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The Eels of Venice.

The Long Eighth Century of the Emporia  
of the North East Region along the Adriatic Coast

*The Eels of Venice*

“Had Comacchio defeated the Venetians and established its control over the mouths of the Adige and the Po, it instead of Venice might have become the Queen of the Adriatic, and Venice might now be an inconspicuous village in a stagnant lagoon, as dead as the lagoon of Comacchio, famous only for its eels.” Thus wrote Lane, in 1933, near the beginning of his book *Venice. A Maritime Republic*<sup>1</sup>, effectively summing up in a few lines the destinies of both places.

I have to say that Lane’s words often come to mind when, walking along the canal banks of Comacchio, I try to imagine what the place might have become if things had turned out differently. However, Lane’s metaphor, in its simplicity, conceals something more than the inversion of a series of real events (the destruction of Comacchio by the Venetians), moreover mentioned almost only in biased sources (and quite far in time from their actual occurrence) . It contains an indirect reference to an area, the stretch of land lying between Ravenna and the Venetian lagoon, and above all to its role (firstly economic, but also social and institutional), which must have been, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century, a highly dynamic one. This was one of the most vibrant areas of northern Italy (if not of the whole peninsula), but with a still uncertain future, where a considerable number of new settlements (that were almost towns) were competing for the control of trade traffic (fig. 1).

The history of Venice boasts an endless bibliography, while the story of Comacchio, although not having been unworthy of attention, has obvi-

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Lane, *Venice. A Maritime Republic*, Baltimore- London, 1933, p. .

Essentially Giovanni the Deacon, in *Istoria Veneticorum*, and *Annales Regni Francorum* (see R. Cessi, *Venezia ducale. I. Duca e popolo*, Venice, 1933, p. 151, - - and 313-31 ).



Fig. 1. Location map of the main sites mentioned in the text.

ously met with minor interest<sup>3</sup>this also is the fate that awaits the losers. But in the endeavour to understand the origin of Venice, to forget about Comacchio (and other early medieval settlements of this area) means to relinquish a real understanding of the historic and economic conditions within which such a development arose. I have thought for some time that the history of the origins of Venice, which has fascinated, and still fascinates, a substantial group of researchers, is not possible unless analysed within the framework of historical and archaeological evidence from this whole area (and not only from the lagoon, as Crouzet-Pavan has said regarding another neglected settlement, that of Torcello)<sup>3</sup>. I also believe that only material data are able to supply new prospects of interpretation. For some time now, some of the more perceptive historians and archaeologists have been observing with interest the archaeology of the Venetian lagoon area

<sup>3</sup> E. Crouzet-Pavan, *La mort lente de Torcello. Histoire d'une cité disparue*, Paris, 1995.

as a resource of unknown yet predictable potential . I have already written recently about the situation of this archaeology, a work to which I refer .

It is, however, to the overall question of the role and significance of the economy in Lombard Italy of the M<sup>th</sup> century that I wish to devote my attention here, not only to respect the title of the seminar, but also because I believe, contrary to what has been written even recently by respected scholars like Chris Sickham, that the M<sup>th</sup> century was, on an economic level, by no means a period of stagnation<sup>K</sup>.

## M

Ten years ago Ross Balzaretti published an article dedicated to a re-examination of the role of the economy in the Po valley between QQ and M . Balzaretti disagreed with a number of Italian researchers<sup>M</sup>who, in a more or less categorical manner, had stressed the role of revived towns during the M<sup>th</sup> century in relation to the river-based exchange network<sup>N</sup>, maintaining that the same historical and archaeological evidence could, in fact, be used to prove not the exact opposite but certainly only a case for local economic vitality in the countryside<sup>Q</sup>. Balzaretti poses two main

. Hodges, , London, 6QQQ:  
:c Cormick, AQQ  
NQQCambridge, 6QQ

. elichi, ;Venezia tra archeologia e storia3 la costruzione di un'identit  urbana in . ugenti (ed),  
avenna, 6K6MFebruary 6QQ, p. -M9 . elichi in press , ;5lo urishing Places in  
North-Eastern Italy3 Towns and Emporia between Late Antiquity and the  
Carolingian Age, in Henning (ed),  
, Bad Homburg, 6QQ.

<sup>K</sup>C. Sickham, ; overview3production, distribution and demand, II, in I. Hansen -  
C. Sickham (eds), , Leiden- Boston - ? in, 6QQQ. A and  
AMAKQC. Sickham, ,  
7ford, 6QQ.

. Balzaretti, ;Cities, Emporia and Monasteries3 Local Economies in the Po  
Valley, c. 2 QQM in Christie - . T. Loseby (eds),  
, London, NNK,p. 6A- 6A.

<sup>M</sup>C. Violante,  
, Bari, NA9 . Lu4atto,  
, London, NK9 . Sasoli, ;Avignone fluviale. Porti e navi  
sul Po in

, poleto, NM, p. K -KQ .

<sup>N</sup> . Balzaretti, ;Cities, Emporia and Monasteries p. 6M.

questions whether the urban elite were really dependent upon goods coming from the East (which were exchanged for local products, especially foodstuffs) and, above all, if in these regions there really were emporia able to play a role as nodal points between international and regional exchanges. The main problem was not so much to prove the vitality of the Po valley in the 8th century, as to establish the nature and features of it, or in other words, to evaluate the finer aspects of it.

Balaretti's answer to these questions is that we find ourselves faced with a kind of 'restrained vitality', a situation in the Po valley that developed locally and concerned a society made up of cellular units (towns and cities), which operated individually, rarely connected with one another—that therefore it was not possible to make out a more general picture of the control, management and exchange of goods in these areas<sup>6</sup>.

Balaretti analyses with great care both written sources and material data. The written sources, as is known, are not particularly abundant and tend to be open to interpretation. The Liutprand Capitulare (an agreement between the people of Comacchio and the Lombards, dating to 789), is assessed according to the availability of material sources (the archaeological records for Parma, Cremona, Piacenza and Comacchio itself) and, on the basis of this, held to be of little significance as evidence of a region-wide system of exchange. I agree that the archaeological sources at that time (and partly also now) are not particularly abundant. However, use of them must be pertinent, because evidence is not always proof of the contrary.

The archaeology of northern Italy has invested a great deal, especially during the Eighties, in urban excavations and this has meant growth in the debate about early medieval towns (although scarcely touching on economic issues). We could not, however, say the same of, for example, research into monasteries and rural settlements, including ports. At the same time even urban excavations have not affected, with the same evi-

C. Sic kham, 'Problems of comparing rural societies in early medieval Western Europe', *Journal of Medieval Studies*, 6, 1974, pp. 66-67.

<sup>6</sup> Balaretti, 'Cities, Emporia and Monasteries', p. 66M.

A p. 66A.

In general see P. Brogiolo - M. Elichi, *Le città medievali*, Bari-Rome, NNM.

Regarding the archaeology of early medieval monasteries in northern Italy see M. Cantino Stanghin, 'Archaeologia dei monasteri. L'altomedioevo', in M. Elichi (ed), *Le città medievali*, Pisa, NNM, pp. 66-67M and M. Elichi in press; M. Santolola and the Archaeology of Early Monasteries in Northern Italy, in M. Buko - S. Ucko (eds), *Early Medieval Archaeology*, Pultusk.

dence, many towns that perhaps it would be appropriate to investigate, or else have not analysed them in the right way. Besides this, archaeological data in recent years have increasingly shown that the centralization of settlement on the one hand and the strong hierarchical nature of the social use of spaces, on the other, make the urban archaeological record extremely disconnected and thus difficult to subject to generalizations.

Lastly, the quality of much urban archaeology, on the one hand, and the conditions for consultation of the scientific results of excavations, on the other, are not irrelevant aspects for the correct use of this resource. I will give a few, but important, examples. The large excavation of the former courthouse of Verona, published in sequence<sup>K</sup>, has remained unpublished as far as materials are concerned. The archaeology of towns like Piacenza and Parma (both mentioned in the Liutprand Capitulare) which are taken by Balaretti as negative evidence<sup>L</sup>, cannot be said to have benefited from any planned research projects. Investigations into Cremona have focused their attention on phases of the Roman period and almost nothing has been published on the early medieval period. Regarding Milan, Brescia and Mantua some specific excavations have been well studied, but the overall view, with the exception of Brescia<sup>M</sup>, is lacking. Finally, the archaeology of Pavia<sup>N</sup> has not been, up to now and despite some important excavations, worthy of the role and function of this city.

Nevertheless, I would like to abandon an entirely pessimistic view, because I believe that old excavations seen through new eyes and a different approach to the material source may change our way of interpreting the history of this period and of these places.

Balaretti, as we have said, examines the archaeological records to analyse, on one hand, the vitality of the towns, and on the other the existence of the emporia. We will focus our attention in particular on the latter. As is known, the term 'emporium' (but above all the concept of empo-

<sup>K</sup> P. Hudson, 'La dinamica dell'insediamento urbano nell'area del Cortile del Tribunale di Verona. L'età medievale', *Atti del Convegno di Verona, 1987*, GII, NM, p. 6M-AQ6

<sup>L</sup> Balaretti, 'Citties, Emporia and Colonasteries', p. 666

<sup>M</sup> P. Brogiolo, 'L'architettura delle città medievali', *Atti del Convegno di Mantova, 1987*, I, p. 100-101

<sup>N</sup> P. Hudson, 'L'architettura delle città medievali', *Atti del Convegno di Mantova, 1987*, I, p. 100-101

<sup>O</sup> Florence, NM9. *Atti del Convegno di Mantova, 1987*, I, p. 100-101

rium) as a place where goods were redistributed, including those of an international kind<sup>6Q</sup>, belongs essentially to the north European debate<sup>6</sup>. The word 'emporium' rarely appears in early medieval sources referring to the Italian peninsula (I recall, for example, that it is absent from the writing of Giovanni the Deacon, while we find it in that of Costantino Porfirogenito)<sup>66</sup>. Here, then, it is used in a purely technical sense, expressing better than other words the meaning and role of new settlements which were characterized by a marked ability for trade and production and which, almost always (and here lies the difference from the north European situation) became centres of institutional authority (secular and religious) places, therefore, that it does not seem appropriate to define as towns nor as villages. Moreover, this is a problem that was even felt in the early medieval written sources, as we see in Giovanni the Deacon again, perplexed as to how to define Comacchio or other places of the Venetian lagoon, with the exception of Venice<sup>6A</sup>.

Although the discussion concerning the emporia is still going on<sup>6</sup>, the features that define them, from a material viewpoint, compared, for example, to villages, are the role played by the merchandise that passed through them (type and quantity)<sup>6</sup> their extent and the construction

<sup>6Q2</sup>. . Hinton, ;e talwork and the emporia in : . nderton (ed),  
 , lasgow, NNNp. 6 .

<sup>6</sup> . Hodges, 600 1000,  
London, NM6

<sup>66</sup>In, respectively, and .

<sup>6A</sup>Concerning this question, see . elichi in press ;5lo urishing Places in orth-Eastern Italy

<sup>6</sup> egarding the questions of the emporia see also . amson, ; Illusory emporia and mad economic theories, in : . nderton (ed),

, lasgow, NNN p. K&N? . lmschneider - T. Pestell,  
; Introductions Early : edieval : arkets and Productive' ites, in T. Pestell - ? .  
lmschneider (eds), ,

650 850, Bollington, 6QA, p. - Q&Q ylor, ; ccess to international trade in : iddle  
a7on England a case of urban over-emphasis , in : . Pasquinucci - T. 8 eski  
(eds), , ,

, 7ford,  
6QQ , p. AN M8 ith regard to a revision of the debate about aspects of early  
medieval economy Jies (as representing the categories of ome and ther and the  
meaning of the shift E7change ystem) see : oreland, ; Concepts of the Early  
medieval Economy, in I. Hansen - C. 8 ickham (eds),  
 ,

Leiden- Boston - ? n, 6QQQ p. -A .

<sup>6</sup> . Hodges, , p. Q -6N.

materials that are representative of them<sup>26</sup> (fig. 16)9)lastly, the fact that they were also production centres. 20 all these features belong to places like Comacchio and a whole other group of settlements in the lagoon area prior to the rise of Venice

To evaluate the kind of merchandise that it was preferable to transport along the Po (and its tributaries), the Liutprand Capitulare is still the main source (even though various other items of information may be deduced from other records). As you know, this is a document, taken to be authentic by most scholars although it is known to us through a transcription of the 1<sup>th</sup> century<sup>27</sup>, in which are laid down the terms of collecting customs duties from the ships of Comacchio which were obliged to pay them when they sailed up the Po. Although some scholars, like Cori, have attempted to back-date the period to the years between 600 and 650 in view of the fact that the document refers to usage already in existence<sup>28</sup>, the document is currently, and I would say correctly, attributed to the reign of Liutprand (or to the year 715 or 700 because these were the years of the 1<sup>th</sup> Indiction)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> p. 7 -65.

<sup>27</sup> . Balzaretti, ;Cities, Emporia and Colonasteries p. 219-22 . This famous document was first discussed, in great detail, by Hartmann in L. . Hartmann, , Otha, 1909 later dealt with at great length by, amongst others, . P. Bognetti, ;La navigazione padana e il sopravvivere della civiltà antica , series IG, LGGGIG, II, 196 p. 5-16, and . Sasoli, ;Navigazione fluviale

<sup>28</sup> . Cori, ; L'ipotesi sulla data del Pactum c. d. Liutprandino coi milites di Comacchio relativo alla navigazione sul Po , CGGGV, 1977 p. 9 -502.

<sup>29</sup> is mentioned among the interlocutors of the Lombards. If the epigraph, now in the wall on one side of the cathedral of Comacchio, in which a

is mentioned and which dates back to 720, is authentic, it is very likely that the chapter is of 715 rather than 700 (as seems to be implied, although not explicitly, by . Patitucci Ggeri, ;Il castrum Cumiaci?3 evidenze archeologiche e problemi storico-topografici, in

, Comacchio 198 , Bologna, p. 26 -26 ). In fact, there is no certain information testifying to the existence of an episcopal cathedral in Comacchio prior to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, despite the efforts of Bellini (L. Bellini, , Serrara, 19679 see . Amaritani, ;: edievalia ed altri studi, , series III, IG, 1970 p. 7-96).





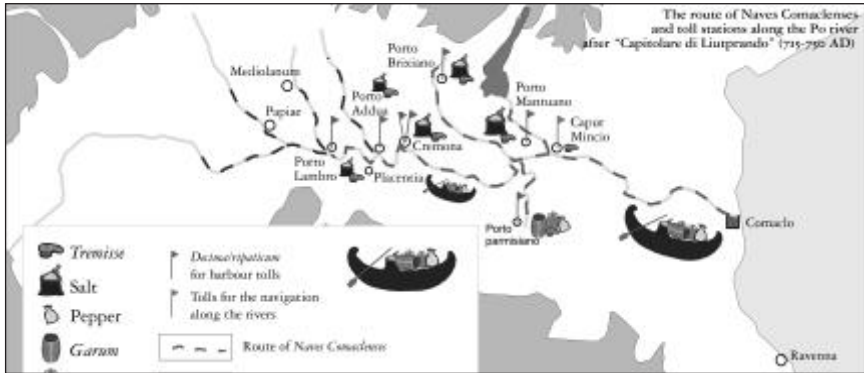


Fig. 2. 2 istribution map of ports used by the Comacchiesi, according to the Liutprand Capitolare.

Goods	Provenance	Container	
Oil	→ Oriental area or south Italy	→ Amphorae	
Wine	→ Oriental area or south Italy	→ Amphorae, Barrels	
Spices (pepper)	→ Orient	→ Small amphorae (?), Small sacks	
Salt	→ Local	→ Sacks	
<i>Garum</i>	→ Orient	→ Amphorae	
Pickled Fish	→ Local	→ Barrels	
Silk, Tissues	→ Orient	→ Tissue rolls, Boxes	
Incense, Aromatic herbs, Myrrh	→ Orient	→ Amphorae, Boxes	

Fig. . Table of goods traded by the Comacchiesi (cloths, fabrics, wine are not expressly mentioned in the Capitolare).

ciality of Comacchio<sup>8</sup>. It is also possible that the ships from Comacchio traded other products from the *Mar Adriatico*, not expressly mentioned in the *Capitolare*, such as cloth and highly valued fabrics.

But what are the archaeological markers of these goods, which are able not only to certify their passage but also to explain to us their entity and distribution (fig. 1)?

Salt could be carried in sacks<sup>9</sup>, as could spices; barrels could be used for fish in brine; silks and fabrics could travel in rolls and chests; amphorae could preferably be used for the *oleum*, oil and also for wine<sup>10</sup>. Most of these products, therefore, could escape from archaeological evidence and it is not enough to monitor, as has been suggested<sup>11</sup>, the distribution of soapstone vessels as return merchandise, to fully understand the sense of these relationships. It is clear that soapstone acts as an indirect marker of these relationships between places in the *Adriatic* area and it also seems clear that its capillary diffusion, reaching its peak between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>12</sup>, must be associated with a renewed vitality and efficiency of the waterway connections (which made the export of these products more competitive, or cheaper, than the production of cooking pots). Nevertheless, the distribution of soapstone vessels is not able to answer our question regarding the entity of imports and their distribution.

In recent years increasingly detailed research into amphorae as containers has shown that the production and, above all, the circulation of amphorae continued in Italy well beyond the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Going beyond this chron-

<sup>8</sup> For a technical meaning of the term see: *Montanari*, *Il capitolare di Liutprando* p. 70. Of course this does not mean that the Comacchiesi lacked the raw materials to produce it.

<sup>9</sup> *Liutprando*, *Descrizione feudale*, p. 590, seems to think that the salt was directly loaded onto the ships and protected with a covering of mats and wooden boards.

<sup>10</sup> Although not mentioned in the *Capitolare*, wine continues to be a widely diffused product throughout the *Adriatic*, even though it is generally taken to be of local production. See: *Montanari*, *Il capitolare di Liutprando*, p. 78-31. *En di rado, e piò per motivi di prestigio che per reale necessità si doveva importare vino da lontano* (very rarely, and more for prestige than real necessity, wine had to be imported from afar).

<sup>11</sup> *Montanari*, *Il capitolare di Liutprando* p. 281.

<sup>12</sup> *Liberti*, *La diffusione e commercializzazione della lapis ollaris in Italia settentrionale tra Tardoantico e Alto-medioevo* in *Relazioni* (ed),

*Firenze, 1997* p. 6.

refer in particular to the study of the *Crypta Alba* areas in Rome and the sites of *Stia* and *Porto Ciarrocchi*. *Montanari*, *Il capitolare di Liutprando*, *La diffusione e circolazione di ceramiche tardoantiche ed altomedievali ad Stia e Porto Ciarrocchi* in *Relazioni* (ed),

*Firenze, 1997*, *Firenze 1997* p. 20-26.

logical barrier (which also removes from isolation the regions of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD world and partly of the Islamic world, which were to continue, in relation to the western world, to use amphorae as containers but only for medium-range local trade), has allowed us not only to look at some past findings in a new light but also to reconsider the possibility that this extraordinary archaeological marker may also be used to understand the phases of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century in Italy and, with regard to our present subject, in northern Italy. This revision has thus enabled us to recognise these amphorae in Rimini<sup>5</sup>, Verucchio<sup>6</sup> and, on a smaller scale or sometimes uncertainly, in Grado<sup>7</sup>, Cervia, I Rescia, Sillano<sup>8</sup> and perhaps in Ravenna<sup>9</sup> (fig. 1).

C. Eggerli, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, pp. 210-271.

<sup>5</sup> Amphorae of this kind are illustrated in the volume concerning the excavations of Torcello (L. Lecievic, *Tabacchini a Torcello*, *PNKPKG*, Venezia, 1977), but the date of their recognition is much more recent. The first indications are from *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 250, and *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 267-271.

<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, also thanks to new excavations in the lagoon, the number of official recognitions has increased considerably (see *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 610-629). Toniolo, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 267-271.

<sup>7</sup> Toniolo, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>8</sup> Toniolo, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

*Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>7</sup> *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>8</sup> C. Eggerli in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

<sup>9</sup> *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91. Toniolo in press, *Le anfore romane e bizantine nella laguna di Venezia*, in *Atti del 1<sup>o</sup> Congresso Internazionale di Topografia e Cultura Materiale*, Roma, 1977, p. 90-91.

But it has been, above all, a recent analysis of materials, both old and new, from Comacchio that has offered unexpected indicators. These materials are important for three reasons. Firstly, their quantity there are, at the moment, about fifty items (a low assessment that does not take account of portions and uncertain fragments), widely underestimated, if one only considers the fact that Comacchio has never been the subject of any specific, extensive archaeological investigation<sup>50</sup>. Secondly, the organization into type of these remains, further confirmed by suitable mineralogical and petrographic analysis<sup>51</sup>, which indicates a great variety of origin, some from southern Italy, others from the Aegean and the Illyria. Thirdly, their concentration in the site of Villaggio San Francesco, subjected to emergency excavation in 1997 and which we interpret as one of the landing places of Comacchio (and to which we will return) (fig. 5).

Of course it has not been possible to establish with certainty which products these amphorae contained (I suppose oil and wine, but perhaps also ...), although in the future analysis expressly dedicated to this subject may tell us and, of course, it is equally premature to claim for them a widespread, consistent circulation in the Po Valley. However, their presence indicates (a) the existence of substantial imports from southern Italy and, even more surprising, from the east during the 8<sup>th</sup> and perhaps part of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (b) these imports, widespread both in the lagoon of Venice and that of Comacchio, testify that these places were undoubtedly nodal points in the redistribution of merchandise, not only of local origin (c) to these places must have been added others, along the coast, as testified by the cases of Rimini, Cervia and Grado (d) their consumption, beyond the redistribution area, must have been socially selective, as shown by the cases of Rimini (a part of the aristocracy), Cervia (an ...) and perhaps Rescia (the monastery of an abbate) and Verona<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> In September 2006 a survey excavation was begun in front of the cathedral of Comacchio (by the Ca' Foscari University of Venice and the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Romagna). Although still underway, there is already a substantial presence of this kind of amphorae, mostly residual in late and post-medieval levels, confirming that the information obtained from the calculation of those from Villaggio San Francesco, and from various other finds in the town and surrounding areas, have indeed not been underestimated.

<sup>51</sup> C. Capelli in press; ; analisi mineralogiche in

<sup>52</sup> For Rimini see C. Degrelli; ; Rimini tra il ... secolo for Cervia see ... elichi  
 : . . : aioli ... .  
 : . L. Toppioni,

, Florence, 1996 for Rescia see ... .

Illogio (ed), ,

PNM PNM,

, Florence, 1999 for Verona see ... Calieri : anasse 1. I runo; ; dilizia abilitata a Verona, in ... rtalli e : ... einelmann (eds),

, Wiesbaden 200 , p. 7 .



Fig. . 2 istribution map of 8th-9th century amphorae in northern taly.

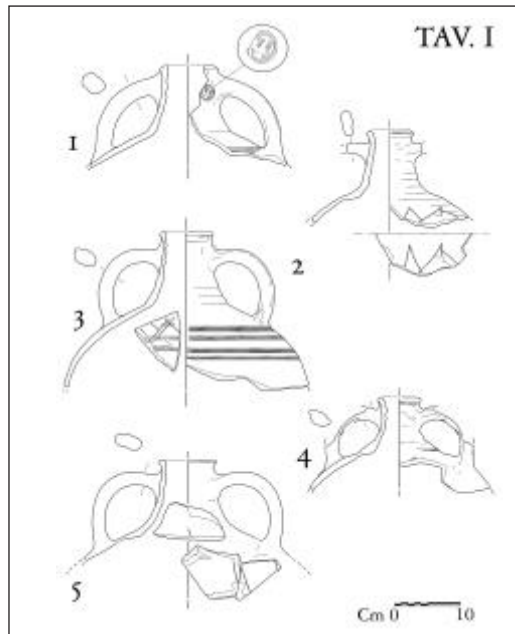


Fig. 5. mphorae of 8th-9th century from Comacchio.

The presence of amphorae in the *fovea* as containers from the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century not only increases our possibilities of interpreting the archaeological record of these centuries but constitutes even at this level an important element for evaluating the entity and ramifications of trade relations. It throws a new light upon the explicit reference in the ten sources of that time to the term *modius* which is expressly used as a term of measurement for example for wine / and of which an echo may be recognised again in the early medieval period and in a Venetian context in the use of the capacity measure *modius*.

Second aspect highlighted by Balzaretti to contest the fact that in the 8<sup>th</sup> century *emporia* were in evidence in this area is based once again on archaeological evidence. In fact it is possible to have some idea although not yet plentiful about some of these places.

The site which is once again most important in this respect remains Comacchio. In 1997 following the trenches for the creation of infrastructures (in the location of *Castellazzo* and *Santeramo* excavations were carried out of substantial remains in terms of quantity, distribution and characteristics of wooden structures on piles (fig. 6). Subsequent elaborations of this excavation unpublished up to now have been related to the colonies made in the nineteenth century (fig. 7) providing clear evidence of extensive infrastructures (including stages) and the use of the place as a port (figs. 8/9). Here we will pass over the commentary on single items of evidence and the reasons, also technical, that have led us to this interpretation. This site, dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of products found, combines rather well with the other material data more or less confirmed by excavations and findings relating to this settlement and allows us to propose an explanation of the development of the site less uncertain than that which has been given up till now.

The settlement must have had an institutional centre, a seat of religious authority, the bishop, at least from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century

5 . . . *modi* ; *alimentazione trasporti fiscalità* ; i *contenitori* *medievali* *di* *1981* p. 177.

5 . *titucci ggeri*; *castrum Cumiacchi*

55 . *elichi* *C. grelli* 2. *Calaone* . *ran* ; *Comacchio tra* *secolo 3* *territorio* *abitato e infrastrutture* *in* . *Santeramo* *di* . *alenti e* *di*

*Lorenzini* 2006 p. 11 2 .



Fig. 7. Comacchio palings found in alle nti by ni in the enties.

on) are perhaps also civil<sup>56</sup> which we may reasonably suppose to be found in the area where there still stand today although greatly changed the cathedral. It is surrounded by canals the town must have grown about the features of which we have little information at present/ fig. 10/. In the south-east and in the north-west there were two of the locations of monasteries Santa Maria in Ulaegia and Santa Maria in Ulaegia. To the west of the Santa Maria in Ulaegia there are to be found the port infrastructures we have mentioned in a connecting position between an artificial canal that of the Otta della Irata/ which uses to connect with the town on which there used to be the church of Santa Maria in Ulaegia to the south and a coastal lagoon therefore with the sea to the north where the salt works must also have been located. The organization of spaces the nature of the infrastructures and the site of the site cannot fail to remind us of the features of the most famous emporia of northern Europe fig. 11/ although with some obvious differences.

<sup>56</sup> We do not enter into the issue of the functions represented by the community and of the figures mentioned in the Capitulare among which a count of consuls and a count of consuls on which see . 5asoli; Digazione fluiale p. 58-58 /.

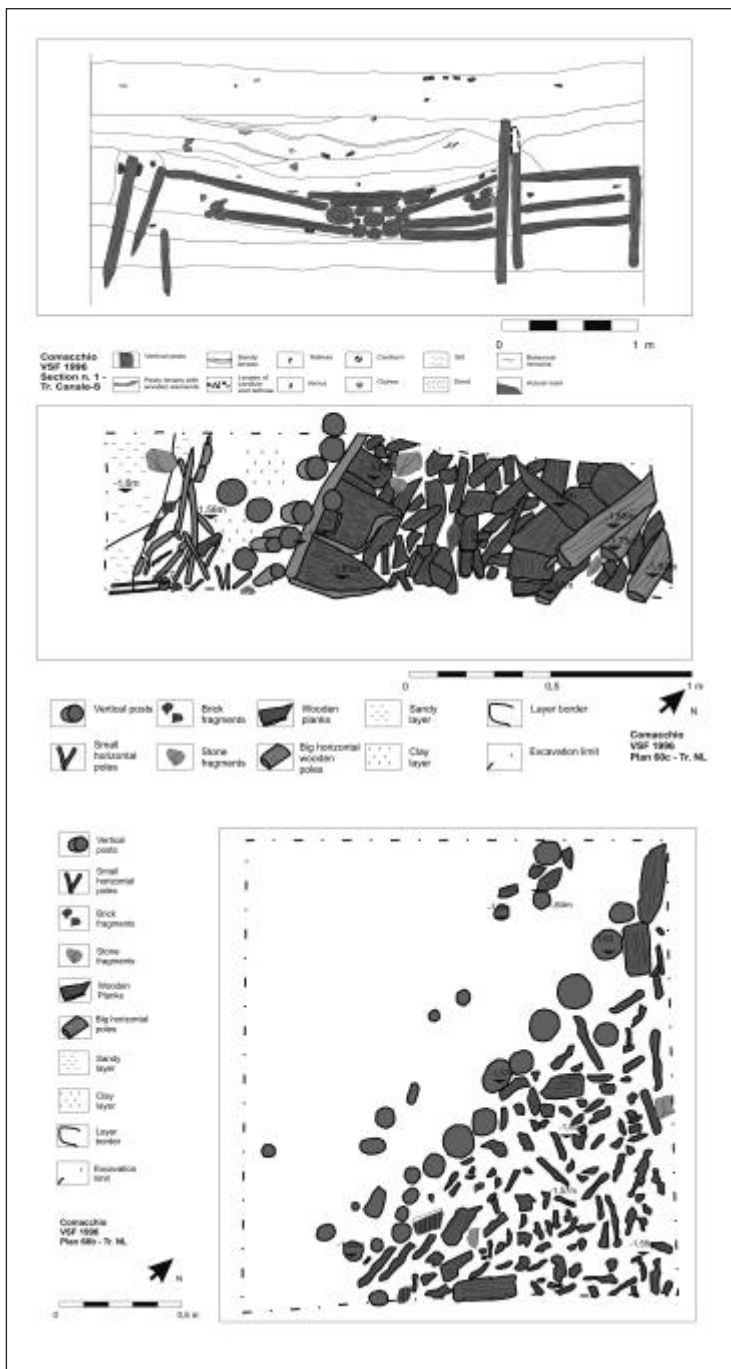


Fig. 8. Comacchio villaggio an 5rancesco. ns an sections of landing stages and aterfronts found in the e7cations of 1996.





fairly clear plan of how the inhabited areas were organised in a settlement of this kind is provided for us at present by the site of Cittanova (a place traditionally associated with the merchant eraclius but this is a late tradition/ to the north of the Venetian lagoon. In fact, as to recent studies<sup>57</sup>) which have re-evaluated the interesting records produced at the time of the archaeological research of the 1970s it can be clearly seen how this town also developed along a longitudinal axis in this case a large canal (at the end of which there) as a nucleus located on a natural rise the centres of religious and civil authorities. Long since this latter area there were portions of land (or here) canals) with wooden buildings and entrances also archaeologically excavated/ on the canal itself fig. 12/.

The organisation of Cittanova still reserved due to its having been one of the loser sites of the Venetian lagoon therefore provides us a remarkable (but not enough) with the picture of how this type of settlement must have been organised certainly not very different from that of primitive Venice.

As regards the general data concerning the extent of the settlement (while more specific information refers exclusively to the collocation of institutional residential areas at least the island church/monasteries and other churches/ fig. 1/).

As far as we can tell up to now therefore these settlements are characterised by the fact that they grew along a (latter) Cittanova/ or else) with in a lagoon area (orcello/ Lido/ Comacchio/9/ a certain regularity of land/ an area (the extent of the inhabited area/ a marked distinction between areas of an institutional nature residences of the (public authorities and other church groups and institutes/ generally inhabited areas Comacchio/ Cittanova/ orcello/ and production/artisan areas orcello/ or areas) with maritime infrastructures Comacchio/. Settlements of this kind to which other cases may be added, i.e. that of Ferrara<sup>59</sup> are

<sup>57</sup> 2. Calanò; Cittanova /3 analisi in . Franco: . Valenti e  
51 Lorence 2006.

<sup>58</sup> . Alatori e; ricerche archeologiche a Cittanova (raclia/ 1987-1988)  
1989 . 77-19 . Alatori; Cività o (racliana) risul  
tati nelle campagne 1987-1988 e rosetti generali in  
6/ Line 1990 . 299-299 . Alatori; Cittanova (raclia e il suo territorio) in  
1. Rogiolo . Castelletti e  
51 Lorence 1992 . 9-98.

<sup>59</sup> Ferrara is from this point of view quite an unusual case as the consistent number of archaeological investigations carried out in the city centre over the last twenty years has not yet taken at all the early medieval phases of the city. In this regard see some remarks in . Elichi; castelli antini ai confini



Fig. 11. Comacchio environmental reconstruction of the early medieval settlement (drawing by the author).

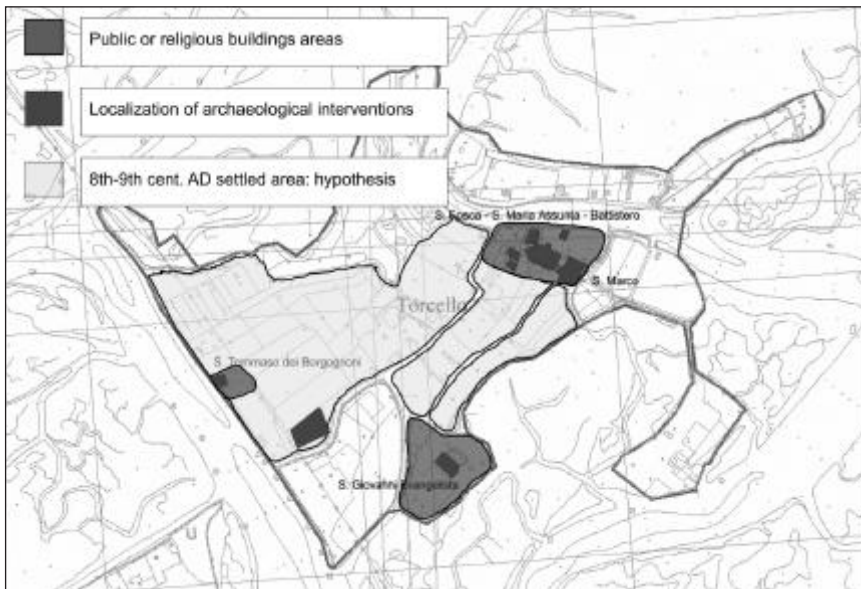


Fig. 12. Torcello hypothesis of the location of early medieval settlement areas.

Il-sa rcat35errara rgenta e Comacchio in . elichi . 1ro giolo  
 5lorenc 1998 . 9 62 .  
 elichi in re ss;5lo urishing ces in rth astern ta l an . i enti C.  
 grelli;e in gini archeologiche 1990 991. 2 ati e r la too grafia tar me  
 ale ll-area ur na in . 5ranco ch .: . alenti e  
 5lorenc 2006 . 109 1 .

has a little later than the one relating to the Venetian lagoon in the same way as those not yet completely investigated like the Venetian lagoon or not even clearly identified like the Venetian lagoon are unique settlements stems which are sent to find no convincing parallels in the rest of Italy.

Some of the most important (the Venetian lagoon) are also centres of production and artistic traditions.<sup>60</sup> There are also Venetian though the archaeological evidence is still rather scarce some signs that the Venetian lagoon in the Venetian lagoon exists.

The most important element remains that of the Venetian lagoon here during the Venetian lagoon of the early Venetian lagoon a structure for the Venetian lagoon of glass as found in fig. 1. The first association with the manufacturing industry of the Venetian lagoon church of Santa Maria della Salute and thus Venetian lagoon to the 7th century.<sup>61</sup> It has recently been Venetian lagoon to no earlier than the 9th century.<sup>62</sup> This chronological shift which finds a better explanation in a Venetian lagoon here not altogether by chance the Venetian lagoon the only place in the lagoon to be so) as defined as Venetian lagoon such artisan trades from the sense of immigration and permanence/immigration their close relation with the church) or, should you wish to avoid confusing this evidence in a summary manner as a careful analysis of the features of the archaeological uncertainty, even at the Venetian lagoon) should be clear) and Venetian lagoon has occasion to emphasise the reason) the Venetian lagoon traces of settlement and commercial and artisan trades have not yet emerged although there is some evidence of metal) or, in general,

artisan trades have not yet been found in Comacchio) with regard to the archaeology of this place) and have seen strong reservations are held although some interesting references exist which are) orthographically) in the Venetian lagoon.

Recently in the Venetian lagoon of the Venetian lagoon in the Venetian lagoon at levels of the 8th century) some fine) close forms) as found frequently) and Venetian lagoon) with common) and Venetian lagoon motifs on the Venetian lagoon) which are) close common

<sup>60</sup> . . . . .

<sup>61</sup> . . . . . PNK. . . . .  
a . . . . . ; e origini . . . . .  
Venetian lagoon Venice 1980) Venice 1981 . . . . .

<sup>62</sup> . . . . . in  
e . . . . . 87-98) 2000 and . . . . .  
origin of Venetian lagoon . . . . . 58.

<sup>6</sup> . . . . .

<sup>6</sup> C. . . . . secolo.

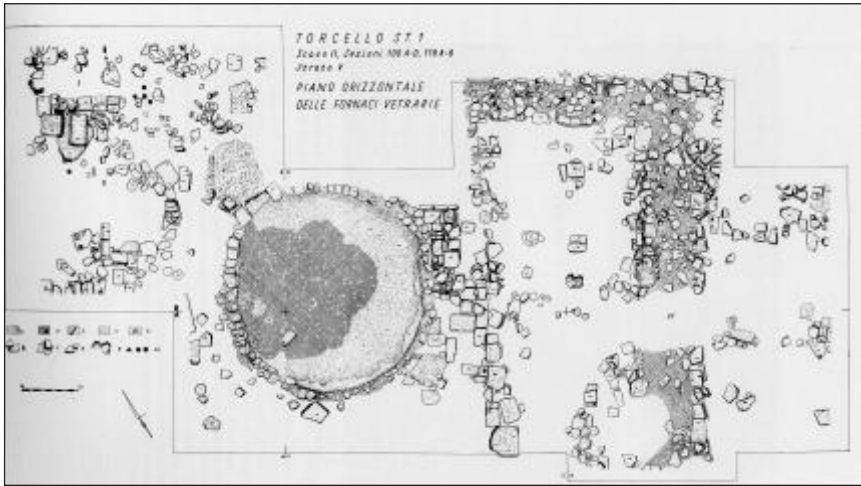


Fig. 1. Torcello glass factory (a. ecie) ic4 . a4 rB, a . a c4 rB, i  
1961 62/.

a rison ) ith similar r oic ts of the same e rio from the in  
ome an from stia an orto. he circumstances of i a44a Ferrari  
imini cease to isolate once the otter that ) as foun in  
Comacchio ) as more carefull anal se fig. 15 n. r2/ese ciall those  
from the e7caations of illaggio an 5rancesco an anta : aria in ula  
egia) hich moreer confirme them as ting c, to the 8th centu  
r 65. he minero trograhi c anal ses of the cla of some of these  
items foun in Comacchio seem to e7clu imo rtation from central tal  
) hich ha en at first thought/ hile the reinforce the o ssi lit that  
the centre or centres/ of r oic tion are to foun in this er area of  
the north iatic. enetian e7caation that of Ca- en amin  
Calergi/ u ishe recentl 66 has r oic e at the ol st lels te  
the author to the 7th an 8th centur items of this, i n 67 lea ing more  
than a susic ion that similar items are more freOuent in the lagoon than  
the archaeological literature no) aaila e that is u ishe ) oul lea

65 C. grelli in re ss2;

6

66 . 5o44ati e

enice 2005 .

67 . o e ceramiche lla rima fase me eale in . 5o44ati e

enice 2005

. 95 8 n. 5.

us to suppose. In the picture of otter production in northern Italy (, no) in a lot for some time<sup>68</sup> these items form a notable exception. It is premature to claim a) that the use of fine otter (table) are the only on the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the Veneto but these findings undoubtedly indicate at least the presence of social groups whose habits in terms of production and consumption were different from others in those areas.

A similar case may be put forward with regard to glazed otter. The complete glazed table decorated with a line in blue similar to the *Sorum 8* are of a definite make in northern Italy and dating back, between the last quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 15). In 19 also the partial glazed table recognised for some time in Romagna and art of milia ant- (erto t e-/<sup>69</sup> and no) indicate a record even in Venice<sup>70</sup> dating back, between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century (fig. 16).

The existence of these items – first the fine glazed otter – then the once-fired glazed otter – in the end of the exact location of the (, ilns) which is not set, no) but it does not seem to be a chance that their distribution is concentrated partly in the Veneto area and partly in the Venetian lagoon – testifies to technologies that were considered characteristic compared with the traditional pictures of otter production (, no) in northern Italy (between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century). (here) are interested not so much in highlighting the production and distribution circumstances – although extremely interesting – as in the fact that they seem in themselves to be the mark of artisan specialisations which may have found in these environments their natural collocation.

In 92 the king Pietro Canino sent an army against the people of Comacchio in response to an alleged grievance received<sup>71</sup>. The violence of the Venetians – at least in the account given by the sources – was so full as the attack not only the castrum – but also the

<sup>68</sup> . I rogiolo . elichi; a ceramica greca medievale nella pianura veneta in *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di storia dell'arte e dell'architettura* (Venezia) 198 . 29 .

<sup>69</sup> . elichi; 5. *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di storia dell'arte e dell'architettura* (Venezia) 198 . 29 .

<sup>70</sup> . *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di storia dell'arte e dell'architettura* (Venezia) 198 . 29 .

<sup>71</sup> . *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi di storia dell'arte e dell'architettura* (Venezia) 198 . 29 .

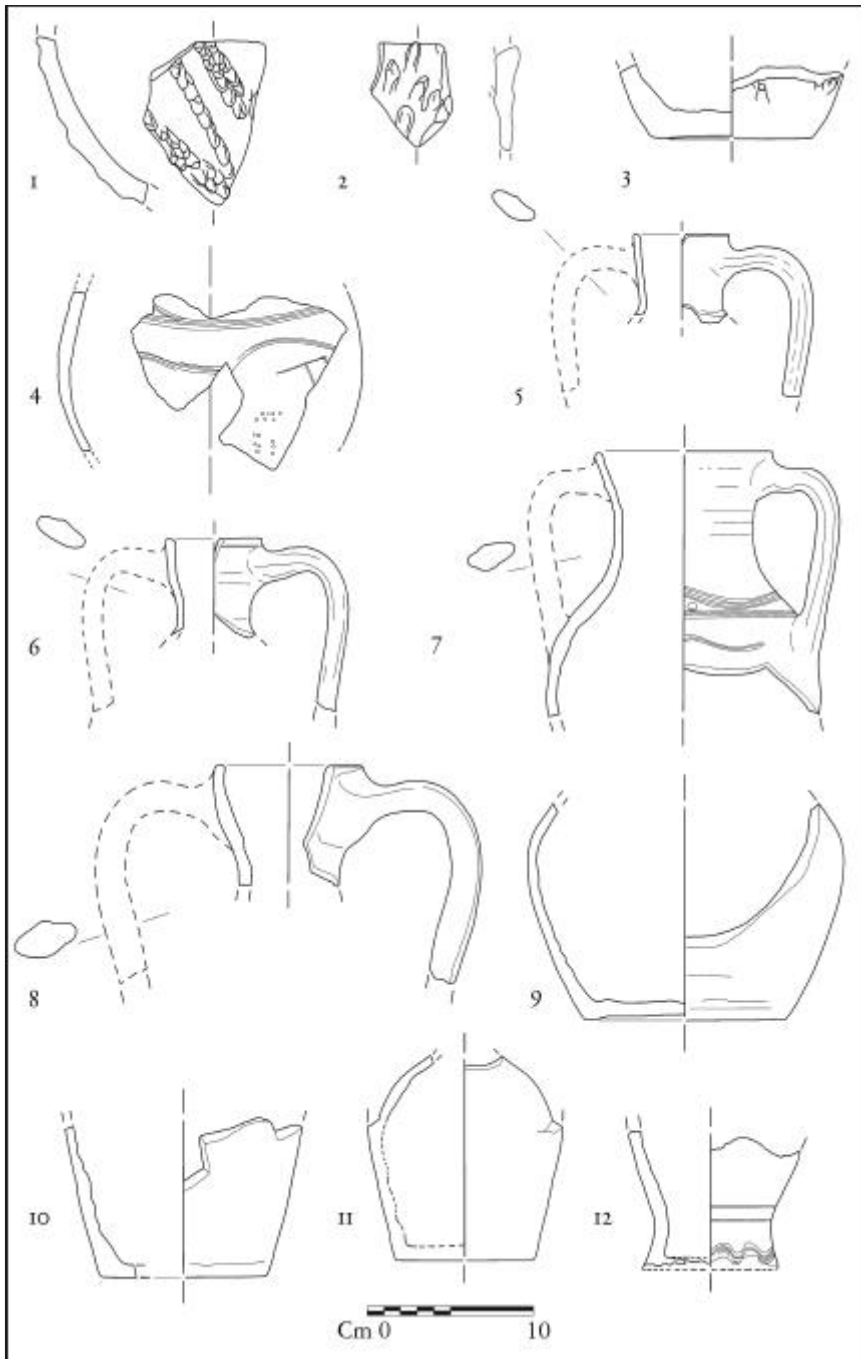


Fig. 15. Comacchio. a) rli me~~re~~ al fine o tter an~~ce~~re ~~re~~ gla~~te~~ o tter ) ith alie ~~re~~ lo~~re~~enge ~~re~~ coration.

inhabitants (723) who were ordered to Venice. His military action then seems to have been of a decisive nature, in fact from that moment on nothing remains of the flourishing emporium but faint traces in written records all crying a tragic local historical situation.

He incurred into another destruction of Comacchio in 923) a not the first that the settlement had had to suffer although the outcome appears to have been the most extreme. Finally he is to be mentioned that Giovanni the 2nd (ca. 975) but earlier it appears that the settlement had been damaged when it was attacked by the Saracens) who had tried to conquer it. It was not successful in this case to the general commanding a fleet against them they fell back, on Comacchio and, as a result. Furthermore in 887 (the town) a successful to an initial period from the Venetian) who had taken a part of the capture of the Comacchians of the general other Giovanni) who had been to him) a to come to the end of the more over to reveal that the Comacchians had been laid under Venetian jurisdiction.<sup>72</sup>

In fact the fate of Comacchio had been sealed for some time. In the year 800 Venetian reinforcement overtook) a already a nation) it is the norm that had been fixed) with Comacchio retaining formal authority.<sup>73</sup> In earlier times (12th century) the evidence of the Venetian found them elsewhere at least in a religious institution) with regard to the Carolingian, indeed after Charlemagne) a) who had tried in vain to take over the lagoon.<sup>77</sup> The treatise of

<sup>72</sup> Giovanni the 2nd ca. 975) 3) in Comaceni in ule homini uo) in Venetico temere comrehent) et sic) uero tanti) cori iniuriam non ferent) mio illuc) exercitio) rum ca) trum igne combit) uo) mOue illorum intericien) reli) uo) utriu) ue) e) 7) u) a) eneciam) 7) it)

<sup>73</sup> In) tinu) rece) nte) a) ur) Cumacene) m) illam) o) ula) ti) unt). he) a) me) io) i) alo) narrate) n) a) l) ergamo) c. 17) ho) o) int) out) that) it) ha) e) ne) in) Jul) 875) a) ut) one) month) fore) the) ath) of) u) i) co).

n) a) i) alo) more) re) cie) in) in) ating) the) mage) ne) to) the) to) n) in) men) e) iuli) arracini) uenerunt) et) ci) tate) Cummaclo) igne) crema) erunt).

<sup>74</sup> Giovanni the 2nd, 12th) i) more) over) the) fir) t) time) that) he) mention) Comacchio) 9) e) alo). Cei) c. 286) 287.

<sup>75</sup> . u) 4) atto);- economia) Venetiana) nei) uo) i) rao) rti) con) la) o) litica) nell) alto) memo) e) o) in) . l) ranca) e) P

5) lorence) 1979 . 98) 99.

<sup>76</sup> C. 44) ara) .

<sup>77</sup> . o) e) . 62.



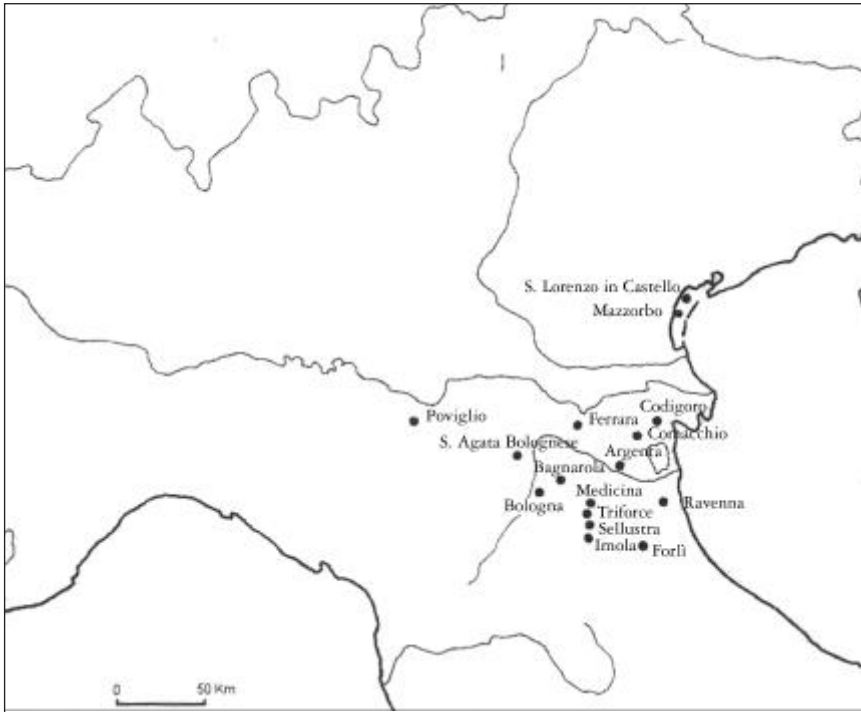


Fig. 16. 2 itinerario n ma of . lto t e - gla4e o tter  
fr om . elichi5. rra;a taola an erar

Ouigra na ha moreoer finitiel anctione the riatric a r i illege a a ge in relation ) ith the at an ha i ntifie enice a the no l int of thi relation hi.

he archaeological eence of the decline of Comacchio, i, e that of the ri e of eniceal oegin although of the o oite nature to loo, intere ting.

8 ith regard to Comacchio the lac, of tratigra hic e7caation ) ith a fe) recent e7ce tion that ) e ha e mentione/ ro i e eence that i er cattere an circum tantial in time if not altogether eoi of ignif icant mar,er . he e7caation of illaggio an 5rance co alrea men tione/ recor for e7am lelel that do not eem to e e on the en of the 8<sup>th</sup> centur . t i true that the an oning of the e ort an ) elling ma ha e een due to non traumatic factor not em ha i e ) archaeolo gi t ) ho) e er/9 but it i al o true that ) hate er the rea on the e large infra tructure do not eem to ha e een u e an more after the 8<sup>th</sup> or at mo t the fir t half of the 9<sup>th</sup> centur in a remar, ale coince ) ith ) hat the ) ritten recor tell u concerning more or le li, el incur ion into the



: oreoerthe to ogra h of the rimiti earl meieal to) nthat ) hich ) oul deelo aroun i balto till remain uncertaina al o lo it con fine an thu it e7tent o much o thate en recentl there ha e een no lac, of original e7 lanation regar ing the o iilit that another an not the ran Canal) a the main ) ater) a along ) hich the to) n ) oul deelo /<sup>87</sup>. ome cholar ha e imagine that the church of t. : ar, ) hich ) a quilt in the fir t Quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> centur i actual re er e ) ith in the Contarini eifice<sup>88</sup> ho) ing ho) in thi ca e the church foun e in the erio of Marteci a4io ) oul ha e een a quil ing of con iera le i4e for it time. : cCormic, to reinforce thi u en, lin, the u tan tial increa e of church quil ing foun e during the 9<sup>th</sup> centur to the gro) th of the o ulation<sup>89</sup>. lthough am con ince of the releance of uch an a ociation mu t ho) e er a that thi information i a e on ) ritten recor of u iou relia iilit an on an eouall deata le ela ora tion of them<sup>90</sup>at re ent de oi of archaeological verification fig. 17/.

he onl a e ct therefore) hich concern material ource a e to r o ) u ) ith a ufficientl clear i ctur of the enetian economic itua tion at the clo e of the 9<sup>th</sup> centur remain the numiatic e i nce alrea anal e ) a c4 r,i ) ith regar to orcello<sup>91</sup> an recentl re ue ) : cCormic, ) ith more attention to tail<sup>92</sup>. hi i e i nce e on the anal i of th circulating currenc an a e all the re e nce of hoar inclu ng ra coin /.

Chri Sic ,ha m ha recentl returne to anal ing the ituation r ing the 8<sup>th</sup> centur in ariou area of the : e terranean<sup>9</sup>. he e i nce of thi erio ta,e n u again in hi recent oo,

<sup>9</sup> i moreoer the i ffu ion of merchan e e rcet i e to the

<sup>87</sup> . mmerman the moir of the merican ca m in ome 8 200 . II 58.

<sup>88</sup> 8 arren; he fir t church of . : arco in enice GG 1990 . 27 59 an 8 arren; in . olacco e enice 1997 . 18 200 .

<sup>89</sup> . :c Cormic, Ch. 18.1. <sup>90</sup> 8. 2 origo , , :ila no 198 .

<sup>91</sup> n . ecie ic4 . a ac4 r, a . a ac4 r, i PNK . 271 285.

<sup>92</sup> . :c Cormic, . 529.

<sup>9</sup> C. Sic ,ha m; er ie) .

<sup>9</sup> C. Sic ,ha m .

archaeological recor an ) hich houl con titute the iagno tic ele ment for ealuating the en e the entit an the role of tra e in that erio<sup>95</sup> that i an ea tern t e / an am horae. heir i a earance certain in one ca e / out a ) e ha e een not at all con firme in the other am horae/ ) oul ignal a icall the lo of the e relation hi of a mar, e regional ier it an la tl a locali ation of economic an tra ing relation hi . hi ) oul ha e ha ene at the ame time in iariou region of the ) e tern : e iterranean an more ecificall in both outhern France an northern tal . he e ience from the Comacchio Ca itolare thi time a ) ritten ource/ i ummar il inter rete a e ing e7clu iel concerne ) ith the tra ing of alt a alua le commo it out of local ro uction/<sup>96</sup> an not a the ti of an ice erg that hi e relation hi of far greater im lication an e7tent.

entiall the 8<sup>th</sup> centur in articular that of tal iuring the om ar reign i een a a long erio of tagnation an although oci et in the o alle cannot e ai to ha e een un er e elo e<sup>97</sup> it economic function ) oul ha e een im lifie enough to e lace out i e ) hat ) e ma e fine a a tem.

am not at all con ince thi interr etation. rchaeological e i nce that i ue to e7l ain certain a e ct of ociet in a te nti0uit the re e nce or a e nce of for e7aml e/ e not nece aril offer the a me a rameter for interr eting earl me i e al ociet . he a e nce of alrea e r infre0uent in the alle i r ing a te nti0uit a Sic ,ha m him elf e not fail to o int out<sup>98</sup> ma in tea e correctl un rto o a a ign of the ae arance of a rticular i r ea e ha ioural norm in th foo u age an ) a of eating. t the ame time in iariou form an a e all in iariou i4e fine o tter fir t un gla4e then gla4e are in an ca e recor in the e area in the 8<sup>th</sup> an 9<sup>th</sup> cen tur . he olume an entit of the merchan i e that circulate in the alle along the main route of the o it elf ) hich ro i e a i direct lin, to the ca ital of the , ing om/ are till un ere timate out the refining of our a iilit to ercei e the archaeological en or e.g. the am horae/ i ho ing that it a ear to e of a i different, in. o not , no ) therefore ) hat e7tent earl me i e al ociet ha e come un o hi ticate out am cer tain that our ) a of anal ing material ource i till un o hi ticate.

<sup>95</sup> C. Sic ,ha m; e r i e ) . 59 .

<sup>96</sup> . 59 .

<sup>97</sup> e re refer to . lal4aretti; Citie mo ria an :o nate rie . 228.

<sup>98</sup> C. Sic ,ha m; e r i e ) . 59 .

he information) which seem the most important to me that represent not only the quantity but also the extent, the nature and the feature of the settlement that developed in a region of land lying between the Venetian lagoon and Ferrara. In the case here there has been a transition in research into material sources there has been no lack of results. That is, in some of the places, not only the extent in hectares of potential occurrence of the settlement is equal to, if not greater than, the amount of northern Europe / fig. 18. But also the importance of infrastructure, the investment in the creation of real harbours and facilities or in the opening of artificial canals. Even the fact that the material basis of the settlement came from the sea (or here characteristic of a complete society) which little is known or criticized in written records, lies in a further aspect that confirms not only the vitality but also the growth, no less the social and economic function that the places were exercising.

Moreover, it is interesting to see here that following the peace of 680, a Hartmann has already underlined in his time<sup>99</sup> and more recently Paolo Delogu<sup>100</sup> there is a change of political climate that makes evident the social and economic structure he has outlined. Even the numismatic evidence<sup>101</sup> which connects the series of the Carolingian era with the simultaneous ones in the various regions, political and economic, in which it was fragmented, shows the continuity of long series of coins, which connect the end of the 7th century with the beginning of the simultaneous appearance in the various political and economic regions into which Italy was divided after the Lombard conquest of the coinage cannot be considered of little significance. Furthermore, with regard to coins, one must not forget the existence of a small fraction of the eighth century minted in Italy at least from the second half of the 7th century onwards, which seem to have been in circulation for quite some time at least until the first decade of the 8th century /<sup>102</sup>. These coins found ever more frequently in archae-

<sup>99</sup> . . . Hartmann

<sup>100</sup> Delogu, a fine moneta antico e l'incisione delle monete in terra e in bronzo. *Be*

Firenze 1992, Firenze 199 . . . 20.

<sup>101</sup> . . . 19.

<sup>102</sup> . . . rila nelle monete in Ueno a Camione e in Italia in . . . a . . . C. . . occa e . . .

ological ite <sup>10</sup> confirm not onl the t) o metal form of gol an iler in circulation in o m r tal t al o eem to confirm the nee for coinage to ma,e maller tran action <sup>10</sup> .

o full unler tan thi economic ituation letter clarification i nee e of the nature an eegree of ) ealth of the ari tocrac in om ar ociet <sup>105</sup>. n e en entl of it com ari on ) ith the 5ran, i h social orer <sup>106</sup> an anal i of ) ritten ource eem to e cri e the e7i tence ) ithin the om ar Bite of grou ) ith a hierarch in term of economic re ource <sup>107</sup> ome of ) hich not at the highe t leel of the cale/ centre their ) ealth on a rather mo e t regional a e ) hile the o e e trong lioui a et an ) ere engage in economic affair ) ithin a relati el ) i e area <sup>108</sup> it i not unli, e l that the e figure re re ent the mentione in legal recor of

<sup>10</sup> . . rla n 5. Serretti : :uria l e ; ree rti numi matici greci romani e i antini in . :a nnoni : :uria l e

lonthe ra <sup>2001</sup> . 2 28 e 29 25 9. . rla n . lonora 5. Serretti; Co ni ra 4ioni ulla circola 4ione monetale ro to antina a . ntonino in . :a nnoni : :uria l e , , . 717 7189 . oelli ;a moneta ll-ta lia o m r 3ae rti e ro mi in rce 2 elogu e e e / e minar a e r ome <sup>1997</sup> ome <sup>2001</sup> . 57 70 9. . rla n . gge ; itro amenti lla i e e an io anni : e ia no / in . elichi e

, a 2005 . 5 . <sup>10</sup> . oelli ;c onomia monetaria e monete nel ie r Cam ione in . aa rri C. a occa e , . 120.

<sup>105</sup> e gan g the concet of ari tocrac or ruling cla in the o m r ge an the fic ult in attri ti ng it o r fining it/ correctl ee the ar or iate remar, in . aa rri ;e rcanti o o e o ri l o filo un ceto minante in et tran i 4ione in . aa rri C. a occa e , . 157 159.

<sup>106</sup> he Que tion of the minor ) ealth of the om ar Bite com are to the 5ran, i h Bite ha een conncingl rai e 8 ic, ham in C. 8 ic, ham ; ri tocratic o) er in ighth Centur om ar tal in . C. : urra e

oronto 1 uffalo on on <sup>1998</sup> . 15 70 an again in C. 8 ic, ham / an artl conte te a arri in . a arri ; :ercanti o o e ori <sup>161</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> ee the intere ting collection of a er relating to the famil of otone a Cam ione that e cri e a grou that elong to the iccola ari tocrac cio Val gru o ei iccoli ro rietari fon iari che arri ano a formare una ro ria i entit i Bite locali ro rio nel erio Oui con ierato minor ari tocrac or grou of mall lan o) ner that ha their o) n i entit a local Bite in the er erio unler con ieration here that i the 8<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> centur / . a arri C. a occa ; ntro u 4ione a un o ier o documentario altome e ale in . a arri C. a occa e / , . 9/.

<sup>108</sup> . aa rri ;e rcanti o o e o ri l

about the same period. The reference (although) is not, no) iffu e  
 but certain not irrelevant of the e, in of eo lelea in the direction of  
 a confirmation of the existence of an organized and complete) or, of economic  
 relations which affected various social groups together) with  
 of the church and monastic authorities.

From this point of view) more over the substantial increase in  
 monastic both urban and rural) right in this period<sup>109</sup> is not a  
 to be a coincidence nor is the fact that most of the monasteries were  
 built for royal command. Some of them) e, no) from records have their  
 terminal such as an altar in the church) which in the Carolingian ge-  
 ) a emblem from custom) in that) that) a  
 mentioned) a luc, ) out) have it) in the) Ca) itolare. ) o) o)  
 ) out) when that the monasteries were also linked to local planning  
 on the one hand) and to the region of a social or political nature control  
 of the region) on the other) but their economic function must not be  
 limited) or underestimated) their role as a connection) a centre of agri-  
 cultural production) able therefore to obtain surplus<sup>110</sup>) with the tra-  
 ding enterprises in later period) e, no) that the institutions have) are  
 however in the total or else controlled) or) in the case of) onantola/<sup>111</sup>.

Thus, that the Italian Cai) tolare) miraculously) are) for otherit )  
 in an exceptional document<sup>112</sup> in its uniqueness) not) cause it) cri-  
 an exceptional or abnormal situation. Similar) ma) the) ta, e) n) of the  
 role of the Venetian lagoon and its surrounding area) which) not)  
 chance) in this period) ho) more than one similarit) with) hat) i) ha-  
 e) ning to the south of the) e) tuar) Comacchio/. hi) in) e) n) ntl  
 of) hether one) i) he) to highlight or not) in economic and) tra-  
 ng) term) the reference contained) in the) of 80) to the

<sup>11</sup> or) hether one) i) he) to underline the importance of circum-  
 stance) again) mar, e) ) the) ritten) source) that often see the evolution of

<sup>109</sup> . Cantino 8a taghin) :o) nate ri) de) t) o) m) r) 3) unti) e) r) una) ricerca) n  
 ) a) enna) 1989) .) 8) .

<sup>110</sup> . erhult) ) Cam) ge) 2002) .) 99) 100) .

<sup>111</sup> acine) ) acine) ;) ) teri) me) ) ali) e) e) r) cori) flu) xiali) nell- ta) lia) a) ) na)  
 ) 6) 1) 1986) .) 9) 2) .) 12) /) ugge) t) the) e) ite) n) ce) of) t) o) le) el) of  
 e) change) 3) one) international) manage) ) the) ,) ing) and) the) Comacchie) i) ) hich)  
 ) out) ha) e) controlle) the) traffic) ) with) the) 1) ) antine) a) t) and) another) regional)  
 manage) un) r) the) ,) ing- ) na) tion) ) the) church) authorities) .

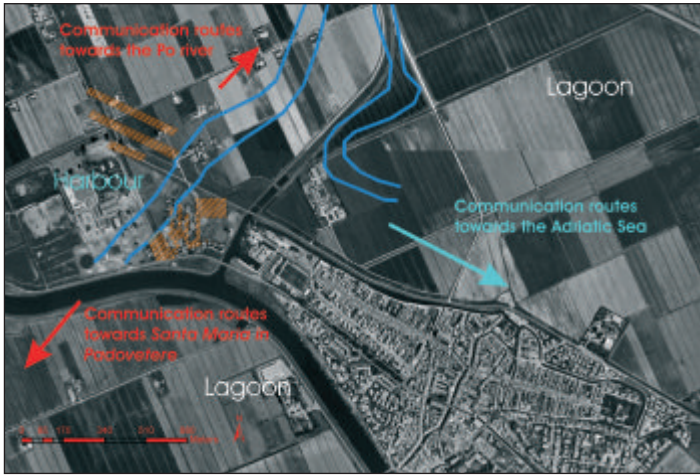
<sup>112</sup> . la) 1) aretti) ;) Citie) ) mo) ria) and) :o) nate) rie) .) 22) .

<sup>11</sup> . aa) rri) ;) ene) ) fra) i) e) coli) e) G) .) na) rifleio) ne) ulle) fonti) in  
 ) enice) 1992) .) 8) .

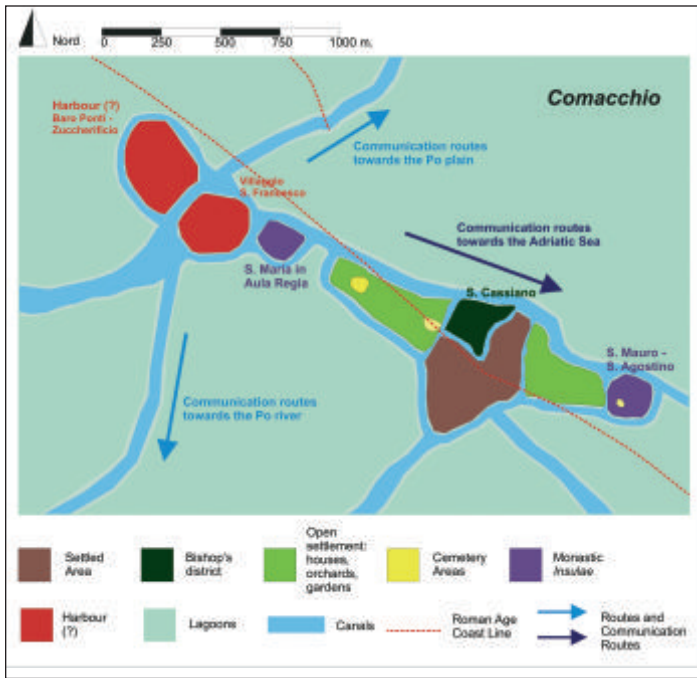




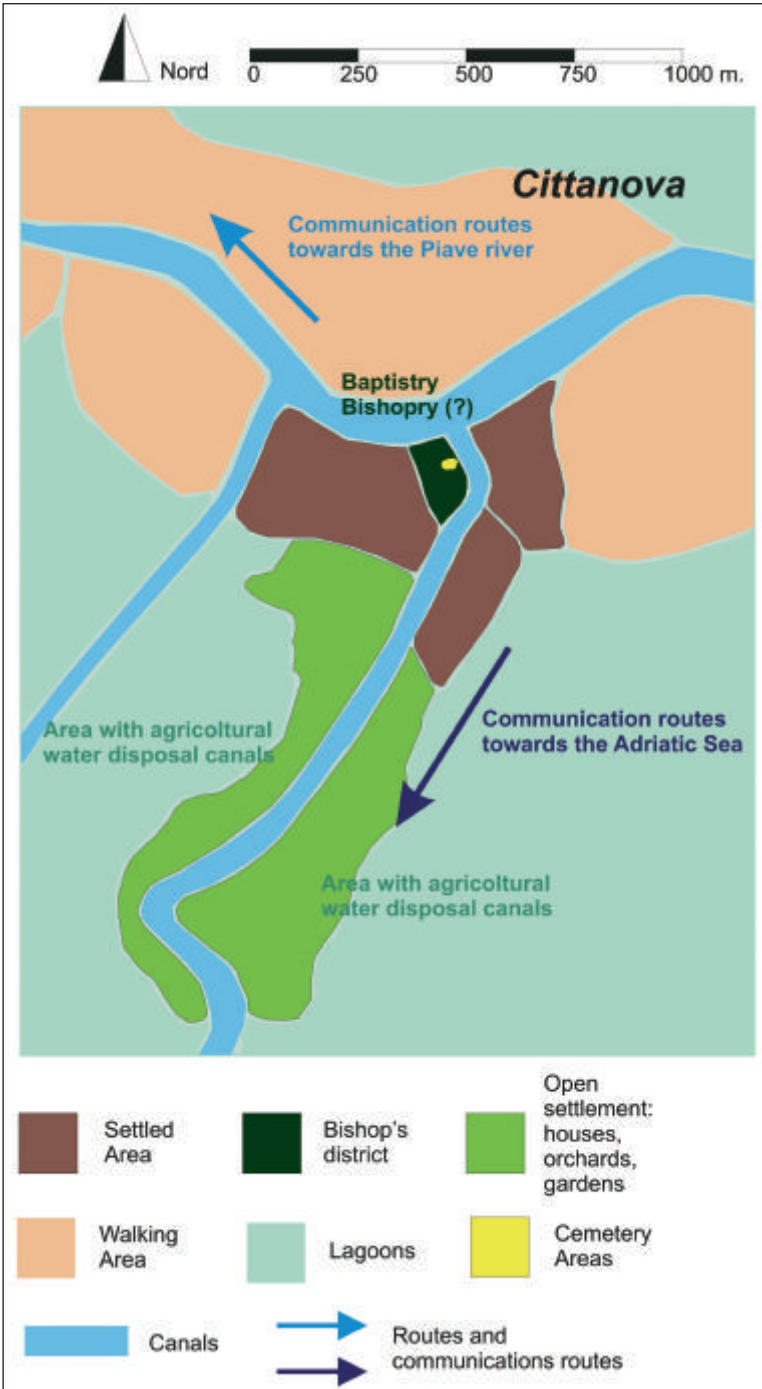


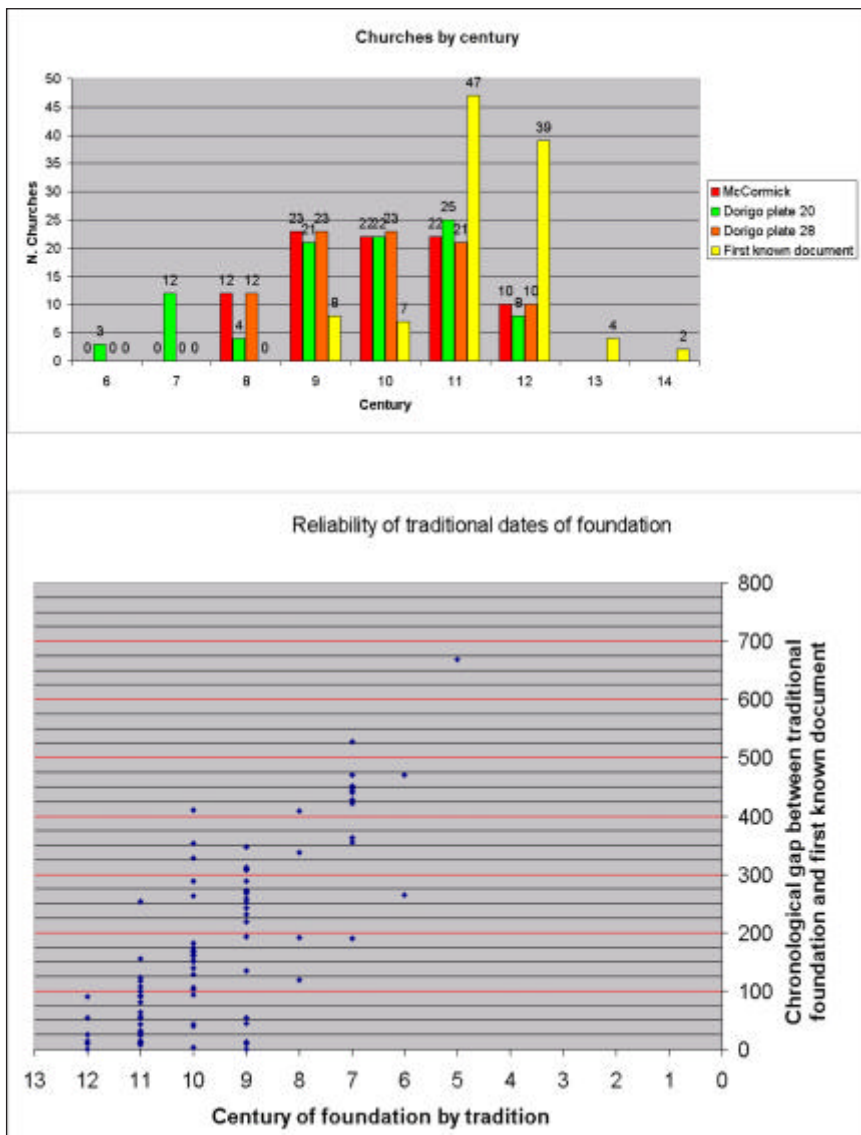


Si 6 o a cchio area o illaio a 5rac ec o3o i io o he i i he re ue earl e al o r area i relai o o he ) ae r) a

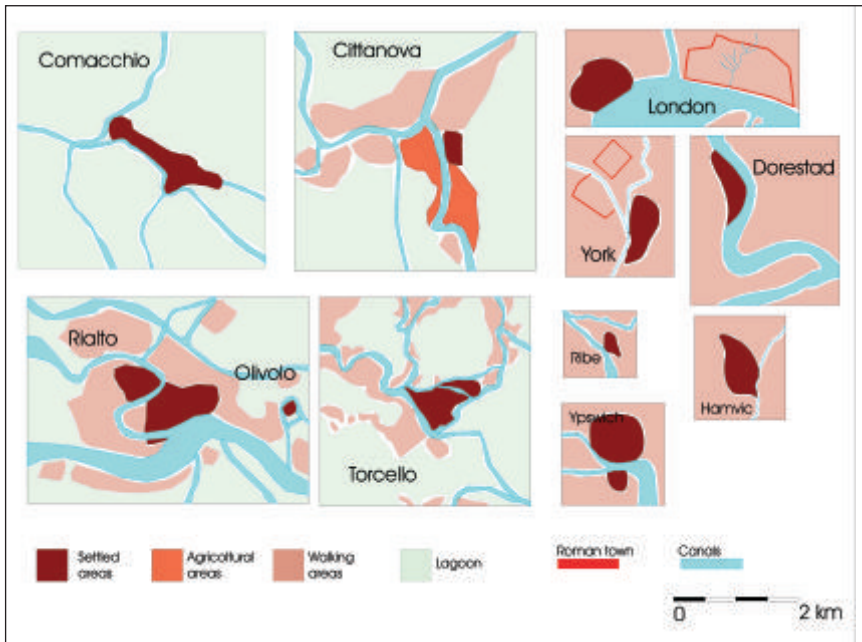


Si 10 o a cchio recoruc io o earl e ie al e le e i i o i relai o he ) ae r) a





Si 17 llura io relai o he o u io o churche o eic e ri he earl e al ae



5i r8 𐌹 rh a𐌹 ouh3 e o ria co a re𐌹