Apulia Large excavation	The ancient city of Gnathia was a centre of passage towards Brindisi, located on the Adriatic coast of the Apulia region. Gnathia was an outpost of the Byzantine Empire on the Adriatic sea during the time of Costantino X Ducas (mid-11 th C); later the city was destroyed by the Normans.	173 No data on total sherd assemblage	No information	No information	Mid-12th C Biancofiore 1995

Appendix 2:

Gazetteer of Byzantine glazed imported pottery in Italy

Note: The sites in green are the ones with impartial data but used in the development of the thesis, while the sites in blue have very impartial data, therefore are of little use. However we have decided to put all the records available in this gazetteer.

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances												
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.														
Corinth/Athens																				
Brown Glazed Ware								75%	25%											
	Previtiero	PUGLIA	urban	1	1	950–1050	lamp	0.75	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto Phase IV		urban	1	1	800–1000	chafing dish	0.75	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto Phase V		urban	1	1	1000–1100	lid	0.75	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto Phase VI		urban	3	1	1200–1300	lids	2.25	0.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Genova–P.zzo Ducale	LIGURIA	palace	4	4	12th–13thC.	bowls/cups/jars	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Constantinople																				
GWW II										100%										
	Vaccarizza	PUGLIA	castle	11	11	1000	open vessel/small jug	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Previtiero		urban	5	5	950–1050	strap handled cups	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Quattro Macine		rural	1	1	1100	bowl	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances												
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.		Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos
	Capaccio Phase VI		urban	82	4	post 1400	jugs/bowl	0	0	82	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Velia			?	?			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Salerno–S.Pietro a Corte		religious	4				0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Venezia–Ca' Vendramin Calergi	VENETO	urban	4	4	12thC.	bowls	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PWI										100%										
	Capaccio Phase II	CAMPANIA	urban	2	2	900–1050	little cups	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Nonantola	EMILIA ROMAGNA	religious	4	2	11thC	little cup	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Black and Green Painted Ware										100%										
	Egnazia	PUGLIA	other type	17	17	11thC	large bowls/lamps/closed vessels	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corinth/Ganos/Amorium/Chersonesos/Pergamon																				
Plain Glazed Ware								20%					20%		20%		20%	20%		
	Ferrara phase III/1–2–3	EMILIA ROMAGNA	urban	1	1	1100–1175	small bowl	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.2	0	0.2	0	0.2	0.2	0	0
	Venezia–Ca' Vendramin Calergi	VENETO	urban	1	1	12thC.	lamp	0.2	0	0	0	0	0.5	0	0.2	0	0.2	0.2	0	0
Corinth																				
Dark on light								100%												
	Quattro Macine	PUGLIA	rural	1	1	1100	bowl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ferrara phase III/1–2–3	EMILIA ROMAGNA	urban	2	2	1100–1175	small bowls	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances															
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos			
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.																	
	Ferrara phase III/4		urban	3	3	1175–1200	small bowls	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ferrara phase IV/1		urban	1	1	1200–1250	small bowl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Messina	SICILIA	urban	?	?			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Sgraffito Ware I</i>								100%															
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala	VENETO	religious	1	1	12thC.	dish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Napoli–S. Patrizia	CAMPANIA	religious	1	1	end11th–beginning12thC	dish	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Painted Sgraffito Ware</i>								100%															
	Messina	SICILIA	urban	?	?			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Egnazia	PUGLIA	other type	25	6	mid12thC.	bowls	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto phase V		urban	2	2	1000–1100	bowls/dishes	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto phase VI		urban	19	6	1200–1300	bowl/dishes	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto –Via Giovanni XXIII		urban	3	3	12thC	bowls/dishes	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ferrara phase IV/1	EMILIA ROMAGNA	urban	1	1	1200–1250	small bowl	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ferrara phase IV/2–3		urban	6	6	1250–1300	small/large bowls	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Equilo (Jesolo)	VENETO	urban	4	4	mid12thC.	bowls/dishes	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	4	4	12thC.	?	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Venezia–Ca' Vendramin Calergi		urban	4	4	12thC.	bowls/dishes	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lecce	PUGLIA	urban	1	1	12/13th C.	cup	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Quattro Macine		rural	2	2	12/13th C.	cups	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances															
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos			
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.																	
Corinth/Athens/Sparta/Kalapodi/Ephesos																							
Green and Brown Painted Ware I/II/III								30%	5%		30%										5%	30%	
	Brindisi	PUGLIA	urban	0	?			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Egnazia		other type	98	82	mid 12thC	bowls	29.4	4.9	0	29.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.9	29.4	
	Otranto phase V		urban	4	1	1000–1100	bowl	1.2	0.2	0	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	1.2	
	Otranto phase VI		urban	42	8	1200–1300	bowls/dishes	12.6	2.1	0	12.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.1	12.6	
	Genova –P.zzo Ducale	LIGURIA	palace	13	13	12thC	small bowls	3.9	0.65	0	3.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.65	3.9	
	Genova S.Silvestro		religious	1	1	1170–1200	bowl	0.3	0.05	0	0.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.05	0.3	
	Equilo (Jesolo)	VENETO	urban	8	8	mid 12thC	bowls/cups	2.4	0.4	0	2.4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	5	5	12thC	?	1.5	0.25	0	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.25	1.5	
	Venezia–Ca' Vendramin Calergi		urban	4	4	12thC	bowls	1.2	0.2	0	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.2	1.2	
	Torcello		religious	3	3	12th–13thC	small bowls	0.9	0.15	0	0.9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.15	0.9	
Corinth/Sparta																							
Measles Ware								50%			50%												
	Brindisi	PUGLIA	urban	1	1			0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Egnazia		other type	3	2	mid12thC.	bowls	1.5	0	0	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto, phase V		urban	12	12	1000–1100	bowls	6	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Otranto, phase VI		urban	24	9	1200–1300	bowls/dishes	12	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Equilo (Jesolo)	VENETO	urban	0	0	-	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances														
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos		
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.																
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	4	4	12thC.	?	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Venezia–Ca'Vendramin Calergi		urban	1	1	13thC	bowl	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Padova–Via Calatafimi		urban	1	1	12thC.	bowl	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Quattro Macine	PUGLIA	rural	1	1	12/13th C.	bowl	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sparta/ Corinth/ Pergamon/ Chersonesos																						
<i>Light on Dark</i>								25%			25%		25%		25%							
	Brindisi	PUGLIA	urban	1	1			0.25	0	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Egnazia		other type	9	1	mid 12thC	bowl	2.25	0	0	2.25	0	2.25	0	2.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Quattro Macine		rural	2	2	1100		0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Genova –P.zzo Ducale	LIGURIA	palace	3	1	11–12thC	small bowl	0.75	0	0	0.75	0	0.75	0	0.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	S.G.Elemonario	VENETO		1	1			0.25	0	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Equilo (Jesolo)		urban	2	2	mid 12thC	small bowls/ dishes	0.5	0	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	S. Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	4	4	12thC	?	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Venezia –Ca' Vendramin Calergi		urban	1	1	12thC	?	0.25	0	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corinth/ Sparta/ Kalapodi/ Pergamon/ Amorium/ Chersonesos																						
<i>Sgraffito Ware II</i>								18%			18%		18%		18%				18%	10%		

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances												
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos
	Reggio Calabria	CALABRIA	urban	5	5	800–1390/10th end of 14th C.	bowls/dishes	0.9	0	0	0.9	0	0.9	0	0.9	0	0	0.9	0.5	0
	Quattro Macine 1100	PUGLIA	rural	4	4	1100	bowls/dishes	0.72	0	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0	0.72	0.4	0
	Otranto phase V		urban	1	1	1000–1100	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Otranto phase VI		urban	10	5	1200–1300	bowls/dishes	1.8	0	0	1.8	0	1.8	0	1.8	0	0	1.8	1	0
	Otranto–Via Giovanni XXIII		urban	1	1	1115–1130	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Otranto porto Badisco		religious	1	1	12th–13thC.	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Brindisi		urban	1	1			0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Egnazia		other type	11	6	mid12thC.	bowls/dishes	1.98	0	0	1.98	0	1.98	0	1.98	0	0	1.98	1.1	0
	Ravello–Villa Rufolo	CAMPANIA		2	2			0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0	0.36	0.2	0
	Velia			2	2			0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0	0.36	0.2	0
	Salerno–S.Pietro a Corte		religious	2	2			0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0	0.36	0.2	0
	Salerno–Castello di Arechi			1	1			0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Capaccio Phase III		urban	1	1	1050–1100	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Napoli–P.zza Bovio		urban	4	4	1150–1210	bowls/dishes	0.72	0	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0	0.72	0.4	0
	Pozzuoli–Rione Terra		castle	1	1	1150–1200	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Roma–Porticus Minucia	LAZIO	urban	6	1	1115–1130	bowl	1.08	0	0	1.08	0	1.08	0	1.08	0	0	1.08	0.6	0
	Roma–S.Cecilia in Trastevere		religious	2	2	1115–1130	bowls/dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0	0.36	0.2	0
	Ferrara phase III/1–2–3	EMILIA ROMAGNA	urban	1	1	1100–1175	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0	0.18	0.1	0
	Ferrara phase III/4		urban	7	7	1175–1200	bowls/dishes	1.26	0	0	1.26	0	1.26	0	1.26	0	0	1.26	0.7	0
	Ferrara phase IV/1		urban	2	2	1200–1250	bowls/dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0	0.36	0.2	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances												
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos
	Ferrara phase IV/2-3		urban	4	4	800-1390/10th end of 14th C.	bowls/dishes	0.72	0	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0.4	0	
	Genova-Via Ginevra			1	1			0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0.1	0	
	Genova -P.zzo Ducale	LIGURIA	palace	7	7	mid12thC.	bowls/dishes	1.26	0	0	1.26	0	1.26	0	1.26	0	1.26	0.7	0	
	Genova-S.Silvestro		religious	5	5	1170-1200	bowls/dishes	0.9	0	0	0.9	0	0.9	0	0.9	0	0.9	0.5	0	
	Genova- Canonici di S.Lorenzo		religious	3	1	12th-13thC.	bowls	0.54	0	0	0.54	0	0.54	0	0.54	0	0.54	0.3	0	
	Genova - Convento di S.Agostino		religious	2	2			0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0.2	0	
	Fusina	VENETO	urban	2	2	12thC.	bowls/dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0.2	0	
	Equilo (Jesolo)		urban	37	12	mid 12thC	bowls/dishes	6.66	0	0	6.66	0	6.66	0	6.66	0	6.66	3.7	0	
	San Lorenzo in Ammiana		religious	1	1	12thC.	bowl	0.18	0	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0	0.18	0.1	0	
	Sant'Arian Costanziaco		religious	16	16	12thC.	bowls/dishes	2.88	0	0	2.88	0	2.88	0	2.88	0	2.88	1.6	0	
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	38	38	12thC.	bowls/dishes	6.84	0	0	6.84	0	6.84	0	6.84	0	6.84	3.8	0	
	Torcello		religious	4	4	12th-13thC.	bowls/dishes	0.72	0	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0	0.72	0.4	0	
	Venezia-Ca' Vendramin Calergi		urban	13	8	12thC.	bowls/dishes	2.34	0	0	2.34	0	2.34	0	2.34	0	2.34	1.3	0	
	Venezia-P.zzo Selvadego		palace	2	2	12thC.	dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0.2	0	
	Verona		urban	2	2	1115-1130	bowls/dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0.2	0	
	Treviso-Via Dei Mille		urban	2	2	12th-13thC.	bowls/dishes	0.36	0	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0	0.36	0.2	0	
	Messina	SICILIA	urban	?	?			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Nonantola		religious	3	1	1115-1130	bowl	0.54	0	0	0.54	0	0.54	0	0.54	0	0.54	0.3	0	
Corinth/Sparta																				

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances															
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos			
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.																	
	Genova-Via S.Vincenzo		religious	1	1	11th–12thC	small bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Castello di Andora		castle	1	1	12thC.	large bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aegean – Area																							
Zeuxippus Ware I																							
	Ferrara fase IV/2–3	EMILIA ROMAGNA	urban	2	2	1250–1300	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fusina	VENETO	other type	1	1	13thC	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Malamocco		religious	1	1	13thC	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	San Leonardo in Fossa Mala		religious	1	1	13thC	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Brindisi	PUGLIA	urban	1	1			0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zeuxippus Ware II Genuine																							
	Monte Iato	SICILIA	castle	2	2	end 12th–13thC	bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Segesta Teatro		castle	1	1	1220–1250	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Bologna–Convento di San Domenico	EMILIA ROMAGNA	religious	3	1	1250–1300	BOWLS	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Ferrara fase IV/2–3		urban	6	6	1250–1300	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Rocca San Silvestro	TOSCANA	castle	1	1	1250–1300	BOWL	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Genova-P.zzo Ducale	LIGURIA	palace	23	17	12th–13thC.	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Genova-S.Silvestro		religious	1	1	15thC	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Savona-f.zza Priamar		castle	2	2	11th–13thC	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fusina	VENETO	other type	6	6	13thC	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Malamocco		religious	3	3	13thC	small bowls	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Pottery types' Provenance	Site	Region	Type of site	No of sherds	No of vessels	Date	Form	Provenances															
								Corinth	Athens	Constantinople	Sparta	Attica	Chersonesos	Aegean area	Pergamon	Cyprus	Ganos	Amorium	Kalapodi	Ephesos			
						800–1390/10th end of 14th C.																	
Monochrome Slip and Glazed Ware														100%									
	Savona–f.zza Priamar	LIGURIA	castle	3	3	12thC.	dishes/bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Casteldelfino		castle	3	3	13thC.	jug/bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Castello di Andora		castle	1	1	12thC.	bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Monochrome Sgraffito Ware														100%									
	Casteldelfino		castle	1	1	13thC	bowl	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals				1121	807																		
<i>TOTALS OF FRAGMENTS PER PROVENANCE</i>								225,24	11,45	427	134,1	20	44,04	112	44,0	3	0,6	37,74	29,7	53,7			

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