

Sicily and Southern Italy: Use and Production in the Byzantine *Koiné*

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The existing documentation on gold jewellery from Sicily and southern Italy throws up many problems which limit the possibilities of performing an organic, comprehensive analysis of the phenomena of its production and use. The first difficulty is the widespread lack of information about general contexts: very few settlements have actually been fully excavated, while the greater part of the existing information comes from cemeteries located near churches, with little or no information on the settlement context.

Furthermore, many of the most famous artefacts are chance finds, some dating back to the end of the 19th or the beginning of the 20th century. The sources from the period of their discovery clearly mention the widespread practice of looting archaeological areas, with the dispersion of an enormous number of artefacts, some sold on the antiquities market, others melted down.¹ This phenomenon occurs frequently throughout the whole of southern Italy and has never completely disappeared.²

In addition there is little scientific analysis of recent, better-documented finds;³ this aspect impacts on the development of studies, forcing them to continue to be based on repertories which lack fundamental methodological and cognitive prerequisites. For this reason, even today objects are sometimes identified using very general terms, without any real chronological and cultural equivalent, as in the case of the prejudicial distinction between 'autochthonous', 'Byzantine' or 'barbarian'.⁴ Comprehension of these and other aspects must begin with a careful analysis of the context, technical and typological features of a piece of jewellery, continue by establishing the morphological relationship with the typology, and conclude with comparisons with similar artefacts from the same cultural area.

Due to the lack of any reliable documentation on the objects that have disappeared into the illegal antiquities market, it is difficult to conduct a general quantitative analysis or an examination of individual classes of objects in order to put forward a hypothesis of interpretation of the general phenomenon and the diffusion of these objects within a culturally homogeneous territory. The scarcity of contextual data furthermore impedes the development of a more detailed chronological outline illuminating the relationships and concordances between the findings. As a result the search for comparisons and technological traditions needs to be extended beyond specific territories. This, however, in turn increases the risk of underestimating the differences between the different regions and increasing the impression of uniformity, which does not necessarily correspond with the historical or cultural situation.

Finally, the situation outlined leaves no room for an adequate evaluation of the functions and social significance of the artefacts. These are aspects which can only be

reconstructed by a careful examination of the associations between objects of the same provenance and from the wider cultural and geographic context. A global reconstruction is possible only through a convergence of data from different types of investigation.

Despite these difficulties, the evidence from Sicily and southern Italy is of considerable interest, both in terms of the number of examples and their diverse nature; these aspects are indicative of a social structure which manifests a wide range of expressive means and economic assets, and a variety of formal choices, adopting much more widespread models. Even if a better knowledge of the find contexts is required, the artefacts invite us to make a distinction between the different situations; they furthermore confirm observations that derive also from examination of other areas.

First of all one can differentiate between objects from necropoleis and those found in hoards. Indeed in the first case, objects are deliberately abandoned in the grave and assume a precise significance of *status*, linked to the burial ceremony and the social representation of the dead and their families. As we will see, the second case is linked to occasions that are set apart from a specific or individual expressive choice.⁵

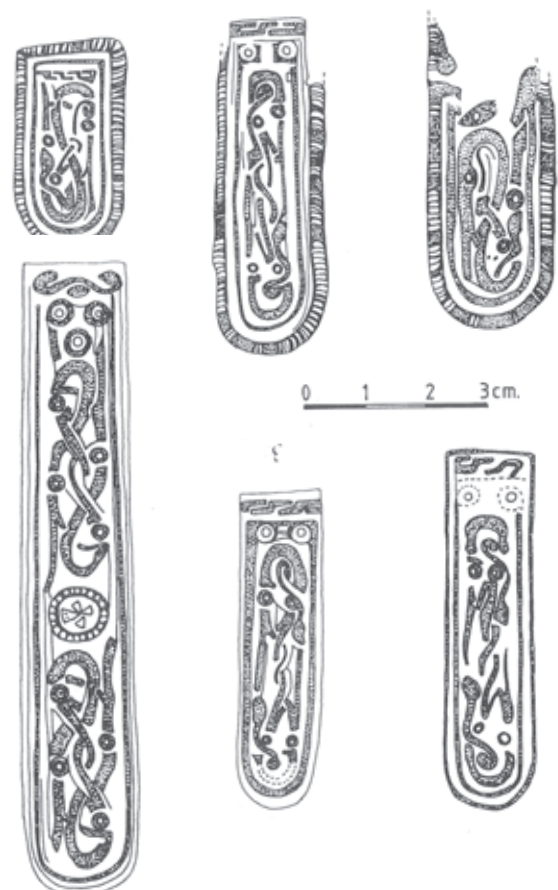


Plate 1 *Agemina* applications from Piano di Carpino

Plate 2 Necklace from Nissoria



The value of precious ornaments in graves further qualifies the distinction between tombs. The importance of a grave can naturally be also assigned to other meaningful elements, such as funeral epigraphs, or its privileged location for religious reasons. At these levels of social distinction, the presence of jewellery is a further signal of belonging to an elite group.

From a quantitative and typological point of view, the jewellery most often deposited in female tombs seems to be a pair of earrings, a custom that was also widely documented in the Classical period; only rarely do they appear in association with rings, and even less frequently with necklaces and other jewellery. In some areas, as for example Apulia, female bronze brooches are also frequently attested.⁶

In male graves, belt buckles and sets, often made of bronze,⁷ and more rarely decorated with *agemina* (Pl. 1)⁸ or inlays of precious metals, are the items documented almost exclusively; they appear to be a widespread distinctive symbol of social rank, perhaps together with rings, for which we have less contextual evidence. Although there are no presuppositions for a complete anthropological analysis, it continues to be the woman who represents the economic assets of the family in collective ceremonial occasions and particularly in the burial rite, showing social and economic status. An isolated tomb discovered in Nissoria (Sicily) may represent a significant example of this: it contained a necklace (Pl. 2), a pair of 'basket' earrings (Pl. 3) and two rings, one gold (Pl. 4) and the other silver (Pl. 5).⁹ The necklace was a chain type necklace with stones and pendants, similar to examples from Cyprus¹⁰ and Egypt (6th to 7th century);¹¹ the clasp recalls a necklace from Pantalica,¹² and types found throughout the eastern Mediterranean.¹³

The 'basket' earrings, documented in Italy in their most typical form only after the Lombard conquest, derive from prototypes of the 5th century.¹⁴ Their diffusion in the 6th to 7th centuries occurs over a vast geographical area with concentrations between Hungary and Sicily (Pl. 6), where different variations have been recorded.

One of the ring bezels from Nissoria is set with a hoarded coin of Valentinian III: the coin has been placed with the reverse side face up, displaying a Christological monogram between two stars (Pl. 5).¹⁵ Compared with other examples,¹⁶ this choice may perhaps allude to the original marriage significance of the subject. The second ring reuses a bead (Pl. 4).¹⁷ Therefore, the artefacts associated with this grave cannot give any indication of the economic level of the dead woman's family within her community. The isolated position of the tomb, however, and its wealth reveal its status, which in turn permits a deeper reflection on the cultural level: it demonstrates participation in a symbolic language constructed



Plate 3 'Basket' earring from Nissoria



Plate 4 Gold finger-ring from Nissoria



Plate 5 Silver finger-ring from Nissoria

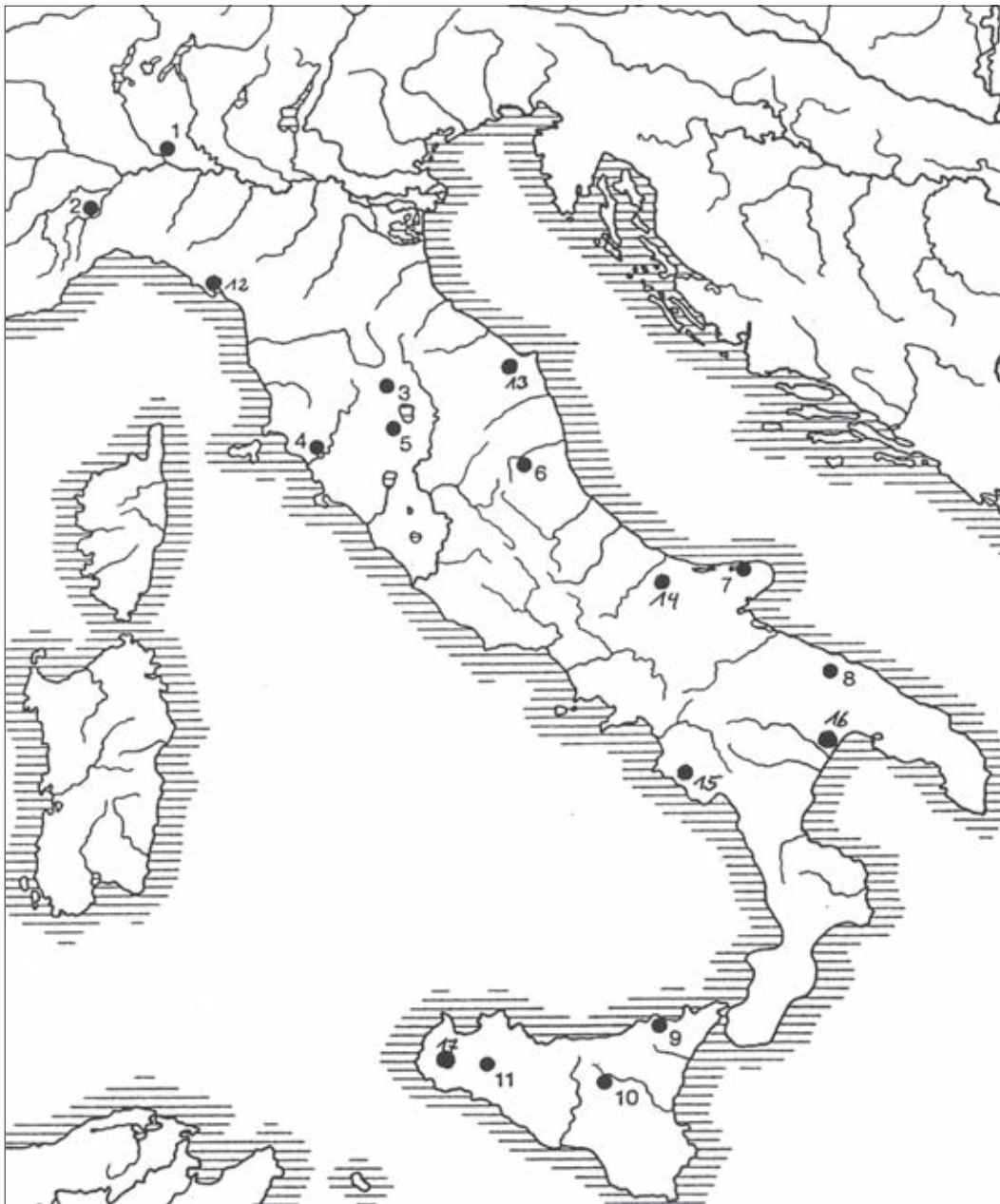


Plate 6 Distribution of 'basket' earrings in Italy, type 2c

1. Pavia
2. Acqui Terme
3. Arezzo
4. Grosseto
5. Chiusi
6. Castel Trosino
7. Avicenna
8. Rutigliano
9. Patti
10. Nissoria;
11. Corleone
12. Luni
13. Grotta del Mezzogiorno
14. Larino
15. Pattano
16. Metaponto
17. Salemi

on the basis of various external references. The typology of most of the jewellery stands apart from a strictly local environment and demonstrates, by means of an 'international' expressive code, an elevated social level. The rings lie outside of this code because of the material used, their simple workmanship and considerable difference in quality in comparison with the other objects in the grave.

The pair of 'basket' earrings also stands out, but for other reasons, as they are not widely diffused throughout the Byzantine Empire. Here an important comparison can be made with the diffusion of 'half-crescent' earrings, documented in several graves between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century in Sicily (Syracuse,¹⁸ Butera,¹⁹ Sofiana,²⁰ Mimiani,²¹ Racineci,²² Megara Hyblea²³) (Pl. 7) and in Apulia (Rutigliano) (Pl. 8).²⁴ It is evident that the areas of distribution of these two classes of earrings ('basket' and 'half-crescent') do not overlap in terms of their chronology, with the exception of very few examples of certain types found only in marginal zones, which evidently demonstrates different symbolic requirements of identity. From this point of view, southern Italy and Sicily above all qualify as border areas of



Plate 7 Distribution of 'half-crescent' earrings in southern Italy

1. Rutigliano;
2. Mimiani;
3. Megara Hyblea;
4. Racineci;
5. Butera;
6. Syracuse



Plate 8 Pair of earrings from Rutigliano

the Empire, where behavioural and productive traditions typical of the Italic peninsula also appear to a reduced degree.

If ‘basket’ earrings are exceptionally well-represented in Sicily and do not appear at all in other regions of the Byzantine world, then the ‘half-crescent’ earrings are the most western evidence of this Byzantine production. In all cases these are the only precious objects found in a grave, and in cases when the necropolis with which the grave is associated has been investigated, the deposit is associated with a markedly exceptional situation. One example is the site of Racineci:²⁵ dug out of the rock, the cemetery included about 80 graves, some of which were multiple. The majority only contained glass beads from necklaces and a few other objects; however, two of them had a Byzantine-type openwork ring,²⁶ and a pair of ‘half-crescent’ earrings (**Pl. 9**).²⁷ The suggestion that these might be considered local productions, perhaps Syracusan, influenced by Byzantine models, arises from the number of other Sicilian examples.²⁸ However, the hypothesis is difficult to verify because of the lack of distinctive elements that can be attributed with certainty to *local* manufacture. The type is well-known in public and private collections and has a considerable number of variations; examples have been documented over a vast area, covering Egypt, Turkey, Crete, Greece, Albania, Austria and Hungary;²⁹ they have also been found with coins.³⁰

The popularity of these earrings throughout the Mediterranean is matched by the distribution patterns of other jewellery, in particular necklace pendants (**Pl. 10**),³¹ earrings with drop pendants³² and necklace clasps,³³ of Byzantine origin, which share similar technical, iconographic and stylistic features.

Therefore, we are probably dealing with jewellery of Byzantine creation, which revises shapes that already existed previously, primarily in the Syrian-Cypriot area.³⁴ The simplicity of the workmanship and extensive decoration may have determined the success of the models, to which a particular cultural and status value was attributed, for reasons that we are unable to comprehend completely (religious reasons or reasons connected to social roles and behaviour). Therefore, on the basis of their symbolic value they became not only luxury export objects, but also models for local productions.

It is evident that the various customers involved in the phenomenon shared a common expressive language; in burials



Plate 9 Earring from Racineci

(as for example in Sicily and Apulia) and probably on other ceremonial occasions as well, this type of jewel was considered particularly suitable for connoting privileged graves, perhaps in part because of the eschatological value of the subject: in most cases, peacocks and eagles, both Christian symbols of immortality.³⁵

Between the end of the 6th and the mid-7th century, however, it is likely that the production of ‘half-crescent’ earrings in Sicily can be connected to the survival of some socially stratified cities with an affluent upper class which shared a formal Mediterranean language. The example from Racineci demonstrates that in the same period this social class also had access to a variety of imports and locally produced items, inspired by external models. Moreover it seems evident that a burial context may only partially reproduce the behavioural habits of its community; however, it is still the expression of a social language which tends to select the objects deposited in the graves using specific criteria. In an apparently standardised documentation, it is therefore important to deal with the problem of the symbolic value attributed to the artefacts in specific cases, creating a backwards reconstruction of the possible paths of transmission and reception of the models.

Even isolated examples can contribute to clarifying the overall picture. One example comes from a grave in Senise (Basilicata), whose grave goods included a pair of earrings and a cross pendant (**Pl. 11**).³⁶ The latter has an extremely simple form, which finds comparisons across the entire Mediterranean area.³⁷ The earrings are instead an unusual variation of the ‘basket’ type,³⁸ with the addition of *cloisonné* motifs in the ring and disc pendant, which bears the image of a female bust. A *solidus* of Tiberius Heraclius and Tiberius (659–68) is impressed on the reverse. Close analogies with other pendants found in southern Italy (Canosa) (**Pl. 12**)³⁹ and in Comacchio (**Pl. 13**)⁴⁰ may be noted; furthermore, a basket earring with pearls in the Museum of Naples⁴¹ has the same coin on the reverse. Production of these pieces of jewellery is traditionally attributed to the goldsmiths of Constantinople, the centre of development for the *cloisonné* technique. However, if we consider their regional diffusion, it seems more likely that the known examples reveal a customer base and local class of specialised craftsmen, with a possible reference to products and techniques that spread from the capital.



Plate 10 Gold pendant, Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum



Plate 11 Jewellery from Senise, Naples, Museo Archeologico Regionale



Plate 12 Disc-brooch from Canosa, London, British Museum (PE 65,7-12,1)



Plate 13 Disc-brooch from Comacchio, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum



Plate 14 *Bractea* with the Adoration of the Magi from southern Italy

A similar phenomenon in terms of the area of diffusion and internal homogeneity can also be found in the gold *bracteae* discovered in southern Italy (Pl. 14),⁴² Basilicata⁴³ and Calabria,⁴⁴ some of which have been found in graves. The rather simple decoration permits a clear differentiation from the Byzantine models⁴⁵ from which they originally derived. Stylistically and typologically, some of them (Pl. 15) are comparable with examples from Albania,⁴⁶ which may have been imported from southern Italy or belong to the same cultural area. Even in this case, a customer base and regional production which adopted and developed models imported from outside, can be confirmed.

A different system of interpretation must be applied to the analysis of hoards: in contrast to burial contexts, such treasures are not necessarily the result of a symbolic selection of objects, but correspond to different situations, strictly linked to the need to safeguard – for various reasons – a certain number of precious goods. Sometimes these are objects for female personal use, as for example single or multiple *parures*: ranging from the basic *parure* characterised by a pair of earrings, a necklace and a ring (Palmyra),⁴⁷ to more complex ones with bracelets (Caesarea Maritima⁴⁸ and Constantinople⁴⁹) or belt buckles (Constantinople),⁵⁰ to the double *parures* (Mersin, but with only one pair of earrings).⁵¹ These hoards are generally composed of objects from the same period, and in some cases (Rome, at S. Martino ai Monti⁵² and in Piazza della Consolazione;⁵³ Reggio Emilia⁵⁴), one of the objects bears the name of the owners. The abandonment of these goods evidently reflects a situation of impending danger, when it became necessary to temporarily give up those ornaments which were effectively in use. The collection directly reveals the assets and symbolic requirements of the owners, allowing us to draw connections and comparisons with other contexts, both similar and different.

Some hoards, however, contain either coins alone or associated objects that are much less homogenous. The treasures in these cases include both male and female jewellery, coins, *vasa* and also fragments of other precious artefacts (necklace clasps, pieces of silver *missoria*, etc), evidently preserved for their intrinsic value. In this case,



Plate 15 Brooches incorporating *bracteae* from Cannarò and Caraconessa

although the reasons for the deposit should be considered analogous, the collection and association of artefacts, which sometimes includes objects from different chronological phases, probably reveals a different and more complex situation.

Often the same type of jewellery is replicated more than once, with a greater occurrence of necklaces and rings, while earrings appear only rarely, the inversion of the situation characteristic of earrings in burial contexts. Evidently, as regards these treasures, the intrinsic value of the precious metal was the essential factor in choosing the objects; therefore their association perhaps does not so much demonstrate the behavioural choices of the owners, as their ability to acquire and hoard wealth.

We know of several Sicilian treasures belonging to this second category. One of these was discovered during agricultural works in 1903 at Pantalica, in a cavity in the rock covered by a stone slab, in the courtyard of the so-called *anaktoron*.⁵⁵ Here a bronze vase 'in the shape of a chalice' was found which contained 15 pieces of jewellery and hundreds of coins of the Emperors Constans II, Constantine IV, Heraclius and Tiberius (641–68); the coins for the most part were later lost.⁵⁶ One portion of the objects was sold on the antiquities market after a quick graphic and photographic documentation. The jewellery included a pair of earrings, six gold chain necklaces with stones and pearls (Pl. 16), a bracelet (Pl. 17), a 'centurino', a gold *bulla* and three rings, two of which were probably wedding rings, while a fourth ring was attributed to the Classical period. Based on the chronology of the coins, the deposition of the treasure can be dated to the second half of the 7th century.⁵⁷

Another treasure, whose exact composition is unknown, comes from Syracuse.⁵⁸ The place of discovery was hypothetically identified with the remains of the 'Baths of



Plate 16 Necklaces from Pantalica



Plate 17 Bracelet from Pantalica, Sicily, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Plate 18 Wedding ring from Syracuse, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale



Plate 19 Ring from Egypt, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum



Plate 20 Bracelet from Egypt, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum

Daphne', the site of the murder of Constans II in 668.⁵⁹ This cannot be proven by archaeological evidence, but only hypothesised on the basis of the exceptional nature of one of the objects. In addition to several gold *solidi* of Constans II, the treasure included a gold octagonal wedding ring (Pl. 18)⁶⁰ with scenes of the Christological cycle worked in *agemina* and niello (the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Baptism, the Crucifixion, and the Three Marys at the Sepulchre). The bezel bears a full-length image of the spouses on either side of Christ, with a Greek inscription taken from Psalm 5:13. It is without doubt an object of considerable

quality, but should not necessarily be attributed to the imperial couple (the court treasure assets depended in fact on a complex system that regulated their administration and responsibility). It ought rather to be placed in the context of the presence of high class patrons from the court of Syracuse.

In the general typology of octagonal band rings, often, but not exclusively recognisable as wedding rings, there are other examples of particular relevance, with New Testament scenes in niello on the band, like the well-known ring from Egypt in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore (Pl. 19),⁶¹ or the ring in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington DC, from the Syro-



Plate 21 Necklace from Mazara del Vallo, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale

Palestinian area.⁶² In the latter example, the addition of the names of the owners *Petros* and *Theodoti* demonstrates the possibility of personalising objects, which is absent in the Syracusan example.

The exceptional nature of the jewellery in the Sicilian repertory does not allow the octagonal ring to be attributed with certainty to local workshops, although the conditions for a high level of internationally inspired craftsmanship were present in Syracuse. It is, however, revealing that in the choice of such a symbolic, important object, with a specific matrimonial function, the owner adhered to a trend common throughout the Mediterranean area: like other categories of devotional objects, it can be iconographically connected with the Holy Land cycle (Pl. 20),⁶³ giving generic protective power over the owner.

In addition to the intrinsic and decorative value of the jewellery, in this case we must also emphasise its importance as an indicator of the Sicilian upper classes' adherence to more widespread behavioural and symbolic models. They assigned a fundamental, 'qualitative' importance to the expression of their own modes of self-representation. Within the local upper classes, social stratification was also expressed by different uses of status objects: from a relatively broad level, indicated by the widespread use of earrings, to another, very elite level, which used complete or partial parures of jewellery. This brings us finally to a very limited nucleus of several families who hoarded precious objects, perhaps even independently of standard practice, or who concentrated their attention on very unusual artefacts with a strong symbolic value, perhaps made upon request or specifically imported.

These distinctions, which are easily noted in the different types of contexts examined, are also confirmed in the obvious differences between those hoarded deposits; it is useful to recall another Sicilian find, at Campobello di Mazara del Vallo



Plate 22 Necklace from Mazara del Vallo, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale

(TP):⁶⁴ the nucleus of this consisted of a pair of earrings, 'una borsa di tessuto d'oro...un diadema', three necklaces (Pls 21–23) and 150 gold coins. The lower chronological limit of the hoard is indicated by three gold *solidi* of Honorius and Theodosius II, used as clasps and in the central setting of a necklace.⁶⁵ The later coins, of Constantine V (741–75), have given rise to a hypothetical connection between the burying of the treasure and the Muslim raids.

The context highlights a situation that differs to some extent from the examples of Syracuse and Pantalica, where the gold objects and coins, with their much more consistent value, may above all represent 'refuge goods', coinciding with a serious economic and political crisis. In the different cases reviewed, however, the prevalence of necklaces is evident, often numbering several examples, whereas they are almost completely absent in other contexts such as burials. Indeed, perhaps because of their lesser diffusion and value, increased by their frequent settings with precious stones or coins, these necklaces do not assume simply a symbolic meaning in the hoarding process of prominent families.

Therefore, from a general point of view, the jewellery of Sicily and southern Italy fully enters the spectrum of jewellery production in the Mediterranean both in terms of typologies and the value assumed in the collective imagination. The Sicilian examples from the end of the 6th and the 7th century



Plate 23 Part of a necklace from Mazara del Vallo, Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale

seem in particular to be closer to the Greek-Byzantine attestations in terms of morphology and variety of types, signs of a remarkable social dynamic and a technological and cultural adherence to models and formal schemes which find its inspiration in the capital of the Byzantine Empire and derived from its capacity for diffusion from this prestigious place. There is also no shortage of more isolated examples of typologies diffused exclusively through the Italian peninsula, or even exclusively in one region, as in the case of some 'basket' earrings.

In many instances it is still difficult to clearly distinguish the formal characteristics of 'Constantinopolitan' models from imitations, in part because of the uniformity of the record. This phenomenon derives from a shared desire for emulation, expressed by prominent, culturally defining social levels. The internal stratification of these, which appears complex in terms of availability and use of different models, is most identifiable at an archaeological level. In the outlined panorama of formal homologation, a few individual artefacts, particularly rare in terms of their weight, workmanship, iconography or connection to a milieu different to the prevalent Constantinopolitan one, stand out even more noticeably. They indicate the presence of a true, very limited, local 'aristocracy', probably linked to the persistence of specific urban structures. It was within these cities, unfortunately still little known in archaeological terms, that this elite found an audience for its repertoire of behaviour and display, symbols of a still important and articulated urban culture.

Notes

- 1 For example: P. Orsi, *Sicilia Bizantina*, I, Rome, 1942, 137–53. On the general problem: I. Baldini Lippolis, *L'oreficeria nell'impero di Costantinopoli tra IV e VII secolo*, Bari, 1999, 11–12.
- 2 On this problem in connection with classical artefacts: D. Graepler and M. Mazzei, *Provenienza: sconosciuta! Tombaroli, mercanti e collezionisti: l'Italia archeologica allo sbaraglio*, Bari, 1996.
- 3 The documentation is heterogeneous: see, for example, Orsi (n. 1),

117–33; D. Adamesteanu, 'Nuovi documenti paleocristiani nella Sicilia centro-meridionale', *Bollettino d'Arte* 3 (1963), 259–74; L. Bonomi, 'Cimiteri paleocristiani a Sofiana (retroterra di Gela)', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 40 (1964), 167–220; E.A. Arslan, 'Recenti scavi a Botricello e Roccelletta (Catanzaro)', in *Atti II Congresso nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Rome, 1971, 107–25; S. Patitucci Uggeri, 'La necropoli longobarda di Gennarano sul confine bizantino di terra d'Otranto', *Quaderni dell'Università di Lecce* 1 (1974), 5–31; R. Iorio, 'Presenze bizantino-longobarde a Belmonte', *Note di archeologia medievale altamura* 19–20 (1978), 47–136; M.R. Salvatore, 'Antichità altomedievali in Basilicata', in *La cultura in Italia fra Tardo Antico e Alto Medioevo*, *Atti del Congresso*, Rome, 1981, 947–64; M. Salvatore, 'Un sepolcro altomedievale in agro di Rutigliano (Bari). Notizie preliminari', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 57 (1981), 127–60; A. Damato, 'Manufatti di abbigliamento romani e altomedievali da Rutigliano (Bari)', *Taras* 4/1 (1984), 209–14; N. Lavermicocca, G. La Notte and G. Pacilio, *Sant'Apollinare di Rutigliano, Storia, Scavo, Restauro*, Rutigliano, 1987; C. D'Angela (ed.), *Gli scavi del 1953 nel piano di Carpino (Foggia). Le Terme e la necropoli altomedievale della villa romana di Avicenna*, Taranto, 1988; R. Spadea, 'Crotone: problemi del territorio fra tardoantico e medioevo', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen-Age* 103/2 (1989), 553–73; C. D'Angela and G. Volpe, 'Insediamento e cimiteri rurali tra tardoantico e altomedioevo nella Apulia centro-settentrionale: alcuni esempi', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen-Age* 102 (1991), 785–826; F. D'Andria and D. Whitehouse (eds), *Excavations at Otranto, II, The Finds*, Lecce, 1992; P. Peduto (ed.), *S. Giovanni di Pratola Serra. Archeologia e storia nel ducato longobardo di Benevento*, Salerno, 1992; C. D'Angela, 'Il cimitero altomedievale di Mass. Basso a Canne', in *Atti del XIII Convegno Nazionale sulla preistoria, protostoria e storia della Daunia*, Foggia, 1993, 159–72; D. Ciminale, P. Favia and R. Giuliani, 'Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'insediamento altomedievale di Belmonte (Altamura-Bari)', *Taras* 14/2 (1994), 339–440; C. D'Angela and G. Volpe, 'Aspetti storici e archeologici dell'Alto Medioevo in Apulia', in R. Francovich and G. Noyé (eds), *La storia dell'alto Medioevo italiano (VI–X secolo) alla luce dell'archeologia*, Firenze, 1994, 299–332; E. Riemer, *Romanische Grabfunde des 5.–8. Jahrhunderts in Italien*, Leidorf, 2000, 394–465; G. Roma (ed.), *Necropoli e insediamenti fortificati nella Calabria settentrionale, I, Le necropoli altomedievali*, Bari, 2001; M. Corrado, 'Note sul problema delle lamine bratteate altomedievali dal Sud Italia', in R. Fiorillo (ed.), *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale*, Firenze, 2003, 110–14.

- 4 For a methodological consideration of this problem with respect to Visigothic jewellery, see J. Pinar Gil, 'Problemi di valutazione storico-archeologica delle produzioni d'oreficeria visigota nel V secolo', in I. Baldini Lippolis and M.T. Guaitoli (eds), *Oreficeria antica e medievale. Tecniche, produzioni e società*, Bologna, 2009, 127–47; see also, I. Baldini Lippolis, 'Abbigliamento e simboli di rango', in A. Augenti and C. Bertelli (eds), *Santi, banchieri, re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo ritrovato*, Milan, 2006, 133–47.
- 5 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 29–43; M. Baldassarri and M.C. Favilla, 'Forme di tesaurizzazione in area italiana tra tardo antico e alto medioevo: l'evidenza archeologica', in S. Gelichi and C. La Rocca (eds), *Tesori. Forme di accumulazione della ricchezza nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–XI)*, Rome, 2004, 143–205; I. Baldini Lippolis, 'L'età tardoantica', in *Matilde di Canossa, il Papato, l'Impero. Storia, arte, cultura alle origini del Romanico*, Milan, 2008, 402–12; *eadem.*, 'Appunti per lo studio dell'oreficeria tardoantica e altomedievale', in Baldini Lippolis and Guaitoli (n. 4), 103–25; *eadem.*, 'Half-Crescent Earrings in Sicily and southern Italy', in F. Daim (ed.), *Splendour and Daily Life in Byzantium*, Mainz (in press).
- 6 Riemer (n. 3), 109–30, with bibliography.
- 7 Some examples in *ibid.*, 149–65 and 208–25, with bibliography.
- 8 O. Von Hessen, 'Sei linguette in ferro ageminate per cintura', in D'Angela 1988 (n. 3), 147–50.
- 9 G.V. Gentili, 'Nissoria (Enna). Reperto di oreficerie bizantine', *Notizie degli Scavi* 8 (1954), 403–5; E. Possenti, *Gli orecchini a cestello altomedievali in Italia*, Firenze, 1994, 85, no. 69; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 109–10, 2.II.8.b.3; 139, 2.III.1.d.7; 203, 2.VII.1.b.2; 205, 2.VII.2.b.13.
- 10 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 138, 2.III.1.d.1 (from Lambousa), with

- bibliography.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 138, 2.III.1.d.3–5 (from Assiût), with bibliography.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 136, 2.III.1.c.26, with bibliography.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 117, pl. 50.
- 14 Possenti (n. 9); Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 85–7; Riemer (n. 3), 45–64.
- 15 Gentili (n. 9), 404; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 192 and 205, 2.VII.2.b.13.
- 16 The standard design depicts the bride and groom flanking either Christ, the Virgin or a cross: Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 189.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 203, 2.VII.b.2.
- 18 Orsi (n. 1), 146 and 161; M.C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Vol. II: *Jewelry, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period*, Washington DC, 1965, 68; Bonomi (n. 3), 213; C. D'Angela, 'Le oreficerie bizantine del Museo Nazionale di Taranto', *Vetera Christianorum* 21 (1984), 181–96, at 188; I. Baldini, 'Gli orecchini a corpo semilunato: classificazione tipologica. Nota preliminare', *Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 38 (1991), 67–101, at 83–4, no. 24; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 105, 7.b.17.
- 19 Orsi (n. 1), 160–1; Bonomi (n. 3), 213; R. Farioli Campanati, 'La cultura artistica nelle regioni bizantine d'Italia dal VI all'XI secolo: le arti sontuarie', in G. Cavallo *et al.*, *I Bizantini in Italia*, 1982, Milan, 333–415, at 413; D'Angela (n. 18), 188; Baldini (n. 18), 84, no. 25; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 105, 7.b.18.
- 20 Adamesteanu (n. 3), 272; Bonomi (n. 3), 197 and 213–4; D'Angela (n. 18), 188; Baldini (n. 18), 85, no. 27; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 105, 7.b.20.
- 21 Adamesteanu (n. 3), 260 and 272; Bonomi (n. 3), 213–4; D'Angela (n. 18), 188; Baldini (n. 18), 86–7, no. 31; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 106, 7.b.31. A colour image of the earrings is published in www.arkoemania.com.
- 22 Orsi (n. 1), 125–6; Bonomi (n. 3), 213–14; Farioli Campanati (n. 19), 413; D'Angela (n. 18), 188; Baldini (n. 18), 91 and 93, no. 39; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 108, 7.c.1; Riemer (n. 3), 438.
- 23 P. Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II*, Bologna, 1982, 161; Baldini (n. 18), 93, no. 40; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 108, 7.c.2. Another pair of earrings is actually in the Museum of the Palazzo Abatellis (Palermo): M. Accascina, 'L'ordinamento delle oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Palermo', *Bollettino d'Arte* 3 (1929), 225–31, at 228–30; Baldini (n. 18), 84–5, no. 26; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 105, 7.b.19.
- 24 M.R. Salvatore, *Il Museo Nazionale di Venosa*, Matera, 1991, 130–3; Lavemicocca *et al.* (n. 3); Baldini (n. 18), 25, no. 28 and 93, no. 41; G. Pacilio, *Rutigliano, S. Apollinare: una pieve longobarda?*, Bari, 1991, 12–13; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 106, 7.b.26 and 108, 7.c.3.
- 25 Orsi (n. 1), 122–4.
- 26 *Ibid.*; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 207, 2.VII.2.c.3.
- 27 Orsi (n. 1), 122–4; Farioli Campanati (n. 19), 413; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 108, 2.II.7.c.1.
- 28 There are nine known examples: Baldini Lippolis in Daim (n. 5).
- 29 Baldini (n. 18); Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 81–5; Riemer (n. 3), 67–9 and 264–6; É. Garam, *Funde byzantinischer Herkunft in der Awarenzeit vom Ende des 6. bis zum Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts*, Budapest, 2001, 15–20.
- 30 The jewellery said to have been found in Mersin (Cilicia) was associated with coins ranging in date from 630–40: N. Kondakov, *Russkie Kladi. Izledovanie drevnostej velikoknjazeskago perioda*, St. Petersburg, 1896; A. Grabar, 'Un médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie', *DOP* 6 (1951), 27–49; A. Banck, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR, Leningrad-Moscow*, 1966; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 38.
- 31 *E.g.* Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 145, 2.III.8.2 (Syrian); *He Kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio*, Athens, 2002, 407, no. 512.
- 32 *E.g.* Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 96, 2.III.4.f.4 (from Caesarea Maritima), with bibliography.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 135, 2.III.2.c.12 (from Constantinople), 2.III.2.c.13 (from Lambousa, Cyprus), with bibliography.
- 34 Baldini (n. 18); Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 81–2 and 103.
- 35 On this subject, in particular, see Baldini Lippolis in Daim (n. 5).
- 36 Salvatore (n. 24), 281; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 100, 2.II.5d.1; 148, 2.III.10.b.5; Riemer (n. 3), 426–7.
- 37 Some examples in Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 148–9.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 100, 2.II.5d.1, with bibliography.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 164, 2.IV.4.c.1, with bibliography.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 165, 2.IV.4.c.3, with bibliography.
- 41 L. Breglia, *Catalogo delle oreficerie del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Rome, 1941, 57–8, no. 224; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 112, 2.II.8.d.2.
- 42 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 168 and 172, 2.V.1.4–5; Riemer (n. 3), 166–9.
- 43 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 172, 2.V.1.3.
- 44 V. Bierbrauer, *Invillino-Ibligo in Friaul I. Die römische Siedlung und das spätantik-frühmittelalterliche Castrum*, Munich, 1987; Riemer (n. 3), 127; Garam (n. 29), 51–7 and 282; Corrado (n. 3).
- 45 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 172, 2.V.1.1–2.
- 46 É. Garam, 'Die awarenzeitliche Scheibenfibel', *Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungariae* (1993), 99–134; Riemer (n. 3), 127–8.
- 47 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 39, with bibliography.
- 48 *Ibid.*, 37, with bibliography.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 39, with bibliography.
- 50 *Ibid.*
- 51 *Ibid.*, 38. The circumstances of its discovery are still not clear.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 30, with bibliography
- 53 *Ibid.*, 34–5, with bibliography.
- 54 M. Degani, *Il tesoro romano barbarico di Reggio Emilia*, Firenze, 1959; *I Goti*, Milan, 1994, 202–6; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 35; Baldini Lippolis 2008 (n. 5). A study on the treasure is due to be published in the *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica* series.
- 55 Orsi (n. 1), 133–45; A.M. Fallico, 'Sul tesoro bizantino di Pantalica', *Sileno* 1 (1975), 311–30; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 39–40.
- 56 A necklace published in 1902 (Orsi [n. 1], 139; Baldini Lippolis [n. 1], 136–7, 2.III.1.c.) and later lost, can be probably identified with a necklace with a different clasp in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (collection J. Pierpont Morgan, 1944): K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality. Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, New York, 1979, 312, no. 286; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 136–7, 2.III.1.c.27; also a gold bracelet from Pantalica is conserved at the Metropolitan Museum (Orsi [n. 1], 138; Baldini Lippolis [n. 1], 183, 2.VI.2.1).
- 57 Orsi (n. 1), 137–45; Fallico (n. 55); discussion in Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 39–40, with bibliography.
- 58 A. Garside (ed.), *Jewelry. Ancient to Modern*, Baltimore, 1979, 152–3, no. 427; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 213, 2.VII.4.b.9
- 59 Orsi (n. 1), 147–8.
- 60 *Ibid.*, 147–8 and 230; Farioli Campanati (n. 19), 413–14, no. 222; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 213, 2.VII.4.b.9.
- 61 Garside (n. 58), 152–3, no. 427; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 213, 2.VII.4.b.9.
- 62 Ross (n. 18), 58–9, no. 69; Weitzmann (n. 56), 496, no. 446; E. Kitzinger, 'Christian imagery: growth and impact', in K. Weitzmann (ed.), *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, New York, 1980, 141–52, at 151; G. Vikan, *Byzantine pilgrimage art*, Washington DC, 1982, 43; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 214, 2.VII.4.b.17.
- 63 See, for example: Kitzinger (n. 62), 151; Vikan (n. 62), 41–2; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 179 and 183–4, 2.VI.3.a.2.
- 64 Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 41; F. Maurici, *La Sicilia occidentale dalla tarda antichità alla conquista islamica. Una storia del territorio ca. 300–827 d.C.*, Palermo, 2005, 208–11. For the necklaces: Farioli Campanati (n. 19), 414–15, nos 228–9; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 134, 2.III.1.b.12 and 140, 2.III.2.a.6; *Pulcherrima res. Preziosi ornamenti del passato. Opere del medagliere del Museo Archeologico Regionale 'Antonio Salinas' di Palermo* (Catalogue of the Exhibition, Siena, Palazzo Squarcialupi, April 21st to November 4th, 2007), Palermo, 2007, 73–4.
- 65 Farioli Campanati (n. 19), 414, no. 228; Baldini Lippolis (n. 1), 140, 2.III.2.a.6.