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 1973, near the beginning of his book *Venice. A Maritime Republic*¹, 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)². 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 8th to 9th century, a highly dynamic one. This was one of the most vibrant areas of northern Italy (if not of the whole peninsular), 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-


ously met with minor interest. 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). 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.

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 7th 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 8ickham, that the 7th century was, on an economic level, by no means a period of stagnation.

Ten years ago  oss Balaretti published an article dedicated to a re-examination of the role of the economy in the Po valley between 6QQ and 6QQ. Balaretti disagreed with a number of Italian researchers who, in a more or less categorical manner, had stressed the role of revived towns during the 7th century in relation to a river-based exchange network, 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. Balaretti poses two main
questions whether the urban life 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 15th 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 a cellular units of towns and cities, which operated individually, rarely connected with one another so that therefore it was not possible to make out a more general picture of the control, management and exchange of goods in these areas.

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 Capitolare (an agreement between the people of Comacchio and the Lombards, dating to AD 967) 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-

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8 C. Sic in, Problems of comparing rural societies in early medieval western Europe, , in , N6p. 666.
9 B. Balaretti, Cities, Emporia and Monasteries, p. 66.
10 In general L. P. Brogiolo – E. elichi, , Bari-ROME, NNM.
11 Regarding the archaeology of early medieval monasteries in northern Italy see .
Cantino S. ataghin, Archaeologia dei monasteri. L’altomedioevo, in E. elichi (ed),
, Pisa, NNN, p. 6166.6 and E. elichi in press.
, E onantola and the Archaeology of Early Monasteries in North Italy, in .
Buko – S. 2 ucko (eds), , 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 centralisation 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 generalisations.

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 Fust a few, but important, examples. The large excavation of the former courthouse of Verona, published in sequence, has remained unpublished as far as materials are concerned. The archaeology of towns like Piacenza and Parma (both mentioned in the Liutprand Capitolare) which are taken by Balāretti as negative evidence, 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, is lacking. Finally, the archaeology of Pavia has not been, up to now and despite some important excavations, worthy of the role and function of this city.

Vertheless, 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.

Balāretti, 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 emporia)
rium) as a place where goods were redistributed, including those of an international kind. 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 2nd, while we find it in that of Costantino Porfirogenito). 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 2nd again, perplexed as to how to define Comacchio or other places of the Venetian lagoon, with the exception of Venice.

Although the discussion concerning the emporia is still going on, 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) their extent and the construction...
materials that are representative of them lastly, the fact that they were also production centres. Of 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 Capitolare 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 1th century, 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 Or, have attempted to back-date the period to the years between 60 and 6 in view of the fact that the document refers to usage already in existence, the document is currently, and I would say correctly, attributed to the reign of Liutprand (or to the year 715 or 70 because these were the years of the 1th Indiction).

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26 p. 7 - 65.
27 M. Balaretti, ;Citie s, Emporia and nasteries; p. 219-22. This famous document was first discussed, in great detail, by Hartmann in L.: Hartmann, otha, 196 later dealt with at great length by, amongst others, P. Bognetti, ;La navigazione padana e il sopravvivere della c. antica; series IG, LGGGIG, II, 196 p. 5-16, and A. Sasoli, ;La navigazione fluviale.
29 A. 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 72, is authentic, it is very likely that the chapter is of 715 rather than 70 (as seems to be implied, although not explicitly, by A. Patitucci :aggeri, ;Il castre Cumiacil’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 8th century, despite the efforts of Bellini (L. Bellini, Serrara, 19679 see A. Tramariti, ;i edievalia ed altri studi, , series III, IG, 1970 p. 7-96).
An indication of the goods transported (at least some of them) comes to us from their being mentioned as tithes which the merchants were obliged to pay at almost all ports of call (fig. 2). Salt is obviously the product most frequently mentioned, but there are also oil and pepper. Of course payments in money are also mentioned. Some of these goods that were taken as tolls, and which therefore means that the people of Comacchio could make them available, as the Venetians were also to do, were not produced locally, despite the efforts of some scholars to prove the opposite. Oil, destined mainly for the church, was not local production because it seems quite ridiculous to suppose, as some have done, that it was produced in the olive groves that are recorded in Homagna. The spices were certainly not local production and nor, perhaps, was even the, a fish sauce that was still appreciated during the western early medieval period and which should not be confused, as it has been, with marinated fish, even today a spe-

6 This because the Comacchiesi had to produce it and also because, as underlined by O. Montanari, it must have been of great economic value for the Lombard king, and not only for him: O. Montanari, Il capitolare di Liutprando note di storia dell’economia e dell’alimentazione in Comacchio 198, Bologna, p. 68.

1 See, for example, the tribute in pepper and cinnamon paid by these to the monastery of Bobbio in the 9th century. Castagnetti, L. Benzoni Pasquali and E. Vesina (a cura di), Roma 1979, p. 18.


7 See L. Bellini, pp. 100-101.
Fig. 2. Distribution map of ports used by the Comacchiesi, according to the Liutprand Capitolare.

Fig. Table of goods traded by the Comacchiesi (cloths, fabrics, wine are not expressly mentioned in the Capitolare).
ciality of Comacchio\textsuperscript{8}. It is also possible that the ships from Comacchio traded other products from the 5th-7th century, not expressly mentioned in the Capitolare, such as cloth and highly valued fabrics.

1 ut 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\textsuperscript{9}, as could spices, barrels could be used for fish in brine, skins and fabrics could travel in rolls and chests, amphorae could preferably be used for oil, and also for wine. Most of these products, therefore, could escape from archaeological evidence and it is not enough to monitor, as has been suggested\textsuperscript{1}, 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 Venetian area and it also seems clear that its capillary diffusion, reaching its peak between the 8th and 10th century\textsuperscript{2}, must be associated with a renewed vitality and efficiency of the waterway connections (which made the port 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 7th century. Going beyond this chrono-
logical barrier (which also removes from isolation the regions of the 
aparly 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 find
ings 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 
8th and 9th century in Italy and, with regard to our present subject, in northern 
Italy. This revision has thus enabled us to recognise these amphorae in 
imini, Venetia, and, on a smaller scale or sometimes uncertain, in 
Rado, Cerignola, and perhaps in Aosta (fig. ).

C. Negrelli, 'Cimini tra E e X secolo: topografia e cultura materiale', in . 
Vugenti (ed), , Aosta 2008
February 200 , p. 219-221.

\text{\footnotesize 5} Amphorae of this kind are illustrated in the volume concerning the excavations of 
Torcello (L. Leciejewicz, Tabaczyńska, Tabaczyński, \textit{PNKQ}, Rome, 1977), but the date of their recognition is much more recent. The first indications are from 
\text{\footnotesize 6}: drzewiska, \textit{Importazioni tra E e X secolo d. C. nella Laguna di Venetia. Problemi da risolvere}, 
Venice, 1996 p. 256, and \text{\footnotesize 7} : drzewiska, \textit{1 i antyczne amfor (wydobyte) 4 laguny weneckiej}, in 
, 8 Arsaw, 1998 p. 267-271 subsequently, also thanks to 
new excavations in the lagoon, the number of official recognitions has increased considerably.

\text{\footnotesize 8} Tonoilo, \textit{Importazioni tra E e X secolo d. C. nella Laguna di Venetia}, 
Venice, 2005 p. 90 93. Tonoilo in press, 
\textit{Importazioni dell’area lagunare}, in . delichi \& C. Negrelli (eds),

\text{\footnotesize 9} Tonoilo in press, \textit{Cinema sin: arco. \textit{Le anfore}}, in 
Venice, 200 .

\text{\footnotesize 1} \text{\footnotesize 1}runo in press, \textit{Ceramiche da alcuni contesti tardoantichi e altomedievali di 
Eronea}, in . delichi \& C. Negrelli (eds),

\text{\footnotesize 2} \text{\footnotesize 1}lae, \textit{Ceramiche romane e medievali e pietra ollare dagli scafi nella Torre 
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.

Secondly, the organisation into type of these remains, further confirmed by suitable mineral-petrographic analysis, which indicates a great variety of origin, some from southern Italy, others from the Aegean and the lacus Ausa. 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 (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 lagoon. Moreover, their presence indicates: a) the existence of substantial imports from southern Italy and, even more surprising, from the east during the 8th and perhaps part of the 9th 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 to these places must have been added others, along the coast, as testified by the cases of Rimini, Ceria and Rado; c) their consumption, beyond the redistribution area, must have been socially selective, as shown by the cases of Rimini (a property of the aristocracy), Ceria (an... and perhaps 1 rescia (the monastery of San Filippo) and Vicenza.

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90 In September 2006 a survey excavation was begun in front of the cathedral of Comacchio (by the Ca' Foscari University of Venice and the Superintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia-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, has indeed not been overestimated.

91 C. Capelli in press, Analisi mineralogiche in...
Fig. 2. Distribution map of 8th-9th century amphorae in northern Italy.

Fig. 5. Amphorae of 8th-9th century from Comacchio.
The presence of amphorae in the 8th and 9th centuries not only increases our possibilities of interpreting the archaeological record of these centuries but constitutes an important element for evaluating the entity and ramifications of trade relations. Stylized through sources of that time to the term hich is e7pressly use as a term of measurement for e7ample for ine an of hich an echo may be recognize again in the early medieval period an in a Venetian context in the use of the capacity measure.

The second aspect highlighted by Maffeis to contest the fact that in the 8th century emporia in in the 7th in this area is based once again on archaeological evidence. In fact, it is possible to have some idea as although not yet plentiful about some of these places no).

The site hich is once again most important in this respect remains Comacchio. In 1997 following the trenches for the creation of infrastructures lin, eto ne building) or, in the location of illaggio in Franchesco, e7cactions ere carried out of substantial remains in terms of distribution and characteristics of the ooxen structures on piles. Clear evidence of e7tensive infrastructures ranging stages has an Letties certainly lin, to use of the place as a port. Here ill pass over the commentary on single items of evidence and the reasons also technical that have led us to this interpretation. His site sitting back to the 8th and 9th century on the basis of products found combines rather) ell) ith the other material that le us to propose an e7planation of the development of the site less uncertain than that) hich has been given up till no).

The settlement must have an institutional centre a seat of religious authority the bishop at least from the second half of the 8th century.
Fig. 7. Comacchio—palings found in Celle nti by n in the entries.

on) perhaps also ci I ) hich may reasonably suppose) as found in the area) here there still stand today although greatly change the cathe 1. l around separate by canals the to n must have grown n about the features of hich have little information at present fig. 10/. in the southeast and in the north est there ere t) o the locations of monasteries : ari in Ula legia and : auro/. do the est of the of : ari in Ula legia there are to be found the port infrastructures hich have mention in a connecting position bet een an artificial canal that of : otta sella irata/ hich use to connect ith the hich there use to be the church of

/ anenna to the southeast a coastal lagoon therefore ith the sea to the north here the salt or s must also have been locate The organization of spaces the nature of the infrastructures and the size of the site cannot fail to remin us of the features of the most famous emporia of northern europe fig 11 ) although ith some obvious differences.

not enter into the issue of the functions represented by the community and of the figures mention in the Capitolare among hich a ) o consuls and a n hich see . 5asoli legaione fluale p. 58 58 .
Fig. 8. Comacchio illaggio in 5rancesco. Sections and aterfronts found in the excavations of 1996.
Fig. 9. Comacchio illaggio (An) Francesco. 2 development section of landing stages (Elaborazione C. Balista) with those found at Oresta. Dorestad (NL) Landing stage of the medieval Harbour.
The organization of Cittanoja, ell cortex due to its haS been one of the loser sites of the Lagoon, therefore rosettes us. Half of the lagoon (enough) ith the picture of ho) this cenc of settlement must haS been organized certain not different from that of Rimitia Venice.

The settlement of the city must have been organized certain not different from that of Venice. A certain regularity of the projection of institutional residential areas at least the ecclesiastical church, monasteries and other churches (Fig. 11).

As far as it can be told (no) therefore, these settlements are characterized by the fact that the gro in a lagoon area (or else) ith a certain regularity of the area of a mar, a distinction bet) een areas of an institutional nature residences of the Church and other church groups and institutes (general) inhaSte areas Comacchio, Cittanoja, Orsello, etc., sharing the collocation of institutional residential areas at least the ecclesiastical church, monasteries and other churches (Fig. 1).

Serra is from this point of view, a quite unusual case, as the consistent number of archaeological investigations carried out in the city centre over the last ten years has not given any indication of the presence of the church. In this sense, see some remains in the relic of the castle of Castelli anti at the confluence of the river.
Fig. 11. Comacchio: environmental reconstruction of the early medieval settlement inglo./

Fig. 1. #ercelli thesis of the location of early medieval settlement areas.

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has a little lateraring to have the eloquence in the same or those not are containing to have been clear, niter li, e et amauroco are unique settlement systems in the rest of al

...
The circumstances of the discovery of some artifacts from the excavations of Villaggio San Francesco in Comacchio seem to exclude importation from central Italy, which has been at first thought, while the reinforce the suggestion that the centre or centres of production are to be found in this area of the Venetian lagoon. Unlike those from the excavations of Villaggio San Francesco in Comacchio, the archaeological literature no longer allows that is, leading more than a suggestion that similar items are more frequent in the lagoon than in Rome and from Stia and Forto. The circumstances of the discovery of artifacts from the excavations of Villaggio San Francesco in Comacchio seem to exclude importation from central Italy, which has been at first thought, while the reinforce the suggestion that the centre or centres of production are to be found in this area of the Venetian lagoon.

65 C. grelli in ssXX;
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us to suppose. In the picture of otter x production in northern italy, no amount of speculation is premature to claim a significant use of fine otter tableware on the 7th century in the no delta but these findings unambiguously 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 made (but for) another at least in the glacial otter tableware of the 8th century and for some time in omagna an art of milia until the 10th century (fig. 16). The recognition of these items, first the fine unglaZed otter then the once fired glazed otter, until the exact location of the inscriptions is concentrated in the delta 2 area, art in the venetian lagoon testifies to technologies that were considered to be characteristic of comparable contexts in the tradition. In northern italy (no) in the last quarter of the 8th and the 9th centuries (fig. 15)./.

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5ig. 15. Comacchio. 6ig. me 6ul fine 6tter an once re 6 gla 6tter ith a6e 6 lo 6enge 6 coration.
inhabitants) did not fight to liberate. From that moment on nothing remains of the flourishing emporium but a faint trace in written records and a strict local historical situation.

The incursion in an attack on Comacchio in 92 did not the first time that the settlement had to flee. Although the outcome after the battle was that of the extreme. From that moment on, nothing remained of the flourishing emporium but a faint trace in written records and a strict local historical situation.

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Furthermore, in 83, the town was subjected to an initial reaction from the Venetian, who took it again, and attacked, burning the city. In fact, the fate of Comacchio had been sealed for some time. In 80, the Venetian took possession of the town and recovered it, although the outcome after the battle was that of the extreme. From that moment on, nothing remained of the flourishing emporium but a faint trace in written records and a strict local historical situation.

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The archaeological evidence of the decline of Comacchio, e that of the rise of Venice, begins although of the oxoste nature to look interesting.

With regard to Comacchio, the lake, of stratigraphic e7ca5tion that a recent e7ca5tion that e ha5e mentione5 strato5c e7ca5tion that e ver5errated and circumstantial in time if not altogether e7ca5tion of significan5e, en5 the e7ca5tion of illaggio Fan 5rance5o 5rea5 men5tione5/ recons for e7a5le that do not seem to be known the end of the 8th century. It is true that the abandoning of the large infra5tructure do not seem to have been u5e and more after the 8th for at mo5 the first half of the 9th century in a rema5, a5 coincidence) itu) hat the) 5ritten rec5tell u5concerning more or le5li, e5 incur5on into the
settlement of Comacchio. Another item of information which will be evaluated later in future is not already available. The total area of Comacchio of the 3rd century was about 1.27 square kilometres. In the area there was once a centre of Comacchio during the 9th and 10th centuries all in the 10th century.

Archaeological data regarding the rise of Venice are not clear at present. (No) in the 10th century the centre of civil power was transferred to Altino at the beginning of the 10th century. The political decision to transfer the centre of civil power to Altino at the beginning of the 10th century, together with a number of strong logical nature that is the transfer of power. At right interconnection of all historians at the birth of the city, hi\textsuperscript{e} et al\textsuperscript{e}  in the area of Comacchio during the Carolingian era. This is a great ut the influence on the 8th and 9th century nature of Venice.

Material influence relating to this at the event essential in the context and not without some serious critical reservation. The fact that at the time of Venice the formation of the Venetian (hich) ere to protect the need for the fact that the Carolingian currency hi\textsuperscript{e} et al\textsuperscript{e}  in the area of Comacchio during the Carolingian era. This is a great at the actual existence or at least their real effectiveness.

\textsuperscript{1} Io\textsuperscript{e} ann \textsuperscript{2} to the 2 ac en\textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{3} of Venice \textsuperscript{4} \textsuperscript{5} of Venice \textsuperscript{6} of Venice \textsuperscript{7} of Venice \textsuperscript{8} of Venice \textsuperscript{9} of Venice \textsuperscript{10} of Venice \textsuperscript{11} of Venice \textsuperscript{12} of Venice \textsuperscript{13} of Venice \textsuperscript{14} of Venice \textsuperscript{15} of Venice \textsuperscript{16} of Venice \textsuperscript{17} of Venice \textsuperscript{18} of Venice \textsuperscript{19} of Venice \textsuperscript{20} of Venice \textsuperscript{21} of Venice \textsuperscript{22} of Venice \textsuperscript{23} of Venice \textsuperscript{24} of Venice \textsuperscript{25} of Venice \textsuperscript{26} of Venice \textsuperscript{27} of Venice \textsuperscript{28} of Venice \textsuperscript{29} of Venice \textsuperscript{30} of Venice \textsuperscript{31} of Venice \textsuperscript{32} of Venice \textsuperscript{33} of Venice \textsuperscript{34} of Venice \textsuperscript{35} of Venice \textsuperscript{36} of Venice \textsuperscript{37} of Venice \textsuperscript{38} of Venice \textsuperscript{39} of Venice 

\textsuperscript{78} \textsuperscript{79} \textsuperscript{80} \textsuperscript{81} \textsuperscript{82} \textsuperscript{83} \textsuperscript{84} \textsuperscript{85} \textsuperscript{86}
Chri... ha m ha... recent... returne... to analysing the situation during the 8th century in various areas of the... territorial... the existence of th... tic to the

87 C. M. Summerman, The moir... of the American
88 E. Arren... The first church of... arco in Venice... 1990 27 89 8 and... 8 arren... in... Molacco
89 Ch. 18.1.
90 2 origo... hi:... la no... 198.
91 C. S... ha ma... ric... C. S... ha ma...
archaeological records which constitute the diagnostic elements for evaluating the role of trade in that period. They signal certain economic and trading relations in a mariner region and localisation of economic and trading relations. They have been at the same time in various regions of the Mediterranean and, more specifically in some areas in southern France and northern Italy. The evidence from the Comacchio Caiolo at this time are written sources summarising the context concerned with the trading of all valuable commodities and not at the time of an ice-berg that has of far greater implication and extent. Potentially in the 8th century in particular that of Calais during the Commarx reign it been a long period of stagnation and although lacking, it in the Lo Vallee cannot be to have been undertaken. It is its economic function have been validated enough to be placed out of the way (hat) to define a 7th century. 

*am not at all convinced that the interpretation. Archaeological evidence that in the 8th century certain aspects of society in the Mediterranean region offer the same parameters for interpreting early Mediterranean societies. The absence of wine or beer in the Lo Vallee during the 7th century is not an awakening of eating. At the same time in various forms and in all in various contexts there is no absolute norm in the th form uge and a) 7th of eating. At the same time in the Lo Vallee along the main route of the Lo Vallee direct line, to the capital of the, ing from the refining of our abilities to achieve the archaeological framework, e.g. the amphorae, (28) ing that it to the of a different, in the 7th century, there is therefore to) hat 7th century early Mediterranean societies have become validated enough to define a 7th century.
The information that is most important to me at present is not only the quantity but also the extent, the nature, and the features of the settlement that each place in a region of landing and t) een the Venetian lagoon at Alcachina. Here there has been some interest in research into material sources and there has been no lacuna in the extent of the settlement equal to, if not greater than, many empires of northern Europe. In fig. 10, there is the implication that in the creation of real harbours or in the opening of artificial canals, it could be confirmed not only the extent but also the growing legal and economic function that these towns had.

To sum up, an interesting fact that follows the peace of 680 A.D. artmann had already underlined in his time99 and more recently100 has been the change in political climate that made it possible to expand the Venetian economic picture. If there is an economic change,101 it comes at the end of the 7th century and is not of little significance. Furthermore, in regard to coins, one must not forget the 8th-9th-century fraction of silver (which were minted in ala at least from the 8th century on) and which after the counter coined 006 of ne) coins cannot be considered of little significance. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider the distribution of these coins, each one more frequent102 in archaeological
ological confirm not only the t) ometal form of gold an silver in circulation in m metal r i) to confirm the need for coinage to make smaller transactions.

To fully understand the economic situation better clarification of the nature and degree of each of the aristocratic in the Roman society, the standard of life of the Roman people and the nature of the economy in the area confirm the need for coinage to make smaller transactions.

In full understanding of this economic situation, further clarification is needed of the nature and degree of the aristocracy in the Roman society.

In the context of economic resources within the Roman area, there is a hierarchy in terms of economic resources. Some of which are at the highest levels of the social center, while others engage in economic affairs within a relative area.

The figure represents the mention of legal records.

Regarding the concept of aristocracy or ruling class in the Roman society, the importance of defining the right way to determine the aristocratic group

Referencing the interesting collection of documents relating to the family of Scione in Campania that belongs to the aristocratic group that belongs to the Roman aristocratic group of small landholders

Instead of the 8th and 9th centuries, the aristocratic group un documentario altome
about the same era. The reference not out, but certain not irrelevant of the, in the direction of a confirmation of the existence of an organism and commerce net or, of economic relations which affect various social groups together) the church and monasteries.

From this point of view more than a significant increase in monasteries both urban and rural right in this era not a year to be a coincidence nor is the fact that most of these monasteries are built royal command. Some of them is no), from reconstruction rather terminal which always last in 1st in the Carolingian age) an emigration from custom and also from the church and monastery authorities.

That there is a coincidence nor in the fact that most of these monasteries are built local planning, one of them, no) from local planning on the one hand, and reason of a social or political nature control of the region) on the other hand their economic function must not be minimized or underestimated their role as a connection center of agricultural production therefore to obtain rural traffic (11) that are rural traffic entering entering later era) and no) that these institutions are housed in the traffic) or else control the traffic in the case of the monasteries.

Thin, that the urban and Catholic miraculous for the eritico is an ecclesiastical censure in the period not a cause that is not a real or normal situation. At the same time) man in the role of the Venetian lagoon and its surrounding area) hich not a chance in the Rio di No) more than one similar) that is) that have a ling to the South of the Rio Comacchio:/ the Tinini of the other one) it is to highlight and not in economic and traffic term the reference contained in the reference of 80 to the

109/. Cantino 8a taghine: Canti di ri e t i e m ri 3 pnti t una ricercare in

110/. Fherul

111/. Acrini &. Acrini; & another reference in

112/. Aca acri' in

113/. Acri' in

114/. Aliarte: 

115/. Acri' in

116/. Acri' in

117/. Acri' in
Venice and Comacchio associate from their joint evidence in the various parts of the transter of the economic context of the commercial activity in the economic context of the commercial activity. During the 8th century, the northern portion of the Venetian area was an extreme economic area, maintaining a special relationship with the alluvial area and, more generally, with the entire area. However, in the economic context of the Venetian lagoon, and the near area, which are recorded in the written record, which is critical for the success of a shift from Cittanova to Retana, and to under the economic reasoning of those from a society whose fortune has been clear, also recent, on the economic shift of the economic centre of gravity to the iatic on the one hand, the closure of the commercial activity. The historic of the capital of the principal towns, which has gone different from that image of the-t to the real entire different.

11 See . 5a 7a. 1a a. A ga aione fluale 595.
15 9C. 8ic. ha mox. gte (e) 57.