Constructing Identity in Lombard Italy

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Abstract

This thesis addresses the process of identity construction in Lombard Italy through an examination of the expression of gender, an aspect often neglected in Lombard archaeology, which has tended to focus on issues surrounding migration and ethnicity. The main evidence considered are the grave good assemblages (1639 objects recorded from 347 furnished graves) found in sixteen Lombard-period cemeteries distributed across northern Italy and Tuscany. Methodologies for studying gender in Early Medieval cemeteries elsewhere in Europe have been adopted and adapted, including multivariate statistics, and the analysis has been also supported by information obtained from the written and iconographic sources. Through an integrated perspective that allows us to observe both the general trends and (as importantly) their variations, I show that beyond the well-known association between masculinity/weapons and femininity/jewellery gender discourse was a complex phenomenon, deeply intertwined with other facets of identity, and with local concerns and traditions.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For many decades, researching identity in the Early Middle Ages has meant dealing with the ethnic character of the peoples that populated Europe in that period. Whether ethnic identities were considered fixed, unchangeable entities that entered into contact and, sometimes, contrasted with each other or whether they were interpreted as malleable traits of identity in constant development (comments on the different opinions regarding ethnicity and migration in the Early Middle Ages can be found in e.g. Härke 1998; Halsall 1999; Gillet 2002; Curta 2007; Barbiera 2012: 62-92), ethnicity has often been the main concern of scholars. Only from the second half of the 20th century have we witnessed a gradual shift of interest, with other questions and other aspects of identity, being brought to the fore (e.g. Crawford 1999; Brubaker and Smith 2004; La Rocca 2011a). However, as La Rocca (2004a: 207-12; 2007: 265) has highlighted, these changes have not really manifested themselves within Italian archaeology, leaving unexplored many aspects of the identity of the people who lived in Italy in the Early Middle Ages. This scholarly lacuna not only diminishes our knowledge and appreciation of this historical period but it represents a missed opportunity: the historical events and the social situation that characterised early Medieval Italy, and especially the Lombard period, resulted in a scenario in which the expression and negotiation of identities was of paramount importance, thus an investigation of identity in all its forms could be particularly fruitful.

Consequently, the main aim of this thesis is to contribute to the study of identity in Italy during the Lombard period, through the investigation of one of its different facets, gender, focussing on its expression in the funerary record. The primary evidence used in this research are the published reports on excavated cemeteries dated to between the end of the 6th and the end of the 8th century and located in those regions of central and northern Italy that formed *Langobardia Maior* (see Section 1.1). In particular, the focus will be on grave goods assemblages, but the scope will be enlarged by a comparison with information obtained from the written and iconographic sources. The attempt to combine and compare data from sites on a broad geographical scale and information from different sources is one of the innovative aspects of this thesis.

1.1 Why the Lombard period?

In this thesis the expression 'Lombard period' refers to the years between 568[1] (or 569) and 774. More generally, since archaeological material can be very rarely dated down to a single year, the period between the last third of the 6th century and the 8th century is considered 'Lombard'. In this respect, the term 'Lombard' does not have an ethnic connotation but designates a chronological period. The funerary contexts that fit into this chronological span are analysed, without establishing *a priori* whether they were the expression of a particular ethnic group.

The beginning of the Lombard period is marked by the arrival in Italy of the Lombards in 568. The events that characterised the migration of this people and their settlement in Italy are known mainly thanks to the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* and Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* of the end of the 8th century (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.3). According to the written sources, the Lombards came from Scandinavia (probably southern Sweden (Jarnut 1990: 9; Rotili 2010: 1)), where their migration started in the 1st century BC. As the regions mentioned by the two texts cannot always be easily recognised, the details of the migration are not indisputable. However, it is believed that the Lombards first moved to the southern coast of the Baltic Sea (Rügen island) and then they broadly followed the River Elbe (Figure 1.1; Jarnut 1990; Rotili 2010: 1-11) down to the Danube where they were settled in the 5th century. In the first half of the 6th century the Lombards allegedly enlarged their territories conquering the northern part of Pannonia (modern Hungary) and receiving from the Emperor Justinian part of Noricum (Slovenia and Carinzia). Between the 650's and the 660's the relationship with the neighbouring Gepids was tense and resulted in a series of conflicts and treaties. Finally, between 566 and 567 the Lombards joined forces with the Avars against the Gepids and, after the victory, left their territories to the Avars and moved to Italy, which they entered from the north-eastern region of Friuli Venezia Giulia. The group of people that arrived in Italy was, therefore, probably heterogeneous and included Bulgarians, Sarmatians, Saxons, Turingi, Swabians and Romans, and may have comprised ca. 200.000 people (Rotili 2010: 11; Piccinni 1999: 44 says that they were between 100.000 and 300.000).

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[1] All the dates given in this thesis are A.D. unless otherwise stated.

Figure 1.1: Migration route of the Lombards from Scandinavia to Italy (source: Rotili 2010: 3).

Without going into the details of the events that occurred in Italy during the Lombard kingdom (detailed examinations can be found in Delogu 1980; also synthesis and discussion on the Lombard period in Italy can be found in e.g. Wickham 1981; Jarnut 1995; Azzara 2015), it is worth setting out the main features of this historical period. Firstly, it is necessary to stress that the Lombard conquest of Italy was not a single and easy process; it was long and intermittent. Especially in the first phases it was the *fare* (groups of armed men and their families under a common leader, the *dux*, although the exact meaning of the term is disputed (Costambeys 2009: 73)) who led expeditions that were followed by attempts at gradually enlarging their conquered territories (Delogu 1980: 14-15; Azzara 2015: 37). These expeditions were also conducted by the king, such as in the case of King Alboin who subdued Cividale del Friuli, Verona, Milano, the northern part of Piemonte and Pavia, and they continued into the 8th century, when, for example, King Liutprand arrived to besiege the city of Rome. Overall, as Wickham (2005: 210) has concluded 'the main impression of the first decades of Lombard occupation is of chaos, with dukes of individual cities acting autonomously'. From the

election of King Authari (584) onwards we see the gradual reinforcement of the state, but elements of instability persisted throughout the period.

One of these elements was the fragmentation of the kingdom into two main areas, *Langobardia Maior*, which included the northern part of Italy and Toscana, and *Langobardia Minor*, which comprised the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento (Figure 1.2). Between the two there were the territories under Byzantine (Exarchate) and Church control, extending from Rome to Ravenna. In addition, part of the modern regions of Calabria and Puglia remained in Byzantine hands. Although, the borders between the Lombards and the Byzantines shifted over the years (Ravenna was conquered by King Aistulf in 751), the two dominions and those of the Pope coexisted and constantly confronted each other. This division, which was already in place by 605, was not intentional but resulted from the fact that the Lombards never managed to conquer all the Italian territories (Wickham 2005: 35).

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Figure 1.2: The political division of the Italian peninsula during the Lombard period (source: Christie 1995: 75, fig. 6).

The division between the northern and the southern part of the Lombard polity has been used to determine the geographical scope of this thesis. Indeed, the historical events and the political situation of the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento diverge somewhat from what happened in the northern part of the kingdom. Suffice it to say that in 774, which is set as the end of the 'Lombard period', Charlemagne conquered only the territories of *Langobardia Maior*. The duchy of Spoleto entered to the Carolingian sphere a few years later (779) but the duchy of Benevento continued to be autonomous until 1076 (Azzara 2015: 94; 106). However, it must also be noted that, given the difficulty in tracing the exact borders between Lombard and Byzantine territories, and the fact that they were probably mutable and permeable (Azzara 2015: 61), the geographical limits of this research have followed the borders of modern regions, including all the northern Italian regions and Toscana.

The Lombard kingdom also had to deal with neighbours beyond the Alps, such as the Franks, the Bavarians and the Avars. The northern regions of the peninsula were subjected, from time to time, to incursion and relationships with these peoples fluctuated. The major example is probably what happened with the Franks, which eventually lead to the demise of the kingdom in 774. The good relationships between the Lombards and the Franks are evident from the episode of the 'adoption' of the young Pippin by King Liutprand, through the symbolic cutting of the hair (737; Delogu 1980: 153-4; see also Chapter 6). Liutprand also joined Charles Martel in his fight against the Muslims in Francia (737-738; Delogu 1980: 153-4). But it was Pippin himself who, in 754 and 756, allied with the Pope and moved against King Aistulf in Italy. Similarly, after a period of alliances between the Lombards and the Carolingians, ratified through the marriage between Charlemagne and King Desiderius' daughter, Charlemagne was the author of the defeat of the Lombards and brought about the end of the Lombard kingdom in northern Italy (Delogu 1980: 186; 188-91).

Furthermore, the situation within the kingdom was not stable. Despite the attempts of the kings to limit the power of the dukes, they remained major political actors, and could threaten the king's authority. In some instances the antagonism between the ducal and the royal authority resulted in actual conspiracies that led to wars between factions. This was the case, for example, in the attempt to seize the throne made by Lupus, duke of Friuli, against King Grimoald (ca. 662-663; Delogu 1980: 93-5) or the rebellions led

by Alahis, duke of Trento against, first, King Perctarit and, later, Cunicpert (ca. 680 and 688; Delogu 1980: 101-104).

Evidence regarding the social structure of the kingdom comes from the Lombard Laws, written between 643 and the 8th century (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2). The main social divisions were between freemen, half-free and unfree men, although this was not a strict distinction and changes of status were possible (Delogu 1980: 66). The class of the freemen had a military connotation, as it emerges also from the use of the terms *arimannus* (army men) and *excercitalis* (soldier) as synonymous with freemen (Christie 1995: 118). However, by the mid-7th century, and certainly in the 8th century, social status becomes progressively more intertwined with landownership and the possibility of entering into the royal bureaucratic system (Wickham 2005: 211; 2009: 128) – although this system did not necessarily guarantee social stability, since these titles were probably not hereditary and could be revoked by the king during an individual's lifetime (Christie 1995: 116). As La Rocca (1997; 1998) has argued, the gradual 'entrenchment' of the Lombard elites in the land also changed the forms of status display and transmission.

Another gradual and complex process that undoubtedly transformed the nature of the kingdom were changes in religious belief. When the Lombards arrived in Italy they were Arians. Arianism was a heresy, based on thinking about the Trinity developed by the Alexandrian priest Arius c. 230, who believed that Christ was not as divine as the Father (Piccinni 2000: 16). It is unclear when the Lombards shifted from Paganism to Arianism and it has been hypothesised that the conversion was a political move made by King Alboin, just before the invasion of Italy, to claim continuity with the Goths, who were, indeed, Arians (Gasparri 2005a: 5). In reality, the religion of the Lombards does not emerge as clear and consistent (La Rocca 2004b: 15-18), at least until the second half of the 7th century: pagan beliefs survived underneath the Christian surface (Gasparri 2005a: 20) and Arianism and Catholicism probably coexisted. Evidence in this direction may be the fact that Catholic kings and queens could be either Arians or Catholics (Gasparri 2005a: 11-2). The first steps towards Catholicism were made by King Agilulf (591-615/616), and his wife Theodolind who was not only Catholic herself, but was also in contact with Pope Gregory the Great (Gasparri 2005a: 11-13). However, after Arioald became king (625/626) Arianism was again in vogue until 653 when King Aripert I abolished it. From that point onwards the relationship between

Catholicism and royalty became progressively stronger and, by the beginning of the 8th century, the kingdom was definitively Catholic (Delogu 1980: 96-101; Gasparri 2005a: 27).

From this brief overview the Lombard period emerges as one in which the political, social and religious situation was in constant transformation. Clashes and contacts between different cultures, social mobility and competition, and fluid religious beliefs suggest that individual and community identities were frequently shaped and reshaped, making the Lombard period a complex, yet interesting, case study to analyse the projection and transformation of identity.

1.2 Why the funerary record?

The decision to focus attention on the burial record was mainly dictated by practical reasons. Cemeteries are **the** major archaeological source of information for the Lombard period. Moreover, studies regarding funerals and funerary evidence have been undertaken for many different periods and geographical areas (e.g. Morris 1987; 1992; Parker Pearson 1999; Tarlow 1999; Carroll 2006) revealing the informative potential of this type of material for understanding past societies. Further, theoretical developments in the study of funerary archaeology in the past decades allow us to interpret the funeral as a moment in which identity could be constructed, negotiated and transformed (overviews can be found in e.g. Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Härke 1994: 31-3; 1997a: 19-21; Parker Pearson 1999; Williams 2006: 4-13; Barbiera 2012: 16-18).

The main concept guiding the analysis of the mortuary record is that the grave and its contents were not simply a 'mirror of life' (Härke 1997a: 25). As Hodder (1982; 1987) has highlighted, material culture changes its symbolic meaning according to the context in which it was used and it is the analysis of this context that should guide archaeological interpretation. Thus, the same item, for example a sword or a necklace, might have had a different meaning when it was used in the everyday life and when it was, instead, part of the funerary ritual. Thus, rather that interpreting the burial record as direct evidence of the life of the deceased – i.e. weapons=warrior; gold=rich – we should ask why the deceased were buried in a certain way, and what were the factors

that guided the choices made before and during the funeral, especially concerning the composition of grave goods assemblages.

In order to answer this question, another key point must be considered. The deceased did not bury themselves; most of the material evidence that we recover from the graves are the results of actions undertaken by the mourners and are the product of **their** intentional and non-intentional choices (Härke 1994; 1997a; Parker Pearson 1999: 3). Mike Parker Pearson (1998) has argued that the funeral is a performance staged in front of an audience. The rites and gestures conducted around the deceased are aimed at communicating a meaningful message, which might restate or subvert reality, but is controlled and, inevitably, manipulated by the mourners (Parker Pearson 1982: 101, 112; 1993: 203). The deceased's identity that the mourners construct during the funeral is partial and select and could, in some cases, be 'unreal'. In this respect although the burial record does not provide exact information on the identity (or identities) of the deceased in life, it is still evidence of the world of the living.

But, what message could the living want to convey through the medium of the funeral? To use Barrett's words 'the corpse, and the way it was treated, presents a powerful symbolic medium by which the transition from life to death can be represented, <u>a process during which the living reconsider their own legitimate claims of social position and inheritance</u>' (Barrett 1988: 31, my emphasis). Thus, the funeral was instrumental, through the construction and projection of the deceased's identity (partial, selected, multiple, real or unreal), in the display and/or negotiation of the social position of the mourners (family, household, community).

1.3 Why gender?

Among the different aspects of identity that could be investigated through the funerary record, it was decided to focus on gender. This choice mainly comes from the consideration that, while gender has widely featured in archaeological debates on Early Medieval societies undertaken in other European countries (e.g. Halsall 1995; 1996; 2004; Stoodley 1999; Hadley and Moore 1999; Hadley 2004), an in-depth study of gender identity in Lombard Italy remains to be carried out. Barbiera's (2005) work, which discussed gender among the Lombards through a comparison between three

cemeteries in Pannonia and three in the Italian region of Friuli Venezia Giulia, was ground-breaking and should have inspired a more systematic analysis of this theme. On the contrary, however, in the last decade only a few scholars have pursued this avenue of research, and have focussed on specific aspects of the phenomenon (e.g. Barbiera 2007b; La Rocca 2011b; 2015; De Marchi 2011a; Giostra 2007). The reasons behind what appears to be a general lack of interest in issues surrounding gender among Italian archaeologists will be further explored in the second Chapter of the thesis, but it is clear that a detailed study of gender in Lombard Italy based upon the analysis of a wide dataset with a broad geographical scope is long overdue.

As will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 4, the two main models on which this study is based are the work of Nick Stoodley (1999) on Early Anglo-Saxon England and that of Guy Halsall (1995) on the Merovingian region of Metz. Both these studies have explored gender through the analysis of the grave good assemblages of a large number of cemeteries across a wide geographical area. These studies not only provide the basis upon which the methodology of the thesis has been designed but also the principal source of comparison for the results obtained. However, in discussing gender identity it is necessary to bear in mind some key general points. Firstly, gender is not a given but is culturally constructed (Conkey and Spector 1984: 15-16). As a product of society, it is not fixed, but ideas on gender can change according to time and space (Conkey and Spector 1984: 16; Conkey and Gero 1991: 8). Although in this thesis the discussion on gender will revolve around the two concepts of masculinity and femininity, it is also important to remember that even within these two categories there could be variations and each of them could take different forms.

Time and space are not the only factors that condition differences in gender expression. Indeed, gender is only one of the many facets of an individual's identity which inevitably interacted with each other (Conkey and Gero 1991: 9). Thus, gender identity could change according to the context, the social position and the cultural belonging of the individual. Further biological traits, such as sex, could be involved in the construction of gender identity, but there is not necessarily a direct equation between the two aspects (e.g. Conkey and Spector 1984; Delphy 1993; Díaz-Andreu 2005: 14). When talking about gender in this thesis the terms 'masculinity' and 'femininity' will be used, while 'male' and 'female' will be used to refer to the biological characteristics of the deceased.

One of the main factors that must be taken into account is the interaction between gender and the life cycle, since the way in which the gender of an individual is perceived and eventually expressed can change according to age (Gilchrist 2004). Age is a biological characteristic of the individual, but we must not forget that the social roles and expectations that are connected to the stages in an individual's biological life are also context-dependent and socially constructed (Gilchrist 2000: 326; 2004: 143). For this reason, the analysis of the relationship between gender and age can provide useful information on the societies concerned.

1.4 Thesis outline

This thesis has a broadly 'traditional' structure starting with a literature review, followed by the presentation of the dataset, the explanation of the methodology, the analysis and discussion of the results. In more detail, Chapter 2 will present the history of Lombard studies in Italy from the 15th century up to now. The main aim of this Chapter is not to provide a detailed list of all the scholars that have contributed to the field in the past 500 years, but to identify the main lines of thought and interests that have characterised the research. It will emerge that, despite the passage of time and the theoretical and methodological changes that have occurred, the debate has primarily revolved around the same question, which is the relationship and interaction between the Germanic character of the Lombards and the Latin and Christian culture they found in Italy. The Chapter will conclude by observing that recent developments in the debate about ethnicity may offer the chance to open the field to a new perspective on the Lombard period, to which this thesis seeks to make a contribution.

In Chapter 3 the data that will be used to explore gender identity will be presented. The processes that guided the selection of the sixteen cemeteries to be analysed (the case-study cemeteries) will be explained, the limits and the potentials of the funerary record available for Lombard Italy discussed, and the ways in which the data were collected and organised will be described. In the second part of the Chapter I will provide an overview of the sources that will be used as comparative evidence. In particular, I will describe the main characteristics of the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, the Lombard Laws and the *Historia Langobardorum*, examining also the issues that arise from the

use of the written sources in researching gender in Lombard Italy. Further, I will consider the nature of the information that can be obtained from iconography.

Chapter 4 focuses on the methodology developed to analyse the funerary evidence. It will be argued that the few existing studies on gender in Lombard Italy have not developed a methodology that can be applied in this research. Attention will therefore turn to studies on gender undertaken in other European countries. I will review, in particular, the work on Early Anglo-Saxon England (Stoodley 1999) and Merovingian Gaul (Halsall 1995) and will outline the reasons why the methodology developed by Halsall (1995) is considered the most useful for the research developed in this thesis – although Stoodley's (1999) analysis will be also applied to gain a broad view of the main patterns. I will go on to suggest that the limitations of these methodologies necessitate further refinements, which consist of the comparison of the results with the information provided by the written sources – the focus of the second part of the Chapter. I will explain how evidence for the relationship between gender and material culture has been obtained from the texts and how this information can be introduced into the analysis of the funerary record. Interestingly, it will emerge that from the three texts considered, only masculinity was consistently related to certain objects, and that it is not possible to outline a clear link between femininity and material culture. Finally, it will be shown that the results acquired from the analysis of the written sources are confirmed and strengthened by the way in which the human figure is often represented in Lombard iconography.

Chapter 5 opens with the results obtained by the application of Stoodley's (1999) method, performing multivariate analysis on the grave goods found in the case-study cemeteries. The general patterns that emerge from this type of analysis are then investigated in more detail through the application of Halsall's method, through comparison with the information obtained from the written and iconographic sources, and through the observation of the characteristics of the graves in each cemetery. The results from each case-study cemetery will be presented and discussed with the ultimate aim of identifying the graves that expressed masculinity and femininity and the objects that were involved in the projection of gender identity. I will show that, while objects such as weapons and some items of jewellery and dress accessories were consistently linked with the masculine and the feminine gender, respectively, others shifted their gender character from cemetery to cemetery.

In Chapter 6 the graves recognised as masculine will be discussed in order to understand the ways in which masculinity was constructed and projected through grave goods in the Lombard period. The discussion will begin with weapons graves, as this type of item has emerged from the funerary record, as well as from the written and iconographic sources, as the most characteristic of masculinity. The focus then shifts to the masculine graves without weapons, showing the existence of other forms of masculine identity. Finally, I will consider the relationship between masculinity and life cycle and the chronology of the masculine graves.

Chapter 7 is devoted to femininity. It will be shown that the great majority of the feminine graves in the case-study cemeteries were characterised by the presence of ornaments (jewellery or dress accessories), deposited in different combinations, which varied without consistent rules. Then, the hypothesis of a connection between the expression of femininity and the role of women as brides and mothers will be explored through the analysis of the relationship between femininity and life-cycle. The last section of the Chapter focuses on the development of femininity over time and will bring together chronological information on both masculinity and femininity, and will discuss changes in gender expression more generally.

The last Chapter of the thesis summarises the main outcomes that have emerged from the analysis and discussion of the data, and the other conclusions that have resulted from research on the history of the discipline and the methodology. Overall, it will be stressed that gender expression did not follow a unique and consistent model across Lombard Italy. Artefacts that signify gender could be interpreted differently among different communities, which shows the interplay between gender and other facets of an individual's identity. Although following a broad pattern (weapons with men and jewellery/dress accessories with women) the gender discourse was probably articulated at a local level, in response to community traditions and concerns. The centrality of the community (and, sometimes, of single individuals) that emerges from this thesis is further evidence against a rigid ethnic interpretation of this historical period. Finally, the thesis ends with a discussion of the topics identified as deserving of future research.

CHAPTER 2: A HISTORY OF LOMBARD STUDIES

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this Chapter is to provide an overview of the history of Lombard studies in Italy from the 15th century to the present, to expose both the strengths and the weaknesses in current interpretive schemes, and to establish the gaps in our knowledge that this thesis aims to fill. In the first section (2.2), the birth and development of the so-called 'Lombard question' will be discussed, showing how Lombard studies became intertwined with contemporary political and ideological ideas. The second section (2.3) focuses on the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century and the discussion moves on to examine how Lombard studies became enmeshed in the desire to explore and develop local identities in a period when the interest in 'barbaric' material culture was increasing thanks to the first major archaeological discoveries. The third section (2.4) will illustrate the ideas and methodological developments that occurred between the 1920's and the 1970's, and how those provided a significant contribution to the birth of Medieval archaeology in Italy as a separate discipline (2.5). In the final section (2.6-7), the discussion is brought up to date with an overview of the discipline in the last three decades and it is argued that despite acknowledging a wealth of theoretical and methodological developments in related areas, the field of Lombard studies has yet to break free from a theoretical framework whose origins can be traced back some 500 years.

2.2 The 'Lombard question': a long-lasting debate.

The 'Lombard question' refers to the debate that emerged between 1822 and 1850 in Italian historiography (although its roots are to be found in the 15th century) regarding the role that the Lombards played in the history of the Italian nation (Gasparri 1997a: 132-4), which has influenced the historical and archaeological debate until today. As the historian Artifoni (2000: 219) has stressed in a paper summarizing some of the main characteristics of the 'Lombard question', it incorporates discussions on several different cultural themes and, consequently, has involved a considerable number of scholars throughout the past five centuries (Falco 1952; Costa 1977; Tabacco 1988;

Artifoni 2007; Wood 2013: 111-136). The aim of this section, therefore, is to illustrate briefly the main topics that have characterized this debate from the beginning of the 15th to the 19th century. However, it is not feasible to discuss in-depth the contribution of every single author that wrote about Lombard Italy during those five centuries. Instead, the work of three major figures will be highlighted: their contributions to the study and interpretation of the Lombard period in Italy are seen today as major landmarks in the development of the debate because of the new themes and perspectives they introduced, and which inspired both contemporary and later scholars (Falco 1952; Gasparri 1997a: 132-4).

The work of Niccolò Machiavelli is often considered to represent the starting point of the 'Lombard question' (Falco 1952: 153). His opinion about the two centuries of Lombard domination in Italy is most fully expressed in the *Istorie Fiorentine*, presented in 1525 to Pope Clement VII (Gaeta 1962: 48). This is a work commissioned in 1520 by Giulio de' Medici (then Pope Clemens VII) concerning the history of Firenze from the period of the Emperor Theodosius (379-395) until the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 (Gaeta 1962: 45). In Machiavelli's account, the Lombards, summoned by the Byzantine commandant Narsete in 568, succeeded in conquering the Italian peninsula because it was politically divided (*IF* 1, 8). However, in the period between 574 and 584 he argued that the character of the Lombards changed dramatically, becoming more unruly and militarily less effective, because of the absence of a king and the anarchy of the Lombard dukes (*IF* 1, 8). It was these changes in the character of the Lombards that resulted in their failure to conquer the entire Italian peninsula and, ultimately, led to their defeat by Charlemagne in 774 (*IF* 1, 8). The weakness of the Lombards and the political division of Italy provided the foundations for the consolidation of the power of the Church, which alternately supported the Lombards or the Byzantines (*IF* 1, 9). According to Machiavelli, these circumstances, and in particular the call for aid made in 772 to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I, threatened by the attempt of the Lombard King Desiderius to invade Roma (Christie 1995: 105), began a historical pattern of encouraging external interference and political domination in Italy. Hence, for Machiavelli, Italy was '*disunita e inferma*'[2] (*IF* 1, 9).

Machiavelli's interpretation of the history of Italy during the Lombard period aligned itself with his more general concerns regarding the contemporary political situation of

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[2] 'Divided and infirm' (Morley 1891: 48).

the peninsula and his idealistic desire for a unified Italian nation (Falco 1952: 153-4). At the turn of the 16th century, Italy was an aggregate of different city-states and a point of dispute and a battlefield for supremacy between France and Spain, while the Church simultaneously increased its political power (Hay and Law 1989: 163-6). This reality strongly contrasted with Machiavelli's aspiration for a politically and geographically unified Italian nation, independent from any foreign interference, under the guidance of a capable 'prince', that could compete with contemporary European monarchies (Sapegno 1965: 66-71). Despite his political agenda that was imbued with the notion that history provides lessons for the present (*IF Proemio*), he introduced a topic that would be crucial to the subsequent development of the 'Lombard question': that is the negative impression of the conduct of Pope Hadrian I in appealing to Charlemagne. For Machiavelli, in doing so the pope fundamentally prevented the possibility of creating a unified Italian kingdom (Gasparri 1997a: 134).

Nevertheless, in Machiavelli's account, there is no characterization of the Lombards as a cruel or barbarian people, nor any judgement on their degree of culture in comparison with the Romans or the Byzantines. This is in contrast with the more widespread model developed by the Humanistic culture of the 14th and 15th centuries (Costa 1977: 17). This intellectual movement, that had at its core the revival and imitation of Classical culture in every aspect of the arts, believed in a sharp contrast between Latin and Germanic culture, considering the latter 'barbaric' (Costa 1977: 17). Furthermore, Machiavelli did not express any opinion regarding the relationship between the incoming Lombards and the autochthonous population except for the well-known and widely debated declaration: '*Erano stati i Longobardi dugentotrentadue anni in Italia, e di già non ritenevano di forestieri altro che il nome*'[3] (*IF* 1, 11). In this statement Machiavelli argues that during the period of their domination the Lombards had, essentially, become Italian and therefore suitable to rule Italy. Although this point was incidental in Machiavelli's *Istorie Fiorentine*, it was to become the core issue of the 'Lombard question', inaugurating a debate that has lasted for centuries.

The integration of Lombards and Romans (referring to the people who lived in Italy when the Lombards arrived in 568; see Introduction) was discussed in more depth by the intellectual Ludovico Antonio Muratori in two historical works: *Annali d'Italia*,

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[3] 'The Lombards had been in Italy 222 years, so long as to retain nothing of their original Barbarity but their name' (Morley 1891: 50). It is worth noting, however, that in this translation the word 'barbarity' replaced a more neutral term meaning, more generally, 'foreignness'.

published in 1744 (Falco and Forti 1976: XL) and the *Dissertazioni sopra le Antichità Italiane* published in 1738-1742 (Falco and Forti 1976: XXXIX). According to Muratori, the Lombards were a barbaric population when they first arrived in Italy (*Dissertazioni* 1): they were a '*feroce nazione*'[4] who destroyed all the cities that they conquered (*Dissertazioni* 21). But, very soon after their arrival, they became civilized and established '*dolce governo*'[5] (*Dissertazioni* 1). One of the consequences of this acculturation was that the Romans in the territories under Lombard control lived happily and soon the two groups melded into one population (*Dissertazioni* 23).

One of the many threads in Muratori's (*Dissertazioni* 1; *Dissertazioni* 21; *Annali* DLXXV) argument concerns Paul the Deacon's (*HL*a-b II, 32) account of the taxes that the Romans had to pay at the beginning of Lombard domination. Muratori did not believe that the Lombards dispossessed the Roman landowners, but rather forced them to pay one third of the products from their lands as tax. According to Muratori, this imposition was not dissimilar to the behaviour of the ancient Romans towards the defeated and, as such, could not be used to define the Lombards as barbarians (*Dissertazioni* 1; *Annali* DLXXV). Furthermore, once the Romans and the Lombards became integrated taxes were levelled equally across the entire population (*Dissertazioni* 21). Despite this being only one facet of Muratori's overall argument, it was to become a key theme in later debates of the 'Lombard question' (e.g. *Discorso* 4 *Appendice*; Delogu 2004).

Unlike Machiavelli, Muratori compares 'Medieval' (post-Roman) culture with the Classical arts (*Dissertazioni* 24). In doing so, the supremacy of Roman and Greek culture is not disputed, but Muratori warns about the risks of adopting a preconceived perspective: '*noi, per l'insigne progresso che han fatto le arti in questi ultimi secoli, ci figuriamo che i secoli barbarici giacessero in un'estrema stupidità ed ignoranza, […]. Ma nè pure allora mancò l'ingegno*'[6] (*Dissertazioni* 24).

In the two centuries that divide Machiavelli and Muratori the debate over the Lombards acquired well-defined themes. Discussions surrounding both the relationship between the Lombards and the Romans and, also, the process of integration of the two groups,

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[4] 'Ferocious nation' (my translation).
[5] 'Sweet government' (my translation).
[6] 'Because of the great progress that the arts have made in these last centuries, we think that the barbaric centuries were characterized by extreme stupidity and ignorance. Yet that period did not completely lack talent' (my translation).

became central. Moreover, the Middle Ages in general, and the era of the Lombards, in particular, were definitively recognized and accepted as formative periods of Italian history (Falco 1952: 157). In the introduction to the *Dissertazioni*, Muratori complains about historians' habit of focussing only on Classical history, emphasizing the need to study the Middle Ages from which he believed most contemporary institutions originated (*Dissertazioni Prefazione*). Muratori thought that the concept of those centuries as 'barbaric', which was perpetuated by the majority of his contemporary scholars following from Humanistic ideas, was judgemental and entirely subjective. In his opinion, it derived from a comparison between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance period and not from a detailed study of the sources. This is evident in Muratori's statement of his aim in writing the *Dissertazioni*: '*Le quali cose tutte [...] se non interamente rappresentare, possono almeno leggermente abbozzare lo stato dell'Italia, mentre ebbero voga quei costume che da noi sogliono chiamarsi barbarici, perché paragonati coll'eleganza e la dottrina dei tre ultimi scorsi secoli, pare a noi che incolti siano, e la barbarie dimostrino*'[7] (*Dissertazioni Prefazione*).

However, in Muratori's work there is not the same concern or emphasis placed on the unification of Italy that is evident in Machiavelli's writing. The national and cultural identity of Italy in Muratori's time had its roots in the Medieval period and was not affected by political and territorial unification (Delogu 2003: 6). Muratori does not criticise Pope Hadrian I for calling upon Charlemagne, who he also considers the greatest king of the Lombards and the Carolingians (*Dissertazioni* 1; *Annali* DCCLXXIV). However, he does describe the papacy as acting to protect and reinforce its secular powers rather than actively working against a unified Italy (*Annali* DCCLXXII).

The culmination of works on the 'Lombard question' is to be found in the *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardaica in Italia* written by Alessandro Manzoni between 1822 and 1847 (Ghisalberti 1963: XIII). This is an essay that Manzoni produced in parallel with the tragedy *Adelchi*, which is set between 772 and 774 during the fall of the Lombard kingdom (Baldi *et al.* 1993: 474). The aim of the *Discorso* was not just to clarify some of the historical events that take place in the tragedy but also,

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[7] 'All these things (Muratori's sources), although they cannot entirely portray, at least they can lightly sketch the condition of Italy, in the period when there were those habits that we use to call barbaric; those (habits) appear to us as ignorant and as demonstrating barbarity because they are compared (by us) with the elegance and the doctrine of the last three centuries' (my translation).

most importantly, to encourage scholars to study the Early Middle Ages in Italy and to be cautious about the contributions of previous researchers (*Discorso Premessa*).

The argumentative character of the *Discorso* has been stressed by Artifoni (2000: 222-3; 2007: 299-300) who explains how Manzoni creates a negatively biased image of the Lombards in contrast to the positively biased image generated in the 18th century. The latter was the result of three main lines of thought. Firstly, the Lombards were considered among the more 'primitive' and uncomplicated societies in history and, hence, appreciated by scholars for what they perceived as a free and genuine people. Secondly, the Lombard laws of the 7th and 8th century were admired for their simplicity and clarity as well as being regarded as representing the entire population in contrast with the elitist nature of the Roman law. Finally, the Lombard period was considered crucial not only in the history of Italy but also in the local histories of cities and regions, such as Napoli and Milano.

The premise of Manzoni's thesis is that Europe was divided into two populations (conquered and conquerors) following the barbarian invasions and that, consequently, the relationships between these groups needed to be explored in more detail (*Discorso* 2). In direct contrast with the idea that Machiavelli expressed, and which was shared by many scholars in the following centuries, Manzoni believed that the Lombards and the Romans remained separate during the entire period of Lombard domination (*Discorso* 2). This interpretation allowed for the development of new lines of research and, particularly, the possibility of shifting attention from the history of the conquerors to the history of the conquered (*Discorso* 2).

Thereafter, the *Discorso* focuses on the condition of the Roman population under Lombard domination discussing, for example, the legal system (*Discorso* 3) and the condition of the Roman landowners during the first decades following the invasion (*Discorso* 4, *Appendice*). Here, Manzoni's (*Discorso* 5) judgement on the behaviour of the Church is radically different from that argued by previous scholars. According to him, the central issue surrounding the intervention of Charlemagne is not the ambition and political power of the papacy but the freedom and wellbeing of the Romans. In the 8th century, the Byzantine territories in Italy were continuously under attack from the Lombards, so the Pope's intervention was the only hope for the Romans (*Discorso* 5).

Although, as Wood (2008: 238-42; 2013: 113) has highlighted, Manzoni's historical interpretation was based on a model developed by contemporary French writers, such as Fauriel and Thierry, it is the backdrop of 19th-century Italy that helps us to understand his argument. In a period in which the search for a national identity was all-consuming, the 'Lombard question' was used to support political ideologies (Gasparri 1997a: 133; Artifoni 2000: 219). Manzoni, for example, represented the so-called '*neoguelfi*' (Gasparri 1997a: 135), known amongst historians and political commentators as 'liberal-Catholics', who identified the roots of Italian identity in the Classical and Catholic past of the nation. The 'Lombard nation' became the symbol of the Austrians who ruled Italy in the 19th century and the 'Roman nation' that of the Italians in a clash between the Germanic and Classical cultures (Gasparri 1997a: 133; Artifoni 2000: 220). In making these ideological connections, the emphasis on the destiny of the conquered Romans and the way in which they were oppressed by the Germanic conquerors is explained. The deep link between contemporaneous nationalistic ideas and the interpretation of the past led to the stagnation of research on the Lombard period and concentrated attention on the relationship between the Romans and the Lombards alone (Artifoni 2000: 223), which greatly affected subsequent historical and archaeological debate.

2.3 The second half of the 19th and the first decade of the 20th century: the flourishing of local histories and the first excavations.

Providing a coherent account of Lombard studies during the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries is far from straightforward, due to the fragmentary nature of research. This is not surprising considering the stigma attached to the centuries of Lombard domination in Italy arising from Manzoni's idea that the historical and cultural origins of the new-born nation had nothing to do with the Lombards. Rather than being seen as contributing to the shaping of Italian identity, they were accused of causing the oppression and eclipse of genuine Italian culture. However, it is possible to identify some key events and ideas that contributed to the development of Lombard studies. Three features, in particular, characterized this period. Firstly, Lombard history was not considered and studied as part of a shared national narrative but, instead, became central in the construction of **local** traditions. Secondly, it was during this period that the first excavations occurred, mostly undertaken by antiquarians who were

enthusiastic towards 'barbarian' remains, in contrast with a more widespread interest in the Classical past. Thirdly, there was a missed opportunity to transform an unstructured and essentially random curiosity towards Medieval material culture into structured scientific research.

In recent years scholars have emphasized how the interest shown in the Lombards during the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century lost part of its national character and became more focussed on the construction of regional and local identities (Artifoni 2000: 224; La Rocca 2004a: 183-4; La Rocca 2008: 2-3; Pazienza 2009: 18-27). According to Artifoni (2000: 223-5), this was a consequence of the rigid boundaries imposed by the development of the 'Lombard question' in the first half of the 18th century, which resulted in a simplistic approach seeking comparisons and contrasts between the Lombards and the Romans. From a wider perspective, Italian unification in 1861 led to the localization of historical research more generally (Porciani 1988: 165-6; 1997: 155). On the one hand, research focussing on the histories of individual regions and cities was seen as the only possible starting point to write the history of Italy as a whole (Porciani 1997: 162-3). On the other hand, the systematic establishment of schools, libraries, museums and a more organized administrative apparatus encouraged the development of local culture and created new places for intellectual association (Porciani 1997: 155). This is particularly evident in the flourishing activity of the various *Società* and *Deputazioni di Storia Patria* (regionally based organizations set up with the aim of studying the history of their own territory), which guaranteed that local histories and traditions were not erased by the need to create a more general and inclusive national history (Porciani 1988: 165-6).

The material remains of the Medieval period played an important part in the construction and shaping of these local histories and identities. A clear example of this surrounds the accidental discovery of a grave containing a sarcophagus in Cividale del Friuli (Friuli Venezia Giulia) in 1874 (Barbiera 1998: 345). Inside the sarcophagus was found a rich assemblage of objects, alongside the remains of the deceased (Barbiera 1998: 345). On its lid the inscription CISVL was uncovered, which led to it being identified as belonging to the duke Gisulph, the first duke of the city who was appointed in 568 and is mentioned in Paul the Deacon's *Historia Langobardorum* (*HL*a-b II, 9; Barbiera 1998: 345). Although some doubts regarding the authenticity of the inscription arose immediately after its discovery, it was only in 1974 that the inscription was

recognised as a fake (Barbiera 1998: 345-6). Thanks to the publication of a series of oral accounts regarding the discovery as well as to the analysis of a cast of the inscription, it was finally discovered that the inscription had, in fact, been engraved by the mayor of the city of Cividale immediately after its discovery (Barbiera 1998: 346). The significance of this incident has recently been explored by Irene Barbiera (1998) who concluded that this act was the result of competition between Cividale and the nearby town of Udine (Friuli Venezia Giulia) about which was the most ancient foundation. The supposed uncovering of such an illustrious ancestor did, however, encourage the search for more Lombard graves in the region between 1870 and 1914 (Varetto 1996, cited in La Rocca 2008: 153, note 25).

A similar increase of interest in 'barbarian' remains occurred in Piedmont following the excavation of the cemetery of Testona (La Rocca 2004a: 178-9, note 12). In 1878, father and son, Claudio and Edoardo Calandra decided to begin excavations in a field where some accidental finds of ancient artefacts had been made (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 21). The Calandras were not archaeologists but they were typical examples of the erudite classes of the 19th century: Claudio was a solicitor, politician and interested in hydraulics and geology, while Edoardo was a painter and a writer (La Rocca 2008: 6). Both father and son collected ancient weapons, and it may be that this interest encouraged them to undertake the excavation (La Rocca 2004a: 179). Scholars who have recently discussed the history of Lombard studies in Italy consider the excavation of Testona as the symbolic starting point of Lombard archaeology. Despite being critical of the underlying methodology (Gelichi 2005a: 170; La Rocca 2004a: 178-82), in comparison with earlier accidental discoveries, this was a planned investigation not limited to the mere collection of objects, and resulted in the publication of a substantial excavation report in which the cemetery and grave goods were studied in relation to finds from other countries (La Rocca 2004a: 178).

The report itself is divided into three parts. The first introduces the discovery of Testona as new to Italian archaeology and briefly discusses the historical and geographical context of the site (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 18-20). In the second part an account of the discovery is given along with a synthetic description of the cemetery (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 21-3). Comparing the objects found in Testona with sites excavated on the other side of the Alps the Calandras wrote that: '… *la necropoli nulla aveva di comune colle romane ma era invece in tutto simile a quelle appartenenti a popoli di*

razza germanica in Francia, in Inghilterra in Germania, nelle Svizzere e nel Belgio'[8] (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 22). The methodology adopted in relating Testona's finds with items from other countries is confined to the analysis of specific categories of objects (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 24-36). Unsurprisingly, the focus of this section is upon weapons (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 24-30), while little is said about tools, brooches or pottery (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 30-6), and other artefact classes are entirely neglected. Finally, on the basis of the weapons found in Testona, and the written sources, the Calandras attempted to define the ethnic identity of the deceased (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 37-51). However, they fail to give a conclusive answer to this question, remaining undecided as to whether Slavs, Franks or Merovingians were represented (Calandra and Calandra 1883: 51-2).

What emerges from the enthusiastic, but amateur, approach of the Calandras is the absence of any concept of archaeological context in favour of a pronounced interest in categories of objects, particularly weapons. The presence and character of these objects in graves was seen as a means of providing at least a racial distinction between barbarians and Romans, and even, when possible, to identify the specific ethnic groups – mentioned in the written sources – that settled in Italy. The consequence of this approach was the separation of grave goods from their context and their collection, sorting and consideration according to typological categories (Gelichi 2005a: 170), a problematic methodology, but which nonetheless paralleled practices occurring elsewhere at the time. For example, in the process of collecting, cataloguing and presenting objects for the Museo Civico in Verona (Veneto), weapons of different chronological periods were collected together, causing, in many cases the loss of the original context and location of the find (Modenesi 1989: 27-8). The long-term consequence was the emphasis placed upon objects themselves, which were viewed as the bearers of immutable cultural meanings despite being removed from their historical and geographical context.

In this intellectual atmosphere the two excavations at Castel Trosino in the Marche region (Mengarelli 1902; Sergi 1902) and Nocera Umbra in Umbria (Pasqui and Paribeni 1918), can be considered as methodologically exceptional and, consequently, they remain major points of reference for Lombard archaeology today. Both cemeteries

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[8] 'The cemetery did not have anything in common with Roman cemeteries but it was similar in all respects to the ones that belonged to populations of the Germanic race in France, England, Germany, Switzerland and Belgium' (my translation).

were subject to planned and extensive excavations following accidental discoveries (Sergi 1902: 153-60; Pasqui and Paribeni 1918: 140-1). Two hundred and sixty-nine graves were discovered at Castel Trosino (Sergi 1902: 187) and 165 graves at Nocera Umbra (Paqui and Paribeni 1918: 143). In contrast to the antiquarian approaches, a clear methodology emerges from the detailed excavation reports where there is a description of every grave that includes information on grave structures, measurements, position of the skeleton, grave goods and their position in relationship with the body (Mengarelli 1902; Pasqui and Paribeni 1918: 155-346). There is a rich apparatus of drawings of objects and graves (although not every grave or object is represented), and plans of the sites. Other, less visually impressive or immediately significant, evidence is reported, such as the traces of charcoal on the surface near the graves (Sergi 1902: 180), the absence of external grave markers (Sergi 1902: 168) and signs of previous occupation on the site (Pasqui and Paribeni 1918: 144-55). The cemeteries were attributed to the Lombard period on the basis of the grave goods and the evidence from coins (Sergi 1902: 186; Pasqui and Paribeni 1918: 350-2).

These two excavations could have encouraged the birth of Medieval archaeology as a scientific discipline, but they remained fortunate exceptions among the preponderance of accidental and antiquarian discoveries. However, a wish for a more systematic approach to Medieval material culture was strongly expressed by the Prehistoric and Classical archaeologist Paolo Orsi (1887: 333-6), who saw in the material remains of the Early Middle Ages a way to understand the culture of those centuries and, in particular, the culture of the barbarian peoples. Even if Orsi (1887: 334) presents archaeology as an auxiliary science to history, as an instrument to shed light on a period where written sources are scarce, his proposal was groundbreaking. In Orsi's (1887: 334) opinion, archaeological material could be crucial in obtaining information on: '*la coltura di questi popoli, la loro vita in tutte le sue molteplici ed intime forme, il culto della persona e quello dei morti, la ceramica e la metallotecnica*'.[9] He was acutely aware that Medieval archaeology in his time was mostly driven by an interest in the discovery of precious objects and that these were the exclusive focus of activities of rescue and preservation (Orsi 1887: 335). Orsi's criticism focussed on the cultural gap between the method applied by Classical and Prehistoric archaeology and the study of Medieval remains in Italy, which also contrasted with research undertaken in Germany

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[9] 'The culture of these peoples, their life in all its various and intimate forms, the cult of personhood and the cult of dead, the pottery and the metallurgy' (my translation).

and France (Orsi 1887: 334, 336). Unfortunately, these observations and criticisms did not have any immediate effect in practice (Gelichi 2005a: 171) and many decades were to pass before such a perspective on material culture was again considered. Instead, the second part of Orsi's paper, in which the author lists and describes all the gold crosses found in Italy and attributes them to the Lombards (Orsi 1887: 336-413), anticipated the typological approach that was to be systematically applied from the 1920's.

2.4 From the 1920's to 1960's: new methods and new ideas towards the birth of Medieval Archaeology.

A new methodological approach towards Lombard material culture began to develop during the 1920's thanks to the contribution of German scholars. In 1923, Neils Åberg published *Die Goten und Langobarden in Italien*, in which he organized and discussed Gothic and Lombard objects. The dataset included all objects, published and unpublished, found in Italy and stored in museums in Italy and across Europe (Åberg 1923: III). The objects were divided into categories, such as buckles (Åberg 1923: 2-13), brooches (Åberg 1923: 13-26, 31-83) and gold crosses (Åberg 1923: 87-94), and their shapes and decoration were described. Of particular interest was the attribution of ethnic characteristics to the decorative styles and shape of objects that can be seen in the section concerning Lombard belt fittings, which, significantly, have been separated into those of '*Germanischen Charakters*'[10] (Åberg 1923: 103), '*Byzantinishen Charakters*'[11] (Åberg 1923: 112) or those with mixed characteristics (Åberg 1923: 125).

The work of Åberg, particularly, encouraged other scholars to use this same approach of focussing on specific classes of artefacts in the following years. Fuchs managed to publish his work on gold crosses (Fuchs 1938) before the war, while his second work on brooches was published posthumously thanks to Joachim Werner (Fuchs and Werner 1950). Their main aim was to organize the finds of the 'barbaric' period to create 'chrono-typological' classes – essentially stylistic seriation (Gelichi 2005a: 173). While this method was undoubtedly original in Early Medieval archaeology and offered new approaches to research that helped revitalize the subject, it can also be seen as a direct

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[10] 'German features' (my translation).
[11] 'Byzantine features' (my translation).

development and perpetuation of previous antiquarian endeavours, where the focus of attention was on the single object detached from its context.

Moreover, this approach was based on the assumption that objects with a defined style and decoration belonged to a particular ethnic group, and this had two main consequences for the study of funerary contexts. Firstly, any deceased individual who was found with objects defined as Lombard was considered a Lombard (La Rocca 1989: 84). Secondly, and following on from this, traces of acculturation between different ethnic groups could be recognised from the presence of both Lombard and non-Lombard objects in the same grave and from the progressive merging of Lombard and non-Lombard stylistic and morphological characteristics in material culture.

This strict ethnic attribution is clearly expressed by Otto von Hessen (1976), the main heir of this school and one of the most influential and prolific scholars in Lombard studies. After a troubled childhood due to the Second World War, von Hessen developed a strong interest in archaeology. Having participated in the excavation of Invillino (Friuli Venezia Giulia) in 1961, and returning in 1962, he started to focus his attention on Lombard and Gothic material culture (Mastrelli 1999: 27-8). Von Hessen (1976: 485) strongly objected to the indiscriminate use of the word 'barbaric' to characterize graves, being convinced that '*la tomba di un morto non italiano*'[12] was recognizable through grave goods and that these, in turn, identified the grave as typical either of the Goths or of the Lombards. When graves did not contain weapons or certain brooches and belt fittings, or were completely lacking in grave goods, von Hessen's (1976) view was that they belonged to the 'autochthonous' population.

Furthermore, he believed that the widespread dispersal of objects across the museums of Europe prevented any effective archaeological synthesis of Lombard culture from being carried out. As a consequence, he suggested that it was necessary to begin with systematic work in the various museums and archives cataloguing, organizing and examining all available data (von Hessen 1974b: 388) – a task that was to occupy him throughout his life (e.g. von Hessen 1968; 1971; 1975; 1981; 1983). In addition, he organized and promoted the creation of regional gazetteers of all the Lombard finds in Italy (e.g. von Hessen and Brozzi 1973; von Hessen 1974a; Calderini 1974) while also publishing the results of new excavations (e.g. von Hessen 1973; 1974b; 1978).

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[12] 'The grave of a deceased non-Italian' (my translation).

Otto von Hessen was highly active in the academic community. From 1966 he was involved in the *Centro per lo Studio delle Civiltà Barbariche in Italia* (Mastrelli 1999: 29-30) and from 1970 in the *Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo di Spoleto*. He held the chair of Medieval Archaeology in the newly created University of Pisa in 1972 and then in Venezia in 1985 (Mastrelli 1999: 35 and 42). Hence, his legacy has been transmitted not only through his publications but also through his numerous students (De Marchi and Possenti 1998: 12). His contribution to Lombard studies is, therefore, of undeniable value and extent. However, his call for catalogues and typologies has frequently been seen as the main aim of the archaeologist rather than the first step in a research process (e.g. Gelichi 2005b: 9; Possenti 1994). Moreover, the normative approach that led von Hessen confidently to attribute ethnic identities to the dead on the basis of grave goods has deeply influenced Lombard archaeology. This is exemplified by his analysis of the two cemeteries of Castel Trosino and Nocera Umbra (von Hessen 1980: 123-4). With the former, the presence in graves of both artefacts that find parallel in the Lombard cemeteries in Pannonia (where they were settled before they arrived in Italy; see Introduction) and local objects suggested to him an early process of acculturation, while in the latter the preponderance of 'Pannonian' objects implied, for him, the absence of a Roman element to the population that, hence, was wholly Lombard. This same interpretation has been proposed again in Cornelia Rupp's publication of Nocera Umbra (1997: 28-9; see also, Vollono 2012: 20).

New developments can be recognized in the historical debate following the Second World War. The most significant scholar in this regard is Gian Piero Bognetti who introduced new methods and ideas in historical research into the study of the Lombards. Bognetti thought that the 'Lombard question' in the 19th century was excessively linked with contemporary political issues and, as a consequence, scholars of that period tended to interpret Early Medieval Italy according to modern categories (Bognetti 1967 [1953a]: 3). For Bognetti (1967 [1951]: 195; 1967: 183), the Lombard period, and in particular the 7th century, was crucial in the development of later Medieval institutions and he believed that it was in this light that it should be read. Although he was still interested in defining the relationship between the Lombards and the Romans and the processes of acculturation between the two groups (Bognetti 1966 [1939]), he recognized the complexity and importance of the Early Medieval period as a whole, and attempted to restore its position in history free from ideological and political biases.

Moreover, he recognized that contacts between the Lombards and the Byzantine Empire started before their conquest of Italy (Bognetti 1967 [1954]: 282), a theme to which scholars have recently returned (Pohl 2000a: 137-48). He argued that the local population of Italy had already lost its Classical culture and heritage such that the Roman influences came from the contacts between the Lombards and other populations (including the Merovingians) where this tradition was still preserved (Bognetti 1967 [1951]: 194). Whether or not this was the case, the merit of his argument is to have emphasized a more complex network of communication between Italy and the rest of Europe. Nonetheless, Bognetti (1967 [1954]) maintained a traditional position in considering Classical culture as the core of civilization, although he also believed that: '*la civiltà latina e la civiltà germanica [...] sono due fattori ormai inscindibili di una tradizione che rappresenta ai nostri occhi, il centro e il fulcro della civiltà moderna. Vederle già intrecciate agli albori della civiltà italiana, riconoscere che gli uomini del nord hanno avuto in essa una funzione essenziale, è di per se stesso un rimuovere ostacoli a più feconde collaborazion*i' (Bognetti 1967 [1951]: 195-6).[13]

Bognetti's most significant contribution was his interdisciplinary approach to Lombard history. This is particularly evident in his desire for collaboration between historians and art historians (Bognetti 1967 [1954]: 269) and in the inclusion of archaeological data as one of his historical sources (e.g. Bognetti 1967: 139-40; 1967 [1953b]: 353; 1967 [1959]: 226-7). The prominent role that archaeology played in Bognetti's work is manifest in his publications but also in his involvement in the excavations of Torcello (Veneto) in 1960 (Bognetti 1967 [1961]) and Castelseprio (Lombardia) in 1961 (Dabrowska *et al*. 1978-1979). These two excavations have been recognized as pivotal in the history of Italian Medieval archaeology as, thanks to collaboration with a division of the Polish Academy of Sciences, fully stratigraphic excavation was finally introduced in Italy for Medieval sites (Gelichi 1997: 72).

Castelseprio was a *castrum* built between the 5th and the 6th century (Spigo 2009: 19). It held a strategic geographical position in the Lombard period, which is considered to be the cause of its development (Spigo: 2009: 10, 21). The final report (Dabrowska *et al*. 1978-1979), although published several years after the excavation of the site, reflects

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[13] 'The Latin civilization and the Germanic civilization are now two inseparable factors of a tradition that represents, in our eyes, the centre and the core of modern civilization. Seeing them already intertwined at the dawn of Italian civilization, and recognizing that the men from the North had an essential role in that, removes the obstructions to more fruitful collaborations' (my translation).

the introduction of the stratigraphic method, with the publication of every separate layer included (Dabrowska *et al*. 1978-1979), the description of the finds linked with the appropriate stratigraphic units (Dabrowska *et al*. 1978-1979: 94-126) and a wide graphic and photographic supporting documentation. Equally significant was that the excavation focussed on a **settlement** of the Lombard period, dated on the basis of the written sources and the finds, after decades of research on funerary remains alone.

A similarly important move away from the confines of Lombard cemeteries to other forms of material culture is seen in the work of Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo (Gelichi 1997: 50; 2005a: 176). He focussed his research, in particular, on urban settlements (e.g. Cagiano de Azevedo 1974; 1980; 1986 [1973]) and building techniques (e.g. Cagiano de Azevedo 1974; 1986 [1974]). Although these were original topics within the historical and archaeological debate, the framework in which they were discussed was, once again, that of the distinction between Lombards and Romans and the issues surrounding their interactions. This is evident not only in the well-known paper *Esistono una architettura e una urbanistica longobarda?* (Cagiano de Azevedo 1974: 289, 310-1) but, also, throughout his other work. This framework encapsulates discussions of both building techniques, which are compared with Northern European examples to identify their Germanic character (Cagiano de Azevedo 1986 [1973]: 392) and, also, city planning (Cagiano de Azevedo 1974: 312, 324). According to him: '*con l'arrivo dei popoli germanici si ha in questo campo un mutamento radicale, in quanto Goti, Longobardi, Burgundi, Franchi e via dicendo, non hanno un concetto giuridico della urbanistica e delle sue esigenze e non considerano lo spazio dei servizi pubblici come degno di una tutela giuridica. Lo spazio che non si deve violare è quello privato: quello pubblico, perchè di tutti, è a disposizione di tutti fino all'abuso*' (Cagiano de Azevedo 1986 [1974]: 49).[14] Moreover, the ethnic interpretation of dwelling space is rooted in wider assumptions about the social characteristics of Germanic populations. According to Cagiano de Azevedo (1986 [1974]: 42; 1986 [1970]: 334) Gothic and Lombard societies were based on family units that did not need large spaces. Thus, they divided ancient urban buildings into smaller, discrete areas and did not to reoccupy Roman villas, which were deemed unfit for their form of society. However, he further argued that contacts with the local population as well as Classical architecture may have

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[14] 'With the arrival of the Germanic populations there is a radical change in this field (the spatial organization of cities), because Goths, Lombards, Burgundians, Franks etc., do not have a juridical concept of city planning and of its requirements and do not consider the space for public services as worthy of legal protection. The space that is inviolable is the private space: the public one, belonging to everybody, is available to everybody, up to misuse' (my translation).

influenced and modified these habits (Cagiano de Azevedo 1974: 310; 1986 [1970]: 334).

Nowadays, Cagiano de Azevedo's methodology appears obsolete as he gives too prominent a role to the written sources, partly a product of the lack of both rural and urban settlement excavations at the time. His approach is still 'philological', where the starting point for the research is the written sources (e.g. Cagiano de Azevedo 1974: 290-3; 1986 [1970]). Indeed, according to Cagiano de Azevedo (1986 [1975]: 16), one of the aims of Medieval archaeology should be to identify the places and artefacts mentioned in the documents, adopting the Culture-History approach, which saw archaeology dependent upon and subordinated to history (Halsall 2010: 23-4; 39-40). However, where possible he included data from excavations (e.g. Cagiano de Azevedo 1974: 296-8, 319) and always tried to uncover the people behind the objects (e.g. Cagiano de Azevedo 1986 [1966]: 346-7; 1986 [1975]: 15). Overall, although some earlier traditions affected both his methodological and his interpretive frameworks, Cagiano de Azevedo focussed his attention on new aspects of Lombard Italy, inaugurating a new branch in Medieval archaeology that was to remain very popular in the following decades.

From the 1920's to the 1970's three main features characterized research into the Lombards. The first was the legacy left by the 'Lombard question'. Although some scholars, such as Bognetti, tried to move away from the limitations imposed by this question, it is undeniable that this remained the main analytical framework to which all research adhered. The intervention of the German scholars, such as Åberg, Fuchs and Werner, translated this historical issue into the study of material culture, with the support of theoretical models provided by Culture History. Secondly, in these years new themes and new methodologies were introduced, including the stratigraphic excavation of settlements. Finally, the Lombard period began to be considered as a crucial historical moment, worthy of specific, targeted scientific research and acquiring a place and a dignity in Italian history.

It is worth adding that this change can be partly ascribed to the work of the *Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo of Spoleto*, an institute dedicated to the study of Early Medieval Italy that was founded in 1952 following the international congress, *Primo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Longobardi*, of 1951. The guiding principles

of this new institution were to preserve and publish the entire corpus of written sources for the Lombard period, protect the artistic and epigraphic material and create a corpus of the Early Medieval monuments, promote scientific research and publications about the Early Middle Ages and organize conferences (*CISAM* 1952: 23-4). Since then, the Centre has been a gathering point for Italian and international scholars working on different aspects of the Lombard period. Their conferences and publications provided the opportunity for discussion and the circulation of new ideas. The Centre played a pivotal role in establishing the first chair of Medieval archaeology: in 1965 the participants to the 13th *Settimana di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* voted in favour of the creation of a chair in Medieval archaeology at the *Università Cattolica* of Milano, that was awarded to Cagiano de Azevedo (Cagiano de Azevedo 1986 [1975]: 13). The creation of the Centre was, indeed, the first step towards the birth of Medieval archaeology as a discipline in Italy.

2.5 The 1970's and the 1980's: The birth of Medieval archaeology and the eclipse of Lombard studies

The event that symbolically marked the birth of Medieval archaeology in Italy was the publication of the first issue of *Archeologia Medievale* in 1974 (Vollono 2016: 87). In the editorial, the path that the discipline was intended to follow appears very clear: the object of research in Medieval archaeology is the material culture of the post-Classical period (*AM* 1974: 7). The main goal of the discipline is to study the 'subordinate classes' (*AM* 1974: 8) investigating the relationship between the production, distribution and consumption of goods and the historical processes. Couched in Marxist terms (Delogu 1986: 499; Augenti 2003: 515) 'this declaration included the history of settlement as well as that of landscapes, to investigate people's technical and economic relationship with the environment' (Vollono 2016: 87; *AM* 1974: 8).

At that time, however, the framework within which Lombard studies were situated remained basically the same as that proposed by Bognetti. Having discarded Manzoni's idea of a complete separation between the Lombards and the Romans between the 6th and 8th centuries, the main concern was, once again, to outline the ways in which acculturation had occurred. Historian Paolo Delogu (1980), for example, explored this process through the changes and developments in the concept of royalty among the

Lombards, which, thanks to the medium of the Church, gradually acquired Roman and Catholic characteristics (e.g. Delogu 1980: 39-51; 97-101; 137). The signs and instruments of this acculturation included writing that was: '*la prima responsabile del superamento dello stadio "tribale" da parte delle popolazioni germaniche stanziatesi nei paesi mediterranei e in Gallia*' (Gasparri 1992: V).[15]

This model, however, was not immune to ideological biases and prejudices. Particularly revealing of mainstream Lombard studies at this time is a collection of essays published in 1984 (Pugliese Carratelli 1984a). The title, *Magistra Barbaritas*, was chosen to emphasize the crucial role that barbarian populations had played in Italian and European culture (Boyer 1984: XI; Pugliese Carratelli 1984b: XIII). But, despite the exhortation to abandon the more traditional negative opinions about the barbarians (Boyer 1984: XI), they were, nevertheless, considered worthy only because they were subjected to the influences of a Classical heritage. Pugliese Carratelli (1984b: XIII) argued that: '*l'Italia, come tutta l'Europa, ha avuto tra gli artefici della sua cultura anche i "Barbari"; ed è gloria della civiltà greca e romana-la civiltà dell'impero-aver dato impulso e alimentato la loro capacità creative, e aver mitigate le loro crudezze e tradotto in dignità la loro fierezza, in disciplina civile la loro disciplina di guerrieri, conducendoli alla nuova religione unificatrice*'.[16] The history of the Lombards, their culture and their society was read as an evolutionary process from a primitive stage of barbarity to a state of civilization (also Vollono 2016: 89-90). This process was possible only thanks to contact with Classical culture, whose legacy had been preserved by the autochthonous population, the Byzantines and, above all, the Catholic Church.

This model continued to influence Lombard archaeology for many years, even arguably, to the present day. Material culture was considered a promising source to investigate the relationship between different populations (Rotili 1983: 152) and this accentuated the attitude of linking objects with specific ethnic groups, as the precondition to their comparison. A good example is provided by the synthesis of Lombard archaeology attempted by Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro (1982). Despite complaints regarding the underdevelopment of Lombard studies (Melucco Vaccaro 1982: 7), the work follows

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[15] 'The primary cause of the overcoming of the "tribal" state of the Germanic population, settled in the Mediterranean countries and in Gaul' (my translation).

[16] 'Italy, as in the rest of Europe, had the "Barbarians" among the authors of its culture; and the glory of the Greek and Roman civilization- the Imperial civilization- was to have stimulated and fostered their creative skills, to have mitigated their crudeness and rendered their pride in dignity, in civil discipline their discipline of warriors, leading them to the new unified religion' (my translation).

the same theoretical approaches that were developed by the German scholars sixty years before. In discussing the Lombards before their arrival in Italy she applies a culture historical methodology, tracing their movements on the basis of particular classes of objects (Melucco Vaccaro 1982: 27-41). Objects rather than contexts are the main focus in the list of the most important cemeteries found in Italy (Melucco Vaccaro 1982: 85-116), with these then being used to attempt an ethnic characterization of each site (Melucco Vaccaro 1982: 86-8, 97). What emerges as the ultimate aim, in my opinion, is a detailed description of Lombard and Byzantine styles and techniques to demonstrate the acculturation of the conquerors and the advancement of their cultural status and, hence, their level of 'civilization'.

The sterility of this approach is stressed by Cristina La Rocca (1982: 504) who argues that: '*l'analisi archeologica si limita tuttora ad incasellare i reperti in categorie già stabilite*'.[17] The main consequence is a racial isolation of the Lombards without any possibility of researching either their everyday lives or socio-economic relationships within Early Medieval Italy (La Rocca 1982: 504). La Rocca (1989) developed her argument further referring, in particular, to the potential that funerary evidence offers. Comparing Italian approaches with the theoretical advances made by foreign scholars, La Rocca (1989:85-6) emphasizes the symbolic value inherent in the funerary context, encouraging others to pay more attention to broader lines of evidence such as grave structures, cemetery layout and the spatial position of grave goods.

However, it seems that Lombard archaeology was not ready for a change of perspective. One of the reasons undoubtedly concerns the quality of the excavations and their publications (Gelichi 2005a: 177). On the one hand, the increasing awareness of the Early Medieval period and, on the other, the more careful management and supervision of accidental discoveries produced a significant growth in the number of sites. A survey of 662 cemeteries dated to the Lombard period, and investigated from the beginning of the 19th century to 2007, revealed that 32% of investigations have occurred since 1975 (Vollono 2010: 33-4; 43 graph 1, 2). Among those, one of the few sites that was properly published was the cemetery of Trezzo sull'Adda (Lombardia) excavated between 1976 and 1978 (Roffia 1986). Although the focus remained the graves and, in particular, the objects that were found in them, an attempt was made to situate the site in

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[17] 'The archaeological analysis still restricts itself to sorting the finds into predetermined categories' (my translation).

its territorial context (Ambrosini and Lusuardi Siena 1986), as well as to provide scientific studies of the materials (Alessandrini and Bugini 1986; Castelletti, Maspero and Pontiggia 1986) and anthropological remains (Mallegni 1986). In other cases, the excavations were limited (e.g. Maselli Scotti 1989; Ahumada Silva, Lopreato and Tagliaferri 1990) or only partially published in gazetteers and journals (e.g. Passi Pitcher 1983; Buora 1996). A particularly common practice was to publish part of the cemetery, or a sample of the grave goods, as an exhibition catalogue (e.g. Maselli Scotti 1989; Menotti 1994). Here material and information choices were made largely to meet the interests and expectations of the general public. Unfortunately, the '*estemporaneità, casualità e rapsodicità*' [18] (Gelichi 2005b: 10) of excavations and publications remains today a fundamental characteristic of Lombard archaeology (e.g. Breda 2007; 2010; Pejrani Baricco 2004a).

The consequence of this situation was the marginalization of Lombard studies, at a time when Medieval archaeology was focussing its energies on new research themes and an expanded chronological range beyond the Lombard period. Rural and urban settlements from the late antique period to the 10/11th centuries became the centre of attention thanks to the rise in urban archaeology from the beginning of the 1980's, (e.g. Brogiolo 1984; La Rocca 1986; Arthur 1994; Brogiolo and Gelichi 1998), and excavations of *castra* and villages (e.g. Francovich and Milanese 1990; Brogiolo and Castelletti 1991; Brogiolo 1996; Vollono 2016: 87). Even these new avenues of research, however, were not completely immune from a continuing perceived need to link material evidence with ethnic groups. One debate, above all others, developed around building techniques and the controversy surrounding the origin of the Grubenhäuser, believed to have been introduced to Italy by the Lombards (e.g. Brogiolo 1991: 107-8; Brogiolo and Gelichi 1998: 125; Valenti 2004: 22 and note 79; Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 105-6).

2.6 The 1990s: between tradition and new perspectives.

In the 1990s a few attempts were made to interpret Lombard material culture in new ways by drawing upon the wider experiences of Medieval archaeology. A significant contribution, for example, came from the archaeology of production and, in particular, from archaeometallurgy. This is not surprising considering that the majority of the

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[18] 'Extemporaneous, casual and rhapsodic nature' (my translation).

material evidence for the Lombard period comes in the form of metal objects, with ceramics being only a small component of standard assemblages. Moreover, the application of scientific techniques, such as the use of X-rays, allowed more detailed analyses of the artefacts (Gallina Zevi and Arena 1994). However, this more-or-less followed previous typological approaches in comparing and contrasting Germanic and Latin traditions (e.g. Possenti 1994; Paroli 2001). This is one of the reasons why this branch of Lombard archaeology became so successful and is still very popular today: it allowed practitioners to remain secure behind a well-established interpretive framework and to continue applying traditional, 'tried and trusted' methodologies, with a thin veneer of novelty. It would be unfair to discard this approach entirely, as some of this research has shed considerable light on the processes surrounding the circulation of the goods, the organization of work and the various stages of material production (e.g. Citter 1998; La Salvia 1998; Giostra 2000; Lusuardi Siena and Giostra 2003: 925-7). Yet the argument often resolves itself down to an ethnic characterization of artisans, styles, and techniques (e.g. Possenti 1994: 52; La Salvia 1998: 31; Lusaurdi Siena and Giostra 2003: 913-5).

A novel approach to widening the debate on Lombard Italy has been attempted by Paola Marina De Marchi who sought to reconstruct the role of the military in the settlement organization/system of Lombardy (De Marchi 1995). The argument, however, is mostly based upon funerary evidence, due to a lack of excavated settlements, aside from Castelseprio (De Marchi 1995:54-5), Castelnovate (De Marchi 1995: 55) and Sirmione (De Marchi 1995:76). In her model, weapon burials were considered to characterize Lombards and members of the army. There is a hint of circularity in this as weapons are seen as a defining feature of both 'Lombardness' and also of membership of the army, such that the army becomes wholly Lombard (ethnically) and the settlements military in nature. In essence, De Marchi views the grave as a mirror of a life profile, simplifying the symbolic and social value of the funerary evidence (La Rocca 1989: 84; Härke 1990: 43). This approach allows De Marchi to use the cemeteries of the Lombard period as direct evidence of the Lombard system of settlement − despite the lack of proper settlement data.

Similarly, Cornelia Rupp (1997: 35-9) analysed the grave goods of Nocera Umbra to deduce the social structure of the (associated) settlement. Her premise is clearly stated: '*presupposto per un'analisi di tipo sociologico è che le tombe addobbate per l'aldilà*

rappresentino uno specchio del mondo dei vivi: le fonti archeologiche riflettono quindi rapporti sociali' [19] (Rupp 1997: 35). Applying a methodology of qualitative analysis proposed by Christlein (1973, quoted in Rupp 1997: note 53) she divides the graves according to the quality and quantity of the objects, the sex of the deceased and chronology of the burials. These analyses revealed a gradual impoverishment of the graves at Nocera Umbra, which is interpreted as a loss of strategic importance for the settlement (Rupp 1997: 39). This conclusion appears to be essentially economic neglecting, once again, not only the symbolism inherent in funerary activities, but also the complexity of social relationships.

In the same year, Cristina La Rocca (1997: 37) provided a more complex insight into the importance of the funeral as a moment to negotiate social identities. Grave goods were viewed not simply as representative of economic resources but also as an active part of a symbolic ritual that, through memory and social interaction, sought to guarantee the transmission of social status from the deceased to their family in the context of the community as a whole (La Rocca 1997: 37). La Rocca (1997: 37, 39) denies the possibility of a fixed set of grave goods signalling ethnic identity, in favour of a more dynamic situation determined by the need of negotiating social identities locally both for males and females. This system of negotiation is seen as having reached its apex between the end of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century when social competition was at its highest (La Rocca 1997: 37-8). The subsequent gradual disappearance of grave goods was caused not by the change of religious beliefs (as had been assumed) but by a change in the form of social representation and transmission of status that manifested itself either through donations made to ecclesiastical bodies or through the foundation of monasteries and churches (La Rocca 1997: 40-5). These foundations were often directly linked with the family of the benefactor and frequently hosted daughters and widows, who continued to administer family properties from within (La Rocca 1997: 48). In this way, the elites of the 7th and 8th centuries guaranteed their prestige, the preservation of their properties and prayers for the afterlife (La Rocca 1997: 45).

The more-or-less successful experiences of the 1990's, which attempted to read the Lombard funerary evidence in new and different ways, led Paolo Delogu to question the

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[19] 'The prerequisite for a sociological analysis is that the graves adorned for the afterlife represent a mirror of the world of the living: archaeological sources, then, mirror social relationships' (my translation).

evolutionary model of acculturation for the Lombard period (Delogu 1997: 428). He recognised the possibility of mutual acculturation between the Lombards and the Romans within more complex processes that allowed for local variations (Delogu 1997: 430). Ethnic identities, although not completely denied, are downplayed due to their rapid and continuous transformation (Delogu 1997: 430). In this way, the traditional and always central subject of the relationship between the Lombards and the Romans was enriched with a new approach to group identities that reveals the influence of the debate on ethnogenesis developed outside Italy (Delogu 1997: 430).

2.7 The last decade and the debate about ethnicity: a new chance for Lombard studies?

It is mostly in the last decade that the debate about the nature of ethnic groups in the Early Middle Ages began to influence Italian historians and archaeologists. Yet it originated in 1961 with Reinhard Wenskus (1961, cited in Gillett 2002: 3) and has involved and polarized scholars from Europe and America (e.g. Wolfram 1988; Heather 1996; Amory 1997; Pohl 2000a; 2002). It is worth briefly summarizing this intricate and heated debate before discussing its impact on Lombard studies in Italy.

The starting point to the debate is that ethnic identities are not fixed and given, nor do they have any necessary biological origin (e.g. Wolfram 1988: 5; Härke 2004: 453-4). According to Wolfram (1994: 21), they are the result of a political decision undertaken by leaders who construct ethnic identity around narratives of a divine origin. This is the so-called theory of the *Traditionskerne* ('core of tradition') defined by Gillett (2002: 3) as the 'replication of group identity through the subscription by members to a mythic narrative of the group's past, focused on the divine descent of its rulers'. However, according to Walter Pohl this 'core of tradition' is continuously re-worked, adapted and negotiated (Pohl 1998: 67; Pohl 2000b: 164). The methodological consequence of this theory is an approach that sees the written sources of the Germanic people as important stages in the shaping of a group identity through the elaboration of its past (Pohl 2000b).

The main opponent of this theory is Walter Goffart who argues that written sources have nothing to do with ethnic identity and can only provide information about the

historical period in which they were composed since their contents were selected by the author as a consequence of his social position, aims and audience (Goffart 1988: 432-7; 2006: 102). Goffart, moreover, supports a 'Romano-centric' interpretation of the Late Antique and Early Medieval period, which, in his opinion, lacked any Germanic characteristics (Goffart 1980). In opposition to the theory of a violent clash between Romans and barbarians leading to the demise of the Roman world (e.g. Modzelewskj 1978; Heather 2005; Ward Perkins 2006), Goffart (1980) argues that the barbarians were peacefully accommodated inside the Roman Empire. This interpretation has been taken to extremes by scholars such as Amory (1997), who has argued that the Ostrogoths were, themselves, a Roman army.

These ideas mostly expressed by historians on the basis of written sources provoke different reactions in the archaeological world. Guy Halsall (1999: 145; 2011), for example, argues that archaeological remains cannot be used to trace a process of migration and that they represent ambiguous evidence in the search for ethnic identities. Similarly, Sebastian Brather (2002) is convinced that objects, and particularly grave goods, are important for their social meaning but cannot inform us about ethnic identity. Due to the flexible nature of ethnic identities, their material representation must have been flexible too (Brather 2002: 171-3). Moreover, it is not possible to determine which elements were eventually considered and used as signs of ethnic belonging (Brather 2002: 172-3). Consequently, Brather (2002:174) concludes that: 'I cannot see any way that archaeology could identify "ethnic identities" of the past. The search for ethnic groups follows the national(istic) imagination of the last two hundred years, and does not meet the expressiveness of archaeological sources'. Brather's somewhat pessimistic approach has been strongly criticised by Curta (2007) who argues that material remains can provide information about ethnicity. Ethnic identities are defined through the repetition of behaviour that creates patterns – patterns that can be successfully explored by archaeologists (Curta 2007: 180).

The significance of this debate for Lombard studies in Italy has been the recognition of the complex nature and heterogenous composition of the Lombards, rejecting the idea of a closed and homogeneous ethnic group (e.g. Rotili 2010: 2; Gasparri 2005a: 2; Giostra 2011a: 7). Most importantly, it has finally offered the potential for new ways of interpreting this period and of opening up new avenues of research. As has been discussed throughout this Chapter, explicitly or implicitly the framework of Lombard

studies has always focussed on the antagonism between Lombards and Romans and the constant need to define their relationship in terms of opposition or acculturation. Thinking, instead, of ethnic groups as entities undergoing continuous development and reshaping, has freed a part of Italian academia (e.g. La Rocca 2004a: 207-17; Gasparri 2005a) from the almost obsessive need to identify ethnic markers in the archaeological and/or historical record.

The best example of this changed attitude is to be found in the work of Irene Barbiera (2005) who compared three cemeteries in Hungary and three in north-eastern Italy to examine the process of Lombard migration. Barbiera applied the methodology proposed in Guy Halsall's (1995) study of the region of Metz, considering biological sex and age in relation to the grave goods and cemetery organization (Barbiera 2005: 10). She not only identifies distinctive differences between the two areas, signs that the people that we called Lombards were a heterogeneous, rather than a homogenous, population (Barbiera 2005: 156), but she also demonstrates that age, gender, social status and family membership were the main elements expressed in the grave arrangement (Barbiera 2005: 149-56). In my opinion, the merit of Barbiera's work is not to be found in the conclusion that material culture and funerary evidence are poor, if not, useless informants of ethnicity (Barbiera 2005: 156), but in the fact that they can offer an insight into a more complex and multifaceted idea of social identity. The removal of the ethnic imperative in interpreting the Lombard period allowed her to introduce new topics to the debate, such as gender (Barbiera 2010) and demography (Barbiera 2008).

In reality this kind of approach is still marginalized in Lombard studies and has been criticized by the majority of Italian scholars (e.g. Delogu 2007; Valenti 2009; Giostra 2007: 312). Delogu (2007: 404), for example, dismissed the debate about gender stating: '*in particolare mi pare poco appropriato suggerire che i corredi maschili e femminili venissero deposti nelle sepolture per evidenziare il genere del morto, se si considera che – corpore praesenti- tutta la comunità che assisteva al rituale funerario sapeva bene se il morto era uomo o donna, senza che ciò dovesse essere esplicitato con gli oggetti del corredo.*'[20] In doing so he confuses the biological sex of an individual with the concept of gender as a social construction. Caterina Giostra (2007; 2011),

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[20] 'In particular I think that it is not right to suggest that the male and female grave goods were put in the graves to highlight the gender of the deceased if we consider that – *corpore praesenti* (the corpse being present) – all of the community that attended the funerary ritual knew very well if the dead was a man or a woman, without the need to make this explicit through grave goods' (my translation).

although she affirms the heterogeneity and flexibility of ethnic groups, still tries to pinpoint some elements that can testify to a Germanic identity in cemeteries, settlements and material culture. Indeed, this attitude is manifest most recently with the site of Collegno (Piedmont), probably the most important discovery made in the last decade, as it includes both a settlement and its related cemetery (Pejrani Baricco 2004a). Here, once again, traditional interpretive models have been followed, with great attention paid to the ethnic character of both settlement and cemetery (La Rocca 2008: 1-2).

2.8 Conclusion

From the 15th century onwards research on Lombard Italy has essentially been driven by the same questions: who were the Lombards? Where did they come from? What level of civilization did they occupy (usually in comparison with the Classical world of Greece and Rome)? How did they relate to the autochthonous population that lived in Italy? What constitutes historical (including archaeological) evidence of their presence in Italy? How much was modern Italian culture affected by Germanic influences and how much has it retained of its Classical heritage? Hence, what is the place of the Lombards in Italian history? The conscious and unconscious need to find a definitive answer to these questions has significantly limited the possibility of reconstructing the dynamics of society in Italy between the 6th and the 8th centuries. To move beyond this largely stagnant situation it is necessary to explore new methodological and thematic avenues, to ask different questions, and to appreciate that Lombard Italy was much more than a stage for ethnic confrontations.

CHAPTER 3: DATASET

3.1 Introduction

As highlighted in the Introduction one of the innovative aspects of this thesis lies in the number and variety of data drawn upon in the investigation of gender identity in Lombard Italy. As such it has been crucial to understand the nature and issues related to these different sources and to find consistent ways to record the information in order to perform the analysis. In this Chapter I will provide an overview of the types of evidence involved in the research, explaining the criteria that have guided their selection and collection, and discussing their limitations.

The Chapter is organised into four main parts. The first part (section 3.2) concerns the Lombard period funerary evidence. It will become apparent that the impressive number of funerary sites excavated over the centuries can currently be used to answer only some research questions on Lombard Italy. Accordingly, it was necessary to select case-study cemeteries from this wider dataset for detailed analysis in this thesis, and section 3.2 explains the criteria adopted to select them and the broad characteristics of these cemeteries.

The second part (section 3.3) describes the method used to collect and record the information provided by the case-study cemeteries. A database to record the data has been designed, guided by the need to allow the observation of the evidence at different scales. In the preliminary stage the information was recorded as it appeared in the excavation reports. Subsequently, in order to perform the analysis and allow comparison between the different case-study cemeteries, it was necessary to create categories of grave goods (3.3.2) and age groups for individuals (3.3.3).

The issues related to the chronology of the graves of the Lombard period are addressed in the third part (3.4), while in the final two sections (3.5 and 3.6) the focus shifts from the archaeological record to the written and iconographic sources. As I will explain in the next Chapter (4, Section, 4.5) written sources have been used as a source of comparison in this study on gender. In particular, three texts have been chosen (the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, the Lombard Laws and the *Historia Langobardorum*),

and their main characteristics are discussed in sections 3.5.1-3. Before introducing the written sources in the analysis of the funerary record, however, it has been necessary to reflect on the problems that these three texts may present (3.4). Finally, and in order to provide a context for the comparison between texts and iconography that will be presented in Capter 4, I will provide an overview of the types of objects on which human figures were represented in Lombard Italy.

3.2 Funerary evidence for the Lombard period

3.2.1 The corpus of Lombard cemeteries and graves: main characteristics and issues

Data from funerary contexts represent the largest source of evidence for Lombard Italy. My survey of published Lombard cemeteries excavated in Italy prior to 2014 – undertaken as part of my undergraduate and MA dissertations – revealed that there are at least 702 (Vollono 2008; 2010). This is, however, only a partial figure as it does not include spot-finds of objects without a secure context, which may, nonetheless, be from graves, and almost certainly would significantly increase the number of archaeological finds from burials dated to the Lombard period. However, while it is a rich dataset, it is also problematic, due to the circumstances and period in which the discoveries were made, the methodology of the excavations, and the circulation and accessibility of the resulting information.

As discussed in the previous Chapter (2, Section 2.3) the interest in 'Germanic' material culture in Italy increased significantly in the second half of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century. With a few illustrious exceptions (e.g. Mengarelli 1902; Sergi 1902; Pasqui and Paribeni 1918), this research often resulted in the collection of only the most prestigious grave goods, with little information provided on the context of the finds or other archaeological features observed at the moment of the excavation. One of many examples of this practice concerns the cemetery of Borgomasino (TO, Piedmont), which was casually discovered and excavated between 1875 and 1897 and probably included more than 100 graves dated to the first half of the 7th century. Most of the grave goods were dispersed and information on the cemetery and the graves were not recorded until 1887, when Giovanni de Jordanis, Ispettore della

Soprintendenza alle Antichità, started to write reports about the discoveries attaching also some photographs. Reports were also written in 1893 by the historian and archaeologist Ermanno Ferrero and between the 1920's and 1930's by Ispettore della Soprintendenza alle Antichità Torasso. Nevertheless information on the site remains very fragmentary and it is not possible to establish the connections between the graves and the few surving objects, distributed between a private collection, the museum of Ivrea, the Musei Civici of Torino and the Collezioni Civiche di Pavia (von Hessen 1974a: 503; Pejrani Baricco 1997: 307; Giostra 2014: 156-60).

In the same period it was also common practice, after excavation, to store grave goods according to typological criteria, causing the loss of data related to the grave of origin. This was how the artefacts from the cemetery of Testona (discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3) were stored, and it was also the case for several others, including the cemetery at Mercadei in the territory of Calvisano (BS, Lombardia). Here, during works for the construction of the railway between Brescia and Parma, around 500 graves were discovered. Most of the grave goods were subseququently lost and the information on the few grave goods that are known does not specify the grave from which they derived (Calderini 1974: 1120; De Marchi 1997: 382-3).

Some problems arise even from those excavations that seem to have been conducted in a more systematic way. There are gaps in our knowledge of the cemetery of Arcisa, which is one of the most important Lombard cemeteries in Toscana, mainly due to external, 'unforeseen', circumstances. Discovered between June 1913 and November 1914 it was never entirely excavated because of the outbreak of the First World War and the lack of funding. The material that came from the cemetery was published by Edoardo Galli (1942) but some of that appeared to have been lost by the time Otto von Hessen (1971: 11-33) published his volume on the Lombard cemeteries in Toscana. The only graphic documentation available to von Hessen was the plan of one grave, the drawings of the grave goods and a drawn panoramic view of the site (von Hessen 1971: 12-13).

The volume of discoveries made at the end of the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century and the inconsistent and 'anarchic' way in which they were recorded, stored and published, had a deep impact on the research activities of the central decades of the 20th century. Extensive study of the material scattered in museums was required, along with

reorganisation of the archives, and this became the main task of archaeologists interested in the Lombard period. In those years information on older discoveries was gathered and published in bulletins and monographs, such as the *Schede di Archeologia Longobarda in Italia* (e.g. von Hessen and Brozzi 1973; von Hessen 1974a; Calderini 1974) and in von Hessen's monographs on Toscana and Verona (von Hessen 1968; 1971; 1975). Despite the considerable effort of these archaeologists, the rediscovery and publication of Lombard objects lost in museum stores is still ongoing (e.g. Modenesi and La Rocca 1989; Ciampoltrini 1995; Giostra 2004b). While of great value, this research has not, however, always recovered the missing information about the excavations, and the principal focus of these studies is, inevitably, on grave goods.

The type of investigations and methods used in the excavations are other important factors that influence the quality of the data available. Planned stratigraphic excavations are relatively rare, while casual discoveries are the most frequent occurrences that lead to the recovery of Lombard material (Vollono 2010: 31-32; 41 Grafico 3). These discoveries were not always followed by more extensive excavations and this would explain why a significant number of Lombard funerary sites apparently contain only one grave (Vollono 2010: 37). In many cases the casual discoveries are the consequence of building activities, which themselves frequently caused the destruction of part of the archaeological record (e.g. Grancia; Mantova, localita' Ponte Rosso; Sirmione, via Catullo).

In the 1970's more power was conferred to the Italian regions, including in the management and protection of culture and heritage, through the institution of the Soprintendenze (Barbiera 2012: 90). Thus, in the last few decades, many sites have been uncovered as a result of rescue excavations and shovel test assessments undertaken by the Soprintendenze directly, or by other professional and voluntary organizations supervised by the Soprintendenze (e.g. the cemeteries at Treviso, via dei Mille; Collecchio, strada provinciale Scodoncello; Parma, via Pellico; Pieve a Nievole). Although the methods employed for the excavation and the post-excavation process are generally reliable, the lack of time available for excavation and recovery presents a problem for the quality of the data. In addition, here research suffered from the fact that there was rarely the opportunity to enlarge the area of excavation beyond certain limits. The result is that, in some instances, the boundaries of the cemetery remain uncertain (e.g. the cemeteries of Collegno; Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino).

A similar issue applies to excavations in urban contexts or, more generally, in built-up areas. A particularly revealing example of the interpretative problems that arose from incomplete investigations comes from the suburban area of Cividale del Friuli (UD, Friuli Venezia Giulia). In the area around the city, which is now characterised by modern constructions and infrastructure, several cemeteries have been discovered over the centuries (for an overview Ahumada Silva 1998; Giostra 2002: 26-40), including in two recent rescue excavations in the area of Grupignano and at the railway station (Rubino 2012a; 2012b; 2013). Since the end of the 19th century, various scholars have argued that the graves discovered at Santo Stefano in Pertica, Gallo, the railway station, Grupignano and in the courtyard of the Ricreatorio of the 'Sacro Cuore' were all part of a large suburban cemetery that covered the northwest and southwest areas outside the city walls (Ahumada Silva 1998: 149, note 19). In contrast, Barbiera (1998: 354-7) argued that the western area outside Cividale was characterised by separated cemeteries, located in the most unproductive lands, while more fertile plots were assigned to agricultural activities. However, the fragmentation of the archaeological data from Cividale makes it impossible to achieve a definitive understanding of the topographical organization of burial provision in the city and its suburbs in the Lombard period. Hence, either of these competing interpretations could be correct.

The third issue to consider in assessing the data that forms the focus of this thesis is the quality of the publications of the excavations. As was briefly discussed in the previous Chapter, Lombard archaeology suffers from a lack of detailed and systematic excavation reports. This gap is partially filled by the availability of other types of publications, such as the bulletins issued by the Soprintendenze, which are a useful tool for undertaking a comprehensive study of Lombard funerary remains. In these volumes, published annually or biannually, there are summary reports of all the sites excavated by the Soprintendenza of each region. These reports have, however, significant limitations. Although some regions, such as Lombardia and Piemonte, have been publishing their bulletins continuously since the 1980's, others have started only very recently, while such bulletins are not issued at all by the Soprintendenza in Emilia Romagna and Trentino Alto Adige (Table 3.1). This inconsistency in publicising the discoveries and activities of the Soprintentenze may be one of the factors behind the apparent substantial differences in the distribution of sites of the Lombard period across the various regions. Moreover, as they are published yearly, the reports in the bulletins

are usually synthetic, providing only fragmentary snapshots of excavations, often before any in-depth analysis of contexts and materials. Unfortunately, in numerous cases these sites are not subsequently published in a comprehensive fashion, leaving the partial information contained in the regional bulletins as the only available reports on the excavations. The area of Leno (BS, Lombardia), for example, is characterised by two funerary complexes excavated in the 1990's. The site of Campi San Giovanni is a multi-period complex, where a cemetery dated to the 7th century developed on top of Early Medieval structures related to the production of glass (these structures cannot be precisely dated, and were abandoned before the beginning of the cemetery; Breda 1992-1993; Ghidotti 1997: 225-6). Information on this discovery can be found in the Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia (Breda 1992-1993), but a description of each excavated grave is omitted. Similarly, the cemetery at Campo Marchione includes 247 graves found between 1994 and 1995, and synthetic reports regarding the cemetery were published in the Bulletino della Soprintendenza (Breda 1995-1997). Recently Caterina Giostra (2011b) produced a synthesis of the discoveries from this cemetery, which focuses on certain aspects of the site, such as the presence of specific grave goods (e.g. brooches, weapons, pottery containers) and grave structures (the so-called 'houses of the dead'). Yet, Giostra's work is far from being a complete publication of all the features of the cemetery, which remains largely unpublished.

Region	Title	Date of publication
Valle d'Aosta	• *Quaderni della Soprintendenza per i beni e le attività culturali della Valle d'Aosta.* • *Notiziario della Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali della Regione Autonoma Valle d'Aosta.* • *Bollettino per i Beni e le Attività Culturali della Valle d'Aosta.*	• 1977 • 1997-2002 • 2002/2003
Liguria	• *Archeologia in Liguria. Scavi e scoperte.* • *Archeologia in Liguria. Nuova Serie.*	• 1967-1990 • 2004
Piedmont	• *Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte*	• 1980
Lombardy	• *Notiziario della Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia*	• 1981
Trentino Alto Adige	• None	
Friuli Venezia Giulia	• *Notiziario della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Friuli Venezia Giulia*	• 2006
Veneto	• *Quaderni di Archeologia del Veneto*	• 1985
Emilia Romagna	• *Archeologia dell'Emilia Romagna*	• 1997-1999
Tuscany	• *Notiziario della Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana*	• 2005

Table 3.1: Dates of publication of the archaeological bulletins for each Italian region considered in the data set.

Alongside the bulletins of the Soprintendenze, catalogues of exhibitions and syntheses addressing specific themes or geographical areas are additional sources of information on the sites of the Lombard period. For instance, the proceedings of the conference 'L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda' which was held in 1995 (Paroli 1997), includes, amongst others, papers on the regions of Piemonte (Micheletto and Pejrani Baricco 1997), Marche (Profumo 1997) and Abruzzo (Staffa 1997). These papers cite numerous sites, accompanied by brief descriptions, but they are not sufficiently detailed to obtain all the necessary information on the excavated funerary contexts. Likewise, works that discuss broader aspects of Lombard societies (e.g. De Marchi 1995; 2001a; Gastaldo 1998) may mention Lombard cemeteries, but their focus is not on each site as an entity but on a selection of evidence in order to support the specific argument of the paper.

It is clear, therefore, that the corpus of funerary data for the Lombard period is extremely varied, often fragmentary, and, as a consequence, rarely explored in detail. For this reason, despite the large number of sites and objects recovered from funerary contexts, it is necessary to be aware of the limitations that this dataset imposes on the types of research that can be conducted on the funerary record of Lombard Italy. Typological studies of grave goods and their geographical distribution, for example, are not significantly hindered by the nature of the data available. Similarly, analysis of categories of objects, the technologies employed to produce them, their design and decoration does not necessarily require information on their archaeological provenance. Moreover, information on grave goods – if present in the cemetery – is typically provided in publications, no matter how detailed they may be, even if other elements of the funerary record, such as grave structure or the nature of the skeletal remains, are neglected. This extensive dataset could potentially also be used to investigate population distribution in Italy, mapping all the known burial evidence, without the need for more specific information on the nature of the sites – with certain caveats. First of all, it would be necessary to acknowledge the aforementioned bias in the data caused by the different regional traditions in excavating and publishing Lombard material. The concentration of sites in certain geographical areas may derive from more extensive and long-standing research activity and the numerous publications devoted to the Lombards in these regions, rather than being truly representative of population distribution in the

past. In addition, it must be recognised that, hitherto, it has not been possible to determine with any degree of certainty the relationship between cemetery areas and corresponding settlements. Was a cemetery used by the community of one village or was it shared by the inhabitants of more than one settlement (La Rocca Hudson and Hudson 1987: 30-1; Christie 2006: 467)? The paucity of locations at which both funerary and settlement areas have been identified leaves the question open.

3.2.2 The case-study cemeteries

Having identified the issues concerning the nature of Lombard-period funerary evidence, the next step in the present thesis was to select the most appropriate sites through which to address questions about gender identity. Accordingly sixteen cemeteries with graves dated between the end of the 6th and the 8th century were carefully chosen (Table 3.2; Appendix 3.1). The geographical area involved is the central and northern part of Italy, which corresponds to what was the northern part of the Lombard kingdom, known as the *Langobardia Maior* (Introduction, Section 1.1). As should be expected, the distribution of the sites across the various regions is uneven, with no sites in regions such as Liguria and Valle d'Aosta (Map 3.1), but five in Lombardia and five in Friuli Venezia Giulia. As mentioned before, this bias in the data may be due to the different traditions of research and publishing of Lombard material across Italy as well as to the heterogeneous distribution of recent and well-documented excavations.

Number	Site	Province	Region
1	Spilamberto, Cava Ponte del Rio	Modena	Emilia Romagna
2	Faenza, Palazzo Caldesi	Ravenna	Emilia Romagna
3	Romans d'Isonzo	Gorizia	Friuli Venezia Giulia
4	Cividale del Friuli, Santo Stefano in Pertica	Udine	Friuli Venezia Giulia
5	Cividale del Friuli, Collina San Mauro	Udine	Friuli Venezia Giulia
6	Ovaro, Liariis	Udine	Friuli Venezia Giulia
7	Pradamano, Lovaria	Udine	Friuli Venezia Giulia
8	Bolgare, San Chierico	Bergamo	Lombardia
9	Brescia, Palazzo Martinengo	Brescia	Lombardia
10	Campione d'Italia, Chiesa di San Zenone	Como	Lombardia
11	Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino	Milano	Lombardia
12	Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino	Milano	Lombardia
13	Collegno	Torino	Piemonte
14	Trento, Palazzo Tabarelli	Trento	Trentino Alto Adige
15	Montecchio Maggiore, Ospedale	Vicenza	Veneto
16	Pontedera	Pisa	Toscana

Table 3.2: List of the case-study cemeteries.
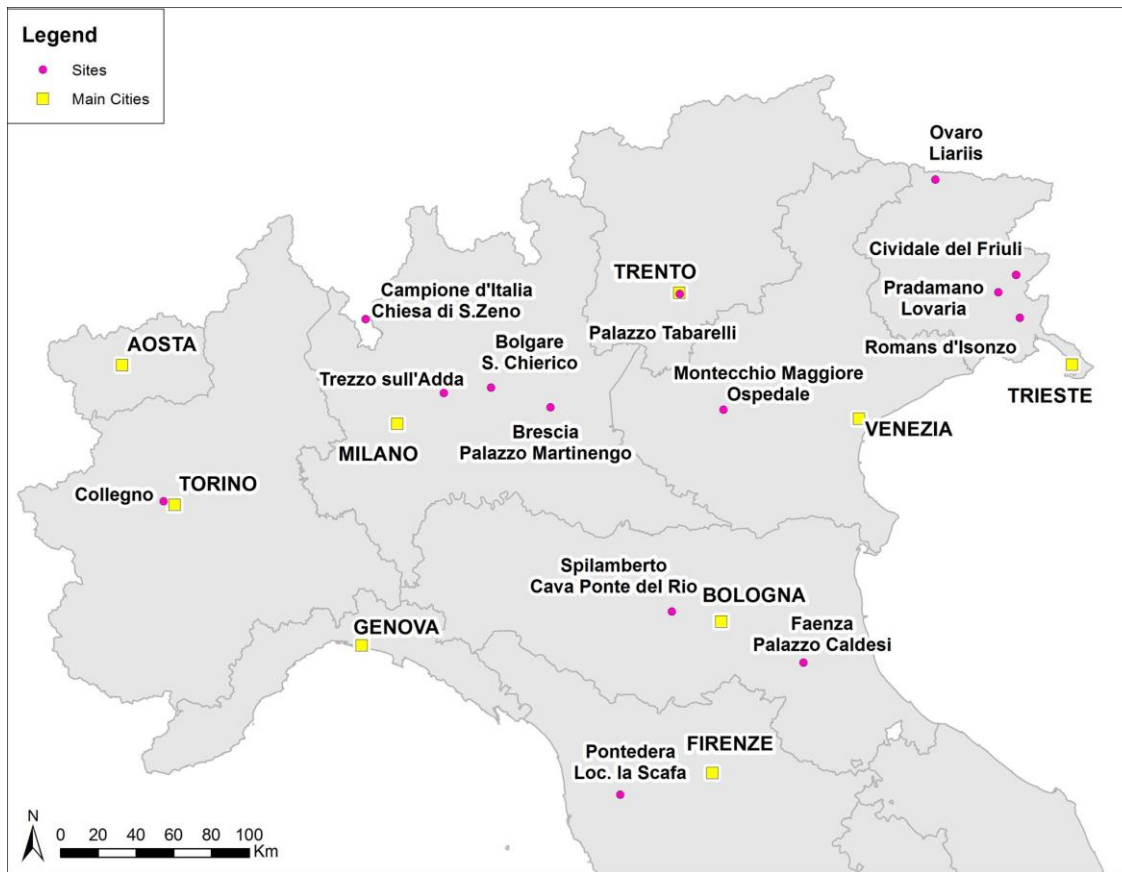
Map 3.1: Distribution of the case-study cemeteries. The dot 'Trezzo sull'Adda' indicates both the cemetery at Cascina San Martino and the cemetery at Località San Martino. The dot Cividale del Friuli indicates both the cemetery Santo Stefano in Pertica and the cemetery Collina San Mauro (source: author).

The selection of the case-study cemeteries was driven by two fundamental criteria: the availability of published osteological analysis of the skeletal remains to provide information on the biological sex and age of the individuals (which are important evidence for the analysis of gender identity), and the quality of the excavation reports. A third criterion was also added, driven by the methodology chosen to analyse the data (Chapter 4): only cemeteries with more than two graves with grave goods were considered. However, focussing on cemeteries on which osteological analysis has been undertaken meant that many sites were automatically excluded from the case-study cemeteries, even if they were well-excavated and high quality reports are available. This is because, until very recently, the study of skeletal remains is probably the most neglected aspect of the analysis and publication of Lombard cemeteries. The work of the Hungarian osteologist István Kiszeley (1979) on the Lombards illustrates this problem. In his study, he provides a catalogue of skeletons from the territories

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(including Italy) affected by Lombardic migration, but the osteological material available at the time of his study is meagre compared with the number of graves excavated. For instance, although he mentioned 14 cemeteries in the city of Cividale, only five skeletons were available for him to study (Kiszeley 1979: 138-9). In addition, the majority of the skeletal remains that he examined were crania, reflecting the practice of collecting only the cranial bones from the graves in order to determine the phenotypes and the ethnic background of the deceased, which was particularly common in the 19th century (Kiszeley 1979: 138-60).

A variety of factors contribute to the scarcity of even basic osteological information on the individuals buried in Lombardic cemeteries. In many instances, for example, the assumption that there was a direct correlation between biological sex and certain types of grave goods meant that the collection of such information was not even considered. In other cases, issues of preservation came into play, as in the cemeteries of Arsago Seprio (VA, Lombardy) and Leno Campo Marchione (BS, Lombardy) where the acidity of the soil mitigated against survival of the bones (De Marchi *et al.* 2004: 151; Giostra 2011b: 257), making osteological study of the skeletal material impossible. Finally, for some sites, while it is possible to find summarised information on some osteological features of the skeletal population, such as the total number of males and females and their anthropometric characteristics, no detailed information is provided on single skeletons (e.g. Mallegni *et al.* 1998; Carrara 2013).

In selecting the case-study cemeteries for the present research, the second fundamental criterion adopted was the quality of the published data. Particularly important was the accessibility of information on the published graves of a given cemetery. The cemetery of Santa Maria in Pulcherada in San Mauro Torinese (TO, Piedmont) is a good example of an interesting site, which, nonetheless, had to be excluded from the case-study cemeteries because of the lack of published grave-by-grave data. The cemetery, radiocarbon dated to between the mid-7th and the second half of the 8th century, probably belonged to a monastic community, and was associated with the early phase of a church (Pantò and Bedini 2006: 281). The osteological analysis identified 31 adult males, who, it was argued on the basis of DNA analysis, were not related genetically (Pantò and Bedini 2006: 281-2). The ten graves excavated included 'cappuccina graves' (characterised by a cover of tiles arranged as a pitched roof) and masonry graves (the exact characteristics of this grave structure are not specified; they were

probably constructed with stones and/or bricks that covered the walls and maybe the floor and also the roof, which could have been bounded by mortar (Pantò and Bedini 2006: 281)), but the report does not specifiy which individuals were buried in which type of grave, nor is it clear which were single graves as opposed to burials that contained more than one individual.

The emphasis placed upon osteological data and the quality of the publications in this thesis has meant that the majority of the sites selected were excavated recently (Table 3.3). Only in the case of Cividale del Friuli, Collina di San Mauro (UD, Friuli Venezia Giulia) has it been possible to include the results of excavations that were undertaken at the end of the 19th century, and this was in part because the site was the subject of more recent critical analysis, in the 1990's.

Number	Site	Type of investigation	Date	Period
1	Spilamberto, Cava Ponte del Rio	Stratigraphic excavation	2002-2003	First quarter 21st century
2	Faenza, Palazzo Caldesi	Stratigraphic excavation	1994	Last quarter 20th century
3	Romans d'Isonzo	• Casual • Trenching	• 1986 • 1987-present	Last quarter of the 20th century-first quarter 21st century
4	Cividale del Friuli, Santo Stefano in Pertica	• Casual • Rescue excavation • Trenching	• 1960 • 1960 • 1987-1988	• Third quarter 20th century • Last quarter 20th century
5	Cividale del Friuli, Collina San Mauro	• Casual • Trenching • Stratigraphic excavation	• 1886 • 1994-1996 • 1998	• Third quarter 19th century • Last quarter 20th century
6	Ovaro, Liariis	Stratigraphic excavation	1991-1993	Last quarter 20th century
7	Pradamano, Lovaria	Stratigraphic excavation	1992	Last quarter o 20th century

Number	Site	Type of investigation	Date	Period
8	Bolgare, San Chierico	• Casual • Stratigraphic excavation • Trenching • Stratigraphic excavation	• 2001 • 2001-2008 • 2001-2008 • 2008	First quarter 21st century
9	Brescia, Palazzo Martinengo	Stratigraphic excavation	1988-1995	Last quarter 20th century
10	Campione d'Italia, Chiesa di San Zenone	Stratigraphic excavation	1996-1997	Last quarter 20th century
11	Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino	• Stratigraphic excavation • Survey	• 1989-1991 • 1988	Last quarter 20th century
12	Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino	• Casual • Rescue excavation • Trenching • Trenching	• 1976 • 1977 • 1977 • 1978	Last quarter 20th century
13	Collegno	• Stratigraphic excavation • Trenching	• 2002-2006	First quarter 21st century
14	Trento, Palazzo Tabarelli	• Stratigraphic excavation	• 1982	Last quarter 20th century

Number	Site	Type of investigation	Date	Period
15	Montecchio Maggiore, Ospedale	• Trenching Stratigraphic excavation	• 1990	Last quarter 20th century
16	Pontedera, località La Scafa	• Casual • Rescue	• 2010-2011 • 2011	First quarter 21st century

Table 3.3: Types and dates of discovery of the case-study cemeteries.

Nonetheless, despite my best efforts to select robust data, there are still limitations in the information available from the case-study cemeteries that could not be overcome. First of all, not each skeleton for every cemetery was analysed by osteologists, usually because of poor preservation of the skeletal material. My study will focus only on the skeletons that were subjected to osteological analysis, while the other individuals will be included, when appropriate, in the discussion of the results. This is the case, for example, with the cemetery of Cava Ponte del Rio in Spilamberto (MO, Emilia Romagna) for which only four individuals out of 30 could be sexed using osteological analysis (Fiorin 2010: 87). In the cemetery of Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino (MI, Lombardy) a few of the skeletons were so damaged by 16th-century building work on the church that it was not possible to undertake any osteological study (Lusuardi Siena 2012: 94). In total the case-study cemeteries include 710 individuals that were subjected to osteological study.

Another problem was that it was not possible to focus the present analysis only on cemeteries that had been fully excavated, as planned stratigraphic excavations are extremely rare for sites of this period. Most of the case-study cemeteries were discovered unexpectedly and, subsequently, excavated (Table 3.3). In some cases only limited excavations were possible and trenching was preferred to open area excavations. The cemetery of Santo Stefano in Pertica (UD, Friuli Venezia Giulia), for example, was discovered in 1960 during work to build a school. A rescue intervention uncovered 15 graves but the skeletal remains were thrown away, and today it is only possible to distinguish adult from children's graves on the basis of the notes of the excavator (Barbiera 2005: 75). Between 1987 and 1988, 42 trenches were dug in the school courtyard and a further 38 graves were investigated (Lopreato 1990: 13). A similar strategy was applied to the excavation of the cemetery of Romans d'Isonzo (GO, Friuli Venezia Giuli) between 1987 and 1993, after the accidental discovery of 30 graves in 1986 (Barbiera 2005: 97). The excavation of the site of Collegno, in contrast, was planned and covered 825 square metres. Nonetheless, given that this investigation was undertaken in advance of the construction of infrastructure for a line of the Turin subway, it was limited to the area devoted to the building activities (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 19). Hence, in several cases, the full extent of the cemeteries remains unclear. Moreover it must be highlighted that in three cases (Romans d'Isonzo, Pradamano and Collegno) there are indications that the number of graves discovered over the years are more numerous than the graves published. Since this thesis is based on the available

published material, only those graves that have been the object of publication have been considered in the analysis. Descriptions of the characteristics of each case-study cemetery can be found in Appendix 3.1.

3.3 Recording and organising the archaeological data

3.3.1 The database

For the purpose of this research a database based upon a relational model was designed in order to collect the data (Fronza 2003: 630). The principle behind this database is to store information at a series of different scales: one section of the database is devoted to the data concerning the cemetery (e.g. number of graves, chronology, presence of previous activities on the site) and another lists the information on each grave (e.g. grave structure, dimensions of the grave, position in the cemetery). In addition there are two more sections, which record information on single skeletons (e.g. biological sex and age, pathologies, position in the grave), and on each object found in a given grave (e.g. material, technique, decoration, dimensions, chronology). In total, the database includes 762 graves, 918 individuals (including both those that were subjected to osteological analysis and those that were not) and 1639 objects. In recording the osteological information a distinction was made between those individuals whose sex could not be determined because of the lack of evident sexual characteristics in the skeletal remains (labelled as 'inderminate' and usually sub-adults) and those whose sex was not determined for other reasons, such as the lack of anthropological analysis or poor preservation (labelled as 'not assessed'). The construction of this tool has facilitated the study of different types of funerary data, ranging from the detailed characteristics of grave goods to more macroscopic features of cemeteries, such as the chronology of each site. The aim was, thus, to investigate the connection that may have existed between this multifaceted evidence and its significance in the process of identity construction.

3.3.2 The categories of grave goods

Originally the objects were recorded in the database according to the labels used in the excavation reports, so as not to pre-interpret the data. This resulted in a great number of categories of objects. However, in order to perform the analysis on all the items found

in the case-study cemeteries, it was necessary to create broader and more general categories, which are predominantly based on the 'function' of the objects (e.g. necklace, shield, dress belt, bag, knife, comb). Exceptions are building material, botanical and faunal remains, whose function is often not clear. In some cases, alongside the function, I also considered the material characteristics of the artefacts. For example, containers have been sub-divided into pottery, bronze, glass, other metal and other containers. The creation of the categories inevitably results in a simplification of the variety provided by the archaeological record (although in the analysis different objects within a category will be considered in more detail when necessary). Nonetheless, it has been also crucial to avoid over-simplification of the data, and the loss of detail. For this reason, for example, it was decided not to create a very broad 'weapon' category and to maintain the distinction between different weapons. The same principle was adopted for jewellery. The majority of the categories are self-evident and a detailed list of all the type of objects that have been included in each category can be found in Appendix 3.2, but in this section the rationale behind the creation of some of the categories will be further discussed.

It is necessary to recognize that there are different types of objects: the 'simple' ones that are mainly composed of one element (e.g. flints, loom weights, glass containers), the composite ones that are characterised by the presence of multiple parts (e.g. a shield may be composed of a handle, some studs and a shield boss that can be all or only partially recovered from graves), and the 'associated' ones that usually appear because of the presence of another object (the best example of this is the scabbard, whose presence is a consequence of the presence of the sword and the seax). In my categories the different elements of a composite or associated object are considered as single 'objects'. For example, the different parts of a shield have been recorded separately because they are usually found separately in graves (although often grouped in the same area of the grave) but they have all be put in the category of 'shield'. Similarly sword and seax scabbards have not been considered as separate categories but have been put in the category 'sword' and 'seax'.

Belt fittings are a different matter. Some belt fittings are believed to belong to belts used to hang a particular weapon (Melucco Vaccaro 1978: 27; Giostra 2000: 31; 79). In some cases they have been found wrapped around or on top of the seax or the sword (e.g. Località San Martino, Grave 3; Montecchio, Grave 10). These belts, however, have

been included in a separate category and not in the category of the corresponding weapon. In fact they cannot be considered as 'associated' objects because they have also been found alone, without the weapon that would normally be attached to them. It is possible that they might have belong to a particular weapon that was not, however, deposited in the grave. Further, the fact that the function and symbolism attached to belts in general goes beyond the weapon they were associated with suggests that it would be semantically wrong to include these belts in the weapons category.

Belts with fittings have been grouped in the category 'composite belts', which differs from the 'dress belt' signalled only by the belt buckle. The category composite belts includes also, but not exclusively, the so-called '*cinture a cinque pezzi*' (Figure 3.1) and the '*cinture multiple*' (Figure 3.2). The '*cinture a cinque pezzi*' are characterised by five elements that are always present: the buckle, the plaque of the buckle, another plaque of the same shape as that of the buckle, a so-called '*becco d'anatra*' (duck's beak) strap-end, and a plaque that can be rectangular, rhomboidal or trapezoidal. Other plaques and strap-ends could be added to this basic set of fittings and the belt was probably linked to another belt used as shoulder strap, which also had fittings (Figure 3.3; Giostra 2000: 32). It is believed that this type of belt was used to attach the sword (Giostra 2000: 31). The '*cinture multiple*', usually associated with the seax, are distinguishable by the presence of a buckle with an unmovable U-shaped plaque, a belt loop, a main strap-end, numerous smaller strap-ends and plaques (Figure 3.4; Giostra 2000: 77). These two types of belts are amongst the most common objects in the graves of Lombard Italy. The fact that some of these belts were closely associated with the weapons and, more generally, the extra effort put into the composition of the sets of fittings, suggests that they were more than just functional elements of dress, supporting the decision to group them in a dedicated category.

IMAGE REMOVED
FOR COPYRIGHT
REASONS

Figure 3.1: Prototype of the fittings of a 'cintura a cinque pezzi' (source: Giostra 2000: 33 Fig. 8).

IMAGE REMOVED
FOR COPYRIGHT
REASONS

Figure 3.2: Prototype of the fittings of a 'cintura multipla' (source: Giostra 2000: 81 Fig. 29).

Figure 3.3: Reconstruction of a 'cintura a cinque pezzi' to attach the sword (source: Giostra 2000: 32 Fig. 5).

Figure 3.4: Reconstruction of a 'cintura multipla' to attach the seax (source: Giostra 2000: 80 Fig. 27).

In addition, the distinction between 'ethnic brooches' and 'other brooches' needs to be explained. The category of 'ethnic' brooches includes the so-called 'S-shaped' brooches (Figure 3.5) and bow brooches (Figure 3.6). They were kept separated from the other brooches in order to test the hypothesis that they were characteristic elements of Lombard female dress (1984: 471-3). The label 'ethnic' is not to be taken literally but derives from the traditional interpretation of these brooches, which have been considered among those items that identify Lombard graves (Bierbrauer 1984: 471-2;

the ethnic character of women's brooches in the Early Middle Ages has been disputed by Effros 2004). As Lusuardi Siena and Giostra (2003: 906) have highlighted, the objects that are usually interpreted as Lombardic are those found also in Pannonia. Evidence of 'S-shaped' brooches and bow brooches similar to those found in Italy comes from cemeteries in Pannonia and molds for their production were found in the so-called 'goldsmith's' grave at Poysidorf (Lower Austria; Figure 3.7; Lusuardi Siena and Giostra 2003: 906; De Marchi 2011b: 285-6; 287 fig. 9).

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Figure 3.5: Eaxmple of 'S-shaped' brooches from grave 10 of Nocera Umbra (PG). Last third of the 6th century. (source: Rupp 1997: tav. 4).

Figure 3.6: Eaxmple of bow brooch from grave 162 of Nocera Umbra (PG). 610-620/30 (source: Rupp 1997: tav. 29).

Figure 3.7: Moulds for the production of 'S-shaped' and bow brooches found in the so-called 'goldsmith' grave at Poysdorf (source: De Marchi 2011b: 287, fig. 9a).

The 'exceptional objects' category includes all those items that are rarely found in the case-study cemeteries and that point towards a special status for the deceased - for example, the gaming pieces found in grave 24 of Santo Stefano, the silver spoon and lamp from grave 60 of Spilamberto, and the weights from graves 2, 43 and 52 of San Mauro. Inevitably, this category comprises very diverse objects but, for the purposes of this analysis, it helps single out graves that could have belonged to special members of the community, which are then, eventually, analysed in more detail.

Finally, it must be aknowledged that objects (or fragments of them) and their functions cannot always be recognised with certainty. When this was the case the items were grouped in the category 'undetermined'. For the sake of completeness, undetermined objects are included in the tables that were used to perform the analysis (Chapter 5, Appendix 5.1), but they have been excluded from the actual analysis of the grave goods assemblages.

3.3.3 The age categories

To consider the relationship between gender identity and age it has been necessary to establish age categories that were consistent across all the case-study cemeteries. However, before discussing the age groups defined for this thesis, it is first necessary to acknowledge briefly the methods and problems related to age estimation of skeletal remains in general. First of all, the determination of the age at death of an individual is rarely precise and restricted to a single year; more often it is expressed within an age bracket. A more precise age-evaluation and narrower age brackets are possible for sub-adults than for adults, since the development and growth of the skeleton of individuals that have not reached skeletal maturity (around 18 years) happens in a relatively short space of time (Mays 1998: 42; Chamberlain 2006: 98-9). To determine the age at death of sub-adults, the characteristics of the skeleton that are analysed are multiple and include observation of teeth eruption, epiphyseal closure, and length of long bones (Bass 1995: 13-19; Mays 1998: 43-9; Chamberlain 2006: 101-5). Depending on the preservation of the skeletal material recovered from excavations one or more of the above characteristics are employed. The use of different methods of age estimation by different scholars means that the age brackets found in published anthropological reports can differ.

Estimation of age at death for adults, when the growing process has concluded, is based upon degenerative evidence of the skeletal structure (Bass 1995: 12; Mays 1998: 42). As this evidence varies significantly between individuals due to factors like as diet and physical activity, the ageing of adults is considered 'one of the more difficult and error-prone procedures in biological anthropology' (Chamberlain 2006: 105). This is the reason why age brackets for adults are usually wider and less accurate than those for sub-adults. Moreover, as argued by Mays (1998: 65-6, 71), it is not possible to age with any degree of reliability individuals over 50 years of age. The methods to establish the

age of adults are varied and include, for example, observation of the wear of the teeth, the morphology of the pubic symphisis, and the state of the epiphysis (Mays 1998: 52-62; Chamberlain 2006: 105-7). The existence of these different methods and the wide age brackets mean that, also for adult individuals, the age groups can vary significantly between reports. Hence, it is important to be aware of the fact that while age groups try to represent as closely as possible the reality of the population under analyses, they are, inevitably, a convention.

Information on age brackets, with an indication of the minimum and maximum age (or at least one of the two) are available for 479 graves from the case-study cemeteries. However, as has been just explained, the age brackets provided by the reports are variable. Consequently, in order to perform analyses on the totality of the aged individuals from the case-study cemeteries and to allow comparison of the age-data from different cemeteries, it was necessary to create age groups that were consistent (Table 3.4). These categories were created by combining the age groups used by other researchers (e.g. Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Mays 1998: 71; Halsall 1995: 296; Stoodley 2000: 457) with the nature of the data available for Lombard Italy: the main aim guiding this preliminary step was to try to classify the highest number of individuals, ascribing them to a specific, well-defined, age group.

Age	Age group
0-11	Child
12-20	Juvenile
20-40	Adult
40-60	Mature
>60	Old

Table 3.4: Well-defined age groups used in the analyses.

The division of populatuons into age groups varied slightly in the literature. For example, Nick Stoodley (2000: 457 and Table 1) in his paper on lifecycle in Early Anglo-Saxon England divides the graves of his sample according to 'the standard

groupings in use in continental Europe'. Stoodley categorised as infants those between 0 and 1 year of age (which is also the most debated category due to the under-representation of very young children in the funerary record (below). By contrast, the first age group established by Guy Halsall (1995: 296) comprised individuals aged between 0 and 7 years old.

The data available for the case-study cemeteries have not allowed such a degree of detail and it was decided to create only one category for children (Table 3.4). For example, few individuals could be included in Stoodley's age bracket 0-1: in total, there are three foetuses (grave 379 Palazzo Martinengo and grave 39 Santo Stefano), and 12 individuals defined as newborns in the excavation reports. Ten of these were in the cemeteries of Palazzo Martinengo (grave 375, 372, 123 and 501; see below), one at Campione d'Italia (grave 11) and one at Collegno (grave 51). As these individuals were all buried either with obects that cannot be related to gender identity (Chapter 5) or without grave goods, they will not feature in the following discussions on masculinity and femininity (Chapters 6 and 7). Nevertheless they might suggest that such young children were not included in the gender discourse through the deposition of grave goods and that gender identity was reserved, in the funeral, to slightly older children. Moreover, due to the size of the sample and the wide age brackets attributed to some of the individuals, it was not possible to distinguish in the analyses between younger and older children (Table 3.4, 3.5).

The passage between childhood and adolescence was set at 12 years, mainly to check the existence of a threshold at this age, as the Lombard Laws seem to suggest (*ER*a-b 155; *LL*a-b 112). While some authors place the beginning of adolescence around the 14-15 years of age (e.g. Härke 1992: 184 table 28; Stoodley 1999: 105; 2000: 457 and Table 1), Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994: 9) consider as adolescents those individuals aged between 12 and 20 years, a bracket that is also suggested in the guidelines of the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BAOBAO; O'Connel 2004: 18).

Similarly, there seems to be no agreement on the age that marked the beginning of adulthood: some studies assume 18 as the threshold (e.g. Mays 1998: 71; Härke 1992: 184 table 28) while others prefer 20 (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994: 9; Stoodley 2000: 477 and Table 1) or 22 (Halsall 1995: 296). Ideally, in this study, it would have been

interesting to test the existence of a second threshold corresponding to 18 years of age. This is, once again, suggested by the Lombard Laws and, particularly, by some sections of the Laws of King Liutprand (*LL*a-b 19; 58). However, observing the information on age at death available for the individuals of the case-study cemeteries, it was decided to include those individuals between 12 and 20 years old in the 'juvenile' category. Forty is often considered to mark the passage from young adulthood to middle adulthood (Härke 1992: 184 table 28; Halsall 1995: 296; Stoodley 2000: 477 and Table 1). In the age category defined for this thesis it was possible to accept this division, distinguishing between adults (20 > 40) and mature individuals (40 > 60). Those individuals that were aged over 60 years have been labelled as 'old'.

Not all the graves in the case-study cemeteries were assigned a maximum and minimum age by the anthropologists. Sometimes the individuals were labelled according to broader categories, such as adult, sub-adult and child, and without any indication of the possible age brackets behind these general labels. There are 231 deceased whose age at death was broadly determined in this way, but they are mainly from the cemetery of Bolgare (153). Given the large number of such graves and believing that these age determinations, although less detailed, are still valuable because anthropologically established, they were also included in the age groups on the basis of the definition of the age found in the publication. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that a specific age group in a given publication might not correspond precisely to the age group defined for the present study or for other sites.

Finally it is necessary to note that the number of individuals available for study is not consistent across the age groups, as shown in table 3.5. In some cases, the low number of individuals in a single age group might have been determined by the discrepancy between the age groups used in the excavation reports and those established for this research. For example, adult-mature were found only in few cemeteries such as San Mauro, where some males were aged between 33 and 45 years old.

Age	Age group	Number of individuals
0-11	Child	99
0-20	Child-juvenile	20
12-20	Juvenile	66
	Sub-adult	25
12-40	Juvenile-adult	24
20-40	Adult	319
20-60	Adult-Mature	17
40-60	Mature	89
40- >60	Mature-old	16
>60	Old	16

Table 3.5: Number of individuals of the case-study cemeteries in each age group, including those without a precise age bracket.

In other instances, however, the low number of individuals could be an actual indication of a low mortality rate or of differential treatment reserved to certain individuals according to their age. This could be the case, for example, for the underrepresentation of infants. Demographic studies on Early Medieval Italy have come to opposite conclusions on this topic. On the one hand Fabio Giovannini hypothesised that Early Medieval Italy was characterised by a low infant mortality and a low degree of fecundity (2001; 2002: 68-9). Barbiera and Dalla Zuanna (2007: 5; 22), by contrast, claim that Giovannini's evaluation of the underrepresentation of children in cemeteries is too simplistic, and that, in some cases, the phenomenon is so evident that it cannot be explained simply as the product of a low mortality rate for this age group. Although arguing for a high mortality among children, Barbiera and Dalla Zuanna (2007) do not attempt any explanation for the absence of children's graves in Early Medieval Italian cemeteries.

By contrast, the underrepresentation of children has been widely acknowledged in studies of childhood in Anglo-Saxon England. The origin of the question derives from the observation that the percentage of infants found in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries is lower than one might expect given the demography of pre-industrial societies and the number of infant burials in other historical periods (Härke 1997b: 127; Buckberry 2000: 1). Contrasting explanations of the phenomenon have been proposed over the years: the majority of the scholars (e.g Lucy 1994: 26-7; Crawford 1999; Stoodley 2000: 458) agree that children received different treatment in death, and were either buried in cemeteries separated from adults or were interred in shallower pits, more subject to damage over the centuries. Attention has been also paid to the presence of infant remains in the so-called 'special deposits' found in settlement contexts, paralleling a practice that was widespread both on the Continent and in Iron-Age and Romano-British England (Hamerow 2006; Crawford 2008). Jo Buckberry (2000), on the other hand, has focussed on the physical characteristics of infant bones, which, being more fragile, easily decomposed in certain soil conditions. Buckberry (2000: 9-10) has also observed that the lack of interest in childhood before the 1990's could have rendered children 'invisible' in excavations until recently.

Some traces of differential treatment of children in Lombard Italy can be found. There is, for example, the case of the aforementioned cemetery of Palazzo Martinengo, Brescia, in which a high number of foetuses and new-born were buried, suggesting an area dedicated to individuals of this specific age group: grave 375 hosted six new-born children and grave 372 contained two new-born and two foetuses. In grave 123 a new-born individual was buried with a 'not assessed' individual and in grave 501 a new-born was buried alone. In the cemetery there were also a juvenile individual, a mature woman and two not assessed deceased (graves 507, 515, 318, 312). However research into this question really requires a wider dataset, which should take into account also those sites dated more generally to the Early Middle Ages, including burials close to churches. At this stage, it is only possible to highlight that children were, overall, underrepresented in cemeteries of the Lombard period and to note that some evidence points towards their differential treatment in death.

3.4 Chronology

The absolute chronology of the graves from the case-study cemeteries is usually established in the excavation reports through the typological analysis of the grave goods found in them. Only in the case of grave 32 of Collegno was C^{14} analysis performed. Over the years, scholars (e.g. Fortunati and Ghiroldi 2006: 128; Paroli 2007: 204-8 Christie 2010: 117) have agreed that the phenomenon of depositing grave goods in graves becomes widespread from the arrival of the Lombards in Italy at the end of the 6th century, decreases significantly in the second half of the 7th century and disappears over the 8th century. Thus, it is not surprising that the majority of the graves analysed in this thesis are dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. However, it is necessary to briefly reflect on some of the general issues that arise from the chronology based on the presence (or absence, see below) of certain categories of objects in graves.

Some artefacts are more useful than others in determining the chronology of the graves, such as brooches and belt fittings, since they have been the subject of detailed chrono-typological studies that allow us to date them to narrow chronological periods. In addition, other metal items that are characterised by specific types of decoration or techniques (e.g. spurs with damascene; gold foil crosses decorated with animal style

motifs) can help towards an absolute chronology of graves (Lusuardi Siena and Giostra 2003: 914-15; 933- 939). For example, the so called 'S-shaped' brooches became common among the Lombards before their arrival in Italy, in the 6th century. It is possible that some types of 'S-shaped' brooches were produced in Italy after 568, but they disappear from the graves at the end of the 6th century (Paroli 2001: 259). Also bow brooches were used by the Lombards before their settlement in Italy and had a typological development between the end of the 6th and the first quarter of the 7th century: in particular, the decoration in the 1st and 2nd animal style became more common and the dimension of the brooches increased over time (Paroli 2001: 258-9).

Belt fittings are particularly well studied and diagnostic for the chronology of the graves. I have already referred to the fact that different types of belts co-existed in Lombard Italy (see above, Section 3.3.2) and each type had its chronological development (e.g. Melucco Vaccaro 1978; Giostra 2000). For example, the so-called '*cinture multiple*' could be made of gold and dated to between 590 and the first quarter of the 7th century; could be in silver or bronze, dated between the end of the 6th and the second quarter of the 7th century; or could be of iron and decorated with damascene (Paroli 2001: 271-84). The latter, common between 600 and the end of the 7th century, witnessed changes in shape and design that allows us to date them to periods that span twenty five years (Figure 3.8; Giostra 2000; Lusuardi Siena and Giostra 2003: 910)

Figure 3.8: Chronological seriation of the objects decorated with damascene (source Giostra 2000: 109, fig. 40).

Other objects that allow us to date the graves are, for example, seaxes which, between 600 and the middle of the 7th century, increased in length from 20-30 cm. to more than

half a metre (Paroli 2001: 287). Coins, by contrast, can be problematic: indeed the majority of the coins recovered from Lombard graves are Roman or Late Antique types and very few can be dated to the Lombard period proper (e.g. the *solidus* of Phocas from grave 1 at Località San Martino dated to 607-608; the *siliqua* of Pertarit dated by Arslan (2005: 113) to 672-688 embedded in the wall of grave 10 at Campione d'Italia). Moreover, Lombard coins are not easily datable. Regarding gold coinage (*tremisses*) up to the reign of Authari (584-590), the coins that circulated in Italy were Byzantine, especially of Justinian I and Justinian II. Subsequently coins with the name and portrait of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice Tiberius (Figure 3.9) started to be minted in the Lombard kingdom following Byzantine models, and remained the only type of gold coin produced by the Lombards for almost a century. Only with King Cunicpert (679-700) did Lombard kings start to mint their own *tremisses*, which bear their names (Figure 3.10; Arslan 1978; 1984; Vollono 2012: 24-33). Silver coins (*siliquae* or fractions of *siliquae*), by contrast, could in some instances be linked to a king or a duke through the monograms they bear, but they are rarely found in graves (Arslan 2005: 107-113; Figure 3.11)

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Figure 3.9: Tremissis with the name and portrait of the Byzantine Emperor Maurice Tiberius on the obverse. First half of the 7th century (source: Arslan 1984: fig. 321).

Figure 3.10: Tremissis with the name and portrait of King Cunicpert on the obverse. 688-700. (source: Arslan 1984: fig. 325).

Figure 3.11: 1/8 (?) of Siliqua maybe with monogram of Perctarit. Second half of the 7th century (source: Arslan 1990: 167, IV 19a).

It thus emerges that some graves can be dated very precisely thanks to the presence of those types of objects for which a chrono-typology has been developed. However, the chronology of Lombard graves determined through the study of the grave goods creates further issues that must be acknowledged. Barbiera (2005: 146; also Brather 2009: 30;

68) has already highlighted that the arrival of the Lombards in Italy in 568, documented by the written surces, has been treated as the terminus post-quem of all the graves that contain objects interpreted as Lombardic. More to the point, objects that parallel items recovered in Lombard cemeteries in Pannonia (e.g. certain types of brooches) are usually read as evidence of the first generation of Lombards and dated to the years around 568. Following this line of interpretation not only means that the archaeological record has been 'interpreted so as to fit what was described by the sources' (Barbiera 2005: 146) but it also simplifies the complex life that material culture might have had – objects can be passed down from one generation to the next and so the date of deposition in a grave could be very different from the date of their production (Barbiera 2005: 146). The brooches found in some of the graves at Leno (Campo Marchione, BS, Lombardia) are a good example of the long life that objects can have – these show evidence of wear on the edges and, in one case (the bow brooch of grave 87), of repair (Giostra 2010: 259; 260 fig. 3).

A further problem is the difficulty in dating graves without grave goods or with objects whose chronology is too broad. The latter is the case, for example, with graves containing knives and/or combs, which are the most common objects recovered from the graves of the case-study cemeteries but, since a chrono-typology of these objects is missing, their date is usually very broad. When possible, such graves are dated in relationship with the graves containing more diagnostic grave goods, through the analysis of the stratigraphic relationship between graves, and the observation of the development of the cemetery layout. In other cases the hypothesis that the phenomenon of depositing grave goods decreases in the second half of the 7th century and disappears in the 8th century is used as the main criterion to infer the chronology. In other words, graves with undiagnostic grave goods are dated between the end of the 6th and the second half of the 7th century and graves without grave goods are dated from the second half of the 7th through to the 8th century.

The cemetery of Collegno exemplifies some of these points. The chronology of some of the graves in the cemetery has been based upon the typological analysis of the grave goods. So, for example, the types of belt fittings and seaxes were crucial in dating graves 17, 60 and 69, as were the bow brooches of grave 48 and the belt buckles of graves 28, 30 and 61. Further, the wooden structures of the graves 28, 47, 48, 49, 52, 61, 63 were used as dating elements. These wooden structures (the so-called 'houses of

the dead'), which archaeologists have started to recognize only recently, have been found in other cemeteries in northern Italy (e.g. Leno, Campo Marchione; Sacca di Goito; Porzano di Leno) and have been interpreted as signs of the deceased's social status and possibly of his/her Germanic identity because they are usually associated with individuals buried with weapons or 'jewellery of Germanic tradition' (Giostra 2011a:13; see also Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 30; 3; Lusuardi Siena 2012: 102-3). For this reason they are considered typical of the first period of the Lombard settlement.

Starting from these graves the excavators were able to identify a chronological development in the layout of the cemetery (Figure 3.12), that was then used to date the other graves. The lack of grave goods and their alignments were used to date some of the graves to the 8th century. From the plan it is evident that graves 35 and 36 were more recent than grave 61, dated to the last third of the 6th century, because they cut it. Nevertheless, there is not any really conclusive evidence in support of an 8th century date, other than the argument that grave goods were not deposited in the graves in the 8th century.

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Figure 3.12: Phase plan of the cemetery of Collegno. Orange: first period (570- 630/640); Green: second period (640/650-700); Light blue: third period (700-800). From Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 28.

A final remark regarding the difficulty in dating the graves without grave goods is that all research on the funerary evidence of the Lombard period is, to some extent, distorted. Indeed, those cemeteries in which 'datable' grave goods are entirely missing, and which lack other elements to establish an absolute chronology, are usually generically dated to the Early Middle Ages. Thus, it is not possible to establish how many of these 'Early Medieval' cemeteries were actually contemporary to those dated to the Lombard period, making difficult to really appreciate all the forms of the funerary behaviour in Italy between the end of the 6th and the end of the 8th century.

3.5 Written sources

The written sources utilised in this research are the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, the Lombard Laws and the *Historia Langobardorum* written by Paul the Deacon. These texts were selected for two main reasons: they are not private documents, such as wills and letters, and they were produced within Lombard society. It was decided to exclude from the analysis royal and ducal diplomas, since they refer to specific circumstances and limited territories. The texts that have been chosen allow us to explore how the material culture referred to within them is related to a broad, more 'official' and standardised idea of gender within Lombard society, beyond the details and peculiarities that other sources may provide. The general perspectives on gender identity they offer a good match for research that has a wide geographical and chronological scope. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of refining the methodology to include information from other texts in the future.

The information from the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, the Lombard Laws and the *Historia Langobardorum* was recorded in their original Latin versions: the analysis used Claudio Azzara and Stefano Gasparri's (2005) edition of the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* and the Lombard Laws, and Lidia Capo's (2003) edition of the *Historia Langobardorum*. The information obtained from these editions was compared with that from the English editions of the texts. In particular, for the *Historia Langobardorum* and the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* the edition by Peters (1974) translated by Dudley Foulke, and for the Lombard Laws the edition by Fischer Drew (1996) were used. In the thesis different abbreviations are used to distinguish between

the versions of the texts. The letter 'a' indicates both the Latin and the Italian version of the sources, as they are found in the same editions, while the letter 'b' is used for the English editions. Regarding the Lombard Laws the abbreviations in the references indicate the specific sections of the Laws promulgated by different kings.

3.5.1 The Origo Gentis Langobardorum

The *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* is a brief text, composed under King Grimoald (662-671; Gasparri 1983: 37; Azzara 2005: xliii; Pohl 2012: 114-15 disagrees with this chronology and hypothesises that it might have been written under Queen Gundeperga (625-652)), and added to the Lombard Laws as a prologue, as it emerges from two of the three manuscripts in which it was found (Pohl 2012: 113). One of the manuscripts comes from Cava dei Tirreni and is dated to the 11th century (Appendix to the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, III; Azzara 2005: lxiv, note 42), one is in Madrid (*Matrinensis* D. 117) and dated to the 10th century, and one in Modena (*Mutinensis* I.2) also dated to the 10th century (Azzara 2005: lix).

The relationship between the *Origo* and the Laws was not casual and it has been suggested that it was aimed at creating a link between the Laws and the traditional past of the Lombards (Gasparri1983: 37-40). In fact the text is part of the Laws, but in the analysis for this thesis it has been kept separate because it is not a legislative document. In the *Origo* the history of the Lombards from their migration from the region of 'Scadana' (*Origo* a: 1; Scandinavia) down to King Pectarit (661-662 and 671-688; the mention of this king may have been inscribed in after the first version of the text (Pohl 2000b: 18; 2012: 113)) is summarised. The account cannot be ascribed to any literary genre since it includes narrative and legendary parts as well as lists of kings (Pohl 2012: 111), and also reports marriages and battles. Only two episodes that will later be recounted by Paul the Deacon in the *Historia Langobardorum* (*HL*a-b I,8; II, 28-30) are narrated in more detail: the first is the battle between the Winnili and the Vandals, in which the former were named as 'Lombards' by the God Wotan (*Origo* a-b: 1). The second account regards the murder of King Alboin by his wife Rosemund and Helmichis, their escape to Ravenna and their subsequent death (*Origo* a-b: 5).

3.5.2 The Lombard Laws

The Lombard Laws are a collection of Laws issued by some of the Lombard kings between the mid-7th century and the mid-8th century. The text has been found in sixteen manuscripts, the most relevant of which are summarised in table 3.6 (after Azzara 2005: lviii-lix). The first section of the Lombard Laws, the Edict of Rothari, is dated to 643 and is the earliest of the three texts considered in this thesis. It includes a prologue and 388 laws. In the prologue Rothari states his will to gather all the Laws of the Lombards in a written code, in order to protect the poor and to bring peace and justice. In law 386 Rothari himself provides more details on the code's composition process – the Laws were 'sought out and found'[21] from the 'old laws of our fathers which were not written down' (*ER*b 386). The code was then approved by the *garenthix*, which was the assembly of freemen. The connection with the 'old traditions' is, in the first phase of the code, a way to legitimate the laws as is the presence of the list of all the kings that ruled before Rothari and the list of Rothari's ancestors in the second part of the Prologue (Azzara 2005: xliii; REF)

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[21] The Latin word translated as 'finding' in the English edition is '*rememorantes*' (ERa 386), whose more accurate translation would be 'remembering'.

Name	Place	Date
Sangallensis 730	St. Gallen	700 ca.
Vercellensis 188	Vercelli	8th century
Eporedianus 34	Ivrea	9th century
Halmstadiensis-Guelferbytanos 532	Wolfenbüttel	9th century
Vaticanus 5359	Vaticano	Beginning of the 9th century
Parisiacus 4614 or *Parisiacus* B	Paris	11th century
Matritensis D. 117	Madrid	10th century
Appendix to the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, III	Cava dei Tirreni	Beginning of the 11th century
Mutinensis I.2		10th century

Table 3.6: Manuscripts of the Lombard Laws (after Azzara 2005: lviii-lix).

It is possible to identify some thematic groups in the laws issued by Rothari: laws 1-13 focus on crimes against the public authority, laws 14-145 are on crimes against private people, and laws 146-152 regulate crimes against things. Then the Law moves to the regulation of the inheritance of property (153-17), marriages (178-223), the freeing of slaves (224-226), properties (227-244), debts and impounds (245-252), minor crimes (253-259) and civil procedure (359-366; Azzara 2005: xlviii). The final laws, from 367 to 388, are various and it is possible that they were later additions (Azzara 2005: xlviii).

This legal code was subsequently added to by Kings Grimoald (662-671; 9 laws), Liutprand (between 713 and 735; 153 laws), Ratchis (744-749; 14 laws), and Aistulf (749-756; 22 laws). The corpus of the Laws also includes two specific regulations, which were originally separated from the Laws but that were reported in the same manuscipts (Azzara 2005: xliv). The *Memoratorio de mercedes commacinorum* (*Memoratorio*), which regulated the payments to workmen for masonry works and was issued either under Grimoald or Liutprand, and the *Notitia de actoribus regis* (*Notitia*) which provided guidelines for '*actores*', a type of official under King Liutprand. Further, in the last section of the Laws, called *Principum Beneventi Leges* (*PML*), there are the Laws added by Arichis II (758-787) and Adelchis (853-878), rulers of the Lombard Duchy of Benevento, in southern Italy. These sections are missing from the English edition of the Laws by Fischer Drew (1996). The information from these texts are recorded but not considered in the analysis of the relationship between written sources and gender presented in the following Chapter (4, Sections 4.5.1-3) since they go beyond the chronological and geographical scope of this research.

3.5.3 The Historia Langobardorum

The *Historia Langobardorum* is a narrative text, written by Paul the Deacon at the end of the 8th century (the exact date is unknown and much debated (e.g. Capo 2003: XVIII and note 1; Leonardi 2001: 16; McKitterick 1999: 334; Pohl; 2000c: 413-14), that recounts the *Historia Langobardorum* from their origins to the death of King Liutprand (744). The *Historia Langobardorum* is organised in six books. The first book starts with the migration of the Winnili (the original name of the Lombards), led by the two legendary brothers Ibor and Aio (ca. 1st century BC) , from Scandinavia and ends with

the defeat of the Gepids in *Pannonia* (modern Hungary), around 566 or 567, at the hands of Alboin, who then married Rosemund, the Gepid king's daughter. The second book opens with the dispatch of a Lombard contingent to support the Byzantines in the Gothic War in Italy, fought between the Byzantines and the Goths (535-553). In the second book we also have narrative accounts of the arrival of the Lombards in Italy under King Alboin (568 or 569; see Introduction), the reign of Cleph and the so-called period of 'anarchy' (574-584). The beginning of the third book focuses on the raids of the Lombards in Gaul between 569 and 575, moves to the reign of King Authari, and ends with the election of King Agilulf (in 591). The reigns of Agilulf, Arioald, Rothari, Radoald, Aripert and the beginning of the reign of Grimoald (in 662) are the subjects of book four, while the fifth book covers the period under Grimoald and Perctarit, and narrates the battle and victory of Cunicpert against the usurper Alahis (sometime between 688 and 698). The sixth and final book starts with the conquests in southern Italy by Romuald, duke of Benevento (ca. 687-688) and ends with the death of King Liutprand.

The last period of the Lombard history, which includes the reigns of King Ratchis, Aistulf and Desiderius and the conquest of the northern part of the kingdom by Charlemagne, is missing. According to some scholars (e.g. Goffart 1988: 344; Capitani 2001: 34) this omission was not intentional and was simply caused by the death of Paul before he could finish the *Historia*. Others, on the contrary, think that Paul chose to conclude the *Historia* with King Liutprand, because Liutprand was a significant figure for the message that Paul wanted to deliver with his work (e.g. McKitterick 1999: 327; 333; Leonardi 2001: 23).

Alongside the major events that characterised, first, the Lombard's migration and, then, their kingdom in Italy, Paul also includes in his account episodes on the Lombard duchies (*HL*a-b IV, 16; 37; V, 17). Moreover he informs readers of the political situation in other parts of the world, in particular in the Byzantine Empire (e.g. *HL*a-b II, 11-15; III, 36; 49; VI, 11-12) and the Frankish kingdom (e.g. *HL*a-b II, 21-22; VI, 16). Paul mixed historical events with legendary and miraculous accounts (e.g. *HL*a-b I, 4; III; 34), natural events, epidemics (*HL*a-b II, 4; III, 24) and praises of characters, such as St. Benedict, that he considered noteworthy (*HL*a-b I, 26).

In the introduction to the *Historia Langobardorum* edited by Zanella (1991), Luiselli (1991: 101-3) provides a synthetic overview of the sources used by Paul for the *Historia*. Following the work of Rinaudo (cited by Luiselli 1991: 101 and note 2) he identifies oral accounts in the form of sagas, songs, and stories, accounts of journeys, epitaphs, Latin sources (e.g. Virgil and Ovid), Christian authors and texts (e.g. Gregory the Great, *Liber Pontificalis*, Venantius Fortunatus) and post-Roman sources, such as the work of Isidore of Seville, Gregory of Tours and Bede. Among the post-Roman sources Luiselli (1991: 102) includes also the *Origo* with the Laws and the *Succinta de Langobardorum gentis historiola* written by Secundus of Non but now lost (except for a fragment). The *Historiola* was a text commissioned by Queen Theodolind from her advisor Secundus, a monk, who recorded the events (by year) from the Lombard conquest up to his death (612; Bognetti 1966 [1931]: 272; Luiselli 1991: 102-3; Pohl 2012: 115).

The exact details of Paul's biography are controversial and widely debated (e.g. Goffart 1988: 332-47; Luiselli 1991: 71-100; McKitterick 1999: 324-6; Pohl 2000b: 413-14; Capo 2003: XVIII-XXIX; Leonardi 2001). Born around 720-730, into a noble family from Cividale del Friuli, Paul was in contact both with the entourage of the Duke of Friuli and with the Lombard court in Pavia. In his youth, at Pavia, Paul was taught grammar and, probably, law and, at the end of his studies, he was proficient in Latin and he had a good knowledge of classical and Christian texts. He was in contact with King Ratchis and, later, Desiderius, and he was the tutor of Desiderius' daughter Adelperga, who then became the wife of Arichis II, ruler of the Duchy of Benevento. At some point he became a monk in the monastery of Montecassino and, from 736, he was close to Arichis II, duke of Benevento, where many Lombards found refuge after the conquest of the northern part of their kingdom by Charlemagne in 774. In 782 Paul contacted Charlemagne himself to plead for the freedom of his brother, who was imprisoned in Francia after a conspiracy led by duke Rodgaud of Friuli in 776. This event brought Paul to the Carolingian court, where he lived for around three years. He returned in Italy in 786-787 and died at the end of the 8th century, after going back to Montecassino.

The *Historia Langobardorum* was not the only text written by Paul. His first historical work was the *Historia Romana*, written around 770 (the date is controversial, see Mortensen 2000: 358 note 10; for Leonardi 2001: 14 the date is 763) and dedicated to Adelperga. The *Historia Romana* sought to expand the *Breviarum* of Eutropius, adding

information, especially on the History of the Church, and continuing up to the time of Justinian (Luiselli 1991: 77; Capo 2003: XXIII). Paul also wrote the *Gesta Episcoporum Mettensium* for Agilram, archibishop of Metz, perhaps in 784. This was a history and celebration of the diocese, through short biographies of its bishops (Luiselli 1991: 92; Leonardi 2001: 14; Capo 2003: XXVII;). The date of his *Vita Beati Gregorii*, a biography of Gregory the Great, is not known, although Goffart (1988: 370) argues that Paul wrote it after he became a monk at Montecassino. Alongside the historical works Paul's literary production includes poems (*Aemula Romuleis* dedicated to Arechis II; the *carmen* to Charlemagne to plea for his brother's freedom in 782; a poem dedicated to Adelperga in 763 (Luiselli 1991: 77)), epitaphs, a collection of sermons commissioned by Charlemagne for whom he also wrote an epitome of Festus' Lexicon (Luiselli 1991: 87-8), and a collection of the sermons of Gregory the Great for Adhalald of Corbie (Luiselli 1991: 77; McKitterick 1999: 324; Leonardi 2001: 15)

So far, the *Historia Langobardorum* has been found in 115 manuscripts (Pani 2000: 370; 404-12 for a list). Pani (2000: 388-404) argues that, among these, the oldest are the 635 of Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gallen, dated before 842, and the XXVIII of the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cividale del Friuli, from the first half of the 9th century. Analysis of these two manuscripts led Pani to argue that they derived from the same antigraph and were probably produced in Lombardia.

3.5.4 The use of the written sources in the analysis on gender in the funerary record

In this thesis I will suggest that texts can be an additional source of information for reconstructing gender identity in Lombard Italy. When a person, or a group of people, were referred to as men or women in the texts it is reasonable to assume that they were being presented by the writer, and understood by the audience, as culturally masculine or feminine. In writing about men and women the authors of the texts refer, intentionally or not, to a concept, a constructed idea of maleness and femaleness that, on the one hand, they contribute to shaping and, on the other, was immediately recognisable to the readers. Analysing the role of material culture associations in this process will provide information on gender constructions expressed through the textual sources and will allow us to establish a link between this concept and the archaeological record (Chapter 4, Section 4.5).

It is difficult to establish whether or not expressing, perpetuating and shaping gender roles were among the deliberate aims of the authors of the texts. According to Ross Balzaretti (1999), for example, in the *Historia Langobardorum* the sections devoted to Queen Theodolind were chosen, arranged and elaborated by Paul the Deacon on the basis of some of the sources contemporary to Theodolind, in order to construct an idea of a queen more pious than she really was, and this image of the Queen has undoubtebly influenced subsequent readings of this historical figure. Certainly, Paul the Deacon intended to provide an image of a pious woman, an attribute which becomes even more prominent when compared with other negative examples of queens and duchesses, such as Rosemund and Romilda, presented in the *Historia Langobardorum* (*HL*a-b II, 28; 29; IV, 37). It is not possible to say with certainty if this was intended by Paul to promote an ideal image of femininity, but whatever the intention behind his portrait of the queen he, nonetheless, clearly expresses some of the moral characteristics deserving of praise for a Lombard woman.

Balzaretti's argument that the texts were a fundamental part in the construction of the gender discourse emerges strongly from his works on the Lombard Laws (Balzaretti 1998; 2005; 2015). In particular, focussing on those instances in which the Laws regulate violent acts in which women were involved (as the victims or the perpetrators), he notices that the law-makers institutionalised public violence committed by men, but strongly blamed – and were 'puzzled'– (Balzaretti 1998: 187) when women were agents of these crimes. Women acting violently were a subversion of the norm because, in the eyes of the law-makers, were acting like men. From his analysis of the Laws it emerges a society in which the distinction between gender roles was crucial and this distinction was perpetuated and reinforced by the the Laws.

Balzaretti (2011; 2012) has further explored the role of texts in shaping ideas about gender in his study on fatherhood in Lombard Italy, based upon 8th-century texts, including the *Historia Langobardorum* and the Lombard Laws. In particular, he notices that while fathers feature in these texts – and thus we can start to appreciate what fatherhood meant in late Lombard society – mothers are more rarely mentioned. Even when mothers are mentioned, such as in the case of Walderata, recorded as the donor of an olive grove to the chapel of San Zeno (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4), it emerges that her actions are set in a context in which fatherhood was of greater importance: the land

that Walderada donated was probably the inheritance from her father (who also gave the name to the land) and the donation was controlled by Walderada's son, who acted in place of his dead father (Walderada's husband; Balzaretti 2011: 51). However Balzaretti (2011: 54) notices that by mentioning fathers and children, mothers, albeit indirectly, are referenced too, and that, in some instances the language of the texts might have been conditioned by the monastic environment of the authors. Despite this caveat he ultimately argues that these texts 'have all helped to perpetuate and transmit the ideas about the power of fathers from one reader to another and from one generation to the next' (Balzaretti 2011: 54).

Walter Pohl (2004) is also stressed the manipulation of gender identity in the historical narratives of 'Germanic' peoples in the Early Middle Ages. In particular, on the basis of the *Historia Langobardorum* and the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, he argued that women played a pivotal role in the myth of the origins of the Lombards and that this is evidence in support of the important role that women played in the construction of Lombard identity in Italy where those texts were produced (Pohl 2004: 37). However, after the centrality of female characters at the beginning of Lombard migration and, especially, in the episode of the battle during which the Lombards were given their name, the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* first, and Paul the Deacon later, introduces King Lamissio, who was the son of a whore and who fights and defeats the Amazons (Pohl 2004: 37). According to Pohl (2004: 40) this episode is narrated because in designing the Lombard's myth of origin 'the gender hierarchy has to be symbolically re-established by the expulsion or the removal from power, of wise and/or warlike women'. What emerges from this argument is that written sources could be instrumental in the definition and negotiation of gender roles in the Lombard period and were themselves 'agents' in the construction of gender identities. Ultimately, though, the intentionality of the authors behind the portrayal of engendered characters in the sources does not really change the relevance of the written sources for this study: through the texts an image of the gender roles emerges that was, although manipulated and constructed, relevant in the historical moment in which they were produced and hence relevant for that society.

However, it is also necessary to acknowledge some issues in using these texts to supplement the analysis of gender in the archaeological record. The first point that needs to be highlighted is the chronology of the sources. While the Laws and the *Origo*

Gentis Langobardorum cover a period that spans the second half of the 7th through to the second half of the 8th century, the *Historia Langobardorum* was written at the end of the Lombard kingdom, after the conquest by Charlemagne in 774. Since the majority of the graves analysed in the thesis are dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, we must be aware that the data from the archaeological record and the texts are not contemporary.

The *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* and the *Historia Langobardorum* discuss the period in question and it has been noted above (Section 3.5.2) how the Laws, especially those of Rothari, were rooted and referred to the past and the traditions of the Lombards. Nevertheless, they were produced in a society that was in transformation and was, in some aspects, different from that of the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. Undoubtedly, among the elements that feature significantly in the *Historia* and in the Laws are Christian values and perspectives, which were not as widespread in the first phases of the Lombard kingdom (see *Introduction*). Although scholars (e.g. Sestan 1970: 385; Goffart 1988: 329-30; 428-30; Capo 1990: 182; Leonardi 2001) disagree on the importance of Catholicism in the *Historia*, the Catholic religion and the Church had become, by the end of the 8th century, integral parts of society and culture and inevitably impacted on Paul's perspective in writing his history.

Similarly, in the Laws major innovations can be recognised in the sections added by Liutprand that mirror profound changes in Lombard society (Azzara 2005: liii-lvi; Delogu 1980: 133-44). In particular the stronger influence of Christian values and rules is noticeable. Not only is it stated that the Laws were inspired, and thus legitimated, by God (*LL*a-b Prologue) but some of the sections closely parallel Canon Law (e.g. *LL* 32; 33; Azzara 2005: lv). More attention is devoted to the protection of the weakest members of society, such as women and children, and religious institutions feature strongly, including as receivers of goods through donations *pro anima*. This observation also reminds us that the *corpus* of the Laws is not a uniform text, and that the Laws promulgated by the different kings reflect changes in Lombard society over the space of a century. In other words, the society regulated by the Edict of Rothari did not have the same demands as that regulated by the Laws of Liutprand. However, it must also be acknowledged that the kings after Rothari did not write an entirely new code, but added to the previous one, which shows that some of the values and ideas that were in the first code were still considered valid in later Lombard society.

The chronological discrepancy between the archaeological record and the written sources is an issue if we consider the argument proposed by Goffart (1988) in his study of the narrative sources of the 'Germanic' people. Paul the Deacon's life, his relationship with both the Lombard and the Carolingian courts, his political views and the way in which these aspects related to his historical work are considered in one of the chapters of Goffart's (1988: 329-431) influential study. In this, he argued that, in contrast to what was claimed by previous studies on Paul the Deacon, the *Historia Langobardorum* was not a mere miscellany of facts to record and preserve the traditions of Lombard people, but was, in fact, designed by Paul to convey a political message: this, according to Goffart (1988: 344-346), was to encourage the duke of Benevento, Grimoald III, to cultivate and maintain good relations with the Carolingians against Byzantine interference. The active role that Paul played in selecting, elaborating and, sometimes inventing, the material of his history had a precise function and meaning in the historical context in which he lived, and his writing was addressed to his contemporary audience (Goffart 1988: 426). With different nuances, this characteristic is common to Jordanes, Gregory of Tours and Bede, whose work Goffart discussed and compared with that of Paul, concluding that, ultimately, historical texts were constructions of, and more informative about, the periods in which they were produced rather than of periods whose history they claimed to recount (Goffart 1988: 437).

The purposes behind the *Historia* have also been discussed by Walter Pohl (2000c) and Rosamund McKitterick (1999) who both stressed the importance of the text for Lombard identity in the aftermath of the Carolingian conquest. In opposition to Goffart's hypothesis, McKitterick (1999: 326-7) argued that the *Historia* was written 'for the Carolingians and the Lombard supporters of the Carolingians', maybe at the request of Charlemagne. The main aim behind Paul's work was, according to her, to show the connections and the continuity between Lombard history and the Carolingians. In doing so Paul also provided the Caroligians with information on Lombard identity and traditions, which were useful 'to rule them successfully' (McKitterick 1999: 338). Pohl (2000c), instead, highlights the multiple uses that the *Historia* could have had after 774, suggesting that the Paul's work was more complex than often assumed. Paul contributed to a transformation of Lombard identity that was necessary after the fall of the kingdom, and in so doing created a text that could have had different purposes,

serving, for example, both the Lombards of the surviving *Langobardia Minor* and the Carolingians (Pohl 2000c: 425-6).

Likewise, specific aims guided the writing of the Laws which must also be considered a 'construction' rather than an objective text that faithfully reflected reality. It has been hypothesised that the decision to write a code of Laws was instrumental in reinforcing the power of the king. For example Gasparri (1990: 255) highlighted how the numerous sections of the Edict of Rothari that concern fees and inheritance to the court were, on the one hand, useful in restating the supremacy of the king and, on the other, the means to enlarge and reinforce the economic power of the royal court. In his more detailed argument, Bognetti (1968 [1957]) identified five main reasons behind the issue of the Edict:

1) gathering the army (to form the assembly to ratify the code) to move against Ravenna;

2) limiting the authority of the dukes;

3) protecting freemen from the abuses of the dukes and the king's officials;

4) reinforcing the monarchy;

5) reinforcing royal control over the territory of the kingdom through the system of fees and confiscations.

These observations led Bognetti (1968 (1957): 130; 134) to state that: '*L'Editto va invece considerato in funzione del momento in cui fu emanato; dello scopo, delle persone*',[22] and that '*L'Editto (...) era nato, ripetiamolo, soprattutto come un espediente politico di un monarca barbarico che sapeva, all'occorrenza, maneggiare abilmente, per fini a lui proprii, anche lo strumento del diritto*'.[23] The later Laws added by Liutprand were, according to Capo (1990: 187-8), designed to fulfil a precise purpose, which was the reshaping of Lombard identity in a period of social and cultural change. Indeed, as we have noted for the *Historia Langobardorum*, the Laws too have been interpreted as a means to shape, negotiate and perpetuate Lombard identity and memory (Capo 1990: 187-8; Pohl 2000b: 16): as Wormald (2003: 22) has rightly highlighted, 'a law somehow emerges from the society to which it applies, helping not just to resolve its tensions but also to demarcate it as a community'. On the other hand, a comparative analysis of the Laws and the charters has led Everett (2000) to argue that beyond the

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[22] 'The Edict must be considered, instead, in relationship with the moment in which it was issued; with the aim, with the people' (my translation).

[23] 'The Edict (…) was born, let's repeat this again, mainly as a political device of a barbarian monarch who knew, if necessary, how to skilfully handle for his own purposes also the tool of the law' (my translation).

kings' ideological purposes the Laws were actually used and in circulation among a good portion of society.

To summarise, there are two main problems to address in using the written sources as additional evidence to study gender in the Lombard funerary context. The first is that the written sources available for the Lombard period, which were produced inside Lombard society, are not contemporary with the majority of the graves in the case-study cemeteries analysed in this research: the former date from the middle of the 7th century onwards, while the majority of the graves with grave goods of the Lombard period are dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. The second is that written sources were created in order to fulfil specific aims and they are not, thus, a simple, faithful mirror of reality and historical events. These limitations cannot be completely overcome and we must bear them in mind when applying the methodology. However, while it would be a mistake to interpret and deploy these sources at face value, it would also be unreasonable to perceive them as totally detached from the historical events and society from which they emerged and which they recount.

As Stefano Gasparri (2005b: 208-209) has highlighted, it would be wrong to dismiss out of hand the potential of the information that these sources provide about the period to which they refer and its culture. Especially in the case of the *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul largely employed earlier documents and accounts, some even contemporary with the episodes that he recounted, which also suggests that there was a 'traditional culture' (Gasparri 1983) of the Lombards that lived through the centuries. Although it is important to acknowledge the process of selection undertaken by the authors of the texts, it is also necessary to highlight that they were not completely free to manipulate their contents: the audience that they addressed would have been aware of the past traditions at the core of their culture, while the readers' and the author's way of perceiving the present must have had deep roots in the past (Pohl 2000b: 24; 27).

It is also important to stress that the gender identities and associations expressed by the texts is only a partial image, a facet of gender identity, which was a simplification and standardization of a more complex and dynamic aspect of identity. The data from the funerary record, compared with the ideas of masculinity and femininity that emerge from the written sources, can complement this partial and somewhat biased image with

their own chronological and geographical peculiarities, allowing us to get closer to the identity expressed by a specific individual in a specific time and place.

3.6 Iconography

Iconography is a further potential source of evidence to examine the relationship between gender and material culture in the Lombard period. In particular, I have taken a cross-section of iconographic sources in which the human figure is represented to compate with the information on gender obtained from the written sources (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4). First of all it must be stressed that representations of the human figure dated between the end of the 6th and the end of the 8th century in the territory considered in this research are sporadic. In the majority of such cases they have been found on portable metal objects such as coins, decorative elements of dress, seal rings and gold foil crosses, and this may be one of the reasons why so few of them have survived until the present days.

There is evidence of iconographic representation also on other media. Interestingly, the Lombard male fashion of the migration period can be reconstructed through an indirect reference to a fresco that it is now lost. In his *Historia Langobardorum*, Paul the Deacon describes the pictorial representation of Lombard deeds, commissioned by Queen Theodolind for her palace in Monza (ca. 602; *HL*a-b IV, 22). Paul recounts that the Lombards cut their hair on the back of their neck and kept it long down to the mouth, divided by a hair line in the middle of the head. Their linen clothes were large and decorated with colourful borders and their shoes were half opened and secured by leather laces. In a later period the Lombards started to wear trousers that they covered with leggings when they rode the horses.

In addition, another fresco has survived and is still visible in the church of Santa Maria *Foris Portas* at Castelseprio (Lombardia). The fresco, in the eastern apse of the church, represents episodes of Christ's childhood taken from the apocryphal gospels (Figure 3.13). Since their serendipitous discovery in 1944 by Gian Piero Bognetti, the church and the pictorial decoration have been the focus of interest and debates between scholars trying to determine their chronology and the cultural *milieu* of the author (a summary with relevant references can be found in Andaloro 1993). In a recent paper,

Brogiolo *et al.* (2014) have proposed the acceptance of the chronology obtained from the C^{14} analysis performed on the roof-beam of the apse, and respected by the plaster of the paintings, which would date the frescoes to the mid-10th century. This chronology places the frescoes outside the scope of the present research.

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Figure 3. 13: Detail of the frescoes of Santa Maria Foris Portas at Castelseprio (VA): Mary and Joseph travel to Bethlehem (source: Brogiolo *et al*. 2014: 732, fig. 16).

It was also decided to exclude those cases in which human figures appear as elements in the so-called 'animal style' decorations. This style developed in Scandinavia and spread in central and northern Europe during the so-called Migration period (5th-7th century; Melucco Vaccaro 1991; Beher 2010: 460). Different stylistic features and chronological developments characterised this style in the regions in which it is documented: the style that is found on Lombard objects may have resulted from contact between the 'animal style' from the north and the cloisonné technique from the Black Sea (De Marchi 2011b: 283 and note 35). In general the animal style is characterised by the combination of anatomical features of animals and humans (the latter are rarer in the Lombard

cases), portrayed in a schematic and non-naturalistic way, and decorative features such as knots and ribbons (Figure 3.14).
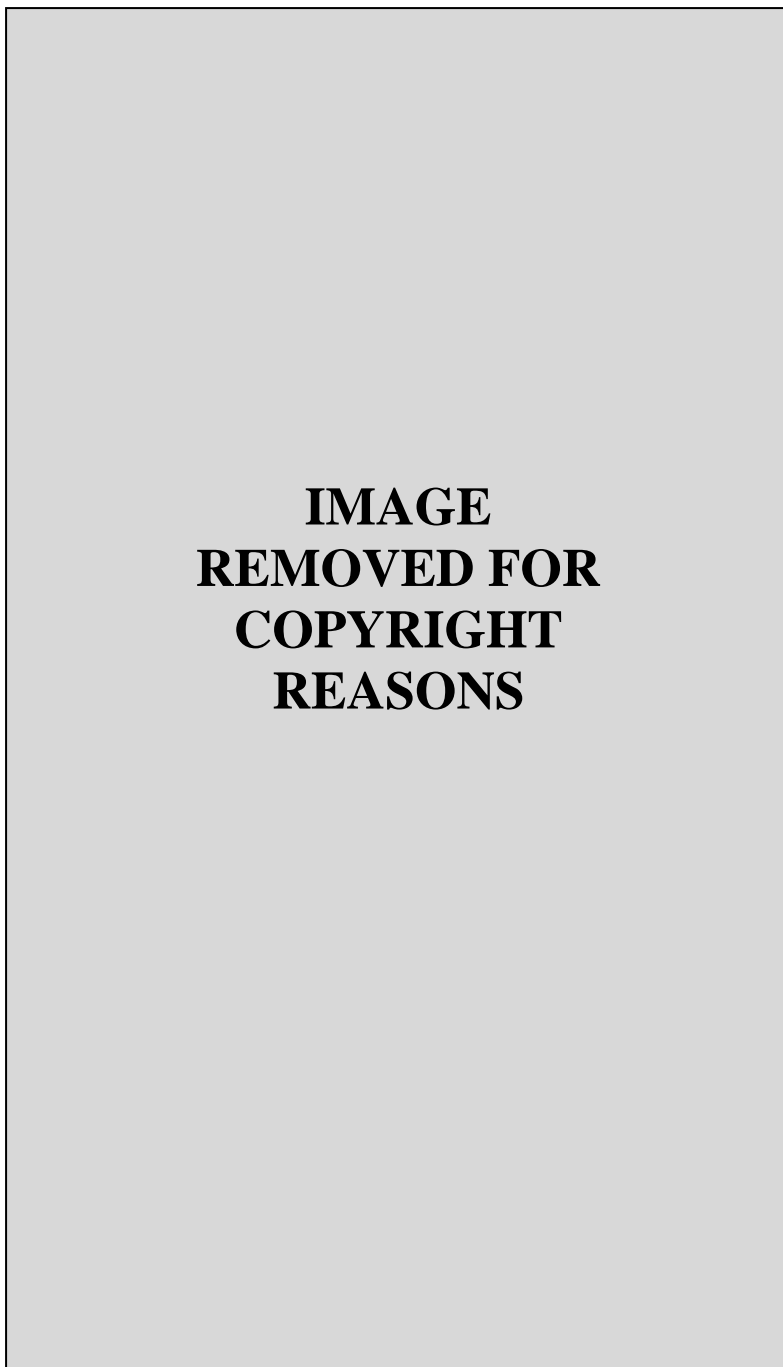
Figure 3.14: Example of a brooch with animal style decoration from Gummersmark, Zealand, Denmark (late 5th century; source: Beher 2010: 454, fig. 1).

The *corpus* of objects characterised by this ornament, usually metal items such as brooches, belt fittings and gold foil crosses, is ample, and a systematic and comprehensive survey of this type of evidence would have gone beyond the scope of the present research. Moreover, compared to the examples from Scandinavia, human

figures are on Italian objects and not often easily recognisable by a modern observer, given the high level of abstraction of the representations. A good example of the attention required to detect the human figure embedded in this intricate decoration is provided by the strap-end of the 'composite belt' found in grave 4 of Località San Martino at Trezzo d'Adda (Figure 3.15). In the lower part of the object Roffia and Sesino (1986: 64) recognised a figure in the act of praying placed between two animal heads.
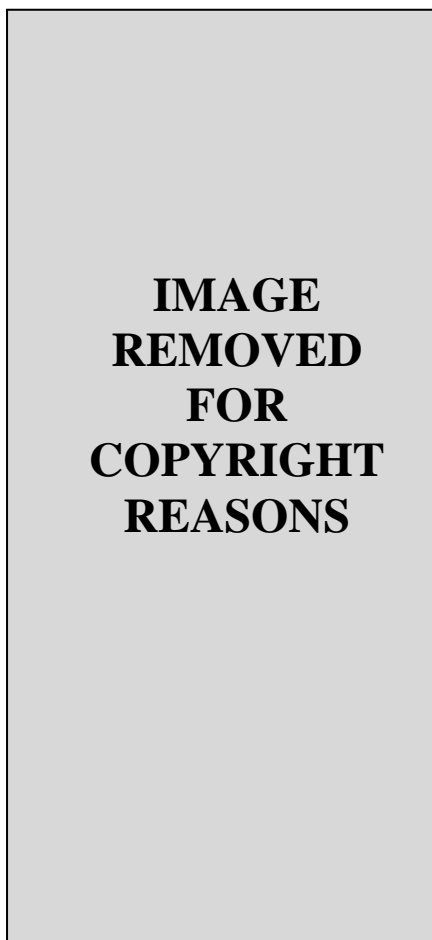
Figure 3.15: Belt strap from grave 4 of Trezzo d'Adda, località San Martino (MI) decorated with animal style decoration (second quarter of the 7th century; source: Roffia and Sesino (1986: 129, tav. 25, 3c).

The examples of human representations found in iconography of the Lombard period that will be discussed in the next Chapter (4, Section 4.5.4) are more naturalistic and immediately recognisable. This feature, of course, does not necessarily diminish their constructed and symbolic character (Van Leeuwen 2001: 109). Indeed, as it was argued above for the written sources (Section 3.5.4), we must recognise that the images that we observe today are the product of an array of factors. First of all, representations were

probably conditioned by the material, the dimension and the shape of the object. Moreover, they could depend, to different degrees, also on the craftsmen, the owner and the intended audience. The context of use and the artefact on which they appeared were also involved in the choice of elements to represent: it is possible that the representation of certain images was more 'acceptable' on certain artefacts and inappropriate on others. Finally, as objects could change their symbolic meaning according to the context in which they were used (e.g. Hodder 1982; 1987), this must also be valid for the iconography they bore. Thus, it must be remembered that the human figures and the physical and material attributes that were used in the iconographical evidence discussed in the next Chapter (4, Section 4.5.4) are not faithful representation of reality but are the result of complex selective processes, which, ultimately, resulted in an idealised and partial depiction of reality. However, the fact that a decision was made to represent a physical feature on an object suggests that it was meaningful for the people who would see the image. Elements were combined to construct and communicate facets of the identity of the character that was portrayed, and it is likely that, in some cases, gender played a part in this discourse.

3.7 Conclusions

The main aim of this Chapter was to explain the processes that guided the selection and collection of the data used to examine gender identity in Lombard Italy, as well as discussing the issues that this evidence poses. The main source of information for this research is the funerary record, which required a careful survey in order to chose the most suitable sites to answer the research question. This survey also allowed me to evaluate the potential of the funerary record for Lombard studies more generally and it has emerged that, although a substantial number of cemeteries and graves have been discovered in Italy in the last two centuries, parts of this record are problematic. The fact that some of the finds were recovered at a time when excavation techniques and curation strategies were very different, the methodologies deployed on even some more recent excavations, and problems connected with the dissemination of the results, makes much of these data fragmentary.

From a corpus of 702 sites, 16 cemeteries were selected (my case-study cemeteries) as the principal foci for investigation, following three main criteria:

- published osteological analysis of at least some of the individuals in the cemetery,
- the quality of the excavation reports,
- the presence of more than two graves with grave goods.

Despite the care taken to identify useful case-study cemeteries some issues remain, in particular the fact that not all the skeletons were analysed by the osteologists and that some of the case-study cemeteries were not fully excavated.

Another issue highlighted in this Chapter concerns the absolute chronology of the sites, which was, in the majority of the cases, established through the chrono-typological study of some of the grave goods. This way of dating the graves is characteristic of almost all the cemeteries of the Lombard period and involves the assumption that the objects that find parallels in Pannonia belonged to the first generations of immigrants, and are dated around the year 568. Moreover, since only some types of the grave goods can be dated to narrow chronological periods, establishing the chronology of those graves from which these objects are missing is challenging. The hypotheis that the presence of grave goods decreases after the mid-7th century and disappears in the 8th century has also been used as a dating criteria for the graves without objects, with a clear risk of creating a circular argument. Thus, it does not come as a surprise that the majority of the graves studied in this thesis, focussed as it is on the analysis of grave goods assemblages, are dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century,

In the course of the Chapter, I also outlined how the data had been collected and organised before performing the analysis. In particular, I discussed how the variety of objects found in the graves of the case-study cemeteries were grouped into categories and the criteria that guided the creation of the age groups used to classify the individuals. In this section, it was also briefly acknowledged that the number of children is lower compared to adults, a phenomenon that in other countries has often been interpreted as evidence for differential treatment in the funerary arena. It was argued that there is some evidence to support a similar scenario for Lombard Italy.

The last part of the Chapter was focussed on the written sources and, in particular, on the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum*, the Lombard Laws and the *Historia Langobardorum*. The main characteristics of the three texts were described before moving to an

evaluation of the issues surrounding the use of written texts in this study. I noted that texts, being a construction of the authors who wrote for their own purposes, cannot be considered a faithful mirror of the society from which they emerge. Consequently, the images of masculinity and femininity they contain were not only manipulated by the authors but were also partial and focussed on specific aspects. Moreover, in the case of the three texts analysed, it has been stressed that their chronology does not fully coincide with the date of the majority of the graves containing grave goods in the case-study cemeteries. However, it has been argued that the idea of gender presented in the written sources, could not be entirely divorced from the way in which gender was perceived in Lombard Italy between the end of the 6th- and the first half of the 7th century. Thus, these three texts can be used as a source of comparison in the analysis of the archaeological record, following a method that will be explained in detail in the next Chapter (4, Section 4.5.1-3). As will become clear, this method also involves a comparison of the written sources with examples of the human figures found on objects of the Lombard period. Also in these cases, it was highlighted that although they are the result of processes of selection and construction they could still provide information on gender identity.

CHAPTER 4: EVIDENCE AND APPROACHES TO GENDER AND MATERIAL CULTURE

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter outlines the methodology used to analyse the graves of the case-study cemeteries. The main aim behind the development of a methodology to study gender in Lombard Italy is to find a logical and consistent way to answer two important questions:

- What objects were deposited in the graves to project (and construct) gender identity?
- Which graves in the case-study cemeteries express gender identity?

In section two of this Chapter I will concentrate on the ways in which gender in Lombard Italy has been researched by previous scholars, demonstrating that a methodology, specifically designed to study this particular geographical area in this historical period, is lacking. The only exception is the work of Barbiera (2005), who applied the methodology developed by Halsall (1995) for the study of the Merovingian region of Metz. I will then consider the usefulness of Stoodley's (1999) work on gender in early Anglo-Saxon England and the aforementioned research of Halsall. The reason behind this choice is that both scholars had to find a method to address the issue of gender in the burial record considering a wide range of data spread across a large geographical area, which is a characteristic shared by the present research. A critical examination of Stoodley's and Halsall's research will be undertaken in the third and fourth sections of this Chapter, in order to explain their approaches and to determine which aspects of their methodology might be used in the analysis of the case-study cemeteries.

From this discussion, it will become evident that one of the main differences between the two studies lies in the ways in which they identify gender markers and engendered graves. Stoodley (1999: 24-49) analysed the grave goods assemblage as a whole and hypothesised that 'masculine objects' were those that were associated more often (in over 80% of burials) with biological males while 'feminine objects' were those associated more frequently with biological females. Graves that contained these objects

were then considered masculine or feminine, accordingly. Halsall (1995: 79-83), by contrast, identified the gender markers from the analysis of associations between types of grave goods. Biological sex was introduced into his analysis only at a later stage to check the hypothetical connections between certain artefact types and the assumed gender.

The following discussion of the work of these scholars will also highlight some weaknesses in their methods, which have prompted the search for a way to 'test' and, eventually, complement the results obtained. In particular, I decided to set the analysis of the funerary evidence alongside information on gender acquired from other sources (texts and iconography). In order to undertake this comparison a method to introduce this information in the analysis of each case-study cemetery was designed. The first stage was to undertake a systematic examination of the texts and the iconography to think through the relationship between the material culture and gender in these sources. The analysis of the texts and the iconography included:

- the identification and recording of references to material culture in the sources and their possible relationship with gender (section 4.5.1);
- the creation of 'object categories' that can be related to the 'types of grave goods' found in the graves (section 4.5.2);
- the attribution of a gender value to each object category, on the basis of the identified relation with gender in the sources (section 4.5.3);
- a comparison of the findings with the information provided by the iconographic sources (section 4.5.4).

From this analysis it will become evident that, in the written sources used for the present research, only the relationship between masculinity and material culture can be inferred with confidence. In particular, weapons, archery equipment, horses and horse fittings emerge as strongly related to masculine identity. While the absence of recognisable feminine objects creates a methodological problem in using the texts and the iconography in the analysis of gender and grave goods, it is nevertheless an interesting insight into the way in which the relationship between material culture and gender was perceived and projected through media that are different from the funerary arena. In the final section of the Chapter a case study will be presented to show how the

information obtained from the written and iconographic sources are introduced in the analysis of each case-study cemetery.

4.2 Research on gender in Lombard Italy

In Chapter 2 it was highlighted that research focussing on any aspect of identity other than ethnicity is rare in Lombard studies. Gender identity has been the consistent interest of only a few scholars (e.g. Barbiera 2005; 2007a; La Rocca 1997; 2011a; 2011b; 2015), while others have addressed the topic only very occasionally (e.g. Giostra 2007; 2011; De Marchi 2011a). One of the consequences of the marginality of gender in Lombard studies is that there has been little work undertaken to design a methodology to research the topic, especially one using archaeological evidence.

With the exception of Barbiera (2005), whose study was discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.7), archaeological evidence has not been systematically analysed in order to understand the dynamics of gender roles in Lombard society. Usually only exceptional graves and sites are summoned in support of research on very specific aspects of gender identity. The cemetery of Spilamberto, for example, has been cited by La Rocca (2015: 421-2) because of the extraordinary investment of that community in the funeral of young women, while the cemeteries of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino are always used as good case studies to talk about the role of women in the acculturation processes, because of the significant changes observable in their grave goods over time (De Marchi 2011a: 155-159). Similarly, some attention has been devoted to weapon graves in relation to specific geographical areas (Barbiera 2007b) or as the expression of the deceased's social *stutus*, focussing on 'aristocratic' graves (Giostra 2007). Moreover, even among the few scholars interested in gender, it is possible to detect in the last few years a narrowing of focus to questions surrounding early medieval families and kinship instead of a more comprehensive analysis of gender identity (e.g. La Rocca 2011a; Barbiera 2012: 177-211; 2015).

While a wide-ranging archaeological study of gender in Lombard Italy has yet to be undertaken, references to this aspect of identity appear frequently in the excavation reports of single cemeteries as one of the ways to discuss the grave goods. Some of the most recent excavation reports include remarks on the association between objects and

the biological sex and age of the deceased (e.g. De Marchi 2007: 62-71; Giostra 2004b: 53-67; Lopreato 2010: 17-8), but these are often very descriptive, and confined to a few interpretative discussions of the perceived symbolism and chronology of the grave goods and the ethnic identity of the deceased. This approach to interpreting grave goods in relation to the sex/gender of the deceased comes from a branch of research in Lombard studies, whose main interest is the reconstruction of Lombard dress (both male and female), utilising changes in fashion as evidence of acculturation (e.g. Bierbrauer 1984: 469-89; Hessen 1990a; 1990c; Rupp 1997: 27-9).

The almost exclusive scholarly interest in issues surrounding ethnicity (extensively discussed in Chapter 2) and the fragmentary nature of studies on gender in Lombard Italy make it difficult to identify an existing methodological approach that could be applied to the analysis of the data that is the focus of the current study. A first step towards a more systematic study of Lombard gender was made by Barbiera (2005; Chapter 2, Section 2.7), but her study is, nevertheless, confined to the analysis of only six cemeteries, three in Friuli Venezia Giulia and three in Hungary. Her methodological approach, although innovative in the context of Lombard studies, was adapted from that previously developed and applied by Halsall (1995) in his study of the region of Metz in the Merovingian period (Barbiera 2005: 10). Hence, it seems necessary to begin by turning our attention to studies on Early Medieval gender undertaken in other countries. If we are going to draw on these methodologies in the analysis of the Lombard evidence, then we need to be clear about the basis and the appropriateness of these approaches.

4.3 Gender in Early Anglo-Saxon England: the methodology of Nick Stoodley and the identification of general patterns in the grave goods assemblages.

The main aim behind Nick Stoodley's (1999: 11) work was to research gender in Early Anglo- Saxon England on a 'national' scale. To investigate this facet of social identity he collected funerary data from 46 cemeteries across England, from a total of 3401 graves (Stoodley 1999: 24). Stoodley's method consists of different stages of analysis. In the first part of his study Stoodley excluded from his original sample the poorly preserved burials and those of sub-adults, focussing on 1636 adult graves (Stoodley 1999: 24). The data on the grave goods found in these graves were comprehensively

processed with the aid of multivariate analysis, in particular cluster analysis and correspondence analysis, in order to identify significant patterns in the association between objects (1999: 11-2; 24-8). The cluster analyses and the correspondence analyses have different graphic outputs (1999: 25 fig. 16-17; 26 fig. 18-19; 27 fig. 20-21; 28 fig. 22). The former results in the so-called 'tree diagram' in which categories of objects – on the x axis – that more often occurred together appear linked by lines. Moreover, the categories of objects are distributed on the x axis according to the likelihood that they were associated in graves. In Stoodley's (1999: 25 fig. 16-17; 26 fig. 18) case-study cemeteries, items of jewellery and weapons appeared at the opposite ends of the axis as part of two groups of grave goods that are not linked by any line (Figure 4.1). Correspondence analysis, on the contrary, produces a scatter plot where each point that appears in the space of the diagram represents a type of object (Figure 4.2). The closer the points are to each other the more they have in common. On the basis of the plot, it is possible to identify clusters of points, grouped together because of similar characteristics. In Stoodley's plots, points that are close to each other indicate the types of grave goods that are more often buried together. In the graph presented (Figure 4.2; 4.3 a-b), Stoodley (1999: 26 fig. 19; 24) recognised four clusters of objects, but, most importantly, he highlighted that the y axis divided the objects into two main groups: on the left weapons, and on the right jewellery. Stoodley hypothesised that these two groups of grave goods, which emerged consistently from both the cluster and the correspondence analysis, are related to gender identity. To test his hypothesis, he compared each of the object categories with the biological sex of the individuals over time, suggesting that objects that are associated at least 80% of the time with a particular sex were markers of gender identity (Stoodley 1999: 29-48). Ultimately, he concluded that the clustering of grave goods in the multivariate analysis was determined by the association between objects and biological sex, suggesting that the deposition of certain grave goods was aimed at the expression of gender identity.
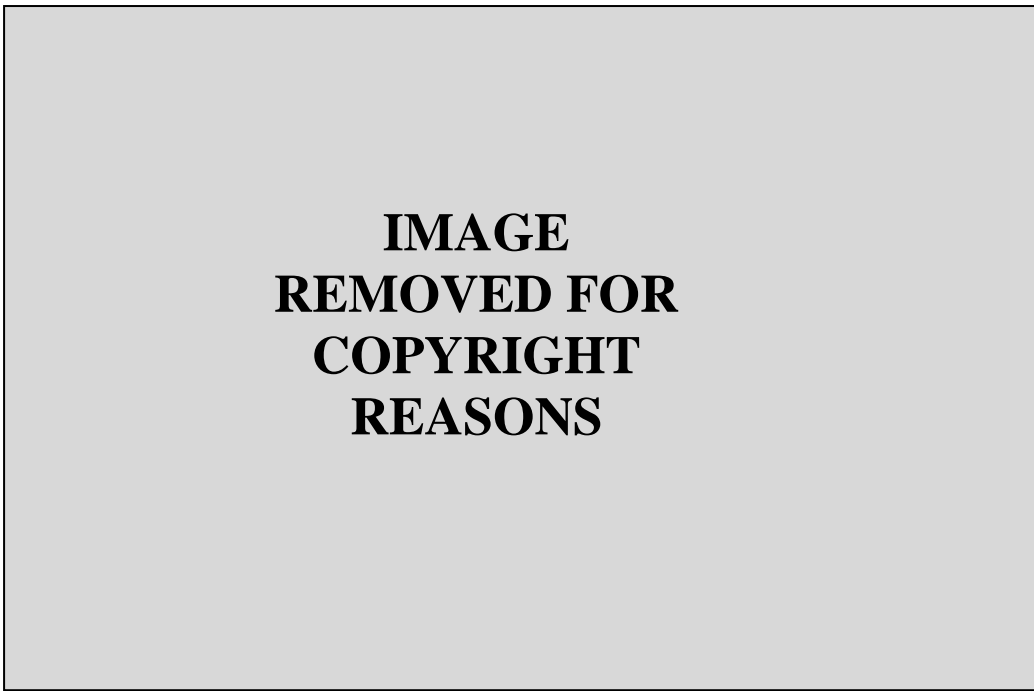
Figure 4.1: Example of graphic output ('tree diagram') of the cluster analysis performed by Stoodley (1999; source: Stoodley 1999: 26, fig. 18).

Figure 4.2: Graphic output of the correspondence analysis performed by Stoodley (1999; source: Stoodley 1999: 26, figure 19).

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

A

IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS

B

Figure 4.3a: Close up of the groups identified by Stoodley (1999) through the correspondence analysis. **A.** Detail of the left-hand group (source: Stoodley 1999: 27, fig. 20); **B**. Detail of the central group (source: Stoodley 1999: 27, fig. 21)

 C

Figure 4.3b: Close up of the groups identified by Stoodley (1999) through the
correspondence analysis. **C.** Detail of the right-hand group (source: Stoodley
1999: 28, fig. 22).

Having established that gender was expressed through the deposition of grave goods
and that gender and biological sex were narrowly related, Stoodley (1999: 53-73)
analysed the relationship between biological sex and grave construction. He concluded
that, in contrast to what was observed for grave goods, there is no consistent pattern
linking biological sex and grave-structure, suggesting that, overall, this facet of the
funerary ritual was not involved in the projection of gender identity (Stoodley 1999:
72).

Stoodley then returned to the grave goods found in the cemeteries of his sample. He
highlighted that the grave goods that were more often associated with biological males
were weapons and, to a lesser degree, tools, while those interred with biological females
were dress fasteners, jewellery and, more rarely, weaving tools (1999: 74-90). The
presence of these objects, in different combinations, signalled the intention of
symbolising gender identity and, hence, allows us to distinguish between masculine,
feminine and ungendered graves. Thus, it emerges clearly that to identify the
engendering objects Stoodley starts from the relationship between biological sex and
grave goods, analysing the grave goods of his sample as a whole. This approach, as will
be shown below (Section 4.4), is fundamentally different from that developed by
Halsall. To be effective, Stoodley's methodology was applied to a substantial number of

graves, so that the relationship between biological sex and grave goods could be statistically significant. However, when analysing the grave goods as a whole across many cemeteries there is the risk of missing more localised gender practices, thereby oversimplifying practices that could, in fact, have been more varied. As will be explained below, this is one of the reasons why Stoodley's method of identifying gender markers and engendered graves does not appear to be suitable for the present study.

Having identified the gender markers, Stoodley (1999: 77-90) continued his study by analysing the combination of gender objects over time and space. Subsequently, he investigated the relationship between gender and wealth, focussing attention on the number, variety and material attributes of grave goods and also on the investment placed in the construction of grave structures (Stoodley 1999: 91-104). Moreover, using the osteological information, Stoodley (1999: 105-125) explored the connections between gender and life cycle and evaluated how gender impacted on an individual's lifestyle and health. Finally, he shifted attention to the layout of the cemeteries in his sample, arguing that gender did play a role in the structuring of the burial grounds: graves could be grouped according to the gender and age of the deceased or the cemetery organization could replicate the structure of the households (Stoodley 1999: 126-135).

Through his analysis, Stoodley (1999: 136-8) identified some general patters that characterised the expression of gender in Early-Anglo Saxon England. The key points that emerged are:

- In the burial record gender was signified through the deposition of grave goods. Weapons and, less often, sharpening steels were symbolic of masculinity while dress accessories, girdle items and, more rarely, weaving tools expressed femininity. It thus emerges that masculinity was connected to a martial 'imaginary' in contrast with a stronger accentuation of the female body.
- There was a strong relationship between gender and biological sex, which suggests that the expression of gender was aimed at emphasising the biological differences between males and females.
- There was a higher number of graves expressing femininity than masculinity, and the feminine objects were more varied than the masculine ones. In general, the expression of femininity appears to be more varied.

- In the 7th century gender expression became less common and the feminine kit became simpler and more standardised.

- Gender expression was related with the age of the deceased, and the life cycle of males and females was different. The main threshold for girls was around the 10-12 years old, when they could be buried with the entire feminine set, while for boys it was around the 20 years. Reduction in the number of gender graves has been observed in the case of individuals over 40 years old.

- Graves with gendered objects were, overall, wealthier than ungendered graves and feminine graves were wealthier than masculine. The feminine gender was expressed by the grave goods assemblages of individuals of different social statuses, while masculinity seems to be reserved to individuals belonging to the same social group. In the 6th century there were both masculine and feminine high status graves whereas, in the 7th century, social prominence was increasingly reserved to males.

- If we consider stature as a mark of ethnic identity (Härke 1990: 40), femininity does not seem determined by this facet of identity. By contrast, weapon graves were found with the tallest men (Härke 1990: 38-41).

- The analysis of the skeletal evidence has not highlighted a significant difference in the nutrition of males and females during childhood, although it has emerged that men accessed more sugary food than women. There is, however, a distinction within the females such that the individuals who received feminine grave goods seem to have been better fed in their youth than those who were ungendered. Moreover, it also emerges that the former were less exposed to injuries or hard work. Maybe, the expression of femininity was reserved to individuals 'who occupied a special position within their households' (Stoodley 1999: 138), who were more looked after and better protected.

- By contrast, physically demanding activities were undertaken more often by men without differences in their status.

- Gender expression was important within the household, which included both gendered and ungendered individuals. However, masculinity seems to be related with descent while femininity was independent.

Three main points are discussed by Stoodley's (1999: 138-142) in his interpretation of the observed patterns. First, he argues that the expression of gender within the funerary arena to stress sexual differences was a consequence of the Anglo-Saxon migration. The

process of migration would have challenged gender roles which became 'blurred and more fluid' (Stoodley 1999: 139); a situation that was probably aggravated by the entering into contact with the Romano-British population and their different gender system. To counterbalance this unstable relationship, it was necessary to recreate, through the medium of the funeral, a more 'traditional' social structure. This social structure probably became the norm during the 7th century, which would explain the gradual decline of gendered graves and their disappearance by the 8th century.

As will be discussed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3.1), migration was also the explanation for the difference between the expression of femininity and masculinity. In particular, it is argued that, while the masculine gender also expressed belonging to a certain group of men, perhaps 'ethnically' defined, femininity and the emphasis on the female body was different. The importance of women as child bearers and carers is acknowledged (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1) but so is the role of women in connecting communities through marriage in an exogamic society. Exogamy was determined by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon migration was led by group of single men, who had to create new families and alliances once they arrived in Britain.

The final point regards the chronological development of gender expression. I have already noted Stoodley's hypothesis regarding the decrease in gender expression from the 7th century onwards. In addition, he (1999: 141) suggests that the overall absence of high status feminine burials in the 7th century, compared to the previous period, can be explained by social changes: from a society based on kin groups, in which prominent males and females within the household were both considered important to family status, to a society based upon the status of the male ruling elites.

Some issues emerge from a detailed consideration of Stoodley's approach to the study of early Anglo-Saxon gender. His decision to favour a broad perspective, grouping the data from all the sites together, rather than undertaking a cemetery-by-cemetery analysis, has both advantages and disadvantages. I believe that it is certainly crucial to verify the presence (or absence) of patterns on a large scale, before being able to determine regional and local differences. Stoodley also attempted to determine regional and local patterns, although he was very cautious due to the size of the sample, which he considered to be too small to generate any conclusive results about any locally varying associations between object types and biological sex (Stoodley 1999: 39-49).

However, the risk here is that we end up neglecting, or missing entirely, all those aspects of funerary practices that are not supported by statistically significant amounts of data. Instead, it is arguably more fruitful to develop a method that can account for both general and more specific observations, because data that are not significant in statistical terms can be significant in historical terms. This appreciation of the importance of detail comes only with a change in perspective, recognising that a wide-range approach to the data can be only a first, preliminary, step towards a more detailed analysis. As we will see in Chapters 6 and 7, in this way, it is possible to highlight both those behaviours that were shared across society and those that were, instead, the product of community or even personal choices and traditions.

The second aspect of Stoodley's approach that makes it not entirely suitable for my purpose is the way in which the grave goods are analysed. Stoodley privileged an analysis of each grave good category, devoting less attention to grave-good assemblages (Stoodley 1999: 74-90). After having checked the relationship between object categories and biological sex, when it comes to discussing grave goods assemblages he focussed mainly on the combination of weapons for the masculine gender and dress accessories for the feminine gender (Stoodley 1999: 74), but not on the grave goods as a whole. This method gives him very broad patterns, but does not allow a more detailed observation of the material culture associated with gender identity.

Alongside these issues, the main problem in adopting Stoodley's approach in the present study lies in the difference in sample size and, especially, in the number of sexed individuals. Stoodley's dataset includes 612 biological males (410 probable; 202 possible), 588 females (431 probable; 157 possible) and 436 unsexed individuals (Stoodley 1999: 24). In my case-study cemeteries, however, there are 190 probable biological males (95 without grave goods), 132 biological females (74 without grave goods), and 596 unsexed individuals (402 without grave goods). Multivariate analysis has been performed on the grave goods of the case-study cemeteries with interesting results, although these are not as conclusive as those of Stoodley (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). This is because the lower number of graves available to study for Lombard Italy means that it would have been difficult to obtain statistically significant results when analysing the relationship between types of grave goods and biological sex. This issue emerges most strikingly when we compare, for example, the number of graves containing brooches in Stoodley's work (414; 1999: 78) and the number of brooches

found in the present case-study cemeteries (21). This difference is certainly due to the scarcity of available data from Lombard Italy (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2), but could be also an indication of a difference in the forms of gender expression between Early Anglo-Saxon England and Lombard Italy. Consequently, it was decided to perform multivariate analysis on the totality of the grave goods categories of the case-study cemeteries to check the existence of a broad pattern in the associations between objects in graves, but the identification of the masculine and feminine graves was obtained through a cemetery-by-cemetery analysis.

4.4 Gender in Merovingian Gaul: the methodology of Guy Halsall.

Halsall's main aim in his work on the region of Metz in France between 450 and 750 was to question the *longue durée* approach that had dominated historical interpretations of the centuries between the end of the Roman world and the advent of the Carolingians, emphasizing, instead, the rapid social changes that occurred and the regional differences that characterised Early Medieval Europe (Halsall 1995: 1-4; 278; 282). He combined written sources and data from archaeological contexts (both settlements and cemeteries) to provide a dynamic picture of society.

Even though burial evidence was only one element of his research, the methodology developed by Halsall in analysing funerary data represents an important advance in the use of archaeological evidence to discuss gender roles and lifecycle, emphasizing their importance in funerary rituals and within communities in general (1995: 79-86). Halsall (1995: 79-86) developed his own methodology to analyse the relationship between assemblages of grave goods and the sex and age of the deceased. The first stage of the methodology was to identify, for each cemetery, a series of artefact types (e.g. necklace, comb, sword, spear) that were found in at least two undisturbed burials. Then, the artefact types were positioned on the vertical and horizontal axes of a table in the same sequence. When two artefact types occurred in the same grave goods assemblage in at least two graves of the cemetery the association was recorded in the table marking the corresponding field at the intersection between one of the two objects on the vertical axis and the other object on the horizontal axis (Figure 4.4). In the first test of the methodology performed on the graves of the cemetery of Ennery, the order of the objects on the two axes was guided by the assumption that weapons were always found

in male burials and jewellery in female burials. Consequently, Halsall (1995: 79) initially placed weapons near the origin of the two axes, jewellery at the opposite end and all the other objects in between. This order did not show any significant pattern, and so the position of the artefact types was shifted until the table showed that there were three groups of artefact types (Figure 4.4), two of them never associated with each other, and it was hypothesised that they were related to the masculine and the feminine gender (Halsall 1995: 79-80). The third group, comprised of objects that were found in association with artefacts also found in the masculine and feminine groups, was labelled, conventionally, as 'neutral'. Halsall (1995: 80) discusses the term neutral as follows: 'the word 'neutral' is here used guardedly simply to mean those artefact-types which, in the cemetery evidence, revealed no exclusive association with either males or females'. In this way, through the analysis of the association of objects in a given cemetery, Halsall was able to identify those items that were probably involved in the construction and projection of gender in the funerary arena.
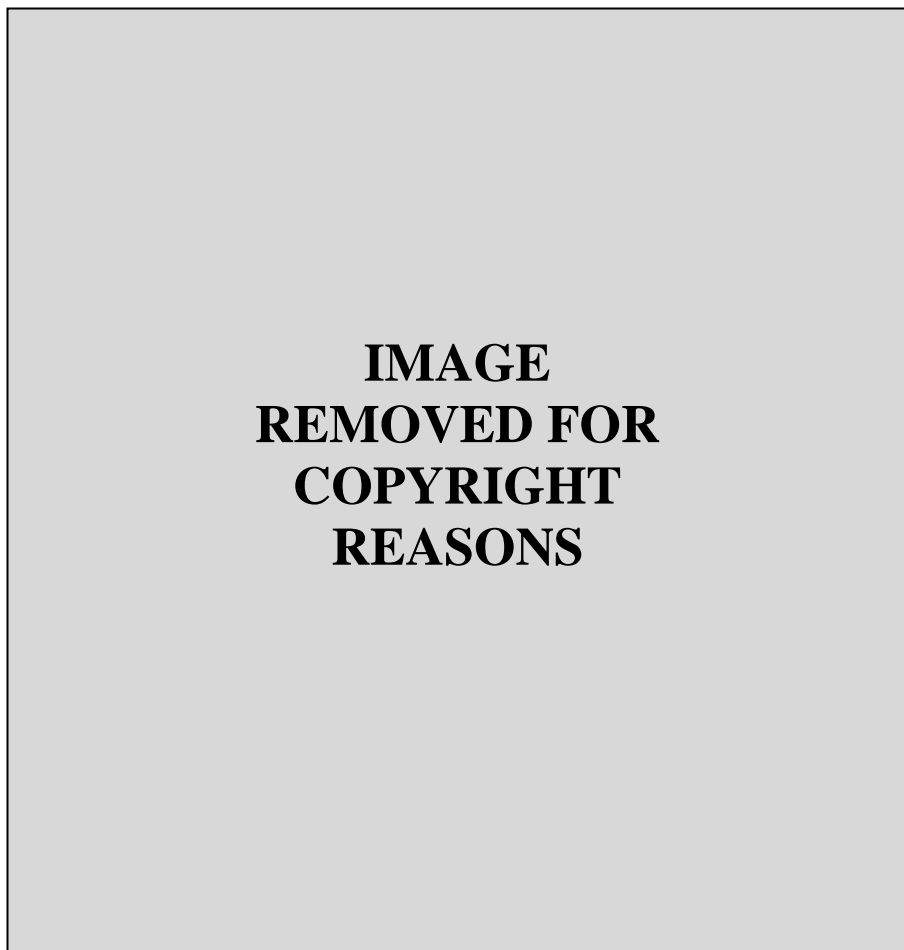
Figure 4.4: Table used by Halsall (1995) to record the association between grave goods in the cemetery of Ennery (source: Halsall 1995: 81, fig. 3.5).

The second stage of the methodology was aimed at checking if, having identified the markers of gender identity, it was possible to predict the biological sex of the deceased (Halsall 1995: 81-83). The artefact types, in their sorted order, were placed on the horizontal axis of a new table while the intact graves were placed on the vertical axis and were ordered according to the presence or absence of the artefact types in their grave-goods assemblages (Figure 4.5). The hypothesis was that the graves that were placed closer to the origin of the axis belonged to males and those that were in the opposite position were females. Checking the results in the table against the osteological information available from the archaeological reports it emerged that in 82,8% of the cases they matched (Halsall 1995: 82-3), showing that the differences in the grave goods assemblages were determined by the biological sex of the individuals and were evidence of gender expression. Plotting the grave goods and, subsequently, the graves on the basis of the objects' association fulfilled Halsall's initial aim of developing a method to predict the biological sex of the deceased through the material evidence. The real value of Halsall's methodology, though, lies in the possibility of identifying the gendered graves and the gendered objects on the basis of the grave goods assemblage alone, introducing the osteological information only at a second stage. Indeed, the graves (and the artefact types) that appear in the table closer to the origin of the axes can be considered masculine while the graves (and artefact types) at the opposite end can be identified as feminine.

Figure 4.5: Graves of the cemetery of Ennery sorted by Halsall (1999) according to their grave good assemblages (source: Halsall 1999: 83, fig. 3.6).

The third step in the analysis of the cemetery of Ennery was to compare the artefact types identified as gender markers with information on the age of the deceased to identify the relationship between gender expressions and the life-cycle (Halsall 1995: 83-6). Subsequently, other aspects of the funerary record, such as grave structure, arrangement of the content of the graves, and position of the grave in the cemetery, were checked against the graves that were identified as masculine, feminine and neutral, to detect any possible relationship between these elements of the burial evidence and gender.

Halsall (1995: 94-163) applied this methodology to twelve other cemeteries: eight within the territory of the *civitas* of Metz and, to test the model obtained, four in the region of Metz but not in the area of the *civitas*. The main patterns of gender expression that he identified in the funerary record are summarised as follows (1995: 109; 162-3):

- In the 6th century grave goods were clearly masculine, feminine or neutral and were also related to the age at death of the deceased. Children were usually buried with neutral grave goods, although sometimes feminine artefacts were found in their graves. Weapons were in the graves of adult males and especially of young adults. The most lavish jewellery was buried with young women, especially teenage girls, and after the age of forty women were rarely furnished with feminine artefacts. Old individuals received neutral grave goods or were buried without grave goods.
- The evidence for prestige in the grave-goods of the 6th century is more 'subtle' (Halsall 1995: 163).
- In the 7th century the relationship between age class and gender became weaker.
- In the 7th century the grave goods were more standardised and less numerous. In particular, the number of gender-specific objects decreased. Also, the types of weapons buried in graves became less varied.
- In the 7th century the deposition of pottery became rarer.
- In the 7th century the most common artefacts were dress accessories.
- In the last quarter of the 7th century most of the older cemeteries were abandoned in favour of cemeteries near churches.

In Halsall's (1995: 26-74) work the analysis of the burial record is preceded by an examination of the written sources (mainly from the region of Metz but also from northern Gaul more generally; 1995: 25)) to obtain information on social organization. Moreover, combining both archaeological and textual evidence Halsall (1995: 167-241) provides an analysis of the settlement patterns in the region. The picture that emerges is presented in the final two chapters (Halsall 1995: 245-82; also summarised in Halsall 1996), and suggests a period, between the 6th and the 8th century, of multiple and rapid social changes (Halsall 1995: 276-282).

Halsall's starting point in the interpretation of the data is that the deposition of grave goods 'should (…) be seen primarily in terms of competitive display' (Halsall 1995: 248), which took place in the funerary arena in front of the entire community. This form

of negotiation of social status appears to be particularly important during the 6th century, considered by Halsall (1995: 252) as a period in which social positions were unstable and not easily transmittable between generations. The results of the analysis of the burial record lead Halsall (1995: 258) to argue that 'in the sixth century, identity was built more around one's position within a family, and fulfilment of the roles related to that position, than around membership of a particular family'. The roles that guaranteed prestige to the family were marked in the funeral and depended upon differences in gender and life cycle. For example, young girls acquired their gender during their teens, probably at the age when they could be betrothed. At this point in life their 'value' (Halsall 1995: 254) was high because, through marriage, they could secure significant alliances for their families and to this aim their life was probably very public (i.e. they showed themselves in public). Their 'publicity' (Halsall 1995: 254) and their value, and so the girl's position in the family, were behind the lavishness of the grave good assemblages and their strongly feminine character. Older women, between twenty and forty, on the other hand, received a higher number of grave goods but less numerous feminine artefacts, which probably showed their new role as wives and mothers. According to Halsall (1995: 257) women's social role within the family ended when their children were grown up, which may be the reason for the less lavish grave good assemblages found in the graves of women over forty years of age. However, Halsall (1995: 257) does not exclude the possibility that old women held other roles in the community, which are not easily recognisable from the artefacts deposited in their graves.

This picture changed between 580 and 620, with a change in the source of aristocratic power, which now came from more secure ownership of the land (Halsall 1995: 263). This phenomenon led, in turn, to a more stable social structure and a lower degree of social competition that is also reflected in the lesser investment placed on the burial display. At this point in time, belonging to these elité families started to become important, grave goods were less related to gender and age and more to the status of the deceased, so that all the members of a prominent family expressed wealth (Halsall 1995: 264-5). Moreover cemeteries, which were structured in rows before, started to be organised around family units.

Halsall (1995: 270-8) also discusses the social changes in the later Merovingian period that, however, become gradually less reflected in the grave good assemblages. Churches

started to became the focal point for graves, but the funerary evidence shows a separation of aristocrats from the rest of the population, sometimes through the building of their own funerary churches. Funerary display started to acquire more visible and permanent forms, with the emergence of above ground structures, such as walls to define family plots, and stone crosses (Halsall 1995: 271).

Halsall's method for identifying gendered objects and graves will, as we will see, be our main route into the analysis of gender in Lombard Italy. However, it is also necessary to recognise the limitations of this methodology. Choosing to include in the analysis of grave goods associations only those objects that were found in at least two graves of a given cemetery means the exclusion of some objects that could have actually been used to project gender. As we will see later, this principle of Halsall's analysis was adopted in the analysis of the case-study cemeteries in this thesis, but attempts have been made to identify artefact types that, although rare, could also have played a role in signifying gender. Similarly, recording the association of two objects only when it recurred at least twice in a cemetery, excluding from the analysis graves that contained only one artefact type and focussing the analysis from the start only on intact graves, could mean losing important information and narrowing considerably the number of cemeteries on which the method could be applied. In recognition of these limitations, it was decided not to apply exactly the same criteria when adapting Halsall's method to the Lombard cemeteries. Rather, the present thesis includes in the analysis all the graves of each case-study cemetery and records all the grave goods associations between objects that were found at least twice in a site. The evaluation of possible methodological biases to the results caused by this choice takes place in the cemetery-by-cemetery discussion of Chapter 5.

Another issue to face in applying the methodology proposed by Halsall is the fact that gender expression is proposed with confidence only when two distinct groups of artefact types are identified. Again, there is the risk of overlooking gender expression at sites where only one of the two genders was projected and at sites that did not just follow a simple division between masculine and feminine graves but could have included graves expressing gender in more than one form, graves which express, through the deposition of grave goods, other facets of identity. In the analysis presented in Chapter 5, it is always specified when the application of Halsall's method did not produce clear-cut patterns, but a detailed observation of single graves and groups of

graves is undertaken, in some instances revealing the presence of the practice of gender expression even if it was not possible to identify two distinct groups of artefact types (e.g. Chapter 5, Sections 5.3.8, 5.3.9).

Finally, examining the diagrams developed by Halsall (1995: 81, fig. 3.5; 101, fig. 3.18; 104, fig. 3.21; 113, fig. 4.4; 121; fig. 4.10; 136, fig. 4.24; 145, fig. 4.33; 153, fig. 4.40) for the analysis of the grave goods associations in the cemeteries of his sample, it emerges that the group of artefact types that are related to masculine gender are always characterised by the presence of at least one type of weapon. Moreover, he states that in the analysis of the cemetery of Ennery 'weaponry was placed at the end of the axes nearest the origin (…) according to the *preconceived* notions about their gender association' (Halsall 1995: 79; my emphasis). In other words, it seems that the identification of a group of grave goods as masculine was somewhat conditioned by the presence of weapons. Indeed, reading Halsall's work in detail (1995: 79-80) it is not openly stated how it is possible to relate the group of artefact types containing weapons with the masculine gender before checking the biological sex of the deceased, if not on the basis of the assumption that masculinity was symbolised through the deposition of weapons in graves. This assumption may well be logical and reasonable but to examine further the relationship between material culture and gender in Lombard Italy it was decided to introduce additional evidence as a mean of comparison. In the next section I will explain how information obtained from the written and iconographic sources was set beside the archaeological evidence to produce diagrams that could be compared with the analysis obtained by applying Halsall's method.

4.5 Written sources, iconography and funerary evidence: a combined methodology as a comparative tool.

In order to observe how material culture relates to gender identity in the written and iconographic sources of the Lombard period (which have been discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.5), and to introduce the information obtained from these sources in the context of each case-study cemetery, the following steps were undertaken:

1. the number of instances in which relevant items of material culture are referred to in the texts were recorded, highlighting when they are associated with men and women;

2. on the basis of the meanings of the words identified, similar objects were grouped into categories (that will be referred to as 'object categories');

3. the number of instances in which each object category appears with males and females were recorded;

4. the number of associations of the object categories with males and females were counted, to establish which items were most often associated with each gender. From this count, different values were attributed to the object categories according to their gender associations;

5. the picture that emerged from the written sources was compared with the iconographic evidence;

6. the values obtained from these 'external' sources were applied to the objects in the graves of a given cemetery to calculate the 'gender factor' for each grave;

7. the association of grave goods in each grave were examined to obtain the 'gender factor for the material assemblage accounting for material associations'.

8. through these values, masculine, neutral and feminine graves were identified.

9. these gendered graves were compared with the information on the biological sex of the deceased.

4.5.1 Material culture and gender in the written sources

The first undertaking involved in the analysis of the texts was to record how many times objects that are linked with the material evidence found in the graves appear in the written sources. As will be explained further below in tis section, it was also decided to record instances in which 'actions' that imply the use of material culture are mentioned, such as the cutting of a tree or hunting. The passages where each word appears in the text and their gender associations can be found in the Appendix 4.1, Tables 1 and 2. For completeness the latter table also includes the occurrences of words found in the *Principum Beneventi Leges* (*PML*), promulgated in the Duchy of Benevento after 774, but these are not considered in the final counts of the words found in the sources (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.2). Once the occurrences of objects and actions that recall the material culture found in graves were identified in the Latin texts and the association

with gender was recorded, the meaning of these words was checked. Firstly, both the Italian and the English translations of the three texts were consulted. To make the tables (Table 4.1; 4.2; Appendix 4.1 Tables 1 and 2) clearer, the Italian translation is not reported, as, in the majority of the cases, it corresponds to the English translation. It is necessary to acknowledge that some sections of the Lombard Laws that are included in the Italian edition (*Memoratorio*; *PML*) are not in the English version, as well as some of the poems incorporated by Paul the Deacon in the *Historia Langobardorum* (e.g. *HL*a I, 26). In these cases, the Italian translation accompanies the Latin words in the tables (Table 4.1; 4.2; Appendix 4.1 Tables 1 and 2) integrated with my translation into English. The way in which inconsistencies are handled is discussed in the following section.

Meanings of words were also checked in *The Classical Latin Dictionary* (Glare 1968) and the *Medieval Latin Dictionary* (Niermeyer 1976), although not all the words occur in the latter. In the majority of cases, there are no discrepancies between the meanings found in the translations and the meanings provided by the dictionaries, and here the meaning of the word is considered as established. In other cases, however, the interpretation is left open.

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Sword	*Ensis, is* (sword).	4	0	0	4
	Gladius, i (sword/weapon).	15	0	6	21
	Mucro, onis (the point of the sword).	0	0	1	1
	*Spata, ae/Spatha, ae (*sword).	6	1	0	7
	TOTAL	**25**	**1**	**7**	**33**
Rank/Sword	*Acies, ei* (ranks/armies/lines of battle/line/troops/swords/army/lines).	1	0	16	17
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**16**	**17**
Spear/Pole	*Contus, i* (pike/spear/staff).	3	0	2	5
	Hasta, ae (lance/spear).	3	0	3	6
	TOTAL	**6**	**0**	**5**	**11**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Spear	*Cuspis, idis* (point of the spear/blunt end of the spear).	2	0	0	2
	Lancea, ae (lance).	3	0	2	5
	TOTAL	**5**	**0**	**2**	**7**
Javelin	*Iaculus* (dart).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Axe	*Securicula, ae* (hatchet).	1	0	0	1
	Securis, is (axe).	1	0	1	2
	TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**1**	**3**
Arms	*Apparatus, us armorum* (suit of armour).	1	0	0	1
	Arma, orum (arms/armour).	4	1	15	20
	Armatus, a, um (armed).	4	0	0	4
	TOTAL	**9**	**1**	**15**	**25**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Arms (phrase)	*Arma crucis* (*segno della croce* = sign of the cross).	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
Knife	*Cultellus, i* (knife).	2	0	0	2
	TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Iron tool	*Ferrum, i* (knife).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Hunting	*Venabulum, i* (hunting spear).	0	0	1	1
	Venatio, onis (hunting/hunt).	2	0	0	2
	Venor, aris, atus sum, ari (to hunt).	3	0	0	3
	TOTAL	**5**	**0**	**1**	**6**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Exercises/Sports	*Exerceo, es, ercui, ercitum, ere* (exercise).	1	0	0	1
	Iocus, i (sports).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Archery	*Arcus, us* (bow).	3	0	1	4
	Faretra, ae (quiver).	2	0	0	2
	Sagitta, ae (arrow).	3	0	3	6
	TOTAL	**8**	**0**	**4**	**12**
Armour	*Cassis, idis* (helmet).	2	0	0	2
	Galea, ae (helmet).	2	0	0	2
	Lorica, ae (cuirass).	5	0	0	5
	Ocrea, ae (greaves).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**10**	**0**	**0**	**10**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Shield	*Clyppeo* (*clipeus, i; clipeum, i*) (shield).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Cup	*Fiala, ae* (drinking vessel).	2	0	0	2
	Patera, ae (patera).	1	0	0	1
	Poculum, i (goblet/cup).	5	5	0	10
	TOTAL	**8**	**5**	**0**	**13**
Solid	*Solidus, i* (solid).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Money	*Tremis, issis* (tremisse).	1	0	0	1
	Solidus, i (solidus).	2	0	6	8
	TOTAL	**3**	**0**	**6**	**9**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Stick/Staff	*Clava, ae* (club).	1	0	0	1
	Baculum, i (staff).	1	0	0	1
	Fustis, is (cudgel).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Wood	*Lignum, i* (wood/tree).	3	0	0	3
	TOTAL	**3**	**0**	**0**	**3**
Mare	*Equa, ae* (mares).	1	0	3	4
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**3**	**4**
Horse	*Equito, as, avi, atum, are* (to ride).	1	0	1	2
	Equus, i (horse).	24	0	2	26
	Frenum, i (rein).	2	0	0	2
	TOTAL	**27**	**0**	**3**	**30**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Seat/Home	*Sedes, i* (See/seat of the kingdom/chair).	7	0	1	8
	TOTAL	**7**	**0**	**1**	**8**
Seat	*Sella, ae* (saddle).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Stool	*Scabellum, i; scabillum, i* (foot-stool).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Throne	Thronus (throne).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Trumpet	*Tuba, ae* (trumpet).	0	0	2	2
	Bucinum, i (trumpet).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**3**	**3**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Hair	*Calvus, a, um* capite (bald-headed/bald head).	2	0	0	2
	Capillus, i (hair).	1	1	1	3
	Capitis tondeo, es, totondi, tonsum, ere (cut the hair).	0	0	1	1
	Crinis, is (hair).	2	1	0	3
	Incido, is, cidi, cisum, ere capillos (cut the hair).	0	0	1	1
	Rado, is, rasi, rasum, ere caput (to shave the head).	1	0	0	1
	Suscipio, is, cepi, ceptum, ere capillum (take the hair).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**7**	**2**	**3**	**12**

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Beard	*Abscidi, is, cidi, cisum, ere barbam* (cut off the beard).	1	0	0	1
	Barba, ae (beard).	2	1	2	5
	Incido, is, cidi, cisum, ere barbam (cut the beard).	1	0	1	2
	Rado, is, rasi, rasum, ere barbam (to shave the beard).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**5**	**1**	**3**	**9**
Clothes	*Amictus, us* (clothing/garments).	2	0	0	2
	Calceus, i (shoes).	0	0	1	1
	Fasceola, ae; fasciola, ae (bandages).	0	0	1	1
	Fascia, ae (band).	0	1	0	1
	Femoralis, e (breeches).	4	0	0	4
	Laqueus, i (shoe latchets).	0	0	1	1

Object category	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Clothes	*Osis* (trousers).	0	0	1	1
	Pellicceus, a, um (those –garments- made of skin).	1	0	0	1
	Pellis, is (skins).	0	0	1	1
	Tubrugos (leggings).	0	0	1	1
	Tunica, ae (tunic).	0	0	1	1
	Vestimentum, i (clothes/garments).	0	0	3	3
	Vestis, is (coat/clothing/garments).	5	0	1	6
	Vestitus, us (dress).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**12**	**1**	**12**	**25**
Clothes (phrase)	*Purpura, ae* (purple).	2	0	0	2
	TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Clothes/Condition/Physica	*Habitus, us* (clothes/bearing/	4	1	2	7

l attitude	appearance/dress).				
	TOTAL	**4**	**1**	**2**	**7**
Diadem	*Diadema, atis* (diadem).	2	0	0	2
	TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Wool to be spun or woven	*Pensum, i lanarum* (the daily tasks of wool).	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**

Table 4.1: Summary table of the number of occurrences of words referring to material culture in the *Historia Langobardorum*, according to their association with gender.

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Money	*Moneta, ae* (money).	0	0	1	1
	Siliqua, ae (siliqua/soliqua).	0	0	5	5
	Solidus, i (solidus/interest).	127	1	232	359
	Solidus vestitus (solido 'vestito' = 'dressed' money).	0	0	2	2
	Tremis, issis (tremissi; tremissus).	0	0	10	10
	TOTAL	**127**	**1**	**249**	**377**
Property	*Pecunia, ae* (property).	0	1	0	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Wood	*Lignum, i* (wood).	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Fire	Fogolarem/Focularem (hearth).	0	0	3	3
	Fogus, i/Focus, i (brand of fire/fire).	0	0	8	8
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**11**	**11**
Beard	*Barba, ae* (beard).	1	1	0	2
	TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Hair	*Capillus, i* (hair).	2	0	0	2
	Decalvo, as, atus, are (shave).	1	1	1	3
	TOTAL	**3**	**1**	**1**	**5**
Hair (Unmarried; phrase)	*In capillos* (unmarried).	0	11	0	11
	TOTAL	**0**	**11**	**0**	**11**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Phrase	*In gaida et gisil* (arrow and whip).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Mare	*Equa, ae/Aequa, ae* (cavalla).	0	0	5	5
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**5**	**5**
Beast of burden	*Iumentum, i* (beast of burden).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Horse	*Caballus, i/Cavallus, i* (horse).	27	0	38	65
	Capistrum, i (halters).	1	0	0	1
	Cavallicare/Caballicare (to ride).	3	0	3	6
	Ligamen, inis (bonds).	1	0	0	1
	Tintinnus (lead bell).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**32**	**0**	**42**	**74**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Dog	*Canis, is* (dog).	1	0	12	13
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**12**	**13**
Clothes	*Expolio, is, ivi, itum, ire* (despoiling/ strip/destroy).	0	0	3	3
	Calciamentum, i (shoes).	0	1	0	1
	Pannus, i (clothes).	0	1	0	1
	Velamen, inis (veil).	0	5	0	5
	Velo, as, avi, atum, are (take the veil).	0	1	0	1
	Vestimentum, i (clothing/ vestment/ clothes).	0	3	2	5
	Vestis, is (clothing).	0	6	1	7
	TOTAL	**0**	**17**	**6**	**23**
Clothes/ Condition/ Physical attitude	*Habitus, us* (habit).	0	7	0	7
	TOTAL	**0**	**7**	**0**	**7**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Armour	*Armatura, ae* (armament).	1	0	1	2
	Capsidem (*elmo* = helmet).	1	0	0	1
	Ferratura (iron weapons).	0	0	1	1
	Lorica, ae (coat of mail).	3	0	0	3
	TOTAL	**5**	**0**	**2**	**7**
Spear	*Lancia, ae* (lance).	4	0	1	5
	TOTAL	**4**	**0**	**1**	**5**
Manner (phrase)	*Lancia*, *ae* (manner).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Sword	*Spata, ae* (broad sword).	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Archery	*Arcus, us* (bow).	2	0	1	3
	Coccorra (quiver).	4	0	0	4
	Sagitta, ae (arrow).	4	0	1	5
	Sagittare (shoot an arrow).	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	**10**	**0**	**4**	**14**
Shield	*Scutum, i* (shield).	6	0	1	7
	TOTAL	**6**	**0**	**1**	**7**
Shield (phrase)	*Sub scutu* (duel; jurisdiction).	0	0	5	5
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**5**	**5**
Armed	*Armata manu* (with arms/armed man/armed).	0	0	3	3
	Mano forti (armed).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**3**	**4**

Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Arms	*Arma, orum* (weapon/arms).	1	1	10	12
	Conciatura armament).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**2**	**1**	**10**	**13**
Cauldron	*Cal(i)darius, a, um* (cauldron).	0	0	1	1
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Ring	*Anolus, i* (ring).	1	1	0	2
	TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Cut down a tree	*Incido, is, cisum, ere arbore* (cut down/cut a tree).	5	0	0	5
	TOTAL	**5**	**0**	**0**	**5**
Stick/Stuff	*Virga, ae* (staff).	0	0	2	2
	TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**

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Object categories	Latin word	Men	Women	Not specified	Total
Hunting	*Venator, oris* (hunter).	1	0	1	2
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Insignia	*Vando* (*insegna* = insignia).	1	0	0	1
	TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**

Table 4.2: Summary table of the number of occurrences of words referring to material culture in the Lombard Laws and the Origo Gentis Langobardorum, according to their association with gender.

The occurrences of a given word have been counted (Tables 4.1 and 4.2), even if they are seemingly used with different meanings throughout the same text or if some of those meanings are more problematic for this research. For example, the word '*acies*', found seventeen times in the *Historia Langobardorum* (Table 4.1), was translated in the English edition both as 'swords' (*HL*b II, 5) and as 'ranks' or 'troops' (*HL*b II, 20; III, 29; V, 5; V, 10). The former meaning refers directly to an object and is important in the context of the Lombard burials, while the latter is more ambiguous, but for the sake of completeness both are recorded in the tables. This is because the count of the words was based on the Latin versions, trying not to be biased by the Italian or the English translations. In the Italian translation, in fact, the word '*acies*' found in passage *HL*a II, 5 is not translated as 'swords' but as '*schiere*' ('ranks', my translation), showing that translation sometimes depends on the personal interpretation of the translator. It is not possible to be sure what the meaning of the word was for the author of the early medieval text. However, it is interesting to point out that the same word could be used to indicate a weapon and a group of men.

Each word was counted every time that it appeared in the text, even if it is clear that it refers to the same object. For example, in chapter 51 of the fourth book of the *Historia Langobardorum* the word '*lorica*' ('cuirass'; *HL*b IV, 51) appears three times but it always refers to the same cuirass, worn by Grimoald for his meeting with Godepert. The word, thus, refers to the same object but it appears in the Table 4.1 three times. In other words, rather than counting the (physical) objects, here I am considering the different ways of referring to them and their frequency. This method was adopted to apply a consistent procedure for all the objects and to check those instances in which the authors of the texts use synonyms for the same object. An example might help to clarify this process: while it is clear that the words '*lorica*' in *HL*a IV, 51 indicates a cuirass worn by Grimoald, and could have been counted as only one object, the situation of *HL*a II, 30 is more problematic. In this passage, Paul recounts the story of Peredeo, King Alboin's murderer, who was sent to Constantinople after having fled to Ravenna. As he was allegedly extraordinarily strong, the Emperor decided to blind him to make him innocuous. For this reason, Peredeo sought revenge, and, having hidden '*duos cultellos*' ('small knives'; *HL*a-b II, 30), went to the Imperial palace and was welcomed by two of the Emperor's councillors. Peredeo then struck them with the '*gladiis*' ('weapons'; *HL*a-b II, 30) so, just as the Emperor had deprived him of his eyes, he

deprived the Emperor of two important men. It is clear that, in this passage, '*cultelli*' and '*gladii*' (translated as 'swords' in the Italian version) refer to the same objects but the use of synonyms makes it difficult to count them. Should they be considered among the '*cultelli*' or among the '*gladii*'? Since it is not possible to know for certain what type of object Paul is referring to in this episode without making an assumption, it is more correct for the current approach to count the object twice, and to record the ambiguity of those terms.

In counting the occurrences of words, a distinction was made between those instances in which the word appears in connection with one or more men, or with one or more women, or, in contrast, when the association is not explicit (Table 4.1; 4.2; Appendix 4.1 Tables 1 and 2). This latter group also includes those ambiguous cases in which the connection with gender could actually have been hypothesised with some confidence. In the *Historia Langobardorum*, for example, this is the case for terms that mean weapons. There is the risk of assuming *a priori* that warfare was a male activity and that weapons were attributes of men, attaching gender connotations to weapons every time Paul the Deacon mentions them. For example, the word '*gladius*' ('sword') is occasionally used to signify warfare or acts of violence in general, and it appears in phrases such as 'perish by the sword' (*HL*b IV, 37).[24] It is likely that the act of killing enemies with swords or other implements, especially in battle, **was** performed by men, but this is not assumed in this research without clarification of this from the authors of the texts.

In contrast, in the passage in *HL*a II, 27 where the phrase '*gladio extinguere*' ('put all the people to the sword' *HL*a-b II, 27) is linked with King Alboin, it is, thus, linked to a man. In the same episode '*hastae*' ('spears'; *HL*a-b II, 27) are mentioned: Paul narrates that while entering the city of *Ticinum* (modern Pavia), which surrendered after three years of siege, King Alboin's horse fell on the ground and refused to move. The animal was then '*hinc inde hastarum verberibus caesus*' ('struck by the blows of spears'; *HL*a-b II, 27) but it is unclear who handled the spears to encourage the horse to stand up. It is likely that Alboin was entering the city with his army composed of men, and that they were the ones striking the horse with their spears, but this, ultimately, is an assumption.

Weapons also appear in association with ethnic names (indicated in Appendix 4.1 Table 1), as in the case of the Franks, who are forced to sell their '*arma*' ('arms'; *HL*a-b IV,

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[24] '*gladio perimere*' (*HL*a IV, 37)

37) on their way back from Italian military campaigns, once they were struck by dysentery and reduced to poverty (*HL*a IV, 37). It is logical to think that those Franks who raided the northern Italian regions were, indeed, men, although this is not specified by Paul the Deacon. Although the connection between weapons and masculinity could be hypothesised with a very high degree of certainty, nonetheless, since it would not be possible to treat other objects in the same way, in this instance the mention of arms has been considered ungendered and included in the general category in Table 4.1.

The same criteria were applied in the analysis of the Lombard Laws. There are a number of instances where it is not openly stated if a specific law refers to men or women, even if it may be possible to hypothesise the connection. This is particularly true when, rather than using words referring to the gender of the person such as '*homo*' ('man'; e.g. *ER*a-b 10; *RL*a-b 4), '*frater*' ('brother'; e.g. *ER*a-b 184; *LL*a-b 12), '*maritus*' ('husband'; e.g. *ER*a-b 166; 199), '*mulier*' ('woman'; e.g. *ER*a-b 166; *LL*a-b 72), '*soror*' ('sister'; e.g. *ER*a-b 184; *LL*a-b 3) '*uxor*' ('wife'; e.g. *ER*a-b 211; *LL*a-b 57) and so on, more general terms are used, the most frequent of which is '*quis*' (e.g. *ER*a 330; 77; *LL*a-b 61; 67). Occasionally, this expression is translated in the English version of the Laws as 'man' or 'he' (e.g. *ER*b 77; 330; *LL*b 67) but the Italian translation, '*qualcuno*' ('anyone' e.g. *LL*b 109) seems more faithful to the original Latin, not really indicating the gender of the person in question. All those cases are recorded as 'general' in Table 4.2.

As already explained for the *Historia Langobardorum*, this means looking at the texts and applying an 'uninformed' perspective, ignoring, at this stage in the analysis, what is known of Lombard society from previous studies. To provide an example from the Laws, in fact from the *Edict of Rothari*, it emerges that women were not legally independent and that their properties were under the control of a male relative such as a husband, father or brother, who possessed their '*mundium*' (e.g. Delogu 1980: 81; Fischer Drew 1996: 33). This may suggest that when women committed, or were the victims of, a crime that was punished by the law, the compensation was usually paid or received by the man who owned her *mundium* (Fisher Drew 1956; 12-3). Consequently, references to money, which are extremely frequent in the Laws (Table 4.2), should probably always be attributed to the male gender. However, at this stage of the present study, it was deemed preferable to stick as far as possible to the texts and their use of the words, to avoid the introduction of bias into the methodology. Overall, the aim is to

be consistent in recording the information on gender provided by the sources and to try not to attribute gender connotations to objects on the basis of assumptions, even where they appear logical and plausible. The reason for taking this approach is, as already mentioned, because it is not possible to apply similar assumptions to interpretations of all artefacts and, as a result, an inherent bias will be introduced into the analysis.

The person or persons recorded in the written texts in connection with various objects may own them or simply interact with them. Ownership is not considered particularly relevant in the present analysis, not only because it is generally difficult to establish in the sources, but also because an object did not need to be owned by a person to take part in the construction of his or her identity. The fact that a person is reported as interacting with an object in the sources already provides important information: it suggests that it was acceptable or common (or not, for example see below,) for that type of person to be in some way related to that object. This is evident, for example, in the case of drinking vessels, which are handled by both men and women, suggesting that the interaction with this type of object was not exclusive to a specific gender category (e.g. *HL*a-b I, 20; II, 28; II, 29; V, 2). The '*poculum*' ('cup' *HL*a-b III, 30) that is mentioned by Paul in the story of the first meeting between King Authari and his future wife Theudelida, cited three times in the passage (*HL*a-b II, 30), is recorded in the tables (Table 4.1; Appendix 4.1 Table 1) both as a masculine and as a feminine item because both characters interact with it, even though Paul is talking of the same object.

However, it is important not to consider the interaction of people with objects as the starting point for recording and counting the references between objects and gender. The '*poculum*' ('cup' *HL*a-b III, 35) that is used to ratify the marriage between King Agilulf and Theudelida is included only in the 'men' category because it is explicitly mentioned once in association with Agilulf. In some ways, this is misleading because it is clear that the queen also drank from the same cup, even if the word '*poculum*' is not associated with her in this passage. It has already been explained that the count is based upon the occurrences of words and not of objects or the number of interactions with the same object. Moreover, the absence of a straightforward association of drinking cups and gender emerges from the count even if it was not possible to record the handling of the cup by the queen for this episode. Indeed, the case of *HL*a-b III, 35 is exceptional in the sources analysed: it was found that if people of different genders interacted with an object the word is repeated for each person, making the count that appears in Table 4.1

reliable. Words are hard evidence that can be counted, while interactions are not always explicit and are more difficult to register in an objective manner.

In analysing the sources, it was decided to also record words that strictly do not refer to specific objects found in graves but that, on the one hand, imply their use and, on the other, help to build a picture of gender roles more generally. This is the case of activities such as hunting (e.g. *ER*a 309; 314; *HL*a V, 37; V, 39) and weaving (*HL*a II, 5), as well as words and actions referring to bodily appearance such as beard, hair and their treatments (e.g. *HL*a III, 30; IV, 38; V, 33; V, 37; VI, 20; *ER*a 383; *LL*a 141; 80). All of these terms suggest interaction between people and material culture, some of which is easy to imagine and to find in the burial record. The relevance of hair and beards in the sources, as well as the act of cutting them, could be linked with the large number of combs found in the graves of this period and, according to some scholars also with the presence of shears (Terzer 2001: 188; Giostra 2007: 321-2; 2012: 220-1). Similarly, hunting probably involved the use of objects like bows and arrows, as emerges from some of the most detailed passages in the written sources (*HL*a VI, 58; *ERa* 314). However, if an object is not explicitly mentioned, it would not be correct to assume its use, and ultimately the link with a specific gender, every time that a certain activity or body part is mentioned. In other words, the fact that men are often mentioned in connection with long hair and beards (or with the act of cutting them) does not automatically establish a link between men and combs or shears. A bow and arrows were probably used in hunting but it is not possible to assume that this was always the case and that these were the only implements used. Hence, when hunting is mentioned only in general terms in the sources, it would be wrong to automatically assume a link between the hunter and bow and arrows. This would involve a degree of interpretation that it was decided to avoid at this stage of the analysis, to try to establish a starting point that was as objective as possible. These references may find space in a possible future refinement of this methodology, but their use must be carefully thought through and clearly distinguished from the objects that are, instead, explicitly mentioned.

The aim of the foregoing discussion has been to explain the way in which objects related to gender identity in the written sources were identified and recorded. As the relationships that are relevant for this research are not always straightforward, it was necessary to establish a set of criteria to follow, in order to be consistent in the analyses of the texts. Of course, in some cases the relationship between some objects and the

masculine or the feminine gender could have been inferred with a high degree of confidence but, to guarantee consistency in the analysis, the overriding principle was to avoid interpretation or assumption and to adhere to what is written in the texts as far as possible.

4.5.2 The definition of the object categories

The next step was to group words with similar meanings, according to the translations and the dictionary entries. To avoid confusion with the types of grave goods, I have referred to these groups as 'object categories'. This grouping was necessary because synonyms were used by early medieval authors, including Paul the Deacon. The most significant example is the number of different words meaning 'sword' that appear in the *Historia Langobardorum* (Table 4.1). '*Gladius*', '*spatha*', '*ensis*', '*mucro*' are all translated as 'sword' in the English version and this is also the meaning consistently found in both the Classical and the Medieval Latin dictionaries (Table 4.1; 4.2; Appendix 4.1). There seem to be a number of reasons why Paul uses different words to refer to (apparently) the same object. It is possible that they are, in fact, different types of swords, but establishing a direct link between these terms and the types of swords found in graves would not only be problematic, but also needlessly detailed for present purposes. All these terms are related either to men or are generally used by men (with only one exception, discussed below (Section 4.5.3), indicating that long cutting weapons, more generally referred to as 'swords', were mainly associated with the masculine gender in the written sources, typological differences notwithstanding. It is also possible that the use of different words to indicate 'sword' was a linguistic choice: as already discussed, the word '*gladius*', in some instances, could be used to mean killing enemies in general, and in such cases Paul was simply reporting a common phrase used at his time. Another indication of a possible literary reason behind the use of different words to mean 'sword' comes from the observation of the context in which these words are found. In two instances (*HL*a-b I, 23; II; 28), the terms '*spata/spatha*' designate the sword of Alboin, who is portrayed as a heroic king by Paul (Gasparri 2005b: 211). '*Spata/Spatha*' appears in another legendary episode (*HL*a-b III, 34) involving the Frankish King Gunthram, who actually owned and used the sword. It is, hence, possible that Paul preferred this word when he reported mythical episodes involving kings (a noteworthy exception being the sword of the usurper Rothari (*HL*a-b

VI, 38)), while the word '*gladius*' was used in connection with ordinary soldiers or in more mundane instances.

Grouping the terms found in the sources is inevitably a simplification of the nuances that the writers might have wanted to express, and it is also important to acknowledge that, as in every categorization, it cannot be entirely objective. However, the main aim at this stage of the analysis is to broadly identify those objects and activities that were more often associated with gender identity, not to establish an unquestionable link between written sources and material culture. For this reason, the categories have been left reasonably broad with the aim of indicating a semantic field rather than specific objects. For example, terms such as '*capistrum*', '*caballus*', '*caballicare*', '*equito*', and '*frenum*', which have different specific meanings, are all grouped under the object category 'horse', because they all refer to that semantic field, whether they directly refer to the animal, indicate horse fittings or the activity of riding a horse. Similarly, the object categories labelled as 'beard' and 'hair', not only include words such as '*barba*', '*capillo*' and '*crinis*', but also '*calvo*', '*decalvo*' and '*incidere barbam*', which indirectly refer to the 'idea' of beards and hairs.

Despite the fact that this stage of the analysis has had to involve some decisions being taken about the grouping of artefacts and terms/words, it follows consistent rules. It is necessary to stress, for example, that words are included in an object category only when the meaning found in the translations and in the dictionaries coincides. If there is any doubt or ambiguity the word is not included in any category and it is considered impossible to draw a parallel between the word and any object found in the graves, as in the case of the word '*acies*', explained above (Section 4.5.1). Among the most controversial terms to categorise are the words that may refer to 'spears'. The words '*contus*' and '*hasta*' can mean both spear and staff, so creating problems of interpretation (Table 4.1). However, it is not possible to establish precisely what type of object Paul was referring to when employing these words, which are either associated with males or do not have a clear association with gender. Other ambiguous words include '*sedes*', which can mean either seat or home, and *habitus* that means both dress and condition or physical attitude.

In other cases of ambiguous meanings, the context in which the words appear was taken into account, if that suggested a clear meaning. The word '*sella*', for example, is

translated as 'saddle' both in the English and in the Italian edition of the *Historia Langobardorum* (*HL*a-b V, 10). In the Classical Latin dictionary the word is, however, translated as 'seat', 'stool' and 'chair'. The word, found only once in the texts, appears in the following passage: '*cumque utraeque acies forti intentione pugnarent, tunc unus de regis exercitu nomine Amalongus, qui regium contum ferre erat solitus, quondam Greculum eodem contulo utrisque minibus fortiter percutiens de sella super quam equitabat sustulit eumque in aera super caput suum levavit*'.[25] The general meaning of the sentence and, in particular, the association with the word '*equitabat*' ('riding'), makes it sufficiently clear that Paul is referring to a saddle and, consequently, this word was included in the object group 'horse'. Similarly, the inclusion of the word '*pellis*' (*HL*a I, 5) in the category of 'clothes' is justified by the reading of the passage in which the word appears, where it refers to the skin of an animal used to make clothes. In these instances, the context in which the words are used was considered more relevant to understanding their meanings and to decisions about whether to include them in an object category, than the translations found on the dictionaries.

Consideration of the context of use is also important for the category of 'cups'. According to the Classical Latin dictionary both the word '*patera*' and '*fiala*' are synonyms and indicate 'broad shallow dishes', making their use as drinking cups ambiguous. Nevertheless, in the *Historia Langobardorum*, they are always used for drinking. In particular, the '*patera*' is, according to Paul, the equivalent of the German word '*scala*' (*HL*a-b I, 27). This is the type of cup that Alboin carved from the skull of the king of the Gepids, Cunimund, after having killed him in battle (*HL*a-b I, 27). In that cup, the king offered some wine to his wife, who was Cunimund's daughter Rosemund, inviting her to drink 'merrily with her father' during a feast (*HL*b II, 28). The word '*fiala*', instead, appears in the episode of Perctarit when he orders his '*pincerna*' (cup-bearer) to pour water in his '*fiala argentea*', a 'silver cup' (*HL*a-b V, 2). Thus, it was considered reasonable to group these words in the category of the 'cups', alongside with the word '*poculum*', which according to the dictionary refers to a drinking vessel.

Reading the sources, it emerges that words that are usually used to refer to an object were also used in phrases that have a completely different meaning, and these instances

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[25] 'And while both lines were fighting with great obstinacy, a man from the king's army named Amalong, who had been accustomed to carry the royal pike, taking this pike in both hands struck violently with it a certain little Greek and lifted him **from the saddle on which he was riding** and raised him in the air over his head' (*HL*b V, 10).

are considered as separate object categories in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. For example, in the Lombard Laws the word '*scutu*' appears in the phrase '*sub scutu*' (Table 4.2; Appendix 4.1 Table 2), which means both 'duel' (*ER*b 164; 165; 166; *LL*b 118) and 'jurisdiction' (*ER*b 367), making their inclusion in the category 'shield' unreasonable. A similar procedure was followed for the expression '*in capillo*', which was used in the Laws to indicate unmarried women (*LL*b 2; 3; 4; 14; 65; 145 *AL*b 10).

4.5.3 The attribution of values to the object categories

After having counted the occurrences of words, their association with men and women, checked the Latin meaning, and grouped those that probably indicate similar types of objects into 'object categories', a table was created to show the results of the analyses of the three texts (Table 4.3). This table is then used to assign a **gender value** to the object categories derived from the written sources, which will later be compared with evidence found in the iconography. These values do not have a numerical meaning but are a means of applying the information obtained from the texts to the archaeological record.

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
	25	1	7	33
Sword	0	0	2	2
	25	**1**	**9**	**35**
	1	0	16	17
Rank/Sword	0	0	0	0
	1	**0**	**16**	**17**
	6	0	5	11
	0	0	0	0
Spear/Pole				
	6	**0**	**5**	**11**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Spear	5	0	2	7
	4	0	1	5
	9	**0**	**3**	**12**
Javelin	0	0	1	1
	0	0	0	0
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Manner (phrase)	0	0	0	0
	0	0	1	1
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Axe	2	0	1	3
	0	0	0	0
	2	**0**	**1**	**3**
Cut down a tree	0	0	0	0
	5	0	0	5
	5	**0**	**0**	**5**
Arms	9	1	15	25
	2	1	10	13
	11	**2**	**25**	**38**
Arms (phrase)	0	0	2	2
	0	0	0	0
	0	**0**	**2**	**2**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Knife	2	0	0	2
	0	0	0	0
	2	**0**	**0**	**2**
Iron tool	0	0	1	1
	0	0	0	0
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Hunting	5	0	1	6
	1	0	1	2
	6	**0**	**3**	**8**
Exercises/Sports	2	0	0	2
	0	0	0	0
	2	**0**	**0**	**2**
Archery	8	0	4	12
	10	0	4	14
	18	**0**	**8**	**26**
Armour	10	0	0	10
	5	0	2	7
	15	**0**	**2**	**17**
Shield	1	0	0	1
	6	0	1	7
	7	**0**	**1**	**8**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Shield (phrase)	0	0	0	0
	0	0	5	5
	0	**0**	**5**	**5**
Cup	9	5	0	14
	0	0	0	0
	8	**5**	**0**	**13**
Cauldron	0	0	0	0
	0	0	1	1
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Solid	0	0	1	1
	0	0	0	0
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Money	3	0	6	9
	127	1	249	377
	130	**1**	**255**	**386**
Property	0	0	0	0
	0	1	0	1
	0	**1**	**0**	**1**
Stick/Staff	3	0	0	3
	0	0	2	2
	3	**0**	**2**	**5**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Wood	3	0	0	3
	0	0	2	2
	3	**0**	**2**	**5**
Mare	1	0	3	4
	0	0	5	5
	1	**0**	**8**	**9**
Beast of burden	0	0	0	0
	1	0	0	1
	1	**0**	**0**	**1**
Dog	0	0	0	0
	1	0	12	13
	1	**0**	**12**	**13**
Horse	28	0	3	31
	32	0	42	74
	60	**0**	**45**	**105**
Seat/Home	7	0	1	8
	0	0	0	0
	7	**0**	**1**	**8**
Stool	1	0	0	1
	0	0	0	0
	1	**0**	**0**	**1**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Throne	1	0	0	1
	0	0	0	0
	1	**0**	**0**	**1**
Trumpet	0	0	3	3
	0	0	0	0
	0	**0**	**3**	**3**
Hair	7	2	3	12
	3	1	1	5
	10	**3**	**4**	**17**
Beard	5	1	3	9
	1	1	0	2
	6	**2**	**3**	**11**
Clothes	12	1	12	25
	0	17	6	23
	12	**18**	**18**	**48**
Clothes (phrase)	2	0	0	2
	0	0	0	0
	2	**0**	**0**	**2**
Clothes/Condition/Physical attitude	4	1	2	7
	0	7	0	7
	4	**8**	**2**	**14**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total
Diadem	2	0	0	2
	0	0	0	0
	2	**0**	**0**	**2**
Wool to be spun or woven	0	1	0	1
	0	0	0	0
	0	**1**	**0**	**1**
Fire	0	0	0	0
	0	0	11	11
	0	**0**	**11**	**11**
Hair (Unmarried; phrase)	0	0	0	0
	0	0	1	1
	0	**0**	**1**	**1**
Ring	0	0	0	0
	1	1	0	2
	1	**1**	**0**	**2**

Table 4.3: Number of occurrences of the object categories in the *Historia Langobardorum*, the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* and the Lombard Laws, according to their gender associations.

Gender values were attributed to those object categories that appear in the written sources more than five times. This was established in order to avoid, as far as possible, making a link between an object category and a particular gender that was, in reality, incidental. The values attributed range between two, which indicates the masculine character of a specific category of objects, and one, which, instead, denotes their femininity. One point five is given to those categories whose association with gender is either ambiguous or not relevant, as they appear with both males and females. The criteria that were used in ascribing the values are as follows and they are presented in Table 4.4.

- 1= feminine objects in the written sources. This value was given to those object categories that are never associated with men. This means that the category appears only linked with the feminine gender or that it occurs both in association with women and in passages where the association with gender is not explicit. In the latter case, the number of occurrences of the association between the object category and females must be higher than the number of occurrences of non-specific associations.
- 1,5 = neutral objects in the written sources. This value is given to those categories of objects that are never associated with either males or females or when the number of occurrences of non-specific associations is equal to or higher than the number of occurrences with men or women.
- 2 = masculine objects in the written sources. The criteria used to assign this value parallel those outlined above for feminine objects. The object category must be associated only with men or must appear both in association with males and lacking any specific gender association. If this is the case the number of occurrences of the object category associated with men must outnumber the occurrences of the object category with non-specific associations.

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total	Gender Value
Hair (Unmarried; phrase)	0	11	0	11	**1**
Money	130	1	255	386	**1.5**
Clothes	12	18	18	48	**1.5**
Arms	11	2	25	38	**1.5**
Rank/Sword	1	0	16	17	**1.5**
Hair	10	3	4	17	**1.5**
Cup	8	5	0	13	**1.5**
Clothes/Condition/Physical attitude	4	8	2	14	**1.5**
Dog	1	0	12	13	**1.5**
Fire	0	0	11	11	**1.5**

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total	Gender Value
Mare	1	0	8	9	1.5
Shield (phrase)	0	0	5	5	1.5
Sword	25	1	9	35	1.5/2
Beard	6	2	3	11	1.5/2
Horse	60	0	45	105	2
Archery	18	0	8	26	2
Armour	15	0	2	17	2
Spear/Pole	6	0	5	11	2
Spear	9	0	3	12	2
Cut down a tree	5	0	0	5	2

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total	Gender Value
Stick/Staff	3	0	2	5	2
Wood	3	0	2	5	2
Shield	7	0	1	8	2
Hunting	6	0	3	8	2
Seat/Home	7	0	1	8	2
Axe	2	0	1	3	N/A
Trumpet	0	0	3	3	N/A
Manner (phrase)	0	0	1	1	N/A
Knife	2	0	0	2	N/A
Exercises/Sports	2	0	0	2	N/A
Clothes (phrase)	2	0	0	2	N/A

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total	Gender Value
Diadem	2	0	0	2	N/A
Ring	1	1	0	2	N/A
Javelin	0	0	1	1	N/A
Arms (phrase)	0	0	1	1	N/A
Arms (?)	1	0	0	1	N/A
Iron tool	0	0	1	1	N/A
Cauldron	0	0	1	1	N/A
Property	0	1	0	1	N/A
Beast of burden	1	0	0	1	N/A
Stool	1	0	0	1	N/A
Throne	1	0	0	1	N/A
Wool to be spun or woven	0	1	0	1	N/A

Object category	Men	Women	General	Total	Gender Value
Solid	0	0	1	1	**N/A**

Table 4.4: Gender values attributed to the object categories.

Table 4.4 shows that the only object category that acquires the value of 1, being associated only with the female gender, is 'hair', used in the expression '*in capillo*' to indicate unmarried women. Cristina La Rocca (2011a: 15; 2015: 416-24) has suggested that different hairstyles signalled the marital status of Lombard women and this hypothesis could, in theory, allow us to establish a link between females and hair fittings. La Rocca, indeed, argues that the phrase '*in capillo*' may be linked to the costume of unmarried women to keep their head bare, while married women covered their hair with a veil (La Rocca 2011a: 13-5; 2015: 416-8). However, at this stage of the research, this association appeared to be too hypothetical and it was decided not to draw any firm connection between the phrase '*in capillo*' and the material culture found in graves. La Rocca's hypothesis will, nonetheless and more appropriately, be further explored in the analysis of the archaeological record in Chapter 7 (Section 7.3.3) on femininity.

The reasons why men appear in the sources in association with material culture much more frequently than women (364 times versus 84) deserves further consideration. Men are, in general, more frequently referred to in the three texts examined, and this may be a product of the character and aims of these sources. For example, the focus of the *Historia Langobardorum* is mainly on prominent men, such as the Lombard kings and dukes, and their deeds. Women are included in Paul's stories but usually they are 'accessories' to the history of Lombard men. Moreover, when women are considered, more attention seems to be placed on their moral characteristics than on actions that could involve the use of material culture. This does not necessarily mean that women did not have an important role in Lombard society, just that the written sources are biased towards men and that this bias must be taken into consideration in the analyses of the funerary record.

Object categories associated with men are more numerous than those associated with women and will be useful in reconstructing gender expressions in graves. The most common object category associated with men is 'horse', intended to mean both the animal and the objects and activities related to it. They are mostly considered as means of transport and as valuable items, and they appear less often in the written sources in military contexts. Similarly, items of archery equipment, the second most frequent object associated with men, often feature in hunting, which is itself an activity

undertaken only by men. In the object categories that appear only with men there are also items that refer to warfare, such as the different elements of armour, spears and shields.

Table 4.4 also shows that that other objects connected to warfare (such as swords and arms in general) are, according to this procedure, gender-neutral. However, deepening the analysis and reading the sources in more detail it emerges that these items were not, in fact, neutral. In the sources arms and swords are only connected with women in exceptional cases, in circumstances which, in fact, strengthen their central role in the construction of masculinity. The most revealing example is found in the Lombard Laws where it is stated that 'it is foolish to think that a woman, free or slave, could commit a forceful act with arms as if she were a man' (*RE*b 278). Handling weapons indicated that a woman was acting as a man. Indeed, in the previous Chapter (3, Section 3.5.4) has been already highlighted how the Laws considered violence as something that 'men do, not women' (*LL*b 141; Balzaretti 1998; 2005; 2015), and that this differentiation helped strengthening the gender distinctions within Lombard society. In the *Historia Langobardorum* arms and a sword are connected with a woman only in one instance, the episode of the conspiracy to kill King Alboin, plotted by his wife Rosemund (*HL*a-b 28). In this episode, the queen removes all the arms from the palace and ties Alboin's sword to the bed to make the king and his followers powerless. In this instance Rosemund interacts with weapons that she does not own, and although this suggests that women could interact with these types of objects, she is not handling them for a noble reason but for an infamous purpose. This, therefore, is not just an exceptional circumstance but an inversion of the norm, whose results are far from being positive and laudable. In the work of Paul the Deacon, arms and swords appear in the hands of Rosemund, a woman who 'was ready for every kind of wickedness' (*HL*b II, 29) and who was probably remote from the ideal model and image of Lombard femininity.

Further, indirect evidence of the distance in Lombard society between the idea of femininity and warfare can be found in other sections of the *Historia Langobardorum*. Interestingly, when Paul narrates the legendary deeds of the Lombards before their arrival in Italy, he mentions a fight between the king-to-be Lamissio and the Amazons (*HL*a-b I, 15). This is not a detailed description of the Amazons, nor are there specific references of their weaponry, but they are defined as an army who tried to stop Lamissio and the Lombards from crossing a river. Paul does not seem to entirely believe

this story, because he learnt from ancient historians 'that the race of Amazons was destroyed long before these things could have occurred'. Interestingly, Balzaretti (2015: 145-7) has highlighted that violent and warlike women are often characters of old and legendary accounts they were 'a thing of the distant past who did not exist in the present, a view which seems to have comforted its (male) proponents' (Balzaretti 2015: 147). Moreover, when Paul talks about the Amazons he also admits that 'it might have been that a class of women of this kind dwelt there at that time, for I have heard it related by some that the race of these women exists up to the present day in the innermost parts of Germany' (*HL*b I, 15). The way in which Paul refers to the Amazons as a 'race' and a 'class of women of these kind' suggests that they were removed from the 'normal' idea of women and separate from the Lombards as a specific, distinct and confined 'race' (Barbiera 2012: 159).

The other passage in the *Historia Langobardorum* that suggests that the association between women and the practice of warfare was a 'subversion' of the norm is the well-known account of the way in which the Lombards acquired their name at the beginning of their migration. In the legendary battle between the Winnili and the Vandals the goddess Frea offers her help to Gambara, the mother of the two leaders of the Lombards. She suggests that 'the women of the Winnili should take down their hair and arrange it upon the face like a beard, and that in the early morning they should be present with their husbands and in like manner station themselves to be seen by Godan' (*HL*b I, 8). The battle never took place because the God Godan, having seen these ranks of bearded men gave them the name 'Longbeards', as well as the victory. In this instance, the Lombard women did not engage in battle, nevertheless they had to disguise their aspect and their gender identity, temporarily acquiring male identity through a fake beard.

This episode, which Paul probably took from the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* (Pohl 2000b: 19), is not only further evidence that warfare was a characteristic activity of Lombard men, but also shows that the beard was an important element in expressing masculine identity. In Table 4.4 'beard' appears to be a 'neutral' category because in the sources it is recorded twice in association with women. These two instances are, indeed, the aforementioned legendary account from the *Historia Langobardorum* and the parallel passage in the *Origo Gentis Langobardorum* (Appendix 4.1 Table 1; 2) where beards are used by women to appear as men, stressing that this physical trait was

actually masculine. From this discussion it becomes clear that in those instances in the sources where women appear with arms, swords and beards (and are recorded as such in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 (also Appendix 4.1, Tables 1 and 2), these attributes subvert rather than construct/mark their femininity. It is thus possible to argue that, despite arms, swords and beards being connected with women, they are, instead, strong masculine attributes and should, in the present methodology, be given a value of 2. This change in value has been applied to the category of beards and swords (Table 4.4) because they are more often mentioned in connection with men, rather than appearing as general terms – but it was decided to leave the value of 'arms' at 1.5 because the number of occurrences in which they are not linked with any gender is the highest recorded. These are the only categories of object for which this sort of adjustment can be made.

4.5.4 Gender identity in the iconographic sources

The patterns observed in the written sources can also be compared with data from iconography. In general, one notes that attributes that are considered typical of masculine identity from the written sources often appear together in images of the Lombard period. This observation, although not conclusive, might be taken as further evidence for the existence of an ideal and standardised image of masculine and feminine identity, which was expressed through the presence of specific objects and characteristics and conveyed through different media.

Just as it was not possible to identify in the texts objects that were characteristic only of the feminine gender, so the same is true of the iconographic sources. Images depicting characters that have been recognised as females are rare. There are the two winged victories on the Valdinievole plate (which may be the visor of a helmet: e.g. Brogiolo 2007: 55; Gasparri 1997b: 49; Peroni 1991: 206) dated to 590-612; Figure 4.6), which, following the traditional iconography of these mythical characters, were probably females. Other images of women are the six sculptures in the Tempietto Longobardo in Cividale del Friuli (8th century; Figure 4.7 a-b). Two of these figures are in monastic garb, while the other four are crowned. The latter hold crosses in their right hands and in the left they have either a wreath or another crown. The haloes around the heads of these characters suggest that they are saints. Given the female name engraved above the figure, Gumetruda's seal-ring (Figure 4.8) probably contains an image of a women, but it is believed to date to the 6th century and to have belonged to a Gothic individual

(Kurze 2004: 44-5). It seems, therefore, that iconography reinforces the conclusion that references to females in sources external to the funerary record are too scarce to help to identify the material attributes that were instrumental in projecting feminine identity.

Figure 4.6: The so-called 'Valdinievole plate'. 590-612. (source: Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 56 fig. 1.1.15)
.

A

Figure 4.7a: Tempietto Longobardo (Cividale del Friuli (UD)). 8th century.
A. General view of the sculptures. (source:
http://www.tempiettolongobardo.it/_it/apparati_decorativi.asp, last accessed 24-4-2016).
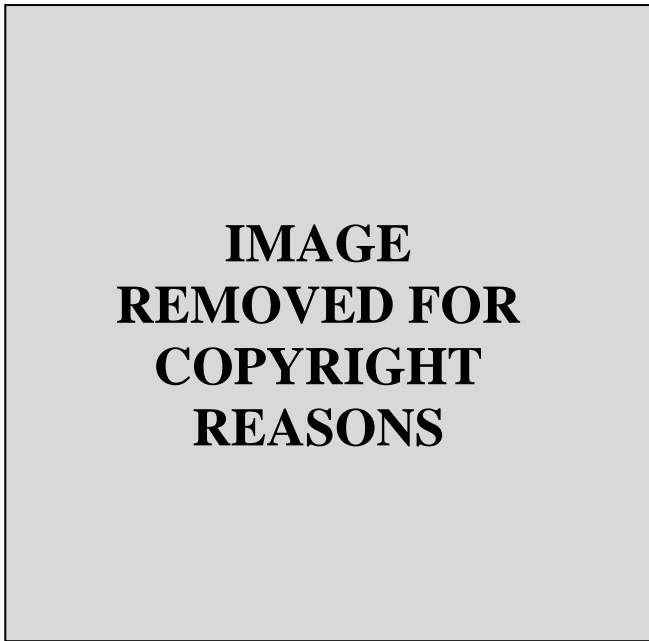
B

C

Figure 4.7b: Tempietto Longobardo (Cividale del Friuli (UD)). 8th century.
B-C. Details of the sculptures (source:
http://www.tempiettolongobardo.it/_it/apparati_decorativi.asp, last accessed 24-4-2016).

Figure 4.8: Gumetruda's ring. 6th century (source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola V.1).

The majority of the images that survive from the Lombard period represent characters provided with some of the attributes of masculine identity. In particular, it is noticeable that the most common objects are those that also appear most frequently in the written sources: weapons, beards and horses. On the Valdinievole plate, for example (Figure 4.6), the scene revolves around an enthroned figure with a long, pointed beard, holding a sword in the left hand. The character is identified as King Agilulf by the inscription above his head: '*D(omino) N(ostro) Regi Agilu*'.[26] Physical characteristics (the beard), weapons (the sword), and the inscription work together in projecting the image of a Lombard man, in this case the king. Other characters in the image are given attributes of masculinity: to the left and the right of the king there are two figures fully armed with helmet, cuirass, spear and shield, while another character to the left of the king is bearded (Vollono 2012: 43-5).

Bearded figures are also depicted on the seal rings found in two of the graves from Trezzo d'Adda (grave 2, second half of the 7th century and grave 4, 625-650; Figure 4.9; 4.10). The identity of these characters, as well as that of images depicted on other rings (Figure 4.11 a-b), has been the subject of a long debate (Vollono 2012: 42) with some scholars arguing that the busts on the rings represent the king (e.g. Arslan 2004; De Marchi 2004), and others interpreting them as representations of the owner (Kurze 2004; Lusuardi-Siena 2004). Whoever was depicted on the rings, the beard is the main

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[26] The inscription is in the dative case, which could point to a dedication to King Agilulf and translate as 'to our Lord King Agilulf'. Alternatively, the inscription could be read in conjunction with the word 'Victuria' on the banners carried by the winged victories and be translated as 'victory to our Lord King Agilulf' (Brogiolo 2007: 56; Lusuardi Siena 1999: 18).

element that expresses his masculinity – it is present in all nine cases. In these instances, the characters do not have other objects, such as weapons, maybe because in the context in which they are depicted it was more important to highlight their 'civil' role. The peculiarities of the context in which a portrait was viewed/deployed may also have determined the characteristics of the images on two types of Lombard coins. The obverse of the series minted by Ratchis (744-749 or 756-757; Figure 4.12) and Aistulf (751-756 ca.; Fig. 4.13) broke with the previous tradition of the *en-profile* portrait on coins and added the beard to the representation of the king (Arslan 2000: 201). Nevertheless, they remain consistent with the previous iconography of Lombard coins, in not including any weapon in the image.

On the basis of the Valdinievole plate, the seal rings and the coins of Ratchis and Aistulf, scholars have argued that, by the end of the 8th century, a standardised image of the Lombard king had been elaborated and consistently used on a variety of objects (Grierson and Blackburn 1986: 65; Travaini 2006: 55). Whether this type of iconography was characteristic of the king only or was used more widely, as the widespread presence of similar bearded men on a variety of objects might suggest (Figure 4.14), it nevertheless highlights the way in which the beard was central in creating and projecting a model of Lombard maleness, as also suggested by the texts.

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Figure 4.9: Rodchis' ring from grave 2 of Trezzo d'Adda (località San Martino (MI)). Second half of the 7th century (source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola II.10).

Figure 4.10: Ansvald's ring from grave 4 of Trezzo d'Adda (località San Martino (MI)). ca. 625-650 (source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola II.4).

Figure 4.11a: Seal rings: **A.** Marchebadus' ring; **B.** Audo's ring; **C.** Arichis' ring; **D.** Faolfus' ring; Uncertain chronology: probably before the end of the 7th- 8th century (source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola II.1, 2, 7, 12).

Figure 4.11b: Seal rings: **E.** Aufret's ring; **F.** Mauricius' ring; **G**. Auto's ring. Uncertain chronology: probably before the end of the 7th- 8th century (source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola III.2, 5, 8).

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Figure 4.12: Ratchis' coin. 744-749 or 756-757 (source: Arslan 1984: fig. 328).

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Figure 4.13: Aistulf's coin. ca. 751-756 (source: Arslan 1984: fig. 339).

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Figure 4.14: Representations of bearded men on other objects: **A.** Detail of the gold foil cross of Beinasco. End of the 6th - first half of the 7th century (Source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola VII, 2); **B.** Anso's *bulla* from the Crypta Balbi (Rome), 7th century (Source: Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 74 fig. 1.2.8); **C.** Fragment of pottery from Vicenza (località Pedemuro San Biagio), beginning of the 7th century (Source: Lusuardi Siena and Airoldi 2004: Tavola VIII, 2); **D.** Fragments of altar from Novara, end of the 7th - first half of the 8th century (Source: Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 76 fig. 1.2.11a).

Horses feature on the fittings of the shield found at Satabio (second third of the 7th century; Figure 4.15. 9) and on the bracteate from the cemetery of Cella (beginning of the 7th century; Figure 4.16). In the former, it is possible to observe a character holding a sword or a spear and riding a galloping horse, provided with all its trappings. This bronze plaque was part of a more complex assemblage composed of two symmetrical scenes divided by a *cantharos*: each scene included the horseman and a running dog. This composition, which also shows plants, has been interpreted as a hunting scene (Hessen 1990b). Less obvious is the setting of the horseman depicted on the bracteate from a grave in the cemetery of Cella. Here, elements such as the horse, the spear, the shield, the helmet and the pointed beard, are combined to form an idealised image of a man.

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Figure 4.15: Shield fittings from Stabio (Canton Ticino). Second third of the 7th century. **A.** All the fittings (Source: Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 78 fig. 1.2.14). **B.** Fitting representing a horseman (Source: Menis 1990: 190 fig. IV.59).

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C

Figure 4.16: Bracteate from the so-called 'Tomba del cavalierie' of the cemetery of Cella (Cividale del Friuli (UD)). Beginning of the 7th century (Source: Brogiolo and Chavarria Arnau 2007: 74 fig. 1.2.9).

To summarise consideration of iconographic material confirms and enriches the information found in the contemporary texts. It emerges that masculine identity was expressed through a combination of attributes that are consistent between the two types of source but that can be arranged in different ways to project different facets of masculinity. It is more difficult to capture/reconstruct an image or images of femininity from these sources.

4.5.5 Gender identity in the funerary data: the case study of Santo Stefano in Pertica

In this section, a case study will be presented to illustrate how the results that emerge from the analysis of the texts and the iconography were applied to aid the identification of gendered graves and objects in the case-study cemeteries. The site of Santo Stefano in Pertica has been chosen as an example on which to demonstrate the methodology for an array of reasons: the medium size of the cemetery allows a sufficient number of graves to make the explanation clear whilst keeping the discussion relatively brief. In addition, the cemetery can be defined as a 'traditional' Lombard burial ground, which included graves containing both weapons and jewellery items. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Santo Stefano was one of the three Italian sites already analysed by Barbiera (2005: 75-89) using Halsall's method. This will allow the contrast between

Halsall's methodology and that adopted in the present thesis to be demonstrated. Before entering into the discussion of the method it is necessary to remind ourselves that this methodology is a modern construct and schematization. There is not any intention to suggest that people in Lombard Italy were actually concerned with 'gender factors' (i.e. the gender values attributed to each object and to the grave good assemblages of each grave, see below). Their intention was to express and negotiate identities emphasising or downplaying certain aspects of a person's life and status (including gender) and finding different ways to express them. As with every methodology, it is still a modern schematization designed to arrange and make sense of the data, but it will allow for an observation of how gender identity was constructed.

From the analysis of the texts and the iconographic evidence it has emerged that the sources external to the grave assemblages tell us one of three things regarding material culture: that a particular object was associated with masculine identity, that it was associated with feminine identity, or that its relationship was ambiguous, in that it could be associated with both genders or its association was unclear. These associations are expressed by assigning a number ('gender value') to each object category identified in the written and iconographic sources:[27]

- 1 = feminine object;
- 1.5 = ambiguous object;
- 2 = masculine object.

To use this information in the analysis of the archaeological record, a table for each cemetery has been created, in which the rows are the graves and the columns the types of grave goods. In the table the grave goods found in the graves are recorded, producing a diagram that shows the grave goods assemblages of each grave in the cemetery (Table 4.5). Subsequently, when a type of grave good in the table corresponds to a type of object referenced in the written and iconographic sources, the relevant 'gender value' is assigned to that object. The assemblage of each grave can then be factored using the combined ratings of the material types present to obtain a number that we can consider the **gender factor (GF)** for the material assemblage of a grave. This is achieved simply by calculating the mean of the combined material ratings (the sum of all the values

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[27] The number chosen to express the gender value of an object is arbitrary and does not have a real numerical meaning. They are simply a means to distinguish between masculine, feminine and neutral objects.

attributed to each object type in the grave divided by the number of object types in that same grave; see Table 4.2). At this stage, the values are still those obtained from the analysis of the texts and iconography. This step allows us to ascribe a 'gender value' obtained from these sources to the material culture found in the graves, 'engendering' each object type with reference to Lombard gender expectations (Diagram 4.1). The objects that have a masculine value are placed on the left side of the table while the objects with a feminine value on the right. In the middle, there are the objects with the value 1,5. Similarly, the graves containing masculine objects are placed at the top of the table and those containing feminine objects are at the bottom (Table 4.6).

Grave	02	04	05	03	06	18	31	35	37	10	17	20	22	25	26	44	11	12	29	34b	24	23	34a	38	41	43	16	42	15	33	30
G 1	■	■	■			■	■																				■				
G 2								■			■				■																
G 3										■		■							■											■	
G 4					■				■		■																				
G 5										■																		■			
G 6											■																	■			
G 7																															
G 9																															
G 10																■															
G 11						■				■				■																	
G 12						■	■			■																					
G 13																															
G 14											■				■																■
G 15											■				■																
G 16																															
G 17																															
G 18		■	■	■	■				■						■						■		■	■				■			
G 21																															
G 22																															
G 23												■																			
G 24		■	■		■	■						■									■			■	■			■			
G 25												■																			
G 26										■			■	■																	
G 27										■	■	■			■				■							■					
G 28									■			■																			
G 31												■			■		■	■										■			
G 33																															
G 35																															
G 37.1																		■	■												
G 37.2																															
G 39.1											■	■		■				■										■			
G 39.1																															
G 43																															
G 42												■				■			■									■			

Table 4.5: Grave assemblage of each furnished grave of the cemetery of Santo Stefano in Pertica. Each column represents an object type with a code (see Appendix 4.2).

GENDER VALUE   **OBJECTS IN GRAVES**   **GRAVES**

Written sources

Iconography

→ 'Engendering' each object → **Gender factor**

Diagram 1: Process used to obtain the gender factor for each grave in a cemetery starting from the gender information obtained from the written and iconographic sources.

Grave	Sex	Age	02	04	05	03	06	18	24	23	31	34a	35	37	38	41	43	16	10	17	20	22	25	26	42	44	15	11	12	29	33	34b	30	Tot. gender value	N. of object types	GFMA
G 18	M	Adult	2	2	2	1,5			1,5			1,5	1,5	1,5									1,5	1,5											16,5	10	1,65
G 24	M	Mature	2	2	2		1,5	1,5		1,5	1,5		1,5	1,5		1,5	1,5		1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5													24	15	1,6
G 1	NA	Not assessed	2	2	2		1,5		1,5			1,5						1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5			1,5											17	11	1,54
G 11	NA	Not assessed							1,5										1,5	1,5	1,5														6	4	1,5
G 12	NA	Not assessed							1,5			1,5							1,5	1,5	1,5														7,5	5	1,5
G 4	NA	Not assessed					1,5					1,5							1,5	1,5	1,5														7,5	5	1,5
G 5	NA	Not assessed												1,5					1,5	1,5															4,5	3	1,5
G 26	I	Infant												1,5								1,5	1,5												4,5	3	1,5
G 28	M	Mature											1,5							1,5		1,5		1,5											6	4	1,5
G 2	NA	Not assessed							1,5										1,5	1,5			1,5	1,5											7,5	5	1,5
G 6	NA	Not assessed																		1,5															1,5	1	1,5
G 7	NA	Not assessed																		1,5															1,5	1	1,5
G 9	NA	Not assessed																		1,5															1,5	1	1,5
G 13	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5														3	2	1,5
G 16	M	Senile																					1,5												1,5	1	1,5
G 17	M	Adult																					1,5												1,5	1	1,5
G 21	M	Senile																	1,5				1,5												3	2	1,5
G 22	M	Adult																					1,5												1,5	1	1,5
G 23	M	Mature																			1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 25	M	Mature																		1,5															1,5	1	1,5
G 33	M	Adult																			1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 35	I	Juvenile																			1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 43	I	Infant																			1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 39.1	F	Mature																	1,5	1,5	1,5										1,5				6	4	1,5
G 27	M	Senile																1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5		1,5					1,5				1,5			10, 5	7	1,5
G 14	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5													1,5		4,5	3	1,5
G 15	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5						1,5								4,5	3	1,5
G 31	F	Adult-Mature																	1,5		1,5							1,5	1,5						6	4	1,5
G 42	I	Infant																		1,5								1,5		1,5					4,5	3	1,5
G 37.1	I	Infant																		1,5								1,5	1,5						4,5	3	1,5
G 3	NA	Not assessed																	1,5				1,5							1,5	1,5				6	4	1,5
G 10	NA	Not assessed																						1,5											1,5	1	1,5

Table 4.6: Gender factor of each grave in the cemetery of Santo Stefano in Pertica. Each column represents an object type with a code (see Appendix 4.2). M=Male; F=Female; I=Indeterminate; NA=Not assessed.

Predictably, given our earlier discussion, there are no direct references to 'feminine objects' in either the texts or the iconography that can be connected with objects found in the graves. Table 4.6 shows two groups of graves: graves 1, 18 and 24 which contain masculine objects such as weapons and have a gender factor higher than 1.5, and all the other graves which contain objects with ambiguous gender associations. The results, although partial at this stage, can be compared with the biological information obtained from the excavation report and it is already possible to observe that two of the three masculine graves identified belong men and one to an unsexed individual.

At this point we can introduce a refinement into our analyses by considering the relationships between objects in the funerary record, but always maintaining the reference to external sources as a fixed point. In theory, this should translate into the following categories:

- 1 = Objects that are 'fully feminine' (i.e. those directly referenced as such in the external sources);
- 1.25 = Objects buried with 'fully feminine' objects but never with 'fully masculine' objects;
- 1.5 = Objects buried with both 'fully masculine' and with 'fully feminine' objects or with none of these associations present;
- 1.75 = Objects buried with 'fully masculine' objects but never with 'fully feminine' objects;
- 2 = Objects that are 'fully masculine' (i.e. those directly referenced in the external sources).

In reality, we do not have references to 'fully feminine' objects because, as we noted earlier (above Section 4.5.3), there are no objects that are convincingly and consistently linked with femininity in either the texts or the iconography. Nevertheless, analysing the associations between grave goods in the cemetery, we can still assign a 1.25 value to some of the object types, ascribing to them the following numbers (Table 4.7):

- 1.25= Objects never associated with Primary and Secondary masculine objects (*Potential feminine objects*);
- 1.5= Objects associated directly with Secondary masculine but not with Primary masculine objects; objects associated with Primary and/or Secondary masculine

objects and Potential feminine objects; objects associated with none of those categories (*Neutral objects*);

- 1.75= Objects associated directly with primary masculine objects and never with Potential feminine objects (*Secondary masculine objects*);
- 2= Objects that are 'fully masculine' (*Primary masculine*).

For example, in the case of the cemetery of Santo Stefano (Table 4.7) objects such as bronze containers (n. 31) were given the value 1.75 as they occurred in at least one grave with object types valued as 2 and they never appear in graves containing object types valued as 1.25. Objects such as pins, earrings and bracelets are given the value 1.25 because they do not appear in graves with Primary and Secondary masculine objects.

Grave	02	04	05	03	06	18	24	23	31	34a	35	37	38	41	43	16	10	17	20	22	25	26	42	44	15	11	12	29	33	34b	30	Tot. gender value	N. of object types	GFMA
G 18	2	2	2	1,75		1,75				1,75	1,75		1,75								1,5	1,5										17,75	10	1,77
G 24	2	2	2		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5												26	15	1,73
G 1	2	2	2		1,75				1,75		1,75					1,75	1,5	1,5	1,5			1,5										19	11	1,72
G 11									1,75								1,5	1,5	1,5					1,5								6,5	4	1,62
G 12									1,75		1,75						1,5	1,5	1,5													8	5	1,6
G 4				1,75							1,75						1,5	1,5	1,5													8	5	1,6
G 5												1,75						1,5	1,5													4,75	3	1,58
G 26												1,75							1,5	1,5												4,75	3	1,58
G 28												1,75						1,5		1,5	1,5											6,25	4	1,56
G 2											1,75						1,5	1,5			1,5	1,5										7,75	5	1,55
G 6																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 7																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 9																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 13																	1,5		1,5													3	2	1,5
G 16																						1,5										1,5	1	1,5
G 17																						1,5										1,5	1	1,5
G 21																		1,5				1,5										3	1	1,5
G 22																						1,5										1,5	1	1,5
G 23																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 25																	1,5															1,5	1	1,5
G 33																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 35																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 43																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 39.1																		1,5	1,5	1,5							1,25					5,75	4	1,43
G 39.2																																		
G 27																	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5		1,5			1,25				1,25			10	7	1,42
G 14																		1,5			1,5									1,25		4,25	3	1,41
G 15																		1,5			1,5					1,25						4,25	3	1,41
G 31																		1,5			1,5					1,25	1,25					5,5	4	1,37
G 42																			1,5							1,25		1,25				4	3	1,33
G 37.1																			1,5							1,25	1,25					4	3	1,33
G 37.2																																		
G 3																	1,5				1,25						1,25	1,25				5,25	4	1,31
G 10																					1,25											1,25	1	1,25

Table 4.7: Gender factor for the material assemblage accounting for material associations (GFMA) of each grave of the cemetery of Santo Stefano in Pertica. Each colu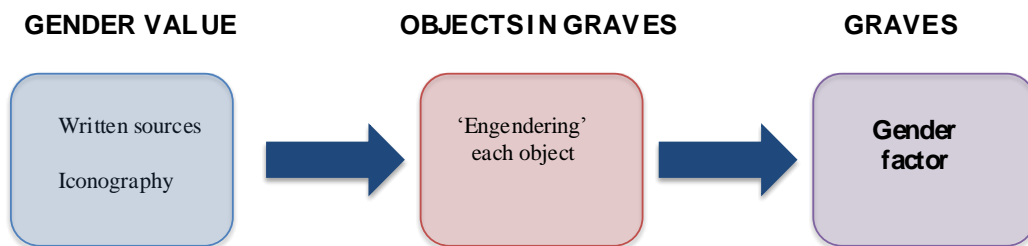mn represents an object type with a code (see Appendix 4.2). Highlighted in green are the graves that change categories because of the difference in the Gender factor and the GFMA. M=Male; F=Female; I=Indeterminate; NA=Not assessed.

As table 4.7 shows, the object categories are positioned according to their values, ranging from the most masculine object (whose value is derived from the written and iconographic sources) to the most feminine. The same procedure adopted for the first stage of the analysis is then followed: the mean value is derived, taking the sum of all the values given to the object types in a grave divided by the number of objects in that same grave. This calculation gives us the **gender factor for the material assemblage accounting for material associations** (**GFMA**; Table 4.7 and Diagram 4.2).

GENDER VALUE

Written sources

Iconography

OBJECTS IN GRAVES

'Engendering' each object

GRAVES

Gender factor

GRAVE GOODS ASSEMBLAGES

'Engendering' each object

GRAVES

Gender factor for material assemblage accounting for material association
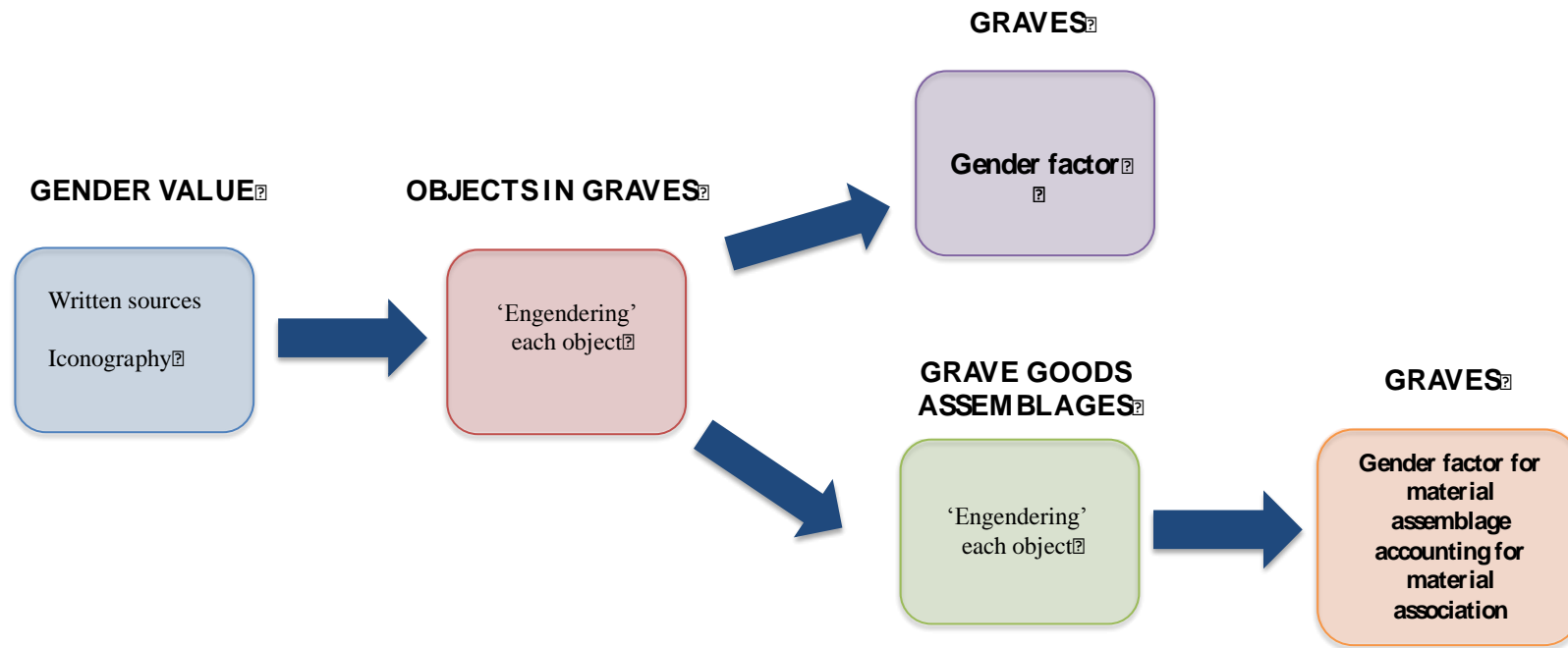
Diagram 4.2: Process to obtain the gender factor for the material assemblage accounting for material associations (GFMA) starting from the gender information obtained from the external sources and introducing the information obtained from the grave goods assemblages.

Observing the gender factors accounting for material associations in the cemetery of Santo Stefano we obtain three categories of graves, divided on the basis of their gender:

- > 1.50 masculine grave;
- $= 1.50$ neutral grave;
- < 1.50 feminine grave.

Masculine graves are then placed at the top of the table, feminine graves at the bottom and neutral graves in the middle (Table 4.3). Comparing table 4.6 and table 4.7 it is noticeable that some graves have changed category, from neutral to the masculine or feminine categories. At this point in the analysis it is possible to introduce information regarding the biological sex and age of the deceased to check the relationship between the gendered graves identified through the texts, iconography and grave goods assemblages and the skeletal evidence (Table 4.8). In doing so, it emerges that biological males appear both in the masculine gender category and in the gender-neutral category, and in one case (grave 27) in the feminine gender category. Biological females appear only in the feminine gender category. However, there are a number of individuals that appear in the gender-neutral category who have not been osteologically assessed and may, thus, be biological females.

Grave	Sex	Age	02	04	05	03	06	18	24	23	31	34a	35	37	38	41	43	16	10	17	20	22	25	26	42	44	15	11	12	29	33	34b	30	Tot. gender value	N. of object types	GFMA
G 18	M	Adult	2	2	2	1,75			1,75		1,75		1,75			1,75							1,5	1,5										17,75	10	1,77
G 24	M	Mature	2	2	2		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,75	1,75		1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5												26	15	1,73
G 1	NA	Not assessed	2	2	2			1,75	1,75				1,75					1,75	1,5	1,5	1,5		1,5											19	11	1,72
G 11	NA	Not assessed							1,75										1,5	1,5	1,5													6,5	4	1,62
G 12	NA	Not assessed							1,75										1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5												8	5	1,6
G 4	NA	Not assessed					1,75						1,75						1,5	1,5	1,5													8	5	1,6
G 5	NA	Not assessed												1,75						1,5	1,5													4,75	3	1,58
G 26	I	Infant											1,75								1,5	1,5												4,75	3	1,58
G 28	M	Mature											1,75							1,5		1,5	1,5											6,25	4	1,56
G 2	NA	Not assessed											1,75						1,5	1,5			1,5	1,5										7,75	5	1,55
G 6	NA	Not assessed																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 7	NA	Not assessed																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 9	NA	Not assessed																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 13	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5													3	2	1,5
G 16	M	Senile																					1,5											1,5	1	1,5
G 17	M	Adult																					1,5											1,5	1	1,5
G 21	M	Senile																		1,5			1,5											3	2	1,5
G 22	M	Adult																					1,5											1,5	1	1,5
G 23	M	Mature																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 25	M	Mature																		1,5														1,5	1	1,5
G 33	M	Adult																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 35	I	Juvenile																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 43	I	Infant																			1,5													1,5	1	1,5
G 39.1	F	Mature																	1,5	1,5		1,5							1,25					5,75	4	1,43
G 39.2	I	Fetus																																		
G 27	M	Senile																1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5		1,5				1,25			1,25				10	7	1,42
G 14	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5												1,25	4,25	3	1,41
G 15	NA	Not assessed																	1,5		1,5							1,25					4,25	3	1,41
G 31	F	Adult-Mature																	1,5		1,5							1,25	1,25				5,5	4	1,37
G 42	I	Infant												1,5														1,25			1,25		4	3	1,33
G 37.1	I	Infant												1,5														1,25		1,25			4	3	1,33
G 37.2	NA	Not assessed																																	
G 3	NA	Not assessed																1,5									1,25	1,25	1,25				5,25	4	1,31
G 10	NA	Not assessed																								1,25								1,25	1	1,25

Table 4.8: Gender factor for the material assemblage accounting for material associations (GFMA) of each grave of the cemetery of Santo Stefano in Pertica. Each column represents an object type with a code (see Appendix 4.2). The table also includes the osteological information on the biological sex and age of the individuals. M=Male; F=Female; I=Indeterminate; NA=Not assessed.

It is necessary to acknowledge the schematic nature of this methodology considering the limits of the available evidence. The written sources are not strictly contemporary with the graves in the case-study cemeteries and may reflect later conceptions of gender identity. Moreover, in meeting their own ends they are partial and biased (Chapter 3, Section 3.5.4). It has also been shown that only a few objects mentioned in the sources can be related to gender identity and can be linked with the material culture in the graves. The first implication of this observation is that this method can be applied only to those cemeteries in which objects that are referenced in the written and iconographic sources were found.

More importantly, from the analysis of the texts and the iconography it has become evident that men feature more often than women in these sources in association with material culture and, hence, it is possible to identify only associations between material culture and masculinity with a good degree of confidence. Consequently, the recognition of the grave goods that might have been instrumental in projecting femininity have not been determined independently but only in contrast to the masculine artefacts. This issue, alongside the decision to include in the analysis all the objects, ignoring (unlike Halsall 1995: 79) the number of their occurrences in a given cemetery, means that it is possible that graves that were, actually, not gendered emerge from the analysis as masculine or feminine. Despite these limitations, the method allows us to introduce additional information to the study of gender and can be used as a comparable means to test and, eventually, integrate the results obtained from the application of Halsall's method explained earlier in the Chapter (Section 4.4).

4.6 Conclusions: summarising the methodology

The discussion presented in this Chapter has been driven by the need to find a suitable methodology to analyse gender identity in Lombard Italy. The methodology that will be applied to the case-study cemeteries will be used mainly to identify those objects that, deposited in the grave during the funeral, contributed to constructing and projecting gender identity. In turn, the identification of the 'engendering' of grave goods is a crucial stage in the identification of the graves that expressed masculine and feminine gender and that will be the starting point of the discussion of masculinity and femininity in Lombard Italy in Chapters 7 and 8.

A brief survey of gender studies undertaken for Lombard Italy by other scholars has shown that this research stands as innovative for the scale of the evidence considered, which includes a number of cemeteries distributed over a wide geographical area. Given the lack of a comparable study for Lombard Italy, with the partial exception of the work of Barbiera (2005) whose analysis focussed on six sites, it has been necessary to turn to studies of gender in the Early Middle Ages undertaken in other European countries and, in particular, the work of Stoodley (1999) on Early Anglo-Saxon England and that of Halsall (1995) on the Merovingian region of Metz. The close examination of Stoodley's method has shown that, while it is valid to analyse a substantial amount of data, it is not entirely suitable for the research undertaken in the present thesis. The main reason for this observation lies in the difference in the sample size and in the possibility of obtaining results that would highlight general patterns but would not allow a detailed analysis of more local trends, with the risk that the variety that might have characterised gender expression in Lombard Italy (and, indeed, Anglo-Saxon England) is overlooked. Consequently, it was decided to follow Stoodley's method only to check the existence of a global trend in the composition of grave goods assemblages, which could be indicative of gender expression, through the application of multivariate statistics to all the graves of the case-study cemeteries (Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

After performing multivariate statistical analysis on the data from Lombard Italy, Stoodley's methodology will be set aside in our cemetery-by-cemetery analysis of gender, for which Halsall's method will be used. In the fourth section of this chapter the details of the method were explained and can be summarised here in three main steps:

- analysis of the associations between artefact types of each cemetery to identify the objects that were markers of gender expression,
- plotting of the results obtained in a table to identify the masculine, the feminine and the neutral graves of each cemetery,
- comparison of the results with the osteological information on the biological sex of the deceased.

Some limitations have, nonetheless, been identified in Halsall's method. For this reason, it was decided to compare the results obtained using Halsall's method with information on gender derived from the written and iconographic sources of the Lombard period. This choice necessitated an analysis of the written and iconographic sources and the application of the results of this analysis to the archaeological record through the method discussed in the fifth section of this Chapter.

The starting point for this methodology is the information on gender identity obtained from the written and iconographic sources. What emerges most strongly is the low number of instances in which objects were connected with the feminine gender such that it has not been possible to identify object categories that could assume a feminine 'gender value' which might be used in the analysis of the burial record. By contrast, it was possible to identify several object categories that were consistently associated with masculinity, particularly items connected with the sphere of warfare, hunting and horse riding, but the emphasis placed on body features, especially the beard, was also noteworthy. Given that this information mainly concerns masculinity and cannot be applied to all the case-study cemeteries this method cannot be used as the principal analytical tool in this research but only as a mean of comparison. As will become evident in Chapter 5, the results obtained from the application of Halsall's methodology and those derived from the written and iconographic sources often coincide, so the comparison will mainly be a confirmation and will strengthen the results. The cases of discrepancy will be discussed in detail in an effort to make the identification of engendered graves as reliable as possible. Moreover, the comparison will allow us to highlight and examine those cases in which gender objects might have been overlooked because they occurred only once in the cemetery. Table 4.9 summarises how the gender characters have been determined in this phase of the analysis.

MASCULINE OBJECTS	• Masculine objects using Halsall's method
	• Objects that are found in masculine graves using Halsall's method • Masculine objects in the written and iconographic sources
POSSIBLY MASCULINE OBJECTS	• Masculine objects using the written and iconographic sources method • Objects that are found in masculine graves using Halsall's method
	• Objects that are usually masculine in other case-study cemeteries
FEMININE OBJECTS	• Feminine objects using Halsall's method
POSSIBLY FEMININE OBJECTS	• Feminine objects using the written and iconographic sources method • Objects that are found in feminine graves using Halsall's method
	• Objects that are usually feminine in other case-study cemeteries

Table 4.9: Criteria to identify the final gendered objects in the case-study cemeteries comparing the results from different methodologies.

Finally, as will be explained more fully in Chapter 5, it will emerge that this methodology does not work entirely for all the case-study cemeteries. There are cases in which the relationship between objects/groups of objects and gender identity will be less straight-forward because of the absence of weapons, which are usually the first indication of masculinity using both Halsall's method and the information found in the Lombardic written and iconographic sources. In these cases, the identification of gendered graves will be attempted through the observation of the biological sex of those individuals buried with similar grave goods assemblages or by hypothesising the gender character of specific artefacts from the results obtained for other case-study cemeteries. This more 'descriptive' and less systematic method will also be used in the case of those cemeteries where the application of Halsall's methodology did not allow us to identify two groups of grave goods that never associate with each other. Rather than concluding that, at those sites, gender was not expressed through the deposition of grave goods, a closer observation of the grave goods and the biological sex of the deceased, will, in some cases, reveal the presence of gender expression that was not structured around the simple opposition of masculinity vs femininity.

CHAPTER 5: GENDER OBJECTS AND ENGENDERED GRAVES IN THE CASE-STUDY CEMETERIES

5.1 Introduction

Having outlined in Chapter 4 the methodological approach to be taken in this thesis, this Chapter moves forward with the analysis of gender expression in the case-study cemeteries. A fundamental element in the analysis will be the identification of the object categories that were deposited in the graves in order to construct and project gender identity. The main aim is to detect, for each cemetery, the masculine, neutral and feminine graves that will then form the basis for my discussion of masculinity and femininity in Lombard Italy (Chapters 6 and 7).

The Chapter is organised into two main sections. In the first part multivariate analysis will be performed on the totality of the grave goods found in the case study cemeteries to check if it is possible to identify a broad pattern of object associations. Stoodley (1999: 24-9; see Chapter 4, Section 4.3) argued, from the results of his analysis of grave goods in early Anglo-Saxon England, that there exist two distinct groups of grave goods that do not associate with each other and this hypothesis will be tested for Lombard Italy. The scatter plots produced will reveal that objects such as weapons and jewellery appear apart, suggesting that they were not buried in the same grave, which in turn could be interpreted as evidence of gender expression through the deposition of artefacts in the burial (Stoodley 1999: 24).

To nuance and better understand this general pattern, the second section of the Chapter focusses on a cemetery-by-cemetery analysis undertaken using a methodology which incorporates a combination of Halsall's method (1995; Chapter 4, Section 4.4), the results obtained from the written and iconographic sources (Chapter 4, Section 4.5), and a detailed observation of the archaeological context of each cemetery. It will become clear that it has not been possible to employ the exact same procedure to all the cemeteries: indeed, while Halsall's method has been consistently used in the analysis, this has not always produced convincing results. Moreover, it has already been highlighted that the comparison between the archaeological evidence, the texts and the iconography is possible only when objects that are referenced in the latter sources have

been recovered from the graves (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.5). However, the detail analysis and discussion of each cemetery will allow me to sketch the characteristics of gender expression, overcoming these methodological limitations.

The possibility of identifying the gendered graves through Halsall's method and that which incorporated the written and iconographic sources in the funerary contexts has structured the order in which the cemetery-by-cemetery analysis is presented: the first cemeteries discussed are those in which two distinct groups of grave goods that do not associate with each other were recognised and in which one of these two groups includes objects referenced in the texts and the iconographic evidence (Collegno, San Mauro, Spilamberto, Cascina San Martino, Romans, Santo Stefano). At Faenza, two different groups of grave goods were identified but there are no items that find parallels in the written and iconographic sources. At Località San Martino, Montecchio and Pradamano the application of Halsall's method did not allow me to distinguish between feminine and masculine objects, but a closer examination of the cemeteries, comparing the data with the information from the texts, made it possible to suggest the presence of gendered graves. The last cemeteries that are presented are those for which Halsall's method did not provide conclusive results and that lack objects referenced in the texts and the iconography (Bolgare, Pontedera, Trento, Ovaro, Campione, Brescia Palazzo Martinengo). A comparison with the other cemeteries and the inclusion in the analysis of the osteological information on the deceased were used to identify the gendered graves and objects in these cemeteries. The results from Romans, Santo Stefano in Pertica and Ovaro are also compared with the work of Barbiera (2005), who had already analysed these three cemeteries using Halsall's method.

The analysis will reveal the gendered graves and objects for each cemetery, and will allow us to explore the phenomenon of gender expression in Lombard Italy in all its complexity and variability. It will become apparent that it is not possible to identify a single model to observe and explain gender, as communities articulated gender discourse differently. Clear evidence in this direction is the way in which material culture was used to express this aspect of identity: while weapons and some items of jewellery were indeed consistently connected with masculinity and femininity, other objects shift their gender character, suggesting a strong community, and probably personal, involvement in the ways in which gender was perceived, constructed and projected in the funerary arena.

5.2. General trends in the association of grave goods: the application of multivariate analysis to the case-study cemeteries

The first step in the analysis of the grave-goods assemblages from the case-study cemeteries is to determine if there are distinct groups of objects that do not associate with each other. In order to determine this I followed Stoodley's approach (Chapter 4, Section 4.3), performing multivariate analysis. However, the method chosen differs slightly from that applied by Stoodley. This difference derives from the way in which the grave goods data was organised before the analyses. As explained in Chapter 3, it was necessary to group the grave goods recorded from the Lombard graves into typological categories (Appendix 3.2). Inevitably, grouping grave goods causes a loss of information and detail, and the question is how much of this information we are prepared to lose. For example, grouping objects such as swords, spears and shields into the broad category of 'weapons' produces exceedingly general results, with little scope for a closer examination of their distribution patterns in the graves. However, keeping these distinctions when grouping the artefacts meant that the majority of the types of grave goods recognised usually appear in a single grave only once. For example, when a sword is present in a grave, that sword is usually the only one deposited in the grave. If, instead, swords were grouped together with other objects under the type 'weapons', each grave with weapons would have had a different number of this type of item. There are some graves in which more than one object of the same artefact type is present, such as brooches or knives, but they are rare. As a consequence, recording the occurrences of a given object type in each grave would have meant mainly working with values ranging from zero to one. On these values, the analyses used by Stoodley would have not produced results, because the mathematical algorithms behind those analyses work only when the variables include a diverse range of values. Instead, it was decided to organise the data recording the presence or absence of every object type in each grave, attributing the value '0' when an object type was not found and the value of '1' when it was present. To analyse these types of variables, which are called binary, it was necessary to choose other types of correspondence analyses, but it was not possible to perform any type of cluster analyses.

Multidimensional Scaling for Binary Analyses was the statistical method applied to determine the association of grave goods in the case-study cemeteries. To this end, a

table was created in which each row corresponds to a grave with grave goods and each column to an object category. The presence (number 1) and absence (number 0) of each type of grave goods in each grave was then recorded. The table was exported into the SPSS software that performed the analyses. It was necessary to exclude the categories of 'combs', 'knives' and 'belts', because of the high number of these objects in the case-study cemeteries. When included in the analyses, the visual output is compromised, making it extremely difficult to identify the grouping of the other types of grave goods, as they all appear concentrated in the middle of the scatter plots. Different methods within the Euclidean Distance Model (Shennan 1988: 199-200) were used, to vary the way of measuring the distances among types of grave goods and to verify if the patterns were consistent. These methods have produced the four different plots - 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 presented below. The reliability of each analysis is expressed by the R squared (RSQ) - the closer to 1, the more reliable the result.
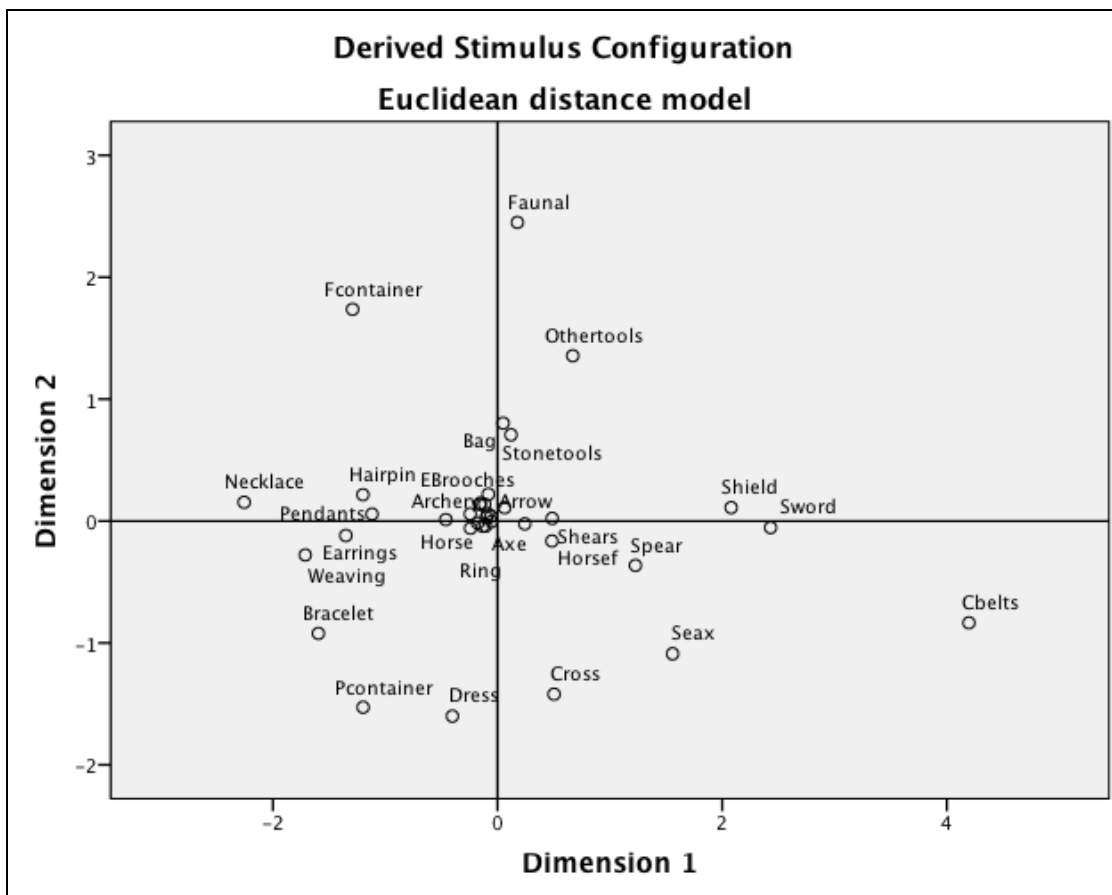
Plot 5.1: Correspondence analysis of the types of grave goods in the case-study cemeteries. Measure: Euclidean Distance Model. RSQ = 0,88. Fcontainer = fragment of container; EBrooches = 'ethnic' brooches; Cbelts = composite belts; Horsef = Horse fittings.
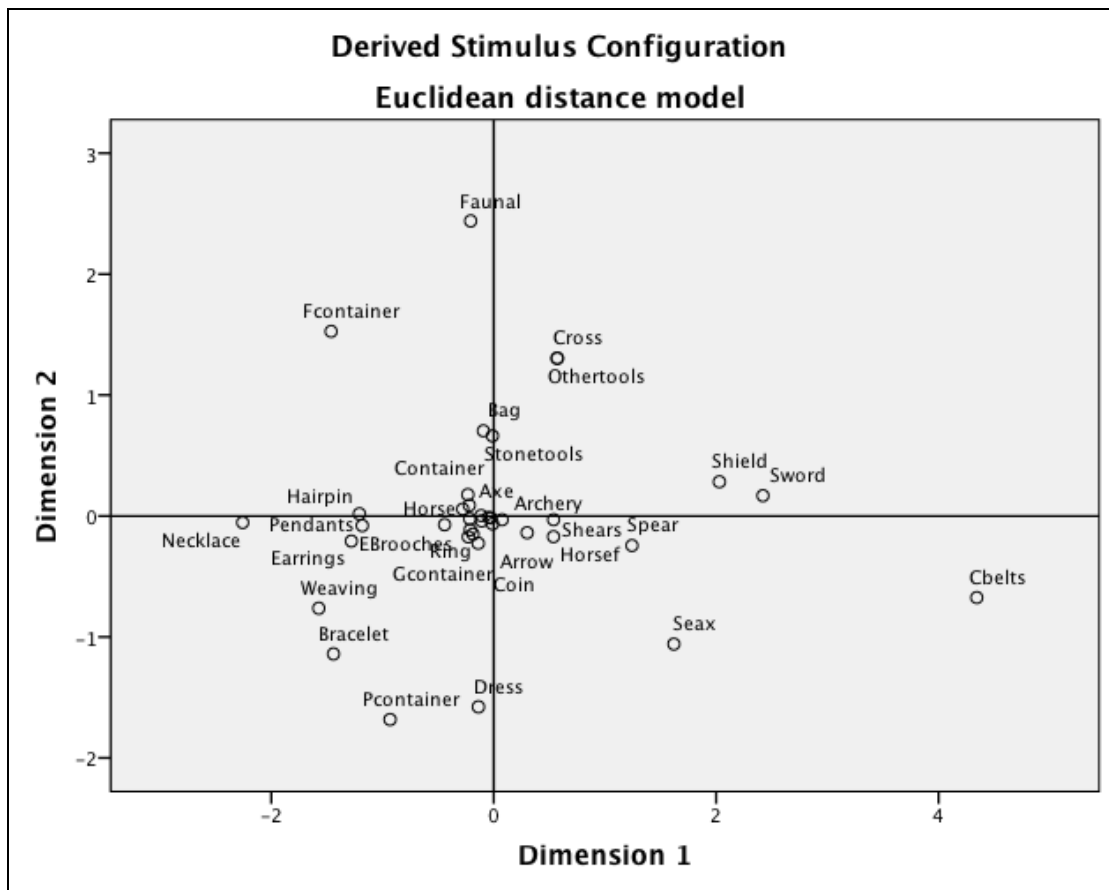
Plot 5.2: Correspondence analysis of the types of grave goods of the sub-sample. Measure: Squared Euclidean Distance Model. RSQ = 0,87. Gcontainer=glass container; Pcontainer=pottery container; EBrooches='ethnic' brooches; Cbelts=composite belts; Horsef= Horse fittings.
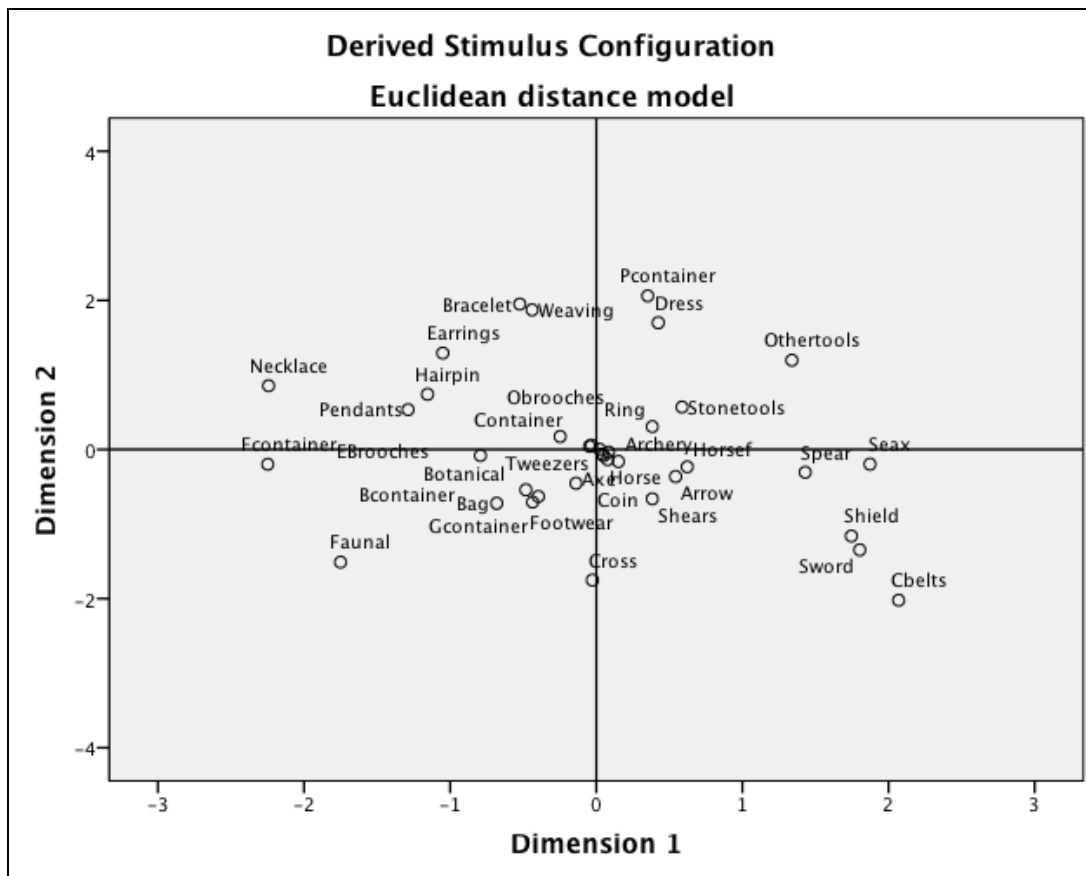
Plot 5.3: Correspondence analysis of the types of grave goods of the sub-sample. Measure: Pattern differences. RSQ = 0,61. Pcontainer=pottery container; Cbelts=composite belts; EBrooches='ethnic' brooches; Fcontainer=fragment of container; Pcontainer=pottery container; Bcontainer=Bronze container.
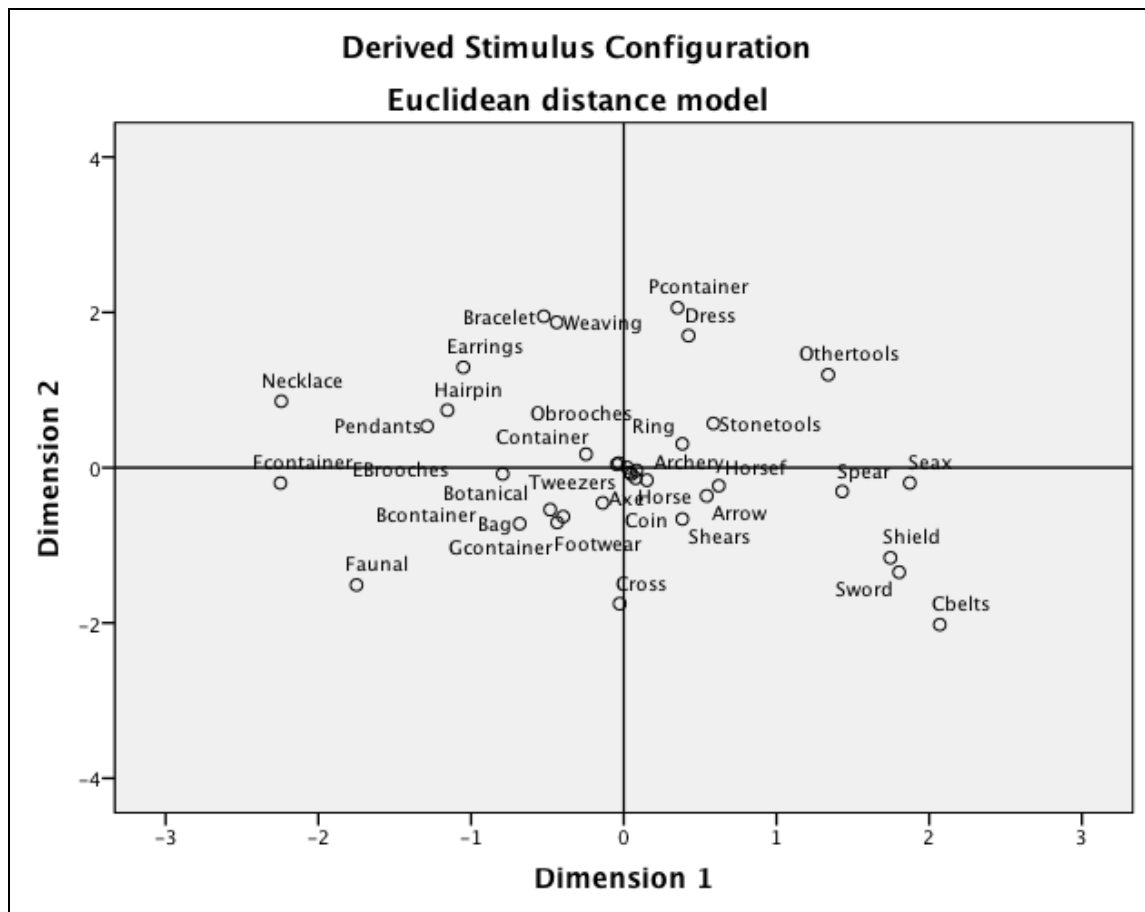
Plot 5.4: Correspondence analysis of the types of grave goods of the sub-sample.
Measure: Variance. RSQ = 0,53. Pcontainer=pottery container;
EBrooches='ethnic' brooches; Fcontainer=fragment of container;
Pcontainer=pottery container; Bcontainer=Bronze container; Cbelts=composite
belts; Faunal= Faunal remains; Gcontainer=glass container; Pendants= Belt
pendants; Obrooches=other brooches.

As I already noted in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), the principle behind the interpretation of
the scatter plots is that the dots, which correspond to each object category, group
together on the basis of their similarity. In this case, as in Stoodley's work (Chapter 4:
pp), the similarity between the objects is the likelihood that they were buried in the
same grave. In other words, objects that more often appear together in the grave goods
assemblages are closer to each other on the plots. Overall, it is possible from this
analysis to identify four main groups of grave good types, plus a fifth group that is
concentrated in the middle of the scatter plot. The latter is comprised of objects that
appear very rarely in the case-study cemeteries, such as horses (one case) and axes (two
cases), which also shift their position in relation to the *x* axis in the different plots. As a
consequence, the position of these types of grave goods in the plots is considered biased
by their infrequent presence in the case-study cemeteries and are, hence, unreliable. The

results of the analyses (Plot 5.1; 5.2; 5.3; 5.4) are not always consistent for all the types of grave goods. For example, the location of the type 'Metal tools' ('Other tools' in the plots) changes between the plots 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 but it always appears on the right side of the *y* axis. Despite these issues, it is possible to observe that, as in Stoodley's work (1999: 24; 26, fig. 19; Chapter 4, Section 4.3), the *y* axis divides the object categories into two groups. The group on the left includes items of jewellery (earrings, hairpins, necklaces, bracelets), belt pendants ('pendants' in the plots), the so-called 'ethnic' brooches (see Chapter 3, Section 4.3), weaving tools and pottery containers ('P' containers in the plots). The second group, on the right, comprises weapons (swords, shields, seaxes, spears), horse fittings, shears and 'composite belts' (see Chapter 3, Section 4.3). A more detailed observation also reveals that hairpins, necklaces, earrings, belt pendants and, to some extent, 'ethnic' brooches are usually close to each other and always very distant from weapons and, particularly, swords and shields. These results suggest that the objects on the left of the *y* axis were often buried together in the same grave and they do not associate with the objects grouped on the right of the same axis that were, in turn, frequently deposited together in the same grave. Thus a similar scenario to that described by Stoodley (1999: 24-9) for early Anglo-Saxon England emerges: items of jewellery and dress accessories, especially hairpins, earrings, necklaces, belt pendants and 'ethnic' brooches were often part of the same grave goods assemblages, which were distinct from the grave goods assemblages that included weapons.

Following on from Stoodley's argument (1999: 24-9), these two distinct groups of grave goods may be indicative of gender expressions. However, it is necessary to consider that there are several grave goods types whose inclusion in one of the two groups either changes according to the plot or is unclear. Comparing the plots with those produced by Stoodley (1999: 26, fig. 19; 27, fig. 20 and 21; 28, fig 22; Chapter 4, fig. 4.3) it also emerges that, in the case of Lombard Italy, the object categories are more spread out over the space of the graph, which may be a product of the lower number of objects available in the present research compared to the sample used for early Anglo-Saxon England. We need to remember that this multivariate analysis allows only a general and preliminary observation of patterns that might have been related to gender, but further analyses are needed to confirm the hypothesis. As we will see, the nuances of the phenomenon of gender expression in Lombard Italy can be really

appreciated and discussed through the cemetery-by-cemetery analysis which takes place in the following section.

5.3. Cemetery-by-cemetery analysis

5.3.1 Collegno

Applying Halsall's (1995: 79-83; see Chapter 4, Section 4.4; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.1) method, which analyses the association between artefact types in the graves of each cemetery to identify distinct groups of grave goods assemblages that never associates with each other, to the cemetery of Collegno we can identify thirteen masculine graves, nine neutral, six feminine and three unknown. It was not possible to determine the gender of graves 18 and 58 because they contain objects found only once in the cemetery and of grave which 6 contained a nail with an undetermined function – they have therefore been excluded from the analysis of the gendered objects together with the bow brooches of grave 48 – also found in only one grave of the cemetery. The items in the graves 18 and 58 are, respectively, a necklace and a small pottery bowl, dated to the 1st century and probably recovered from a Roman grave (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 40). The individual buried in this grave (58) was an infant and the deceased in grave 18 was an unsexed adult. Regarding the sex of the deceased accompanied by gendered grave goods assemblages it emerges that gender and biological sex coincide (Graph 5.1).
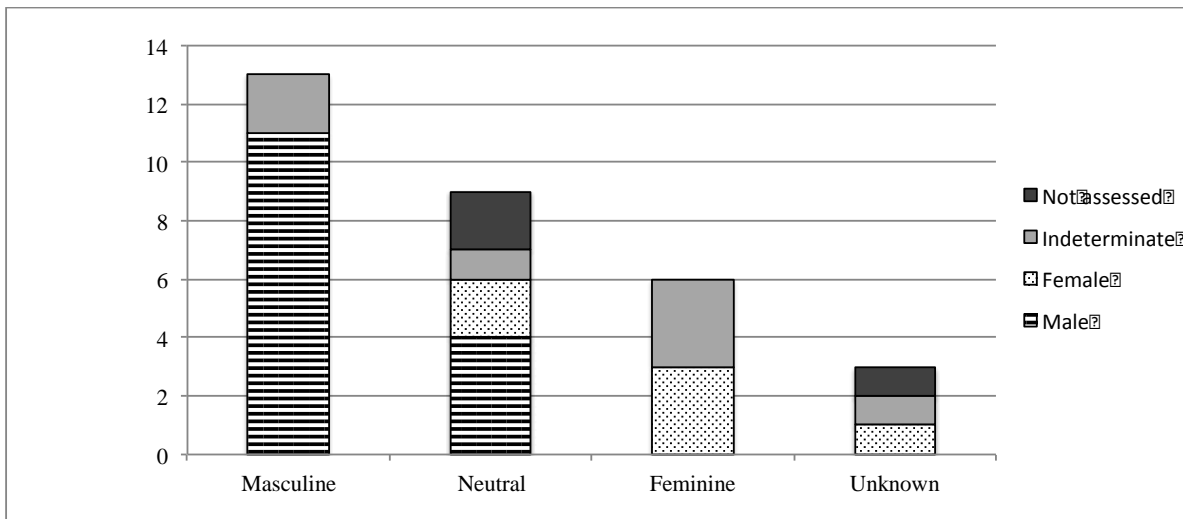
Graph 5.1: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Collegno applying Halsall's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Table 5.1 shows the results of the analysis of the association of grave goods assemblages at Collegno (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.2): shield, sword, seax and composite belts indicate the masculinity of the deceased, while combs and beads were feminine items. The objects found in both masculine and feminine graves were gold crosses, knives and dress belts. The gender character of the other objects could not be determined, although plotting the graves of the cemetery it appears that spears, horse fittings, faunal remains, coffin elements, weaving tools, tweezers, stone tools, a bag and a Roman glass bottle (mid 1st-mid 2nd century), were buried in masculine graves. Fittings for footwear, belt pendants and coins were in feminine graves, while it was not possible to establish if necklaces, 'ethnic' brooches and the aformentioned pottery bowl were in gendered graves.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield	Gold cross	Combs	Spear
Sword	Knife	Beads	Horse fittings
Seax	Dress belt		Faunal remains
Composite belts			Coffin elements
			Weaving tools
			Tweezers
			Stone tools
			Bag
			Glass container
			Necklace
			'Ethnic' brooches
			Pottery container
			Footwear
			Belt pendants
			Coin

Table 5.1: Types of grave goods of the cemetery of Collegno divided into gender categories applying Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey and those found in feminine graves are in light grey.

However, when we add the information from the written and iconographic sources (Table 5.2; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.3) to the results obtained from the application of Halsall's method it emerges that some of the objects found only once in the cemetery might actually have been linked with the masculine or the feminine gender. Spears and horse fittings emerge as clearly masculine from the written and iconographic sources (Chapter 4, Section 4.5) and (according to Halsall's method (Table 5.1)) were found in masculine graves at Collegno – and so it is highly likely that they were, indeed, masculine objects. More controversial is the gender role of objects such as faunal remains and coffin elements: applying Halsall's method they were found in masculine

graves, they are masculine objects using the written and iconographic sources method, but they are not directly mentioned in the written sources. Thus, following the criteria set out in Chapter 4 (Section 4.6, Table 4.9) they are considered possibly masculine objects. Similarly, it is likely that the fittings for footwear, belt pendants and coins were related to femininity as they were found in feminine graves according to Halsall's method and emerge as feminine in the method that introduces the written sources to the analysis. By contrast, weaving tools, tweezers, stone tools, bags and glass containers emerge as neutral through the incorporation of the data from the written and iconographic sources, but since they are undetermined using Halsall's method, it is safer to consider them undetermined.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Shield	Weaving tools	Necklace
Sword	Tweezers	'Ethnic' brooches
Spear	Stone tools	Combs
Seax	Bag	Footwear
Composite belts	Glass container	Pottery container
Faunal remains	Gold cross	Belt pendants
Coffin elements	Knife	Coin
Horse fittings	Dress belt	Beads

Table 5.2: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Collegno divided into gender categories combining the information from the written and iconographic sources with the archaeological record.

The gender character of necklaces and 'ethnic' brooches at Collegno is problematic. Since they were each found in only one grave (graves 48 and 18) they were excluded from the analysis and, as table 5.1 shows, they were not associated with any other gender object. These two factors would imply that they should not be considered in the analysis and that grave 18 should be included among those graves whose gender is not possible to establish with certainty, with grave 48 among the neutral graves. However, evidence from other cemeteries (e.g. San Mauro, Romans) show that these types of items were usually instrumental in the construction and projection of the feminine

gender. Thus, in the case of grave 48 and 18, one might suggest that the deposition of necklace and 'ethnic' brooches contributed in highlighting the feminine character of the deceased.

Graph 5.2 (also Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.4) summarises the number of gendered graves in the cemetery of Collegno and their relationship with biological sex of the deceased. The only difference with the results presented in graph 5.1 are these two 'feminine' graves 48 and 18, which belonged to an unsexed adult individual and to a mature woman respectively. Table 5.3 lists those objects that have emerged as masculine and feminine having worked through the different methodologies (i.e. using the methodology of Halsall, and my analysis of written and iconographic sources).
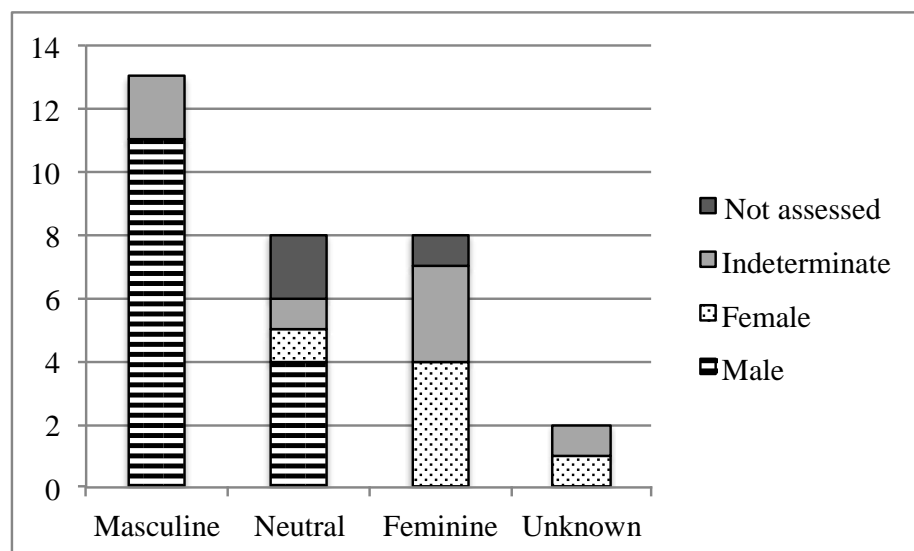
Graph 5.2: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Collegno. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield	Gold cross	Combs	Weaving tools
Sword	Knife	Beads	Tweezers
Spear	Dress belt	Necklace	Stone tools
Seax		Footwear	Bag
Composite' belts		Belt pendants	Glass container
Horse fittings		Coin	
Faunal remains		Beads	Pottery container
Coffin elements		Ethnic brooches	

Table 5.3: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Collegno divided into gender categories. In light grey are those objects whose gender character is 'possible'. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey.

5.3.2 Cividale del Friuli, Collina San Mauro

The application of Halsall's method to the cemetery of San Mauro allows us to identify two groups of objects that never associate with each other (Table 5.4; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.5). These are, on the one hand, weapons, archery equipment, horse fittings, tweezers, fragments of glass container, stone and metal tools; and on the other there are necklaces, 'ethnic' brooches and hairpins. A conspicuous number of other objects, such as knives, composite belts and bracelets were common to graves containing objects that do not associate with each other. Horse, other brooches and pottery containers were found only once in the cemetery and, consequently, were excluded from further analysis

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Gold cross	Necklace	Horse
Shield	Bracelet	'Ethnic' brooches	Other brooches
Sword	Finger ring	Hairpin	Pottery container
Spear	Knife		
Archery	Shears		
Horse fittings	Weaving tools		
Seax	Combs		
Tweezers	Footwear		
Stone tools	Dress elements		
Metal tools	Dress belt		
Fragments of container (glass)	Bag		
	Glass container		

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
	Bronze container		
	Other container		
	Fragments of container (pottery)		
	Composite belts		
	Belt pendants'		
	Faunal remains		
	Exceptional objects		
	Coin		
	Beads		

Table 5.4: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of San Mauro divided into gender categories applying Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column, objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey.

Plotting the graves according to the analysis of the grave goods assemblages we can identify thirteen masculine graves, one neutral and eight feminine (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.6). The relationship between the genders thus ascribed to the graves and the biological sex of the deceased shows a strong connection between these two aspects of the individual's identity (Graph 5.4). In only one case did the gender identity projected through the grave-goods assemblages not correspond to the biological sex of the deceased. The young woman (18-20 years old) buried in grave 54 was furnished with a knife, a comb, a loom weight, what looks like a container of perishable material closed with a bronze ferrule, fragments of a pottery vessel, burnt animal bones and three beads – which, at San Mauro, are all neutral objects. In addition, a fragment of a stem glass, a 'masculine' item, was found next to the left fibula (for a discussion of this grave see Chapter 6, Section 6.3).
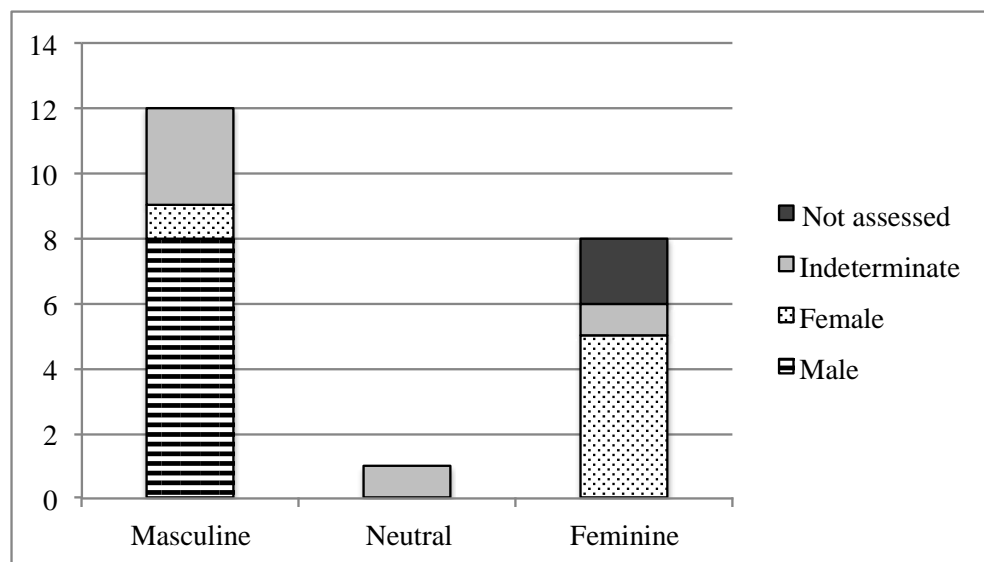
Graph 5.4: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of San Mauro applying Halsall's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented. The double grave 44 (masculine) is excluded from the graph.

Introducing the information from the written and iconographic sources into the analysis of San Mauro (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.7) does not provoke any substantial change in the identification of gendered graves or gendered grave goods. The only additional observation that can be made is that, on the basis of what has emerged from the

iconography and the texts, the horse found in grave 43 has been linked with the masculine gender. Moreover, a brooch was also found in masculine grave 41 and it has emerged as a masculine object through the methodology that applies the written and iconographic sources, and so it has been included among the possible masculine objects. The pottery container, by contrast, remains among the 'not determined' objects. While the number of masculine, feminine and neutral graves in the cemetery thus remains the same as shown in graph 5.4, table 5.5 illustrates the gender character of the objects found in the cemetery with the inclusion of the horse and the brooch among the masculine items.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Gold cross	Necklace	Pottery container
Shield	Bracelet	Ethnic brooches	
Sword	Finger ring	Hairpin	
Spear	Knife		
Archery	Shears		
Horse fittings	Weaving tools		
Seax	Combs		
Tweezers	Footwear		
Stone tools	Dress elements		
Metal tools	Dress belt		
Fragments of container (glass)	Bag		
Horse	Glass container		
Other brooch	Bronze container		

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
	Other container		
	Fragments of container (pottery)		
	Composite belts		
	Belt pendants		
	Faunal remains		
	Exceptional objects		
	Coin		
	Beads		

Table 5.5: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of San Mauro divided into gender categories. The objects whose gender character is 'possible' are marked in light grey; in the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey.

5.3.3 Spilamberto

In the cemetery of Spilamberto it was possible to identify five masculine, four neutral and thirteen feminine graves (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.8). Unfortunately, the preservation of the skeletons at the site was very poor due to the soil conditions, and osteological information is available for only four individuals - an adult male (grave 37) and three indeterminate children (grave 39 and grave 60). One of the graves (grave 39) categorised as neutral contained two deceased. From the analysis, it emerges that the adult man was accompanied by masculine grave goods (Graph 5.5). Osteological information is not available for those buried in the feminine graves.
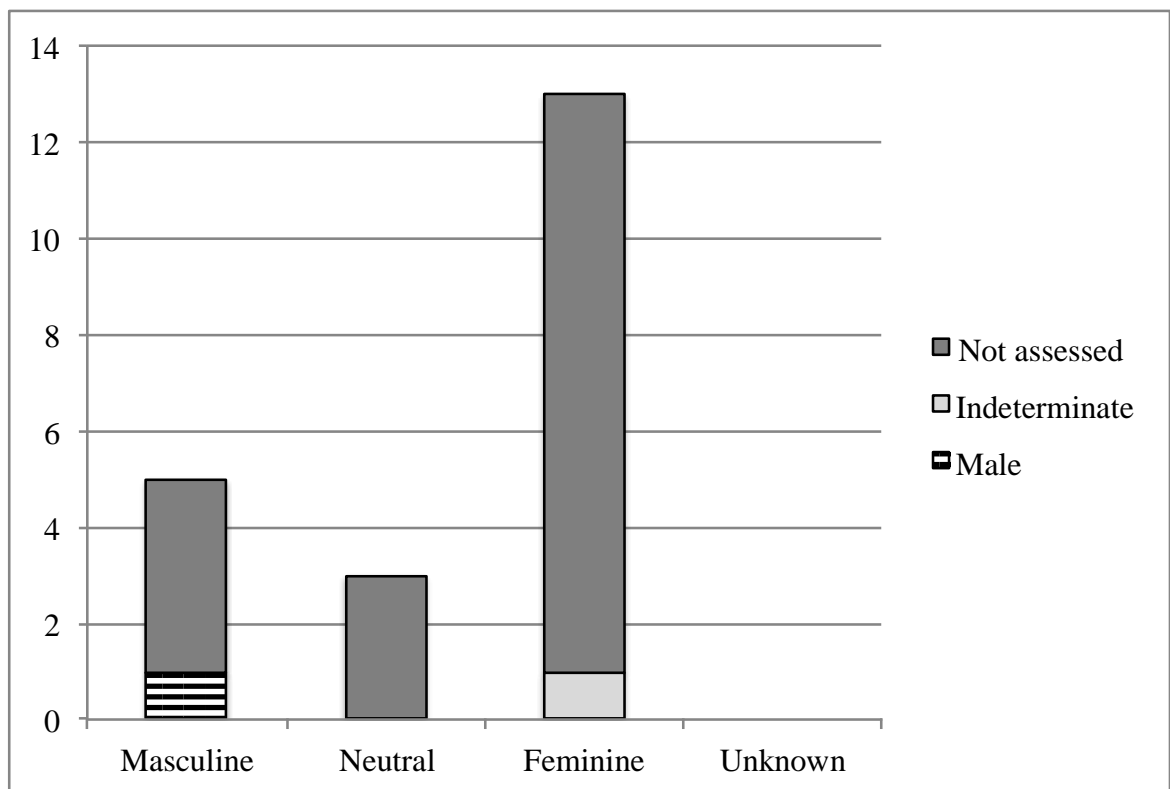
Graph 5.5: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Spilamberto applying Halsall's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented. The double grave 39 is excluded from the graph.

Table 5.6 (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.9) shows the objects categorised as masculine, neutral and feminine at Spilamberto. A number of items were found in only one grave in the cemetery, and so their role in the expression of gender cannot be established.

However, from Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.8 it is possible to observe that shields, spears and tweezers were found in masculine graves while the fittings for footwear and 'ethnic' brooches were in two feminine graves.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Sword	Composite' belts	Exceptional objects	Shield
Stone tools	Dress belt	Bracelet	Spear
Metal tools	Bag	Necklace	Tweezers
	Pottery container	Hairpin	'Ethnic' brooches
		Belt pendants	Footwear
		Faunal remains	Arrow
		Other brooches	
		Combs	
		Dress elements	
		Glass container	
		Bronze container	
		Knife	

Table 5.6: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Spilamberto divided into gender categories. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey and the objects found in feminine graves are marked in light grey.

When we compare the results obtained for Spilamberto using Halsall's method with those that emerge with the integration of the written and iconographic sources, the gendered graves remain the same as shown by graph 5.5 (Appendix 5.1, Tables 5.1.8 and 5.1.10) except for grave 57 that emerges as masculine because of the presence of an arrow. Some changes can also be observed in the gendered objects (Table 5.7). It is possible to argue that shields and spears, which were found in masculine graves according to Halsall's method but could not be considered masculine objects because they were found only once in the cemetery, were actually masculine and that the tweezers were possibly masculine. 'Ethnic' brooches and fittings for footwear, were, on

the other hand, possibly feminine. The arrow remains undetermined in absence of anthropological information on the deceased buried with it, and so grave 57 is considered neutral (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.11).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Dress belt	Bracelet	Arrow
Shield	Bag	Necklace	
Sword	Pottery container	'Ethnic' brooches	
Spear	Composite' belts	Footwear	
Stone tools	Knife	Hairpin	
Metal tools		Belt pendants	
Tweezers		Faunal remains	
		Other brooches	
		Combs	
		Dress elements	
		Glass container	
		Bronze container	

Table 5.7: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Spilamberto divided into gender categories. The objects whose gender character is 'possible' are marked in light grey.

5.3.4 Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino

At Cascina San Martino nine masculine graves, seven neutral and seven feminine were identified alongside one grave whose gender identity was impossible to establish (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.12). Among the masculine burials, three belong to more than one individual and, since it is not always possible to establish a definitive connection between the objects in the graves and a specific deceased, they have been excluded from the analyses that involve the sex and age of the deceased. The three feminine double graves and the neutral grave 15 were also excluded as it was not possible to determine a correlation between the grave goods and the deceased. Osteological information from

Cascina is fragmentary but two biological males were buried with masculine grave goods types, while the feminine graves that contained only one deceased were all of children or sub-adults (Graph 5.6). However, one of the two deceased in grave 2, an adult woman, wore a necklace. Although the data are limited, it can be suggested that at Cascina too there is a clear link between biological sex and gender expression.
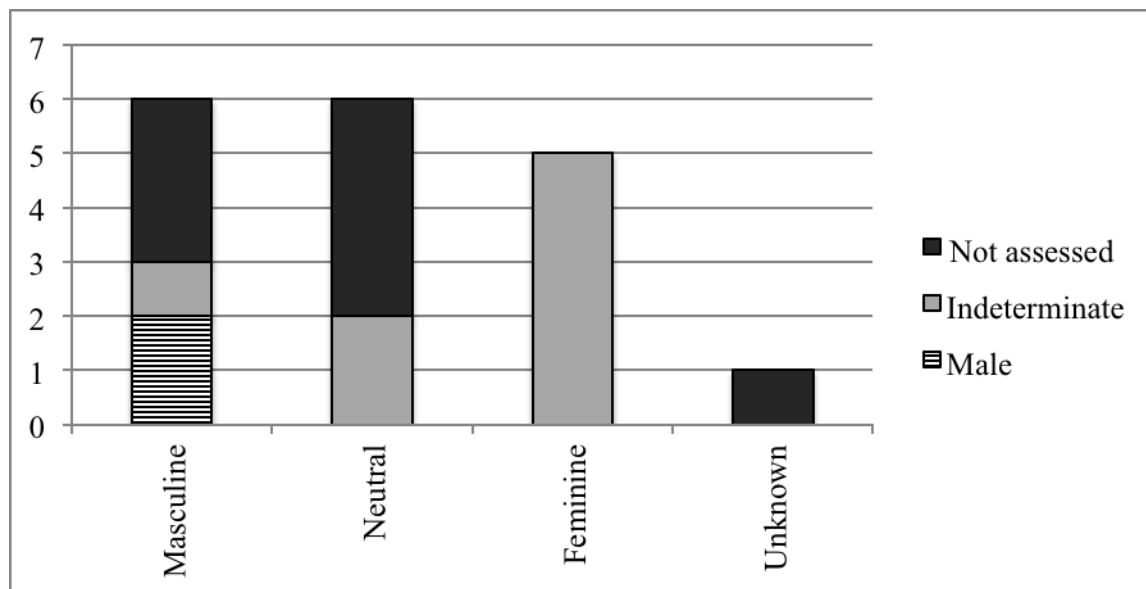
Graph 5.6: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Cascina San Martino applying Halsall's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented. Graves 2,10, 15, 19, 20, 27, each containing more than one individual, are excluded from the graph.

Table 5.8 shows the objects that, according to the analysis, contributed in projecting gender identity (Appendix 5.1 Table, 5.1.13). Interestingly only the necklace emerges as a feminine item, while masculinity was characterised by knives, dress belts and botanical remains. Sword and seax, alongside shears, a bronze container, a composite belt and a metal tool were found in only one grave (13) and were, consequently, excluded from the analysis, but grave 13 has emerged as masculine. Similarly, the belt pendant and an iron chain were attested only once in the cemetery, buried in a masculine grave (8). By contrast, the only examples of bracelet, earrings, weaving tools, footwear and hairpins were in feminine graves. A small pottery flask was found in the neutral grave 4 of an unsexed individual.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Knife	Gold cross	Necklace	Sword
Dress belt	Combs		Seax
Botanical remains	Fragments of container (pottery)		Shears
	Fragments of container (glass)		Bronze container
	Faunal remains		Composite belts
	Building material		Metal container (general)
	Coffin elements		Belt pendants
			Earrings
			Weaving tools
			Footwear
			Hairpin
			Bracelet
			Pottery container

Table 5.8: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Cascina San Martino divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, those found in feminine graves are in light grey and those in neutral graves are in white.

The link between the masculine gender and the sword, seax, shears, bronze and metal container is confirmed by the analysis undertaken using the written and iconographic sources (Table 5.9; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.14). The same observation is valid for the relationship between femininity and earrings, weaving tools, fittings for footwear, hairpin and bracelet. The possible gender character of the pottery container, however, remains unknown while the case of the belt pendants is controversial. Belt pendants emerge as feminine through the method that incorporates the written and iconographic sources because they were never associated with objects referenced in these sources, but, using Halsall's method they appear to be undetermined because they were found only once in the cemetery and appear to be found in a masculine grave. If belt pendants were feminine then the dress belt would become neutral, changing also the gender identification of some of the graves. However, it is important to highlight the fact that belt pendants were buried with an adult man. For this reason, and in the absence of other evidence to determine the gender nature of belt pendants at Cascina San Martino, it is more correct to consider them undetermined and maintain the identification of the gendered graves as it emerges from the application of Halsall's method to the grave good assemblages (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.12). In the case of Cascina San Martino, the comparison between the results of the two analyses only allows us to recognise the possible gender character of some of the undetermined objects (Table 5.10).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Sword	Gold cross	Bracelet
Seax	Combs	Earrings
Knife	Dress belt	Necklace
Shears	Fragments of container (pottery)	Weaving tools
Bronze container	Fragments of container (glass)	Footwear
Composite' belts	Faunal remains	Hairpin
Metal container (general)	Botanical remains	Belt pendants
	Building material	Pottery container
	Coffin elements	

Table 5.9: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Cascina San Martino divided into gender categories combining the information from the written and iconographic sources with the archaeological record.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Knife	Gold cross	Necklace	Belt pendants
Dress belt	Combs	Bracelet	Pottery container
Botanical remains	Fragments of container (pottery)	Earrings	
Sword	Fragments of container (glass)	Weaving tools	
Seax	Faunal remains	Footwear	
Shears	Building material	Hairpin	
Bronze container	Coffin elements		
Composite belt			
Metal container			

Table 5.10: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Cascina San Martino divided into gender categories. The objects whose gender character is 'possible' are marked in light grey. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves according to Halsall's method are highlighted in dark grey.

5.3.5 Romans d'Isonzo

The application of Halsall's method to the cemetery of Romans has allowed us to identify three different groups of grave that can be interpreted as masculine (twenty-four graves), neutral (fifty-one graves) and feminine (twenty graves; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.15). The comparison between the gender obtained through the analysis of the grave good assemblages and the biological sex of the deceased shows that, by and large, masculinity was related to biological males, femininity to biological females and neutral graves can belong to both males and females (Graph 5.7). However, there are exceptions to this general pattern. Among the masculine graves, three belong to women. The gender attribution of these graves derives from the presence of pottery containers that emerged as a masculine item. Pottery containers were found in eight graves, three females, one male, two of indeterminate children, and two of not assessed individuals. Among these latter there was also one deceased accompanied by a composite set of

weapons (shield, sword, spear and seax). This grave (245) was the only one with pottery containers found in trench 10, and it is also the only grave with a 'bicchiere a sacchetto'. All the other graves were in area 'R' (Appendix 3.1, Figure 4), which is separated from the rest of the cemetery, and contained an 'olla' (with the exception of grave 24, for which the information on the type of pottery container is missing and grave 11 which contained a pottery basin). It is likely that the gender attribution based on the sole pottery container from graves 24, 22, 18, 10, 11, 15 and 29, all in area 'R', is not reliable. However, it is possible to suggest that, rather than relating to their masculine gender, the presence of a pottery container in these graves denoted the belonging to a specific group of individuals all buried in the same part of the cemetery. Consequently, it would be safer not to consider these graves as gendered. By contrast, the masculinity of grave 245 is confirmed by the presence of the weapons.
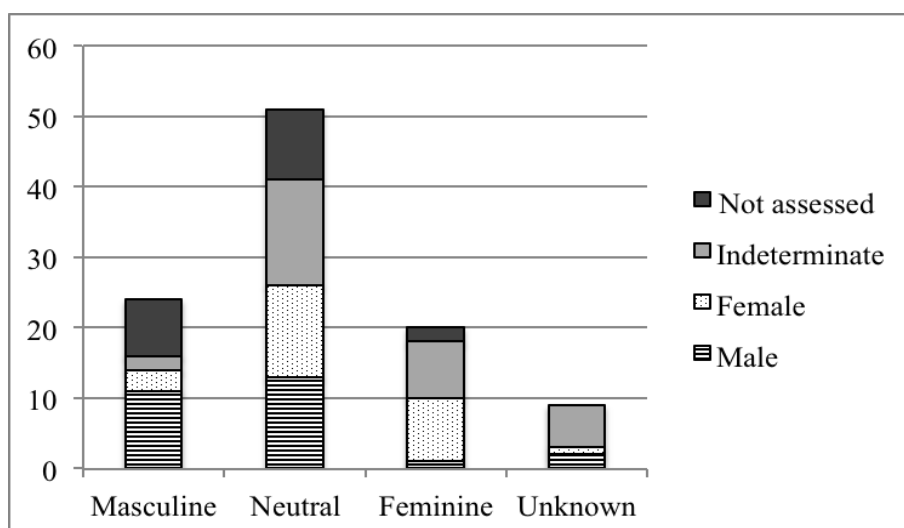
Graph 5.7: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Romans following Halsall's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Among the feminine graves there is one case in which earrings, a feminine item (Table 5.11), are buried with a biological male (93). In contrast with what has been discussed for the graves with pottery containers, there is no reason to question the gender attribution of this grave, which, consequently, appears to be an exceptional case. Finally, there is grave 74b, an unsexed individual, 14-22 years old, and buried with a knife, a punch, a dress belt, a composite belt, a silver coin, a horse bit, a pair of shears and a bronze undetermined object. As coins at Romans have emerged as feminine

objects the grave appears to be feminine. But it must be considered that the horse fittings and the shears, usually masculine items, were excluded from the analysis because they were found only in this grave of the cemetery. As will be discussed later in this section, it is possible that this grave was in fact masculine

.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Bracelet	Coin	Stone tools
Shield	Knife	Necklace	Footwear
Sword	Combs	Earrings	Botanical remains
Spear	Metal tools	'Ethnic' brooches	Exceptional objects
Seax	Dress belt	Other brooches	Finger ring
Faunal remains	Composite belts	Weaving tools	Horse fittings
Pottery container	Belt pendants	Dress elements	Shears
	Glass container	Hairpin	Fragments of container (glass)
			Fragments of container (pottery)

Table 5.11: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Romans divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, the objects found in feminine graves are in light grey, and those found in neutral graves are in white.

Halsall's method has been already applied to the cemetery of Romans by Barbiera (2005: pp 97-121) and it is possible to notice some differences when we compare her results with the analysis performed in this thesis. These differences are mainly a product of the way in which grave goods were grouped in categories and by the fact that Barbiera did not collect the data published by Annalisa Giovannini (2001; see Appendix 3.1). For example, including in the analysis graves 167, 168, and 169 (absent from Barbiera's (2005) analysis) and which are masculine because of the presence of arrows, sword and seax, bracelets, shifts their gender character from feminine (Barbiera 2005: 104 table 1) to neutral. Consequently, graves 123, 91 and 44 were neutral and not feminine. Moreover, considering bracelets as neutral objects means that glass containers shift their gender character from femininity to neutrality, and make graves 43 and 66a also neutral (Barbiera 2005: 106-7, table 2; 116-17, table 6). Finally, the data obtained from Giovannini (A. 2001) allow us to include grave 228 (feminine) and 236*bis* (unknown), that are missing from Barbiera's work (2005).

Barbiera (2005: 104, table 1) considers pottery containers as neutral objects because they were found only once in association with weapons (grave 245). In contrast, the absence of hairpins from her analysis is explained by the fact that the item found in grave 35 was interpreted as a pin (Barbiera 2005: 106-7, table 2; 116-17, table 6). Following this interpretation, only the deceased in grave 79 appears to have been provided with a hairpin, and so this type of object was excluded from her analysis because it was found in only one grave of the cemetery. In this present thesis, however, the pin in grave 35 was interpreted as a hairpin given that it was found close to the head (Maselli Scotti 1989: 35). Another difference between the two analyses is in the way in which belts are treated. It seems that Barbiera (2005: 104, table 1) considers the presence of fittings (composite belts) as pendants, which emerge from her analysis as masculine items. She separates out the chains, which appear as feminine items. However, it is not clear why grave 71, belonging to an adult male buried with a knife, a comb and a chain, was interpreted as neutral (Barbiera 2005: 106-7, table 2; 116-17, table 6). In this thesis, in contrast, it was decided to keep the categories consistent between the cemeteries and so belt fittings have been interpreted as composite belts, chains and other decorations attached to the belt have been considered belt pendants – and both of these grave-good types emerge as neutral at Romans.

An exception in the way in which the category of grave goods have been analysed was made, for the cemetery of Romans, in the case of metal tools. Originally neutral, following Barbiera (2005: 104, table 1) they were split into awls and steels (only in grave 25 is the steel associated with a stone flint) and it emerged that the former were neutral items while the latter were masculine. Hence, graves 49, 50 and 122 shift their gender from neutral to masculine.

Given the observations made regarding the presence of pottery containers, which appear as masculine items but were probably neutral, and the splitting of metal tools into two more specific categories, the analysis was performed again (Appendix 5.1, Tables 5.1.16, 17), to obtain more reliable results. From this it emerges that there were twenty masculine graves and fifty-five neutral graves at Romans, while the feminine graves remain unchanged at twenty. Interestingly, one old woman now appears buried with a steel, a masculine item (Graph 5.8). Table 5.12 shows the types of grave goods that emerge as masculine, neutral, feminine and those that were present only once in the cemetery and thus cannot be attributed to one of the gender categories. However, as previously discussed, horse fittings and shears were in the feminine grave 74b, stone tools and fittings for footwear were in masculine graves, fragments of glass container and botanical remains were in neutral graves, a key (considered as an exceptional object) and finger ring in feminine graves. The fragments of pottery container were the only object in grave 236bis whose gender cannot be established.
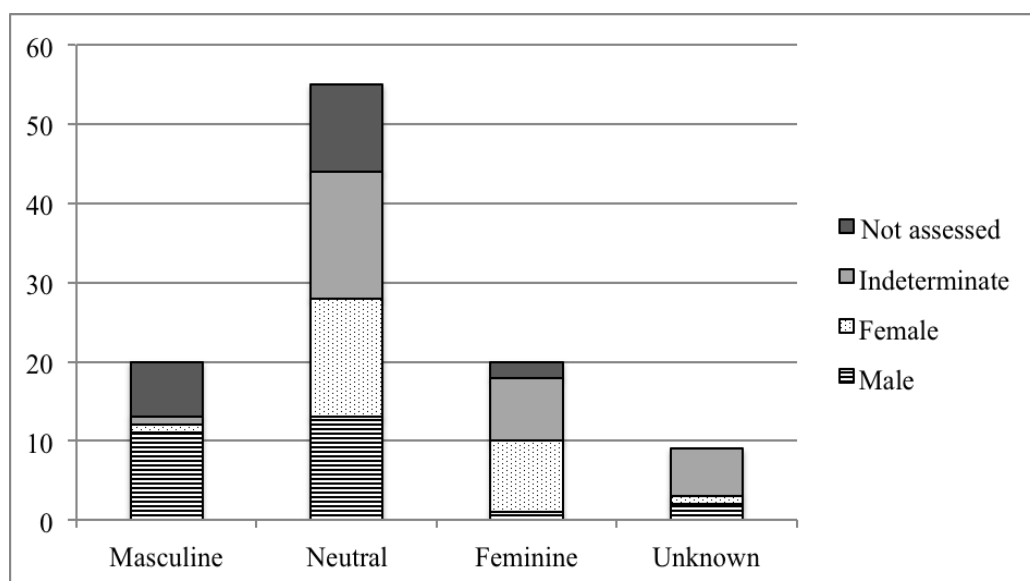
Graph 5.8: Revised relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Romans (after Barbiera 2005:97-121). Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Bracelet	Coin	Stone tools
Shield	Knife	Necklace	Footwear
Sword	Combs	Earrings	Botanical remains
Spear	Awl	'Ethnic' brooches	Exceptional objects
Seax	Dress belt	Other brooches	Finger ring
Faunal remains	Composite belts	Weaving tools	Horse fittings
Pottery container	Belt pendants	Dress elements	Shears
Steel	Glass container	Hairpin	Fragments of container (glass)
			Fragments of container (pottery)

Table 5.12: Revised types of grave goods from the cemetery of Romans divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method and after Barbiera (2005: 97-121). In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, the objects found in feminine graves are in light grey and those found in neutral graves are in white.

Introducing the data from the written and iconographic sources into the analysis produces only one significant change in the results (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.18). The presence of horse fittings, a masculine item according to the iconography and the texts and excluded from the previous analysis because found only once in the cemetery, change the gender character of grave 74b from feminine to masculine. Consequently, also shears, stone tools, footwear and glass containers emerge as possibly masculine because they were found in that same grave. Moreover, the shift in gender of grave 74b also means that coins and pottery containers become neutral objects. Among the feminine objects obtained from the inclusion of the written and iconographic sources, only the finger ring and the key could probably be added to the objects already identified as feminine, while botanical remains and fragments of glass and pottery containers remain undetermined because there is not enough evidence in support of their femininity (Table 5.13). In the end, at Romans it was possible to identify twenty-one masculine graves, fifty-five neutral and nineteen feminine (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.19).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Bracelet	Necklace	Fragments of container (glass)
Shield	Knife	Earrings	Fragments of container (pottery)
Sword	Combs	'Ethnic' brooches	Botanical remains
Spear	Awl	Weaving tools	
Seax	Composite' belts	Other brooches	
Faunal remains	Dress belt	Dress elements	
Steel	Belt pendants	Hairpin	
Horse fittings	Coin	Exceptional objects	
Shears	Pottery container	Finger ring	
Stone tools			
Footwear			
Glass container			

Table 5.13: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Romans divided into gender categories. The objects whose gender character is 'possible' are marked in light grey. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey.

5.3.6 Santo Stefano in Pertica

The application of Halsall's method to the cemetery of Santo Stefano revealed the presence of three groups of grave goods, two of which never associate with each other (Table 5.14, Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.20). Plotting the graves in a table (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.21) in which those containing masculine objects are placed on the left and those containing feminine objects on the right, it emerges there were ten masculine graves, fourteen neutral and eight feminine. The analysis of the relationship between gender and biological sex also reveals that the masculine graves belong to biological males, indeterminate or not assessed individuals, while among the feminine graves there are two women, one man, one indeterminate individual and three not assessed (Graph 5.9).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield	Gold cross	Beads	Footwear
Sword	Knife	Bracelet	Metal tools
Spear	Combs	Earrings	Fragments of container (pottery)
Seax	Stone tools	Fragments of container (glass)	Botanical remains
Axe	Dress elements		Exceptional objects
Shears	Dress belt		Coin
Bronze container			Other brooches
Composite' belts			'Ethnic' brooches
Faunal remains			Other container
			Pottery container

Table 5.14: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Santo Stefano divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, those found in feminine graves are in light grey and those found in neutral graves are in white.
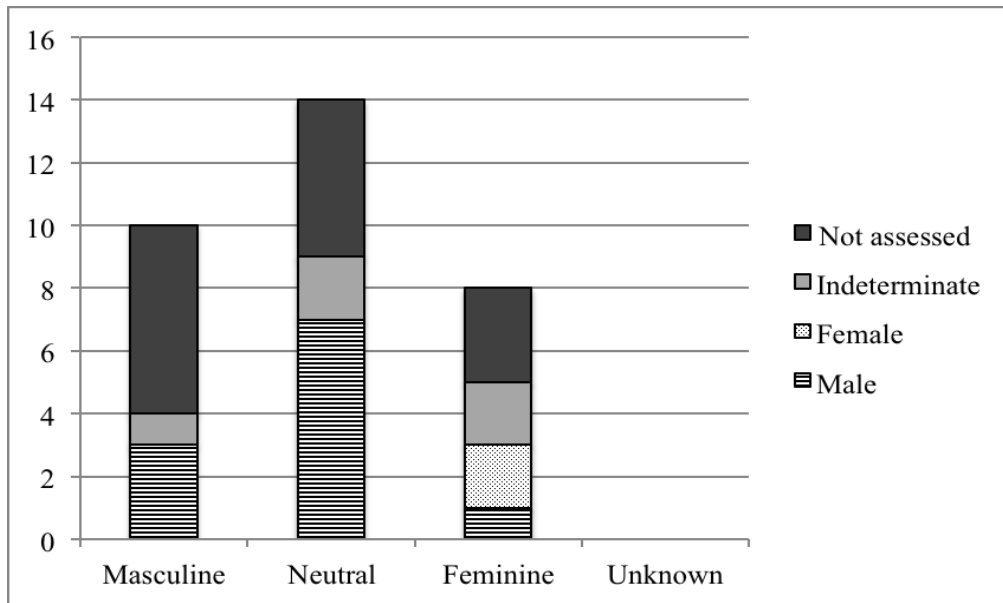
Graph 5.9: relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Santo Stefano following Hallsal's method. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Barbiera applied the same method to the cemetery of Santo Stefano, and obtained similar results – with three main differences. The first difference is that grave 5 is, according to Barbiera (2005: 75-89) neutral because she did not include the wild boar tusk in the same category as the ox horn and the deer antler found in the graves 24, 28 and 26. Keeping the wild boar tusk distinct, this artefact appeared as unique in the cemetery, and is thus not included in her analysis. Here, the wild boar tusk is grouped with the other faunal remains in one category and since faunal remains appear to be masculine artefacts, grave 5 emerges as masculine.

In Barbiera's analysis of the grave-goods assemblages, pottery containers and brocade were masculine objects (Barbiera 2005: 75-89). Consequently, in her study graves 14 is masculine (Barbiera 2005: 75-89) rather than neutral, as here (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.21). In the case of pottery containers this result derives from the fact that she included in this object category both the container found in grave 14 and the fragment of pottery container in grave 18, which is a masculine grave. However, it seems reasonable to keep these two types of objects distinct, as it is not possible to establish with certainty that the deposition of a pottery container and that of a fragment of such are evidence of the same ritual. As a result, pottery container and fragment of pottery

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container appear only once in the cemetery and, according to Halsall's method, they must be excluded. Thus, grave 14 remains neutral.

The brocade (in this thesis labelled 'gold threads') is a different matter. The reason why it does not feature in the analysis is because the presence of gold threads has been recorded under the category 'dress elements'. In the same category is the pin found in grave 39, associated with earrings (a feminine item), and fragments of fabric recovered from masculine grave 18. However, disagreggating the category 'dress elements' into gold threads, pins and fabric, it emerges that the former were indeed masculine objects, while the other two were found only once in the cemetery and must be excluded from the analysis (Table 5.15; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.22). On the basis of these observations, the number of masculine, feminine and neutral graves does not change (Graph 5.10; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.23).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield	Gold cross	Beads	Footwear
Sword	Knife	Bracelet	Metal tools
Spear	Combs	Earrings	Fragments of container (pottery)
Seax	Stone tools	Fragments of container (glass)	Botanical remains
Axe	Dress elements		Exceptional objects
Shears	Dress belt		Coin
Bronze container			Other brooches
Composite belts			Textile
Faunal remains			'Ethnic' brooches
			Other container
Gold threads			Pin

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Pottery container

Table 5.15: Revised types of grave goods from the cemetery of Santo Stefano divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method and after Barbiera (2005: 75-89). In the 'not determined' column the objects found in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, those found in feminine graves are in light grey and those found in neutral graves are in white.
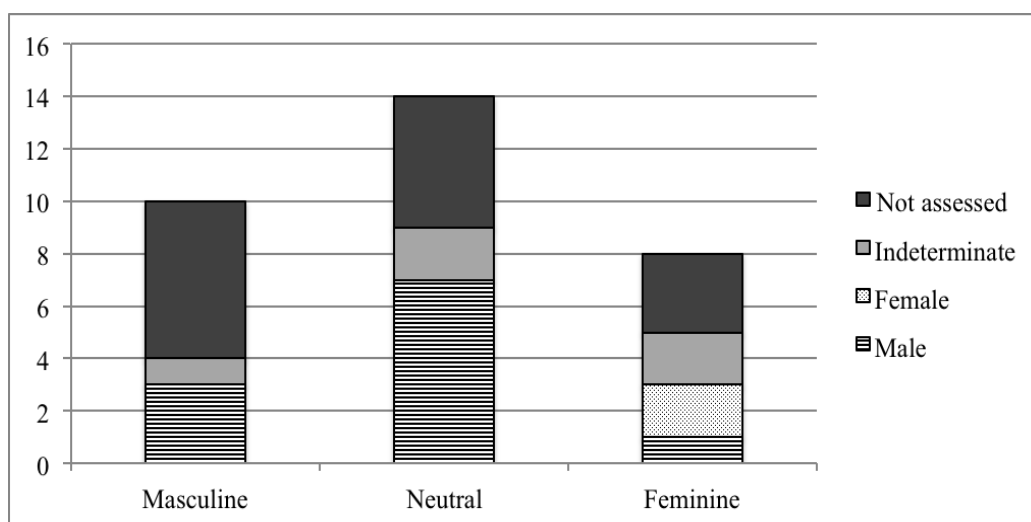
Graph 5.10: revised relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Santo Stefano after Barbiera (2005: 75-89). Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Comparison of these results with the information obtained from the written and iconographic sources largely confirms the identification of the masculine, feminine and neutral graves just discussed (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.24). The only difference is that the pottery container emerges as a feminine object but, given that grave 14 contained a not-assessed individual and no other feminine objects, there is not enough evidence to support the feminine character of this item, which, ultimately, is considered not determined. Regarding the gender nature of the other object types from the set of analyses that used the written and iconographic sources it emerges that those not-determined objects that appear in table 5.15 as masculine were indeed masculine, and the same is true for the not-determined objects found in the feminine graves (Table 5.16). Table 5.17 shows the objects that were related to the expression of the masculine and feminine gender in the cemetery of Santo Stefano after the application of Halsall's method, the comparison with Barbiera's work, and the integration of the information from the written and iconographic sources.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Shield	Gold cross	Beads
Sword	Knife	'Ethnic' brooches
Spear	Combs	Bracelet
Seax	Stone tools	Earrings
Axe	Dress elements	Glass container
Shears	Dress belt	Other container
Footwear		Fragments of container (glass)
Metal tools		Pottery container
Bronze container		
Fragments of container (pottery)		
Composite belts		
Faunal remains		
Botanical remains		
Exceptional objects		
Coin		
Other brooches		

Table 5.16: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Santo Stefano divided into gender categories combining the information from the written and iconographic sources with the archaeological record.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield	Gold cross	Beads	Pottery container
Sword	Knife	Bracelet	
Spear	Combs	Earrings	
Seax	Stone tools	Glass container	
Axe	Dress belt	Fragments of container (glass)	
Shears		Other container	
Bronze container		'Ethnic' brooches	
Composite belts		Pin	
Faunal remains			
Gold threads			
Footwear			
Metal tools			
Fragments of container (pottery)			
Botanical remains			

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Exceptional objects			
Coin			
Other brooches			
Textile			

Table 5.17: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Santo Stefano divided into gender categories. In light grey the objects whose gender character is possible.

From all the analyses performed on the cemetery of Santo Stefano a discrepancy has emerged between the feminine gender projected by the grave goods assemblage of grave 27 and the biological sex of the person buried with it. The grave is feminine because of the presence of the fragments of glass container and also, possibly, of a bow brooch. However, it is interesting to note that in the grave there is also a flint, found in the two masculine graves 24 and 28, and identified as a masculine item in other cemeteries (San Mauro and Spilamberto). In Barbiera's analyses of the site (2005: 75-89), she highlights the fact that graves 24, 27 and 28 all belong to the same group of graves, probably a family, implying that the deposition of the flint had more to do with family relationships rather than gender (Barbiera 2005: 85-86). Nevertheless, the biological sex of the individual and the presence of the flint, in contrast with the fragments of glass container and the bow brooch, make this grave ambiguous (see Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1).

5.3.7 Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino

At the cemetery of Località San Martino it was possible to identify only one group of grave goods (Table 5.18; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.25). This pattern can be explained by suggesting that the cemetery was reserved for the burial of men only, who were provided with very similar grave-goods assemblages. Indeed, in all five graves a complex set of weapons (shield, seax, sword and spear) and composite belts was recovered. Other objects were present as well, such as gold foil crosses, shears, horse fittings and finger rings, often found in more than two graves. If we follow Halsall's methodology strictly, we would have to argue that it is not possible to identify the gender of these graves because there are not two groups of grave goods that do not associate with each other. However, is it always correct to define one gender identity (i.e. masculinity) in opposition with the other (i.e. femininity), or could this be, in some instances, misleading? It is highly likely that the graves at Località San Martino did express masculinity because weapons appear as masculine objects not only in other cemeteries (e.g. San Mauro, Romans, Collegno), but also in the written and iconographic sources. Indeed, bringing the information obtained from these sets of sources to bear on this the cemetery it emerges that all the graves at Località San Martino were masculine and all the objects recovered at the site were functional in projecting masculinity (Table 5.19; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.26). The fact that two of

the individuals buried in this cemetery were biological males (Graph 5.11) further supports the masculinity of these graves. In fact, the lack of feminine graves (and probably of biological females) in the cemetery, rather than casting doubt on the gender identity of those buried at Località San Martino, seems to reinforce their masculinity.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Shield
			Seax
			Sword
			Spear
			Horse fittings
			Gold cross
			Finger ring
			Knife
			Shears
			Dress elements
			Dress belt
			Composite belts
			Coffin elements
			Coin
			Arrow
			Weaving tools

Table 5.18: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Località San Martino divided into gender categories applying Halsall's methodology. In the 'not determined' column the objects that are associated with each other and that were probably masculine are highlighted in dark grey.
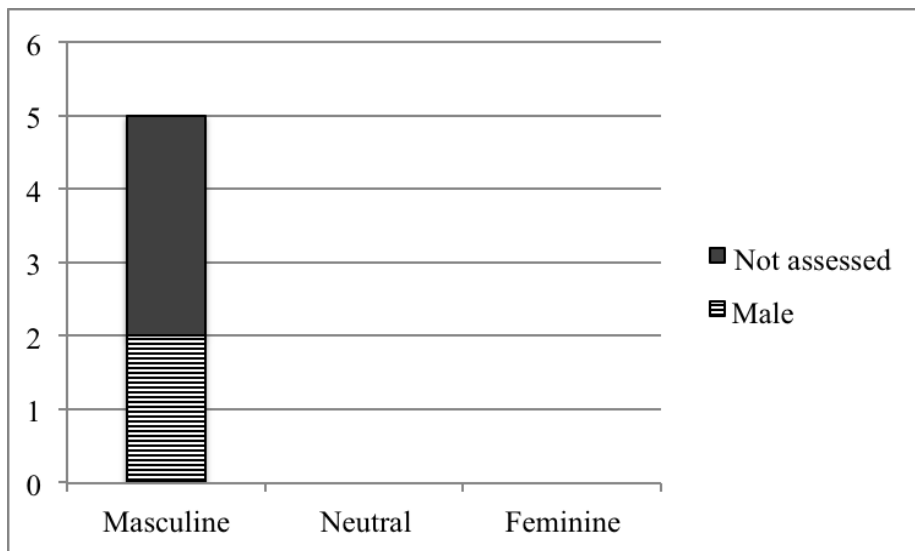
Graph 5.11: relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Località San Martino.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Shield			
Seax			
Sword			
Spear			
Arrow			
Horse fittings			
Gold cross			
Finger ring			
Knife			
Shears			
Dress elements			
Dress belt			
Composite belts			
Coffin elements			
Coin			
Arrow			
Weaving tools			

Table 5.19: Types of grave goods of the cemetery of Santo Stefano divided into gender categories. In light grey the objects whose gender character is probable.

5.3.8 Montecchio Maggiore, Ospedale

Analysis of the grave-good assemblages from the cemetery of Montecchio (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.27) does not allow us to recognise two distinct groups of grave goods, and so, following Halsall's method, it would appear that in this cemetery gender identity was not expressed. There are a group of grave goods that are associated with each other (seax, composite belt, knife, comb and dress belt) while all the others appear as unique in the cemetery (Table 5.20). Interestingly, grouping together those graves with seaxes, composite belts and dress belts it emerges that, in all cases but one (grave 1, not assessed individual), they belong, to adult or old men. The remaining three graves were of two mature women and one child (Graph 5.12; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.28).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Seax
			Composite belts
			Knife
			Combs
			Dress belt
			Bracelet
			Coffin elements
			Sword
			Metal tools
			Footwear
			Pottery container

Table 5.20: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Montecchio divided into gender categories applying Halsall's methodology. In the 'not determined' column objects that are associated with each other are highlighted in dark grey. The objects also found in graves with seaxes, composite belts and dress belts are in light grey.
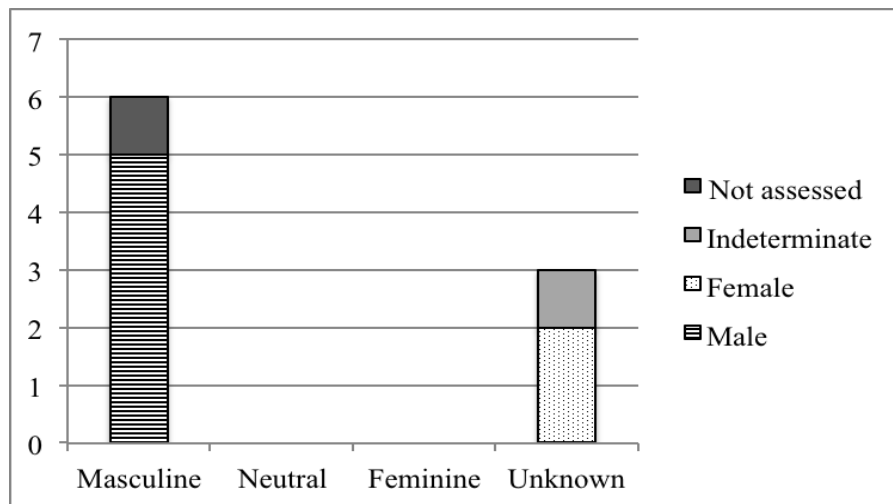
Graph 5.12: relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Montecchio. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

Furthermore, when we introduce the information obtained from the written and iconographic sources, the former group of graves emerge as masculine, with the exception of grave 7, which appears to be feminine (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.29). The case of grave 7 must be considered carefully: the grave belongs to an adult male buried with a belt buckle, a comb, a knife and a bracelet, which appears, in the context of this cemetery, to be a feminine item (Table 5.21). Nevertheless, as the excavators have noticed, the bracelet was found in the fill of the grave and was intentionally squashed, reaching a diameter of 3,5-3,8 cm, suitable for a younger individual (Possenti 2011: 27). It is suggested that the object in fact belonged to the juvenile individual of grave 11, buried close to grave 7, and whose grave was damaged causing the displacement of its contents (Possenti 2011: 25). This interpretation seems likely and, if true, would mean that grave 7 loses its feminine character.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Sword	Knife	Bracelet
Seax	Combs	Coffin elements
Metal tools (metal)	Dress belt	
Footwear		
Pottery container		
Composite' belts		

Table 5.21: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Montecchio divided into gender categories combining the information from the written and iconographic sources with the archaeological record.

From the analysis performed using the data from the iconography and texts graves 6 and 14 emerge as neutral, grave 7 as feminine (but, as we have just discussed, it was probably masculine), leaving grave 2, of a mature woman, as the only feminine grave identified in the cemetery. The grave appears feminine because of the presence of fittings from the coffin, but the evidence in support of the feminine character of this type of object cannot be considered entirely conclusive. Thus it is possible to suggest that at Montecchio, masculine gender was expressed through the deposition of seaxes, composite belts, dress belts, swords and possibly metal tools, footwear and pottery containers (Table 5.22). Following on from this hypothesis combs and knives appear as neutral items, and it is not possible to establish with any degree of certainty if and how feminine gender was expressed. Thus, it seems that it was possible to express only one of the two genders, and that the identification of one gender in opposition to the other could, in some instances, be misleading.

Masculine	Neutral	Not determined
Sword	Knife	Bracelet
Seax	Combs	Coffin elements
Dress belt	Dress belt	
Composite belts		
Metal tools		
Footwear		
Pottery container		

Table 5.22: Types of grave goods of the cemetery of Montecchio divided into gender categories. The objects whose gender character is 'probable' are in light grey.

5.3.9 Pradamano, Lovaria

Following Halsall's method no gendered graves can be identified in this cemetery. Indeed three groups of grave goods – not just two – have been recognised that never associate with each other. One group includes arrows, dress elements and composite belts, another consists of dress belts, and the final comprises faunal remains (Table 5.23; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.30). The presence of the seax and the sword in two of the graves containing the objects of the first group might suggest that these graves are masculine (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.31). Unfortunately, checking the data against the anthropological sex of the deceased does not provide a conclusive answer: among these possibly masculine graves there is a mature woman (grave 84). Since all the other individuals are adult men we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that this woman was actually buried with masculine grave goods. Other graves are even more problematic. Graves 57 and 77, belonging to an adult-mature man and an adult woman, were the two graves containing faunal remains in this cemetery. It is not possible to argue that the faunal remains indicated the feminine gender of the deceased, in opposition with the two graves with weapons. Similarly, it is not possible to reach any conclusions about graves 80, 92 and 93, both containing a belt buckle associated with unsexed individuals. As in the case of Montecchio it is possible that at Pradamano masculinity was expressed, but the expression of femininity remains doubtful.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Arrow
			Dress elements
			Composite belts
			Sword
			Horse fittings
			Gold cross
			Seax
			Metal tools
			Dress belt
			Faunal remains
			Bracelet
			Knife
			Combs

Table 5.23: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Pradamano divided into gender categories. In the 'not determined' column the possible groups of objects are highlighted as follows: dark grey = masculine; green = neutral; yellow = feminine?; light grey = feminine?

The analysis of the cemetery using the information from the written and iconographic sources has resulted in the identification of a group of four masculine graves (Table 5.24; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.32) and a group of six feminine graves. The former correspond to the aforementioned group of graves with arrows, composite belts and dress elements that also includes grave 54 with a sword and grave 83 with a seax and two spurs. I have already noted that the individuals in four of these graves were biological males, and that a mature female was buried in grave 84 (for a discussion of

this grave see Chapter 6, Section 6.3). Overall, this type of analysis seems to confirm the suggestion that these graves projected masculinity.

On the other hand, doubts can be cast on the group of feminine graves characterised by faunal remains (graves 57, 77), dress belts (graves 80, 92, 93) and a steel (grave 101). As explained above, the individuals buried in these graves were two males, one female and three unsexed, and there are no other elements to support the suggestion that these grave-good assemblages were feminine. In these cases, it has been decided to consider the graves neutral. To summarise, table 5.25 shows the objects that have been identified, through the application of the different methodologies, as masculine and neutral, and graph 5.13 shows the relationship between the gender assigned to the graves and the biological sex of the individuals.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
Arrow	Bracelet	Metal tools
Sword	Knife	Dress belt
Horse fittings	Combs	Faunal remains
Gold cross		
Dress elements		
Composite belts		
Seax		

Table 5.24: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Pradamano divided into gender categories combining the information from the written and iconographic sources with the archaeological record.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Arrow	Bracelet		Metal tools
Sword	Knife		Dress belt
Horse fittings	Combs		Faunal remains
Gold cross			
Dress elements			
Composite belts			
Seax			

Table 5.25: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Pradamano divided into gender categories. In light grey the objects whose gender character is probable.
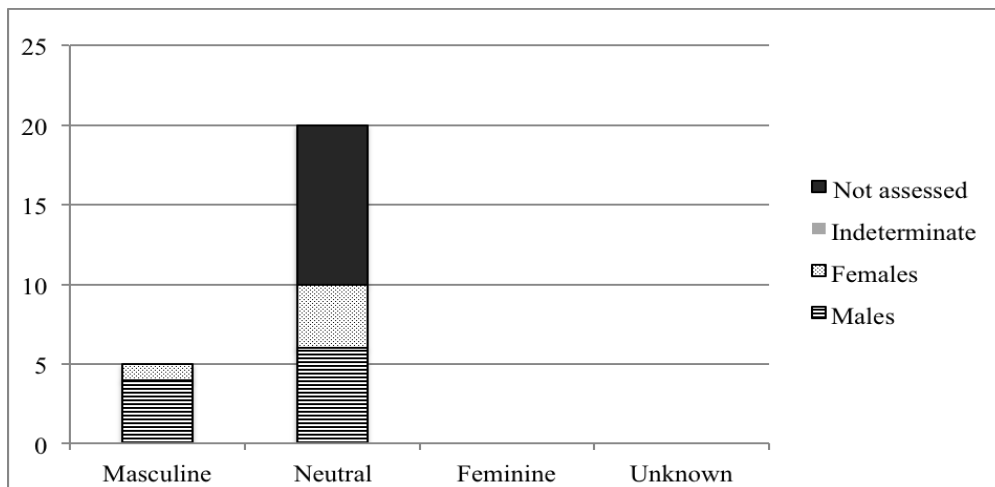
Graph 5.13: relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Pradamano. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

5.3.10 San Chierico di Bolgare

Applying Halsall's methodology to the cemetery of Bolgare suggests that gender was not expressed at this site because it is not possible to identify two groups of objects that never associate with each other (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.33). However, plotting the graves in a table (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.34) reveals that two graves (200, 60), one of an indeterminate juvenile and one of an adult man, were characterised by dress belts. Further, graves 180, 141 and 152 all contained finger rings, and they all belong to female individuals. Finally, a mature man and a child were buried with faunal remains. A loom weight, a coin and a nail, maybe with magic functions (Fortunati and Ghiroldi 2006: 126), were each found in only one grave (21; 190 and 132). It is possible to suggest that the dress belts were characteristic of the masculine gender also because a dress belt was found in grave 200 of a juvenile individual, buried with a seax, which is often a masculine item (Table 5.26), while finger rings were characteristic of the feminine gender. The gender role of the other objects is, however, unclear. The absence of objects that find parallels in the written and iconographic makes any further comparison impossible.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Coin
			Finger ring
			Faunal remains
			Nail
			Weaving tools
			Dress belt
			Seax
			Knife
			Footwear

Table 5.26: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Bolgare divided into gender categories according to Halsall's method. In the 'not determined' column the possible groups of objects are highlighted as follows: dark grey = masculine; yellow =?; light grey = feminine.

5.3.11 Pontedera. Località la Scafa

Following Halsall's methodology it is not possible to identify two groups of grave good assemblages at the cemetery of Pontedera (Table 5.27; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.35). However, it remains possible that gender was expressed by some of the individuals in the cemetery (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.36): two females (graves 6 and 7) were buried with a pair of earrings, a feminine item in other cemeteries (e.g. Romans, Santo Stefano), and a pottery container, and it is likely that these items projected femininity. The old man of grave 9 was buried with a seax, usually a marker of masculinity (e.g. Collegno, San Mauro). More uncertain is the scenario for graves 1 and 8 – a female juvenile and of an adult male, respectively. The former was furnished with a bronze bracelet and a loom weight, and the latter with a knife and a dress belt.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Earrings
			Pottery container
			Seax
			Combs
			Bracelet
			Knife
			Weaving tools
			Dress belt

Table 5.27: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Pontedera divided into gender categories according to Halsall's methodology. In the 'not determined' column the objects that were hypothetically in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, while the objects found in feminine graves are in light grey.

5.3.12 Trento, Palazzo Tabarelli

At Trento each grave contained a different object (Table 5.28), except for graves 6 and 7 (an adult male and female respectively) which both had a knife (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.37). These two graves also contained a composite belt and a pair of earrings, which (despite the absence of two clear groups of grave goods assemblages) suggests the

expression of masculine and feminine genders because of the biological sex and comparisons with other sites. More problematic is the gender attribution of the other two graves (3 and 5) which (respectively) contained a finger ring in association with an adult man and a fragment of decorated bone with an infant. It was not possible to compare the data collected from the cemetery of Trento with that obtained from texts and iconography because no direct references can be established between the two.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Earrings
			Knife
			Faunal remains
			Finger ring
			Composite belts

Table 5.28: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Trento divided into gender categories according to Halsall's methodology. In the 'not determined' column the objects that were hypothetically in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, while those that were hypothetically in feminine graves are in light grey.

5.3.13 Ovaro

Barbiera's application of Halsall's methodology at Ovaro (2005: 91-5) did not allow the identification of two groups of grave goods that never associate with each other. Consequently, Barbiera (2005: 95) concluded that gender was not expressed at this site and, developing her argument further, she suggested that the projection of the gender identity of the deceased during the funeral was not necessary for some communities or that they could not afford it (Barbiera 2007a: 358). However, applying the method again, and recording also those instances were two objects associated only once in the cemetery (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4), it is in fact possible to isolate two distinct groups of grave goods (Table 5.29; Appendix 5.1; Table 5.1.38) for which we can hypothesise gender attributes. The results of the analysis of the relationship between gender identity and biological sex, though, are not conclusive – because of the poor preservation of the skeletal material (Graph 5.14). Furhermore, the absence of objects that are referred to in the written sources makes the gender attribution of grave goods problematic. Nevertheless, it is suggested that the group of graves with earrings, hairpins and belt

pendants expressed the feminine gender (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.39), given that these objects are often feminine in other cemeteries (e.g. Romans, Santo Stefano, Spilamberto, San Mauro).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
Dress belt	Weaving tools	Earrings	Pottery container
Other brooches	Knife	Hairpin	Bracelet
	Combs	Belt pendants	Beads
	Metal tools		

Table 5.29: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Ovaro divided into gender categories. In the 'not determined' column the objects that were hypothetically in masculine graves are highlighted in dark grey, while those that were hypothetically in feminine graves are in light grey.
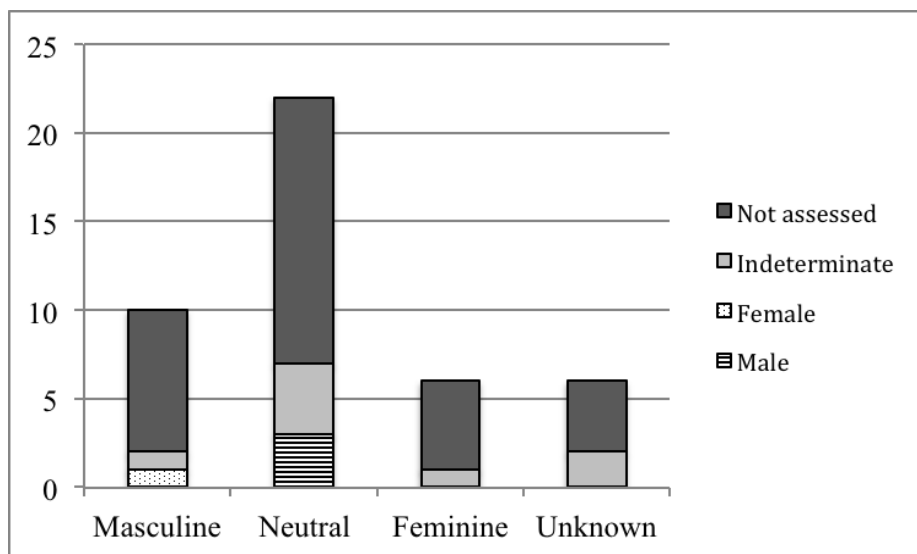

Graph 5.14: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves from the cemetery of Ovaro. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

It is necessary, however, to consider some of the graves in more detail. Grave 34, which contained a knife and a cross-shaped brooch, appears to be masculine. Another bronze brooch was found in grave 1 (unsexed individual), alongside a dress belt, a comb and knife. However, the brooch from grave 1 depicted a bird, a shape that is more

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commonly associated with women (Barbiera 2005: 94). We cannot entirely rule out the possibility that at Ovaro brooches shaped as birds were buried with men rather than women, as the association between material culture and gender was highly flexible (below, Section 5.4). Nonetheless, the gender expressed in grave 1 can be considered dubious. On the one hand, if grave 1 did not project masculinity, then it is possible that all the other graves at Ovaro with belt buckles were not masculine and that, in reality, dress belts must be considered neutral at this site. This suggestion is partially confirmed by the fact that one of the individuals buried with a dress belt was a biological female (grave 26).

Undoubtedly, the precise identification of gender identities at Ovaro is debatable due to the lack of osteological data (only four individuals were sexed) and a site plan. Nevertheless, the cemetery remains very interesting. The presence of five graves with earrings and hairpins suggests that at least femininity was expressed by some of the individuals. If all the other graves described were, actually, ungendered it would appear that the projection of femininity had a special role in this community, and one that was not connected with the expression of masculinity. If, on the other hand, masculinity was expressed, it seems that the projection of masculinity within the funerary arena could happened also in those communities were weapon burials were absent, also suggesting that masculinity could be projected through objects that did not refer to warfare. Indeed, in all the other cemeteries discussed so far except for Trento, at least one weapon grave was present.

5.3.14 Faenza, Palazzo Caldesi

At Palazzo Caldesi there are in total four graves, two adult females, one male and one child. In grave 2, belonging to an adult man, there is a belt buckle and in grave 3, of an indeterminate child there is a fitting for the footwear. These two objects, which are found only once in the cemetery, were excluded from the analysis together with the necklace found in grave 4 and the earrings of grave 5. The only artefact that is found in two graves is the hairpin, thus Halsall's method cannot be applied to this cemetery. In this cemetery there are no objects with parallels in the written and iconographic sources, and so this comparison was not possible. However, the presence of the hairpins, the necklace and the earrings, which have emerged as feminine at other sites (e.g. Romans, San Mauro, Santo Stefano) lead to hypothesise that grave 4 and 5 might have been

actually feminine, which is also supported by the fact that they belong to two females (Table 5.30; Graph 5.15). It is not possible to hypothesise the gender of the other two graves, which remain undetermined (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.40).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Hairpin
			Earrings
			Necklace
			Footwear
			Dress belt

Table 5.30: Types of grave goods in the cemetery of Palazzo Caldesi divided into gender categories. In the highlighted in light grey the possible feminine graves.
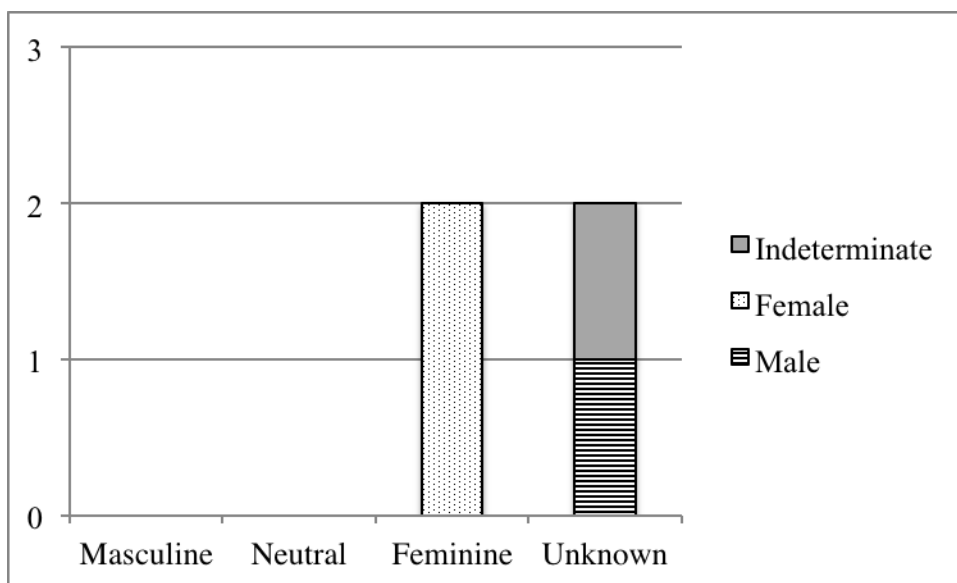
Graph 5.21: Relationship between gender and biological sex in the furnished graves of the cemetery of Palazzo Caldesi. Each column represents the number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the cemetery. Within each column the number of male, female, indeterminate and not assessed individuals buried with masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown grave good assemblages are represented.

5.3.15 Campione d'Italia, San Zeno

At Campione it was not possible to identify two distinct groups of grave goods as only gold threads occurred more than once (twice) in the cemetery - while earrings, finger

rings, fragments of glass container and coins were found only once (Table 5.31; Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.41) On the basis of our current evidence, therefore, it seems that here gender was not expressed through the deposition of grave goods. However, it is interesting to note that the gold threads were found in association with women. In grave 10, they were below and around the skeleton of a 30-40 year old woman, particularly in the area between the pelvis and the ribs. The fact that this individual was buried with an infant who was born dead or died immediately after labour, suggested to the excavators that she too had died during childbirth - a hypothesis that is supported by the presence of a phallic-shaped stone charm in the area of the chest (Blockley *et al.* 2005: 49). In grave 11 gold threads were found underneath the skull of a girl who died when she was 17-20 years old and was buried with two adult men, a child (9-10 years old) and an infant (8-9 months). The lack of evidence that the grave had been reopened led the excavators to suggest that all the deceased were buried at the same time (Blockley *et al.* 2005: 50). The evidence from Campione seems to suggest that the use of textiles decorated with gold threads was characteristic of females and might have been instrumental in projecting the gender identity of those individuals.

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Earrings
			Finger ring
			Dress elements
			Fragments of container (glass)
			Coin

Table 5.31: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Campione d'Italia divided into gender categories according to Halsall's methodology. In 'not determined' column the objects that were hypothetically in feminine graves are highlighted in light grey.

5.3.16 Palazzo Martinengo

The furnished graves at Palazzo Martinengo are considered neutral in the analysis conducted for this thesis (Appendix 5.1, Table 5.1.42). Each type of grave good was found only once, meaning that Halsall's method was not applicable. Moreover, there is

no other evidence that could aid in the identification of engendered graves: the individuals were unsexed, either because of the lack of osteological analysis (graves 312 and 318) or because of the young age of the deceased (graves 123 and 372), and the grave goods are not among those more often associated with one of the two genders in the other case-study cemeteries. As Table 5.32 shows, the items recovered were a comb buried in grave 372, which contained two foetuses and two new-born individuals, four loom weights buried with an individual that was neither sexed or aged (grave 318), fragments of pottery container from the filling of grave 312 (not assessed individual), and an undetermined object made of bone in grave 123 (one not assessed and one newborn individual), interpreted as the lower part of a *stilus* or a spindle (De Marchi 1996: 314).

Masculine	Neutral	Feminine	Not determined
			Weaving tools
			Combs
			Fragments of container (pottery)

Table 5.32: Types of grave goods from the cemetery of Brescia, Palazzo Martinengo divided into gender categories.

5.4. Conclusions

The analysis of gender expression in the case-study cemeteries – aimed at identifying both the objects related to gender identity and the engendered graves – began with a broad examination of the grave goods categories in the totality of the sample. Following the first stage of Stoodley's (1999: 24-9) methodology, multivariate analysis was performed and this allowed the recognition of two groups of grave goods (characterised by weapons, on the one hand, and jewellery and dress accessories, on the other) that never associate with each other. However, the fact that objects shift their position on the scatter plots, shows that their association with the other objects probably varied and cannot be established through this statistical method, and the observation that the sample size may be too small to produce any conclusive result over such a broad scale, demonstrated the need to undertake a more detailed examination of the phenomenon of gendered graves in each cemetery. The cemetery-by-cemetery analysis followed the methodology described in Chapter 4, which is largely based upon that developed by

Guy Halsall (1995: 79-83). The results obtained have been compared with the information collected from the written sources, the osteological data and the patterns observed in other case-study cemeteries. Ultimately, it has been possible to identify one hundred and one masculine graves, one-hundred-thirty-six neutral graves, seventy-nine feminine graves, as well as thirty-one cases where the gender could not be inferred (Graph 5.16; Appendix 5.2, Table 5.2.1).
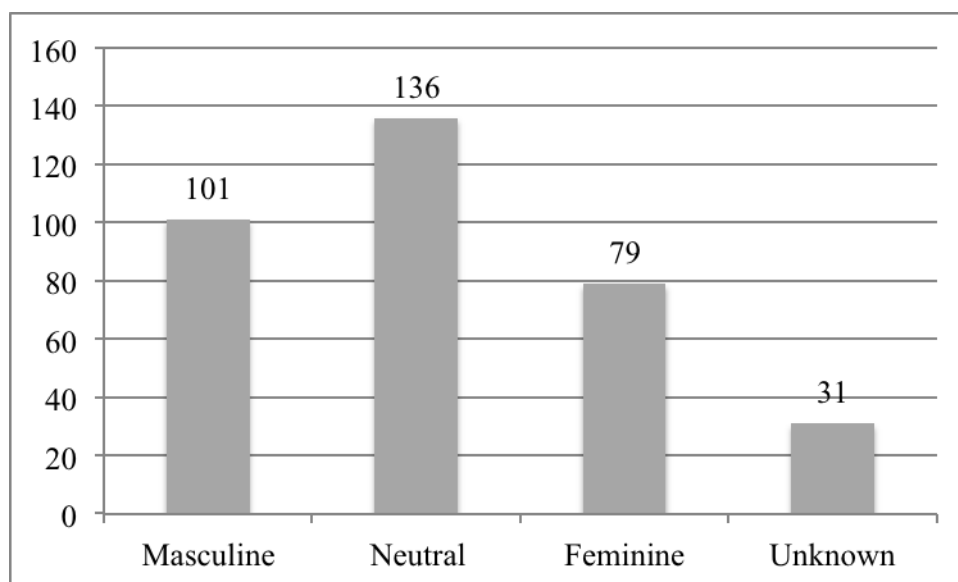
Graph 5.16: Total number of masculine, neutral, feminine and unknown graves in the case-study cemeteries.

The analysis presented in this Chapter has not only allowed the identification of the graves that will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7, but it has brought to light some important aspects of gender expression in Lombard Italy. It has emerged that gender expression could take various forms according to the community buried in the cemetery: in some cases, masculinity and femininity were expressed in opposition to each other, through the weapons/jewellery dichotomy (e.g. Santo Stefano, San Mauro, Romans). In other instances, it seems that only one of the two genders was emphasised through the deposition of grave goods, as at Montecchio, Pradamano and Località San Martino (where only masculinity was recognised) or as at Campione and, maybe, Ovaro (where femininity appears to have had a prominent role). Finally, there were cemeteries in which gender was probably not expressed at all, as has been argued for Palazzo Martinengo.

The analysis of cemeteries such as Ovaro and Trento have highlighted the fact that the identification of masculine graves can be problematic, especially when weapon graves

are not present. This is partly due to limitations in the data, particularly the small size of the cemeteries, which makes the recognition of consistent patterns difficult. However, we must also ask if our interpretation of the masculine gender is sometimes excessively guided by the presence of weapons, which, being perceived as masculine items *par excellence*, have been taken as the only secure basis on which to start identifying masculinity in the burial record. Further, it has emerged that the identification of gender is more difficult when it is not possible to recognise two distinct grave goods assemblages that can be interpreted as masculine and feminine. And it is necessary to remember that the definition of the two genders by reference to contrasting grave assemblages does not necessarily reflect the way in which gender was perceived by all communities in the Early Middle Ages. Thus, it was considered important in this thesis to overcome the initial impression that gender was not expressed in these cemeteries.

Moreover, analysing the grave goods that have been identified as instrumental in gender expression it can be observed that, while certain items were always masculine or feminine, others changed their association with gender across cemeteries. This is evidence of how material culture could be perceived and manipulated differently by different groups of people. Graph 5.17 summarises the gender associations of each object category in the case study cemeteries, which is detailed in Appendix 5.2, Table 5.2.1. It emerges that, as already suggested by the multivariate analysis, weapons and some item of jewellery and dress accessories were associated with masculinity and femininity, respectively. To be consistent, the cases in which the link between gender and grave goods was not entirely certain are recorded and the distinction between masculine (M), possible masculine (M?), feminine (F), possible feminine (F?), neutral (N) has been preserved. Nevertheless, the cemetery by cemetery analysis has revealed that, in the majority of the cases in which doubts can be cast over the gender attribution of certain objects, these are caused by the fact that they appear only once in a given cemetery, though they are usually associated with more reliable masculine and feminine objects. For example, horse fittings are very rarely found in the graves of the case-study cemeteries, but the fact that they are buried in masculine graves and have emerged as masculine also from the analysis of the written and iconographic sources makes their link with masculinity highly possible.
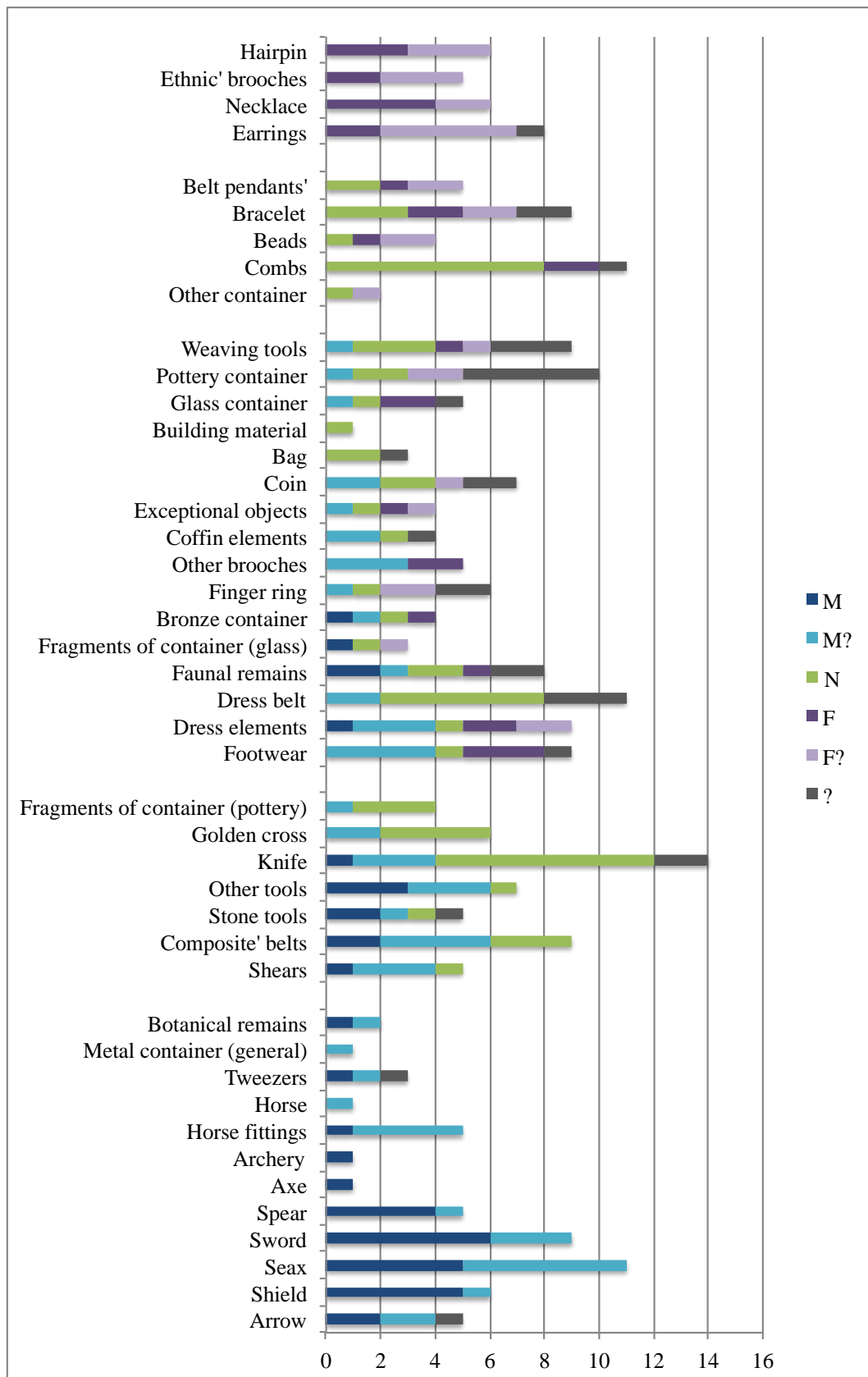
Graph 5.17: Number of cemeteries in which each object category has been found according to their gender character. M=masculine; M?=possibly masculine; F=feminine; F?=possibly feminine; N=neutral; N?=possibly neutral; ?=not determined.

The distinction between a masculine identity related mainly to warfare and a feminine identity focussed on dress and bodily adornments does not, perhaps, come as much of a surprise. The military nature of masculinity has already been noticed and widely commented upon, both in Lombard Italy and in other European countries and it has been variously related to status, or ethnicity, or considered to mirror the deceased's real involvement in war activities in life (e.g. Härke 1990; Halsall 1995; De Marchi 1995; Stoodley 1999; Giostra 2007; Barbiera 2012: 121-9). However, alongside the weapons assemblage, the archery equipment and the fittings for the horse, it has emerged that other objects, mainly tools, were deposited in masculine graves providing further nuances to their gender identity.

It is also important to note that femininity could be projected through the deposition of jewellery, dress and hair accessories, but not all ornaments were always markers of feminine identity. This emerges clearly in the case of bracelets, but it is also confirmed by 'other brooches' and finger rings that shift their gender character according to the context (Graph 5.17; Appendix 5.2, Table 5.2.2). Assuming that items of jewellery, as a whole, were signifiers of femininity is a misleading simplification that could lead to erroneous interpretations: for instance, when the anthropological analyses are missing, it would be wrong to assume the female sex of the deceased on the basis of the presence of a bracelet. Specific items of jewellery were indeed connected with femininity and, in the majority of the cases, with female biological sex, but it is necessary to avoid generalization and verify the role that these items had in the context of each cemetery.

CHAPTER 6: MASCULINITY

6.1. Introduction

This Chapter focuses on the expression of masculinity in Lombard Italy as it has emerged from the analysis of the case-study cemeteries. The starting point of the discussion will be the weapon graves. Indeed, despite the methodological problems inherent to the study of gender through the funerary record, the analysis of the written, iconographic and archaeological sources (Chapter 4 and 5) has highlighted that weapons were crucial items in the construction of masculinity. However, in the first part of the Chapter it will be argued that, observing in detail the composition of the weapon set in each grave, it becomes apparent that the phenomenon of weapon graves was varied and dependent upon several factors of the identity of the individual with whom they were interred. An overview of the other grave goods buried alongside weapons is provided, in order to explore whether weapon graves were usually the most prominent in the cemeteries, with respect to the effort and resources expended in the composition of their grave goods assemblages. The special role that weapon graves had within each community will be explored, based on an analysis of the number of weapon graves in the sample as a whole, and in each cemetery. It will be argued that the explanation now usually offered for the weapon burials, which interprets them as the burials of the ancestors of the community, is not wholly satisfactory (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 455; Barbiera 2007a: 346; Barbiera 2007b). It will be suggested that weapon graves were the expression of an elite group of men who used martial symbols to project their status. Moreover, it will be discussed that being part of this elite meant that connections between men could be created and that the deposition of weapons might have been also aimed at emphasising this connections.

The second part of the Chapter explores the expression of masculinity in graves without weapons. It will be argued that, even in the cemeteries characterised by weapon graves, other masculine graves could express either an 'incomplete' version of the identity projected through the deposition of weapons or could project a different masculine identity altogether. It will be shown that the distinction between these two alternatives is subtle. Moreover, it will be argued that the expression of masculinity through the

deposition of grave goods also took place in some of those cemeteries in which weapon graves are absent.

The third and the fourth sections of the Chapter will be focussed on the age of the individuals buried with masculine grave goods and on the chronology of masculine graves, respectively. In discussing the lifecycle of those individuals whose graves express masculinity, particular attention will be devoted to the crucial rite of passage between childhood and adulthood, which will involve integrating the funerary evidence with information from the written sources. Analysis of the chronological development of masculinity will reveal that gender expression was at its height in periods of social competition, but it will also reveal a development in the expression of masculinity between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, which was probably linked with the continuous process of change in the forms of status expression in graves that characterised the entire Lombard period in Italy.

6.2. Weapon graves

6.2.1 The grave good assemblages of weapon graves: weapon sets and other objects

The weapon types present in our archaeological record are sword, spear, shield, seax and axe (Figure 6.1). The latter were found only in two graves (4 and 24) in the cemetery of Santo Stefano and they have been included among the weapons even though their interpretation as weapons has been questioned (Parenti 1994: 485-6). For example, the axe of grave 24 at Santo Stefano was considered a battlefield item in the excavation report (Brozzi 1990: 100) but subsequently it has been argued that this type of axe could have been used in carpentry and became a symbol of power in the context of the grave (Parenti 1994: 485-6). This latter hypothesis is supported by the recovery of an axe from the settlement of Castelvecchio di Peveragno (CN, Piedmont) in association with a sickle, a gouge, a hoe and a stake (Micheletto and Pejrani Baricco 1997: 315-17). In the written sources similar objects appear three times: once in a legendary account regarding King Authari who threw his hatchet against a tree on his way back from the meeting with his wife-to-be Theudelinda (*HL*a-b III, 30), and twice in the context of a battle (*HL*a-b III, 21; VI, 24). In the Lombard Laws there are references to the activity

of cutting down a tree (*ER*a-b 138; 239) but the tool used is not explicitly mentioned. The inclusion of axes in the two graves of Santo Stefano in Pertica might have been a local phenomenon determined by the community or by a peculiar identity of the deceased. Indeed, this would not be entirely surprising given the variety of grave goods buried with the man in grave 24: alongside a set of weapons (shield, sword and spear) and the axe, the deceased was accompanied by a flint and steel, two knives, a comb, a pair of shears, a gold foil cross, belt fittings, a bovine horn, a bronze basin and some bone gaming pieces. The identity projected by the burial of this individual seems to go beyond its military attributes, to include objects that refer to leisure and feasting. The axe could have been a part of this individual's armament or alternatively, as a tool, it may have evoked yet another aspect of his identity that we cannot fully appreciate today. Grave 4, in contrast, contained what has been interpreted as a 'toy axe' and, given the small dimension of the grave it is possible that it contained the burial of a child (Barbiera 2005: 76, 83).

Figure 6.1: Examples of weapon types found in the masculine graves of Lombard Italy. **A**. Sword from grave 2 of San Mauro. End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 95, 2/2). **B**. Spearhead from grave 2 of San Mauro. End of the 6th- beginning of the 7th century (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 96, 2/11). **C.** Shield boss from grave 53 of Collegno. Fisrt thirty years of the 7th century (source: detail from Giostra 2004c: 90, fig. 82). **D.** Seax from grave 69 of Collegno. Mid 7th century (source: detail from Giostra 2004c: 110, fig. 96).

Arrows and archery equipment have not been considered here in the category of weapons because of the difficulty in interpreting their function: they can be used as weapons but also for hunting. Moreover, arrows might have had other symbolic meanings as suggested by the texts: in both the *Historia Langobardorum* and in the Lombard Laws these items are mentioned as part of the ritual to free a slave, who was presented with an arrow to symbolise his or her freedom (*HL*a-b I, 13; *ER*a-b 224; Azzara and Gasparri 2005: 123 note 103).

As already argued by other scholars (e.g. von Hessen 1990a: 178; Paroli 2001: 286; Giostra 2007: 320), this thesis confirms that the most common combination of weapons includes shield, spear and sword, to which other items, such as seaxes, horse fittings and archery equipment could be added (Graph 6.1). Nevertheless, the pattern is not so clear-cut as to allow us to consider the other weapon combinations as merely exceptions to this norm. The passage in Aistulf's law that specifies what types of weapons should be owned by a man according to his wealth (*AL* a-b 1; 2) tempts us to ascribe the differences in the sets of weapons to differences in social status. However, this passage does not find an exact parallel in the funerary record as, for example, it does not mention swords, which are, in fact, the most common weapon type found in the weapon graves of Lombard Italy (Paroli 2001: 286). Moreover, objects that are mentioned by the law, such as coats of mail, are extremely rare in the funerary record. Hence, explaining the weapon sets simply as a symbol of an individual's rank seems to be reductive and potentially misleading.
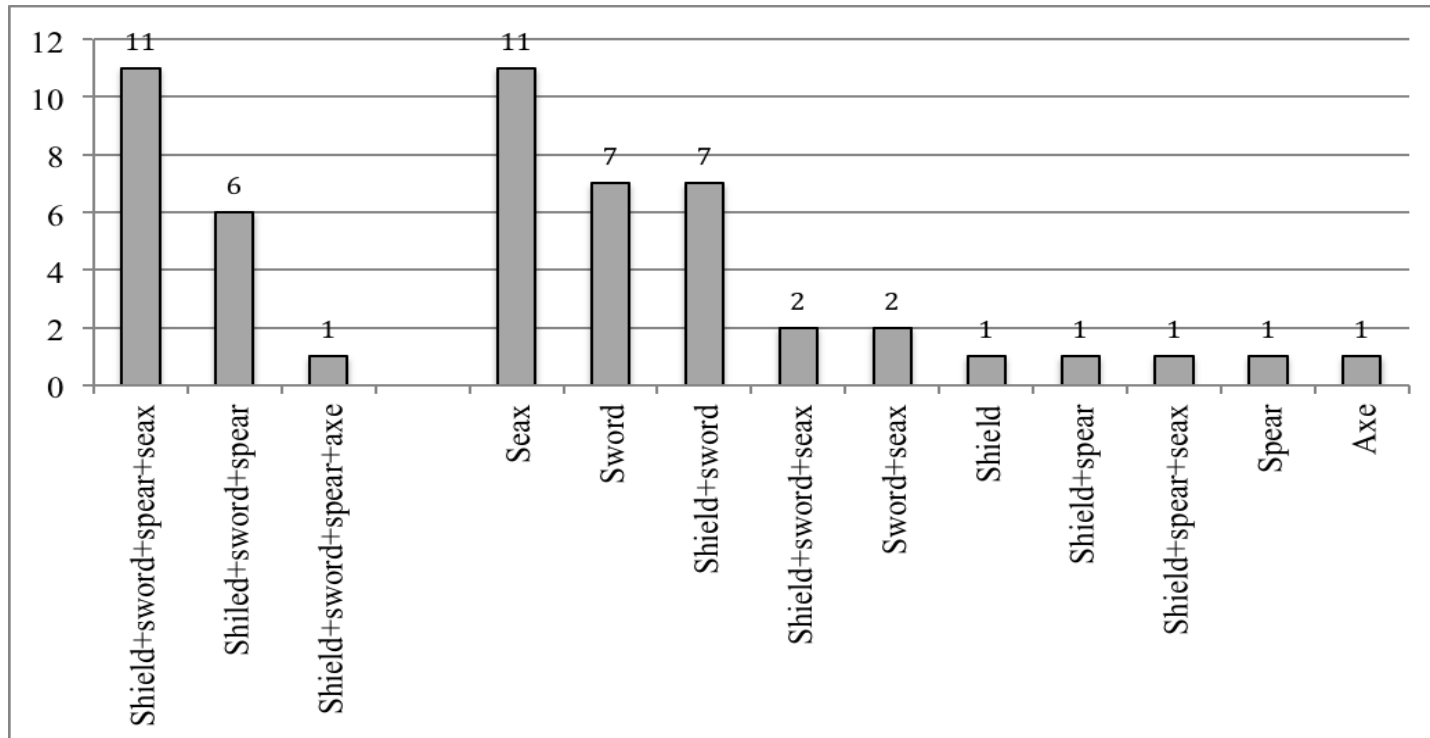
Graph 6.1: Weapons assemblages in the graves from the case-study cemeteries. On the left side of the graph are grouped the graves that are characterised by the combination shield+sword+spear. Grave 44 of San Mauro is excluded from the count because it contains two individuals and it has not been possible to establish the exact weapon assemblage of each of them.

As will be discussed below in this section, more investment was probably placed in the composition of the grave goods assemblages of the individuals buried with weapons compared to the other graves in the cemetery. Furthermore, Graph 6.2 shows that graves with only one item of weaponry did not contain more than five other object types (except in two cases (Pradamano grave 83, 6 objects; San Mauro grave 41, 8 objects)), while graves with four weapons never have fewer than four additional object types. Thus, a relationship between the composition of the weapon set and the wealth that was projected through the grave goods assemblage is undeniable. However, Graph 6.2 also shows that graves with two or three items of weaponry were, sometimes, furnished with more than five other object types, highlighting that the link between weapon set and the status of the deceased may not be the only explanation for the existence of such variety in weapon assemblages.
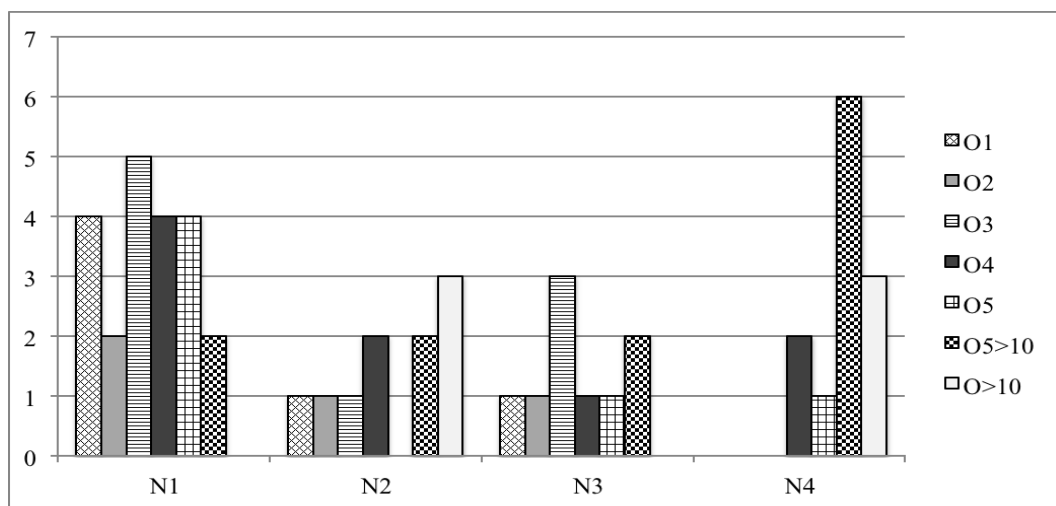
Graph 6.2: Relationship between number of weapons (N) and number of other types of grave goods (O) in the weapon graves from the case-study cemeteries. Grave 44 of San Mauro is excluded from the count because it contains two individuals and it has not been possible to establish the exact grave good assemblage of each of them.

The analysis of the cemetery of Ennery led Halsall (1995: 85; 1996: 10-11) to hypothesise that, at this site, age could be a determining factor in the number of weapons deposited in the grave. In particular, he argued that weapons were most commonly buried with adult individuals and that the weapon set was reduced once the individual reached maturity (i.e. over the age of 40 years). Although, as we will see later in this Chapter (Section 6.4), weapons were usually buried with individuals over the age

of 11-12 and, more frequently, after 18-20 years of age, it does not seem to be a significant factor in the number of weaponry items found in the masculine graves after reaching adulthood. Aside from the two children's graves at San Mauro there is not an obvious relation between number of weapons and age at death (Graph 6.3).

Graph 6.3: Masculine graves with a specific number of weapons (N) for each age group. Grave 44 of San Mauro has been excluded from the count because it contains two individuals and it has not been possible to establish the exact weapon assemblage of each of them.
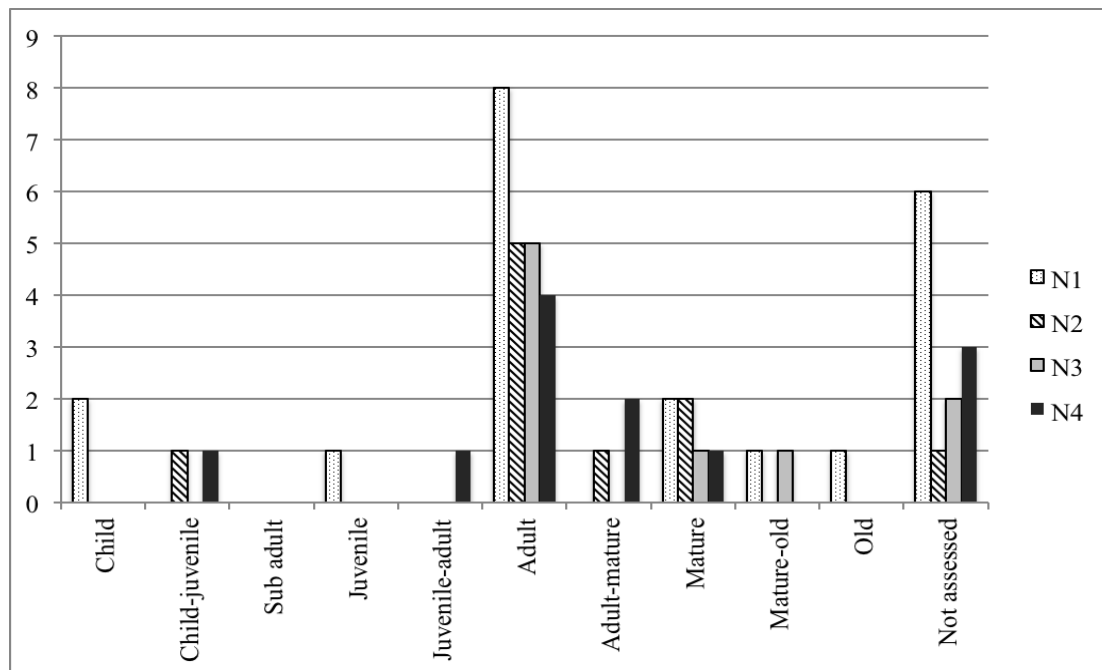
Graph 6.3 shows that mature and mature-old and old individuals were buried mainly with one or two weapons but the evidence in favour of a widespread and consistent reduction of weapon types for this age group is inconclusive. Grave 53 at Collegno and grave 24 at Santo Stefano, both of mature individuals, are those with the highest number of weapon types at these two sites. Moreover, it is not possible to argue with any degree of confidence that the presence of only one weapon, a seax, in graves 69 and 17 at Collegno, was related to the mature age of the deceased. Indeed, at this site adults could also be buried with the seax as the only weapon in the grave. The only possible indication of a reduction in the number of weapons deposited with older men comes from the cemetery of Romans: grave 25 contained a shield and a sword, in contrast with what was found in the majority of adult graves at the site – they were buried with three or four weapon types. Nevertheless, among the adults there were also two cases of men buried with two weaponry items (grave 38 contained a shield and a spear; grave 55

contained a shield and a sword). It is not possible to argue conclusively that the weapon set of grave 25 at Romans was the result of a reduction of a more complex weapon assemblage owned by the deceased in his younger life. We cannot exclude the possibility that if he died during adulthood he would have been buried with two weapon types, as in the case of the individuals in graves 38 and 55.

Moreover, given that some masculine adults were buried with only one weapon type and that a variety of number of weapons can be observed among this age group, it is reasonable to argue that, after childhood, age was not a determining factor in the composition of the weapon assemblage of masculine graves. The implication of this argument is that, once the right age (which could be different between the cemeteries, see below Section 6.4 and Table 6.7) was achieved, the individual could obtain the entire set of weapons that was considered appropriate to his status, a set that probably remained unchanged later in life.

The composition of weapon sets varied between cemeteries, although in some cases the same weapon set is common to all the weapon graves in the cemetery. At Santo Stefano, for example, the three adult graves contain the same items of weaponry: a shield, a sword and a spear. However grave 24 also has an axe, while grave 18 has a seax. Similarly, at Località San Martino all the adult male graves were characterised by a shield, a spear, a sword and a seax. In the majority of cases, however, it is possible to observe variety between weapon graves that belong to the same cemetery. At Collegno this difference could be partially explained by the chronology of the graves. Graves 49 and 41 are dated to the end of the 6th/beginning of the 7th century and they contained, respectively, a sword and a seax. The most complex sets of weapons are found in graves dated to the first half of the 7th century: a shield, a sword and a seax were in grave 70 and a shield, a sword and a spear in grave 53. The remaining five graves, dated between the mid- and the second half of the 7th century, all contained seaxes.

The pattern described for Collegno reflects the more general trend that emerges from the analysis of the totality of weapon graves. Graph 6.4 shows that at the end of the 6th century burials with two weapons were the most common, but by the first half of the 7th century, graves with four items of weaponry were in the majority. It seems that, in this latter period, the combination of spear, sword and shield plus the seax was the most popular, maybe as an elaboration of the combination of sword and shield which was

more common at the end of the 6th century (Graph 6.5). It emerges that by the second half of the 7th century the weapon set appears to be drastically simplified, and reduced to only one item, usually a seax or a sword. However, Caterina Giostra (2007: 323; 323 note 74) has noticed that this reduction in the weapon set probably did not involve the most lavish weapon graves of the 7th century.
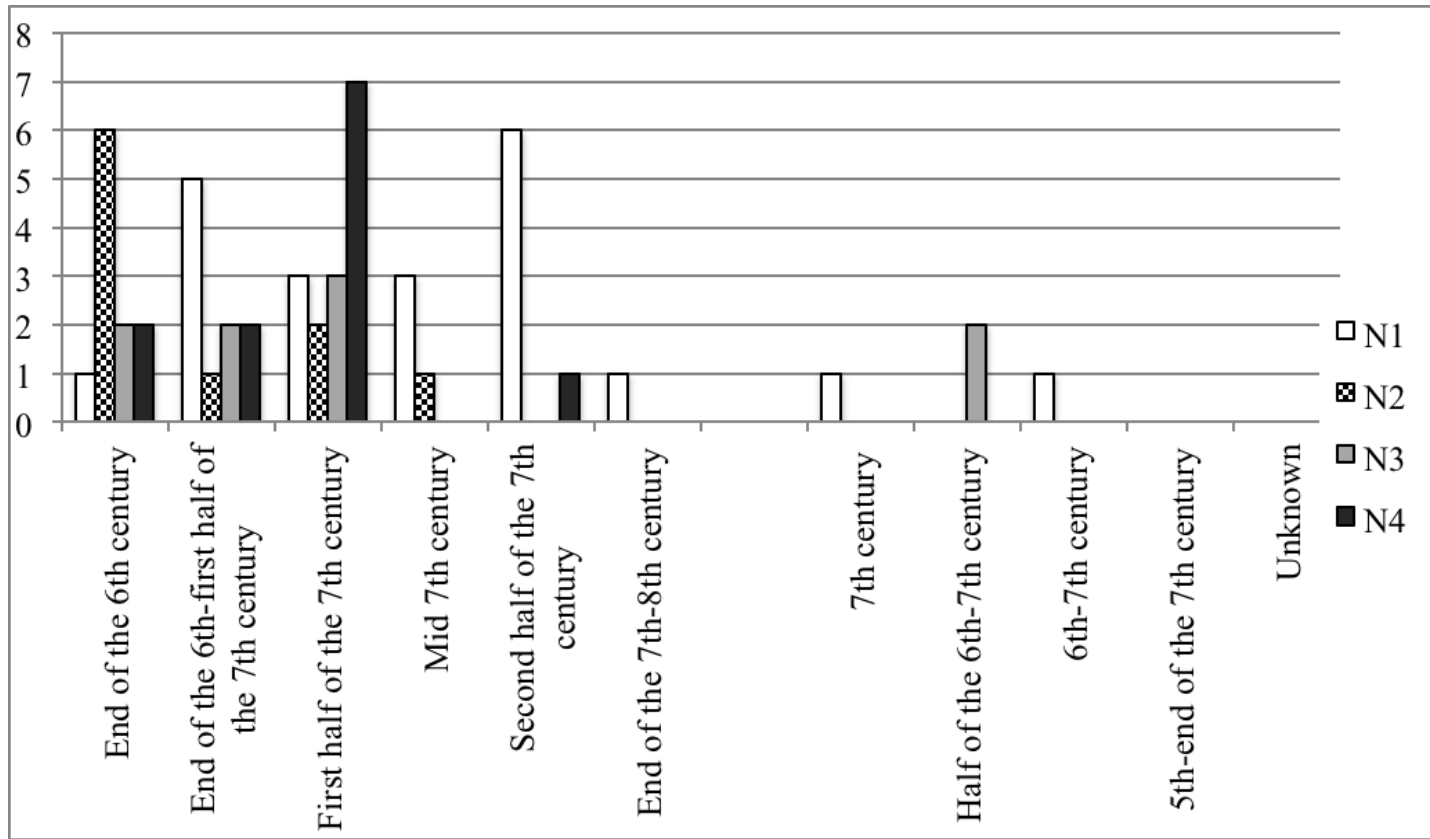
Graph 6.4: Relationship between number of types of weapons (N) and chronology.
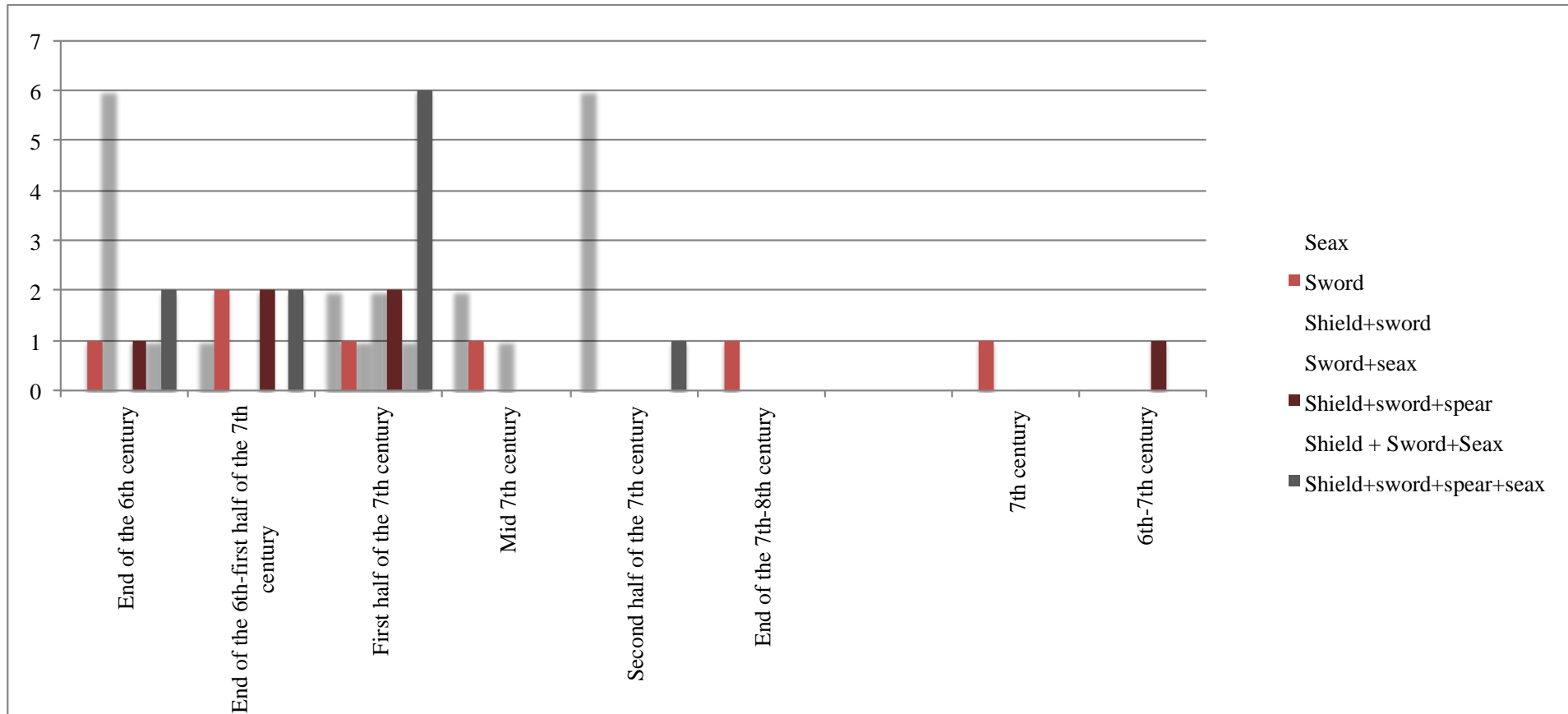
Graph 6.5: Relationship between weapon combinations and chronology. The categories spear, axe, shield, shield+spear, shield+spear+seax, shield+sword+spear+axe were not considered because they occur in only one grave.

However, chronology does not seem to explain the variety of weapon sets found at other cemeteries, particularly at Romans and San Mauro. In the cemetery of Romans it is possible to identify seven different types of weapons sets (Table 6.1). Having analysed other characteristics of these burials, such as their chronology, the age of the deceased and the position of the grave in the cemetery following Barbiera's (2005: 116-17, table 6) grouping, it is not possible to recognise any pattern that would explain these differences. Interestingly, as already noticed for Collegno and for the other weapon graves in general, the two graves with the more complex sets of weapons (grave 177 and 245, both with shield, sword, spear and seax) were dated to the first half of the 7th century. Moreover, the two most recent graves (graves 180 and 168), dated respectively to the mid-7th century and the end of the 7th/beginning of the 8th century, contained only a sword. However, in the first half of the 7th century graves with different numbers of weapons were present, including one grave containing a sword (grave 244) and one a seax (grave 169). It is not even possible to establish if the different sets of weapons were related to differences in the social status of the deceased. In fact, examining the number of types of grave goods in each grave, excluding the weapons, and the type of grave structures that could indicate the investment placed in the construction of the burial, no conclusive suggestion can be provided on this point.

Weapon set	Grave	Chronology	Age	Group	Grave structure	Evidence of grave markers	Number of types of grave goods (excluding weapons)
Shield+sword +spear	Grave 104	End of the 6th century	Not assessed	No Group	Pit		3
	Grave 186	End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century	Adult	With 168 and 169.	Pit	Post holes	4
	Grave 163	Beginning of the 7th century	Adult	No Group	Pit	Post holes	3
Shield+sword +spear+seax	Grave 177	Beginning of the 7th century	Adult	No Group	Pit; Wood	Post holes	4
	Grave 245	Second quarter of the 7th century	Not assessed	No Group	Pit		4
Shield+sword	Grave 155	End of the 6th century	Mature	No Group	Pit		2
	Grave 55	End of the 6th century	Adult	B	Pit		1
	Grave 25	Last third of the 6th century	Mature	No group	Pit		4

Weapon set	Grave	Chronology	Age	Group	Grave structure	Evidence of grave markers	Number of types of grave goods (excluding weapons)
Shield+sword	Grave 230	First thirty years of the 7th century	Not assessed	No Group	Pit		4
Shield+seax	Grave 124	End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century	Adult	D	Pit		3
Shield+spear	Grave 38	Last third of the 6th century- beginning of the 7th century	Adult	F	Pit	Post holes	3
Sword	Grave 244	First thirty years of the 7th century	Not assessed	No group	Pit		1
	Grave 180	Half of the 7th century	Adult	No group	Pit	Post holes	4
	Grave 168	End of the 7th-beginning of the 8th century	Not assessed	With 167 and 169.	Pit		4
Seax	Grave 169	First thirty years of the 7th century	Not assessed	With 167, 168 and 186	Not reported		3

Table 6.1: Groups of weapon sets in the cemetery of Romans.

Conversely, at San Mauro the presence of some of the weapons was probably instrumental in emphasising that certain individuals belonged to the community and to specific groups within it. The men buried at San Mauro were all interred with a shield, an item that appears, therefore, to be meaningful for the entire community. The only exception is the individual buried in grave 35, a child aged between two and four, who was accompanied by a spear (Table 6.2). An older child (7-11 years) was, by contrast, buried only with a shield suggesting that this object was characteristic of the males of the community starting from late childhood onwards. Alongside a shield, three graves were also furnished with a sword (graves 33, 78, 52), one with a sword and a seax (grave 55), and three more with sword, spear and seax (graves 30, 43, 2).

Weapon set	Grave	Chronology	Sex	Age	Number of types of objects (excluding weapons)
Shield+sword+spear+ seax	Grave 30	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Adult	8
	Grave 43	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Juvenile-Adult	19
	Grave 2	End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century	Male	Adult	14
Spear	Grave 35	Last third of the 6th century	Indeterminate	Child	5
Shield	Grave 41	End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century	Indeterminate	Child	6
Shield+sword+ seax	Grave 55	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Adult	8
Shield+sword	Grave 33	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Adult	8
	Grave 78	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Adult	12

Weapon set	Grave	Chronology	Sex	Age	Number of types of objects (excluding weapons)
Shield+sword	Grave 52	Last third of the 6th century	Male	Adult	13
Shield	Grave 44 (two individuals)	End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century	Male/Indeterminate	Adult/Child	8

Table 6.2: Groups of weapon sets in the cemetery of San Mauro.

The presence or absence of the spear reveals two different groups of males buried at the end of the 6th century. The adult buried in grave 30, the child in grave 35, and the juvenile-adult in grave 43, were reasonably close to each other (Figure 1). The individuals buried without spears were, by contrast, situated to the south and the north-east of this group. In the second phase of the cemetery (dating to the early 7th century) grave 2, buried in a prominent position on top of the hill, contained a spear, while graves 41 and 42, in the south-eastern area, only contained a shield (Figure 6.2). Analysis of the number of objects in the two groups of graves seems to suggest that the presence of the spear might have been related to the higher status of the deceased, but the evidence is not entirely conclusive (Table 6.2). Indeed, graves 43 and 2, both furnished with a spear, were those containing the highest number of objects in the cemetery, including, in the case of grave 43, a horse.

Figure 6.2: Plan of the cemetery of San Mauro. Green rectangles: graves without spears; orange rectangle: double grave without spears; blue rectangles: graves with spears (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 132).

It is also possible that differences in the weapon set at San Mauro could point towards different groups, maybe branches of the same family. Claiming a belonging to one of these two groups through the deposition of the spear was characteristic of both phases of the cemetery and, given the presence of a spear with a 2-4 year old child, was independent of the age of the deceased. Further evidence in support of this argument is the consistent way in which this type of item was deposited in the graves, emphasising the existence of a common burial practice followed in the funeral of these individuals: the spearhead was always placed on the south-eastern side of the grave (corresponding to the right foot of the deceased), pointing downwards and at a higher level than the body.

The analysis of the position of the weapons in the grave provides additional information on the relationship between these items and an individual's identity. As was the case for San Mauro, certain weapons were buried in the same position in all the weapon graves of a given cemetery. This is the case, for instance, with the swords and the spears found in graves 18 and 24 at Santo Stefano, which were placed on top of the body and on his left side. Similarly, the sword is always found on the right side of the individual in the graves at Località San Martino. However, as shown by these two examples, it is not possible to identify a pattern that is common to all the weapon graves of the case-study cemeteries, and similarities can be found only within a single cemetery. This suggests that each community followed its own burial practice, maybe linked with different, localised, meanings that were attached to the weaponry items.

The position of weapons in the graves sometimes highlights practices that were consistently followed by a community but is often evidence of the individuality of each type of weapon grave. Particularly indicative is the case of grave 30 at San Mauro, in which the sword and the seax were placed on the body of the deceased, covered by the quiver containing at least 23 arrows, and then covered by the shield. Deposited on the left side of the individual was the bow, while on the right was the spear. This is the only grave in the cemetery in which weapons and arrows were directly placed on the body of the deceased, and this grave also appears to be distinct from the other masculine graves of the site because of the emphasis placed on the archery equipment. Peculiarities in the position of weapons can be observed in other cemeteries. For example, the sword in grave 180 at Romans was placed obliquely on the body of the deceased while usually it

was deposited on the side (right or left) of the corpse. In the same cemetery, the spearhead in grave 245 was found next to the right leg and that in grave 124 was by the feet, rather than close to the head as in the other cases in which spears were deposited at Romans. Similarly, at Collegno the seax was usually buried on the left side, close to the arm of the deceased, but in grave 17 it was found on the right side next to the leg and in grave 69 it was between the legs.

It must be considered whether the placement of the objects in the grave might have been an important aspect of the funeral, instrumental in constructing and projecting the deceased's identity, displaying the association between the objects and the deceased's body. What remains uncertain is if the position of grave goods in the burials, as found during excavation, mirrored the way in which they were displayed to the mourners throughout the funeral, if that was the final act of a considerably more complex process or, in some cases, if it was the product of post-burial taphonomic processes. There are, however, some cases that allow a partial reconstruction of the succession of actions of depositing the grave goods. In the cemetery of San Mauro, for example, the shield was probably deposited on top of some of the graves (e.g. grave 2 and grave 21; Ahumada Silva 2010b: 23) or on top of other objects (e.g. grave 30 and grave 78; Ahumada Silva 2010b: 58, 156). In the same cemetery, the stratigraphy of the exceptional grave with the horse (grave 43), suggests that the body of the deceased and the grave goods were laid in the grave first and then the spear was placed on top of them. Finally, the horse was deposited in the grave, covering all of the other grave goods. Through the sequence of actions that guided the deposition of the objects it would arguably have been possible to emphasise the presence of certain items, and, through these objects, specific aspects of the individual's identity. Moreover, it is reasonable to suggest that a more important role in the process of constructing the memory of the deceased was ascribed to those objects that were deposited last in the grave, especially if they were in prominent positions, as they would have been remembered more vividly by the mourners.

This overview has highlighted how the deposition of weapons in graves was a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that cannot be explained by looking at a single aspect of an individual's identity. As much as weapon graves and gender were intertwined, the will to project masculinity is not a fully satisfactory explanation of the form and composition of graves. The composition of the weapon set was determined by an array of factors that include the deceased's status, and chronological changes, but also

community traditions and identity and, very likely, an individual's personal characteristics. A close observation of the weapon graves exemplifies how gender interacted with other aspects of the social persona that varied not only between different communities but also between individuals, resulting in a variety of outcomes that, rarely, form consistent patterns.

In the graves of the case-study cemeteries weapons were always accompanied by other objects (Table 6.3). Some of these grave goods were related with masculine identity (e.g. tweezers, metal and stone tools), although, except for the 'composite belts', they have been found in only a small number of weapon graves. Despite the fact that there are variations in the number of different types of grave goods deposited in each weapon grave, overall the average number of objects in these graves is ca. 7,6 including in the count the weapons and ca. 5,4 excluding them. The average number of items deposited in the masculine graves with weapons is higher than the average number of items in the graves without weapons (the latter is ca. 4), which may indicate that weapon graves had a special role in the cemetery. This hypothesis is also confirmed by observing that in all cemeteries with weapon graves, except Romans and Spilamberto, the grave with the greatest number of types of grave goods always contains weapons (Table 6.4). Moreover, weapon graves at San Mauro and Santo Stefano in Pertica were characterised by exceptional objects. At San Mauro weights and gems were found in four weapon graves, which led the excavators (Ahumada Silva 2010b: 32-3) to suggest that members of this community could have been involved with craft/trade activities. Grave 24 of Santo Stefano contained a set of bone gaming pieces. This evidence suggests that, in the majority of cases, more effort was devoted to the composition of the grave good assemblages of individuals buried with weapons. The special role that individuals buried with weapons could have for their community will be further discussed in the next section.

Types of grave goods	Graves
Knife	44
Composite belt	42
Dress belt	26
Comb	24
Undetermined	23
Bag	12
Gold foil cross	12
Metal tools	12
Faunal remains	11
Stone tools	10
Shears	10
Dress elements	7
Fragments of container (pottery)	7
Coffin elements	6
Footwear	5
Bracelet	5

Types of grave goods	Graves
Exceptional objects	5
Coin	4
Fragments of container (glass)	4
Finger ring	4
Bronze container	4
Weaving tools	3
Tweezers	3
Pottery container	3
Glass container	2
Belt pendants	2
Other brooches	2
Other container	2
Beads	2
Botanical remains	2
Metal container (general)	1

Table 6.3: Other types of grave goods found in weapon graves.

Site	Grave	Type of grave	Number of types of grave goods
Romans	79	Feminine	10
San Mauro	43	Weapon grave	23
Collegno	53	Weapon grave	8
Località San Martino	4	Weapon grave	13
Santo Stefano	24	Weapon grave	15
Spilamberto	62	Feminine	9
Montecchio	10	Weapon grave	8
Pradamano	83	Weapon grave	7
Cascina San Martino	13	Weapon grave	16
Bolgare	200	Weapon grave	4
Pontedera	9	Weapon grave	2

Table 6.4: Graves with the highest number of types of grave goods in the cemeteries with weapon graves.

6.2.2 The distribution of the weapon graves and the model of the 'ancestors'

In total, weapons have been recovered from fifty-three graves out of seven-hundred and sixty-two in the case-study cemeteries, which indicates that, despite their prominence in the archaeological (and historical) literature, only a few individuals were buried with such items. Indeed, weapon graves are only 7% of all the graves considered. This percentage slightly increases, reaching 11%, if the cemetery of Bolgare is excluded from the calculation, since this is characterised by 273 unfurnished graves. Even so, it is apparent that the individuals buried with weapons were a minority of the population.

The rarity of weapon burials is also confirmed when we confine the observation only to the graves with grave goods – only 15% of the furnished graves found in the case-study cemeteries contained at least one item of weaponry. This suggests that the deposition of

300

weapons in the grave, and thus the expression of this aspect of masculine identity, was only one of the reasons behind the custom of burying objects alongside the deceased. As we will see (Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1), a similar result emerges from the analysis of the feminine graves, which confirms that the individuals who received gendered objects were, in fact, a minority of those buried with grave goods. Consequently, the projection of gender identity through the deposition of grave goods appears to be a practice reserved for select individuals and, thus, gender identity was only one of the factors informing the phenomenon of furnished graves.

Providing a male with weapons in the grave was just one of the ways of expressing his gender identity. Considering the graves that have emerged as masculine through the methodology presented in Chapter 4, only 52% contained weapons, suggesting that other forms of masculinity were expressed through the composition of the grave goods assemblages (see below Section 6.3). This finding implies that only a small portion of the population adhered to the typical image of the armed man which has emerged strongly from the written and iconographic sources, and that other individuals could express their masculinity through the deposition of other items.

All the weapon graves from the case-study cemeteries contained only one individual, except for grave 44 at San Mauro, in which an adult male and a child were buried with five arrows and probably a shield (only the studs of this item were found). The grave was disturbed, possibly as the consequence of a robbery and it is not possible to know if the weapons were associated with the adult or the child, nor if, originally, there were more weapons than those recovered by the excavators (Ahumada Silva 2010: 106). Leaving this specific case aside, it emerges that the majority of individuals provided with weapons were biological males and there are no cases of biological females accompanied by weapons (Graph 6.6). On this basis, it can be suggested that it is probable that those individuals buried with weapons but not sexed (twelve not assessed and four indeterminate individuals) were also males. Hence, it is possible to argue that, when expressed through the deposition of weapons, masculinity was strongly related with the biological sex of the deceased.
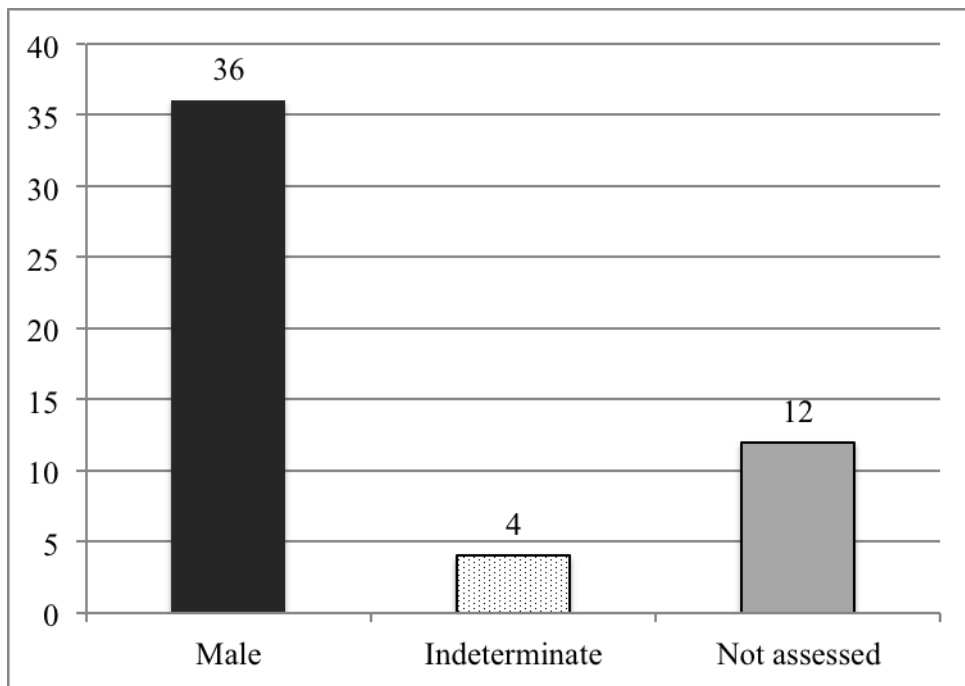
Graph 6.6: Biological sex of the individuals buried with weapons in the graves from the case-study cemeteries.

Nevertheless, only 19% of the biological males from the case-study cemeteries were buried with weapons suggesting that being a male was not enough to be furnished with weapons. This is because some biological males expressed masculinity in a different way (below Section 6.3): a few were buried with feminine grave goods (Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1), but the majority were provided with neutral grave goods or their graves were unfurnished. Overall only 32% of the biological males from the case-study cemeteries appear to have been provided with an assemblage of grave goods that projected gender.

Weapon graves were not found in all the cemeteries analysed. Table 6.5 shows that at Palazzo Caldesi, Trento and Ovaro no individuals were accompanied by weapons. At the other sites, the number of weapon graves varies substantially: at Località San Martino, for example, all the excavated graves were provided with weapons, while at Cascina San Martino, Bolgare and Pontedera only one individual in the cemetery was buried with this type of item. A close examination of the number of weapon graves among the total number of graves excavated in each cemetery confirms what has already been noticed regarding weapon graves in general: that those buried with weapons were, by and large, a minority of the individuals buried in each cemetery. So, even at Romans and Collegno, which show a higher number of weapon graves

compared to the other case-study cemeteries, weapon graves remain a minority of the graves, being 11% and 12% of the total number of inhumations respectively.

Site	Weapon graves	Total masculine graves	% of weapon graves in the cemetery
Romans	15	21	10
San Mauro	10	13	43
Collegno	9	13	12
Località San Martino	5	5	100
Santo Stefano	4	10	9
Spilamberto	3	5	10
Montecchio	2	6	13
Pradamano	2	5	8
Cascina San Martino	1	5	4
Bolgare	1	2	0,3
Pontedera	1	1	10
Trento	0	3	0
Ovaro	0	10	0
Palazzo Caldesi	0	0	0

Table 6.5: Number of weapon graves, masculine graves and total graves in each case-study cemetery.

The two exceptions to this pattern are Località San Martino and San Mauro. The former seems to be a cemetery reserved for a specific group of men, all buried with weapons, but also with other distinctive grave goods, such as brocade dresses, gold foil crosses and seal rings. Since its discovery, scholars have engaged in a complex debate on the interpretation of the two seal rings found in graves 2 and 4, and different hypotheses have been proposed about the identity of the individuals buried in this cemetery (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.4; for a synthesis of the debate, see also Lusuardi Siena 2004).

Most scholars have interpreted those buried at Località San Martino as members of the administrative elite connected with the royal court (e.g. von Hessen 1986: 164; De Marchi 2004; Lusuardi Siena 2006). La Rocca (2004a: 217-33), by contrast, has argued that the presence of the seal ring was a symbol of status rather than evidence of the role in life of the deceased or his real connections with the king. Whatever the real identity of these men, it is undeniable that the types of grave goods that accompanied them, and the fact that they were buried in a cemetery that seems reserved for them (although the area has not been entirely excavated because of the presence of a modern building), is an exception in Lombard Italy.

At San Mauro it appears that almost half of the graves were provided with weapons while, the other half expressed femininity, suggesting that gendered graves were, at San Mauro, the norm rather than the exception. Unfortunately, the cemetery was not excavated in its entirety and it is possible that there were other areas of the burial ground containing non-gendered graves. However, if this were the case, San Mauro would still appear as distinctive among the case-study cemeteries. Indeed, cemeteries such as Collegno, Romans and Santo Stefano show that weapon graves were scattered across the burial ground and placed among different groups of graves, often interpreted as family plots (Barbiera 2005: 84-6; 89; 102-4; 115-8; Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 32), but in these groups they were never as numerous as at San Mauro.

In his work on gender in Early Anglo-Saxon England, Nick Stoodley (1999: 140) argues that the deposition of gendered grave goods was reserved for the heads of households and their family, while the dependants, although buried in the same cemeteries, were provided with neutral grave goods or none. Stoodley's argument was inspired by Heinrich Härke's (1990) study of 'warrior graves' in Anglo-Saxon England, the principal merit of which has been to show that weapon burials did not mirror a real military role for the deceased in life. In particular, Härke has shown that the number of weapon graves did not increase in periods of intense warfare and argued, instead, that the weapons found in graves were only one element of what should have been the military equipment of a soldier. Through the analysis of the osteological evidence, Härke suggests that weapons could be buried with individuals who were not fit to fight, but also that, on average, individuals with weapons were taller in stature than individuals buried without weapons. The special social role of men buried with weapons emerges, according to Härke, from the investment placed in the construction of their

graves and in the number of objects deposited as grave goods. All this evidence, along with the presence of graves both with and without weapons within the same cemetery plot, led Härke to hypothesise that weapons were deposited in order to emphasise the social status of the family rather than the individual, a family that was, to use Härke's words, of 'Germanic stock' (Härke 1990: 42).

In contrast, Theuws and Alkemade (2000), in their analysis of cemeteries from Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany, believe that the deposition of swords and, more generally, of weapons in the graves of northern Gaul, was one of the forms of aristocratic display, independent from the ethnic identity of the deceased and his family. However, they also highlight that only a small number of all the individuals who must have owned a sword during their lifetime were furnished with one in their grave (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 426-7). Thus, according to them, 'it must have been special circumstances in the life of a person or a group which caused a man to be buried with a sword' (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 427). These special circumstances were identified as the need/will to turn some individuals into 'important ancestors' (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 455) during the funerary ritual, emphasising those aristocratic attributes that these ancestors needed to have according to the community that buried them. In particular, weapons may have been instrumental in making ancestors protectors of the 'burial community' (Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 455).

Barbiera (2007a) has used this model to interpret the cemeteries of Kranj Lahj in Slovenia, Santo Stefano in Pertica and Romans d'Isonzo in the Italian region of Friuli Venezia Giulia. In particular, she has observed that, in these cemeteries, weapon graves and the graves of females interred with brooches were found in only one chronological phase and they were placed in different grave plots (Barbiera 2007a: 346; Barbiera 2007b) surrounded by graves with neutral grave goods or which were unfurnished. This evidence, she argues, suggests that a small number of males were buried with weapons (and a few females with brooches) in order to become the founder ancestors of the group of graves placed in the same cemetery plot. Barbiera also hypothesised that this phenomenon was more frequent in territories and periods characterised by high social competition and was instrumental in claiming rights over land.

The importance of 'ancestors' and lineages in Lombard society is also suggested by evidence beyond the archaeological record. For example, at the end of the prologue of

the Edict of Rothari there is the list of Lombard kings and a list of his ancestors (*ER*a-b Prologue; e.g. Gasparri 1983: 39; 2005: xxxvi Azzara 2005: xliii). Moreover, Paul the Deacon in his *Historia Langobardorum* talks about his genealogy (*HL*a-b IV, 37). Paul tells of his great-great grandfather Leupchis, who arrived with the first Lombards from Pannonia in Italy and, especially of his great grandfather Lopichis, who returned to Italy after he was enslaved by the Avars with his brothers. Finally, Paul mentions his grandfather Arichis, his father Warnefrit and his mother Theudelinda.

Analysis of the case-study cemeteries with weapon graves reveals that this model of the ancestors is plausible in only a few cases. Santo Stefano is undoubtedly the cemetery where the role of weapon graves as those of ancestors is most visible: three of the four grave plots that can be identified from the site plan were characterised by one weapon grave each, two of them (grave 18 and grave 24) dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, and one other possibly dated to the same period (grave 1; Figure 6.3). In the cemetery of Bolgare it seems that the only weapon grave, that of an adolescent buried in the second half of the 7th century, was in the area of the cemetery that the excavators have identified as the starting point of the burial ground (Fortunati and Ghiroldi 2006: 98; Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.3: Graves with weapons in the cemetery of Santo Stefano (source: Ahumada Silva, Lopreato and Tagliaferri 1990: fig. 2).

Figure 6.4: graves with weapons in the cemetery of Bolgare (source: Sannazzaro 2006: 183, fig. 7).

More problematic is the cemetery of Romans, for which Barbiera acknowledges that the model of the ancestors is hypothetical, because the site has not been fully excavated and the identification of grave plots is only partial (Barbiera 2005: 99-104). Despite these limitations, at Romans it is still possible to identify weapon graves in different areas of the cemetery, some of them recognised as family plots (Barbiera 2005: 104). The two weapon graves that have been recognised as part of family plots (grave 55 group B and grave 124 group D) are dated to the end of the 6th and the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th respectively and are not close to other weapon graves in the cemetery, thus it is possible that they were those of the 'ancestors'. However, the site plan reveals that more than one weapon grave was sometimes buried in the same area in a short period of time: for example, graves 25 and 186 (last third of the 6th century and end of the 6th to beginning of the 7th century) and graves 244 and 245 (first thirty years of the 7th century and second quarter of the 7th century). Other weapon graves, such as 38 (last third of the 6th century), 177 (beginning of the 7th century) and 180 (half of the 7th century) do not seem to have been part of a group. Thus, not all the weapon graves can be interpreted as those of the 'ancestors' of the different families, rather they were probably those of prominent members of the family (or the community more generally) and each family could have buried, over time, more than one of these individuals.

Figure 6.5 Weapon graves in the cemetery of Romans highlighted in brown (source: source: Vitri et al. 2014: 295, fig. 2). Rectangles: the graves mentioned in the text.

A similar situation can be observed at Collegno. If we accept that each row corresponded to a family plot, as suggested by the excavators (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 32), then it is apparent that in some families more than one individual was buried with weapons (Figure 6.6). Moreover, even assuming that the individual buried in grave 70 (first thirty years of the 7th century) was the 'ancestor' of the family buried in its row, it noticeable that other individuals (grave 46 and 73 both dated to the second half of the 7th century) were buried with weapons in the same row over time. From the evidence provided by the cemeteries of Romans and Collegno it would appear that not only did some families have more than one ancestor – a scenario that cannot be entirely discounted – but also that this practice was consistently repeated throughout the lifetime of the cemetery. Rather than considering all these individuals as ancestors it is more reasonable to suggest that the prominent men of each family were buried with weapons without establishing *a priori*, who was going to be perceived as 'the' ancestor.

Figure 6.6: Graves with weapon in the cemetery of Collegno (source: Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 29, fig. 17).

Another, different, scenario is provided by the cemeteries of Cascina San Martino and Montecchio. In the former, only an adolescent was provided with weapons, although it must be noted that the other graves of the cemetery were poorly preserved. The grave is dated to the second phase of the cemetery (first thirty years of the 7th century) and is located, with other graves, west of the original core (end of the 6th century – determined on stratigraphic grounds) of the burial ground, which partially reoccupied the remains of a Roman villa (Figure 6.7). At Montecchio two weapon graves, also dated to the second

period of the cemetery, were placed in a different area of the Roman villa, around which the cemetery developed, compared to the first graves of the cemetery (Figure 6.8). In these two cases some alternative scenarios are possible: the difference in the chronology between the graves with weapons and those without could be evidence of changes in the burial custom of the same group over a period of time; it is equally possible that the presence or absence of weapons signalled the existence of two different communities with divergent traditions. This latter scenario seems more likely in the case of Montecchio where the two groups were spatially distinct, while at Cascina San Martino the weapon graves were located near the earliest graves in the cemetery, and follow the same alignment. Finally, it is also possible that the deposition of weapons in a second phase of these cemeteries was a statement to differentiate a group of individuals who 'took over' the burial ground of another community. Overall, however, it is clear that neither of these two cemeteries originated from the weapon grave of an 'ancestor', since weapon graves at these sites were introduced in a second phase.

Figure 6.7: Graves with weapons in the cemetery of Cascina San Martino (source: Lusuardi Siena 2012: 101, fig. 40).

Figure 6.8: Graves with weapons in the cemetery of Montecchio (source: Rigoni 2011: 15, fig. 1.3).

In the cemetery of San Mauro the existence of a grave with a horse dated to the end of the 6th century may be interpreted as that of the 'founder' of the cemetery, given its chronology and its exceptionality. If this was the case, however, how can the presence of weapons in all the other adult graves of the cemetery be explained? The case of Spilamberto, in which the three weapon graves do not seem to become the focus for other graves in the cemetery (Figure 9) is different again. Thus, from the analysis of the distribution and chronology of all the weapon graves in the case-study cemeteries it seems that we must refine the model proposed by Barbiera. Although accepting that the ritual of the funeral could have been instrumental in creating ancestors for the family or

the community, it must be acknowledged that this interpretation cannot entirely explain the phenomenon of weapon graves.

6.2.3 The importance of weapon graves: claiming connections through the deceased

It is undeniable that weapon graves, given their rarity and the efforts put into the funerary display in which they played a part, belong to individuals perceived as exceptional by the mourners who buried them. The funeral could be a critical moment in renegotiating the status and identity of a community after the death of an individual who was particularly important in its social structure. With regard to women and, particularly, adolescents close to the age of marriage, it has been argued that the funerary display was more conspicuous when the death of the person provoked a 'trauma' for the family (e.g. Halsall 1996: 15-6; Barbiera 2012: 145-50; also Chapter 7, Section 7.3). It is likely that the same principles also guided the arrangements for the funeral of some men who were provided with a complex set of grave goods, which usually included weapons.

But why were these men so important for their community? And what was the image that was projected through the deposition of weapons in their graves? As already mentioned (above, Section 6.2.2), the major interpretative shift of the last few decades regarding masculine graves lies in the recognition that the deposition of weapons did not necessarily correspond to the actual military activity of the individual in life (Härke 1990). Rather, the socio-political situation that emerged after the fall of the Roman Empire provoked a gradual change in elite masculine identity, which became progressively more centred around martial values, in contrast to a Roman civic idea of masculinity (Halsall 2004; Wickham 2005: 257-58; Barbiera 2012: 151-3; 2013). Being buried with weapons was necessary to claim belonging to a specific class of men, who signified their status predominantly through military symbols.

Recently, Barbiera (2012: 118-21, 128; 2013: 427) has started to reflect upon some of the implications of being part of this military class. She has stated that '*le armi potevano assumere un duplice significato: da un lato esse indicavano più generalmente l'appartenenza del defunto al gruppo degli aristocratici atte a portarle, dall'altro potevano divenire il simbolo di uno specifico legame sociale, collocando il guerriero,*

che veniva sepolto con esse, in una particolare realtà sociale' (Barbiera 2012: 128).[28]
The use of weapons to establish links of alliance or dependence is exemplified, for
Ostrogothic Italy, by the alliance between Theoderic and King Zenon, and the adoption
of Theoderic by the Emperor Zenon, both ratified '*per arma*' (through the gift of
weapons and horses; Barbiera 2012: 118). The fact that weapons were involved in a
complex life cycle and that they could, in some instances, be passed from one man to
another as part of an act of affiliation has been explored in more depth for Anglo-Saxon
England and northern Gaul (Härke 2000: 379-86; Theuws and Alkemade 2000: 419-
27).

References to the role of weapons as the material expression of bonds between men can
also be found in the *Historia Langobardorum* (*HL*a-b I, 23-24). Paul recounts that after
the king-to-be of the Lombards, Alboin, killed Turismond, the son of the Gepids' king
Turisind, and gained victory, the Lombards asked Alboin's father, King Audoin, to
admit him to his banquet. Audoin replied that 'it is not the custom among us that the son
of the king should eat with his father unless he first receives his arms from the king of a
foreign nation' (*HL*b I, 23).[29] Thus, Alboin with forty youths went to Turisind to ask
for his son's arms and, not only were they welcomed by the king but they were also
invited to eat with him. After tensions emerged with the other Gepids at the banquet,
Turisind avoided the fight between the two factions and gave Turismond's arms to
Alboin, who could finally join his father at his table. The conveyance of Turismond's
arms to Alboin by the defeated Turisind could be interpreted as an act ratifying an
agreement between the two parties. Indeed, later in the account it is stated that
Cunimund, who succeeded Turisind as king of the Gepids, decided to break the
'*foedere*' ('treaty'; *HL*a-b I, 27) earlier made with the Lombards, causing the second
and final fight between the two groups.

The role of weapons as items forging connections between men emerges also from the
well-known episode of the looting of Alboin's sword from his grave by Giselpert, duke
of Verona, in Paul's time (*HL*a-b II, 28). Patrick Geary (1994: 64-5) has interpreted the
act of recovering the sword as a way for Giselpert to claim the right to rule the

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[28] 'Weapons could assume a double meaning: on the one hand they indicate, more generally, the
deceased's belonging to the group of aristocrats entitled to bear them, on the other, they could become the
symbol of a specific social bond, placing the warrior, who was buried with them, in a specific social
reality' (my translation).
[29] The adjective 'his' is an addition of the English translation. The literal translation from the Latin text
(*HL*a 23) should be 'unless he first receives the arms' (my translation).

Lombards as King Alboin's successor. More importantly, Geary highlights that entering the grave was a way to access the Other world and meet Alboin himself, possibly fighting him or, expanding Geary's interpretation, receiving his legitimation. In this case, the relationship established through the sword is taken to extremes, becoming a connection with a dead, legendary king.

Not only weapons but also other objects that could be masculine might have been the material expression of connections between men. For example, observing the frequent association of shears with combs, which are often deposited close together within graves, and noting that shears are usually found in graves with weapons, Giostra (2007: 321-2; 2012: 218-20) suggested that they might have been symbolically linked with the ritual of initiation of warriors that involved the cutting of the hair and beard and, more generally, with the magical character of hair among Germanic populations. Although she acknowledges the variety of uses that these items could have had, Giostra proposes that here they might have been referring to the warrior/freeman status of the deceased.

We cannot exclude the possibility that this rite was performed by the biological father on his son, but we should note that the cutting of the hair performed by a man on another man could also mark the creation of a stepfather-son relationship that would have been convenient for both parties, and might thus have been highlighted during the individual's funeral. Particularly interesting for the interpretation of shears are the sections in the *Historia Langobardorum* which report the ritual of adoption through the cutting of the beard (*HL* a-b IV, 38) and hair. In both cases this ritual has a highly political and diplomatic meaning: in the first episode, Gregory 'the patrician of the Romans' promises to Taso, son of the duke of Cividale, that he will cut his beard 'as is the custom, and make him his son' (*HL*b IV, 38). In the second passage, Pippin was sent by his father Charles, king of the Franks, to have his hair cut by King Liutprand who 'became a father to him and sent him back to his father enriched with many royal gifts' (*HL*b VI, 53).

Thus, shears could have been indicative of a specific stage in the life cycle of some men and this deduction is supported, for example, by the young age of two of the individuals buried with these items. The 11-12 years old individual buried in grave 13 at Cascina San Martino (Trezzo d'Adda) was also accompanied by a seax and a sword, while the 14-22 years old individual of grave 74b at Romans did not have weapons but did have a

horse bit. The latter is the only grave with shears, excluding San Mauro, where weapons were not also deposited. This could be explained by the poor preservation of the grave, which was damaged by grave 74a, or it could point towards a difference in the construction of the life cycle between the two cemeteries: at Cascina San Martino, the ritual involving the shears might have meant also the acquisition of weapons, while at Romans, these items might have been distinctive of a second stage in the process of becoming an adult. It is also possible that the individual buried at Romans expressed a different masculine identity altogether, which did not include weapons but horse fittings and, indeed, shears, as these two grave goods types were found at Romans only in this grave.

It is not possible to determine whether the presence of shears in the graves of adult or mature individuals was a reminiscence of a previous stage in their life that still needed to be emphasised, or referred to a ritual received in a different period of life and specific to each community: indeed, adult graves with shears are found at Località San Martino and Santo Stefano. The fact that shears characterised only one or two graves in each cemetery, points towards a differentiation of the individuals buried in those grave from other men and, more specifically, creates a sub-category within weapon graves. We should not exclude the possibility that those buried with shears included both young individuals who had received a ritual cutting of the hair and beard, and also those who performed the act of cutting – i.e. adult men. If the tradition of the symbolic adoption of young men by adult individuals was practiced by some communities in Lombard Italy, graves with shears could also be evidence of bonds and alliances between men both within the same community and, more significantly, beyond their immediate group. Access to this form of networking (both as the performer and the receiver of the act) might have been restricted to only a few individuals who emphasised this position/relationship in their burial, explaining the low number of graves with shears in each cemetery.

The creation of bonds beyond the immediate biological family was a widespread phenomenon in the Early Middle Ages, and could assume different forms. Attention has been placed on the institution of spiritual kinship and the roles of godparents, established through baptism (e.g. Lynch 1986; Jussen 2000). Given the ambiguous religious situation that characterised Lombard Italy, at least until the end of the 7th century (see Introduction, Section 1.1), we cannot determine whether these were

common practices within the communities analysed in this thesis. However, the phenomenon makes it clear that it was considered important to enlarge an individual's network by creating relationships beyond the biological family.

Other possible contexts in which a man could expand his kin-group were the institutions of hostage taking/giving, fosterage and adoption, which have been recognised as important phenomena in some parts of western Europe (e.g. Lynch 1986: 179-80; Smith 1992; Halsall 1995: 73-4; Kosto 2002; Parkes 2006). In the *Historia Langobardorum*, there are cases of young boys brought up by other men when they were orphaned. They could be relatives, as in the case of Gisulf who was adopted by his uncle King Liutprand (*HL*a-b VI, 55), or have no biological connection with the adult in question. For example, Lamissio was rescued from the pond where his mother threw him with his other brothers, by King Agelmund who was passing by and made sure he was 'nourished with every care' (*HL*b I, 15). Pemmo, in contrast, gathered all the sons of the men who died during a battle against the Slavs in the region of Friuli, and 'brought them up in like manner with his own children as if they themselves had been begotten by him' (*HL*b 26; first years of the 8th century). The adoption of the boys was a strategic choice that proved to be very useful for Pemmo: after he had become the duke of Friuli and once he 'brought to the age of early manhood those sons of the nobles whom he had reared with his own children' he fought and defeated the Slavs, with the faithful army formed by his step-sons.

The written sources also suggest that other forms of adoption were possible, whether or not the adoptee was an orphan. This is the case in the aforementioned example of adoption through the cutting of the hair, and also of the institution of the *Thinx* regulated by the Edict of Rothari (*ER*a-b 171; 172; 174) and the Liutprand Laws (*LL*a-b 65; 105; 140). In the Laws the *Thinx* appears to be an act of donation from a freeman to another when a man was about to die without offspring. Although not specified in the Laws, this act has been interpreted as an adoption rather than a simple transfer of property (e.g. Shupfer 1892; Cierkowsky 2006: 162; Renzo Villata 2016: 54), as it is stated that 'it is illegal for a donor to transfer to one man that gift (*thinx*) which he had earlier given to another, *provided that whoever had received the gift has not done such blame-worthy things to his donor as some ungrateful sons are known to have done to their parents*, and for which they may be disinherited, as is written in this code' (*ER*b 174; my emphasis). It has also been notes that the receiver of the *Thinx* preserved bonds

with his original family (Cierkowsky 2006: 162) and that the donation had to be considered invalid if the adopter had a son or a daughter before his death (*ER*a-b 171; 172; 174; *LL*a-b 65; 105; 140).

The existence of the *Thinx* and its regulation at the time of the promulgation of the Edict of Rothari is not entirely surprising. Indeed, many sections of the Law were aimed at guaranteeing the preservation of family properties in a period when property was becoming crucial in the dynamic of power (Delogu 1980: 68-9; Wickham 2005: 211; 2009: 128). It is, nevertheless, further evidence of the possibility of creating bonds between men outside the immediate family. More importantly, the *Thinx* has been also discussed in the context of the *Afathamire* (a complex ceremony that established the successor of a man without sons), found in the *Pactus Legis Salicae*, and the parallel between the two institutions has led to the hypothesis that a series of gestures were performed during the ceremony to ratify the act, in which material culture also played a role (Renzo Villata 2016: 55). It has been proposed that the establishment of *Thinx* was public and performed in the *gairenthinx*, the assembly of the armed freemen, and that an *asta* (pole or spear, see Chapter 4, Section 4.5.2) was passed from the step-father to the step-son by a third person, although the Edict does not specifically mention this object (Nani cited in Cierkowsky 2006: 156-7). By contrast, Shupfer (1892: 7-9) seems to suggest that there were no symbolic acts involved in the establishment of a *Thinx* and that it happened '*per cartam*' (Shupfer 1892: 7). In reality, however, Shupfer does not exclude the possibility that gestures and material culture were part of the process. Indeed, he emphasises the pubic nature of the act and the fact that it seems that the '*carta*' alone was not guarantee of the validity of the *Thinx* if '*questo non era fatto nelle debite forme*'.[30] Thus, the production of a written document did not necessarily exclude also the performance of gestures in public, which reinforced and legitimised the act itself.

Regarding the possibility of some men establishing meaningful connections, a final remark can be made about horses and horse fittings. A recent study of horses and horsemen in Italy in the Early Middle Ages through archaeological and historical sources has stressed that the symbols related to these animals, their ownership and the ability to ride them were multi-layered and multifaceted (Provesi 2013). References to horses, whether textual, iconographic or material were, over the centuries, symbols of

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[30] 'If this (the act) was not done in the correct forms' (my translation).

social status (Provesi 2013: 274), but the meanings that these references had were mutable. For example, horses could indicate ancient traditions to gain legitimation, they were gifts, and they recalled the military sphere or other aristocratic activities, such as hunting or horseback riding (Provesi 2013: 279-301). However, horses and horse fittings might also have signified the potential for mobility: it has been already noted that horses appear in both the *Historia Langobardorum* and in the Laws as a means of transport (Chapter 4, Section 4.5.3). Perhaps, then, the deposition of horses and horse fittings in the grave could emphasise, among other things, the possibility of creating connections, in this case through ease of movement.

To summarise, it has been argued that mainly weapons but also other objects often associated with men might have been involved in rites and actions that could enlarge an individual's network beyond the immediate family. While the interpretation of weapons as 'items of connection' is not entirely new in the field of Early Medieval studies, it is argued that the expression of masculine identity in the funerary arena through the deposition of weapons might have been instrumental in claiming the connections that an individual, and his community, could potentially have entertained. In this the expression of masculinity and femininity possibly fulfilled similar aims (Chapter 7, Section 7.3). It is not possible to establish if the masculine objects that were deposited in the graves were actually the result of the bond between two or more men. Rather, it can be argued that burying the deceased with these objects highlighting their belonging (real or claimed) to a wider group of men, where these connections could take place. Moreover, as the connections that men could entertain, and which were highlighted through the deposition of grave goods, were essentially with other men, it is possible to argue that the sphere of action here outlined for men was fundamentally masculine. This does not mean that men did not interact with women, they were sons, husbands, brothers and fathers, but it seems that the material culture associated with them in their graves was less dependant on these relationships.

6.3. Other forms of masculinity

The analysis of the case-study cemeteries has highlighted the presence of masculine graves that did not express masculinity through the deposition of weapons, and from the

following discussion it will emerge that masculinity was expressed in forms that differ from the deposition of weapons for a variety of reasons that vary between cemeteries. Aside from the cemetery of Località San Martino, in which all five graves were masculine and contained weapons, all the other case-study cemeteries were characterised by graves expressing masculinity in other forms (Table 6.5). Often these masculine graves coexisted with the weapon graves – the exceptions are Ovaro and Trento where a number of masculine graves were recognised despite the absence of weapons (Chapter 5, Sections 5.3.12, 5.3.13).

In the cemeteries of Collegno and Montecchio, the presence of masculine graves without weapons seems to reveal a chronological change in the way in which these communities expressed masculinity. At Montecchio three graves are defined as masculine because of the presence of composite belts (Chapter 5: Section 5.3.8), an object that was also found in both of the weapon graves of this cemetery. Actually, it seems that the deposition of composite belts at Montecchio was the consistent way of attributing a masculine identity to the deceased in all the chronological phases of the cemetery, from the first half of the 7th century onwards. In the mid 7th century weapons were then added to the composite belts in the grave goods assemblages, as it is shown by grave 10 and 11. Further, the later grave 8, dated to the second half of the 7th century, contained a composite belt but no weapons.

At Collegno, it seems that the first phase of the cemetery (end of the 6th – beginning of the 7th century) was characterised by a greater variety of forms of masculinity: grave 49 contained a sword with a composite belt; grave 41 a seax; and grave 63 a composite belt. In the first half of the 7th century more emphasis was placed on weapons and only in this period were masculine graves provided with more than one weapon type (graves 70 and 53). Finally, in the second half of the 7th century the expression of masculinity crystallised into two main forms: on the one hand, there were four individuals furnished with seax and composite belt, and on the other three graves contained only a composite belt. This difference can be partially explained by looking at the age of the deceased: in the case of graves 66 and 72 they are children. It is possible that these individuals, because of their young age, received only a partial set of masculine grave goods that might have been enhanced by the addition of the seax had they lived longer. Evidence in support of a 'progression' in the acquisition of masculinity is the fact that grave 72 did not contain an entire set of belt fittings but only a strap-end, so it is also plausible

that the fittings of the composite belt were acquired by boys over a period of time. Age might also be the reason for the lack of weapons in grave 54, in which a man of 45 or older was buried, furnished only with belt fittings. It must be acknowledged that another mature man of 45-50 was provided with a seax (grave 17), so the individual in grave 54 must have been older or must have had some other personal attributes that 'required' a reduction of the masculine set characteristic of Collegno in this period.

The hypothesis that some of the masculine graves without weapons expressed a 'reduced' or 'partial' form of masculinity is also confirmed by the analysis of Santo Stefano. Graves 11 and 12, located in group A, both contained a bronze basin, an item that was found also in weapon grave 1 belonging to group A, and in weapon grave 24 in group D. The osteological data on the individuals buried in graves 11 and 12 are unavailable but from the notes of the excavator it is hypothesised that they were sub-adults (Barbiera 2005: 76). Bronze basins were probably masculine items for a group of individuals at Santo Stefano and they could be buried independently of the age of the deceased. In contrast, the deposition of weapons was reserved for individuals that had reached a specific age, and that is probably why they were absent from graves 11 and 12. Similarly, the two year old child in grave 26 (Group D) had in common with the two masculine adult graves of the same group an animal horn (grave 26, deer horn; graves 24 and 28, bovine horn). However, the grave of the child did not contain either weapons (found in grave 24) or stone tools (found in graves 24, 28 and in the feminine grave 27).

In other cases, the masculinity expressed in graves without weapons was not an 'incomplete' version of that projected by weapon graves, but was probably a different form of masculine identity altogether. This might have been the case in the aforementioned grave 63 at Collegno, which was the only masculine grave without weapons in the first phase of the cemetery. It has been argued that the deposition of composite belts without weapons at Collegno were reserved for individuals who, probably because of their age, could not be buried with weapons. However, grave 63, which contained a male aged over 50 years, also contained a flint and a pair of tweezers. These two items, missing from all the other graves in the cemetery, may have indicated an aspect of the deceased's masculinity that was very individual and perhaps not connected with the sphere of warfare.

Grave 74b at Romans also appears to be different from the other masculine graves of the cemetery, although it must be remembered that it was partially disturbed by grave 74a and some of the grave goods may be missing. The unsexed individual in grave 74b, aged between 14 and 22, was buried with a horse bit and a pair of shears alongside a knife, a dress belt, a composite belt, a punch and a silver coin. Horse fittings and shears are absent from all other graves in the cemetery and their presence in grave 74b may refer here to a masculine identity that was different from that expressed through the weapon graves. However, the young age of the deceased must also be considered in our interpretations. At Romans, the youngest individual buried with weapons was aged between 21 and 24, suggesting that here these types of items were buried only from adulthood onwards. Thus, assuming that the individual buried in grave 74b was less than 21, the peculiar assemblage of grave goods may have been related to his age. If this was the case, another important insight emerges: at Romans the passage from adolescence to adulthood determined a change in the masculine types of grave goods, from items such as horse fittings and shears, to weapons or arrows.

It is not always possible to establish if the masculine graves without weapons were a 'simplified' version of the weapon graves, or if their grave goods assemblages were the expression of a different masculine identity. At San Mauro there are three masculine graves without weapons: grave 54 belongs to a young female (see below and Chapter 5, section 5.3.2), while graves 50 and 57 were of a juvenile male and a child, respectively. The masculinity of these two latter graves is determined by the presence of flint in the case of grave 50 and of flint and steel in grave 57. The hypothesis that grave 50 expressed only a stage in the development of masculinity is confirmed by observing that the graves of children at San Mauro have flints, while the completion of the set through the addition of the steel seems to have happened later in life, during adolescence. Moreover, as all the adult masculine graves in the cemetery were provided with weapons, the lack of these items from graves 50 and 57 seems to be related to the young age of the deceased, who would have been furnished with weapons had they died at an older age. However, at San Mauro weapons were, in fact, buried in two graves (41 and 35) of children, and so the reasons why they were not deposited in graves 50 and 57 cannot be solely down to the young age of the deceased.

Similar doubts can be advanced in the case of graves 52 and 38 at Spilamberto. Unfortunately, the osteological information on the skeletons from this site is scarce, and

the age and biological sex of these individuals is unknown. Graves 38 and 52 were characterised by a steel and a flint and steel, respectively. Flint and steel, alongside tweezers, were also buried in the weapon grave 35. Significant patterns do not emerge by mapping these graves on the site plan (Figure 6.9) nor is any evidence provided by analysis of the grave structure, as all the graves in the cemetery were earth cut. Consequently, it is not possible to establish conclusively whether the presence of flints and steels in one grave with weapons and in graves without weapons was the expression of a different facet of masculinity or whether the graves without weapons projected only a stage in the process of the acquisition of weapons.

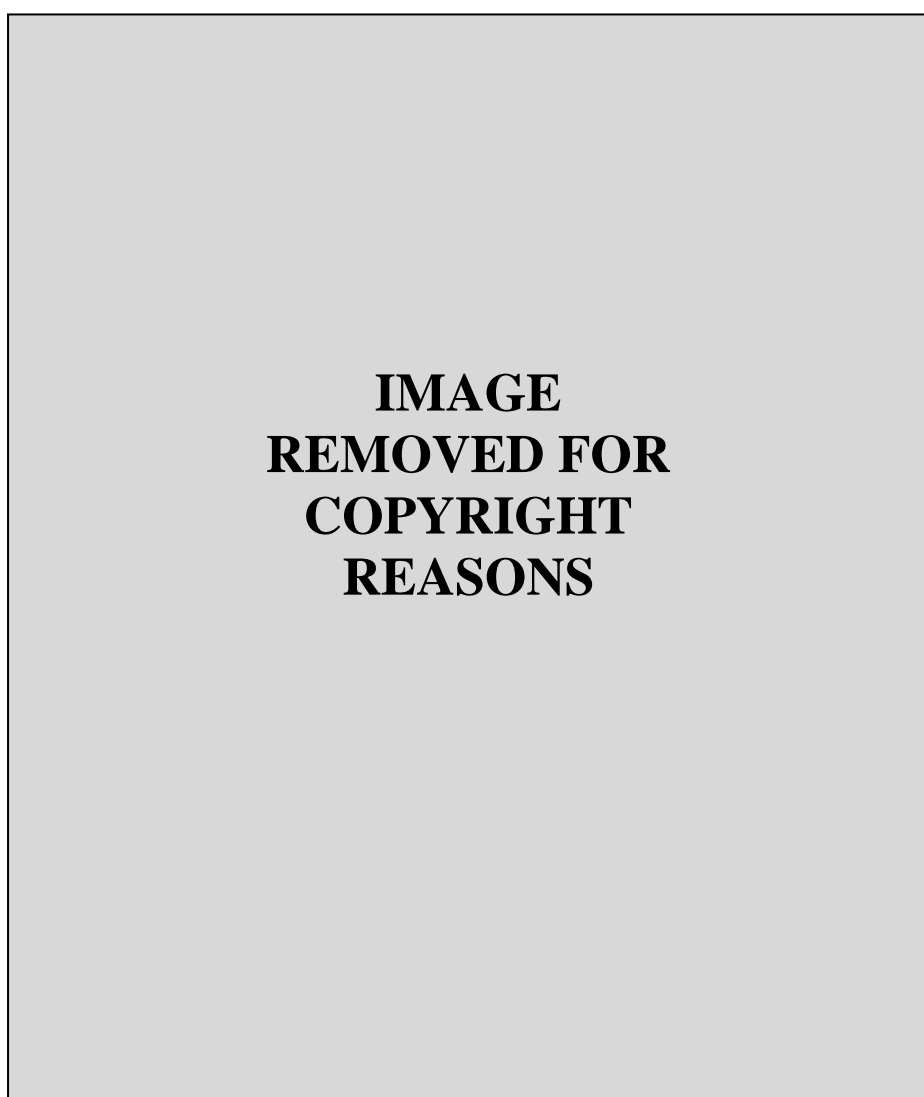**IMAGE REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS**

Figure 6.9: Location of the graves 35, 38, 52 of Spilamberto (source: De Vingo 2014: 163, fig. 1).

Graves provided with only arrows raise the same interpretative problem: did they express a 'partial' form of that masculinity projected in other graves through the

deposition of weapons or did they express a completely different facet of masculinity? The main issue lies in the ambiguous nature of arrows, which could be used as weapons, could be a reference to hunting activities, or could have other symbolic meanings (above, Section 6.2.1). In the case-study cemeteries four graves contained arrows but were not furnished with weapons: grave 3 at Pradamano, graves 167 (unsexed individual) 118 (mature individual) at Romans, and grave 57 at Spilamberto (unsexed individual and considered neutral in the analysis). At Pradamano the adult male in grave 3 was furnished with two arrowheads found close to the tibia. Grave 83 of Pradamano, which contained weapons, was also characterised by two arrowheads, one between the legs of the deceased and one close to his head. Thus, it appears that the individuals buried in graves 3 and 83 at Pradamano express a similar facet of masculinity through the deposition of arrows and it is possible that grave 3, given the lack of weapons, projected a 'partial' form of masculine identity compared to the more complex version found in grave 83. Similarly, the mature man buried in grave 118 and the unsexed individual in grave 57 were not the only individuals buried with arrows in the cemetery of Romans. Graves 168 and 80 also contained, alongside the sword, an arrowhead. In these cases, it is likely that the deposition of arrows did not express a completely different form of masculinity compared to that expressed by the weapon graves of the same cemetery, but that, for reasons that are unknown, they express only a part of it. This hypothesis does not, however, seem to be confirmed by the unsexed individual buried in grave 57 at Spilamberto, which is unique in the context of this cemetery: indeed, this was the only grave that was furnished with two arrowheads while these items were absent from the three weapon graves of the cemetery.

Among the graves that express a different form of masculinity there are two cases where they belong to female individuals. Grave 84 at Pradamano of a mature woman has emerged as masculine because of the presence of a silver pin, an item that was also found in weapon grave 54, but made of bronze. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that this item did not actually contribute to a projection of masculinity, and we have to consider whether the use of two different metals was instrumental in highlighting a difference in gender. However, it would be wrong to rule out entirely the possibility that the female in grave 54, despite her biological sex, was indeed buried with a masculine artefact. The other biological female buried with a masculine item is the juvenile of grave 54 at San Mauro. The presence of a fragment of a glass, close to the left leg of the deceased, made this individual masculine in the context of the

cemetery, despite the attribution to the female sex established by the anthropological study. Three glass paste beads found on the chest, could have been a decoration of the dress or could have been evocative of a necklace, an item that seems to strongly connote the feminine graves of this cemetery. If the second scenario were true, this juvenile girl, for reasons that are unknown, was provided with fragments of objects that highlighted both masculinity and femininity in the cemetery of San Mauro.

Except for these two graves and grave 26 of Ovaro, whose interpretation is problematic (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.13), all the other individuals that express masculinity without the deposition of weapons were either biological males or unsexed. Two important points emerge from this analysis: the first is that masculinity, whether it was linked with weapons or not, was strongly related to the biological sex of the deceased. Secondly, women could very exceptionally be provided with masculine objects, but never with weapons.

In Chapter 5 (Section 5.4) it was pointed out that it is possible that masculinity was expressed also in cemeteries in which weapon graves were not found, as in the case of Ovaro (Chapter 5, Section 5.13). Similar to Ovaro is the case of Trento: one grave belonging to an adult female contained a pair of earrings and a knife. Another adult female was buried with decorative fittings made of bone, recovered from the area of the chest. Two adult males were buried with a finger ring and a composite belt, respectively, and a 6-year old child was furnished with a fragment of decorated bone found in the earth above the knee. Following Halsall's method it was not possible to identify engendered graves in this cemetery because each object is unique. However, it has been proposed that at least grave 6 and grave 7 expressed femininity and masculinity (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.12). More uncertain is the gender identity of the other graves, although it cannot be entirely excluded that the bone fittings were related to the femininity of the individual buried in grave 1 and the finger ring to the masculinity of the individual buried in grave 3.

6.4. Becoming a man: discussion of the masculine life cycle

Graph 6.7 shows that in Lombard Italy masculinity was mainly expressed by individuals over 20 years old. As we will see in the discussion of the feminine lifecycle

(Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2), this is one of the main differences between the construction of femininity and masculinity: while feminine individuals could project their femininity from a young age, the representation of masculine identity through the deposition of grave goods was usually reserved to older individuals, suggesting that masculinity was not a 'given' but its traits and associated objects were acquired during the individual's life time.
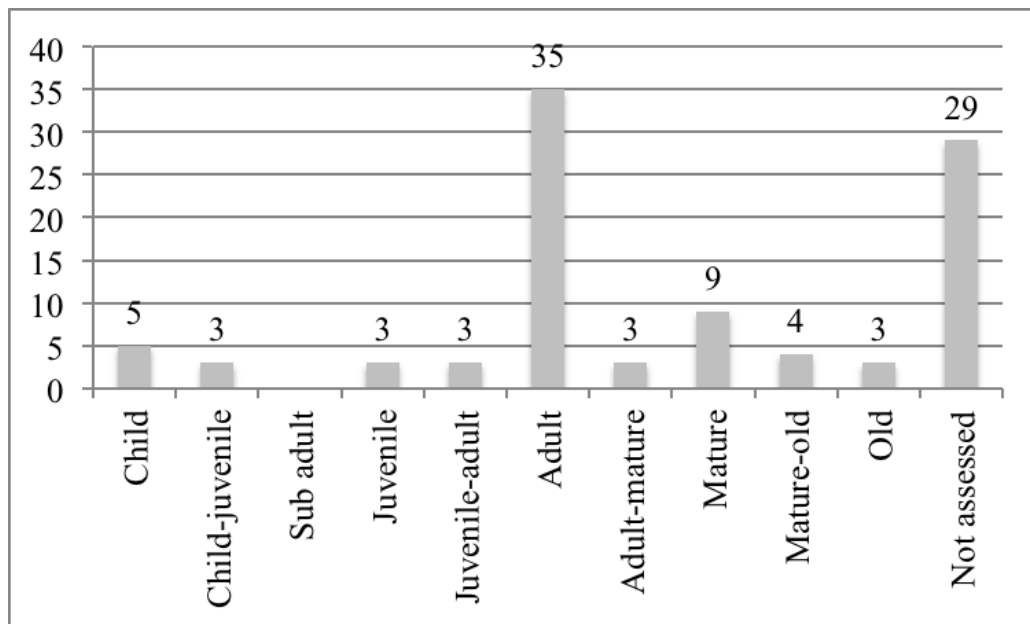
Graph 6.7: Number of masculine graves for each age category. Grave 44 of San Mauro and graves 19, 20 and 27 of Cascina San Martino are not included because they contain more than one individual.

There are, nonetheless, some exceptions to this pattern. At San Mauro there are two graves of children that contained weapons, and the previous section discussed the case of the two children's graves at Collegno. The identity expressed seems a partial form of the masculinity found in the graves of adult men. Moreover, the weapons buried in the children's graves at San Mauro appear to be a 'fragment' of those buried with adults. Grave 35 of San Mauro is the only grave in the case-study cemeteries in which a spear was buried without other weapons, and the presence of a single shield in grave 41 also seems exceptional in the context of the cemetery. A shield, as a single weaponry item, was found only in grave 44, which was poorly preserved.

The two graves of children-juveniles found at Cascina San Martino and Località San Martino, are evidence in favour of a change of status for masculine individuals during

adolescence or early adulthood. In grave 13 at Cascina San Martino an individual of 11-12 years of age was buried with a sword, a seax, and a pair of shears alongside other grave goods also found in children's graves. An even more complex set of weapons – including a shield, a seax, a spear and a sword – was found in grave 3 of Località San Martino. It is also significant that this individual was the youngest of those buried in the cemetery, which was reserved, otherwise, for masculine adults all furnished with complex sets of weapons and lavish grave goods. Once they had entered adulthood, it was possible to receive as grave goods all the objects usually associated with masculinity, the majority of which were retained until the mature stage of the life cycle.

This overall pattern identified for masculine graves broadly parallels what has been found for other regions of Europe during the Early Middle Ages. For example, Barbiera (2005: 155; 2012: 151) has noted that masculine artefacts were mainly buried with adults and mature individuals in the cemeteries of western Hungary. Similarly, Stoodley (1999: 118; 2000: 467) argues that the most important and consistently attested threshold for early Anglo-Saxon masculine individuals was in their later teens. He also identifies other stages in the acquisition of masculinity between childhood and adulthood, hypothesising different and less clear-cut steps in the process that introduced a boy to the adult realm (2000: 467). Härke (1997b: 128) also places the passage to adulthood, 'in our modern definition', between the 18 and 20 years, although he goes on to draw up a more complex age system comparing the archaeological and the written sources (Anglo-Saxon laws, poetry and saints' *Lives*). The age groups inferred by Härke (1997b: 127-9; 129, table 5-1) from the Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence are not too dissimilar to those proposed by Stoodley: a first threshold around 2-3 years old, a second stage from 12 years, and the final passage to adulthood between eighteen and twenty. The data from the written sources, by contrast, allows us to identify thresholds at 7-8 years (end of childhood), ten-twelve (legal age from the Hlothere and Eadric Law; Athlestan Law (Härke 1997b: 126)), fourteen-fifteen (entrance into adult life) and after twenty-five (retirement to a monastery or to the estate). Two possible explanations are provided for this discrepancy, one that considers the difference in chronology between the archaeological and the documentary evidence, and one that recognises a difference between the biological data provided by the skeletons and the cultural awareness of age in Early Anglo-Saxon England (Härke 1997b: 129).

Finally, Halsall (2010: 393-4), in his analyses of gender identity in the Merovingian region of Metz argues that only at the age of 20 did masculine individuals start to be buried with gender-specific artefact types. Enlarging his sample to other areas of the Merovingian kingdom, including some cemeteries of the Alamanni, he encounters regional variation in the conception and representation of the stages of masculinity, which, however, are not fully interpreted. Halsall focuses more on the general pattern of the acquisition of masculinity in early adulthood, arguing that this was the end-point of a 'long process of socialization, which may have lasted ten to fifteen years' (Halsall 2010: 403).

The results of the analyses for Lombard Italy conducted in the present thesis have not shown any consistent evidence for the existence of a period of 'training' for young boys. Overall, it has been suggested that the weaponry equipment that accompanied the deceased in the grave was acquired in only one stage or in a short period of time between the late teens and early adulthood (above Section 6.2.1). However, it is possible that the three weapon burials of individuals aged between eleven and twelve (grave 200 Bolgare, grave 3 Località San Martino, grave 13 Cascina San Martino), which show a grave goods assemblage similar to those of adults, were an exception. They might have belonged to boys who had entered their 'training' period but died before completing it. The funerary arena, where identities were reinterpreted and modified (Parker Pearson 1982; 1998: 33; Barbiera 2012: 16-18), may have been the appropriate place for the projection of an identity that was not reached in real life.

Another possible interpretation of the juvenile graves with weapons is that there was a degree of variability in the age system according to community. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the comparison of the earliest age of masculine expression with deposition of weapons at each site (Table 6.7). While the existence of a threshold around 11-12 years of age is suggested by grave 13 at Cascina San Martino, grave 3 at Località San Martino and grave 200 at the cemetery of Bolgare, in other cemeteries masculinity seems to have developed differently. For example, at Collegno the youngest masculine grave which was also furnished with weapons belonged to an individual between 30 and 35 years old. At both Spilamberto and Santo Stefano in Pertica masculinity was expressed by children (graves 39 and 26) but weapon graves were only provided for individuals who died after 22 years. At San Mauro, the only cemetery in which weapons were also associated with children, the juvenile-adult (17-22 year old)

individual buried in grave 43 not only had a complex set of weapons and a wide range of neutral objects, but was also accompanied by a horse. Grave 43 is also the grave with the greatest variety of types of grave goods in the cemetery.

Site	Masculinity	Weapons
Collina San Mauro	4-2	4-2
Montecchio	Adult	Adult
Località San Martino	11-12	11-12
Cascina San Martino	11-12	11-12
Collegno	30-35	30-35
Spilamberto	8-7	25-
Santo Stefano	2-2	22-40
Romans d'Isonzo	14-22	21-24
Pradamano	25-30	25-30
Bolgare	12-12	12-12
Pontedera	Old	Old
Trento	Adult	/
Ovaro	7-14	/

Table 6.7: Earliest age of the expression of masculinity and the deposition of weapons at each site of group 1.

To summarise, the archaeological evidence suggests that, broadly, masculinity was a prerogative of individuals from the late teens and early adulthood onwards. This pattern, which is common also for other regions of Europe during the Early Middle Ages, could, however, vary. Different communities could either follow their own age system both in life and in death, or could 'bend' the more general rules to renegotiate the identity of

exceptional individuals, providing them with attributes that would have not been suitable for their age had they been alive.

The comparison between the archaeological data and the evidence from the Lombard Laws sheds some light on other aspects of the relationship between masculinity and age. Evidence for changes in children's status between twelve and 18-19 years old can be found in some sections of the Lombard Laws, particularly in the Edict of Rothari (A.D. 643) and the later Laws of King Liutprand (A.D. 713-735). Law 155 is the only instance in the Edict of Rothari in which legal age is specified (*ER*a-b 155). This section of the law concerns the status of legitimate (born within the marriage) and natural sons (born outside the marriage) stating that: 'No one may raise his natural sons to the same status as his legitimate sons unless the legitimate sons, after reaching legal age, give their consent to their father.' To this, almost incidentally, is added: 'Sons reach legal age when they are twelve years old' (*ER*b 155). It is possible to say, therefore, that legal age would have given a legitimate child the possibility of deciding upon the status of his natural, but (at this point legally illegitimate) brothers but, it is difficult to say what other rights and duties that legal age would have involved. According to Katherine Fischer Drew, who translated the English edition of the Lombard Laws, reaching legal age meant that sons were not under the legal protection of their father anymore and, even if they could not transfer their father's properties, they could acquire properties from third persons (Drew 1996: 31).

Overall it seems that, in the Edict of Rothari, mention of legal age and, more generally, of thresholds in an individual's life that were relevant by law, was incidental and exceptional. This might lead one to hypothesise that there was no need to regulate a system that remained, in actual practice, variable and flexible. As I have argued, the archaeological evidence, which by and large dates to between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, suggests that this variability might also have characterised the period before the promulgation of the Edict. Moreover, it is interesting to note that, although there are few cases of graves that would confirm the age of twelve as the threshold to adulthood, it seems that the majority of individuals acquired the attributes of masculinity only after adolescence.

Noticeable changes in the age system are present in the later Laws of King Liutprand: the legal age of a boy appears to be increased from twelve to nineteen and it is also

specified that a son, slightly in contradiction with this, is not allowed to donate or sell properties before he is 18 years of age (*LL*a-b 19). Contrary to the passage in the Edict of Rothari, here the meaning of 'legal age' is clearly stated: 'whatever he does or judges concerning his property then ought to remain permanently valid' (*LL*b 19). A minor could, however, donate part of his properties to a church or a hospital 'for the sake of his soul' (*LL*b 19), if he fears that his life is in danger. It seems therefore, that the legal age for boys was regulated mainly with regard to property – or at least this is what the texts are concerned with and tell us about – and it is in this vein that it is mentioned in other parts of the Laws of Liutprand (*LL*a-b 58; 78; 99; 149). Section 58, for example, states that if somebody receives goods (bought or in pledge) from a minor, he is bound to give them back when the boy reaches the age of eighteen if he requires it, as the transfer of a minor's goods is illegal. Section 75, instead, moves slightly away from issues of property to regulate the cases in which a minor brings a lawsuit against another man (*LL*a-b 75). In the second part of the section, there is a note to protect the child from any fraud committed by 'that agent that the judge sent for deciding the case' (*LL*b 75): a fraudulent agent should pay the child the amount that was dispersed as a consequence of the fraud. The section concludes by stating: 'Indeed we have provided it thus in order that a boy who does not yet know how to secure justice on behalf of his own cause may not suffer damage' (*LL*b 75).

In the Laws of King Liutprand, age is also mentioned in relation to marriage, and the relationship between the two aspects appears to be related to the physical and biological characteristics of the individual (*LL*a-b 129). In section 117, it is stated that a boy could arrange a betrothal or marry even before he reaches the legal age (*LL*a-b 117). An indication of why there is a difference between legal age and the age of marriage for boys can be found in section 129, where the law attempts to regulate incidences of marriages between women and underage boys (*LL*a-b 129). After suggesting that this practice was common and, hence, in need of proper regulation the law declares that '[all this seems illegal to us] since at this time the boys are not strong enough to have intercourse with women' (*LL*b 129). The marriage can happen, however, if the boy's father or grandfather 'has made provision for this with the woman's relatives' (*LL*b 129). If the boy is orphaned while still underage the union between the two has to be considered illegal if he is under the age of 13. The woman would then go back 'empty-handed and with reproach' (*LL*b 129) and she would not be allowed to marry another man until the original boy is thirteen. Then it will be the boy's decision whether to

persevere with the marriage with that woman or to refuse her. The passage seems to be contradictory, first stating that an underage boy is not able to have intercourse with women, but then affording him the right to marry at the age of thirteen. It is plausible to suggest that, in fact, the entrance into puberty was considered the basic requisite for a boy to marry.

The mention of contrasting ages related to the acquisition of different rights and duties in the Laws of King Liutprand hints at a complex system governing the development of masculinity. In fact, masculinity was a complex phenomenon, made up of a number of different facets, that developed according to different timescales, making it impossible to identify a precise age at which a boy became a man. From the Laws it is possible to establish that legal rights, especially with regards to property, were acquired at twelve and, later (A.D. 713-735), at 18-19 years old, but also that a boy could become a husband (and a father) before the age of 18 or 19. Thus, it is possible to suggest that the development of masculinity that emerges from the analysis of gendered objects in graves was only a part of what masculinity might have been, a facet that was considered important to emphasise in the context of the funeral. In this light, the discrepancy between the 'legal age' established by the Edict of Rothari and the relationship between masculine objects and age emerging from the graves, should not be seen as contradictory. Reaching the legal age or the age of marriage need not mean that a boy was also provided with masculine grave goods, which were usually granted later in life, maybe as the end-point in the development of a different facet of masculinity. In addition, the complexity behind the process of becoming a man that emerges from both the written and the archaeological sources suggests that biological changes only partially determined the thresholds in an individual's lifecycle, which were, instead, culturally constructed.

To summarise, the funerary evidence suggests that masculinity was usually acquired by individuals from their later teens and, more often, when they were over 20 years old. There are variations to this general pattern that could be an indication of a malleable age system for boys, which was subject to local interpretations. The lack of evidence for a precise age marking the passage to adulthood in the Edict of Rothari also points in this direction. Moreover, the way in which legal age and age of marriage is regulated in the later Laws of King Liutprand suggests the possibility that these thresholds in a boy's life-cycle might not have had anything to do with the deposition of masculine objects in

their graves. Masculinity emerges as a multifaceted aspect of identity, which can only be partially appreciated through the deposition of gendered grave goods.

6.5. Chronological development of masculinity

The expression of masculinity in funerary contexts has been related to periods of social and political instability when increased social competition meant that status and identities needed to be restated and re-negotiated (Hadley 2006; 2008; Halsall 2010). In our case, it would therefore be reasonable to expect that masculinity was projected more strongly in the funerary arena at the end of the 6th century, a period characterised by social and political instability and of strong competition at a local level (Pohl 2000a: 175). Historically, after the arrival of the Lombards in Italy and the death of King Alboin in AD 572 and of Cleph in AD 574, there was a decade of 'anarchism' (for a synthesis of this period, see Delogu 1980: 16-33). The years between AD 574 and 584 were characterised by the power of the dukes, who tried to expand their territories, to the detriment of the establishment of a strong centralised state. Moreover, in this period, both the Franks and the Byzantines were trying to undermine Lombard predominance in the peninsula. Only in AD 584 was a new King, Authari, elected and he started the process of organising the kingdom and reinforcing royal authority, which would be pursued even more intensively by his successors, particularly Agilulf (AD 591-616) and Rothari (AD 636-652). Fulfilling this project was not a straightforward task and it was highlighted in the Introduction (Section 1.1) that the years of the Lombard kingdom in Italy were, to some extent, always characterised by complex relationships between the king and the dukes, and also between the Lombards and their neighbours (i.e. the Franks, the Byzantines, the Avars).

Bering in mind the comparatively low number of graves in each chronological period, Graph 6.8 shows that a chronological development in the expression of masculinity is more visible for weapon graves: while other forms of masculinity were consistently present from the end of the 6th century to the second half of the 7th century, weapon graves were more common between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, with a slightly higher number of weapon graves in this later phase. Hence, the hypothesis of a stronger expression of masculine identity at the end of the 6th century is

only partially confirmed. Indeed, it has been argued that in the first half of the 7th century the structure of the Lombard kingdom was still very weak and that kings' efforts did not result in a well-organised stately structure (La Rocca 2004a: 218 and note 131).
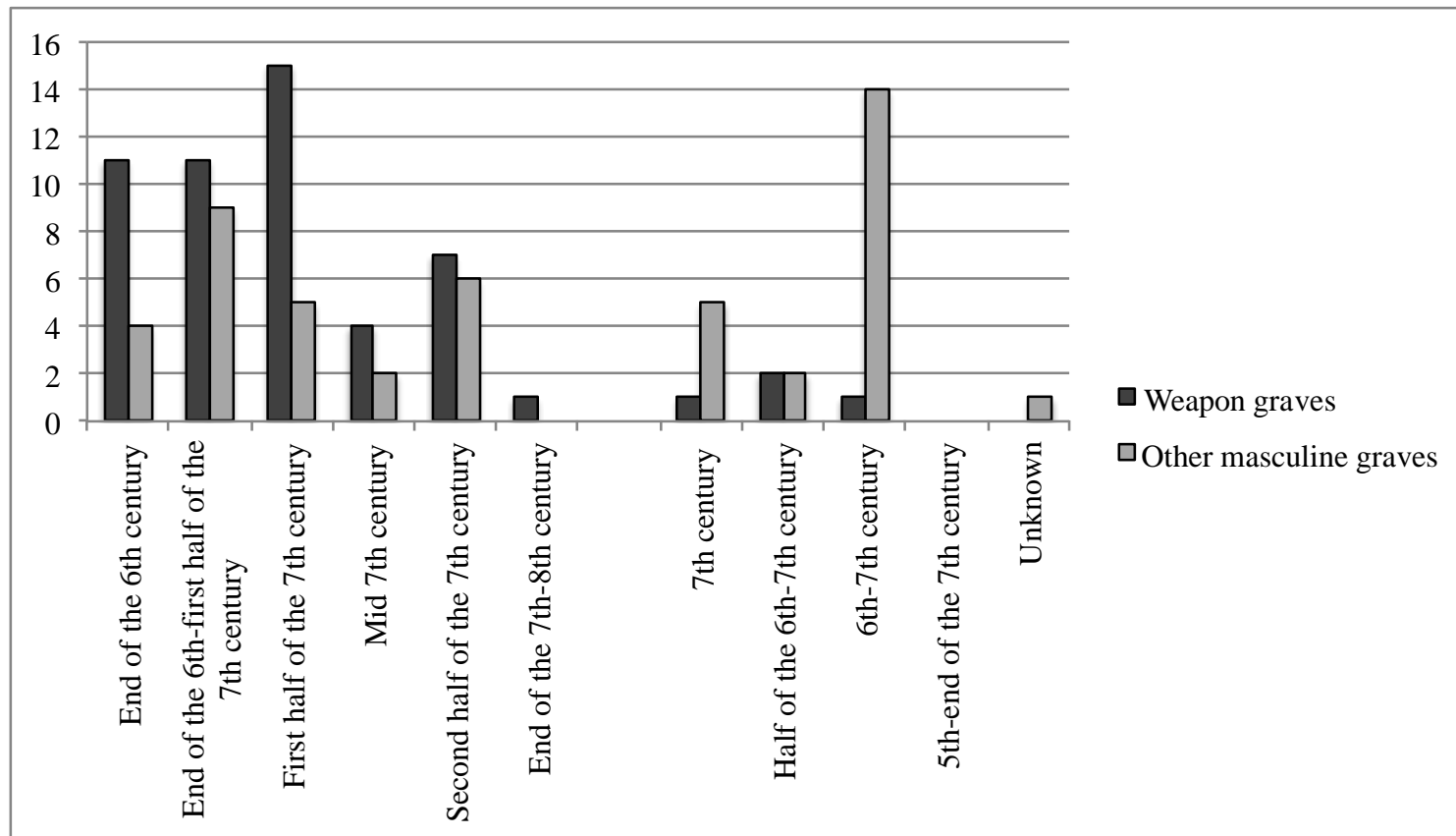
Graph 6.8: Number of weapon graves and other masculine graves for each chronological period.

Moreover, between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century the process of acquisition of lands and the emergence of an aristocratic class after the period of turmoil caused by the Gothic War (AD 535-553) and the Lombard conquest (AD 569), was probably still on-going. Undoubtedly, this was a long and complex process reflected also in the funerary record. The first half of the 7th century can be read as a transitional stage: on the one hand status and wealth were becoming more connected with landownership, on the other hand, the deposition of grave goods was still an important means to negotiate family status. In this phase, the wealth accumulated through landed properties was partly reinvested in the funerary display. For example, it has already been discussed that, in the first half of the 7th century, the weapons-set composed of sword, shield, spear and seax was more common and, in general, the individuals buried with a high number of weapons were more numerous. Moreover, weapons became more elaborate and richly decorated as testified, for example, by the sword of grave 1 of Località San Martino with a gold pommel, and by the emergence of the so-called '*scudi da parata*' ('parade-shields', my translation), which were characterised by decoration made of bronze attached to the shield boss or the rim (Giostra 2007: 323).

The greater emphasis placed on weapons in the first half of the 7th century suggests that there might have been a change in the way in which masculinity was projected. Interestingly, the analysis of the average number of masculine and neutral objects over time reveals that, in the first half of the 7th century, it was important, for the majority of the deceased, to project in the funerary arena their masculinity rather than other aspects of their identity (Graph 6.9). According to Caterina Giostra (2007: 322-3, 338-9), from the second quarter of the 7th century, there was a progressive simplification and standardization of the grave goods assemblage in the aristocratic graves. From the results of the analysis it can be suggested that this simplification concerned mainly those grave goods involved in the projection of aspects of individual identity that were not related to gender, while the number of masculine items slightly increased. Only in the second half of the 7th century did the process of simplification start to also include the weaponry set (Graph 6.7; above Section 6.2.1) when the symbols of social status changed again and the investment that had been placed on the deposition of grave goods in the previous period was gradually directed to the foundation of funerary chapels or refurbishment of old churches (e.g. De Marchi 2001b; Brogiolo 2002; De Vingo 2012: 138-43).
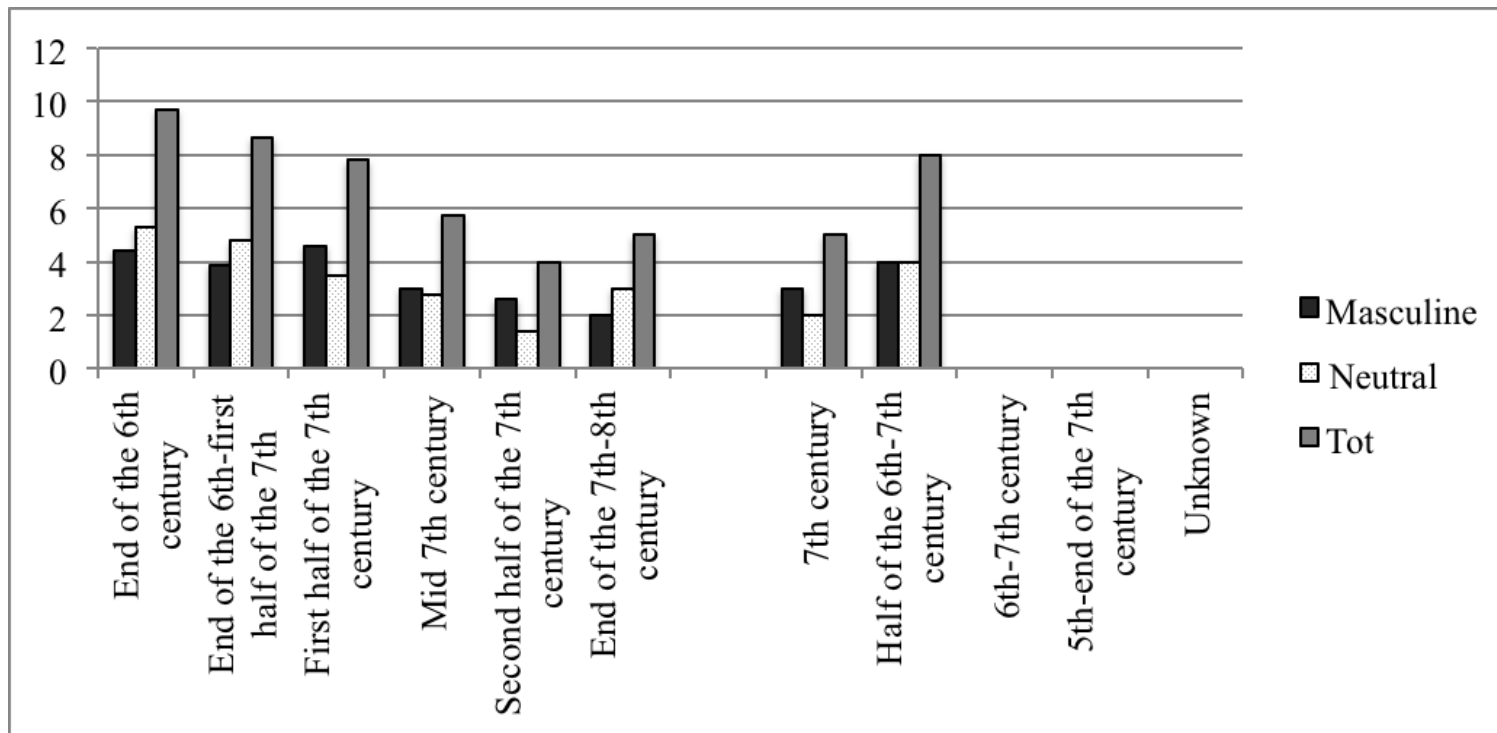
Graph 6.9: Averages of the number of masculine, neutral and total grave goods in the masculine graves for each period

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6.6. Conclusions

Overall, the analysis of the masculine graves in the case-study cemeteries has highlighted important aspects of burial practices that shed new light on the ways in which masculinity was expressed and perceived in Lombard Italy. Through focussing on the weapon graves and by analysing the composition of the weapon sets it has emerged that a practice that is often treated as homogeneous was actually very complex and varied. It was argued that it is not possible to identify a single factor that guided the choice of which weaponry items to deposit in the grave and their position in relationship with the body. For this reason, analysis of the weapon set has emerged as one of the aspects of the funerary ritual that allows us to better appreciate how different facets of an individual's identity were intertwined, ultimately producing the grave goods assemblages that we find today in masculine graves.

Despite the variety, what has become apparent from the differences in the distribution of weapon graves across the cemeteries, is that weapon graves were usually furnished with a higher number of types of grave goods, which suggests a special status for these individuals within their community. This hypothesis is also confirmed by the low number of weapon graves compared to the total number of graves in the case-study cemeteries, the total number of furnished graves and those of biological males. To complement the idea that weapon graves were those of the 'ancestors' of the community, which does not explain all the different scenarios offered by the case-study cemeteries, it has been proposed that the emphasis placed on the graves of these individuals was probably linked with the rupture in the social structure of the community that was caused by their death. It was also argued that the prominent role that weapons had in the funeral of these individuals was instrumental in highlighting that they belonged to a class of men who were part of a context that allowed them and their families to interweave important relationship and enlarge their network.

However, it has also been highlighted that the deposition of weapons in graves was not the only way of expressing masculinity through the grave goods assemblage. Indeed, there are a number of graves that have emerged as masculine from the analysis that seem to have been characterised either by an 'incomplete' form of masculinity or by a different facet of masculine identity. Among these graves are the only two masculine

graves that belong to biological females. These graves must be considered exceptional because it has been demonstrated that the expression of masculinity both with and without weapons was otherwise narrowly linked with individuals who were biologically male.

The expression of masculinity in the grave was not only dependent upon the biological sex of the deceased but also upon his age. Masculine grave goods were rarely buried with children, exceptionally they were in graves of adolescents, and more often they characterised the graves of adult, mature and old individuals. Comparison of the archaeological evidence with the written sources has highlighted that there was not a consistent model of male lifecycle and it is difficult to establish a clear-cut threshold between childhood and adulthood. Rather, masculinity has emerged as a complex and multifaceted identity: the development of the various facets of masculinity had different timescales and could also vary between communities. It has been argued that the masculine grave goods assemblage reflected only some of these aspects, those that were probably considered more important to express within the funerary arena.

Finally, the relationship between masculinity and the chronology of the graves has been analysed. It has emerged that the number of masculine graves was at its highest between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, a period of deep political and social transformation. In the context of the social competition that characterised Lombard Italy, the expression of masculine identity was a strategy to negotiate the status of both the individual and his family. It has also been noted that in this short period of time the ways in which masculinity was expressed were subject to modifications. However, in order to have a complete picture of the role that gender identity played in Lombard Italy it is necessary to integrate these results on masculinity with those derived from the analysis of the feminine graves, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: FEMININITY

7.1 Introduction

Having discussed the characteristics of masculine graves, as they have emerged from the analysis of the case-study cemeteries, the focus now shifts to the examination of feminine graves. Since the written and iconographic sources considered in this thesis have not provided significant information on the material culture associated with femininity, the starting point of the Chapter differs from that used in the investigation of masculinity. The first question that will be addressed is if it is possible to identify categories of objects that occurred consistently in feminine graves (having already discussed how we can define this in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4)), suggesting a way of perceiving and expressing femininity that applied on a broader scale. It will emerge that in the majority of cases femininity was projected through the deposition of certain jewellery items and dress accessories.

Following on from this observation the criteria behind the deposition of the various jewellery items and dress accessories are explored. It will become apparent that the composition of sets of jewellery and dress elements was not guided by consistent 'rules' and that the objects and their meaning may have been interpreted differently by each community. The result of this analysis not only provides information on the variety of ways in which femininity was expressed, but is also evidence in favour of the absence of a recognisable 'traditional dress' characteristic of groups of women over a wide geographical scale.

The aim of the third part of the Chapter is to offer a possible interpretation of the reason why individuals were buried with feminine grave good assemblages. It will begin with an overview of some of the studies that have considered the importance of marriage in the Early Middle Ages, including the interpretations of femininity proposed by Nick Stoodley (1999: 136-41; 2000: 462-5; 465-7) and Guy Halsall (1995: 254-7; 1996: 13-22) in their works on gender. It will emerge that consideration of the relationship between gender and life-cycle is critical to such analyses. This relationship, as it emerges from the graves of the case-study cemeteries, is explored and discussed in sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3.

The final part of the Chapter focuses on the chronology of the feminine graves and the development of gender expression more generally, over time. Having identified a difference in the expression of the feminine and masculine gender, a closer analysis of the case-study cemeteries is undertaken. The combination of the results from the masculine and feminine graves presented in these two Chapters reveals a change in the way in which the gender discourse was articulated by communities between the end of the 6th and the 7th century.

7.2 Feminine graves with jewellery and dress accessories

7.2.1 Is there a feminine equivalent of the weapon burials?

Overall, in the case-study cemeteries it has been possible to identify seventy-nine graves in which feminine gender is expressed, which corresponds to 11% of all the graves considered in this study. The number of feminine graves identified is slightly lower than the number of masculine graves (13% of all the graves), confirming that the expression of both masculinity and femininity were reserved to a small portion of the individuals examined. If we narrow the analysis further to consider only the furnished graves, it emerges that feminine grave goods were deposited in only 23%, and masculine items in 29%, of the burials. Thus, just over a half (52%) of the individuals found in the case-study cemeteries were provided with gendered objects, which further supports the argument that the deposition of grave goods in Lombard Italy was only partially related to the projection of gender identity.

In the previous Chapter (6, Section 6.2) it was argued, on the basis of the analysis of the archaeological record and the written and iconographic sources, that weapons are closely related to masculinity. Here, by contrast, the material culture associated with femininity has been identified only through the analysis of the grave goods assemblages, since there is no conclusive evidence of connections between material culture and femininity in the written and iconographic sources (see Chapter 4, Section 4.5). A question therefore arises: are there objects that expressed femininity in the same

way in which weapons expressed masculinity? Was femininity constructed and projected through items that recur in the majority of the case-study cemeteries?

The analysis presented in Chapter 5 (Section 5.4) noted that necklaces, hairpins, earrings and 'ethnic' brooches are the objects that can more often be related to femininity (Figure 7.1 a-c), as they never appear as masculine or neutral, somewhat mirroring the pattern observed for weapons, which are never feminine or neutral. These four types of objects pertain to the sphere of dress and bodily adornment and have been found in the majority of the feminine graves (62%) identified in Chapter 5. However, analysing the remaining 38% of graves, it becomes clear that in most of those too, femininity was projected through items of jewellery and/or dress accessories (Graph 7.1). For example, at Santo Stefano there were three graves (15, 3, 10) that contained beads and two (42, 37) with bracelets. It must be remembered that although, in other cemeteries (e.g. San Mauro; Romans), beads and bracelets could also be buried in masculine graves, they have emerged as feminine at Santo Stefano (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.6). Similarly, belt pendants were probably instrumental in projecting femininity in grave 47 at Collegno, graves 12, 20, 33 and 41 at Ovaro, and 62 at Spilamberto. Thus, it is possible to argue that the objects that were deposited in graves in order to express femininity were, in most cases (86% of the feminine graves), jewellery or dress accessories and that these types of items can be considered the feminine equivalent of weapons. Some of these objects were consistently involved in the construction and projection of the feminine gender (i.e. necklaces, earrings, hairpins and 'ethnic' brooches), others were feminine only among certain communities, while in others they could be buried both in masculine and feminine graves (i.e. belt pendants, beads, bracelets, other brooches, fittings for the footwear, brocade, finger rings). Other objects, such as containers made of different materials, could be feminine items locally, but in all the cases but one (grave 54 of Spilambero), they were buried alongside jewellery and dress accessories.

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Figure 7.1a: Examples of feminine grave goods. **A.** Necklace from grave 21 of San Mauro. Last third of the 6th century (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 127, 21/7). **B**. Hairpin from grave 39 of San Mauro. Last third of the 6th century (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 105, 39/5).

Figure 7.1b: Examples of feminine grave goods. **C.** Earring from grave 6 of Pontedera. First half of the 7th century (Alberigi and Ciampoltrini 2014: source: 357, fig. 16). **D.** 'S-shaped' brooch ('ethnic' brooch) from grave 36 of Spilamberto. End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century (source: http://www.comune.spilamberto.mo.it/il_tesoro_di_spilamberto_signori_longobardi_alla_frontiera/foto_e_filmati/index.htm last accessed 15-11-2016).

Figure 7.1c: Examples of feminine grave goods. **E.** Bow brooch ('ethnic' brooch) from grave 27 of Santo Stefano in Pertica. End of the 6th –beginning of the 7th century (source: http://www.museoarcheologicocividale.beniculturali.it/index.php?it/176/la-necropoli-di-santo-stefano-in-pertica last accessed 15-11-2016).
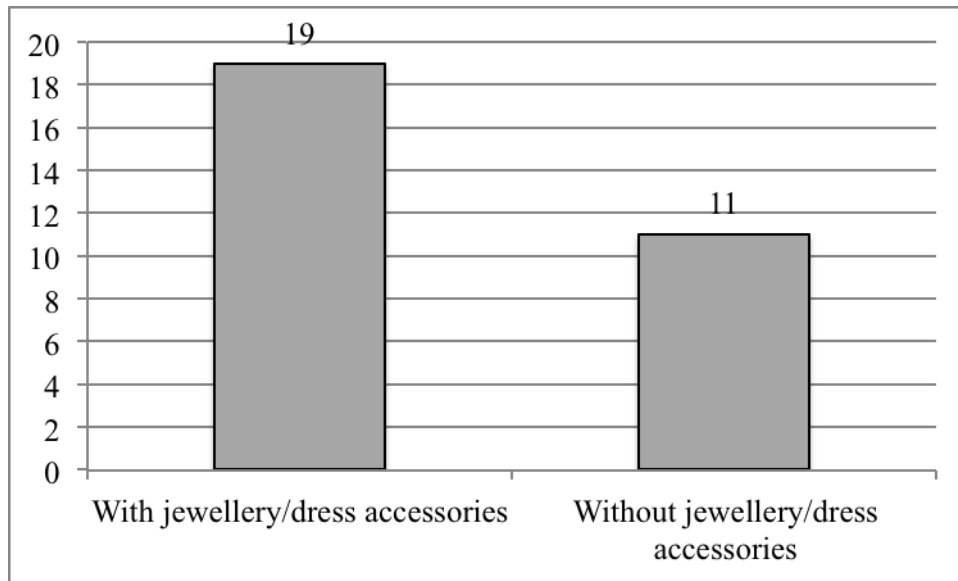
Graph 7.1: On the left-hand side of the graph: number of feminine graves that did not contain necklaces, ethnic brooches, hairpins and earrings but that contained other items of jewellery and/or dress accessories. On the right-hand side of the graph: number of feminine graves that did not contain necklaces, ethnic brooches, hairpins and earrings nor other types of jewellery and/or dress accessories.

Exceptions to this pattern can be found only in the cemeteries of Collegno, Romans and Spilamberto, for a total of eleven graves (Graph 7.1). And even in these cases we cannot be sure that femininity was not expressed through dress-decorations or jewellery in perishable materials which have not been preserved. For Collegno we might hypothesise a chronological development in the material culture associated with feminine identity. In the first phase of the cemetery (the last 30 years of the 6th century) femininity was mainly signified through the deposition of what we might call adornments: in grave 48 there were two bow brooches, in grave 61 a set of beads, and in grave 1 beads and coins (maybe attached to the belt). Grave 47, dated to the last thirty years of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century, was also characterised by a belt pendant, metal fittings for stockings and a comb. This last grave seems to mark a change in the way in which femininity was projected. Indeed, three graves dated to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century and placed in the same alignment, did not have adornments but combs. Grave 18, furnished with a necklace and dated to the 7th century, is exceptional.

At Romans, the feminine object that recurs in the feminine graves without adornments is the loom weight. Its presence does not mark a group of women as completely distinct

from those buried with jewellery or dress accessories, since loom-weights have also been found in graves 90, 42 and 162 alongside earrings, a necklace and a pin, respectively. It is important to note that, when it is known (graves 74a, 114, 90, 42), the position of loom-weights indicates that they were attached to the belt of the deceased, suggesting that they might have functioned as dress accessories themselves (grave 45 is an exception – here the loom-weight was found between the feet). Unfortunately, the chronology of the graves with loom-weights is too broad to allow any hypothesis on a chronological development in the means of expressing femininity at this site. There is the possibility that loom-weights were somehow connected with kinship. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that the two feminine graves of group B both contained loom-weights, while they are absent from all the feminine graves of groups A, F and C (Barbiera 2005: 116-17, table 6). However, the presence of different family traditions in the way in which femininity was expressed is not clear-cut: in group D there were both feminine graves with loom-weights and feminine graves with adornments, and in group E there were feminine graves only with adornments and feminine graves with adornments and loom-weights. It is possible that at Romans each family group buried their women according to their own traditions: for some of them femininity was signified by adornments, for others by loom-weights and, in some cases, the two traditions coexisted and intertwined.

By contrast, at Spilamberto the three graves (45, 50, 54) without jewellery or dress accessories were in different areas of the cemetery. The feminine objects found in graves 45 and 50 were combs and, the deceased of grave 50 also held a shell in her left hand. Grave 54 contained, as feminine objects, a bottle and a glass, and it was also characterised by a 'composite belt' that seems the result of the combination of pieces belonging to different belts, since they were not coherent in style and decoration. The fact that all these graves were dated to the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th century and that we do not have information on the age of the deceased, makes it difficult to propose a firm interpretation of them.

Interestingly, biological males were not identified among the feminine graves without adornments. By contrast, when males were provided with feminine grave goods, they were buried with jewellery items. As we have already seen in the case of masculine graves (Chapter 6, Section 6.2.2), femininity seems to be closely linked with the female biological sex of the deceased (Graph 7.2). Unfortunately, there are 46 cases in which

the sex could not be determined, but it is interesting to note that twenty-one of these individuals were classified as 'indeterminate', which are usually sub-adults. The relationship between femininity and age will be explored in more detail below (Section 7.3), but this may already be an indication that the feminine gender was attributed to non-adult individuals more frequently that was the case for masculinity (Chapter 6, Section 6.4). However, only 23% of biological females were buried with feminine attributes, and so it is possible to argue that biological sex was not sufficient to 'merit' the bestowal of feminine items and that other facets of an individual's identity played a role in the decision to provide the deceased with feminine grave goods.
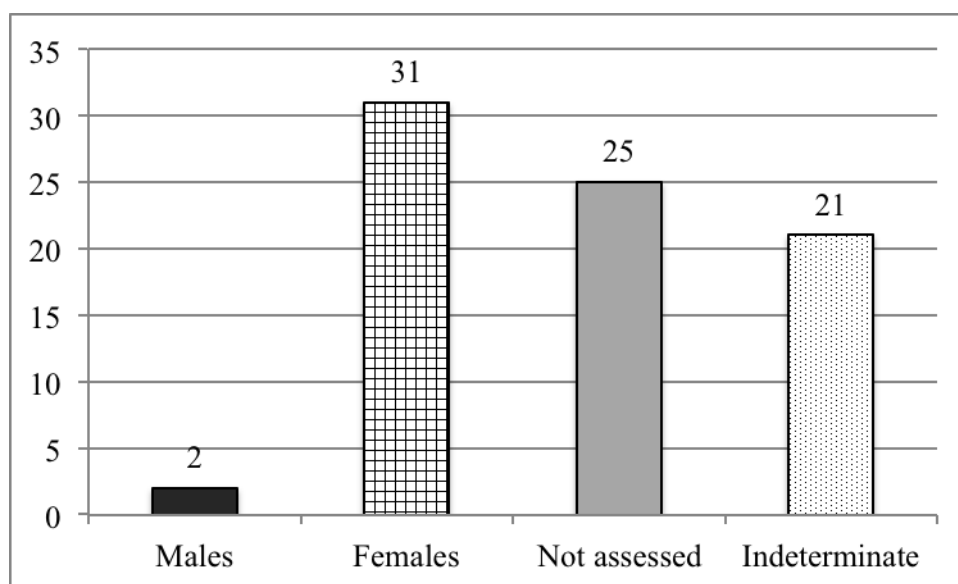
Graph 7.2: Biological sex of the individuals buried with feminine grave goods from the case-study cemeteries.

There are two cases in which biological males were buried with feminine items of jewellery: grave 27 at Santo Stefano and grave 93 at Romans. In the former case an old man was buried with a gold foil cross, a knife, a dress belt, a flint, a fragment of glass container and a bow brooch. The character of this grave is ambiguous as it contains a flint that, in other cemeteries, is a masculine object (e.g. San Mauro and Spilamberto) and a bow brooch, has been already discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3.6). It is interesting to highlight that, at Santo Stefano the C group of graves has a masculine grave with weapons (grave 18) and a feminine grave with jewellery (grave 31). In the previous Chapter it was argued that this cemetery may be the only one that fits with the 'ancestors' model. Barbiera (2005: 89) has suggested that the three groups of graves corresponded to family plots and that each family buried one man and, in the case of

group C, one woman, who became the ancestors of the group, with masculine and feminine artefacts, respectively. Observing the individuals of group D, it emerges that there is no biological female and it is possible to hypothesise that, in absence of a woman, feminine attributes were given to an old man. So, there are two possible interpretations of grave 27 of Santo Stefano in Pertica: either that (here too), in the absence of a biological female, a man was provided with feminine grave goods to become the feminine ancestor of the family group, or that the symbolic role embedded in the bow brooches, and often reserved to mature and old women, was, at Santo Stefano, fulfilled by a man (see below, Section 7.3.2).

The interpretation of the adult man (22-40 years old) buried in grave 93 at Romans and furnished with a comb and a pair of earrings is less clear. In Chapter 6 (Section 6.2.2) it was noted that it is not possible to recognise family plots with a high degree of certainty and that groups of graves could include more than one masculine grave with weapons. Consequently, in the case of grave 93, it is not possible to propose the same hypothesis offered for grave 27 at Santo Stefano, that the femininity of the grave was caused by the lack of biological females in the group. This becomes evident also from observing the cemetery layout (Figure 7.2) and noticing that grave 93 was not far from the two feminine graves 90 and 97 and might have been part of the same plot. The presence of the earrings, buried with women of different ages, does not provide further clues to explain the ambiguity of this grave. However, from the analysis of these two graves, we can conclude that, while biological females that projected a masculine identity were never buried with weapons, biological males could, exceptionally, be buried with items of jewellery.

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Figure 7.2: Graves 93 (on the right), 90 and 97 (on the left) in the cemetery of Romans (Maselli Scotti 1989: 25, fig. 6).

7.2.2 Adornments-sets in the feminine graves: the expression of a multi-layered identity

Jewellery items and dress accessories were deposited in feminine graves in a variety of combinations (Table 7.1). Overall, it is possible to observe that the most common object was the necklace (twenty-four cases), followed by hairpins (sixteen cases) and earrings (fifteen cases). Belt pendants, 'ethnic' brooches and bracelets were also found in more than ten graves, while beads, pins, finger rings, and footwear were rarer. Remains of brocade decoration from a dress or a veil come from the two feminine graves at Campione and one at Spilamberto. Two deceased (grave 61 and 62) at Spilamberto were furnished with a tunic embroidered with beads and one with a embroidered veil (grave 49; Graph 7.3). These objects could be buried either as the only jewellery/dress accessory artefacts in the grave or as part of a set, but hairpins and belt pendants (in particular) were only exceptionally deposited alone (grave 35 of Romans; grave 20 of Ovaro).

Sets of adornments	Number of graves
Necklace	9
Earrings	7
Ethnic brooches	4
Beads	4
Finger rings	3
Necklace+footwear	2
Pin	2
Bracelet	2
Brocade	2
Necklace+ethnic brooch+ hairpin	2
Necklace+earrings+hairpin	1
Necklace+ethnic brooch	1

| Necklace+pin | 1 |

Sets of adornments	Number of graves
Necklace+other brooches+hairpin (+belt pendants+bracelet)	1
Necklace (+bracelet+ring)	1
Necklace (+bracelet)	1
Necklace+ethnic brooch+ hairpin (+belt pendant)	1
Necklace+ethnic brooch+ hairpin (+belt pendant+finger ring)	1
Necklace+ethnic brooch+ hairpin (+belt pendant+footwear)	1
Necklace+bracelet	1
Necklace+hairpin+belt pendants+other brooches	1
Necklace+hairpin	1
Earrings + belt pendants+beads	1
Earrings-hairpins+belt pendants	1
Earrings+pin	1
Earrings (+belt pendants+bracelet)	1
Earring+bracelet	1
Earring (+pin)	1
Earrings+hairpin	1
Beads+coins (belt pendants)	1
Belt pendants+ footwear	1
Belt pendants	1
Hairpin	1
Hairpin+belt pentant+bracelet	1
Hairpin+belt pendants	1
Other brooches	1
Ethnic brooches (+beads)	1
Ethnic brooches+hairpin	1

355

Bracelet+hairpin+embrodery	1
Sets of adornments	**Number of graves**
Belt pendants+other brooches+embrodery	1
Embroidery	1

Table 7.1: Adornments and sets of adornments found in the case-study cemeteries, with the number of occurrences. In brackets are those objects in that cemetery that are not feminine.
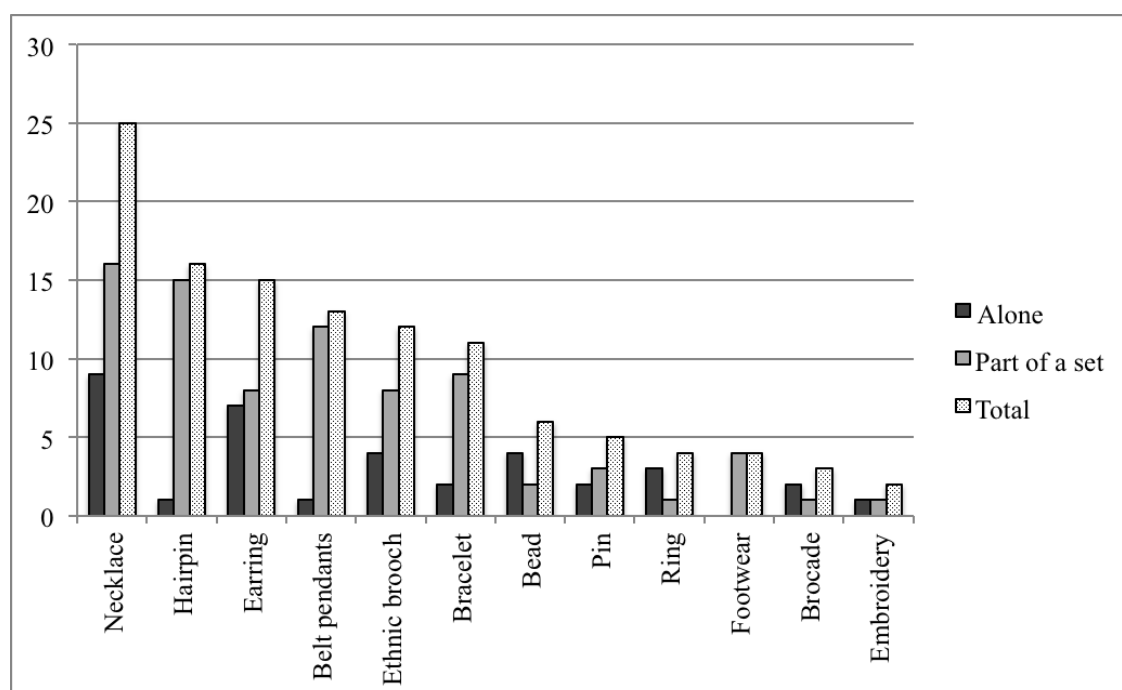
Graph 7.3: Number of occurrences of each type of ornament, alone, as part of a set of adornments and in total.

As was argued for the sets of weapons in the previous Chapter (6, Section 6.2.1), the 'rules' that guided the deposition of jewellery items and dress accessories in feminine graves are not consistent across all the case-study cemeteries, and the combinations that we can observe today are the result of different factors. An item of jewellery or a dress accessory can be characteristic of all the feminine graves of a given cemetery, as in the case of earrings at Pontedera, the finger rings at Bolgare or the hairpins at Palazzo Caldesi. At the same time, the same objects can be deposited to mark the exceptionality of an individual, as seems to emerge from the cemetery of Cascina San Martino: in this cemetery all the feminine graves contained a necklace and only in one case was this type of item associated with earrings and hairpin. Grave 21, of a child aged between

four and five, also contained a gold foil cross. Likewise, a gold foil cross was found in grave 13, in which a child-juvenile was buried with the highest number of grave goods in the entire cemetery, comprising also the only weapons (sword and seax) found in the cemetery. Although the data are partial because of the poor preservation of the graves at Cascina San Martino, it is possible to hypothesise that necklaces were the distinctive feminine objects of individuals buried here and that, maybe, the deposition of the earrings and the hairpin was linked with the exceptional status of the deceased, which could parallel the high status of the individual buried in grave 13. It must also be considered that there were differences between the necklaces (for example the necklace of grave 10 had a bronze ring and the necklace of grave 2 had five amber beads) and that these differences could have been meaningful for the particular identity of individuals.

Indeed, it is possible that some adornments deposited in the graves were linked to very personal characteristics of the deceased, which are not appreciable today. At Collegno, belt pendants were found in two graves, one of a seven year old child dated to the end of the 6th century (grave 1) and grave 47 of an adult buried between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. Observing the two belt pendants it is clear how personal they were (Figure 7.3 a-b) In grave 1 four glass paste beads were found grouped on the pelvis of the deceased, alongside a silver Roman coin and three bronze coins dated between the mid 4th- 5th century. Some of the beads from grave 47 were similar to those recovered from grave 1 but the pendant also included a stone bead and a bronze element decorated with a representation of the head of a wild-boar. This might also have been the case for grave 126 at Romans, in which there was a child (a precise age is not given but the child was 7 years old or younger), that appears exceptional because of the presence of a brooch dated to 500-250 BC deposited alongside an iron bracelet and a knife.

A

Figure 7.3a: Elements of belt pendants from Collegno. A. Grave 1. Last thirty years of the 6th century (source Giostra 2004a: 85, fig. 87).
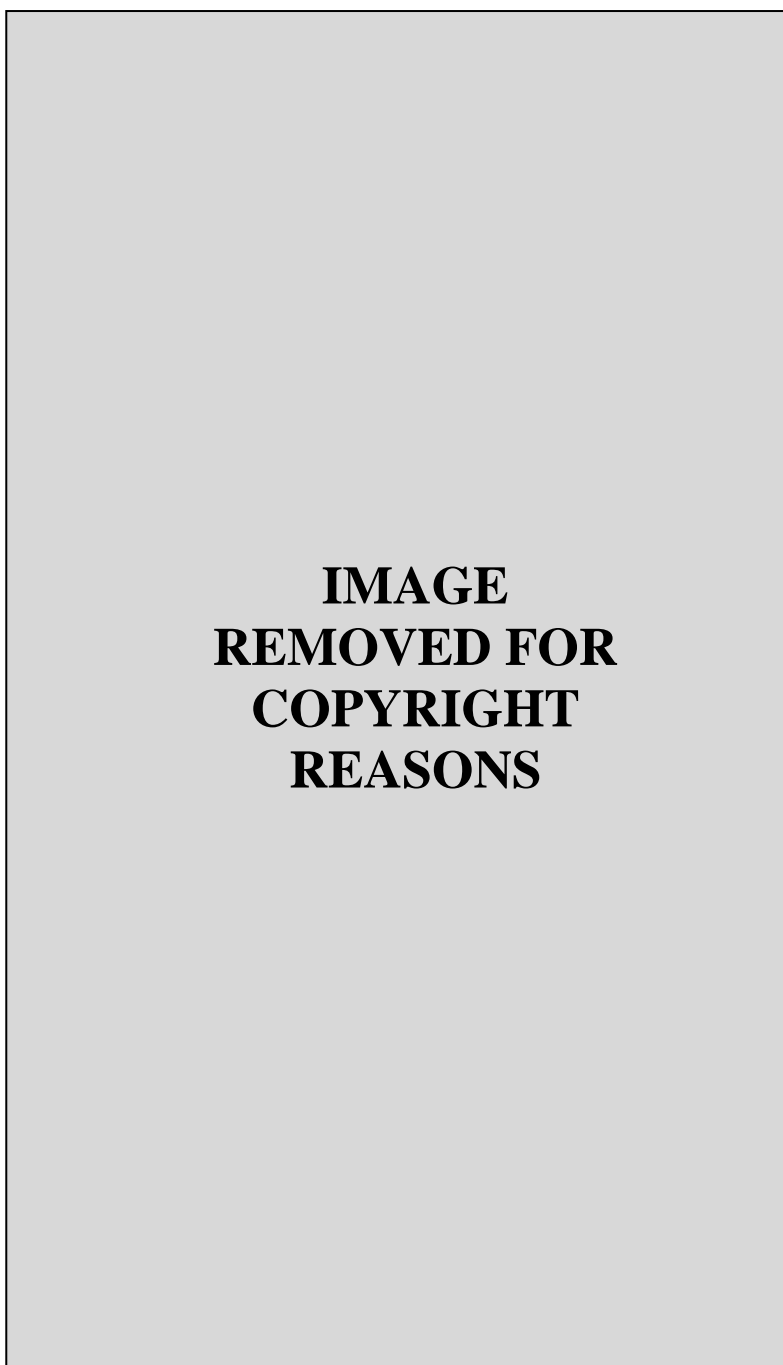
B

Figure 7.3b: Elements of belt pendants from Collegno. B. Grave 47. Last thirty years of the 6th to beginning of the 7th century (source Giostra 2004a: 80, fig. 62).

In some cases, the deposition of specific adornments seems to be linked with the age of the deceased. For example, 'ethnic' brooches are exceptionally found in graves of children, and bow-brooches, in particular, appear to be associated with the mature or old (Graph 7.4; see below, Section 7.3.2). However, at San Mauro, bow brooches and 'S-shaped' brooches were found in the grave of a five-nine year old child (grave 27) as part of a set of adornments that seem to characterise a group of women, maybe members of the same family: graves 27, 51 (adult), 21 and 39 (juvenile-adults) all dated to the last

third of the 6th century, and all contained necklaces, 'ethnic' brooches and hairpins. Among these graves differences in the age of the deceased might have been signalled by the presence of the belt pendants that were found in graves 21, 39 and 51, but not in the grave of the child (see below, Section 7.3.2).
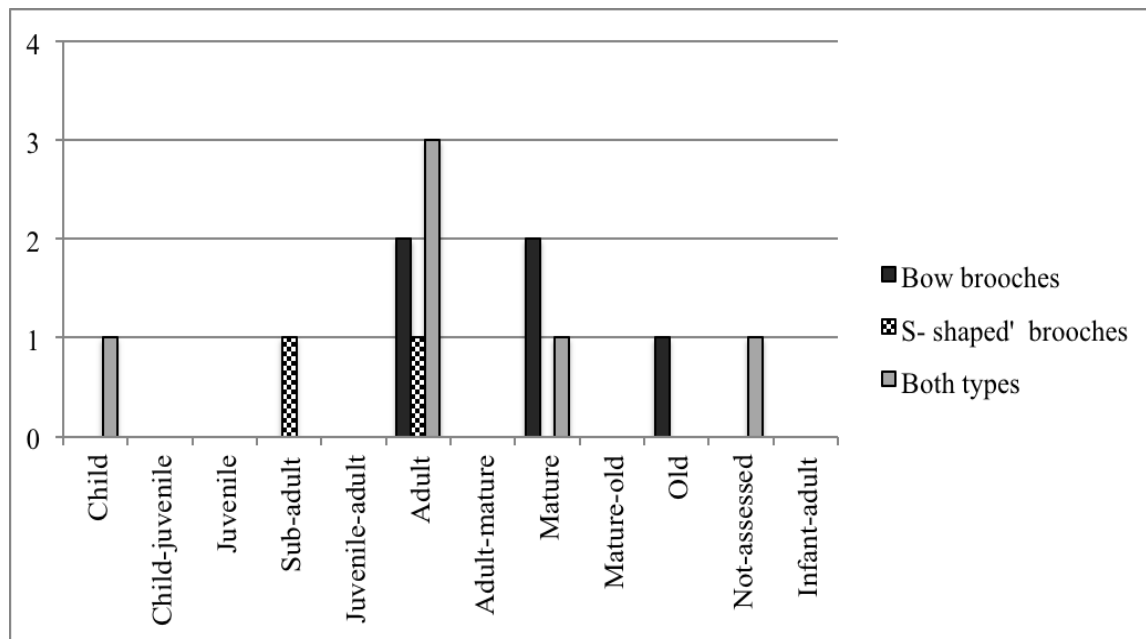
Graph 7.4: Relationship between type of brooches and age at death of the deceased in the case-study cemeteries.

Not even the status of the deceased, as expressed by the number of object types deposited in the graves, seems to fully explain the occurrence of different types of jewellery items and dress accessories. While earrings seem, on average, to have been buried in graves with a lower number of objects (ca. 3,7), hairpins and ethnic brooches were found in graves with ca. 6,7 different types of items. However, looking at the single graves it is clear that this observation cannot be generalised. For example, it was already discussed how earrings were one of the markers of distinction of grave 21 at Cascina San Martino. Moreover, in the cemetery of Ovaro earrings were found accompanied only by a knife in two graves (37 and 49), but they were also in grave 33, which contained belt pendants, a loom weight, a knife, a comb and some beads, and in grave 12 in which they were associated with a hairpin, belt pendants, a loom weight and a knife.

A closer look at grave 62 at Spilamberto serves as a further warning against the reading of a straightforward relationship between the types of adornments and the status of the

deceased. In this grave, that of a not-assessed individual (maybe a sub-adult (De Vingo 2010: 49)), a composite belt, a shell perhaps contained in a wooden casket along with the comb, a bronze jug, a drinking horn, a glass bottle, a lamp and a stool were found. Interestingly, the jewellery and dress accessories buried with this individual comprised a disc brooch with a reused glass cameo, brocade that probably decorated a veil, numerous beads sown on the dress, and a shell attached to the belt. None of those objects that were, in other cases, buried in rich feminine graves (i.e. hairpins, 'ethnic' brooches) were part of this very elaborate grave good assemblage. In the same cemetery, the only feminine grave which contained an 'S-shaped' brooch had a significantly lower number of types of objects: grave 36, also of a possible sub-adult (De Vingo 2010: 52), contained two hairpins, a bronze pan, a stem glass and an unguent container dated to the 2nd century.

The variability that has emerged from this discussion confirms the critique, proposed by scholars in recent years (e.g. Pohl 1998; Effros 2004; Brather 2007; Barbiera 2012: 62-3; Halsall 2011: 22; La Rocca 2011b: 68-71), of a simple equation between jewellery/female dress and ethnicity. The existence of a '*tracht*' (traditional dress; for the history of the term and its use in archaeology see Fehr 2002: 188-9) has been one of the fundamental principles behind the culture-history approach to the archaeological evidence developed from the end of the 19th century, and which still has echoes in some more recent interpretations (Barbiera 2012: 58-61; La Rocca 2011b: 68-71). It was believed that each ethnic group was characterised by a traditional dress, recognisable from the grave goods deposited in the graves. The presence of specific dress elements in the burials of women (especially brooches, see also Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2) was considered the marker of the ethnic identity of the deceased, allowing us to distinguish the graves of different populations and to trace the patterns of Late Antique and the early medieval migrations in the funerary record (Fehr 2002; Barbiera 2012: 58-61).

Regarding the Lombards, Bierbrauer (1984: 474-83) attempted a reconstruction of the main characteristics of female dress and its chronological development from their migration to the mid-7th century, mainly based upon the findings of Castel Trosino. According him the dress of the first generation of the immigrants was characterised by two 'S-shaped' brooches, usually found on the chest of the deceased and two bow brooches between the femurs. The former were then rapidly replaced by large disc brooches, used to fasten a cloak according to the 'Roman' fashion (Bierbrauer 1984:

473), or by other types of brooches, shaped as animals or crosses, also found on the chest. In the chronologically more recent feminine graves with grave goods from Castel Trosino the cloak was fasten by pins and the deceased were furnished also with hair fittings (hairpins and decorations for a veil) and earrings.

A similar development in feminine dress is proposed by von Hessen (1990c: 202) who ascribes to the immigrants a costume with four brooches, which are then replaced by a large disc brooch. Hairpins, belt pendants and fittings for footwear are also mentioned as part of this traditional dress. Golden pendants, 'basket' earrings and finger rings are, according to von Hessen (1990c: 202), a later introduction, this incorporation of elements of Romano-Byzantine fashion into their dresses being said to show the progressive acculturation of Lombard women.

In reality, none of these contributions provide a clear idea of the 'traditional dress' (or dresses) that women wore in Italy during the Lombard period. Aside from the set of four 'ethnic brooches', which was very rarely found in the graves of the case-study cemeteries, the other adornments are only briefly mentioned and a typical and recognisable combination of jewellery and dress accessories does not emerge. The difficulty in recognising a 'Lombard national dress', as the analysis of the case-study cemeteries shows, probably comes from the fact that there just was not a uniform dress worn by all women, at each age. Indeed we should note that Bierbrauer (1984: 474-83) had to focus on a single cemetery to attempt a schematization of Lombard dress and the change in fashion that the 'acculturation process' provoked. However, the fact that it is not possible to identify a traditional dress on a broad geographical scale does not deny the importance of dress as one of the media to project identity. On the contrary, dress was so intertwined with the individual's identity that it was the material expression of many facets ranging from community belonging to personal characteristics.

7.3 Interpreting the expression of feminine identity

7.3.1 The importance of marriage in the Early Middle Ages

To understand the expression of femininity in the early Middle Ages, it is important to consider the change from an agnatic to a cognatic lineage that occurred in the Late Antique period (e.g. Bullough 1969; Barbiera 2010: 153-4; 2012: 147-50; La Rocca 2011a: 11): in the former, status and material goods were passed down only through the paternal line, while in a cognatic system the lineage and possessions could be transmitted through both the male and female line. More generally, as Bullough (1969: 14) has highlighted, a cognatic system meant that 'every individual had the option of tracing relationships through either parent, and operative relationships (those involving rights and obligations) were created among the consanguines on both sides'. This system implies that marriage was one of the most important means for Early Medieval families to expand and forge meaningful connections and suggests that expressing family status through women was as important as through men.

This phenomenon is particularly evident when observing royal lineages. Ian Wood (2004), for example, has shown that, in the case of the Pippinids (Charlemagne's ancestors), not were only the majority of the family estates acquired through marriage, but the family itself also developed following a matrilineal line, through Pippin I's daughter Begga. The analysis of the ways in which the descendants of the Pippinids chose to present their family history has allowed us to recognise that, when it was convenient, women, as well as men, could be chosen and presented as prominent ancestors to legitimate family power.

Leverotti even hypothesised a matriarchal family for the Lombards, at least for elites, at the end of the 6th to the first half of the 7th century, highlighting that royal legitimation for the first Lombard kings (until Agilulf, 591-615/616) could pass through marriage with the king's daughter (marriage between Alboin and Rosemund) or the former king's widow (marriage between Agilulf and Theodolind) (2005: 34-5). The importance of women in the politics of Lombard royal families was characteristic not only of the first phases of the Lombard kingdom but has also been recognised during the reign of King Liutprand (La Rocca 2011a: 17) and Desiderius (Nelson 1998). La Rocca (2011a: 17), for instance, has argued that the introduction in the Laws of Liutprand of a number of

sections regulating marriages was a way for the king to control alliances between families.

The 'value' (Halsall 1996: 15-16) that women had for their family because of the social and economic advantages of a good marriage, emerges also from recognition of the precarious status of those unmarried women who did not enter religious institutions. As Joye (2010) has shown, young unmarried women often appear from the Early Medieval sources at the core of conflicts within and between families. These conflicts mainly revolved around marriages arranged without the father's consent which could be the consequences of kidnapping or plots hatched by family members (more rarely they were an intentional choice from the bride-to-be against her father's will (Joye 2010: 42-43). Such 'unplanned' marriages could result in a diminishing of the family and the father's prestige.

Archaeologically, the expression of feminine gender through the deposition of grave goods and, particularly, of adornments, has been related to the value and role of women as wives and mothers (Halsall 1995: 254-6 1996: 14-7; Stoodley 1999: 117-8; 2000: 465). This suggestion comes from the analysis of the relationship between the presence of feminine items and the age at death of the deceased. For example, the analysis undertaken by Halsall (1995: 75-109) shows that, in the Merovingian region of Metz, feminine grave goods were rarely found in children's graves while they were more numerous in the graves of adolescents. Women around 20 years old often had the highest number of grave goods but had less feminine objects than adolescents. This trend remains unchanged until women reached c. 40 years of age: at this stage in the life cycle, women were buried with a lower number of artefacts, and the grave goods assemblages included only one or two feminine objects or were, more often, neutral (Halsall 1995: 257; 1996: 10-11).

Halsall interpreted his results as suggesting that the peak in the number of feminine grave goods found with teenage girls might have been determined by the 'value' (Halsall 1996: 15-16) that young girls had for their family in creating alliances through marriage. Given this 'value', the death of adolescents could be particularly traumatic for their parental group, especially if they were betrothed or recently married (Halsall 1995: 254; 1996: 15-6). Consequently, the funeral was an occasion to restate family status and potential to connect with other groups, both threatened by the death of the prospective

bride and mother. On the contrary, the grave goods assemblage found with women aged between twenty and forty, characterised by a lower number of jewellery items and a higher number of objects related to the household, might have symbolised women's role within the household, as mothers and child-bearers/rearers (Halsall 1995: 256; 1996: 17-19). This role was then diminished around the fortieth year, when children grew up and started their own families. At this point in time, the death of a woman was less traumatic for her family, and so her funeral required less investment (Halsall 1995: 257; Halsall 1996: 11; 19-22). Further, Halsall (1995: 257; 1996: 20-1) hypothesised that women over 40 years of age had already passed their jewellery down to the next generation of women old enough to be married, explaining why older women were usually not buried with items of jewellery.

The data from Early Anglo-Saxon England show similar patterns to that observed for Merovingian Gaul. Feminine items start to appear in graves of children from 5 years old, but significant changes in the grave goods assemblage of feminine individuals can be observed around 10-12 years old (Stoodley 2000: 462-3): from this age, girls were more often buried with two or more brooches, and a greater variety of brooches and other jewellery items, such as finger rings, appeared together. While this threshold could be explained through the biological changes brought about by the beginning of puberty, the most complex sets of feminine grave goods, including the highest number of beads, the presence of girdle items and saucer- and great square-headed brooches, probably signalled a cultural threshold in the life-cycle around the late-teens (Stoodley 2000: 463; 465). Reduction in the types of grave goods is then observable in the graves of mature women (aged over forty), which lack objects such as girdle items ('keys, girdle-hangers, and chatelaines' (Stoodley 2000: 463-5). Nevertheless Stoodley (2000: 466-7) also highlights how femininity was not entirely 'lost' in these periods of a woman's life, contrasting with what was argued by Halsall (1996:11).

Stoodley's (2000: 465-6) interpretation of the feminine life-cycle focuses especially on the change in women's status in their late teens and, in particular, on the symbolism attached to girdle items. Observing that women with girdle items had a shorter life-expectancy (average age at death 26.6 compared to 31.2 for the other women with feminine assemblages), received a higher number of grave goods types, and were more often buried in the same graves with other deceased (especially sub-adults) than the other women, he (2000: 466) hypothesised that these were special individuals within the

feminine group of graves. He argues that they were more vulnerable (shorter life-expectancy) but also more valuable (higher number of grave goods types) compared to the other women. The first hypothesis that Stoodley (2000: 466) proposes is that the deposition of girdle items was related to child-bearing, however he argues that it was unlikely for a woman to wait until her late-teens to have her first child. Rather, Stoodley (2000: 466) suggests that the pattern observed for women with girdle items might have been connected with child-caring activities, which would be supported by evidence from the laws and might also explain the high number of individuals with girdle items buried alongside sub-adults. The disappearance of girdle items from feminine graves of individuals over forty would further confirm this hypothesis: the role of mothers (or child-carer more broadly), symbolised by the girdle items, was then lost later in life, maybe when the children were grown up. Nevertheless Stoodley (2000) does not attempt to explain why especially keys, girdle hangers and chatelaines were related to this feminine role.

Marriage, apparently, does not play a pivotal role in Stoodley's interpretation of femininity. In reality, however, and although through a different perspective, he reaches similar conclusions to Halsall's, highlighting the role that women had in connecting families through marriages (Stoodley 1999: 138-42; see also Chapter 4, Section 4.3). Stoodley compares the results of his analyses on gender in early Anglo-Saxon society with the models proposed by ethnographic and historical studies on migration. He argues that the deposition of weapons in male graves and of dress accessories in female graves was instrumental in highlighting the sexual difference between the two genders. This, he suggests, was particularly necessary in the immediate aftermath of the Anglo-Saxon migration, a process that was characterised by sexual imbalance, with the immigrants being predominantly males, resulting in blurred gender roles. Material culture in the funerary context was used to recreate an ideal and traditional society, where gender roles were fixed, in opposition to the flexible situation caused by the migration and the confrontation with the other gender systems they encountered after they arrived in England. Migrants were, according to Stoodley, mainly adult males belonging to different families, which led them to shift from an endogamous to an exogamous marriage system. Marriage was aimed at creating connections between families and women became 'important lynch pins in the kin connections' (Stoodley 1999: 141). This scenario changed in the 7th century when Anglo- Saxon society became less based upon kinship and more focussed around 'larger regional units'

(Stoodley 1999: 141). In this scenario, a new male elite emerged, who continued to be buried with gender grave goods (mainly weapons) to highlight their higher position within society. The grave goods assemblages, the skeletal evidence and the written sources suggest to Stoodley (1999: 141-2) that, by this time, women were considered less important, while few men emerged as part of the ruling class connected with the newly emerging states.

7.3.2 Femininity and life cycle in the case-study cemeteries

In order to consider similarities and differences with the interpretations proposed by Halsall and Stoodley, and to appreciate the ways in which women might have been perceived as brides-to-be, wives and mothers in Lombard Italy, it will be necessary to start from the analysis of the relationship between femininity and the life-cycle, which (in the discussion on jewellery and dress accessories, Section 7.2.2) has already been partially considered. The analysis of the feminine graves in the case-study cemeteries has revealed that femininity was expressed mainly by adults, but that it was a facet of identity that could also be expressed by children (i.e. individuals below the age of twelve (Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3). It must be acknowledged that there are a high number of individuals whose age could not be established, but from the data available it emerges that there is not a substantial difference between the number of feminine graves belonging to children (fourteen) and those belonging to adults (twenty).
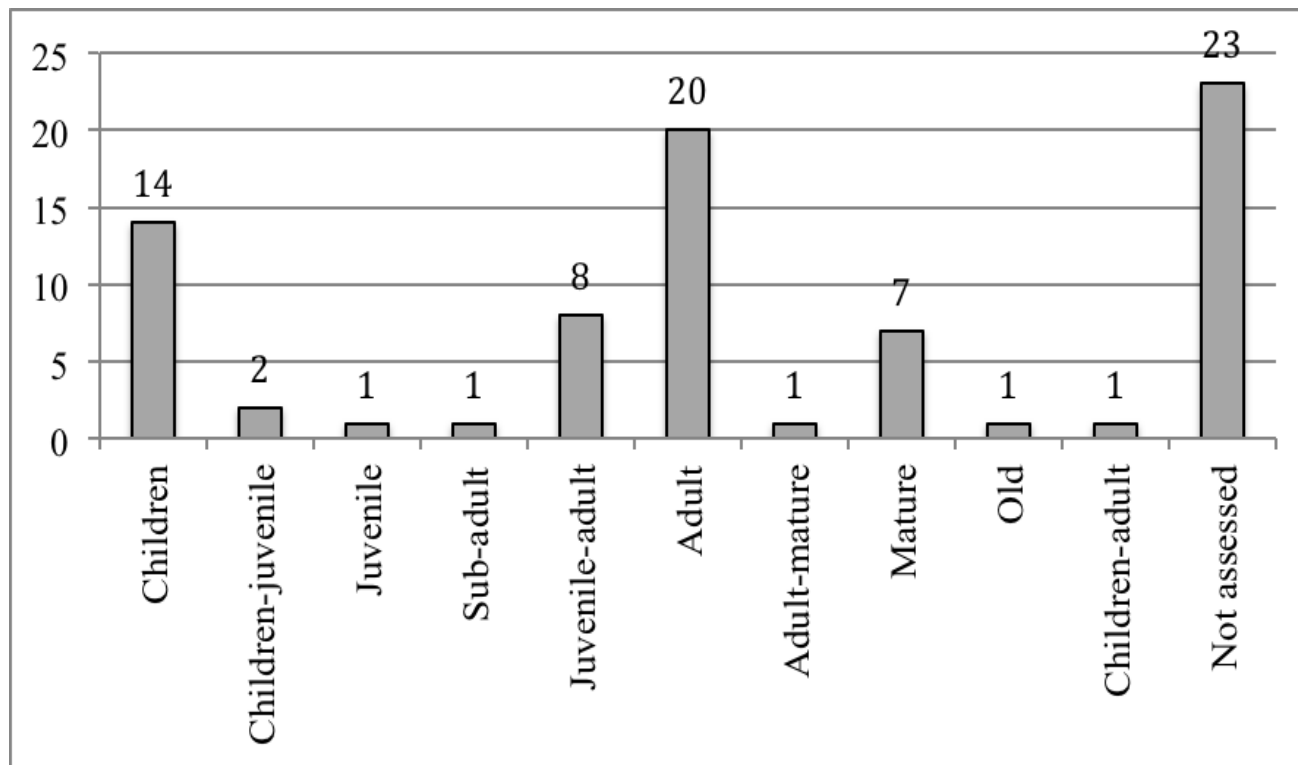
Graph 7.4: number of feminine graves for each age category.

The deposition of feminine grave goods in children's graves can be recognised with confidence in the cemeteries of Collegno, Romans, Santo Stefano, Spilamberto, Cascina San Martino and San Mauro. At Pontedera the youngest individual with feminine objects was a child-juvenile and at Ovaro it is an individual aged between 7 and 22 years of age. At Trento and Palazzo Caldesi, on the other hand, femininity seems to have been a prerogative of adult women. It is possible that, as has already been argued for masculine graves, the perception of age and how that impacted on the funeral varied between communities (Chapter 6, Section 6.4).

The main point to highlight regarding the feminine children's graves is that, overall, children could be buried with the same feminine grave goods that were buried with individuals of other age groups (Table 7.2). Compared to the few masculine children's graves, which in only two cases were provided with weapons (Chapter 6, Section 6.4), feminine children could be buried with jewellery and dress accessories, including necklaces, earrings, hairpins and ethnic brooches. As has been often stressed in the course of this Chapter, the way in which feminine objects were deposited in the graves was highly variable, and so, observing each cemetery in detail, it is not surprising to find exceptions. For example, it may be possible to suggest that, at Romans the deposition of hairpins was linked with the age at death of the deceased. Graves 79 and 35, belonging to a juvenile-adult and an adult respectively, are the only two instances in which hairpins were found in the cemetery and they were both placed in the same plot (F). The presence, among the graves of group F, of a mature woman furnished with two bow brooches but without a hairpin, may suggest that, at Romans, hairpins might have been linked with a particular feminine 'status' acquired between fourteen and 22 years old and 'lost' after the age of forty. However, we cannot consider this observation conclusive given that it is based on only one grave and, in other cemeteries (e.g. San Mauro; Cascina San Martino) hairpins were also buried with individuals under the age of fourteen, and so the association between hairpins and juvenile and adult woman should be considered a local phenomenon.

Children	Children-juvenile	Sub-adults	Juveniles	Juvenile-adults	Adults	Adult-mature	Mature	Old
Comb	Comb	Comb	Comb	Combs	Combs	Combs	Combs	Combs
Knife	Knife			Knife	Knife	Knife	Knife	Knife
Undetermined		Undetermined		Undetermined	Undetermined	Undetermined	Undetermined	
Pottery container	Pottery container				Pottery container			
Coin				Coin	Coin			
Beads					Beads			
Bracelet				Bracelet	Bracelet	Bracelet		
Metal tools								
Earrings	Earrings			Earrings	Earrings	Earrings	Earrings	
Other brooches				Other brooches	Other brooches			
Fragments of container (pottery)		Fragments of container (pottery)			Fragments of container (pottery)			
Botanical remains								
Weaving tools	Weaving tool			Weaving tools	Weaving tools		Weaving tools	
Dress belt			Dress belt	Dress belt	Dress belt	Dress belt	Dress belt	Dress belt
Glass container				Glass container	Glass container		Glass container	
Bronze container				Bronze container				
Faunal remains					Faunal remains	Faunal remains	Faunal remains	
Exceptional object				Exceptional objects				
Necklace	Necklace	Necklace		Necklace	Necklace		Necklace	
Ethnic' brooches				Ethnic' brooches	Ethnic' brooches		Ethnic' brooches	Ethnic' brooches
Hairpin				Hairpin	Hairpin			
Fragments of container (glass)							Fragments of container (glass)	Fragments of container (glass)
Belt pendants				Belt pendants'	Belt pendants'			
Golden foil cross					Golden cross		Golden cross	Golden cross
Building material		Building						
Coffin							Coffin	
								Stone tools
				Composite belt			Composite belt	
	Dress element			Dress element			Dress element	
		Footwear			Footwear			
				Finger ring	Finger ring			
				Shears	Shears			
				Bag				
				Other container				

Table 7.2: Types of grave goods found in each age category. The grave goods types found only in certain age categories are highlighted.

Another example of a change in status that might have happened during the teenage/early adult phases of a girl's life may be the particular type of belt fittings found at San Mauro. The women of graves 21, 39 and 51 were all furnished with belts with hanging straps decorated with silver fittings. The three deceased, aged between 17 and 40 years, also had very similar sets of jewellery that included two bow brooches, one or two 'S-shaped' brooches, one or two necklaces and a hairpin, and it was argued above (Section 7.2.2) that these marked them out from other feminine graves in the cemetery. The same jewellery set was also found in the grave of a child (27), which lacks, however, this type of belt pendant. It is possible that, within a specific group of women buried at San Mauro, the provisioning of such elaborate belts was related to a change in status that happened between the end of adolescence-early adulthood, and lasted at least until the fortieth year, although even in this case we have to be cautious because of the small number of graves considered. There is not conclusive evidence to establish if this change was related either to marriage or to child-bearing, although one of the two hypothesis seems plausible given the age of the deceased.

Despite these cases, an overall similarity of treatment between children's and adult graves in the case-study cemeteries also emerges from the analysis of the average number of types of grave goods found in feminine graves. Table 7.3 shows that the average number of objects deposited in children's graves was similar to the average number of objects found in adult graves, suggesting that there was not a noteworthy difference in the investment placed on the graves of individuals of these two age categories. Moreover, observing the average number of neutral and feminine objects in adult and children's graves it becomes evident that there was not a meaningful discrepancy in the number of objects deposited in the graves to project feminine identity: on average, children's grave-good assemblages included ca. two neutral and two feminine objects which mirrors, more or less, the composition of adult grave-good assemblages. It also seems that there was a balance between the objects that projected femininity and those that were related to other aspects of the individual's identity in adult and children's graves.

Age category	Neutral objects	Feminine objects	Total objects
Children	2,23	2	4,23
Infant-juveniles	1	2,5	3,5
Juveniles	1	1	2
Sub-adults	3	2	5
Juvenile-adults	4,57	2,57	7,14
Adults	2,05	1,57	3,63
Adult-mature	2	2	4
Mature	1,28	1,14	2,42
Old	5	2	7

Table 7.3: Average number of feminine, neutral and total types of grave goods in the feminine graves for each age group.

Table 3 provides other important results for understanding the relationship between age and femininity. So, the highest number of objects were found in the graves of juvenile-adults (ca. 7), who were aged between 14 and 22 years old (Romans and Ovaro) or between 17 and 22 years old (San Mauro). Interestingly, compared to the children's and the adult's graves it is the average number of neutral objects (ca. 4,6) that increases most, rather than the average number of feminine items (ca. 2,6). These results suggest that a special position was held by the individuals poised between adolescence and early adulthood, a position that was emphasised, though, through a more conspicuous deposition of neutral objects, while the expression of femininity seems to remain constant (see below, Section 7.3.3). Moreover, it must be underlined that juvenile-adult feminine graves were found only at Romans, Ovaro and San Mauro.

The pattern highlighted for these three cemeteries, which demonstrate a particular emphasis on adolescent/young-adult girls, partially mirrors what has been suggested above (Section 7.3.1) regarding other countries in the Early Middle Ages. Spilamberto may have a similar pattern, although the incomplete anthropological data from this cemetery do not permit a conclusive interpretation (Table 7.4). Here, only one feminine

individual was anthropologically recognised as a child (grave 60), and she was buried with six feminine items and without neutral objects. There are five other graves that, according to the excavation report, belong to one child and four sub-adults, but the skeletal remains were too poorly preserved to be studied systematically (Fiorin 2010). These graves also show a high number of feminine grave goods (average number ca. 4,2) compared to the supposed adult individuals that were accompanied by a lower average number of total and feminine grave goods types. Recently, Cristina La Rocca (2015: 420-1) has used Spilamberto as a case study to argue that the emphasis placed on young girls' burials was instrumental in demonstrating their fathers' capacity to arrange a convenient marriage for them. According to La Rocca this phenomenon was particularly relevant in communities that lived near the borders with Byzantine territories, where control over the land was more problematic, creating a higher degree of social competition. Unfortunately, for reasons I have already referred to, it is unclear if the sub-adults of the cemetery of Spilamberto were actually infants or juveniles.

Age category	Neutral objects	Feminine objects	Total objects
Children	0	6	6
Sub-adults	0,75	4,25	5
Adults	1,5	2,5	4

Table 7.4: Average number of types of grave goods in the feminine graves of Spilamberto for each age group.

The seven mature women that express femininity in the case-study cemeteries 'possess', on average, a lower number of objects than the feminine graves in the other age groups (ca. 2,4; Table 3). The average numbers of both feminine (ca. 1,3) and neutral (1) objects decrease. Only one grave (27, at Santo Stefano) belongs to an old woman, and so it is not possible to make any conclusive remarks on the number of objects in feminine graves of individuals over 60 years of age. The pattern that emerges from the analysis of grave goods assemblages of mature women broadly reflects, on the one hand, what was highlighted by Halsall (1995: 256; 1996: 11; 17-19), suggesting a lower investment in the funerals of women older than 40 years, and on the other hand, parallels what was argued by Stoodley (2000: 466-7) about some mature women still expressing femininity. Moreover, observing the feminine objects that were buried in

these seven graves it emerges that, in six cases, they were items of jewellery (necklaces, earrings, ethnic brooches and a finger ring) – the exception is grave 99 at Romans that contained a pin. From this evidence it seems that, although there was a slight decrease in the investment in the grave-goods assemblages of women over forty, their graves did not express femininity in a way that was substantially different from adult women.

However, it is noteworthy that three of the mature women were buried with bow brooches, an item that also accompanied the old individual in grave 27 at Santo Stefano. At San Mauro bow brooches were also found in graves of younger individuals, but otherwise this type of item was always buried with women over 40 years of age. This observation might suggest that some women, late in life, might have acquired a new status, whilst preserving their femininity. We could here explore the hypothesis proposed by Halsall (1995: 257; 1996: 20-1) for Merovingian Gaul that when children became adults, women lost their role as mothers in the household and passed on their jewellery. It is possible that, in the case of grave 48 at Collegno and grave 77 at Romans, the deceased had passed their jewellery down to their now-adult children, and that it had been 'replaced' by the bow brooches. More dubious is the case of grave 3 at Romans, where a fifty-five year old woman was buried with a necklace, a pair of bow brooches and an 'S-shaped' brooch, suggesting that she might have died in a transitional stage, still preserving some characteristics of adulthood, while acquiring those of maturity. Bow brooches might have been related to femininity but not to a woman's capacity to have children, as grave 27 of Santo Stefano suggests. This grave belonged to an old man, the only deceased buried with a bow brooch in the cemetery.

The relationship between certain types of brooches (saucer brooches and cruciform brooches) and women older than 20 years of age has been already highlighted for Anglo-Saxon England (Stoodley 1999: 115-6; Martin 2011). In particular, Toby Martin has noted that cruciform brooches, which he sees as a marker of Anglian identity, were buried more frequently with women over the age of eighteen and particularly after 30 years of age (Martin 2011: 231-3). He suggests that the presence of cruciform brooches might not have been related to childbearing and motherhood: assuming that women reached legal age around twelve and started to have children at that time, means that when they were 26-30 their children could already have been adults (Martin 2011: 245). Moreover, he argues that between the 5th and 6th century only a few women in each household were buried with cruciform brooches, arguing that these individuals might

have had a specific social role, represented by the brooches, within their community (Martin 2011: 239-44). Hypothesising that when they died these women's offspring could already have been adults, Martin (2011: 245) suggests that they could, at one point, have become 'living ancestors' for their kin-groups, which claimed, through them, Anglian traditions. Older women interred with cruciform brooches were thus agents in the creation of a transregional Anglian identity that finds parallels also in Germany and Scandinavia (2011: 244). Interestingly, Martin proposes that the ethnic identity embodied by women wearing the cruciform brooches could have gone beyond England and northern Europe, including other women in Early Medieval Europe who were buried with bow brooches (Martin 2011: 244, 249). The rarity of bow brooches in the Lombard cemeteries analysed and the association with mature and old individuals in some cases, might thus parallel the scenario proposed for Early Anglo Saxon England, providing further evidence for a shared pan-European identity, claimed by a minority through this grave good type associated with the feminine gender.

To summarise, the analysis of the feminine graves of the case-study cemeteries has shown both similarities and discrepancies with the models proposed by Guy Halsall and Nick Stoodley. The main difference lies in the fact that it has not been possible to identify clear-cut stages in the life cycle of women that suggest a change of status common across all the communities. Rather, it has emerged that, in some communities (Trento, Palazzo Caldesi and Bolgare) femininity was expressed in the graves of adults while in others it was a trait of identity projected both by adult and children's grave goods assemblages. Moreover, the emphasis placed on the funerary display of adolescents and young adult women has been recognised only at Romans, San Mauro, Ovaro and, maybe Spilamberto. However, the importance of these individuals was signified by the deposition of more lavish grave goods, and did not necessarily cause a change in the way in which femininity was expressed (i.e. a higher number of feminine objects; more complex jewellery sets). Indeed, it has emerged that, overall, the expression of femininity remains consistent from childhood through to adulthood, both in the number and in the type of objects buried in feminine graves. A change in status may have happened only for mature women, in certain communities.

7.3.3 Discussion of the feminine life-cycle and the marriage in Lombard Italy

The lack of major changes in the expression of femininity for children, adolescents and adults through the grave goods assemblages might suggest that, in contrast to what has been discussed earlier, femininity was not necessarily connected with the role of women as wives and mothers. The feminine roles and attributes symbolised by the deposition of feminine objects in the graves, especially jewellery and adornments, may have been acquired from birth, or very early in life, and retained at least until maturity, if not longer. This hypothesis, however, does not shed any light on what this role might have been or on why femininity was expressed – and more research would be required to answer these important questions.

On the other hand, it is possible that the interpretation of femininity proposed for other countries in the Early Middle Ages is valid also for Lombard Italy, but that the 'value' of women as wives and mothers followed different 'rules', at least in some of the communities under examination where the potential of being married, and working as a bridge between groups, was recognised in girls before they reached puberty. Set in this interpretative framework the hypothesis advanced by La Rocca (2011a: 13-5; 2015: 416-8) of a possible connection between the deposition of hairpins and the status of married women is not in contradiction with the recovery of hairpins in infant and general non-adults graves in Lombard Italy. The funeral was an occasion to modify reality, conferring a 'distorted' identity also on young girls who died before being actually married. The scale of the loss caused to the family group by the death of these individuals is also suggested by the great variety of grave goods types deposited in the graves of non-adults with hairpins. If they were important characters for family politics, we can certainly imagine that their families would be more disposed to use their funeral to renegotiate and reinvent their identities.

The picture that emerges from the archaeological data is supported by an analysis of the Lombard Laws. Interestingly, there are no references to the age of women, and more specifically to the age of marriage, until the Laws of King Liutprand. Section 112 focuses on the legal age for girls to marry, stating that 'it appears to us that girls are not mature before they have completed the twelve years' (*LL*b 112). It seems that the law was intended to regulate a field that was, in fact, open to controversy (Balzaretti 2008: 20), perhaps also suggesting that families decided to marry their daughters even before

this age. The age of twelve also corresponds to the legal age for boys and girls in Merovingian Gaul (Halsall 1996: 17), while the legal code of Anglo-Saxon England suggests that ten was an 'important legal threshold' (Härke 1997b: 126). Interestingly, section 12 in the Laws of King Liutprand specifies the punishment for those that betroth or marry a girl before she is 12 years old, punishment that involved both the husband and the man who, owning the girl's *mundwald*, gave his consent to the marriage (*LL*a-b 12). But it is also stated that a father and a brother were exempt from this law and had the 'right to give or betroth his daughter or sister to whomever or whatever age he pleases' (*LL*b 12). It seems therefore that, in regulating the age of marriage for girls, still in the 8th century the Law not only allowed exceptions but provides evidence for how variable the practices of betrothal and marriage were before that time. Thus, it is not surprising that at the end of the 6th century and in the first half of the 7th century, the chronological span of the majority of the graves of our case-study cemeteries, very young girls could already be perceived as potential brides.

The suggestion that the 'marriageable' status of women might have been behind the expression of femininity even in young children does not deny the importance of the adolescent-early adulthood stage observed in some of the case-study cemeteries. The rupture caused by the death of a young girl close to the age of marriage or recently married was, probably more traumatic in some instances, thus, as it has been explained above (Section 7.3.2), the social trauma was faced through the provision of lavish grave goods. However, it has also been noticed that the extra effort expended on a young girl's grave good assemblage did not involve exclusively feminine artefacts, but especially the neutral grave goods. It would appear that the need to renegotiate family status after the death of a young girl did not result in a stronger emphasis on her femininity but on her, and her family's, social status more generally.

The analysis of the case-study cemeteries has not produced conclusive evidence for the role of adult women as child-bearers after the marriage. Indeed, there are no significant changes in the grave goods assemblage to suggest that after marriage femininity was expressed differently by, for example, an increase in objects that might refer to child-care or to housekeeping. The only possible hint at a role connected to motherhood may be the change of status of mature women observed at some sites. This threshold, marked by the presence of bow-brooches, might have occurred when a woman ceased to be fertile, which would also account for the presence of the brooch with the old man in

grave 24 of Santo Stefano. Moreover, the absence of other adornments (except in grave 97 of Romans where the brooch was associated with a necklace) found in the graves of younger individuals could be an indication that these women had successfully brought up their children and had passed their jewellery items on to the next generation.

7.4 The chronology of the feminine graves and the changes in gender expression over time.

Despite the fact that twenty-seven feminine graves have a broad chronology which ranges between the 5th to the end of the 7th century, the analysis of the case-study cemeteries has suggested that the deposition of feminine grave goods became more common between the end of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century (Graph 7.5). In particular, the majority of feminine graves are dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, and only four (graves 4 and 5 of Palazzo Caldesi and graves 10 and 11 of Cascina San Martino) are actually dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century. This pattern only partially reflects what has been noticed for masculine graves, which were widespread at the end of the 6th century but increased in number in the first half of the 7th century (Chapter 6, Section 6.5). In the previous Chapter (6, Section 6.5) it was argued that there was a change in the way in which masculinity was expressed between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, with a stronger emphasis placed on masculine identity in this later period. The data on femininity serve to complete this picture: the socio-political changes in the Lombard territories probably caused a change in the forms of representation of gender that involved both masculinity and femininity.
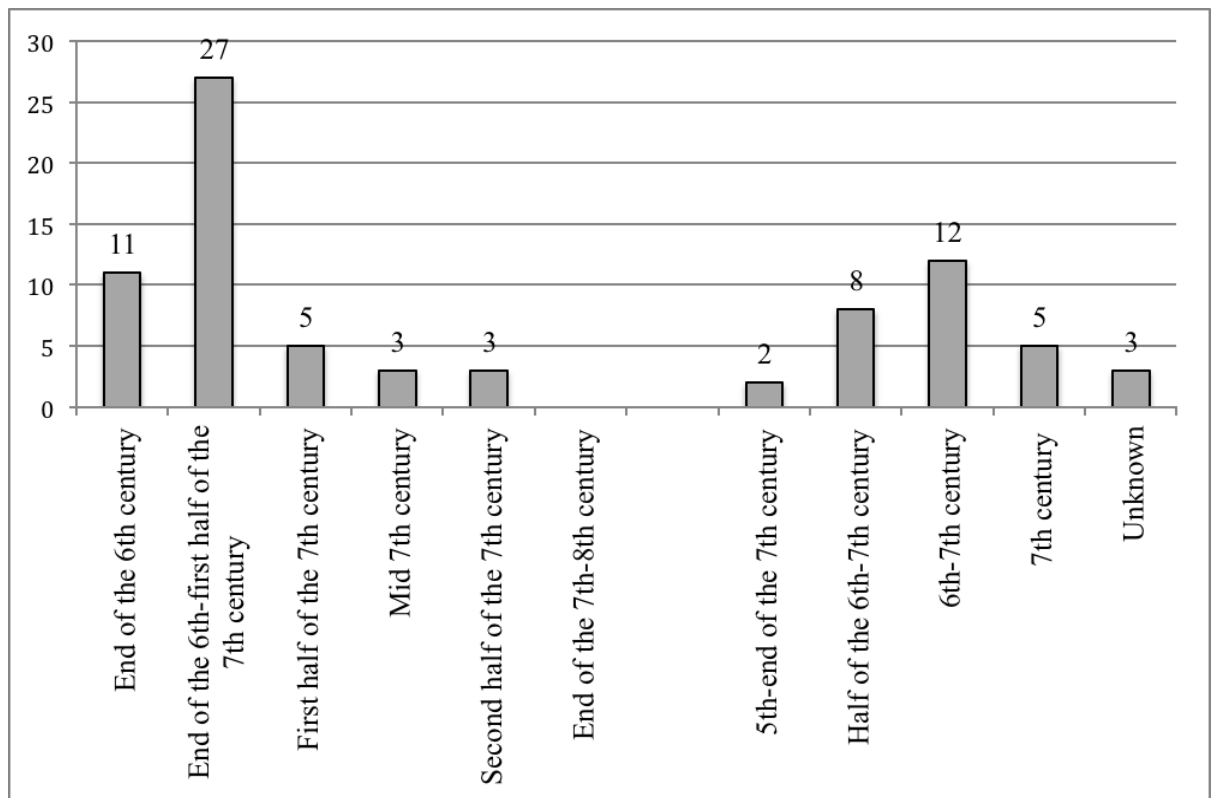
Graph 7.5: number of feminine graves for each chronological period. On the left-hand side of the graph the graves with a narrower chronolgy; on the right-hand side of the graph the graves with a wider chronology.

To better understand the chronological development of the expression of gender it is worth looking at the ways in which masculine and feminine graves related to each other in the case-study cemeteries, starting with those that are dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. At San Mauro the majority of the graves belong to the last thirty years of the 6th century, six masculine and one neutral graves being dated to between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, with the feminine grave 3 dated to the first twenty years of the 7th century. At this site all the graves but two (grave 34 of an infant with neutral grave goods; grave 20 of a 17-25 year old male without grave goods) contained engendered grave goods. Masculinity was expressed through the deposition of weapons that were present, in different combinations, in all the graves of adult males and also in two children's graves. Masculine graves belonging to another child (grave 50), an adolescent (grave 57) and to a juvenile female (grave 54) expressed a partial form of masculinity, through the deposition of tools (graves 50 and 57) and fragments of glass containers (graves 50 and 54). At San Mauro, all the feminine graves were characterised by jewellery or dress accessories and, even if more investement was placed in the composition of the grave good assemblages of young

women (i.e. juvenile-adults), the child buried in grave 27 had a set of adornments that was very similar to that of older individuals (see above, Sections 7.2.2 and 7.3.2) .

A similar scenario can be observed in the cemetery of Spilamberto, also dated between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century. The majority of the graves (except graves 39, 42, 57, 59) contained engendered grave goods. Only some individuals were buried with weapons and it is not possible to exclude the possibility that children and other adults were provided with other masculine objects. At this site the feminine graves were particularly lavish and, although the osteological data are scarce, grave 60 of an individual aged between four and six, shows that feminine objects could be buried with children.

It is difficult to comment upon the cemetery of Santo Stefano because of the fragmentary anthropological and chronological data from the site. However, from the information available, we can see that weapon grave (18) and feminine grave (31) of group C, both belonging to adults, were dated to the end of the 6th to the beginning of the 7th century. In group D, feminine grave 27, of an old man, dates to the end of the 6thto the beginning of the 7th century, the masculine grave of a child dates to the second half of the 6th century, and the weapon grave 24 dates to the beginning of the 7th century. Close to this group there is also the feminine grave of a child (37), whose date is, unfortunately, too broad (second half of the 6thto the 7th century).

At Collegno, the feminine graves of children (graves 1, 24, 27) were all dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. Two mature-old and one adult male with masculine grave goods (grave 49, 63 and 41), one mature, two adults and a juvenile women (grave 48, 61, 47, 38) with feminine grave goods were also buried in the same period. With the exception of the feminine grave 18 (adult), broadly dated to the 7th century, it is possible to observe that only masculinity was expressed through the deposition of grave goods from the first half of the 7th century onwards. The emphasis on masculinity at Collegno during the 7th century is also shown by the chronology of the two masculine children's graves (66; 72), both dated to the second half of the 7th century.

Although in the previous Chapter (6, Section 6.2.2) the 'model of the ancestors' around which family members were buried, proposed by Barbiera (2007a; 2007b; 2012: 179-

80), has been questioned, the observation on the chronology of the gendered graves suggests that it is possible that between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century the deposition of gendered grave goods was, to use Barbiera's words '*affari di famiglia*' (2012: 179).[31] The fact that in Lombard Italy there was a relationship between families and cemeteries has been already proposed by Jørgensen (1991), who has shown that the two sites of Nocera Umbra and Castel Trosino were originally organised in family plots - an hypothesis that seems to be confirmed also by other cemeteries of this period (e.g. Monte San Zeno (Montichiari, BS; De Marchi 2007: 60) Località Santi di Sopra (Calvisano, BS; De Marchi 1997: 394) including some of the case-study cemeteries (e.g. Santo Stefano, Collegno, Spilamberto). Barbiera (2007a; 2007b: 246) has also proposed that the emphasis placed on family belonging during the funeral might have been linked with periods and areas in which competition between families was higher and that it was instrumental in claiming family status and rights on the land. From the analysis of the case-study cemeteries it would seem that between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century, the expression of gender identity was, for some communities, what we could call a 'joint effort'. Adults and children, males and females took part, in different forms, in the gender discourse that was aimed at projecting and negotiating family status. Femininity and masculinity were complementary aspects of the same strategy and not opposite and contrasting concepts. In other words, men and women were different and some of these differences emerged from their grave goods assemblages but the ultimate aim behind the expression of gender was not to stress these distinctions, but to emphasise the status of the entire family.

A 'combined' message in which both men and women contributed to project family status has been already suggested by Cristina La Rocca (1997: 38-9) in the case of the graves with horses and horse fittings. She has argued that the graves of horsemen found in Italy, which were characterised by lavish grave goods, were the expression of a new elité that was emrging between the last years of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. La Rocca has noticed that, often, these graves of prominent men were accompanied by graves of women that express similar wealth, concluding that '*in questa fase di mutamento, le donne paiono poter utilizzare, condividere, ma soprattutto*

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[31] Family matters (my translation)

contribuire ad affermare I simboli di status del loro gruppo parentale'.[32] (La Rocca 1997: 39)

The chronological analysis of the case-study cemeteries suggests that this way of expressing and negotiating family status probably started to change from the first half of the 7th century. Alongside what has just been noted for the cemetery of Collegno, further evidence in support of this suggestion is the chronology of Località San Martino, Montecchio and Pradamano, the three case-study cemeteries in which feminine graves were absent, all dated to the 7th century. However, we must not consider this chronological development a fixed model. There are, indeed, cases that remain dubious and exceptions to the pattern. For example, in the cemetery of Palazzo Caldesi, dated between the end of the 6th and the first half of the 7th century, femininity is expressed only by adult women, while masculine grave goods were absent. The same can be said of Trento, in which a feminine and a masculine grave were identified, both belonging to adults. The feminine grave is broadly dated to the 6th -7th century while the masculine grave to the second half of the 7th century. The chronological issues of many graves make it difficult to comment upon the cemeteries of Ovaro and Romans.

The case of Cascina San Martino seems clearer – and it stands out as an exception to the suggested chronological trend. To begin with, it must be stressed that the cemetery included a high number of sub-adults, especially among the feminine graves. Moreover, feminine and masculine grave good assemblages were buried in the graves from the end of the 6th to the mid 7th century. Particularly, the feminine graves 12 and 25, of a sub-adult and a child, were dated to the first thirty years of the 7th and the mid 7th century respectively. Thus it seems that, at this cemetery, not only was femininity still expressed in the first half of the 7th century, but in this period feminine grave goods were also buried with a child. On the other hand, the chronology of the richest masculine and the feminine graves in the cemetery (see above, Section 7.2.2) fits with the general model proposed: grave 21, belonging to a child provided with a feminine grave goods assemblage, was dated between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century and grave 13, an individual of 11-12 years old with weapons, was dated to the first thirty years of the 7th century.

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[32] 'In this phase of change, it seems that women could use, share and most of all contribute to affirm the symbols of status of their parental group' (my translation).

The question that arises if we consider the overall decrease in feminine graves after the first 30 years of the 7th century is if this might reflect a decrease in the importance of women in the family strategy to maintain and negotiate status, and if the 'position of women had deteriorated' (Stoodley 1999: 141). For 7th-century Anglo-Saxon England, Hadley (2004: 305) has argued against Stoodley, that, although there is a lack of feminine graves expressing status in a comparable way to the masculine graves, 'women's dress and burial items could (…) mark a range of cultural attributes distinct from, but complementary to, the expression of status signalled in men's graves'. As examples to support her argument Hadley (2004: 304-5) mentions the emergence in women's graves of objects referring to Roman and Christian culture, highlighting how the feminine burials of the 7th century were still expressing 'contemporary concerns' (Hadley 2004: 304). Thus, Hadley has shown that, in 7th-century Anglo-Saxon England, women were not necessarily less important than men but that the symbols related to the expression of femininity had changed.

The analysis undertaken in this thesis has not allowed us to pin-point changes in the forms of feminine expression in the same way as for early Anglo-Saxon England, but there is evidence that suggests that women's status did not diminish but was probably transformed. For example, it seems that the women buried at Campione still held a prominent position within their community. Regarding this site, although it was not possible to apply Halsall's method, it has been argued that femininity was signalled through the deposition of brocade found in graves 10 and 11 (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.15). It is necessary to acknowledge that it was not possible to relate all the objects found at the site with a deceased individual. Indeed, a pair of earrings, some animal bones, a gold ring, some glass sherds and small foils of mica, were recovered from the filling of grave 11. Mica was also found in grave 13, belonging to a child. Nevertheless, the type of objects found does not suggest that masculinity was expressed at the site through the deposition of grave goods. Overall, it might be possible to argue that the expression of femininity in the graves at Campione d'Italia was aimed at highlighting the status and exceptionality of the few females who were buried in the chapel. The special role of the woman buried in grave 10 is further highlighted by the position of the grave, in front of the entrance of the chapel, and in line with the main axis of the building (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4: Position of Grave 10 (second half of the 10th century) in the family chapel of San Zeno at Campione d'Italia (source: detail from Brogiolo 2005: 105, fig.2).

Moreover, in the case of Campione there is also a dossier of charters (dated between 721 and 877) related to the Totoni's family who owned the chapel until 777 that provides additional information on the role of women within the family (Balzaretti 2000: 244-8; 2011: 53-4; Gasparri and La Rocca 2005a). It has been highlighted that, while the men of the family were in charge of economic activities, the women, through the donations of goods and lands to the chapel and the management of commemorative rituals for the dead, took care of the perpetuation of the family memory (Gasparri and La Rocca 2005b: 10). Le Jan (2005: 22-3) has also argued that these donations, made by two widows in memory of their husbands (and in the case of one of the two, Magnerada, also in memory of her relatives), were part of a wider strategy to avoid dispersal of the family's patrimony.

The example of Campione suggests that, in the second half of the 7th and 8th century, women still played a part in the strategies to maintain and project family status, but that this role was not necessarily reflected in the deposition of feminine grave goods during the funeral. Rather than a decrease in the importance of the women in Lombard Italy, we must think of a change in the ways in which family status was expressed. While it remained significant for men to refer to the military sphere through the display and deposition of the weapons during the funeral, it is possible that the role of women started to be expressed through other forms that have not left clear traces in the grave good assemblages. For example, La Rocca (1997; 1998) has noticed that, in the

documents of the 8th century, women were in charge of the 'management' of some of the rituals connected with the funeral and the commemoration of the dead, such as the distribution of goods or the offering of meals to the poor in memory of their husband. She has also argued that women played a pivotal role in the involvement of religious institutions in these rites of remembrance and in the aristocratic strategies to manage their properties more generally. It may be that we could detect the change in the forms of expression of feminine identity over the 7th century in the complex relationship between the rituals of death, the preservation and transmission of family properties, and the religious institutions.

7.5 Conclusions

The analysis of the feminine graves identified in the case-study cemeteries revealed general trends in the expression of femininity, but also a high degree of variation. The first point that has emerged is that the deposition of feminine grave goods, as was noticed also for the masculine objects, was reserved to a small number of individuals. More than half of these individuals were furnished with objects such as necklaces, 'ethnic' brooches, hairpins and earrings, that seem to have been involved in the projection of the feminine gender in all the cemeteries in which they were buried (Chapter 5, Section 5.4). However, analysing those graves in which these four types of objects were lacking, it has also become clear that most of the other feminine graves were provided with feminine objects that refer to the sphere of jewellery or dress accessories, but were not related to the feminine gender in all the case-study cemeteries. The existence of a small number of exceptions to this pattern could be the product of a number of factors operating on a local scale.

Local customs and concerns also guided the choice of the jewellery and dress accessories deposited in feminine graves, whose combination resulted in a variety of outcomes. It has been shown that the same object could be the 'trade-mark' of all the feminine graves in a given cemetery, or could mark out an individual from the other deceased. Depending to the site, an object could be associated with individuals who died young or in their old age, or could appear as independent from the age of the deceased. It has also been shown that differences in investment in grave good provision were not always related to the types of adornments found in the graves. As was

demonstrated in the case of the weapon graves (Chapter 6, 6.2.1), it is not possible to recognise straight-forward and consistent 'rules' guiding the composition of the set of adornments in feminine graves. Different aspects of the individual's identity, including community belonging, were involved and expressed through the set of jewellery and dress accessories. This result supports the suggestion developed in recent years that female dress was not a mere expression of the ethnic identity of the deceased, but expressed instead a more complex and multifaceted identity, in which age, social class, role in the community and also individual characteristics interplayed.

The analysis of the relationship between gender and life-cycle, presented in section 7.3, has allowed us to explore the connection between femininity and the role of women as brides and mothers. Starting from the importance of marriage in a cognatic system, it was argued that the overall aim behind the expression of femininity was to emphasise the role of some women as lynch-pins between communities through marriage and child-bearing. In this respect, women too contributed in creating a network of relationships, which could be crucial for the social status of the family. The death of a woman through whom such connections were or could be potentially created was probably a very traumatic event for her family and threatened its social position. Thus, this social position was renegotiated through the display and deposition of grave goods in the burial during the funeral. Unlike the situation in Merovingian Gaul and Early Anglo-Saxon England, femininity was expressed in a similar way from childhood to adulthood, suggesting that, at some sites, the importance of the marriage was recognised from the early years of young girls. The data from Lombard Italy have shown that a meaningful change in the status of women could be observed only in the case of some mature individuals, who were buried with bow-brooches.

It has also emerged that the expression of femininity, and the way in which it relates to the expression of masculinity, was not a consistent phenomenon over time. It has been argued that femininity was expressed more often between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century because in this chronological period the projection of gender, as a means to negotiate family status, involved the entire family. By contrast, over the course of the 7th century the deposition of engendered grave goods became progressively more restricted to men. This change concerned only the expression of gender through the deposition of grave goods, and does not necessarily imply a decrease

in the importance of women but rather a change in the way in which families projected their status through women.

A final remark regards the differences that can be observed between masculinity and femininity and, in particular, the fact that children could be buried with adornments that were also found in feminine adult's grave but only exceptionally with weapons. Indeed, compared to what has been argued for the masculine graves (Chapter 6, Section 6.3), it was not possible to consistently identify forms of 'partial' femininity which might suggest the existence of a series of stages involved in the acquisition of this form of identity. This observation leads to the suggestion that the rules and principles that guided the acquisition of weapons, although variable, could not be entirely subverted during the funeral. Further evidence in support of the existence of less malleable procedures behind the presence of weapons in the graves is the fact that, overall, the percentage of weapon graves among the masculine graves was lower than that of feminine graves with adornments, pointing towards a rite that was more restricted to some individuals. Moreover, it has also been highlighted that biological females that expressed masculinity were not buried with weaponry items while it seems that the association between biological males and feminine adornments was, in exceptional cases, acceptable. Even within the high degree of variability in gender expression, which has been observed in the course of this thesis, some evidence suggests that the expression of femininity was more 'flexible' than the expression of masculinity.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Main findings

This thesis stands as innovative in the field of gender studies in Lombard Italy for the number of cemeteries considered and for its wide geographical scope. The combined perspective adopted both in the various stages of analysis and in the discussion of the data allows us to appreciate both general patterns and variations from those. The results that have emerged show that, beyond some general features that characterised gender expression, this was a complex and varied phenomenon which was deeply intertwined with concerns and traditions that acted at a very local level.

Overall it has been shown that gender was an aspect of identity that was expressed in the funerary arena through the deposition of grave goods and that, on a very broad scale, masculinity was signified through the deposition of items of weaponry and, to a lesser degree, archery equipment and artefacts related to horse riding. On the other hand, the expression of femininity was related to jewellery items and dress accessories. However, it has been also noted (Chapter 5) that not all jewellery items and dress accessories were always markers of feminine identity and that, in some cemeteries, objects that we may consider jewellery (such as bracelets) were buried also in masculine graves. This general point confirms and strengthen the conclusions already proposed by Barbiera (2007a: 345; 2005) that the objects that have been often interpreted as ethnic markers (i.e. weapons and jewellery) were actually involved in the projection and construction of gender identity.

However, it is worth returning briefly to the issue of ethnicity, which, as we saw in Chapter 2, has guided the majority of research on Lombard Italy. The main question to ask is as follows: is the existence of a broad way of expressing gender identity evidence of a common culture that could be labelled 'Lombard'? It is not possible to deny that some communities shared a set of values and used similar symbols to signify gender. But is this enough to argue that they were 'Lombards'? We could argue that there was a 'Langobardic culture' (Brather 2009: 55), which was something that people adhered to or rejected, and that they manipulated according to the circumstances. Thus, in the

funerary arena, for some people it might have been important to express their gender identity in the 'Lombard' way. On the other hand, however, the associations of men/weapons and women/jewellery was something that characterised other European countries in the Early Middle Ages including, as we have seen, Merovingian Gaul and early Anglo-Saxon England. Consequently, what could be identified as the 'Lombard' way to express gender was, actually, part of a more widespread 'tradition' for expressing identity. And in this respect we should remember (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.3) that the emergence of weapons in graves was part of the process of change in elite symbols in Western Europe from the Late Antique period.

Importantly this thesis has shown that this broad 'European' way of expressing gender was subjected to numerous variations at the local level. In particular, in Chapters 6 (Section 6.2) and 7 (Section 7.2.2) it has been argued that the deposition of weapons and jewellery/dress accessories was not guided by consistent rules. Alongside gender these objects probably expressed other aspects of the individual's identity such as community-belonging, age, wealth and even personal characteristics that cannot be fully appreciated today. As we cannot identify a 'traditional dress' that was worn by women across the case-study cemeteries, so we cannot identify a consistent set of weaponry equipment for all the 'armed' men.

In addition, the analysis of the case-study cemeteries presented in Chapter 5 has shown that other objects that might have been linked with gender identity were defined at a local level. We have seen that other objects beyond weapons and jewellery were involved in the projection of gender identity and that these artefacts were given a gender 'value' locally. Indeed, objects that have emerged as feminine in some sites were neutral or masculine in others. So while on the one hand, the construction and expression of gender identity adhered to standardised images of masculinity and femininity, on the other this image was elaborated through the deposition of other items that were perceived and interpreted differently by different communities.

We have also seen that the relationship between masculinity and femininity was not consistent across the case-study cemeteries. While there were sites that displayed a binary opposition between the two, it has also been possible to identify sites in which only one of the two genders was expressed. We must also, of course, consider the

possibility that gender was not expressed at all, or that it was not signified through the deposition of grave goods, such as seems to have been the case at Palazzo Martinengo.

Variety has also been demonstrated in terms of the feminine and masculine life-cycle (Chapter 6, Section 6.4; Chapter 7 Sections 7.3.2). Detailed analysis of the relationship between grave good assemblages and age has not allowed us to identify a single moment in the life of an individual, consistent in all the case-study cemeteries, in which masculine and feminine characteristics were acquired. Overall, while masculinity was more rarely expressed by children under the age of twelve, jewellery and dress accessories were deposited in the graves of women of all ages. But this pattern was not shared by all the communities under examination: in some cases, boys could express different forms of masculinity (maybe 'partial') and weapons, more usually found from adulthood onwards, were sometimes buried with adolescents. Similarly, and contrary to the general pattern, there were cases that suggest that the expression of femininity in the funerary arena was confined to adults. Importantly, we have seen how, in some communities, bow-brooches could have signalled a change in the status (and role?) of mature women.

The way in which a broad idea of gender identity was adopted and modified by different communities has been the overarching theme of this thesis, but the examination of masculinity and femininity through the grave goods assemblages has also provided us with the chance to reflect on other aspects of gender expression. It has been argued (Chapter 6, Section 6.2; Chapter 7, Section 7.3) that the deposition of gendered grave goods emphasised the special status of some individuals compared to the rest of the community. In doing so, one of the features of the social *persona* that was stressed was the role (real or claimed) of the individual to interweave convenient and meaningful relationships and to act as the 'linchpin' between people, families and communities. It has also been suggested that for men these relationships could be developed within the group of other men, while for women these connections were related to their role as brides and wives. Interestingly, no conclusive evidence of the role of women as mothers has emerged from the analysis of the grave goods assemblages, in contrast to what has been observed in early Anglo-Saxon England and Merovingian Gaul, nor has the role of men as husbands and fathers. While it could be argued that the deposition of gendered grave goods also, in fact, highlighted such roles (for example, weapons deposited in a

man's grave might also have signalled his position as the head of the family etc.), but we do have to accept that the gender roles expressed in the funerary arena might have been only a partial and selected image of what it meant to be a man or a woman in Italy in the Lombard period.

Finally, I have been able to present a preliminary hypothesis regarding changes in gender expression over time (Chapter 6, Section 6.5; Chapter 7, Section 7.4). In Chapter 3 (Section 3.4) we saw that the chronology of the graves can be problematic and that the material considered covers predominantly one century (ca. second half of the 6th to the second half of the 7th century). Despite these limitations, it has been suggested that, at the end of the 6th century and in the first decades of the 7th, the expression of gender through the deposition of grave goods comprised a 'combined' discourse involving different members of the family, much as Barbiera argued for some of the sites in Friuli Venezia Giulia (2007a; 2007b). From the first half of the 7th century, however, the deposition of gendered artefacts became reserved mainly to men (although here too it was possible to identify exceptions). It is important to remember that this pattern does not necessarily reflect a diminution in the importance of women and is just as likely to be a product of the fact that femininity was now being expressed in other ways, ways that are not detectable from the objects deposited in graves.

This thesis has also provided us with the opportunity to reflect upon some methodological issues related to the study of gender through the grave goods. As explained in Chapter 4 the main point has been to find a way to identify the artefacts that were used in the funeral to project gender. In particular the focus has been on the methodologies developed by Nick Stoodley and Guy Halsall, highlighting the limitations and potentials of both approaches. The methodology that Halsall used in his analysis of gender in the region of Metz was selected as the most appropriate a study (like this) that could shift from a general to a more detailed perspective. However, it has also became evident that Halsall's methodology could not be applied to all the sites and that the identification of gendered objects (and graves) only through the binary opposition between masculine and feminine assemblages could, in some cases, be misleading. Only the detailed examination of each site, combining the evidence from grave goods and osteological information, allows us to appreciate the different ways in which communities could express this aspect of an individual's identity.

In addition, an analysis of the relationship between gender and material culture in the written and iconographic sources was undertaken as a means of comparison and as a way of 'introducing' the information contained in these sources into the archaeological record. Perhaps the most interesting aspect to emerge from this analysis is the fact that femininity was rarely defined through the association between women and objects in the sources, while men are strongly characterised by artefacts that refers to the sphere of military activities, riding and hunting.

8.2 Future research

As stated in the Introduction one of the main aims of this thesis has been to fill the gap in the archaeology of the Lombard period through a comprehensive examination of gender expression in the grave good assemblages deposited in burials. The thesis has revealed the complexity of the relationship between gender and material culture, thereby opening up the field to future research. In particular, having demonstrated that gender expression was strongly related to local concerns, it would be worth trying to determine what factors guided the choices made by different communities. For example, La Rocca (2015) has suggested that in the case of Spilamberto (and of Castel Trosino), the emphasis placed on femininity and, in particular, on the young female burials was related to the position of the site on the border between the Lombards and the Byzantine territories. In this context of social mobility, she suggests, it was particularly important to emphasise the role of girls as 'brides-to-be' as means of connections between communities (La Rocca 2015: 421). Similarly, the idea that gender expression was related to the negotiation of status and claims on the land in periods and geographical areas of greater social instability has been proposed by Barbiera for some sites in the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia (2007a: 246; 2007b). Thus, it would be interesting to explore the possibility that the variations identified were determined by the socio-political contexts in which each community lived – although one would want broaden the range of factors considered to include, for example, local traditions and beliefs.

Such analyses would be facilitated by narrowing the geographical scope of the research and focussing on regional and sub-regional contexts. Although the quality of the data

might, in some cases, be problematic, there are already indications in this thesis that such variations can be observed at a smaller scale of analysis. We only have to consider the differences that can be noticed between the cemeteries of Santo Stefano and San Mauro, which are both located in the suburban area of Cividale, and those of Cascina San Martino and Località San Martino at Trezzo d'Adda.

Moreover, this thesis, focussing predominantly on grave goods, has not covered the entirety of the relationship between gender and the funerary record. It would be interesting to determine if gender was expressed in the cemeteries through other media, such as grave structures, orientation and grave markers, and to compare the results with what has emerged from the analysis of the grave goods. Considering a wide dataset it was not possible to account for this type of evidence, since not all these information are consistently recorded also due to issues of preservation. Such an approach, looking at grave forms and grave markers, would need to be conducted on a smaller sub-set of the best-preserved cemeteries. More research is also needed to better understand the role of objects that do not pertain to the categories of weapons and dress accessories in the construction of gender identity. Indeed, especially in the case of masculine graves, it has been argued that other forms of masculinity existed, through the deposition of objects such as flints, steels and shears, but their meaning is yet to be fully appreciated. To complete the picture it would be also necessary to deepen the research on the unfurnished and neutral graves. Since the practice of depositing objects in graves was not determined by the will to project only gender identity, we need to try harder to understand the meanings and reasons behind the deposition of 'neutral' objects. We must also consider that gender identity was not only performed and constructed in the funerary arena but was part of people's everyday life. Thus, it would be also interesting to explore the possibility of shifting the focus from the cemeteries to the settlements, looking for traces of gender expression in the organization of spaces, production and, more generally, every day activities (Gilchrist 2012).

Beyond the archaeological record, it is important to further develop research on the ways in which material culture was related to gender in the written and iconographic sources. In this thesis a preliminary analysis has been presented of a select group of texts that would certainly benefit from the inclusion of other sources (including charters, wills etc.) and from a more critical analysis of the information that the texts provide.

The results presented in this thesis could be further nuanced going beyond the count of artefacts that occurred in association with men and women and reflecting on how material culture was presented by each text in its own context, considering in more detail their chronology, their authors and their audience. This research would contribute to a better understanding of how gender roles were perceived and shaped in contexts that were different from the funerary arena, and would increase the possibility of comparing how gender identity was expressed and constructed through different media.

To conclude, we must not forget that gender is only one aspect of an individual's identity – we need to avoid substituting the monopoly of ethnicity with the monopoly of gender in our understandings of the Lombard past. Deciding to explore the evidence through the lens of gender cannot offer a full picture of how identity was constructed and projected in Lombard Italy, but it certainly makes an important contribution. In this thesis some suggestions on how gender interacted with other facets of identity have been provided in the hope that, as a first step, this work could stimulate more research in this direction.

APPENDIX 3. 1: CASE-STUDY CEMETERIES

1. Spilamberto, Cava Ponte del Rio

Region: Emilia Romagna

Province: Modena

Location: In the quarry of Ponte del Rio, close to via Macchioni. The site is very close to the river Panaro, on its left bank.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 2002-2003 Stratigraphic excavation.

The site was excavated as a preventive measure because of the opening of the area for quarrying activities. The research was planned and undertaken in advance.

Number of graves: 28

There are also thee graves of , one grave of an unidentified animal and five ritual pits

Chronology: End of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 1

De Vingo (2010: 58, 60) argues that the cemetery was organised in familiar allotments, mainly laid in parallel lines.

Bibliography: Breda 2010; De Vingo 2010; De Vingo 2014

Figure 1: Plan of the cemetery of Spilamberto (source: De Vingo 2014: 163, fig. 1).

2. Faenza, Palazzo Caldesi

Region: Emilia Romagna

Province: Ravenna

Location: In the city centre of Faenza.

Context: Urban

Discoveries: 1994. Stratigraphic excavation.

Number of graves: 4

There is also the grave of a swine.

Chronology: End of the 6th-first half of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 2

The graves were on top of a Roman domus dated to the late Hadrian period. In the same area it was found a small furnace dated to the Late Antique period.

Bibliography: Belcastro, 2003; Guarnieri 2003.

Figure 2: Cemetery plan of Faenza, Palazzo Caldesi (source: Guarnieri 2003: 727, fig. 3).

3. Romans d'Isonzo

Region: Friuli Venezia Giulia

Province: Gorizia

Location: In the city centre of Faenza.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1986 Casual discovery: 30 graves found accidentally during building works.

1987-2011. Trenching.

Number of graves: 334. This number of graves is mentioned in Vitri *et al.* 2014 but not all the graves of this cemetery have been published.

Number of graves recorded: 142. The data for recording these graves have been obtained from Maselli Scotti 1989; Barbiera 2005: 97-12; Giovannini A. 2001.

Chronology: A. D. 568-beginning of the 8th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 3; 4; 5.

The northern, westerns and southern edge of the cemeteries have been identified but not fully explored by 2011 (Vitri *et al.* 2014: 296). It was not possible to explore some of the areas inside the cemetery and it is believed that at least other 100 graves are still uncovered (Vitri *et al.* 2014: 296).

The graves are roughly placed in parallel lines and few graves have a different orientation (grave 36 and 37). The position of the graves in area 'r' is less regular

Barbiera (2005:100-4 117-8, table 6) identifies possible groups of graves, which she hypothesises belong to individuals of the same family group, especially in the case of group B, C, E and maybe D (Barbiera 2005: 104).

Bibliography: Maselli Scotti 1989; Barbiera 2005: 97-121; Giovannini A. 2001; Vitri *et al.* 2014.

Figure 3: Cemetery plan of Romans without area 'r'(source: Maselli Scotti 1989: 25, fig. 6). This is the same site plan used by Barbiera (2005: 101, map 2; 103, map 3).

Figure 4: Area 'r' of the cemetery of Romans (source: Maselli Scotti 1989: 25, fig. 6).

Figure 5: Cemetery plan of Romans (source: Vitri *et al*. 2014: 295, fig. 2).

4. Cividale del Friuli, Santo Stefano in Pertica

Region: Friuli Venezia Giulia

Province: Udine

Location: Outside the Roman walls of the town in the south-eastern area. On the right bank of the Natisone river, facing west. South-eastern of the ancient city wall.

Context: Suburban

Discoveries: 1960 Casual discovery/Rescue excavation. During works to build a school 15 graves discovered. The grave goods were recovered but the skeletal remains of the deceased were thrown away, thus no anthropological analysis are available for graves 1-15. It is only possible to distinguish the adults from the children, on the basis of some notes collected by the excavator (Barbiera 2005: 75).

1987-1988. Trenching. Other 28 graves were discovered. The cemetery is beneath a modern school so it was not possible to investigate the entire are. 42 trenches were open in the two school courtyards.

Number of graves: 43

Chronology: Second half of the 6th-second half of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 6, 7.

The graves were organised in parallel lines and were probably organised in groups interpreted by Barbriera (2005: 84-6; 102) as possible family plots (Figure 7).

Bibliography: Ahumada Silva, Lopreato and Tagliaferri 1990; Barbiera 2005.

Figure 6: Cemetery plan of Santo Stefano in Pertica (source: Ahumada Silva, Lopreato and Tagliaferri 1990: fig. 2).

Figure 7: Groups of graves identified by Barbiera (2005: 77, map 1).

5. Cividale del Friuli, Collina San Mauro

Region: Friuli Venezia Giulia

Province: Udine

Location: Northern outskirts of the city of Cividale del Friuli.

Context: Suburban
Discoveries: 1886 Casual discovery

    1994-1996 Trenching

    1998 Stratigraphic excavation

Number of graves: 23

    There are also 57 graves dated to the late Medieval period that have not been recorded

Chronology: Last third of the 6th-beginning of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 8.

    The location of the was probably determined by the morphology of the hill (Ahumada Silva 2010b: 165).

Bibliography: Ahumada Silva 2010a

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Figure 8: Cemetery plan of San Mauro. The graves dated to the Lombard period are those in red (source: Ahumada Silva 2010a: tav. 132).

6. Ovaro, Liariis

Region: Friuli Venezia Giulia

Province: Udine

Location: In the small village of Namontet, close to Liariis. On a hill.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1992-1993. Stratigraphic excavation.

Number of graves: 50

Chronology: 6th-7th century

Cemetery layout: The plan of the site has not been published.

Bibliography: Barbiera 2005: 91-5

7. Pradamano, Lovaria

Region: Friuli Venezia Giulia

Province: Udine

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1992-1996. Stratigraphic excavations.

Number of graves: 105.

The number of the graves discovered is provided by Buora (2008: 77) but only some have been published.

Number of graves recorded: 26

Chronology: 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 9.

The northern limit of the cemetery was identified and the western boundaries was determined by a depression of the soil. The eastern and southern limits of the cemetery have not been identified (Buora and Usai 1997: 261).

Bibliography: Buora and Lavarone 1995; Buora and Usai 1997; Buora 2008.

**IMAGE
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Figure 9: Cemetery plan of Pradamano (source: Buora 2008: 78, fig. 2).

8. Bolgare, San Chierico

Region: Lombardia

Province: Bergamo

Location: Bolgare is in the north-eastern area of the Bergamo plain, in the Pre-Alpine hills.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 2001 Casual. During the building of a residential building it was noticed the presence of slabs and fragments of bones.

2001-2008 Trenching, Stratigraphical excavation.

Number of graves: 284

Chronology: 7th - 9th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 10.

The eastern and northern boundaries of the cemetery have been identified. The southern boundary probably corresponded to the modern via Leopardi. The western boundary has not been identified.

It is hypothesised that the cemetery was originally organised in groups of graves that corresponded to family plots (Fortunati and Ghiroldi 2006: 98).

Bibliography: De Marchi and Fortunati 2006; Fortunati and Ghiroldi 2006

Figure 10: Cemetery plan of Bolgare (source: Sannazzaro 2006: 183, fig. 7).

9. Brescia, Palazzo Martinengo

Region: Lombardia

Province: Brescia

Location: In the city of Brescia.

Context: Urban

Discoveries: 1988-1985. Stratigraphic excavation.

Number of graves: 8

Chronology: 6th - 8th century

Cemetery layout: No plan

There are two groups of graves: one group is in the Roman *taberna* in front of the Roman *forum*, the other group is in the area of the Roman bath.

Bibliography: Cattaneo 1996; De Marchi 1996; De Vanna 1996

10. Campione d'Italia, Chiesa di San Zeno

Region: Lombardia

Province: Como

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1996-1997 Stratigraphic excavation.

Number of graves: 11

Number of graves recorded: 7.

The graves recorded are those dated to the 7th and 8th century and summarised by Blockley *et al*. (2005: 79). Four more graves were dug in a later phase (probably between the 9th and the 10th century) when the church was abandoned.

Chronology: 7th-8th

The first church was built in the first half of the 7th century, but it could have been built even earlier (Blockley et al. 2005: 35). It is a rectangular building with an apse in its eastern side. In the second half of the 7th century the church was modified and a funerary chapel was added to its western side. This means that a new entrance to the church, on the southern side, was opened. In front of the new entrance a secondary altar was built that maybe contained relics in a glass lamp (Blockley et al. 2005: 38)

Cemetery layout: Figure 9

In the second phase of the church, when the funerary chapel was built and the inhumations started to appear, grave 8 and 9 were placed inside the church respectively along the northern and southern walls. In the funerary chapel grave 10 and 11 were placed in its eastern portion followed by grave 13, always in the eastern area. Subsequently grave 18 and 15 were built in the western part of the chapel.

Bibliography: Gasparri and La Rocca 2005a; Blockley *et al*. 2005; Brogiolo 2005

Figure 11: Plan of the church and the graves of San Zeno. On the top the first phase of the church (maybe first half of the 7th century) on the bottom the second phase of the church (second half of the 7th -8th century; source Brogiolo 2005: 105, fig.2).

11. Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino

Region: Lombardia

Province: Milano

Location: One km from Trezzo d'Adda, close to the new provincial road to Mantova. The site is less than 200 m. from the cemetery of Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1989-1991 Stratigraphic excavation

Number of graves: 29

One grave was dated to the 10th-11th century and one grave to the 13th century

Chronology: End of the 6th-end of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 10

The hypothesis is that the oldest graves of the cemetery laid in one alignment and were placed partly inside a room of the Roman villa (grave 16 and 15) and partly immediately outside (graves 17, 18 and 19). The other graves developed subsequently eastern and western of this group.

It is not possible to establish if there were other graves outside the excavated area and, particularly, if there were graves between Cascina San Martino and Località San Martino. It is possible that the graves were more numerous but some of them were destroyed during the works to build the church and especially, during its restoration in the 16th century (Lusuardi Siena 2012: 94).

An oratory was built, probably at the end of the 7th century and 12 of the graves were included inside this building. The other graves, mainly placed western of the facade might have been surrounded by another structure linked with the church (Lusuardi Siena 2012: 104).

Bibliography: Lusuardi Siena and Giostra 2012; Lusuardi Siena 2012

Figure 12: Plan of the cemetery of Trezzo d'Adda, Cascina San Martino (source: Lusuardi Siena 2012: 91, fig. 24)

12. Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino

Region: Lombardia

Province: Milano

Location: One km from Trezzo d'Adda and less than 200 m. from the cemetery of Cascina San Martino.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1976 Casual

    1977-1978 Trenching

Number of graves: 5

Chronology: Beginning of the 7th-third quarter of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 11

    The entire extension of the cemetery is unknown.

Bibliography: Roffia 1986

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Figure 13: Plan of the cemetery of Trezzo d'Adda, Località San Martino (source: Roffia 1986: 101)

13. Collegno

Region: Piemonte

Province: Torino

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 2002- 2006 Stratigraphic excavation

Number of graves: 157. This number is provided by Pejrani Baricco (2007: 262).

Number of graves recorded: 73

Not all the graves excavated have been published. The information on the graves recorded are from Pejrani Baricco 2004a.

In the south-eastern area the grave of a beheaded horse was discovered (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 33-4)

Chronology: End of the 6th-8th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 12

The cemetery was not entirely excavated and it is possible that more graves were in the northern and eastern sides. The south-east area of the cemetery was damaged by works to recover explosive devices from the war (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 19).

The cemetery was organised in rows and it is hypothesised that they corresponded to family plots (Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 33).

Other information; Also the settlement related to the cemetery was identified and excavated (Pejrany Baricco 2004b).

Bibliography: Pejrani Baricco 2004a; Pejrani Baricco 2004b; Pejrani Baricco 2007.

Figure 14: Plan of the cemetery of Collegno (source: Pejrani Baricco 2004b: 28, fig. 17).

14. Trento, Palazzo Tabarelli

Region: Trentino

Province: Trento

Località: via Oss Mazzurana

Context: Urban

Discoveries: 1982 Stratigraphic excavation

Number of graves: 7

Chronology: End of the 6th-7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 13

The graves were dug on the levels of demolition of Roman buildings.

Bibliography: Cavada 1998

Figure 15: Plan of the cemetery of Trento, Palazzo Tabarelli (source: Cavada 1998: 127, fig.4).

15. Montecchio Maggiore, Ospedale

Region: Veneto

Province: Vicenza

Località: 12 km western of Vincenza.

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 1990 Trenching and stratigraphic excavation

Number of graves: 15

Chronology: Second quarter of the 7^h –end of the 7th century.

Cemetery layout: Figure 14

The cemetery is formed by two groups of graves that occupied the area of a Roman villa. The excavation has shown that the south-western group did not continue beyond the limits of the excavation while it is possible that the north-western group included more graves.

It is hypothesised that some of the structures of the Roman villa were still visible when the burials were dug (Rigoni 2011: 16).

Bibliography: Rigoni 2011; Rigoni and Bruttomesso 2011.

Figure 16: Plan of the cemetery of Montecchio Maggiore, Ospedale (source: Rigoni 2011: 15, fig. 1.3).

16. Pontedera, località La Scafa

Region: Toscana

Province: Pisa

Località: North-east of Pontedera, near the left bank of the river Arno

Context: Rural

Discoveries: 2011 Rescue excavation

Number of graves: 10

Chronology: First half of the 7th century

Cemetery layout: Figure 15

The cemetery is formed by four parallel rows and it is possible that it included more graves (Alberigi and Ciampoltrini 2014: 354). The graves were on the remains of a Roman villa, which was probably still visible and determined their placement (Alberigi and Ciampoltrini 2014: 351).

Bibliography: Alberigi and Ciampoltrini 2014.

Figure 17: Plan of the cemetery of Pontedera, Loccalità La Scafa (source: Alberigi and Ciampoltrini 2014: 354, fig. 4).

Abbreviations

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