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Identity, funerary practices and memory in Lombard Tuscia (6th to 8th centuries)

by

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1. Introduction: the temple of Diana in Pisa

In the 6th century the anonymous author of the life of St Torpete of Pisa began his story of the martyrdom of the saint with one of the typical *topoi* of medieval hagiographic literature, that is, the destruction of a pagan temple by divine intervention. The temple was located at the gates to Pisa near the bridge on the ancient river Auser and, thanks to the investment of considerable resources, it had been erected by the emperor Nero who had ordered the building to be covered with sheets of incised decorated marble, with a large-sized statue of Diana "whose face was so beautiful that it looked quite real" and golden mosaics representing the heavens supported by ninety marble columns:

in ingressu portae Latinae civitatis Pisanae, in capite ponti flumini Ausari, ibidem in omni pulchritudine ex marmore incisis vel virgulatis tabulis iussit templum adornari; iussit artificibus ut ex auro mundo vel margaritis stauam Dianae facerent [...] Tunc facta est statua Dianae mirae magnitudinis, vultu oculis quasi vivens, sic eam [...] in vultu templi iussit configi […] Tunc fecit caelum aereum in pavimento columnarum marmorearum numero nonaginta.[1]

According to the hagiographer, the beauty of the building was supposed to manifest for all to see the magnificence of the goddess Diana to whom it was dedicated and, at the same time, the greatness of the emperor who had lavished so much virtue in her honour and who, in order to celebrate her properly, night and day staged sacred representations with sumptuous sets including lights, mirrors and sculptures. It happened however, as we learn from the account, that the Lord intervened and made a great wind rise against the building and all those present and thus put an end to all this superstition:

Et sic mane iussit lampades fieri in factura solis, per caelum trahai, ut lucerent populo qui erat sub caelo, venientes ad occasum extinguebantur. Et iterum sero, hora undecima, fecerunt simile speculum, cum magnis gemmis refulgens, clarum nimis, in factura lunae. Et ante horam constitutam cecidit: nec ipsa fragmenta inventa sunt. Sic nocte iussit quadrigam per caelum trahi quasi tonans. Tunc misit Dominus ventum validum super eos: quadrigam in fluvio mergi fecit, transcapitatus est auriga, nusquam comparuit.[2]

The story, which has no basis in historical fact, is a fiction that recurs frequently in the lives of the saints and serves the purpose of allowing the author to introduce the persecutor of Torpete, the emperor Nero, as well as the theme of the futility of earthly goods and the physical and moral superiority of the Christian God over the pagan deities. Although the message and the content conveyed by the text are

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[1] Vita Torpetis, 7.
[2] Ibid.

perfectly in line with the canons of hagiographic literature, the narrative style, however, differs somewhat from these canons. The vivid and realistic description of the temple, in particular, is unheard of in the classic style of hagiographic literature. For this reason some scholars believe that the description is not a complete invention but may have been inspired by the discovery of the ruins of a palace or a villa or the remains of an ancient statue of a woman.[3]

This is actually quite possible. Indeed, written sources and archaeological finds testify to the fact that during the Early Middle Ages people often came across different kinds of ancient ruins either by accident or during deliberate explorations both in the cities that continued to be inhabited and in rural areas near abandoned or semi-abandoned towns.[4] On the other hand, it is a well known fact that the frequenting of old settlement sites and the re-use of ancient objects and materials stripped from ancient buildings were common practices in this era and, in fact, numerous studies have been dedicated to this subject in the past few decades.[5] Nevertheless, for Tuscany, where the life of St Torpete is set, something on the issue can still be said. In particular, the archaeological finds in this area shed new light on the meaning and method of re-use and show the procedures applied for this practice specifically in the context of burial places while, at the same time, providing new insights on the ways in which funerary rites were conducted and cultural identity was expressed in a region in Italy, *Tuscia Langobardorum,* during the Early Middle Ages.

The article begins first by focusing upon the historical documentation in order to point out the cultural, social and political profile of Tuscany in the wider context of the Lombard Kingdom (paragraph 2) and then goes on to examine the material evidence of graves and cemeteries which, despite being incomplete and not always reliable (paragraph 3), adds interesting glimpses about the identity of the region during the Early Middle Ages. The archaeological analysis first examines the grave goods and in particular the provision of weapons and ornaments in precious metal and then moves on to a consideration of the re-use of

ancient monuments as burial places and the practice of furnishing the dead with materials and objects found near old ruins and abandoned structures (paragraph 4). In conclusion, through an overview of the written texts, the article discusses the concept and perception which the early medieval society had of ancient objects and sites (paragraph 5) and ends by suggesting that the practice of re-use was a symbolic ritual through which one could experience a sense of belonging to a territory and a community (paragraph 6).

2. Lombard Tuscany

Tuscia Langobardorum was a region of central Italy that is so identified in Roman sources to distinguish it from *Tuscia nostra,* or *Romanorum,* i.e., belonging to the popes.[6] It was created after the arrival in the Italian peninsula of the *gens* of the Lombards and was slightly larger than present day Tuscany, since it is supposed to have included the ancient city of Luni to the north and the basins of the river Magra as well as the Vara in Liguria, to the east, the west bank of Lake Trasimeno and the cities of Orvieto and Città di Castello in Umbria and, to the south, the city of Viterbo and its territories as far as the river Mignone in Lazio (fig. 1).[7] Except for some fluctuations in the era of Liutprand (712/713–744 AD), when cities and castles went back and forth from the Kingdom to the Empire and vice versa,[8] these borders were established between the 6th and the 7th century during the first wave of invasions when Tuscany was penetrated by groups of Lombards starting at the time of Alboin (560–572 AD),[9] and later during the military campaigns that led first to the extension of the southern frontier and then to the extension of the northern one[10] during the reigns of Agilulf (591–616 AD)[11] and of Rothari (636–652 AD).[12]

[3]   Grégoire 1973, 590.
[4]   For Tuscany in particular, see the frequentation of the Etruscan tomb called „Quadriga Infernale" in Minetti 2006, 13–23, 72–74.
[5]   Ward Perkins 1984; La Rocca 1993; De Lachenal 1995; Lusuardi Siena 1999; Effros 2001.

[6]   Liber Pontificalis I and II, 428, 454, 468, 472, 493, 513.
[7]   See the old work of Fedor Schneider, republished in 1975 (Schneider 1975). For the meaning of the frontier as a very flexible border in the Early Middle Ages in Italy, see Gasparri 1995.
[8]   A reconstruction of the military activity of Liutprand in central Italy is in Gasparri 2012a, 85–92.
[9]   Pauli Historia Langobardorum, 86 and Gregorii Papae Dialogorum Libri, 294–296.
[10]   Kurze/Citter 1995.
[11]   Pauli Historia Langobardorum, 127.
[12]   Pauli Historia Langobardorum, 135.

Fig. 1   Lombard Tuscany (adapted from Schneider 1975; map from d-maps.com).

Just as had occurred in the rest of central-southern Italy, the occupation of the region did not originally take place following a specific royal initiative, but was part of an unplanned offensive which took on the appearance of a war between bands[13] in which the various Lombard chiefs acted on some occasions as adversaries of the Byzantine empire and on others as its allies.[14] Although, as a consequence of the type of conquest achieved at Spoleto and Benevento, in-stitutionally autonomous duchies were established,[15] in *Tuscia* a unified and semi-independent military and administrative district was never created. On the contrary, for the 8th century the written sources give us the picture of a central authority which had finally gained power in the region by controlling the members of the most important aristocratic families who went to occupy the main positions of a bureaucratic structure made up of two ducal cities,

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13   Gasparri 2012a, 3–9.
14   Gregorii Papae Registrum Epistolarum II, 398–400.
15   Gasparri 1983; 1989.

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Lucca[16] and Chiusi,[17] five seats of *gastaldi*, Siena,[18] Volterra,[19] Tuscania,[20] Città di Castello[21] and Pistoia,[22] plus numerous minor towns and territories which are variously described in the sources with the terms *iudicaria*, *fines*, *territorium*, *castrum* or *castellum*.[23]

Although it never became a regional duchy at the time of the Lombard domination, *Tuscia,* in any case, formed a consistent territorial unit and represented one of the main geographic entities in the state system along with *Neustria* and *Austria*.[24] In the legal records and, above all, in the laws, these geo-political divisions, which extended to the south, the west and the east of the royal capital in Pavia, did not have any concrete administrative value and, instead, were indicative of the areas of origin of the *iudices* who intervened in the public assemblies alongside the king in order to sustain him in his function as legislator.[25] *Tuscia* in particular was identified with the part of the peninsula developed *trans Alpes*,[26] that is, south of the Apennine mountains, and corresponded to a vast transit area between the Byzantine dominions of the Roman duchy and the Exarchate on the south-east and the actual "lands of the king" to the north.[27] A similar meaning – i. e. a distinction with respect to the Pavesian heart of the Kingdom – can also be found in the documents of the region, where the expression *de trans Padum* indicated a group of people who were residents in Tuscany but originally

from the Po valley[28] and recognized the river Po as another natural barrier between this part of the peninsula and the northern territories.[29]

Therefore, although both the public and private written sources insist quite clearly on the particular topographic indication of Tuscany with respect to the north of the Kingdom, the attribution to this region of a more substantial definition in, for example, social and economic terms and political identity, is not so easy. In fact, there are only a few times in the history of the Lombard Italy when the region appears to emerge as a cohesive and partially autonomous political entity.[30] In particular, *Tuscia* played a key role starting at the time of Desiderius up to the Frankish conquest of the peninsula, when it offered military support to the last Lombard king during his ascent to the throne[31] and perhaps his struggles against Charlemagne.[32]

Two unconventional sources, in fact, indirectly confirm the anti-Frankish and anti-Roman sentiments that were typical of the élite class of the region at this time. They are the Tuscan notarial charters and the Lombard recension of the *Liber Pontificalis*. The first of these, which uses a dating method based on the year when Charlemagne *coepit Langobardiam*

[16]   Dukes of Lucca were Walpert (c. 713/714–c. 752), Alpert (c. 752–c. 754), Tachipert (c. 754–774) and Allo (c. 774–c. 785). See Gasparri 1978, 18–19, 62, 64 and 50 and Stoffella 2007.
[17]   Dukes of Chiusi were Gregorius (728/729–732), Agiprand (742) and Reginbald (775). See Gasparri 1978, 47, 57, 60.
[18]   Gastalds of Siena were Aibo (c. 650), Wilerat (c. 680), Zotto (c. 700), Godepert (c. 711), Tagipert, Warnefrit (c. 715) and Gauspert (749–752). See Bertini 1973.
[19]   Gastald of Volterra was Alachis (end 7th century). See Augenti 1992.
[20]   Gastald of Tuscania was Ramningus (742).
[21]   Gastald of Città di Castello was Reginbald (774), who became duke of Chiusi. See below note 17.
[22]   Gastalds of Pistoia were, perhaps, Alahis (716), Edelpert (726) and Gullerd (767). See Rauty 2005, 206. For Alahis, see also Ghignoli 2004.
[23]   Conti Giusteschi 1998.
[24]   Gasparri forthcoming.
[25]   *Tuscia* appears as place of origin of the public officers in the prologues of the laws of Liutprand in 713, 717, 720 and 729 and in the that of Ratchis in 746. See Liutprandi Leges, 128–129, 130–131, 136–137, 180 –181and Ratchis Leges, 236–237.
[26]   The chapters of the laws which mention *Tuscia* are no. 44, 61, 88 and 108 of Liutprand and 13 of Ratchis. See Liutprandi Leges, 150–151, 156–159, 172–173, 182–183; Ratchis Leges, 242–245.
[27]   Gasparri 2004, 72–82.

[28]   Violante 1987.
[29]   For the symbolic meaning of the river as an internal border between the „lands of the king", namely where he had a direct control, to the north, and the rest of the peninsula, to the south, see Gasparri 2004, 73–75.
[30]   In 592 when the Lombards, that were *in Tuscia positis,* made an agreement with the pope against the Lombards of the duchy of Spoleto (Gregorii Papae Registrum Epistolarum I, 319); in 661–662 when, together with the count of Capua and the Lombards of Spoleto, a big array of followers, which was co-opted *per Tusciam,* brought to the throne Grimoald (Pauli Historia Langobardorum, 138); in 725–726 when, together with the Lombards of Spoleto, the dukes of *Tuscia* defended the Pope against the Exarch Paolus (Pauli Historia Langobardorum, 181; Liber Pontificalis I, 403, 454) and in 740 when the bishops of Tuscany supported Liutprand in the restitution to the Pope of the towns of Amelia, Orte, Bomarzo and Blera (Codex Carolinus, 478).
[31]   In 756 Desiderius was appointed by Astolf *dux in partes Tuscie* and later he was helped by the army of the region in the fight for the throne against Ratchis and the aristocracies of Friuli and Veneto. Always *in partes Tusciae,* he met the papal and Frankish emissaries in order to negotiate their support (Liber Pontificalis I, 454–455).
[32]   After the Franks had arrived in Italy, while Desiderius was imprisoned, his son Adelchi was able to reach Constantinople by means of a ship which sailed from Pisa in Tuscany. In the meantime some members of the regional élite had taken part to the Lombard resistance, which had been organized by Arechis II of Benevento, Hildeprand of Spoleto and Hrodgaud of Friuli. For these events see Gasparri 2000.

or *Papia civitate ingressus est* – i. e., conquered Lombard Italy and its people and entered the capital of Pavia – by means of this kind of original *datatio*, recalled the time of the conquest and, therefore, kept alive the memory of the independence and political identity of the Kingdom.[33] The other source, which was copied in Lucca at the end of the 8th century[34] and was therefore directed to the tastes of the Tuscan ruling class,[35] presents a rewriting of the biography of Pope Stephen II in which all of the derogatory adjectives toward the king and the Lombard people are deleted, while presenting the offensive of Aistulf in 756 AD against Rome in a light that, if not wholly favourable for the Lombards, was at least neutral.[36]

Other than these few, indirect traces, indeed, as far as a distinct regional profile is concerned, a precise description of *Tuscia* remains vague and difficult to formulate, in particular because no historical narrative, expression of a defined cultural and political identity, was ever produced in this epoch by the centres of power or by the Tuscan intellectual environment. For this reason, on account of the scarcity of information contained in the written sources, the contribution of archaeological data is extremely valuable. In fact, by demonstrating for the area and the period under study, the use of mortuary practices which were specifically related to the regional landscape, archaeological finds can serve as material indicators of that local and territorial identity which only occasionally emerges from the historical documentation.

3. Quantity and quality of the archaeological data[37]

92 burial sites have been catalogued for the Early Middle Ages in Tuscany and classified by location in the modern provinces as follows: Arezzo 5, Florence 15, Grosseto 14, Livorno 5, Lucca 13, Massa Carrara 0, Pisa 11, Pistoia 1, Prato 0, Siena 18, Viterbo 7, La Spezia 2, Terni 1 (fig. 2). Since the data available does not make it possible to verify them with certainty, some sites, which probably originally belonged to the same burial area, have, in any case, been counted separately (SI2, SI11, PI2 and PI3). Although it is not complete, the catalogue collects a sample of graves that is numerous and varied enough to allow for a general analysis of mortuary practices in Tuscany in the Lombard age, since it includes necropolises of very different types: urban (SI17), suburban (AR3), rural (GR8), connected or unconnected to religious buildings (FI10, SI13, PS1).

In those cases when they are not generically dated to the Migration period or the Early Middle Ages, the sites pertain to a period between the end of the 6th and the 8th century. They begin and end within the chronological limits of the Lombard domination (PI4) or else develop as chronological phases of cemeteries of a greater duration (LU5), which may have lasted from the 5th to the 9th century. On account of the absence of certain archaeological indicators, like the clothing of the deceased or pottery in the same layers as the tomb, or ^{14}C analysis on the bones, some of the necropolises have been assigned an uncertain date which, without the possibility of a definite chronology, may vary between the Goth and Byzantine era to the Lombard age (GR2 and GR3).

Excluding sporadic material that is not related to archaeological burial contexts, the catalogue records single tombs, small groups of burials and numerous groups of even more than one hundred inhumations, for a total of 1297 interments. Since only in a few cases has the entire archaeological area been completely explored (LI1), the number of tombs for each site is not always indicative of the actual density of the cemetery. This is particularly true for the necropolises located in urbanized areas where the continuous occupation of the settlement has removed the early medieval stratigraphy and where the excavations have been conducted with a limited number of trial trenches, but also elsewhere, when clandestine excavations or agricultural work have partially or totally destroyed the site (VI3). For all of these reasons and, in some cases, due to the lack of specific information in some of the publications, in certain sites the number of burials is approximate (LI5) or unknown (LU13).

With a few exceptions, all of the necropolises in the catalogue have been published. However, the quality of the publications varies considerably from site to site. The graves that were discovered in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century are usually mentioned in the *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* or in local historical publications only in the briefest manner (FI3, GR5, LU3, SI10), while the

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[33] Gasparri 2008, 59–61; Bougard 2008, 340–341.
[34] On this source and the manuscript 490 in the Archive of Archbishopric of Lucca, see Capo 2009, 58–68; Ganter 2013, 65–114.
[35] Bougard 2009.
[36] Gasparri 2012a, 160–164.
[37] For the data in this paragraph see tab. 1–2.
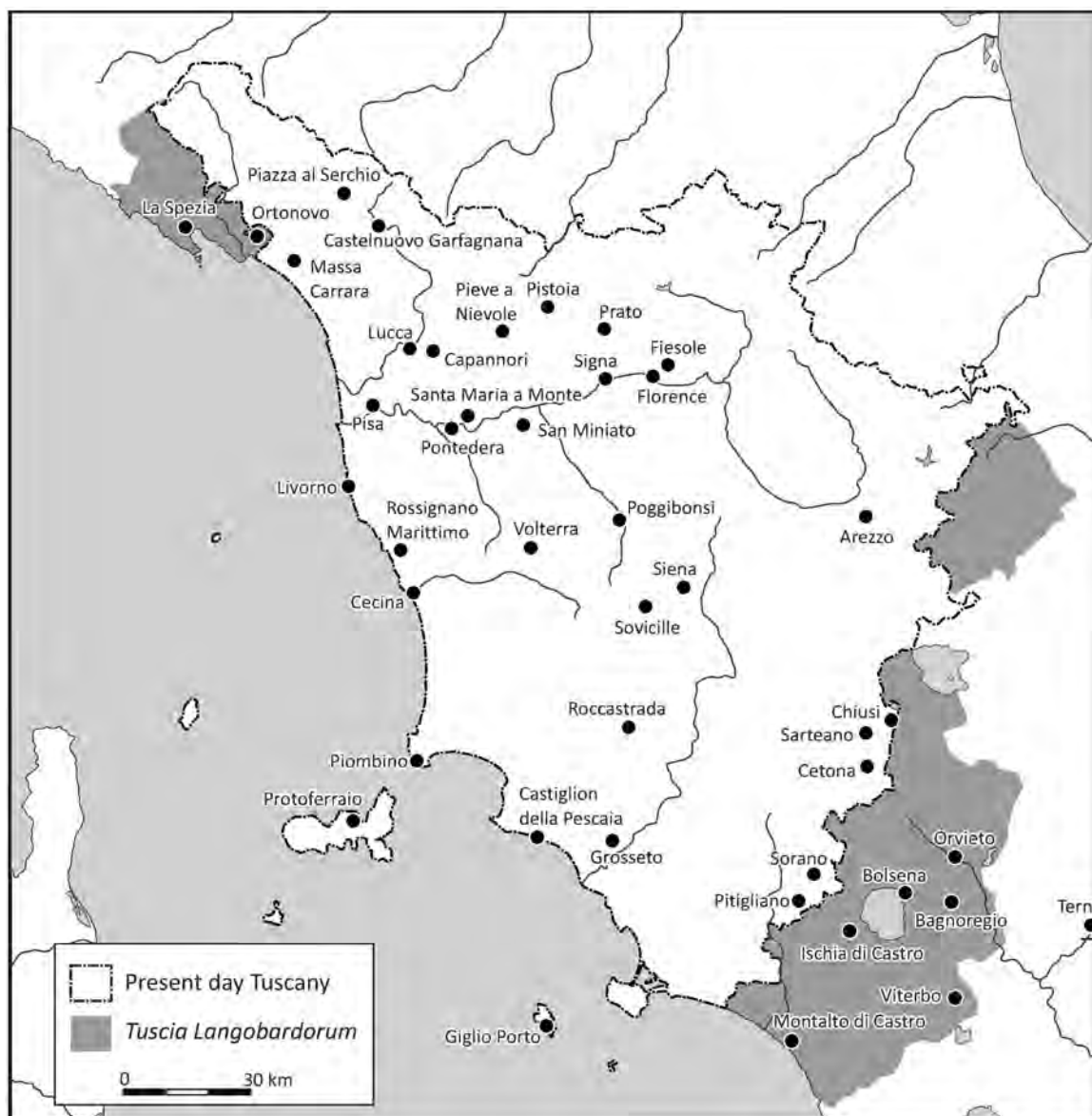
Fig. 2   Modern Tuscany. Funerary sites cited in the text (map from d-maps.com).

more recent ones have, up to now, been published only partially (FI1, LI5). A complete documentation of the tombs, with a map of the site and osteological analysis of the bones, in those cases where they have been preserved, is available only for a handful of cemeteries (FI5, GR8, LI1, LU6, PI4, SI11, SI17, VI3, VI5, VI6). Some areas are much better documented than others in the catalogue thanks to the number of burial sites that are known. The greater incidence of the archaeological data however, does not correspond to a higher concentration of early medieval necropolises in a particular area but is, instead, related either to a long antiquarian tradi-

tion that started in the 19th century, as is the case of Fiesole and Chiusi,[38] or else to construction activity that went on for many years and was associated with emergency archaeological excavations, as occurred in Lucca and Florence.

Besides the quantity and the quality of the data, moreover, the historical and cultural background of the discoveries influenced the very nature of the archaeological record. From 1800 until 1950, in fact,

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[38]   For the archaeological discoveries of the early medieval period in Tuscany, see Pazienza 2009a, 113–238. In particular for Chiusi, see also Pazienza 2009b, 55–63.

reports of early medieval tombs occurred only occasionally and under certain circumstances. In this period the so-called barbarian tombs were published only when they contained ornaments made of precious metal, like the gold crosses, or when there was a re-use of ancient artifacts and sites, like the epigraphs or the Roman buildings. For this reason, in the catalogue the tombs with sets of valuable objects in gold and silver should be considered approximately equivalent to the real number of discoveries, while, on the other hand, those with no grave goods or with more modest ornaments in bronze and pottery and glass vessels should be considered as under estimated and those that have re-used sites and antique materials, on the contrary, should be considered as over-represented.

4. Funerary practices: grave goods and re-use[39]

The aspect of early medieval mortuary rituals that has always attracted the most attention from scholars is the grave goods, i.e., the set of objects including personal clothing and objects of everyday use that were deposited in the tomb along with the body of the deceased. In the 19th century the grave goods and especially, the weapons and brooches, were interpreted as ethnic markers in conformity with the political and cultural climate of European nationalism that, as is well known, was pervasive at the time.[40] During the 20th century, on the other hand, other interpretations were added which related the grave goods to the social status,[41] the gender, the age[42] or the kinship relations[43] of the deceased. The dressing of the body and the provision of the grave goods, however, represented only some of the several phases in the early medieval funerary ritual.[44] There were others, in fact, that played an equally important role like the preparation of the corpse, the procession and the funeral banquet. The almost non-existent archaeological visibility of these practices, along with the perishable nature of the mounds, the grave markers and the wooden structures built over the pits,

in any case, makes them very difficult to study and this fact has induced archaeologists to concentrate their attention almost exclusively on tomb artifacts, thus exaggerating their importance. Moreover, early medieval graves in Italy with grave goods actually represent a small percentage with respect to those that have none and this is particularly true in Tuscany.

Most of the early medieval grave goods in this region consist of pottery and glass vessels, brooches and accessories for belts in iron and bronze, knives, hair pins and combs made of bone and sometimes also weapons like swords, scramasaxes, spears and arrow heads, axes and shield bosses, as well as dress accessories and jewellery in gold and silver.[45] The necropolises that had at least one burial with grave goods constitute 75 % of the sites that were sampled, and half of these had at least a weapon or a gold object. Despite this percentage, in any case, the average ratio between furnished and unfurnished graves, calculated exclusively on the basis of the necropolises where the exact number of both is known, is quite low, about 1 to 6, and is even lower, about 1 to 14 if we consider only the burials where there were weapons and valuable items. On the other hand, there are 23 Tuscan necropolises composed of graves that have no accessories or personal ornaments whatever, as demonstrated by the case of Viterbo-Ferento (ambiente A) with 148 burials with no grave goods (VI5).

This data has also emerged at other sites: at Cecina-S. Vincenzino where, out of 137 tombs there was just one that had a bone comb (LI1); at Arezzo-Pionta where, out of 43 tombs, there was just one that contained a pair of earrings, brocade threads and a gold bracelet (AR3); at Lucca-S. Giovanni where, out of 48 tombs, there was just one that contained a small cross of silver foil (LU6); at Fiesole-Via Riorbico where, out of 30 tombs, 13 contained objects of various kinds, but only two had, respectively, a spear point and a golden brooch (FI5), and Grancia-Grosseto where, out of 80 tombs, 29 contained various artifacts but only two had, respectively, a scramasax and a silver brooch (GR8). Naturally, there are some exceptions to this rule. In particular, the archeological evidence points in the other direction

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[39] For the data in this paragraph see tab. 3–4.
[40] La Rocca 2004; 2011.
[41] La Rocca 1997.
[42] Halsall 1996.
[43] Barbiera 2005.
[44] Effros 2002; 2003.

[45] Although an up-to-date catalogue of the materials of the Lombard period in Tuscany does not exist, in order to have an idea of the type of artifacts which come from the graves of the region, it is possible to look at some publications of the past century: von Hessen 1971; Melucco Vaccaro 1971; von Hessen 1975. See also Citter 1996.

at the sites of Chiusi-Portonaccio (SI2) and Ischia di Castro-Selvicciola (VI3), both of which, perhaps not coincidentally, were border locations. In these two cases, in fact, burials with grave goods are well represented from every point of view, i. e., in the high percentage of tombs with accessories out of the total number of graves, as well as the quantity and quality of objects in each grave.

According to these data, grave goods and, in particular, weapons and jewelry were, in early medieval Tuscany, a custom in which various resources were invested both in economic and symbolic terms, but certainly not to any significant degree. If this is the case then, we must ask if, along with the deposition of grave goods, there existed other types of funerary customs and if, along with those represented by the grave goods, there were other forms of ostentation of the wealth and economic status of the deceased and his family or if, besides the social prominence, the funeral rituals also wanted to express other concepts and meanings. Since the 19th century the antiquarians who studied Etrurian antiquities had noticed that in tombs of the Lombard period in this region there were glass vessels, Etruscan furnishings, amulets and charms which "had evidently been removed from the ancient tombs and passed into the hands of the barbarian invaders", who apparently had plundered and destroyed the hypogeums looking for hidden treasures.[46]

Apart from the typical 19th century view of the arrival of the Lombards in Italy as a catastrophic event, this observation probably has some foundation. A large percentage of the early medieval burials in Tuscany, in fact, is located near pre-existing cemeteries and ancient monuments, from which both objects and materials were removed to adorn the deceased and beautify the tomb. This usage was considered just "common-sense" by the Italian archaeologists who, therefore, never dedicated a specific study to the practice. Indeed, it is the expression of a ritual which is documented in space and time in all of early medieval Europe and is characterized by a powerful symbolic meaning.[47] Scholars have identified three different typologies: the re-use of artifacts 1) as objects forming part of the grave goods and 2) as

containers or structural elements of the tomb and 3) the re-use of pre-existing buildings and monuments as burial places.

These typologies, which appear either separately or simultaneously in the same site, are to be found in all areas of Lombard *Tuscia* although, because of the excavation conditions, which are far from ideal, their actual frequency is not so easy to evaluate. In 14 % of the burial sites that were catalogued, in fact, the practice of funerary re-use, though probable, was not always documented with certainty and, for this reason, the lack of data comports a certain amount of caution (fig. 3). In the site of Arezzo-Pionta (AR3), for example, the discovery of urns and Etruscan grave markers and Latin inscriptions dated to the 1st–5th century, which were re-used in graves of Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages, would attest the persistent funerary use of the area from the Etruscan and Roman era to the early Christian and medieval period, but the destruction of the stratigraphic sequence, because of undocumented digging and excavations, makes it impossible to prove. Similarly, in the site of Grosseto-Casetta di Mota (GR7), the amber necklace from tomb no. 2, whose beads are unique for their large size, would seem to come from an Etruscan tomb in the area, but the lack of a specific analysis, again in the case, makes it impossible to verify.

On the other hand, the cemetery of Grosseto-Grancia (GR8) shows a completely different situation. Like the Anglo-Saxon necropolises installed near orographic conformations which are similar to prehistoric mounds, the use of a hill similar to the Etruscan tombs of the surrounding territory, although it does not constitute an example of monument re-use in the strictest sense, represents a practice that is, in some ways, analogous.[48] In fact, since the distinction in the landscape between what is natural and what is cultural is an acquisition of modern geological science, the use for funeral purposes of physical features in the landscape, which resemble artificial mounds has, however, much to do with the re-use of ancient sites.[49]

Even though, as in the cases mentioned above, a certain number of necropolises and burials still have a dubious interpretation, the number of sites where re-use is demonstrated remains, out of the total sample that has been considered, significant. In fact, it

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[46]   Liverani 1875, 26; Pasquini 1833, 10–11; Del Rosso 1846, 220.
[47]   For France: Périn 1987; Billard/Carré/Guillon/Treffort 1996; Desfossés 1997. For England: Williams 1998; Semple 2003. For Germany: Holtorf 1998; Sopp 1999.

[48]   Williams 1997.
[49]   Bradley 1998.
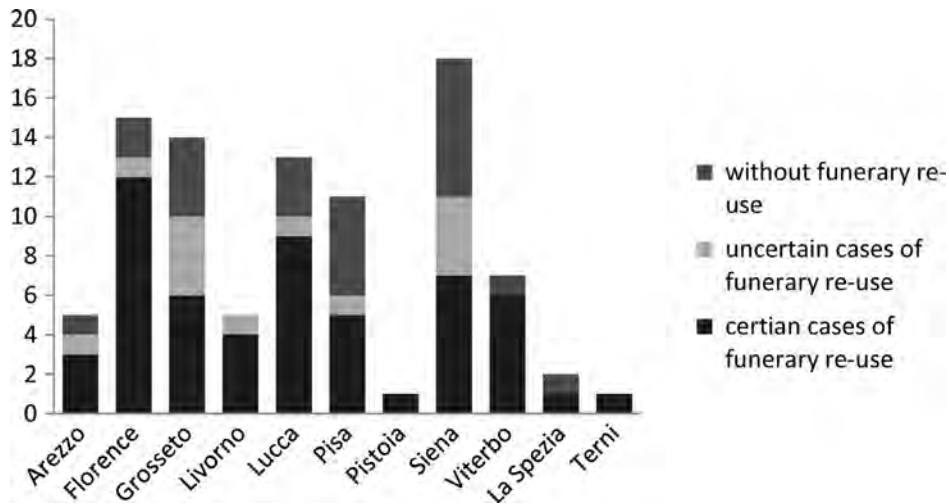
Fig. 3   Distribution of the funerary re-use (percentages).
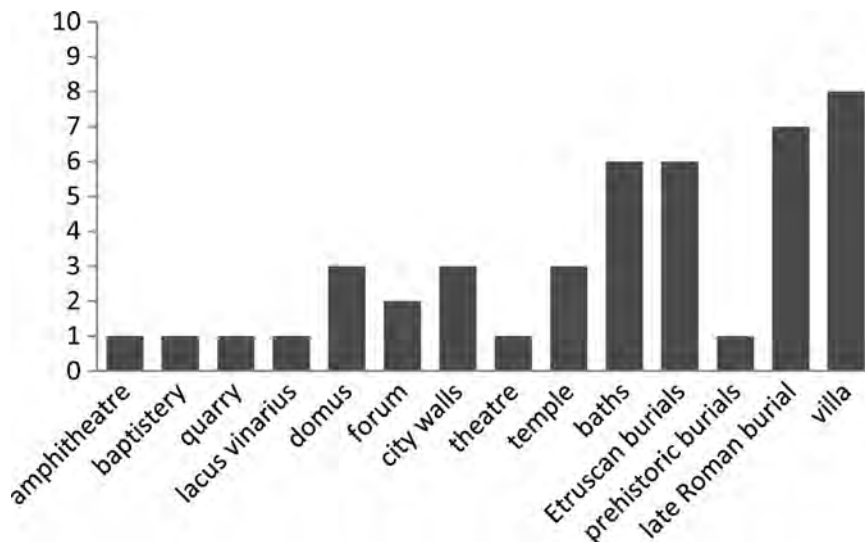
Fig. 4   Category of ancient sites and buildings in definite cases of funerary re-use.

amounts to about 60 %, composed of 33 % of cases which document the re-use of portable objects, 49 % for re-use of monuments and pre-existing sites and 18 % for both of the above. The objects and monuments that are re-used are heterogeneous in typology and date, however, certain categories are found more frequently (fig. 4). Construction materials and architectural elements stripped from monuments, especially roof tiles, bricks, and Roman inscriptions are, over all, the objects most often re-used. They were used both whole and in fragments, in the first case as floor or covering for tomb (LU5) and, in the second case, for filling in the pit or the walls of

the grave (LU11). Public and private buildings, like Roman baths and villas, but also necropolises like mounds, Etruscan chamber tombs and Late Antique inhumation cemeteries, represent the monuments that were by far the most often utilized. In a state of total or partial abandonment, the former were used for the installation of tombs inside (GR10) or near to them (VI3) and the latter, either above or inside the burial chamber (FI4 and TR1), may be employed with or without any chronological break between the previous and following periods.

Although the documentation does not allow us to formulate a hypothesis related to the re-use in re-

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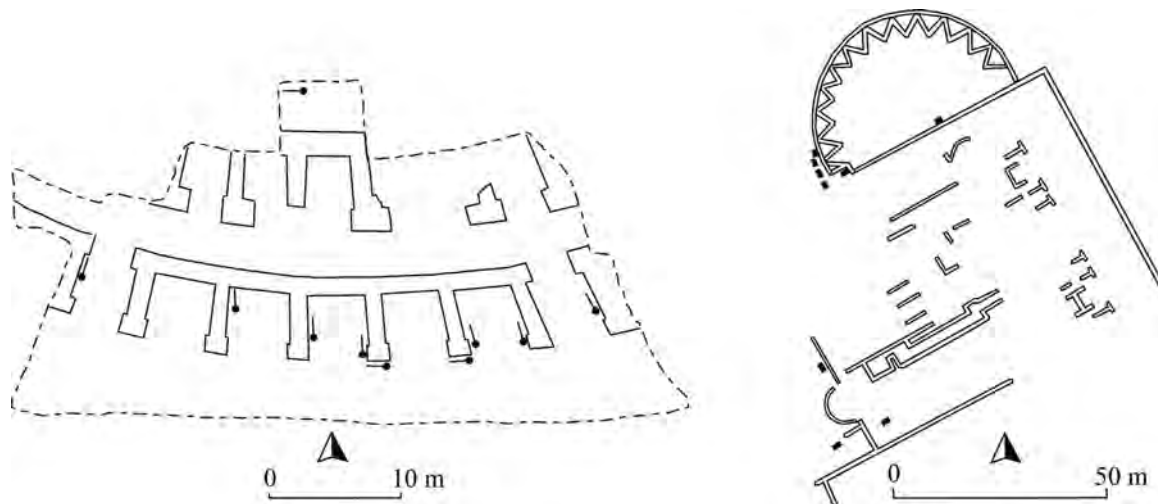
Fig. 5   Arezzo, Anfiteatro and Giglio Porto, Villa del Saraceno. Graves orientation according to surviving ancient structures (adapted from Tavanti 1915 and Rendini 1998).

lation to the gender and age of the deceased,[50] nor can we verify the changes that occurred over time, we have data that makes it possible to draw some conclusions about the funerary attitudes in relation to the artifacts and the ancient sites which were neither passive nor static. A well documented case is that of Pisa-Piazza duomo (PI1), where plundered ditches, which have been documented for the early medieval period, demonstrate how specific excavation activities were conducted in the ancient ruins for the purpose of obtaining building materials for the tombs. They were re-used either exactly as they were brought to light or else they were re-worked. Although the re-working is difficult to prove archaeologically, it is likely that this is what happened to an Etruscan stele, whose bas-relief decoration was removed before being used as a tomb cover (GR9), and for certain Roman building bricks, which were broken into fragments before going to compose a deposition layer for the deceased (LU7). Various patterns of association between the tombs and the ancient structures and pre-existing sites, moreover, demonstrate a certain vitality in the different solutions which were adopted. This fact emerges from the different ways in which, for example, the surviving walls of buildings could be employed. Sometimes, in fact, they circumscribed defined funerary spaces (SI17), some others, they made up one or more walls of the pit or again they could be

removed from the surface and excavated in order to contain the deceased (LI1). In all cases, the association with the ancient remains evidently influenced both the position and orientation of the burials (fig. 5).

5. Interpreting funerary re-use in the Early Middle Ages

The data acquired from archaeological evidence clearly reveal the role that was played, in funerary practices in Lombard *Tuscia*, by the re-use of objects and ancient sites which was not accidental or random but, on the contrary, a frequent practice in the burial areas of the region. The meaning of this practice, which appears to be complex and varied, is quite obscure to us now but, nevertheless, is worth discussing and interpreting. Some general considerations on the nature of re-use and burial sites, as well as the concept of time in the early medieval period, will allow us to clarify the main characteristics of this particular form of expression of funerary identity while, at the same time, recalling the conceptual premises on which this study is based and the theoretical framework within which the data are collected and illustrated in the previous paragraph is to be interpreted.

In general, in archaeology, the term "re-use" means the recovery of mobile objects or building structures which, dating to a particular era or civilization, have been used in a new historical, political and social environment for purposes and in ways that

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[50]   For the re-use of Roman objects according to the gender of the dead, see White 1990.

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are different or analogous with respect to the original ones. Independently of the context in which it is manifested, re-use is normally classified, according to the causes that originated it, in two typologies: „functional re-use" and „ideological re-use". The first of these is focused on the material value of objects and sites and should be determined by exclusively practical purposes, like the need to acquire construction materials; the second, on the contrary, is based on their symbolic value and should be determined by magical, apotropaic or political reasons.[51] The classification in either the first or the second typology is based essentially on the chronological gap that exists between the epoch in which the artifact or structure stopped being employed and that of their re-use, given that when the time span is wide, one tends to attribute a symbolic value whereas, when the time span is narrow, one tends to assume a purely practical significance.[52] On the basis of this assumption, the re-use in the Early Middle Ages of Roman objects and buildings is usually considered for purely utilitarian reasons without ever taking into consideration either cultural or political purposes.[53] In relation to the specific period and funerary context being analyzed in this study, in any case, the chronological variable would appear to be inadequate as it does not fully consider either the meaning of burials and necropolises or the concept of time in early medieval society. These, in fact, are both factors that tend to emphasize the symbolic and ideological components of re-use independently of the greater or lesser antiquity of the objects and the buildings being re-used.

As has been sustained by numerous scholars, in the Early Middle Ages, the cemeteries were „central places" of memory and power[54] and stages for conducting highly evocative rituals.[55] Funerals were organized by the relatives of the deceased for the community to which they belonged and were conducted as a performance in which the choice of the location of the tomb and the selection of objects to be placed in the grave were all part of a language that narrated the identity of the deceased and his family.[56] For this purpose different cultural resources were deliberately and consciously manipulated[57] and, of course, also antique sites which were widely used as burial places and sources for collecting materials and objects, both in Tuscany and elsewhere, and became in many cases centers for various types of appropriation rituals.

Although the meaning of repossessing ancient ruins cannot be fully understood nowadays after many centuries, it would seem to be directly connected to the perception that people in the Early Middle Ages had of the remains of the past, whose origin, function and history were mostly unknown.[58] In fact, unlike the modern era[59] in which, thanks to the use of written documents, charts and lists, events are presented in a linear sequence and easily memorized,[60] in the Early Middle Ages, facts and things appeared to be inserted into a kind of "deep time", a chronological dimension that was as distant as it was undefined and which effectively obstructed a precise understanding of the past.[61] This lack of historical understanding which, on the one hand, made it difficult to achieve an awareness of the real value of ancient remains, on the other, did not prevent them from being interpreted in an original manner, precisely as a direct consequence of the ignorance of their real meaning. Among the various interpretations of ancient monuments that arose in the Early Middle Ages, one of the best known is the invention of traditions and the creation of origin myths and ancestral genealogies, the most famous example of which is probably represented by the pre-historic mounds identified as the residence of ancient lineages and races of heroes in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Beowulf* (8th–9th century).[62]

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[51] Ward Perkins 1999. Both these typologies are alternatively utilized in order to explain the funerary re-use of Roman villas and the Christian re-use of pagan temples. See for this Valenti 2007; Halsall 1995, 178–182; Mâle 1950; Montesano 1997; Ward Perkins 1984, 203–229; Cantino Wataghin 1999; Van De Noort/Whitehouse 1992.
[52] Lusuardi Siena 1999.
[53] See, for example, Zadora-Rio 2003, who attributes a symbolic meaning to early medieval graves near Prehistoric mounds, but not to the graves near Roman ruins.
[54] Härke 2001; Williams 2001a; 2006, 196–198.
[55] Halsall 2003.
[56] Lucy 2000; Brather 2007.
[57] Barbiera 2012, 15–51.
[58] Eckardt/Williams 2003; Kopytoff 1986.
[59] The early medieval experience of the time was totally different from the modern perception because of the absence of precise techniques of measuring the time and because of the scarce use of the written word (Bloch 1977, 90–93). On the concept of time as social construction, see the classic Assmann 1997 and Bradley 2002, 5–8. On the difference between the perception of time in capitalist societies and in traditional societies, see Bradley 1991.
[60] On the function of tables in the learning processes and on the importance of the lists of events in the development of the historiography, see the classic Goody 1987, 107–111.
[61] Le Goff 1980; Richter 1994.
[62] For a general view on the theme with many examples from Antiquity to contemporary age, see Holtorf/Williams 2006. See

In illiterate and semi-literate societies based on oral transmission, in fact, several anthropological and archaeological studies[63] reveal that the sites of ancient settlements frequently inspire the invention of stories about the past, which establish symbolic and sacred ties between the old and new inhabitants of a territory.[64] For this reason or rather for their evocative power, these places ultimately become the subject of claims that are intended to sanction their legitimate ownership especially in times of social instability, like the Early Middle Ages, when political dominance was subject to ongoing change and the rights to property were open to negotiation. Evidence of the competition which, in the Early Middle Ages, focused on antique sites and materials, is reflected in the written documents of the period, almost all of which are of ecclesiastical origin. These texts testify to the suspicion and apprehension felt by the religious authorities about the re-use of abandoned sites and, at the same time, their intention to regulate this practice by authorizing only the clergy to implement it in an orthodox manner. Hagiographic stories and the lives of saints, in particular, presented a dangerous image of the *loci antiqui* as a deterrent to their use by the population. This goal was pursued by associating the frequentation of ancient sites with deviant behaviours,[65] unless it was supervised by important Church personalities[66] or aimed at the discovery of relics or other objects tied to Christian beliefs.[67]

In the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great (6th century) and the *Historiarum Libri* by Gregory of Tours (6th century), and other sources, these places are described as desolate areas infested with ferocious animals, spirits and ghosts or else as stages for performing unholy and superstitious rituals and then transformed into places of worship and prayer attended by great crowds of people after the monks

and priests had taken up residence there. This is, for instance, in Italy, the case of the monastery of Montecassino and a chapel near Rome, which St Benedict and the bishop of Fondi Andrea had built over the ruins of ancient temples inhabited by devils,[68] or else, in France, the case of the monastery of Luxeuil, which St Columban had erected upon an abandoned pagan building where wolves, wild oxen and bears had stayed and lived for much time.[69]

The main purpose of these tales was to demonstrate the superiority of the Christian religion which, thanks to the activity of saints and bishops, transformed and restored to God and to man wild and fiendish areas that could again be inhabited through the construction of monasteries and oratories, but also to lay claim on the moral and practical monopoly for the use of the ancient ruins and the memory that they kept. To this aim the Church attempted on several occasions to direct the behaviour of the faithful in relation to the ruins scattered across the landscape, as is attested by the prayers in the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gellone (8th century) and the requirements of the pseudo-Council of Nantes (8th–9th century). The former, which are known as *oblationes super vasa reperta in locis antiquis,* established four purification formulas that had to be recited for the pottery found in the abandoned sites with the double function of thanking God for the discovery and blessing the vessels which were originally produced by pagans for unholy usages.[70] The latter, which are titled *de quondam cultu superstitio abolendo*, prohibited the veneration of both the trees in the woods and the stones in the ruins, which had to be uprooted and burnt and extracted from the ground and carried away where nobody could find them anymore.[71]

The intention to influence the approach towards the antique ruins in the territory which sources of this type reveal, was part of the general attempt to standardize Christian religious life in all of the early

also the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* in Accame Lanzillotta/Dell'Oro 2004, where the ancient monuments of Rome are described in imaginative ways.

[63]   Bradley 2002; Rumsey 1994; Williams 2001b.

[64]   On the ancient sites as sacred and memorial places, see Holtorf 1997 and Nora 1989.

[65]   Fumagalli 1994, 48–50, 171–176; Gandolfo 1989; Semple 1998; 2004.

[66]   See the story of the discovery of the sarcophagus of Etheldreda which is told by Bede: Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica, 392–395.

[67]   See the episode, set in Milan in the 4th century, of the discovery of two Prehistoric skeletons which were interpreted as the remains of the Saints Protasius and Gervasius: Ambrogii Epistulae, 126–128. See also Haldane 1985.

[68]   Gregorii Papae Dialogorum Libri, 166–168, 278–284.

[69]   Iohannis Vita Columbani, 169–170. Although the episode has actually a more complex meaning that regards the conflictual relationship between bishops and exponents of the monastic way of life, it is worth mentioning the tale of the destruction, by the deacon Wulflaich, of an ancient statue of Diana in Carignan in France (Gregorii Turonensis Historiarum libri decem, 380–382).

[70]   Liber Sacramentorum, 450 and Krämer 1965. A very interesting case is that of the two well-made Etruscan vessels which were interred in graves no. 5 and 30 of the Lombard cemetery of Nocera Umbra in central Italy (Pasqui/ Paribeni 1918).

[71]   Concilia, 172. The date of the Council is uncertain, see Gaudemet 1975.

medieval communities. This policy was being imposed by the Church all over Europe and, starting around the middle of the 8th century, saw the affirmation of the clergy as the sole legitimate depositary of the collective and familiar memory of society and, specifically in relation to funerary practices, the spread of the custom of burying the dead near churches and ecclesiastical buildings.[72] Before then, in any case, the great variety that is documented in the choice of where and how to commemorate the dead indicates a wide range of different options which were influenced mostly on a local basis. One of the many options, naturally, was the re-use and manipulation of old monuments and buildings, attested by archaeological data in Tuscany from the 6th to the 8th century as a key element in the formation of a funerary topography which focused on the material heritage of the past.

6. Death and memory in Lombard *Tuscia*

Although it had no actual administrative power, Tuscany was sometimes able to move as a cohesive entity on the Italian political scene and, during the Lombard reign, formed a territorial unit which was, not surprisingly, characterized, as far as funerary rites were concerned, by usages that were similar and homogeneous, derived mainly from the cultural geography of the region which had seen a human presence with monumental structures in some areas since pre-Roman times.[73] Although at a local level there were some differences, two main aspects in the funerary practices become apparent from the overview of the burial sites which have been sampled: the absence of grave goods in the burials and the re-use of ancient materials and pre-existing sites.

In the past, grave goods have been considered the preponderant factor in early medieval Italian funeral rites and have been interpreted from an ethnic and social perspective as a direct testimony of the Lombard origin and high social status of the deceased. The few tombs with weapons and ornaments made of precious metals that have been found in

Tuscany, therefore, convinced the archaeologists to assume that there had been only a minor presence of barbarian immigrants in the territory with a local aristocracy of modest economic means,[74] a conclusion which, in any case, is contrary to written sources that, in fact, show for the region, starting in the early 8th century, extensive estates and the circulation of luxury goods.[75] For this reason, if one forgets the ethnic and social paradigm and reduces the importance of the furnished graves on which reconstructions like this are based, it is possible to advance the hypothesis of the existence of a ritual based, not so much on the provision of grave goods, as the appropriation for funerary purposes of the man-made and natural elements of the landscape.

As mentioned above, there are different interpretations of this practice which according to some scholars was random or practical while according to others was cultural or ideological. As far as Tuscany is concerned specifically, although it is over-estimated, the percentage of burial sites where the re-use of ancient materials and monuments occurs is quite high, to the extent that it indicates an intentional usage, the significance of which, as far as we are able to deduce from archaeological evidence, is somewhere halfway between pragmatism and symbolism. This ambiguity, which is in part due to the poor quality of the data, depends in the first place on the effective mixture of utilitarian, magic and memorial components, which all together went to define, in a complex and indecipherable manner, a polysemantic and polyfunctional funeral ritual.

In those cases where the objects and artifacts were used for their intrinsic value as precious ornaments or luxury building materials, the re-use had mainly an economic meaning in order to display one's own means and wealth. A burial in Chiusi is, in this sense, a paradigmatic example (SI2). The grave contained a rich set of golden objects, which are among the most precious not only in Tuscany but anywhere in Italy, and a carved Etruscan gem re-used as a jewel and a Roman epigraph in travertine as the tomb cover (fig. 6). *Spolia* and materials stripped from monumental sites, like the Roman epigraphs, could cost a considerable amount, and so could the sarcophaguses and stele, as we learn from a document of Lucca recording the barter of four old stone

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[72]   Effros 1997; Barbiera 2012, 192–210.
[73]   In the 18th century the travellers, who explored Tuscany to find the Etruscan past, could admire the numerous archaeological ruins which, at that time, had survived still standing. See Celuzza 2007.

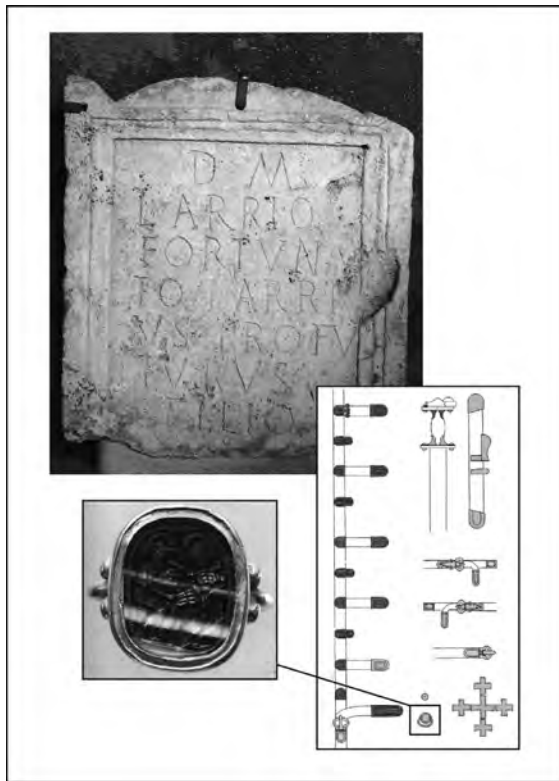[74]   Citter 1997.
[75]   Gasparri 1980.

Fig. 6 Chiusi, Arcisa. Grave goods from a Lombard burial with an Etruscan onyx re-used as finger ring and a Roman epigraph re-used as tomb cover.

columns in exchange for a plot of land.[76] When, on the other hand, ancient remains were used mainly for care and protection, even physical, of the body of the deceased and the burial area, the re-use had a significance which was chiefly apotropaic and preventive.[77] Some examples of this kind of ritual are the practices of marking off the margins of the burial ditches with

walls from Roman buildings (FI6 and FI8), that of covering the bottom with roof tiles or fragments of Etruscan and Roman bricks to create a deposition bed (LU5, LU7 and SI11), that of surrounding the skull of the deceased with tiles set vertically in the ground in order to avoid crushing it (VI4 and VI5) and that of enclosing the sacred cemetery space in a wall of recycled building materials (VI2). Lastly, in those cases where the ruins of pre-existing monuments functioned as an attraction for the installation of isolated burials or larger groups of tombs, the re-use evidently had a traditional meaning of association with enduring elements in the landscape and connection with historical vestiges in the territory. From this point of view, we have some particularly interesting examples, like the burials inserted in a Neolithic cremation cemetery (LU2) or on the top of a mound (SI8) or inside the mortuary chamber of Etruscan and Hellenistic necropolis (FI4 and TR1), not to mention those located inside or adjacent to theatres, temples, thermal baths and villas of the Roman era (fig. 7–8).[78]

In accordance with the ritual context of the burial places and with the evocative value of the ancient materials and sites attested by the written sources, the re-use of objects and structures that we can observe in Lombard *Tuscia* is charged with a powerful symbolic meaning. In particular, during the period between the 6th and 7th centuries which was a time of great political and social instability, the practice helped forge a bond between the community of the living and that of the dead within the territory, by setting in the landscape places of memory whose presence created a sense of belonging in space and history. The social and political implications, of course, were hardly trivial. The appropriation of the past, symbolized by the re-use of objects for funeral purposes, could be instrumental for claiming rights over men and property.

Some insights on this subject are provided by the documents of the famous controversies between Siena and Arezzo and Pistoia and Lucca which, from the middle of the 7th to the beginning of the 8th century, concerned the diocesan ownership, claimed by the bishop of each of the cities, of the parish churches of the Val d'Orcia, the Val d'Arbia and the Val di

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[76]   The *quattuor colomnas petreneas* came from the church of St Donato in Lucca and, at the time of the selling, they had to be about one century old. The edition of the chart is in Chartae Latinae Antiquiores, 32–35.

[77]   See, for example, the magical significance which was attributed to old objects in the Anglo-Saxon burials in Meaney 1981. In Italy a study on this subject does not exist. However, the evidence seems to suggest a function of the antique artifacts as amulets also in the Italian cemeteries. This is the case of the Roman coins and vessels re-used as grave goods only in burials of children in the cemetery of Collegno in Piedmont (Barello 2004) or the case of an engraved Prehistoric stone re-used as cover of the tomb of a child in the cemetery of Montichiari Monte San Zeno in Lombardy (Poggiani Keller/Ruggiero 2007). Moreover, among the sites which have been catalogued, see that of Viterbo-Ferento (VI6), which is made up exclusively of graves of children inserted around Roman walls and in a ground mixed with a big amount of ancient coins. A more detailed discussion on this site is in Pazienza forthcoming.

[78]   The issue of the re-use of Roman villas in Late Antiquity and in the Early Middle Ages has been much discussed by Italian archaeologists. For an overview see Chavarría Arnau 2004.

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Chiana in the first case and those of the Val di Nievole in the second.[79] The disputes, which continued for many years, well beyond the period being considered here, in the years 715 and 716 AD were settled in favour of Arezzo and Lucca which were able to demonstrate that in the past the contested parishes had belonged to them.[80] In the statements of the witnesses[81] and the sentences of the judges, which followed the inquiry by the royal authorities, this past was the time of the Romans that, although it was vaguely identified in some cases with the remote era of the kings and in others with the more recent epoch of the Byzantine emperors, had a considerable legitimizing power of its own. Surprisingly, for the site of Pieve a Nievole this circumstance seems to be confirmed by the exceptional coincidence between the above mentioned documents and the archaeological excavations, which brought to light the early medieval church of *plebs de Neure* and its graveyard and revealed that they were located on the ruins of a Roman villa already in use for funerary purposes since the beginning of the 6th century (PS1).

Lastly, together with the reference to the past, practices and traditions, that had been consolidated for generations, were also fundamental for the outcome of the disputes. The cyclical movement of the population, the clergy and the bishop from the periphery to the centre and vice versa, in order to receive the appointment and the votes at the Episcopal seat and to consecrate churches and baptismal fonts in the above mentioned territories, in fact, had the effect of consolidating the bonds within the communities and the groups and creating a spatial and psychological dimension in which everyone could recognize and perceive oneself and which was difficult to renounce.[82]

While the written sources reveal how the memory of the past and the traditions played a key role in Tuscany in the definition of the distribution maps

Fig. 7   The Roman villa and the early medieval cemetery at Cecina, San Vincenzino (adapted from Donati 2012).
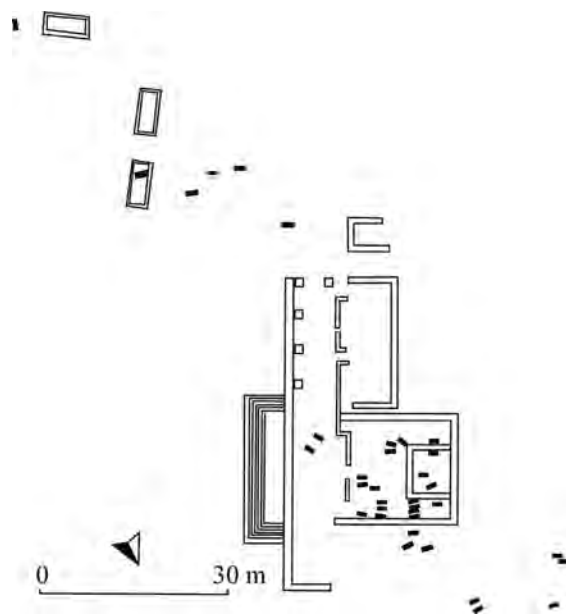
Fig. 8   The Etruscan-Roman temple and the early medieval cemetery at Fiesole, Via Riorbico (adapted from von Hessen 1971)

of the population and the physical and conceptual limits that shaped the local identities, indirectly they also attest the importance of the practice of funerary re-use which, in the utilization and manipulation of ancient materials, had its major role. In this sense, the exploration of the landscape, which the practice of re-use would have required, in order to obtain materials and objects and to find burial places for the deceased, as well as the periodic ritual journeys to these sites, must have served for the invention of ancestral ties, for their spatial and physical visualization and toward

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[79]   On Siena and Arezzo, see Gasparri 2004, 5–16; on Lucca and Pistoia, see Spicciani 2007.

[80]   The documents of Siena and Arezzo are no. 4, 17, 19, and 20, those of Pistoia and Lucca are no. 12 and 21 in Codice Diplomatico, 8–11, 30–32, 46–51, 61–84, 86–88.

[81]   Many witnesses were very old and one of them, Venerius, was one hundred years old. Given that, in general, the age at death was low, the role of these men had to be very important in the local society, since they represented the social memory of a community mostly composed by young people. And, in fact, they went back with their remembrances up to the 7th century and recalled facts of over two generations earlier.
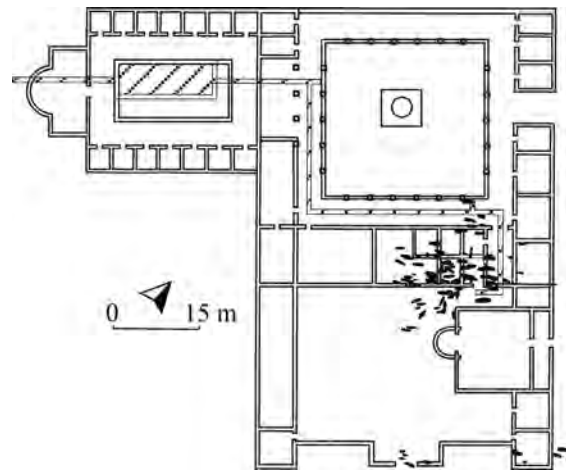
[82]   Gasparri 2012a, 46–51.

the strengthening of these bonds through the sharing of a real or presumed common ancient legacy.

This interpretation, which is not purely speculative and goes well beyond its evocative character, fits perfectly with the particular features of Lombard *Tuscia* which, although generally elusive, sometimes emerge from the public and private documents in Tuscany in their capacity to impart the memory of remote events as well as maintaining over decades a traditional language and terminology.[83] As the historians have pointed out, this capacity was evidently not expressed in a narrative account since such a literary production in the Early Middle Ages directly attributable to Tuscany really does not exist except for the Lombard recension of the *Liber Pontificalis,* but was represented in the original adaptation in some documents and judgments of certain terms and expressions which attest on the whole to the continuity of the political and social memory and a conservativeness that is not documented elsewhere.[84]

Directly in relation to this, then, the funerary archaeological evidence, discussed and analyzed from the perspective of re-use, adds another piece to the puzzle of the cultural identity of this *pars* of the Lombard kingdom where the burial rituals which, very frequently, re-used old monuments and materials, showed a preference, among the many that could be expressed at the time of the funeral, for a type of representation focused on the memory of places and objects, on the evocative force of the ancient legacy and the legitimizing power of the recollection of the past.

7. Conclusions

Burials and cemeteries dated to the Early Middle Ages have been discovered in Italy by accident since very early times, however, as is well known, they were correctly attributed to the so called Migration period, only in the 19th century, when the Italian archaeologists determined the paradigm of grave goods as ethnic markers of the dead person. This interpretation, which enjoyed great favor in the archaeological literature in the past and still persists in some studies in Italy, should nevertheless be considered outdated by now. Since the 1980s, in fact, it has been questioned both by archaeologists and historians. The

latter in particular have demonstrated how early medieval ethnicity, and specifically the ethnic identity of the Lombards,[85] was not an objective fact, but, on the contrary, a cultural and social construction, variable in time and in space.

Precisely in the light of these acquisitions, therefore, this study rejects the traditional ethnic significance of the furnished burials on one hand and, on the other, it adopts new perspectives of research, borrowed from the so-called landscape studies. As is known, these studies, which in Italy are still in their infancy, investigate the tombs basically in relation to their setting and location in the landscape and they assign to the burial place a specific memorial and symbolic meaning, which becomes particularly evident where the interments are placed within or near ancient sites and pre-existing monuments. This aspect in particular emerges clearly from the analysis of mortuary rituals in Tuscany, where the re-use of old settlements in the Early Middle Ages as burial places, and at the same time the manipulation of objects and materials stripped from abandoned sites, has always been noticed and registered as a common practice by local scholars. Despite this, however, no explanation has been provided so far, except the chance nature. Nevertheless, the frequent occurrence of funerary re-use in the area examined suggests in itself the intentionality of the custom and, therefore, indirectly testifies to its semantic value.

The written texts, moreover, give us some important insights on the issue. Indeed, they show that during the early medieval period ancient sites exercised a certain appeal upon the population and that, as a consequence, the clergy sought to limit and regulate their use and frequentation. The regional documents, on the other hand, clearly demonstrate how the memory of the past in Tuscany played a crucial role in creating local identities, founded on traditions dating back to a more or less distant past. In this sense, the funerary re-use which is documented in the entire area seems to be interpretable as a practice directed to the creation of links among landscape, inhabitants and past generations. Of course, given the complexity of the phenomenon, this study does not attempt to give a definitive answer to the question but, on the contrary, simply to reveal the potential of an approach towards archaeological burial evidence that, beyond the grave goods, also takes into account other aspects of the funerary ritual.

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[83]   Gasparri 2003.
[84]   Gasparri 2012a, 164–172.

[85]   Gasparri 2012b.

Tab. 1   Catalogue of funerary sites in Lombard Tuscany. * Sites of uncertain date; ^ unpublished sites.

site		date	graves	
			phase 1	phase 2
TUSCANY				
Arezzo				
AR1	Arezzo, Anfiteatro	Migration period		10
AR2	Arezzo, La Catona	7th c.		1
AR3	Arezzo, Pionta	second half 5th–8th c.	35	80
AR4	Arezzo, Santa Croce-Via Buozzi-Via San Gallo	7th c.		3
AR5*	Arezzo, Teatro e terme	?		2
Florence				
FI1	Fiesole, Piazza Garibaldi già piazza Mino	4th–5th/first half 7th c.	?	48
FI2	Fiesole, Sant'Alessandro	Early Middle Ages		10
FI3*	Fiesole, Tomba von Schellersheim	?		1
FI4	Fiesole, via Matteotti già via Bargellino	6th–7th c.		2
FI5	Fiesole, Via Riorbico (area tempio)	late 6th–7th c.		30
FI6	Fiesole, Villa Marchi	Migration period		1
FI7*	Florence, Chiesa SS. Apostoli	?		3
FI8	Florence, Piazza della Signoria (Loggia dei Lanzi)	6th–7th c.		?
FI9	Florence, Piazza della Signoria (S. Cecilia)	6th–7th/8th–9th c.		?
FI10	Florence, S. Giovanni-Santa Reparata (piazza e chiesa)	7th–8th c.		10
FI11	Florence, Uffizi	Early Middle Ages		3
FI12*	Florence, Via Por S. Maria	?		8
FI13*	Florence, Via Por S. Maria-Mercato Nuovo	?		3
FI14	Florence, Via Vaccherecchia	Migration period		1
FI15	Signa, Pieve Vecchia di San Lorenzo	5th–7th c.		?
Grosseto				
GR1	Castiglion della Pescaia	mid 7th c.		10
GR2*	Castiglion della Pescaia, Badiola	?	1	3
GR3*	Castiglion della Pescaia, Fosso Cortigliano	?		4
GR4	Grosseto, Ajali	Migration period		?
GR5*	Grosseto, Bagno Roselle	?		300
GR6	Grosseto, Benelli	mid 7th c.		2
GR7	Grosseto, Casette di Mota	mid 7th c.		15
GR8	Grosseto, Grancia	second half 7th c.		80
GR9	Grosseto, Roselle	6th–7th/8th–12th c.		?
GR10	Giglio Porto, Villa del Saraceno	5th–7th c.		7
GR11	Pitigliano, Crocignanello	mid 7th c.		1
GR12	Roccastrada, Pescaia	7th c.		4
GR13	Sorano, San Martino sul Fiora	mid 7th c.		1
GR14*	Sorano, Sovana	?		14
Livorno				
LI1	Cecina, San Vincenzino	5th/7th–9th c.	5	137
LI2	Piombino, San Quirico di Populonia	7th–8th c.		2
LI3	Piombino, Vignale	6th–7th c.		?
LI4^	Portoferraio, Villa delle Grotte	?		3
LI5	Rosignano Marittimo, San Gaetano di Vada	4th/end 7th–8th c.	50	?
Lucca				
LU1	Capannori, Badia di Cantignano	Early Middle Ages		11
LU2	Capannori, Marlia	second half 7th c.		1
LU3*	Castelnuovo Garfagnana, Montalfonso	?		3
LU4	Lucca, "tomba Burlamacchi"	early 7th c.		1
LU5	Lucca, area Galli Tassi (S. Giustina)	6th–7th/8th–9th c.	5	6
LU6	Lucca, S. Giovanni (battistero, chiesa, piazza)	Early Middle Ages		48
LU7	Lucca, S. Giulia (Via Sant'Anastasio-Piazza del Suffragio)	mid 7th c.		3
LU8	Lucca, San Vincenzo-San Frediano	late 7th c.		1
LU9	Lucca, Via Buia 37	early 7th c.		1
LU10^	Lucca, Via Elisa	Early Middle Ages		?
LU11	Lucca, Via Fillungo 140	6th–first half 7th c.		4
LU12	Lucca, Via Streghi	Early Middle Ages		1
LU13	Piazza al Serchio, stazione	7th c.		?
Massa Carrara				

Tab. 1 (continued)   Catalogue of funerary sites in Lombard Tuscany. * Sites of uncertain date; ^ unpublished sites.

	site	date	graves	
			phase 1	phase 2
	Pisa			
PI1	Pisa, Piazza duomo (area abside e torre)	late 6th–7th c.		3
PI2	Pisa, Piazza duomo (cattedrale e camposanto)	early 7th c.		8
PI3	Pisa, Piazza duomo (Opera delle Primaziale)	7th c.		?
PI4	Pontedera, Ponte alla Navetta-Scafa	mid 7th c.		10
PI5	San Miniato, S. Genesio-Vico Uallari	6th–7th/8th–10th c.		?
PI6	Santa Maria a Monte, S. Ippolito di Anniano	6th–7th c.		?
PI7^	Volterra, centro città	Early Middle Ages		?
PI8	Volterra, Le Cetine	Migration period		1
PI9	Volterra, Le Ripaie	Early Middle Ages		6
PI10*	Volterra, Piazza XX settembre	?		1
PI11*	Volterra, Ulimeto-Poggio alle Croci	?		?
	Pistoia			
PS1	Pieve a Nievole, Chiesa di S. Marco	6th/7th–8th c.	10	3
	Prato			
	Siena			
SI1	Cetona, S. Maria di Belvedere (Riparo dei Carpini)	mid 7th–8th c.		1
SI2	Chiusi, Arcisa	second half 7th–8th c.		19
SI3	Chiusi, Caserma dei Carabinieri	second half 7th–8th c.		15
SI4	Chiusi, Colle di S. Bartolomeo già Colle Lucioli	Migration period		?
SI5	Chiusi, Duomo	second half 7th c.		4
SI6	Chiusi, Ex-Ospedale	Early Middle Ages		1
SI7	Chiusi, Forti	Migration period		1
SI8*	Chiusi, Le Palazze	Migration period		1
SI9	Chiusi, Orto Paolozzi-Sant'Apollinare	Early Middle Ages		10
SI10*	Chiusi, Podere Casuccini-S. Mustiola	?		?
SI11	Chiusi, Portonaccio	6th–7th c.		10
SI12	Chiusi, Via Porsenna	mid 7th c.		1
SI13	Poggibonsi, Poggio Imperiale	8th–9th c.		39
SI14*	Sarteano, Canneto	?		1
SI15	Sarteano, Montarioso	7th c.		1
SI16	Siena, Duomo	6th–7th		4
SI17	Siena, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala	mid 7th c.		7
SI18	Sovicille, La Costa	mid 7th c.		1
	LAZIO			
	Viterbo			
VI1	Bagnoregio, S. Pietro	7th c.		1
VI2	Bolsena, Via dei Gelsi - Santa Cristina	mid 7th c.		5
VI3	Ischia di Castro, La Selvicciola	4th–5th/end 6th–7th c.	21	43
VI4	Montalto di Castro, Vulci	7th–8th c.		3
VI5	Viterbo, Ferento (ambiente A)	6th–8th c.		148
VI6	Viterbo, Ferento (area decumeno, terme e teatro)	7th–8th c.		9
VI7	Viterbo, Norchia-S. Pietro	Early Middle Ages		11
	LIGURIA			
	La Spezia			
SP1	Ortonovo, Luni (area foro, tempio e teatro)	8th–9th c.		50
SP2	Ortonovo, Luni (area cattedrale)	Early Middle Ages		?
	UMBRIA			
	Terni			
TR1	Orvieto, Cannicella	Early Middle Ages		?
Total				1296

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Tab. 2   Discovery and publication of the cemeteries. * Sites of uncertain date; ^ unpublished sites.

	discovery		reference
	1800–1950	1951–2014	
AR1	1914		Tavanti 1915
AR2	1920		Molinari/Nespoli 2005
AR3	1911; 1915	1960;1970–1974	Galli 1915; Melucco Vaccaro 1991; Molinari/Nespoli 2005; Molinari 2008
AR4	1915; 1920	1952	Ciampoltrini 1993
AR5*	1833		Chierici 1988
FI1	1879–1882	1988; 2003	Majorfi 1912, 12; De Marco 1997; Rastrelli 2005
FI2	1814		Del Rosso 1819; Galli 1911
FI3*	1809		Del Rosso 1814, 23–24
FI4	1913		Galli 1913
FI5	1910–1927		Galli 1919, 18–32; 1925; Minto 1930, Ciampoltrini 1992
FI6	1907		Pasqui 1907
FI7*	1931		Zumkeller 1931
FI8		1996–1997	Salvini 2005
FI9		1982–1990	Salvini/De Marinis 2002
FI10	1895–1915	1975–1974	Galli 1916; Toker 1975; Cardini 1996; Maetzke 1996; Chellini 2009
FI11		2003-04	Lelli 2005
FI12*	1946		Maetzke 1948
FI13*		1953	De Marinis 1996
FI14	1938		Gasperi Campani 1939
FI15		1986–1996	Vanni Desideri 2003
GR1		1995	Citter 1995
GR2*		1974	Curri 1975
GR3*		1974	Curri 1978, 135–143
GR4		1959	Maetzke 1959
GR5*	1863		Santi 1864, 8–9
GR6		1955	Maetzke 1959
GR7		1956	Maetzke 1959
GR8		1955	Maetzke 1959
GR9		1989	Celuzza/Fentress 1994; Celuzza 2012
GR10		1950; 1982–1987	Rendini 1998
GR11	1924		Ciampoltrini 1983
GR12	1934		Cappelli 1934
GR13	1924		Ciampoltrini 1983
GR14*		1995	Miari 1995
LI1		1998	Pagni/Mallegni 1998; Donati 2012, 251–254, 259–261
LI2		2002–2006	Bianchi 2008
LI3		2003	Zanini 2008
LI4^		1960	Casaburo 2008
LI5		2006	Menchelli/Pasquinucci 2006
LU1		1966	Lera 1966; Ciampoltrini 1995
LU2		1969	Lera 1972
LU3*	1856		Ciampoltrini 1995
LU4	1808		Ghilarducci/Lera/Seghieri 1980
LU5		1991	Ciampoltrini/Zecchini/De Tommaso 1994
LU6		1976–1977; 1989–1991	De Marinis 1993; Fichera/Mancinelli/Stasolla 1993; Pani Ermini 1993
LU7	1859		Arrighi 1961; Ciampoltrini 1983
LU8		1989	Ciampoltrini/Notini 1990
LU9		1988	Ciampoltrini/Notini 1990
LU10^		2012	Alberigi/Ciampoltrini 2012
LU11		1989	Ciampoltrini/Notini 1990
LU12		1988	Ciampoltrini/Notini 1990
LU13	1920		Lera 1970; Pazienza 2012
PI1		1998	Alberti/Baldassari 1999
PI2	1949	1991	von Hessen 1975; Bruni 1994; 1995, 174
PI3		1980	Maggiani 1990, 5
PI4		2010–2011	Alberigi/Ciampoltrini 2012
PI5		2000–2007	Cantini 2008; 2010
PI6		1999–2000	Ciampoltrini/Manfredi 2001
PI7^		1999	Alberti 1999
PI8	1850		Munzi/Ricci 1994
PI9	1912		von Hessen 1975; Munzi/Ricci 1994
PI10*		1994	Munzi/Ricci 1994

Tab. 2 (continued)   Discovery and publication of the cemeteries. * Sites of uncertain date; ^ unpublished sites.

	discovery		reference
	1800–1950	1951–2014	
P11*	1910		Munzi/Ricci 1994
PS1		1997–1998	Ciampoltrini/Pieri 1998; Ciampoltrini/Pieri 1999
SI1		1997	Magno 2009, 93
SI2	1874; 1909		Paolucci 1985; Pazienza 2006; 2009b
SI3	1930		Levi 1933
SI4	1872; 1877–1884		Brogi 1877; Bianchi Bandinelli 1925; Levi 1926; Paolucci 1985
SI5	1830; 1890	1976	Gamurrini 1890; Maetzke 1985; Paolucci 2009
SI6		2007	Iozzo 2009, 140
SI7	1920		Bianchi Bandinelli 1925
SI8*	1915		Levi 1928; Galli 1942
SI9	1887; 1895		Paolucci 2009
SI10*	1862–1863		Liverani 1872, 195
SI11	1913–1914		Galli 1942
SI12	1872		Paolucci 2005, 48
SI13		1993–1994	Valenti 1996, 143–149
SI14*		1960	Bandini 1968
SI15	1899		Paolucci 1985; Ciampoltrini 1992
SI16		2000–2001	Causarano/Francovich/Valenti 2003
SI17		2002	Pallecchi/Saffiotti 2002; Cantini 2005, 42
SI18			Godino/Roncaglia 2010
VI1	1726		Kurze 2004
VI2	1880; 1912		Galli 1912
VI3		1985–1999	Incitti 1997
VI4		1956	Paglieri 1959; Gazzetti 1985
VI5		2000–2006	Maetzke et al. 2003; Spina/Canci 2007
VI6	1909	1994–2000	Galli 1911; Maetzke et al. 2001; Varano 2008; Usai/Gabbianelli 2008
VI7		1972–1977	Raspi Serra 1974
SP1			Ward Perkins 1977a; 1977b; Dadà 2009
SP2			Belli Barsali 1964; Lusuardi Siena 2003
TR1			Frascarelli 1999

Tab. 3 Furnished graves out of the total number of burials and graves with weaponry and prestigious goods.

	graves	furnished graves	sets of grave goods			
			weaponry	gold/silver objects	weaponry and gold/silver objects	other objects
AR1	10	0				
AR2	1	1			1	
AR3	80	1		1		
AR4	3	3	3			
AR5*	2	0				
FI2	10	1		1		
FI3*	1	1	?	1		
FI4	2	2				2
FI5	30	13	1	1		11
FI6	1	1		1		
FI7*	3	0				
FI10	10	3				3
FI11	3	0				
FI12*	8	3				3
FI13*	3	0				
FI14	1	1				1
GR1	10	2				2
GR2*	3	0				
GR3*	4	0				
GR6	2	2				2
GR7	15	2				2
GR8	80	29	1	1		27
GR10	7	0				
GR11	1	1	1			
GR12	4	4		2		2
GR13	1	1		1		
GR14*	14	1				1
LI1	137	1				1
LI2	2	0				
LI4^	3	0				
LU1	11	0				
LU2	1	1			1	
LU3*	3	1	1			
LU4	1	1			1	
LU5	6	1		1		
LU6	48	1		1		
LU7	3	1			1	
LU8	1	0				
LU9	1	1				1
LU11	4	3	1			2
LU12	1	0				
PI1	3	2				2
PI2	8	3			2	1
PI4	10	6	1			5
PI8	1	1	1			
PI9	6	1	1			
PI10*	1	1				1
PS1	3	0				
SI1	1	1				1
SI2	19	2			2	
SI3	15	1			1	
SI5	4	1	1			
SI6	1	1				1
SI7	1	1	1			
SI8*	1	1				1
SI9	10	4	1	3		
SI11	10	10	1	2	4	3
SI12	1	1				1
SI13	39	0				
SI14*	1	1				1

Tab. 3 (continued)   Furnished graves out of the total number of burials and graves with weaponry and prestigious goods.

	graves	furnished graves	sets of grave goods			
			weaponry	gold/silver objects	weaponry and gold/silver objects	other objects
SI15	1	1	1			
SI16	4	0				
SI17	7	2				2
SI18	1	1	?	?	?	1
VI1	1	1	?	1		
VI2	5	3		1		2
VI3	43	14	3	6	2	3
VI4	3	0				
VI5	148	0				
VI6	9	0				
VI7	11	0				
SP1	50	1				1
Total	949	144	58		86	

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Tab. 4 Typology of funerary re-use: a) re-use of artifacts and objects, b) re-use of pre-existing buildings and burial places, c) re-use of both objects and ancient sites.

	type of re-use			type of ancient monuments and objects						
	a	b	c	building materials	decorative materials	personal ornaments	everyday life objects	public or private buildings	funerary sites	other sites
AR1		■						■		
AR2										
AR3			■	■	■				■	
AR4	■			■	■					
AR5*		?						■		
FI1			■	■	■			■		
FI2								■		
FI3*		?						■		
FI4									■	
FI5				■	■	?	?	■		
FI6		■								
FI7*										
FI8										■
FI9	■			■	■					
FI10				■			■			
FI11										
FI12*	■						■			
FI13*		■								■
FI14										
FI15			■						■	
GR1										
GR2*		?						■	■	
GR3*										
GR4		?								
GR5*								■		
GR6	■				■					
GR7			?			?		■		
GR8			?				?	■		
GR9					■				■	
GR10		■							■	
GR11										
GR12										
GR13										
GR14*		■								■
LI1			■	■	■			■	■	
LI2	■			■	■					
LI3		?								■
LI4		■								
LI5								■		
LU1								■		
LU2									■	
LU3*	?				?		?			
LU4										
LU5	■	?		■				■		
LU6			■	■						
LU7	■			■			?			
LU8	■									
LU9			■						■	
LU10										
LU11		■		■						
LU12										■
LU13										
PI1		?		■	■			■	■	
PI2		?					?			
PI3		?								
PI4		■								■
PI5										
PI6										
PI7										

Tab. 4 (continued)   Typology of funerary re-use: a) re-use of artifacts and objects, b) re-use of pre-existing buildings and burial places, c) re-use of both objects and ancient sites.

| | type of re-use | | | type of ancient monuments and objects | | | | | | |
	a	b	c	building materials	decorative materials	personal ornaments	everyday life objects	public or private buildings	funerary sites	other sites
PI8										
PI9		X							X	
PI10*										
P11*		X							X	
PS1								X	X	
SI1		X								
SI2	X				X	X				
SI3	X				X					
SI4		X							X	
SI5	X	X			X					
SI6		X						X		
SI7										
SI8*		X							X	
SI9	X				X	X				
SI10*	X			X	X					
SI11	X			X						
SI12										
SI13										
SI14*										
SI15										
SI16										
SI17		X						X		
SI18										
VI1										
VI2	X	X			X		X	X		
VI3								X	X	
VI4			X	X				X		
VI5	X			X						
VI6			X	X				X		
VI7		X							X	
SP1		X						X		
SP2										
TR1		X							X	

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Zusammenfasung: Identität, Bestattungspraxis und Erinnerung im langobardischen Tuszien (6. bis 8. Jahrhundert)

Das langobardische Tuszien war eine Region Mittelitaliens; sie stellte den Textquellen zufolge eine stabile territoriale Einheit unter langobardischer Herrschaft und eine der wichtigen geographischen administrativen Einheiten dar. Der territoriale Zusammenhalt der Region lässt sich auch anhand der archäologischen Funde erkennen, die für den Untersuchungszeitraum ein über das gesamte Gebiet einheitliches Bestattungsritual widerspiegeln: die Wiederverwendung alter Monumente und Bauten für Bestattungszwecke. Die Bedeutung dieser Praxis ist heute recht unklar, doch deutet der hohe Anteil betroffener Begräbnisplätze in Tuszien darauf hin, dass sie mit eindeutigen Absichten verbunden war. Tatsächlich zeigen die Befunde, dass der Umgang mit antiken Resten nicht zufällig oder passiv erfolgte; deshalb wird die Bevorzugung einer Repräsentation beim Begräbnis deutlich, die sich auf die Erinnerung an Orte und Objekte sowie die bewegende Kraft der erinnerten Vergangenheit stützt. Diese Interpretation ist keineswegs spekulativ, sondern fügt sich hervorragend zu den Textquellen aus der Region, denen zufolge die Erinnerung an Vergangenheit und Traditionen eine Schlüsselrolle für die Schaffung von Identitätsgrenzen in Lokalgesellschaften spielte.

Abstract: Identity, funerary practices and memory in Lombard Tuscia *(6th to 8th centuries)*

Lombard Tuscia was a region of central Italy which formed a consistent territorial unit at the time of the Lombard domination and one of the main geographic entities in the state system according to the written sources. The territorial coherence of the area emerges also from the archaeological findings which, for the period under study, testify to a mortuary ritual homogeneously distributed over the entire territory, i. e. the re-use of old monuments and buildings for funerary purposes. The meaning of this practice is quite obscure to us nowadays, nevertheless, the percentage of burial sites in Tuscany where it occurs is very high and, therefore, we may think of an intentional usage. Indeed, the material evidence reveals how the attitude toward the ancient remains was neither accidental nor passive and, therefore, highlights the preference for a type of mortuary representation focused on the memory of places and objects and the evocative power of the recollection of the past. This interpretation is not purely speculative and, rather, it fits perfectly with the written documents of the region which, for their part, reveal how in Tuscany the memory of the past and the traditions played a key role in the creation of identity boundaries at a local level.