ARCHAEOLOGY, HISTORY AND THEORY: SETTLEMENT AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN CENTRAL ITALY A. D. 700 - 1000.

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Volume II - Appendices, Illustrations, Bibliography

Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Ph.D in Archaeology and Prehistory.

University of Sheffield.

September 1988

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General Introduction - Notes

1. The context for this assertion is an article on the "spectacular" growth of the Wessex Archaeological Trust in the last five years which the Director of the Trust admits is totally predicated upon "property developments across the whole of the South and the recent consequences of the Big Bang". The appropriation of archaeology, and the past in general, by capitalist big business ultimately comes down to more than a question of funding. The development of historical theme parks, the "privitisation" of archaeological sites and the emphasis on the profitability of such sites is a further reflection. But by far the most illuminating feature in this respect is the nature of the "story" of the past with which people are presented at such places (see **Horne 1984; Shanks and Tilley 1986: 68 - 99**).

Chapter One - Notes

1. This conception of the archaeologist's spade as an *instrumentum mutum* is based upon a profound misunderstanding of the nature of modern archaeological method and theory. One of the aims of this thesis is to put this misunderstanding, and the mutual mistrust upon which it is founded, to rest by illustrating a methodological approach which opens the spades mouth and gives it voice - the *instrumentum mutum* can be made into an *instrumentum vocale*. Perhaps one of the reasons historians have spoken of the spade's dumb mouth is that they do not speak its language, or it might be that its, so far timorous, voice has been lost amid the din of historical stentoriousness. What we need is a common language and equal voice.

2. In his publication of the Dark Age royal palace complex at Yeavering (*Ad Gefrin*) (Northumbria) Brian Hope-Taylor, pre-empting somewhat Arnold's assertions, suggested that the archaeological and historical sources for the early Anglo-Saxon period are so much at variance that the archaeologist should take a stand by the validity and potential of his own data and write history from this -

> "it would be plain cowardice to let the discrepancy between history and archaeology pass any longer as a trifling puzzle...The initiative has passed for the moment to the archaeologist" (Hope-Taylor 1977: 309).

The initiative has only passed to the archaeologist if we look at the past through positivist spectacles. Thus it is in archaeology that new "facts" about the early historic period are being revealed. Only rarely does an original document from the period reappear. Nevertheless, as we shall be at

pains to point out later in this Chapter, facts are only important in terms of the questions asked about the past. It is useless to amass facts, magpie-like, if we don't know what to do with them. Similarily using only a fraction of the available evidence to answer historical questions must seriously limit the effectiveness of the answers we give.

3. There are direct comparisons between this suggestion, made originally in 1968, and that more recently proposed by Binford in his call for the development of an archaeological Middle Range Theory (see Chapter 2).

4. This is not necessarily to propose that archaeology should become a "science of material culture" (see **Harris 1979**). Rather it is to take a maximalist view of what material culture is. As an archaeologist I have no difficulty in recognising pottery, metal work, glass etc. as material culture. But frescoes, mosaics and texts are also material culture. The latter at least appear to speak to us directly, but as we shall see, their message has to be decoded and placed in context before it can tell us anything. Further the very fact of textual production can tell us something about the nature of the society we are studying. Therefore just as pottery studies exist on many levels - from the petrological and technological (see **Peacock 1982**) to the symbolic (see **Hodder 1982a; Miller 1985**) - so too documents as material culture. They too are human products from the past existing in the present.

5. One of the earliest of the Renaissance Men was L. B. Alberti. Today he is perhaps best known as an architect and the designer of many churches in northern Italy including Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, the facade of Sta.

Maria Novella in Firenze, and San Andrea in Mantua. In tune with the whole Renaissance spirit, however, Alberti also wrote widely on other subjects ranging from discussions on aesthetics and painting to the family and agronomy. He even tried his hand at some underwater archaeology, devising a system by which a Roman ship could be raised from the bed of Lake Nemi. See **Borsi 1973** for a general discussion of Alberti's works, and **Stinger 1985: 66** for an account of his archaeological enterprise.

6. It is somewhat paradoxical that those within the *new archaeology* who purport to be following the dictates of a rigorous scientific method, and some within branches of structural Marxism who would recoil at comparisons with so superstitous an age, actually attribute a similar role to humans, though of course a different overarching structure is substituted for the medieval Divine Plan (see **Althusser 1969; Althusser and Balibar 1970; Binford 1983a, 1983b; and Hodder 1986** for a short critique of these positions). The whole problem of the depersonalisation of the human being (the complete "decentering of the subject") in much philosophical and scientific thought is discussed in much more detail later in this Chapter and in Chapters 2 and 3, but it is an essential point of this thesis to dismiss such arguments and to allow that humans can and do direct their own destinies. Only in this way can all the details and vagaries of History be accommadated and not dismissed as epiphenomena to the structural or systemic interpretation.

7. There is no time or space here to back up this assertion with a detailed discussion of elements of the work of Marx and Engels. The work of Marx, is however, a fundamental starting point for many of the ideas

presented in this thesis, and his work is quoted at length in the Chapters to follow, often with direct relevance to the point under discussion here.

8. There are those within the "scientific community" itself who question the possibility of producing objective facts, even in the hard sciences (see **Feyerabend 1975**). The difficulty arises from attempts to tease out the elements of the subject/object and theory/data couplets. As I will presently argue for the study of the past, data are essentially theory bound. A recursive relationship exists between them, as it does between the observer and his/her facts, which mitigates against objectivity (see also **Shanks and Tilley 1987a: 37**). For our present purposes, however, it is enough to draw the essential distinction between the ability to observe the processes producing scientific facts, and the impossibility of doing the same for facts about the past.

9. This is not to deny the potential of what has become known as "experimental archaeology" (see **Coles 19??**). The procedures of re-creation and re-enactment have some educative and empathetic potential, and can tell us how particular processes and events **might** happened in the past. But such studies have generally been carried out within the tradition which emphasises the necessity of producing scientific "objective" facts, and therefore falls foul of the problems referred to in note 8 and elsewhere in this Chapter. See Chapter 2, p. 67 for a more detailed discussion.

10. The extensive use of quotation marks in this work may have been noticed. The use of these elements of punctuation are dictated by several concerns, but in general they are used to indicate the use of phrases or

concepts, which, in terms of their usage within the present work, are questionable or are to be questioned (for a discussion of the full range of usages of quotations marks for this purpose see **Carrard 1985: 1 - 16**). Here the bracketing of the words *values* and *great* is intended to throw some doubt on the applicability of a commonly held meaning of these words to the present context. Thus I would question whether what the present government and the Victorian entrepreneurs "valued" was in fact to be valued at all, and similarily the "greatness" of the Empire is only relative to the exploitation upon which it was based.

11. De Ste Croix (1983: 82) defines an antiquarian work as one which could be called "an outstanding and invaluable repository of detailed and accurate information on those limited aspects..[of a subject]..in which ..[the author]..happens to be interested".

12. For Collingwood philological criticism "essentially consisted of two operations; first, the analysis of sources (which still meant literary, narrative sources) into their component parts, distinguishing earlier and later elements in them and thus enabling the historian to discriminate between the more and less trustworthy portions; and secondly, the internal criticism of even the most trustworthy parts, showing how the author's point of view affected his statement of the facts, and so enabling the historian to make allowance for the distortions thus produced" (**Collingwood 1946: 130**). He suggests that although this practice distanced History from positivism to a certain exent, by engendering its lack of concern for general propositions, the discipline was nevertheless still deeply influenced by the positivist spirit.

13. One result of the work carried out for this thesis was the creation of an awareness that a connection can often be made between contemporary social and political conditions and the focus and nature of academic research. Thus the Marxist inspired work of Childe was largely ignored in the MacCarthyite USA, while ecological and systemic models, frequently stressing ecosystem fragility and the importance of population variables, came to the fore with the recognition of the problems presented to the modern world by pollution, nuclear power, and overpopulation (see **Trigger 1978: 71**; and below Chapter 2). Similarily core-periphery models of historical development may be seen as a reaction to the developmental policies pursued by many Western states in relation to the newly liberated Third World nations (see, for example, the works of **Wallerstein 1974, 1979a, 1980, 1984a**; for archaeological applications see **Ekholm and Friedman 1979; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978, Friedman and Rowlands 1977b; Hingley 1982,** and the papers in **Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen (eds.) 1987**; and below Chapter 5. More recently some archaeologists have resurrected the myth of individualism in a milieu of "share owning capitalism" and neo-Victorian values (see **MacFarlane 1979; Hodges forthcoming 1989**; and above §1: 3).

The perception of these links is not (*contra* **Shanks and Tilley 1987b: 31**) necessarily to pose archaeologists and historians as a "non-active intelligence in which they are only capable of **reflecting** the social conditions of their existence rather than **challenging** them or attempting to **change** them" (emphasis added). Rather it points simply and directly to the social construction in the present of the archaeologists and historians interest in the past.

14. The literature produced by and in response to the *Annales* is now enormous. Kinser (1981: 63) quotes Braudel's statement at the Inaugural Conference of the Fernand Braudel Center, in May 1977, that 800 - 1000 volumes had been produced by historians of the *Annales* tradition since 1951. A few of these are mentioned in the main text, focussing on the work of Fébvre and Braudel. Critical works are equally omnipresent but for the best overviews and critiques see **Hughes 1966: chapter 2; Iggers 1975; Kinser 1981; Ricoeur 1980;** and **Stoianovich 1976**. Such is the vogue for things French in modern archaeological theory that a recent session of the **Theoretical Archaeology Group** held in Bradford in December 1987 was devoted to archaeological applications of the *Annales* methodology, while another such discussion is to form part of the **AIA** conference in Baltimore, Maryland, in January 1989.

15. Kinser (1981) shows how Braudel's concept of "structure" changed from the first to the second edition of *La Mediterranée* due to his contact with the leaders of the growing structuralist movement including Levi-Strauss, with whom he taught at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in the 1950's and 1960's. This was precisely the time when he was revising the early edition of *La Mediterranée* (*ibid*: 81).

16. Braudel wrote much of *La Méditerranée* while in a German prison of war camp during the second world war. The experience obviously affected both him and his work greatly and served to convince him that real history lay at a level below that of the occurrences and events, "especially vexing ones", taking place around him. His emphasis on the triumph of the *longue durée* over the short term and contingent can be linked to a nostalgia for

the way things used to be, for pre-war France. If the *longue durée* won out, this would surely return again (**Kinser 1981: 71**). For a more general discussion of the construction of the past in the present, see note 13 above.

17. The more recent work of Le Goff and Duby seems to owe more to the early *Annalistes* than it does to their mentor Braudel. Le Goff's researches on early medieval miracles, Purgatory, concepts of space and time, and those of Duby on medieval marriage, on the conceptual ordering of society and its relationship with "reality" can be placed more happily alongside those of Fébvre than those of Braudel. See **Le Goff 1980a** and **1985a**, and **Duby 1980** and **1983**. Their more sophisticated work, especially that of Le Goff, would also seem to escape some of the criticism levelled against the early "psychological history" of Fébvre. These criticisms centre on a perceived concentration by the early *Annalistes* on the "unconscious" elements in a world view, which have to be weeded out to arrive at a "reality"; and on the assumption that world views are collective, irrespective of class, and other social structures (see **Kaye 1984: 244 - 245**).

18. See note 6, above. Braudel's is simply another of the many conceptions of the structure/agency, society/individual oppositions which accord primacy and historical efficacy to impersonal structures, and effectively write people out of history

19. See Shanks and Tilley (1987a: 107 - 108) for a discussion of Archaeology as four-fold hermenutic.

Chapter Two - Notes

1. Although influenced by Darwinian evolutionary theory, and a Hegelian notion of the "psychic unity" of Man, this explanatory scheme was in fact a by-product of an inconsistency in the work of Darwin himself when it came to applying his theory of adaptation through the mechanism of natural selection to the human race. Darwin rejected ideas that there was a plan of nature which predetermined the appearance of species in the plant and animal worlds and a fixed course of development through which they should pass. There was no need to invoke the existence of any explanation other than the mechanism of variation under selection.

But when it came to Man, Darwin found it impossible to seporate himself from the morality of the late Victorian world within which he lived and conducted his researches. For although he still insisted that human beings evolved through the same mechanism as the rest of the natural world, the question of the pre-eminence of Man within that natural world and the capacity of Man to reflect upon his/her position, forced Darwin to the conclusion that it was the human race's possession of consciousness and morality which accounted for that position. At the same time he accepted the principle of the then developing comparative method, which asserted that the primitive peoples living in the world could be taken to represent the previous steps through which the civilised peoples had moved in the past to reach their present pre-eminence (Ingold 1986: 48). The deviation from the views on indeterminancy which he held to characterise evolution in

the "natural" world is plain to see. A Kantian progress towards a finer form won out over the indeterminancy of natural selection.

2. The fact that the past can and has been used in this way (see Horne 1984 for an analysis of how museum displays throughout Europe seek to present a picture of the past which accords well with past and existing political beliefs) must serve as a note of caution to anyone who argues for "relativism" in approaches to the past. It also cautions those of us who argue for the "political" nature of archaeology as a discipline in the present that we must constantly tread the thin line between political awareness and the creation of propaganda. The acceptable, and indeed necessary, use of the past to demonstrate the transience of any particular mode of production does not allow us to recreate the past in our own image or us it as a means to enhance that image. See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion.

3. Perhaps one of the fundamental extracts from the works of Marx in this respect is the following

> "In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx 1970: 20 - 21).

As we shall see below, there has been much discussion on the interpretation of this passsage, and on whether it represents the essence of Marx's thought on the matter of base/superstructure relations (see **Callinicos 1987**; and **Rigby 1987** for extended critiques), but we can suggest in the present context that Childe took it to mean that if you can define the productive base of a social system it should be possible to infer from this the political, ideological, and social superstructure.

4. This final point can be made clear with regard to Childe's work through a consideration of the revised role he saw for external stimuli on European social systems. Although his later works emphasised the internal coherence of social systems, rays of light still reached Europe *ex oriente* (**Bintliff 1984: 20**). Childe now regarded as vital an evaluation of how these rays were reflected through the prism of European social systems and produced something more innovative than that seen in the East. Whereas Marx and Weber traced the locus of the disjuncture between the trajectories of East and West to the late Antique period, Childe managed to locate it far back in the "scientific age" of European prehistory - the Bronze Age (**Rowlands 1984: 148 - 149**). It was then that the introduction of bronze metallurgy into the West and its utilization by "free" craftsmen enabled European social systems to break out of the self-sustaining Neolithic mode of production which is seen as a "stagnant variant of Asiatic society" (*ibid*). This rupture was not possible in the Near East because there metal workers and all other craftsmen were tied to the palace and temple producing luxury goods for the opulent display of the aristocracies.

Although it might appear that Childe is acknowledging the creativity and inventiveness of Man in the past, in reality these qualities were not seen as being a general human possession. If they wereto be found anywhere it was in the West, but even the "creative" craftsmen whose production of bronze so transformed European societies are not to be seen as the creators of their own destiny. They are simply functional parts of the economic subsystem.

Turning for a moment to discuss the political implications of this archaeological reconstruction of the East-West relationship, it can be see to fit well with perennial attempts to locate the "uniqueness of the west" and oppose it to a stagnant and corrupt East (for a fuller account and criticism of these attempts see **Hirst 1975**; **Rowlands 1984**; and **Vickham 1985**). This is a train of thought which has permeated western historiography at least since the times of Montesquieu and Hegel but it is still advocates of the politically neutral status of archaeology today can construct a Berlin Wall through the world of the past by imposing upon it the perceived modern antipathy between the "Free World" in the West and the "Evil Empire", in the totalitarian and bureaucratic East.

5. Ingold is here referring to a pre-Darwinian notion of evolution which was applied to the past human cultural development by Spencer and Tylor, and which owed much to the "transformism" of Lamark (**Ingold 1986: 1 - 27, 82**; see also **Bray 1973: 88**). It was a conflation of this type of "evolution", which insisted on the directionality and progressiveness of the evolutionary process towards some greater good and which by implication necessitated the existence and authority of some superorganism, and the

later Darwinian version which saw the process as essentially blind and undirected, with natural selection through modification as the only mechanism necessary to carry the process forward though not to any defined goal, which has resulted in much confusion about the value and place of evolutionary theory in archaeology, as well as in anthropology and many other disciplines.

As we have already seen (note 1 above), Darwin himself had some difficulties when he tried to transfer his concepts from the world of Nature to the world of Man and ended up positing Lamarkian directionality to the course of human cultural evolution. White appears to have been somewhat confused as to what the difference was between Lamarkian transformism and the Darwinian evolutionary theory such that he considered his (White's) conception of evolution (which as we have already suggested was Lamarkian) was the same as that of Darwin (Ingold 1986: 83).

6. Service's original conception of a chiefdom as a redistributional agency was developed to account for perceived anthropological situations in Polynesia. Recent work in that area, however, has cast some doubt on the validity of the concept as formulated, through an examination of the empirical conditions upon which it was supposedly based. Thus Earle (1977) has show that instead of great ecological and economic diversity integrated by the chiefly institution, the lowest level productive units are in fact economically generalised and potentially self sufficient. "Maximum resource diversity is included within the community boundaries" (*ibid*: fig. 3 p. 220 - 221). Even on the geologically more recent islands where

convenient geographical units forming the bases of community territories did not exist

> "economic specialization did not result in community specialization and political centrality. Rather, the response to specialization was an alteration of the local social organization such that the specialized households were integrated into a cognatic social unit...which crosscut the economic diversity (*ibid*: 223).

Earle concludes that the institution of chief and the mechanism of redistribution should be seen in the light of emerging social stratification used to finance the political and private activities of an élite population removed from subsistence activities. Although Earle demonstrates that the goods which came through the hierarchy from the producers were not redistributed in the general interest but were used in the political machinations of the chief, the *contrat social* is not completely destroyed, nor could it ever be within such functional and systemic models. The elite are still seen as performing various "control functions" including the "management of local economic strategies, like irrigation and aquaculture (*ibid*: 226 - 227), since through these control activities "the people may appreciate concrete benefits otherwise unobtainable" (Sahlins 1974: 140).

7. Aside from their inherent denial of the possibility of purposeful action effecting change, the application of these neo-evolutionary models, or aspects of them, to archaeology is hard to justify. Thus Renfrew's (1973a) ascription of the chiefdom tag to Neolithic society falls down in the face of the lack of productive diversity to be co-ordinated. Similarily Bradley (1984: 137 - 138) has suggested that it is difficult to see Early Iron Age hillforts in Britain as being chiefly residences at the node of a redistribution network (see Cunliffe 1978: 331 and fig. 16:1 p. 328) since

all the archaeological evidence for production and settlement patterns points to little economic specialization with virtually self sufficient small settlements (see also **Haselgrove 1986**).

This is not to deny that what anthropologists would define as "chiefdoms" did not exist in the European past. It is simply to point to the dangers archaeologists face when they try to fit features of the material culture of past social systems into the stage in evolutionary taxonomies without considering the assumptions upon which the model itself is predicated.

8. It is also to be found in the work of his early disciples. Indeed some of the examples presented above of the use of neo-evolutionary approaches in archaeology actually come from the work of people who might be called, or might like to be called, new archaeologists. Thus Bintliff (1984: 25) considers Earle to be a practitioner of the new orthodoxy and Renfrew to have been at the forefront of its introduction into Britain.

9. See Raab and Goodyear (1984) for a discussion of the changes in meaning which this transfer to archaeology caused for middle range theory, and for a general discussion of the problems with the term as used in archaeology.

10. This differentiates Binford from a group of so-called "realists" who argue that archaeological data is by its very nature deficient when it comes to tackling questions about the ideological and even social aspects of past societies (see **Hawkes 1954**; **Smith M. A. 1955**). Hawkes proposed a ladder of inference up which it was increasingly difficult for

archaeologists to climb. The lower rungs represent the productive and technological aspects of past social systems, the middle ones represent the economy, while the upper ones refer to ideology and politics. This scheme can be criticised on several levels.

Empirically we would appear to have more information about what could be termed the ideological aspects of early medieval society than we do about the productive base. Thus excavations have until recently concentrated on cemeteries (for example see **Kiszely 1979**; **Mengarelli 1902**; **Pasqui and Paribeni 1919** for Italian evidence; and **Arnold 1984b** for a short example from England). In the absence of detailed excavations of settlement sites, reconstructions of Lombardic life have been based on the evidence from burial grounds!

Although major research projects are now underway throughout Europe to shift the balance from cemetery and élite site excavation to that which will tell us about production and technology, it remains a fact that archaeology can tell us more about the ritual, ideology, and theology of the élites, than about the economy and technology of the early medieval West. Thomas (**n.d. 1**) has made the same point for Neolithic Britain.

On a more theoretical level the "realists" fail to see that their notion of dividing up a past social system into functionally inter-related subsystems is based on a particular Eurocentric conception of society (**Godelier 1986: 28, 148**) Hodder (1986: 31) illustrates the point by asking into which of the proposed economic, ritual, or social subsystems would we today place a 'meal', or even which parts of the meal would be in which subsystem.

11. On the same theme but at a slightly more abstract level, we can note the attitude to living peoples which is inherent in the methodology of middle range research. We can detect a strong trace of those elements which characterised nineteenth century evolutionism and which persist in archaeological discussions of the relationship between peoples in the past and those living or ethnographically documented "primitives" (see above p. 52ff). In a philosophy dominated by the notion of progress towards the "civilisations" of the western world, these living peoples are seen as the fossilised remnants of long dead peoples. They are the failures in the "moral success story" of human evolution (**Wolf 1982: 5**). They preserve in one form or another, and with varying degrees of exactitude, the material culture and customs of their long dead ancestors - the producers of the archaeological record. These living societies are seen through the objective eye of the "scientist" as

> "a generous scientific gift: [as] an extended series of experiments in cultural adaptation and evolutionary development. ....[In them] almost every phase in the progress of primitive culture is exemplified" (**Sahlins 1963: 285**; for the full quotation see above p. 37).

They are not seen as the product of historically contingent circumstances. They are indeed a "people without history" (Wolf 1982). We deny them the right to their own past by making them laboratories for conducting experiments into our own, and as such we continue the task of incorporation and destruction in which capitalism has succeeded admirably for so many years.

12. In his penetrating critique of the scientific method, Paul Feyerabend suggests

> "that the idea of a fixed method, or of a fixed theory of rationality, rests on too naïve a view of man and his social surroundings. To those who look at the rich material provided by history, and who are not intent on impoverishing it in order to please their lower instincts, their craving for intellectual security in the form of clarity, precision, 'objectivity', 'truth', it will become clear that there is only ***one*** principle which can be defended under ***all*** circumstances and in ***all*** stages of human development. It is the principle: ***anything goes***" (1975: 27 - 28).

Feyerabend argues that it is only through the application of different theoretical approaches, and not through the rigorous application of one firm and fixed method, that progress in our knowledge and appreciation of the past can be realised. He suggests that the "proliferation of theories is beneficial for science, while uniformity impairs its critical power" (1975: 35). Recognising as he does the critical link between facts and theories, it is only a logical step from showing that every fact about the past is contingent upon our theoretical perspective to suggest that it is only through the application of theoretical approaches which to some extent run counter to the current orthodoxy - in this case the rigors of the scientific method - that other facts assume their relevance and importance (*ibid*: 39). If we were all to adhere to the tenets of positivist science or the hypothetico-deductive method we not only, as we have constantly emphasised, reify the past but we fossilize that reification. Only through the implementation of new theoretical approaches can the past be allowed its difference, and that the richness of the material cultural product of the past can be used to its full extent rather than large sections of it being ignored and forgotten because it does not fit with the imposed and reified structures, systems, or divinities.

13. See also Arnold 1984a, 1984b; Driscoll and Nieke (eds.) 1988; and Hodges 1982.

1. The seperation suggested here between function and meaning is for the purposes of outlining the two sides of a long running argument in Archaeology. Like all the oppositions we have referred to in the previous Chapters it's reality lies in its dissolution. Hodder stresses the point and argues for a recursiveness in the relationship between function and meaning -

> "functional linkages play a part in the meanings assigned to objects - part of the symbolic and cognitive significance of objects derives from their use...the assignment of function depends on imputing symbolic meaning. Once again we return here to notions of material culture as both object and sign, of two way influences, of a necessary unity" (1986: 52 - 53).

2. This opposition can be rewritten as structure/individual depending on whether we are working within a systems theory or structuralist perspective. See below, note 5 and this Chapter.

3. We have seen, in Chapter 1, note 16, how Braudellian history, with its focus on structure and the *longue durée*, was a product of war-time concern to diminish the significance of the (hoped for) short term event of occupation and Naziism in favour of the long terms return to "normality". Similarily we could look upon the focus placed on the individual as a product of a modern society which stresses self-help, entrepreneurism, philanthropy, and share owning capitalism. See also Chapter 1: 3.

4. Spencer's debt to the Enlightenment thinkers of the seventeenth century is to be seen in the fact that he subscribed to the view that all human history was part of a "progressive development towards an enlightened future" (Ingold 1986: 3). As such it was imbued with the early Victorian notion of "progress" (see above Chapter 1, §1: 3). We might similarily connect Spencer's situation of the individual on the "dominant" side of the society/individual equation to the then contemporary notion of the importance of the individual action, inventiveness and resourcefulness in the creation of what was then the world's biggest ("greatest" carries some connotations of goodness and beneficience) social system - the British Empire.

5. Adherence to a view which gives priority to the object over the subject, and, in a sense, to structure over individual action, has created some strange bed fellows in that it appears to be held by some who we could call "functionalists" and by others who can be variously termed structuralists, Marxists, and structural Marxists. The essence of both is that they make a concept into a concrete reality. For the former the concrete reality is Society, for the latter it is Structure.

6. His work has attracted many supporters (e.g. Poulantzas 1975; Hindness and Hirst 1975). It also its critics (notably Thompson 1978). Such is the emotion raised by the work of Althusser within the Marxist tradition that pejoratives litter the literary and verbal battlefield which takes the place of academic discussion. This is well illustrated by Thompson's statement that

> "If I thought that Althusserianism was the logical terminus of Marxist thought, then I could never be a Marxist. I

> would rather be a Christian (or hope to have the courage of a certain kind of Christian radical)" (1978: 189).

The reasons for this will be discussed in the main text but centre on Althusser's and his followers condemnation of History, Anthropology etc. to the "hell of empiricism".

Benton shows that despite the fact that when Althusser uses structuralist terminology he immediately distances himself from what he calls the "structuralist ideology", the influence on his work of contemporary French structuralism was so great that his

> "essays concede virtually the whole territory previously occupied by Marxism in its phenomenological and existentialist forms [basically the works of Merleau-Ponty and Sartre - see *ibid:* 5 - 10; and **Callinicos 1987: 64 - 68**]. No attempt is made to defend these Marxisms from the structuralist critique. On the contrary, arguments, sometimes with clear structuralist ancestry, sometimes derived from classics of Marxist-Leninism, but always complementary in their effect, are given a specific focus in the refutation of humanist and historicist Marxisms" (1984: 10 - 11).

In another context it would have been useful to explore further the relationship between Althusser, and Saussure and Levi-Strauss but limitations of space prevent this. I will restrict myself therefore to a short description, in the form of this note to the main text, and concentrate on Saussure since it was his work on linguistics which informed so much of later structuralist thought including that of Levi-Strauss (see **Giddens 1979: 18 - 28**; and **Shanks and Tilley 1987: 99 - 100**).

Saussurian linguistics (a discussion of the details of this linguistic procedure can be found in **Giddens 1979: 10 - 17** and **Ingold 1986: 138 - 148**) presents us with an example of the dangers of what Bourdieu calls "the objective limits of objectivism" (1977: 1 - 71, esp. 26 - 27). In moving from a conception where **speech** is seen as a precondition for **language**, Saussure, attempting to locate the **objective** reality of the relationship between *langue* and *parole* at a deeper level, succeeds in inverting the relationship such that language becomes the precondition for the intelligibility of speech -

> "being the mediation which ensures the identity of the sound-concept associations made by the speakers and so guarantees mutual comprehension. Thus in the **logical order of intelligibility** speech is the product of language" (**Bourdieu 1977: 24**).

Immediately action (speech/*parole*) is subordinated to structure (language/*langue*).

What is missing from his account, what connects *langue* and *parole*, as it connects structure and action, individual and society, is a conception of **practice**, a conception of the competent speaker and language user. There is a conception of practice in Saussurian linguistics, but it is practice reduced to execution. It is practice without intentionality and consciousness. This practice is merely the

> "by product, or one might say the waste product, immediately discarded, of the construction of the system of objective relations" (*ibid*).

Action (speech) is held to be merely the visible effect of structure (language). But again the antinomy cannot hold fast. Although Saussure held that language is the property not of the mind of the individual but

of the collectivity, he suggests that innovations in language originate in the minds and speech acts of the individuals "and only as they gain wider acceptance do they enter the common repetoire of the community" (Ingold 1986: 147). Again, although structure is held to reveal itself in action, it appears that only in action can innovation take place.

Levi-Strauss extended the principles of Saussurian linguistics to non linguistic phenemona such as kinship, myths, and food - i.e. into every field of social practice. Again such practice is but the revelation of structure. Individuals are not aware of these overarching essences. The structures act "behind the backs" of the individual agents and is only visible to the "outside" and "objective" scientist. It is through studying the behaviour of structure bound individuals that the anthropologist becomes aware of the structure which guides their actions. The structure is a model in the mind of the "objective observer" which structuralism reifies, plants in the mind of the collectivity under study, and assigns agency to (see Giddens 1979: 18 - 19).

As with Saussurian linguistics, this denies persona, consciousness and agency to the individual. It amounts to a denial of the existence of social relations (Ingold 1986: 149). It asserts rather relationships between structurally ordered behavioural units.

7. See Godelier 1977, and 1986 especially pp. 15 - 62 in the former and pp. 125 - 175 in the latter. See also Gregory 1982 and 1984; the works of Bloch (1975, 1985), Meillassoux (1982), and Terray (1972).

8. See for example his discussion of the role of politics in structuring relations of production, and therefore "functioning" in what we would call the economic base, in classical Greece - 1986: 208 - 224.

9. The highlighted phrase at the end of the last sentence deserves attention since it can be argued that it represents no more than a small concession to the orthodoxy of economic reductionism (Giddens 1979: 154; 159). Nevertheless this concession, if that is all it is, serves to demonstrate that for Althusser the economic base is not to be seen as an 'essence' which is simply reflected in a separate and "ethereal" superstructure, the latter being in the end reducible to the former (see Shanks and Tilley 1987b: 169).

10. This idea adds more strength to the suggestion made in note 9 that Althusser's attempt to escape the economic reductionism which characterises Marxism in its orthodox form is limited. If the economic is always determinant in the last instance then the autonomy of the other levels of the social formation must be severly restricted. Although Althusser differentiates between

> "primary contradictions providing the motility for structural change and secondary contradictions developing around the primary contradictions... the important point is that the primary motor of change is still situated in the economic domain between the productive forces and the social relations" (Shanks and Tilley 1987b: 170; see also Larrain 1983: 180 - 203).

11. Althusser's work on the nature of ideology within a Marxist problematic is both broad and suceptible to variable interpretations. Thus his work ranges from a consideration of the opposition, as he sees it between ideology and science as epistemologies (see Hirst 1985d:15 - 22;

Benton 1984: 34 - 51), to a differentiation between ideology in general, as a transhistorical structure of all social formations, and the ideologies which exist(ed) within particular social formations (see Giddens 1979: 179 - 181; Larrain 1983: 90 - 100). Again space prevents detailed discussion of the relationship between each of these different usages of the concept of ideology but some consideration will be given to that between the last two in the discussion to be presented below on the prevalance and implications of the "dominant ideology thesis" (Abercrombie *et. al.* 1980). Here we are generally referring to Althusser's notion of "ideology in general").

12. Supporters of the Althusserian position might argue that this argument is based on a confusion between, or conflation of, Althusser's conceptions of ideology in general and those ideologies which exist in any particular social formation. Such an argument, however, only serves to show the confusions which can arise when we separate a theoretical construct from the way this construct operates in historical or sociological "reality" (for support and extension of the Althusserian position on the relationship between knowledge and reality see Hindness and Hirst 1975).

13. Callinicos (1987: 9) suggests that Marx here is offering a very limited concept of structure in that it is perceived of in an almost totally negative, constraining sense. Structures set limits on the capacity for humans to act. In some ways the tone of the words used in the last sentence of the quotation given above might seem to justify such a conclusion - "dead generations", "weigh" and "nightmare" used together

in this context do present a negative, constraining picture. But again this can be balanced by looking at the pieces in Marx's work where the capacity of humans to act, to create their own history, is asserted above and beyond the constraining powers of any reified concept or structure.

14. It seems pointless, as Althusser does, to identify an epistemological break in the works of Marx and assign all that produced on the "wrong" side of the line to the realm of ideology, while all that on the right side is awarded the accolade of "science". See Benton 1984.

15. On the surface this would seem to bear a strong resemblance to the Sartre's existentialist conception of the structure/agency opposition. For Sartre too, structures were seen as the consequences of past human action, but here perceived as pernicious and unintended. Sartre sought to emphasise the freedom of actors from institutions and structure but in so doing produced a creativity of a strange and limited form. Most people seem to live their lives in *seriality, that is passivity. Where the fused group* does break out of this passivity as a response to "a conjunction of historic circumstances, a definite change in the situation, the danger of death, violence" (Sartre 1976: 401), the cohesiveness of group action does not long outlast the threat and breaks down again into passivity or totalitarianism. In each case, in seriality and in fused groups, it is the individual consciousness which decides whether or not to remain in that state "without anything resembling an institution or a socially constituted agent having been observed or constructed" (Bourdieu 1977: 76). In this free world of determinate consciousness, where each action is

> "constituted in the present instance by a spontaneous and unfettered imagination, the past becomes...a platform for human activities, an accumulating deposit - formed by the

material residues of past projects - on the surface of which the individual subject leads a solitary and narcissistic dance" (Ingold 1986: 215).

In reality however structuration theory offers a more sophisticated conceptualisation of the relationship between action and structure and one which emphasises change and the capacity to change than is presented by Sartre's pessimistic account.

16. This should alert us as archaeologists to the dangers of attempting to specify transformations through the analysis of one aspect of material culture. As I will argue the ascription of meaning to material culture products is historically contingent, it is open to negotiation and redefinition, and as such a materially similar form may be the bearer of different meanings over time (see below §3: 4 for an elaboration).

17. See Gramsci (1971 and 1985) for frequent discussions of the nature of the relationship between high and low culture. Also **Le Goff 1985c**. See **Wolff 1981** for a consideration of the nature of artistic practice and the constitution of the artist from a position similar to that adopted in this thesis. Wolff argues cogently for the concept of *artist as genius* as arising in the Renaissance and reaching fruition in capitalism. It is historically specific. Like Foucault, she argues that "the artist is a relatively recent figure" (p. 27). One of the main thrusts of the book is to deny the special creativity inherent in art, and to situate it instead in the creativity of material cultural production in general, and for its role in the creation of the human subject, and through them, social relations.

18. It must be stressed that material culture is inanimate object. In itself it is not active. In itself it does nothing. But as the bearer of meaning and signification it is "activated" through its strategic use in the negotiation and playing out of human relationships. This is the meaning of "active" used here. It is an appropriate term given the "passivity" ascribed to material culture in functionalist and structuralist theories.

19. Literacy forms the basis on which the past is divided up into its two gross categories - prehistory and history. We should not imagine that this binary classification is essentially neutral, that it is a purely objective product of inherent differences in the nature of the two data sets concerned. The identification of literacy with civilisation, complexity, markets, sophistication, rationality, progress, proximity to the present and us, and sameness is one side of an opposition which pairs lack of literacy with primitive, premarket "natural" economies, irrationality, backwardness, and a distant exotic otherness (**Goody 1968**). The division of the field of study between the historian and sociologist on the one hand, and the archaeologist and the social anthropologist on the other, only serves to reproduce such preconceived ideas, pivoted on the notion of literacy, in the past (**Driscoll 1988**). This opposition is empirically and philosophically unfounded. The vast majority of people, both in the past and in the present

> "have lived in neither kind of situation, but in cultures which were influenced in some degree by the circulation of the written word, by the presence of groups or individuals who could read and write. They lived **on the margins of literacy**" (**Goody 1968: 4 - 5**, emphasis added).

Chapter Four: Notes

1. See Hirst 1975: 446 - 453 for a critique along these lines of Perry Anderson's *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* and *Lineages of the Absolutist State*.

2. In many respects the use by archaeologists and, to a lesser extent, historians of anthropological analogies might be seen as attempts to allow the creation of such an other world of the past, though it is normally based on the questionable principle that the spatial distance which separates the western world from present day "primitives" can be equated with the temporal distance which seperates us from the past.

3. As we have already noted several times histories constructed from this epistemological stance are not intended to represent or stand for the past; they **are** what the past **was**. Through this construction of history the temporal distance between the past and the present is erased in the writing of historical narrative.

4. See Eco 1987 and Zumthor 1986 for the current interest in the post Roman period.

Chapter Five - Notes

1. We should be careful not to impute too much solidity and homogeneity to that structure. Like Man, it might well be an invention of relatively recent date (**Foucault 1970: 386 - 7**). Thus it has recently been suggested that the concept of Empire which we apply to the Roman period derives more from the nineteenth century Western colonial experience than from that of the Romans in the last centuries before the Christian era - see **Freeman n.d.**.

2. See Renfrew (**1979: 481 - 505**) for a prediction, based on catastrophy theory, of what happens to many of the features - including population levels - of "civilised" society in the course of state collapse; and Rahtz (**1982: 175 - 200**) for an application of Renfrew's model to one particular post Roman society.

3. The lack of attention paid to "traditional" political history in this thesis is not intended minimise the importance either of institutions like the Senate, or studies of their survival, mutation, or disappearance. Indeed Brown's recent work on impact of Imperial policy and institutions in Italy from 554 - 800, has emphasised that in the course of a generalised changeover from civil to military authority, power and landholding, there was great regional and local diversity in the survival of the political institutions and positions of the old Roman state. In many ways this differential survival is what is argued for in this thesis, and in this case may be connected to the strength of the links which regions still possessed with the Imperial administration in Constantinople, the presence

of members of the senatorial aristocracy, and the hold of military authorities over the area (1984: 12 - 13; **Wickham** 1984: 23).

4. See Wallerstein 1974 and 1980 for a discussion of his model in the context of the development of Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and **1984b, 1984c** for a more theoretical outline of the typology.

5. For archaeological applications see for example **Hingley** 1982, **Paynter** 1981, the contributors to the volumes edited by **Spriggs** (1984), **Brandt and Slofstra** (1983), and **Rowlands, Kristiansen and Larsen** (1987). For appraisals and critiques of the general model see **Hechter** 1975, **Janowitz** 1977, **Ragin and Chirot** 1984, **Schneider** 1977, **Skocpol**, 1977).

6. Wallerstein's taxonomy is in many ways the antithesis of the superstructural definition of modes of production presented by Anderson, which effectively allows that there "can be as many modes of production as there are distinct legal-political constitutions" (**Hirst** 1975: 462).

7. See **Carandini** (1979: 202 - 207) for a discussion of this problem. Wallerstein (1979: 5 - 6) asserts that all world empires have emerged from world economies and therefore places economic expansionism at the heart of imperialism, which becomes an almost accidental by-product of the former. Mann (1986: 250 - 300) stresses the obvious military mechanism for the creation of the Roman "territorial empire" but does'nt discuss **reasons** beyond that of opportunistic expansionism.

8. Beloch (whose work is summarised in Russell (1958)) put the population of the Empire at the time of Augustus at around 54 million. Finley (1969: 154 - 55) suggests a figure of around 60,000,000 spread over an area of about 1,600,000 sq. miles. Mann (1986: 266) provides a 'recent estimate' of about 70,000,000 over around 2,000,000 sq. miles. A summary discussion of the "official" and "native" languages of the Empire is provided by Jones (1964: 986 - 995)

9. This pattern of settlement and the standard of villa accommodation was of course variable. We should not expect the same features to appear over the Italian peninsula as a whole, some of which could be considered Romanised in name only (Wickham 1982: 31 - 36). The preliminary results of the Biferno valley survey (Molise)show both that the change in settlement patterns which can be detected in many areas of west-central Italy took place later here - at the end of the first century BC, and that it was by no means uniform over the length of the valley. Thus in the upper reaches of the Biferno a series of small farmsteads based on a mixed stock economy appear to have persisted through the classical period, while in the lower valley the late first century BC transition has been connected with a more specialised sheep rearing economy with possible connections into the long distance transhumance routes documented from this time (Barker, Lloyd, and Webley 1978). Similarily, while the abundant archaeological evidence flatly contradicts the historical sources on the density of settlement in the valley, the excavation of the villa site at Matrice near Campobasso, has revealed a complex of much more modest standards when compared with the villa at Settefinestre. The austerity of this settlement perhaps reflects

the more limited commitment of the area to the world system of which it was a part, but of which it did not share the full spoils.

10. Again the pattern must have been variable. The Farfa survey seems to show the virtual disappearance of the small "familial" farmstead charcteristic of the early Republic and their replacement by a series of moderately rich villas. This was especially the case along the terraces close to the Tiber, though much the same phenomenon can be detected further into the Sabina closer to the monastery at Farfa itself (see **Moreland 1986, 1987**). In South Etruria, by contrast, there seems to be some evidence for the survival of small landholders. This takes the form of small sites where the only archaeological evidence visible on the surface is a collection of tiles and some coarse pottery (**Potter 1979, 1987**). Similar evidence for such sites continuing into the Imperial period was found in the Biferno valley (**Hodges *pers. comm.*; Barker, Lloyd, and Webley 1978**) while the survey of the area around the medieval settlement at Montarrenti (SI) revealed only one major site which could be dated to the classical period. The authors conclude that the evidence "suggests a dominant pattern of extremely modest rural settlement in this part of inland Tuscany...that hardly finds any echo in the descriptions of rural life in this region by the classical authors" (**Francovich, Hodges *et. al.* 1986: 300**).

This raises the tricky problem of relating the archaeological evidence to systems of landholding and the organisation of labour. Thus, the occupants of the small farmsteads found in South Etruria could have had some sort of tenurial relationship with the owners of the numerous large villas. They were not necessarily "independent" farmers. This has already been suggested

for the small number of such sites found in the Farfa survey (see **Moreland 1986**). This would seem much more unlikely in the case of the Montarrenti evidence, since only one large site was found there. It seems improbable that such an establishment, and it was modest by the standards of the *Ager Cosanus* or even Farfa material, would have directly controlled the labour and produce of numerous farms spread over such a wide area. At the moment Archaeology can do little to answer these questions, but the location of such sites must force classicists to look at their data anew. Indeed Potter reports the contents of an early second century AD land register for *Ligures Baebiani* near Circello, north of Benevento. This shows that 21.3% of the land was owned by 3.5% of the people, while the poorest 14% owned just 3.6%. The wealthiest possessed 11.2% (**Potter 1987: 115**).

11. It is perhaps significant that the prime archaeological indicator of this relationship - Italian wine amphorae - are not found in any great numbers in the east Mediterranean (**Potter 1987: 158**). Potter (*ibid*) suggests that this was because there was a long established wine industry in the East, and he is undoubtedly right in this. More fundamental reasons inherent in core-periphery relationships might be posited, such as the type of interaction and the nature of the exploitative system as dependent on the socio-political level prevelant in the "peripheral" regions. The ancient civilisations of the East had built up their own productive, administrative, and political systems to a much higher degree than those in the West, and so the integrating mechanisms would have been different. Price (1984) has, for example, suggested, that in Asia Minor the strong development of the emperor cult, based on earlier Hellenistic royal cults can be seen as effective, at the level of daily practice, in binding people to the imperial

core. As Barrett (n. d.) points out this relationship can be fitted within existing patronage structures.

12. For crops see Galtung *et. al.* 1980: 93 - 94; Duby 1974; for the adoption of Roman values and *mores* in Italy itself see the books reviewed by Crawford 1981: 157 - 158; for the importance of the Roman language and texts see Mann 1986: 269 - 270 and Jones 1964: 997 - 1012.

13. One of the most exciting discoveries in recent years in this respect, was the location of a large craft production and trading site near the village of Gudme, on Funen, Denmark. The site covers about 200 hectares and some three aisled building have been excavated. The material cultural debris is more significant, however. They almost all date from the period AD 200 - 400. They include

> "fibulae in bronze and iron, other personal equipment including bronze tweezers, ear spoons, rings, needles, fittings, pieces of gold and silver jewellery, small pieces of gold including a drop (from melting), bronze and -drops, Roman silver denarii, Roman glass, glass beads and rods, melted glass, amber beads and blanks, artefacts and blanks of bone and antler, pieces of lead, fragment of a scale, weights, iron buckles, fittings, arrowheads, many tools, including axes, knives, scraping irons, fishing hooks, ship nails and their blanks, iron rods and blanks, slag, and very many pot-sherds" (Randsborg 1988: forthcoming).

The whole assemblage, the location of the site on the estuary of a stream, and the range of evidence for craft production and trade, all suggest that the site was similar to the now famous *emporia* of early medieval Europe (Randsborg *pers. comm.*; see also Hodges 1982) but from a much earlier era. It can be seen as a pivotal point integrating the Danish islands and mainland within the trading network of the Roman empire.

14. These are much quoted figures and may be exceptional, though they do accord well with the lamentations on the high and oppressive level of taxation such as that produced by the Christian priest Salvian writing in southern Gaul in the 440's (quoted in de Ste Croix 1983: 481)

15. For *Bacaudae* see Thompson 1952; Jones 1964: 188 - 190 and 812; de Ste. Croix 1983: 478 - 480; for high taxation from the late fourth century onwards see Wickham 1984: 11; for size of the army see Jones 1864: 679 - 86 and Finley 1969.

1. The other "general features of system collapse" are as follows:

Collapse

1. Collapse of central administrative organisation of the early state
2. Disappearance of traditional élite class
3. Collapse of centralised economy
4. Settlement shift and population decline

Aftermath

5. Transition to lower (cf. "earlier") level of sociopolitical integration
6. Development of romantic Dark Age myth

Diachronic Aspects

7. The collapse may take around 100 years for completion
8. Dislocations are evident in the earlier part of that period
9. Boundary maintainence may show signs of weakness during this time
10. The growth curve for many variables may take..[a] truncated sigmoid form
11. Absence of single, obvious 'cause' for the collapse (**Renfrew 1979b: 482 - 485**).

Although relatively useful as a descriptive device, this formulation shares the faults of all cross cultural generalisations (**Shanks and Tilley 1987b**). The location of particular historical sequences within the general cross - cultural framework only serves to deny the specificity of the individual cases. At its worst, as in the case of the use of the "chiefdom" stage of taxonomies of societal evolution (see above Chapter 2), whole spatial and temporal regions of the past are subsumed within a general descriptive category. The concentration on the features which link the cross cultural examples results in the occlusion of the differences and details of particular cases. The contingent and the specific are subumed and hidden

amid similarity and general process. Such generalisations are a feature of systems theory, and share with it the denial of the possibility of human action as an effector of change. Again the individuals in the cross-culturally drawn examples act to play out the requirements of the reified construct.

2. The calculation of population figures from field survey data is very difficult, and is one of the problems which dogs attempts to tackle the problem of demographic change from the late Empire onwards. The problems stem from the lack of concordance between the area covered by a scatter of pottery on the surface and the sub-surface features which form the actual building. Even if a direct correlation could be established between these two features, the lack of agreement on the size of population likely to have inhabited the site makes an absolute population calculation impossible. Several figures for population per m^2 of building have been proposed, but they all suffer from their cross cultural derivations, implicitly ignoring local and historical cultural factors which might drastically affect the results (see **Narrol 1962**; **Le Blanc 1971**). Similarily the function of the building has to be established. A church site might appear as large as a small villa but the population levels would be very different.

In this Chapter, therefore, we shall not attempt to make produce absolute population figures from the archaeological data. Any such figures must be purely impressionistic. Some figures are available for city populations, and these will be discussed in relation to the results from the archaeological evidence (see p. 1965).

3. Most of the original surveys and excavations have been published in the **Papers of the British School at Rome**. The aims and results of the project have been summarised by Potter (1979). For the *Ager Veientanus* see **Ward-Perkins** 1955, and **Ward- Perkins** *et. al* 1968; for the *Cassia-Clodia* area see **Hemphill** 1975; for the *Ager Capenas* see **Jones** 1962 and 1963; for the *Via Gabina* see **Kahane and Ward-Perkins** 1972; for Eretum see **Ogilvie** 1965; for *Sutrium* see **Duncan** 1958. For excavations see **Mallett and Whitehouse** 1967; **Potter** 1972; **Ward-Perkins** *et. al.* 1972, and 1973.

4. The material from the 1987 survey has not yet been fully analysed. I will therefore draw most heavily upon the results of the first two seasons work, and supplement them with the preliminary impressions gained from an initial study of the 1987 material by Paul Roberts. The material from all three seasons will be published in full in the 1989 volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome*.

5. The figures in Appendix IV show a massive drop in the number of settlements from the middle of the first century BC. This is deceptive and is caused by the time span over which the principal dating tool for the Republican period - *Vernice Nera* - was produced and used, up to 400 years, from the late fifth century BC to the late first century BC (**Morel 1981**). The type ceramic for the early imperial period - *Terra Sigillata* - by contrast, had a life span of only around 100 years. Thus all the sites from the *Vernice Nera* period have been put together and an unduly high total is produced. Roberto *et. al.* (1985) recognise this problem and use a more refined dating system to show a series of peaks and troughs in what

appeared to be a very high level of late Republican settlement. The same is probably true of the Biferno material.

6. The intricacies of this problem are enormous. Thus while on the one hand it might be argued that the abandonment of the agricultural facilities in the late Empire resulted in increased run-off, it could at the same time be proposed that the cessation of ploughing, and the cultivation of single species crops, on large areas would have resulted in the creation of a more stable vegetation, and thus have prevented soil erosion. In addition tectonic movements and sea level changes have to be taken into consideration. Only detailed geological and geomorphological studies like those carried out by Delano-Smith in the area around the old port at Luni, and by Jones at Montarrenti can produce enough information for all these factors to be taken into consideration (see **Ward-Perkins *et. al.* 1986: 123 - 140**, and **Hodges, Francovich *et. al.* 1986: 303 - 308**).

7. For the rest of this discussion I will consider only problems centering around ARS as a dating tool. The discussion of the early Imperial and Republican periods depends on *Vernice Nera* and *Terra Sigillata*, and was introduced to illustrate the depth of the historical process under consideration.

8. Many of the sites located on the Farfa survey had sherds of the latest ARS fabric - ARS "D". These can be dated anywhere between the fourth and seventh centuries AD (see Appendix VI). A more detailed analyses of the forms of the vessels, carried out by Paul Roberts of the Dept. of Ancient History, University of Sheffield, has shown that at least six sites show

evidence of the importation of ARS into the sixth and possibly seventh centuries - see Appendix VII.

9. This re-occupation of villas is a phenomenon which has been detected in the evidence from the Farfa survey. Several sites have ceramic evidence from the early to mid Imperial period, then no datable fine wares until the late third or fourth centuries. Thus site F14/3 has ceramic evidence for occupation from the Republican period up to the second century AD, with a gap until the late third century AD, and then occupation evidence to the late sixth century. M11/7 was occupied, according to the datable pottery, from the Republican period to the mid first century AD, and again from the late third century to the late sixth/early seventh century AD. M70/1 shows a very similar pattern, while that at M38/1 shows no fine pottery dating from the end of the first century to the late fourth, when typical ARS forms reappear. For the pottery types and dates see Appendix VI.

A similar pattern has been noted in the South Etruria surveys. Potter records that 14 sites in the *Ager Veientanus* show fifth and sixth century ARS after a period of apparent abandonment (1975: 222 - 224). He also notes that 21% of the late Roman sites in the *Ager Veientanus* and 16% in the *Ager Faliscus* represent "new foundations" (*ibid*: 224). The implications of these figures and Potter's interpretations will be discussed in the main text.

10. This is only one possible explanation. Another is that the latter two sherds were actually made between the late second and the early third centuries. If so they may point to some hitherto unnoticed problem on the

supply side. If this was the case, it might also explain the ceramic gap and apparent re-occupation of many sites referred to in note 9 above. Another explanation, still postulating a second/third century production date for the latter two sherds, would see them as local products designed for the lower end of a market which sought to emulate the material culture possessions of higher classes, but which was denied access to sources of supply (see Miller 1985 for a discussion of the mechanics of emulation in pottery production). Only detailed survey and excavation work will provide the information we need to choose between these possibilities.

11. As I mentioned in the preceding Chapter, such groups do not constitute themselves through one item of material culture alone. It is the totality of their lived existence which constitutes them as agents and as social classes. Thus in the cases under consideration here, the very habitation of these groups in locales which were centres of power and wealth in earlier periods can be seen as important in ensuring the reproduction of the social relations which existed between them and the other members of society. The form and style of the building they lived in, particularily the tower structures, might have had the same effect. At San Vincenzo, and some sites in the Biferno valley, access to other long distance traded goods such as *pietra ollare* from the Alpine region probably supplemented the efficacy of ARS in ensuring within group cohesion, while we can only speculate on the rôle of ethnicity and language in constituting social groups in a land which was to become home to successive waves of invaders.

12. This research is being conducted by Helen Patterson and Paul Roberts, under the direction of the author, and I am indebted to them for the

information that follows. It should not be expected that they will necessarily agree with my interpretations.

13. See Eisenstadt and Roniger (1980) for a theoretical discussion of the nature of patron-client relationships. Although they acknowledge the inequalites of power and position which lie at the heart of such relationships they pay uncritical attention to the apparently voluntary nature of the contract.

With regards the prevalence of private over public interests among the large landowners, it must be emphasised that they did not simply switch from one to the other. They had always been landowners and as such had always had private interests to protect. Rather their private and public positions had existed in a delicate balance. As long as the ancient mode of production predominated and the state was able to confirm and confer status public interests won out. But with a change in any of several factors that balance could switch. Thus the weakness of the late Roman state, the burden of taxation, or even the profering of an "alternative" by the Barbarian invaders, could have been enough to tilt the balance and produce a change in allegiances.

14. Note that the figures for farmsteads for the sixth century are produced by combining Potter's *Class A* and *B* sites - "capanna" and "fattoria" respectively. Similarily the figures for villas are arrived at by amalgamating the figures for *Class C* and *D* - "piccola villa" and "grande villa" (Potter 1975: 218 - 223). This is the only way I could produce comparable figures to those provided for the second and fourth centuries.

This might distort the picture slightly, but if anything it might serve to overemphasise the prevalence of the small peasant settlement.

15. This argument about the changing status of ARS and the affect it has on our considerations of population distribution and size, might be extended back to the fourth century. Here we have no good evidence for problems with production and supply, apart from the reduction of the amount of it on archaeological sites but that leads us directly into circular argumentation. Instead we might suggest that the reduction in the status of the lower orders effectively placed commodities like ARS beyond their reach. If this was the case and we argue that all sites with ARS in the fourth century were major centres in the settlement hierarchy then a consideration of the figures presented by Potter (1979: 142) produces some interesting results. If we combine all the sites with fourth century ARS and compare them with the numbers of major centres in the second century (the villas) it suggests that the number of important sites remains largely static, with perhaps even a slight rise. If this was the case then the apparent population decline can be totally accounted for by the material cultural poverty of the peasantry and by our lack of understanding of the chronology of the coarse wares. I would not like to push this point too far since there is some evidence for population decline which partially undermines the argument (see below p. 197), and because we cannot totally exclude the possibility that some peasants remained "independent" and prosperous enough to participate in the restricted distribution network of African finewares.

On a related matter, Potter argues that the evidence for fifth and sixth century reoccupation of 14 sites after a period of abandonment can be

easily explained as "occupazione abusiva" (1975: 224). Given what I have said about the nature of imported finewares in this period, I do not think that the "squatter" argument holds. Again we are probably looking at the restricted occupation of old Roman sites by people who may have been living in more ephemeral structures built into the remains of the villa, but who still had a certain status in society.

16. I am not of course suggesting that pigs were exchanged for pots. The pottery is simply a material trace of the relationship which existed. The written records of pig movements provide us with an indication of the nature of the goods flowing in the opposite direction. In many ways this resembles Wallerstein's (1974) definition of unequal exchange, where manufactured goods from the core are exchanged for raw material supplies from the periphery. In this case the exploitation must be largely theoretical, at least between the core and the *dominus* in the periphery, since as we have seen the material culture emanating from the city was important in the reproduction of social relations in the countryside. The nature of the relationship between the *dominus* and his tenants is quite another matter.

17. See Wickham (1985: 172ff) for a description of the contrary development of the Chinese social formation with the emergence of contradictions within what he now calls the tributary mode of production; and Rigby (1987: 9) for Marx's own rejection of the notion that one mode of production necessarily gives rise to the next in a taxonomic sequence.

18. The full quotation goes as follows

> *"Langobardi vero aput Italiam omnes communi consilio Cleph, nobilissimum de suis virum, in urbe Ticinensium sibi regem statuerunt. Hic multos Romanorum viros potentes, alio gladiis extinxit, alio ab Italia exturbavit"* (H. L. II,31).

19. Wickham shows that there is good evidence for thriving settlement along the roads in the medieval period. He cites the examples of San Giovanni di Nono at or around the ninth milestone on the Cassia (1978: 151), Baccano also on the Cassia (*ibid*: 157 - 8), and Prima Porta at the junction of the Flaminia and the Tiberina (1979: 72 - 76).

Chapter Seven - Notes

1. Interim reports on the results of each season's work at San Vincenzo have been published in *Archeologia Medievale* since 1981. A summary of the work up to 1985 can be found in Hodges and Mitchell (eds) (1985). Final publication is scheduled for 1989. For the results of the excavations at Vaccherecia - an early medieval site close to the monastery - see Hodges et. al. (1984). Broader issues arising out of the project are addressed in Hodges et. al. (1985) and Hodges and Patterson (1986). The historical data from San Vinvenzo are considered by Patterson (1985) and Wickham (1982, 1985a, 1985c and 1989).

2. For the preliminary results of the monastery excavations see McClendon (1986); Whitehouse *et. al.* (1979 and 1981); Whitehouse (1983 and 1985c). The initial findings of the survey can be found in Moreland (1986 and 1987), with final publication scheduled for the *Papers of the British School at Rome 1990. An early medieval village site at Casale San Donato*, near Castel Nuovo di Farfa, will be excavated in 1990 and the results published in the *Papers* for following year.

3. See Brown (1984: 9) for the control by the bishops of municipal expenditure, the maintainence of the aqueducts and the corn supply, and for the right to elect the provincial granted by Justinian. Also Jones (1964: 758 - 9). See Ashby (1935: 300) for Pope Hadrian's repair of the *Acqua Triana* in 772.

4. The predominance of rich female over male graves in these cemeteries seems somewhat paradoxical in the context of an historically documented male dominated "warrior" society. This need not contradict the historical picture since the complex set of cultural factors which are brought into play in the rituals surrounding death and burial could have resulted in a reversal in death of the sex roles played out in life. The origins of such a reversal may lie in the "scarcity" of females in post Roman social formations (Herlihy 1978).

5. Patronage of the church was seen as a valuable political device by all power groups in Italy. See McClendon (1986: 6) and Noble (1984: 157 - 159) for early Lombard patronage of Farfa; and Wickham (1989 *forthcoming*) for Beneventan patronage of San Vincenzo. See also Ward-Perkins (1984: 236 - 249) for the scale of aristocratic patronage of the church in Rome, Ravenna, Pavia, and Lucca.

6. See Brown (1984: 209), following the insights of Gramsci (1971: 11 - 14); also Smart (1986) for a reworking of Gramsci's concept of hegemony in a Foucauldian fashion. Brown (*ibid*) in fact suggests that "to an increasing extent the idea of a division between public authority and private power became meaningless in practice, because the group which monopolised political and judicial authority also controlled most of the land". See also Wickham (1984: 22 - 26); and Wormald (1976) for the situation in the fourth and fifth centuries.

7. For an extended discussion of the dominant ideology thesis see Abercrombie *et. al.* (1980). For the problem of the relationship between

élite and popular culture see Bourdieu (1986); Le Goff (1985c); Gramsci (1971).

Throughout this discussion we have be working within the premise that, even with the collapse of a dialectical link between local power and state authority sometime in the sixth and seventh centuries, the lower orders would still have been bound by to a local lord by social relations of dependency (see above p. 216). If the breakdown in the dialectic meant that many peasants escaped from such relationships, then it might be suggested that the "three order" system was an attempt to integrate them into a unitary social formation. In the absence of relations of domination, an ideological construct might have been used to ensure compliance. But even if this were the case, there still existed no adequate mechanism by which this conceptual ordering, stressing as its does mutually beneficial functions and coherence, could have be inculcated at the level of daily paractice.

8. *Incastellamento* is the term used by Italian historians and archaeologists to describe the process whereby hilltop settlement developed. The timing of the process is vital to our understanding of the structure of late Roman and early medieval social formations in central Italy and is an important consideration in the rest of this thesis. Toubert has fixed the date of this development to the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Sabina (1973). The same date is by and large accepted for other parts of central Italy (Wickham 1979, 1985a) though earlier and later dates are applicable to some regions. These dates have, as we shall see been challenged by some archaeologists.

9. Although not explicitly stated, it is implied by Potter that the spears and knives are contemporary with the first phases of occupation of the site. In fact the report on the metal work contained within the Ponte Nepesino publication, shows that the knives and spears which are datable belong to the period between the eleventh/twelfth centuries and the fourteenth/fifteenth (Cameron *et. al.* 1984: 123 - 4)!

The faunal report does show that some meat cuts were brought onto the site, but the lack of differentiation between phases when analysing the data, means that the results are virtually useless for assessing the relationship between the site and the surrounding area at any particular point in time (*ibid*: 127 - 137).

10. This negative documentary evidence cannot really be used. We should not expect the texts to refer to the construction of every particular *castra*. Here the archaeological evidence can be used to "rewrite history" (see below p. 231ff). One of the sites which we shall discuss later - Santa Maria in Cività, in the Biferno valley, Molise - similarily has no documentary references for the early medieval period, but the archaeological evidence point to a substantial settlement here in the seventh to ninth centuries (see Hodges *et. al.* 1980, especially p. 106).

11. Christie notes that the *Liber Pontificalis* suggests that the *domusculta* of *Capracorum* was designed to alleviate the growing food problem of Rome by

> "providing enough food to feed one hundred *pauperes* every day from the steps of the Lateran palace, whereby each was given a portion of bread, wine and relish out of a daily

overal ration of fifty 2lb. bread loaves, two 60lb. *decimates* of wine and a cauldron of relish. The various produce grown on the lands of the *domusculta* consisting of wheat, barley, vegetables, wine and also one hundred pigs per year was kept for distribution in the papal storehouses (*horrea, paracellarium*) in Rome" (Christie: *forthcoming*. See also Whitehouse 1980b).

12. The site at F21/100 - 101 has been called *Cavallaria* on the basis of the evidence for the continuity of that name in later medieval maps of the area (see plates 4 and 6). Leggio believes that this is also the *Cavallaria* referred to in some documents in the Farfa archive (*pers. comm.*). Toubert identifies *Cavallaria* with the present settlement of Monte Cavallo, which lies much further to the north (1973: 393). He says that because a document of 1068 (L.L., II, 1089) locates the site near *campus de Granica*, the identification is secure. But there is also a place-name *Granica* close to the monastery (see plate 6) and so either or both identifications are likely to be correct. This is a very difficult problem faced by those who attempt to locate sites on the ground using the evidence of the documents. The same name frequently crops up for very different places, and great care needs to be exercised in making identifications. In the case of *Cavallaria* this is well illustrated by the existence of another place of the same name in Marche (*ibid*).

The idenfication of site M21/11 + M21/33 with *Bezanum* is fraught with fewer problems. Toubert quotes a document of AD 959 which places *Bezanum* between the river Farfa and the edge of the territory of Montopoli, and on top of an elevated podium (L.L., 278; Toubert 1973: 421). Toubert says that no toponymic or physical remains of the site exist, but the location of

site M21/11 + M21/33, its topography (see main text) and the material found there suggest that this might be *Bezanum*.

13. The fact that such sites were appreciated for their antiquity can be seen from the fact that the early medieval documents from Farfa refer to places as *Antiquus* and *Urbanus* (Leggio *pers. comm*). The most significant factor about these two cases is that major Roman villa sites have been found at the points designated by the names which obviously hark back to the Roman past. Thus the site at M11/7 is situated in the centre of the area known as *Urbanus*. This site, located at the modern farm called *Casale Frosperi* contained some of the latest ARS sherds found on the Farfa survey - Hayes 91c dating to the late sixth and early seventh centuries AD (see Appendix VI). *Antiquus* can be located on the hillside to the north of the road from Farfa to Bocchignano just before the bridge over the river Granica. The hill is now called C. de Forche. The southern slopes of the hill contain a Roman site coded F11/3, while just at the bivio there is a major Republican/early Imperial site (F21/105 - 106).

Chapter Eight - Notes

1. The literature on the Carolingian Renaissance is now extensive, and covers many aspects of this cultural and ideological *renovatio*. For "renaissances" in general see Panofsky (1972). For the "copying" of aspects of Roman material culture in the Carolingian period see Bullough (1977), Hubert (1971), Krautheimer (1971). For the "ideology" of the Carolingian Renaissance see Morrison (1964), Nelson (1977), Ullmann (1969). For Carolingian architecture see Conant (1959) and Heitz (1963, and 1980).

2. This concept is given materiality in the apse mosaic of the oratory of Theodulph of Orleans at Germigny-de-Près. It was produced at a time when there was a reaction to the depiction and veneration ofimages in the West, and portrays only the Ark of the Covenant (the symbol of salvation promised to the Jews in the Old Testament), surrounded by four cherubim. The two smaller ones represent the Jewish people, the two large symbolise the extension of the promise of salvation to the Gentiles in general, and, implicitly, to the Franks in particular (Graber 1954).

3. These developments in architecture and the representational arts were accompanied by, and perhaps reinforced changes in the participatory nature of the religious rite (Heitz 1976: 28). The unitary ideology was ignored at the level of daily practice. Despite the priests' position as

mediator between God and Man, and of the Mass as the locus of that mediation, there was a growing tendency within the church to emphasise the gulf between the clergy and the people, and to exalt the clergy as a special class apart (**McKitterick 1978: 117**). The liturgy of the Mass became more complex and was regarded as the exclusive expression of the clergy. The congregation were relegated to the status of audience and spectator. The Mass became more of a sacred mystery than a collective and communally performed rite (**Eisenhofer 1961: 305**). The dramatic aspects were emphasised (**Hardison 1969: 44**), while the encouragement of classical learning only served to more dramatically oppose the language of the clergy to the vernacular languages of the people.

Even for the *bellatores* religion

> "boiled down to a matter of rites, gestures and formulas, for the written word was banished from their culture, which was based on spoken words and images - that is on formalism. When a warrior made a vow, what he considered most important was not the committment his soul had but as matter of physical posture, the fact that his hand placed on the cross, on the Bible, or on a bag of relics, was making contact with the realm of the sacred" (**Duby 1981: 46**).

In a world where literacy, and access to the word (or Word), was restricted material things took on a new meaning. This has important implications for archaeologists whose data set consists of the objects made and used in the past. These considerations force us to look more closely at the nature of the texts produced, the locus of their production, and the extent of their circulation (see chapter 9).

4. Geary argues that a difference existed between the state christian religion of the Carolingian Renaissance, and what he calls the practical "danced" popular piety of the masses. He sees the cult of saints' relics as an essential part of this "danced" religion (Geary 1979). Here we can lift the covers and see a brief glimpse of a "reality" which underlay the idea of the Renaissance, in a way which resembles the *annaliste* historiography of Le Roy Ladurie. Such works are essential if we are not to paradoxically produce in the present a notion of society as represented by dominant ideologies. The paradox arises because the dominant ideologies in the past manifestly failed in the reproduction of society as ideal type.

5. This description must be treated with care since it comes from a text produced by abbot Hugo - the *Destructio Monasterii Farfensis* - which has been described as "una agiografica descrizione dell'abbazia" (Leggio 1987: 63).

6. The text of the inscription as recorded in the *Chronicon* reads as follows

> "*Queque vides ospes pendencia celsa vel ima*
> *Vir Domini josue struxit cum fatribus una*" (C. V. I, 226 - 228).

Mitchell provides a translation

> "Friend, these lofty and deep roofs which you see
> Were built by the servant of the Lord, Josue, and his brother monks" (1985b)

7. There is some indication that the eastern end of the early medieval church at Farfa may also have had an apse. McClendon argues that if the "oratory" built by Sichardus and dedicated to the Saviour is the construction at the western end of the ninth century church, then the original altar dedicated to the Virgin must have been located somewhere else in the chruch. He suggests an eastern apse, perhaps lying under the present sacristy of the monastery. He concludes that although a double apsed church at Farfa would be without parallel in Italy there are several examples in Germany, and just such a church is drawn on the St. Gall plan (McClendon 1986: 62).

8. Much of what follows in this section is based on the author's contribution to a paper by Hodges *et. al.* (1985). Although the theoretical premise remains the same some of the conclusions have been changed as a result of further research.

9. Vaccherecia appears to be different from the two sites from the Sabina in that it is located on the mid-slopes of the hill. The excavations on the top of the hill produced no evidence for early medieval occupation. This need not mean that the hill top was not occupied. It merely shows that the material cultural debris was deposited on the slopes. In fact the same is largely true at *Cavallaria* and *Bezanum*, although here the material culture was found just below the *podium* of the settlement (see §7:4). This can be explained by a consideration of the nature of early medieval settlement and landuse.

The area immediately around the settlem constituted the *ortus olerarius*, the garden area (Toubert 1973: 210). These gardens would have provided the staples for the inhabitants of the settlements. Of all the land worked in early medieval times, they received the most attention in terms of human labour and the application of fertiliser. Household and human waste were spread on them to kept the soil fertile. The localisation of this procedure would explain the almost complete correlation between finds of early medieval ceramics and the terraced area below the settlement *podium*, since such ceramics frequently become incorporated in the household waste. In effect these are manuring scatters. The evidence at Vaccherecia could therefore refer to a hill top settlement in the ninth century.

The documentary evidence suggests that onions, broad beans, chick peas, apples, cherries, peas, and verious herbs were grown on the garden areas, thereby giving us a dominant picture of the foods produced (Toubert 11973: 211 - 15). Only archaeobotanical and archaeozoological studies can tell us about the relationship between that produced and that consumed, and between the *ortus* and the other sectors of the the agrarian economy.

10. These *angariae* seem to be restricted to the slaves who were freed but became tenants of the monastery upon the donation of an estate. The service required seems to have consisted of three weeks work on the *pars dominica*, but there are only 7 recorded cases of this out of 150 pre-ninth century acts (*ibid*: 468). Toubert argues from this, and from the

fact that some records of property transfer stipulate that all tenants whatever their status shall pay only *census, dationes, exennia* and shall not provide work services (*ibid*). This latter could in fact be taken to argue that work services were common. It would hardly seem necessary to stipulate that work service should not be performed if that was not a general occurrence.

11. The situation obviously varied from place to place according to local conditions. Toubert argues that clearance operations on the fringes of the *terra* of Farfa allowed a degree of freedom of action to the small cultivator which was beneficial to both tenants and lords (1973: 470 - 71) - "ils ont permis de canaliser vers les fronts de colonisation un trop-plein de main-d'oeuvre libéré de la servitude dans les zones d'exploitation plus ancienne et d'occupation plus dense". But this must be placed against the evidence for increased demands placed upon peasant labour, and the emphasis on the production of more easily managed coherent units.

12. It is interesting to note that these *castra* are among the closest to the monastery. This reinforces the suggestion made in §8:5 that we should consider most closely the areas immediately around the monasteries when looking for evidence of transformations associated with monastic flourescence. Communication and the movement of resources were evidently still problems in the eleventh century.

We might further consider the evidence for on-site production of materials for construction programmes at several sites in early medieval Italy. There is evidence for a lime kiln associated with the construction phases of the mid-fourth century church of Sta. Constanza in Rome (Stern 1958: 164), and of a tile kiln at the late eighth and early ninth century *domusculta* centre at Sta. Cornelia (C. Daniels *pers. comm.*). At Torcello in the Venetian lagoon a seventh century glass making complex was found in the cathedral area (Leciejewicz *et. al.* 1977). But the best evidence comes from San Vincenzo itself.

Here we know that at various stages pottery, glass, and metalwork were made (Hodges 1985). The most significant part of the excavations in this respect was that of a monastic glass workshop (Moreland 1985 and 1989). Here there was evidence that the monastery was producing its own glass for windows, liturgical vessels, and reliquary covers (Mitchell 1985c). Once the major constructions were completed the scale of production in the workshop was reduced. The artisans concentrated on repairing the damage of time to the fabric of the monastery and on the continued production of small prestige items.

The *Chronicon Farfense* also mentions the presence of workshops at Farfa (C. F. I, 31). No details are given of the products manufactured and no trace of the workshops were located during the excavations, but we might imagine that they were fairly similar to those evidenced at San Vincenzo.

Chapter Nine - Notes

1. This idea is based on the assumption that the Italian peasantry were totally incorporated in the market system of the Roman Empire and its cash crop economy. The argument runs that when this broke down the peasantry reverted to a more mixed, "natural" system of production, and sought out situations favourable to the raising of a variety of crops and animals. The "site catchment" analyses carried out around Vaccherecia and Santa Maria in Cività (D85) show that they had "territories" which contained a diversity of soils and resource zones (Hodges *et. al.* 1980: 103 - 106; Hodges *et. al.* 1984: 181 - 85)

But would the "catchment areas" of the small Roman sites near them (C173 at Santa Maria in Cività, and site 42 near Vaccherecia) have contained a noticeably different range of ecological zones? We could argue that during the Roman period most Italian peasants also sought out such "ecological niches" because, although they did produce for a state system, and they did paid taxes and used money, the produce they consumed would have required a variety in crops and animals similar to those of the early occupants of Vaccherecia and D85. We can extend this argument to ask if the settlement pattern of the seventh and eigthh centuries was very different from that of the mid Empire? We could argue that in both cases the upper classes lived in villas, with the peasantry occupying small farms in the surrounding landscape. The only difference appears to be

that the Roman peasantry is more easily located in the archaeological record because of their access to and use of non-perishable material culture.

2. The monk John, who compiled the *Chronicon Vulturnese*, paints a vivid picture of the devastation they caused -

> *"sponsione ergo accepta, et inito federe, mali malorum duces effecti, dominis illorum nescientibus, verso itinere pars maxima pugnatorum subito ex adverso super sacrum monasterium irrerunt, eumque undique circumdantes ignibus combuserunt, sanctos eciam seniores, quos ibidem invenerunt, gladiis necaverunt. ....extat igitur sanctorum sanguis monachorum pro Chrristo effusus, evidencia indicia hodieque demonstrans, illitis vel aspersis eiusdem ecclesie parietum ac pavimentorum saxis et lapidibus"*
>
> *"After the pledge had been accepted and the pact entered into, evil men assumed the leadership of men as evil as themselves, without the knowledge of their masters; constituting as they did the majority of the warriors they altered their route and suddenly attacked the sacred monastery in a frontal assault, and surrounding it on all sides they set it on fire, and they also put to the sword the holy elders they found there. ....and so the blood of the holy monks which was shed for Christ is still there, providing clear evidence even today, as the rocks and stones of the church there were smeared or spattered with it"* (**Chronicon Vulturnese I, 364**).

The exavations at San Vincenzo have revealed destruction layers which are believed to be the result of this attack. They are found in the core area of the monastery (see Hodges 1985) but are best preserved in the workshops. Here a thick layer of burnt material covered the working floor and facilites of the complex and contained several projectile points

which have been identified as arrowheads fired from the Saracenic composite bow (see **Moreland 1985**).

3. We have already noted that the cause of this destruction was disputed even in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of modern historians Toubert accepts the version of events presented by the *Destructio*, i.e. that it was burnt down by local men from Catino (1973: 971). Leggio, by contrast, argues that we must accept the account of the destruction of Farfa offered by Gregory of Catino. He places abbot Hugh's version within what he calls the the *Destructio*'s "agiografica descrizione" of the monastery (1987: 63). He backs up his argument for Saracenic culpability by pointing to the devastation of San Vincenzo and Montecassino by the Arabs (*ibid*). Leggio further suggests that the account in the *Destructio* must be rejected as a later fabrication since it states that the *latrunculi Christiani* came from, and fled back to, the *oppido quod nuncupatur Catino*. This name first appears as a nucleated settlement in 988 (R. F. III, 401), long after the supposed events.

Although many of the arguments produced by Leggio to dismiss the claims of the *Destructio* seem strong, in reality he pushes the case too far. For example, rather than reject the story because the *cattivi* are specified as coming from a place which did not exist as a concentrated settlement until 988, we can suggest that Hugh knew that the people responsible came from a particular locale and inserted into his text the name of the major centre of that area. Similarily given the monks antithesis to the

"heathens" it is hardly surprising that Gregory, writing long after the event, should blame them.

4. This site was first noted by the discovery of several sherds of Sparse Glaze ware - our *incastellamento*-type fossil - in 1986. The site was revisited in 1987, and more Sparse Glaze ware was found, along with sherds of early medieval coarse wares, both immediately around the site and on a terrace behind it. The farmhouse which now stands on the site was closely examined. It contains the remains of a late medieval church with a fine sixteenth century doorway and some badly decayed frescoes. However this seems to have been the last of a sequence of churches (?) on the site. Preliminary structural analyses revealed at least two earlier phases of building. The latest of these is similar in construction to that of the eleventh century monastery at Farfa, while the earlier one contains fragments of Roman *spolia* including a massive architrave and an unfinished altar. Investigations at the foot of the rock cut *podium* revealed a series of carved niches whose form and dimensions are very reminiscent of those recently excavated at San Vincenzo (**Coutts and Mithen 1985**). They might be connected with the ninth century church recorded at San Donato. Excavations in 1989 will hopefully illuminate the archaeology of the change from *locus* to *ecclesia* to *castrum*.

5. See also **Wickham 1982** and 1985a: 66 - 71 for the case of Valva where there are also examples of peasant organised *castelli*, some of which developed on existing concentrated settlements. All this is *contra*

Toubert's assertion that *incastellamento* is always seigneurially directed, and reinforces the argument that the power of this class was not total and that of the peasantry was nil. As we saw in the case of *Postmontem* and Bocchignano this arguments holds even in those areas where single lords dominated.

APPENDIX II

IIA *South Etruria Sites - after Potter 1979: 132*

Area	*Total pV sites (Republican)*	*% abandoned before pVI*	*Total pVI sites (c30BC-AD100)*	*% new sites pVI*
Ager Veientanus	242	11%	327	32%
Eretum area	53	28%	57	37%
Ager Faliscus	142	32%	207	39%
Ager Capenas	90	50%	100	55%
Sutrium area	32	67%	50	76%
Craven	66	32%	70	22%
Cassia-Clodia	63	29%	71	32%

Area	*% abandoned before pVII*	*Total pVII 2nd cent.AD*	*% new sites pVII*
Ager Veientanus	20%	307	15%
Eretum area	17.5%	56	12.5%
Ager Faliscus	33%	199	37%
Ager Capenas	36%	124	49%
Sutrium area	44%	67	60%
Craven	6%	71	8%
Cassia-Clodia	27%	57	15%

N.B. Period VII sites (second century AD) include all sites with Red Slip Wares although in practice some of these could be much later in the Roman period - see IIB below.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

IIB *South Etruria Sites - after Potter 1979: 140*

ARS I c80 - 320
ARS II c350 - 450
ARS III c450 - 625

		Number of Sites		
Area	*Total no. of sites with ARS*	*ARS I*	*ARS II*	*ARS III*
Ager Veientanus	316	307	92	46
Cassia-Clodia	60	57	10	6
Craven	71	?	?	?
Ager Eretanus	57	47	20	7
Sutrium	67	?	?	?
Ager Capenas	124	?	?	?
Via Gabia	?	27	9	6
TOTAL	**695**	**438**	**131**	**65**

IIC *Ager Faliscus ARS by fabric*

Date	2nd century	3rd century	4th century	5th-6th century
Number of sites	95	67	31	22
% of sample	82%	58%	21%	19%
Estimated total	163	115	52	38

N.B. Estimated total refers to the fact that only 116 out of 199 sites were examined in this study.

IID *Summary (Hodges and Whitehouse* 1983: 40)

	Number of Sites		
Area	*cAD80*	*cAD350*	*cAD450*
Ager Veientanus	268	91	39
Eretum area	42	20	5
Via Gabina	22	9	6
Cassia-Clodia	45	9	3
Total	377	129	53

APPENDIX III

IIIA *Farfa Survey results 1985 and 1986 - "Roman sites"*

	1985	1986	Total
Period	*No. of Sites*	*No. of Sites*	
Pre-3rd century BC	4	3	7
Third century BC to end of first century BC	10	18	28
First century AD to end of second century AD	12	22	34
Third century AD to end of fourth century AD	6	10	16
Fifth century AD to end of sixth century AD	3	5	8
Total	**35**	**58** =	**93**

IIIB **Detailed Breakdown of 1986 Results**

Period	*No. of Sites*
Pre- 3rd century BC	3
Third century BC	4
Second century BC	5
First century BC	9
First century AD	14
Second century AD	8
Third century AD	6
Fourth century AD	4
Fifth century AD	2
Sixth century AD	3
Total	**58**

APPENDIX IV

Biferno Valley survey results - after Roberts n.d.

Period	Upper Valley	Middle Valley	Lower Valley	Total
Republican (up to 1st century BC)	53	52	131	236
Early Empire (Late 1st BC - 2nd AD)	11	40	50	101
Mid - Late Empire	10	33	32	75
	74	125	213	**412**

APPENDIX V

Principal Dating Evidence Used in The Farfa Survey

AMPHORA

Type	*Date*	*Contents*
Punic Trad.	II BC - AD I	
Dressel 1 Ital.	130 - 50 BC	Wine
Dressel 2/4 Ital.	50 BC - c.AD 100	Wine
Dressel 2/4 Camp.	before AD 79	Wine
Tarraconensis	AD I	Wine
Beltran IIb	AD I	?Garum/Spanish
Tripolitania	AD I - III	
Baetica	AD I - III	Oil
Africana	AD III - IV	Oil
African	AD III - V	Oil
Tunisian = African		
Dressel 7/11		Garum
Spanish		Oil

ROMAN FINE WARES

Type	*Date*	*Source*
Vernice Nera	III - I BC	Italian/Campanian
Terra Sigillata Orientale	AD I	Asia Minor
Terra Sigillata Gallica	AD I	South France
Terra Sigillata Italica	AD I	Italian
Tardo Italica	AD 50 - 150	Italian

African Red Slip

Fabric	*Date*	*Source*
A	late AD I - III	African
C	AD III - V	African
D	late AD IV - VII	African.

APPENDIX VI

Datable Roman material from the 1985 and 1986 Farfa Surveys

Site	Description of material	Date
F1/1	2 sherds African amphora	3rd - 5th AD
	1 sherd Dressel 1 Campanian amphora	pre 79 AD
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 Campanian amphora	pre 79 AD
	3 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 150 BC
	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	4 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.43	25 - 65 AD
	1 sherd ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
F3/2	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - AD100
	1 sherd Dressel 7/11 Baetica amphora	1st - 3rd AD
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F3/3	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F3/4	1 sherd VN - form M.1647	230 - 240 BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F4/1	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8b	80 - 160+ AD
F4/2	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd thin walled ware	1st BC - 1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.13	c.20 BC
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.43	25 - 65+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "A"	late 1st - early 2ndAD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8a	80 - 160 AD
	1 sherd ARS "C"	3rd - 5th AD
	1 sherd ARS "C" - form H.50	230 - 325 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.104b	570 - 600+ AD
F4/4	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
F4/6	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F4/7	4 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	2 sherds Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 ?Aegean amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Punic Tradition amphora	2nd BC - 1st AD
	10 sherds African amphora	3rd - 5th AD
	5 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Campanian coarse ware	pre 79 AD
	16 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.12	c.25 BC

contd.

F4/7	1 sherd TS - form Gou.18	c.12 BC
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8/9	100 - 175 AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.23	150 - 250 AD
	1 sherd ARS "C" - form H.50	230 - 400+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "D"	4th AD
	1 sherd ?spatheoin	4th AD
F11/3	3 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	2 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	2 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.39	15 - 25 AD
F12/1	2 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Dresel 2/4 amphora	1st AD
F12/2	1 sherd ARS "C"	3rd - 5th AD
F12/20	1 sherd Tunisian amphora	2nd AD
	2 sherds African amphora	2nd AD
F14/1	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
F14/2	1 sherd VN - *petit estampilles*	3rd BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS "C" - form H.50	230 - 400 AD
F14/3	4 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	7 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.8	80/90 - 175 AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.91c	530 - ?600+ AD
F14/7	1 sherd ARS "D"	late 4th - late 5th AD
F14/11	1 sherd ARS - form H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
F14/12	1 sherd Africana I or II amphora	3rd - 4th AD
	1 sherd Keays type ?XLVII amphora	4th - 5th AD
	1 sherd African amphora	3rd - 5th AD
F14/13	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
F14/15	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Africana II amphora	3rd - 5th AD
F21/1	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS "D"	5th - 7th AD
F21/99	1 sherd ARS - form H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS "D"	3rd - 5th AD
F21/108	2 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	3 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	2nd - 1st BC
	4 sherds Dressel 2/4 amphora	1st AD

contd.

F21/108	2 sherds African amphora	1st - 2nd AD
	1 sherd Tarraconensian amphora	1st AD
	1 sherd thin walled ware	3rd BC - 2nd AD
	15 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.21	30 - 20 BC
	4 sherds TS - form Gou.39	12 - 30 AD
	1 sherd TS - stamped base *in planta pedis* "L. VMBRICUS HOSPES" Oxé and Comfort 2440b	15BC - 45AD
	1 sherd TS - stamped base Oxé and Comfort 1160b	30BC - 30AD
	4 sherds ARS "A"	1st - 3rd AD
	3 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8a	80 - 160+AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.3	60 - early/mid 2nd AD
	2 sherds African cooking pot - H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
F21/110	2 sherds Dressel 2/4 amphora	1st AD
	2 sherds African amphora	2nd AD
F22/3	1 Dressel 2/4 Tarraconensian amphora	1st AD
F22/6	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F22/7	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
F22/10	1 sherd VN - form M.3642	3rd - 2nd BC
	2 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	2nd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	1st AD
F23/1	1 sherd ARS "A" - form ?H.23	2nd - 3rd AD
F23/3	1 sherd TS	1st AD
F23/4	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	1st AD
F33/3	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.59	320 - 420 AD
M11/3	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	2 sherds ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
M11/7	1 sherd VN with red paint - possibily Hellenistic	?3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 Amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8a	80/90 - 160+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.9a	100 - 160+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "D"	4th - 7th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.67	360 - 470 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.91c	530 - 600+ AD
M11/10	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	2 sherds Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd TS	1st AD

contd.

M11/10	1 sherd ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
	2 sherds ARS "A" - form H.8	80- 175 AD
	2 sherds ARS - form H.196	mid 2nd - mid 3rd AD
M21/1	2 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.23b	2nd - mid 3rd AD
M21/3	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd ARS "A"	2nd - 1st AD
M21/5	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora sherd	2nd - 1st BC
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.182	150 - 250 AD
M21/8	1 sherd TS	30 - 0 BC
	1 sherd Tunisian amphora	2nd AD
M21/28	1 sherd Tunisian amphora - Africana I	2nd AD
	1 sherd African amphora - Tripolitana II	1st AD
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	1st AD
	1 sherd East Mediterranean amphora	?
M22/1	2 sherds VN	early 3rd BC
M22/2	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.8a	80 - 150 AD
M33/6	1 sherd TS	30 BC - 80 AD
	1 sherd African cooking pot - form H.197	2nd - mid 3rd AD
M33/8	1 sherd TS	30 BC - 80 AD
M33/11	1 Dressel 2/4 amphora sherd	1st AD
M33/12	1 Dressel 1 amphora sherd	2nd - 1st BC
M38/1	6 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.2252	2nd BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.2654	end 2nd/start 1st BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	3 sherds ARS "D"	late 4th - late 5th AD
	2 sherds ARS "D" - form H.61b	400 - 450 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.64	early - mid 5th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.91	400 - 500 AD
M39/2	3 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd ?Punic amphora	2nd BC - 1st AD
M48/1	2 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	2 sherds VN - form M.2980	3rd - 1st BC
	2 sherds VN - *petit estampilles*	3rd BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.2233	250 - 200 BC
M48/2	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - 100 AD

M48/5	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - 100 AD
M48/8	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Campanian 2/4 amphora	pre 79 AD
	1 sherd African amphora	3rd - 5th AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.196	mid 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.183	2nd - 3rd AD
M48/9	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 Tarraconensis amphora	1st AD
	1 sherd ARS - form H.196	mid 2nd - mid 3rd AD
M48/10	3 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Africana amphora	3rd - 4th AD
	1 sherd ?Mauretanian amphora	4th - 5th AD
M49/1	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd African cooking pot - form H.196	mid 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd Punic Tradition amphora	2nd BC - 1st AD
M49/3	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
M49/4	3 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	4 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	3 sherds Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	2 sherds Tripolitana II amphora	1st AD
	1 sherd Punic Tradition amphora	2nd BC - 1st AD
	4 sherds African amphora	3rd - 5th AD
	9 sherds TS	1st AD
	2 sherds TS - form Gou.43	25 - 65 AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.38	12 - 20 AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.3b/c	75 - 150+ AD
	2 sherds ARS "A" - form H.8	80/90 - 175 AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.23a	early/mid 2nd AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.59	320 - 420 AD
	2 sherds African cooking pot - form H.197	late 2nd - mid 3rd AD
M49/8	1 sherd ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
M50/1	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 ?Aegean amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd Dressel 2/4 amphora	50 BC - 100 AD
	1 sherd African amphora	3rd - 5th AD.
M50/2	1 sherd VN	3rd - 1st BC
	10 sherds African amphora - some Punic	2nd BC - 1st AD
	Tradition, some Africana	3rd AD - 4th AD
	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora	1st AD
	1 sherd TS	1st AD

M50/3	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.39c	pre 20 - 25 AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.43	post 25 AD
M59/1	2 sherds Tarraconensian amphora	1st BC - 1st AD
	3 sherds Africana II amphora	3rd - 5th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.91b	450 - 530 AD
	2 sherds ARS "D" - form H.61b	450 - 500 AD
M60/2	3 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.1315	300 - 200 BC
	1 VN nozzel - form ?M.8131b	4th BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
M60/3	1 sherd VN - form M.2980	start of 3rd BC
	3 sherds TS	1st Ad
	3 sherds ARS "A"	late 1st - 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.31	early - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.23a	early - mid 2nd AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H. 23b	mid 2nd - early 3rd AD
M70/1	12 sherds VN	3rd - 1st BC
	1 sherd VN *petit estampilles*	3rd BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.2980	start 3rd BC
	3 sherds VN - form M.1281	200 - 150 BC
	1 sherd VN - form M.2538	300 - 375 BC
	1 sherd TS - Orient. BII	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - S. Gallica	1st AD
	19 sherds TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.26	?10 - 8 BC
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.39c	pre 20 - 25 AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.11	30 - 20 BC or later
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.22	pre 20 BC
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.27c	10 - 8 BC
	2 sherds TS - form Gou.43	post 25 AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.18	c.18 BC
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.7	c.30 BC
	1 sherd Tardo Italica	50 - 150 AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.3c	early - mid 2nd AD
	3 sherds ARS "A" - form H.3b	75 - 150 AD
	2 sherds ARS "A" - form H.6a/b	end 1st - end 2nd AD
	4 sherds ARS "A" - form H.8a	80/90 - 160+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - form H.9a	100 - 160+ AD
	1 sherd ARS "A" - from H.31	100 - 150 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D"	3rd - 7th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.61b	400 - 450 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.61 transitional	c.400 AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.80a	mid - late 5th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.87/8	early 6th AD
	1 sherd ARS "D" - form H.91b	450 - 530 AD
	2 sherds ARS "D" - form H.91c	530 - 600+ AD
	3 sherds African cooking pot - form H.197	mid 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd African cooking pot - form H.196	early 2nd - mid 3rd AD
	1 sherd African cooking pot - form H.23	2nd - 3rd AD *contd.*

M70/1	1 Deneauve III lamp with sea monster on the disc, and pale buff coloured paint	first half 1st BC
	1 sherd Deneauve VII lamp	50 - 150 AD
	2 sherds Dressel 1 amphora	2nd - 1st BC
	2 sherds Terraconensian amphora	1st BC - 1st AD
	1 sherd Africana amphora	3rd - 4th AD
	1 sherd Dressel 7/11 Baetica amphora	1st - 3rd AD.
M80/2	1 sherd Dressel 1 amphora	130 - 50 BC
	1 sherd TS	1st AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.41	10 - 20 AD
	1 sherd TS - form Gou.27	10 - 8 BC
	4 sherds ARS "D"	late 4th - 7th AD.

Notes

1. VN = *Vernice Nera.*
   TS = *Terra Sigillata.*
   ARS = *African Red Slip.*

2. The form numbers for the fine pottery are taken from -

Goudineau 1968.
Hayes 1972.
Morel 1981.
Oxé and Comfort 1968.

3. Unless other wise specified all references to Terra Sigillata, Dressel 1, and Dressel 2/4 amphora are to Italian productions.

4. The information in this appendix refers only to datable Roman fine wares and amphorae. It does not take into account the numerous sherds of coarse ware found on the Roman sites, or the prehistoric, medieval, and modern material found in the course of the surveys.

APPENDIX VII

Sites from the Farfa Survey (1985 - 7) with Sixth Century and Later ARS

Site	Form	Date	Comments
F4/2	104b	570 - 600+ AD	Late variants to 625+ (not this piece)
F14/3	91c	530 - 600+ AD	Hayes (1980) suggests terminal date should be slightly earlier.
M11/7	91c	530 - 600+ AD	As above.
M22/50	?91d	600 - 650 AD	Could be 90c (530 - 600+ AD). Hayes (1980) implies dates should be a little earlier.
M42/5	99a	510 - 540 AD	Hayes (1980) revises initial date to c. 470 AD.
M70/1	91c	530 - 600 AD	Hayes (1980) implies dates should be a litle earlier.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Paul Roberts for the information in this Appendix.

2. This table does not include those sites which have sherds of ARS "D" which are not attributable to particular forms. The time span of this particular ARS fabric runs from the fourth to the seventh century, and is too broad to allow us to detect the form and extent of ARS consumption in its final phases. For sites with ARS "D" see Appendix VI.

3. The table also omits sites with forms 91b and 61b. Hayes (1972) originally suggested that these had a terminal date of 500+ AD. This has been revised in the light of new information, and it is now suggested that production of these forms may have finished c450 - 475 AD (Hayes 1980).

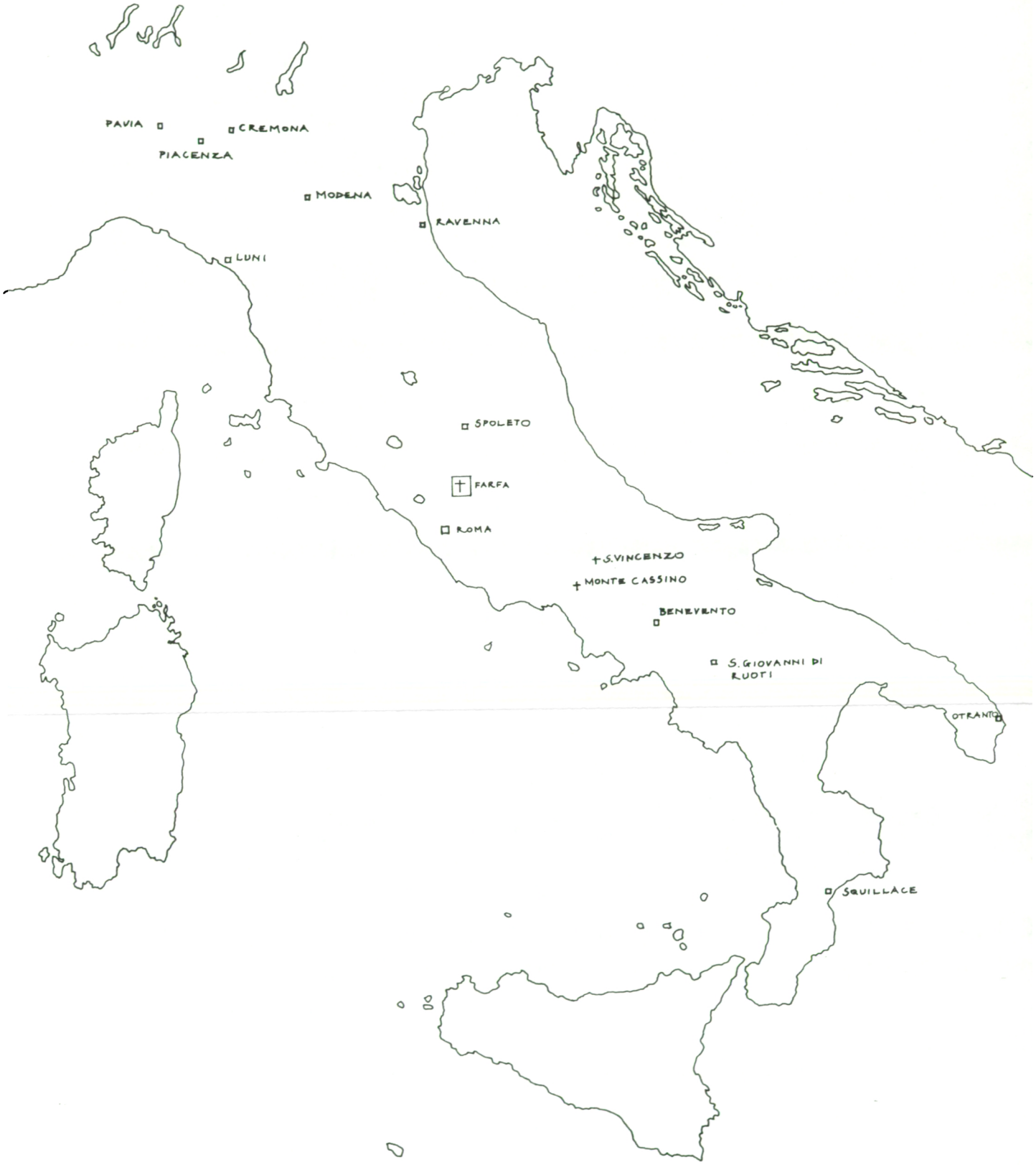


Figure Two Principal sites mentioned in the text (source: author)

Figure Three The Farfa Survey Area 1985 - 1987 (source: author)

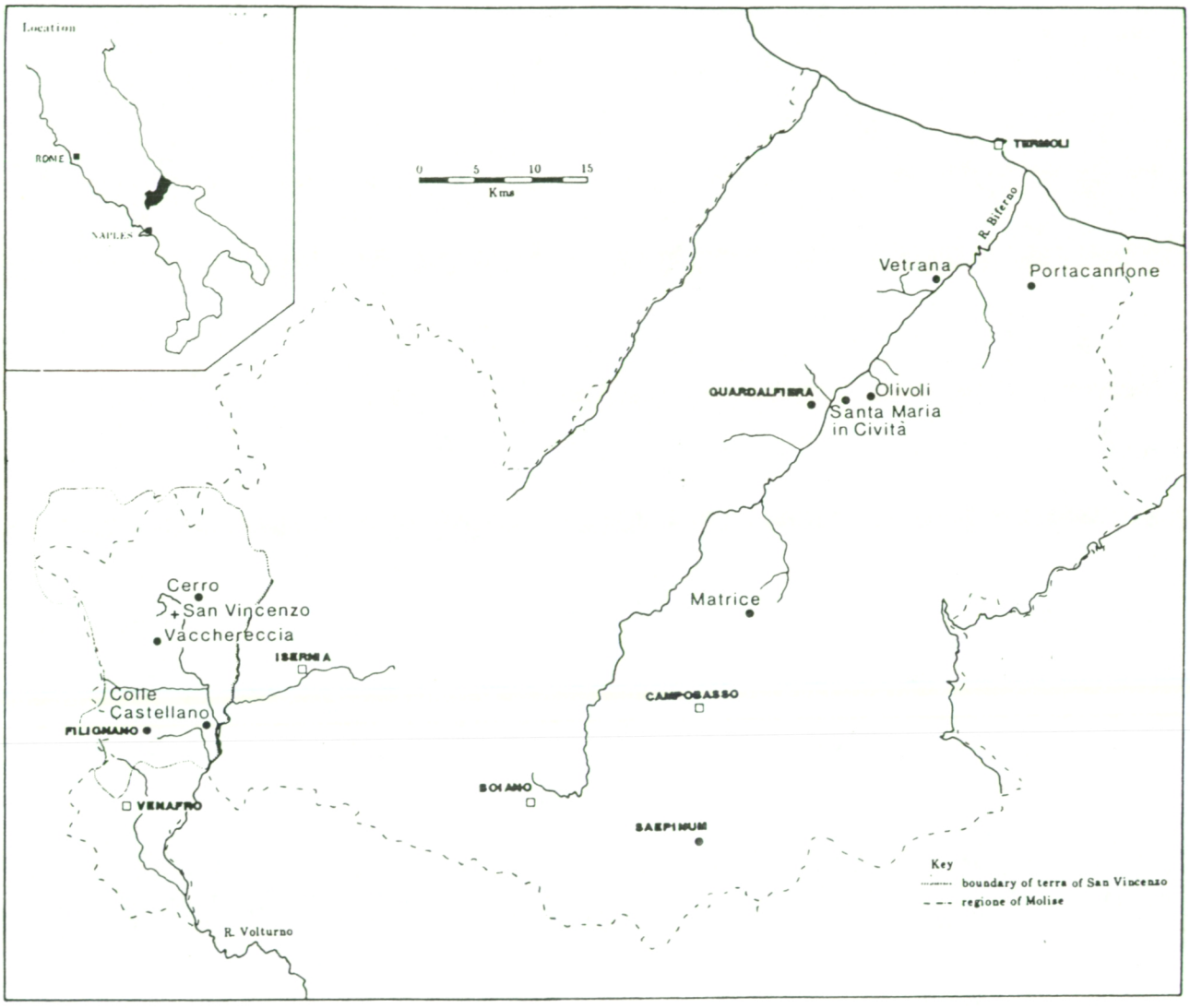


Figure Four The Biferno and Volturno valleys showing the major Roman and medieval sites (source: Hodges and Mitchells (eds) 1985: 85

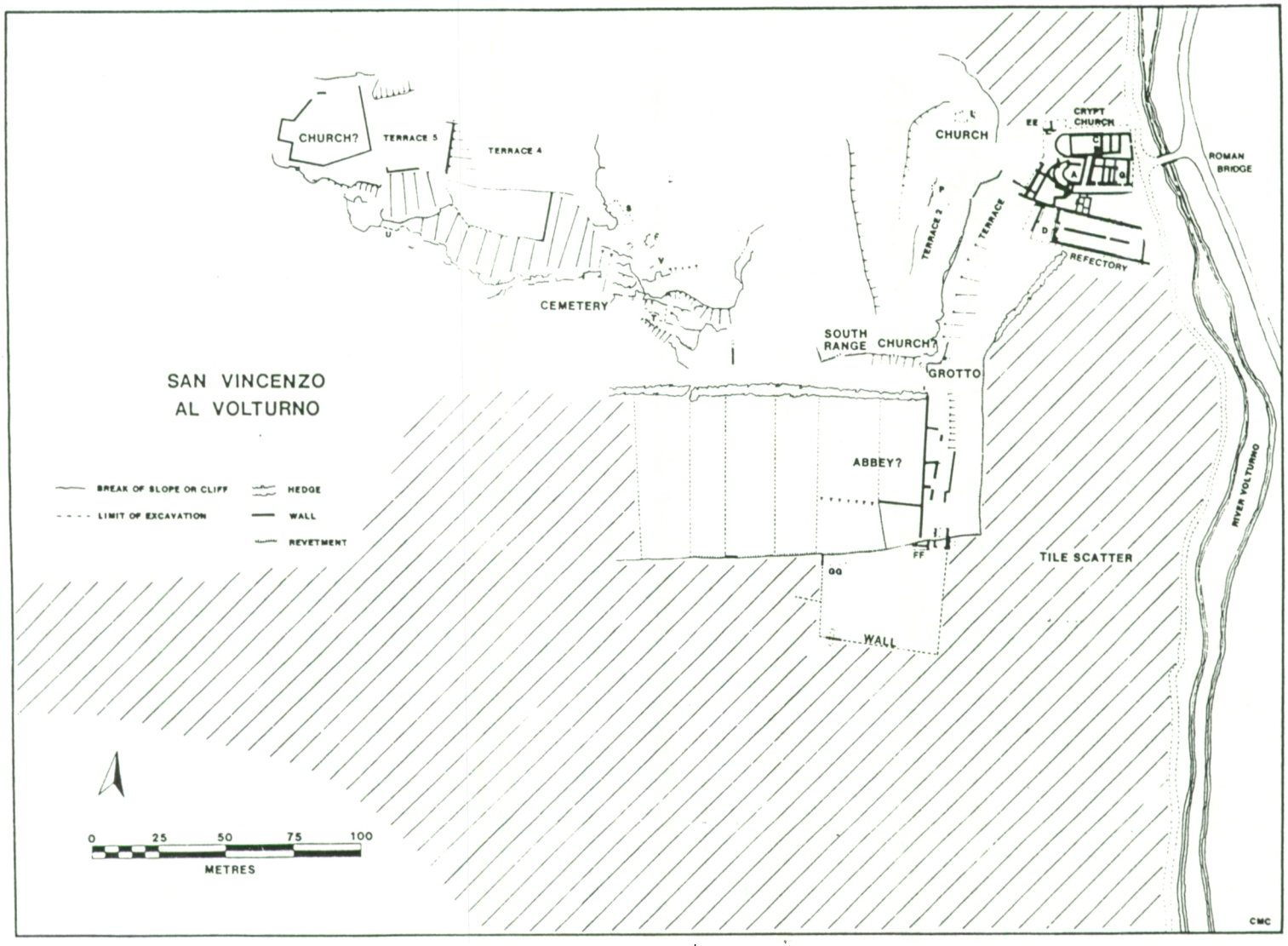


Figure Five The excavated structures at San Vincenzo al Volturno

(source: Hodges and Mitchell (eds) 1985: 38

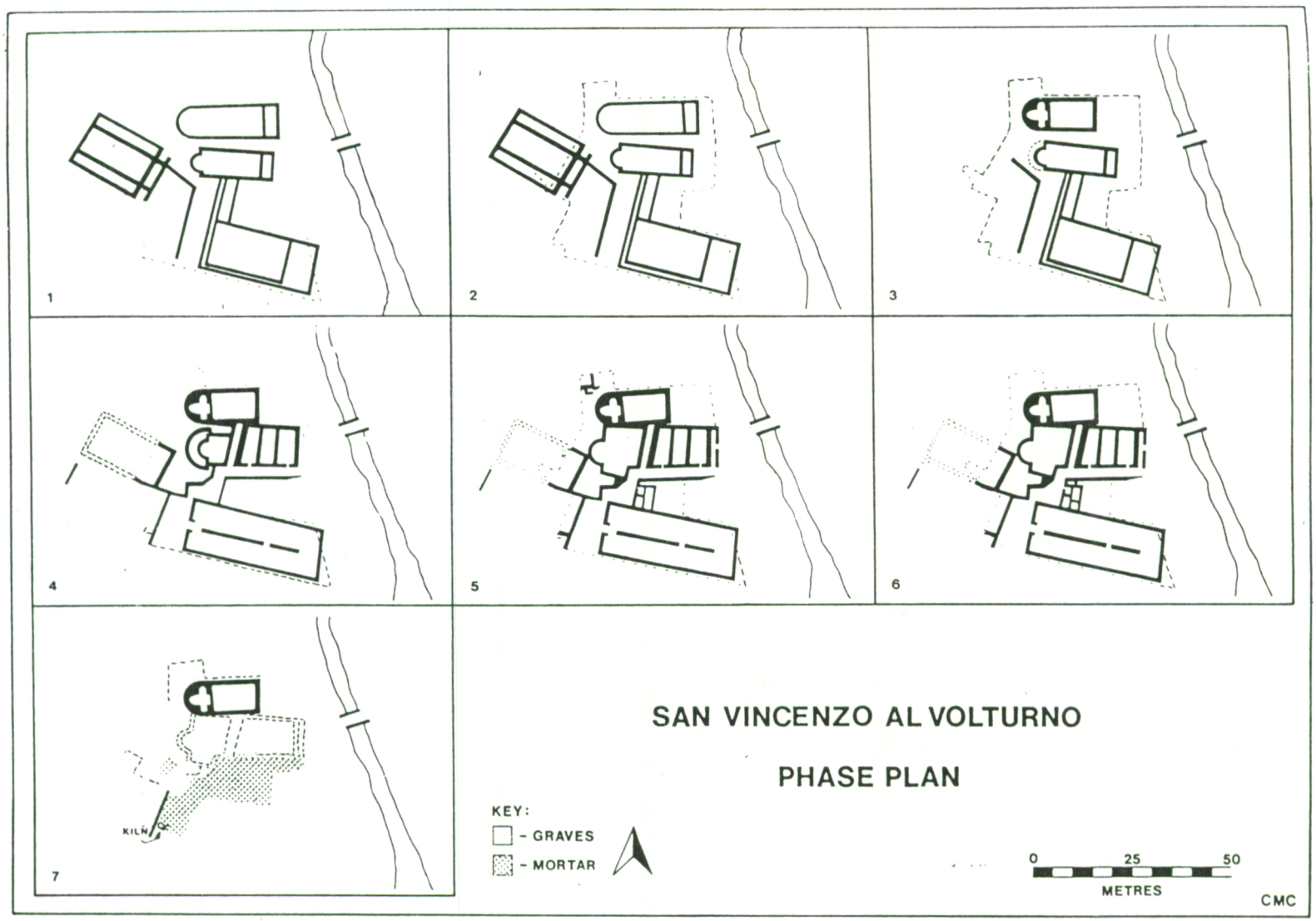


Figure Six Phase plan of the central complex at San Vincenzo

1. Late Roman. 2. "Lombardic". 3. The eighth century monastery.
4 + 5. The ninth century monastery. 6. The tenth century monastery.
7. The eleventh century monastery.

(source: Hodges and Mitchell (eds) 1985: 21

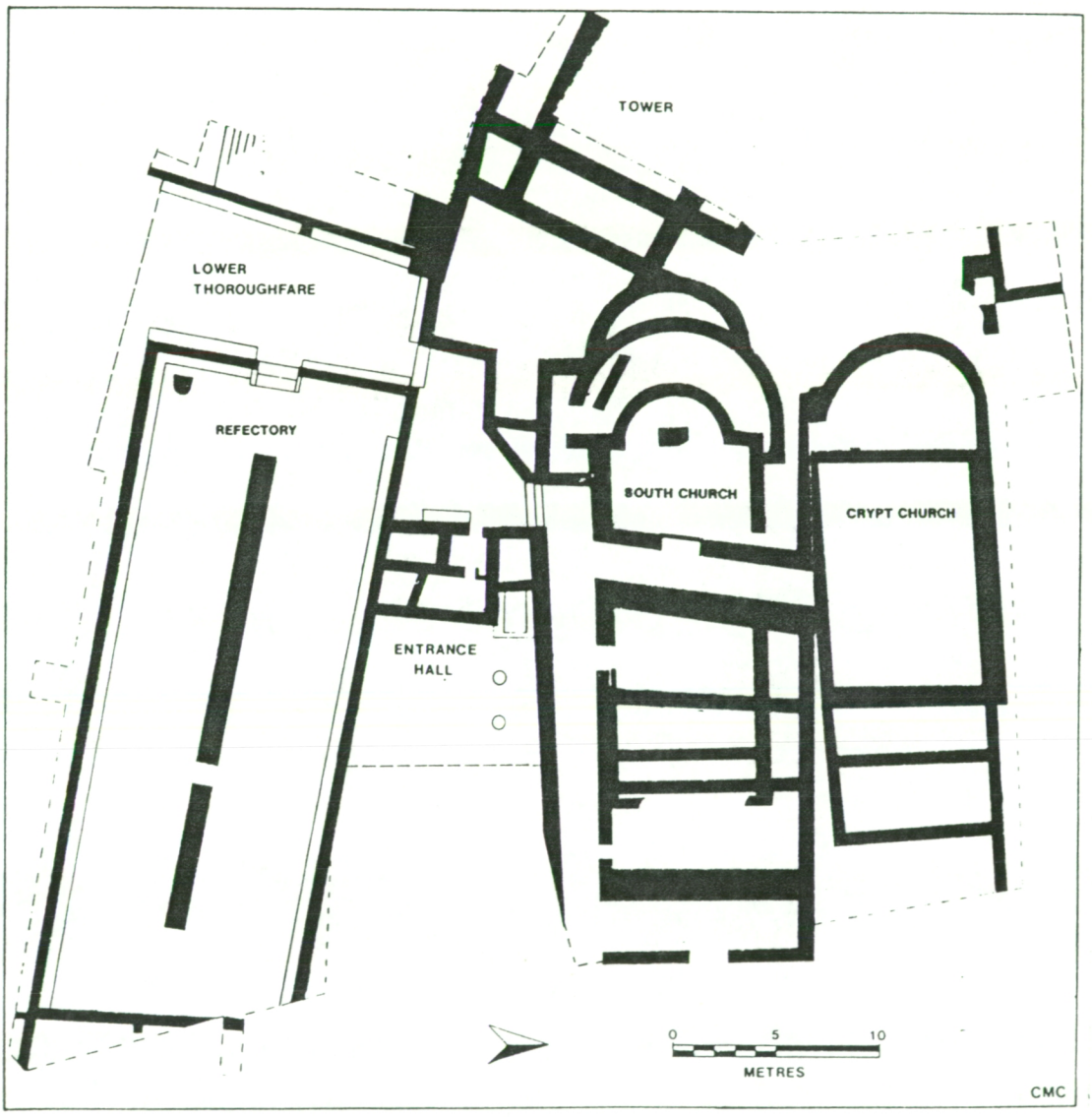


Figure Seven Detailed plan of the excavated churches and refectory at San Vincenzo al Volturno (source: Hodges and Mitchell (eds) 1985: 128

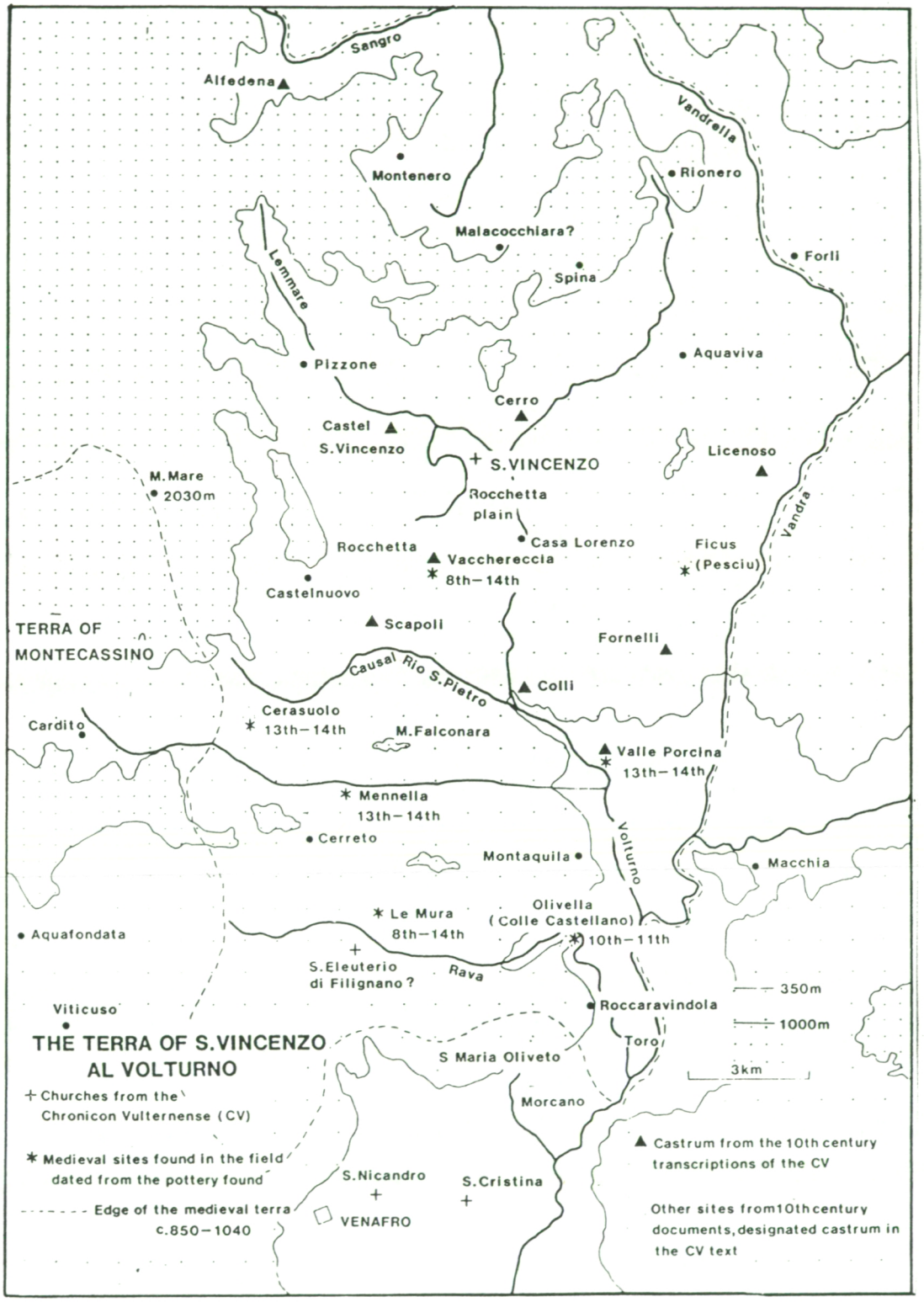


Figure Eight The *terra* of San Vincenzo al Volturno (source: Hodges and Mitchell (eds) 1985: 230

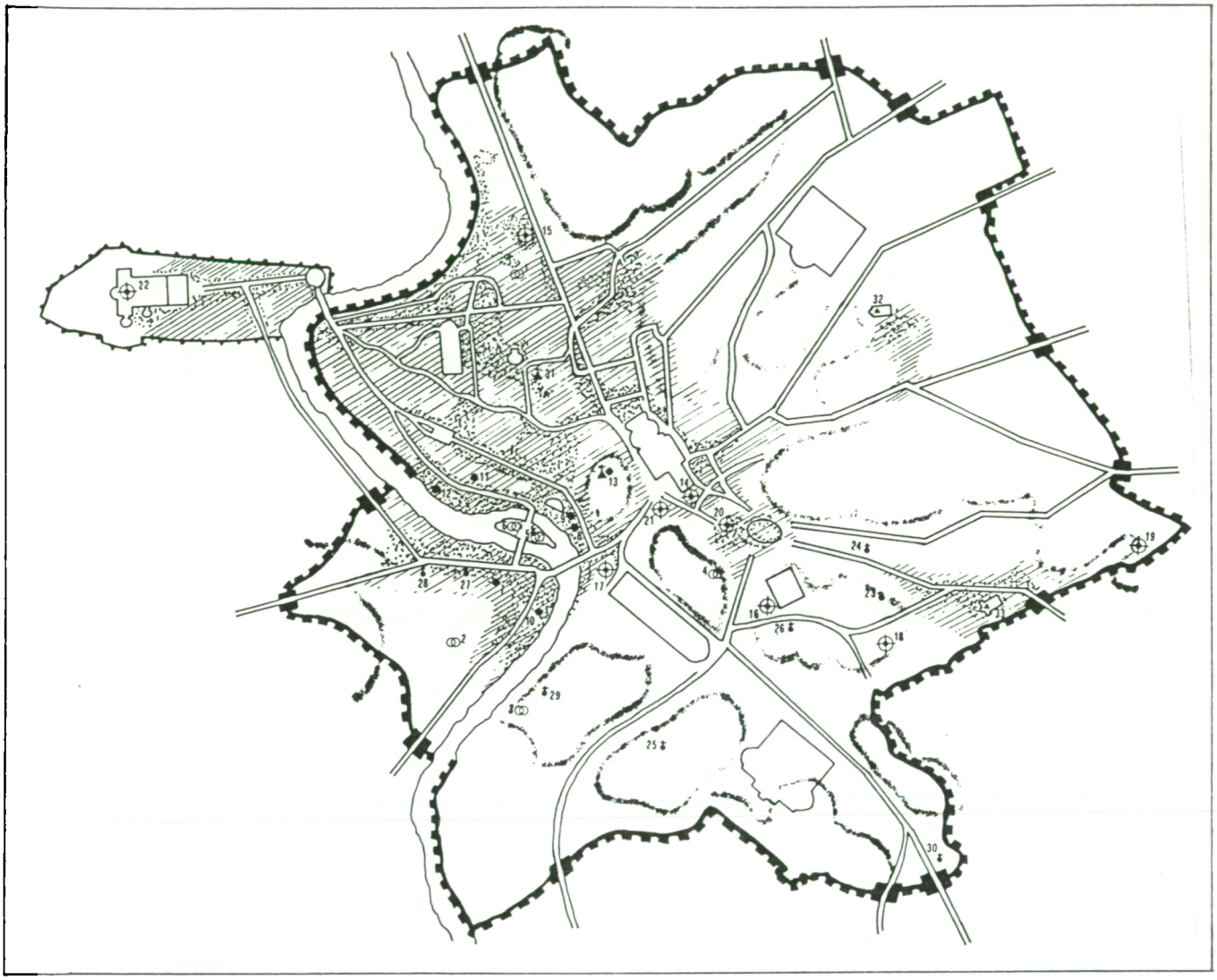


Figure Nine *Abitato* and *disabitato* in Rome before and after 1050

(source: Krautheimer 1980: 245)

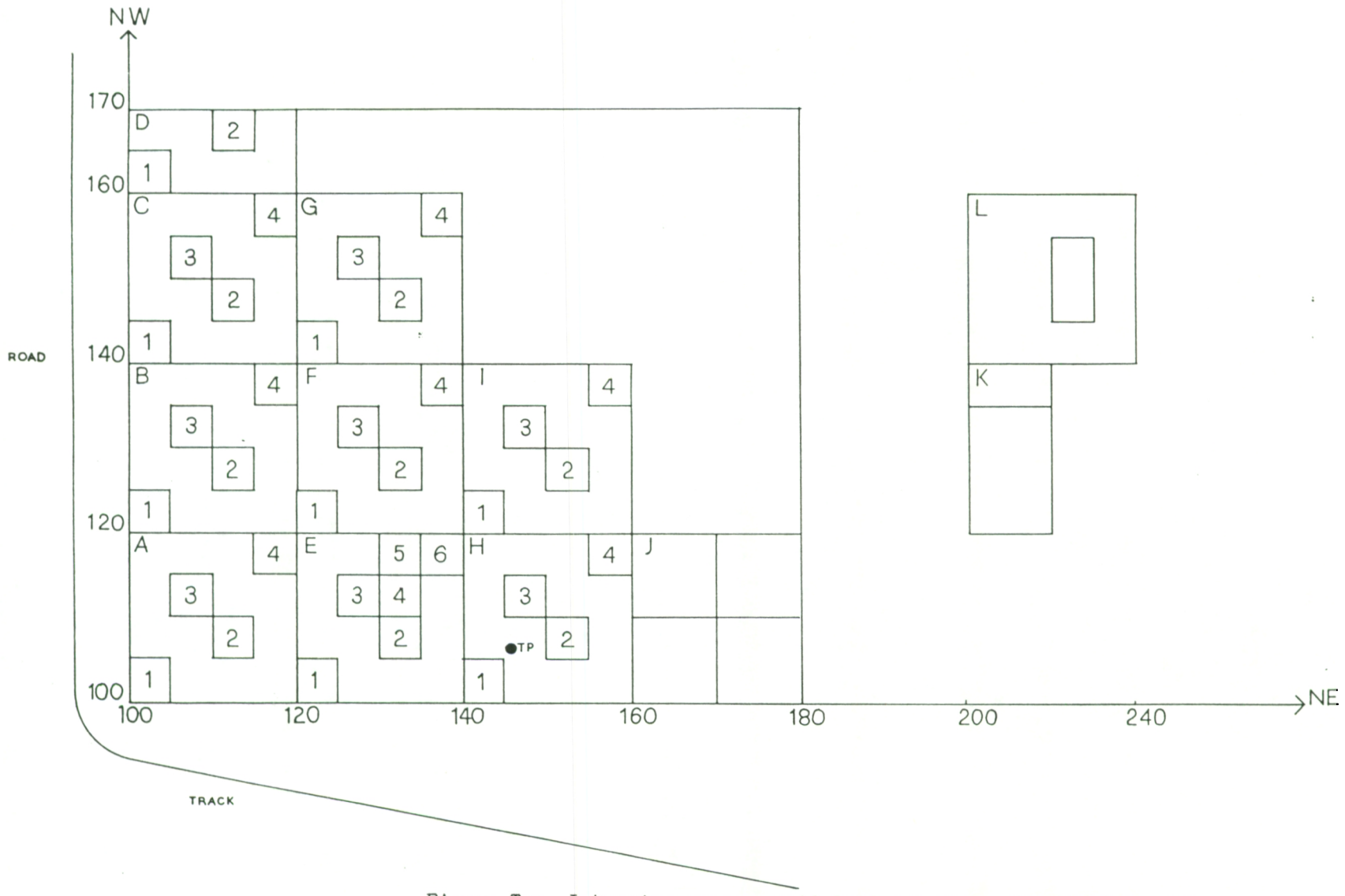


Figure Ten Intensive survey grid laid out over site M42/12 - 13

- Farfa Survey 1987 (source: author)

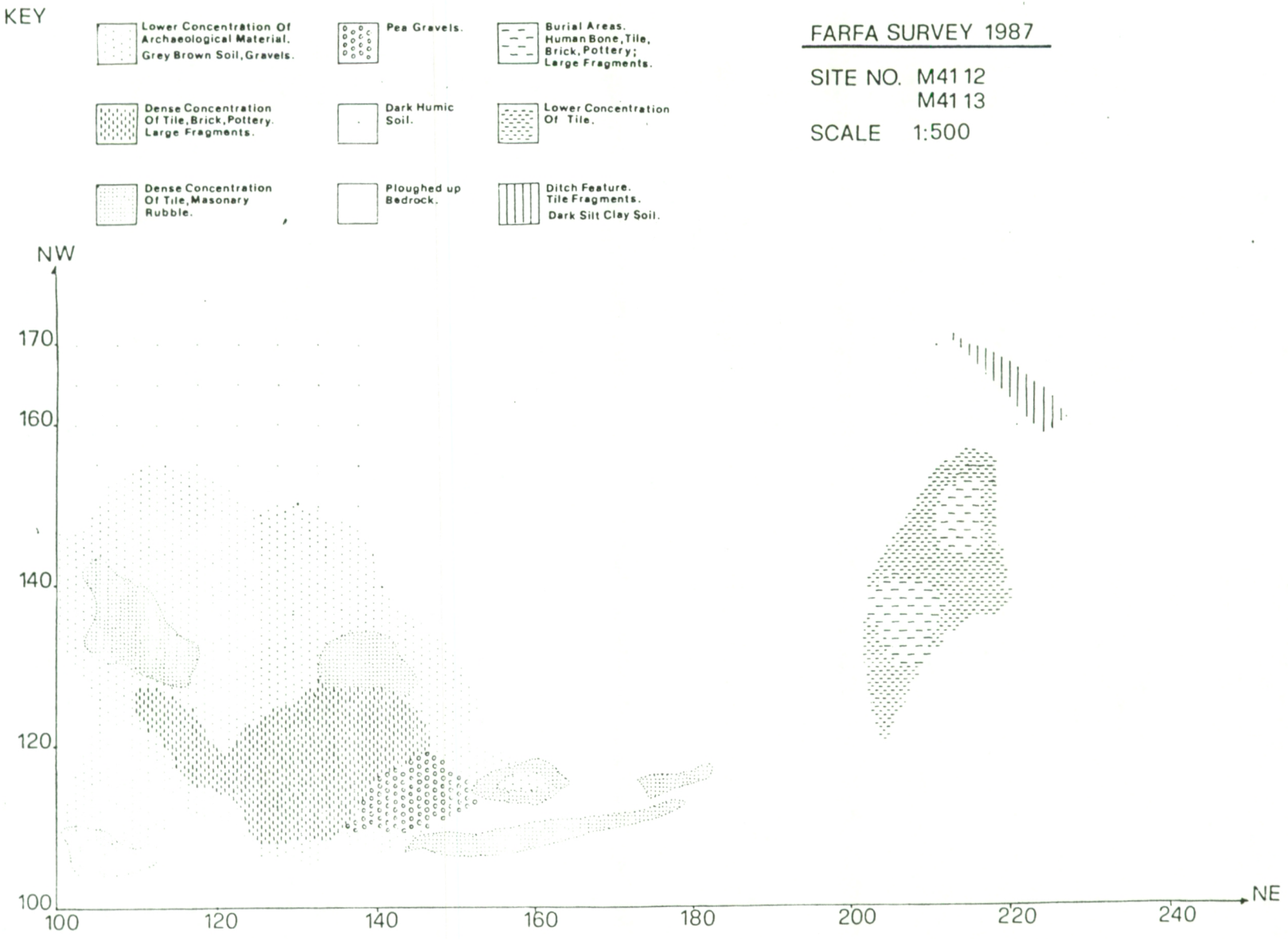
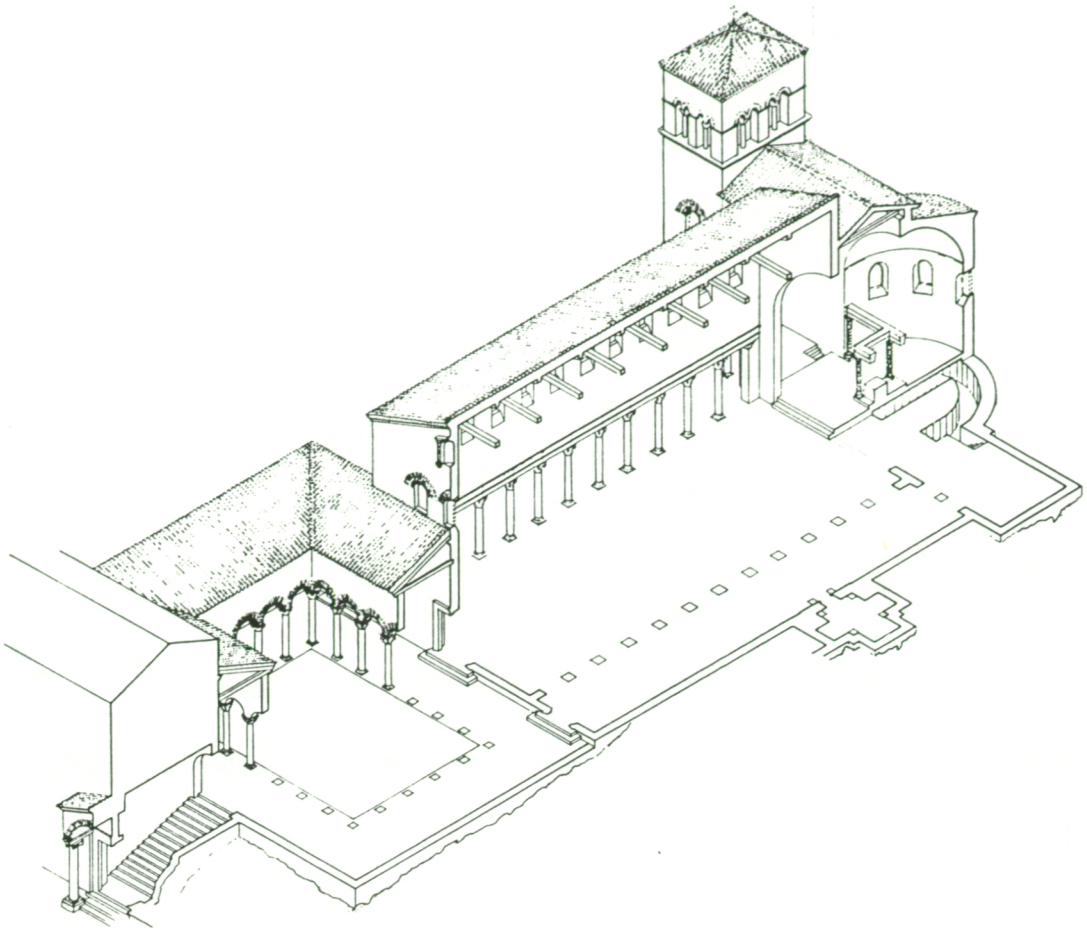


Figure Eleven Geomorphological and archaeological plan of site M42/12 - 13 - Farfa Survey 1987 (source: author

Figure Twelve *Castelli* around the monastery of Farfa in Sabina

(source: author)



Isometric reconstruction of the ninth century church of Sta. Prassede, Rome (source: Krautheimer 1980: 123)

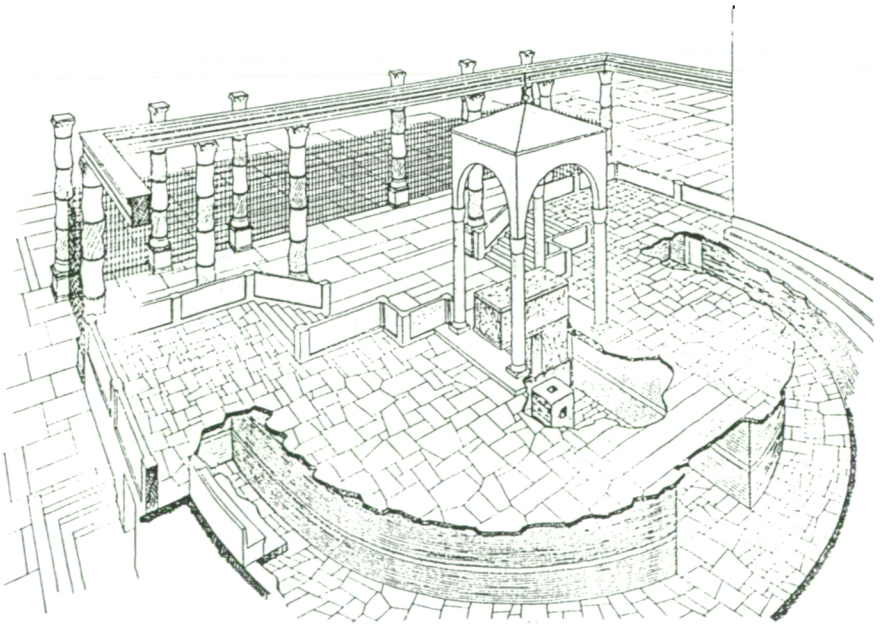


Figure Thirteen Reconstruction of the sixth century crypt at St Peters, Rome (source: Krautheimer 1980: 86)

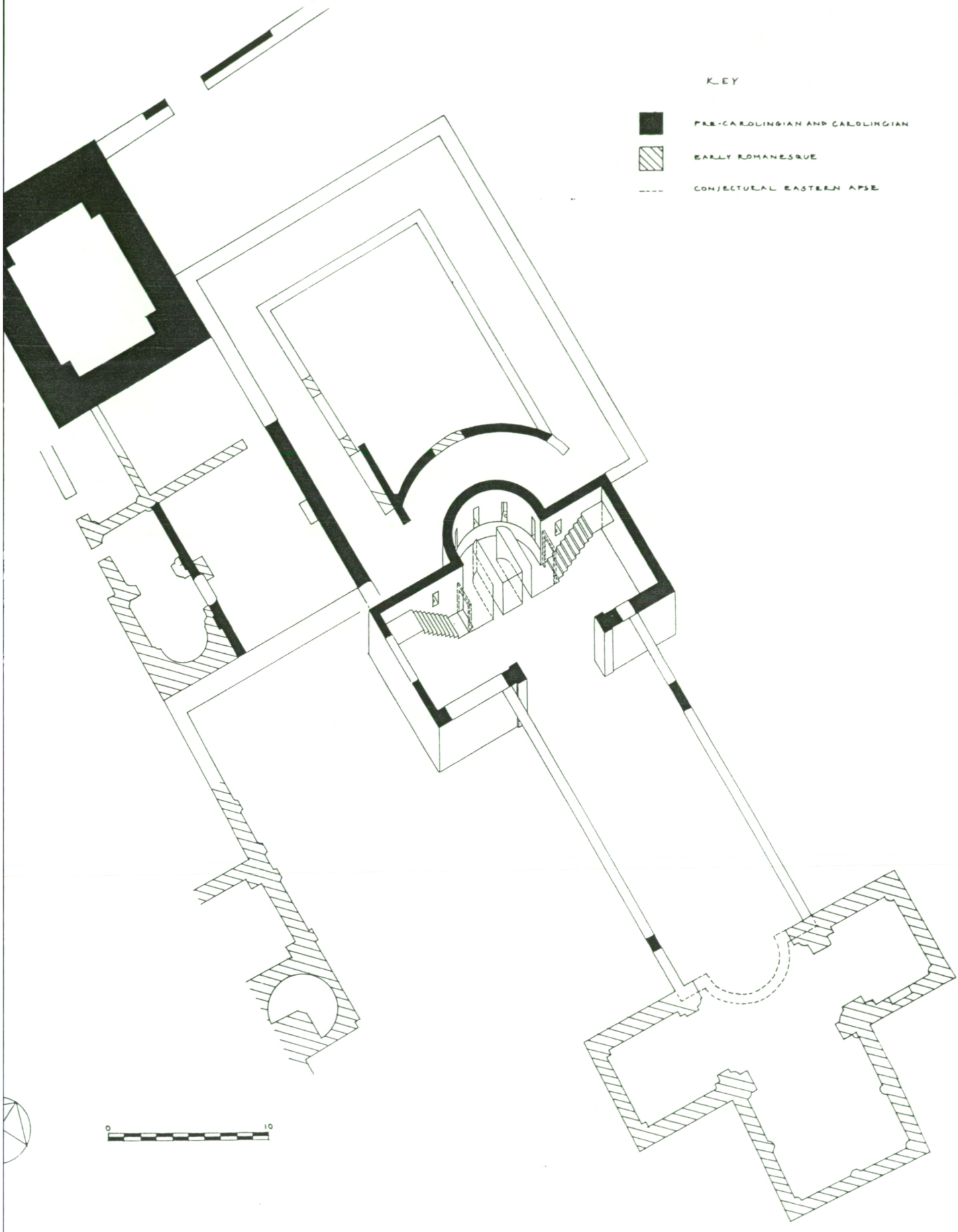


Figure Fourteen Reconstruction of plan of the Carolingian and Romanesque church at Farfa (source: based on McClendon 1986: figs. 9a and 15)

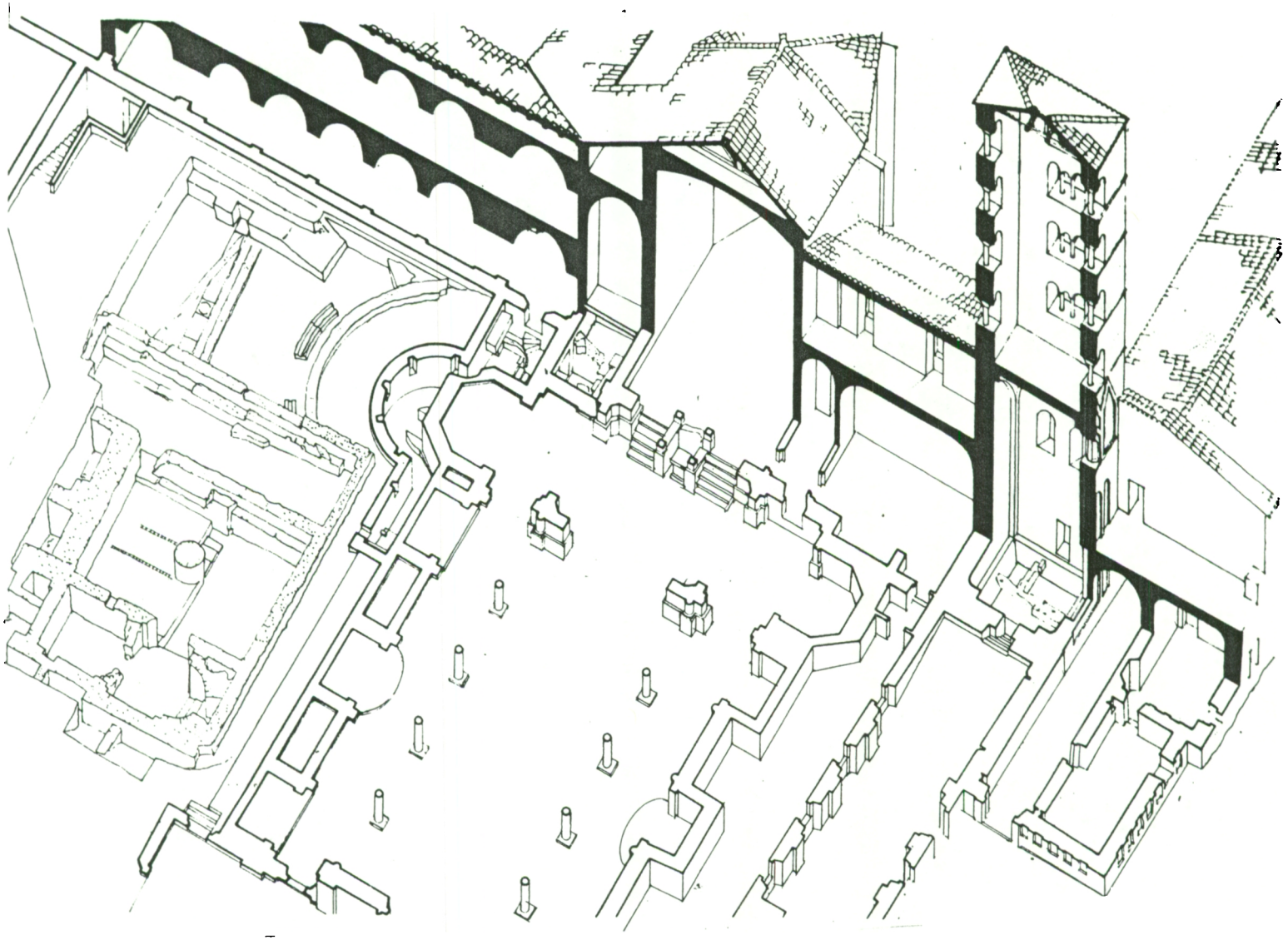


Figure Fifteen Axonometric section of the church and excavations at Farfa

(source: *Farfa, Storia di Una Fabbrica Abbaziale* 1985: 54. Roma

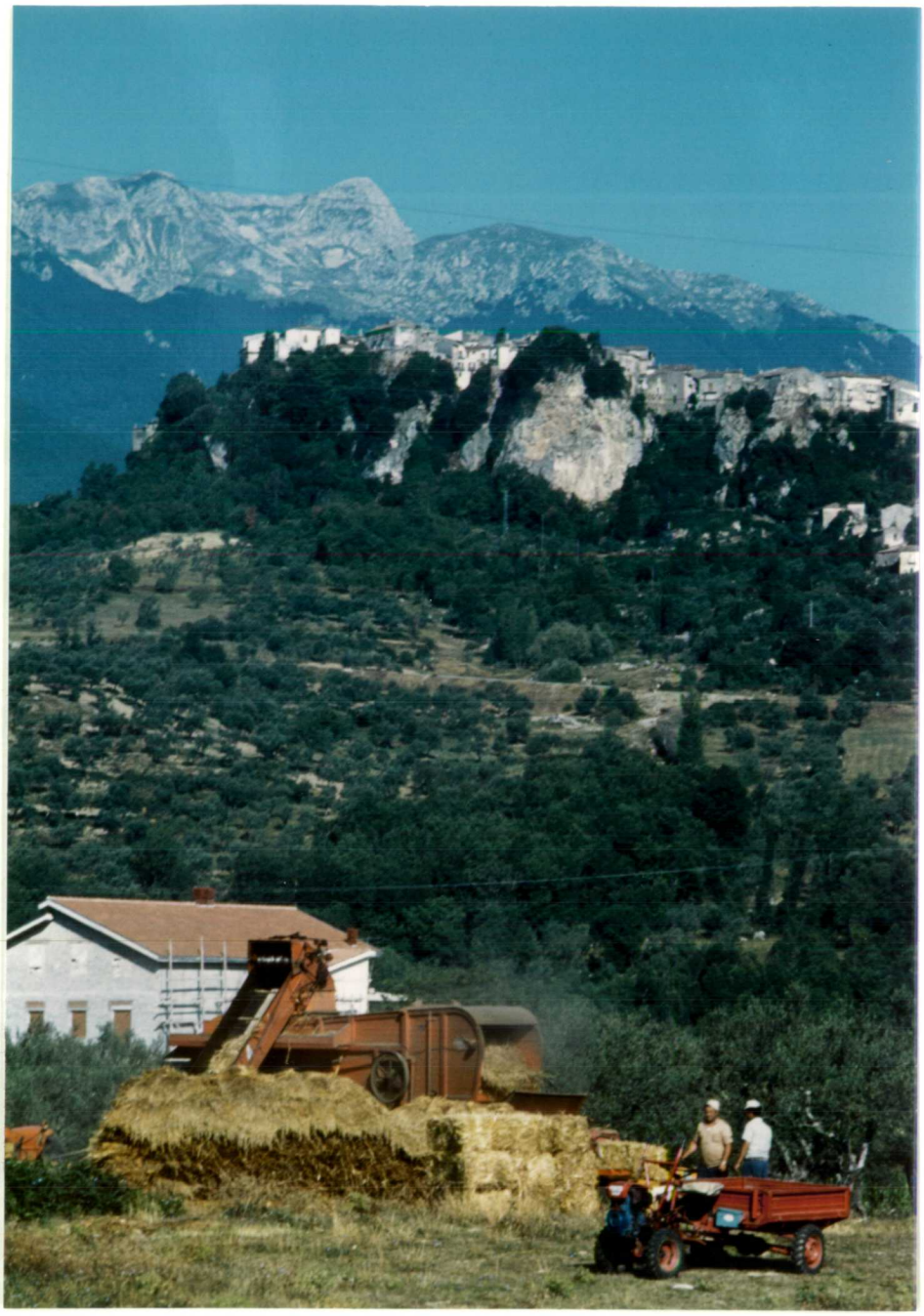


Plate One *Incastellamento* in Molise - San Vincenzo (photo: R. Hodges)

Plate Two *Incastellamento* in the Sabina - Fara in Sabina (photo: author)

Plate Three The monastery of Farfa in Sabina (photo: author)

Plate Four The early medieval site of *Cavallaria from the monastery of Farfa* *(source: author)*

Plate Five Abbot Epiphanius (824 - 842) of San Vincenzo
(photo: author)

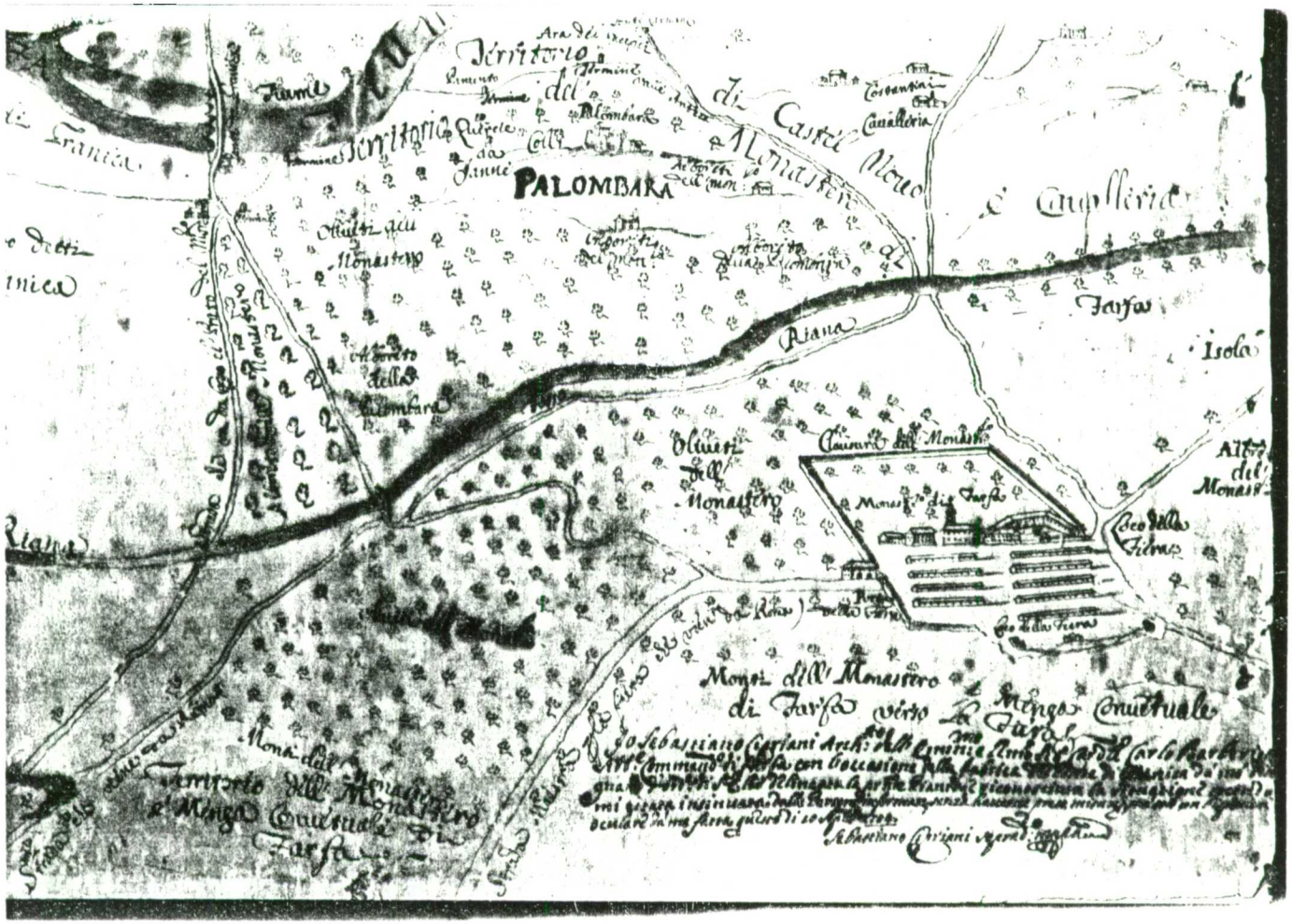


Plate Six An eighteenth map of the area around Farfa, showing the territory of *Cavallaria* (source: T. Leggio)

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