

MEDIEVAL CLOTHING AND TEXTILES



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Edited by Robin Netherton
and Gale R. Owen-Crocker

Medieval
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Volume 9

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Medieval Clothing and Textiles

Volume 9

edited by

ROBIN NETHERTON

GALE R. OWEN-CROCKER

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Preface

Volume 9 of *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* reflects the eclecticism of our subject, ranging from Scandinavia through England and Ireland to southern Italy, and addressing textiles, furs, finished garments, and soft furnishings. Its sources are chiefly nonliterary texts and also art.

Antonietta Amati Canta examines the evidence for garments, dress accessories, and personal jewelry among the dowry provisions in marriage contracts of the multicultural city of Bari. In a companion article, Lucia Sinisi discusses one early-eleventh-century *cartula*, uniquely illustrated with a miniature of the bride and groom in what may have been their bridal finery. Trousseaux feature again, along with wills, inventories, bills of sale, and magistrate's records, in Eva Andersson's investigation of the consumption of textiles, furs, and clothing in medieval Sweden and Norway.

English and French moralistic writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries abhorred the fashion of dagged garments; John Friedman investigates the development of dagging to show how its associations with religious or ethnic alterity, fools, and entertainers both contributed to and reflected the hostility of the moralists when dagging became popular in western Europe. Mark Zumbuhl teases out references in law codes, records of property transactions, hagiography, *The Book of Rights*, and chronicles to deduce that in medieval Ireland garments could be used as grants, pledges, stipends, and payments of fines or forfeitures.

Susan James uses wills and inventories as well as records of trade and manufacture to illuminate the subject of the painted wall hangings that were ubiquitous soft furnishings in sixteenth-century England, examining their functions, the images depicted on them, and their relative value. Turning from the luxurious and decorative to the utilitarian, John Oldland examines the production of clothing for the Cistercian community at Beaulieu Abbey from the wardrobe accounts of 1269–70. The Cistercians were major raw wool producers in late medieval England, and also used their wool to make the simple, utilitarian garments worn by the monks and lay brothers in their communities.

Once again, the editors express gratitude to the many scholars in related disciplines who have so generously lent their expertise as peer reviewers for article submissions to this series. We continue to consider for publication in this journal both independent submissions as well as papers read at sessions sponsored by DISTAFF (Discussion, Interpretation, and Study of Textile Arts, Fabrics, and Fashion) at the international congresses held annually in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Leeds, England. Proposals from potential conference speakers should be sent to robin@netherton.net (for Kalamazoo)

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and groc@manchester.ac.uk (for Leeds). Potential authors for *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* should send a 300-word synopsis to Professor Gale R. Owen-Crocker, English, American Studies and Creative Writing, Samuel Alexander Building, The University of Manchester, M13 9PL, UK; e-mail groc@manchester.ac.uk. For author guidelines, see <http://www.distaff.org/MCTguidelines.pdf>.

Authors interested in submitting a book proposal for our subsidia series “Medieval and Renaissance Clothing and Textiles” should apply using the publication proposal form on the Web site of our publisher, Boydell & Brewer, at <http://www.boydellandbrewer.com>. We encourage potential authors of monographs or collaborative books for this series to discuss their ideas with the General Editors before making a formal proposal.

Bridal Gifts in Medieval Bari

Antonietta Amati Canta

The archives of the Basilica of St. Nicholas and of the Cathedral of Bari, capital city of Apulia, the southern Italian region that stretches along the coast of the Adriatic Sea (fig. 1.1), contain many public and private notarial acts, which have been partially published in the *Codice Diplomatico Barese-Pugliese*.¹ Among the private documents, which include sales, donations, leases, wills, inheritances, etc., are marriage contracts. These are dated by the year of the empire or of the reign of the ruling sovereign, and the month (but not always the day). They may therefore be ascribed to the Byzantine or Greek period (888–1071), the Norman-Swabian period (1071–1266), or the Angevin period (1266–1442).

All the extant and edited marriage contracts, from the oldest fragmentary example dating to November 971 to the last, drawn up on Feb. 17, 1397, testify to the practical application of marriage law in force in the then multicultural city of Bari. This law derived from the merging of two originally distinct socio-juridical traditions, the Roman

Translated from Italian by Lucia Sinisi and Christopher Williams with additional suggestions by Christine Meek.

1 From a series containing a collection of both public and private acts, drafted in Latin on parchment between the tenth century and the eighteenth century, from various Apulian archives. The first 19 volumes are edited as *Codice Diplomatico Barese* (henceforth CDB) by the Commissione provinciale di Archeologia e Storia Patria (Trani, Italy: Vecchi, 1897–1971). The continuation, vols. 20–35, is titled *Codice Diplomatico Pugliese* (henceforth CDP) in order to give it a more regional dimension (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 1975–2010). The texts in the archive of the Basilica of St. Nicholas consist of 1,693 documents, dated from 939 to 1850, edited up to 1439. The texts preserved in the Cathedral in the Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano consist of 1,092 documents, dated from 952 to 1980, edited up to 1434. Citations to CDB and CDP appear in this article with the volume number, the document number, and the year of the document. Each volume has an individual title, reflecting location and period, noted here only for the volumes containing the quoted documents. The last volume, CDP 35: *Le pergamene del Duomo di Bari (1385–1434)*, ed. Corinna Drago Tedeschini (Bari: Società di Storia Patria per la Puglia, 2010), was published during the final stages of preparation of this article. I will consider it in a future publication.



Fig. 1.1: Location of Bari, capital city of Apulia, in southern Italy. Map: Antonietta Amati Canta and Domingo Cozzolino.

and the Germanic,² and it survived for a surprisingly long time, throughout the various regimes that controlled the city until the end of the Middle Ages and beyond.

In the course of research for a book-length study on the penetration and subsequent assimilation of Langobard marriage institutions into the customary law in force in the city of Bari in the Middle Ages,³ I became aware of the rich evidence for garments, dress accessories, and personal jewellery contained in the accounts of dowry provisions in marriage contracts:⁴ It was the custom in Bari to include a detailed list of the goods with which the bride was endowed,⁵ along with a note specifying their monetary value.⁶

The documents selected for the purpose of this paper provide an almost complete picture of women's clothing in Bari, a multiethnic city containing, along with Latin people, Greeks, Langobards, Franks, Saracens, Slavs, Armenians, and wealthy Jewish communities. Thanks to Apulia's geographical position, continuous trading relationships existed with the East (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Syria), elsewhere along the Adriatic (Venice, Dalmatia), and northern Africa, and there must have been a constant presence of foreign tradesmen in Bari, attracted by the cheap customs duties, by its trade fairs, and by its local goods as well as those that stopped in the port in transit.⁷ In addition, over the centuries Bari absorbed the cultures of the conquerors

2 The Roman socio-juridical tradition was then represented by the *Corpus iuris civilis*; for this and preceding practice, see Mario Caravale, *Ordinamenti giuridici dell'Europa medievale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994), 26 and 61–65. The Langobardic tradition was represented by a series of royal regulations and the later autonomous legislative production of the Beneventan princes; see Claudio Azzara and Stefano Gasparri, eds., *Le Leggi dei Longobardi: Storia, memoria e diritto di un popolo germanico*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Viella, 2005).

3 Antonietta Amati Canta, *Meffium, morgincap, mundium: Consuetudini matrimoniali longobarde nella Bari medievale* (Bari: Palomar, 2006).

4 Among the edited documents there are fifty (of which four are fragmentary) drafted in Bari relating to promises of marriage, or to engagements, consignments, or acknowledgements of receipt of *dos* or *corredum*, endowments of *meffium*, or grantings of *morgincap*; for the purpose of the present paper, nineteen marriage contracts have been selected.

5 See Teodoro Massa, *Le consuetudini della città di Bari: Studi e ricerche*, Documenti e Monografie, Commissione provinciale di archeologia e storia patria 5 (Bari: Vecchi, 1903), 105–7.

6 This might be expressed as gold *solidi* or silver *miliaresi*, Byzantine coins; *unciae* (later written as *onciae*), already a monetary unit in the Roman system; or *tareni*, of Arabic origin (Arabic *tariy*, “fresh,” “recent,” i.e. “newly coined”) and very widespread in southern Italy after the Muslim conquest of Sicily. See Philip Grierson, “Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 498–c. 1090,” in *Moneta e scambi nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio 8 (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM—Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1961), 414–24; Grierson, “Monete bizantine in Italia dal VII all'XI secolo,” in the same volume, 54; and Giovanni Battista Pellegrini, “L'elemento arabo nelle lingue neolatine con particolare riguardo all'Italia,” in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio 12 (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM—Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1965), 2:773.

7 See Franco Porsia, “Vita economica e sociale,” in *Storia di Bari*, ed. Francesco Tateo, vol. 2: *Dalla conquista normanna al ducato sforzesco* (Rome: Laterza, 1990), 208–13.

who succeeded one another in the originally Roman-Byzantine region: Langobards,⁸ Normans,⁹ Swabians,¹⁰ and Angevins.¹¹

- 8 According to sources including the *Historia Langobardorum*, compiled in the last decade of the eighth century by the Langobard Paul of Warnefrit, known as Paul the Deacon, the Langobards were a Germanic tribe from northern Europe who settled in Scania, southern Sweden, whence they migrated to the northern coast of mainland Europe, near the River Elbe, at the beginning of the first century. Toward the first half of the sixth century, they moved to Pannonia (Hungary), and in 569 to Italy, conquering the northeast territories and choosing Pavia as the capital of the new Roman-Barbarian kingdom. From there minor groups, called *faræ*, led by *duces*, headed toward central and southern Italy, where they founded the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. See *Pauli Historia Langobardorum*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI–IX (Hanover, Germany: Hahn, 1878), 12–187; *The Langobards Before the Frankish Conquest: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Giorgio Ausenda, Paolo Delogu, and Chris Wickham (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2009); Stefano Maria Cingolani, *Le storie dei Langobardi: dall'origine a Paolo Diacono* (Rome: Viella, 1995), 129–43; A. P. Anthropos, *L'età Longobarda a Pavia, a Benevento, in Puglia*, vol. 1: *Da Alboino a Cuniperto (569–700)* (Puglia: Grafischena, 1986), 15–21 and 257–68; and Stefano Gasparri, *I duchi Longobardi* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1978). From 605 the Langobards controlled almost all Apulia, including the *Terra di Bari* (the Apulian region around Bari); see Pasquale Corsi, “Dall'Antichità al Medioevo,” in *Storia della Puglia*, ed. Giosuè Musca, 2 vols. (Bari: Mario Adda, 1987), 1:125–46; Pasquale Corsi and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, “Dalla caduta dell'Impero d'Occidente al dominio Longobardo,” in Tateo, *Storia di Bari*, vol. 1: *Dalla preistoria al mille* (Rome: Laterza, 1989), 257–83; and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, “I Langobardi,” in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:147–78. The end of the *Regnum Langobardorum* (774), which formally continued its existence as part of the Frankish kingdom, under Charlemagne, provoked the reaction of Arechis II, duke of Benevento, who took on the title of prince as a symbol of continuity of the tradition of the Langobard kingdom in opposition to Frankish power, which encouraged the migration of many Langobards from the northern and central territories, reinforcing the Germanic ethnic component in the south; see Paolo Delogu, “Il Regno Longobardo,” in *Langobardi e bizantini*, ed. Paolo Delogu, André Guillou, and Gherardo Ortalli (Turin: UTET, 1980), 1–216. However, internal unrest, administrative ineptitude, and the increasing number of Saracen raids resulted in the establishment of an emirate in Bari from 847 to 871. In 888 Langobard rule over Apulia ended, and Apulia was reannexed into the Byzantine Empire; see Vera von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia meridionale dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari: Ecumenica, 1978). On the Saracen conquest of the city of Bari and the following brief annexation to the Beneventan dominion, see Giosuè Musca, *L'emirato di Bari, 847–871* (Bari: Dedalo, 1964), and Giosuè Musca and Cesare Colafemmina, “Tra longobardi e Saraceni: L'emirato,” in Tateo, *Storia di Bari*, 1:287–302. The unfinished *Ystoriola Langobardorum Beneventi degentium* by Erchempert, a Montecassino monk who was a native of a small village in the Duchy of Benevento, is a precious source for the events of the so-called *Langobardia minor* from 787 to 889; see *Erchemperti Historia Langobardorum* (sec. IX), trans. Arturo Carucci, 2 vols. (Salerno, Italy: Ripostes, 1995), chap. 80. See also Nicola Cilento, *Italia meridionale Longobarda* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1966); Ferdinand Hirsch and Michelangelo Schipa, *La Longobardia meridionale (570–1077): Il ducato di Benevento: Il principato di Salerno* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1968; repr., N. Acocella); and Giuseppe Pochettino, *I Langobardi nell'Italia meridionale (570–1080)* (Caserta, Italy: Casa Editrice Moderna, 1930). The traditional intolerance of the people of Bari to Byzantine dominion, shared by the new ethnic components, both Langobard and Saracen, culminated in 1009 in a rebellion led by Melo da Bari, an aristocrat of Langobard descent, which contributed to ending Byzantine power over Apulia; Antonio Beatillo, *Historia di Bari, principal città della Puglia* (1637; repr., Sala Bolognese, Italy: Arnaldo Forni, 1978), 44.
- 9 Robert Guiscard, of the Norman Hauteville family, became Duke of Apulia and Calabria in 1059 and in 1071 conquered Bari, the last Byzantine city, thus unifying the region. On this point a wide-ranging historical *excursus* is offered by Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin: depuis*

Great difficulties remain, however, in reconstructing a cross-section of Bari society from documents drafted in a Latin that was not only corrupt and ungrammatical, but also full of regional terms not recorded in dictionaries. If analysed from an etymological point of view they reflect the intercultural relationships that flourished in medieval Apulia:¹² *Tunica* and *faciolum* are widely documented words, both in classical and medieval Latin (and are clearly explained in dictionaries),¹³ while *robba*, *iuppa*, *succa*, and *dublectum* are clearly latinized forms of words of—respectively—Germanic, Arabic,

l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071) (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904); see also Giosuè Musca, "Il secolo XI," in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:221–36, and Giosuè Musca and Pasquale Corsi, "Da Melo al regno normanno," in Tateo, *Storia di Bari*, 2:5–55. The regime of the Normans—coarse "north men" of Germanic origin who rapidly absorbed surrounding French culture—was marked by multiethnicity. On immigration from Greek territories (mainland Greece, islands, Constantinople) and eastern territories (Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, etc.) see Agostino Pertusi, "Bisanzio e l'irradiazione della sua civiltà in Occidente nell'Alto Medioevo," in *Centri e vie di irradiazione della civiltà nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio 11 (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM—Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1964), 75–133; Cesare Colafemmina, "L'insediamento ebraico," in *Archeologia di una città: Bari dalle origini al X secolo*, ed. Giuseppe Andreassi and Francesca Radina (Bari: Edipuglia, 1988), 513–21; Cesare Colafemmina, "Insediamenti e condizioni degli Ebrei nell'Italia meridionale e insulare," in *Gli Ebrei nell'Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di studio 26 (Spoleto: Fondazione CISAM—Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980), 197–227; and Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, "Tra gli Armeni dell'Italia meridionale," in *Atti del Primo Simposio internazionale di arte armena: Bergamo, 28–30 giugno 1975*, ed. Giulio Ieni and Levon Boghos Zekiyan (Venice: Accademia armena di San Lazzaro, 1978), 181–89; on multiculturalism, see Raffaele Licinio, "Economia e società nell'Alto Medioevo," in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:194–96.

- 10 The history of the region in Norman and Swabian times (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) merged with that of the Kingdom of Sicily, established in 1130 and at its highest point under Frederick II (1197–1250), son of Constance of Hauteville and Henry VI of Swabia. This dynasty, which reconquered Sicily after about three centuries of Arab dominion (827–1091), spread refined Arabic culture from its court in Palermo to Apulia; see Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom in Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Raffaele Iorio, Raffaele Licinio, and Giosuè Musca, "Sotto la monarchia normanno-sveva," in Tateo, *Storia di Bari*, 2:57–94; Giosuè Musca, "Il dominio normanno," in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:237–55; and Franco Porsia, "Il periodo svevo," in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:257–75; see also *Potere, società e popolo tra età normanna ed età sveva (1189–1210): Atti delle quinte giornate normanno-sveve, Bari-Conversano, 26–28 ottobre 1981* (Bari: Dedalo, 1983).
- 11 In 1266, after the Battle of Benevento, the French Charles of Anjou was proclaimed ruler of southern Italy. Apulia remained under Angevin domination until 1442, when it passed to the Spanish Aragonese dynasty; see Raffaele Licinio, "Bari angioina," in Tateo, *Storia di Bari*, 2:95–144, and Raffaele Licinio, "I periodi angioino e aragonese," in Musca, *Storia della Puglia*, 1:277–98.
- 12 There is still no general glossary to the *Codice Diplomatico Barese-Pugliese*, the lack of which was pointed out by Vincenzo Valente more than thirty years ago in his "Ipotesi per un lessico del latino medievale pugliese," *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 31 (1978), 147–63. There are glossaries to some individual volumes, but these are incomplete and often outdated. All the translations presented here from Italian, French, and Latin are those of the author and translators of this article.
- 13 Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 10 vols. (1883–87; repr., Bologna: Forni, 1981–82); Alfred Ernout and Antoine Meillet, *Dictionnaire étimologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*, 4th ed. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1967); Egidio Forcellini et al., *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* (1864; repr., Padua: Typis seminarii, 1940); Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976); *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13 Jahrhundert*, ed. Otto Prinz (Munich: Beck, 1967–).

Slav, and French origin. However, for other terms, such as *babadiky*, *fuffudi*, *gipteca*, or *simalto*, which are not to be found in dictionaries, it is only possible to guess their meaning from the detailed description of the specific garment given by the notary (textile, shape, colour, ornament) or from the context, taking into account the usual notarial procedure of arranging dowry goods according to type.¹⁴

The wide time span taken into consideration (tenth to fourteenth centuries) allows us to evaluate each term referring to a garment, both its meaning in its first occurrence and its semantic shift in time or its disappearance from notarial lists as a result of historical or linguistic change.¹⁵

MARRIAGE CONTRACTS SECUNDUM BARI CONSUETUDINEM

In the multiethnic society of medieval Bari, cultural exchanges which favoured the acceptance and survival of shared customs were common, and such practices often survived even after the regime that had introduced them had come to an end. This is the case with Langobard law, which entered the *Terra di Bari* through the Duchy, later Princedom, of Benevento, and was favourably accepted by the local population and practiced long after the end of the Langobard dominion in Apulia. Over some three centuries, a mutually beneficial coexistence gradually developed between the people of Apulia and the Langobards, encouraged by mixed marriages. Although coming under the aegis of public law (successively Byzantine, Norman, Swabian, Angevin, etc.), private law was regulated by the *Consuetudines Civitatis Bari*, a corpus of deeply rooted local customary rules, which were clearly modelled on Langobard legal precepts, but revised in the light of the Roman socio-juridical tradition. Initially transmitted orally, they were subsequently codified by two judges, Andrea and Sparano of Bari,

14 Valente, "Ipotesi," 150, signalled the interest of the objects listed in dowry inventories, but also drew attention to the problems of interpreting hundreds of unfamiliar terms.

15 Philip Ditchfield, *La culture matérielle médiévale: l'Italie méridionale byzantine et normande*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 373 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007), presents the results of wide-ranging and extremely useful research on material culture seen as "l'ensemble des biens immobiliers et mobiliers de caractère utilitaire nécessaires au besoins d'une société" [the sum of immovable property and movable assets of a utilitarian character which are necessary for a society's needs] (1). He concentrates primarily on notarial acts of the Byzantine and Norman periods in Apulian archives (his subtitle referring to the whole of southern Italy being somewhat misleading). His book consists of "un catalogue des objets, qui prende en compte aussi bien leur physionomie, que leurs modes de fabrication et leurs fonctions au sein du contexte géographique et social de la Pouille médiévale" [a catalogue of objects which takes into consideration both their physical appearance, the way they were produced, and their function within the geographical and social context of medieval Apulia] (1). His catalogue is compiled on the basis of etymological research and identification from notarial documents (endowments, wills, inventories, donations, inheritances, and sales) of the rich vocabulary relating to furniture, furnishings, domestic tools, linen, clothing, and jewels. In the course of my own analysis, which is limited to women's clothing listed in dowry inventories, but which also extends to the Angevin period, Ditchfield's monograph is an invaluable work of reference, even if in certain cases I express and justify my objection to the sometimes far-fetched textual or etymological interpretations he proposes.