A Cultural Geography of Via Francigena: Historical and Modern Mobilities along a European Cultural Route

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates historical and modern mobilities and their interrelationship. The via Francigena, and its reinvention as a Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, is the principal focus of study. Conceptually and methodologically, the road networks and the people that travel on them become the perspective through which to investigate the territory. The via Francigena has an articulated and heterogeneous composition, both with respect to its medieval context and as a cultural itinerary. It therefore poses challenges both in terms of its geo-historical documentation and the ongoing material and cultural delineation of the itinerary.

The investigation was carried out in two case study areas located in the Italian regions of Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Lazio. A wide range of methods were used to qualitatively approach the investigation of mobility, both medieval and contemporary. These included archive studies, field surveys, GIS analysis, questionnaires, interviews, and lastly an itinerant ethnography. This detailed investigation of the territory was necessary precisely because the identity of the via Francigena, in addition to its importance as a unifying dimension of medieval Europe, is also and above all composed of lateral and capillary routes with a nebulous and fragmentary history.

Following a review of the literature on the general topic of ancient roads and modern mobilities, historiographical work was conducted specifically in regard to studies of medieval roads in relation to the via Francigena and thus with respect to the interest of associations and institutions in the topic. This made it possible to define the multi-layered and controversial identity of the Francigena routes. In sequence, the geo-historical survey, the census of the routes-related heritage, and the mapping of the medieval communication channels allowed the identification of intrinsic values, both material and cultural, identified with the via Francigena; or at least of its remaining traces. The quantitative and qualitative investigation of today's experience of pilgrimage and travel along the Francigena demonstrated differing territorial and cultural narratives associated with mobilities.

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At the end of this journey, I cannot but acknowledge the contribution, both intellectual and moral, of those who have accompanied me along this path. First and foremost, my supervisors Charles Watkins and Ross Balzaretti, who have welcomed, followed, and energetically supported with interest and patience first my ideas and then my research. Along with them, I think of the staff and my fellow PhD candidates in the School of Geography, for the opportunities we have had to study and work together, for the human side of relationships and friendships through which they have made the University of Nottingham such a pleasant and familiar place. And with them so I also think of the friendships built in Nottingham, which have made the city a second home.

To my parents and family, who support me in whatever path I take.

If it has been said that anthropologists (and why not geographers as well) are people who are at home away from home, this was truer than ever having a sort of residence on the move with the exceptional people I met during my travelling field surveys. The locals, especially the hosts of the hospitality structures along the way, always kind and helpful, were precious beacons that illuminated the route and reference points that I never tire of finding again.

Likewise, the people, the wayfarers and pilgrims with whom I have shared the steps and the stays, with their difficulties and joys, to whom I dedicate this work, along with the locals, those who stay and those who pass through.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the road dimension represents the core of events; it is the perspective according to which the narrative of historical and modern phenomena is established. It argues that road connections narrate the will and need for connection of peoples, and the resulting territorial configuration serves as the unit of measurement. In this sense, the road is the space-territory along which the investigation was conducted: the road layouts of the via[1] Francigena with respect to medieval and current mobilities.

Historically, what we now call the via Francigena, or Romea, was a plural medieval road system that linked, through NW Alpine passes, the areas to the north and west with Rome and then on to the Holy Land. It was a fundamental thoroughfare for the Christian West, with a history dating back to the Frankish dominion in the 9th century, and earlier under the Longobards. Some sections followed pre-existing Roman roads which over time developed a different hierarchy and generated further local connections. During the 13th century, the routes altered according to the growth of towns and trades. The names of different sections of the route also changed and a diverse road hierarchy was established.

Nowadays, Via Francigena also signifies the itinerary recognised as a Cultural Route by the Council of Europe since 1994. Compared to the labile and articulated medieval road network, a central corridor was identified following the stages travelled by Archbishop Sigeric on his return from Rome (990-994) to his archepiscopal see in Canterbury. Since 2019, the itinerary (fig. 1.1) has stretched as far as Santa Maria di Leuca (Apulia) for a total of 3.200 km with the addition of the stages extracted from the Bordeaux Itinerary (333-334). Following the 1994 recognition, the European Association of the Via Francigena ways (EAVF) – established in Fidenza in 2001 as «Associazione dei comuni italiani lungo la Via Francigena», then in 2005 as EAVF – was «certified by the Council of Europe as a carrier network of the Via Francigena Cultural Route in 2007»[2]. Therefore, the Association is in charge of approximately 3200 kilometres across the UK, France, Switzerland, Italy, and Vatican City. On the other hand, the Swiss non-profit

[1] I use «via Francigena» to denote the historical routes and «Via Francigena» to address the present-day itinerary as Cultural Route of the Council of Europe.
[2] https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/about-us/

private organisation, founded in Martigny, International Association Via Francigena (AIVF), which received the patronage of the Holy See in 2001, has been in place since 1997. After an agreement was signed in 2019[3], however, AIVF transferred its activities to AEVF.

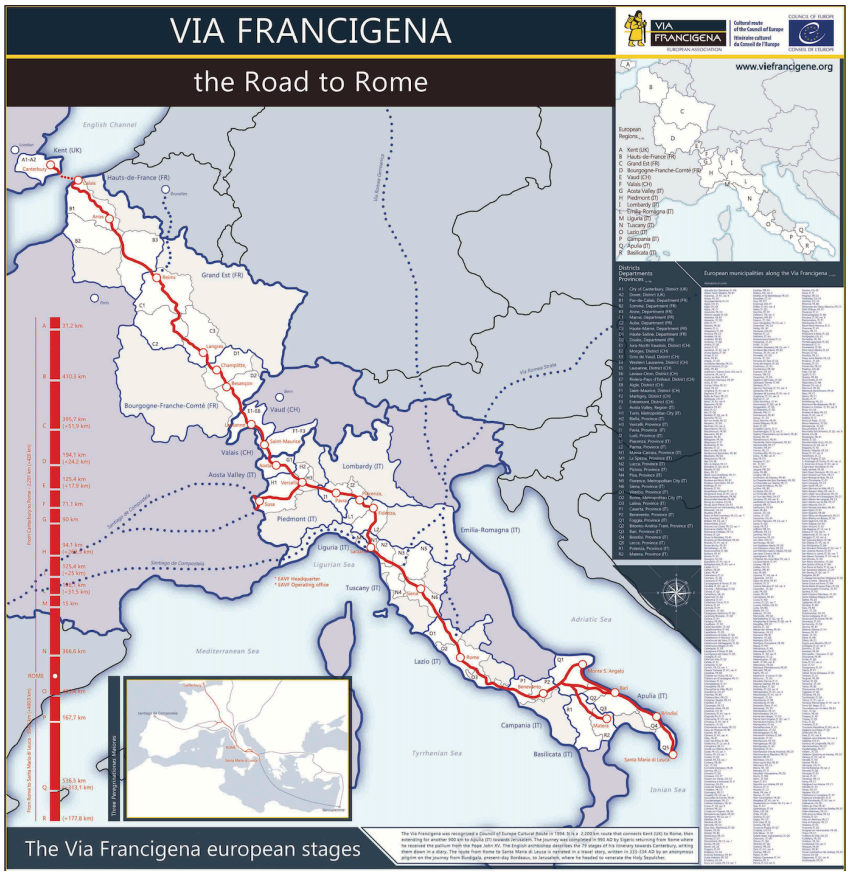


Fig.1.1. Poster[4] drawn up by the European Association of the Via Francigena ways on the occasion of the «Road to Rome 2021» event illustrating the route recognised to date.

In regard to what has just been introduced on the institutional and associative experiences for the management and fruition of the modern itinerary, it is also necessary to consider a reflection on the experience and intellectual positioning of the candidate. The approach to studies on the medieval road network and the touristic-institutional side began at the University of Florence for the discussion of the Bachelor's degree on the itineraries between Monte Amiata and the Francigena valley floor and, consequently, on the project for the identification of the variant for the abbey of San Salvatore. With respect to the studies on the historical landscape, the combination with the research set up for

[3] https://www.viefrancigene.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/accord-eng-18.10.19-light.pdf
[4] https://www.viefrancigene.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/mappa_vf_ld_web_eng-scaled.jpg

the master's degree, at the same Florentine university, on the changes in land use in the Tuscan coastal territory was beneficial. Simultaneously with the scholar activities, collaboration began with the two main associations that deal with the Via Francigena on a European level: initially with AIVF and subsequently with EAVF in relation to cultural-scientific activities, museums, participation in conferences and forums (experiences that will be reported in the course of the thesis).

It therefore becomes important to reflect on the researcher's positioning between academic activities and institutional involvement. Hence, while trying not to lose the objectivity and rigour of historical-geographical research, the whole has allowed me to grasp challenges and criticalities on one side and the other. In fact, in this at times almost dual positioning (see Chapter IV), some of the challenges proposed in this thesis – both theoretical and methodological – can be identified: between the historical-geographical complexity of the medieval road network and the required identification of an itinerary; between the current dimension of pilgrimage and the tourist opportunity and, therefore, the fruition (or not) of the heritage network involved.

This duality of the identity of the Francigena requires a constant dialogue between the complex historical-geographical context and the ongoing reinvention and delineation of the itinerary. In fact, the analyses conducted have revealed quite a few critical issues and conflicts between the individuals who in one way or another interact with the itinerary: from the experts in the field, such as historians and geographers, to the municipalities involved or not in the governance of their own stretch, up to the actors directly associated with pilgrimage, such as hospitality operators and users.

On the whole, several research questions move and stimulate the thesis. Amongst these, one of the first key enquiries lies in the feasibility and effectiveness of a historical-geographical narrative through the perspective of the road networks and the consequent movements that characterise them. Consequently, on a theoretical and methodological level, can methods be identified and applied that allow an inclusive approach to the identification and study of the material heritage consistent with the medieval road network? In this sense, are Geographical Information Systems (GIS) and spatial analyses effective tools? From the historical-geographical analyses and moving towards the 21st century itinerary – thus referring to the issue of the dual identity of the Francigena – can a dialogue be

established between historical and current mobility that takes into account historical integrity and, at the same time, the contemporary context? Are there critical issues and challenges – and if so, which ones – following the reinvention of an itinerary resulting from a network of medieval routes? Finally, with respect to the present-day itinerary, what kind of use is there along the Via Francigena as a pilgrimage route and Cultural Route of the Council of Europe? What socio-cultural impact does it have on the rural communities it passes through?

To address these research questions, the thesis was set out as follows (fig. 1.2): the first stage of the thesis was to review the literature (Chapter II), focussing especially on the evolution of studies of ancient mobility in a broad sense. That is, from the almost exclusive interest that scholars placed on Roman roads (16th-17th c.), passing through early and important studies of medieval infrastructures (19th-20th c.), to the popularity and multidisciplinarity of studies (since the second half of the 20th century) and more recent developments. In addition, an in-depth historiographical analysis and discussion were conducted (Chapter IV) that focused on the Francigena ways, from the genesis of early interest (at the end of the 17th c.), to the "uncontrolled" spread of publications today. This made it possible to frame the phenomenon in its constitution as a plural identity which is hotly debated today. Moreover, in this way it was possible to elaborate and refine the approaches and methodology used in the thesis.

From the broad consideration of the theoretical and epistemological panorama on mobility and in particular on the via Francigena, two micro-territorial and inter-regional case study areas in central-northern Italy between Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, and Lazio were selected in an inductive manner (Chapter III). These case studies allowed me to explore the nebulous and capillary medieval road reality in a multi-scalar way – the locale crossed by a European corridor – and to define an effective and qualitative approach to the territory. The survey was designed in such a way as to define a common leitmotif, by means of mobility, between the historical dimension of the medieval network up to its recent reinvention, management and use as a Cultural Itinerary and tourist product.

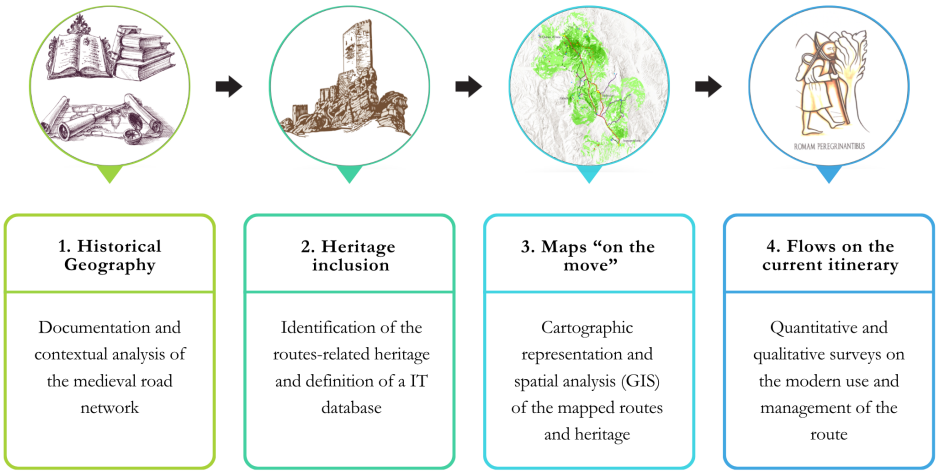


Fig. 1.2. Aims framework.

The path of the actual investigation began with a thorough historical-geographical survey and documentation of the two identified areas (Chapters V.I and VI.I). By defining the stratigraphic complexity of the landscape, with reference to the great communication channels and the dense local network, it was possible to lay a solid foundation for the subsequent phases of the research. This is in light of the instability and variability of the nature of medieval roads. The narrative adopted, moving along the identified roads, has demonstrated that it is possible to tell the story of a territory with respect to the cultural interconnections witnessed by the road networks.

The principle of the debate between historical itineraries and modern reinvented routes be it tourism or pilgrimage, comes to the fore when one considers the heritage to be included; this both in terms of typology and distribution over the territory. In fact, here I want to stress the relationship that coexists between communication channels and the human-made landscape, which can be defined with the term "roadscape": that is, the areal dimension that the road projects onto the territory, rather than the line of the road itself. Therefore, a census system of the categories of material elements, whether still present or now only documented by the archives, directly attributable to road transit was established (Chapters V.II and VI.II). This made it possible to generate a road-space from the distribution of identified heritage types. For if one were to proceed in the opposite way, i.e. consider those elements only distributed along the tourist route, one would be favouring an exclusive rather than an inclusive method.

From the heritage census I developed a computerised database that could

be directly acquired and processed by GIS. A hierarchical network of routes was traced, from the main communication channel to the capillarity of the local system, to determine the relationship between the surveyed heritage and the territorial variables, such as morphology (Chapters V.III and VI.III). The maps produced are both of a simple representative nature and harmonised and "enlivened" by a series of spatial analyses in such a way as to highlight specific patterns that would otherwise hardly emerge. In order to push the debate towards the current itinerary again, analyses were carried out relating the mapping of the historical-geographical context to the tourist route. In this way, it was possible to quantify and visualise the degree of coherence, in a historical and heritage sense, with the "product" offered today on the basis of Sigeric's diary.

Ultimately, in Chapter VII, a field investigation was conducted along the modern Via Francigena. Using a quantitative and qualitative approach, including a mobile walking ethnography, a wide range of data was collected in order to reveal the governance practices, the modern users of the route, and the impact of these modern mobilities on the rural communities concerned. As in the historical approach to the local territory, one cannot disregard the international dimension of the road's flow. With modern pilgrimage and slow tourism there has been a confrontation and dialogue with those involved in the governance of the itinerary: the associations – first of all the European Association of the Via Francigena ways (EAVF) – and the institutions; in this case, with the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe programme.

In fact, this route running across national borders is acquiring an important role in the definition of European identity through new socio-cultural links. The main actors in the sample identified are pilgrims, more generally travellers along the itinerary, and those who live along the Via Francigena on a permanent basis, especially hosts, and who absorb the values of transit. From the enjoyment of the itinerary, we have therefore moved on to the experience of modern pilgrimage, to the spectrum of motivations that lie behind the journey, without avoiding dealing with debates over the distinction between pilgrim and tourist.

In this thesis, road connections and movements are the perspectives through which to narrate the history of a territory, its heritage, and finally the sociocultural phenomena in progress. In doing so, I have moved from the materiality of the elements that compose its history, as a result of the process of

territorialisation of space that the road entails, to the network of interpersonal relationships through which a sort of osmosis took place between the culture of the traveller and that of people of the localities crossed. The unity sought and rediscovered here is constituted by tracing, following, and traversing ancient and modern mobilities.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

«[…] in each epoch, roads are those structures by which the human being moves through the space, he conquers it, he fills it by his activities and he puts it to good use for his own advantage»[5] (Szabò, 1992, p. 13).

In this chapter I review the way that ancient roads have been studied and understood in four main periods: first from the 17th century to the 19th century, second the early 20th century, third the post-war period, and finally recent research since the 1980s. In doing so, we move from a predominant interest in ancient Roman roads to a growing interest in medieval ones. Then comes a consolidation of studies, also from a methodological and disciplinary point of view, on historical road infrastructures and more generally on mobilities. The last part examines the role of new governance practices and institutions related to the long-distance paths and recent research in road and mobility studies.

II.I. 17TH-19TH C. AND ROMAN ROADS

This quotation by Hungarian historian Thomas Szabò allows us to perceive the great significance of roads in the evolution of human societies. It shows that a deep focus on these structures is important because they allowed the trading of the goods, as well as the development of cultures, economic enrichment and scientific progress. They also shaped the planning of cities and territories.

This understanding leads us to consider the relevance of roads in the human history and this means that the origins and the chronological evolution of the study of roads must be researched from an interdisciplinary perspective. The earliest research was undertaken by historians and after that by geographers and archaeologists. Shifting to more recent studies, due to the increasing enthusiasm and potentiality of the concept of Cultural Routes, research has been undertaken by economists, heritage scholars, anthropologists, tourism specialists, architects, agronomists and engineers. Perhaps, one of the most important early scholar of

[5] The foreign texts (Italian, French, and Latin) quoted in the thesis have been translated into English by the author.

roads in Italy, and especially Tuscany, was the Italian Count Cesare Sardi who, in the early 1900s, made a remarkable contribution in an international context. Indeed, Count Sardi discussed earlier historiography on the theme (Sardi, 1914). Critically, he argued that the only documents of that period that, «imperfectly», depict the Roman Empire's roads are the *Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Elsewhere he suggested that these documents would benefit greatly from archaeological studies (Sardi, 1914, p. 150). In fact, for example, in the UK the interest in ancient roads was instigated by antiquarians and archaeologists, such as the surveyor MacLauchlan who studied Roman roads in relation to archaeological evidence from settlements (MacLauchlan, 1859). Sardi claimed that studies of the Roman consular roads began in Italy (but also in Germany and France) in the 18th century after Wesseling, in Amsterdam, published comments on the «*Itinerarium*» in 1735 and in Vienna Scheib, in 1753, reproduced and illustrated the medieval map of ancient Roman routes known as *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

In the French experience, the introductory passage by Nicolas Bergier (1622) is exemplary, who, already in the first half of the 17th century, depicted to his French king a context of knowledge where, before their cultural illumination, the Roman constructions and roads were attributed to the "world of fantasy":

«[...] all the power of the world, it will never make again a greater, more incredible, and more extraordinary endeavour. [...] That is why, over the last centuries, when the Barbarians had extinguished all that there was of the knowledge of the most beautiful things, many of the voices of these Routes, paved extraordinarily up to nowadays and uninterrupted across the great Provinces, its origins were attributed to Demons, to Giants, to Fairies, to the Magic: we could not imagine that those masterpieces fell on human kind's ordinary capabilities. But after that, these darknesses of ignorance had been driven away by the new light of letters of the previous century, and mainly under your Kingdom, Sire, and of your Majesty's predecessors, they have recognised, that these Demons, these Giants, and these Fairies, they were the Consuls, the Praetors, *les Confeurs*, and others of the greatest Magistrates of the Roman republic [...]» (Bergier, 1622, pp. II-III).

In his work, Bergier mainly referred directly to well-known figures of the ancient Greece and Rome, such as: Strabo, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Nero, Domitian, Marcellus, Pliny, Ovid, Rutilius Namatianus, Vitruvius. After this

edition, the majority of the further publications referred to this work up to the first half of the 20th century. Therefore, in essence, Bergier's work can be included among the first that aimed at ancient roads, but this does not exclude that it was already a debated topic among Italian historians and writers for some time before.

In Tuscany, the authors that dealt with this topic were: Vincenzo Borghini 1515-1580 («*Discorsi*»), Giovanni Lami 1697-1770 («*Antichità Toscane Lez. III Eccl. Florentinae Monumenta*»), Cosimo Della Rena 1615-1696 («*Della Serie degli Antichi Duchi e Marchesi di Toscana*»), Lorenzo Guazzesi 1708-1749 («*Dissert. intorno alla Via Cassia*») and Targioni Tozzetti 1712-1783 («*Relazioni d'alcuni viaggi in Toscana*». Tome 9th). Likewise, Aurelio Guarnieri Ottoni, Italian historian (1737-1788), began his book by invoking the *Feltrina* Column in order to discover and discuss the ancient *Via Claudia Augusta* (Ottoni, 1789, pp. 5-6) and, as most of the others, referring to the *itineraria* sources, the Roman classic literature and often to Bergier and Muratori. It must be stressed that during this period none of the historians discussed medieval roads.

However, while it is true that the Vincenzo Borghini's «*Discorsi*» was published in 1755, we have to take into account that it is a re-edited posthumous book. In fact, the first edition was released in two parts in 1584-85. Borghini, who is considered to be one of the greatest writers of his time on Florentine history, in the first volume of «*Discorsi*» does not systematically deal with roads but he did mention the major ancient Roman roads (Appia, Aurelia, Cassia, Emilia) while describing Florentine and Tuscan history, the Roman municipalities and colonies. Therefore, in essence, Bergier's work is among the first that considered ancient roads, but this does not exclude the fact that they had already been debated by Italian historians and writers for some time before. Beyond this, it is interesting to report the doubt that Borghini expresses about the *Itinerarium Antonini*: «*Dell'itinerario di Antonino Imperatore: non parlo, che lo veggo sospetto ad alcuni*» («Of the itinerary of *Antonino Imperatore*: I do not speak, that I see it as suspicious to some») (Borghini, 1584, p. 213). This is a doubt that is raised by later authors such as Tozzetti and Repetti which will be discussed later in this section.

Much of the research on ancient roads by these scholars seemed to have been forgotten in the first half of the 19th century and Sardi could not find any other researchers with the exception of the geographer Emanuele Repetti (Sardi, 1914, p. 151). However, a new impetus for the study of consular roads was

provided by the new and great edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* made in Paris in 1864 by Emilio Dejardins («*Pref. alla Table de Peutinger*»). Sardi summarised the opinions of the most eminent geographers: Welser, Cluvier, Valois, Calalrius, Durandi, up to the most recent Katancisch, Mannert and Ukert, published in a wide range of archaeological bulletins and erudite publications (Sardi, 1914, p. 152).

In the 18th century, in the Italian peninsula, Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti is particularly seminal. He was a Florentine medical doctor and naturalist who dedicated himself in particular to the history and geography of Tuscany. He published his work «*Viaggi fatti in diverse parti della Toscana per osservare le produzioni naturali e gli antichi monumenti di essa*», initially in six volumes (1751-54) and then in twelve (1767-79). They contained a very wide and diverse range of topics including botany, to medicine, zoology, mineralogy and architecture. However, one of the most interesting aspects is geographical as he aimed to define an atlas of his region.

Volume 9 of the 2nd edition is of greatest interest for the history of roads. He is concerned mostly about Roman roads and starts with a «discourse among the Roman military roads, which passed through Tuscany» (Tozzetti, 1776, p. 155) and goes on to depict their beauty, magnificence and "comfort" he refers to Bergier. Tozzetti also describes the architectural features that accompany the roads: posts, inns («*mansiones*») and mile stones, curiously adding that engraved mile stones might be an idea taken from the Etruscans (by quoting Arena, «*De' Marchesi di Toscana*», 1690).

In his chapter on «Ancient Itineraries», Tozzetti affirms that the rediscovery of these ancient roads is not a simple task because evidence is so scarce and the remaining information is distorted. His text is spiced by many personal comments and criticisms towards previous authors and their sources. Thus, he writes that there are basically two main sources but they are both «opaque» (*ibidem*, pp. 158-159): the first one, a «booklet» with a false title «*Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti*», he thought was written during the Roman decline, when the Barbarians invaded Italy. Its real author is unknown, although the Scottish scholar Thomas Dempster (1579-1625) believed them to be Scottish. The second source is found among the *itineraria picta*, where there is a «booklet comparable to the Post Books that we make nowadays for the use of travellers» (*ibidem*, p. 159) that tells about the «ignorant» *Anonimo Ravennate*,[6] «who completed his Geography by

[6] An anonymous scholar.

copying and mangling the names of the Posts ridiculously naming all of them as City» (*ibidem*, p. 177). This second source, since it is in a cartographic form, he relates to the more famous *Tabula Peutingeriana*, defined as «Map of all the Posts of the entire Roman Empire». Again he ridiculed this source:

«In that Map, I find mistakes so massive that they make me smile, and I am persuaded that by using that Map, instead of assisting the movement of an Army, it could have been possible to jeopardise it. If we examine it accurately, it rather seems made by certain idiot; or a bad copy of a good original; for this reason, it loses the merit of being one of the most venerable Manuscripts that survives from Antiquity» (*ibidem*, p. 176-177).

In doing so, he explicitly contradicts Bergier's text, which had agreed that it was made just before the barbarian invasion, believing that it had belonged to some army general who had commissioned it from army engineers to assist troop movements (*ibidem*, p. 176).

II.II. EARLY 20TH CENTURY AND MEDIEVAL ROADS

«The knowledge of roads in Middle Ages is no less important than the history of the great Roman roads. But while the latter arouse interest in their form and because they are intimately related with the magnificent increase of the Republic and the constitution of the immense empire and reveal the wisdom of that people in allowing communications between extended colonies and the dominant city, Medieval roads deserve to be studied since they were an integral part of the heritage and therefore of the feudal regime» (Palmieri, 1918, p. 5).

The importance of this quotation lies in Arturo Palmieri's innovative statement that places studies on medieval roads at the same level of relevance as Roman ones. He argued that knowledge of the Medieval road system is essential in order to link the ancient era with modern time. Palmieri, who came from Bologna, got his degree in Law with a thesis on «Origins and development of rural commons particularly those in the Bolognese Apennine» (1887) and this research led him to reconstruct road connections between Bologna and Tuscany. He was one of several authors who in the second decade of the 20th century began to make use of

archival sources to study medieval roads. They were often micro-territorial studies linked to the history of towns (Chiappelli, 1926; Solari, 1929) and more broadly about pilgrimage and hospitality (Pavari, 1927) or trade routes (Dompé, 1922). Palmieri focussed on using ancient sources such as public documents of 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, 13th century estimates and further medieval documents. Many of these specify that the Commons had to guarantee road maintenance (Palmieri, 1918, p. 13).

A few years earlier, Professor Pio Rajna published a paper in the «*Italian Society's Acts for the Science Progress*» on roads, pilgrimages and hospices in the Italy of Middle Ages (Rajina,1912). He first considered the classic history of Roman roads, especially:

«Of the art of building roads Rome was such a teacher, to have not had and not to have the same in the world. The degree of solidity to which it arrived makes us blush…. People of the Middle Ages, to whom the quality of Roman roads, compared to their own, seemed so unimaginably superior that in much of France, and perhaps not only in France, they were (strangely to us) *chemins ferrés* [iron roads]» (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 100).

He moved to the Medieval period by highlighting and describing the damage and ruin to which Roman roads fell, since «the Middle Ages did not take care to repair them. If a landslide obstructed the path it was enough to open another one through the rubble» (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 103).

Rajna expressed his concept with a picturesque engagement, sometimes personifying a historical period, such as in the previous quotation with the Middle Ages, other times by suggestive metaphors. This last one is the case in which he introduced the fundamental role of the Church in helping to keep together a Mediterranean world which was becoming fragmented. Rajna thought there was a new hope of union:

«The cement by virtue of which the Mediterranean world had gathered in a compact whole, had ended up crumbling: a different cement came to replace it, aggregating with not less firmness, just around the same nucleus, part of that same world; and the loss compensated with other purchases. Religious unity replaced the former political union, preserved or partially rebuilt and with little cohesion… A central regulatory power is needed, which is in unbroken relation with the individual constituent elements. This condition has been implemented in the

Catholic Church as in no other institution that humankind has ever seen» (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 104).

A further innovative aspect, that deserves to be mentioned, regards the combination of the studies of travellers with those on medieval roads. In particular, since Rajna conferred a great relevance to the Christian Church, he emphasised the role of pilgrims, not only for connecting the Continent, but also in encouraging the development of trades thanks to the facilities produced by the religious management (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 116). With respect to the pilgrimage sources, Rajna referred to the «significant *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* [better known as *Itinerarium Burdigalense*], that indicates schematically all the *stationes* and *mutationes*, in a journey starting from Bordeaux» (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 107). After that, he considered the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana.*

Rajna also reported the precious testimony of the Venerable Bede, a Christian monk and English historian who lived in the Benedictine Monastery of Saint Peter and Saint Paul in Wearmouth and in Jarrow, in Northumberland, that takes us back to the year 716:

«In these times many English, nobles and commoners, men and women, leaders and private citizens, moved by divine love, have begun the habit of leaving Britain and going to Rome» (*ibidem*, 1912, p. 107).

Count Sardi (1914) decided to reconstruct the medieval road system of the territory of Lucca province. He also chose to include studies of Roman roads. He argued that even though «it is renowned to everyone how the great military and consular roads, that were connecting Rome to the Provinces, fell in the saddest abandonment with the decadence of the Roman power» (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 149), the roads continued to be used by travellers of the Middle Ages. For this reason, he pointed out that the study of Roman roads cannot be divided from that of medieval roads. Indeed, on the contrary, the documents of this more recent period are extremely relevant for the recollection of the more ancient facts, since Roman antiquity revealed very little on this topic (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 150).

In light of this, Sardi mentioned the well-known (nowadays) description of the Roman poet and politician Rutiliius Numatianus (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 149), when, in his travel from Rome to Gaul in 416 AD he chose the maritime route instead of the already dangerous *Via Aurelia*. Beside the macro-regional case of Lucca, with respect to the Roman roads we can read many references to the *Via Clodia* and *Via*

Aurelia. In tracing the *Via Clodia*, he perspicaciously described the Tuscan section anticipating, even though vaguely, the future evolutions of via Francigena:

«I believe that *Via Clodia*, on the Apennine passages branched off to Garfagnana from Alta Italia (where it ran between Bologna, Modena, Parma and Piacenza), in the upper valley of the Cerchio identified its path with that of the continuation of *Via Cassia* between Lucca and Luni and from Lucca to the Valdarno, Poggibonsi and Siena, confusing itself also with secondary roads (for that same itinerary that, at least in part, was embodied in the Middle Ages, from the «*via romea*» or «*francisca*»), went as far as Rome» (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 159).

With respect to the sources that he utilised, I would highlight the fact that he preferred to work *ex novo*; thus, he was trying to look for direct sources, where possible. He was seeking local and original documents (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 152). Taking into account the historical moment, his methodology was quite innovative; in fact, rather than restricted by those sources which most scholars used (such as the *Antonini* Itinerary and the Peutinger Table), he focussed on local sources. He wrote:

«I already stated that medieval documents can be a reliable guide for the verification of ancient itineraries and some of them definitely help us identify the routes» (*ibidem*, 1914, p. 153).

In addition to the direct sources, he quoted various texts from the 18th and 19th, often including Targioni Tozzetti. Sardi also expressed an opinion concerning the likelihood of continuities between Roman and medieval roads arguing that many of the roads existing at his own time were of Roman or even pre-Roman origin (*ibidem*, 1914, pp. 235). This last part may be controversial because if on the one hand it is true that the mountains are a largely unmovable part of the landscape, on the other hand, the use of a road, and its maintenance, is determined by the land uses of the inhabitants and other political features. Furthermore, mountain areas are subject to many natural changes such as landslides and, as well as this, rivers are subject to deviations of course, draining or flooding. In consideration of the methodology and the results achieved, Sardi's publication can be acknowledged as one of the most important road studies of the early 20th century. Moreover, it is with Sardi that in the 20th century scholars started again to argue about via Francigena (see Chapter IV).

In Britain, at the same period, the historian Caroline Skeel wrote about travel in the Roman period especially the 1st century AD (Skeel, 1901). The author mainly referred to both Roman and Greek writers: Horace, Juvenal, Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, Philo Judaeus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Philostratus, Strabo, Ovid, Seneca, Martial, and the elder Pliny (*ibidem*, 1901, pp. 1-2). She also mentioned how «A Roman road was intended to last; planned with utter disregard of expense and layout it was indeed fortified rather than made» (Skeel, 1901, p. 44). In researching and publishing invaluable *itineraria adnodata*, travel diaries, emphasis must be given to the historiography of archbishop Sigeric's diary (Ortenberg, 1990); which is earlier than two other relevant sources: abbot Nikolas Saemundarson of Munkatvera (1154) – already mentioned in broad terms in 1865 by the French Riant – and King Philip II (1191) diaries. A notable contribution on the three sources listed above comes from Francis P. Magoun, an influential figure in medieval English studies. Sigeric's diary is commonly said to have been written between the years 990 and 994 (the year of his death). However, it is very likely that the manuscript that has come down to us is not actually coeval to Sigeric or composed on his 990 journey (Mambrini, Stopani, 1989, p. 303), but that it comes from a transcription of the eleventh century, probably before 1016 (Magoun, 1940, p. 270). While sometimes the rediscovery of the Sigeric's diary is credited to Julius Jung (1904), the first full publication of the diary was provided by Hook (1860), in which he gave the complete text but did not identify either churches or places, secondly by Stubbs (1874), who did not identify the churches though he identified correctly many of the places, and lastly for the 19th century Miller (1895) who omitted the list of churches altogether, but identified many places correctly (Magoun, 1940, pp. 269-270).

The first mention of Sigeric's diary in Italy appears to have been made by Benedetto Pesci in 1936. References to such diary sources have been used as the starting point for studies of the medieval itineraries by most subsequent authors. Pesciolini (1933) was interested in the Roman origins of Siena and its Imperial connections, a topic that, as he said, was controversial since there were many legends animating the history of people who travelled to Siena and the temples, the cities and the counties. Therefore, historical certainties are thin on the ground. With little success, he quoted the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the Table of Peutinger, adding that some previous scholars had excluded that historical reality (Pesciolini,

1933, p. 3). Pesciolini continued his discussion by the support of the researchers above mentioned: Targioni Tozzetti, Repetti, Sardi, Fatini and later he pursued his narrative based on the scholarship of Malavolti (1599), Orlandius (1600) and Capponi (1888). He concluded by stating that the lack of accurate sources was due to the secondary relevance of the roads. They passed through wooded territories which he thought were less susceptible to change in terms of their topographic and demographic assets (Pesciolini, 1933, p. 20).

The Institute of Roman Studies was founded in 1925 to increase scientific research and publication on all aspects of Roman history. Of this Institute, we had to wait twelve years to find a contribution that had roads as its subject. The British School at Rome (established in 1901) published British scholars' studies on Roman roads in Italy (Ashby, 1929), such as the *Via Traiana* (Ashby, Gardner, 1916). Thomas Ashby (1874-1931) was an eminent British archaeologist and President of the British School at Rome (1906-1925) who made many studies in the Italian peninsula (mainly in Lazio and Sardinia), and was well known for researching Roman topography. It is interesting to note that in the 21st century, Janet Wade, a researcher at the British School at Rome, decided to reclaim the material in Thomas Ashby's archives to develop a project about traversing the entire length of the *Via Flaminia* on foot and bicycle (Wade, 2018).

Alberto Grenier (1937, p. 7), a French historian and archaeologist, discussed the Imperial roads in Gaul. He drew on archaeological evidence and referenced well known documents such as the Peutinger Table and Antonine Itinerary. He also retraced the Roman road network in France through a series of maps and made illustrations of the stratigraphic sections about the road construction. He also remembered the innumerable pilgrims travelling to the holy places (Rome or Santiago de Compostela), highlighting that the names of the localities, monasteries and hospices preserved the memory of their journeys. However, he did not forget to cover the evolution of Roman roads through the Middle Ages, during which period «on the uplands dominating the road, the castles rose to benefit from it, rather than protect it. […] The life of the Roman road, recorded in medieval documents, often allows the researcher to find its path» (Grenier, 1937, p. 28).

The English historian Frank Merry Stenton published a paper in the «*Economic History Review*» based on the organisation of medieval roads, without

missing the connections between Roman influences and the modern period. He discussed that little was known about British Roman roads arguing that although «it is certainly correct to speak of the road-system of Roman Britain, much of its detail is still obscure» (Stenton, 1936, p. 1). However, he immediately moved to the medieval context and it is from the Norman conquest period (11th century) that the author got to the heart of the research, a period in which there is hardly any direct evidence of the roads. Although there were innumerable references to short lengths of road bordering the properties with which the documents deal, these references never indicate the towns or villages between which these roads ran (Stenton, 1936, p. 2). Nonetheless, rather than the main important pre-medieval sources which the most of the scholars referred to, Stenton endorsed both the medieval and post-medieval sources such as John Ogilby's map of Britannia (1675). Since one of his main subjects of interest was to gain an understanding of the distances and the times of journey between each stage, Stenton mainly addressed his studies on travellers' itineraries, such as the journeys of Henry III (1207-1272) and Edward I (1239-1307), and towards more recent sources: the already mentioned Ogilby's map, John Leland's Itinerary (1535-1543), William of Worcester's travel notes (15th century) and lastly, but very important, the Gough map (*13th-14th centuries). Stenton accepted that the Gough map, a late medieval map whose precise date of production and authorship are unknown, and which depicts the entire island of Great Britain has inaccuracies and misrepresentations. But he stated that «it is impossible to study his work intensively without admiration for the minuteness of his knowledge of England. There can be no question that his object was to produce a map which should be of practical value to travellers» (Stenton, 1936, p. 7). However, he argued that concerning the distances, in the business documents which are the chief materials for medieval routes, it was not easy to find records of journeys expressed in terms of miles (*ibidem*, p. 13) and furthermore much inevitably depended on the way in which a traveller was mounted, on the possibility of obtaining relays of horses, and on the weather conditions prevailing at the time of his ride (*ibidem*, p. 16). In his conclusion, Stenton expressed the probability that, with few exceptions, certain roads, such as the royal itineraries, were already ancient when the medieval traffic began. This includes stretches of prehistoric ridgeway, Roman roads which survived the collapse of Roman administration and track-ways, generally of indeterminable date,

which had once led through woodlands or across wastes. Overall he thought «there is very little evidence of deliberate road-making in medieval England» (*ibidem*, p. 6).

«Nevertheless, with all its defects, the road-system of medieval England provided alternative routes between many pairs of distant towns, united port and inland market, permitted regular if not always easy communication between the villages of a shire and the county town which was its head, and brought every part of the country within a fortnight's ride of London» (*ibidem*, p. 21).

Three years later, Geoffrey Boumphrey (1939) provided the first of a series of British studies that dealt with roads in the widest possible way, attempting to cover road history from the Prehistoric period to the modern day. With respect to the Roman age, he summarised known information on construction techniques, for instance reporting the road layers (Boumphrey, 1939, p. 49). At the same time, he claimed that «a comparison between the main trunk roads of today and those of Roman Britain will show how closely the two correspond» (*ibidem*, p. 51). He did not omit to mention pilgrimage as a prominent feature of medieval roads, and he compared this phenomenon to the modern habit of holiday touring (*ibidem*, p. 69). Concerning the exploitation of waterways in Middle Ages, he claimed that there was a certain amount of traffic on the rivers and, whenever possible, heavy loads were conveyed by water (*ibidem*, p. 69); a statement which is in line with Italian opinion on the use of waterways in Italy, but that opposes Stenton's view that:

«All the evidence suggests, in fact, that for the ordinary medieval traveller, the waterways of England were never more than an occasional supplement to a road-system which on the whole was sufficient to his need» (Stanton, 1936, p. 20).

Lastly, it is appropriate to take into account the link between the study of courtly literature in relation to road and pilgrimage themes, as well as the association with travel literature of the early 1900s. Joseph Bédier, a French philologist, linked, during his travels in the footsteps of the ancient heroes, the knightly traditions, «*chansons de geste*» (Bédier, 1908-1913), with itineraries and pilgrimages. In fact, it does so with an elegant phrase still famous today: «*Au commencement était la route* […]» («In the beginning it was the road») (Cardini, 1996, p. 156). Hilaire Belloc, the British-French writer and historian, already strongly influenced by the Catholic faith, set out on a pilgrimage from central France to Rome and then published his travel report with sketches and descriptions of places

and people he met (Belloc, 1902). A decade later he produced a new volume on the ancient road from Winchester to Canterbury (Belloc, 1911).

The culture of pilgrimage, both symbolically as a living representation of the earthly condition of «*homo viator*» and as a "place" for setting stories, played an important role in the proliferation of medieval and knightly literature particularly in Italy and Great Britain. In Dante's «*Divine Comedy*» (1308-1320) pilgrimage becomes a symbolically important theme from the biographical point of view with respect to his condition of exile. But it is a dimension that runs on multiple levels in all three of the poet's great "journeys", where it emerges mainly in «*Purgatory*» since pilgrimage becomes the expression of a penitential experience (Ledda, 2012). Another milestone is Chaucer's «*The Canterbury Tales*» (1387-1400), in which a group of pilgrims travels from London to Canterbury, a sort of storytelling in which the pilgrimage does not only act as a container but it represents the *raison d'etre* for the stories told (Reiss, 1970, p. 296). With respect to the English literature, one of the most significant religious works is represented by Bunyan's «*The Pilgrim's Progress from This World, to That Which Is to Come*» (1678), in which pilgrimage operates as a narrative structure and as a hermeneutic approach to life and writings (Davies, Owens, 2018).

Overall, the studies made in these forty years of the first half of the 20th century confirmed a general movement of interest towards the medieval epoch. In fact, while interest in Roman roads continued, the number of publications about Medieval roads grew substantially. A presumable motivation was the discovery of many archival documents; sources that are able to enlarge knowledge of certain paths and connect them to territorial features, even if in many cases they do not provide a direct reference to the roads. Furthermore, the topics covered were not only related to the main arterial roads, but the scholars took advantage of those roads to orient and develop their studies in local cases (Sforza, 1904; Rajna, 1912; Sardi, 1914; Palmieri, 1918; Fatini, 1922; Vezzi, 1923; Pesciolini, 1933; Guicciardini, 1939).

II.III. From '40s to '80s: the strengthening of road studies and the epistemological framing

The Danish historian Johan Plesner (1896-1938) died the year before his book «*Una rivoluzione stradale del dugento*» («A 13th century road revolution») was published (Plesner, 1979). Thomas Szabò wrote that it has become a classic on the history of Italian roads (Szabò's postscript in Plesner, 1979, pp. III-XIV). Plesner was passionate about art, and this is what probably brought him to Florence, where he decided to address his studies in history and where he carried out his master's thesis. Once back in Denmark, he completed his studies and became a Professor. By the time his book was translated into Italian, road studies already had a long tradition. The scholars, mainly engaged in Roman and medieval roads, began with the premise that the late antiquity road network had remained in use until the Middle Ages and that it had constituted the basis of the road system. This continuity from antiquity and Middle Ages allowed Plesner to consider the overall layout of the arterial roads as well as certain regional main paths or the road network of a precise case study (*ibidem*, pp. III-XIV). As has been seen already, these investigations were mainly related to direct sources (such as *Itinerarium Antonini* and *Tabula Peutingeriana* and diary sources) of the major roads, so that it was possible to follow the direction through each leg that was reported.

Plesner's principal finding was that parish churches had a substantial and ancient link with the road management, a conclusion led by his innovative approach of the study of infrastructural maintenance (mainly the bridges) from the second half of the 13th century (Plesner, 1978, pp. 70-74). In his thesis, the rural parish churches appeared along the major roads in a close relationship with the pre-existing "road districts", an ancient institution with the aim of maintaining both roads and bridges. The parish church was melded with those districts to the point that the religious system took over the districts' functions. Thus, Plesner came to the conclusion that the parish churches would have developed a double function: on the one hand to cure souls and on the other hand to maintain roads and bridges of a defined territory (*ibidem*, p. 68).

With respect to this theory, Szabò, at first, wrote that, with other scholars, they had to reject this hypothesis for the lack of direct documentation (*ibidem*, pp. III-XIV). But gradually during the 1980s and 1990s Tuscan scholars began to

revise their critical position (Szabò, 1992). Nonetheless, he also argued that, if reviewed, the «road districts» can replace the well documented «*pagus*» (a rural territorial district), because Plesner did not mention «*magistri pagorum*», from which however he takes his cue by Guido Mengozzi (1973); and hence the hypothesis according to which the parish churches, established in place of the «*pagi*», inherited their organisation and territory guaranteeing their survival.

However, the term «revolution» referred to the road relocation, from the hill to the level ground, due to the successful reclamation of land in the Arno and Ema valleys (*ibidem*, p. 92). Thus, Plesner's revolution was limited to these areas and could not be generalised across Tuscany since in many areas it was not until the 21st century that flooding problems were solved. An example is parts of the Maremma in Grosseto province once crossed by the ancient *Via Aurelia* (Porcelloni, 2017b). But overall we can agree with Szabò that Plesner's work was distinguished by its innovation in the approach, method and results (Szabò's postscript in Plesner 1978, pp. III-XIV).

The study of diary sources continued in this period. An interesting case is provided by an American Professor, Magoun Jr (1985-1979), who lived in England and served in the British Royal Flying Corps. He was a seminal figure in the study of medieval and English literature, and published a paper on the itinerary of Philip II, who travelled in 1191 (Magoun, 1942). He related this diary to other notable diaries, in particular the Sigeric, Munkatvera and Albert of Stade's travels (Maguon 1942, p. 367).

Micro-territorial studies also continued and in Tuscany, Manfredo Giuliani made notable contributions to the medieval history, including roads, of Lunigiana. By retrieving the studies of Giovanni Sforza, he widened understandings of the road network on the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines (Giuliani, 1952, 1959). His studies continue to be a point of reference for that part of the territory. This period also saw the development of interest in road studies. In fact, the geographer Elio Migliorini placed the «Geography of roads and means of communication» under a wider approach, not only related to economic geography but also to religious, bellicose, politic, emotional, spiritual and touristic features (Migliorini, 1951, pp. 5-6).

This is also the period in which a milestone for the medieval history and the history of roads was published: «Feudal society», by the French historian Marc

Bloch (1886-1944)[7]. The Italian edition was not published until 1949, while in English it was translated much later (1962). Jacques Le Goff produced many contributions in which the importance of communication routes and pilgrimage was recognised from the cultural point of view (see Chapter IV). He also emphasised the importance of socio-economic factors, starting with merchants and bankers as protagonists of a commercial revolution between the 11th and 13th centuries (Le Goff, 1956).

Bloch introduced a long and deep discussion, supported by specific sources and cases, about the materiality and the management of roads, nomadism and travellers, cultural and commercial trades. All of this was used to introduce the economy and the culture of Middle Ages, which could not be explained and understood properly without a clear knowledge of the road network (Bloch, 1953, p. 111).

It is in the chapter «modes of feeling and thought» that Bloch examines in depth road characteristics (*ibidem*, pp. 115-120). He developed some ideas that influenced many international scholars through both the 20th and 21st century, which will be reported in the following chapters. Of particular value is his innovative definition of the «multitude of small channels» that will be employed innumerable times, especially by the historian Giuseppe Sergi (1997, 2000):

«Mainly, from departure to arrival, the traveller had the choice of several routes, none of which was absolutely essential. The circulation, in a word, was not channelled following some large artery; it was distributed capriciously in a multitude of small channels» (Bloch, p. 118).

Furthermore, he investigated road changes between the Roman and the medieval period, highlighting that the Roman ones were built less solidly than was once thought (Bloch, p. 115). He also compared sea, river and road travel times (Bloch, p. 116). He noted that the clerical life encouraged travel not only by ministers and educated monks, but also by humble and poor travellers, such as fugitives, farmers and pilgrims, whose religious mentality encouraged travel (Bloch, p. 118).

The middle of the 20th century was also the period of the beginning of new archaeological approaches to roads. In fact, while aerial photography had

[7] The first French edition, which was divided into two volumes: 1939. *La Société féodale*, vol. 1: *La Formation des liens de dépendance.* Albin Michel; 1940. *La Société féodale*, vol. 2: *Les Classes et le gouvernement des hommes.* Albin Michel.

already been applied in the 19th century, especially in Italy by Giacomo Boni's pioneering work on the Roman Forum (Ceraudo, Boschi, 2009), one of the first times it was applied to ancient roads was in 1955, by the archaeologist and Professor in Roman topography Giuseppe Lugli (1890-1967). He employed photogrammetry to study of the less well known, at that time, tract of *Via Appia* in the Puglia region (from Gravina to Taranto). In doing so he compared his interpretations with the archaeological finds and with the itineraries reported in the *Burdigalense* and *Antonini itineraria* and in the Peutinger Table. This approach revealed important discoveries, for instance a perfect grid that was not reported in any map and that was surely related to the Roman centuriation, in which the continuation of the road had not previously been identified (Lugli, 1955, p. 13).

In the same period John Perkins, a British archaeologist who was President of the British School at Rome (1945-1974) developed his studies about the main roads that led north from Rome into Etruria (1957) using topographical data including aerial photography to supplement classical itineraries (Perkins, 1957, p. 144). Five years later he published a further article (1962) covering an extended period (from the Etruscan to Middle Ages and some contemporary features) and from a wider point of view. In fact, Perkins considered the geographical approach. In this period ancient roads were surely considered highly relevant to improve historical understandings but they were not contemplated as touristic attractions. The Italian Touring Club, established in 1894 in Milan with the aim of promoting Italian tourism, only referred to modern roads as a means to move between recommended places (Touring Club Italiano, 1952, p. 11).

The second half of the 20th century has been a highly prolific period at an international level for road studies, in which the main countries involved were Italy, the United Kingdom and France. Continuously and increasingly, ancient roads have been the main topic of the research not only from a material point of view, but also cultural and economic. Indeed, the study of communication and transport systems has been addressed by historical-economic research, which has offered valuable contributions (Day, 1973; Postan, 1982).

The Italian economic historian Roberto Lopez (1910-1986) provided important theories regarding medieval trade. He was based in the USA and published a paper about the evolution of roads and transport from the beginning to the end of Middle Ages (Lopez, 1956). Furthermore, Lopez discussed the

controversial, and for a long time debated, topic of continuity and discontinuity between Roman and medieval roads, providing different point of view and stating that «It is true that many late medieval and modern roads follow the same routes as Roman ones, especially in Italy and England» (*ibidem*, 1956, p. 20). With respect to this argument, Szabò provided an important historiographic contribution since: «The depth of the imprint left by Antiquity was evaluated by scholars in various ways, whether it was discussed by the archaeological point of view or by the ancient history, or from the point of view of the Middle Ages and the transformations that survived in that era» (Szabò, 1992, pp. 15-16).

While the contents will be discussed in the following chapters, here it is possible to report a summary of the Szabò's writings (1992, pp. 17-18) concerning the stances of different scholars between the 30s and 80s towards the thesis of road continuity: Albert Grenier (1934), Ferdinando Castagnoli (1971), Ivan Dujcev (1983), Brian Paul Hindle (1982), F. Imberdis (1939), Jean Hubert (1959), Robert-Henri Bautier (1960), J. Mesqui (1980), B. P. Hindle (1982).

According to Szabò, the focus oriented towards ancient routes was modest, except for a few isolated cases, until the 1960s; for instance, Prunai (1966-67) and later Salvini were able to establish the location of a formerly unidentified «*mansio*» on the Sigeric's itinerary (Salvini, 1974). In the following decade it is possible to notice evidence of a new interest on the topic, whose outlines, from then on, were increasingly defined (Szabò,1992, pp. 9-10).

At the end of 60s, the Italian Motorway Society (Autostrade per l'Italia S.p.A., established in 1950) commissioned research by the Italian historian Daniele Sterpos about Roman roads (1969). In doing so, Sterpos reported the rich descriptive sources of the Roman architectures along the roads (bridges, viaducts, incisions and walls, tunnels, milestones, archways). He also pointed out that for each existing road, the necessary prerequisite has been the definition of the layout (Sterpos, 1969, p. 9). This work and others (Sterpos, 1964, 1971, 1975, 1977), and even more the commission in itself, represent the beginning of the interest and the involvement in ancient roads by institutions. After Sterpo's death in 1998 a conference was held in Florence in his memory and the proceedings edited by Renato Stopani and Fabrizio Vanni were published in 1999.

At this conference the archaeologist Giovanni Uggeri argued that «Daniele Sterpos, despite not being an archaeologist or a topographer, has been able to

make millions of Italians discover, learn and love the Roman roads» (Uggeri in Stopani, Vanni, 1999, p. 9). At the same time, Fabrizio Vanni remembered that the Motorway Society was the commissioner, hence Sterpos always had to orient his employer towards the road history (Vanni in *ibidem,* p. 194). Renato Stopani, conferred the credit to Sterpos of being the initiator of the history of medieval roads because, except for a few micro-territorial studies, this topic was rarely approached from a supra-regional perspective: actually, studies on the medieval road history in Italy were practically non-existent (Stopani in *ibidem*, p. 73).

The 1970s also saw some important conferences on transport history. Fernand Braudel and Federico Melis, organised a meeting at Prato on «*Trasporti e sviluppo economico, secoli XIII-XVIII*» in 1973. In 1984, Rinaldo Combs and other of his colleagues organised in Cuneo a meeting entitled «*Strade medievali. Dall'archeologia alla storia*» and, two years later, in 1986, Farinelli, Monti and Sergi edited a booklet dedicated to «Communication routes and power» (1986). Moreover, concerning other countries, in 1980 in Flaran (France), Charles Higounet promoted a conference about «*L'homme et la route en Europe occidentale au Moyen Age et aux Temps modernes*»; the meetings fostered between 1980 and 1983 by the Academy Commission of Gottinga Science, in Germany, for the «Study of Antiquity in the Central and Northern Europe» and dedicated to «Trade and traffic from prehistory to 11th century»; the conference about «*Les routes du Sud de la France de l'Antiquata à l'Epoque contemporaine*», organised in 1985 by the French Sociétés Savantes; the international conference that took place in Piacenza in 1997 «*Ponti, navalestri e guadi. La via Francigena e l'attraversamento dei corsi d'acqua nel Medioevo*» in which Szabò intervened with «*I ponti tra Antichità e Medioevo. Il rimodellamento di una struttura organizzativa*». In this context, it is relevant to include the first congresses about the history of hospitality: «*Primo Congresso italiano di storia ospitaliera*», 14-17 June 1956 in Reggio Emilia and «*Primo Congresso europeo di storia ospitaliera*», 6-12 June 1960 in Reggio Emilia.

Fernand Braudel (1902-1985) was one of the most important 20th century French historians. Braudel equated the role of roads with the other historical features enough to dedicate a chapter to «The human unity: roads and cities, cities and roads» (Braudel, 1972, pp. 289-344), in which he wrote a history of cities and the development of civilisations in relation to the roads and therefore of mobility and trades, both cultural and economic, also including the issue of navigation. He

argued that «there is not city without market and neither roads: they nourish by movement. […] Each city is made of movement that swallows, stops to its advantage, then relaunches» (*ibidem*, p. 330), Braudel, together with Marc Bloch (1953), established the relevance of roads as an essential component of the human history.

In the meantime, studies on Roman roads were being developed in the USA (Hagen, 1967), without really adding any innovative approach or result except that they were considered as monuments:

«The most enduring monuments are those ubiquitous, those overwhelming Roman roads. It is the massive grandeur of these stone-laid highways which lead out to the most remote horizons which is Rome's monument» (Hagen, 1967, p. 16).

The archaeologist Christopher Taylor published a book with the aim of depicting the British road system from the prehistoric trackways to the modern period (1979). It is interesting to notice that in his introduction he claimed that the literature on roads history was already plentiful:

«More has been written about roads and tracks than perhaps about any other aspect of the Britain landscape and another book on the subject might seem to be superfluous» (Taylor, 1979, p. IX).

He used a wide variety of sources depending on the period. For the prehistoric one he made use of aerial photography to identify trackways and settlements showed as a crop mark (*ibidem*, p. 51). He noted the difficulty in finding information about Saxon roads compared to the larger number of documents from the Norman conquest onwards (*ibidem*, p. 111). There is an important analogy with the overall European medieval context in arguing that medieval roads were often of poor quality and that any movement along medieval roads was uncomfortable at best and unbelievably difficult at worst, but with the exception of some important bridges (*ibidem*, pp. 150-151). He reported the well-known Gough Map and he examined the royal letters and writs, constantly issued by the kings of England as they moved around the countryside.

Moreover, it has to be highlighted that he identified a heritage value in roads and an idea of continuity through all the investigated period: «Finally the heritage of roads is still about us and not as interesting historical monuments, or pleasant walks, but as a vital part of twentieth-century life. Container lorries, bound

for the continent, still use prehistoric trackways, long-distance coaches continue to hurtle along Roman roads; many farms depend on medieval lanes to reach their land. The history of roads is not the study of the dead past but of the living present» (*ibidem*, pp. XIV).

Paul Hindle, a historical geographer, has published several books on ancient road issues (1972, 1976, 1982, 1993, 1998, 2001, 2008). Hindle's first book (1972) was a critical analysis of the Roman road network in Britain in consideration of T. R. B. Dick's work. Following this, he published a work on medieval roads in England and Wales (1976), claiming that «there are only a handful of articles and books dealing in any detail with the medieval road network» (Hindle, 1976, p. 208) and that only Stenton's article (1936) remains a comprehensive study of the road network in medieval England, a work that has been debated in the previous chapter (1.2). In fact, as well as Stenton, Hindle argued on this topic mainly through cartographic evidence (Gough and Paris maps) and by the royal itineraries.

In 1982, Hindle edited a book on medieval roads in which he enlarged the utilised sources (travels in medieval times, archaeological evidences, documents, maps, studies on individual roads the road) and he directly addressed his gratitude to Richard Bagshawe's work («*Roman roads*», 1979) and to «*The Journal of Transport History*»[8]. He argued that «roads must have formed the backbone of the transport system. And yet it is curious that so little has been written about these roads which were so fundamental to England's economic growth» (Hindle, 1982, p. 5). In his opinion, the reason of this lack of information available for the medieval period is that:

«Virtually no new roads were constructed during this period. […] There was already a road system in existence, the eight or ten thousand miles of Roman roads. […] As we shall see, many of these roads remained in use, providing a basic network. But many of the new towns of medieval England, such as Oxford, Coventry or Plymouth, were not on Roman roads and so new roads must have been needed to serve them, as well as the myriad villages in between» (*ibidem*, p. 6).

It is this thesis of continuity between Roman and medieval roads that was previously reported by Szabò (1992) and that, at the same time, clashes and aligns with other scholars' hypotheses.

[8] The journal was established at the University of Leicester in 1954. It is now published by Sage.

Overall, it is clear how the approach towards road studies has changed and strongly increased over these 50 years just considered. Many scholars, from different disciplines and countries, established the importance of the ancient route network. Moreover, all this ferment allowed for the deeper development of road studies in the following years.

II.IV. "Route Archaeology"

This section focusses on the development of "Route Archaeology" with specific reference to the following Regions, from north to south: Liguria, Tuscany, Lazio, Puglia. By the 80s a proper methodology of research on communication road networks has begun to be developed, in particular through the analysis of the circulation of material culture or the reconstruction of road routes within the settlement studies. However, lately, the studies were addressed directly on road artefacts, with the aim of explaining the history of transport, trades and social relations between power structures and roads. Likewise, in the United Kingdom, the archaeologist Richard Morris, edited a work on the archaeological and architectural resources in relation to the road in a wide chronological spectrum. For Morris «virtually all of the many different archaeological techniques can and often need to be used in the study the road network» and, more broadly, «landscape archaeology can assess the position of the road in the landscape and its effect on the settlements on its route or, conversely, the effect of settlements on the road» (Morris, 2005, p. 12). In this respect, in Italy, one of the first impulse for the "Route Archaeology" was given by Tiziano Mannoni (1928-2010), an exponent of the Ligurian archaeological academy:

«The path itself, with its variants, regardless of any structures carried out in it, cannot on the other hand be dated by direct archaeological methods, but only by means of written sources, or the topographical study of the settlements linked to it, while direct methods can be applied to individual works. […] The structural components of the road, pavement and artworks, can be the object of at least two methods of archaeological dating: the first is based on the typological criteria inherent in the techniques and materials used; the second on the stratigraphic excavation» (Mannoni, 1983, pp. 214-215).

This aspect of road archaeology had already been discussed by Ferrando Cabona at the end of the 70s through ISCUM (Istituto di Storia della Cultura Materiale, 1976[9]) (Panetta, 2010, p. 138). These studies made it possible to highlight the organisation of trades in the Middle Ages, so that it is possible to better understand what effect the road management had had on the territorial organisation, especially in the rural context. In the 90s, Mannoni continued the studies by his declared methodology (Mannoni, 1993) in which the general view looked at ancient routes as a cultural heritage that needs to be protected (this will be discussed in the following chapter). A few years later, still from the Ligurian University, Aurora Cagnana has carried out Mannoni's studies, with further developments (Cagnana, 1996). She underlined the necessity of discovering which productive culture was at the basis of each itinerary and which architectural features were connected to the land transit. All this established the main role of the Route Archaeology. At the same time, Cagnana restated the precondition of a comparison with data produced by historical and geomorphological research (*ibidem*, 1996, pp. 71-73). In recent times, in the same Region, this archaeological approach pulled together the «road area» concept by Alessandro Panetta (2010) – already suggested by Giuseppe Sergi (it will be argued successively) – for a modern case study in the Ligurian Apennines. He remarked upon the importance of the structures linked to trades, which are classifiable in three categories: command structures, accommodating structures, road segments (Panetta, 2010, pp. 138-139).

Both from Tuscany and Lazio, significant contributions were provided by archaeologists Giovanni Uggeri and Stella Patitucci. The first one specialised in the topographical research, in fact he combined geomorphological knowledge with toponymy and aerial photography in order to investigate the relationship between settlements and road networks (1974, 1978, 1994, 2000). Stella Patitucci has focussed her ancient road studies on the medieval epoch, especially with respect to via Francigena in Tuscany (2002, 2004). Uggeri and Patitucci also published a paper together, in which they identified ancient routes by using an interdisciplinary methodology (Patitucci, Uggeri, 2007). This makes use of disparate sources: the geomorphological context; the written sources; the tracks, the artefacts and the infrastructures connected with the road; the settlement fabric linked by the road;

[9] The Institute of History of Material Culture is an association founded in 1976 with the aim to coordinate and foster the research and didactics in the History of Cultural Material. http://www.iscum.it/2015/10/27/la-nostra-storia/

the toponymy. Furthermore, in this view by which each element requires a complementary approach, they also mentioned the importance of GIS in order to comprehend the human and natural elements set in the landscape and in history as a whole (*ibidem*, 2007, p. 324).

At the University of Siena there has been a focus on specific and local case studies. Riccardo Chellini, an archaeologist specialised in ancient topography, has published most of his road studies about the territory both Florentine and Sienese and the network road between these two cities. In doing so, he mainly referred to archival documentation (1999, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2009). From the same university, the archaeological interest is placed on the southern Tuscan area, in the Grosseto Maremma, where Carlo Citter has investigated Roman and Medieval roads looking at the ecclesiastical structures (Citter, 2002) and by GIS analysis emphasizing continuity, starting from the Bronze Age, of the network of local connections (Citter, 2019).

In Siena, contributions of interests on via Francigena are carried out by Marco Valenti, Professor in medieval archaeology. The first one was in 1996, when the achievements of the digs carried out in the Poggibonsi area (Siena) and the material analysis (coins and pottery) were supported by the employment of both GIS and 3D tools. Furthermore, his studies concerned the Buonconvento municipality (Siena), with particular reference to the former Santa Cristina in Caio church by the side of via Francigena (Valenti, 2012, p. 2). Again, concerning the studies of Poggibonsi, the economic dimension of the ancient *Podium Bonizi* is emphasised as a characteristic that made it a relevant stage along via Francigena (Valenti, Causarano, 2011, p. 86). The results of this study were also presented in 2011 in the International Conference «*Le Vie della Cultura. I percorsi storici di pellegrinaggio. Progettazione, gestione, salvaguardia*»[10] («The Paths of Culture. The historical pilgrimage routes. Planning, management, safeguard»), showing a definite interest in cultural projects for the management of medieval roads. Recently, he connected Saint Cristina's investigation with the trades along a secondary branch of *Via Cassia* and its evolution until the path became part of via Francigena, with the use of GIS tools for the network and spatial analysis (Bertoldi, Salvia, Valenti, 2017).

[10] 14th July 2011, Siena, Complesso Museale Santa Maria della Scala: «*Indagini archeologiche lungo la Via Francigena: i siti di Santa Cristina (Buonconvento-SI) e di Castiglioncello del Trinoro (Sarteano-SI)*» (Marco Valenti and Marie-Ange Causarano).

Franco Cambi (1996a, 1996b), also at Siena, has studied aspects of the ancient landscape that are not directly linked to the Francigena road network, but which are inevitably involved in the landscape as a whole and therefore depicted in its possible branches (Cambi, 2003, p. 45). Again with respect to the passages and viability of the Sienese area, there is the archaeological map updated to 2004 in which the road network is depicted more broadly since the Roman period (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004).

An extensive work on Roman roads was edited by two archaeologists, Lorenzo Quilici (Bologna) and Stefania Quilici Gigli (Naples), both Professors of ancient topography. They gathered many contributes related to case studies on architecture and roads of Roman Italy (2004). From the University of Bologna, Pier Luigi Dall'Aglio has carried out numerous studies on archaeology of roads. Initially, during the 90s, the studies focused mainly on the Roman road system, also with Quilici and Quilici Gigli (Dall'Aglio, 1992), with particular reference to Emilia-Romagna (Dall'Aglio, 1998). Subsequently, the interest has shifted towards the Early Middle Ages and therefore on the via Francigena in the area of passage between Parma and the Lunigiana, in Tuscany (Dall'Aglio, 1998), in particular on the contrasting relationship between the road network in ancient and medieval times (Dall'Aglio, 2002), precisely by virtue of their nature, but which finds a substantial continuity of the Roman road network up to the late ancient world. On one hand, in fact, there is the Roman itinerant organisation based on the uniqueness of the road layout and the hierarchy between the various routes, on the other hand the structural poverty and naturalness of the medieval road (Dall'Aglio, 2005, p. 180).

In Lazio, more precisely Viterbo, Elisabetta de Minicis, in the first decade of the 21st century, continued the approach of Mannoni (1983) and Cagnana (1996) to develop a methodology for route archaeology (De Minicis, 2012). Beside the cultural, economic and political aspects that influence the medieval road entity, she has enriched the investigation through four main road archaeological sources: physical structure; type of paving; analysis of complementary works; structures of road management (*ibidem*, pp. 9-11). Particularly relevant for my research is the highlight placed on variant roads, as well as the concept of «bundle of roads» (already introduced by Stopani, 2000) as a phenomenon that is usually found in peri-urban areas. She has also published a contribution on rocky roads (literally

"empty roads") in *Tuscia* and their continuity in the medieval period (De Minicis, 2016) and on the evolution of roads in Vetralla area (Viterbo), from the Etruscan origins, the Roman conquest and the medieval epoch, with specific reference to via Francigena (De Minicis, 2016).

Finally, in Puglia, archaeologists of the Department of Cultural Goods of the University of Salento (Lecce) have devised a strong tradition of research mainly based on digs and aerial photography. Fabio Piccarreta devised a manual to analyse visible tracks using aerial photography (Piccarreta, 1987, pp. 115-171). The archaeologist Giuseppe Ceraudo has pursued specific case studies (Ceraudo, Boschi, 2009). This has allowed him to carry out projects for the reconstruction of the main road axis of southern Italy, mainly focussed on Roman roads: *Via Appia* and *Via Traiana*. In 2008, Ceraudo published a book on the *Via Traiana* between Troia and Ordona (Foggia), as result of the «*Progetto Via Traiana*», started in 2004, as part of the LabTAF's activities (Laboratory of Ancient Topography and Photogrammetry). The aerotopographic study was focussed on the main sections, or legs, of the path, and the distances between each of them were compared with the Peutinger Table and ancient itineraries (*Antonini* and *Burdigalense*) (Ceraudo, 2008, p. 16). Furthermore, the study has followed the analysis of vertical photographies and field surveys. He updated this research with evidence from fieldwork which identified two less-known stages (Ceraudo, Ferrari, 2016). This methodology has allowed him to allay some scholars' doubts and to accurately identify many sections of *Via Traiana*, as well as the connection with the settlements. So far, the same Laboratory has managed 13 topographical campaigns along *Via Traiana* and I took part in the last one in 2019[11].

In conclusion, along the Italian peninsula, it is possible to claim that from the 80s a new tradition of archaeological studies of ancient roads has been developed. While the first important input was given by the Ligurian University, many other academies, from north to south, have studied routes using different approaches and various case studies. Most of the scholars applied their methodology towards a specific, and usually restricted, territory and to a well-defined historical period. A characteristic that diverges from most of the archaeological British studies debated on the previous chapter (Taylor, 1979; Hindle, 1976, 1982, 1991, 2001, 2008; Morris, 2005), in which the territorial focus

[11] «XIII campagna di ricognizioni topografiche», part of «*Progetto Via Traiana*».

was referred to a national scale and the chronological target was addressed to a much wider period. Overall, the archaeological contributions confer more detailed knowledge of ancient and medieval roads, but also set up a series of methodologies that allow us to acknowledge the validity of road studies.

II.V. From the '80s to nowadays: the spread of publications and the oversaturation of roads

In the previous sections I have shown how studies of medieval roads have strengthened and multiplied; we have seen both micro-territorial detailed investigations and multidisciplinary manuals acknowledging the relevance of the topic. However, it is from the '80s that a proper methodology began to be established and stabilised. Moreover, also in Italy the subject of medieval roads (with particular reference to the via Francigena) became of greater national interest through the lively participation of national and European organisations (MiBACT, ICOMOS, Council of Europe, UNESCO). Medieval roads, chiefly the pilgrimage ones (Camino de Santiago and Via Francigena), became tools, bastions, to develop a new form of tourism and to cross national borders in order to achieve greater European identity. The consequence was a spread of publications, not only of a geographical and historical sort, but also from a socio-touristic point of view, both scientific and popular.

Conferences and study days have enhanced the topic of ancient roads, travellers, and mobility even recouping older events and texts. Eminent scholars, from various disciplines, have made significant contributions. Among them, the economist Armando Sapori (1983), who was invited by Lucien Febvre in 1984 to give four lectures at the École Pratique des Hautes-Études, and Federigo Melis (Frangioni, 1984), whose miscellany work was published posthumously in honour of his studies.

An important preliminary collective work, was organised by the Dipartimento di Progettazione dell'Architettura del Politecnico di Milano, published in 1993 (Boriani, Cazzani) as result of a 1992 conference entitled «*Itinerari storici. Un patrimonio da salvare*» («Historical itineraries. A heritage to save»). This indicated that the concept of routes was extended:

«A road, a communication way, was above all a place of cultural production, of ideation, exchange and diffusion of practices and material products, of spirituality, of languages» (Marcarini in Boriani, Cazzani, 1993, p. 17).
In parallel with the Via Francigena, an early development occurred about the Santiago de Compostela pilgrimage route, an itinerary that was acknowledged with two relevant steps: in 1987 it was declared the first Cultural Route of Europe; in 1993 it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Generally, it can be stated that the Santiago de Compostella path mainly attracted research on pilgrimage, within its components of travel and spirituality, rather than the materiality of the road or spatial dynamics.

Paolo Giuseppe Caucci von Saucken, Professor in Spanish Literature and Chancellor of the «Confraternita di San Jacopo di Compostella»[12], is the leading historian of the route. His first work on the topic was in 1971 and the Confraternita was founded in 1981, mainly to deal with the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostella as well as other routes, and it also publishes the magazine «*Finisterre*», which collects travel memories, guides and essays about the spirituality of pilgrimage, and the magazine «*Compostella*». In 1982 the «Centro Italiano di Studi Compostellani» was founded to jointly coordinate the studies. Caucci (1985, 1987) also arranged many conferences. He wrote about historiography and the main pilgrimage travels, such as one of the most ancient that is the 5th Book of the «*Codex Calixtinus*» (known as «*Guìa del peregrino*», year 1150 roughly), which was first disclosed in 1944 (Whitehill, Prado, 1994, quoted in Caucci, 1983, p. 9), the same period in which the first studies seem to appear (Apraiz, 1938, 1941; Farinelli, 1942; Arevalo, 1944) as Caucci also reported in 1993.

He summarised the origins and development of the Santiago pilgrimage and the Italian pilgrimage to Santiago by the use of various Italian texts (Caucci, 1984, pp. 67-183). In 1989, he wrote on the 5th Book of «*Liber Sancti Jacobi*» («*Codex Calixtinus*»), which was dealt also by Diaz y Diaz (1987) two years earlier and proposed again in 1992 (Williams, Stones) in an extended collection of various contributions. Furthermore, there was the occasion of the Jubilee in 2000 where the whole focus was pointed towards Rome and, for this reason, Caucci published «*Il mondo dei pellegrinaggi. Roma, Santiago, Gerusalemme*» (1999). Ten years later (Caucci, Asolan, 2009), a book in the form of an interview was published that highlighted

[12] http://www.confraternitadisanjacopo.it/

the importance of the «*Annales Stadenses*»[13] to witness the pilgrimage as a practice already widespread. He compared the Camino de Santiago to the Via Francigena, in which the author acknowledged the relevance of the second path since it allows people to reach many of the most important sacred destinations, not only Santiago: «the connotation of pilgrimage route belongs entirely to the Francigena» (Caucci, 2009, pp. 136-137).

A relevant contribution on the sacredness of routes and pilgrimage in a wider context was instigated in France by Oursel (1963). In Italy, Franco Cardini, eminent medievalist, has begun to deal with roads and travellers by studying crusades (1971, 1972) never ruling out the phenomenon of pilgrimage and the identity of the pilgrim. Churches favoured movement, opened hospices, declared the protection of the pilgrim, advocated the opening and maintenance of roads and the restoration of ancient communication routes that were once again used after centuries of semi-abandonment (1972). More often the pilgrimage phenomenon has become a recurring theme to describe medieval society: «the Christian pilgrimage has a specific face and a deep oriental root, which connects it to the Jewish one and which marks Christianity with its indelible character» (Cardini, 1996, p. 89) until the most recent days (Cardini, 2019), through various European routes, shrines and an analysis of the figure of the pilgrim that can be easily extended to the contemporary one. Pilgrimage became a medieval dimension of the social life already with Jacques Le Goff, by which any man was a potential and symbolic pilgrim (1987, p. 8; 2003, 2015).

Major figures of pilgrimage within the main European destinations were described in the middle of 70s by the British historian Lord Sumption (1975). Cohen (1980) showed the relation between the popularity of certain shrines and trade routes throughout the Middle Ages. The link between pilgrimage and hospitality was strengthened by Peyer (1990). There was an increase in studies of medieval pilgrimage routes in the Christian West. They became a social issue and analysed also from the anthropological point of view by Dupront (1987), in which the history of pilgrimages and crusades incorporated psychology and sociology.

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[13] The «*Annales*» were written by Albert of Stade (c.1187-c.1260), a German monk, historian and poet, and contain a document that, in the form of a tale (a common practice in the Middle Ages), described a conversation between two friar pilgrims: Tirri and Firri. Actually, it provided several itineraries with precise data on places and distances to be crossed and also about the road conditions, for the outward and return journey from Rome. It was one of the best known guides of the 13th century.

Later, the figure of the pilgrim was extended to that of the traveller, especially by Norbert Ohler (1989) who described what travel was like during the Middle Ages in relation to major routes, minor tracks and waterways and how this had represented a great change and development for the medieval civilisation. In parallel, the study of medieval diary sources continued, such as that of the Icelandic abbot Nikolas Saemundarson (Hill, 1983) and Archbishop Sigeric (Ortenberg, 1990), whose journey legs were be used to trace the Via Francigena's Council of Europe Cultural Route (1994). More recently, since pilgrimage is a phenomenon historically present among all the major religions and with common characteristics between them (Pellissero et al., 2011), the interest aroused by pilgrimage includes the main aspects of the contemporary society, therefore as a religious practice, secular experience, and from a tourist point of view (Margry, 2008; Reader, 2015).

Ray Laurance claimed that he himself wrote a book on Roman roads in Italy due to the fact that «it is a topic that has been totally misunderstood by recent scholarship on the subject and has caused us to have a skewed view of the past in Roman Italy» (Laurence, 1999, p. 1). And again, in 2001 (Adamas, Laurence), he explored connected themes on geographical knowledge and travel in Roman world mostly by the use of well-known *itineraria adnodata* and *picta*, and afterwards the classic sources such as inscriptions, «*tabellaria*», travellers, crossed cities, ancient maps. To help overcome the apparent lack and misinterpretation of Roman roads studies the gigantic «*Barrington Atlas*» (Talbert) was published in 2000, an ambitious work that aimed to provide cartographic and descriptive tools to discover the road network in the classical antiquity.

In the arduous work to reconstruct the Roman road network, Francesco Prontera published his major book (2003) on the reinterpretation of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with geographical reference to ancient Etruria. He highlighted mistakes in the *Tabula* about the description of both physical and anthropic places and that it is «by no means complete as regards Italy and the remaining territories of the Roman Empire» (2003, p. 40). In the same year, Prontera illustrated the same ancient map with another publication (2003) and also deciphering and interpreting the graphic representations described on it.

In Tuscany, the geographer Leonardo Rombai, expert of the grand-ducal period, examined the Florentine road network using documents between 1318 and 1610 and found a basic truth in the Plesner's research:

«That between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the polarizing power of the city [Florence] determined the progressive establishment, in the Arno basin, of a radial circulation system pivoting on Florence. This was (and is!) based on direct connections with the various areas of the county [*contado*], significant evidence of the increasingly accentuated economic and political subordination of the latter» (Rombai in Ciampi, 1987, pp. 6-7). In 1992 he published a major work in two volumes (Rombai, 1992) based on documentary and iconographic research in Florentine archives and libraries and through field surveys carried out by an interdisciplinary group of the University of Florence and other specialists. In the second volume, he collected 110 studies, one for each provincial road. The individual arteries are characterised in detail as «living organisms», in their articulation and in their development. Particular attention was given to the settlements that developed as a function of the road and to road infrastructures. Thomas Szabò started his extensive research on roads with a study of the issues of road policies and transport undertaken by Italian municipalities (1986), in which he addressed the lack of interest of municipalities inroad to the «*communis opinio*, often not explicit, according to which the Roman road network would not only remain in use until the late modern age, but would continue to represent the Italian road network in its broad lines» (1986, pp. 77-78). It was therefore the base for his main work in which:

«Roads are not only an essential prerequisite for any historical development, but at the same time they represent structures whose nature is continuously and in every age subject to the transformations caused by the comparison of man with the environment» (1992, p. 15).

A broader geographical and sociological concept of mobility, especially in Britain, caused, a "new mobilities paradigm" to emerge in the context of several significant theoretical shifts, methodological developments and novel research questions and approaches (Sheller, Urry, 2006). Movements from one place to another and thus the road network, ancient or modern, become a privileged perspective for understanding human organisation of space, social relations and an extremely effective reading key for the landscape. Likewise, the geo-political perspective connectivity («*connectography*») replaces the division (borders) as a new paradigm of the global organisation providing us with a new lens to observe how

we organise ourselves as a species, how we make the use of the world (functionality) (Khanna, 2016). The formulation of a mobilities paradigm:

«enables the social world to be theorized as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects» (Urry, 2007, p. 43).

In this context the role of contemporary technologies and practices of transport and communication is reconfigured compared to how people connect with places and each other (Larsen, Urry, Axhausen, 2006). Therefore, geography as well «needs to embrace mobility» (Cresswell, Merriman, 2011, p. 1); mobilities rework places and landscapes on an ongoing and incessant basis. Landscapes change, viewpoints shift, and people inhabit and move through their surroundings in different ways (Merriman, 2009, 2012). Anthropologists as well have dealt with movements, mobility and travelling cultures (Clifford, 1997). More specifically, within pedestrianism, mobility is conceived through the act of walking as the quintessential feature of what we take to be a human form of life. In this way, walking, that is a profoundly social activity (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008), enters properly into the sphere of human sciences. And yet, it was debated on a contemporary reflection as a political and cultural activity (Solnit, 2001) and as an experience in itself that engages a self-landscape conceptualisation (Wylie, 2005). The nature trail represents a privilege device of educational and leisure activity walking in rural areas (Matless, Watkins, Merchant, 2010). In this sense, it is also necessary to take into account the interest of narrative literature on the themes of travelling, walking, pilgrimage and wandering (for instance, J. W. Goethe, H. D. Thoreau, G. Verga, R. L. Stevenson, H. Hesse, C. B. Chatwin, P. Coelho).

Returning to the plurality of approaches, the growth and diffusion of IT tools have allowed various disciplinary groups to apply innovative techniques to the study of ancient and medieval roads in relation to the characteristics of the territory. Therefore, since the early 2000s, GIS have been involved in the analysis of movements (Harris, 2000). The investigations concern the topologic relation in the «play of distances» between several settlements (Macchi, 2000) and the different strategies of social occupation of space through spatial analysis (for instance the cost-path analysis (Macchi, 2001). The computer-based GIS methodology of ancient communications networks is mostly applied on a local

scale to understand the settlement process and the human exploitation of the landscape (Tyler, Wilson, Wickham, 2002, p. 171). Archaeological and geo-morphological data are therefore the subject of various experiments with mathematical models and spatial analysis of both medieval and Roman roads (Cianciarulo, Gherdevich, 2007). These can provide an overview of the territory that neither the analysis of historical documents nor the archaeological excavation allows us to achieve. This also allows us to determine the accessibility to the territory from a given departure point but without any particular destination although, in doing so, the issue of natural pathways that arises is the tendency to a form of environmental determinism (Álvarez, 2006).

The spatial analysis of movements is also contemplated by connecting different eras on the same geographical areas (Álvarez, Oubiña, 2007; Citter, 2019), as well as between Roman roads and via Francigena (Bertoldi, 2013). Thereafter, further innovative approaches have been produced in the last decade (Verhagen, 2013; Herzog, 2014; Van Lanen et al., 2015), precisely by virtue of the dynamism of the route networks with respect to the constantly evolving environmental and cultural influences (Vletter, Van Lanen, 2018). Such modern approaches and innovative digital tools open the field to new disciplines which, starting from the geo-historical value intrinsic to the ancient road network, shift attention towards the planning of the itinerary for its development in relation to the surrounding landscape and cultural heritage.

Over the last decade, there has been a growing interest in Cultural Routes in Italy as well, large-scale investment (both in financial terms and in terms of public policies) and the proliferation of new cultural trails, not all of which have been recognised by the Council of Europe, that are found throughout the country (Beltramo, 2010, p. 355). In recent years, particularly in relation to heritage and especially in the inland areas, many development projects started from the identification of cultural routes (Campolo, Bombino, Meduri, 2016) and, as already mentioned, it is with the ICOMOS Charter (2008) that a new model of conservation of a common heritage that goes beyond national borders through human mobility was settled. The idea is to «establish the basic principles and methods of research specific to the category of Cultural Route» (ICOMOS, 2008, p. 2). Concise operational guidelines are published to better understand the key features of properties on the World Heritage List, such as «Heritage Routes», a

category whose cultural significance «comes from exchanges and a multi-dimensional dialogue across countries or regions, and that illustrate the interaction of movement, along the route, in space and time» (UNESCO, 2012, pp. 92-93).

The outlining of a common (European) cultural identity is certainly a challenge that interests European institutions, which find in cultural itineraries the ideal tool to advocate their goal regardless of barriers and borders. In this sense, the landscape, as the result of a cultural process, plays a central role, having absorbed the multicultural peculiarities of European movements and migrations. In this regard, Le Goff, in addition to his works on pilgrimage already mentioned, expressed a concept that undoubtedly has facilitated the construction of a European identity through pilgrimage routes. In fact, he argued that the via Francigena represents the clear manifestation of the cohesion and diversity of Europe (Le Goff, 1996). This is precisely due to the fact that it was a route that brought pilgrims from northern Europe to Rome, a concept expressed on the occasion of one of the first documentaries on the Francigena that saw him as a protagonist (2000).[14] And it was precisely this link between the Francigena and places near Parma that on 21 October 2000 he was conferred, with a solemn ceremony in the historic Teatro Magnani in Fidenza, honorary citizenship as a sign of gratitude for the attention given to that cathedral and the via Francigena (Romagnoli, 2004, p. 410).

Therefore, Cultural Routes provides an opportunity for collaborative research and practical projects in the field of landscape architecture (Berti in CoE, 2015, pp. 26-27) as well as in other disciplines. Indeed, the landscape acquires a key role in the experience of Cultural Routes and in 2000 the European Landscape Convention (CEP) was signed (CEP), the purposes of which «are to promote landscape protection, management and planning, and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues» (art. 3) where «Landscape means an area, as perceived by people» (art. 1). Thus, the road in general becomes a privileged means of reading the landscape: «through movement, helps us to understand its distinctive features, to better compare sensations, to attribute values» (Morelli, 2007, p. VII). Roads and road landscapes are investigated through specific frameworks to analyse and determine the complex system of heritage values, both

[14] Mazzieri Luca, Mazzieri Marco, dirs. *Strade, santi, pellegrini.* Parma: Set22 (video), 2000 (cast: Jacques Le Goff, Daniela Romagnoli).
https://fidenza-luoghi.blogspot.com/p/cronacario-elettorale.html

applied to modern automobile roads (Vileniske, Matijosaitiene, 2010) and to historical pilgrimage routes; again, to promote local tourism by activating processes of landscape planning (Serenelli et al., 2017).

Therefore, landscape assessment became a method applied in the most diverse contexts, since the road, with its surroundings, is an inherent part of the cultural landscape; not just because roads have a high impact on the territory, but also as resource through which the individual comes into contact with the landscape (Belen et al., 2016; Kołodziej, 2017).

The tradition of geo-historical studies, which carry out detailed research on the territory in various European contexts, is not completely abandoned, especially in rural areas (Delano-Smith, 2006; Porcelloni, 2017a; Letter, 2019; Procter, 2019), and these are much more sensitive to the complexity and dynamism of ancient roads, «which can be considered to be a living being; it has extensions, branches, parts that have lost their functions, and alternative routes» (Mazora, 2017, p. 82). In the general ferment, between the proliferation of studies and the political-institutional interest in Cultural Routes, pilgrimage routes such as the Via Francigena are once again being tramped along every year by a multitude of pilgrims or, more generally, travellers. The debate (Chapter VII) about pilgrims versus tourists has been one of the central research topics in pilgrimage studies over the past few decades (Polus, Carr, Walters, 2022). Pilgrimage must also be understood among the secular practices: "pop" phenomena (Reader, Walter, 1993), the magnificence of the historical heritage, as in the case of Hadrian's Wall (Breeze, 2020), and the natural features, held to be sacred since Pagan cultures, with particular concerns on trees, which for instance in modern Japan are actual shrines and have become pilgrimage destinations, as in the case Oji Inari Shrine in Japan (Watkins, 2018, p. 121). There is a need to re-examine the current definitions of pilgrimage and tourism to allow broader interpretations (Kreiner, 2019).

Nowadays, studies of modern pilgrimage have undoubtedly increased by virtue of the increase in the number of paths and pilgrims.

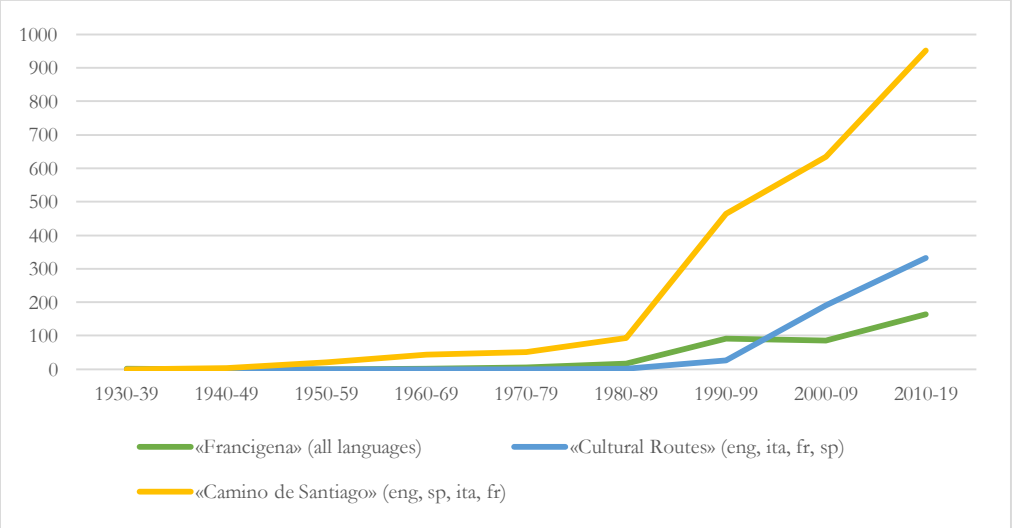


Fig.2.1. Graph showing the spread of publications (data collected through Google Scholar).

To conclude, in order to better understand the evolution of this particular literature since the 80s to date, especially over the last two decades, it is useful to take into account the institutional, social and popular vicissitudes that have undoubtedly influenced the interest and direction of the various disciplines. This is especially true of geographical studies, by virtue of the interest that the discipline has in socio-territorial transformations.

III. METHODOLOGY

Being a multi-layered investigation from medieval to contemporary mobilities, different approaches and methods were employed. Principally, for each aspect of the survey, there is a qualitative methodological basis which lies in the interaction with the environment, as the field in which the phenomena occur, and with the actors involved. In terms of the quantitative survey, however, some of the qualitative data was also reprocessed to obtain quantitative results (see the heritage database). Essentially, there were four distinct investigative phases, which are interconnected and each of them is preparatory to the next (fig. 3.1):

1) An initial approach was historical geographical, in order to establish a solid knowledge base of the areas in question, and of the complexity of the medieval road network;

2) This was followed by an interpretative analysis and census of the resources directly linked to the Via Francigena to determine an inclusive heritage strategy and thus the creation of a database;

3) A mapping and spatial analysis of the roads in relation to the heritage already surveyed and imported, geolocated, onto Geographic Information Systems (GIS);

4) An investigation into the modern phenomenon of pilgrimage along the Via Francigena as a Council of Europe Cultural Route in relation to the identified roads and heritage

This procedure enabled the geo-historical complexity of the via Francigena to be dealt with, both on a road and territorial level.

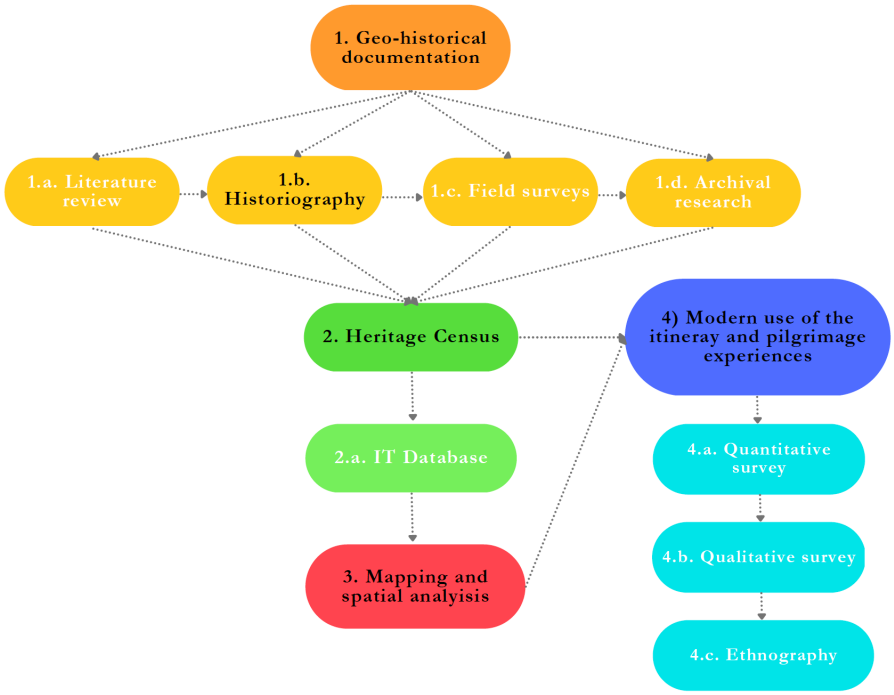


Fig. 3.1. Methodological framework.

As can be deduced from the framework, the leitmotif of the investigation is mobility: first historical (medieval) and then contemporary. The dialogue between the two realities lies as much in the chronology of events as in the challenge posed by the recent reinvention of the Via Francigena as a tourism product. The via Francigena is in fact a layered reality whose functions, hierarchies, and meanings have changed over time.

To obtain an accurate awareness of the impact on the territory generated by the flow of the Via Francigena and a consideration of the heritage involved today, I began with a detailed geo-historical analysis. The study of historical mobility requires careful attention to the territory, since the road itself is a living and dynamic reality, made up of complex ramifications subject to continuous changes. It is no coincidence that, as discussed in the historiographical chapter, the very nature of the term «Francigena» is that of an adjective («*francigena/francigene*», «*francesca/francesche*», «*romea/romee*»), rather than a proper noun.

The study of the territory from the point of view of the road, and thus of the interconnections between civilisations, becomes a privileged approach that allows us to investigate specific local factors and, at the same time, contextualise them within much broader events, as in the case of the via Francigena (central-northern areas of Europe, Italy, the Middle East), in contact by means of the roads

of the Middle Ages. It is no coincidence that, as already explored in depth in the literature review, from the first studies on the ancient and medieval road system, a system of reading the territory was introduced that is neither typological nor linked to regional unity, but is precisely in relation to the analysis of the roads (Quintavalle, 1977): a moving point of view that takes into account cultural flows and connections between the various settlement nodes. This view has led to a broadening of the consideration of the impact of roads on the landscape, such as to determine a spatial historical-geographical approach to roads already introduced during the second half of the last century (Bloch, 1953; Stopani, Moretti, Ruschi, 1975; Sergi, 1981). The most recent debate focuses on the role of incessantly changing mobilities with respect to place and landscape (Merriman, 2012). At the same time, individuals, social groups, and masses attempt to constitute nodes within flows even on a global scale (Urry, 2003). Returning, then, to the physicality of roads and the movement they imply, they are a privileged place for the perception of the territory; they constitute the place where perception takes on the dimensions of time and movement. It is the perception of changing landscapes that helps us understand the characters of each one (Morelli, 2007, p. VII). Culturally speaking, «the traveller and his [sic] line are one [...] and the same» (Ingold, 2007) as the act of walking plays a fundamental role in defining the subjectivity of the traveller.

In this investigation, the material and cultural realities surveyed become one with the materiality of the route and their cultural flows, precisely by virtue of the fact that contemporary society is reconfigured compared to how people connect with places and each other (Larsen, Urry, Axhausen, 2006). Indeed, it is no coincidence that in a study involving movements from one place to another, those fixed points stabilised in the territory, moorings (Hannam, Sheller, Urry, 2006), which represent the necessity of every principle of mobility, become crucial. Thus, in the historical geography of medieval networks, one starts from the nodes settled on the territory, especially where the road infrastructure is weak, and on the modern pilgrimage flows one experiences the places that establish the premises, such as reception facilities.

To help establish fixed points in relation to the incessant moving context, the visual method has been a very important element. Photography accompanies the description of the landscapes traversed, which proved to be mutable

throughout the different moments of the fieldwork, and of the places experienced together with the locals and pilgrims in transit (Luc, Mannay, 2020). In addition, the photographic material collected, accompanied by video footage[15], represents a veritable archive of the places and socio-cultural phenomena linked to transit along the Via Francigena.

Fieldwork in general played a key role in data collection and in terms of time invested during the years of research. Specific missions to the study areas were set up, tending to last around 2-3 weeks each. This facilitated the possibility of continuous verification and counter-verification of the data collected, but also of being able to interact with the territories and people in different seasons. This is a crucial aspect if one thinks of the changeability of the seasons in the Italian mountains and hills with respect to the composition of the landscapes and people's interaction with them.

Evidently, in this research, data collection was a crucial experience precisely in order to – according to an inductive model – elaborate theses and verify actual theories supported by challenges and preliminary questions: is it possible to verify the impact that the medieval road network, to the detriment of its weak infrastructural nature, has projected on the territory? Does this allow us to pursue an inclusive method of heritage that goes beyond the single roadway? In this sense, are GIS tools effective in determining new patterns and keys to understanding historical mobility and modern uses? What are the challenges involved in the process of reinventing a network of medieval routes in the construction of a single route?

III.I. TWO CASE STUDIES IN COMPARISON

Before describing the stages of the research, it is appropriate to introduce the areas under investigation. The aim is to consider mobility in its broadest system and, at the same time, to look at micro-territorial complexity. The approach, therefore, has been as inclusive as possible with respect to the main communication channel linked to the itinerary sources on the via Francigena precisely in order to define the

[15] In most cases, a Lumix G7 camera was used. At other times, for the convenience of the circumstances, the smartphone.

spatial reality of the road network rather than the road itself. Secondly, since this is a study involving modern mobility, the pilgrimage route that can be used today was considered (fig. 3.2).

The first case (CS1) considered the area distinguished by the crossing of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, that is the historical area known as *Monte Bardone*, between the Taro, Baganza, and Parma valleys in Emilia-Romagna and historic region of Lunigiana (Magra valley) in Tuscany. The Cisa pass represents the main passage (1041 m); Bardone, Terenzo, Cassio and Berceto are the villages in the Parma province; Montelungo, Succisa, Previdé and Pontremoli are Tuscan villages in Massa-Carrara province.

In the second case (CS2), the hilly crossing of the Val d'Orcia and Val di Paglia, in southern Tuscany and upper Lazio, is characterised by the presence of the volcanic cone of Monte Amiata. On the Sienese stretch there are the centres of San Quirico d'Orcia, Castiglione d'Orcia, Bagno Vignoni, Gallina, Abbadia S.S., Radicofani, Ponte a Rigo; on that of Viterbo, in Lazio, those of Centeno, Proceno, Acquapendente.

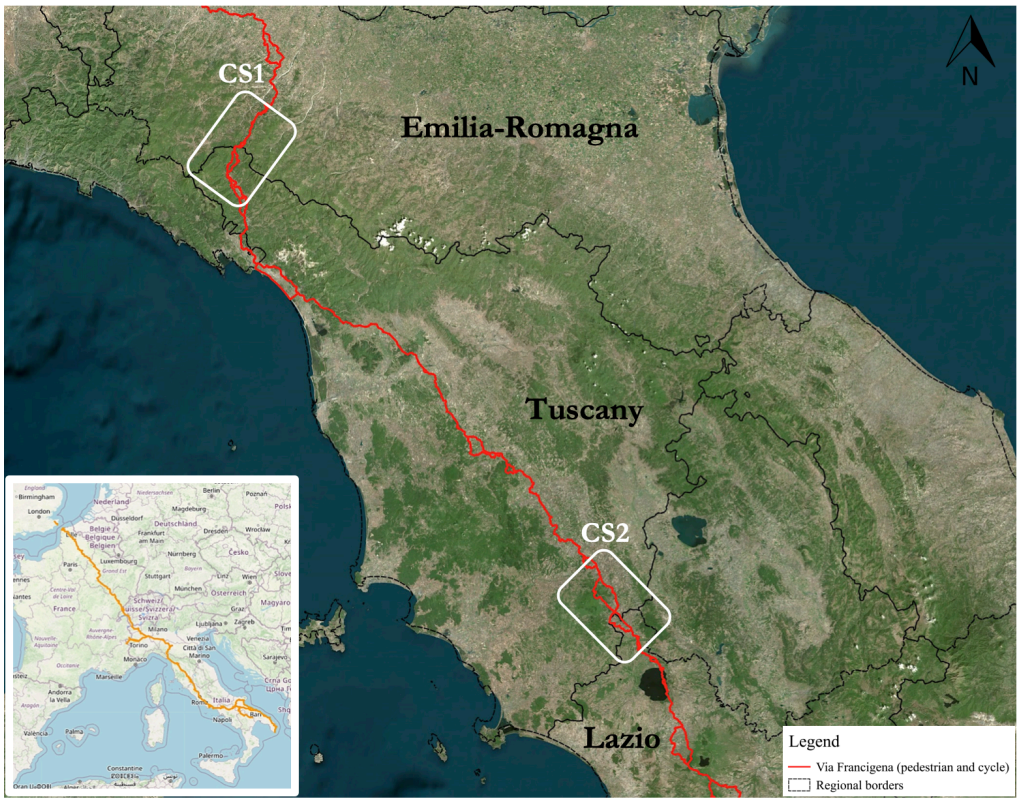


Fig. 3.2. Case studies map (CS1 and CS2). In the bottom left-hand corner, the entire tourist itinerary as displayed on the EAVF geo-portal[16].

Fieldwork was carried out in two study areas in comparison essentially to verify the medieval road dynamics in different geographical contexts. As we shall see in the geo-historical chapters (V.I, VI.I), they in fact present interesting similarities in the relationship of discontinuity/continuity with the older Roman and more recent modern road system.

Geographically, these are two mainly rural areas, where the impact of pilgrimage and slow tourism is more perceptible and represents an important development opportunity. However, CS1 is characterised by a significant orography, the Apennine chain, while CS2 by the Pliocene hill conformation. These preconditions make it possible to speculate on the dynamics of the medieval and contemporary road system:

What factors determine the evolution of the road network and consequently the territory? How much do natural variables such as morphology influence it?

Is the tourist route enjoyed equally in different territories? Does it have an equal impact on each reality crossed?

Finally, it should be emphasised that as can be seen from the map (fig. 3.2) these are two inter-regional areas. This is a specific choice on the identification of the study areas as it implies some interesting challenges both on the empirical and on the results level: firstly, by taking road connections and mobility as methodological reference, one wants to go beyond the classical regional delimitations. In fact, on the one hand it was a question of working on different historical cartographic records and, on the other hand, given the literature on the subject, many of the studies carried out delimit their case studies according to political-administrative boundaries making the various road contexts disconnected from each other. But, as this investigation has shown, there are important continuities both across historical and modern boundaries and beyond physical barriers (such as the Apennine chain).

[16] https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/interactive-map/

III.II. GEO-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Careful geo-historical work was conducted in order to lay a stable foundation not only for the method to be followed, but also in terms of the data and information to be processed in the subsequent stages. Essentially a multi-scalar approach that implies the use of mainly geographical and historical techniques to explore the space-time dynamics of the territory in relation to human dynamics (Piovan, 2020). In doing so, geographers have taken much from a range of fields in the humanities to contextualise knowledge in different historical-geographical domains (Naylor, 2005).

As mentioned in the previous section, we move from a theoretical analysis of the route in general to an empirical analysis of communication corridors on a local scale. This last step is essential for understanding the settlement process and the human organisation of the landscape (Bell, Wilson, Wickham, 2002) and then to return, inductively, to re-discussing the identity configuration of the largest communication artery.

First, following a thorough review of the literature on mobility in general, with particular reference to historical mobility, interest was focused on the medieval road system and consequently on studies related to the via Francigena. This made it possible to understand and analyse the evolution of the studies and thus to refine the understanding of its identity - as generated precisely by the studies carried out since the 19th century - and its various facets. Many of the texts between 1700 and 1800 were consulted at the National Central Library in Florence. Once I had configured not so much the rate of the itinerary as the complexity in which it fits, I moved on to a search of the documents and archive maps (fig. 3.3) that began in the first year of the doctorate (in 2019) and involved the following archives: the State Archive of Siena, the State Archive of Florence, the small but rich State Archive of Pontremoli, the State Archive of Massa, the State Archive of Parma, and the National Central Libraries of Rome and Florence. This allowed for good coverage of the areas under examination.



Fig.3.3. Picture from the State Archive of Parma.
Author's photo, August 2019.

In addition to this, much cartographic and representative material is available online, if only for consultation, via regional geoportals and freely accessible digitisation and dissemination projects.

There was no lack of discussions with specialists in the field and local experts, who were valuable sources of information on the nature of the locations of the areas investigated and on local publications. Local people also proved to be extremely helpful and useful in identifying and reaching archaeological sites and other elements of material heritage, which, in addition to not being indicated, are often overgrown and hidden by vegetation.



Fig.3.4. Walking up to Borgallo pass with the local expert M.S. and his trusted dog to locate the engraved cross (see Chapter V.I.IX) and local mule tracks.
Author's photo, August 2021.

Fieldwork has undoubtedly contributed to increasing knowledge of the territory and the perspective of the morphological dimension of the two study areas. And, in particular, combined with archive research, it enabled me to explore the micro-territorial dimension of the two realities and thus to relate specific local contexts to those of an "international" communication artery such as the via Francigena.

Finally, already at this stage, using some data related to the diachronic dynamics of the landscape and itineraries deduced from medieval travel diaries, GIS tools were employed and the first thematic cartographies were drawn up. This was extremely useful precisely in order to be able to approach the subsequent phases as coherently as possible, with respect to the relationship between mobility and territory. In fact, it was possible to investigate the two case studies not only according to a spatial and territorialising road system but also through a hierarchical one. This means having been able to place the various routes involved in the network of Roman roads on different levels, not so much on a discourse of importance as of mutability in a temporal sense and with respect to the environmental and political-military exigencies of the moment.

III.III. Heritage census and inclusion

The tracing of only one itinerary, even if flanked by some variants, besides including the places crossed, excludes a large part of the heritage which would be directly or indirectly referable to the medieval road system. In addition, there are also a number of material resources that would not be on the route itself, but which by their nature can only be conceived in relation to the road.

Therefore, in view of the historical complexity of the medieval road system analysed here and the simplification of the reinvented itinerary for its modern use, a method was devised to explore the spatial-temporal dimension of the road and thus elaborate an area-based approach that would include a broader heritage system. Among other things, it was mainly through the field investigation in relation to local actors that the question of exclusion from the main itinerary emerged vividly.

It is therefore a tool that not only supports the historical analysis and the mapping phase, but also acts as a mediation between the recognition of the historical complexity of the itinerary and the ongoing processes of "heritagisation".

In addition to this, the identifying approach of the Cultural Route with respect to heritage consists of a tourism and cultural scheme that can stimulate the territory as a whole and facilitate the established network between insiders and outsiders (Madjoub, 2009). More generally, heritage tourism further opens up the debate to forms of travel that unite both material elements of historical-artistic relevance and rural landscapes and places of cultural significance (Timothy, Boyd, 2006).

The via Francigena represents an era, a territory. And what is the road if not the means by which the contamination between different cultures took place, the acquisition of certainty in movement, the process of territorialisation?

More generally Cultural Routes connect and interrelate geography and diverse heritage properties forming a unified whole (Martorell, 2015). Along the road there is an artificialisation of the natural landscape, a well-organised territory. In other words, there is a need for mediation between the complexity of historical mobility and the modern objectives of recognising and enhancing the territory through appropriate "roadscape" governance.

With respect to what was considered and especially discussed during the thesis, the challenge also arises with respect to the prospect of a Unesco candidacy of the Via Francigena (see Chapter IV). At this stage, account was also taken of the decade-long experience of the Camino de Santiago, which has been on the Unesco list since 1993, and its relationship with heritage (CIIC of ICOMOS, 2008). Specific typologies were therefore considered that represent the infrastructural landscape of the route and the impact they have had on the territory. This is especially so in view of the medieval context, where the scarce traces of the route itself make it difficult to fully understand the organisation of the territory.

To summarise, for the definition of heritage material with reference to the medieval road network, resources within four macro-categories were surveyed according to their main and original use:

- Military, especially those defensive structures placed to control the road: castles, strongholds, and towers;
- Religious, subdivided between abbeys, parish churches, and churches;

- Dwellings, settlements and fortified settlements divided by three size classes;
- Hospitality, essentially those facilities that assist travellers such as the *xenodochium*[17] (hospitals, inns, and other places of shelter);
- Transit, the infrastructures directly associated with roads (bridges, cobblestones, artefacts, mountain passes).

From a chronological point of view, the following classification was adopted:

- Late Antiquity (300 CE-476 CE);
- Middle Ages (5th c.-15th c.);
  - Early Middle Ages (5th c.-10th c.);
  - High Middle Ages (11th c.-13th c.);
  - Late Middle Ages (14th c.-15th c.);
- Early Modern Period (1500-1750);
- Late Modern Period (1750-1945);
- Contemporary Period (1945-present);

The temporal spectrum is therefore very wide, but on a cartographic level it is also possible to visualise only those assets that refer to the period, according to the study of this thesis, in which the Francigena itineraries can be framed: from the 6th c. (Longobard invasion) to the 13th c. (main route changes). These resources, before being transferred onto Excel sheets and then onto GIS software to be mapped, were organised in a database according to the following table.

Characteristics	***Resource name***
a. Source	The type of source used to determine the resource.
b. In or out of the route	Whether the resource is located on the route or not.
c. Main or secondary route	Whether it is located on the main or secondary roads.
d. Reference period	Essentially the period of origin or the earliest date evidencing its existence.

[17] Throughout this thesis, I will use the term "*xenodochium*" to refer to structures related to medieval pilgrim hospitality and reception. The term refers to a neologism from Eastern Greek society, which, according to a single document from the 2nd century AD, had begun to spread as early as the 4th century and was used to define places where Christians granted free accommodation to their brethren (Szabò, 1999).

e. Cultural origin	The cultural influence or commission that gave rise to the structure.
f. Category	Typology of the structure.
g. Original use	The use for which the structure was originally designed.
h. Current state	Current state and use of the resource.
i. On the tourist VF?	Whether it is now located along the tourist Francigena.
j. Coordinates	Geographical coordinates that can be entered in ArcGIS.

Table 3.5. Sample.
The resource may also be indicated by one star if of uncertain or approximate location (*) or by two stars (**) if of unknown location.

Some of the elements added to the database, probably contestable, can be useful to assess the impact of the road following wider and blurred boundaries. In fact, a wide system has been determined around the main route, which appears almost irregular due to the intertwining of local and inter-regional needs.

III.IV. GIS MAPPING AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS

The results of this chapter are based on the geo-historical investigation and on the heritage census previously illustrated. The collected data were entered and processed within ArcGIS. The use of GIS tools is developed firstly from the necessity to give shape and represent "on paper" the traced road layouts and the identified heritage. Secondly, the need to give movement and dynamism to historical and geographical data by means of a spatial analysis along medieval and modern routes developed. This made it possible to determine the sphere of influence ("roadscape") of the routes on the crossed territory and, in practice, generate a relationship between the road network and settlement nodes.

GIS tools make it possible to store, and return in graphic form, a large quantity and variety of data, including those collected and produced in the chapters on geo-history and the inclusion of the via Francigena's heritage, to different cartographic levels. Furthermore, the characterisation of the landscape requires a GIS-based analysis as these are tools that allow for a spatial survey methodology with a sophisticated technological content (Favretto, Azzari, 2009); for example, enabling the analysis of spatial data using both multiscale and diachronic

approaches, in a digital and quantitative manner. GIS-based spatial analysis can be effective in understanding the connection between communication channels and the extent of human activities (Kempf, 2019). In this sense, Historical GIS emphasises the importance of spatial contexts and relationships for understanding historical dynamics (Grava et al., 2020).

Getting to the heart of the mapping procedures, ArcMap (Esri's ArcGIS suite) was used for the various mapping operations. Through this, two different approaches were carried out with respect to heritage elements and road corridors: in the first case, a computer database was created in the form of an Excel sheet that could be imported directly into the software in order to generate the georeferenced points and with an already complete attribute table; in the second case, with respect to communication routes, shapefiles were created directly in ArcMap. Obtaining heritage mapping first, as opposed to road mapping, turned out to be very useful at least to be able to use the identified settlement nodes to set certain more uncertain directions. In fact, where the materiality of the medieval road disappears (practically in most of the territory), the reference points are determined by the structures referable to it.

Essentially, the Excel tables were processed by reporting the same set of information but structured to generate affirmative and negative fields so as to allow multiple combinations of symbolisation displays: from the macro-category (e.g. military) to the type of structure (e.g. stronghold); the reference time period (e.g. early Middle Ages); the state of the structure (e.g. ruins); the size of the settlements; and the accuracy of the location.

With respect to the current state of the structure, this is equally important information because in addition to declaring the possible state of emergency or usability of the structure, some of these are only recorded on documents, but it is important to map them and locate them on the territory precisely to analyse spatial dynamics.

In order to represent the mapped heritage in the most effective way, a customised symbology was specifically created with respect to the heritage considered (fig. 3.6), as can also be observed from the maps produced in Chapters V.III and VI.III.

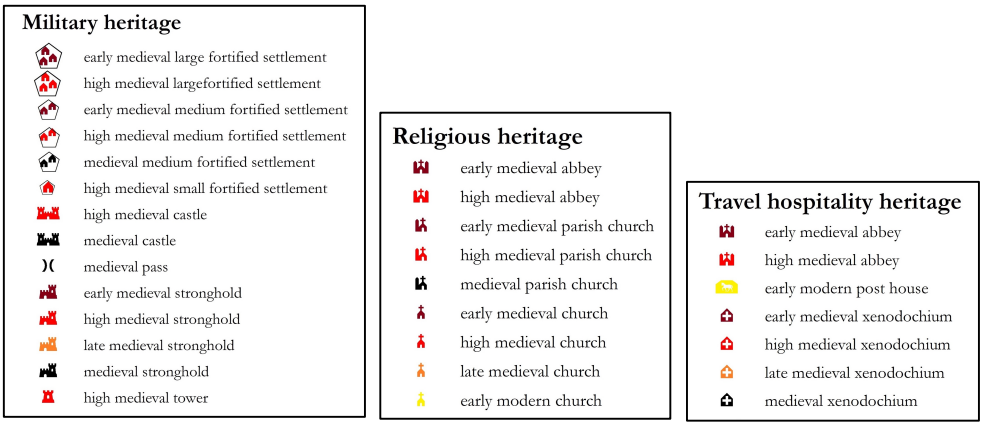


Fig.3.6. Symbology samples of three categories applied to the case studies.

With respect to the categories involved and the variables considered, it was not possible in this thesis to show all representative possibilities and therefore priority order was given with respect to the spatial distribution of the categories and the spatial analyses performed.

As far as the mapping of routes is concerned, following the consultation of bibliographic references, it was crucial to be able to consult a wide range of cartographic sources, both current and historical. The former included technical, topographical, morphological (including DEM: Digital Elevation Model), and orthophotos. Of the historical ones, it was possible to consult 19th century cadastres that can be correctly visualised on ArcMap and also those older cartographies that cannot be georeferenced but are nevertheless intelligible. Due to their inter-scalarity, GIS proved to be extremely effective in analysing both micro-territorial and inter-territorial contexts. The mapped roads were categorised as follows: ID identifying the route type; route name if applicable; route type (e.g. whether local link or part of the main route); accuracy (based on the degree of certainty with which it was plotted); time period where it can be documented; the geographical area of reference; whether it has continuity or not with 19th century land registers.

In the second part of the GIS-based analysis, a series of spatial analyses were conducted to highlight geographical patterns between the territory considered (both natural and man-made), the heritage surveyed, and the routes traced. Thinking also of Tobler's well-known First Law of Geography, according to which «everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things» (Tobler, 1970, p. 236), the aim is precisely to determine the impact

of the road system on human organisation and the spatial correlation that exists between the phenomena considered.

In detail, the following geoprocessing was conducted:

1. Convex Hull and Buffering. This initial analysis allows the so-called road influence area to be generated in the first instance. Using the heritage shapefile as input, Convex Hull allows the delimitation of the portion of the territory of our own interest. Whereas, with respect to routes, buffering can be generated in order to define a relationship of proximity, hence a more direct relationship, between the road and the heritage site.

2. Spatial Join. This enables the heritage included within the buffer surrounding the itineraries to be counted and identified. This step is also interesting when applied to the buffer of the modern tourist route, thus to verify the degree of potential inclusion/exclusion with respect to the distance to the mapped heritage.

3. Near Analysis (between routes and heritage). In line with the previous discussion, this geoprocessing allows further quantitative analysis into the relationship between roads and heritage. The presence of heritage is calculated according to distance classes (from the main route of the Francigena) generated by the software. The best way to distinguish these types of results is through the attribute table data produced on ArcGIS and then exported to Excel to generate the most appropriate graph (a histogram, in this case).

4. Kernel Density. It is a tool that calculates the density of elements in an area around these elements. This was elaborated with respect to the heritage itself, between heritage and the medieval road network, between heritage and tourist route to highlight the degree of coherence. Kernel Analysis, in a study of mobility, reveals and highlights the "nodes" produced or aroused by road transit. Likewise, it shows the dispersion of the same phenomenon.

5. Viewshed. This geoprocessing «identifies the cells in an input raster that can be seen from one or more observation points or lines. Each cell in the output raster receives a value that indicates how many observation points can see the location»[18]. Starting from the DEM, the input is given by the places in military use (fortified settlements, castles, strongholds, towers). An offset of 8 metres above ground was considered for the observer point with an outer radius of 6km

[18] https://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/latest/tool-reference/3d-analyst/analyze-visibility.htm

considering a height above ground for the observed point of 1.70 m. It was decided 6 km because, while 2 km may be the maximum to see a person, up to 10 km would be sufficient to notice important movements, edifices and roads. Therefore 6 km is reliable for the observation of mass movements, such as armies.

6. Near Analysis (between medieval and current routes). Finally, this analysis was repeated in order to determine the degree of historical coherence of the itineraries identified today for tourist use and those carried out in this study. The distance and proximity information between an input feature (medieval road network) and the nearest features of the second layer (the tourist route) have been calculated. In short, the routes are broken down into points in order to calculate the distance, or the overlapping, of each between medieval and modern routes according to four well-defined classes: 0-50 m, 50-1000 m, 1000-8000, 8000 and more.

While the exact location of road networks cannot always be documented with absolute certainty (Verhagen, Jeneson, 2012), this series of operations proved to be extremely useful in visualising and quantifying spatial patterns between the realities considered.

III.V. Modern mobilities: from quantitative survey to itinerant ethnography

The concluding empirical moment explored modern mobilities. This means investigating the phenomenon of the reinvention of the Via Francigena as a Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, also looking at the heritage and spatial analysis conducted, and with respect to the complex of actors that constitute the road infrastructure and who use it.

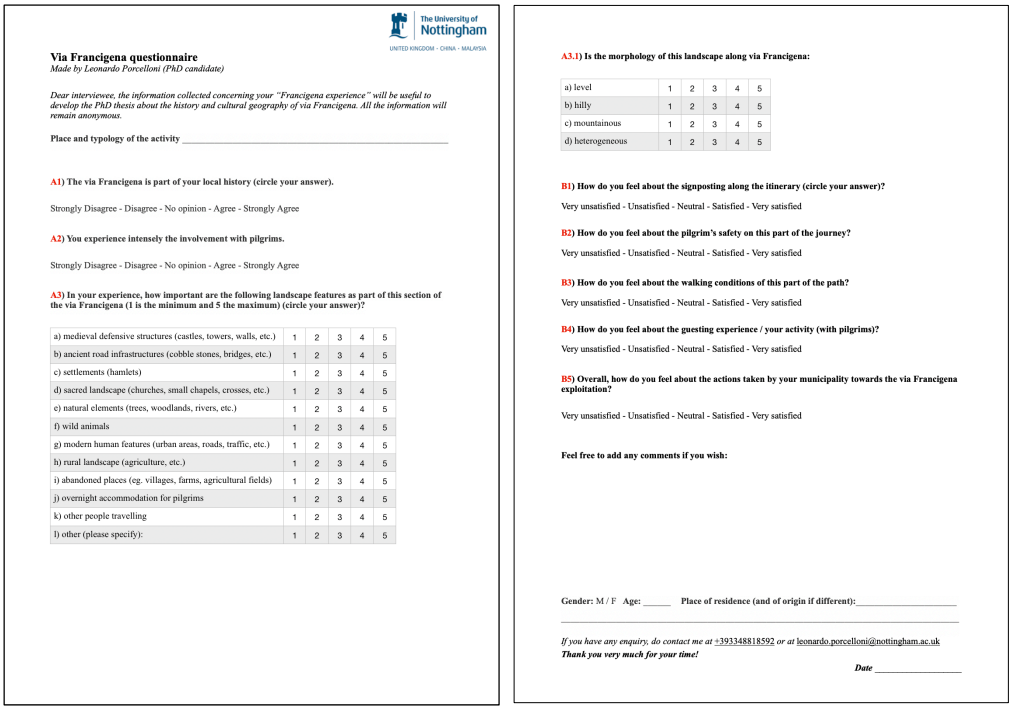
With respect to the first point, attention was focused on the challenge and criticality that configuring a complex system of medieval routes into a single itinerary, according to the travel diary of the archbishop of Canterbury, Sigeric, entails. In the second case, regarding the same areas previously indicated (CS1 and CS2), on the one hand, attention was paid to investigating the experience and perception of locals with respect to the travel on the itinerary and the consequent socio-cultural impact that the Via has on the rural communities it crosses; on the

other hand, the focus was on the complex and heterogeneous flow of individuals linked to the experience of pilgrimage on the Francigena. In this sense, the research was carried out by looking at the two main categories of actors along the itinerary: first, the users of the route (outsiders); second, residents of the areas crossed (insiders) who are involved in activities related to the pilgrimage, with particular regard to the hosts of the affiliated structures (such as parish hostels, private hostels, B&Bs, lodgings) and tourist phenomena Francigena related (tour operators and other shopkeepers of commercial activities).

Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the criticalities and strengths that the Via Francigena represents to date: from the technical aspects of the route's travel and safety, to the availability of infrastructures for pilgrims, to the role of local administrations, and finally with respect to the itinerary's prospect of Unesco candidacy. This is also to try to understand the direction of governance of the itinerary in terms of fruition and reception today and in the future.
In this survey, there were three stages of data collection:

- The quantitative survey, through the circulation of questionnaires;
- The qualitative survey, through the administration of semi-structured interviews;
- Itinerant ethnography, experiencing pilgrimage with other travellers and hosts.

Beforehand, informal visits were made to the case studies to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon and refine the objectives. Then, first of all, a questionnaire, with respect to which similar cases on the Francigena were considered (Bettini et al., 2011) with multiple-choice questions, according to the Likert scale (Batterton, Hale, 2017) and open-ended questions, differently designed for insiders and outsiders (figs. 3.7 and 3.8). It was distributed in the two study areas. For the insiders, it was delivered personally to each of the interested parties; while for the outsiders, copies were issued in the various pilgrim accommodation centres to trusted hosts with whom contact had already been established.



Via Francigena questionnaire
Made by Leonardo Porcelloni (PhD candidate)

Dear interviewee, the information collected concerning your "Francigena experience" will be useful to develop the PhD thesis about the history and cultural geography of via Francigena. All the information will remain anonymous.

Place and typology of the activity _____

A1) The via Francigena is part of your local history (circle your answer).

Strongly Disagree - Disagree - No opinion - Agree - Strongly Agree

A2) You experience intensely the involvement with pilgrims.

Strongly Disagree - Disagree - No opinion - Agree - Strongly Agree

A3) In your experience, how important are the following landscape features as part of this section of the via Francigena (1 is the minimum and 5 the maximum) (circle your answer)?

a) medieval defensive structures (castles, towers, walls, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
b) ancient road infrastructures (cobble stones, bridges, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
c) settlements (hamlets)	1	2	3	4	5
d) sacred landscape (churches, small chapels, crosses, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
e) natural elements (trees, woodlands, rivers, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
f) wild animals	1	2	3	4	5
g) modern human features (urban areas, roads, traffic, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
h) rural landscape (agriculture, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
i) abandoned places (eg. villages, farms, agricultural fields)	1	2	3	4	5
j) overnight accommodation for pilgrims	1	2	3	4	5
k) other people travelling	1	2	3	4	5
l) other (please specify):	1	2	3	4	5

A3.1) Is the morphology of this landscape along via Francigena:

a) level	1	2	3	4	5
b) hilly	1	2	3	4	5
c) mountainous	1	2	3	4	5
d) heterogeneous	1	2	3	4	5

B1) How do you feel about the signposting along the itinerary (circle your answer)?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B2) How do you feel about the pilgrim's safety on this part of the journey?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B3) How do you feel about the walking conditions of this part of the path?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B4) How do you feel about the guesting experience / your activity (with pilgrims)?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B5) Overall, how do you feel about the actions taken by your municipality towards the via Francigena exploitation?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

Feel free to add any comments if you wish:

Gender: M / F **Age:** _____ **Place of residence (and of origin if different):** _____

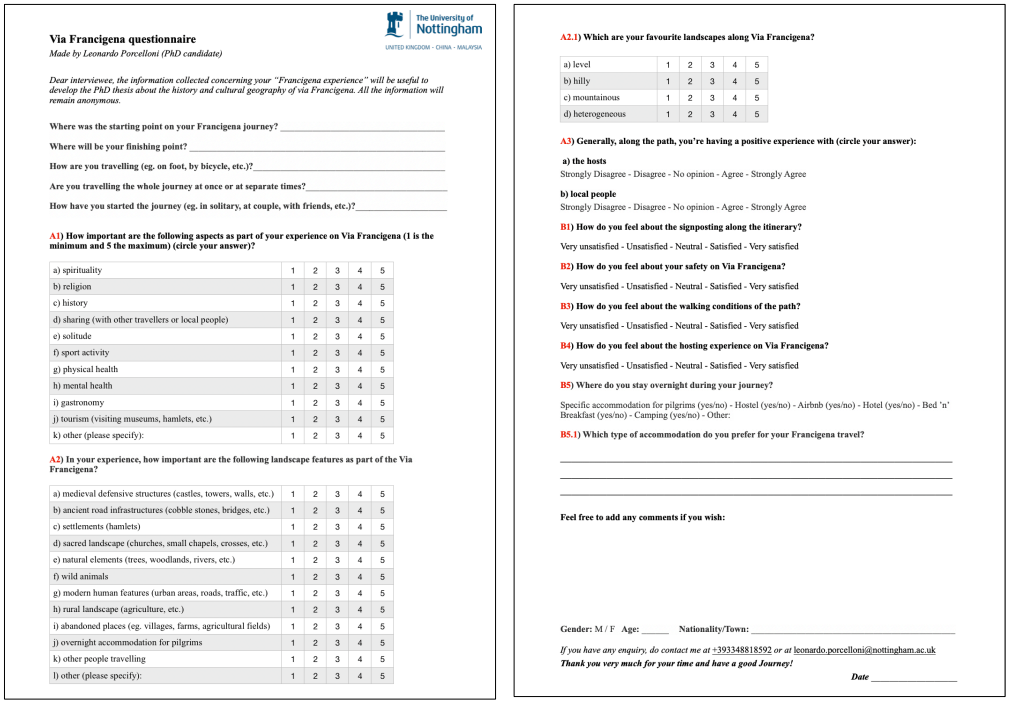
If you have any enquiry, do contact me at +393348818592 or at leonardo.porcelloni@nottingham.ac.uk
Thank you very much for your time!

Date _____

Fig.3.7. Insiders' questionnaire[19] sample.

Regarding the data collected on insiders, a total of 109 questionnaires were collected: 55 from Case Study 1 (of which 27 via Google form) and 54 from Case Study 2 (of which 30 via Google form). In both cases between 2019 and 2020. Data collection in 2020, following the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic and the resulting Lockdown regulations in Italy, resulted in fewer respondents than expected. To compensate for this, questionnaires were developed using Google forms to be distributed online.

[19] At first, it was planned to address the questionnaire only to people who had a direct business activity related to the Via Francigena. With the release of the Google form, a question was included as to whether one's own activity had a direct involvement with the pilgrimage route.



Via Francigena questionnaire

Made by Leonardo Porcelloni (PhD candidate)

The University of Nottingham
UNITED KINGDOM · CHINA · MALAYSIA

Dear interviewee, the information collected concerning your "Francigena experience" will be useful to develop the PhD thesis about the history and cultural geography of via Francigena. All the information will remain anonymous.

Where was the starting point on your Francigena journey? _____

Where will be your finishing point? _____

How are you travelling (eg. on foot, by bicycle, etc.)? _____

Are you travelling the whole journey at once or at separate times? _____

How have you started the journey (eg. in solitary, at couple, with friends, etc.)? _____

A1) How important are the following aspects as part of your experience on Via Francigena (1 is the minimum and 5 the maximum) (circle your answer)?

a) spirituality	1	2	3	4	5
b) religion	1	2	3	4	5
c) history	1	2	3	4	5
d) sharing (with other travellers or local people)	1	2	3	4	5
e) solitude	1	2	3	4	5
f) sport activity	1	2	3	4	5
g) physical health	1	2	3	4	5
h) mental health	1	2	3	4	5
i) gastronomy	1	2	3	4	5
j) tourism (visiting museums, hamlets, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
k) other (please specify):	1	2	3	4	5

A2) In your experience, how important are the following landscape features as part of the Via Francigena?

a) medieval defensive structures (castles, towers, walls, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
b) ancient road infrastructures (cobble stones, bridges, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
c) settlements (hamlets)	1	2	3	4	5
d) sacred landscape (churches, small chapels, crosses, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
e) natural elements (trees, woodlands, rivers, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
f) wild animals	1	2	3	4	5
g) modern human features (urban areas, roads, traffic, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
h) rural landscape (agriculture, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5
i) abandoned places (eg. villages, farms, agricultural fields)	1	2	3	4	5
j) overnight accommodation for pilgrims	1	2	3	4	5
k) other people travelling	1	2	3	4	5
l) other (please specify):	1	2	3	4	5

A2.1) Which are your favourite landscapes along Via Francigena?

a) level	1	2	3	4	5
b) hilly	1	2	3	4	5
c) mountainous	1	2	3	4	5
d) heterogeneous	1	2	3	4	5

A3) Generally, along the path, you're having a positive experience with (circle your answer):

a) the hosts
Strongly Disagree - Disagree - No opinion - Agree - Strongly Agree

b) local people
Strongly Disagree - Disagree - No opinion - Agree - Strongly Agree

B1) How do you feel about the signposting along the itinerary?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B2) How do you feel about your safety on Via Francigena?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B3) How do you feel about the walking conditions of the path?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B4) How do you feel about the hosting experience on Via Francigena?

Very unsatisfied - Unsatisfied - Neutral - Satisfied - Very satisfied

B5) Where do you stay overnight during your journey?

Specific accommodation for pilgrims (yes/no) - Hostel (yes/no) - Airbnb (yes/no) - Hotel (yes/no) - Bed 'n' Breakfast (yes/no) - Camping (yes/no) - Other:

B5.1) Which type of accommodation do you prefer for your Francigena travel?

_____
_____
_____

Feel free to add any comments if you wish:

Gender: M / F **Age:** _____ **Nationality/Town:** _____

If you have any enquiry, do contact me at +393348818592 *or at* leonardo.porcelloni@nottingham.ac.uk

Thank you very much for your time and have a good Journey!

Date _____

Fig.3.8. Outsiders' questionnaire sample.

With respect to the questionnaires for outsiders, these were issued to the pilgrim host structures at the end of 2019 and therefore, for the same reason as the Lockdown, it was only possible to collect them in 2021 and in much smaller numbers than expected (despite the hosts' kind cooperation): 41 in Case Study 1 and 72 in Case Study 2 for a total of 113 completed questionnaires.

In contrast, the qualitative survey (Flick, Kardorff, Steinke, 2004) was significantly richer in terms of data: in total, 45 interviews were conducted between 2019 and 2020 (of which 6 were group interviews and one via video call). For insiders 22 interviews were conducted to 23 interviewees with a total time duration of 848 minutes (14h circa); while for outsiders 21 interviews were conducted with 32 interviewees with a total duration of 905 minutes (15h circa). In addition, there were two further interviews with two people whose views were particularly interesting. They had travelled on numerous pilgrimages and are now hosts in facilities for pilgrims, as well as providing training for aspiring "*hospitallers*" (hosts). That makes a further 170 minutes of interviews and 5.600 words of the transcript. Overall, this consists of 34h 55' of interviews, with an average of 45 minutes each, resulting in approximately 64.300 words of transcription.

With regard to the modalities of conducting the interviews, the table below (3.9) briefly illustrates the context in which they took place. Instead, concerning the

background information of each interviewee, the data have been depicted in an aggregate manner in order the preserve the anonymity of individuals along with the main results (see chapters VII.II.II and VII.II.II). The letters in the first row of the table indicate: a. interviewee identification code[20]; b. date of the interview; c. place of the interview; d. duration of the interview; e. typology of the interview; f. if collective, indications of the relationship between the interviewees.

a.	b.	c.	d.	e.	f.
C1.i.MS; C1.i.GS	25.08.2019	Cavazzola (BnB/café)	37'	collective	couple
C1.o.FB	29.08.2019	Cassio (café)	50'	individual	/
C1.i.IA	29.08.2019	Berceto (BnB/restaurant)	28'	individual	/
C1.i.MF	29.08.2019	Cassio (café)	28'	individual	/
C1.i.FS	29.08.2019	Cisa pass (mountain lodge)	1.16'	individual	/
C1.i.GC	30.08.2019	Pontremoli (cloister)	44'	individual	/
C1.i.ML	31.08.2019	Previdé (home/BnB)	26'	individual	/
C1.i.RM	31.08.2019	Montelungo (café)	41'	individual	/
C2.o.JS	02.09.2019	Ponte a Rigo (café)	30'	individual	/
C2.o.AM	02.09.2019	Acquapendente (café)	22'	individual	/
C2.i.FC	02.09.2019	Radicofani (Misericordia's office)	58'	individual	/
C2.i.AG	3.09.2019	Ponte a Rigo (café)	39'	individual	/
C2.i.MM	04.09.2019	Gallina (home)	26'	individual	/
C2.i.MPP	04.09.2019	Abbadia S.S. (atelier)	1.45'	individual	/
C1.i.SI	17.12.2019	Pontremoli (info point)	20'	individual	/

[20] The identification code of the interviewees, in order to respect their anonymity and at the same time contextualise some of their basic information, was developed according to the following criterion: «C1» is Case Study 1; «C2» is Case Study 2; «i» is insider; «o» is outsider; the following letters/numbers are personal references to the interviewee.
Only in the case of «GC» and «MC», the two experts both host and pilgrim, the single acronym was used.

C1.i.MC	18.12.2019	Pontremoli (castle)	40’	individual	/
C1.i.RI	19.12.2019	Berceto (info point)	30’	individual	/
C1.i.DR	19.12.2019	Berceto (restaurant)	30’	individual	/
C1.o.AF; C1.o.FC	25.08.2019	Berceto (café)	1.02’	collective	fellow pilgrims
C2.i.DO	30.12.2019	Castiglione d’Orcia (home)	45’	individual	/
C2.i.LC	30.12.2019	Abbadia S.S. (BnB)	20’	individual	/
C2.i.BS	04.02.2020	Acquapendente (café)	24’	individual	/
C2.i.VP	05.06.2020	online (video call)	45’	individual	/
C1.o.DV	27.08.2020	Pontremoli (church)	23’	individual	/
C1.o.SP	27.08.2020	Pontremoli (church)	29’	individual	/
C1.o.IF	26.08.2020	Massa (hostel)	35’	individual	/
C1.o.EM	28.08.2020	Massa (hostel)	29’	individual	/
GC	31.08.2020	Castiglion Fiorentino (café)	1.22’	individual	/
C2.o.PGU	08.09.2020	Gallina (hostel’s garden)	48’	individual	/
C2.o.SP	08.09.2020	Gallina (hostel)	40’	individual	/
C2.o.FS	08.09.2020	Gallina (hostel’s garden)	29’	individual	/
C2.i.AR	09.09.2020	Radicofani (hostel)	19’	individual	/
C2.o.MI	09.09.2020	Radicofani (hostel)	24’	individual	/
C2.o.SCM; C2.o.CP; C2.o.MP	10.09.2020	Ponte a Rigo (church’s courtyard)	1.11’	collective	fellow cyclists
C2.i.DRT	18.09.2020	Campagnano di Roma (church hostel)	25’	individual	at times with pilgrims
C2.o.PD; C2.o.AC; C2.o.PR; C2.o.SV; C2.o.CP; C2.o.BV; C2.o.SR	18.09.2020	Campagnano di Roma (church hostel)	2.53’	collective	two friends; mother and daughter; fellow pilgrims

C2.o.AP	22.09.2020	Radicofani (hostel)	40’	individual	/
C2.o.RC	22.09.2020	Radicofani (hostel)	20’	individual	/
C2.o.S1; C2.o.S2; C2.o.S3; C2.o.S4	23.09.2020	Ponte a Rigo (church’s hostel)	1.28’	collective	friendship
C2.o.R1; C2.o.R2	25.09.2020	San Quirico (walking in the town)	42’	collective	friendship
C2.i.FSQ	25.09.2020	San Quirico (church hostel)	28’	individual	/
MC	28.08.2021	Valpromaro (hostel)	1.28’	individual	/

Table 3.9. Interviews context.

Interviews tended to take the form of a free conversation, but one that could converge around key concepts of the semi-structured interviews (Galletta, 2013). Given that there are many sensitive aspects that can be discussed with a pilgrim, especially with respect to particular travel motivations, an attempt was always made to hold a free conversation in a suitable setting or at least in accordance with the interviewee’s needs.

Topics discussed with insiders include: biographical and background information with respect to their own activity; their point of view on the flow linked to the pilgrimage and the type of travellers they interact with; the impact that this renewed flow is having on their own community; questions regarding the practicability and safety of the itinerary and the presence of route variants; their opinion with respect to the historical coherence of the itinerary and the accuracy with respect to their own territory; their perception of the surrounding landscape with respect to the road axis of the area; what the Via Francigena represents for them; the prospect of being included in the list of Unesco sites through the itinerary.



Fig.3.10. A pilgrim next to his tent is being interviewed by me at the "pilgrim's garden" (La Vecchia Posta hostel) in Gallina (CS2).
Author's self-timer, September 2020.

With the outsiders, the topics covered concerned: their personal and travel arrangements information; the motivation that prompted them to undertake the pilgrimage route along the Francigena; pilgrimage as a form of therapeutic mobility; the enjoyment of the places crossed and the facilities sought; their experience with respect to the technical practicability of the itinerary; their opinion with respect to the possibility of choosing route variants; their opinion on the historical accuracy of the itinerary and thus on the importance of acknowledging the historicity of a route; their perception of the landscape on the stretches they travelled and the way they interacted with the surrounding environment; what the Via Francigena represents for them; the itinerary's candidacy as a Unesco site. Lastly, for the interviews from 2020 onwards, the theme of the use of the itinerary in relation to the context of the pandemic was often discussed.

As anticipated, an itinerant ethnographic survey was conducted between the places of the study areas along the Via Francigena. In fact, it was not only conducted as a third phase, but also took place during other parts of the research. In fact, interviewing a pilgrim means following his or her individual rhythm while being careful not to disturb the profound activity during the walk. Often, the best time to sit down and have a conversation was after washing and refreshment at the arrival of a stage or during and/or after dinner.



Fig.3.11. In the Valpromaro hostel, a certificate is kindly issued for staying there. Author's sheet, August 2021.

In addition to the literature already dealt with in general on the mobilities paradigm and its implications on mobile theories and methods (Sheller, Urry, 2006), the research linking anthropology in relation to the road and thus to the movement it imposes (Dalakoglou, Harvey, 2012) and the conception of mobile ethnography as a method (Novoa, 2015) was also considered.

Geographers and ethnographers hardly disregard research on foot. However, setting out on our walk along long-distance paths and spending a significant amount of time alone and thus conducting an ethnography that is also reflexive, often, especially at the beginning of the journey, we do not set out towards a distant horizon but rather directed towards the first steps. There are many attempts, even experimental ones, capturing the slowness of rhythm (Ingold, Vergunst, 2016) and setting up in tune with the pilgrim.

This implied a self-involvement in the pilgrimage experience by walking between the stages of the itinerary, alone and in the company of other travellers, staying overnight in the hospitality facilities affiliated with the route, therefore parish (fig. 3.12) and private hostels, B&B, lodgings and camping. This allowed me to share time not only with travellers and pilgrims, but also to create a bond with the locals who deal with hospitality, volunteers and local administrators. Field ethnography has proved particularly effective in fully investigating the phenomenon of pilgrimage and hospitality in the realities under consideration. It is essential to share the same places and activities to establish a mutual trust with a full range of local people and, as in this case, by travelling with the users of the Via Francigena. Participating in the pilgrim's day, it is possible to observe and obtain

information without digital filters (recorder, camera) that could influence and limit the answers. Through direct observation of travellers in their "natural environment", what they say can be directly observed as it unfolds. It provides a deep understanding of the feelings and environment of a particular experience (McCall, Simmons, 1969). It was possible to carry out the activity of itinerant ethnography, ranging from a few days to a maximum of two weeks, during the various phases of the PhD research.



Fig.3.12. Mattresses were placed inside St. Elisabeth's church to accommodate all the pilgrims.
Author's photo, September 2020.

Another important strand of research was my involvement in association (EAVF) and institutional (Council of Europe) activities with reference to both promotion and governance activities on the Via Francigena and the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe (fig. 3.13). This participation in activities and dialogue with the actors involved allowed me to observe closely the operational and project dynamics, which are then reflected by the various territorial administrations and local associations.



Fig.3.13. A moment of the 11th Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe Annual Advisory Forum held in Chania (Greece).
Author's photo, October 2022.

I also considered the importance of social networks. Indeed, the high participation of individuals on pilgrimage-related groups and pages was noted. These are widely used for sharing information and experiences during and after the journey, but also as a mental preparation for the departure itself.

During the research, much effort was also put into the collection of attendance at the various stopping points along the route and at St. Peter's in Vatican City in order to obtain data regarding the issuing of the *Testimonium*[21]. In the latter case, it was not possible to obtain them despite the numerous contacts made and encountered; in the former case, unfortunately, it proved to be of little use as most facilities and municipalities collect data in an inconsistent and arbitrary manner.

In a way, the PhD research became a testimony itself to the socio-cultural dynamics in motion along the Via Francigena. Indeed, between 2019 and 2023 there were many changes affecting municipalities, associations, and individual activities, especially concerning implications of the pandemic.

[21] Certificate issued on arrival at St. Peter's to pilgrims who have walked at least 100 km and 200 km for those travelling by bicycle.

IV. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE VIA FRANCIGENA[22]

«In medieval society, a partly nomadic society in which everyone moved almost continuously, the road was a real protagonist. Markets, cathedrals, universities, are "children of the road": all of Europe is» (Cardini, 1997, p. 6).

Since the 1990s, the via Francigena has become increasingly famous. Its popularity is linked to the reinvention of the phenomenon of pilgrimage and associated growth of tourism, and to considerable research interest in the via Francigena by academics and local enthusiasts. Its official recognition by the Council of Europe in 1994 led to lively multidisciplinary investigations which have amplified cultural interest in the regions along the route, while also shifting the spotlight to a single, easily comprehensible and commodified path. This has disguised the route's medieval complexity. In this chapter the historiography of the via Francigena between 1700 and 2020 is assessed, to show how research approaches have evolved and how the composite identity of the Francigena road network has been constructed. It is argued that, despite a lot of existing work, the spatial, temporal and cultural aspects of the via Francigena require further critical investigation. The chapter traces how diverse authors since the seventeenth century have used often nebulous and fragmentary documentary evidence to examine what might be termed the idea of this medieval road network.

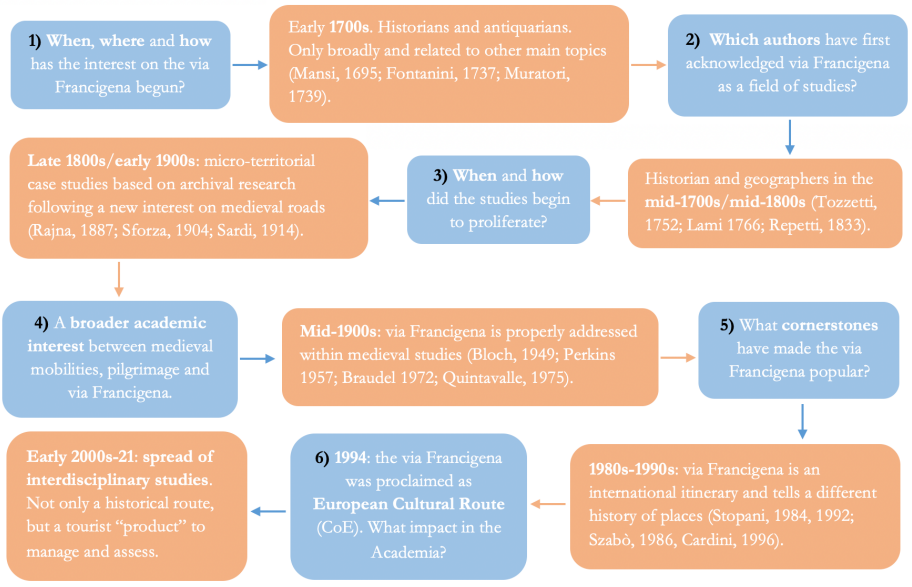


Fig.4.1. Historiography framework: tracing the trend of the studies.

[22] Part of the results of this chapter are to be published in: Porcelloni, L., Watkins, C., Balzaretti, R. (in press, 2023). Tracing the identity and mobilities of a rediscovered medieval route network: via Francigena (1695-2020). *Geotema*.

IV.I. 1695-1900: FROM THE ORIGINS OF THE «*STRADE FRANCESCHE*»

As explained in the literature review, until 1700 the interest of scholars was focussed on the persistence of Roman roads; medieval roads were of little significance to antiquarians. The historiography of the medieval via Francigena can therefore be said to begin with Tozzetti for several reasons:

1) Together with Lami («*Lezioni di Antichità Toscane*», 1766), he is among the first to refer to the «*Strada Francesca*» as a route (Tozzetti, Vol. IV, 1752, pp. 180-181).

2) Tozzetti, in describing the itineraries of his travels testified to a still current usage of the term «*Francesca*» for some stretches in Tuscany: «Once in Pietrasanta I took the road to Lucca, which is called *Via Francesca* […]» (*ibidem*, Vol. VII, 1774, p. 2) and again, quoting Lami (Lami, 1743, p. 1196): «the road that comes from Altopascio towards Galleno, is still called *Via Francesca* […]» (Tozzetti, Vol. IX, 1776, p. 245). However, contemporary maps termed the road «*Strada Maestra Romana*» suggesting that toponym «*Francesca*» remained only as a local oral usage.

3) Tozzetti referred to the road as leading to France: «nowadays the name of *Strada Francesca* that leads to France […]» (*ibidem*, Vol. IX, 1776, p. 245). This shows that in Tuscany itself an idea of the medieval road had "survived" in a fragmentary form. Lami (Vol. IX, 1776) suggested that the road went to Rome from Siena, citing a document dated 1319.

4) Tozzetti studied the north Tuscan access points to the Francigena when travelling from Lombardy and listed the main «Gates». He also described the route that passes from the Cisa with the name of «*Strada di Pontremoli*» and «*Strada di Monte Bardone*», which correspond to the route of the Francigena, although he never mentioned that in this context (Tozzetti, Vol. X, 1777, pp. 233-235).

5) When he wrote about Roman roads, it is clear that for him the Francigena coincided with those Roman stretches. For example, summarising Lami, he wrote that «the *Strada Francesca* would have been one and the same with the *Via Cassia* from Luni to Lucca» (*ibidem*, Vol. IX, 1776, p. 247).
Therefore, Tozzetti and Lami's works were fundamental in tracing the historiographical path of via Francigena. Giovanni Lami, for example, was among the first to contextualise the Francigena within the medieval period, via hypotheses,

for example, on the passage of Charlemagne and on paths in Valdelsa. In this regard, Lami writes that «I strongly doubt that there was not the *Strada Francesca* in the 8th century: although we have no memory of it» (Lami, 1766, Preface).

The Italian historian Ludovico Muratori (1672-1750), a leading scholar of his age, made one of the very first references to the Francigena in the 18th century. In his «*Antiquitates*», he raised the linguistic issues associated with the road: «*Tum addit, fuisse qui pro Francigena, sed perperam, legerunt Francisca; iisque temporibus vocabulo Francigena designatos Teudiscos, feu Germanos, Teutonicosve*» (Muratori, 1739, p. 1019) («Then he adds that there had been those for the *Francigena*, but they mistakenly read *Francisca*; and in those times the term *Francigena* designated the *Teudiscos*, the Germans, or the Teutons»). He built upon a hypothesis of Fontanini about an epitaph of Pope Gregory V (d. 999) contained in the «*Vita Mathildis*» by Donizone di Canossa in which the term Francigena was used to refer to the Germans. Muratori questioned its reliability saying that the road must have passed through Lombardy, Pontremoli, Florence, Siena and Rome (*ibidem*, p. 1020).

The influential opinions of Giusto Fontanini (1666-1736), Roman Catholic archbishop and historian of Italy, have been called into question by others too. In his «*Della Eloquenza Italiana*» (published in three volumes), he analysed some medieval documents which included the name «*Francigena*» to refer to the road. Although his view of the epitaph of Gregory V (Fontanini, 1726, p. 9) was incorrect as Muratori realised, in discussing the Latin panegyric dedicated to the emperor Berengar I (d. 924) his conclusions were more convincing: «some royal roads of Italy, such as the *Flaminia*, and *Emilia*, through which the armies of *Lamagna* [Germany] passed, descended into Italy, were therefore called *Francigene*» (Fontanini, 1737, p. 18). This not only testifies to his early interest in the Francigena road itself but also offers an interpretation of the plural term «*Francigene*»[23], also used by Muratori, Rajna and Mazzi, and the most recent scholars and institutions who refer to Francigene plural, while not mentioning Fontantini.[24] This reference to Roman roads confirms that 18th and early 19th century studies of road networks were strongly focused on the Roman period to the near exclusion of the medieval road system.

[23] In Italian, the plural of feminine nouns is formed by replacing the letter «a» with the letter «e» (excluding various linguistic exceptions).
[24] See the European Association of the Via Francigena ways (Associazione Europea delle Vie Francigene). The Association was founded under the name «Francigene» to embody the plurality of the Francigena road network («Francigena ways»).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, other significant historians tackled the Francigena. Ireneo Affò (1741-1797) referred to the «*Strada Teutonica*» with respect to a papal edict of the twelfth century published by Muratori, so called because it was used by Germans who "organised" it as the Franks did with the «*Francigena*» or «*Francisca*» between Fornovo and Tuscany (Affò, 1790, p. 61). Affò's work was used by Girolamo Tiraboschi (1731-1794), another 18th century scholar used by subsequent authors, for example when he wrote about the «*Via o Strata Francigena*» in relation to a stretch of the *Via Emilia* and, at greater length, the Roman road *Via Clodia* (Tiraboschi, 1825, p. 401, published posthumously).
It can therefore be concluded that the earliest serious studies of the Francigena road, at least in Italy, developed in the 18th century. There are no references to earlier scholars, except for the first-hand evidence provided by medieval scholars writing contemporaneously with the medieval road. Surprisingly, the well-known seventeenth-century scholar, Ferdinando Ughelli, a Cistercian monk and historian (1595-1670), who studied medieval history in his «*Italia Sacra*» (1647), did not use the term Francigena even for places such as Berceto on the Monte Bardone, the Paglia Valley and the Abbey of the S.S. on Monte Amiata which were clearly on that road. However, a more extensive search of the earlier literature at a European scale may well reveal interest in the road before the 1700s. An example of this, is Aloisio Mansi writing at the end of the 1600s, who, in the 8th volume of his «*Consultationum*», discussed border controversies through boundary stones in the territory of Montignoso in the province of Massa, in Tuscany. Place where the Francigena flows and which he does not fail to mention several times as «*via Francigena*» (Mansi, 1695, pp. 19-21), whose domination is given by the famous transit of the Franckish army: «*dicta via à celebri transit Francorum exercitus*» (*ibidem*, p. 19), as well as in plural form «*vie Francigene*» (*ibidem*, p. 14). At the most it can be added that the name «*Ruga Francigena*» is also found (Stopani, 1992), which appears among the scholars of the time as a residence near St. Peter's in the district of the Swiss guards in memory of the Frankish devotion («*Ritratto di Roma Moderna*», 1652, p. 368; Chattard, 1767, p. 331) and in Naples as a street name, always in memory of the origin of those inhabitants (Contarino, 1569, p. 17), and «*Ruga Francesca, detta* [called] *Ruga Gallicorū*» as a district («*contrada*») (De' Pietri, 1634, p. 80).



Fig.4.1. «*Pianta della zona di confine fra il territorio di Montignoso e quello di Pietrasanta presso il lago di Montignoso*», 1592-1593 (detail). The map shows that, between Montignoso and Pietrasanta, the name via Francigena was still in use to indicate the main road in the early 1590s («*strada Franzese*» and «*strada Franzese antica*»).
Source: ASFi, Casella VI, 6, Map 71.

Another Tuscan scholar is the geographer, historian and naturalist Emanuele Repetti, who lived between the 18th and 19th century (1776-1852). His most famous work is his «*Dizionario Geografico Fisico Storico della Toscana*» published between 1833 and 1846 and gathered in five volumes, in which he described the natural and social history of each place in Tuscany. This resulted from extensive travels the whole region to gather information. It was widely read and praised. Although his importance compared with Tozzetti has been challenged by some (e.g. the already mentioned Sardi), I would suggest that his contribution remains important for two reasons. First, he referred to «*via francesca*» or «*francigena*» a great deal (e.g. the word «*francesca*» appears thirty-three times in the 5th Volume), because he printed unknown archival documents. Second, whenever a piece of territory was crossed by an ancient road, he always noted it, making it possible to trace the routes through the Tuscan region.

It was therefore with Repetti that an explicit interest in the Francigena arose: he dedicated several paragraphs to the medieval road network, recognising the stretches of the Francigena, especially those on the Cisa pass between Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany (Repetti, 1833, Vol. I, p. 86). Indeed, he devoted a whole chapter to the Francigena route, entitling it with all the epithets accredited at that

time «*Via Francesca, Francigena, Romea e Pontremolese*». In doing this, Repetti was undoubtedly the first scholar to trace the itinerary of the Francigena with continuity from the Tuscan entrance at *Monte Bardone* through the whole of Tuscany to Rome, resorting to a diary source of Philip Augustus, king of France (1191). He also provided an insightful definition of the via Francigena: «The generic name of *Via Francesca* was given to many national roads, which at the time of the descent of the Franks in Italy crossed Tuscany leading to Rome» (Repetti, 1843, Vol. V, pp. 715-716).

Notable were two significant archive references that Repetti reported in his first volume. From the episcopal Archive of Lucca, he highlighted a document of the year 952 that attests the first «*mansio*» and residence (in Altopascio) of the masters of the order of «*Ospitalieri*» (Hospitallers), from which their institute propagated itself in Italy and abroad with the aim of hosting travellers, taking care of pilgrims, maintaining public roads and the germane infrastructures (*ibidem*, Vol. I, 1833, p. 66). From the «*Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*» of the Abbey of San Salvatore in Monte Amiata, he discussed a document dated 1107 that for the first time evidences the existence of a road called «*via Francesca*» in Val di Paglia, in the hamlet of «*Callis Malus*» (*Callemala*) (*ibidem*, Vol. I, 1833, p. 310), mentioned in the course of a dispute about a property of the Count Ugolino, son of Ranieri and Ermingarda. However, Repetti's interpretation has been challenged by the work of Wilhelm Kurze and Mario Marrocchi on that *Codex* which shows that in the document «via *publica*» was mentioned rather than «*via Francesca*» (probably referring to via Francigena). In fact, the first certain occurrence of via Francigena («*via francisca*» in the document) can be found in an earlier document dated 876 in the same *Codex* (Kurze, 2004, p. 109).

Other significant work was produced at the same time by Professor Pio Rajna. In the course of investigating an inscription in Nepi, he made his first remarks about medieval roads and traffic from northern Europe to Rome considering both Roman roads and then more precisely Carolingian ones when we find in medieval latin the «*Strata Francigena*», translated into vernacular as «*Strada Francesca*» (Rajna, 1887, p. 33). With respect to the documents, Rajna was the first to cite the earliest document of 876, introducing the context of Radicofani and Monte Amiata in southern Tuscany. Here, Rajna attributes to Repetti's work his own interest in studying the parchments of the archive of the abbey at Monte

Amiata (*ibidem*, p. 36). Rajna contextualised these territorial realities with the documents recording medieval itineraries («*Annales Stadenses*», itinerary of Philip Augustus, *Burdigalense* and an Icelandic abbot) (*ibidem*, p. 26). By doing this, he too realised the plural meanings of «*the via Francigena*» which he therefore addressed it in the plural form «*Strade Francesche*» referring to the Frankish empire, but also naming them «*Romee*» in reference to the direction (Rome).

In the second half of the 19th century there were also another series of contributions that testified to a growing awareness of the itinerary. De Bartholomeis asserted that most pilgrims to Italy came from France, as attested by the name «*strata francigena*» (De Bartholomeis, 1888, p. 169). In the same year, don Davoli instead supported Muratori's, Tiraboschi's and Bethmann's mistaken association of the Francigena with the *Via Emilia* towards Rimini which in fact crosses Tuscany through Pontremoli (Davoli, 1888, p. 361). Angelo Mazzi, on the other hand, documented the use of «*strada francesca*» for the stretch between Adda and Oglio (Mazzi, 1894, pp. II-III), and also used linguistic arguments. Furthermore, like Muratori, Mazzi anticipated the plural value of the medieval road system: «*queste vie così chiamate, se non perché conducevano nella Gallia*» («these roads are so called, if not because they led to Gaul») (Mazzi, 1880, p. 194).

In the rest of Europe, most interest in the Francigena was by French, German and Spanish scholars but generally in the notes rather than the main text. In France, Alart made a brief investigation of the evolution of toponyms associated with the route near Roussillon using documents since the year 865. He reported the use of the phrase «*strata francisca*» (Alart, 1856, pp. 70-71), like in Italy. Four years later, he, like some Italian authors, referred to the itinerary with «*voies Francesques*», in the plural form, and argued that these had nothing in common with the ancient Roman roads, in contrast to the common hypotheses of continuity advanced in Italy. For the same region, he cited a document from the year 801, an early reference to the Francigena: «*via publica que dicitur Francisca*» (Alart, 1860, pp. 158-159). In Spain too, in the second half of the nineteenth century, there were case studies relating to the Francigena within their own country. The «*Strata francisca*» was cited during a discussion of the identification of a port near Barcelona, where «*el camino*» passed by in the Middle Ages (Saavedra, 1881, p. 79). A series of notarial documents of different nature dated between the 9th and 12th centuries were noted as evidencing a «*strata francisca*, *francescha*, *francigena*» which then

becomes «*strata regia*» or «*calciata*», concerning a road («*carretera*» or «*calzada*») that started from Cardaña (Balarì y Jovany, 1899, pp. 292-297). In the German case, it is interesting that scholars mainly referred to Italian territory as regards the Francigena. Bethmann (1812-1867) has already been mentioned: Rajna regarded his association of «*Francigenam*» with the *Via Emilia* as erroneous (Rajna, 1887, p. 34). For others, the ancient and imperial «*strata Francigena*» was also to be associated with the Piacenza-Rimini route (Tourtal, 1866, p. 68). However, Kapitel mentioned the «*via Francesca*» referring to Repetti and therefore correctly and summarily listing the main stages from the high *Via Emilia* to Pontremoli and then to Rome (Kapitel, 1880, p. 20). Similarly, Hartwig mentioned the «*Strada Francigena*» (Hartwig, 1875, p. 125) or «*Via francigena*» on several occasions, as a great military road that led from northern Italy to Rome (*ibidem*, pp. 92- 93). Lastly, it is interesting to observe how also in the United States, the discourse on the Francigena was addressed, by means of Rajna's paper (1887), regarding studies on linguistics; however, the use of the road by pilgrims was also noted, for example as the «highway [that] is frequently called in the middle ages the *Strata Francigena*» (Warren, 1888, p. 31).

Scholarly interest in Tuscany is not simply due to its beautiful landscapes, rich history and large number of surviving sources, but also to the scholars discussed in this section whose work produced the considerable amount of information which later researchers could develop. Initial scholarly obsession with the major Roman roads alone (Borghini, Bergier, Augustin, Guazzesi, and many others already listed), was developed into investigations of the Francigena (Fontanini, Muratori), and then ever-increasing interest in that route as well as in medieval roads more generally (Tozzetti, Lami, Repetti, Rajna). The 18th-19th century phase of studies emphasised complexity of the history of the via Francigena including the use of the adjective «*Fransiscus*» and the existence of a series of pre-existing roads. However, the conclusion of these scholars also led to confusion in successive studies especially in relation to the institutional projects that have subsequently invested in the path (see Chapter IV.IV).

IV.II. 1900-1940: THE PROLIFERATION OF LOCAL RESEARCH

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed increasing interest in the medieval via Francigena which included widespread study of archival sources. Several micro-territorial case studies, mainly in Tuscany, helped to fill up some gaps in the itinerary itself (Palmieri, 1918; Chiappelli, 1926; Solari, 1929). Moreover, the route was beginning to be discussed in the context of pilgrimage and hospitality (Pavari, 1927) and broader socio-economic studies (Dompè, 1922). One of the earliest studies of this sort analysing the via Francigena was by the historian Giovanni Sforza who worked in the area around Pontremoli and in Lunigiana (Sforza, 1887, 1904). He edited the medieval itineraries of the roads connecting Pontremoli with Lombardy known as the Brattello and Cisa. Interestingly he used various names for the Cisa: «*via di Monte Bardone*, *Romea*, *Francigena* o *Francesca*, *Lombarda* e *Pontremolese*» (Sforza, 1904, p. 341) depending on the likely destination. Road studies gave a distinctive identity to the Lunigiana (Dadà, 2012, p. 65), perhaps as a region where the boundary represented by the Apennine chain was overcome. Other work on the via Francigena in Tuscany was published by Schneider (1914, 1975) and, in the Valdelsa area, by Vezzi (1923) and Guicciardini (1939).

Giuseppe Fatini (1922) was the first to include the «*via Francesca*» in the title of a paper which was about the medieval road at the foot of Monte Amiata. He related the arterial route in the Paglia and Orcia valleys with the Langobardic abbey dedicated to St. Salvatore at Amiata. This was the first attempt to locate exactly the via Francigena in this area. As the documents from the Abbey of Monte Amiata («*Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*») were not published until the 1970s, Fatini used the early medieval documents of the collection by quoting Giovanni Colombino Fatteschi (1728-1809) «*Memorie istorico-diplomatiche del monastero di S. Salvatore di Monte Amiata*» (Fatini, 1922, pp. 1-2), with particular reference to two parchments of the years 876 and 887, which together indicate the existence of the medieval road before the 10th century. The document of the year 876 has been already discussed in the description of Repetti's studies and will be dealt with later, but we can already highlight here that it is particularly important since it is the first source that attests the existence of via Francigena («*francisca*» as in the document).

For the history of Orcia and Paglia Valleys, Fatini reported the famous names of people that sojourned there, as well as the known posts on the road

(Fatini, 1922, pp. 3-5). Furthermore, with respect to Monte Amiata and the Abbey, he referred to two particular texts written by two relevant figures, again depicted at a later time: *I Commentarii*, Pope Pio II (1405-1464) and «*L'Italia Sacra*», abbot Ferdinando Ughelli (1595-1670). The researcher from Monte Amiata did not forget to mention Emanuele Repetti and Verdiani Bandi («*I castelli della Val d'Orcia e la Repubblica di Siena*», Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria, 8th, 1901).

Roughly ten years later, the via Francigena was again used in the title of a paper, with the focus this time on the area around Siena. Giulio Veronesi Pesciolini (1933) argued that the road called «*Romana*», and before «*Francigena*» and «*Romea*», linked the lands between Lucca, the Valdelsa and Siena with Rome. He was not particularly successful in identifying the route and argued that the lack of specific references to the road was due to its secondary importance.

Medieval roads were studied by the historian Arturo Palmieri who argued that knowledge about them (based on his earlier thesis, 1887) was no less important than that of the great Roman roads and stressed that «Medieval roads deserve to be studied since they were an integral part of the heritage of the feudal regime» (Palmieri, 1918, p. 5). Using public documents of 11th, 12th and 13th centuries and other medieval parchments, he linked the use of common lands and guarantees for road maintenance (*ibidem*, p. 13). However, although Palmieri was one of the first to focus on medieval roads, he made no reference to the via Francigena.

One pioneering study of medieval roads which did mention the via Francigena was by the historian Giovanni Sforza (1846-1922). It was inserted among his studies of Pontremoli and the Lunigiana (1887-1904). Sforza edited a chapter on the medieval itineraries of this region in particular the Brattello and Cisa routes which connected Pontremoli with Lombardy. He referred to the Cisa one using various names: «*via di Monte Bardone, Romea, Francigena* or *Francesca, Lombarda* and *Pontremolese*» (Sforza, 1904, p. 341), depending on the place that the road went to. Among the references he used, in addition to the usual Strabo, Cicero, Bergier and Repetti, the mid-19th century work of Celesia on Roman roads in ancient Liguria is an irreplaceable source which preserved material that would otherwise have been lost (Celesia, 1863). On the Francigena in Tuscany, Fedor Schneider made occasional reference to the road (Schneider, 1975 – first edition in 1914), and for the Valdelsa area Ernesto-Mattone Vezzi (1923) and Paolo Guicciardini (1939).

Pio Rajna (1887, p. 33) had considered routes from northern Europe to Rome in the Carolingian period where he found the term «*Strata Francigena*» in medieval Latin in documents translated into the vernacular as «*Strada Francesca*». He was first to identify the earliest documentary evidence (year 876) for the Francigena in Italy (fig. 4.2), as he himself claimed, thanks to Emanuele Repetti's archival research at San Salvatore in Monte Amiata (*ibidem*, p. 36). This research led him to understand the plurality of the via Francigena, which he describes as «*Strade Francesche*». Rajna contextualised these territorial realities with diary sources of great medieval European journeys.

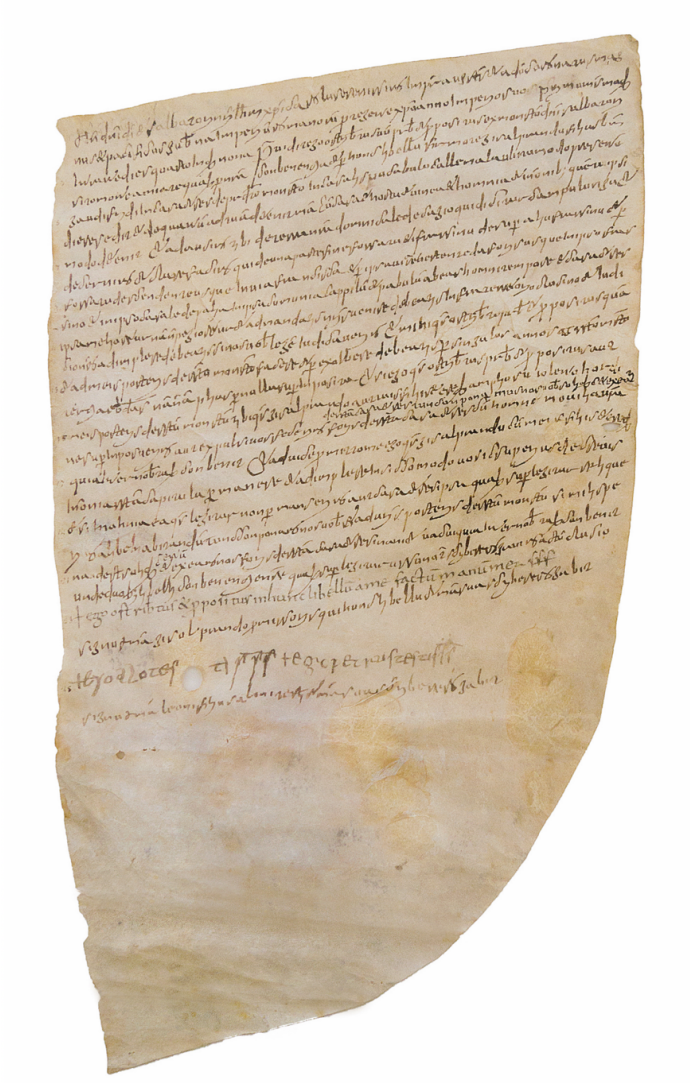


Fig.4.2. Parchment contained in the «*Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*», 4th May 876
Line 9th: «*usque in via francisca*».
Source: ASSi, Diplomatico San Salvatore MA (cas. 6). Author's photo, April 2018.

He stressed the plurality of the via Francigena and also defined them as «*Romee*» where people travelled south instead of north (*ibidem*, pp. 40-41). He also emphasised the lack of maintenance of Roman roads in the medieval period noting that «if a landslide obstructed the path it was enough to find another way through the rubble» (Rajna, 1912, p. 103). For this he blamed the lack of a powerful central organisation, although he thought the Catholic Church helped to provide a regulatory power over pilgrim and trade routes (*ibidem*, p. 104, p. 116).

A couple of years later Count Cesare Sardi (1914) attempted to reconstruct the medieval road system of the area around Lucca. He stressed that the roads continued to be used by medieval travellers and argued that Roman and medieval roads should be studied together (*ibidem*, p. 150). Sardi's innovative approach was to search for local and original documents: «medieval documents can be a reliable guide for the verification of ancient itineraries» (*ibidem*, p. 153). Moreover, Sardi is the first 20th century author to name the via Francigena frequently and dedicates a chapter to «*via romea o francisca*». Why did Sardi use the name «*francisca*», rather than only «*romea*»? This is probably because he found two documents using the name. One concerning the entrance at Lucca is «a 1193 charter regarding a house in St. Romano contrada *que tenet uno caput in via francisca (R. Archivio di Stato, Dipl. S. Ponziano 8 Marzo 1193*) […]» (*ibidem*, pp. 230-231). He described it not as a Roman consular road but as a new itinerary, which followed a safer route between Rome and France and ignored the perilous and abandoned old road (*ibidem*, p. 224). His examination of old records suggested to him that «the *via romea* or *francisca* lost their direct links with old roads» but that at Lucca «we can see rise again the *via francisca* or *romea*. It is a phenomenon not dissimilar to that of a river flowing into a lake, disappearing, and then coming out and reclaiming its course and its own name» (*ibidem*, pp. 228-229). Some 18th and 19th century maps around Pescia, Montecatini Terme and Fucecchio (near Lucca), use «*via* [or] *strada maestra Francesca*».

Overall, studies of the route of the via Francigena in this period show an increased interest in the medieval period. This move was encouraged by scholarly interpretation of medieval documents. Through their interpretations of original documents and decision to use the name via Francigena, Sardi and Rajna are among of the most important contributors to the historiography of via Francigena in the early 20th century. This was achieved even though medieval documents

rarely named the routes by linking particular paths to landscape features in a series of local case studies.

IV.III. 1940-1980: MEDIEVAL ROADS AND MOBILITY AS APPROACHES TO STUDY

In this period there was an increase in interest in the study of roads, specifically in the case of the via Francigena mostly from the 1970s. Perhaps the most innovative contribution to the study of medieval roads in this period was by the Danish historian Johann Plesner (1896-1938) whose work on the 13th century road revolution was published posthumously in Copenhagen in 1938, but remained unknown in Italy for forty years until a translation was published (Plesner, 1979). This was discussed above along with work by Marc Bloch and Fernand Braudel which provided the theoretical underpinning of the study of medieval routes and roads. It is in this context that the importance of work of the art historian Carlo Arturo Quintavalle (1975, 1977) needs to be placed. He reconstructed medieval itineraries in the Emilia region and at the crossings of Monte Bardone (a medieval toponym which referred to the Tuscan-Emilian Apennine chain) using evidence from architecture, art history and historical events. He also linked the study of architecture and iconography to pilgrimage and major roads. Interestingly he called the first book «*La strada Romea*» noting that it would have been pioneering to call it «*La strada Francigena*» which would have stressed its origin rather than at the destination (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 7). Crucially, from a methodological point of view, Quintavalle introduced a way of interpreting territory that is neither typological nor regional, but based on the study of the roads; as well as analysing buildings and plans of towns and cities.

Only two years later, Quintavalle published another extensive book on the same study area which links the study of architecture and iconography to the phenomenon of pilgrimage and the major roads. This is a method which, together with the search for homogeneous cultural areas, can overcome the difficulty of establishing an organic line of development (Quintavalle, 1977, pp. 7-8). From a methodological point of view, Quintavalle gave the road absolute centrality, offering numerous advantages over more traditional analysis models.

This methodological approach provided the basis for the successes of Renato Stopani, whose research first appeared in a multi-authored work which applied art history methods to the structures placed along the roads with the Via Francigena in the centre (Moretti, Ruschi, Stopani, 1975). Just after that, an excellent contribution was that of the Italian historian Italo Moretti (1977). In his work about the Tuscan region, he quoted many of the texts discussed above (such as Rajna, Fatini and Sterpos), the main itinerary sources and the history of posts and structures located along the arterial road as already outlined. As well as this, parts of his work were subsequently quoted by many authors, such as Stopani, notably when Moretti complainingly described the general scarcity of medieval sources as the result of absent central road organisation. Furthermore, in his article, he explained that there were fewer studies about Italian medieval roads than about those in France and he called for more studies (Moretti, 1977, pp. 383-384).

On medieval roads in Tuscany, Alessandra Borgi's pamphlet can perhaps be considered the first synthesis of what had already been published (e.g. Sardi, Rajna, Repetti, Tozzetti, Fatini, Pesciolini, Pavari) to provide a linear study from the Etruscan period to the age of Comuni. She also valued the relationship between territorial development and the road network without neglecting the phenomenon of pilgrimage and the organisation of sacred and receptive structures (Borgi, 1976). Overall, this valuable work confirmed the innovative methodological interest in medieval road networks in the mid-1970s.

IV.IV. 1980-2020: THE POPULARITY OF THE FRANCIGENA WAYS

By the end of the 1970s the term via Francigena had gained a foothold in the imagination of archaeologists, historians and geographers, and there was a growing public interest in the history of medieval roads. This interest rapidly developed into a flood of research by scholars from a variety of traditions from the early 1980s. The most important and influential contributions were made by the geographer Renato Stopani[25] (1992, 1998, 2000, 2010) whose books mark a clear turning point

[25] As part of the historiographical investigation, I conducted a semi-structured interview with Professor Renato Stopani in Florence on 16th April 2019. We discussed the historiography of the via Francigena, first studies, and the spread and popularity of publications. Finally, we discussed his role in institutions linked to the reinvention of the itinerary. The total duration is 1 hour and 58 minutes (transcription count: 7.800 words).

in the historiography of via Francigena, in particular because he firmly established its national and international profile as a continuous route. Sestini (in Stopani, 1984, p. 1) saw the concept of a road as «a living organism strongly linked with the physical, economic, political geographies of the connected regions». Essentially, Stopani's methodology is interdisciplinary including the analysis of architectural features and emphasises the need to focus research on sample areas based on medieval ecclesiastical territorial organisation. This approach links with research in the previous decade (Moretti, Ruschi, Stopani, 1975; Quintavalle, 1975, 1977). Interdisciplinarity often distinguishes geographical research and here two main interdisciplinary trends can be located in the mid 1970s. First, the analysis of architectural structures (Moretti, Ruschi, Stopani, 1975, p. 31) as witnesses of a specific territorial asset of the past. Second, the demarcation of an area around the main road network to dedicate the research on a territory sample according to the medieval ecclesiastical organisation of the territory (Moretti, Ruschi, Stopani, 1975, pp. 55-56), enabling the inclusion of variants and strategic elements of the landscape. This approach demonstrates Quintavalle's influence on Stopani. The Valdelsa in Tuscany is an area that has polarised various researches on medieval roads and again in the 80s, as first of all it was a place where important routes crossed, determining its vocation as a «road area» (Muzzi, 1988, p. 18). We should therefore mention the work of Ruschi in relation to the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric (Ruschi, 1981) and the effective contextualization of Stopani (Stopani, 1986).

Beyond his publications, Stopani has founded in 1985 the «*Centro Studi Romei*» («Centre of Studies on the Medieval Routes of Pilgrimage to Rome»), of which he is still the president. The Centre has organised exhibitions and conferences on medieval pilgrim routes bringing together scholars and local researchers of each discipline, mostly Italian. It has also monographs and periodicals bringing coherence to the many micro-territorial study cases within the main macro-topics (the database counts over 40000 records[26]). The magazine «*De Strata Francigena*» is the main outcome, a series of miscellanies about studies and researches of medieval pilgrimage that has produced 27 issues between 1993 and 2019.

[26] http://www.centrostudiromei.eu/centro-studi-romei

Stopani has written monographs and edited miscellanies. In 1985, he gathered together a group of eminent scholars such as the medievalist Franco Cardini and local researchers in order to work on the territory of Siena, collecting specific data about that area (e.g. Mambrini about roads in Monte Amiata). Stopani and Cardini both introduced the concept of space and territoriality within medieval roads: the former focused on the multitude of roads which connected as many towns as possible (Stopani, 1985, p. 16); the medievalist stressed the relationship between communication roads and political power (an issue of «space and power») (Cardini in Stopani, 1985, p. 26). Moreover, Cardini highlighted the relevance of travellers, specifically in the case of crusades and pilgrimages; topics that he has developed deeply throughout his career (1991, 2001, 1996, 2019).

The early 1980s also saw growing interest in what has been termed «route archaeology» (see the section above). Valenti (1996) reported on finds of coins and pottery from various digs near Poggibonsi and Buonconvento and related these to the via Francigena, while Cambi studied ancient landscapes relevant to branches of via Francigena (Cambi, 2003). Patitucci (2004) stressed the methodological value of using many sources: the geomorphological context; written sources; tracks, artefacts and structures connected with the road; associated settlements and toponymy in her studies of the via Francigena in Tuscany. A related paper emphasised the value of GIS to help understandings of the links between human and natural elements of road landscapes (Patitucci, Uggeri, 2007, p. 324).

The value of detailed local research was shown by the publication of «*L'Amiata nel Medioevo*» (Ascheri, Kurze, 1989) which opened up discussions on the importance of the wide-ranging Francigena road network. This included questions of identity and nomenclature, such as whether to use «*via*» or «*strata*», «*Francigena*» or «*Romea*» (Szabò, 1989, p. 300), and specific research on the area between Val d'Orcia and Val di Paglia (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989) which is an area that has seen further recent developments in Francigena studies (Mambrini, 2016; Porcelloni, 2017a).

The problem of how to study the areas through which medieval routes passed and the extent to which they influenced each other was considered by Giuseppe Sergi (1981, 1995, 2000) who coined the term «*area di strada*» («road area»). He was influenced by the geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache and historian Lucien Febvre and argued that medieval roads consisted of «a territory within

which long-lasting transients interact, that is, it contains a series of the routes» (Sergi, 2000, p. 4). He applied his ideas directly to the via Francigena «there were many *vie francigenae*. It is rather difficult to talk about variations of a main path because mostly it was about routes of equal importance and equal intensity of the flows» (Sergi, 1995, p. 12). Vanni (1995) developed the road area perspective in the context of micro-regional studies in Tuscany. He also included an innovative contribution on food, culture and society related to the Francigena (Vanni, 2009) and a study on the symbolism of the labyrinths along pilgrimage routes, in particular the one at Pontremoli (Massola, Vanni, 2002). However, Dall'Aglio (2005) argues that the concept of «*area di strada*» could be misleading because it constitutes a vague aggregation and does not take into account a road system that is in continuity with the Roman one, but hierarchically different, where the substantial difference lies in the road as an artefact. Szabò also supports some continuity between Roman and medieval road networks, and believes this caused a lack of interest in studies of links between municipalities and roads in Middle Ages (Szabò, 1986).

The value of medieval pilgrimage routes as part of cultural heritage received a great boost in 1987 when the Council of Europe introduced the denomination Cultural Route of the Council of Europe with the Santiago de Compostella Declaration (Caucci, Asolan, 2009). According to ICOMOS,[27] «Cultural Routes represent interactive, dynamic, and evolving processes of human intercultural links that reflect the rich diversity of the contributions of different peoples to cultural heritage». The enormous popularity of the Santiago de Compostella pilgrimage certainly stimulated interest locally and internationally in via Francigena, and in 1994 the Via Francigena was certified. In anticipation, the anthropologist Caselli published in 1990 a guide following in the footsteps of Sigeric, on the thousandth anniversary of his journey (990-1990) (Caselli, 1990). The Association Internationale Via Francigena (AIVF) was set up in 1997, followed in 2001 by the European Association of the Via Francigena ways (EAVF), founded on April 7th 2001 (previous «Associazione dei Comuni Italiani sulla Via Francigena»), was acknowledged by the same Institution in 2007 to promote and protect the itinerary in its entirety. The popular magazine of the EAVF is the biannual «Via Francigena

[27] ICOMOS is a non-governmental international organisation dedicated to the conservation of the world's monuments and sites.

and the European Cultural Routes»,[28] which publishes both new insights about the Association's activities since 1995 (at first called «*Il Corriere Romeo*». Following the European recognition of the itinerary, new study days were developed: «*Le vie del Medioevo – Pellegrini, Mercanti, Monaci e Guerrieri da Canterbury a Gerusalemme*» (Torino, 20-21 October 1994) and «*La Francigena: un percorso della storia europea per l'economia turistica del 2000*» (Parma, 20th January 1995).

The revival, invention and popularity of pilgrimage routes was complemented by historical studies of medieval pilgrim routes. Franco Cardini (1971) showed how pilgrims were protected and looked after by the church which also supported road construction, maintenance and restoration of ancient routes; more recently he has written about the Christian value of pilgrimage (Cardini, Russo, 2019). Further studies emphasised connections between pilgrimage and hospitality (Peyer, 1990) and linked pilgrimages and the crusades from an anthropological point of view Dupront (1987). In addition, studies of individual journeys, especially Ortenberg's (1990) analysis of Archbishop Sigeric's journey from Canterbury to Rome in 990, allowed the precise identification of different stages along medieval routes.

Renato Stopani has continued to research beyond the local at national and international levels (1991, 1992a, 1992b, 1998, 2000). In 1991, Stopani illustrated the major pilgrimage routes using travel diaries over from the whole medieval period, commenting on the variations in routes that had occurred over time. This study showed the great mobility of medieval people. The following year (1992a), he extended his research to the via Francigena in southern Italy and in another publication (1992b) Stopani situated the via Francigena in a European context. In 1998, the via Francigena was illustrated with the aim to identify a general chronological order, a genesis and further development that transformed the route during the late Middle Ages. Again, architecture, evidence on the ground, art history and hospitality are the main resources. The Francigena, as well as the other main medieval arteries, is configured within a bundle of:

«New itineraries born from the ruins of the Roman road system actually were the result of a history of *collage* between sections of ancient Roman consular and sections of local routes, naturally already pre-existing» (2000, p. 8).

[28] http://www.rivistaviafrancigena.it/

The Touring Club of Italy (TCI), the major Italian tourist organisation, published in 2004 a book about the reconstruction of the great Roman road network. Already in 1995 the TCI issued its first work on the via Francigena, entrusted to eminent scholars (Cherubini, Foschi, Gambi, Moretti, Toubert). However, this was a short book which listed the stage of Sigeric's journey, the hamlets crossed by the road and some concise historical references. Basically it considered the existing tourist itinerary, which ended in Rome, when Stopani had already published his work on the southern extension of the via Francigena (1992). Pietro Dalena has also examined the medieval routes of southern Italy, with various references to the Francigena and a strong connection with the Orient and the Holy Land, retracing the main journeys and itineraries (1995, 2002). More recently, he highlighted the itinerary from Rome to south defining an area of the road as well and the evolution between Romea to Francigena route (Dalena, 2017). Research on the Francigena road network in southern Italy is taking hold, both with respect to the continuity with the Roman network and the medieval variants, which evidence the existence of further routes on the Apulian stretch also in consideration of the Michaelic pilgrimage (Infante, 2008).

Over the last decade, there has therefore been a growing interest in Italian cultural routes, large-scale investment (in terms of finance and public policies). The Via Francigena has become a very valuable tourist product. Jacques Le Goff argued that the via Francigena is a clear manifestation of the cohesion and diversity of Europe (Le Goff, 1996), because it brought pilgrims from northern Europe to Rome, as portrayed in one of the first documentary films on the Francigena.[29] The literature places the road at the centre of studies and allows us to identify a new tradition of "roadscape" studies. This is a multidisciplinary approach (including architecture, ecology, engineering and anthropology) that starts from guidelines laid down by the Council of Europe and develops, around Via Francigena, strategies for the protection, governance and use of the path jointly with the landscape, as in the work of the Instituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia (Bettini, Marotta, Tosi, 2011) and of the Polytechnic University of Milan, including urban design projects with respect to public space (Bertelli et al., 2014). The identification of the surrounding landscape changes is linked to the institutional path through spatial analysis to enhance rural and urban planning (Diti et al., 2015), this also in light of

[29]https://fidenza-luoghi.blogspot.com/p/cronacario-elettorale.html

landscape modifications that have persisted since the 20th century, which are particularly prevalent in and around urban areas.

As part of the growth of cultural and pilgrimage itineraries, many popular-cultural events, celebrations and manifestations have taken place in the last decade. To mention some of the most significant examples: the «*Comuni in Cammino*» Forum, organised by the EAVF, that each year since 2014 takes place in Monteriggioni, another relevant centre on the Francigena, with the aim of gathering representatives of every reality, municipality and association involved in the Via to discuss the state of the art and plan new objectives; the «Via Francigena Collective Project»[30], patronised by the EAVF; high participation sporting events («Walking Francigena Ultramarathon»)[31]; the cinematographic interest that gave birth to documentary films on the Via Francigena experience (Dipinto, 2016; Contieri, 2017)[32] and to the «Francigena Film Festival» (1st edition November 2020)[33]; major media services («The Celebrity Pilgrimage» BBC Pilgrimage Programme)[34]. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the EAVF, the Association organised the event «Road to Rome 2021[35]»: a four-month walk along the Via Francigena from Canterbury to Santa Maria di Leuca (Apulia) carrying a pilgrim's stick (fig. 4.3) as an Olympic torch from group to group. The idea was to promote tourism on the Via Francigena after the pandemic period and thus raise awareness of ministries and local authorities of the four countries crossed.

[30] Since 2011 (1st edition), between June and September (hundreds of events each year).
[31] Since 2017, it usually takes place in October along the Via Francigena in the section between southern Tuscany and northern Lazio (Siena-Acquapendente, 120 km).
[32] *I volti della via Francigena* (Fabio Dipinto, 2016); *Le energie invisibili - da Milano a Roma in cammino* (Luca Contieri, 2017)
[33] https://www.francigenafilmfestival.it/
[34] Eight celebrities of differing faiths and beliefs strap on backpacks and have 15 days to tackle 1.000km of the ancient Via Francigena pilgrimage, from the Italian Alps to Rome. https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m0003wwn
[35] https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/road-to-rome-en/



Fig.4.3. The blessing of the pilgrim's stick on the altar of the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.
Author's photo, June 2021.

Of interest is the longstanding artistic project of the Londoner painter Jannina Veit Teuten, who, in Tuscany since 1970, has fulfilled «*La Via Francigena Project*»[36] through an itinerant exhibition made of more than 150 paintings along the Via Francigena starting from Canterbury. On a pictorial level, still in Tuscany, the architect Tosi, formerly a draftsman of landscapes crossed by the Francigena routes (Allegri, Tosi, 2016), edited a book through which he depicted with watercolours the architecture of the ancient Tuscan hospitals along the Via (Tosi, 2018). Concerning the cultural and historical heritage, for instance, in 2018 a museum project took place in the village of Abbadia San Salvatore in which the facsimile of the 876 AD parchment, which attests for the first time the via Francigena, was released.[37]

Whereas, on a national and political level, the «*Consulta degli itinerari storici culturali religiosi*» was set up in 2007 by the Minister for Cultural Heritage Francesco Rutelli, regarding long distance paths in general. Minister Dario Franceschini proclaimed 2016 the «Year of the Paths» and realised the «*Atlas of Paths through Italy*» with the aim of:

«enhancing the heritage of the historic, naturalistic, cultural and religious network of paths throughout the country, from north to south, which represent a

[36] http://www.jannina.net/About/Projects.html
[37] Project for the San Salvatore Abbey Museum in collaboration with the European Association of the Via Francigena ways curated by the author (21st July 2018) with the historical deepening of Mario Marrocchi:
https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/resource/news/la-pergamena-della-francigena-una-testimonianza-da/

glimpse of, perhaps little known and yet fundamental to, Slow Tourism in Italy» (MiBACT)[38].

A process of relaunch is therefore affirmed, connecting the paths to each other and enhancing them and thus helping to enhance the rural territories crossed. In parallel, the Via Francigena is involved in the procedure of the UNESCO candidacy in connection with MiBACT, Italian regions and the EAVF.[39]

With respect to the role that the Church has had on the modern phenomenon of pilgrimage, a turning point is undoubtedly represented by the 1982 «*Atto Europestico*»[40] by John Paul II, in which the Pope evoked the importance of pilgrimages, in particular the one headed to Santiago de Compostela where he himself had travelled. The Via Francigena itself has undergone an enormous intensification of interest through the rediscovery of pilgrim experience (Martinis, d'Orsi, 2011).

More recently, precisely because of the phenomenon of pilgrimage as a historical, anthropological, and religious dimension, on 25th July 2019 in Berceto, Franco Cardini established the «Centro Europeo di Studi sulle Culture del Pellegrinaggio» (CESCuP). Its greater purpose will include the revival of pilgrimage and travel on foot and all related aspects, tourist, cultural, social and infrastructural.[41] As result of so many activities and presences along the Via Francigena, a high number of travel guides concerning the European itinerary has been produced, split according to the country and the specific geographical area (many of them published by Terre di Mezzo Editore and the Touring Club: Cinti, d'Atti, 2011; FFRP, 2012; d'Atti, Cinti, 2013; Touring Club Italiano, 2015; Ferraris, Callegari, Frignani, 2018).

While on the one hand the entry of institutions on the Via Francigena and pilgrimages in general has generated a new interdisciplinary interest in the topic and the flourishing of many cultural events, on the other hand, it has encouraged a shift of attention from the complex medieval reality to the Sigeric's individual itinerary and its planning and thus to a series of geo-historical inaccuracies and conflicts that have made the current debate very heated.

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[38] MiBACT: https://www.turismo.beniculturali.it/en/home-cammini-ditalia/atlas-of-paths/
[39] https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/UNESCO/
[40] «*Atto Europeistico a Santiago de Compostela, Discorso di Giovanni Paolo II*» (9th November, 1982): http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/it/speeches/1982/november/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19821109_atto-europeistico.html
[41] https://www.francocardini.it/minima-cardiniana-256-3/

IV.V. Conclusion: an open debate over the Itinerary's identity

The popularity that the Via Francigena acquired among users from the early 2000s onwards meant that the territorial and socio-economic transformations of the areas it crossed also became the subject of study. This is particularly true in rural and marginal areas where the road becomes a strong development opportunity and the impact is most evident. There are also operational case studies in southern Italy (especially in Apulia) to outline community governance for the territories that are involved (Vecchione et al., 2008). Religious journeys are an increasingly important aspect of international tourism (De Salvo, 2015). There has been research on establishing the Via Francigena as a «homogenous product» that combines marketing, the experience of walking the route and the landscapes traversed (Vanni, 2006; Polci, 2006; Dallari, 2009; Rizzi, Onorato, 2011). In recent years, attention has clearly been on the flow's impact along the Via Francigena, due to the availability of relevant data, also allowing meaningful comparison with experiences of the Camino de Santiago (Rizzi, Onorato, 2017; Olsen, Trono, 2018).

Tuscany is again the main area where research is most concentrated, probably because it is the region where there has been most political and institutional investment (Conti et al., s.d.). The first International Conference on Pilgrimage Routes was held in Florence with a specific focus on the Via Francigena in Tuscany, where the discussion converged on landscape changes along the routes, tourism and local development, tools and methods for building a tourist attraction (Bambi, Barbari, 2015; Corinto, 2017). It is in Tuscany that the historical landscape exerts one of the major attractions and therefore cannot be qualified only as an incentive for tourism, but also as an opportunity for cultural development (Ascheri, Turrini, 2017).

If the institutionalisation and politicisation of the ancient pilgrimage routes as Cultural Routes has on the one hand opened up their study to many disciplines and consequently stimulated more academic debate, on the other hand it has led to a commodification of the topic which has standardised and simplified the complex historical and geographical context precisely because of an immediate, easy "offer". Even the main conferences, where authoritative scholars are present, are run by the main institutional organisation based also on the needs of the moment. This is the case of the development and European certification of the «Via Francigena in

Southern Italy», for the extension of the route from Rome to Apulia, and the international conference settled by a combination of institutions and administrations (EAVF, Apulia Region) and universities (University of Bari): «*Via Francigena: Via per Roma, Santiago e Gerusalemme*» (11th-13th October, Monte Sant'Angelo, Apulia).[42]

The great popularity of Via Francigena as a modern pilgrimage and tourist phenomenon with important social, economic and cultural implications has engendered considerable criticism and scepticism. Moretti in 2011 argued that in 1977 he could never have imagined that the via Francigena could receive so much attention «sometimes excessive and distorted, as often happens when the media are involved» and that the historical truth become so modified (Moretti, 2011, p. 13). When the Via Francigena was proclaimed a European Cultural Route in 1994, concern was expressed that institutions, government representatives and regional administrators would insist on updating the ancient road to maximise economic, tourist and employment prospects. This would leave uncertainties concerning the ancient route «shrouded in mist» (Centro Studi Romei, 1995, pp. 7-8). More recently, Cardini argued that Via Francigena «is an expression that has been abused» and how its commodification has affected the publishing industry (Cardini, 2016, p. 7). Ascheri (2015) has stressed the need to correct historical inaccuracies encouraged by the enthusiasm for Via Francigena. Following recent criticisms, there has been a sort of contextual rearrangement between the academic reality, that values geo-historical complexity, and the institutional requirement for a simpler, clearer route.

This chapter has identified the evolution of studies on via Francigena from the first few mentions in the early 1700s to the rich and diverse multidisciplinary research we have today. There have been many shifts in approach and changes in interpretation of evidence over the last 320 years. Crucially, while the idea of via Francigena has become more dominant, its historical materiality has often remained nebulous and fragmentary. Some debates remain constant: some of the earliest authors identified the "adjectival" and plural value of the term via Francigena; the form of the precise relationship between Roman roads and medieval routes remains contested. On a methodological level, I have shown how

[42] https://www.viefrancigene.org/it/resource/news/monte-santangelo-il-convegno-internazionale-sulla-/

the road can be a privileged means for studying social interactions with the natural environment: almost, to use Bertolotti's phrase «the thermometer of the peoples' civilisation» (Bertolotti, 1834, p. 192). I have shown how since 1700 historians and geographers invented and debated the idea of via Francigena. Much scholarship was based on fragmentary medieval evidence but more recently, this has been combined with archaeological, art historical, architectural and anthropological approaches which strengthen and refine understandings of this important medieval route and the way that it interacts with landscape and culture.

V. MEDIEVAL MOBILITIES, HERITAGE, AND CURRENT ITINERARIES THROUGH THE TUSCAN-EMILIAN APENNINES (CASE STUDY 1)

V.I. GEO-HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

This section opens with a broad historical geography of the territory of Lunigiana and the routes over the Apennines from and to north. It then moves on to consider a series of case studies of particular nodes and places on the route, examining in detail the historical geography of the places concerned and the changing form of the routes. The chapter then goes on to consider fortifications in Lunigiana, the road network between Pontremoli and *Monte Bardone* and religious complexes. Discussion then moves to the Emilia-Romagna side of the mountains. Following some context on Emilia, it considers the Taro, Baganza, and Parma valleys, and the ancient road context and network (fig. 5.1).



Fig.5.1. Case Study 1 map from Bardone NE (Emilia-Romagna) to Pontremoli SW (Tuscany).
Author's elaboration.

V.I.I. Geographical area of Lunigiana

If we observe the Tuscany region, its northern tip seems to detach itself from the squat shape of the region. This is Lunigiana, a strip of land dense with woods, which is wedged between Emilia-Romagna and Liguria with a diverse landscape and culture. The Apennines define the territory of the upper Lunigiana to the north, which forms a natural border between Tuscany and the regions of Liguria, Lombardy and Emilia; from Monte Gottero to the north-west (1639 m) to Monte Orsaro (1830 m). The widening of the valley generated by the confluence of the Verde with the Magra, becoming a single river to the south, allows a widespread and regular population of the area with *borghi*, *ville* and *casali* (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 54-55). The linguistic aspect is also an expression of the Apennines as transitional, marginal and above all as a meeting point of different cultures and therefore subject to Ligurian, Tuscan and Emilian cultural influences. It is a cultural and physical crossroads characterised by a liveliness of traffic and frequent conflicts for the control and conquest of strategic points (Carpitelli, 2017, pp. 41-42).

Lunigiana means territory belonging to the city of Luni and its lands are determined by those of the diocese, which had its capital in Luni with the church of Santa Maria (seat of the bishop's chair). The structure of the diocese began to take shape in the second half of the fourth century and finds a definitive structure in the twelfth, with baptismal or parish churches and monastic institutions. The city of Luni and the church were abandoned in the 13th century, but the term Lunigiana had become established between the 10th and 11th centuries and remains the name of the region (Baldini, 2017, pp. 9-12). Today Lunigiana presents a landscape that has acquired an ever greater wildness over the last fifty years. There has been massive industrial development of the valley floor, while the upland villages have suffered from rural depopulation. The construction of the Parma-La Spezia railway line and the Cisa national road brought work led to the shift of the workforce downstream, contributing to the abandonment of activities typical of mountain villages, especially woodland management and agriculture. The first abandoned settlements were those that required most effort in exchange for modest harvests. Many traditional and long established olive groves, chestnut groves, vineyards, orchards, pastures, cultivated fields were abandoned. The countryside that was once made by humans ran wild swallowing up most of the

spaces formerly used for cultivation and breeding (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 5-6). At the same time, the development of roads and new connections has allowed widespread commuting from the mountain villages to the valley floor which enables some maintenance of part-time agricultural activities.

The mountainous topography has a strong influence on the pattern of roads. For centuries the most important rout has been over the Cisa pass. In the mid-eighteenth century the first carriage road in Italy was constructed: the Florence-Bologna road that crossed the Apennines on the Futa pass, thus bypassing the Cisa one. But the Cisa pass regained its importance with the construction of the imperial Parma-La Spezia road in the first half of 1800. It was then proclaimed «*strada statale 62 della Cisa*» with the law of 1928 and paved in the 1930s. From the opening of the Cisa motorway to traffic in 1975, it experienced a sudden reduction in traffic even if the spread of private motor vehicles contributed significantly to a more constant and continuous tourist movement (Salvanelli, 2002; Monacchia, 2012).

Pontremoli is the most important centre in the valley where the various paths converge. In the territory of Pontremoli, as well as that of Zeri, roads coming from the coast almost always have routes that are as straight as possible, the oldest more than the recent, dividing as a fan towards five different passes in the direction of the ancient cities of western Emilia. The roads that in the Middle Ages branch off through the Apennine passes are essentially paved mule tracks essential for climbing the steep slopes. In cases of excessive slopes, mule tracks with long steps were built, called «*scale*» in the Alps and «*scaleri*» in Magra valley; loads were divided between several mules in order to cope with slopes of up to 50%. The major architectural works linked to the mule tracks were the bridges which could be built with a single arch even over considerable distances (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 24-26). They were mainly made of wood, as was customary in the medieval period, but clearly the only ones still existing are in stone. The first stone ones were built at Pontremoli: the Casotto bridge was completed at the end of the 1400 (fig. 5.2). That of the Crësa in the first half of the 1500s, where the Brattello and Borgallo roads converged (Nespolo, 2011, pp. 99-100). Two other important stone bridges are at Mignegno and Saliceto, respectively north and south of Pontremoli for the route towards *Monte Bardone*. This part of the Apennines has never represented a real barrier or obstacle for contacts with neighbouring territories.



Fig.5.2. «*Vergine con Bambino in Gloria*», 17th c. painting (detail) in St. Geminiano church (Pontremoli), unknown author.
Bottom right shows the Casotto bridge during the flood.
Author's photo, August 2021.

The Lunigana assumed a particular strategic position, a real "road vocation"; a crossroads of ancient itineraries with the presence of perennial routes and natural routes born with transhumance. Probably, the very route that passed through the current Cisa pass was a natural route (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, p. 13), what later in the Middle Ages became the «*via*» of «*Monte Bardone*», «*Romea*», «*Francigena o Francesca*», «*Lombarda*», and «*Pontremolose*», as Giovanni Sforza wrote (1971, Vol. III, p. 341). Indeed, the Lunigiana can be seen as a "road junction area" between the coast and the Apennines, between the Tyrrhenian coast and the Po Valley, between land and water routes. Moreover, there was always a close relationship between monasteries and roads (Dadà, 2012, p. 184).

With regard to the general organisation of the routes in mountainous contexts, three phases can be distinguished that concern a direct relationship between the needs and abilities of humans and the local topography. Initially, it is the ridge (*crinale*) paths that are privileged, the easiest to travel because of easy perceptual-visual orientation and rarely interrupted by water courses. These were privileged by nomadic populations. The second stage concerned the transversal halfway (*mezza costa*) routes, on lighter slopes that also allowed for the exploitation and use of the land; they required the development of pastoral and agricultural techniques and the construction of settlements. Finally, with a favourable economic evolution, we find the valley floor (*fondovalle*) routes, always in close connection with the natural environment and its morphology, but which required

the construction of bridges. In this phase, settlements are established and a transformation of the landscape begins for the exploitation of land and water resources, as well as the development of isolated mountain centres and cluster (*grappolo*) settlements (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 57-58).

Within this last stage, Mannoni's well-known classification can be inserted, according to which there are «transit routes» that connect major centres, «connecting roads» between smaller centres within the same territorial area or between axes of main roads, «service routes» that connect major centres to scattered settlements or to land use activities (Mannoni, 1983, p. 214). Mannoni hypothesises that the use of the wagons was limited to local traffic or those related to agriculture, for long-distance traffic it would have been necessary to change the means of transport due to road instability, therefore, the mule was also privileged in the lowlands (Mannoni, 2001, p. 59).

V.I.III. ANTIQUITY CONTINUUM

In the third century BCE, Ligurians were not only shepherds and farmers, they were an obstacle to the expansionist aims of Rome towards the west. Military operations began in 238 BCE. and around 150 BCE Romans managed to subdue the Apuan Ligurians. Luni was to be connected with Pisa by an expansion of the coastal road network from 109 BCE (arrival point of the *Via Aurelia* whose final part is called *Via Aemilia Scauri*). However, there is no precise documentation about the existence in Roman times of a road that went up following the course of the Magra up to the current Cisa Pass to go down towards the Padan valley (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 14-16).

But if the controversial Roman road Luni-Parma existed, there is a high probability that this was the route, also because in addition to being the shortest one, there are Roman or late ancient finds in Aulla and Filattiera (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 26). After all, the Val di Magra represents a large natural corridor that enters the Apennines towards the north. The Romans were able to communicate along the coast and in the valley. Dadà discusses travelling along the Roman roads of a regional nature: Lucca-Luni; Lucca-Parma, partly overlapping the Parma-Luni, which allowed interconnections between the main lines such as *Aurelia Nova*,

Aurelia Vetus, *Aemilia Scauri*, and *Clodia* (Dadà, 2012, p. 54). Compared to the Cisa Pass, there are no itinerary or archaeological sources indicating the presence of a road in Roman times, but for geographical reasons the Parma-Luni connection must have existed.

Dall'Aglio identifies the most direct passage in the Parma valley and the Cirone pass, however he finds the more plausible route to be through the Taro Valley from Parma and the Cisa Pass as the main pass. This is a consequence of indirect evidence: the presence of a road that cuts obliquely the centurial links in the plain south-west of Parma; the location of Fornovo («*Forum Novum*») to the right of the Taro; the presence of a Roman farm in Roncolungo di Sivizzano; the existence of a (summer) mountain pasture (*alpeggio*) on the Apennines which required a seasonal migration to the coast using sheep tracks for Apennine passes («*saltus praediaque Berusetis*») attributed to the current Cisa and finally, the Byzantine «*castrum*» of Sorano («*Soreon*») (Dall'Aglio, 2002, pp. 82-83).

More recently, archaeological surveys have identified a Roman brick kiln near the Apennine ridge and some finds on the Sella del Valoria that have led to the hypothesis of the presence of a votive activity (Ghiretti et al., 2013). In the continuity and discontinuity debate between the late imperial Roman era and the Middle Ages, Dall'Aglio essentially identifies directional analogies despite geopolitical changes, the loss of a central power and polycentric development in a fragmented Italy. By taking into account the complex Roman hierarchical system, lines of continuity with the medieval system can be traced such as the connection between the Po valley and Rome via *Monte Bardone* (Dall'Aglio, 2005, pp. 179-185).

With the arrival of the barbarians, the Roman Empire collapsed in the west, Luni survived, but began its slow and progressive decline. The Byzantines fought against the Ostrogoths and Luni became their naval base, although they were soon forced to contend with the incursion of the Longobards. Byzantines modified the territorial organisation according to territorial needs, especially in creating a military defence line, and created various districts headed by a *castrum* (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 14-16).

The monasteries around *Monte Bardone* have always had a specific political value, the result of their location in the Greek-Longobardic lines. Parma was the base for the occupation of the territory for the Longobards, which was militarised through a series of garrisons up to the *Monte Bardone* pass. At the beginning of the

eighth century, when Liutprando completed the Byzantine conquests from the upper Taro Valley to the Apennine ridge, there was a general restructuring of the road, not so much in the path itself which must have appeared as little more than a series of ruts (*carrareccia*), as for the transit services. The road was equipped with hospices, churches and in particular Berceto abbey (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 22).

V.I.IV. FILATTIERA

Filattiera represents the only settlement of the Roman age found beyond the Apennines, but whose settlement began well before the Byzantine era: there is the discovery of a settlement of the imperial age which therefore testifies to the Roman presence and whose stele-statues found inside date back to even more remote times. The «*Kastrum Soreon*» (in «*Descriptio orbis romani*» by the geographer Ciprio) was mentioned in the seventh century, to be identified with «*Surianum*» up to the area of the current Filattiera, in the specific sense of a guard tower or fortress. With «*Surianum*» (later «*Suranum*» in documents from the 12th century and today Sorano) we indicate a settlement on the plain where the parish church and the fortified area on the nearby hill stand today. «*Suranum*» took up the legacy of the now insecure Luni and in 559 assumed the role of "small rural capital" becoming the seat of the «*magister militium*». «*Feleteria*» appears in an act for the first time in 1029 and «*Suranum*» in 1203 for the last time. The name Filattiera extended and replaced «*Surianum*», thus developing on the hill and absorbing the population of the less secure settlement downstream.

The Byzantines themselves ceded «*Surianum*», Luni and the entire Lunigiana into the hands of the Longobards under Rotari in 644. The current Cisa Pass, together with that of the Ospedalaccio, had probably always played an important role in the connections between the «*Maritima*» and the Exarchate. Even under the Longobards, Filattiera continued to play an important role. Of interest is the plaque preserved in the church of San Giorgio in Filattiera dedicated to Leodegar (Bishop of Autun, 7th century), who demolished the pagan idols (stele statues) and founded the same church. From the epigraph on the tombstone we learn that he helped the poor and refreshed the pilgrims, thus certifying the passage of pilgrims from the Magra valley (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 17-19). Further traces of

movement are provided by artistic-cultural features such as the parish church of Sorano: an evidence of the building renewal of the Romanesque period that emphasises influence of Lombard architecture on this Tuscan stretch. Other examples are S. Caprasio in Aulla, S. Martino near Lucca and the proto-Romanesque parishes of the Elsa valley (Stopani, 2006, p. 155).

As evidence of the relationship between Filattiera and the via Francigena, in the upper part of the village is the Hospital of S. Giacomo d'Altopascio, which survives today as a house in the village. The first known attestation dates back to 1462, but it certainly dates back to more remote times (Ferrari, 1923). Today, on the portal there is an eighteenth-century bas-relief depicting St. James as a pilgrim with the date 1710 and a Templar cross. This is actually an imitation (fig. 5.3) sculpted by the current owner of the house himself who found the original cross (fig. 5.4) when renovating the house (interview).



Fig.5.3. The Templar cross (replica) walled on the outside of the house next to the entrance door of the *xenodochium* (Filattiera).
Author's photo, August 2020.



Fig.5.4. The original Templar cross (unpublished) walled inside the private house in Filattiera.
Author's photo, August 2020.

V.I.V. THE «*MONS BARDONIS*» WAY

The Longobards in identifying a route that connected the Po Valley with *Tuscia* found the ideal pass in the westernmost part of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines. The current Cisa represented a sort of forced passage (Stopani, 2006, p. 9). Consequently, the route that passed from today's Cisa Pass began rather early, already indicated as «*via di Monte Bardone*» in reference to the underlying village on the Emilian side and also remembered with the name Cisa for the Tyrrhenian side as attested by documents of the Luni's diocese. The first mention of this road seems to be contained in the Epitome «*chronicorum Cassinensium*» (reported by Formentini in «*Le due vie Emilie*») in reference to Anastasio III (9th century), whose document dates back to shortly after the middle of the 7th century where *Monte Bardone* is mentioned. From Paulus Diaconus (720-799), the historian of the Longobards, we learn that Liutprando used to pass through *Monte Bardone* and that Berceto was founded by him. Therefore, in the Longobardic period, as probably for the Byzantines, the *Monte Bardone* pass was an important communication route; a road with European connotations, as evidenced by the presence of S. Moderanno, bishop of Rennes, in Berceto at the beginning of the eighth century following the usual route of pilgrims from France. In fact, his pilgrimage (around 713) represents one of the first testimonies for travellers to Rome that used this route and not the traditional *Via Emilia* and *Via Flaminia* (Patitucci, 2004, p. 18).

However, it must be remembered that *Monte Bardone* should be understood in the broadest sense:

«The Apennines as they were already called in the Longobardic age and therefore over the whole of the early Middle Ages and throughout the thirteenth century but also much later, are common terminology in medieval documents; they do not indicate a particular place, as is sometimes shown to believe, but the entire mountain system that divides the fertile Po Valley from Tuscany and the middle Italy» (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 7).

Other references to *Monte Bardone* date back to the eighth century, when Paulus Diaconus mentions it in his «*Historia Longobardorum*» concerning the expedition of the Longobard king Grimoaldo (662-671) against Forlimpopoli entering Tuscany without the knowledge of the Byzantines «*per Alpem Bardonis*» (P.D., *H.L.*, 5th book, par. 27, in Capo, 2013). Later when King Liutprand commissioned the foundation of the duomo of Berceto: «*In summa quoque Bardonis Alpe monasterium quod Bercetum dicitur aedificavit*» (P.D., *H.L.*, 6th book, par. 58, in Capo, 2013). Again, the term «*alpe*» could indicate precisely a mountain pasture area; in the eighth century this term also referred to extensive mountain areas used mainly for pasture, forestry and in some cases even cultivation. And therefore «*Alpe di Bardone*» had to include the entire mountainous area from Bardone, now a fraction of Terenzo up to the ridge of the Cisa flanked on both sides by the Taro and Baganza. In fact, the area closest to the ridge was indicated by adding «*summa*», where Berceto actually is (Petracco et al., 2011, pp. 91-94). The toponym Bardone may derive from an original «*Bardonis*», genitive of the personal name *Bardo*, which is also the ethnic group of the Longobards (Petracco et al., 2011, p. 94).



Fig.5.5. Part of the Apennine chain from the Cisa pass (left) to the "Groppo del Vescovo". Author's photo, August 2021.

V.I.VI. TRAVEL SOURCES

The Frankish conquest in 774, marked the end of Longobard dominion in Italy, and the start of important administrative reforms by the Carolingians. Although the unity of Carolingian Europe dissolved in 888 with the death of Charles the Fat, the fragmentation of power and its redefinition on a local basis, saw the widespread diffusion of castles and local autonomous control (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 19-20). The main route no longer passed through Luni, now a dead city, but the via Francigena was consolidated crossing *Monte Bardone* and was the main axis of a complex road network: the roads that descended from the Apennine passes of the Cirone, of Linari (current Lagastrello pass), Ospedalaccio (current Cerreto pass), Tea (between the Aulella and Serchio valleys). The cult of St. Jacopo, already venerated in Santiago de Compostela, spread in Lunigiana especially in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and became important for the provision of churches and hospitals, thanks to the work of the Knights of the Tau of the Altopascio hospital. Welfare structures were present on the main Apennine passes (Bardone, Cirone, Linari) and in important centres such as Pontremoli, Filattiera and Sarzana. Lunigiana was a real crossroads for that distant Spanish pilgrimage site: Abbot Nikulas of Munkathvera recounts (1154) that in Luni there was a connection with Santiago de Compostela (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 37-38). We know that the abbot of Sarzana reached «*Luna*» (Luni), a city that is said to be at the centre of a large region rich in settlements, Lunigiana («*Luna-sandar*»), and precisely where one could embark or follow the land route to Santiago for the *Via Aurelia* passing through the Bracco pass (Stopani, 2006, p. 62). Even the geographer al-Idrisi, in the mid-twelfth century Book of King Roger II, mentions *Monte Bardone* («*gabal bardûm*») as a passage to reach Ravenna, although it is mistakenly exchanged with the pass between San Sepolcro and Sant'Angelo in Vado (Amari, Schiaparelli, 1883, p. 93).



Fig.5.6. «*Filattiera con Ponticello e Cravio*», detail of Pontremoli and the «*strada romana*» (copied by Michele Ciocca in 1630).
Source: ASFi, Fondo Piante Antiche dei Confini, n. 81, p. 6.

The travels of the archbishop of Canterbury Sigeric provide the reconstruction of a consolidated itinerary with the various reception structures along the via Francigena; in the Lunigiana stretch: «*Luca*, «*Campmaior*», «*Luna*», «*Sce Stephane*», «*Aguilla*», «*Puntremel*», «*Sce Benedicte*» (from Montelungo) and then Berceto. Along the same lines we also have the accounts of Nikulas of Munkathvera (1151-54), Philip Augustus, King of France returning from the Third Crusade in 1191, Matthew Paris in 1253 and many others up to Montaigne in the 16th century (Ghelfi, 2017, p. 117). Philip Augustus defined Luni as «*maledictam civitatem episcopalem*», testifying to the decline of the port city. His itinerary passed through Sarzana, Villafranca, Pontremoli («*Punt-Trembl*e»), *Monte Bardone* («*Munt-Bardun*»), Montelungo («*Seint Beneit*»), Berceto («*Seint Moran*»), already beyond the Apennine ridge, and then towards the valley floor of the Taro, Cassio («*Cassem Milan*») and Fornovo («*Funros*») (Stopani, 2006, p. 75). There is a tendentious similarity between Nikulas's itinerary and those of Sigeric and Philip Augustus, but the passage from the current Cisa is far from certain, since «*Tarsborg*» should be identified with Borgotaro and therefore from there the preferred route would be for Brattello or Borgallo. And again, following Borgotaro he writes that one should cross the mountain range called «*Munbard*», confirming a wider reference to the Apennine chain rather than to a single pass. The same is also true of Philip Augustus, when after Pontremoli he placed both San Benedetto di Montelungo and S. Moderanno di Berceto on the same area as the «*Munt-Bardun*» (Dadà, 2012, pp. 57-58). Even

Magoun (1944, p. 338) identified the same stage of Nikulas in Borgotaro, but despite considering the definition of *Monte Bardone* linked to the wider one of the Apennine crest, he associates the crossing of the pass with the Cisa as it was for Sigeric.

From the 13th century onwards several new «*vie Francesche*» were developed and enhanced other itineraries indicated by travel diaries. In this sense, the itineraries of the archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, of Matthew Paris and the «*Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*» are significant. Rigaud, in 1254, opted for the Bracco pass instead of using the *Monte Bardone* pass followed the route of the ancient *Via Aurelia* up to Genoa. Matthew Paris, the English Benedictine monk, in 1253, compiled a vademecum as maps for pilgrims travelling to Rome and the Holy Land («*Iter de Londino in Terram Sanctam*») in which he reports the possibility of crossing *Monte Bardone* («*Punt de Trembl*e», «*Lune la maudite*», «*Lukes*, «*Haut Pas hospital*» in Altopascio) or to follow the *Via Emilia* up to Forlì, then Bagno di Romagna, the Arno Valley, head towards Arezzo and thus reach Perugia. In the «*Annales Stadenses*», the most complete guide to Rome in the Middle Ages (about half of the 13th century), the *Monte Bardone* pass is confirmed again, but at the same time the Alpe Serra (the same as in Matthew Paris) and the *Osteria Bruciata* passes (Stopani, 2006, pp. 143-146); the latter, the main step of that period for the Florence-Bologna axis. Also worth mentioning are the itineraries of Otto I (962), of Archbishop Eudes Rigaud (from Rouen to Rome, 1254), Barthélemy Bonis (merchant of Montauban, 1350).

The main channel is therefore to be identified along the Magra, followed by a series of "options" to bypass the Apennines. At the same time a series of connecting routes transversal to the main axis from east and west (fig. 5.7).
In the fifteenth century, Parks reports two additional British travellers who confirm both the original route and the already consolidated alternatives: Adam of Usk (1402), travelling from Piacenza to Rome follows practically the ancient route of the Francigena, passing through Pontremoli from Borgo San Donnino, and then Siena-Viterbo to the Tuscan interior. While William Brewyn (1469), travelling from Calais to Rome, went along the stretch Bologna-Florence and then recovered the stretch Siena-Viterbo. Thereafter, in «*Informaçon for pylgrimes*» (1498):

«[…] it is a surprise to discover that this [the road through *Monte Bardone*] is not even mentioned, which sets forth the crossing from Bologna to Florence as

normal. We look back to find the time of this change, and note to our surprise that we have no fifteenth-century evidence for the *La Cisa* route» (Parks, 1954, pp. 522-526).

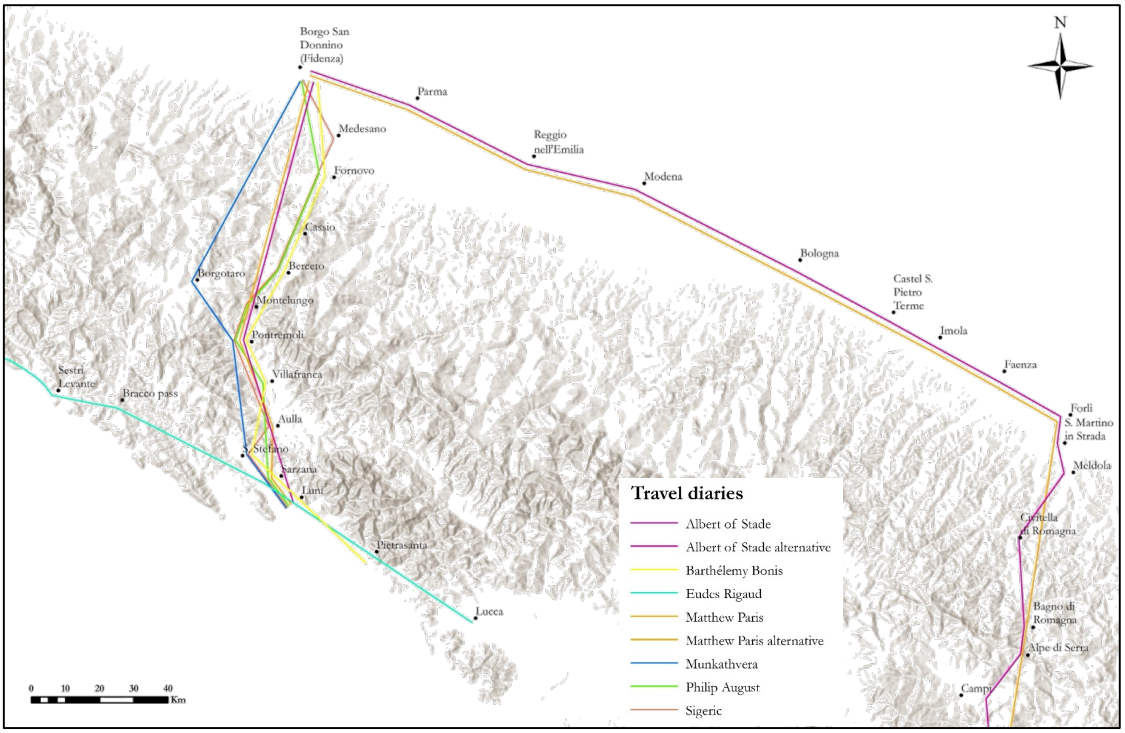


Fig.5.7. Map showing the stages of the medieval travel sources.
Author's elaboration.

V.I.VII. PONTREMOLI

The fate of Lunigiana and that of via Francigena are inextricably linked. Here the road takes on specific characteristics: the difficulty of the mountain passes and the intersection between the route that connects northern Europe to Rome and southern Italy, with the other route that proceeds towards Genoa, France and Spain. Furthermore, to the north-east are the cities of Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Milan and Cremona; to the west Genoa and to the south, in Tuscany, the large municipalities of Lucca and Pisa. Then there is the Malaspina family, who, between the 12th and 13th centuries, boasted a vast heritage consisting of an archipelago of enclaves distributed in upper Italy. From the Middle Ages until the conquest by Republican France at the end of the 18th century, the Empire (Holy Roman) held power over the Lunigiana territory, and in the Renaissance period

actively supported Malaspina ownership of their fiefs between the Magra and Vara valleys (Baldini, 2017, pp. 23-27).



Fig.5.8. View of Pontremoli from Piagnaro Castle: the historic town developed between the Magra and Verde rivers. The Crësa bridge can be seen in the bottom right-hand corner.
Author's photo, April 2020.

Meanwhile the centre of Pontremoli was establishing itself subject to the usurpations and interference of competing marquises and bishops. Pontremoli was born from the desire to found an autonomous and fortified city-state, of a municipal type, and dedicated to international trade (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 30). The municipality of Pontremoli was able to free itself from the bishop's orbit. It was built at the foot of the Piagnaro hill, on which perhaps a Longobardic fortification stood, and developed from the noble consortium of the Adalberti. We know that in 1077, from a diploma of Henry IV, Pontremoli was in the possession of the Obertenghi Ugo II and Folco marquises, but the Adalberti managed, perhaps with the help of the bishop, to free the village from the power of the marquises (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 44-45). The town experienced rapid expansion, thanks above all to its position at the bottom of the valley at the foot of the most frequented passes. It was an active and powerful municipality that retained its aristocratic character.

The via Francigena can only have been a powerful tool for economic growth. The same layout of the inhabited areas was structured according to the road, as in the case of Siena, and thus Pontremoli, a real «village-road» (Stopani,

2006, p. 131) which has an elongated body along the road and was also protected by the two rivers. Its name appears for the first time in Sigeric's diary of the year 990 («*Puntremel*»). This and subsequent forms refer to an original «*pons tremulus*», which is not necessarily considered attributable to a hypothetical trembling bridge or unsafe bridge, but could mean a suspension bridge, as opposed to bridges based on arches (Petracco, 2012, p. 195). There are many conjectures, the only certainty being the town's indissoluble identity with its waterways and bridges.

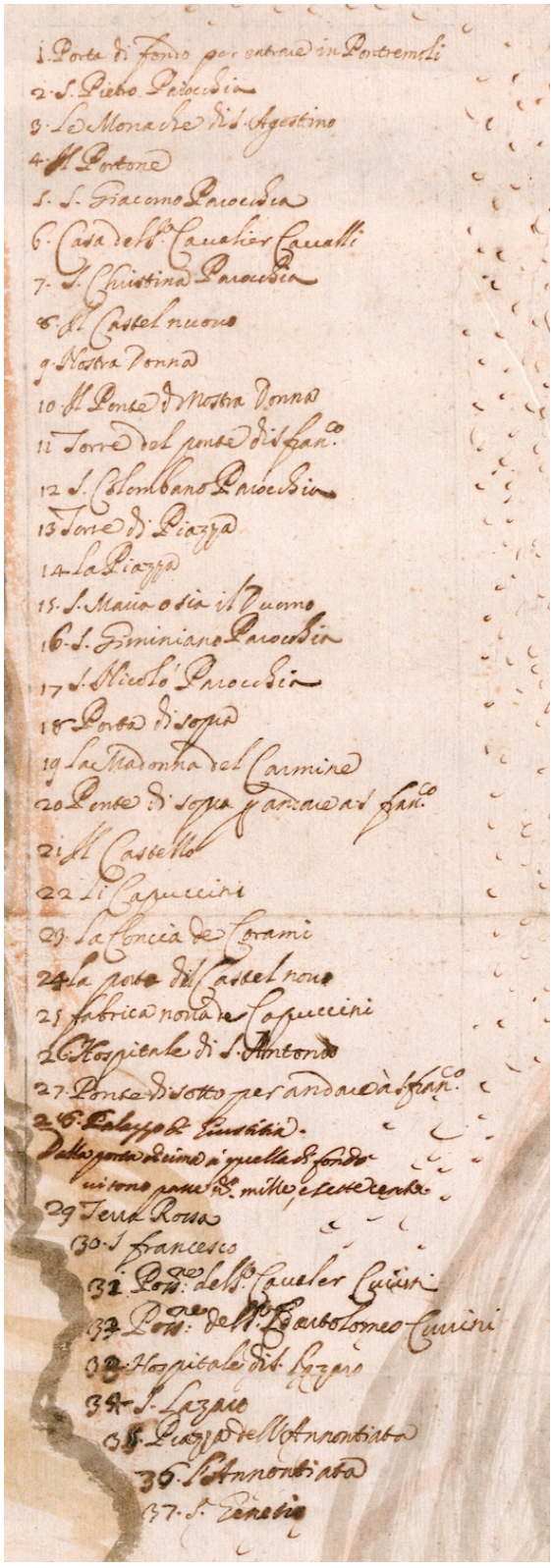
Among the churches and chapels of Pontremoli we find: San Giovanni (8th century?), San Colombano, Santa Cristina, S. Alessandro, San Niccolò, San Pietro (1133), San Giacomo (1187), San Martino (13th century, which later became San Lazzaro, just outside Pontremoli towards Luni) (fig. 5.9), San Giorgio (1078), San Gregorio (1078), San Francesco (1219?), SS. Annunziata (1474), Santa Maria, known as the cathedral of Pontremoli (1636-1687), San Geminiano (1670), Convento dei Cappuccini (1641-1652), today also a place of pilgrim hospitality.



Fig.5.9. St. Lazzaro church.
Author's photo, April 2020.



Fig.5.10. «*Pianta prospettica della città di Pontremoli vista da sud*».
The bird's-eye view of Pontremoli in the 17th c. crossed by the via Francigena, which together with the Magra River constitutes the typical elongated form of the settlement.
ASFi, Miscellanea di Piante, n. 375.



1. Porta di fondo per entrare a Pontremoli
2. S. Pietro Parrocchia*
3. Le Monache di S. Agostino*
4. Il Portone
5. S. Giacomo Parrocchia*
6. Casa dei Cavalieri Cavalli
7. S. Cristina Parrocchia*
8. Il Castelnuovo
9. Nostra Donna*
10. Il Ponte di nostra Donna*
11. Torre del ponte di S. Francesco
12. S. Colombano Parrocchia*
13. Torre di Piazza
14. La Piazza
15. S. Maria o sia il Duomo*
16. S. Geminiano Parrocchia*
17. S. Nicolò Parrocchia*
18. Porta di sopra
19. La Madonna del Carmine*
20. Ponte di sopra per arrivare ad S. Francesco *
21. Il Castello*
22. Li Capuccini*
23. La Concia de Cerami
24. La porta di Castelnuovo
25. La fabrica nova de Capuccini*
26. Hospitale di S. Antonio*
27. Ponte di sotto per andare a S. Francesco*
28. Palazzo di Giustizia
«*Dalla porta di cima a quella di fondo ci sono passe da mille e setthe cerche* [circa]» (From the upper gate to the bottom gate there around one thousand and seven steps)
29. Terra Rossa
30. S. francesco*
31. Porta del Cavalier Corsini
32. Porta del Bartolomeo Corsini
33. Hospitale di S. Lazaro*
34. S. Lazaro*
35. Piazza dell'Annunziata
36. L'Annunziata*
37. S. Genesio(?)*

Fig.5.11. Detail of the map's legend.
*Considered as "routes related heritage" and therefore included in the map.

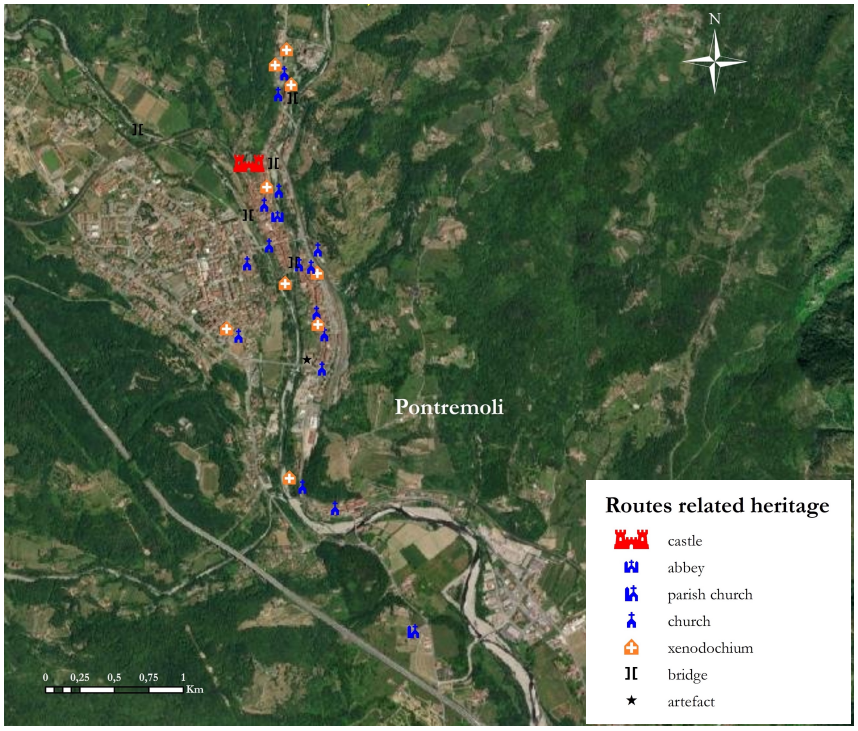


Fig.5.12. Map showing the "routes related heritage" in Pontremoli taking into account also the previous 17th c. map
Author's elaboration.

The religious building indicated with the number «2» on the map (fig. 5.10) is the parish church of St. Pietro, which today holds one of the most significant symbols for pilgrimage, both medieval and modern, namely a stone carving (stele) of a labyrinth dating back to the 12th century (fig. 5.13). The church structure was damaged by a flood of the Magra in 1567, and it is the stele that testifies to its antiquity. The sandstone stele shows at the upper corners two knights in the process of colliding and in the centre the initials «HIS», expressing Christ, which however Sforza believes to be a later addition (Sforza, 1904, pp. 634-635). More generally, in Italy, the symbolism linked to the labyrinth appears in a relatively short "space" of the via Francigena: Pavia, Piacenza, Pontremoli, Lucca; always clearly in the perspective of a metaphor for a journey, a test to be overcome (Massola, Vanni, 2002, p. 57). Today, following the bombings of the Second World War, the church of San Pietro was completely rebuilt but it still protects the stele of the labyrinth that continues to attract pilgrims.



Fig.5.13. The labyrinth stele at the church of St. Pietro in Pontremoli; below the stamps for the pilgrims.
Author's photo, April 2020.

During the expansion of Pontremoli the castle of Grondola became increasingly important as it was strategically located on the road to the Brattelllo pass controlling traffic between Pontremoli and Piacenza. There were many clashes between the Malaspina family and these two towns in the twelfth century. (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, pp. 44-48). The Malaspina, in 1206, were exhorted by the Municipality of Lucca, already struggling with the turbulent feudality of the Lunigiana, to guard and control the via Francigena up to the peak of the Apennines (Stopani, 2006, pp. 132-133).

Pontremoli passed through various hands after the end of Milanese domination in 1495, including Spanish and Genoese rule (for three years) and in 1650 it was bought by the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. This allowed Florence to extend its domains in Magra valley up to the Cisa and to have a route of significant commercial interest available without having to pass through other domains. Pontremoli continued to be part of the Grand Duchy, except for the brief Napoleonic interlude, until 1848, the year in which it was annexed to the Duchy of Parma, and finally in 1859 it became part of the Kingdom of Italy (Biagioni, Bonamini, 2009, p. 77). The route along the Magra Valley through Pontremoli continued to be the most convenient in the direction of Lombardy (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 30).

V.I.VIII. ZERI

Zeri, was from the twelfth to the eighteenth century almost always part of the Municipality of Pontremoli (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 13). The ancient «*castrum Zirri*», was an important garrison and had a central position in the road network. (Calcagno, 2011, p. 60). Its landscape was characterised by a typical agro-forestry pastoral economy, including large cultivated chestnut groves, now in progressive abandonment. There were 24 villages and villas that perhaps already in the Middle Ages were part of the territorial area of Zeri: Antara, Bosco, Bergugliara, Cercatore, Chiesa di Rossano, Codolo, Chioso, Chiesa di Adelano, Calzavitello, Castoglio, Casa Tosi, Coloretta, Castello, Frandaliti, La Dolce, Montelama, Montefavà, Noce, Patigno, Peretola di Rossano, Piagna, Torricella, Valle and Valditermine (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 67-68). Of particular interest is the mountain pasture (*alpeggio*) of Formentara, at an altitude of 1100 meters, whose maximum development was between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (fig. 5.14). It was built to house shepherds in the summer and has an articulated planimetric organisation with about twenty isolated and terraced buildings and connected by old mule tracks with Patigno and Noce (Calcagno, 2011, p. 71). Today it is in a total state of abandonment and most buildings have collapsed apart from the oratory of San Bartolomeo, which has a date stone for 1776, protected by a new cover of *piagne* (local stone-roof tiles) in 1987 (interviews with local people). Although the vicissitudes of Zeri are part of the historical region of Lunigiana and profoundly linked to those of Pontremoli, in this study it remains beyond the medieval routes associated with the via Francigena.



Fig.5.14. Formentara, the abandoned mountain pasture hamlet.
Author's photo, August 2019.

V.I.IX. The road network in Lunigiana

The Tuscan General Cadastre of 1826 is an important source for the complex distribution of the medieval network of mule tracks, which remained in use until the twentieth century (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 31). This is strong evidence for substantial continuity in road networks between the medieval and modern periods. In fact, even the cartography of the late eighteenth century, aimed at representing the «Roman Postal Royal Road», confirms the continuing existence of the route over the ancient *Monte Bardone* pass (fig. 5.15) and the same main stages of the via Francigena in approaching both the Tuscan and Emilian sides, in addition to the passage along the Taro Valley for the Ligurian connection.



Fig.5.15. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola's map (detail), «*L'Italia con le sue Poste e Strade Principali*»[43], 1695, Anonio Barbey inc., Stamperia Domenico de' Rossi, Roma. We can notice the «*strada postale regia*» crossing Parma, Fornovo, S. Terenzo, Berceto, Pontremoli, Villa Franca and so on.

Mannoni speculates that the oldest route over *Monte Bardone*, before Pontremoli was established, climbed the first ridge that rises steadily towards the pass starting to cross the Magra where it is narrower upstream of the confluence with Verde river. It then runs along the ridge that separates the Verde from the Magra and, past the site of Traverde (where a Lombard-style church of S. Giacomo and Filippo is located 800 m away from the village that was first mentioned in the 13th c., today only the ruins), before Grondola, follows the halfway up along Succisa to the right, then the hamlets of Villa Vecchia, La Colla and Pollina, to arrive in Montelungo (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 32-33). Therefore, Montelungo would be the first settlement encountered when descending from the Cisa in Tuscany. The settlement is mentioned later with respect to the *xenodochium*, or in 972 as «*Montelongum*», by «*Mons Longobardorum*» and not by the elongated conformation along the ridge (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 85-87). In the current church of S. Benedetto, in the upper part of the settlement, you can see medieval building phases determined by squared and recovered sandstone ashlars. Lower down, at 741 m after a steep detour, we come to the «*Palazzo*» (building) (fig. 5.16), an important junction point where you can see the ruins of an imposing three-storey building about 17 m long and about 6 m wide (Dadà, 2012, p. 92). Due to its position and structure, it has been argued that this is the hospital of S. Benedetto, but it could have been built after the loss of the original Montelungo settlement

[43] Retrieved from: *https://www.issp.po.it/cartografia-postale/carta-cantelli-1695/*

following frequent landslides. From this intersection of paths there was the possibility of connecting with the historic routes of Brattello and Borgallo.



Fig.5.16. The «*Palazzo*».
Author's photo, April 2019.

Succisa, previously mentioned, is an area of scattered houses and five hamlets (Pollina, La Colla, Poderi, Villavecchia and La Barca) with a prevalent south/south-east exposure and abundant water availability. It is first mentioned in 1187 with reference to the chapel of SS. Felicita and Perpetua. On the hill near La Colla are the remains of an ancient fortification nicknamed "*Il Castello*" for its dominant position, whose origin is traced back to medieval times while the portals are15th or 16th century (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 85-87). Moreover, in Succisa, we can find the toponym «*Montecastro*» (Armanini, 2015, p. 345).

From there the mule track cut more directly to the Cisa and then descended to Berceto along the ridge between the Baganza and Taro valleys as far as Fornovo. Alternatively, following the left bank of the Magra you reach the village of Mignegno (whose parish church of S. Maria Assunta is mentioned in 1187) and then arrive in Montelungo crossing the steep ridge. In the statutes of Pontremoli this route was one of the first «*vie maestre*» (highways) of the late Middle Ages, not surprisingly called «*Strada antiqua*» (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 32-33). There is also a link indicated as «*della Groppa*» which, after passing Mignegno, made it possible to reach Pollina on the first illustrated route; of it, a third variant, called

«*della Groppa Subtana*» continued to the valley floor and then under the castle of Succisa.

A completely different route, longer and subject to rather steep ups and downs between various gorges is the one that today is used as the official tourist route of the Via Francigena: from Pontremoli the road reached Arzengio, then halfway up the slope to the villages of Toplecca and Versòla (here the tourist Francigena widens to Casalina and Groppodalosio). There are two crossings of the Magra and Civasola near Previdé and the route then goes up to Groppoli and Cavezzana (here the tourist Francigena cuts off Montelungo and widens again towards the Righetto pass, just before the Cisa) and returns to the ancient via di Montelungo. A variant detached from the latter route near Previdé to go up to Cargalla, first lower and then upper, and thus reconnects with lower Montelungo. Another variant that shortened the distances, but skipped Montelungo, consisted in continuing from Groppoli to Gravagna San Rocco and re-joining the ancient road on the Cisa; or, to stay at altitude, from Toplecca to Casalina and Groppodalosio, Gravagna Montale and Gravagna San Rocco (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 32-33). After Casalina there is the 16th century bridge known as Valle Oscura («*d'la Va'scura*»); the construction was commissioned in 1451 but was built a century later, it is one of the most evocative of the Lunigiana, with a wide span with a lowered arch, soaring over 16 metres from the river bed (figs. 5.17 and 5.18).



Figs. 5.17 and 5.18. Groppodalosio bridge seen from below and in the front. Author's photos, September 2022.

Before reaching Pracchiola, you meet the medieval steep route called the "*Scaleri*" and at an altitude of 990 metres you will find the ruins of the ancient hospital, important for the 13th c. (fig. 5.19) (Calcagno, 2011, p. 89). The system of settlements in the Valdantena consists of Groppodalosio, Barcola, Previdé, Molinello, to the right of Magra, and Casilina, Versòla, Toplecca to its left; a rural community with its own characteristics and activities whose landscape is defined by steep gorges, water-rich streams and vast forests (fig. 5.20).



Fig.5.19. The site of the *xenodochium* and where some of its rubble can still be found today. Author's photo, April 2020.



Fig.5.20. The distinctive Valdantena landscape from above Pracchiola along the SP 42 road («*Via del Cirone*»).
Author's photo, September 2022.

Also from Pontremoli, it is from Casalina and Groppodalosio that a further route developed, certainly from the 13th century, to reach the Emilian side passing through the *xenodochium* «*l'Ospedaletto*» (St. Giacomo) and then through the Cirone pass (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 33). It is also possible that the Ospedaletto al Cirone, under the ancient Scala pass, was the Apennine «*Fraka Scali*» («*Frackaskáli*») of which the Icelandic abbot of Munkathvera wrote in 1154, who would therefore have crossed the shelter of S. Jacopo di Pracchiola (Magnotta, 2008, p. 17); although, as has been discussed, it is unlikely that the Icelandic abbot would pass through the Cirone once he reached Borgotaro. This route was a valid alternative when the *Monte Bardone* one was garrisoned by enemy forces, as during the bitter disputes between Malaspina, Pontremolesi and Parmigiani. And it is precisely for this pass that the ancient route called "*Via dei Lombardi*" passed through. This itinerary, certainly the shortest and oldest for Parma, would have detached from Filattiera, thus leaving the via di *Monte Bardone*, and would have reached Caprio, then climbing to Rocca Sigillina, to the grassland of Logarghena. Then, once it reached the Cirone Pass, the route would descend to Bosco Corniglio, Corniglio (and its castle mentioned in 1240) (figs. 5.21 and 5.22) and Langhirano as far as Parma (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 33).



Fig.5.21. To the left: Castle of Bosco depicted in the Camera d'Oro of the Torrechiara Castle.

Fig.5.22. To the right: the ruins of the Bosco di Corniglio tower.
Author's photos, April 2020.

The historian and local expert Manfredo Giuliani argued that the busiest route between the Magra valley and the Parma valley, for Corniglio, was that of the Cirone; without forgetting that between the latter and the Cisa there were other minor ones connected by summit paths (Groppo del Vescovo and Borgognone). There is therefore a sort of mountain corridor formed by the buttresses of the Orsaro chain, which made it easy to arrive in Filattiera, from Parma, through the plateau of Logarghena and then the high basin of Capria. But with respect to the popular toponymy that has preserved the memory of the «*strada Lombarda*» («*la stra lumbarda*»), Giuliani raises two hypotheses: the first, in reference to the Longobards, as well as «*Lughebarda*» (Logarghena), and the second more simply to the geographical reference of Lombardy, therefore an odonym (road toponym) of pre-municipal and municipal character when the road was transforming itself into a more direct communication route between Pontremoli and Parma (Giuliani, 1952, pp. 31-34).

Archaeological research has shown a Byzantine fortification located on Monte Castello in the Caprio valley, which would have controlled the routes together with that of Filattiera, a hypothesis that was also advanced by Formentini and Giuliani regarding the context of the clashes between Lombards and Byzantines (Giuliani, 1952, p. 34). From this route, a further stepped mule track shortcut from Rocca Sigillina (fig. 5.23) went up to Portone at the Aquila pass and then to Bosco di Corniglio (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 33).

The Order of the Tau was present in this area of Parma and we know that the Order of the Knights of S. Giacomo d'Altopascio was present in Bosco di Corniglio which had in the Tau the sign of its small hospital of worship and assistance identifiable in the current Franzoni house. In addition to this, there are the imposing ruins of the ancient castle of Bosco, built at the end of the 14th century by the Rossi counts (Magnotta, 2014, pp. 92-98), which shows the strategic importance of the road.

If in ancient times the fulcrum of the Magra Valley could be identified as Filattiera, the activity of the road to *Monte Bardone* towards the middle of the Middle Ages gave military, commercial and feudal importance to Pontremoli, the first outlet of the valley floor (Giuliani, 1952, pp. 37). On the Caprio valley, Rocca

Sigillina represented to the south-east of Pontremoli, with respect to Parma, what was the castle of Grondola to the south-west with respect to Piacenza: means of territorial domination.



Fig.5.23. View from the Stronghold of Rocca Sigillina.
Author's photo, August 2021.

The Cisa way became the great communication route more independent of local interests, whose name was properly determined by the purpose of the journeys transit: «*via Romea*» or «*Francigena*» (Giuliani, 1952, pp. 38). The road descended to Pontremoli from the Cirone along "*Scaleri*" (fig. 5.24). These derive their name from the carefully constructed squared stone steps safeguarded by the rainwater drainage channels. Magnotta testifies that around fifty years ago there were at least two *aedicules* along the route: that of S. Giacomo degli Acqualini and of S. Jacopo. Moreover, the villages united by the many travellers along the ridge between the Cisa and the Cirone had common customs of which the recipe of the traditional "*spongata*" is a hint (Magnotta, 2014, pp. 85-89).



Fig.5.24. "*Scaleri*" mule track.
Author's photo, April 2020.

The Municipality of Pontremoli took the utmost care of the maintenance of the Cirone road. From the Statutes of Pontremoli of the fourteenth century we read of provisions on duty (*gabella*) rights on road traffic, that a stretch of road was maintained by the men of Pracchiola, that up to the hillside above Pracchiola the bush had to be cut down for about fifty metres on both sides. In addition to this, we meet the aforementioned «*Ospedaletto*», held by the monks of the Altopascio, and Groppodalosio, whose toponymy («*Gropdalés*») recalls a place of rest and refreshment for travellers (*groppo d'alloggio*, accommodation group), like the others villages (Giuliani, 1952, pp. 39-40).

Regarding the Taro Valley and the communication routes to Piacenza, four medieval passes can be found. The Borgallo and Brattello passes are not far from each other and both can be reached from Pontremoli by two roads going up the Valle del Verde, located in the north-western part of a hollow and wooded valley (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 34-36). Stopani also identifies these as examples of «*romipeti*» itineraries, «*romei*» (to Rome), west of the Cisa pass founded by the

Bobbio monastery (Stopani, 2008). The area, in the Middle Ages, was identified with the collective name of «*Mulpe*». Furthermore, it is precisely for the Valle del Verde that historians identify the crossing of the «*Placentiam-Lucam*» indicated by Titus Livus and, consequently, the route followed by Hannibal (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 75-76). Furthermore, a sculpted cross was found, the "Borgallo cross" (fig. 5.25), at the pass, which is argued to be Longobardic from the type of material used, the particularity and shape of the cross and its location in a non-interchangeable place whose presence represents a sign of "belonging" aimed at those crossing the pass (Magnotta, 2011, p. 206). Signs of the route of the Borgallo way, recorded in the Lorenese land register, are still evident, although in a state of decay and rewilding.



Fig.5.25. "Borgallo cross".
Author's photo, August 2021.

The oldest route left the town at the Porta del Castello on the ancient «*Via della Cisa*» reached Grondola Castle and then went up to Braia and to the Brattello pass. The settlement of Grondola («*Castrum Grundulae*») is made up of three centres: La Colla, La Costa, Il Casale at a height of 620 m. The remains visible today perhaps correspond to the reconstruction of the «*Pontremolese*» in the 13th century.

Another route passed the villages of Guinadi, Baselica and Navola and went up to the Borgallo pass and then down to Valdena and Borgotaro. This is

probably part of the so-called "*Via degli Abati*" ("Abbots' Way") from Bobbio. By virtue of the importance that the Borgallo and Brattello passes acquired at various times with respect to the Cisa, and the clashes for the domination and control of military posts such as Grondola, the area presents a lively settlement system. In addition, it is interesting to note that hamlets such as Baselica, Navola, and Pian di Valle offer extensive views of the gorges of the upper valley of the Verde stream that descend towards Pontremoli and are within sight of Cervara and Guinadi. Many of the buildings, especially the agricultural ones, are built of stone with characteristic thatched roofs. Many are collapsing and disappearing into the vegetation. Biasutti already documented the widespread thatched-roof huts located in clusters in the shade of chestnut trees or at the edge of meadows (fig. 5.26); especially widespread in Guinadi and Baselica (Biasutti, Fondi, 1952, p. 25). Today they are no longer found, but are still remembered by the very few remaining residents (as in Pian di Valle).



Fig.5.26. Biasutti and Fondi's old photograph: «*Cascine di Baselica*» (Biasutti, Fondi, 1952, p. 24).

In Valdena, where the road climbed up to the Borgallo pass (fig. 5.26), a manor was built by the Hena family (11th-12th centuries), hence Val d'Ena. The chapel of the same family probably also originated from the same period, later mentioned in the second half of the sixteenth century.

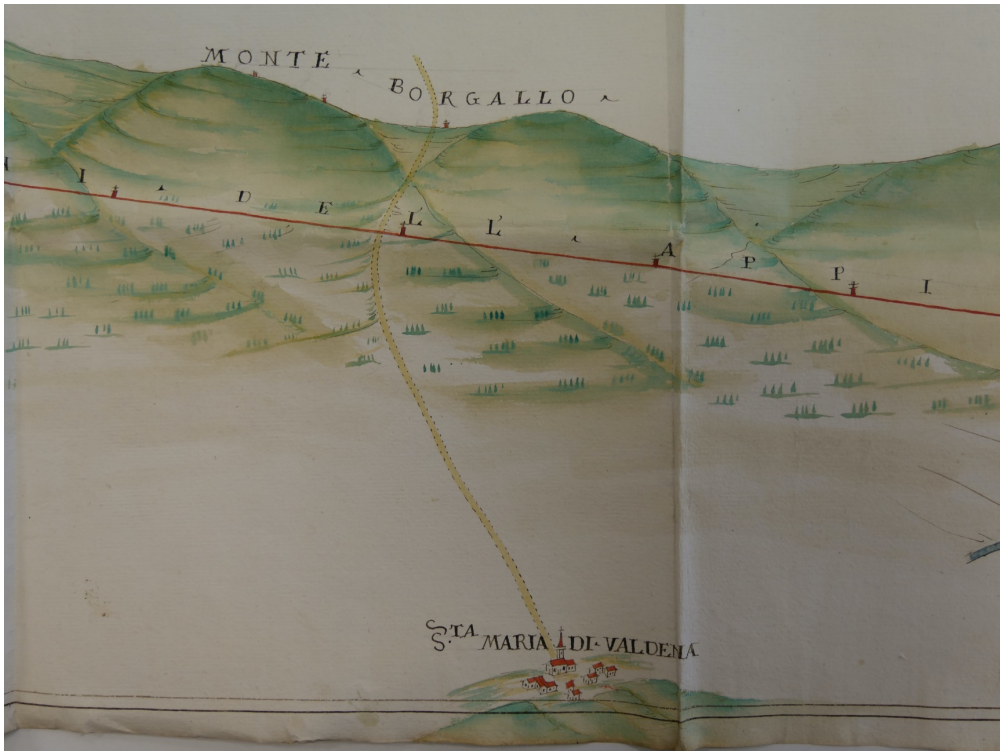


Fig.5.27. Detail of «*Territorio montano compreso tra il monte Molinatico ed il territorio della Croce di Ferro, Santa Maria di Valdena ed il Rio Contrario*». 1689, May 4th, Venice. Giuseppe Cuman (copy from his original).
Source: ASPr, Ufficio dei Confini, busta 384/1, disegno n. 1416.

Alternatively, after Porta della Crësa and then Casa Corvi, one could reach the parish church of Vignola (whose church is documented in 998 and 1148), Cervara, Guinadi and then reconnect to the Brattello road or towards Baselica for Borgallo. It is also possible that the Brattello route became more influential as the strategic role of Grondola increased to the disadvantage of Borgallo.

In Guinadi, at the meeting point between the two roads, an ancient hospital appears to have been located, the traces of which are still visible today in a group of houses where an arched portal bears the carved Maltese cross with the date 1517 and then another IHS monogram and the date 1556 (Calcagno, 2011, pp. 75-83). This is similar to the cross on the architrave of the hospital in Guinadi (Magnotta, 2014, pp. 124) and both are on the road to Bobbio. It is in the parish church of Vignola that Giuliani identified the hospital of San Bartolomeo del Borgallo in 1298 and 1299, then again in the second half of the 1400s (Giuliani, 1954).

The other two routes are at the westernmost area of the mountain range and allow a connection towards Liguria and the coast, as well as Piacenza, thus affecting the geographical area of the Castello di Zeri. Towards the west, after the

Borgallo pass, we find the Due Santi pass, which links to the more important *Via Regia* originating from Luni. Also from the Brattello pass, instead of going to Guinadi, one could continue to Cervara and a road allowed you to climb along a ridge to Formentara and then to the Due Santi pass, but it is very likely that this was an internal road used for transhumance. The outermost pass concerns the Foce dei Tre Confini, whose Gottero valley, today in Liguria, in the Middle Ages was part of the territory of Pontremoli. The road started from Sestri Levante. In addition, to the south-west Pontremoli could be reached from the «*Via di Pontremolo*», built at the end of the 13th century by the Municipality of Genoa, and coming from Levanto, which branched off through the area of Zeri (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 34-36).

Fifteen of these routes have extra-urban sites indicated with the name of castle, «*bastia*» or tower located at strategic points to control and protect them. Gravagna, Monte Zucchello (controlling the Cisa), Previdé, Monte Castello (on the "*Via dei Lombardi*" in the Caprio valley), Zeri have been explored from the archaeological point of view. Only a few documents and ruins survive for Belvedere di Bassone, Cervara and San Genesio; there are more substantial ruins for Grondola. Castelvecchio di Rossano is not linked to an inhabited area, and among the remaining there are toponyms related to the fortification and the tops of hills within the relative villages for Arzelato, Arzengio, Braia, Succisa, Vignola (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 37). The ruins of the castle of Monte Zucchello are located between Montelungo and the Cisa pass on the top of the promontory at an altitude of 1199 m. The castle was built at an unspecified time, but the cistern used for water supply and preserved deep in the ground probably dates back to the early Middle Ages (Gallo, 2004, p. 42).

All the substantial medieval «*ville*» (villas) were built on the international roads, called in the Statutes «*vie maestre*» (main roads), or on their connections and variants (at least thirty villas existing between 1296 and 1303) (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 41). The castles that marked the territory of the province of Massa Carrara clearly had the greatest success during the medieval period. To summarise, we have Arzengio, Grondola, between the Brattello and Borgallo road of the toponyms «castle» could refer to a system of military works that concerns Ca' (Castello) del Guelfo, Castel dei Margrai, Castello di Braia, Castello di Cervara, Castellio, Castello della Bardera (in Belvedere di Bassone, mentioned in 1164), Braia, Gravagna, Zeri,

Rocca di Arzelato (near Pontremoli), Piagnaro, Succisa, Previdé (Calcagna, 2011, pp. 62-64). In fact, the Bassone castle is located on a hill called "*Castellaro*" (Armanini, 2015, p. 345).

There are no significant historical references for Castello dei Margrai noted by Mannoni and I found during fieldwork that it had been forgotten by the local people, with the exception of the last residents of Pian di Valle who remember it by the toponym «*Costello dei Magrai*». This, in their memory, was one of several mountain pasture (*alpeggio*) places, with housing structures and stone farmsteads that are hardly traceable today.

The system of fortifications relative to the Verde valley, which includes the access roads to the Due Santi, Borgallo and Brattello passes, requires further archaeological and archival investigation for a full analysis of the area. With the exception of Grondola Castle, archaeological and archival documentation of the fortifications of Bardera, Cervara, Castellio, Margrai, Braia and Guelfo to date is rather scarce. Mannoni and Calcagna (2011), as we have already seen, allow us to represent a spatial distribution, but more research is required. The same could be added with respect to the settlement agglomerations of Succisa and Valdantena.

V.I.X. Religious complexes in Lunigiana

The oldest churches were probably the two parish churches that were already existing in 1148: Saliceto, on the road to Aulla, and Vignola, in the Valle del Verde on the route to Piacenza (Giuliani, 1954). Certainly in the Middle Ages there was a mule track on the right bank of the valley, which went up the other side up to enter the territory of Pontremoli to the parish church of Saliceto and, returning to the left bank with the bridge of the same name located in the narrow passage of the SS Annunziata, joined the road considered to be the oldest (Mannoni et al., 2011, p. 26). The San Cassiano and Sant'Ippolito di Urceola parish church was first mentioned in 981, later the village of Urceola arose in the early middle ages; nowadays within the Pieve di Saliceto hamlet. The original layout of the church has been completely altered by later works.

There were isolated chapels with several nearby villages for the use of the same: Flayse (or Fraise) first mentioned in 1296-97, located in Casalina in today's

community of Valdàntena and «*Mulpe*» in Baselica, in the Verde valley, the church of Succisa, located in La Colla (Giuliani, 1954). San Pietro, on the other hand, is in a state of ruin on the mule track to Brattello that descends from Cervara to Guinadi.

Other medieval buildings with religious and social purposes consisted of chapels and *xenodochia*. Salvatori calculates that between the ninth and fifteenth centuries there were 56 of these road hospitals in the entire Lunigiana area which he considered to be a high incidence, being a hospital every 30 sq. km (Salvatori, 2001, p. 3). The hospitals at mountain passes in the medieval period were closely linked to the Christian religion. Safety had to be guaranteed for the large numbers of pilgrims. But none of these have survived, having been redundant for more than two hundred years, at least. This was the case for the hospital of Santa Maria della Cisa, which was located about 300 metres from the pass of the same name on the Parma side on a plateau adjacent to the via Francigena for Berceto. The hospital is mentioned in some records between the ninth and tenth centuries, but its foundation date is unknown. It is likely that it originated in the eighth century under the policy of Liutprando at the time when the *Monte Bardone* was under Longobardic rule (Folloni, 2011, pp. 85-87).

One of the most important hospitals is that of San Giorgio, located just outside Pontremoli, which was mentioned for the first time in 1078 but ceased functioning in the fourteenth century; today the remains of the Romanesque church are visible. Also noteworthy is the hospital of San Benedetto di Montelungo, of Longobardic foundation and linked to the monastery of Leno since 1014. Adelchi's diploma gives notice of it from 772 and there are subsequent documents in 851, 861 and 865; Leodgar's epigraph confirms its importance for the entire 10th century. The same epigraph, now preserved in the parish church of Sorano, certifies the foundation of the *xenodochium* in the eighth century, but the translation and hence the identification of the site, has recently been questioned (Dadà, 2012, pp. 86-89).

There are some medieval remains of the «*Ospitaletto*» run by the Knights of San Giacomo di Altopascio, located on the old road of the Cirone pass, between the pass and Pracchiola. Also known as S. Giacomo di «*Piellaburga*» or «*Piella Borgari*», «*Mallaticchia di Pracchiola*» and »*Ospedaletto*» is attested in 1296-97 («*hospitale de Piellaburga*»), in 1298-99 («*hospitale de Mallaticcha*») and lastly in 1470-71 («*hospitale*

de Pitaborga») (Salvatori, 2001, p. 19).

In Pontremoli there was also the order of the Augustinian Canons Regular and the Jerusalem Knights, who managed the hospital of San Giovanni Battista, located between that of San Giorgio and the Porta Parma (Mannoni et al., 2011, pp. 37-40). There are also two hospitals dedicated to S. Antonio, one in the southern part of Pontremoli in the parish of S. Cristina, the other in S. Niccolò. They are both documented from 1508. Furthermore, the Antonini hospital is documented in Pontremoli from 1461. While the church of San Giacomo appears in documents of 1271 and 1272, it is not certain that the hospital already existed in the 13th century (S. Giacomo del Campo). Also in Pontremoli, there are hospitals associated with San Giovanni and San Leonardo (first mention in 1296-97; in 1590 it was dedicated to SS. Maria and Leonardo); SS. Lazaro and Martino hospital near the village of SS. Annunziata, which probably already existed at the end of the 12th century to look after leprosy patients; Cerreto Grosso hospital, probably in Gravagna, attested in 1296-97, 1298-99, 1470-71 (Salvatori, 2001, pp. 15-21); the hospital and church of Cervaria dedicated to S. Maria, attested as an oratory in 1470-71, the hospital is believed to date back to 1338 (Pistarino, 1961, p. 142).

V.I.XI. Emilian context: Taro, Baganza and Parma valleys

Berceto is undoubtedly the most important influence on the medieval road on the Parma side of the Apennines. It was the fifth monastery founded by King Liutprand in the upper Taro Valley, after Bobbio, Mezzano, Tolla and Nonantola, all almost equidistant from the *Via Emilia* and all in the valley before the climb started.

From the statutes of the thirteenth century, Szabò reports that the Municipality gave incentives to move to the locality of S. Maria della Cisa and that, in addition to this, regular surveillance of the section of the road between Parma and the current Cisa pass. This mountain section was divided into eight segments entrusted to the surveillance of forty-seven villages (Szabò, 1986. pp. 94-95). Along the road axis of *Monte Bardone* there were tolls for foreigners and in the 12th century the bishop claimed the right to confiscate part of the goods of deceased pilgrims including their horses at Cassio and Berceto (Censi, 2000, p. 226). This

main route across the Apennines, the Roman road or Francigena of *Monte Bardone* was also the best known between the 11th and 12th centuries in Europe. The presence in the «*Chanson de Geste*» of many of the Italian legs, including «*Montbardon*», confirms how well the pilgrims from France (West Franks) and Germany (East Franks) knew this this route (Quintavalle, 1977, pp. 164-165).



Fig.5.28. Detail of «*Pianta della città di Parma e suo territorio con parte borghigiano e reggiano disegnata dopo il 1460: come si è potuto rilevare da varie ricognizioni*». Excellent map dated after 1460. In the centre is the town of Parma (n. 1); at n. 88 «*la strata che va a Pontremoli*» (the road that goes to Pontremoli), then towards the top of the map (it faces south), which passes through Collecchio (n. 85), Fornovo (n. 84) next to Carona castle (n. 83), Bardone (n. 79), up to Casola (n. 81).
Source: ASPr, fondo Mappe e Disegni, Vol. 2 n. 85.

From the north, Bobbio and Nonantola, two abbeys close to the survey area, undoubtedly possessed "a road vocation" of which the first of the two extended towards the via di *Monte Bardone* where Borgo Val di Taro joined Bobbio through the Aveto and Trebbia valleys. From there, as we have already seen, you could proceed towards the Cisa, the Brattello and Borgallo passes and through Grondola to Pontremoli. In fact, we find churches dedicated to San Colombano, from Bobbio, to «*Turris*» (Borgo Val di Taro, often Borgotaro) and near the Verde in the Pontremoli area (Censi, 2000, pp. 205-207). In the Romanesque age, the use of the Bobbio road parallel to the easier road to *Monte Bardone* was customary for

passing through Liguria, but the focal point was the monastic centre of San Colombano; the same road to Bobbio from Piacenza is marked by numerous buildings which confirm intensive use from the 11th to the 12th century (Quintavalle, 1977, p. 202). This itinerary between Bobbio and Pontremoli, passing through Borgotaro, was a short and safe route for the monks and was rich in «*celle*» or «*curtes*» or hospitality structures of St. Columbano, so much so that it was called "*Via degli Abati*" ("Abbots' Way") (Tardio, 2011, p. 46). The centre of Borgotaro was enriched by the parish church of San Giorgio (10th century) built by Bobbio, which was later replaced by the church dedicated to Saint Antonio founded in 1226. Local oral records, unfortunately so far unsupported by sources, recall the existence of two hospitals within the medieval village of Borgotaro: Battuti's oratory which was replaced by St. Maria's hospital attested in 1293. By virtue of the importance that the Borgallo and Brattello passes acquired at various times with respect to the Cisa, and the clashes for the domination and control of military posts such as Grondola, the area presents a lively settlement system.



Fig.5.29, «*Veduta prospettica dell'area di confine controversa tra Borgotaro (Parma) e Pontremoli (Firenze) in Lunigiana*». 1687, August 4th, Venezia, Colonnello Giulio Cerruti. In this map, drawn to represent the border disputes between Pontremoli and Borgotaro, the road connecting the two towns can be seen.
Source: ASFi, Miscellanea di Piante, n. 334.

Following Romagnoli's work (2011, pp. 378-383) on the mapping of fortifications in the territory of Parma, it is possible to pursue the identification of fortresses and castles that represent conquest, control and defence of the territory. Between the Taro and Baganza valleys, from Bardone, in addition to the others already mentioned, we find Virgolone (13th c.), Aplicelle (13th c.) and Ravarano, still preserved today (13th c.). On the axis of the Taro river, we identify Oriano (13th c.), Corniana (13th c.), Solignano (11th c.), Belforte (13th c.), Costerbosa (12th c.), Pontolo (11th c.; its foundations were found under the remains of an oratory (Zoni, 2005, p. 10), Spiaggio (11th c.), Poggio (11th c.), the fortified settlement of Buzzò (1st-7th c.), Ena (11th c.), Termine and Castelplatone (both attested in the 11th c.). The fortification of Roccamurata, perhaps of Byzantine origin to defend against Lombard incursions, is not reported here (Ghiretti, 1990). Similarly, along the eastern bank of the Parma river, from Longhirano, we also find the fortifications of Cozzano (11th c.), Pugnetolo (10th c.), Corniglio (13th c.), Canetolo (13th c.), Mossale (13th c.), Bosco (13th c.) and Roccaferrata (14th c.). The mountain routes from Parma to Berceto, Cirone and Lagastrello-Linari were visually controlled and protected respectively by: Pietra Mogolana (Castle and nucleus of the 7th century, 674, Longobardic), Castellonchio (nucleus of the 12th century), Roccaprebalza (8th century core, 11th century castle), Roccamurata, Cassio, Fugazzolo (12th century, 16th century humpback bridge) and Casola, from Corniglio, Ballone, Roccaferrata, Petrignacola, Curatico, Mossale and Castrignano, while Linari was dominated by Rigoso, Nirone, Vairo, Vallisnera, Monchio and Tizzano (Censi, 2000, p. 229).

It is indisputable that the municipality of Parma tried to secure the path up to the Apennine passage: Collecchio, Sivizzano, Fornovo, Bardone (only in the fourteenth century), Cassio, Castellonchio, Berceto. From Fornovo to the pass there are at least six fortifications always linked to inhabited centres, while Berceto was the seat of a municipal garrison. In addition to this, what can be considered a second parallel defensive line, an intermediate fortification between the Taro valley (fig. 5.29) floor and the crest of the *Monte Bardone* way, is represented by Pontolo, Belforte (12th c.), Roccaprebalza and Pietramogolana (Bernini, 1940, pp. 1016-1017). However, Settia does not interpret the presence of fortifications and castles in direct relation to the via Francigena, where semi-permanent preparations were sufficient for direct surveillance. Similarly, he intervenes on the Lunigiana side,

finding no connections between the insecurity of the roads and the construction of fortifications by the bishops (Settia, 1996, pp. 29-30).



Fig.5.29. View of the Taro valley from Casacca.
Author's photo, April 2019.

V.I.XII. Ancient roads and continuity (Emilia-Romagna)

In the panorama of the Roman routes that were reused in the Middle Ages, Parma in particular is strongly connected by means of the passes along the Apennine chain. Among these, beyond the Cisa, the Cirone, at the head of the Parma valley, there is the Linari or Lagastrello pass, while further south the Reggio passes of Cerreto and Pradarena (albeit with an altitude of 1572 m) (Bottazzi, 1997, pp. 163-165). The Linari pass was crossed by a route, called "*Via di Linari*", which from the Badia di Cavana extends between the Parma and Enza streams and which therefore, according to Bottazzi (1997, p. 173), kept river crossings to a minimum. It is on the Lagastrello that there is the monastery of the Obertenghi dedicated first to S. Salvatore and then to S. Bartolomeo di Linari; then it reaches the important Francigena stage of Aulla. This was a route undoubtedly used for the salt trade, from the Tyrrhenian coast to Parma.

Of the roads that cross the regions at the foot of the Apennines, the *Via Aemilia* has been the most important since Roman times. It differs from the others particularly because it still retained part of its paved surface at the end of the 10th

century. So much so that, in relation to traffic and pilgrimage routes, it is appropriate to imagine it as a real equipped axis along which cities, scattered buildings, towers, hospices and churches arise (Quintavalle, 1977, pp. 82-83). In this sense, Quintavalle introduces a system of interpreting the territory that is neither typological nor linked to the regional unit, but is precisely in relation to the analysis of the roads; as well as the reading of the monuments and characters of the cities (Quintavalle, 1977, p. 16).

When with the Longobards Pavia became the capital of the kingdom and Lucca the most important centre of *Tuscia*, a preferential north-south Lombard axis, Pavia-Lucca-Rome, was established, as opposed to the Byzantine Ravenna-Rome one. In both cases, Dall'Aglio argues for a strong continuity with the Roman period and therefore the medieval roads resume the tracks of the Roman period (Dall'Aglio, 2005, p. 186). In reality, the most direct direction between Pavia and Lucca would have been the one that pointed towards the valleys of the Versa, Trebbia, Aveto and then the Ligurian coast, the Gulf of Tigullo and from there to Luni following the *Aemilia Scauri*. However, this route would have involved crossing several valleys, but more importantly, Luni and all of Liguria were still in the hands of the Byzantines. So, to avoid this area occupied by enemies, the quickest way to reach Piacenza was to continue to the Taro and then go up to *Monte Bardone*.

Dall'Aglio identifies the location in Berceto of the «*saltus praediaque Beruseti*» mentioned in the «*Tabula Alimentaria* of *Veleia*». This presupposes the use of the nearby Cisa pass for seasonal transhumance for the connection between «*saltus*» and pastoral activity (Dall'Aglio, 2005, pp. 189-190). Quintavalle characterises the landscape of late imperial Berceto as dominated by woods of oaks, chestnuts with a sparse undergrowth; a landscape characterised by large estates that changed considerably following the Longobardic invasion (569) (Quintavalle, 1975, pp. 13, 20). Initially, the occupation encouraged settlers scattered in the countryside and in Parma and then, gradually, associated with the road system for *Monte Bardone*. This impact led in the 7th century to the Byzantines abandoning their positions, first on the plain and then on the Ligurian coasts, while the ridge remained for decades a point of friction between the different spheres of influence.

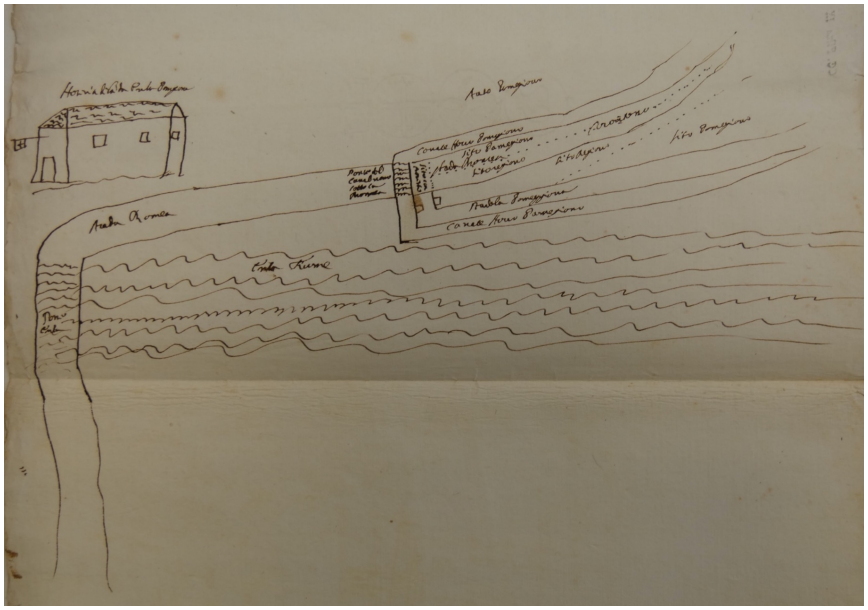


Fig.5.30. «*Territorio di confine tra Parmigiano e Reggiano con corso dell'Enza e Strada Romea*». 1600-1699. A curious 17th century map showing the «*Strada Romea*» near the Enza river. Also interesting to note is the «*hosteria di là da Prato/Ponte P*[?]», inn on the opposite side of the «Meadow/Bridge P[?]», and the flag with a cross at the entrance to the building.
Source: ASPr, Ufficio dei Confini, busta 213/1, disegno n. 901.

V.I.XIII. The road network on the Emilian side

From many documents between the year 1056 and 1197, we know that the Parma and Piacenza roads take the name of «*Romea*». This naming during the late Middle Ages goes together with that of «*francigena*». In Donizone's «*Vita Mathildis*» (Chapter IV), written by 1120, we find the Francigena route mentioned twice, one referring to the road to *Monte Bardone*: «It is clear that the name *Francigena* or *Romea* is directly linked to the function of the road itself, a pilgrimage destination for Rome or a link between the Italian area and the rest of Europe» (Quintavalle, 1975, pp. 51-52).

Along the Taro Valley, to the right of the river, the road reached Fornovo. From there along the Sporzana that led to Bardone, where a medieval bridge must have been rebuilt several times, up to Terenzo, Cassio avoiding the Prinzera massif, therefore on the ridge between Taro and Baganza. In addition to this main channel, Quintavalle traces a second route north-west of Monte Prinzera, coming from Fornovo and passing through the Rocchetta monastery (1975, p. 144). This route certainly passes near the already mentioned Corniana fortress and the parish church of Santa Maria Assunta. This too was built in the 13th century, at the base

of the rocky spur where the fortress stood, and was remodelled several times. Then, the road leads from Cassio to Berceto.

The main difference between this ancient route and the route of the 12th-13th century is that the starting point which was the city of Parma as well as the settlement of Fidenza which reached from Pavia to Piacenza (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 31). Dall'Aglio, on the road to Parma, essentially sees two passes between those who converge on Pontremoli: Cisa and Cirone. However, he undoubtedly prefers the first of the two, as that of Cirone has to descend through the Antena valley, a narrow and challenging valley (Dall'Aglio, di Cocco, 2006, p. 321).

Bardone itself is a settlement of Longobardic origin, as the name confirms, organised around two usual points of reference: the tower, then the fortification, and the church with the connected hospice. In the architectural fabric of Bardone there is still a medieval centre. There are two phases of the nucleus that reflect the interventions on the Roman road, that of 1080, corresponding to the construction of the first nucleus, and that of 1220 (Quintavalle, 1975, pp. 117-120). The road that leads to the *Monte Bardone* pass then reaches Terenzo, with the parish church dedicated to St. Lorenzo (whose original structure is recorded from 1141) and a medieval hospital (1365), goes up to the castle of Casola, then Cassio, where Philip Augustus stopped in 1191 and which includes a church (first date 1230: *Assunzione di Maria Vergine*) and the *xenodochium* of St. Ilario existing from the 11th century, then Castellonchio (fig. 5.31) (Patitucci, 2004, p. 32). Traces of the medieval urban layout are linked to castles and fortifications on the road.



Fig.5.31. Example of traditional rural architecture in Castellonchio (this structure was later demolished).
Author's photo, April 2020.

In the church of St. Stefano at Casola, a 12th c. processional (*astile*) cross was kept. This represents an important evidence of the relationship with the great Rhenish tradition, certainly linked to the world of pilgrimage (Quintavalle, 1977, p. 166). Cassio is, a medieval town where there is an example of how the route of the Francigena may have appeared. It has been repaved recently but probably on earlier tracks, inserted between a double row of buildings of medieval structure. Quintavalle indicates a detour to Corchia (Quintavalle, 1977, p. 166) where Valbona is located, not far from Berceto. The identification of this locality, together with those of Bergotto, Pellerzo, Castellonchio, Fugazzolo and Pagazzano, can only be found in the statutes of Parma between 1266 and 1304.

In Terenzo, on the route, it is possible to identify some late-medieval rural houses with wooden architraves but with stone as the dominant material. From an architectural point of view, Corchia is more complex. It is an undoubtedly medieval agglomeration south-west of Berceto near the Manubiola stream, a left tributary of the Taro. At the entrance to the town we find 12th century portico with a stable and the living space on the upper floor. The paving of the road is modern. Some of the buildings have still maintained functional elements allowing access up slopes to a higher floor (fig. 5.32). The countryside in the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries was evidently not populated by scattered buildings; the agglomerations became meeting points for the peasants, the villages were often walled and protected by fortresses, castles or towers (Quintavalle, 1975, pp. 122-123).



Fig.5.32. Historic rural structure in Corchia. Author's photo, April 2019.

Berceto's monastery, in reality, is a re-foundation and not a single foundation, since a building prior to that of Liutprando was located in the same place. Moderanno di Rennes travelled with relics to Rome and left some of them in the monastery located on *Monte Bardone* (Quintavalle, 1975, pp. 42-43). On the outside of the cathedral, on the north door, there is a clear indication of the Roman origin of the road: in the jambs there are St. Peter (fig. 5.33) and St. Paul. The hospital of San Giacomo di Roncaglia, whose structure still exists, is mentioned several times as an oratory and hospital, both in 1230 and in 1299 and then up to the sixteenth century. In the nucleus of Berceto (via del Seminario, 4), the hospital of the SS. Trinità was first mentioned in 1299 and then noted in 1604 for a donation from Count Rossi. It had the dual function of "hotel" and «*hospitale*». On the other hand, it is uncertain whether the hospital of San Giovanni, in the former oratory of Berceto, can be traced back to the Berceto's «*Hospitalle*» (1299, 1354), but it is still recorded in 1436 (Pellegri, 1973, p. 138). More recently,

in Berceto (via Mons. E. Colli), the hospital of the Madonna delle Grazie or S. Niccolò da Tolentino was rebuilt by Berceto's inhabitants in 1467 and again rebuilt in the decade following 1536; while in 1520 the hospice of San Donnino is recorded, perhaps in the Tugo locality (Acmé, 2013).



Fig.5.33. Sculpture depicting St. Peter (whose sepulchre is the pilgrimage destination in Rome) at the side of the secondary portal of the Berceto cathedral.
Author's photo, April 2020.

There is considerable debate about *Tabertasco*, the toponym of a disappeared site of which the hypothesis was advanced, later denied, of an original seat of the Liutprando's abbey then moved to Berceto. The site is identified at the intersection that can be reached from Berceto between the Baganza and Parma valleys, before going back down to the Magra, where there was a hospice (Grisenti, Bertozzi, 2015, p. 12). The archaeological remains indicate a late medieval building four kilometres from the road to *Monte Bardone* which could have hosted pilgrims heading towards Corniglio (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 42). Berceto, between the end of the 11th and 12th centuries, was a walled city within its medieval fortifications, dominated by a castle that must have had circular towers and which was probably preceded at least by a tower at the time when the Longobards had re-founded the abbey located in the heart of the town, that is, at the crossroads of the via Francigena. Only in the 15th century was this system restored to the war requirements of the time, probably by modifying the walls of the castle (Quintavalle, 1975, p. 136).

In general, on the stretch of road from Parma to the *Monte Bardone* pass, there are numerous cultural models. Quintavalle, in his analysis, captures the contradiction of the Francigena of the twelfth century where on the one hand there is the great road of European pilgrimages that connects *Monte Bardone*, on the other it is a road that illustrates local events. Since then, even if it remains an important transit road, the Francigena assumes the shape of an itinerary dotted with simple churches, mediocre hospices and small villages. Since the 12th century, the viability of the *Monte Bardone* has been based on a more dynamic and lighter system of churches, inhabited and productive nuclei. From the thirteenth century, the monastic institutions and the roads of *Monte Bardone* began to decline leading to the shattering of the via Francigena. In addition to this, the road area of *Monte Bardone* had become more secular; although the religious imprint continued to distinguish the via Francigena, if only for the sacral stratification that had been produced over the centuries by pilgrims, reception systems and cultural exchanges generated along the route (Censi, 2000, pp. 262-264).

V.II. HERITAGE DATABASE: A STRATEGY OF INCLUSION ALONG THE "ROAD-TERRITORY"

This elaboration is the quantitative result of the geo-historical investigation illustrated in the previous chapter. It is a database of resources surveyed in relation to the road infrastructure and cultural flows included in the study areas. The purpose of this census and cataloguing is twofold: first, to understand quantitatively the organisation of the territory in relation to the medieval road ("roadscape"); second, to constitute an inclusive method of acknowledgment of the material and cultural heritage determined by the relationship with the road that is not directly located on the itinerary.

The part of the main artery of communication considered here is spread, from north to south, between Bardone (Emilia-Romagna) and Pontremoli (Tuscany). Here, the heritage included – subdivided into four macro-categories: military, religious, hospitality, and functional transit infrastructure – implies a spatial result with respect to the impact of the medieval road system on the territory.

Overall, the database consists of 148 heritage elements. These are summarised by the radar chart (fig. 5.34) in more detail. These resources constitute an area of 1585 sq. km for 258.6 km of mapped medieval roads. It is interesting to note the copious presence of infrastructures for the hospitality of travellers (*xenodochia*), churches, medium-sized settlements, and military structures (particularly fortresses).

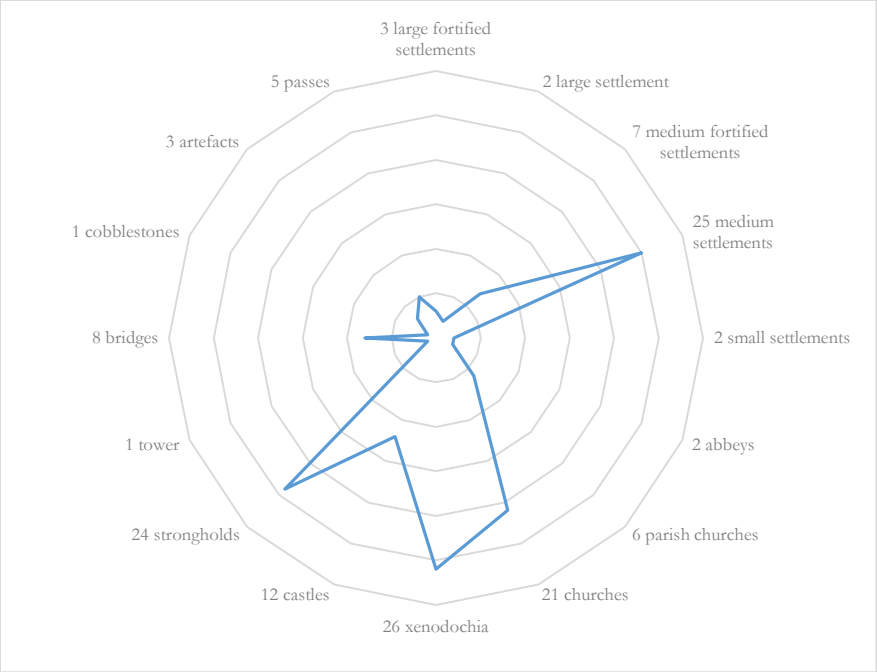


Fig.5.34. Radar chart showing the heritage elements surveyed.

The following tables are divided into three colours: yellow for resources located within Tuscany, blue for those located upon the Apennine crest (therefore the mountain passes), and green for those in Emilia-Romagna. Furthermore, it is useful to repeat that the structures marked with a star are characterised by a first degree of approximation of location (uncertain), while those with two stars are of unknown location (though the area is known approximately).

Characteristics	*Resources*			
	St. Maria della Cisa hospital	***Tabertasco****	**Berceto**	**St. Moderanno**
a. Source	bibliog/fs	bibliog (debated)	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs
b. In or out of the route	in	out	in	in
c. Main or secondary route	main	link (main and Parma)	main	main
d. Reference period	9th-10th c. (8th c. probably)	late medieval (initially deemed to be Longobardic)	at least since 713	8th c., over the previous St. Abondio
e. Cultural origin	Longobardic (probably)	/	Longobardic, Liutprando (but also previous origins)	Longobardic
f. Category	xenodochium	possible xenodochium	settlement	dome
g. Original use	hospitality	hospitality(?)	dwelling, control, religious	religious

h. Current state	abandoned (excavated and buried ruins)	abandoned (excavated ruins)	active	active
i. On the tourist VF?	yes	no	yes	yes
j. Coordinates or area	44.471955, 9.931817	44.474179, 10.024657	44.510322, 9.988194	44.510673, 9.989631

	Castle of Berceto	**St. Giacomo di Roncaglia hospital**	**SS. Trinità hospital***	**St. Giovanni hospital (Berceto)***	**Madonna delle Grazie hospital (or St. Niccolò da Tolentino)**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	1st mentioned in 1221	mentioned in 1230, 1299 until the 16th c.	mentioned in 1299 and 1604	1436 (uncertain if previously was «*Hospitalle di Berceto*» 1299, 1354)	rebuilt in 1467 and again in 1536
e.	possible previous Longobardic tower	/	/	/	/
f.	castle	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium
g.	defensive, control	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality
h.	the ruins are preserved	replaced by houses	not existing, without trace(?)	not existing, without trace(?)	not existing
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	44.511637, 9.990489	44.509545, 9.988351	44.509648, 9.987700	44.508898, 9.990124	44.506710, 9.985604

	St. Donnino hospital*	**Fugazzolo**	**Fugazzolo's bridge**	**Cassio**	**St. Ilario hospital (Cassio)***
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	in	out	out	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	remembered in 1520	12th c.	16th c. (humpback bridge)	fortification 11th c.	since 11th c.
e.	/	/	/	also Roman origins	/
f.	xenodochium	hamlet, fortification	bridge	hamlet, castle	xenodochium
g.	hospitality	dwelling, control, defensive(?)	transit	dwelling, defensive	hospitality
h.	not existing, without trace(?)	active (only the hamlet)	active	active (no traces of the castle)	not existing, without trace
i.	yes	no	yes	yes	yes
j.	44.488606, 9.960641	44.524455, 10.015824	44.524931, 10.007729	44.586648, 10.035197	44.586744, 10.035637]

	Assunzione di Maria Vergine (Cassio)	Casola Villa	Casola Castello	Terenzo	St. Stefano (Terenzo)
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	named in 1230	medieval	13th c. (chapel St. Apollinare 1230)	medieval	1st mention in 1141
e.	/	Longobardic	/	Longobardic	/
f.	church	hamlet	tower	hamlet	church
g.	religious	dwelling/religious	defensive, control	dwelling	religious
h.	active (new structure)	active	currently hamlet, ruins excavated in late 20th c. (original chapel is replaced, now in Casa Storti)	active	active (modern structure)
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	44.58723, 10.036645	44.590743 10.067968	44.593882, 10.072026	44.610238, 10.088792	44.610363, 10.090548

	Terenzo's hospital*	astile cross (Terenzo)	Bardone	St. Maria Assunta (Bardone)	Castellonchio
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	founded in 1365	12th c.	medieval	since 6th c.	12th c. (nucleus)
e.	/	/	Longobardic	/	/
f.	xenodochium	artefact	hamlet, castle	parish church	hamlet, fortification
g.	hospitality	processional cross	dwelling, control, defensive	religious	dwelling, defensive
h.	not existing, without trace	display piece (Museo Diocesano di Parma)	active (no traces of the castle)	active	active (only the hamlet)
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	44.611065, 10.091482	44.609087, 10.091413 (St. Stefano church, Terenzo)	44.623773, 10.101618	44.624571, 10.101832	44.549226, 10.005678

	Vigolone	Alpicelle	Ravarano	Valdena	Borgotaro
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs/ archive
b.	out	out	out	in	in

c.	main	main	main	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)
d.	13th c.	13th c.	13th c.	11th-12th c.	*Turris*, 862
e.	/	/	/	Hena family (local)	Longobardic
f.	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	castle	manor and chapel	fortification, hamlet
g.	control, defensive	control, defensive	control, defensive	dwelling, control	dwelling, defensive, control
h.	abandoned, ruins	abandoned, ruins	preserved	active but reworked over the time	active hamlet, partially preserved ruins
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.581791, 10.109198	44.585122, 10.135152	44.577814, 10.063789	44.449955, 9.7867936	44.488589, 9.767189

	St. Giorgio*	**Battuti oratory hospital(?)***	**St. Maria hospital**	**Buzzò***	**Ena***
a.	bibliog	local knowledge (needs to be verified)	local knowledge (needs to be verified)	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	out	out
c.	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio, Brattello and Borgallo)
d.	10th c., later replaced in 1226 (St. Antonio)	replaced by St. Maria hospital (therefore earlier the 1293)	attested in 1293	1st-7th c.	11th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	parish church	xenodochium	xenodochium	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle
g.	religious	hospitality	hospitality	defensive, control	defensive, control
h.	not existing, without definitive traces	not existing, without definitive traces(?)	not existing, without definitive traces(?)	not existing, without definitive traces	abandoned, ruins
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.488759 9.785512	44.489246, 9.769356	44.489063 9.768126	44.446484, 9.735880	44.448310, 9.767059

	Poggio*	**Spiaggio***	**Pontolo***	**Termine***	**Castelplatone***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	out	out	out	out	out
c.	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio,	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio,	defensive line along Taro valley	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio,	secondary ("Abbots Way" to Bobbio,

	Brattello and Borgallo)	Brattello and Borgallo)		Brattello and Borgallo)	Brattello and Borgallo)
d.	11th c.	11th c.	11th c.	11th c.	11th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle
g.	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control
h.	not existing, without definitive traces	not existing, without definitive traces	abandoned, ruins	abandoned, ruins	abandoned, ruins
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.483572, 9.736450	44.480770, 9.793141	44.496438, 9.825725	44.525455, 9.773218	44.505653, 9.796204

	Costerbosa	**Belforte**	**Valbona**	**Corchia**	**Roccaprebalza**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	out	out	out	out	out
c.	defensive line along Taro valley	defensive line along Taro valley	main	main	main
d.	12th c.	built in the 12th c.	medieval (in documents between 1266 and 1304)	since the 12th c.	8th c. the nucleus, 11th c. the castle
e.	/	Parma	/	/	/
f.	stronghold/castle	castle	hamlet	hamlet	tower (later hamlet)
g.	defensive, control	defensive	dwelling	dwelling, defensive	defensive, dwelling
h.	abandoned, ruins	ruins, partially preserved	active	active	abandoned, ruins, depopulated hamlet
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.509683, 9.849274	44.513975, 9.869468	44.500765, 9.946397	44.499923, 9.929942	44.525164, 9.958496

	Casacca	**Roccamurata***	**Pietramogola-na**	**Solignano**	**Corniana**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog	bibliog
b.	out	out	out	out	in
c.	main	defensive line along Taro valley	main	defensive line along Taro valley	secondary medieval road
d.	8th-10th c.	medieval (hypothetical Byzantine origin)	since 7th c. (674)	11th c.	13th c.
e.	/	/	Longobardic	Parma	Parma
f.	hamlet and church	fortification	stronghold, later hamlet	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle

g.	dwelling, religious	defensive, control	defensive, control, dwelling	defensive, control	defensive, control
h.	abandoned but well preserved (private property)	abandoned, only few ruins	abandoned, ruins, depopulated hamlet	abandoned, ruins	abandoned, ruins
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.561130, 9.945790	44.542359, 9.877353	44.590975, 9.955084	44.619289, 9.988001	44.614604, 10.050468

	Oriano*	**Santa Maria Assunta parish (Corniana)**	**Bosco**	**Bosco's hospital**	**Mossale***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	out	in	in	in	out
c.	defensive line along Taro valley	secondary medieval road	secondary (Lombarda/Cir one)	secondary (Lombarda/Cir one)	defensive line along Parma valley
d.	13th c.	13th c.	13th c.	medieval(?)	13th c.
e.	/	local	local family	/	/
f.	stronghold/castle	parish church	castle	xenodochium	stronghold/castle
g.	defensive, control	religious	defensive	hospitality	defensive, control
h.	not existing, without definitive traces	deconsecrated in 1931, restored and converted to an exhibition hall	Ruins, abandoned since the 17th c.	remains of Tau sign on Casa Franzoni's architrave	not existing, without definitive traces
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.644034, 10.033684	44.615274, 10.049931	44.448750, 10.038514	44.446613 10.036714	44.445461, 10.052671

	Canetolo*	**Roccaferrata**	**Corniglio**	**Pugnetolo***	**Beduzzo**	**Cozzano***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	out	out	in	out	out	out
c.	defensive line along Parma valley	defensive line along Parma valley	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	defensive line along Parma valley	defensive line along Parma valley	defensive line along Parma valley
d.	13th c.	13th c.	medieval (1240 1st mention)	9th c.	14th c.	11th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/	/
f.	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	castle	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle	stronghold/castle
g.	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control	defensive, control
h.	not existing, without definitive traces	not existing, without definitive traces	modern structure, today the city hall	not existing, without definitive traces	abandoned, partially preserved ruins	not existing, without definitive traces
i.	no	no	no	no	no	no

j.	44.466199, 10.052392	44.48438, 10.03619	44.476144, 10.088605	44.525373, 10.104159	44.547281, 10.162536	44.573785, 10.200456

Mountain passes

	Cisa	**Brattello**	**Borgallo**	**Valoria**	**Cirone**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	secondary	secondary	secondary	secondary
d.	medieval	medieval	medieval	medieval	medieval
e.	Longobardic	Longobardic	Longobardic	Roman(?) and local(?)	local(?)
f.	Apennine pass	Apennine pass	Apennine pass	Apennine pass	Apennine pass
g.	crossing	crossing	crossing	crossing	crossing
h.	active (asphalt road and pathway)	active (asphalt road and pathway)	active (pathway)	Active (pathway)	active (asphalt road and pathway)
i.	yes	no	no	yes, variant	no
j.	44.472040, 9.928636	44.459275, 9.824384	44.433781, 9.791904	44.46878, 9.95007	44.439652, 10.002988

Characteristics *Resources*

	Pontremoli	**Piagnaro castle**	**labyrinth stele**	**St. Antonio hospital (1)***
a. Source	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b. In or out of the route	in	in	in	in
c. Main or secondary route	main	main	main	main
d. Reference period	6th c. (also more ancient origins)	11th c.	12th c.	since 1363 this one (since 1508 St. Antonio 2)
e. Cultural origin	Longobardic (not only)	Longobardic (fai. Adalberti)	/	/
f. Category	settlement	castle	artefact	xenodochium
g. Original use	dwelling, control, defensive, religious	control, defensive	symbolic, religious	hospitality
h. Current state	active	museum, hospitality	display piece (upon request)	not existing, without trace
i. On the tourist VF?	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j. Coordinates or area	44.377414, 9.882801	44.380143, 9.881642	44.370964, 9.886332 (in St. Pietro church)	44.375038, 9.886109

	St. Giorgio hospital	**St. Lazaro (and St. Martino) hospital**	**St. Antonio hospital (2)***	**St. Maria Cervaria hospital***	**St. Maria Cervaria church***
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main

d.	1078 (hospitality ceased in 14th c.)	probably already existed in 12th c.	since 1508 this one (since 1363 St. Antonio 1)	since 1338 as hospital	since 1470-71 as oratory
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	church/oratory
g.	hospitality, religious	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	religious
h.	not existing	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace(?)
i.	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j.	44.384724, 9.883960	44.3654503, 9.884276	44.379074, 9.882804	44.372383, 9.880483	44.372083, 9.880955

	St. Pietro	**St. Giacomo del Campo**	**St. Cristina**	**Nostra Dama oratory church**	**St. Maria Assunta cathedral (duomo)**
a.	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	since 13th c.	since 1187	since 1252	since 16th c.	1723 consecration
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	church	church	church	church/oratory	cathedral
g.	religious	religious	religious	religious	religious
h.	active, but a completely new structure (1955-66)	active	active, but a new structure since 1670	active but destroyed in 1732 by a flood	active
i.	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j.	44.370813, 9.886172	44.373153, 9.886044	44.375303, 9.885695	44.375416, 9.884903	44.377825, 9.883202

	St. Colombano	**St. Geminiano**	**St. Nicolò**	**Madonna del Carmine**	**Convento dei Padri Cappuccini**
a.	bibliog/ archive	bibliog/ archive	bibliog/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	since 1154	since 10th c.	since 1126 (but surely more ancient)	since 17th c.	since 17th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	church	church	church	church	convent/church
g.	religious	religious	religious	religious	religious
h.	not existing (demolished in 1913)	active (transformed in the 17th c.)	active (renovated several times, also in 1960)	abandoned (façade visible within the old hospital of Pontremoli)	active
i.	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j.	44.376306, 9.882953	44.378209, 9.882639	44.378921, 9.882828	44.383545, 9.884086	44.376115, 9.886137

	St. Francesco (also St. Colombano)	**St. Lazaro (previously St. Martino)**	**St. Giacomo d'Altopascio**	**St. Giacomo del Campo hospital***	**St. Giorgio church**
a.	bibliog/	bibliog/fs/	bibliog/	bibliog	bibliog/fs

	archive	archive	archive		
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	since 1321	medieval (early medieval hypothesis; also in 17th c. map)	16th c.	medieval	11th c. (presumably considering the coexisting hospital)
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	church	church	church	xenodochium	church
g.	religious	religious	religious	hospitality	religious
h.	active (renovated in 1471, the bell tower is the only original remain)	abandoned (transformed in 1878 to widen the road)	active (suppressed in 1785 and reopened in after 1998 renovation)	not existing, without trace	preserved ruins
i.	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j.	44.375464, 9.881520	44.365011, 9.885134	44.372144, 9.886565	44.372646, 9.886136	44.384358, 9.883944

	Antonini* hospital	**St. Giovanni and St. Leonardo hospital***	**Cerreto Grosso hospital***	**St. Giovanni Battista hospital***	**SS. Annunziata**	**Urceola (Saliceto)**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	secondary	main	main	main
d.	since 1461	1st mention in 1296-97 (in 1590 St. Maria St. and Leonardo)	mentioned in 1296-97, 1298-99, 1470-71	/	Since 1474	1st mention in 981; St. Cassiano and St. Ippolito di Urceola (1148)
e.	/	/	/	/	/	/
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	church	parish church, hamlet
g.	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	religious	religious, dwelling
h.	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace (?)	underground and the remains have been excavated	active	active, replaced by a new structure
i.	yes, main	yes, main	no	yes, main	yes, main	no (yes the cycleway)
j.	44.374561, 9.884009	44.385494, 9.884097	44.452281, 9.938402	44.383799, 9.884161	44.364012, 9.887254	44.358252, 9.892355

	Ponte dei Chiosi	Ponte della Crëša	Ponte del Casotto	Ponte dell'Ospedale Vecchio	Ponte Pompeo Spagnoli	Ponte del Giubileo
a.	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs	bibliog/ archive/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	secondary	main	main	main
d.	since 1705	13th c.-14th c.	13th c.	since 1567 but surely medieval	since 1550	since 1279
e.	/	/	/	/	/	/
f.	bridge	bridge	bridge	bridge	bridge	bridge
g.	road infrastructure	road infrastructure	road infrastructure	road infrastructure	road infrastructure	road infrastructure
h.	active (WW2 bombing)	active (several restorations due to floods)	active (several restorations due to floods)	active (several restorations especially in 2013)	active (several restorations due to floods and WW2 bombing)	active (demolitions in 1945 and 1999)
i.	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j.	44.381720, 9.874400	44.377720, 9.881597	44.374684, 9.883605	44.383194, 9.884504	44.380137, 9.883251	44.375512, 9.884592

	Rocca Sigillina	Monte Castello	Grondola	Grondola Castle	Traverde
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	out	out	in	in	in
c.	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Brattello and Borgallo routes)	secondary (Brattello and Borgallo routes)	main(1)
d.	medieval	early middle ages	medieval	1st mention in 1195	medieval
e.	/	Byzantine	/	/	/
f.	stronghold	stronghold	hamlet	stronghold/tower	hamlet
g.	control, defence	control, defence	dwelling	military, defensive	dwelling
h.	ruins (recovered and accessible)	abandoned ruins	active	abandoned (since 16th c.), ruins	active
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.366773, 9.956072	44.37808, 9.980968	44.419662, 9.853607	44.417222, 9.849444	44.393706, 9.874661

	Traverde's church*	Mignegno	St. Maria Assunta (Mignegno)	Succisa	Villa Vecchia
a.	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main(1)	main(2)	main(2)	main(1)	main(1)

d.	1st mention 13th c.	medieval	1st mention in 1187	1st mention in 1187 (SS. Felicita and Perpetua)	medieval
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	church	hamlet	parish church	collective name of 5 settlements (area)	hamlet (the 1st nucleus of Succisa)
g.	religious	dwelling	religious	dwelling, religious	dwelling
h.	abandoned	active	active (modern structure)	active	active
i.	no	no (yes the cycleway)	no (yes the cycleway)	no	no
j.	44.398611, 9.874425	44.390942, 9.884142	44.392358, 9.883292	44.427222, 9.897222	44.427217, 9.879403

	La Colla	**Pollina**	**Montelungo**	**Montelungo Vecchia***	**St. Benedetto hospital***
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main(1)	main(1)	main	main	main
d.	medieval	medieval(?)	medieval origins	medieval (1st mention in 972)	medieval (1st mention in 772)
e.	/	/	Longobardic	Longobardic	Longobardic
f.	hamlet and fortification	hamlet	hamlet and surrounding ruins	hamlet	xenodochium
g.	dwelling, defensive	dwelling	dwelling, religious	dwelling	hospitality
h.	active; ruins of the fortification	active	active (the new village)	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace
i.	no	no	no (yes the cycleway)	no	no
j.	44.427704, 9.886972	44.436292, 9.892009	44.447366, 9.908131	44.44962, 9.911936	44.44978, 9.910541

	Il «*Palazzo*»	**Arzengio**	**Toplecca**	**Versòla**	**Previdé**
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs/ archive
b.	in	in	in	out	out
c.	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)
d.	main	Roman origins, medieval	medieval	medieval	medieval
e.	uncertain	/	/	/	/
f.	building	hamlet	hamlet	hamlet	hamlet, fortification
g.	dwelling, hospitality(?)	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling, defensive
h.	ruins under private conservation	active	active	active	active

i.	no	yes	yes	no	yes
j.	44.443103, 9.905105	44.389432, 9.902716	44.409646, 9.924114	44.415898, 9.924858	44.422719, 9.930725

	Casalina	**Flayse (or Fraise) (Casalina)**	**Pracchiola**	**S. Maria Assunta in Pracchiola**	**"*Scaleri*"**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)
d.	/	13th c. (1296-97)	/	since 13th c. (1296-97)	medieval
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	hamlet	isolated chapel	hamlet	chapel	road infrastructure
g.	dwelling	religious	dwelling	religious	transit (cobblestone mule track)
h.	active	active (modern structure)	active	active, replaced by a new structure	partially preserved
i.	yes	yes	no	no	no
j.	44.418737, 9.937415	44.417770, 9.936470	44.427458, 9.962194	44.427336, 9.961931	44.430268, 9.969421

	St. Giacomo "*Ospedaletto*" hospital	**Cargalla (Superiore and Inferiore)**	**Cavezzana d'Antena**	**Groppadalosio (Superiore and Inferiore)**	**Groppadalosio's Bridge**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary (Lombarda/ Cirone)	secondary (link)	secondary (link)	secondary (link)	secondary (link)
d.	1296-97 («*hospitale de Piellaburga*»), 1298-99 («*hospitale de Mallaticcha*»), 1470-71	/	/	/	16th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	xenodochium	hamlet	hamlet	hamlet	bridge
g.	hospitality	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	road infrastructure
h.	abandoned, ruins	active	active	active	active
i.	no	no	yes	yes	yes
j.	44.436094, 9.992954	44.423452, 9.912889	44.436273, 9.925002	44.423023, 9.942322	44.421423, 9.941132

	Groppoli	**Gravagna S. Rocco**	**Gravagna Montale**	**St. Pancrazio parish church**	**St. Bartolomeo hospital**

a.	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary (link)	secondary (link)	secondary (link)	secondary (Due Santi/Borgallo)	secondary (Due Santi/Borgallo)
d.	/	/	/	remembered in 998 and 1148	1298-99
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	hamlet	hamlet	hamlet	parish church	xenodochium
g.	dwelling	dwelling	dwelling	religious	hospitality
h.	active	active	active	a few remains within the current church	not existing, without trace
i.	yes	no	no	no	no
j.	44.429555, 9.930910	44.452152, 9.935917	44.450445, 9.941578	44.388653, 9.856027	44.388380, 9.855890

	Castello della Bardera*	**Cervara (castle)**	**Castellio***	**Castello dei Margrai***	**Guinadi San Rocco**	**Guinadi's hospital**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	out	out	out	out	in	in
c.	secondary (Due Santi/Borgallo)	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary (Borgallo)
d.	1st mention in 1164	medieval(?)	medieval(?)	medieval(?)	/	1517
e.	/	/	/	/	/	/
f.	castle	castle	castle	castle (remembered as "Costello dei Magrai" by the inhabitants of Pian di Valle as area of mountain pasture)	hamlet	xenodochium
g.	control, defensive	defensive	control, defensive	control, defensive	dwelling	hospitality
h.	not existing, without trace (maybe ruins)	ruins	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace	active	abandoned
i.	no	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.389072, 9.844555	44.419280, 9.818176	44.4366944 9.819736	44.433219 9.799025	44.429517, 9.835453	44.429516, 9.833932

	***«Mulpe»* church in Baselica**	**Borgallo cross**	**Braia (castle)**	**Bratto**	**Castello del Guelfo***	**Monte Zucchello castle**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in	out
c.	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary (Borgallo)	secondary (Brattello)	secondary (Brattello)	secondary (Brattello)	main
d.	since 13th c.	medieval(?)	1245	/	medieval(?)	medieval

e.	/	Longobardic(?)	/	/	/	/
f.	chapel	artefact (cross engraved on a stone)	hamlet, fortification	hamlet	castle	castle
g.	religious	boundary(?), property(?), hospitality(?)	dwelling, control, defensive	dwelling	defensive	control, defensive
h.	active, replaced by a new structure	set in its natural environment	active	active	not existing, without trace(?)	abandoned ruins
i.	no	no	no	no	no	no
j.	44.429165, 9.827404	44.433809, 9.791925	44.444314 9.844983	44.453415 9.847681	44.454538, 9.831169	44.460053, 9.91428

V.III. Spatial Analysis: maps "on the move"

The results of this chapter are based on the geo-historical analysis and on the heritage census whose methodology has been outline in Chapter III. The data were entered and processed within ArcGIS not only to map via Francigena and its associated heritage in the two case studies, but also to determine the sphere of influence ("road area" or "roadscape") of the routes on the territory crossed. In addition to this, the spatial analysis conducted provides movement and dynamism to the cartography in order to highlight patterns in the nature of the relationship that exists between the territory and mobilities. Ultimately, these cartographic results will be useful for comparing the complex medieval road network and the itinerary of the modern Via Francigena already recognised within the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe programme.

V.III.I. Roads, heritage, and territory

In this section a collection of maps is shown with the aim of providing an overview of the analysed territory between Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. Hence, the cartographic layer has been overlapped by the identified itineraries, both medieval and modern, the material heritage already illustrated in the previous chapter, the hydrography, and part of the toponymy. Since the geographical and historical reality was already complex to represent, and made even more so by the information acquired and input into the GIS database, a series of selected maps divided by category are discussed below, in order to allow a correct and clear reading of the road and settlement dynamics.

V.III.I.a. Overall map

In Case Study 1 it is evident that the Apennine mountain chain strongly characterises this area. As can be seen immediately from the map, the Digital Elevation Model (DEM) shows at a glance the Apennine arc, which encloses

routes that fan out to the south; while to the north they continue in different directions over ridge, mid-slope and valley areas (fig. 5.34).

It is no coincidence, as has already been shown, that the road (and hydrographic) confluence that joins the Val di Magra determines Pontremoli's typical "road-town" layout, as if it were the neck of the funnel that channels the routes coming from the Apennine passes. In particular, those of the Cisa (1041 m above sea level). The detail in the right-hand corner of the map, although indicating only the cartographic heritage, clearly shows the elongated conformation of the town. More generally, it can be seen from the map that the distribution of settlements and heritage is linked to the identified routes and the mountains and valleys. In the following paragraphs, the distribution according to typology will be clearly seen, however, it can already be stated that while military elements are also found outside the road network, the others (particularly dwelling places) are essentially located on the routes. Moreover, they seem to be distributed rather equally (although with differences to be defined later), on the various routes, that is, without an apparent concentration on the main route of the Francigena (in red). As already mentioned, the route to Parma via the Cirone pass (here in yellow from Rocca Sigillina) was also important and remained a valid alternative (Dall'Aglio, di Cocco, 2006); likewise, the stretch to Piacenza via Bobbio (in orange) was a short and safe route for monks to use (Tardio, 2011). Here, therefore, the Brattello and Borgallo passes maintained their strategic importance.

It is important to point out for this case study that there are areas that require further investigations on the ground and in the archives, in particular for the lateral flow routes in Emilia-Romagna: the identification of safe passages between the main route of the Francigena and the one that runs parallel to the Parma stream, thus passing through the Baganza stream; the possible use of an itinerary that runs along the Taro river and consequently the appropriate connections to the upstream route.

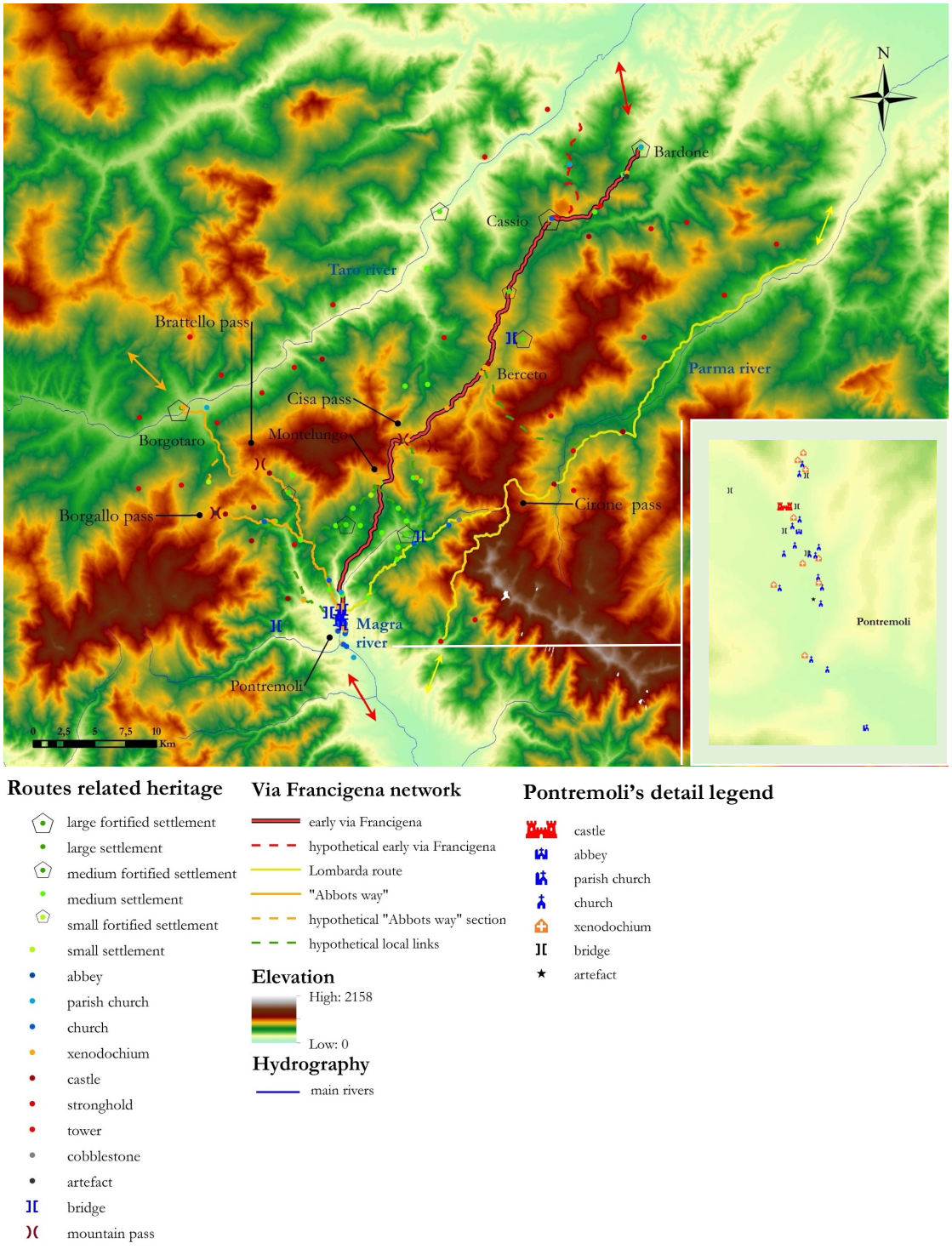


Fig.5.34. Author's elaboration.

Route name	*Early via Francigena*	*"Lombarda" route*	*"Abbots" way*	*Local links*	Tot.
Route length (km)	66,2	79,7	48,7	64	258,6

Table 5.35.

Finally, the table above (5.35) shows a summary of the road dimension (in terms of length). See also fig. 5.7 (Chapter V.V) for the map of itineraries drawn from evidence provided in diaries.

V.III.II. Categorised maps

From the previous overall map, we move on to a series of cartographic representations aimed at showing the distribution of heritage in relation to the road network, but subdivided into four main macro-categories to better identify patterns of territorial organisation, to highlight the spatial patterns established between communication routes and "stable" socio-cultural realities: military, dwelling, religious, hospitality. These are the categories that can be identified as most representative (and present) and consistent with the road transit of the via Francigena in the Middle Ages.

V.III.II.a. Military heritage map

The military setting that an artery of communication such as the via Francigena entailed has already been discussed in terms of control and defence. In addition, the local political-military fate was linked to it, with respect to the international axis of the road. It has already been mentioned, for example how Quintavalle (1975) identified a series of garrisons along the route up to the *Monte Bardone* pass from Parma in the Longobard dominion.

Predominantly of early medieval origin, one can see from the map (fig. 5.36) that direct positioning on the road is a priority for castles (e.g. Berceto and Piagnaro in Pontremoli) and fortified settlements (e.g. Cassio and Borgotaro), while strongholds in particular could also be located at some distance from the itinerary, but still within visual range (as will be noted later in the Viewshed Analysis). Clearly, morphology plays perhaps the most fundamental role in the case of military works, precisely by virtue of the fields of view and the difficulty of approach rendered by the slopes. If in the steep gorges that tortuously approach Pontremoli, particularly coming from Borgotaro, one finds a concentration that

mainly follows the roads, determined largely by the relief, in the Emilian part one observes militarised lines that run parallel to the main route of the Francigena, almost as if to create protective buffer zones. The distribution is also concentrated around the communication nodes or in any case the most important centres. Finally, as anticipated, this mapping also suggests the existence of a road system along the Taro river.

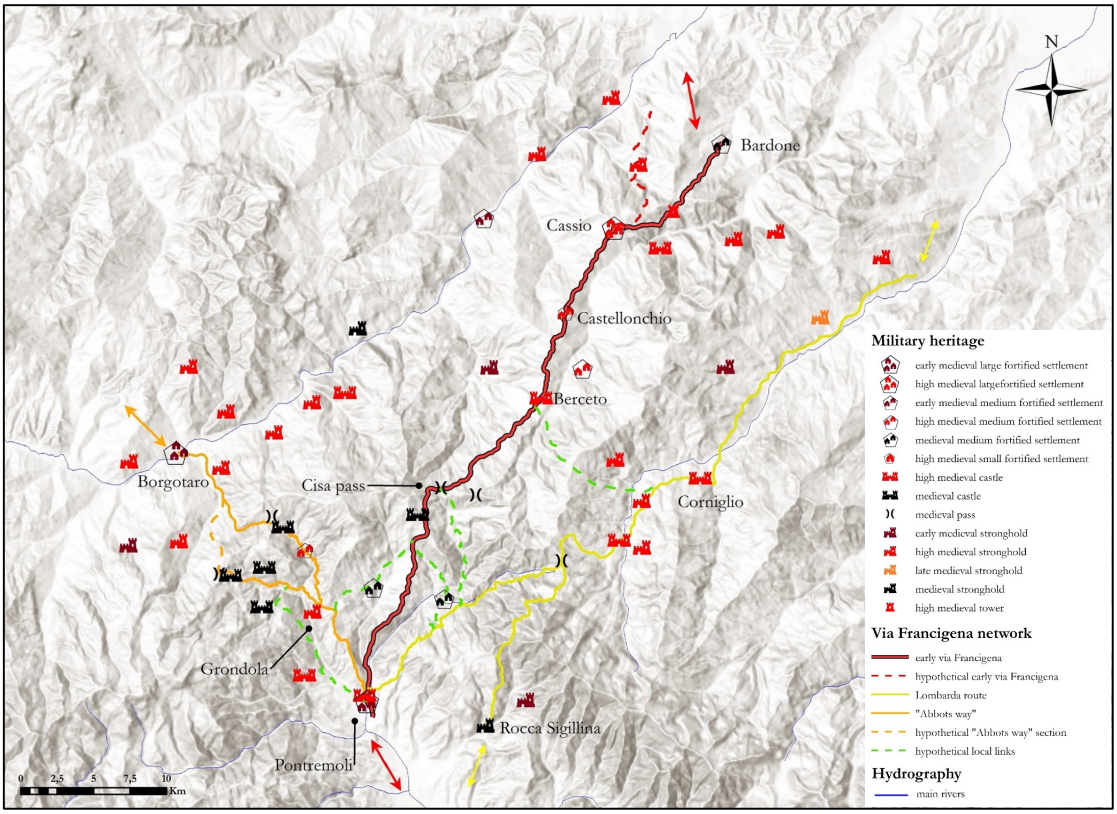


Fig.5.36. Military heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.II.B. SETTLEMENTS HERITAGE MAP

A certain distributional coherence is found between military and residential settlements, yet it is noticeable how the villages tend to be located more along the main communication routes (fig. 5.37). The concept of the road as a vital source of human organisation is reinforced. Residential settlements are found generally at lower altitudes than military ones, although some such as those in Valdantena (between Cisa and Cirone descending into Tuscany), are found at relatively high altitudes, probably due to the local forest and water resources.

It should be pointed out that in the geographical area presented, there are additional settlements that, for chronological and foundation issues, have not been examined with respect to the context of the medieval road system.

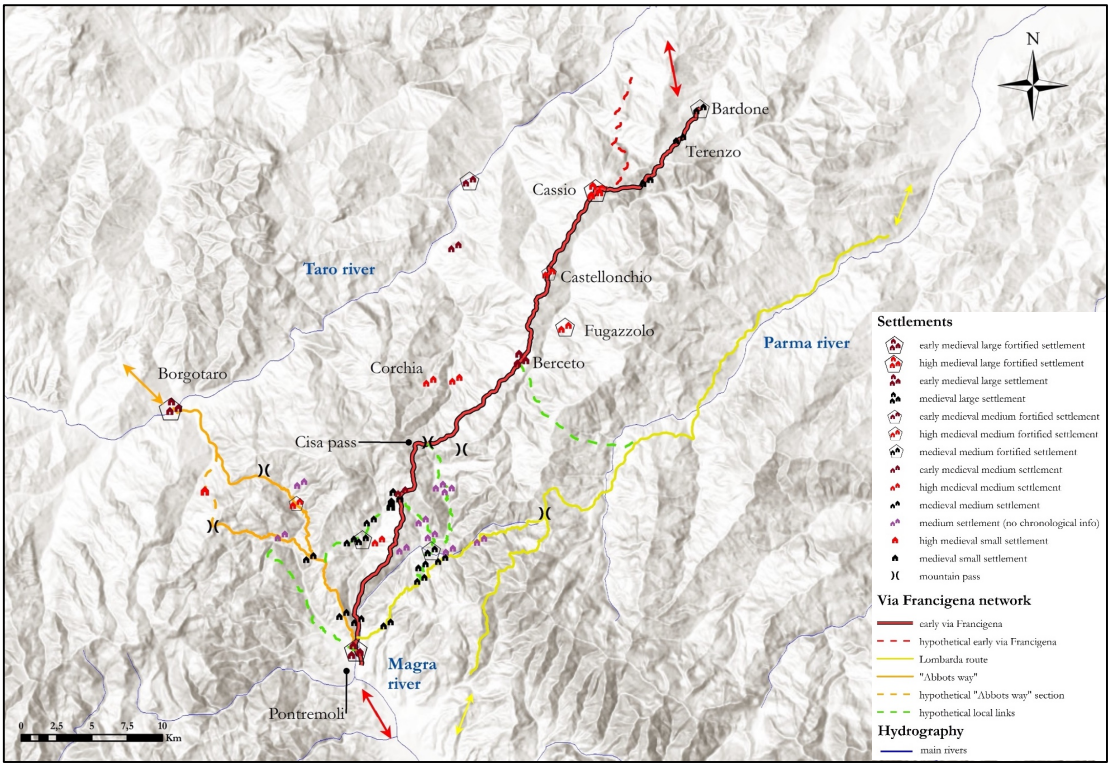


Fig.5.37. Dwelling heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.II.C. RELIGIOUS AND TRAVEL HOSPITALITY HERITAGE AND MAPS

The sacred, religious, landscape is undoubtedly one of the most emphasised in the context of pilgrimage routes such as the Via Francigena. But the issue is not merely religious, in fact the function of territorial control and road maintenance has already been abundantly described since the work of sacralisation begun by the Longobards. Hence we see an arrangement of the ecclesiastical heritage solely along the medieval routes already mapped (fig. 5.38), on the one hand to guard the territory and on the other to help travellers. In particular, those of greatest importance (such as abbeys and parish churches), are found along the main route through the Cisa pass.

Similarly, *xenodochia*, by their nature, are encountered essentially in centres already crossed by the road or where there are no settlements (as in St. Maria della

Cisa and St. Giacomo), but always on the route (fig. 5.39). In the latter case, their role becomes even more important as the only place of shelter and refreshment, especially, as today, near the most gruelling mountain passes. On the other hand, the concentration increases in the major centres along the most travelled route (in Pontremoli alone there are nine *xenodochia*). This is also true for Case Study 2.

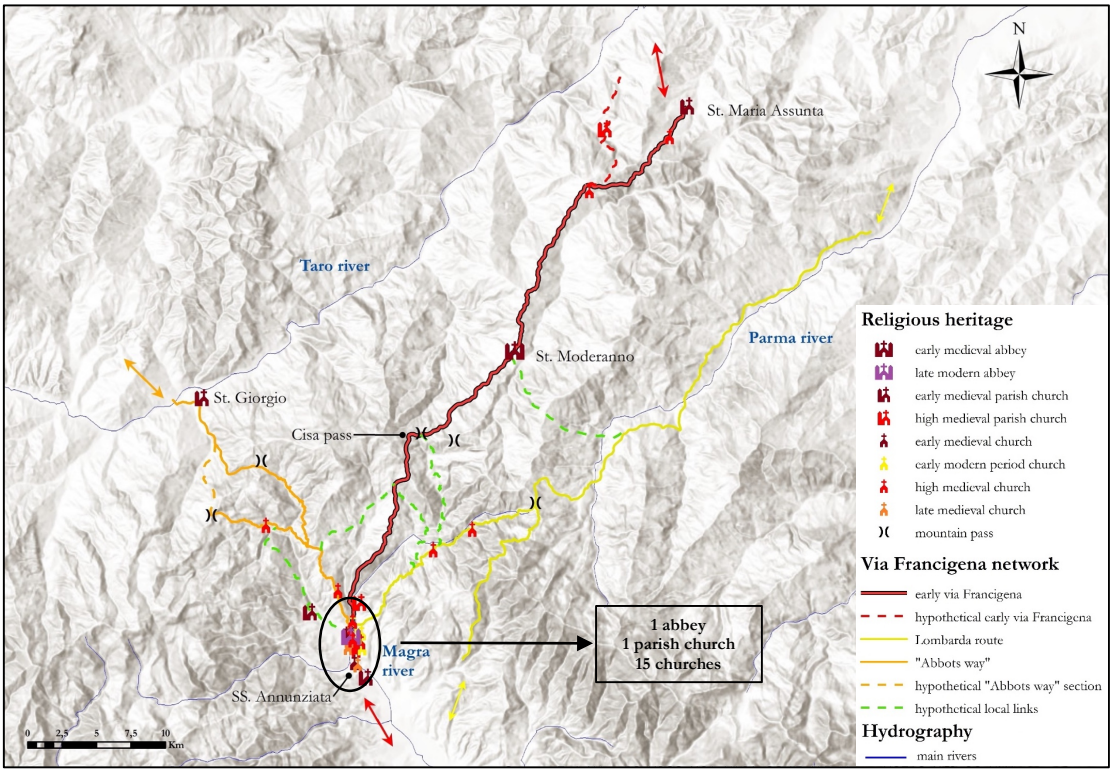


Fig.5.38. Religious heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

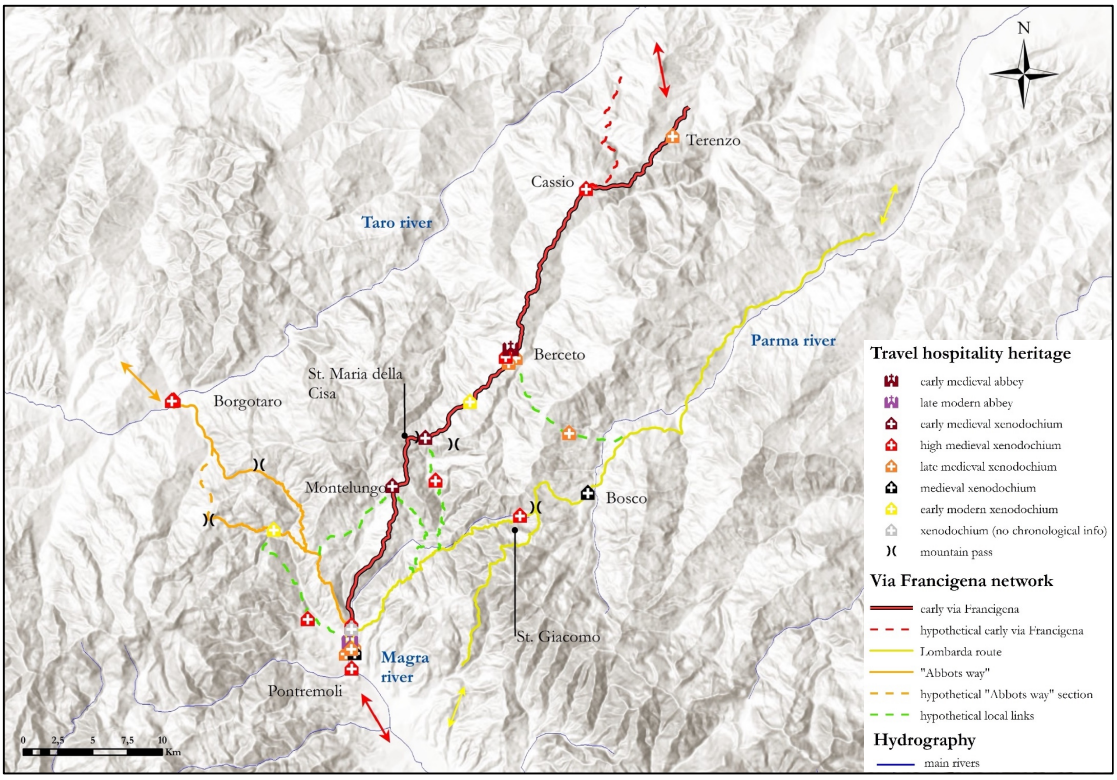


Fig.5.39. Hospitality heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III. SPATIAL ANALYSIS MAPS

In this section we move on to a cartographic representation resulting from spatial analysis (geoprocessing), which highlight further patterns and characteristics aroused by the coexisting relationship between roads, human organisation, and heritage. The maps illustrated below, whose analytical procedures are indicated in the methodology chapter (III), concern: Buffering Analysis (of both heritage and routes, medieval and modern); Near Analysis (between roads and heritage); Kernel Analysis (heritage density); Viewshed Analysis (visibility from military heritage); Near Analysis (on the overlap and/or distance between medieval and modern routes).

V.III.III.A. HERITAGE BUFFERING ("ROADSCAPE")

Rather than from the roads themselves, it is from the assets on the ground that we arrive at the concept of the road area, and thus from the heritage that has so far

been identified, mapped and discussed. This makes it possible to include within the road system landscape elements that are coherent with the Francigena road network (fig. 5.40), which might otherwise be interpreted as external to it. Referring to this case, one can point to the area essentially of a military nature that runs along the Taro river, that between Borgotaro and Pontremoli, and between the Parma stream and the main Francigena road. Clearly, the system of alternative routes identified here also makes it possible to connect to otherwise ignored elements.

This also helps to show the areas where the road, hypothetically, could have exerted an influence, but today there is no data or evidence on the ground. These "gaps" (non-presence of roads and/or heritage) could be either a consequence of a real and missing anthropic presence or a lack of study and research, therefore to be initiated and further investigated.

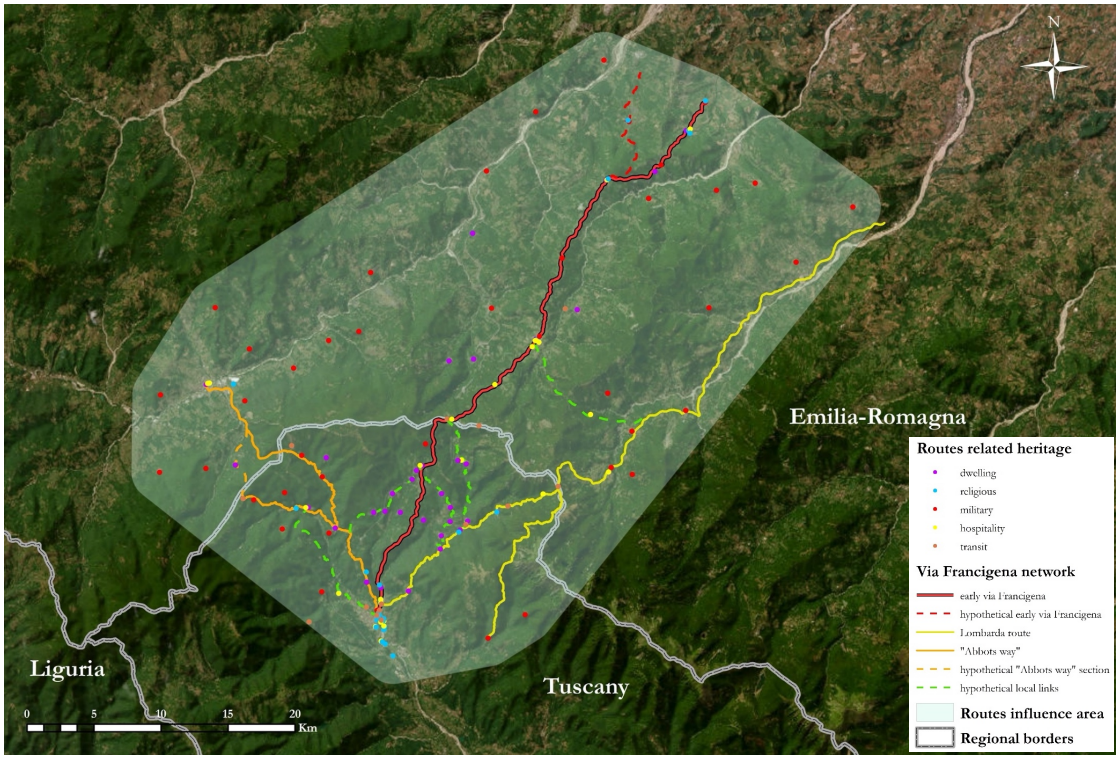


Fig.5.40. Heritage buffering map. The area: 1585,502 sq. km.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III.B. ROUTES BUFFERING

Here the buffer is applied along medieval routes (excluding those marked as hypothetical) in order to define a relationship of proximity, hence a more direct relationship, between the road and the heritage site. In this case, with a distance of 500 m each side of the road, there are 87 units out of 148 (fig. 5.41). A datum which, given the extent of the territory concerned, suggests a relevant relationship of proximity between the resources considered and the roads considered; however, the 61 elements located beyond the kilometre diameter of the road suggest how important it is to focus on more than just proximity. The same process was conducted looking only at the main route of the Francigena, the one in red, and here 54 elements were included. This denotes that the main road route generates (or follows) most of the anthropic elements considered.

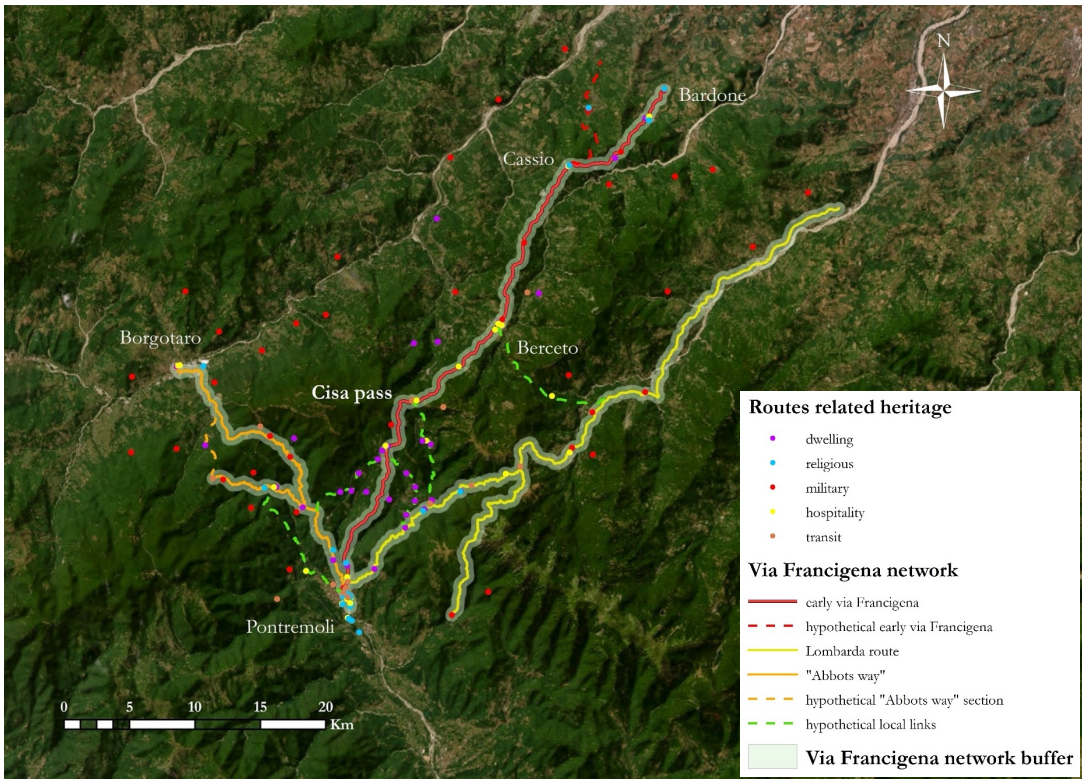


Fig.5.41. Routes buffering map.
Author's elaboration.

At the end of this process, the modern tourist route of the Via Francigena (EAVF) was also addressed. In this case it was useful to highlight the correlation between the heritage coherent with the medieval road and the routes identified nowadays. The routes were considered *in toto*, meaning also the cycle route and

route variants. The result is 62 elements. As can be seen from the map (fig. 5.42), there is a large constellation of elements excluded from modern schemes. Nevertheless, the number is not so low by virtue of the fact that modern pilgrimage and tourist routes basically follow the main route.

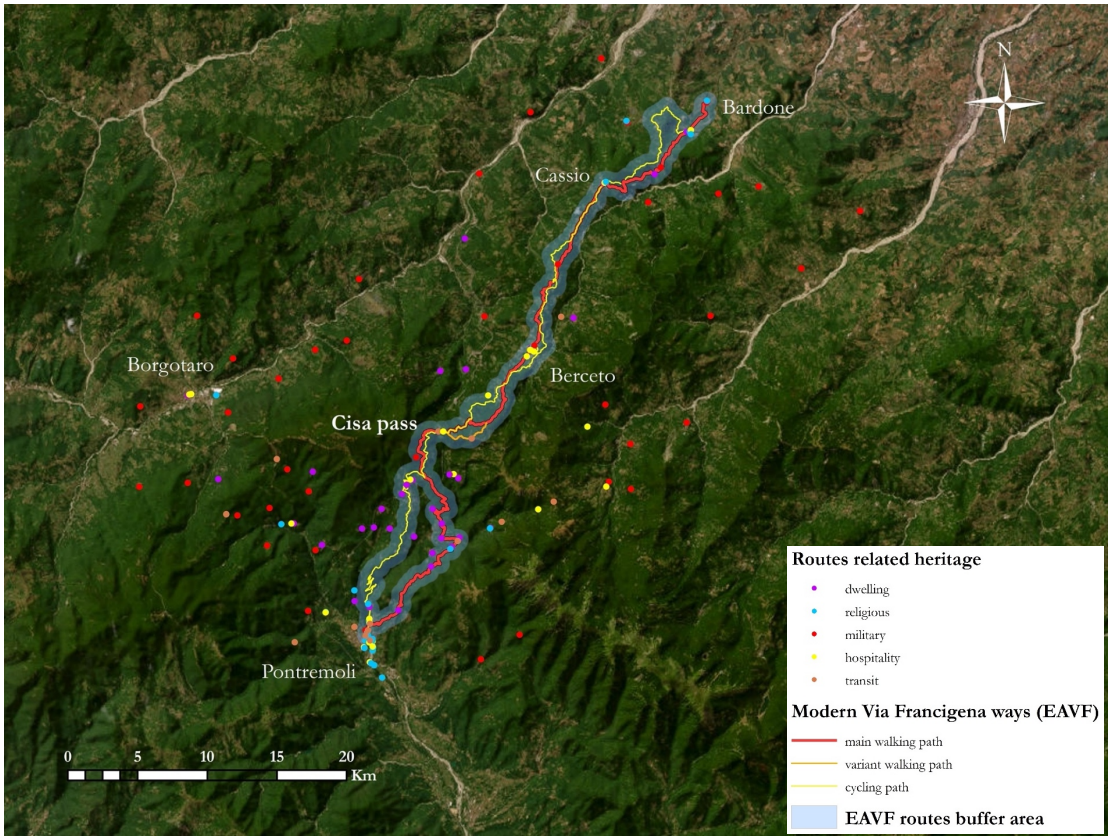


Fig.5.42. Routes buffering map.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III.C. Near Analysis (between roads and heritage)

In line with the previous discussion, geoprocessing Near Analysis allows further quantitative analysis into the relationship between roads and heritage. The presence of heritage is calculated according to distance classes (from the main route of the Francigena) generated by the software. The histogram (fig. 5.43) illustrates the relationship between distance bands and the main medieval route and the presence of mapped elements. One can clearly see how the first band (3 m-1,449 m), the closest one, includes most of the heritage, and then how there is a relative

fluctuating trend leading to less and less inclusion. In this case, we arrive at an areal distance of 14.463 km from the main via Francigena.

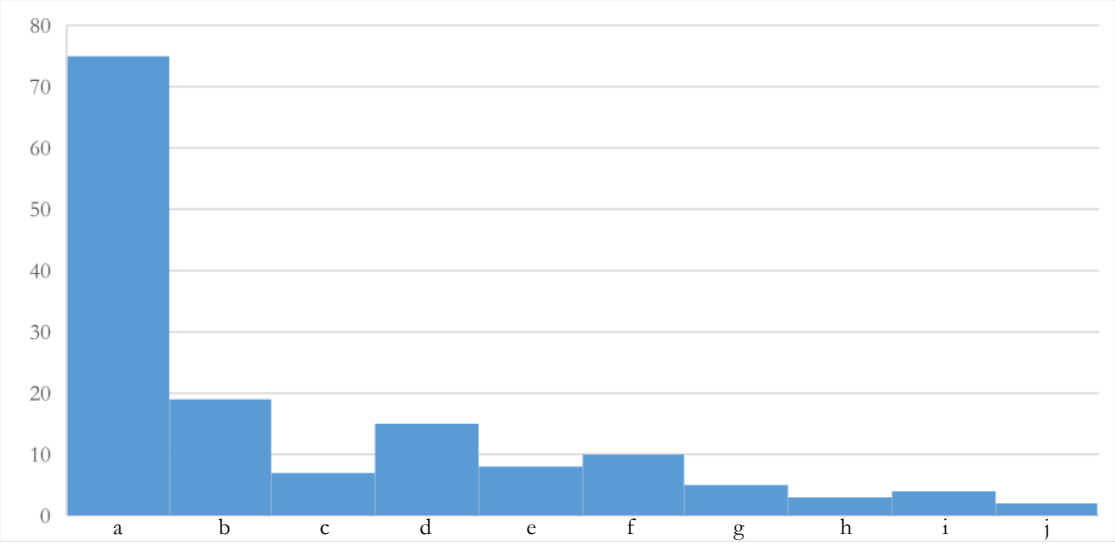


Fig.5.43. Near Analysis (10 bins) histogram.
Columns distances (in meters): a) 3,1-1449,2; b) 1449,3-2895,3; c) 2895,4-4341,3; d) 4341,4-5787,4; e) 5787,5-7233,5; f) 7233,6-8679,6; g) 8679,7-10125,7; h) 10125,8-11571,7; i) 11571,8-13017,8; j) 13017,9-14463,9.

By reducing the distance classes to 5 and repeating the same operation, one obtains a rather interesting map as it is very intuitive at a glance (fig. 5.44). In other words, the red points, those referring to the closest class to the tourist route (3 m-1.123 km), merely represent the linear course of the route. Whereas the maximum distances are reached to the west over the Borgotaro area and to the east along the Parma stream.

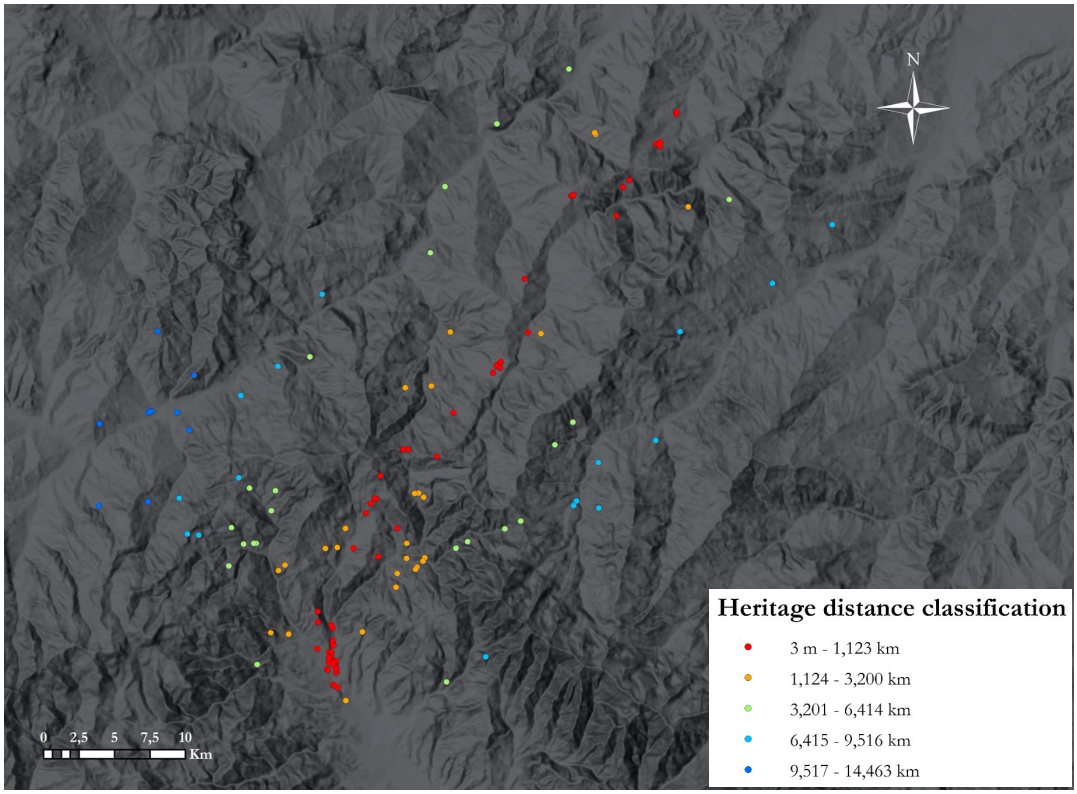


Fig.5.44. Main via Francigena(s) near to the heritage.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III.D. KERNEL ANALYSIS

In this investigation, it was considered useful to highlight the density of aggregation or dispersion of the identified heritage with respect to medieval routes. The most appropriate geoprocessing is called Kernel Density. The first map (fig. 5.45), with only the density of heritage, shows the distribution of the main hotspots and how the concentration seems to increase in relation to the topography and altitude (see around the Apennine arc), but also the Bardone-Cassio stretch.
In the second case, superimposing the network of medieval routes (fig. 5.46), the close relationship between heritage density and the presence of road crossroads is highlighted, the exemplary case being Pontremoli. However, other cases (such as Berceto, Terenzo, and Borgotaro) do not seem to respond to this logic. Finally, returning once again to the relationship between modern routes and medieval heritage (fig. 5.47), it is interesting to note how in fact the main modern route passes through the fundamental nodes thus determined by the heritage, despite the near absence of route variants and the near complementarity with the cycle route.

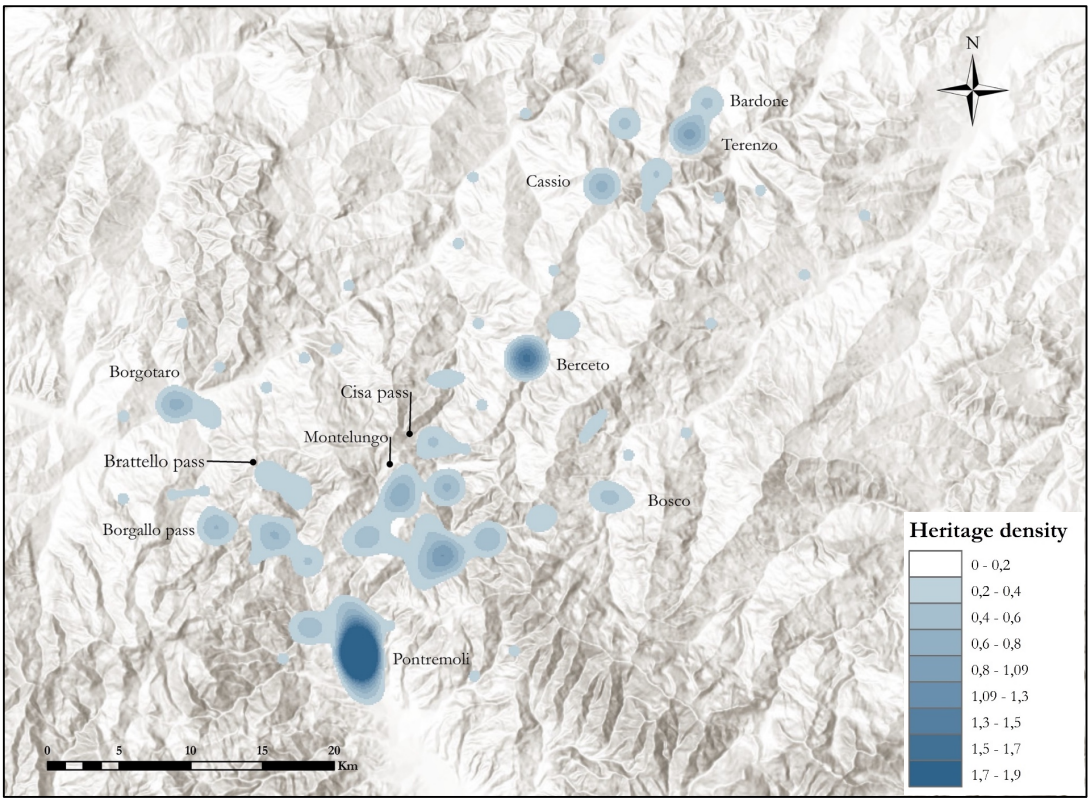


Fig.5.45. Heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

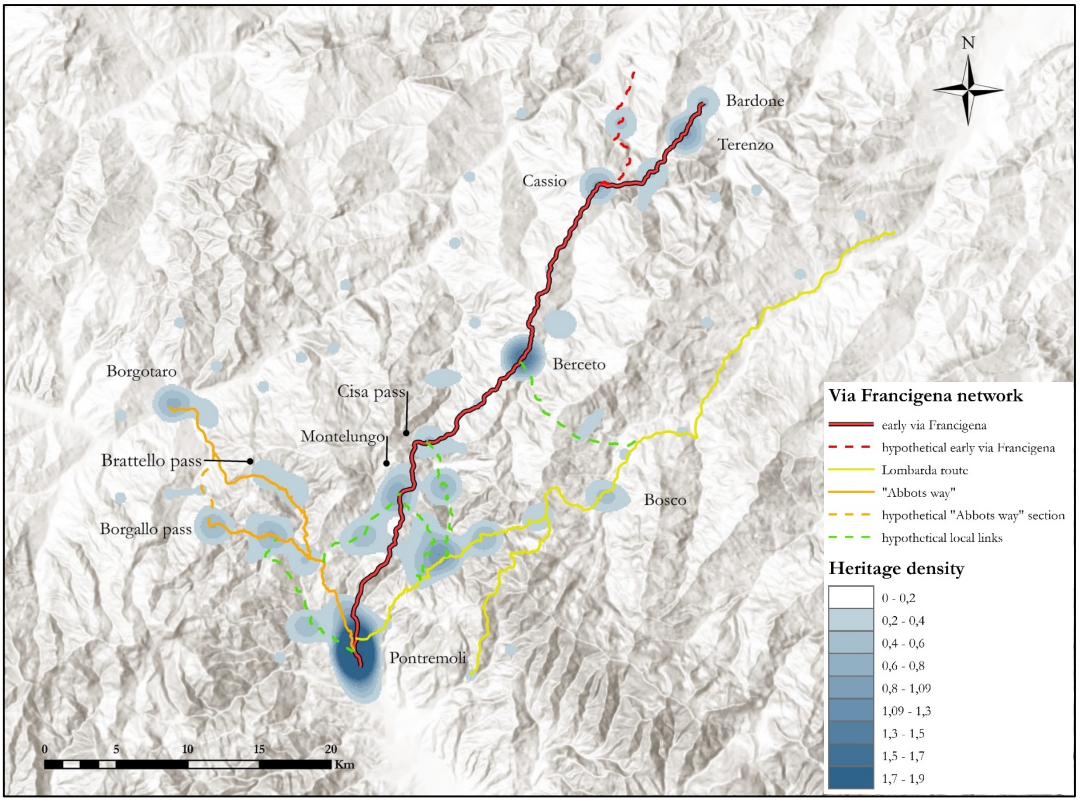


Fig.5.46. Medieval network and heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

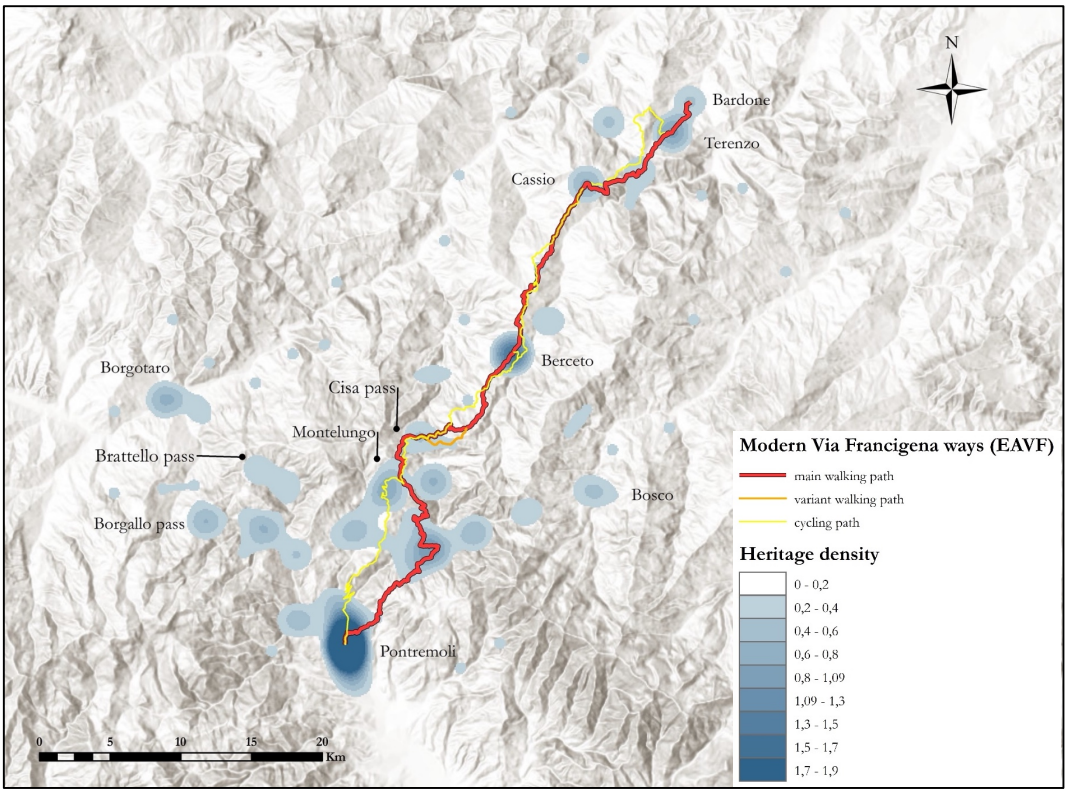


Fig.5.47. EAVF routes and heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III.E. VIEWSHED ANALYSIS

Returning to the geomorphology of the territory, the distribution of settlements, and the routes, I intend here to emphasise the relationship between the dislocation of elements of a military nature and the visibility/control they exert with respect to the routes and the remaining mapped heritage (fig. 5.48). If we consider the buffer area of the heritage observed in section V.III.A, we quickly recognise that the area of visibility in green is more or less the same. This would not be a particularly relevant fact if it did not mean that the entire area considered is practically covered, in terms of visibility, by military heritage. Looking more closely, one observes that the most controlled areas, those visible from up to 8 sites, are those of Pontremoli and Borgotaro, two areas that, as already described, are highly involved in political and military clashes both internal and of a wider nature.

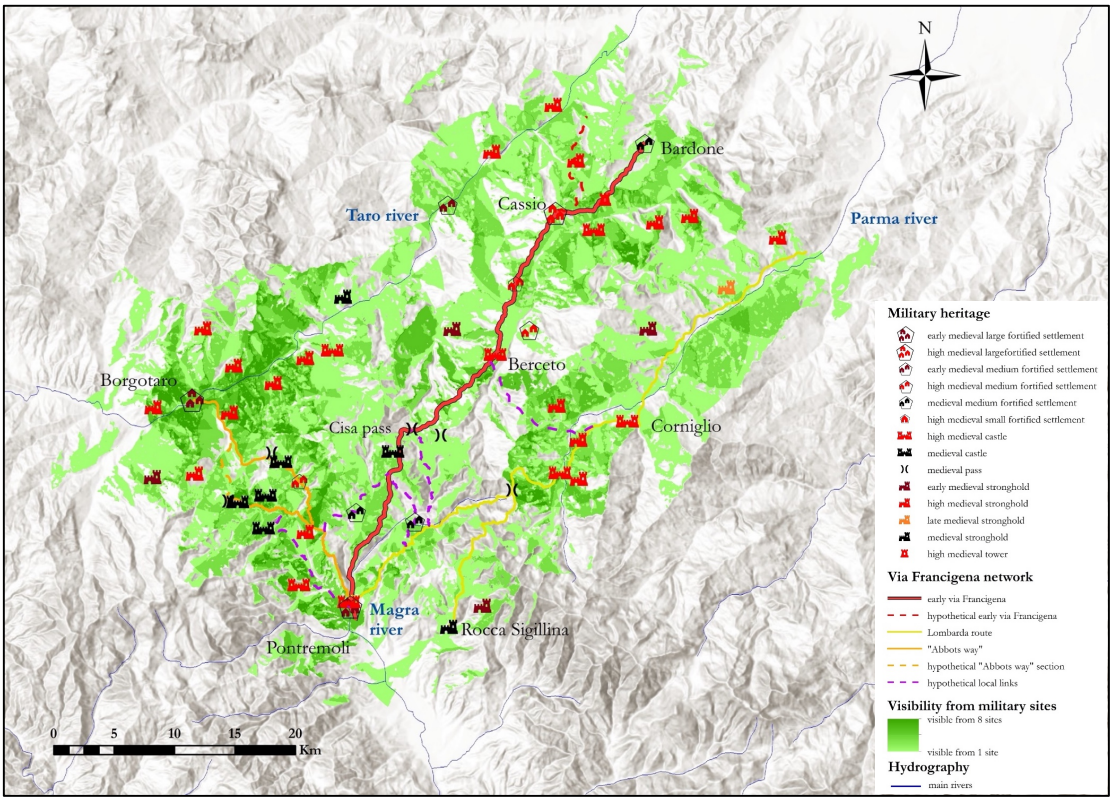


Fig.5.48. Military heritage visibility map.
Author's elaboration.

V.III.III.F. Near Analysis (medieval routes and current itineraries)

After having investigated the relationship between roads and heritage, the aim here is to highlight the possible coherence between the itinerary identified today by means of the European Association of the Via Francigena ways and the complex medieval network. Here again, appropriate spatial analyses prove particularly effective for quickly visualising the relationship between the two, then calculating it quantitatively and consequently establishing as objective a discussion as possible.
In short, the routes are broken down into points in order to calculate the distance, or the overlapping, of each between medieval and modern routes according to four well-defined classes: 0-50 m, 50-1000 m, 1000-8000, 8000 and more. In this way, two maps were produced: first analysing the medieval network (without hypothetical routes) in comparison with the modern route excluding cycle ways (fig. 5.49); then the same historical routes with the modern routes (fig. 5.51).
In both cases, one can clearly see in which sections the modern route follows the medieval ones (in red) and those from which it deviates completely (light blue and

blue). By adding the bicycle route, more areas can be covered, in particular that between the Cisa pass and Pontremoli, where important places along the route of the Francigena such as Montelungo would have been excluded.

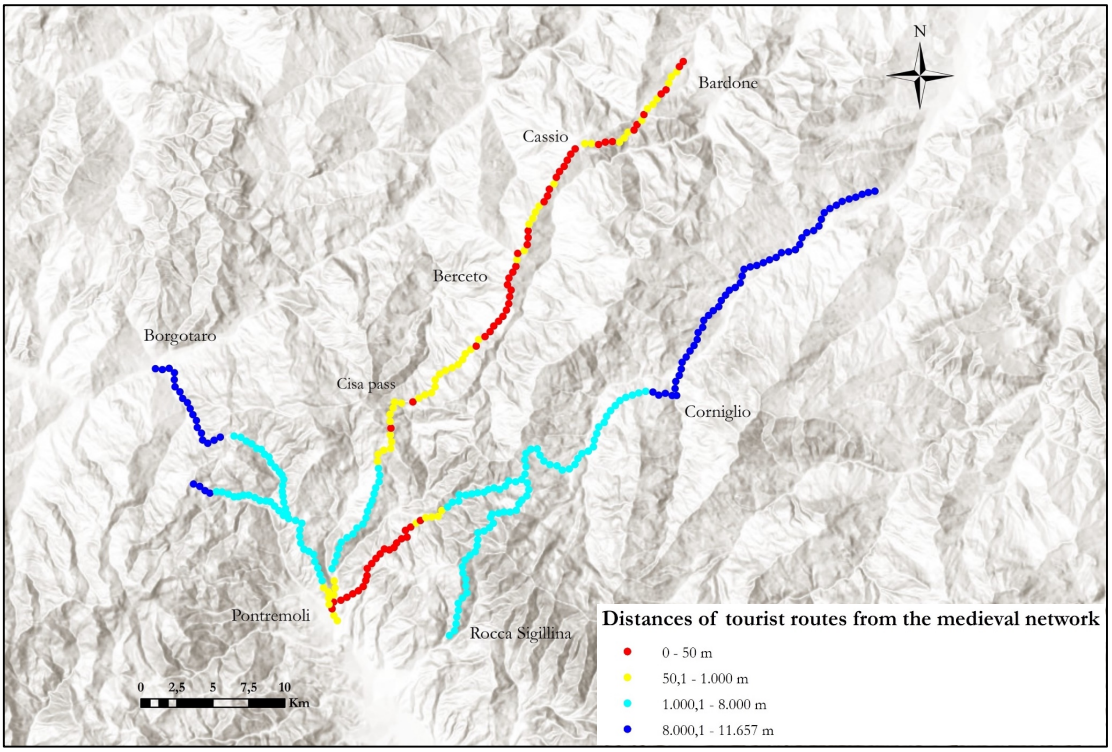


Fig.5.49. Medieval network and EAVF routes without the cycle ways.
Author's elaboration.

N.	Distance categories	Number of points
1	0-50 m	80
2	50,1-1000 m	61
3	1000,1-8000 m	124
4	8000,1 + m	66

Table 5.50.

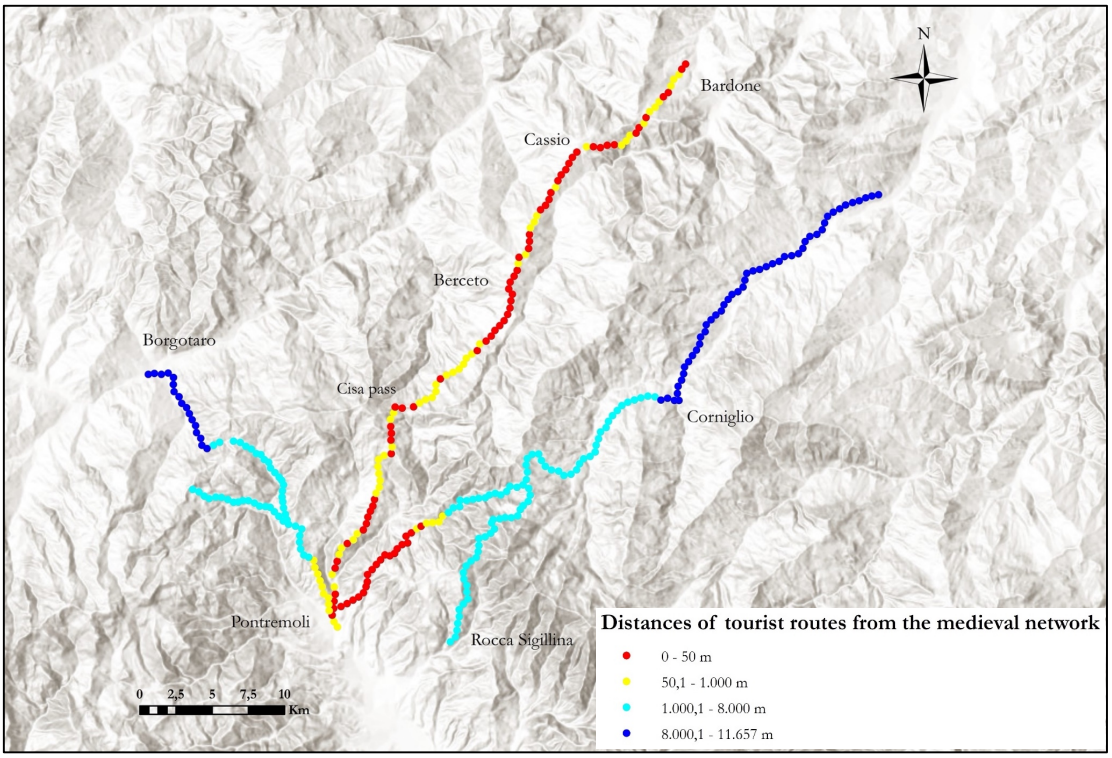


Fig.5.51. Medieval network and all EAVF routes.
Author's elaboration.

N.	Distance categories	Number of points
1	0-50 m	61
2	50,1-1000 m	57
3	1000,1-8000 m	140
4	8000,1 + m	73

Table 5.52.

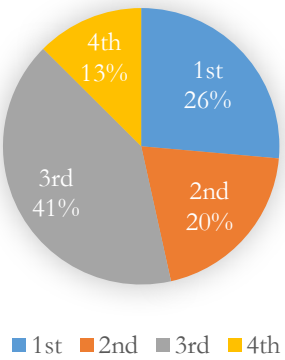


Fig.5.53. Medieval network and EAVF routes.

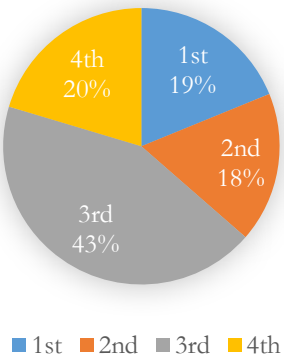


Fig.5.54. Medieval network and all EAVF routes without the cycle ways.

VI. Medieval mobilities, heritage, and current itineraries through the valleys in Tuscany and Lazio (Case Study 2)

VI.I. Geo-historical documentation

The study area is included within the historical region defined as «Etruria», the territorial fulcrum of the Etruscan civilisation and the first effective socio-political organisation of Tuscany, whose main nodes were identifiable in Chiusi, Arezzo, Volterra, and later Luni and Fiesole; a system also made up of other centres and minor roads within the territory (Morelli, 2007, p. 49). The name was then replaced with that of *Tuscia* under Roman domination and in particular in the late ancient and then medieval period. It was a wide geographical area compared to the one proposed here, in fact it included a large part of Tuscany up to the Arno river, western Umbria and upper Lazio.

The area under investigation, includes a triple regional border with the part of the Siena province in Tuscany and the Viterbo province in Lazio, while the Umbrian border remains a short distance away to the east. Today, the main municipalities that dot the hilltops in the Sienese stretch are San Quirico d'Orcia, Castiglione d'Orcia, Radicofani and Abbadia San Salvatore on Monte Amiata. While in the Lazio area there is in addition the small towns of Centeno, Proceno and Acquapendente (fig. 6.1).

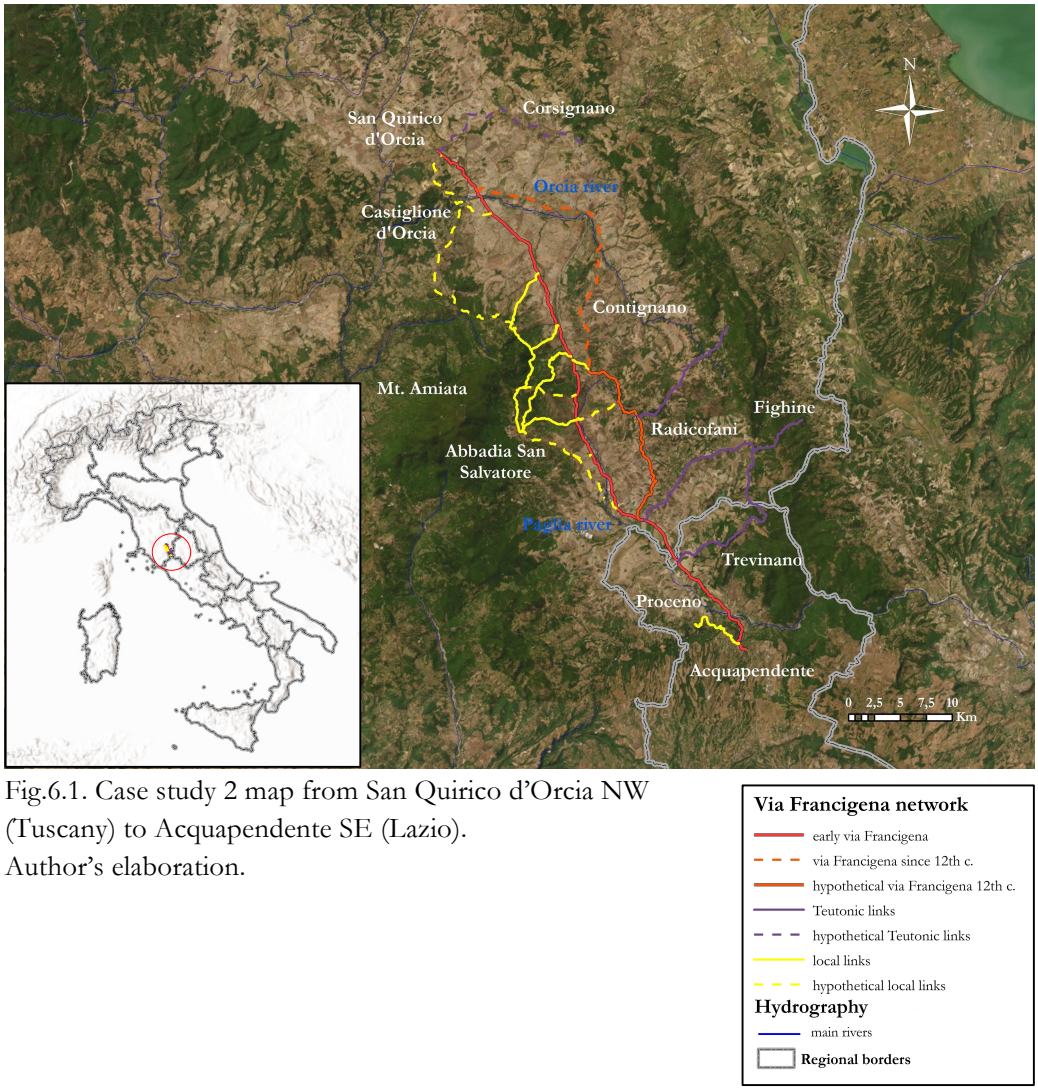


Fig.6.1. Case study 2 map from San Quirico d'Orcia NW (Tuscany) to Acquapendente SE (Lazio).
Author's elaboration.

From the north, we encounter the Val d'Orcia. This valley is characterised by a gentle hilly landscape between 200 and 500 metres. Devoid of tree vegetation, these are clay outcrops of Pliocene origin dominated by perched settlements. Because of the value accorded to it in terms of landscape organisation, it was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2004; a harmonious anthropogenic footprint characterised it particularly during the 20th century (Fresta, 2011). In fact, contrary to the Renaissance attribution of landscape, in 1907 the Sienese «*contado*» was still described as a hilly landscape lacking trees or vines or olive trees, «ascetic and almost bare» (Hutton, 2013, p. 23). The river Orcia, which gives its name to the valley, rises on the south-western slopes of Monte Cetona and is a tributary of the river Ombrone, thus running from east to west in a crescent shape facing north.



Fig.6.2. View southwards from Radicofani's stronghold over the settlement and the Paglia valley.
Author's photo, August 2021.

To the south, the valley coincides with the anti-Apennine mountain of evident volcanic origin, due to its conical shape. This is Monte Amiata, which stands out between the lands of Grosseto, Siena and upper Lazio. On the eastern side, the Paglia river flows through the valley of the same name towards Lazio and then flows into the Tiber. To the west of the Paglia, opposite the Amiata, lies Radicofani, a fortified settlement on top of a smaller volcanic hill. In contrast to Radicofani, Monte Amiata (fig. 6.3) is completely covered by a forest mantle on trachytic soils and therefore follows the limits of the lava flows. The chestnut tree, which is particularly favoured by this rocky conformation, pushes downwards following the irregularity of the trachyte expansion and is subject to both chestnut and coppice cultivation. From an altitude of about 1100 m, a pure beech wood extends up to the summit (Panerai, 1999, pp. 17-9), which reaches 1738 m.



Fig.6.3. The Monte Amiata massif seen from Radicofani. Note also at mid-height the settlement of Abbadia San Salvatore. At the foot of the mountain runs the Paglia valley. Author's photo, August 2021.

It is no coincidence that on Monte Amiata and in the surrounding valleys the territory is rich in thermal springs, a natural and cultural heritage that distinguishes the area in history and in the present in relation to the road system. The great thermal flowering in Tuscany took place after the year 1000, a period in which those of Roman origin were recovered, while others were built ex novo. At the foot of the Amiata we find Bagni San Filippo, while a short distance away are Bagno Vignoni and San Casciano dei Bagni (Guarducci, 2001). In particular, the modest building of San Filippo, a place already frequented by illustrious figures such as Pope Pius II and Lorenzo the Magnificent in the 15th century, was restored in the mid-16th century by Cosimo I of the House of Medici (Rombai, 2001, p. 247).



Fig.6.4. Orlandus Malavolta's map, 1599. This map shows morphology and settlement distribution.
Source: BNCF, Cartoteca Palatina, Sez. XI, n. 2.

VI.I.II. On ancient and Roman roads

To venture into *Tuscia*, the Longobards exploited the Elsa valley axis, a natural route that led from the Arno river to Siena. Then, south of this city, the valleys of Arbia, Orcia and Paglia also represent as many internal corridors (Stopani, 2006, p. 9), safe from a military point of view and from the environmental changes taking place. In fact, the *Via Cassia* in the Chiusi-Arezzo section, passing through the Val di Chiana, had remained in Byzantine hands. Moreover, it was an area subject to swamping with consequent malarial fever, just like the Maremma area, since the late ancient era where the *Via Aurelia* flowed (Porcelloni, 2017b). It too is now largely abandoned. After that, near the lake Bolsena, it was possible to re-join the route of the *Via Cassia* that led to Rome. Overall, it is the route that represents the first embryo of the future via Francigena found both in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and in the *Itinerarium Antonini*.

Furthermore, with regard to the *Via Aurelia*, proximity to the sea made the road too dangerous due to Byzantine and pirate raids which meant that infrastructure for pilgrims and other visitors did not exist (Vanni, 1995, p. 24). We know from the work of Rutilio Namaziano (first half of the fifth century) that, on

his return journey from Rome to Gaul, he opted for the uncertain sea route between Rome and Provence rather than travel the *Via Aurelia* due to a combination of Gothic soldiers, swamps and the resulting abandonment of water management and road maintenance infrastructures (TCI, 2004, p. 98). Instead, of the internal roads that cut through Tuscany, the *Via Cassia* is the one that lasted the longest beyond the classical age and late antiquity. The Francigena itself, from Rome to the border of Longobardic *Tuscia*, follows the route of the *Via Cassia*, although the abandonment of the stretch north of lake Bolsena that joined with Arezzo, and therefore the creation of the *Via Cassia Nova* stretch, came about for similar reasons (Vanni, 1995, pp. 28-30).

Stella Patitucci, in following the footsteps of Sigeric, repeatedly recalls references to the ancient use of the places, both from the Etruscan and Roman times. Indeed, with reference to the Francigena in Tuscany, she asserts the choice of sections of roads already in use in Roman times, but selected on the basis of the changing needs and locations of the Longobardic powerhouses. First with the Parma-Lucca in the Apennine crossing and then with the use of a transverse connection between *Via Clodia* and *Via Cassia* between Buonconvento and Bolsena, then on the ancient *Via Cassia* up to Rome (Patitucci, 2004, p. 112). In particular, between Val d'Orcia and Val di Paglia, there is the thermal use of the Bagni San Filippo from the Roman age that represented an attraction also for medieval travellers for their therapeutic properties and therefore kept in connection by a diversion. The area of the medieval settlement of *Callemala* was already crossed by a broken Roman road, where there was the locality Casette between the Vascio and Paglia streams which probably corresponds to the *Presoniano* farmhouse of the eighth century (Kurze, CDA 108 and 166; Patitucci, 2004). Then the area of *Voltole* and *Voltolino*, already occupied by an Etruscan and Roman settlement, whose stretch of the Francigena still retains its pavement (Cambi, 1996, pp. 72-79; Patitucci, 2004, p. 73). The same continuity is found in the locality of *Burburigo*, today a farm, but a large settlement between the late Etruscan, Roman and early medieval periods (Cambi, 1996, pp. 80-87; Patitucci, 2004, p. 73). A further continuity between Antiquity and the Middle Ages is also hypothesised in the study of toponyms: «*Ansitonia*», which survived at Castiglione d'Orcia as a ditch and tavern on the Orcia river, derives from «*sitonia*», a Greek term that in late antiquity indicated public granaries. Furthermore, higher altitudes

near Abbadia S. S., the toponym «*Fossato*» (preserved in the eleventh century in the epithet of the church of Santa Maria «*inter Fossatum*» and today maintained by the TreFossata farm) could be a trace of the Byzantine defensive system, at Fossato di Vico to control the *Via Flaminia* (Patitucci, 2004, p. 16). The Romanesque church «*Inter Fossata*» was remembered in 1079, also known as «*in Albineta*», where today there are accumulations of stone that allow us to hypothesise the collapse of the apse (Cambi, 1996, p. 58).

It is in fact archaeologically proven that in the Roman Age there was a dense network of paths, sometimes even paved, which allowed easy connections between the «*municipia*» and their territories and sometimes these routes follow ancient pre-Roman paths: the road that led from Vulci to Chiusi passing through Sovana and the slopes of the Amiata was perhaps already in use in the last stages of prehistory. Two routes started from Saturnia, one in the direction of Amiata (Citter, 2002, pp. 99-102). Livy is even considered the initiator of studies on Monte Amiata, not literally but because he recalled its natural riches, including wood (Cambi, 1996, p. 31). Timber has been an important resource there up to the present day. More in general, trees and treed landscapes had peculiar cultural importance in the Early Middle ages; indeed, in Italy, by the seventh century a lot of rural dwellings, and some urban ones too, seem to have been built exclusively from the products of the woods, with timber frames, thatch roofs, and light walls of wood whose fissures were sealed with mud (Squatriti, 2013, pp. 6-11).

A pre-medieval presence can therefore be found through a series of disparate clues, as already seen in the Roman settlements in *Monte Nebbiati*, *Casa Vascio*, *Casette di Callemala*, *Voltole* and *Voltolino*. Sections of ancient cobblestones or individual paving stones uprooted, buried or re-used in rural buildings from *Callemala* to *Burburigo* (Patitucci, 2004, p. 17). In particular, on the archaeological map, to the south-east of the hamlet of *Voltolino*, a Roman village is reported and, as already mentioned, in the locality of *Casette*, the concentration of the material found suggests a house or village of the Republican-First Empire phase Roman. In the territory of Radicofani, Santa Marta farm, the concentration of finds testifies to the presence of a village from the imperial-early medieval period (Cambi, 1996, pp. 74-75, p. 87).

The exploitation of agricultural resources in the valley floor area at the foot of Monte Amiata is not sufficient to explain the concentration of sites along the

banks of the Paglia river and their mutual proximity, as well as their development and settlement concentration. Therefore, Cambi suggested that the road path of the valley floor was the main conditioning factor of the landscape of the imperial age, with at least 10 sites of Roman frequentation. In fact, the road system represented an opportunity to develop an economy in relation to the marketing of local products and the reception system through «*tabernae*» and post houses (Cambi, 1996, p. 170). The same system characterised the medieval landscape with the development of the Via Francigena, hierarchically more relevant and therefore with a greater impact on the settlement system.

More generally, the collapse of a central system that provided long-range road maintenance and a consequent deterioration of the road infrastructure and the consequent natural phenomena (landslides, floods) must also be considered. Hence the serious economic, social and demographic crisis. But above all, what overturned the Roman organisational structure was the different medieval predisposition for high-altitude centres, less served by major communication routes (Stopani, 2000, pp. 5-6). The ancient roads underwent a process of "regionalisation" which made them lose their requirement of long-distance routes.

VI.I.III. The main medieval passages between Tuscany and Lazio

All the territories of the region touched by the via Francigena received considerable economic impulses which had repercussions at the territorial level. For example, in the Val d'Orcia, along or near the road that crossed it in all its length (see *Via Cassia*), urban centres, castles and hospitals spread. With the Francigena, the Orcia and Paglia valleys regained economic vigour: the set of via Francigena routes constituted the backbone of the medieval road system (Morelli, 2007, p. 69). There were various centres in the province of Siena located along the via Francigena that experienced important changes and which, in some cases, owe their origin to the crossing of one of the major communication routes between northern Europe and Italy. Siena itself has been seen as the "daughter of the road" (Sestan, 1968, p. 52), a felicitous if exaggerated expression which posits a direct link between city development and the transit of the Francigena. In addition to the socio-economic impulse, the via Francigena helped to give a sort of unity to

Tuscany, being crossed from north to south, which could be discerned in the Apennines, coasts and wide plains. Although it is difficult to speak of Tuscan historical unity, it is precisely the road that plays a unitary and unifying role, if only in the northern and southern extremities (Cardini, 1985, p. 26).

From north to south, we can identify a starting point for this second case study in San Quirico d'Orcia in the Val d'Orcia. Its castle, documented since the eighth century, represented one of the main stopping points on the southern route of the via Francigena in Tuscany. The road crossed the town, from Porta Senese to Porta Romana, also passing the Romanesque church of Santa Maria with the *xenodochium* located opposite. The parish church, documented in 714 as San Quirico in «*Ausenna*» (in «*Osenna*»), an epithet of Etruscan origin, retained its simple dedication to San Quirico as is commonly used along the Francigena (Patitucci, 2004, p. 68). In the fortified centre, there were four other hospitals: one annexed to the parish church, one belonging to the Templars, one called «*della Vena*» near the spring of the same name, and finally the one run by the Domenicans. In the 15th century, the existence of four other hospitals and at least three «*hospitia*» is remembered: "della Campana", "della Corona" and "Paolo d'Antonuccio" (Stopani, 2011, pp. 11-12). A short distance from San Quirico d'Orcia, to the north, along the left bank of the Tuoma stream, was the medieval church of Santa Maria, where a hospice for Camaldolese hermits known from the 11th century («*Hospitalis di Santa Maria ad Tuoma*») was also built. This is now identifiable with the Abbadia farm (Felici, 2004). With regard to the road infrastructure of this town, two bridges are noteworthy: the "Pontaccio" over Tuoma stream, still well preserved, and the collapsed bridge over the Orcia a short distance from Bagno Vignoni. Near the Orcia crossing (in Bagno Vignoni), beyond the inhabited centre, some stretches of ancient paving of the road are preserved.

On the surrounding hills overlooking the Orcia valley are the castles that belonged to the Aldobrandeschi counts: Castiglione d'Orcia and Rocca d'Orcia, Vignoni, Ripa d'Orcia. Precisely because of their importance with respect to transit, from the thirteenth century they were controlled by Siena and therefore reinforced. The mediaeval thoroughfare ran through (or within a short distance) settlements, religious complexes and fortifications of a local or supra-regional nature which responded to circumscribed needs or international flow.

The hamlet of Vignoni, and its fortress (590 m asl) today Vignoni Alto, rises above the village of Bagno Vignoni; the latter was undoubtedly widely known in the Middle Ages for its thermal baths. The origins of the fortification of Vignoni Alto date back to the 11th century as a possession of the Abbey of Sant'Antimo, and then passed to the families of Tignosi, Salimbeni and finally Siena. With regard to Bagno Vignoni, although it has been known since Roman times, the first medieval record dates from 1170. The fortress of Ripa d'Orcia also stood in an elevated position (408 m asl). It was under the Sienese control in the 13th century but also at times the Salimbeni's Signoria, then a branch of the Piccolomini. Another important site is the fortress of Tentennano (or Tintinnano), which stands on a spur of limestone at about 540 m asl and is practically impregnable. The first mention of it dates back to 853, while the first records from it date to the 11th-12th centuries when it was owned by the Tignosi. It developed further in the second half of the 13th century, under the Commune of Siena. After the 16th century it fell into neglect and has been the subject of recovery and restoration work since 1975. Not far away is the settlement of Castiglione d'Orcia, first mentioned in 714 as a possession of the Aldobrandeschi family. In 1252 it acquired its autonomy, which was lost in the following century by the Republic of Siena. Closer to the foot of Monte Amiata, at around 800 m asl, is the fortress known as "Campigliola" and the village of Campiglia d'Orcia. The first document concerning it dates back to 973. In the Middle Ages, the village, the keep and the fortress were owned by the Visconti family. Today, there is no trace of the keep, while the "Campigliola" tower is still visible (fig. 6.5), despite being in a precarious state of abandonment.





Fig.6.5. To the left, the ruins of the "Campigliola" tower; to the right (fig. 6.6), a wide view of the valley where the Via Francigena runs (Radicofani can be seen in the top right-hand corner).
Author's photos, April 2020.

To the east of the itinerary we find Monticchiello (at about 525 m asl), the first evidence of its fortification dating to 1168 (Felici, 2004, p. 329). With respect to the Francigena, its role is particularly interesting if we consider that it is located at the junction with the via *Teutonica* (as will be explained later). It is perhaps no coincidence that the history of this centre began to acquire importance from the 13th century, when the *Teutonica* was also more heavily travelled, in addition to the fact that it decided to support the Republic of Siena rather than remain under the administration of the Teutonic Knights (a monastic-military and hospital order founded in the Holy Land at the time of the Third Crusade by Germans to assist Germanic pilgrims). This flourishing period saw the completion of the construction of the Cassero and the walls, as well as the development of crafts and trade. The parish church of San Leonardo was also built in the 13th century. The new church was built between 1256 and the end of the same century.

Other religious buildings linked to the Francigena and present in the land around Pienza are the parish of *Corsignano* and San Pietro in Campo. Santi Vito and Modesto's parish church is a 12th century Romanesque church that once belonged to the settlement of *Corsignano*, whose history precedes that of Pienza (until 1462). It was in fact Enea Silvio Piccolomini, a native of *Corsignano*, who, once he had become Pope (Pius II), revolutionised the town's urban layout within four years, entrusting its management to the architect Bernardo Rossellino.

With regard to the Badia di San Pietro in Campo, a former parish church, we know that its first records date back to 1031 when it was owned by the Counts of Sarteano. Today, only a few remains are left, incorporated in a modern rural building. Among the parish churches, the plebe of Santa Maria «*qui dicitur Lispino*» (St. Maria dello Spino), south of Monticchiello, still in existence, appears for the first time in 1014. The abbey of St. Pietro in Campo, in the southern part of the municipality, also appears for the first time then. The presence of documents about this abbey is a manifestation of the shift, from the 11th century onwards, of the patrimonial interests of the monastery of San Salvatore towards the south, in the area of Santa Maria in Campo (in the vicinity of San Pietro in Campo). Both the monastery of San Pietro in Campo and the hospital of «*Sancti Nicolai*» (Spedaletto)

are located on one of the most important side-roads of the via «*magistram*», that is the main stretch of the bundle of roads characterising the Francigena.

Looking at the birth of the castles in more detail, it is worth remembering that they are the pivotal element in the organisation of the medieval space that still characterises the landscape of the Val d'Orcia (Felici, 2004, pp. 327-329). Before crossing the Orcia, a short distance from the road, we find Bagno Vignoni, one of the main spas in Tuscany. Shortly after the confluence of Formone stream into Orcia river, a short diversion starts at the grandiose Spedaletto complex: a fortified settlement that still retains medieval characteristics and constitutes the best preserved hospital structure along the entire route of the Francigena, administered since 1236 from the Ospedale della Scala in Siena (Stopani, 2006, pp. 102-106). We do not know the time of origin of the ancient «*hospitalis Sancti Nicolai*» (Spedaletto, fig. 6.7), but it must be considered in relation to the road system. During the 14th century, Spedaletto and Castelluccio were transformed into monastic granges of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena. Spedaletto, in particular, was fortified at the end of the 14th century to oppose the Salimbeni family (Felici, 2004, p. 333), while Castelluccio, which had been part of the Republic of Siena since 1320, was protected with two towers and a military garrison was stationed there.



Fig.6.7. Spedaletto.
Author's photo, April 2020.

It is during the 13th century that historical sources evidence this set of castles: Cosona (1208), Bibbiano (1213), *Corsignano* (1208), Fabbrica (1213),

Monticchiello (1208), Montertine (1220), and Castelluccio (13th c.) are the known castles that still exist, except for Montertine (Felici, 2004, p. 330). In Val d'Orcia, Contignano is the only castle that is still well populated and retains its fortified structure. By contrast, the medieval structures of Castelvecchio were demolished during the War of Siena (1552-1559) and on the ruins the Marquises Bourbon del Monte had the present villa built. Rimbecca was also transformed into a farm, occupying the space of the medieval structures, while a large medieval tower, now reduced to ruins, remains of the Palazzo di Geta (Panerai, 1999, p. 16). The latter was also a monastic grange of the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena and in the 14th century belonged to the Pecora family (Montepulciano), one of whom alienated the castle and the Geta farm to the Salimbeni in 1349. As in many other circumstances, it is not simple to establish the period of construction of the fortification at Rimbecca, but we know that it was ceded in 1279 to the abbey of San Salvatore. It then passed to the Salimbeni between the 14th and 15th centuries. Contignano has been documented since 1028. In the 14th century it was a Farnese castle, then sold to the Salimbeni family and finally subjected to Siena. Of the castle, the two entrance gates, the base of the walls and a high tower are preserved. Two hospices are known to have existed here in the Middle Ages, one of which was run by the monks of the abbey of San Salvatore and one of which was also mentioned in the 17th century.

Under the influence of nearby Sant'Antimo, there is also Castelnuovo dell'Abate, situated on a hill about 370 m asl, which saw its greatest splendour between the 11th and 12th centuries and became a castle around 1210 and in the same century fell under Sienese control. In Castelnuovo dell'Abate, the parish church of Santi Filippo and Giacomo is noteworthy; a title inherited from the previous church of San Giovanni Battista documented since the 8th century and then destroyed.

Moretti calculated that the lists of "pontifical tithes" of the early fourteenth century evidence about 25 parish churches that in Val d'Orcia, upon which about 50 churches and more than a dozen hospitals, hermitages and monasteries depended. He argues that the relatively low number of churches in relation to parish churches, in proportion to that of central-northern Tuscany, is due to the scarce diffusion of the scattered settlement, confirmed by the limited presence of sharecropping in the late Middle Ages (Moretti, 1990, p. 302). Among these, of the

Romanesque churches, the abbey of Sant'Antimo and San Salvatore on Monte Amiata are worthy of note. The second one dominates the Paglia river, but whose history is also strongly linked to that of the Val d'Orcia.

The construction of the abbey of Sant'Antimo has been attributed to the monastic institution policy promoted under the Longobard kings previously described (Kurze, 1968, p. 319). The church building combines aspects of the Italian and European Romanesque, in particular the French imprint. It is the internal architecture that leads back to a pattern that is found in the churches located on the via Francigena in Tuscany. With its proximity to the Via Francigena, it backs up the theory according to which the pilgrimage routes are channels for the diffusion of stylistic ways, where it is possible to recognise the arrival on the construction sites of workers from other environments (Gandolfo, 2009).

The stretch of road between the Orcia and Paglia valleys was characterised in the Middle Ages by its insecurity and before reaching the watershed there was the ancient *Le Briccole* stopping point (current *Briccole di Sotto*) (fig. 6.8), widely mentioned in the travel sources and where countess Matilda of Tuscany, Arnaldo da Brescia and Charles of Anjou stayed. Not far from this hospital and the church of San Pellegrino (fig. 6.9), there was in the thirteenth century also the «*Hospitalis de Arcimbaldo*», between the ford on the Orcia and *La Scala*, where today a farmhouse stands (Patitucci, 2004, p. 71).



Fig.6.8. «*Briccole*», 1754 *cabreo*, Florenzio Razzi.
Source: ASSi, Fondo OSMS, n. 1442/57.



Fig.6.9. San Pellegrino church, *Le Briccole*.
Author's photo, December 2019.

At the altitude of the current Cardosa farm, the road continued in a straight line towards the Orcia and here the Poggio Covili farm was connected with its own by-pass (Sodi, 1985, p. 54). Mambrini identifies the passage of the Francigena after *Le Briccole* in the locality St. Alberto and St. Achille, then along the state road up to the *Ricorsi*, as we will see later (Mambrini, 1985, p. 58).

Also in Val d'Orcia, there is *La Scala* (figs 6.10 and 6.11), formerly a «*hospitium*» and then a post house of the 16th century (Stopani, 2006, pp. 106-108). Just before entering Val di Paglia and then crossing the heights there are the *Ricorsi*, where there is a large sixteenth-seventeenth century post house building. There, we can also find a medieval structure at the base of the loggia. Adjacent to the building and therefore to indicate the ancient route of the road, there is a small medieval bridge with a single arch.



Fig.6.10. The current *La Scala* structure and opposite, divided by the Strada Cassia, the recently restored little chapel.
Author's photo, September 2019.



Fig.6.11. *La Scala* chapel before the restoration.
Author's photo, June 2015.

Moreover, many believe that *Ricorsi* (figs. 6.12 and 6.13) corresponds to the «*Borgo al Formone*», a hamlet recorded already in 1064 (Mambrini, 2016, p. 4). From the *Ricorsi*, the route pointed towards the natural depression of the mountain ridge between Poggio Cirillo and Poggio l'Apparitoia (Stopani, 2006, pp. 108-109).



Fig.6.12. Map detail showing the *Ricorsi* post house bordered by the «*strada romana*», 1731.
Source: ASSi, Quattro Conservatori, n. 2003, fascicolo 60.


Fig.6.13. *Ricorsi*'s structure.
Author's photo, September 2021.

A new route also began from Spedaletto which, going up the Formone valley, to the right of the stream, then tackles the climbs towards Radicofani. The itinerary is rich in historical evidence that attests to its antiquity. In Contignano, where the rise to Radicofani began, the existence of two inns is documented in the late Middle Ages: the «*hospitium*» of Antonio Lenzi and the one called «*al Formone*» (Tuliani, 1994, p. 214). Not only that, between Le Conie and Contignano, probably following the current roadway, historical and territorial testimonies are numerous:

in the Castellare-Castelvecchio stretch there are at least eight wells and springs. Leaving the carriageway to Contignano, it was possible to descend towards the valley floor passing through the locality «*Riposo*» (rest), whose toponym suggests the presence of accommodation (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 312). The new documented itinerary for Radicofani was certainly longer and more tiring, but it permitted a stop to be made in a safer and more defensible place. Of Longobard origin, the castle was built on the top of the hill of the same name, documented from 973 («*Radicofanum cum suo castro*») when an Aldobrandeschi count sold it to the abbey of San Salvatore. Accommodation and assistance facilities were concentrated in Radicofani and, at the end of the thirteenth century, three hospitals were mentioned in the papal decimaries: «*Hospitale Bonaiucte de Radicofano*», «*Hospitale S. Petri de Radicofano* and the «*Domus Leprosorum de Radicofano*», to which can probably be added a hospital annexed to the parish church (Stopani, 2006, pp. 110-112).

Stopani also indicates an alternative route to the abbey of San Salvatore on Monte Amiata from Val d'Orcia. From *Le Briccole*, on the valley floor of the Vellora stream, we pass through Campiglia d'Orcia where the so-called "*Campigliaccia*" stood to control the route, where today we find the imposing ruins of the Visconti fortress, conquered by the Sienese in 1234. Going up, the road touched Vivo d'Orcia, including a Romanesque church located in the woods ("Eremo del Vivo"). From here it was possible to reconnect to the oldest route of the Francigena in Val di Paglia or to reach Abbadia S. S. (Stopani, 2006, p. 114). "Eremo del Vivo" appears as «*heremus Vivi in monte Amiato*» in the papal bull of 4th November 1113. In 1125 it appears as the monastery «*S. Petri in Vivo Montis Amiata*». During the 12th century, Vivo was characterised by a marked autonomy from the mother house and by the rights it could claim over San Pietro in Campo (Giamanossi, 2011).

However, the alternative route of the Francigena, rather than connecting with the Vivo d'Orcia, can be analysed between *Le Briccole*, Campiglia and the valley floor with the settlements of Bellavista and «*Forcole*» (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 310). Along the Formone stream, Mambrini hypothesises a reuse of the ancient road between San Giorgio farm up to the middle of the hillside (the consortium road of Formone); also in the woods there are surviving parts of the road surface. On the west side, the area of «*Forcole*» is identified with the Bellaria and Bellavista farms. From the ridge, it continues along the *Casette* local road after passing the

Casette Rosse farm, then between the Cacarello, Vascio and Pagliola streams (formerly an area of settlements). Crossing the ancient cross road connecting Abbadia and Radicofani, there is the Lagaccione farm, which contains the reused single-lancet window of a Romanesque church (Mambrini, 1985, pp. 58-60). The hypothesis is also advanced that, always following the road reported in a land registry dated 1832, from *Callemala* the route went to the lowland area of Poggio Cirillo and the watershed area between Orcia and Paglia where the toponym «*Poggio di Lone*» can be found, today known as *Poggilone* (fig. 6.14), where in 1442 the deviation of the road to Radicofani took place (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 307). Here, the presence of a hospice and a well is claimed (Turrini, 2011, p. 104).

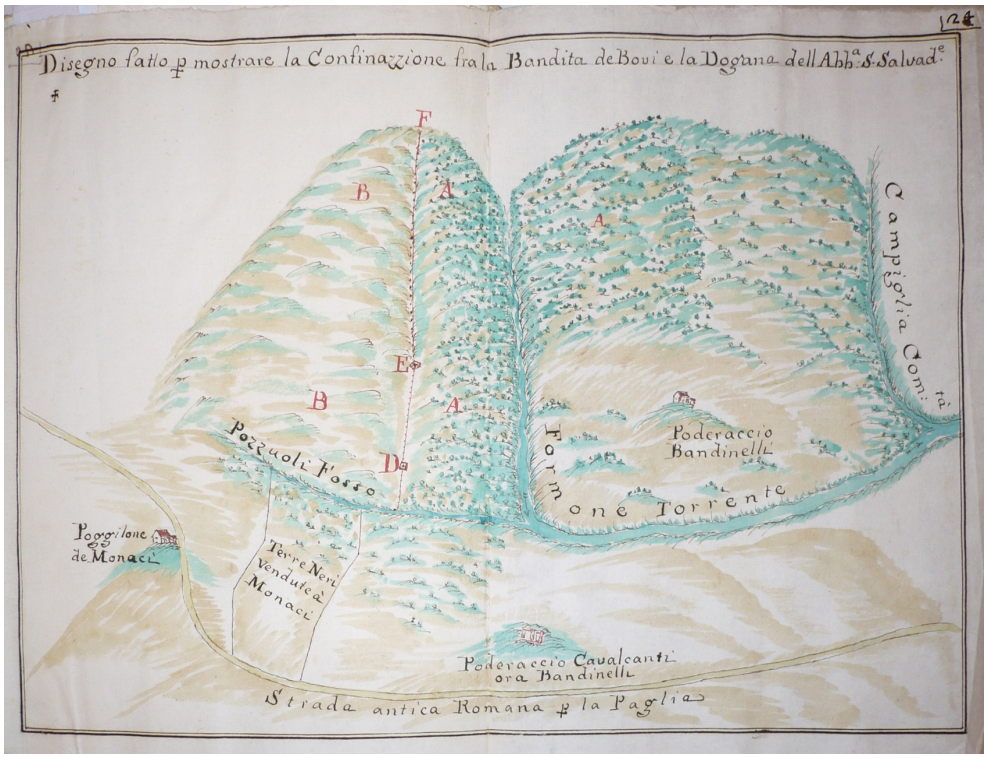


Fig.6.14. «*Poggilone de Monaci*» and the «*Strada antica Romana*», 1761, Giuseppe Montucci. Source: ASSi, Quattro Conservatori, unità 1967, n. 24.

The ancient road of the Valle del Paglia between *Poggilone*, *le Casette*, *Voltole*, *Burburigo* and Ponte a Rigo still remained in use both as a road for the passage of cattle, and as a local road until the end of the 19th century. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries it was possible to descend from Abbadia S. S. using an old road of the «*Pietregrosse*» (big stones) (Mambrini, 2010, p. 41). More generally, from Abbadia S. S. a sunburst road system was structured that allowed any type of connection with the valley and in continuation of the territorial crown

articulation around the cone of Monte Amiata.

The *Casella* route provided the most direct connection, and probably also the oldest, of the abbey with the valley floor, more precisely with *Callemala* and therefore the Francigena, as it passed through the homonymous farm which preserved until the 1970s a medieval matrix. The road, which in the 19th century land register is indicated as a link to Radicofani, still has an ancient pavement and ancient stretches of dry stone walls (Mambrini, 2010). While the strip around the village was the area used for vegetable gardens, the «*Bandita della Casella*» is also mentioned in the statutes of 1434 with the presence of vineyards and pastures, woods, chestnut groves and farms (Ascheri, Mancuso, 1994).

To emphasise the importance that the Abbey had on the territory and the flow of the road, the new denomination «*via francisca*» (already discussed in Chapter IV.I) is contained for the first time within the «*Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*» in a contract of the year 876 inside an «*Actum Clusio*», in the description of a land given to rent: «Priest *Ostriberto*, responsible of the S. Salvatore monastery in *Montamiata*, rented to *Gisalprando*, son of dead *Gaudifrido*, a monastic property in *Callemala* […] bordering with the *via Francisca* […]» (Kurze, 2004, p. 109).

Further south is the archaeological site of *Voltole*, today a farm with a now deconsecrated church in use until the mid-1950s (6.15).[44] The oratory belongs to a modest 17th-18th century structure that, until a few decades ago, had two architraves carved with Romanesque motifs on the entrance door, which were most likely recovered from the church of San Pietro evidenced in the late 10th c. These were then looted and thus lost. Today, more interesting are the remains of a medieval building with a pointed arch portal incorporated into the more recent abandoned *Voltole* farm (Mambrini, Stopani, 1988, p. 30).

[44] The information was acquired orally through the testimony of don Francesco, parish priest of Abbadia S. S. who was also serving at *Voltole* at the time.



Fig.6.15. The medieval portal in *Voltole*.
Author's photo, August 2021.

Despite the presence of industrial settlements and changes in the river bed, it is conceivable that the route passed through Santa Maria and the current *Burburigo* farm, before entering Lazio. Even this area does not differ from the «*antica strada romana*» indicated in the 1832 land registry and the *Burburigo* building shows the reuse of previous constructions, including an architrave probably belonging to a church that has a carved date of 1483. In Paglia, the road had to pass through «*Scottomorto*» (noted in medieval documents) heading to Centeno (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 307). Of late Etruscan, Roman and early medieval origin, the toponym is documented as «*Burgorio*» from 995 and as «*Richoburgo*» in the 11th century, when the church of Santa Maria is remembered (Patitucci, 2004, p. 73).

Crossing the Paglia valley floor, with the road parallel to the course of the Paglia river, in Ponte a Rigo the road crossed the stream of the same name similar to today's Cassia road and then reconnects the road that descends from Radicofani. A short distance from Ponte a Rigo you will find the post house of Centeno with a small town which increased its importance when in the modern age

it became the seat of the Customs, being on the border between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Papal State.

From Centeno (fig. 6.16), the Francigena crossed the localities of San Giustino, San Lazzaro, where there was a hospital run by the Order of the Knights of San Lazzaro (it was probably a leper colony), and «*Le Forche*» (the gallows, place of application of capital punishment). North of Acquapendente it crossed Sant'Egidio, moving away from the current road, where the medieval road is recognisable in some driveways (Corsi, 2002, p. 150). Not far from the main route rises Proceno, on a steep hill of volcanic nature (fig. 6.17). The first documentary attestation of this centre dates back to 1083 and shortly after the mid-twelfth century it passed among the possessions of the papacy (Corsi, De Minicis, 2012, p. 157). Here is also the castle of Proceno, part of an articulated system of fortifications created in the twelfth century for defence purposes.

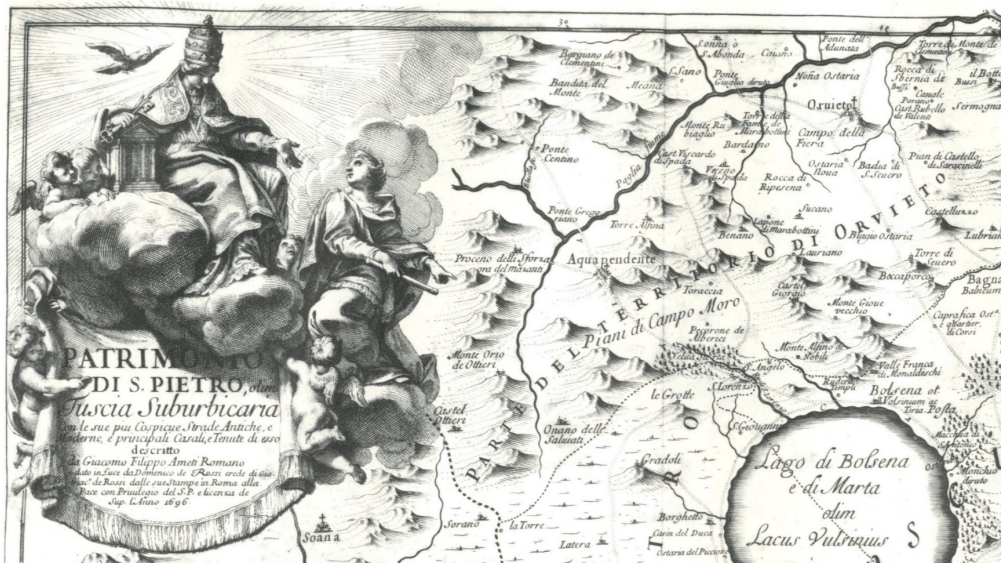


Fig.6.16. Detail: «*Lazio e patrimonio di S. Pietro. Foglio I*»[45], Giacomo Filippo Ameti, 1696. At the top of the map, the main road tracing the Francigena is clearly visible, which enters Lazio at «*Ponte Centino*» and crosses Acquapendente to lake Bolsena. Then the single link to Proceno can be observed.

[45] Retrived from: https://geoportale.cittametropolitanaroma.it/cartografia-storica/19/29/lazio-e-patrimonio-di-s-pietro-3



Fig.6.17. Proceno's castle.
Author's photo, September 2021.

After crossing Paglia river, the ascent to Acquapendente began (fig. 6.18). It is the first significant town that the Francigena encountered when entering Lazio. Remembered as a stopping point since the most ancient itinerant memories, and heir to the «*vicus*» of Arisa attested in 853, the village attests how its own urban form is structured according to the road, whose oldest route overlooks the main square of the community. Then there is the abbey of Santo Sepolcro, built at the beginning of the 11th century, which is one of the most significant testimonies of the influence of medieval pilgrimage in particular with respect to the Jerusalem models (the Holy Sepulchre) and therefore to the Holy Land.



Fig.6.18. «*Entrée de Charles VIII à Acquapendente, le 7 decémbre 1494*»[46].
1837, Oil on canvas by Eduard Jean-Marie Hostein from a work by Pierre-Athanase Chauvin.

Initially, it was the abbey that carried out the work of assisting pilgrims, who were also housed in the numerous convents in the town. The hospitals in Acquapendente were numerous; in the second half of the 1500s, all the hospitals were united into one, that of San Giovanni di Santa Maria della Scala, whose administration was held by that of Siena. Originally, the hospital dedicated to San Giovanni (near today's church of San Francesco) was founded in 1406 on a private initiative. In addition, we find: the Frati Continenti hospital (1281), located on the main street of the city; the hospital of San Lazzaro (1290), today's place "*Crocicchio*", outside Porta San Sepolcro, for the treatment of lepers and later a place of care and shelter; San Gregorio hospital (1315), in front of via Casilina (which later became a private residence, a stone serving as a kneeler remains as evidence); the Santa Trinità hospital (1368), near the church of Santa Caterina; the hospital of Santa Maria («*Hospedale Sanctae Mariae*») (1387), approximately in front of today's church of San Francesco; the Ponte Paglia hospital (1235) (Peparello, 1981, pp. 11-19). Lastly, Chiovelli lists also the Magione dei Templari hospital (Chiovelli, 1989). With respect to the hospital of Ponte Paglia, it was also recorded

[46] Retrieved from: https://www.ville-amboise.fr/fileadmin/www.ville-amboise.fr/MEDIA/Culture/Outils_pedagogiques/Livret-enseignant-CVIII.pdf

as Ospedale di Porta della Ripa (1156), which was near the Paglia river. Among the surviving medieval monuments that still retain some of their original structures, is the castle, of which the clock tower (16th c.) also known as the Barbarossa, dates back to the 11th century (Corsi, De Minicis, 2012, pp. 148-159).

The territory of Acquapendente and Proceno has been a border place for centuries and still maintains its border characteristics. However, culturally, its role as a meeting and exchange point, as a contact area and with forms of hybridisation, is most significant. The Francigena, at this point, is directed towards Bolsena, in continuity with the Roman *Via Cassia* and the current state road.

Szabò notes how the panorama of the large number of «*vie*, *vie publice*», and «*strate*» found in the sources with respect to connections on a local scale, becomes significant in historiography only when they find a connection with the major communication routes, such as the Francigena. Therefore, for the Sienese area, he goes to clarify the road problems in the daily life of the smaller towns. By doing this, he highlights the importance that the Municipality of Siena attributed to the Francigena, deducing it for example from the request made to swear not to move the course of the Francigena, following the destruction of the castle of Marturi in 1155, without the consent of the consuls of Siena. Siena did not limit itself to providing for the main roads of its territory, between the years 1262-1269 the Municipality took measures for 34 roads, whose execution of the works was up to the various rural municipalities. Therefore, if Siena has a top-down approach in disciplining issues related to the connections of the territory, consequently the rural municipalities face them from below according to the daily problems (Szabò, 1990).

VI.I.IV. The medieval settlements between Monte Amiata and Val di Paglia

The foundation of royal abbeys in the eighth century by kings Liutprand, Ratchis and Aistulf was intended to control security along the itinerary. According to Kurze, this was part of a plan to evangelise, conquer and control the territory which involved a process of abbey foundations, which were erected near the

Francigena at a distance of 30 kilometres from each other. Therefore, it can be assumed that distances were calculated on the basis of a daily walk (Kurze, 1998).

The monastery of San Salvatore (fig. 6.19) was founded during the reign of Ratchis (744-749) on the eastern slopes of Monte Amiata, by Erfo, a Lombard nobleman from Friuli. This territory, as we will see, was owned by the king and mainly made up of woods and mountain pastures (*alpeggio*). The abbey therefore had a dual purpose: to protect and control the main communication route and to improve agriculture (Stopani, 1984, p. 16).

The oldest mention of the monastery of Monte Amiata is contained in a document that does not belong to the estate of S. Salvatore but to that of the monastery of S. Maria in Sesto al Reghena in Friuli. With this document of May 762, issued in the monastery of Nonantola, the brothers Erfo, Anto and Marco of high Friulian nobility donated all their possessions in Friuli to the monasteries of Sesto al Reghena and of S. Maria di Salto. They then went to Tuscany to found and direct the new monasteries there on behalf of the king. That the monastery of Erfo was actually that of S. Salvatore al Monte Amiata can be deduced from a document from the Amiata archive: a parchment of 770 established that an annual tax was paid to the «*ecclesia S. Salvatori in Amiata, quem bone memorie Erfo abbas a fundamenta edificavit*» (Kurze, CDA).



Fig.6.19. San Salvatore abbey on Monte Amiata.
Author's photo, August 2021.

The consecration of the Benedictine Abbey took place on 13th November 1035 by Abbot Winizzo in the presence of high ecclesiastical and civil authorities. In 1228, in order to re-establish regular monastic life, a colony of Cistercian monks took possession of the Abbey in place of the Benedictines. This life was interrupted in 1783 by the suppression of Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo and so the custody of the Abbey was entrusted to the Confraternity of San Marco Papa. The Italian Cistercian Congregation regained possession of its ancient Abbey in 1939 (Corvini, 1985).

As already mentioned, for the centres crossed or even created by the road, the via Francigena was a powerful tool for economic growth, as well as a fundamental determinant for human development. In many cases, the same layout of the inhabited areas was structured according to the road. A paradigmatic example is Siena, whose primitive settlement of Castelvecchio developed into a series of villages north and south of the point where the direct connection to the original nucleus detached from the Francigena. Hence the characteristic "Y" planimetric conformation. Where the morphology allowed it, real "road villages" often developed at the foot of pre-existing castle settlements, as we have seen in the example of Pontremoli. In southern Tuscany this was the case for San Quirico d'Orcia and Bolsena in northern Lazio (Stopani, 2006, pp. 130-131).

The phenomenon of artistic and architectural diffusion along the pilgrimage routes takes on aspects of considerable importance in the abbey of Sant'Antimo, in the Sienese area. Still along the via Francigena, elements of transalpine origin meander, such as the motif of the bell towers paired in correspondence with the apse or the facade. In this case, in addition to Ivrea, Vercelli and Fidenza, we also find an example in this area of southern Tuscany in San Salvatore abbey on Monte Amiata (Stopani, 2006, pp. 154-155). The via Francigena from the Po river to *Monte Bardone* was also the main propagation route for the most innovative current of Romanesque architecture in Italy; architects of the Po Valley trained in decorative sculpture extended their activity as far as the southern borders of Tuscany and in Lazio's *Tuscia* (San Flaviano in Montefiascone). The abbey in Amiata is once again representative: its high relief plastic figures on the capitals of the crypt clearly have Longobard ancestry (*ibidem*, pp. 157-158).

A pivotal area of the via Francigena can therefore be identified in the passage between the eastern slopes of Monte Amiata and the Paglia valley. As we have seen, in late antiquity it must have been subject to a phenomenon of polarisation of the inhabited areas where the landscapes of the ancient rural «*pagi*» gradually emerged. A subsequent landscape of villages was followed by settlement disintegration, as a transition between the Roman world and a phase of reorganisation of the countryside that has been named «chaotic settlement model» (Cambi, 1996, p. 192). But it is precisely between the eighth and ninth centuries that the new settlement models changed the landscape configuration from the first colonisation work of the mountain by the monastery of San Salvatore. Archaeological research shows the medieval organisation to have been in two zones: the abbey district, generally above 800 m, and the Paglia valley floor between 300 and 400 m, with the intermediate range mostly depopulated. The area of abbatial influence presents open villages that form a sort of crown around it and characterised by the concentration of tanks for pressing grapes for wine dug into the trachyte (figs. 6.20 and 6.21), starting from the area of Trefossata, Accoria, Chiusa, Case Sant'Andrea and, further downstream, the Minestrone (*ibidem*, pp. 193-195). Upstream from the abbey, two other early medieval villages can be considered: *Castel della Pertica* (rod castle) and *Casa Fabbri* (blacksmiths' house). From the first it was possible to continue towards the Grosseto side of the mountain with an ancient transhumance route crossing the area of *Cuderino* (Mambrini, 2010, p. 42) where traces of paving stones, straight walls, stone fences for livestock, remains of stones around individual chestnut trees and for huts to be used during the harvesting of chestnuts can still be found, which refer to a more recent use. The archaeological site of *Castel della Pertica* to date has only been the subject of preliminary archaeological surveys and although it remains ignored by the most ancient sources, the toponym can be traced back to Roman surveying practices and also to a Longobard custom with respect to its cemeteries. On the site, of about 3 hectares on a trachyte surface and covered with chestnut groves, we can trace sections of a defensive system, collapsed ancient structures and tanks dug into the trachyte whose use remains doubtful, unlike those distributed over the valley of the abbey and on the nearby site of Fonte Magria, perhaps suitable for pressing grapes. However, the presence of a fortified settlement from the early Middle Ages is certain (Bisconti, Cambi, Chiesa, 2018).



Figs. 6.20 and 6.21. Two examples of trachyte basins/tanks in the *Casella* locality, down the road of the same name not far from Abbadia San Salvatore.
Author's photo, January 2018.

Along the current neighbouring road of Trefossata, leading to the lower part of the monastery, stands the parish church of Santa Maria Interfossata, already evidenced in 1079. It is mentioned as a parish church again in 1144, 1188 and 1198. In the 13th century, the baptismal font was transferred to the new parish church of Santa Croce, whose church was included in the growing medieval centre of *Castel di Badia*, already established in the late 1100s (Mambrini, 2016, pp. 4-5). It is very likely that the settlement can be identified with the present-day *Castellina*, the first medieval core of *Castel di Badia* (fig. 6.22). It is possible to assume that the nucleus of the *Castellina* could also have served a welfare and accommodation function, if the monastic complex had failed to meet the demand for accommodation. In addition, the same nucleus contains the very old church of Santa Maria and the adjoining hospital.



Fig.6.22. «*Pianta della terra dell'Abbadia S. Salvatore*», Giuseppe Livi, 7th November 1823. Cadastral map of the historic borough of Abbadia San Salvatore comprising the *Castellina* and, from left to right, the Abbey of San Salvatore, Santa Croce, San Leonardo, Remedi. Source: BNCF, S. MSS. N. A., Cartella 7, n. 124.

The outer wall of the church facing the street is built with thin stones in the medieval filaretto style and has a Renaissance portal set on an earlier ogival arch. In addition, a portion of the outer wall on the north side shows an older wall texture. Most probably the church of «*Santa Maria ad Valetudinarium*» (fig. 6.23) was not only linked to the monastery but also to the flow of the via Francigena (Mambrini, 2016, p. 7).



Fig.6.23. The entrance to the ancient *xenodochium* of Santa Maria in the historical centre of Abbadia San Salvatore.
Author's photo, August 2021.

The landscape between the Amiata summit and that of Radicofani in the early Middle Ages was part of a strip of public land where the Val di Paglia already in the 8th century was dotted with settlements (Cambi, 2003, p. 44). The Abbey itself became the hub of development and control over the surrounding area, which from the end of the same century became one of the richest and most powerful abbeys in southern Tuscany (Gorman, 2002, p. 266). The same conspicuous archival collection of the monastery of San Salvatore testifies to its patrimonial richness, as well as representing an exceptional historical source (Marrocchi, 2014).

Here, the relationship between the road network and landscape organisation is crucial. The slopes of the mountain must still have been covered by woods, while, until then, the assets in Val di Paglia were owned by the «*curtis regia*» of Chiusi. In the period of its foundation, this large area of public land was not cleared and often not even arable; with the exception of the more fertile Val di Paglia, where much of the land was transferred to the properties of the S. Salvatore while the various open settlements were devolved to the monastery at a later time (Wickham, 1989, p. 113). Especially in the proximity of Monte Amiata, the contact

between the town and the forest cover was practically immediate, although from the mid-1800s the expansion of the land destined for cultivation led to further fragmentation in the forest vegetation. In addition to this, the abbey granted numerous rights for the use of the woods for grazing but without damaging the tree cover, which still represented one of the main resources (Piñeiro, 1990, pp. 22-23). In this respect, the French writer Mèry Joseph (1797-1866) provides a significant description of the landscape around Radicofani which fits well with the photograph shown here (fig. 6.24):

«The streams of lava, the decomposed rocks, the burning slag, the molten mountains, here preserve the shapes they had when the glacial breath closed them. This is the most surprising spectacle that Radicofani offers the passer-by. Descending from that peak, wild and black as an extinguished brazier, we arrive in a district without name or master: neutral land that no one wanted. […] The panorama saddens and bores us. Even the surrounding nature seems to share this feeling. The suspicion arises that all the beautiful landscapes we have seen before are just the dream of the last night»[47] (Joseph, 2000, p. 131).



Fig.6.24. «*A lava flow at the foot of the basaltic rock of Radicofani*». Photographer: Fusetti. Date of photography: 1912 ca.

[47] The English translation is by the author.

Source: Alinari Archives, Florence (BFB-S-000912-0288) - Collection: Alinari Library of History of Photography.

The monastery flourished becoming one of the most important abbeys of the Carolingian period, alternating periods of weakening and recovery until a decline that began from the end of the eleventh century (Cambi, Dallai, 2000, p. 193), as was the case for other imperial abbeys. Therefore, it became the fulcrum of a sunburst system from which roads and paths radiated connecting it to the properties, neighbouring villages and above all the important transit of people and goods along the via Francigena (Mambrini, 2016).

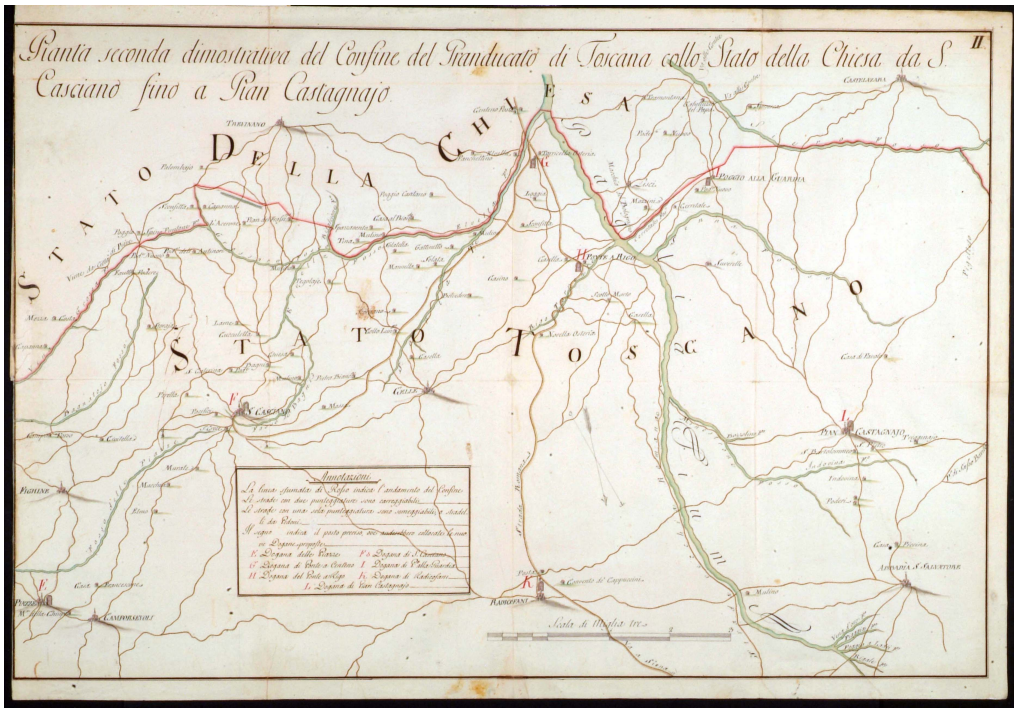


Fig.6.25. «*Pianta seconda dimostrativa del Confine del Granducato di Toscana collo Stato della Chiesa da San Casciano fino a Pian Castagnajo*», 1785 (south south-west orientation), Camillo Rossi. Detail of the map that depicts the course of the border between the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the State of the Church and the points where to place the new customs proposals. At the bottom right, it is possible to notice the settlement of Abbadia S. S. from which roads branch off mainly "similar" or for pedestrians both towards the Mountain and the valley floor; in particular, the road that allowed the connection with the «*Strada Vecchia Romana*» (via Francigena) and Radicofani, crossed by the carriageway «*Strada Romana*» (a subsequent development of the Francigena). Along the valley, the Paglia river (in the centre of the map) with some of its numerous tributaries represented, mostly small streams (Indovina, Minestrone, Vena d'Oro, Rigale).
Source: ASSi, Manoscritti, 31C, n. 02.

In the valley we find the buried settlement of *Callemala*, which is evidenced before Radicofani but only as a farmhouse, and «*Muliermala*», dating back to the 11th century and where there was a *xenodochium* documented from 1107 (Kurze,

CDA, n. 327), both places closely related to the development of Radicofani (*ibidem*, 2004, p. 32). Of *Callemala* we know that it corresponds to a previous settlement base known as *Presoniano*, probably of Roman origin (Cambi, 1996) and that in the 10th century the settlement consisted of about 200 inhabitants, a church dedicated to Santa Cristina, a cemetery, an extensive agricultural organisation and a «*xenodochium ad usum peregrinorum*» (Kurze, 2004, p. 117), thus testifying to its function as a station along the via Francigena whose transit could only be a direct consequence of the flourishing development of the farmhouse. Despite the already debated detour to Radicofani, *Callemala* is still recorded at the beginning of the fourteenth century as a sort of marketplace. Furthermore, in the Tuscan cadastral maps of 1832 we find continuity between the road indicated as the «*antica strada romana*» and the traces of pavement and straight walls still recognisable (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 306).

Furthermore, as early as the 11th century from north to south we find other «*burgi*» such as *Le Briccole*, «*Fermone*» (1064), *Voltole* – noted as «*S. Petir in Pail*» in the diary of the now well-known Sigeric, must have counted about 400 inhabitants – and, at the gates of Lazio, *Burgorico* (Wickham, 1989, p. 118). At this time there is evidence of further colonising work in favour of agricultural expansion on wooded and uncultivated lands, and also of greater articulation of the settlements following the presence of the Via Francigena. Until about 1080, the distribution of the population had to involve more «*curtensi*» centres and villages, compared to the phenomenon of fortification that was consolidating (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004, p. 216). A further contribution from the modern period is given to us by the illustrious Ferdinando Ughelli who spent many years among papers and manuscripts at the San Salvatore abbey, publishing material in the 3rd volume of «*Italia sacra*» (Gorman, 2007, p. 23).[48] Within this volume, Ughelli documents the Abbey's foundation, with Lombard king Ratchis as the protagonist, who found himself in front of the apparition of the Most Holy Saviour on a fir tree, and the notable presence of relics together with the description of the «*casalia*» of «*Paliano*,

[48] Ferdinando Ughelli (1596-1670), famous writer with a high reputation as a man of letters, is one of the most eminent personalities of the 17th century among ecclesiastical personalities. Belonging to the order of the Cistercians, he also held the role of president of the Tuscan province of the Cistercian congregation of S. Bernardo. Admired for his rare Ecclesiastical Erudition, he was also Consultor of the Sagra Congregation of the Indice of the great Roman Theatre (Negri, 1722, pp. 165-166).

Casulane e *sancti Philippo*», that of the surrounding environment through the «*fluvio Palia*, *fossato Rigale*» and the arboreal quality that makes it «*terra umbrata*» (shadowy land) (Ughelli, 1647, pp. 665-672).

The link between the valley floor settlements and the Francigena is fundamental. Wickham (1989, p. 122) underlines a specific economic dependence on the road, so much so as to determine a strong instability in the centuries to come in the light of micro-territorial changes in the route. At the same time, it is also good to remember that in the main north-south direction, the Amiata area was also affected by the itineraries that linked the coast to the hinterland for traffic in iron at least during the late Middle Ages (Cambi, 1996, p. 49).

Already around the middle of the 12th century, the diary of the Icelandic abbot testifies to the passage through Radicofani instead of along the valley floor (Stopani, 1986), which as a result lost population in favour of the major inhabited centres. It was above all from around the year 1200 that Radicofani became the main centre for the local road system, and the supremacy of the monastery of S. Salvatore was lost following political choices of the Ottonian family who favoured the noble families of the area (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004, pp. 220-221). Formally, the diversion of the ancient Francigena up to the castle of Radicofani was established in 1442, but a hospital for pilgrims had already been founded there in 1255 (Wickham, 1989, p. 134), precisely to avoid banditry at the bottom of the valley. Nevertheless, we know that commercial activities near *Callemala* continued even in the early 1300s, where the inhabitants of the nearby towns exhibited their agricultural products to travellers (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, p. 306).

At this point, the forest mantle was certainly reduced, in fact the statutes of the fifteenth century report a heterogeneous agricultural landscape composed of areas destined for grazing, cereal activities and abundantly for viticulture, but without references to olive groves (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004, pp. 226). On the mountain territory of San Salvatore, Ascheri's study of the fifteenth-century statutes presents an organisation without substantial external interference, protecting the wooded heritage, already inhabited and used for agricultural purposes with evidence of mills and fulling mills (Ascheri, 2020, p. 618).

In the sixteenth century, the assets of San Salvatore were by now considerably reduced, nevertheless in the seventeenth century the monastery exercised an exclusive influence along the Paglia river as far as Ponte a Rigo, then

along the Francigena. In fact, despite the documented detour to Radicofani, in 1550 a diverse production and settlement is evidenced. In the century preceding the suppression of the Abbey in 1782, the community appears to have been surrounded by vineyards, orchards, vegetable gardens, meadows, livestock, chestnut groves and structures for production and storage and various farm plots between the village of Abbadia and the valley up to *Voltole* (Contorni, 1988, pp. 40-44). But the reorganisation of the countryside and the diffusion of farm sharecropping, especially in the valley areas from the fourteenth century, led to a great upheaval of the landscape that could explain the disappearance of the already precarious early medieval traces. Land ownership was organised through the spread of farmhouses. The lively and diversified work of colonisation that involved the lands of Amiata and Val di Paglia, especially from the early Middle Ages, influencing their landscape peculiarities, can only be grasped with respect to the road pattern. The appearance of the agricultural landscape of the twentieth century partly represented the territorial settlement, which remained almost unchanged, which had been generated at the end of the 15th-16th centuries (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004, p. 216).

The systems of boundaries and roads certainly have elements in common in their organisation, especially in this part of the territory. In particular, Ascheri and Mambrini bring to light an exemplary document on the communal and road interests of Siena. This concerns a document from 1429 that presupposes the incorporation of Campiglia d'Orcia into the Sienese State (Ascheri, Mambrini, 2000). The boundary in question started from the summit of Monte Amiata to reach the valley on the Formone stream. The so-called "Pian dei Renai" area was therefore crossed, where we know that there were two connections between Abbadia and Seggiano, and here, among the beech woods, an engraving on the trachyte rock with the documented castle and a cross at the top was made (fig. 6.26). A further important boundary distinguishing three municipalities (Abbadia S. S., Radicofani, Campiglia d'Orcia) can be identified at the place-name *Poggilone* previously discussed (Ascheri, Mambrini, 2000, p. 95).

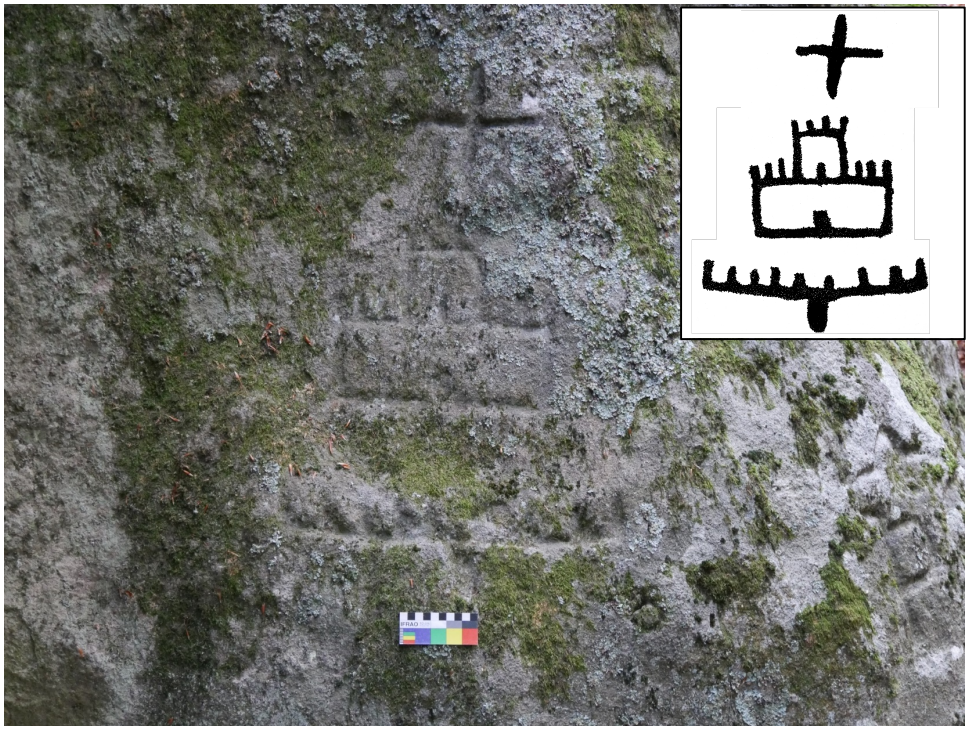


Fig.6.26. The 15th c. boundary engraving. In the top right-hand corner, the relief carried out on site and reproduced from the transparency.
Author's photo and relief, September 2018.

With regard to land use and landscape, the area from the abbey of S. Salvatore to the bottom of the Paglia valley, marked by the flow of modest streams and paved roads, even from the Middle Ages, preserves traces of a forgotten landscape that bear witness to a different, undoubtedly more prosperous and productive exploitation.

Work to confirm points obtained from historical documents, was undertaken in field work. In particular, the anthropic signs impressed on the territory were analysed, starting with the direct observation of the vegetation pattern resulting from human organisation, which are still distinguishable despite the process of rewilding. As a result, the land uses of the 1823 land register, the 1954 aerial photographs and the 2019 orthophotos were determined and compared using GIS tools.

The traces of this agricultural landscape are observable on strips of land undergoing naturalisation and can be imagined as archival documents of consciously imprinted agricultural activities (Sereni, 1961), concerning the landscape typology of the hedgerows (*bocage*). As opposed to the openfield, the *bocage* is typical of the Atlantic area of Europe, particularly western Normandy, and is characterised by the enclosure of fields, either built or planted with hedges,

shrubs or a narrow rows of trees. This peculiarity, which is well known in Normandy and Great Britain, also has a long tradition in the Italian peninsula, where it was implemented by the Romans (Rackham, 2020, p. 183).

Tree enclosures around cultivated areas can also be understood as a form of survival of forest trees around cultivation clearings, maintained both for timber needs and as protective elements of the cultivated land. It also provides water containment and limits agricultural erosion. Enclosure can have a legal value with respect to ownership but can also demarcate fields organised into a single property (Gambi, 1961).

The area in question covers about 72 hectares and is situated on the northern side of the link road between Abbadia and Radicofani that is recorded in the "*Catasto Lorenese*" of 1823. The road runs along the slope eroded by the Pagliola stream where the Cascinelle farm is located nearby. Overlaying the digitised land register of 1823 on recent orthophotos confirms the hypothesis that today's traces of *bocage* correspond to an earlier agrarian organisation that goes back at least two centuries. In the *bocage* landscape, the overall pattern shows in several cases an approximate regularity resulting from relatively recent land distributions, but where the land distribution is older, a more irregular, in some cases even chaotic, pattern is apparent (Gambi, 1961). This last case is what emerges with respect to both the 19th century cadastral plots and the traces on the landscape today. This allows us to hypothesise an even older origin of these geometric figures.

Following the analysis conducted on the specific section of hedgerows, the survey[49] was extended to the wider valley that descends from the San Salvatore Abbey along the course of the Paglia river and considering three levels of comparison according to the Corine Land Cover 2000 legend. The comparison produced interesting results with respect to the state of the art at the two different temporal stages: first of all, there is a strong contrast between the dominant agricultural exploitation in the first half of the 19th century, 97% of the territory, and the drastic reduction in the 21st century (12%). As a result of this, wooded and semi-natural areas advance considerably over the territory covering first a scarce 1% and then about 84%. Agricultural exploitation in the first half of the 19th

[49] The research was deepened with reference also to the local historical road network in the paper: Porcelloni, L. (2022). Changes in the rural landscape and "bocage" footprints in southern Tuscany: between the eastern slopes of Monte Amiata and Val di Paglia in the 18th-21th centuries. *Annali di Ricerche e Studi di Geografia*, Years LXXV-LXXVI, new series, 55-68.

century was mainly characterised by pasture, of which a smaller part was agroforestry (turkey oaks and chestnut trees) (about 800 ha out of 1400); today just over one hectare. There was a good presence of orchards (23 hectares), the whole of which was made up of chestnut groves distributed along the 800 m. altitude strip on either side of the village, but it is especially interesting that this valley could count on a considerable cultivation of vineyards, up to 40 hectares, and how over the course of two centuries this has disappeared entirely (today, only 0.5 hectares). The wooded area in the 19th century was mainly composed of broad-leaved trees (13 ha), but in the 21st century, conifers prevail (150 ha) and mixed coniferous and broad-leaved forests (95 ha), and the broad-leaved forests increase from 13 to 91 ha.

A portion of the valley of the monastery investigated here has also been depicted in a *cabreo* (property map) from 1737 (fig. 6.27), which provides an exceptional landscape representation and therefore allows us to move the discussion to the first half of the 18th century. The data just described seem to represent a landscape similar to how it must have appeared in the century before the abbey's suppression. A comparison with modern photography (fig. 6.28) puts the contrast of the landscape, now largely rewilded and therefore covered in broadleaf and coniferous woods, into context, with the exception of the central part where the more recent olive groves can be recognised.



Fig.6.27. «*Disegno dell'avvallamento e dilamato accaduto nel territorio dell'Abbadia S. Salvadore in beni di più particolari il dì 30 Ottobre 1737*».
Source: ASSi, QCP, 1961, n. 006.



Fig.6.28. The landscape at the foot of Abbadia San Salvatore depicted in the above figure. Author's photo, July 2018.

Cartographic analysis and the literature discussed allow us to hypothesise a discrete continuity at least from the early Middle Ages to the 19th century. From the earliest early medieval colonisation works, the original features of the Tuscan rural landscape became apparent in the centuries after the year 1000, whose previous reality was based on a simplified productive landscape characterised by open fields. It is the new late-medieval Tuscan organisation that distinguishes the region also in modern and contemporary times (Guarducci, 2015, pp. 179-180). Following the reorganisation of the countryside with the sharecropping system, a substantial adjustment of the agrarian landscape took place in the 15th-16th centuries and then maintained an almost unaltered appearance until the 20th century (Botarelli, Caprasecca, 2004, p. 216).

VI.I.IV. RADICOFANI'S STRONGHOLD

On the summit of eastern volcanic origin in front of the monastery stands Radicofani (fig. 6.29), whose settlement is documented for the first time in the year

973 as a castle, possibly in continuity with Longobardic plans to control this area, as assumed by Marrocchi (2004, p. 32), but which at least until the 9th century was covered by woods and in a marginal position politically (Wickham, 1989, p. 114). In Roman times, the area around Radicofani castle was partly crossed by the *Via Cassia*, the route of which is indicated in the «*Tabula Peutingeriana*». It reached Florence via Bolsena, the river Paglia («*Pallia flumen*»), Chiusi and the Valdichiana (Turrini, 2011, p. 103). Radicofani undoubtedly played a central role for a period from the 11th to the 16th century. The extreme scarcity of early medieval sources does not allow us to affirm that before the 10th century there was a route in the Val d'Orcia that went from the right of the Formone stream up to the hill of Radicofani, although we cannot affirm the opposite either. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that there was a preference for the route up the valley of Formone stream, keeping to the left of the stream, since it made it easier to reach the royal abbey of San Salvatore on the Amiata.



Fig.6.29. Radicofani and its stronghold seen from the «*Strada Provinciale del Monte Amiata*». Author's photo, April 2020.

Although in a lower position than the Amiata peak (one of 1738 m and the other of 814 m asl), the castle of Radicofani dominates the landscape and surrounding mobility: placed in border land, it is a symbol of control on the road and protection for travellers. The role of Radicofani with respect to the changes to

the itinerary in Val di Paglia starting from the 11th century has been debated using travel-related sources. However, it is of interest to highlight how this rural community has also set out its urban and socio-economic management of the via Francigena in its thirteenth-century statutes. Although only a small part of these commissions was reflected in the statutes, often the value recognised with respect to the Francigena was indicated indirectly: the statutes of Radicofani (1255) prohibited citizens from selling bread and wine to strangers in front of the neighbour's house, which expresses the great economic importance of transit traffic for the country. There is also mention of building activity along public roads: the new buildings had to be 2.4 m away from the one in front if in a path («*retto*»), 3.6 m in a «*via publica*», and 4.8 m for the «*strada*», by which the via Francigena was meant (Szabò, 1990, p. 160). The circumstances in which the passage under papal domination took place concern the concession, by the abbot of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata (1153), to San Salvatore church of half of the castle and of the entire village of *Callemala*. The statutes of the thirteenth century therefore demonstrate particular attention to and care for the road network (Marrocchi, 2019).

In addition, Radicofani was oriented towards a second road artery that ran alongside the Francigena in the direction of Rome. This was the *Teutonica* or *Alemagna* route, a channel that grew in importance from the 12th century onwards and which, as its name suggests, was favoured by the countries of central and northern Europe, which made up the bulk of the pilgrims who flocked to Rome. This route joined the Francigena near Montefiascone, coming from Orvieto, Città della Pieve, lake Trasimeno and the Valdichiana marshland area after Arezzo. It reached the latter town from the Alpe di Serra valley and then from the Casentino forests (Stopani, 2010). As a result of this near-parallel approach and flow, a series of transversal routes existed between the two routes, allowing them to reach each other as well as the centres they crossed. In this sense, Stopani mainly identifies three of them (2011, pp. 11-12):

1) From the north, the first link is located at Città della Pieve via San Quirico d'Orcia, then passing through Chiusi, Chianciano, Monticchiello and *Corsignano* (now Pienza). In fact, along this link, there are various welfare structures documented in the 13th century: between Monticchiello and *Corsignano* «*Hospitale in Burgo Fabrice*» (Fabbrica); in Monticchiello «*Hospitale Alaman*[n]*orum*, *Hospitale Sancti*

Johannis» and «*Hospitale Misericordie*». Probably, however, the hospital «*Sancti Johannis*» matches the same one in Fabbrica and could be located at the present-day Albergo farm (Felici, 2004, p. 333).

2) The Città della Pieve-Radicofani section was the shortest link, passing through Chiusi, Sarteno and the abbey of Spineto (1085) (where we find the «*Spedale di San Pietro*»);

3) Still from Città della Pieve, a third route passed in a more southerly direction through the basin of the Rigo stream, then San Casciano dei Bagni and Celle sul Rigo, where it found the Francigena.

In this respect, it is possible to say that Radicofani and San Quirico d'Orcia represented two important road junctions, so much so as to configure the Val d'Orcia as a road district that had a profound effect on the economic, demographic and urban development of the area, also projected onto the Val di Paglia. Radicofani was the last bastion on Tuscan territory along the Francigena. The road passed tangentially to the town, giving it a characteristic elongated shape. The village had various nuclei: Borgo Maggiore, Castello Castelmoro and Bonmigliaccio. The municipality was established in the mid-13th century, when ownership of the fortress passed from the Abbot of San Salvatore to Monte Amiata in Siena (Casali, 2011, pp. 73-74). During the thirteenth century, three churches are remembered in Radicofani: the parish church of S. Giovanni Battista, which replaced the disappeared parish church of S. Donato, the church of S. Pietro (1224), an example of Romanesque-Gothic architecture, and that of S. Andrea.

Patitucci noted three hospitals in Radicofani at the end of the 13th century: San Pietro, «*hospitale Bonaiucte*», «*domus leprosorum*» (a leper colony) (Patitucci, 2004, p. 76). However, in the Middle Ages, in the territory of Radicofani, there were at least eight hospitals (Cecconi, 2011, pp. 47-52): 1) «*Spedale di Contignano e della Commenda dell'Ordine di Santo Stefano*»; 2) *xenodochium* of «*Muliermala*», attested for the first time in 1107 in the CDA, of uncertain location but probably in the watershed between Formone stream and Orcia river nearby Le Conie area; 3) «*omus Leprosorum*» mentioned in the early 1300s and located along the route that descends from Radicofani towards the Paglia valley (named in the Lorraine Land Registry as «*Contrada di S. Lazzaro*»). Among the hospitals located in the village: 4) hospital of «*Fonte Ceccola*» or «*Malmignaccio*» (1237), located in *Malmignaccio* hamlet. It was managed by the monks of the abbey of San Pietro in Campo and traceable to

today's "Fonte di Castelmorro" (formerly "Fonte Ceccola"); 5) Spineto or San Pietro hospital, so called because it belonged to the Santissima Trinità di Spineto abbey, mentioned in three articles of the municipal statute of 1255 (articles 40, 41, 56) and remembered as San Pietro from the end of the 13th century and suppressed in 1794. It was located in the building nowadays still existing in front of Palazzo Pretorio; 6) hospital of Santa Maria, also mentioned in the Statute of 1255 (articles 43, 67), whose location is uncertain but probably stood outside the walls of Borgo Maggiore; 7) hospital of «*Bonaiote*» or «*Bonaiucte*», certified in the Statute of 1255 (articles 44, 45) and in the early 1300s as «*Hospitale Bonaiucte de Radicofano*» (the location is unknown); 8) hospital of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, attested only from 1412. We do not have any information concerning its location. In addition, the convent of San Francesco (1255, art. 42), on the Francigena and a short distance from the crossroads for Borgo Maggiore (today the place of S. Francesco Vecchio), probably offered hospitality to pilgrims and wayfarers.

Noteworthy is the sixteenth-century post house building (fig. 6.30) commissioned by Ferdinand I of Medici and used as a hotel and customs house which reminds the visitor of the importance of the ancient road for this centre. The Medici post house does not appear to have been built before 1587. In 1589 the «*Osteria*» must have been in operation anyway and it was the largest building constructed along the Florence-Rome route (Romby, 2011, p. 127). We know from various travel accounts that in more recent times it was of very poor quality. Charles Dickens, travelling in Rome in February 1846, left a particularly unfavourable description of it as a «ghostly inn» (Turrini, 2011, p. 123).



Fig.6.30. View of the post house from the Radicofani's stronghold.
Author's photo, August 2021.

With respect to the Rocca that can be admired today, dominating between Tuscany and Lazio, it must be remembered that it is the result of massive restoration work carried out in 1929. The donjon, in particular, was the object of a complete reconstruction. In fact, views of the 1800s and rare photographs dating back to 1928 show the Radicofani hill without the fortress. The photographs taken by Magrini during the restoration work also show the serious state of the complex, whose keep was now buried under the ruins (Magrini, 1929). The settlement of Radicofani, considering the eastern side and therefore also Umbria, represented in this sense a crossroads between the connections with Umbria and the Paglia Valley with the Francigena.

VI.I.V. TRAVEL SOURCES

The major medieval diary sources allow us to identify the main direction of the via Francigena. These travel reports evidence, from the high to the late Middle Ages, the consolidation of some milestones and important cities on the road as the displacement of some stretches and the passage in the background of other centres. In this case, the records of the first medieval travellers usually consist of lists of stops along the way. The section of interest in this case study does not

undergo substantial changes in the area between Viterbo, lake Bolsena and Siena. In particular, the Orcia and Paglia valleys continue to be a valid natural corridor. However, since the thirteenth century, we see the appearance of further roads and settlements that provide an alternative route in Val di Chiana, through Arezzo in connection with Emilia-Romagna and Florence, and in Umbria to Perugia and Assisi. From Rome to Acquapendente the route followed the ancient *Via Cassia*, but from there it entered Tuscany from the Paglia valley. Sigeric, in 990, reaches the tenth stage «*Sce Petir-in-Pail*» (St. Peter's on the river Paglia), that today, thanks to a study of toponyms, we know correspond to the no longer existent settlement of *Voltole*, where there was a church dedicated to San Pietro near the river Paglia and today there are the remains of a medieval structure. We know that this settlement does not correspond directly to other sources, but at least until the seventeenth century there was a «*Paglia*» settlement which may coincide with the stage indicated by the merchant Bonis in 1350. Moreover, in the year 1472, inns and houses along the Roman road in Paglia are attested and also sixteenth-century travellers mentioned some settlements (Stopani, Mambrini, 1989, pp. 304-305). Therefore, Radicofani had not yet taken over the valley.

From there, at *Le Briccole* («*Abricula*»), there was a famous hospice dedicated to San Pellegrino («*Hospitalis S. Peregrini Obricolis*»), already documented in the 8th century, where Sigeric, Matilda di Canossa (1079, 1088), Gregory VII, Arnaldo of Brescia, Philip Augustus and Charles of Anjou stayed overnight (Patitucci, 2004, p. 71). The settlement («*borgo*») of *Le Briccole* was noted in 1014, as «*Bricus*» in 1022 and again as «*borgo*» in 1087 (Mambrini, 2010, p. 9). After that, to San Quirico d'Orcia where there was the following stage («*Sce Quirio*»), undoubtedly one of the main milestones of southern Tuscany at the time of Sigeric. It follows Torrenieri («*Turreiner*»), where the important monastery of Sant'Antimo owned many properties; «*Arbia*», probably the crossing at Ponte d'Arbia and then Siena («*Seocine*») (Ortenberg, 1990, p. 232). In the route of the Icelandic abbot Nicholas of Munkathvera in 1154 there is a substantial overlap with that of Sigeric, in fact, from north to south we find: Siena (probably repeated in two stages with «*Semunt*» and «*Langa sym*»), San Quirico d'Orcia («*Klerka borg*», lerics' town), Radicofani («*Clemunt*», where there was the stronghold – «*kastali*» – locally called «*Mala Mulier*» – «*ill kona*» – where the people are said to be «very bad»), thus the entry into Lazio with Acquapendente («*Hanganda-borg*», precipitous stream hamlet), Bolsena

(«*Kristino borg*», St. Christina hamlet»), Montefiascone («*Fla*[*vian*]*s borg*», St. Flaviano hamlet, once suburb of Montefiascone), Viterbo («*Boternis borg*») (Magoun, 1944, pp. 343-345). Therefore, the variation lies in preferring the safest fortress of Radicofani to the valley of the Paglia.

The account that allows us to see how the via Francigena still substantially repeats the same route after two centuries is that of Philip Augustus, king of France returning from the Third Crusade in 1191. This source also confirms the consolidation of the fortress of Radicofani («*Redecoo*»), now a stable and well defensible place, between Acquapendente («*Eke Pendannte*») and *Le Briccole* («*La Briche*») (Magoun, 1942, p. 370). The passage through Radicofani therefore adds to, if not replaces, the oldest route that went up the Paglia river (Stopani, 1985).

If substantially the route south of Siena has not seen important changes, on the micro-territorial level in the Orcia valley the various findings related to the road layout demonstrate the existence of a bundle of roads often conditioned by the frequent change of the course of the rivers (Stopani, 1985, p. 17). It is the historical-cultural reading of the inhabited areas with the identification of medieval nuclei, the typology and spatial distribution of the settlements that make it possible to reconstruct the road routes and to propose alternatives to the routes (Stopani, 1985, p. 21).

Unlike Sigeric and Munkathvera, the itinerary of Philip Augustus mentions Buonconvento. The town, in fact, was established as a transit centre only at the end of the twelfth century, so as to emerge on all the other centres located on the Val d'Arbia along the Francigena (Stopani, 1984, p. 42). Compared to the mid-12th century, the Book of King Roger II, compiled by the Arab geographer al-Idrisi, is of interest, although it presents various inaccuracies. The via Francigena is not explicitly mentioned, but its route emerges from the routes it describes for the connections between Genoa and Rome and between Pisa and Rome. The route takes place in inland Tuscany, and not along the coast, as the following locations are indicated: «*lukkal*» (Lucca), «*flûransal*» (Florence), «*s. nqalîlîal*» («*Saena Julia*», Siena), «*gabal'-nwât*» («*Monte Aniata*», Monte Amiata) and «*rûmal*» (Rome) (Stopani, 1984, pp. 40-41). The mention of Monte Amiata is particularly interesting, as its Sienese side dominates the valley of Paglia. Al-Idrisi suggests the distance between Florence and Siena is two days, but places Monte Amiata equidistant 15 miles from

both Siena and Rome (Amari, Schiaparelli, 1883, p. 91) and is therefore rather inaccurate considering the greater distance from Rome.

In general, the thirteenth-century sources on the one hand preserve the axis of connection between Siena and Viterbo, but on the other open up further alternative routes relating to the emergence of the municipal cities of Umbria, the Val di Chiana, and the Arno valley: from Perugia to Foligno, from Gubbio to Cortona, from Arezzo to Florence. The latter especially, which became during the thirteenth century one of the largest economic and political centres in Italy, captures the main axis of communications with Rome (Stopani, 2006, p. 141).

In the vademecum for pilgrims completed in 1253 by Matthew Paris, travelling to Rome and the Holy Land («*Iter de Londino in Terram Sanctam*»), the travel goes much faster than the others and Parks guessed that while Sigeric walked, the Paris map supposes a journey on horseback. So, Paris suggests more alternative routes in the Italian peninsula. In addition to confirming the Siena-Viterbo section, although unfortunately no references are mentioned between San Quirico d'Orcia and Montefiascone, it represents the alternative route that from Arezzo, arriving from Forlì, leads to Perugia, Assisi, Foligno, Spoleto, Rieti and Rome (Parks, 1954).

One of the most complete guides to Rome in the Middle Ages, the «*Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*» (mid-13th century), illustrates the emergence of the Bologna-Florence-Siena-Rome artery, which inherited part of the route of the via Francigena. Basically, the route of return Siena-Viterbo remained unchanged, while the outward route is linked to Montefiascone coming from Arezzo and even earlier from Forlì passing through the Alpe di Serra (Stopani, 2006, pp. 146-147). Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen, in his journey to Rome in 1254, also testified to the emergence of the paths in Umbria, where the cult of San Francesco had certainly contributed to increase the sacredness of Assisi, which also became a destination of pilgrimages. In fact, it passed from Gubbio to Perugia to Assisi. However, on the return journey, the route corresponds to the ancient route of the via Francigena, at least up to the Arno (Stopani, 2006, pp. 141-144).

A century later, the merchant of Montauban Barthelémy Bonis, on pilgrimage to Rome in 1350, runs the main axis from internal Tuscany from the Cisa Pass. But, curiously, before entering Lazio with Acquapendente, he refers to the locality «*Moulin de la Paglia*» (Parks, 1954, p. 530); therefore, most probably he

did not climb the promontory of Radicofani as his predecessors, but it continued in a more direct way along the river Paglia where several mills still stood («*Moulin*»). Stopani equates the locality of "*San Pietro in Paglia*" with *Voltole* (Stopani, 2006, p. 116).

In the fifteenth century, Parks notes the place «Paglia river» between San Quirico d'Orcia and Acquapendente in the itinerary for Rome described in «*Informaçon for pylgrimes*» dated 1498 (*ibidem*, p. 503). In the 1469 diary of William Brewyn's trip between Calais and Rome, via Bologna and Florence, he stopped at Radicofani («*Radocofre*»), at this stage normally in use, between Siena and Acquapendente (*ibidem*, pp. 525-526).

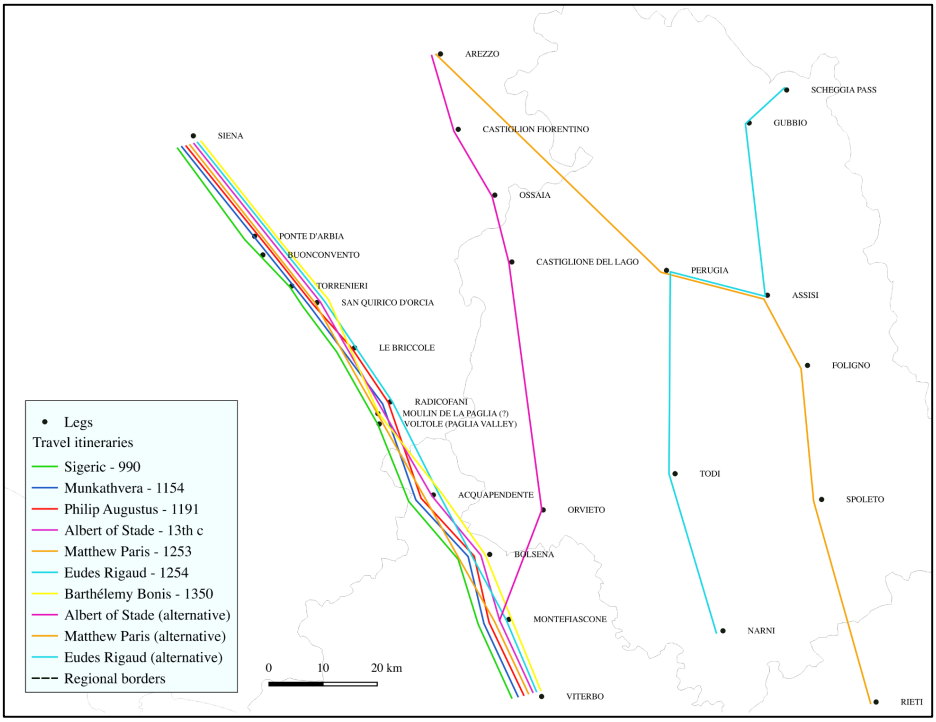


Fig.6.31. Map showing the stages of the medieval travel sources.
Author's elaboration.

Edward Hutton (1875-1969), an Italianist and traveller from London, went to Monte Amiata in 1907. At that time more than ever an unknown mountain, Hutton delighted in describing the mountain and the surrounding countryside, beginning each of his excursions with an indispensable introduction to the roads starting from Abbadia S. S. In the beginning, he invites us to follow the Francigena road at the expense of the train and in particular he re-proposes the main Tuscan stages up to the entrance to Lazio, first passing through *Callemala* in Val di Paglia and then climbing up to Radicofani (Hutton, 2013, p. 25). And so he also reports

the medieval mule track that connected the village of Abbadia to the Francigena and then Radicofani, winding through the sparse vineyards (now gone) above the Paglia river (*ibidem*, p. 69). In his accounts, Hutton helps to emphasise a remarkable road continuity with the Middle Ages even for this study area at the gateway to Latium, although the roads are subject to variations in both hierarchy and route. The issue of continuity/discontinuity of the road organisation between medieval and modern periods was discussed in the previous case study (Chapter V.I); in both cases a substantial homogeneity of the itinerary is found despite variations to the original route.



Fig.6.32. Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola's map (detail), «*L'Italia con le sue Poste e Strade Principali*», 1695, Anonio Barbey inc., Stamperia Domenico de' Rossi, Rome[50]. We can notice the «*strada postale regia*» crossing «Siena», «*Borgo Lucigniano*», «*Bonconvento*», «*Tornieri*», «*la Scala*», «Radicofani», «*Ponte Centino*», «Acquapendente», «*Bolsenna*», «Viterbo», and so on.

The geographer Repetti, as early as the first half of the 19th century, stated that «this *Via postale* [postal Route] from *Poggibonsi* to the Pontifical border is largely part of the ancient *Strada Francesca*, which passed through *Siena*» (Repetti, 1843, p. 719). With respect to the stretch involved in this case study, he finds the oldest road to the right of the Orcia river and then entering the Val di Paglia, while it subsequently ascended to Radicofani. This form of overlap between the early medieval itinerary and the 19th c. «*Strada Regia Postale Romana*» upholds the importance acquired by the medieval route and its impact on the organisation of the territory.[51]

[50] Retrieved from: https://www.issp.po.it/cartografia-postale/carta-cantelli-1695/

[51] The geographer Repetti, as early as the first half of the 19th century, states that «*cotesta Via postale da Poggibonsi al confine Pontificio spetta in gran parte all'antica Strada Francesca, la quale passava per Siena*» (this postal route from Poggibonsi to the Papal border is largely the ancient *Strada Francesca*, which

VI.II. HERITAGE DATABASE: A STRATEGY OF INCLUSION ALONG THE "ROAD-TERRITORY"

This section is the quantitative outcome of the previous one. In other words, it represents the census – in the form of a catalogue – of the material resources, whether still existing or disappeared, which have been identified as being closely linked to the medieval road system in relation to the Via Francigena. Essentially, the heritage identified here makes it possible to define the spatiality of the road – the impact it had on the territory – as will be better analysed and visualised in the following chapter on spatial analyses. The resources included here, which linearly follow the main communication stretch between San Quirico d'Orcia and Acquapendente, correspond to four macro-categories: military, religious, hospitality, and functional transit infrastructure. These resources, in addition to determining the "road-territory" of Case Study 2, show the structures and settlements that should be taken into consideration for a strategic development plan of the rural heritage according to today's Via Francigena.

Overall, the database consists of 135 identified resources. These are summarised by the radar chart (fig. 6.33) by subcategories. These resources constitute an area of 1969 sq. km for 300.4 km of mapped medieval roads. From the graph, one can see the size of the mapped elements. The importance of the presence of *xenodochia*, as well as of churches and military structures (castles and strongholds) is immediately apparent.

passed through Siena) (Repetti, 1843, p. 719). With respect to the section concerned in this case study, he identifies the older road as running to the right of the Orcia river and then entering the Val di Paglia, while it subsequently ascended to Radicofani. This continuity of sorts, between the road that arose in the early Middle Ages and the Roman Postal Royal Road of the 19th century, supports the importance acquired by the medieval road and thus its impact on the organisation of the territory.



Fig.6.33. Radar chart showing the heritage elements surveyed.

The following tables were essentially divided into two colours: yellow for resources located within Tuscany and green for those in Lazio. Moreover, as already introduced in the methodology, structures marked with a star are characterised by a first degree of approximation of location (uncertain), while those with two stars are of unknown location (though the area is known approximately).

Characteristics	*Resources*			
	San Quirico d'Orcia	**St. Maria Assunta**	**Santa Maria della Scala hospital**	**Templar's hospital***
a. Source	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog
b. In or out of the route	in	in	in	in
c. Main or secondary route	main	main	main	main
d. Reference period	8th c. (with reference to the castle)	since 714 (S. Quirico in «*Ausenna*»/«*Osenna*»)	medieval	medieval
e. Cultural origin	Etruscan	/	/	/
f. Category	fortified settlement	parish church	xenodochium	xenodochium
g. Original use	dwelling, control, defensive, religious	religious	hospitality	hospitality

h. Current state	active	active	Some architectural traces have been preserved	not existing, without trace
i. On the tourist VF?	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main	yes, main
j. Coordinates or area	43.058349, 11.604114	43.058046, 11.606154	43.058152, 11.606342	43.060088, 11.603630

	«*della Vena*» hospital	**Padri Domenicani's hospital***	**«*hospitia* della Campana»***	**«*hospitia* della Corona»***	**«*hospitia* Paolo d'Antonuccio»***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	medieval	medieval	15th c.	15th c.	15th c.
e.	/	/	local	local	local
g.	yes	yes	no	no	no
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium
g.	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality
l.	not existing, without trace	not existing, without trace	not existing	not existing	not existing
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	43.057044, 11.607647	43.060034, 11.605919	43.059312, 11.600131	43.057737, 11.603223	43.057669, 11.610532

	Collegiata St. Quirico e Giulietta	**«*Hospitalis Santa Maria ad Tuoma*»**	**St. Biagio (Vignoni)**	**Montalcino**	**Santissimo Salvatore parish chrch**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)
d.	previous early medieval parish church (preceded by a 8th c. baptistery); 12th c. (actual structure)	11th c.	11th c. 12th c. (Romanesque)	12th c.	11th c. (replaced by the cathedral in 1462)
e.	/(Lombard-style main portal)	local	/	/	/
f.	church	xenodochium	church	fortified settlement	parish church
g.	religious	hospitality	religious	dwelling, defensive	religious
l.	active, parts of fortification have remained	not existing	active	active, parts of the fortification are included within the fortress	not existing

i.	yes	yes	yes	no	no
j.	43.060559, 11.603048	43.067771, 11.581187	43.036443, 11.609477	43.056016, 11.489936	43.058655, 11.487635

	Velona stronghold	**Vignoni Alto**	**Bagno Vignoni**	**bridge (Orcia-Vignoni)**	**cobblestones* (Bagno Vign.)**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	main	main	main	main
d.	11th c.	11th c.	1170 (also Roman)	medieval	medieval
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	stronghold	stronghold, fortified settlement	settlement and spring thermal water area	bridge, road infrastructure	cobblestones track, road infrastructure
g.	military	dwelling, defensive	dwelling, religious	transit, crossing	transit
l.	active, nowadays it is a resort (since 2011) (12th c. tower still existing)	active, parts of fortification have remained	active	few remains	few tracts
i.	no	yes	yes	no	?
j.	42.982819, 11.536471	43.036546, 11.609011	43.028027, 11.618300	43.030757, 11.639990	43.03085, 11.63620

	Poderina post house	**Ripa d'Orcia**	**Tentennano**	**Castiglione d'Orcia**	**Campiglia d'Orcia**
a.	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	out	out	in	in	in
c.	Vignoni area (secondary)	Castiglione d'Orcia (secondary)	Castiglione d'Orcia (secondary)	Castiglione d'Orcia (secondary)	secondary
d.	2nd half of the 18th c. (1761), to replace La Scala post house	13th c. (but surely earlier)	853; 11th-12th c. the fortification	714	medieval
e.	/	local	local families (Tignosi)	Aldobrandeschi's	Visconti's
f.	post house	stronghold	stronghold	fortified settlement	settlement
g.	transit	defensive, dwelling	defensive, dwelling	dwelling, defensive	dwelling
l.	active (current agriturismo)	active (now a tourist residence)	recently restored, well maintained	active	active
i.	no	no	no	yes	no
j.	43.026625, 11.626938	43.017864, 11.584832	43.009536, 11.614007	43.005415, 11.615450	42.947139, 11.669028

	"Campigliola"	**St. Maria Maddalena church**	**St. Stefano e Degna parish church**	**St. Maria Assunta (Contignano)**	**Montcchiello**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary	Castiglione d'Orcia (secondary)	Castiglione d'Orcia (secondary)	Castelvecchio (secondary)	secondary (link, Teutonic)
d.	973	12th c. (apsis)	16th c. but originally from a previous parish church (medieval)	1293	1168
e.	Visconti's	/	/	/	/
f.	stronghold	church	parish church	church	fortified settlement
g.	control, defensive	religious	religious	religious	dwelling, defensive, religious, hospitality
l.	only the tower (abandoned, precarious ruins)	active	active	active	active
i.	no	yes	yes	yes, by bicycle	no
j.	42.941162, 11.666062	43.00657, 11.61707	43.005151, 11.61688	42.976694, 11.742694	43.067935, 11.724520

	St. Leonardo parish church	**«*Hospitale Alamannorum*»***	**«*Hospitale Misericordie*»***	**«*Hospitale Sancti Johannis*»****	***Corsignano***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	Teutonic (link)
d.	13th c.	13th c.	13th c.	13th c.	1208 (at least)
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	parish church	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	fortified settlement
g.	religious	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	dwelling, religious, hospitality
l.	active	non existing	non existing	non existing	not existing, replaced by Pienza (15th c.)
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	43.068371, 11.725711	43.068823, 11.724506	43.067598, 11.726539	43.092746, 11.710585	43.076534, 11.678036

	St. Vito and Modesto's parish church	**St. Pietro in Campo**	**St. Maria dello Spino**	**Spedaletto («*Sancti Nicolai*»)**	**Castelluccio**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	out

c.	Teutonic (link)	Teutonic (link)	Teutonic (link)	S. Quirico - Radicofani (secondary)	Castelvecchio (secondary)
d.	12th c.	1031	1014	1236 (in 14th c. as monastic grange and fortifies; surely as hospital in early mid. ages)	13th c.
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	parish church	«*badia*» (abbey), former parish church	parish church	xenodochium; fortified monastic grange	castle
g.	religious	religious	religious	religious, defensive, alimentary	defensive, dwelling
l.	active	partially preserved	preserved and active	well preserved	well preserved
i.	no	no	no	yes, bicycle	no
j.	43.077022, 11.671397	42.972572, 11.770947	43.054015, 11.714216	43.031410, 11.667806	43.032317, 11.776199

	Montertine	**Sant'Antimo**	**Castelnuovo dell'Abate**	**St. Filippo and Giacomo parish church**	**Contignano**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	Castelvecchio (secondary)	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	Castelvecchio (secondary)
d.	1220	Longobardic hypothesis; 8th c. (781) traditionally under Charlemagne; in 814 is an imperial abbey with Louis the Pious	11th c. at least, castle around 1210	8th c. St. Giovanni, later Santi F. and G.	1028
e.	/	Frankish	/	/	/
f.	castle	abbey (imperial)	castle, fortified settlement	parish church	castle, village
g.	defensive, dwelling	religious, control, dwelling	defensive, control, dwelling	religious	control, defensive, dwelling
l.	not existing	active, well preserved	active (the settlement), not much left of the fortification	previous church (St. Giovanni Battista) not existing; the second one is well preserved	active the village, partially preserved the castle
i.	yes, bicycle	no	no	no	yes, by bicycle
j.	43.037311, 11.671755	42.999626, 11.515654	42.994821, 11.516898	42.995428, 11.515882	42.976771, 11.742318

	Anonio Lenzi's «*hspitium*»	**«*al Formone hospitium*»**	**Castelvecchio**	**Palazzo di Geta**	**Rimbecca**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	Castelvecchio (secondary)	Castelvecchio (secondary)	Castelvecchio (secondary)	main	main
d.	medieval	medieval	medieval	medieval	1279
e.	/	/	/	local families (Pecora, Salimbeni)	/
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	castle	fortified building and monastic grange	fortified building
g.	hospitality	hospitality	control, defensive, dwelling	defensive, control, alimentary, dwelling	control, defence, dwelling
l.	not existing	not existing	not existing, nowadays a modern farm	ruins	completely transformed, currently a modern farm/agriturismo
i.	yes, by bicycle	yes, by bicycle	no	no	no
j.	42.976833, 11.741747	42.976717, 11.742852	42.994985, 11.731081	43.013931, 11.706471	43.004720, 11.725055

	Poggilone	***Le Briccole* («*Abricula*»)**	**«*Hospitalis S. Peregrini Obricolis*»**	**St. Pellegrino church**	**«*Hospitalis de Arcimbaldo*»***
A»	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	medieval (know until 15th c.)	1014	8th c., surely from the 10th c.	8th c.	13th c.
e.	local	/	/	/	/
f.	xenodochium, inn	settlement	xenodochium	church	xenodochium
g.	hospitality	dwelling	hospitality	religious	hospitality
l.	not existing	not existing	not existing, embedded in the current farm adjacent to the church	abandoned	not existing
i.	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.905187, 11.724072	42.984819, 11.687903	42.985190, 11.688639	42.984947, 11.688774	43.013120, 11.654309

	***La Scala* Post House**	***La Scala* church**	***Fermone*****	***Ricorsi***	***Ricorsi*'s bridge**
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in

c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	16th c. (1562 first mention)	18th-19th c. (probably 16th with the Post House)	1064	16th c.	medieval
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	post house	church	settlement	post house	small bridge, road infrastructure
g.	hospitality, travel support and horses turnover	religious	dwelling	hospitality, travel support and horses turnover	transit, crossing
l.	more modern farm (abandoned)	active (ruins abandoned until 2016, nowadays it is restored and heavily modified)	not existing	modern farmhouse with some previous evidence	still existing
i.	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	43.004625, 11.673615	43.004665, 11.6743331	42.951478, 11.704281	42.950048, 11.706094	42.950887, 11.706757

	Eremo del Vivo	**Santissimo Salvatore abbey**	**«*Codex Amiatinus*»**	***Castellina***	**Ermeta church**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	out
c.	Montalcino - Vivo (secondary)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)
d.	1113 ("*heremus Vivi in monte Amiato*")	8thc., formal consecration in 1035	Since 692	12th c. (Castel di Badia)	1296
e.	local	Longobard	Monkwearmout-Jarrow abbey	local	Longobard (according to the tradition)
f.	eremo, church	abbey	manuscript (bible)	fortified settlement	church
g.	religious	religious, control, hospitality, dwelling	religious	dwelling	religious
l.	active	active	active (the original copy is kept in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence since 1786)	active	active
i.	no	yes, variant	yes, variant	yes, variant	no
j.	42.923064, 11.642415	42.882415, 11.676360	42.882415, 11.676360 (S. S. abbey)	42.880614, 11.678416	42. 885511, 11. 647919

	St. Croce	St. Leonardo	Remedi church	Madonna del Castagno church	St. Maria «*ad Valetudinarium*» hospital
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)
d.	1221 (of gothic style lost in 1791)	13th c.	1602 (in place of a tabernacle destroyed in 1561)	1524 (where there was already a chapel)	12th c. (Castel di Badia)
e.	/	Benedictine	local	local	/
f.	church	church	church	church	hospital (by the homonymous church)
g.	religious	religious	religious	religious	hospitality, religious
l.	active (1801 actual architecture)	active (1914 tower bell)	active	active	partially preserved
i.	yes, variant	yes, variant	yes, variant	yes, variant	yes, variant
j.	42.880152, 11.678317	42.878470, 11.678929	42.877458, 11.679160	42.882150, 11.679160	42.881424, 11.678351

	St. Maria Interfossata	*Castel della Pertica*	*Casella*	Stronghold (Piancast.)	Piancastagnaio
a.	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs/archive	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	out	in	out	out
c.	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)
d.	1079 («*inter Fossatum*»)	early medieval	medieval	12th c.	1194
e.	local	Longobard (?)	local	local (Aldobrandeschi)	/
f.	parish church	fortified settlement	building, farmhouse (?)	stronghold	fortified settlement
g.	religious	control, dwelling	dwelling	control, defensive	dwelling, defensive, religious
l.	not existing (only the foundation underground)	mainly underground, some sections excavated	not existing	well preserved	active
i.	yes, variant	no	no	no	no
j.	42.890374, 11.677994	42.869551 11.669101	42.889522, 11.688826	42.849493, 11.692527	42.848341, 11.693328

	St. Maria Assunta parish church	cobblestones (*Casella*)	*Callemala*	St. Cristina	*Callemala* hospital
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog
b.	out	in	in	in	in

c.	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	main	main	main
d.	1188	medieval	10th c.	10th c.	10th c.
e.	local	/	previous Roman site (*Presoniano*)	/	/
f.	parish church	cobblestones track, road infrastructure	settlement (200 inhabitants)	church	xenodochium
g.	religious	transit	dwelling, hospitality	religious	hospitality
l.	active	active as part of the current track	buried underground	buried underground	not existing
i.	no	no	no	no	no
j.	42.848564, 11.692862	42.889827, 11.691043	42.889073, 11.722585	42.889014, 11.723628	42.888695, 11.723354

	«*Muliermala*»**	**«*Muliermala*» hospital****	**Radicofani's stronghold**	**Radicofani**	**St. Pietro church**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	11th c.	1107	973	10th c. (better to consider the 13th c.)	1224
e.	/	/	Longobard (?)	/	/
f.	settlement	xenodochium	stronghold	fortified settlement (four distinguished nuclei)	church
g.	dwelling	hospitality	control, defensive	dwelling, hospitality	religious
l.	not existing	not existing	rebuilt and preserved stronghold (1929)	active	active
i.	no	no	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.921745, 11.733977	42.920940, 11.735443	42.898962, 11.768914	42.896921, 11.768639	42.896298, 11.767425

	Santissima Trinità abbey in Spineto	**San Pietro hospital (Spineto)**	**«*Domus Leprosorum*» hospital****	**Fonte Ceccola hospital***	**St. Maria hospital****
a.	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	Teutonic (link)	main	main	main	main
d.	1085	1255	early 14th c.	1237	1255
e.	/	/	/	/	/
f.	abbey	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium
g.	religious, control	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality
l.	active	not existing	not existing	not existing	not existing

i.	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.947969, 11.844617	42.897021, 11.766497	42.883687, 11.781682	42.897594, 11.765256	42.896373, 11.768326

	«*Hospitale Bonaiucte*»**	**St. Francesco (convent) hospital***	**Post House (Medici)**	**San Casciano dei Bagni**	**Collegiata St. Leonardo e Cassia**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)
d.	1255	1255	16th c.	Roman, "Curtis de bagno" in 995	11th c. (to replace the parish church, rebuilt within the walls)
e.	/	/	Medici family	/	/
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	post house, inn	fortified settlement	church
g.	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality, travel support and horses turnover	dwelling, religious, military	religious
l.	not existing	not existing	well maintained	active	active
i.	yes	yes	yes	no	yes
j.	42.896757, 11.770452	42.896849, 11.762454	42.893387, 11.769453	42.871970, 11.873781	42.871638, 11.875224

	St. Maria «*ad balneo*» parish church*	**Celle sul Rigo**	**Fighine Castle**	**St. Michele Arcangelo church**	**Trevinano Castle**
a.	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)	secondary (link, Teutonic)
d.	already existing in the 4th and 5th centuries (other news across the 11th c.)	"Castrum Cellis" 13th c. (probably since 10th c.)	since 1058	since 1191	since 1073
e.	/	/	Visconti's family as main ownership	/	/
f.	parish church	fortified settlement	castle	church	castle
g.	religious	dwelling, religious, military	dwelling, military	religious	dwelling, military
l.	not existing	active, the main evidence of the fortified centre is the "torre campanara" (tower)	well preserved (today it as a hotel)	active	well preserved (events hosting)
i.	no	no	no	no	no

j.	42.871209, 11.874474	42.864158, 11.823792	42.886912, 11.915267	42.886287, 11.916834	42.822729, 11.872463

	Montorio Stronghold	**Sopano castle**	**San Giovanni delle Contee**	**Castell'Ottieri stronghold**
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	out	out	out	out
c.	main	main	main	main
d.	high medieval	11th c.	high medieval	12th c. Aldobrandeschi's tower, 15th c. Ottieri's family (abandoned since the 17th c.)
e.	Aldobrandeschi's family origins (Ottieri's family since the 13th c.)	local families	/	Aldobrandeschi and Ottieri
f.	stronghold	castle	hamlet	stronghold
g.	dwelling, military	dwelling, military	dwelling	dwelling, military
l.	well preserved as fortified farm	abandoned ruins	active (severe destruction following an earthquake in 1919)	preserved ruins
i.	no	no	no	no
j.	42.741908, 11.767110	42.743224, 11.767694	42.754369, 11.763313	42.731772, 11.751145

	Burburigo	**St. Maria**	**Bagni San Filippo**	**St. Filippo Benizi chapel (cave)**
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs
b.	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)	Paglia valley - Amiata (link)
d.	995 («*Burgorio*»)	11th c.	14th c. (known since the Romans)	1269 (date of San Filippo's journey)
e.	/	/	/	/
f.	hamlet	church	hamlet	church (chapel/cave)
g.	dwelling, religious, hospitality (?)	religious	dwelling, therapeutic use of thermal water	religious
l.	not existing (elements partially maintained by a modern abandoned farm)	not existing	active	active
i.	yes	yes	yes, variant	yes, variant
j.	42.830501, 11.763436	42.833239, 11.760405	42.928906, 11.702382	42.926768, 11.690787

	***Voltole* (St. Pietro in Paglia)**	**St. Pietro church**	**St. Pietro hospital**	**Dogana Torricella**
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs

b.	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main
d.	1000	994 (S. Petir in Pail)	994 (S. Petir in Pail)	early modern period
e.	local (?) (previously occupied by Etruscans and Romans)	/	/	/
f.	settlement (400 inhabitants)	church	xenodochium	dogana
g.	dwelling	religious	hospitality	transit
l.	not existing	not existing (some medieval remains where the modern farm and church are)	not existing (some medieval remains where the modern farm and church are)	nowadays it is a B&B (partially preserved)
i.	no	no	no	yes
j.	42.866689, 11.736785	42.867021, 11.737563	42.867097, 11.737220	42.804715, 11.806610

Characteristics	*Resources*			
	Dogana Ponte Centino	**Post House *Ponte Centino***	**St. Lazzaro (Centeno)***	**Proceno**
a. Source	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog/fs
b. In or out of the route	in	in	in	out
c. Main or secondary route	main	main	main	main
d. Reference period	early modern period (until 1870)	early modern period	medieval	1083
e. Cultural origin	/	/	/	/
f. Category	dogana	post house	hospital	settlement
g. Original use	transit	travel support and horses turnover, hospitality	hospitality, leprosarium (leprosy hospital)	dwelling, religious
l. Current state	nowadays it is a restaurant (partially preserved)	not existing (structure demolished not many years ago)	not existing	active
i. On the tourist VF?	yes	yes	yes	yes, variant, by bicycle
j. Coordinates or area	42.796791, 11.813510	42.797212, 11.813084	42.781949, 11.835508	42.756995, 11.830079

	Proceno's stronghold	**Santissimo Salvatore church (Proceno)**	**St. Martino church**	**Ponte Gregoriano**	**Acquapendente**
a.	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs	bibliog/fs/ archive
b.	out	out	out	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main

d.	12th c.	13th c.	13th c.	1578	9th - 10th c.
e.	/	/	/	commissioned by pope Gregory XIII	possible previous Longobard origins
f.	castle	church	church	bridge	fortified settlement
g.	defensive	religious	religious	transit, crossing	dwelling, defensive, religious, hospitality
l.	well preserved	active	active	active	active
i.	yes, variant, by bicycle	yes, variant, by bicycle	yes, variant, by bicycle	yes	yes
j.	42.757992, 11.827551	42.757027, 11.828307	42.758978, 11.831344	42.764505, 11.856289	42.745086, 11.864894

	Castle of Acquapenden-te	**St. Sepolcro abbey**	**St. Francesco (previously St. Maria)**	**St. Agostino**	**St. Maria della Vittoria**
a.	bibliog/fs/ archive	bibliog/fs	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main
d.	11th - 12th c.	10th - 11th c.	1149	1290 (gothic style)	early medieval (around which the village developed, 13th c. - 14th c.)
e.	Frederick Barbarossa	Matilde di Westfalia (mother of Otto I) (built over a pagan temple)	/	/	/
f.	castle	abbey, cathedral	church	church	church (previously was a parish church)
g.	control, defensive, dwelling	religious, control, dwelling, hospitality	religious	religious	religious
l.	destroyed in 1166, not existing (16th c. tower)	active (presents modern renovations)	active	active (several structural changes)	active (changes during 18th c.)
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.744003, 11.868531	42.742602, 11.871395	42.745895, 11.865779	42.743157, 11.867130	42.742829, 11.865867

	St. Lorenzo	**St. Chiara monastery**	**St. Giovanni**	**St. Stefano**	**St. Gregorio hospital**	**Ponte Paglia hospital***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main	main

d.	1588	14th c. (it was commissioned in 1333)	1149	1600	1315	1235, 1156 (Porta della Ripa hospital)
e.	/	pontifical authority	/	/(St. Stefano was born in Jerusalem)	/	/
f.	church	church and monastery	church	church	xenodochium	xenodochium
g.	religious	religious	religious	religious	hospitality	hospitality
l.	active	active	active (several changes during the 18th c.)	active (destroyed during 1944, it was built again in 1954)	current private house (remains of a stone for kneeling)	not existing
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.745677, 11.863834	42.746832, 11.863692	42.745106, 11.868654	42.743677, 11.865367	42.743814, 11.865494	42.762890, 11.858355

	St. Maria hospital*	**St. Giovanni di St. Maria della Scala hospital***	**St. Lazzaro hospital* (Acquapendente)**	**St. Trinità hospital***	**Magione dei Templari hospital****	**Frati Continenti hospital***
a.	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog	bibliog
b.	in	in	in	in	in	in
c.	main	main	main	main	main	main
d.	1387 («*Hospedale Sanctae Mariae*»)	1406 (first private foundation), in the 16th c. the main hospital	1290	medieval	medieval	1281
e.	/	/	/	/	/	/
f.	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium	xenodochium
g.	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality	hospitality
l.	not existing	not existing	not existing	not existing	not existing	not existing
i.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
j.	42.746384, 11.866334	42.745882, 11.866705	42.741361, 11.879782	42.741366, 11.866864	42.742706, 11.861568	42.746356, 11.864265

VI.III. SPATIAL ANALYSIS: MAPS "ON THE MOVE"

Here, as in the previous case study (V.III), the map-based results processed through ArcGIS and extracted from the geo-historical analysis and the heritage census are discussed. The overall road network in relation to settlements will be shown in detail and therefore the buffer that configures the "road area". Thus, in addition to visualising the area and the elements of interest, one will be able to observe the dynamism of the anthropic heritage, configured by the mapped routes, according to the various typologies identified. In addition to the complex medieval context, the modern one linked to the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe programme is shown here. In this way, by obtaining the same type of maps as in Case Study 1, it is possible to compare the elements that distinguish the different geographical areas.

VI.III.I. ROADS, HERITAGE, AND TERRITORY

The area of investigation in this section is southern Tuscany and upper Lazio. We therefore follow the road corridors from the Orcia valley to the municipality of Acquapendente, passing through the Paglia valley and bordering the volcanic massif of Monte Amiata. As in the case of the Apennines, the orographic and hydrographic layers are essential to fully understand the transit patterns.
This selection of maps is therefore divided into two main categories: one purely representational, depicting the main elements identified in relation to the road and, the other, the result of spatial analysis (geoprocessing) aimed at highlighting patterns that would otherwise be difficult to represent and dynamic with respect to the relationship between the road network and heritage.

VI.III.I.A. OVERALL MAP

While in the previous case study the mountainous presence is inevitable, here, with the exception of a few cases, it is essentially shunned in favour of the valleys of the Orcia and Paglia rivers. Already at the time of the Longobards, the valleys of Arbia,

Orcia and Paglia provided many internal corridors (Stopani, 2006), safe from a military point of view and from the environmental changes taking place. Having thus identified the main route, and the most convenient in terms of travel, we can see how it is consolidated over time despite being subject to some variations.

The DEM shows (fig. 6.34) how the main road (in red) follows the easiest direction from an altimetry point of view and, as far as the local links are concerned, how they enable one to reach high places but carefully avoiding the steepest areas (see the Monte Amiata site). Radicofani provides the main exception. Here the stretch of road acquiring greater importance, at least from the 12th century onwards, climbs the fortress of the same name because of the military security offered.

Undoubtedly, we are faced with a more open and less delineated mapping, since there are fewer obligatory passages; however, as just mentioned, the main channel is well-identified. Villages and other settlements are subject to less clustering; in fact, they are not restricted to specific portions of the land but can be more widely distributed around valleys. Indeed, in this case study, the boundary between elements and itineraries included in the respective area of the via Francigena and outside it is more blurred and complicated to determine.
The inclusive perspective adopted here expands the radius of the road. This is done in order to observe the surrounding area more closely and, possibly, broaden the views of investigation for future studies as well. For example, it has already been reported how an alternative route to the abbey of San Salvatore on Monte Amiata from Val d'Orcia (*Le Briccole*, Campiglia d'Orcia, Vivo d'Orcia, Abbadia S. S.) was indicated (Stopani, 2006, p. 114). However, this segment that connects Vivo d'Orcia-Abbadia S. S. has not been sufficiently investigated to be represented, but the extension of the area nevertheless allows it to be included.
Further below, we note four portions (figs. 6.35, 6.36, 6.37, 6.38) of the four main settlement centres extracted from the general territorial mosaic to show the mapped heritage, otherwise too dense to be deciphered.

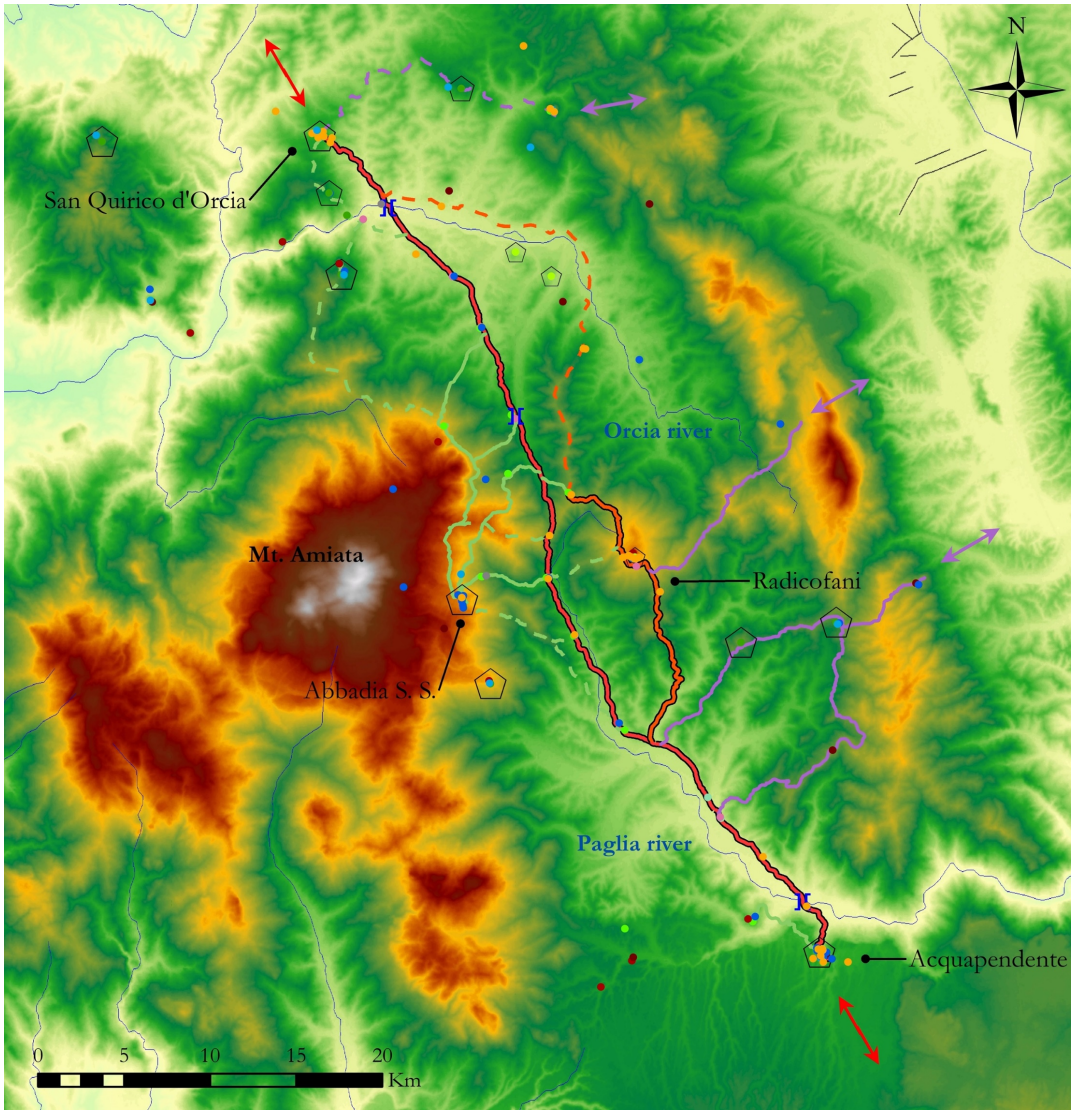


Fig. 6.34.
Author's elaboration.

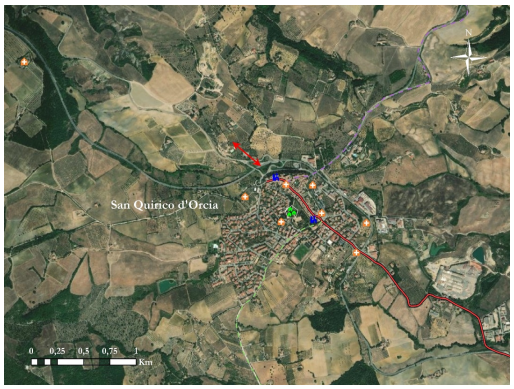


Fig.6.35. Detail of San Quirico d'Orcia.

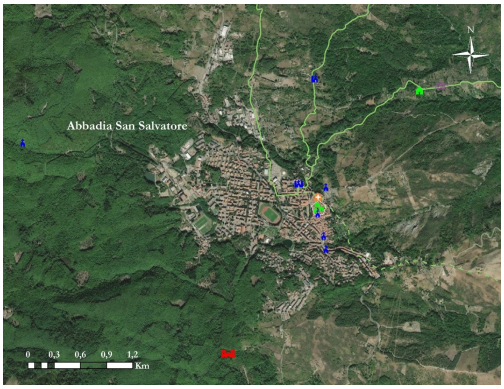


Fig.6.36. Detail of Abbadia S. S.

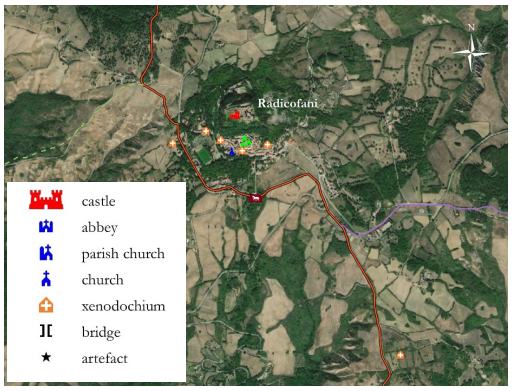


Fig.6.37. Detail of Radicofani.



Fig.6.38. Detail of Acquapendente.

Route name	*Early via Francigena*	*Via Francigena (12th c)*	*Teutonic links*	*Local links*	Tot.
Route length (km)	63,4	50,0	76,3	110,5	300,4

Table 6.39.

From the summarised table (6.39) of the lengths of the itineraries, one deduces not only the extension of the main routes – which we also note a certain similarity with the other case study (the "early via Francigena" length in Case Study 1 is 66.2 km and, in this one, it is 63.4 km) –, but also the extent of the ramifications around them: 110 km of local links alone. See also fig. 6.31 (Chapter VI.I.V) for the map of itineraries drawn from evidence provided in diaries.

VI.III.II. CATEGORISED MAPS

In this section four different maps show the distribution of the main heritage categories already identified: military, dwelling, religious, and hospitality. These four macro-categories allow us to visualise the different logic of their dispersion

over the territory with respect to the nature of their use, especially in the medieval period.

VI.III.II.A. MILITARY HERITAGE MAP

Approaching from the north, San Quirico d'Orcia is the first fortified village along the route. From there to Acquapendente one notices how on the main valley road never directly encounters military elements such as castles or fortresses (fig. 6.40). The castles and fortresses are clearly linked to the morphology of the territory and, according to a logic of domination and control, are located on the heights more or less close to the itinerary. There are more or less "exposed" areas and others more subject to military settlements, but there is certainly an interesting distribution. Nor should one forget the context of the clashes between the various families and the pressures exerted by Siena on the area. Indeed, precisely because of their importance with respect to transit, from the thirteenth century, many of them were controlled by Siena and thus reinforced. The Sienese fortified and defended their settlements and in addition controlled the passage on the road. In this sense, it will be even more interesting to see the Viewshed Analysis. Montalcino, Castelnuovo dell'Abate, and Castell'Ottieri are those areas apparently unrelated to the Francigena transit, and require further study.

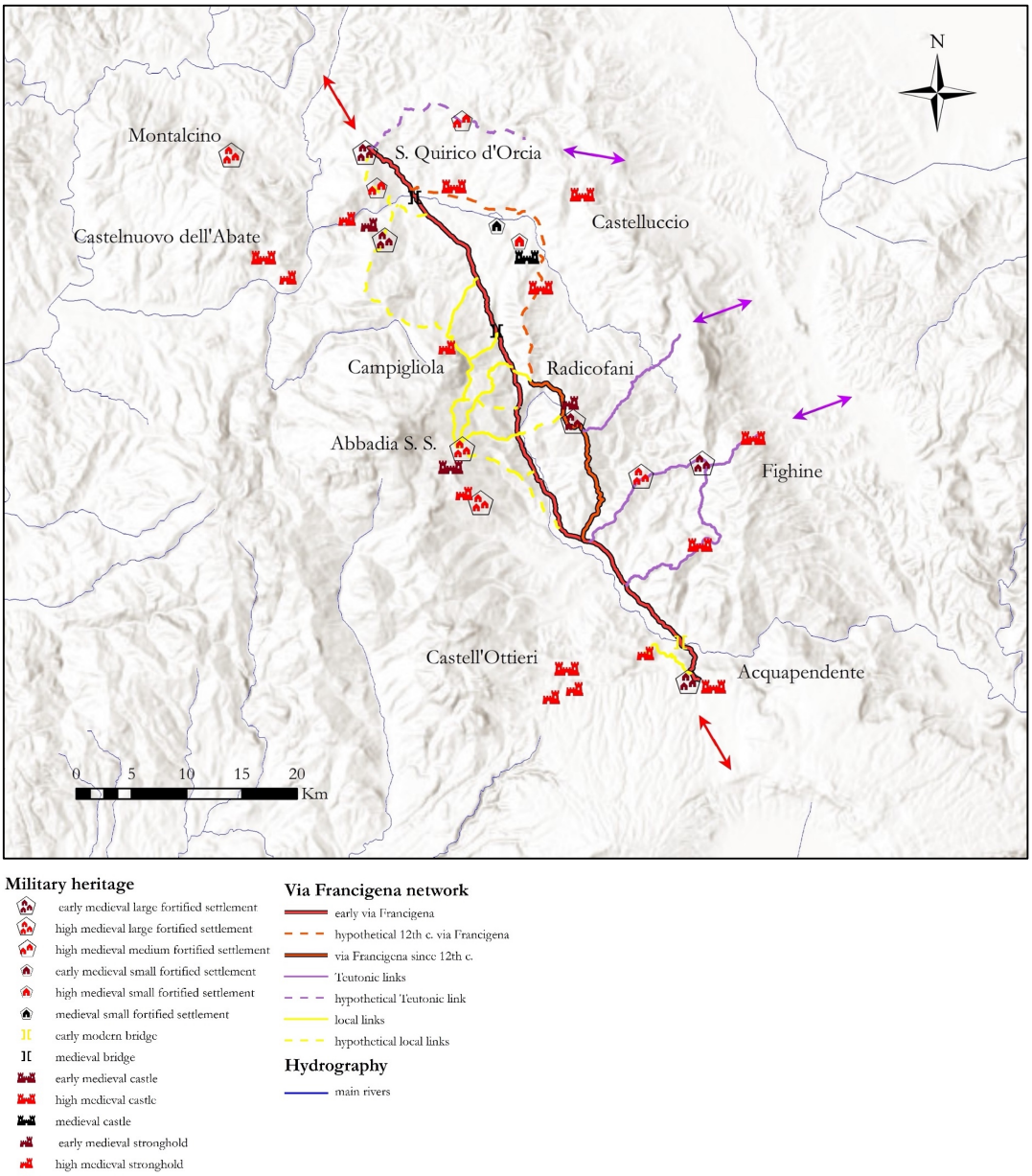


Fig.6.40. Military heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.II.B. SETTLEMENTS HERITAGE MAP

With the settlement map, the relationship of proximity to the road becomes greater. In fact, whether it is a connecting route or a major road, the settlements are mainly distributed along the route (fig. 6.41). If, in the previous case study, the settlements have a more concentrated distribution according to morphological availability, here a wider and more spread out distribution is noted; both in the valley and in the mountainous areas, which are in any case more accessible than the

Apennine passages. In this case, in fact, one hardly ever hears of passages that are obligatory for natural reasons. If anything, the upland area offers features that attract travellers and trades (for instance, the woodland coverage in Monte Amiata and the hot springs in Bagno Vignoni, Bagni San Filippo, and San Casciano dei Bagni).

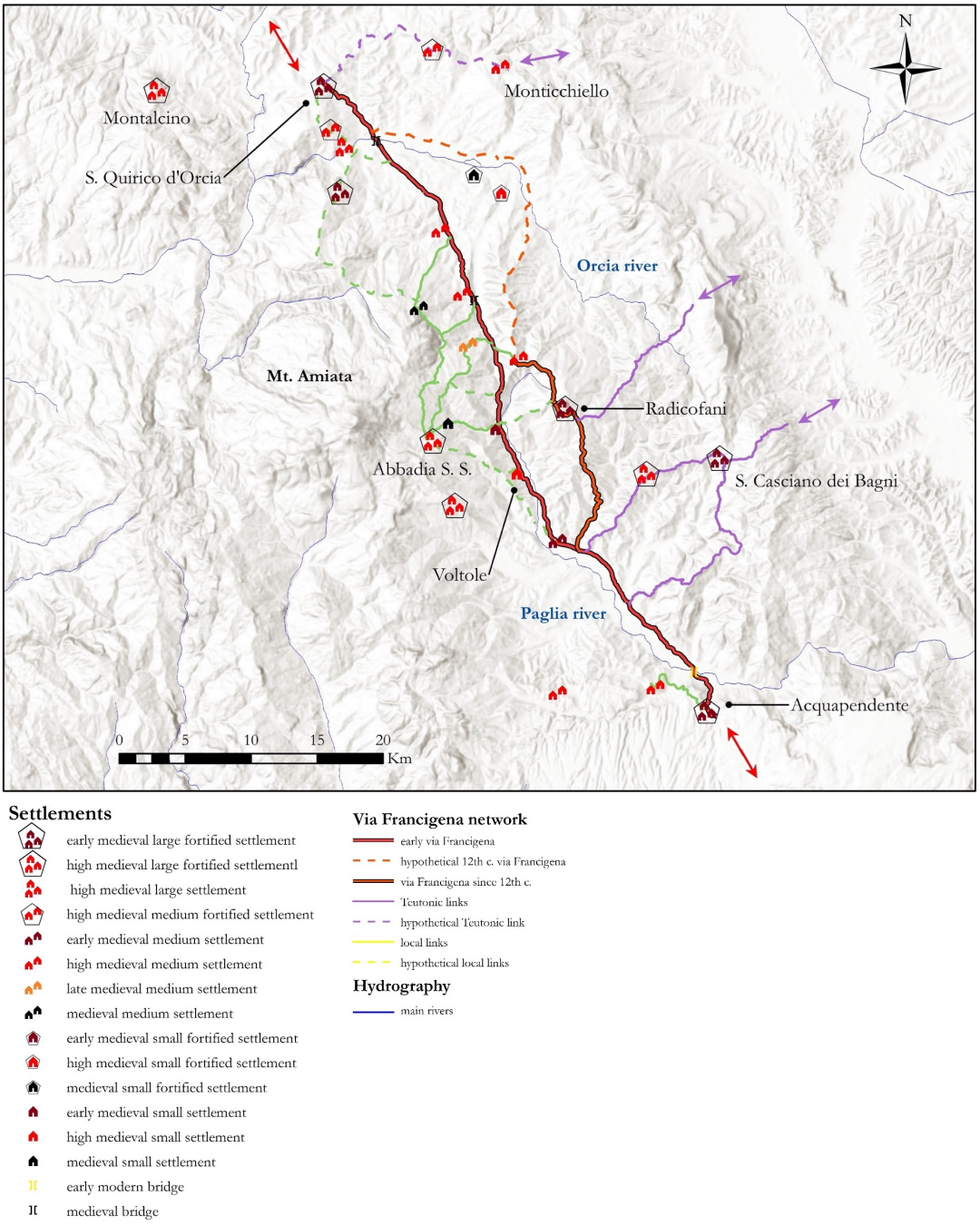
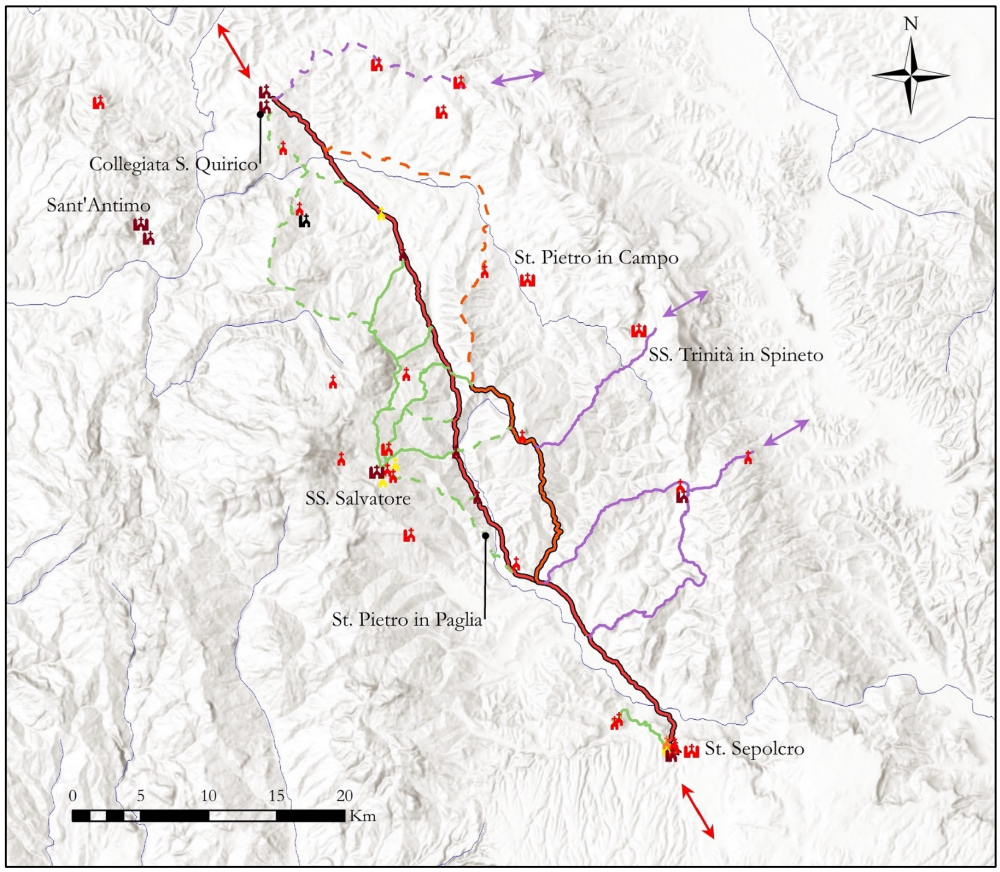


Fig. 6.41. Dwelling heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

With regards to the sacred landscape, one can observe how the already documented presence of abbeys and parish churches is relevant along the routes linked to the flow of pilgrimage (fig. 6.42). Alongside this, is the hospitality heritage for pilgrims and other types of travellers. The latter is more concentrated along the major centres crossed (fig. 6.43), namely San Quirico d'Orcia, Radicofani, and Acquapendente. In relation to the abbey of Sant'Antimo, whose role (cultural as well) is properly linked to the via Francigena, the map shows the need for further study of its road connection with Montalcino and San Quirico d'Orcia, if not at least with Castiglione d'Orcia and Vivo d'Orcia as already noted in the previous chapter. The post houses for replacing horses are evident on this map (fig. 6.43). They are located along the Royal Postal Road and, although of post medieval origin, essentially trace the route of the via Francigena.



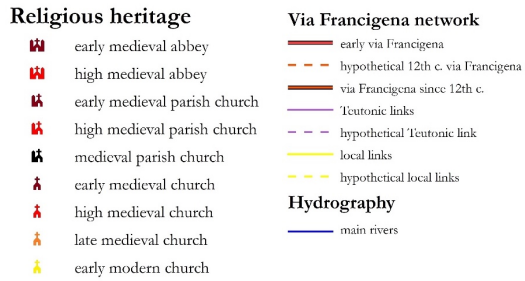


Fig. 6.42. Religious heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

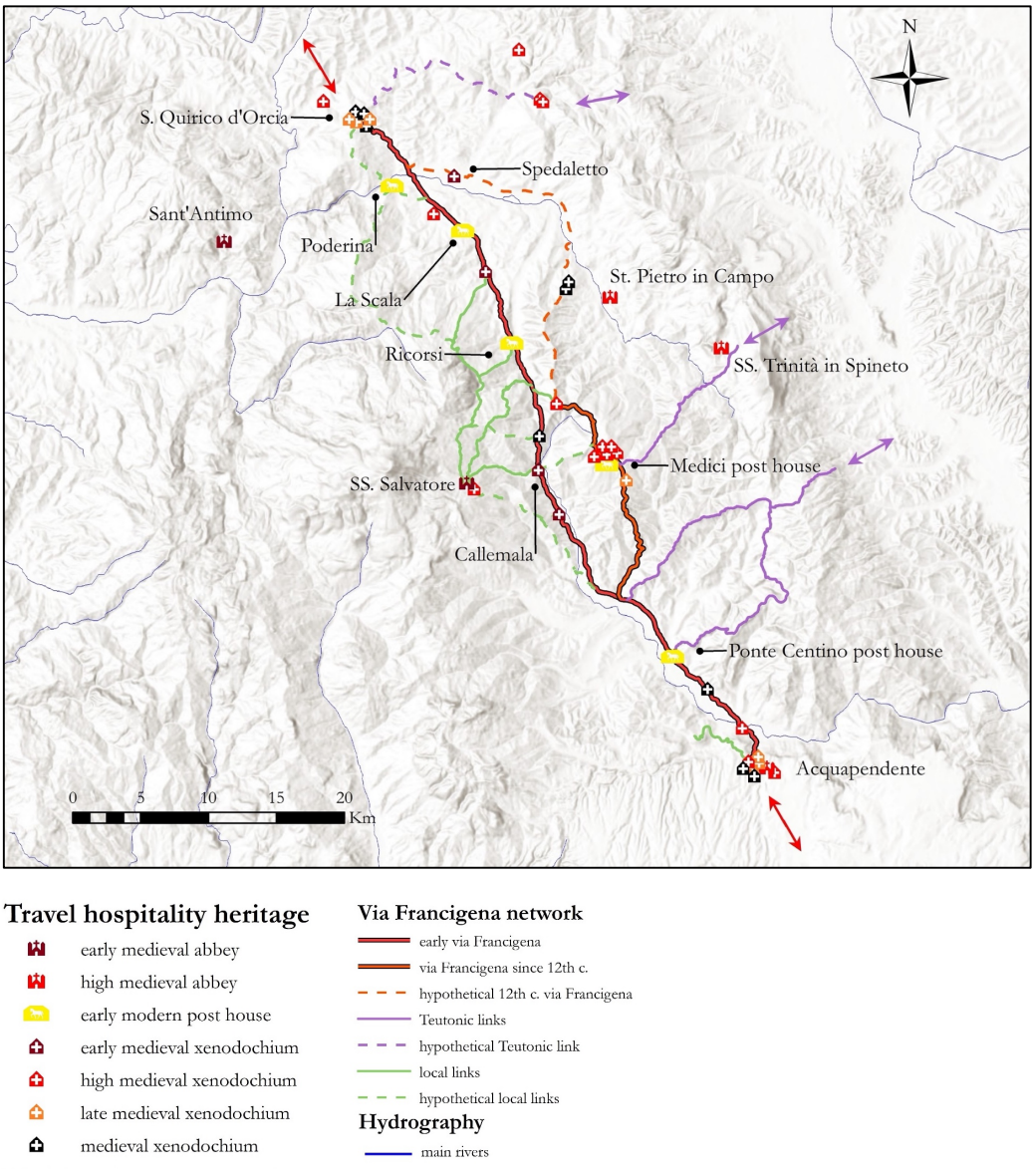


Fig. 6.43. Hospitality heritage representation.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III. Spatial analysis maps

The maps in this section result from spatial analysis (geoprocessing) carried out in order to highlight the spatiality and territoriality of the route, new patterns relating to the dispersion and concentration of heritage, and finally the relationship between medieval and modern-tourist routes. The techniques used to draw the maps are indicated in the methodology Chapter (III). The maps show: Buffering Analysis (of both heritage and routes, medieval and modern); Near Analysis (between roads and heritage); Kernel Analysis (heritage density); Viewshed Analysis (visibility from military heritage); Near Analysis (on the overlap and/or distance between medieval and modern routes).

VI.III.III.a. Heritage buffering ("roadscape")

The area, here, is 1929 sq. km (fig. 6.44); larger than in the previous case study (1585 sq. km). This is due to the possibility of expanding the dispersion over the territory as a result of the lesser impact of the natural boundaries; therefore, there is a natural expansion to the sides (east and west) of the main route. The original route of the via Francigena is consequently located at the exact centre of the polygon; while at the margins we find the "empty" spaces already mentioned that require further investigation, both archival and on the ground.

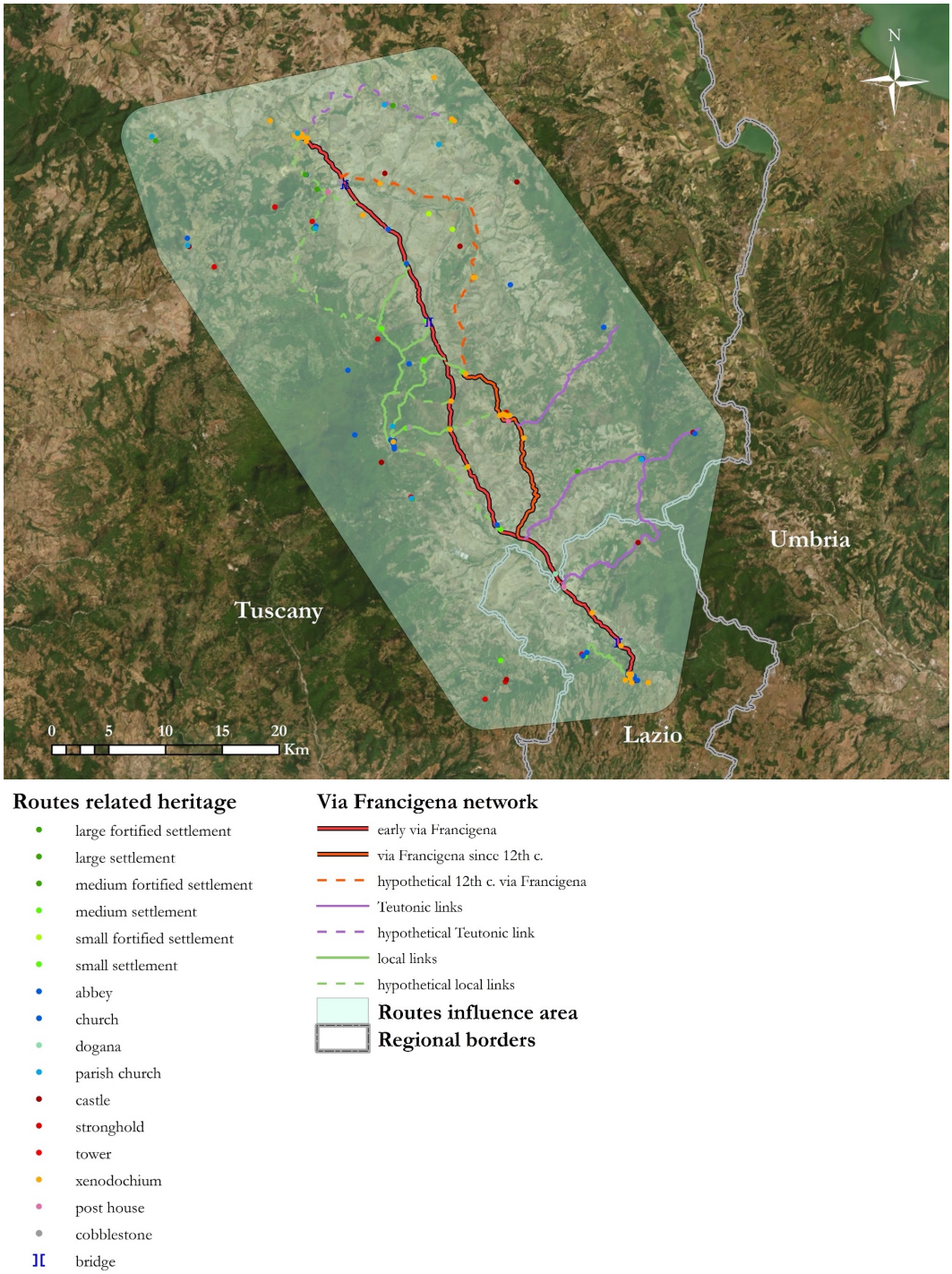
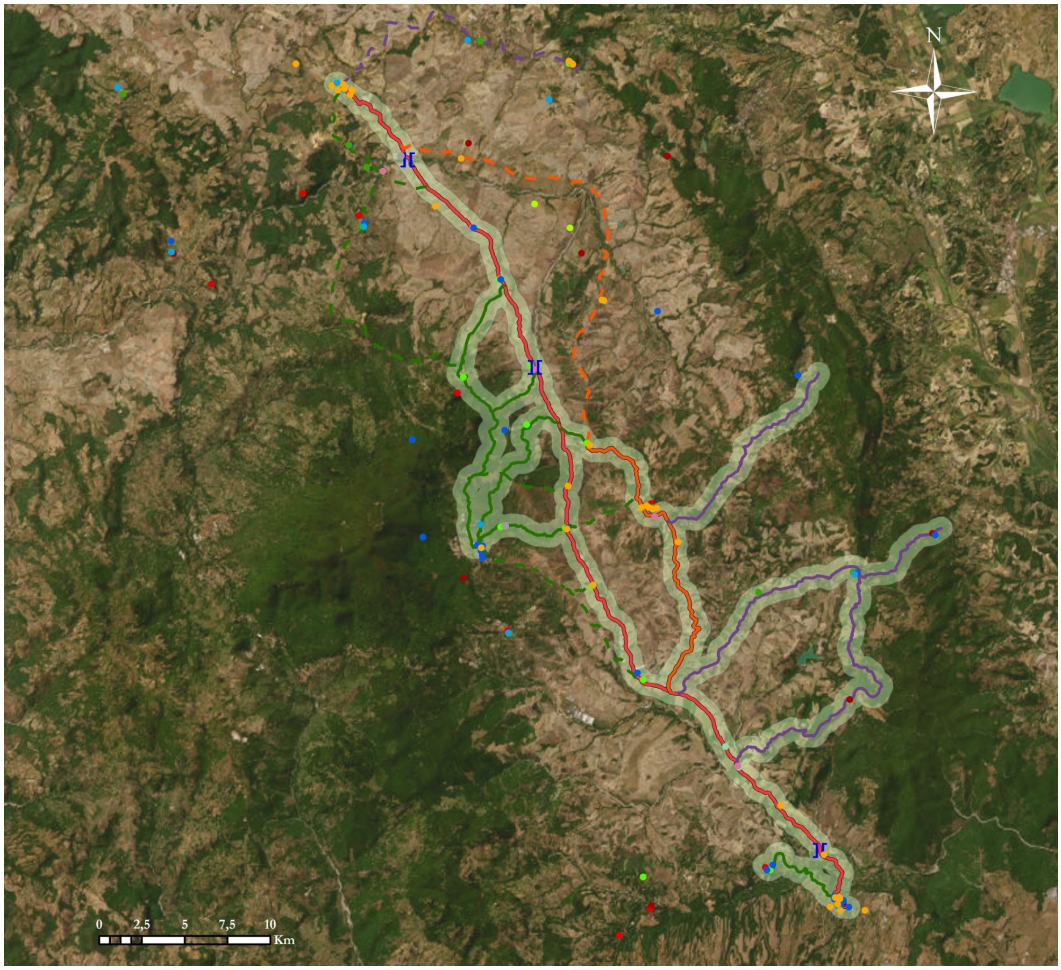


Fig.6.44. Heritage buffering map. The area: 1929,07 sq. km.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III.B. ROUTES BUFFERING

In this section the relationship between road and heritage is set on the concept of proximity to transit. It is a more exclusive rather than inclusive approach, but one

that allows us precisely to highlight what is relatively close to roads with a set distance of 500 metres either side and excluding hypothetical routes.
Again, proximity to the road is relevant: 88 out of 136 heritage units are included by the buffer (fig. 6.45). The ratio is therefore very similar to the previous one. On the other hand, with regard to the buffer relating only to the main route (in red and orange), there are 64 out of 136 units. This indicates that indeed most of the heritage is condensed around the main route.



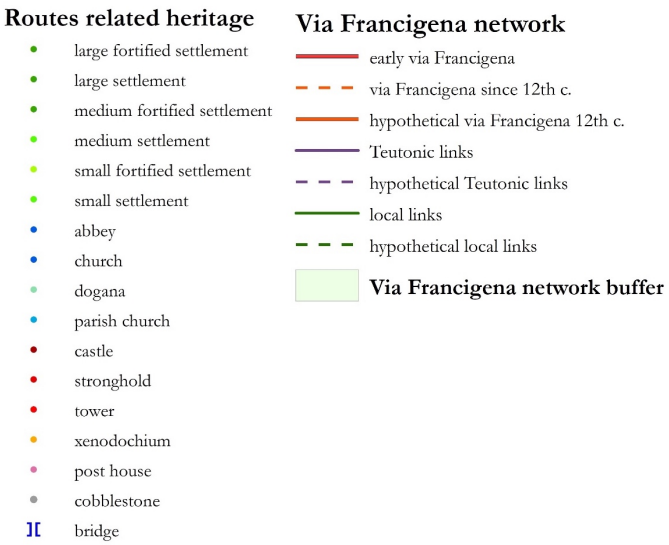


Fig.6.45. Medieval routes buffering map.
Author's elaboration.

Following the same procedure, what is the proximity ratio between the same heritage and modern tourist routes? Including walking routes, variants, and cycle routes, the units included are 79 out of 136 (fig. 6.46). It can therefore be said that there is a rather positive inclusion that denotes good continuity between medieval and modern itineraries, but also a sufficiently structured network; although important road routes, such as the one along the valley floor along the Paglia between *Ricorsi* and *Voltole*, have not been considered.

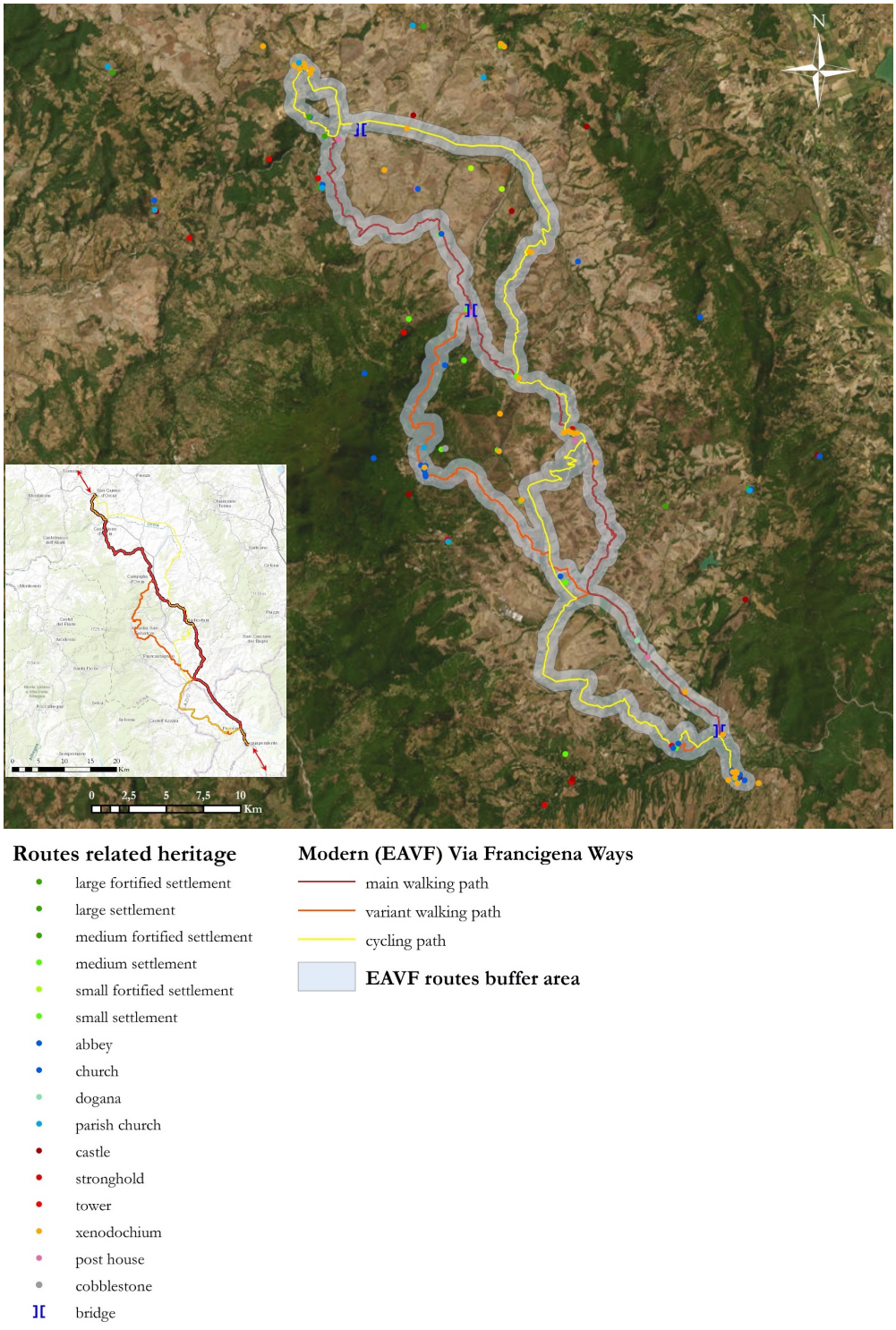


Fig.6.46. EAVF routes buffering map.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III.C. Near Analysis

Here, as expected, in the histogram (fig. 6.47) the first proximity band (3 m-1.449 m) is the most inclusive with respect to heritage, but in comparison to the previous

case study, bands «b», «c» and «d» differ in particular, as they increase rather than decrease. With the exception of bands «e», «f», and «g», which are only stable, there is more variation in the other cases.

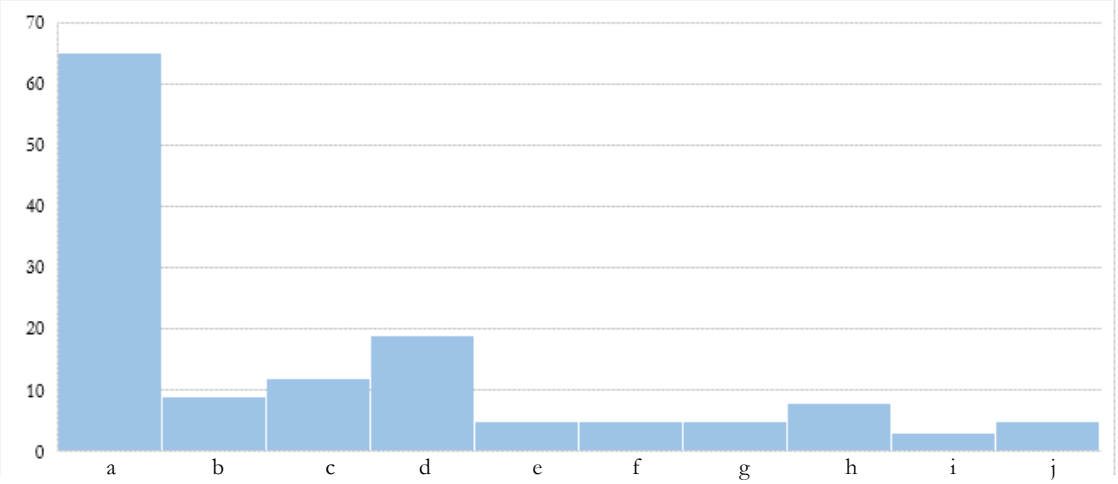


Fig.6.47. Near Analysis (10 bins) histogram.
Columns distances (in meters): a) 3,1-1449,2; b) 1449,3-2895,3; c) 2895,4-4341,3; d) 4341,4-5787,4; e) 5787,5-7233,5; f) 7233,6-8679,6; g) 8679,7-10125,7; h) 10125,8-11571,7; i) 11571,8-13017,8; j) 13017,9-14463,9.

The range of distances, reduced to 5 classes, allows us to produce a cartographic result that is as interesting as it is explanatory: the red dots, those closest to the major routes, faithfully reflect the shape of the routes (being between 4.5 m and 698 m apart). Here, a maximum distance of over 10 km is reached. It is already noticeable that most of the clusters are only present between the red dots, in other words, on the major routes. But this will be even more evident in the following analysis (fig. 6.48).

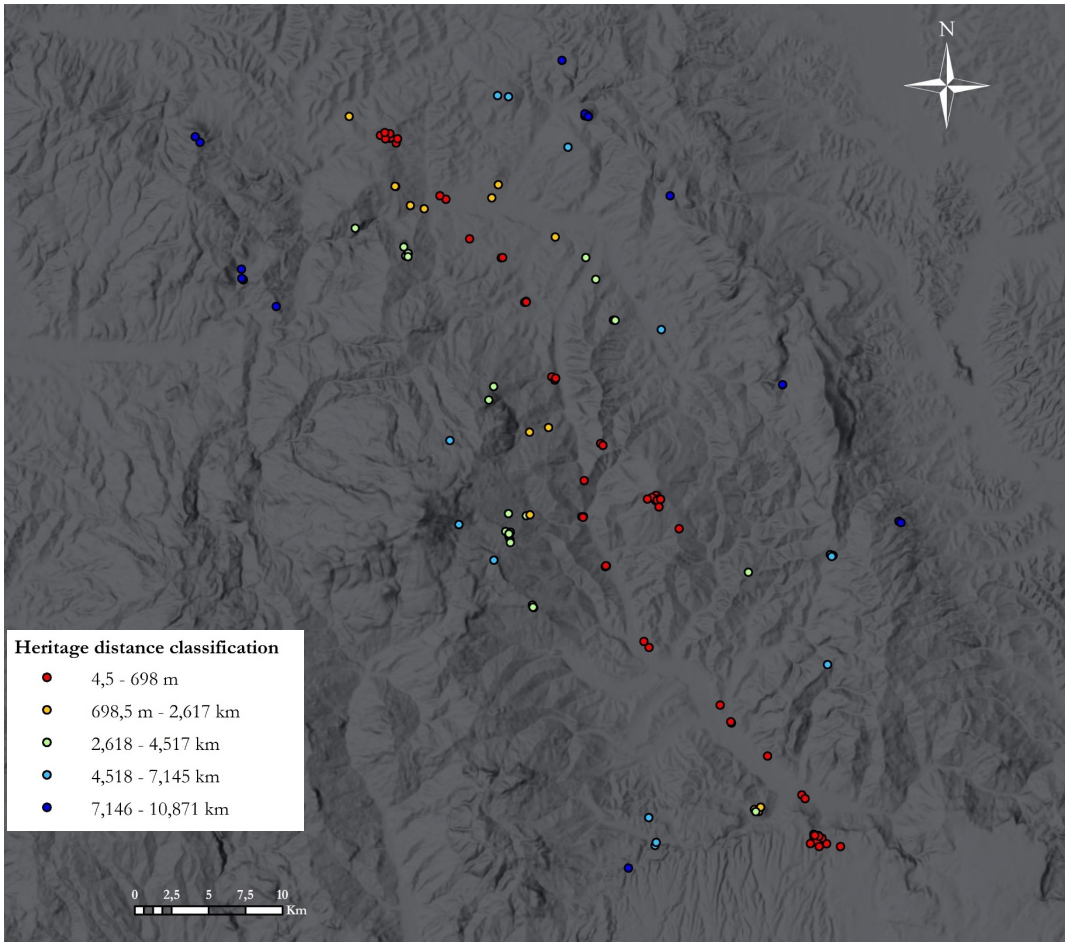


Fig.6.48. Main via Francigena(s) near to the heritage.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III.D. KERNEL ANALYSIS (HERITAGE DENSITY)

This analysis shows that there are three main hotspots to be identified with the centres that with greater intensity and regularity were affected by the via Francigena: San Quirico d'Orcia, Radicofani, and Acquapendente (fig. 6.49). In fact, they are also crossed by the main tourist route (fig. 6.50). Abbadia San Salvatore on Monte Amiata is also a strategic location for the route, and it is the fourth node by concentration well connected by a series of links of a local nature (fig. 6.51).

There is no shortage of small agglomerations on the map, a dispersion that is not exactly regular but certainly more uniform than the other case study where the pattern of mountains determines the settlement distribution.

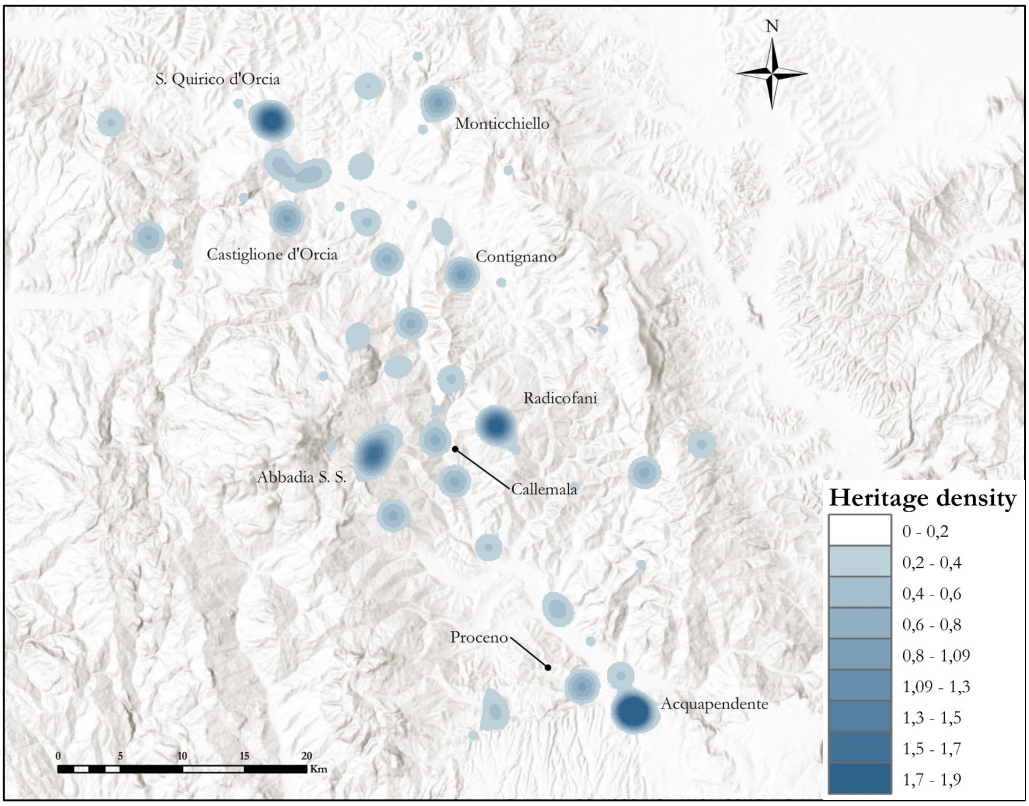


Fig. 6.49. Heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

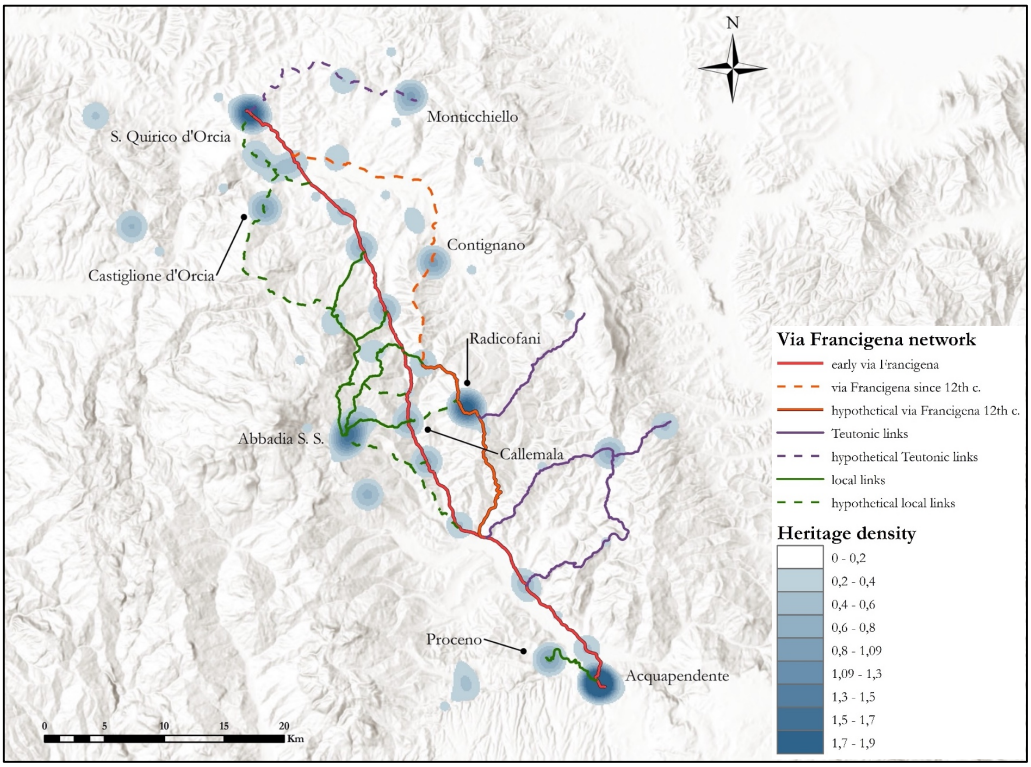


Fig. 6.50. Medieval route network and heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

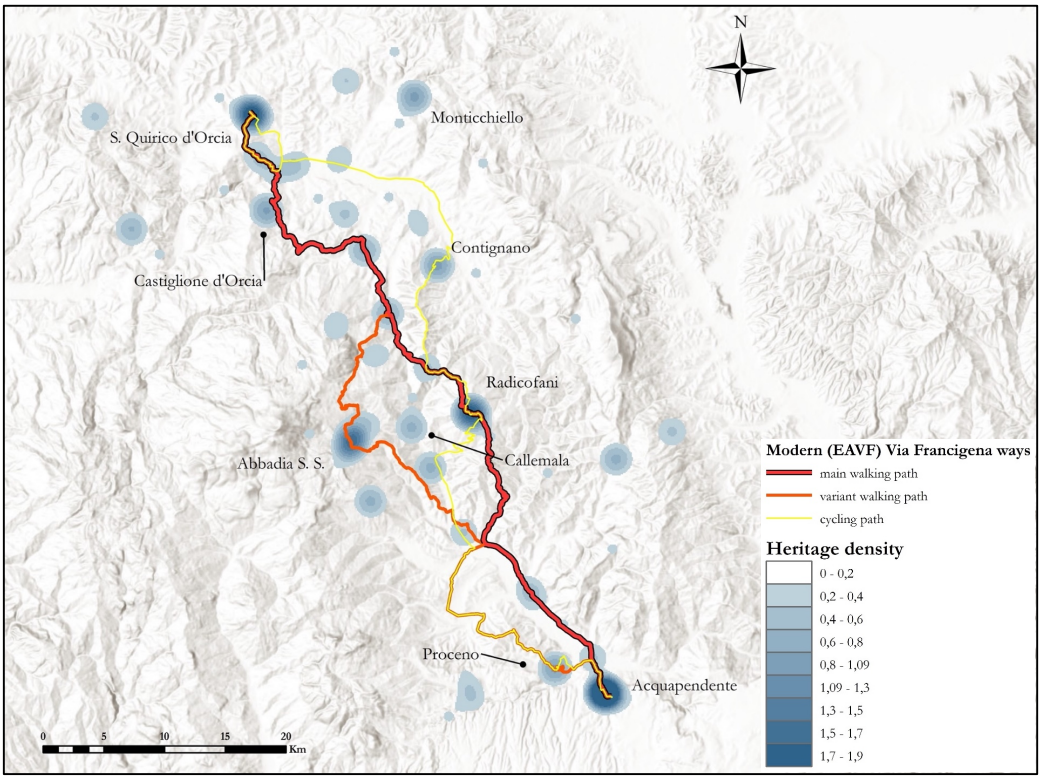


Fig.6.51. EAVF routes and heritage density.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III.E. VIEWSHED ANALYSIS

We have already seen that the distribution of the military heritage when correlated with height data indicates that the main road routes were almost completely under the eye of castles and fortifications. The only segment to remain uncovered is the connection to the via Teutonic that branches off from Radicofani. There are then essentially two uncovered patches that, in this study, are not, affected by significant routes or settlements connected to the via Francigena (fig. 6.52).

Furthermore, there is less ground coverage than in Case Study 1 and some areas are covered by single observation points. This is undoubtedly a geographical area with fewer natural defences. The zone to the north is better defended and equipped with observation points, which in the Middle Ages was fiercely contested between the Aldobrandeschi and Salimbeni families. But the area also functioned as a hinge between the spheres of influence of Siena and Orvieto, and thus associated with the warring events between Siena and Florence in 1229-1235 (Angelini, 2022).

Compared to Radicofani, the more recently documented itinerary was certainly longer and more tiring, but it allowed a stop in a safer and more defensible place. However, in spite of this, *Callemala* was still remembered at the beginning of the fourteenth century as a sort of marketplace and therefore the Paglia valley was never completely lost sight of.

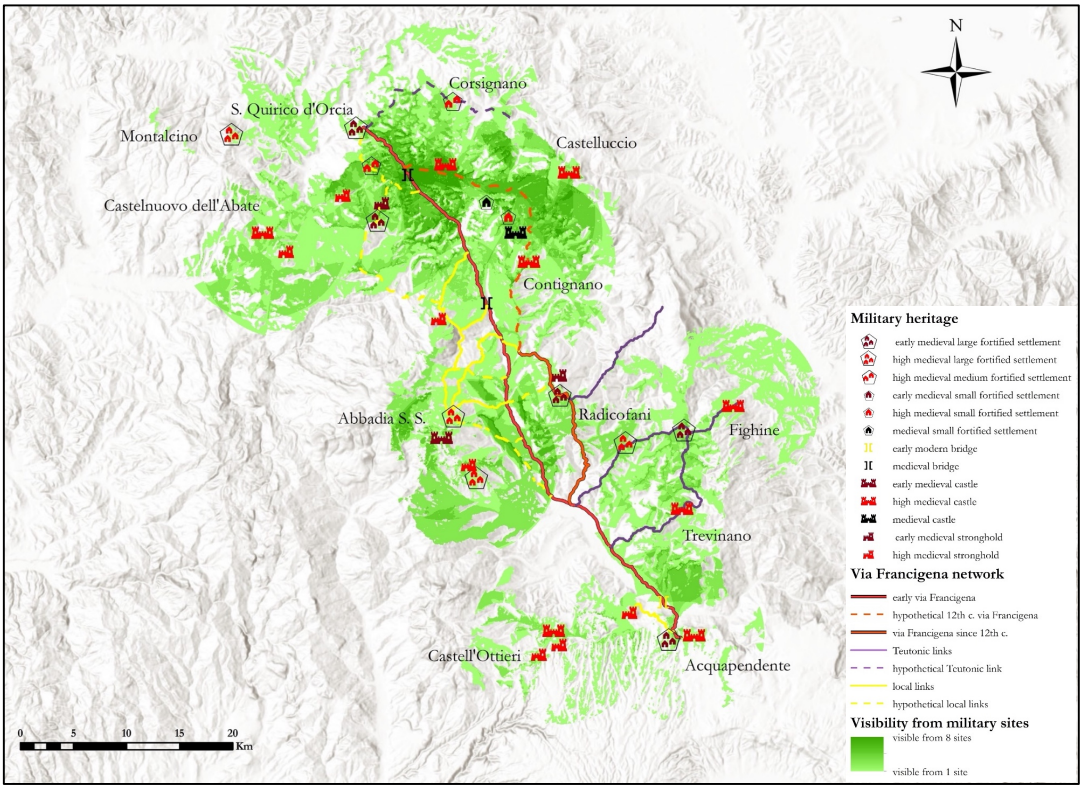


Fig.6.52. Military heritage visibility.
Author's elaboration.

VI.III.III.F. Near Analysis (medieval routes and current itineraries)

This paragraph aims to set up a "dialogue" between the medieval and the modern context, which will be continued and deepened in Chapter VII. In the first map (fig. 6.53), we compare the medieval network (without hypothetical routes) with the modern route excluding cycle ways; after that, the same historical routes with all the modern routes (table 6.54). One can immediately see the similarities and divergences between the two very different contexts: in particular, the first segment south of San Quirico d'Orcia and the area in the Val di Paglia between Abbadia

San Salvatore and Radicofani, which has at its centre the archaeological site of *Callemala* and *Voltole*.

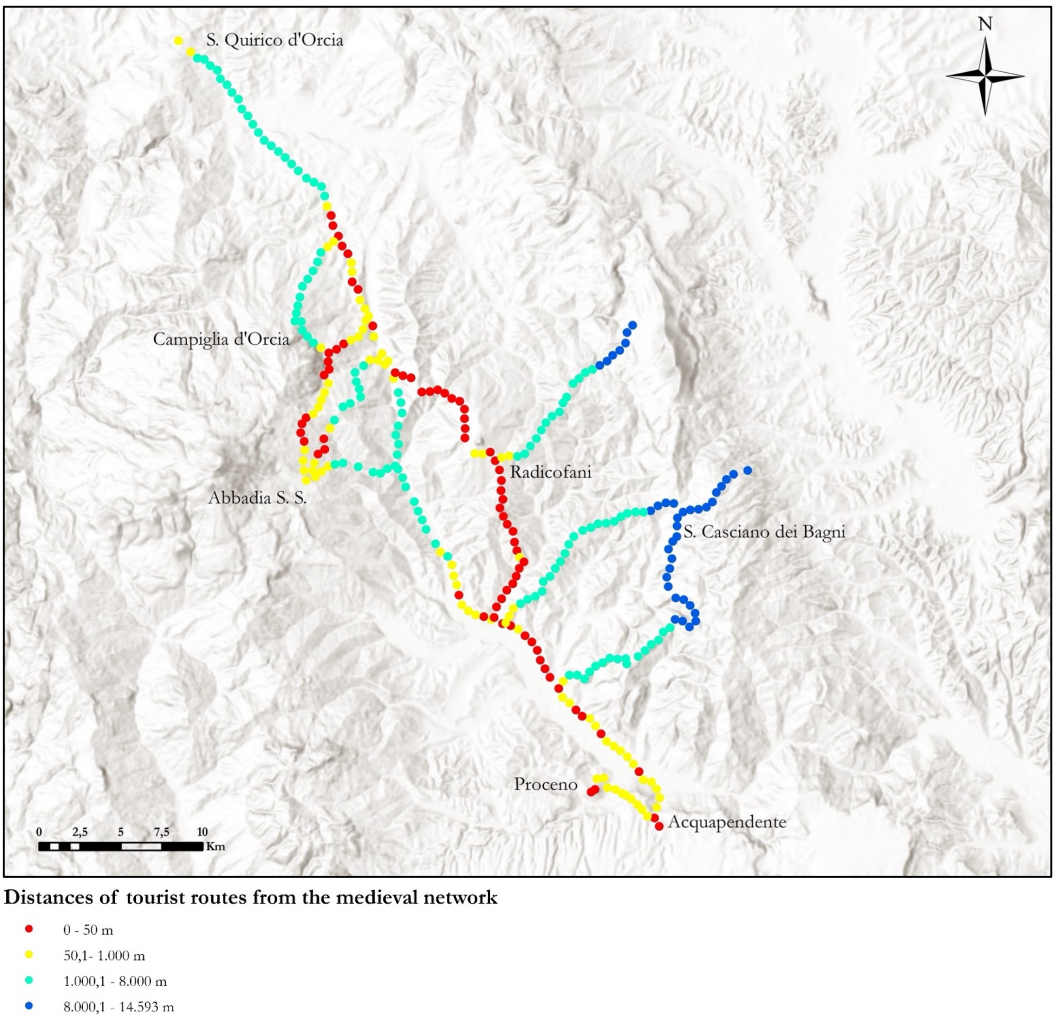


Fig.6.53. Medieval network and EAVF routes without the cycle ways.
Author's elaboration.

N.	Distance categories	Number of points
1	0-50 m	80
2	50,1-1000 m	88
3	1000,1-8000 m	100
4	8000,1 + m	38

Table 6.54.

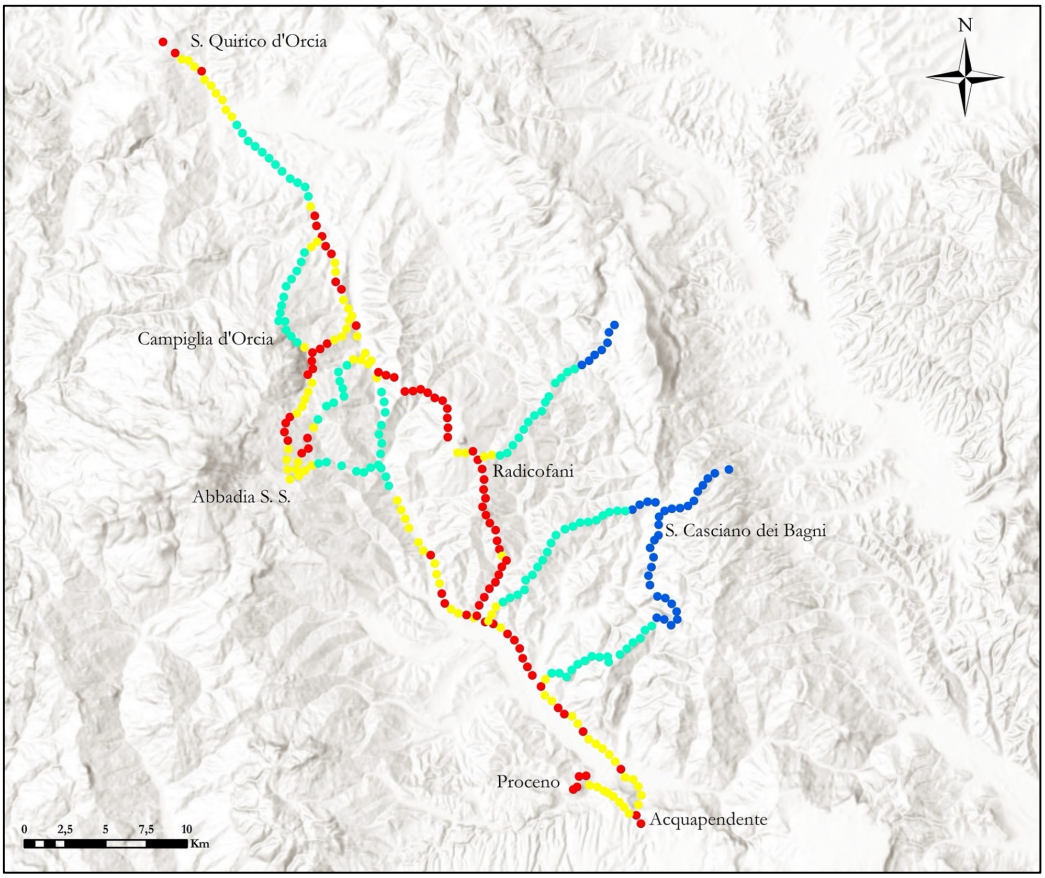


Fig.6.55. Medieval network and all EAVF routes.
Author's elaboration.

N.	Distance categories	Number of points
1	0-50 m	73
2	50,1-1000 m	79
3	1000,1-8000 m	116
4	8000,1 + m	38

Table 6.56.

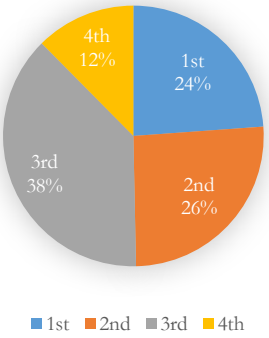


Fig.6.57. Medieval network and EAVF routes.

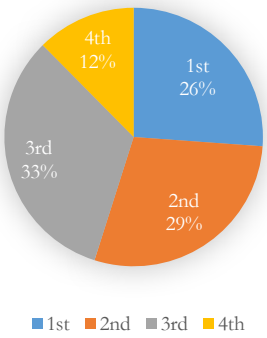


Fig.6.58. Medieval network and all EAVF routes without the cycle ways.

VII. MODERN MOBILITIES ON THE VIA FRANCIGENA: USE OF THE ITINERARY AND ANTHROPOLOGY OF PILGRIMAGE[52]

The modern phenomenon of pilgrimage along the via Francigena has developed substantially since the early 2000s. This is associated with the growth of slow tourism and has had a significant socio-economic and cultural impact in the territories crossed, especially in rural areas. More broadly, there has been a growing interest in Cultural Routes in Europe and in Italy. There has been a proliferation of new cultural trails, not all of which have been recognised by the Council of Europe, and these are found throughout the country (Beltramo, 2010, p. 355). The outlining of a common (European) cultural identity is certainly a challenge that interests the European institutions, which find in cultural itineraries the ideal tool to advocate their goal regardless of barriers and borders. With respect to the via Francigena, the historian Le Goff had already argued that the via Francigena represents the clear manifestation of the cohesion and diversity of Europe (Le Goff, 1996).

In this sense, nowadays pilgrimage becomes a common thread between cultures of various countries. Religious journeys have become widespread in recent decades, occupying an important segment of international tourism (De Salvo, 2015). Studies of pilgrimage also address the tourist dynamics of the phenomenon which are difficult to define because of a paradigmatic dichotomy between tourism and pilgrimage, conceptually opposites but with various similarities (Badone, Roseman, 2004). Pilgrimage is also a major industry promoted by commercial organisations, not only by religious authorities; hence, it is difficult to clearly separate pilgrimage and tourism. Tourism and cultural heritage have become a central marketing theme in many contemporary pilgrimage contexts (Reader, 2015). The forerunner role of the first innovative theories was covered by Turner (1973) then taken up also by Urry (1990), to compare the two different experiences, and by Cohen to better analyse the components of pilgrims and tourists (Cohen, 1992).

Chiefly, this study looks at the practice of pilgrimage as a path "extraneous" to the usual tourist characteristics. It rather becomes a moment of estrangement

[52] Some of the results of this research have been preliminarily published by the author in: Porcelloni, L. (2021). Pilgrimage and hospitality along the via Francigena: revitalisation of rural areas and therapeutic mobilities. *Turismo e Psicologia*,14(1), 69-82.

from modernity, appropriating slow rhythms, in symbiosis with the landscape crossed and in relation to the local actors encountered. In particular, the pilgrimage leads to an inner pursuit of well-being that is also reflected in the local people involved in the itinerary. Virtuous processes of revitalisation are initiated in the centres of the rural communities involved and, in so doing, we tend to go beyond the tourist logics of the journey: if on the one hand the phenomenon of pilgrimage includes part of the tourist experience, at the same time it constitutes itself a paradigm both from the point of view of fruition and hospitality.

Studies on the phenomenon of modern pilgrimage have undoubtedly increased also by virtue of the presences that multiply along the paths every year. Part of this literature deals with the relation with therapeutic, or healing, dimension to a pilgrimage journey (Warfield, Baker, Foxx, 2014). Besides the pilgrimage context, slow mobility, that is the act of walking, and its relation with well-being and health is explored and theorised as «therapeutic mobilities» (Gatrell, 2013). But among the pilgrimage paths, in their relationship with physical and mental well-being, it is the Camino de Santiago that arouses more investigations still underway with the aim of measuring the physical and mental well-being of pilgrims («Proyecto Ultreya»)[53] and as opportunity to be prescribed as an outdoor therapy («green prescription») alongside/instead of medicines (Jørgensen, 2017). More specifically, within pedestrianism, mobility is conceived through the act of walking as the quintessential feature of what we take to be a human form of life. In this way walking is a profoundly social activity with health functions (Ingold, Vergunst, 2008). As a matter of fact, the nature trail represents a privilege device of educational and leisure activity walking through rural areas (Matless, Watkins, Merchant, 2010). The experience of the pilgrimage and the most disparate needs also determined the birth of the «cyberpilgrimage» as a practice to undertake pilgrimage on the internet (Hill-Smith, 2011).

As one of the forms of population mobility, pilgrimage creates trades, cultural exchange and political integration. It inevitably necessitates spatial movement; hence, it stimulates geographers' concern with distance and its effect on behaviour (Collins-Kreiner, 2009). It is of particular interest to analyse the phenomenon not only from the point of view of those who travel along the

[53] It is an ongoing study conducted by the Universidad de Saragoza. https://www.caminodelcambio.com/camino-de-santiago/

itinerary, but also looking at the socio-cultural repercussions on local actors resulting from the encounter with pilgrims, and more generally with travellers, linked to the via Francigena.

I considered the attitudes not only of the users of the pilgrimage route but also the insiders of the places crossed as equally interesting and essential parts of the very nature of a pilgrimage. The literature on pilgrimage has focused mostly on pilgrims' experiences and less on the hosting ones. There is a lack of discussion on hosts' religious experiences and their relationships with pilgrims (Gonzalez et al., 2019). However, a pilgrimage usually implies spending more than one day on the route to the destination, entailing interaction with hospitality services. It can be said that without welcome and hospitality, the pilgrimage loses part of its identity essence. From the hosts and locals' point of view (insiders) involved in the pilgrimage dynamics, the questions to be explored concern: the nature of the impact that the pilgrimage transit has on them and on the related rural communities they pass through; the type of role they play and the extent of their influence on the pilgrims; whether, especially the hosts, they have a similar component to the pilgrims' that leads them to live and interact with and on the itinerary.

VII.I. A FIRST APPROACH TO THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ITINERARY: THE QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

In this section, as a preparatory step to the qualitative survey, the results of the quantitative investigation of insiders[54] and outsiders[55] are illustrated. This enables us to identify a profile of the people encountered during the fieldwork and of those providing hospitality, transit-related services, and the various types of travellers. An important preliminary step is the processing of attendance data on the Via Francigena. However, as has been mentioned in the methodological chapter, this is a rather problematic operation, and figures are based on credentials distributed and collected by the EAVF (14,000 in 2017; 16,200 in 2018; 19,000 in 2019; 9,000 in

[54] The "neat" total of insiders responding to the questionnaire – between hard copies on site and via Google forms during the Lockdown (2019-2020) – is 109. Of these, 55 belong to Case Study 1 and 54 to Case Study 2.
[55] The "neat" total of outsiders responding to the questionnaire (2019-2020) is 113. Of these, 41 belong to Case Study 1 and 72 to Case Study 2.

2020; 11,500 in 2021[56]; 17,550 in 2022[57]) or on *Testimonium* issued at the Vatican City. These sources do not count people who stay in less conventional accommodation facilities regarding pilgrimage such as B&B and hotels. Therefore, it was deemed useful to present a specific case study (fig. 7.1) which, although it cannot speak for the European dimension of the Via Francigena, is a peculiar cross-section also quite representative of the trend. Valpromaro is a hamlet that acts as an intermediate stop between Camaiore and Lucca and is therefore subject to fewer overnight stops and various local dynamics. However, it is significant because it represents the only reception point in the village and therefore becomes a sort of transit observatory.

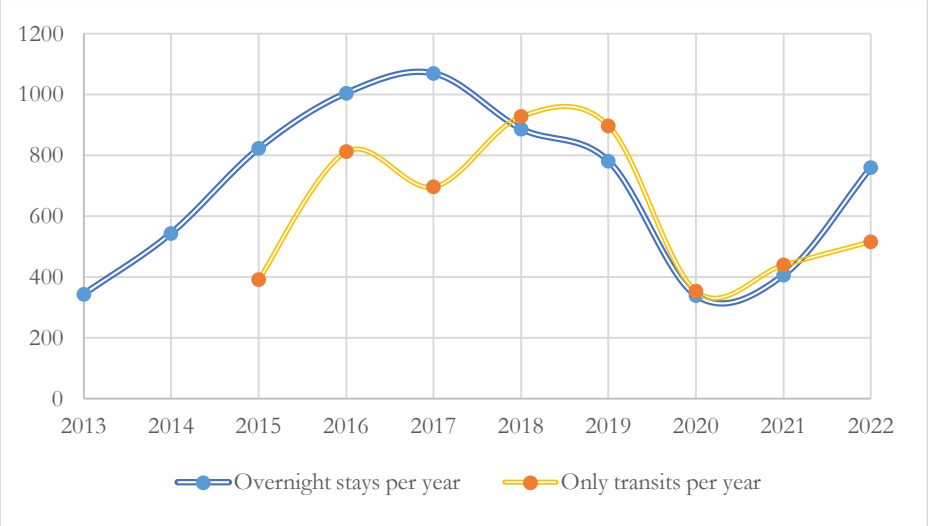


Fig.7.1. Graph on data recorded from 2013 to 2022 at the Casa del Pellegrino Giuseppe Mancino hostel in Valpromaro.

The hostel manager[58] has carefully collected data on overnight stays since 2013 and since 2015 on simple passers-by (those who enter the hostel but do not stay overnight). In addition, the Valpromaro hostel – opened in the early 2000s by the local parish priest – is the first in Italy, in 2013, to have established a partnership with the Spanish association for pilgrim hospitality «Hospitaleros Voluntarios»[59], paving the way for the Italian branch.[60] These data, essentially, show a strong growth trend, reaching a peak of 1069 overnight stays in 2017. In

[56] Terre di Mezzo Editore, 2022: https://www.terre.it/cammini-percorsi/i-dati-dei-cammini/italia-paese-di-cammini-ecco-tutti-i-numeri-del-2021/
[57] EAVF, 2023: https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/the-via-francigena-2022-in-numbers/
[58] Special thanks to Mirco Lazzari for his kind willingness to share his carefully collected data.
[59] https://www.caminosantiago.org/cpperegrino/hospitaleros/hospitaleros.asp
[60] https://www.accoglienzapellegrina.org/

2018 a new stopover point was opened at Camaiore making the arrival in Lucca easier. As a result of this, the data for 2018 show a significant drop in presences. This shows that, in addition to global dynamics (see the years 2020 and 2021 on Lockdown restrictions) [61], the Via Francigena is also very much subject to local ones, which is why some of the interviewed hosts still do not see the creation of variants positively while the main route has not become fully established.

VII.I.I. INSIDERS

Here we analyse the sense of involvement that the respondents had with respect to their local history, the transit of pilgrims, and the more technical issues on the practicability and safety of the part of the itinerary that passes through these areas. Lastly, landscape elements are illustrated in relation to the participants.
There is a clear gender parity among the participants in both study areas. In fact, the female gender is represented by 49,5% and the male one by 50,5%. With respect to age, as can be seen from the graph (fig. 7.2), there is a clear majority in the 46-55 age range, but also a good percentage of young people between 26 and 35, while it is very low below 26.

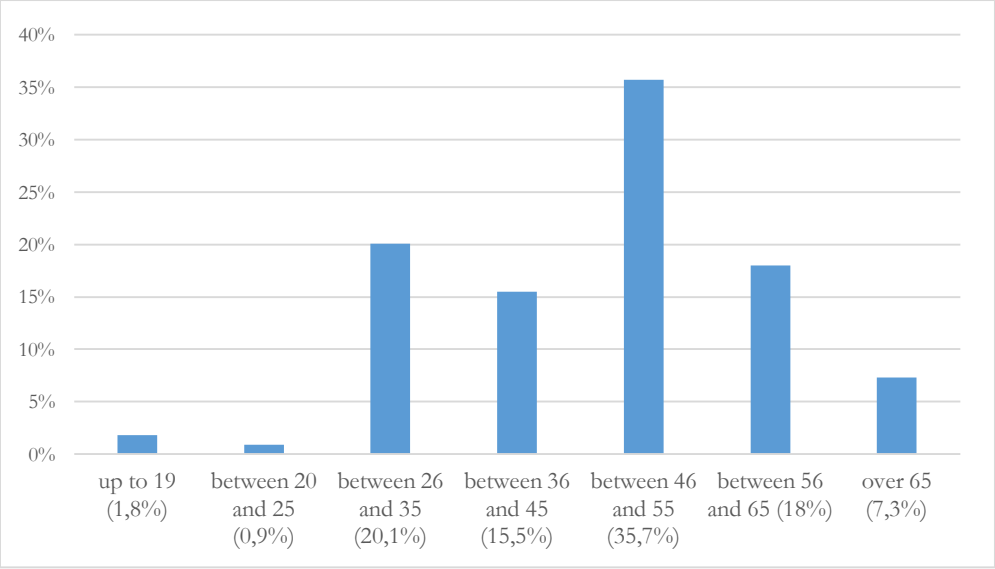


Fig.7.2. The age ranges of the respondents (both study areas combined).

[61] In 2020, they operated from January to March and then from July to October; then, again, from April 2021.

Considering the aggregate quantitative data between the two case studies, 57% of the respondents had a commercial activity involved in the transit of the Via Francigena (55% in Case Study 1 and 41% in Case Study 2). Chiefly, these are B&Bs, agritourisms, bars, restaurants, shops, and public administration services. With respect to the feeling of acknowledgement and belonging of the via Francigena to their own local history, when asked whether the Francigena was part of its local history (fig. 7.3), almost everyone agreed (38,8% agree and 54,6% strongly agree). The via Francigena has now become part of the historical and cultural identity, of both areas while until the 2000s it was barely known (especially from a tourist point of view).

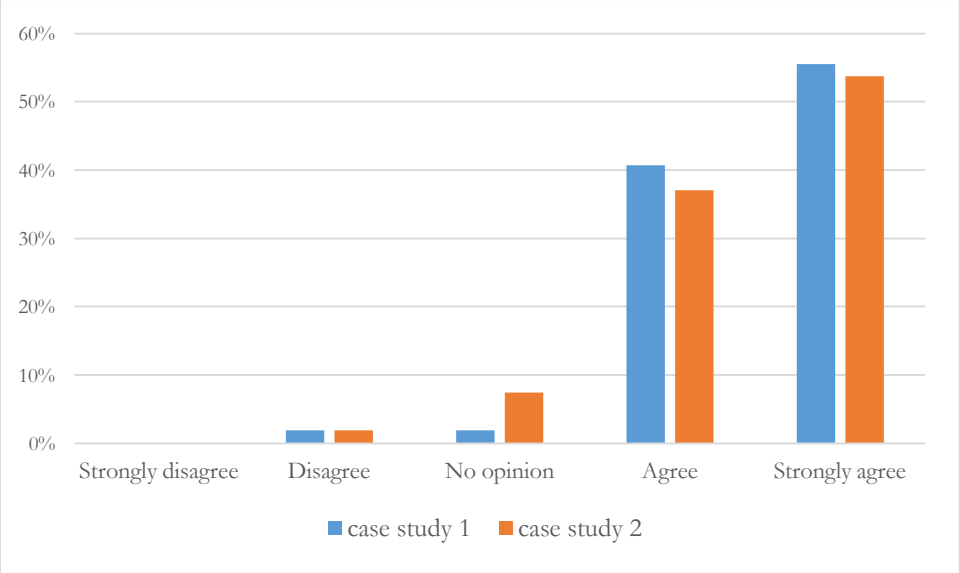


Fig.7.3. «The via Francigena is part of your local history».



Fig.7.4. The logo of a bar-pizzeria in Pontremoli (Pecci's) has the labyrinth found in the local church of St. Pietro and the pilgrim already as the logo of the EAVF. This, like many other cases, demonstrates a feeling of attachment to one's local history (also expressed during interviews) now integrated with the via Francigena and a nascent local territorial marketing (for example, the new Birrerria Francigena pub in Berceto).
Author's photo, February 2023.

When asked if they lived their experience with pilgrims intensely (fig. 7.5), the extent of disagreement is low (only 3,7% disagree). The majority expressed a positive opinion with 50% in agreement and 15,7% strongly in agreement. The degree of satisfaction with the experience of their business is largely positive (88%), compared to 12% who responded with a negative opinion. Similarly, one's degree of satisfaction with the experience of their activity («how do you feel about the guesting experience/your activity with pilgrims?») is largely positive: 33,6% were satisfied and 20% were very satisfied. On the other hand, the neutral opinion is rather high.

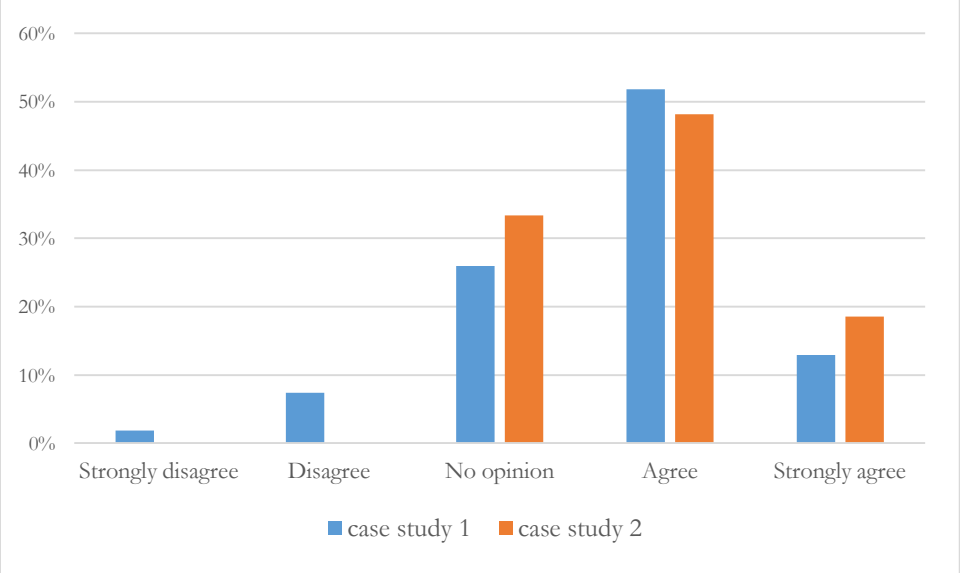


Fig.7.5. «You experience intensely the involvement with pilgrims».

Regarding the positive perception of the locals with respect to the Via Francigena and thus to pilgrimage, among the comments left in the box at the end of the questionnaire, we can read:

«The Via Francigena has contributed significantly to the development and growth of the culture and open-mindedness of the inhabitants themselves.»*[62]

«I am pleased to see people of all kinds passing through from even very distant places.»*

[62] All of the following comments marked with a star (*) are translated into English by the author.



Fig.7.6. A sign of complicity from the locals of Previdé left next to a fountain for pilgrims in transit: a diary, a painted stone, a succulent plant placed inside an old hiking shoe. Author's photo, September 2022.

The pilgrim-host relationship is therefore usually very positive and affective. This is true even though pilgrims tend to spend less than half a day at the place where they stay and in many cases a sense of community is created with the hosts and some of the local inhabitants. Often, the hosts do their utmost voluntarily to support the difficulties that pilgrims encounter along the way (for example when they get lost and need to be recovered by car), they give information on local peculiarities, listen and collect stories. The hosts are deeply touched by the personal experiences of the pilgrims; they come into harmony with their lifestyle.

The last section concerns respondents' experience with regard to the quality of path provision within their own area (figs. 7.7, 7.8, 7.9). This is both in terms of safety towards the traveller, and thus the maintenance and management of signposting, and in terms of judgements about the quality of municipal administrators (fig. 7.10).

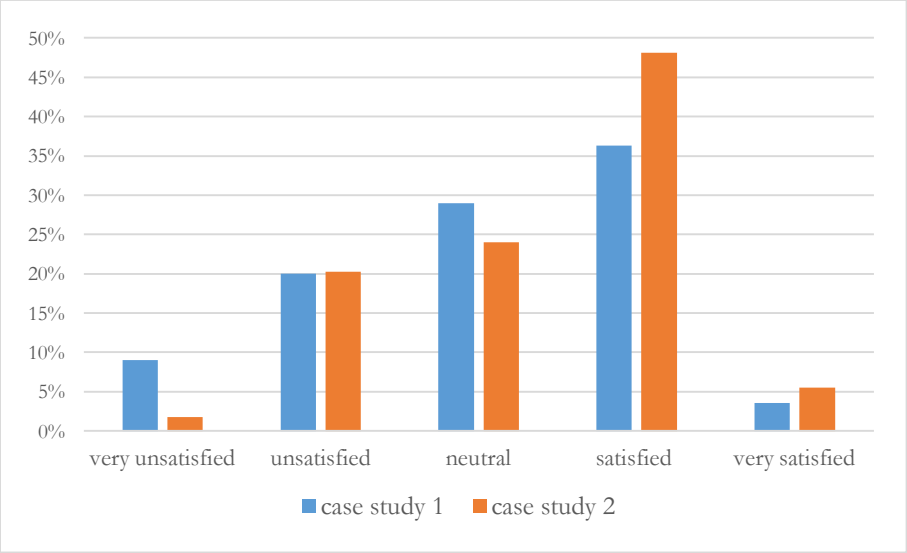


Fig. 7.7. «how do you feel about the signposting along the itinerary?»

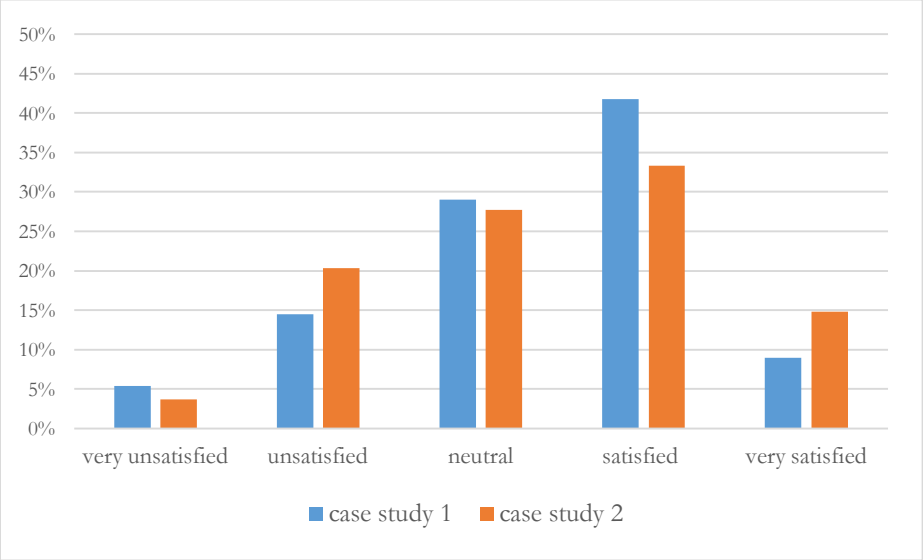


Fig.7.8. «how do you feel about the pilgrim's safety on this part of the journey?»

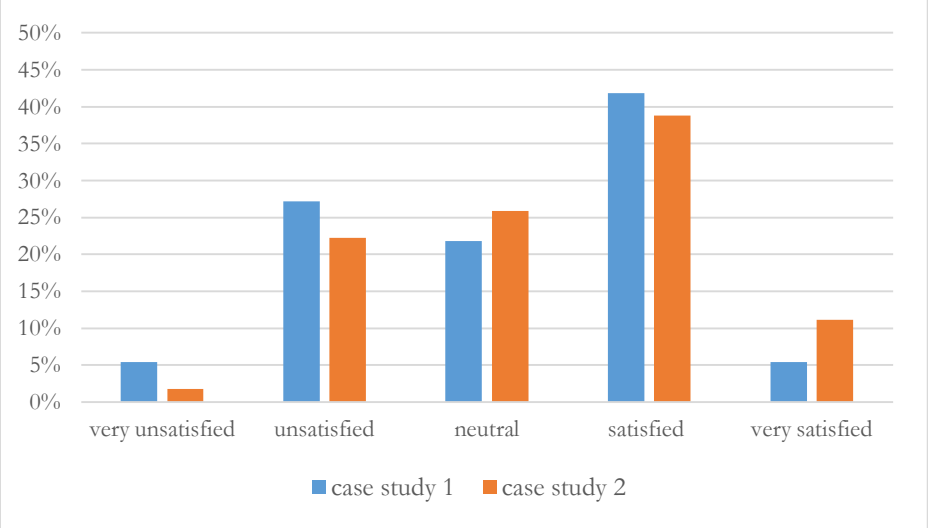


Fig.7.9. «how do you feel about the walking conditions of this part of the path?»

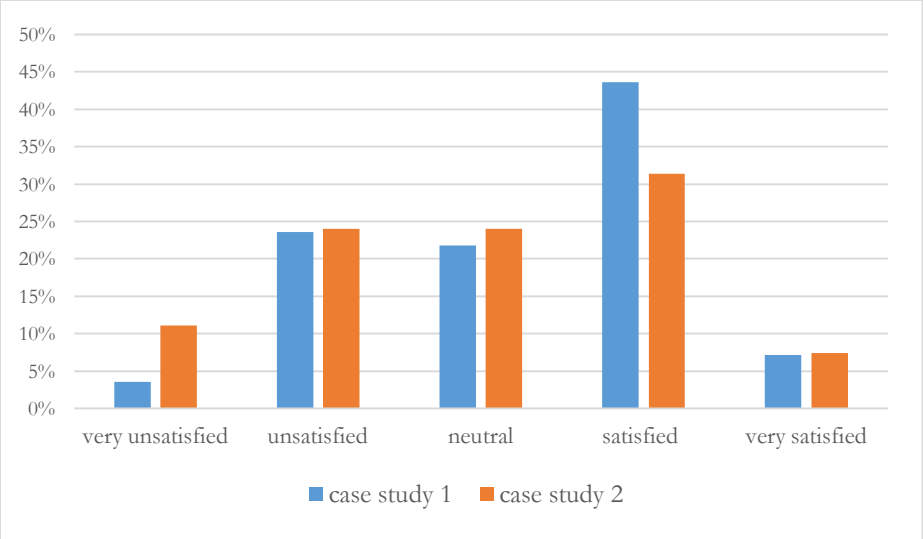


Fig.7.10. «overall, how do you feel about the action taken by your municipality towards the via Francigena exploitation?»

The four graphs above evoke the concerns of locals towards the travellers, also expressed during the interviews as a kind of caring, especially considering the nature of their challenging journey. However, in each of the figures, the positive degree of satisfaction is the highest.



Fig.7.11. A steep ascent on the Via Francigena towards Berceto.
Author's photo, April 2020.

Curiously, the opinion expressed among the participants of the two case studies tends to follow the same trend across the graphs. This is true especially

with respect to municipal route management: 23,6% in Case Study 1 and 24% in the second. Among the free comments, two are somewhat representative:

«Something has been done for the Via Francigena and the hosting of pilgrims, but Municipality, Province and Region should do much more, both in terms of welcoming and signposting and above all for the condition of the path.»*

«We are working to cooperate with the institutions in improving the practicability and cleanliness of our stretch of the francigena.»*

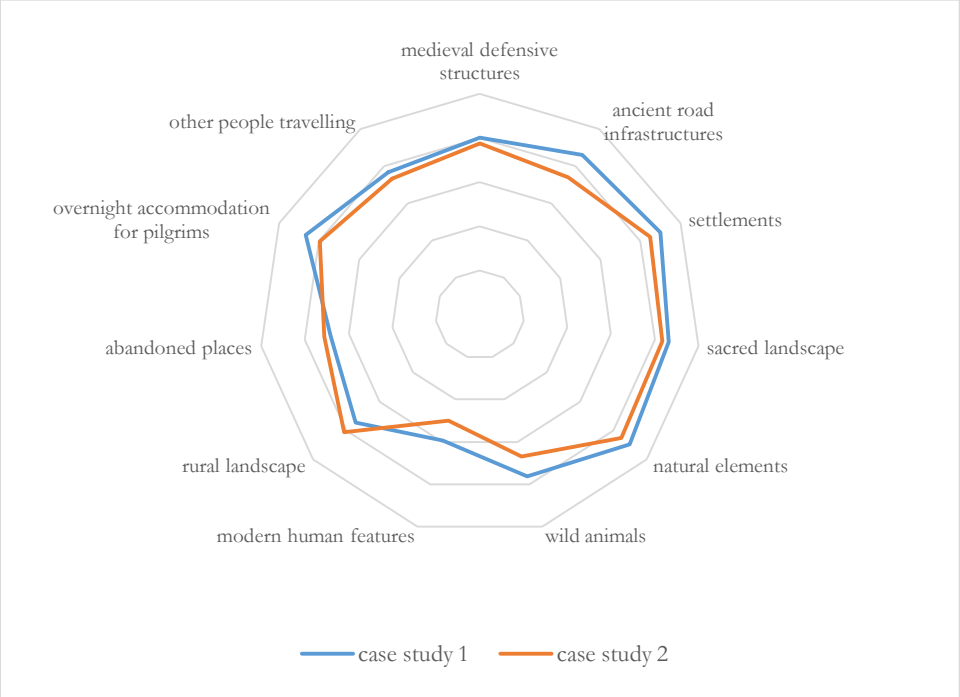


Fig.7.12. «In your experience, how important are the following landscape features of this section of the Via Francigena» (values from 1 to 5).

The last section (fig. 7.12) refers to the importance of landscape features. Many of these were given the same level of significance in both case studies (such as medieval defensive structures, settlements, sacred landscapes, and natural elements); overnight accommodation for pilgrims was also of considerable interest. Wild animals and ancient road infrastructures are slightly more important on the Apennine pass (Case Study 1). In general, modern human features tend to be seen as contrasting with the pilgrimage route.

VII.I.II. OUTSIDERS

The findings of the questionnaires offer the possibility of better framing the phenomenon in its more composite nature, with modern pilgrimages being made by a wide range of users. Before approaching the slow pace of the walkers through ethnographic and qualitative investigation, the aim here is to determine the main types of travel. Indeed, as much as we tend to try to talk about profiles and/or categories, the landscape is so varied and "off-track" (despite there being a well-defined itinerary to follow) that it would be reductive and perhaps inappropriate to do so.

Furthermore, the data from the questionnaires were also compared with surveys carried out by Terre di Mezzo Editore (in the years 2019, 2020, and 2022)[63] and the European Association of the Via Francigena ways (2022).[64] Therefore part of the questionnaire is aimed at identifying the modalities of the journey, the experiential-motivational component, the landscape aspect, the relationship with the locals encountered during the path, and finally the issues related to the practicability and safety of the itinerary.



Fig.7.13. A cyclist travelling along the Via Francigena on the Proceno variant. Author's photo, April 2020.

[63] 2021: https://www.terre.it/cammini-percorsi/i-dati-dei-cammini/italia-paese-di-cammini-ecco-tutti-i-numeri-del-2020/
2022: https://www.terre.it/cammini-percorsi/i-dati-dei-cammini/italia-paese-di-cammini-ecco-tutti-i-numeri-del-2021/
[64] 2023: https://www.viefrancigene.org/en/the-via-francigena-2022-in-numbers/

With respect to gender, users are represented more by the male gender with 66%. Albeit in a smaller percentage, Terre di Mezzo Editore's research on Italian walking routes also confirms this characteristic (2019: 57%; 2020: 56%), with the exception of the year 2021 (49.6%), as does EAVF's research in the year 2022 specifically on the Via Francigena (56%). The average age of the respondents is 43. Just over a quarter (27%) state that they do the walk-in sections, hence the majority schedule the whole trip (this does not, however, mean from Canterbury to Rome or even Santa Maria di Leuca) (fig. 7.14).

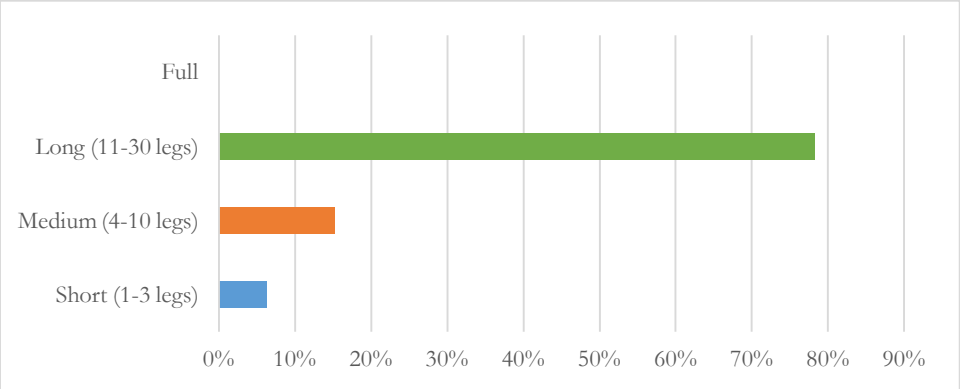


Fig.7.14. Average length of the journeys.

Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the questionnaires were filled out between 2020 and 2021; a period in which, following COVID-19 and the subsequent Lockdowns applied in various European countries, transit by international routes was significantly reduced. In view of this, only 9% of the respondents were foreign nationals. The remaining majority were therefore Italian walkers, 85% of whom were from central-northern Italy and 6% from southern Italy. These are therefore exceptional data and only related to the period 2020-2021. In fact, for example, Terre di Mezzo Editore 2021 data show the following distribution of credentials issued by EAVF for the Via Francigena: 14,000 in 2017, 16,200 in 2018, 19,000 in 2019, 9,000 in 2020, 11,500 in 2021, 17,500 in 2022 (2022 data from EAVF, 2023). By the year 2022, the percentage of Italian travellers had already decreased to 70%. Of the people who bought a credential in 2019, 70% were also Italians (EAVF, 2020[65]). With regard to the data on the distribution of credentials (i.e. the pilgrim's passport), we know roughly that 30% of pilgrims use

[65] https://www.viefrancigene.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/ENEAVF2019-Statistical-analysis-of-the-Via-Francigena.pdf

the same credential over several years, 20% of pilgrims do not use the credential at all, other credentials besides EAVF's are also provided (EAVF, 2023). The questionnaires also show that 73% of travellers go on foot, while 27% decide to cycle along the Via Francigena. The travelling company also varies greatly (fig. 7.15): there is a clear majority of those who set out alone (35%), an interesting 10% of those who travel with their family, and equally 18% with their partner, a friend, and in a group of friends (fig. 7.15).

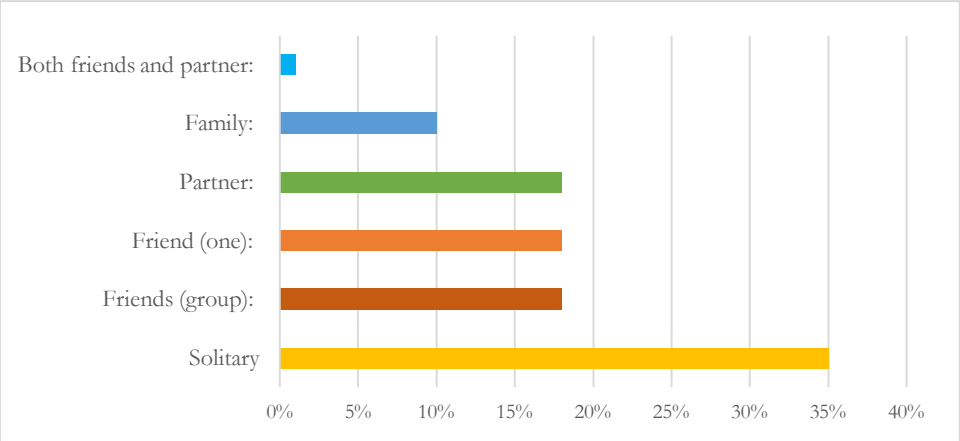


Fig.7.15. Travelling companions.

In the questionnaire, it was also decided to record which places the pilgrimage began and ended (figs. 7.16 and 7.17). For this part, it is important to clarify the regionalism of the distribution of the questionnaires: Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany, Lazio. The percentages shown in the graph are not representative of all the places of departure and arrival, but the most significant ones were considered first.

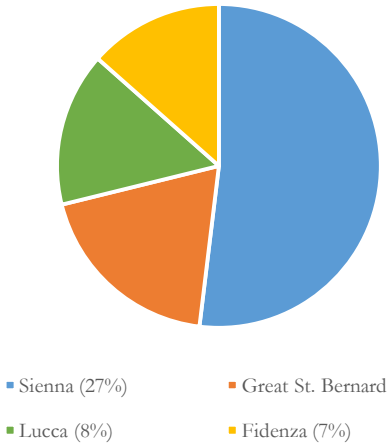


Fig.7.16. Starting legs.

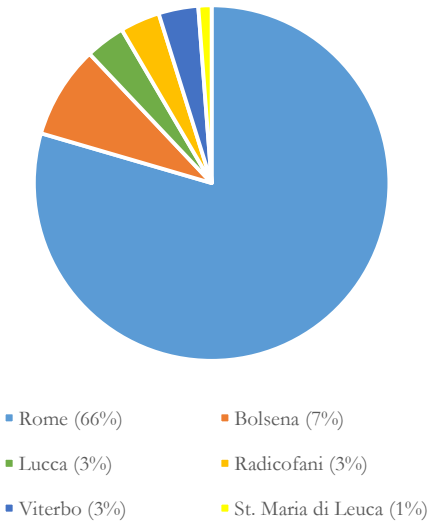


Fig.7.17. Arrival legs.

Being a pilgrimage itinerary, or in any case a travel destination, the motivational-experiential component is essential (fig. 18). It is undoubtedly interesting to point out that the lowest component is the religious one, so much so that it can be asserted that most pilgrims are secular rather than religious (at least in their experience). Mental health stands out among them all: it is precisely this component that introduces the theme of therapeutic mobilities with respect to the experience on the Via Francigena, but more generally also on other types of pilgrimage, which in fact was explored in depth in the qualitative survey. In the questionnaires, among the free comments, we read:

«To be done and done again during one's life, a healing, therapeutic and purifying journey useful for staying in the present moment and scattering prayers that create constellations along the earth. I wish there was more attention to recycling!»*

Nevertheless, the journey is not without spirituality, thus understood with a broader meaning than the contemplative dimension of the inner journey. No less important is the aspect of social sharing; therefore, although one faces many moments in solitude during the walk, the moment of arrival at the daily stage represents an important opportunity for conviviality with both locals and fellow travellers, as well as for refreshment and rest.

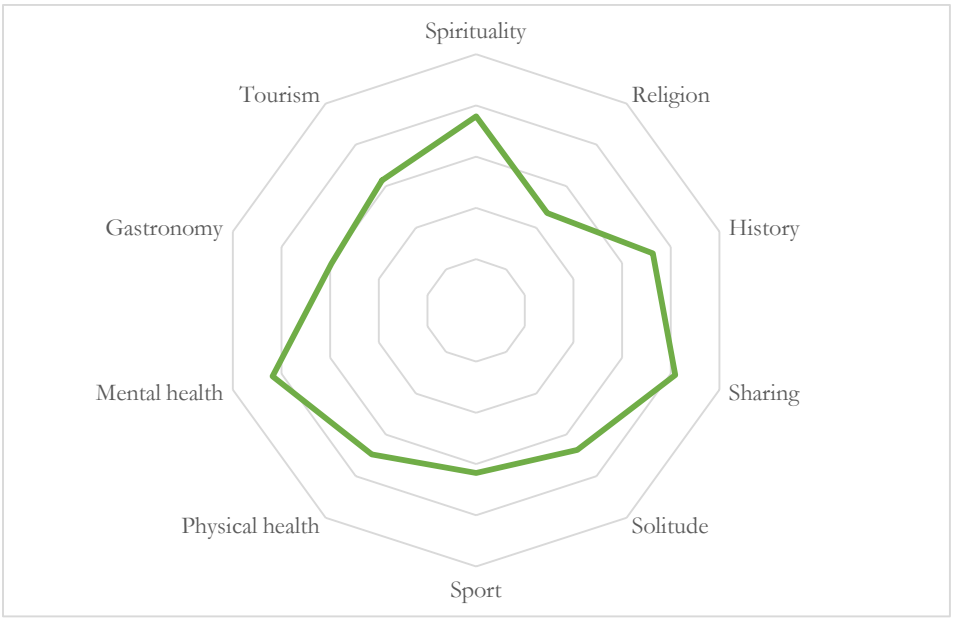


Fig.7.18. «How important are the following aspects as part of your experience on Via Francigena?» (values from 1 to 5). The following aspects were mentioned in the field «others»: «culture» (5); «curiosity» (5); «introspection» (5); «living in contact with nature» (5); «personal growth» (5); «self-rediscovery» (5); «slowness of walking» (5); «challenge oneself» (5); «adventure» (5); «new experiences» (4); «new experiences» (4).



Fig.7.19. Pilgrims taking a rest and passing by the church of San Biagio near Vignoni Alto. Author's photo, April 2019.

Other notable comments from the questionnaire are:

«This was my first experience of travelling alone and walking. It took me a long time to make up my mind, I had a thousand fears but I knew it would be an important experience for me. It was the best gift I could give myself. The effort was superfluous compared to the emotions that these places and scenarios give me. I feel a lot of joy and gratitude. Thank you.»*

«Wonderful and adventurous holidays.»*

«This experience will change my life.»*

Turning more closely to the experience of the trip, the issues of overnight accommodation and, in so doing, also with respect to the insiders introduced earlier (locals and hosts) are discussed below (fig. 7.20). From the outset, one notices a very low degree of negative opinion of having a positive experience with both hosts and locals (1,9%). On the contrary, they largely agreed that they had a positive experience. Indeed, as we shall see, the bond for travellers with locals and hosts (and vice versa) plays a fundamental role in the pilgrimage experience. Among the comments in the questionnaire:

«I remember priest Giuseppino in Viterbo! A wonderful welcome! When you are really tired, the good memories remain! ♥♥».*

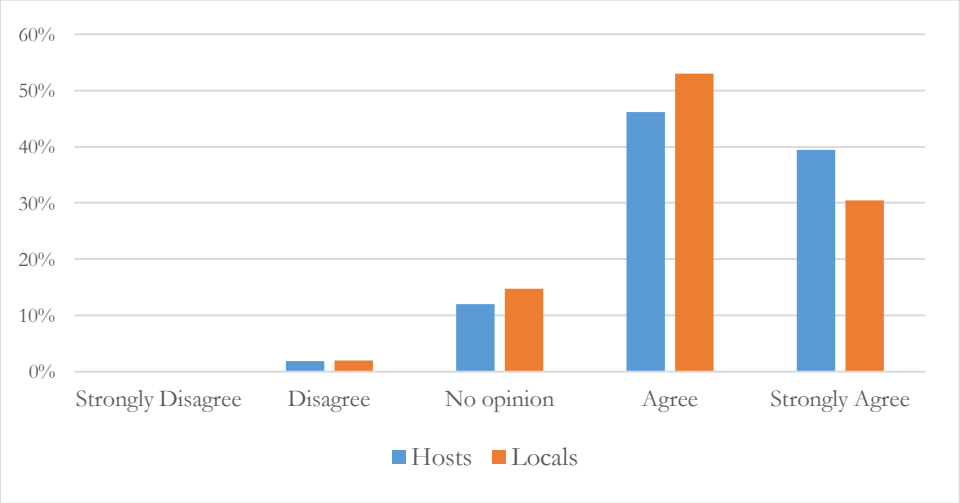


Fig.7.20. «Generally, along the path, you're having a positive experience with: hosts/locals».

When asked «how do you feel about the hosting experience on the Via Francigena?» only 7% expressed an opinion of dissatisfaction. On the contrary, 58% felt satisfied and 25% very satisfied; thus as many as 83% expressed a positive

opinion. However, some negative views are expressed clearly in the comments (as is also evident from the interviews):

«It is October, many structures are closed, and it is hard to find a place to spend the night at a reasonable price. The Via Francigena is still only for VIP pilgrims, unless there is free camping in the summer. Pilgrim structures should be increased.»*

Undoubtedly, the adaptation measures that the various accommodation facilities had to take had a negative impact on the experience, but above all on costs. In addition to the indications expressed by EAVF («10 rules of a traveller»[66]), for shared accommodation, the number of guests per room was drastically reduced, unless they were already fellow travellers, and thorough sanitisation was carried out, including the use of disposable mattress and pillow covers. As evidence of this, during the interviews, it was found that at the Gestri Hostel in Radicofani – where they normally have 44 beds – in September 2020 they could only accommodate 12 pilgrims (6 per room), but if a pilgrim arrived alone they would have to keep the entire room for the single person. All this led to the closure of some of the pilgrimage's own facilities and caused prices to rise considerably.

«The prices compared to 2019 have risen a lot hoping it is due to the emergency of the covid I hope they return donations or similar as it should be in the true spirit of the path.»*

«Specific pilgrim accommodations should be open also in the corona crisis.»

«Unfortunately, the contagion situation does not make it advisable to sleep in dormitories.»*

Again with reference to accommodation, it is interesting to observe where respondents tend to spend their nights and, at the same time, what they would prefer (fig. 7.21). The graph is particularly interesting in that as it shows a contrast between the facilities that are preferred and those that are actually used. For instance, 11% of those who use hotels evidently do so because in certain contexts they could not do otherwise in the absence of the most appropriate accommodation on a pilgrimage. The same applies to the use of generic hostels (30%) and the search for accommodation relevant to the pilgrimage (44%)

[66] https://www.viefrancigene.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/safehospitality.jpg

compared to those who actually manage to use them (29%). Some other places where they spend the night are also indicated in the free space «free camping», «abandoned places», «flats or rooms to rent».

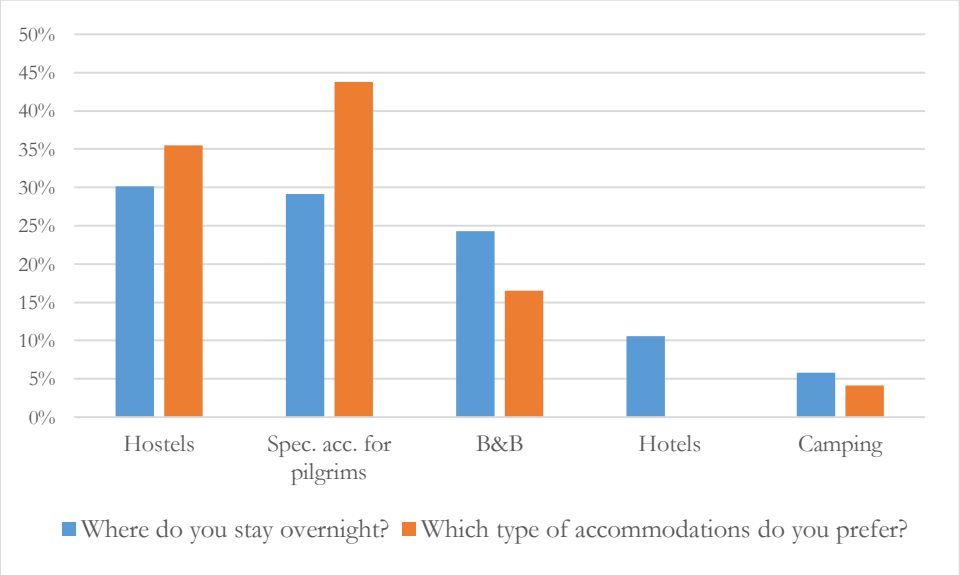


Fig.7.21. Overnight accommodations.

Specifically with regard to the practicability of the path, the participants were asked to rate their degree of satisfaction with the signposting, conditions and safety of the route (7.22). A rather positive experience of the route immediately emerged: on signposting 46% are satisfied and 39% are very satisfied; on walking conditions 69% are satisfied and 11% are very satisfied; on safety 53% are satisfied and 30% are very satisfied.

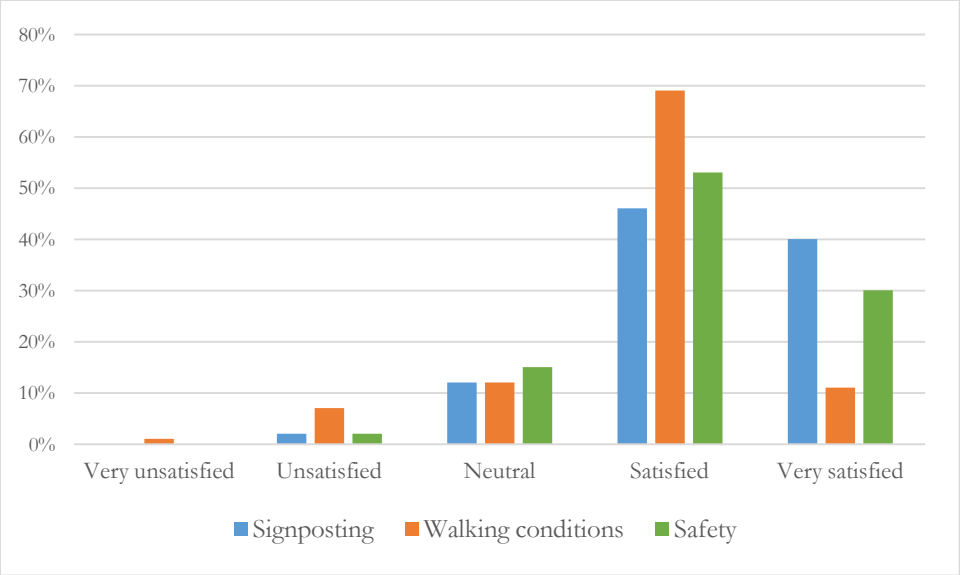


Fig.7.22. «How do you feel about: signposting/safety/walking conditions on Via Francigena?»

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the overall positive opinion expressed towards the three features on the practicability of the itinerary, the majority of the comments reported on the questionnaires concern suggestions and criticisms on the lack of accommodation and infrastructure (such as water fountains and shelters):

«Lack of water and refreshment places during the legs.»*

«Lack of rest areas/fountains on the cycle route.»*

«There are not enough facilities. The route is not served by water, it is difficult to stock up on even the smallest amounts of food, there is no adequate accommodation for pilgrims. It is difficult to plan the route for this reason.»*

«I would have preferred to find more drinking fountains along the way and a few more rest areas to shelter from the heat.»*

On signposting and thus practicability and safety of the route:

«Work harder on signposting and safety!»*

«Improve signposting in some places; some parts of the route are overgrown.»*



Fig.7.23. Ponte a Rigo. A staging point set up for the pilgrim's needs: a water fountain, a shelter for shade or rain, and signposts.
Author's photo, September 2021.

Finally, more broadly on the condition of the path:

«Compared with the Camino de Santiago here can be some improvements, esp.[ecially] road conditions and possibilities to find accommodations.»

«I have walked the Francigena that according to my guide is the authentic one, after 25 days of walking I understand that there are political issues that do not benefit the way for pilgrims. Few structures and little welcoming. I am very sorry, it is too expensive.»*

«There are large portions of the road in Lombardy that are entirely on pavement, which is very hard on one's feet. The legs of the trip also very difficult. I'm in decent shape, and 20 miles with a full pack is probably the limit.»

Both the landscape and the historical context have played an important part of the study of the pilgrimage experience (fig. 7.24). Both proved to be of particular interest. Walking pilgrimages create meanings through the interaction of people and place. It differs from both other types of long-distance trekking and pilgrim activities, provoking spatial researchers to examine the specific dynamics involved (Scriven, 2021, p. 74).

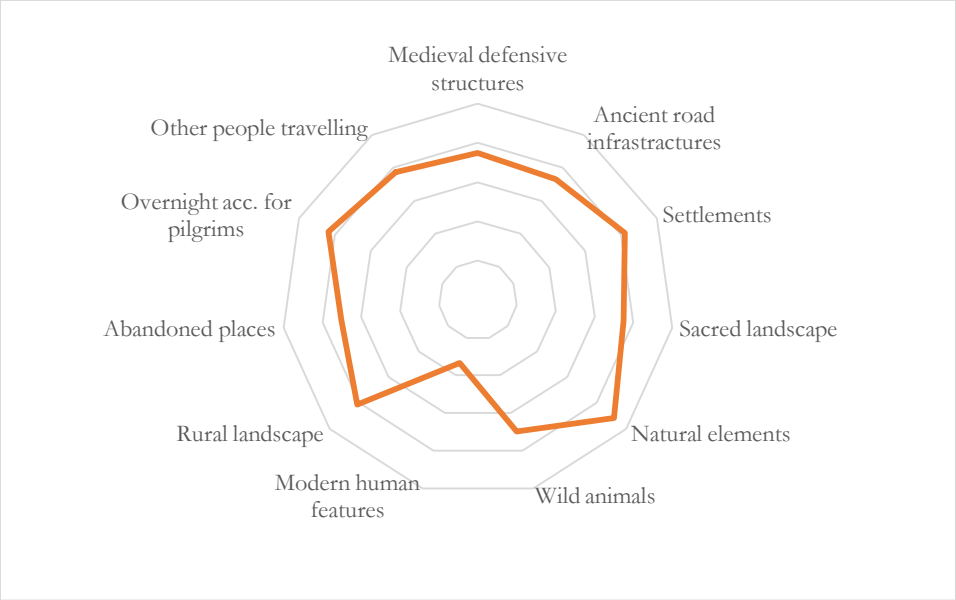


Fig.7.24. «In your experience, how important are the following landscape features of this section of the Via Francigena» (values from 1 to 5).
«Agriculture» was indicated 3 times as «other».

Thus the pilgrims were also asked to rank in order of importance (or add) the elements of the landscape that they considered to be representative of the route they travelled. As can be seen from the graph (fig. 7.24), modern human features are not part of their imagery considered within a pilgrimage, however, overnight accommodation play an important role. Above all, it is natural elements that are most highly regarded, so much so that even within the spectrum of pilgrimage motivations and experiences, «living in contact with nature» was often mentioned.

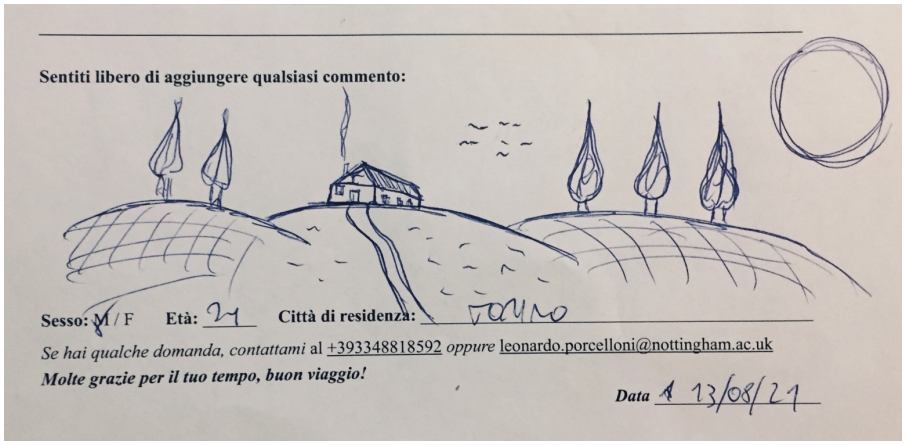


Fig.7.25. Landscape sketch made by one of the questionnaire respondents at the Casa del Pellegrino di Santa Elisabetta in Ponte a Rigo (southern Tuscany).

However, several problems emerged regarding the practicability and completion of the itinerary. They concern the difficulty in finding places of hospitality designed for pilgrims, or at least at low prices; so much so that the Francigena was defined as still being for "VIP pilgrims". Some of the respondents recognised that some of the problems were due to the pandemic. In addition, signposting (which varies greatly from place to place) was criticised, as was the lack of adequate water supply along the route, and the absence of resting and shelter areas. It should be considered that many of the pilgrims on the Via Francigena have experience of the Camino de Santiago. Therefore, they have a yardstick for comparison with a pilgrimage route that provides an infrastructure that has been established for decades.

In conclusion, the results of these questionnaires already reveal insights into the phenomenon of modern pilgrimage along the Via Francigena. The short and concise comments made reveal the enthusiasm of the travellers. This quantitative aspect of the survey was in fact extremely useful in supporting the qualitative research that followed the fieldwork.

VII.II. Pilgrimage and hospitality experiences through qualitative surveys and itinerant ethnography

The quantitative survey, therefore, proves very effective in framing the characteristic elements of pilgrimage and the places involved on the Via Francigena. However, it is only through the qualitative survey, the interview,[67] accompanied by a field ethnography, that it was possible to address some of the more intimate and complex socio-cultural elements of the phenomenon.

As already addressed in the methodological chapter, I have focused essentially on the category of route users (outsiders) and locals, with particular reference to those involved in pilgrim hospitality (insiders). These are two categories that are closely connected. Precisely because one cannot speak of hospitality without the dimension of reception, one facilitates understanding of the other. In particular, here, the words of the interviewees and the notes taken during the ethnography will punctuate the main themes identified.

VII.II.I. Insiders

The local people living along the route of the tourist Via Francigena, and especially the hosts of pilgrim accommodation facilities, represent a privileged sample for understanding the phenomenon of modern pilgrimage. In fact, in addition to being keen observers and watchers of their territory and community, they are witnesses to the people travelling along the pilgrimage route and in a sense an archive of both the "material" information of the pilgrims' passage and the emotional experiences of their journey. Not only do they offer valuable evidence of the socio-cultural impact that the Via Francigena has on their communities, but they also provide insights into the dynamics of the pilgrims themselves.

Before going any further, it is appropriate to illustrate some of the data of the interviewees: 39% are female, the average age is 49 years old, and 80% of the accommodation facilities provide the annual fee to the EAVF to be promoted on their website, app, and guides.

[67] See chapter III.V on p. 58 for interview collection data.

But why do these people have such a privileged perception? It is safe to say that one of the main reasons is that the motivation to become hosts often coincides with that of the pilgrims. Moreover, in some cases, the hosts themselves are and have been pilgrims and/or frequent walkers:

MC[68]: « We pompously say that being a host [ospitaliere] is another way of being a pilgrim. Instead of going, you stay. Then we always say... when I did it [the pilgrimage] someone did me this service and so I return it, after all the circle is completed; it is neither a Catholic nor Buddhist thing.»*

The pilgrim, faced with genuine and warm hospitality, also experiences the same condition:

«When a pilgrim finds a roof over his [sic] head, his heart fills with relief. But when he finds welcome, his heart is filled with gratitude! [...] I will lend my hands the next time I pass this way.»*[69]



Fig.7.26. Rock carved at the entrance to the Ospitale San Lorenzo in Pontremoli: «welcome home».
Author's photo, December 2020.

Churchmen themselves derive greater strength for their mission through hospitality, as the parish priest of the church in Campagnano di Roma tells us:

[68] Exceptional respondents have only the biographical abbreviation as identification. The others, included in the study areas, will have the acronym «C1» if Case Study 1 and «C2» if Case Study 2, «i» if insider and «o» if outsider, the registry code, in brackets the reference village: C1.i.ML(Previdé). All the interviews have been translated into English by the author.
[69] Written testimony of a pilgrim at the parish hostel in Campagnano di Roma.

C2.i.DRT: «This is the most beautiful thing, the most beautiful thing that gives me the strength, the courage, the help, the pleasure to continue is precisely this welcoming relationship that when I can, unfortunately not always, I make available to the pilgrim, if I let you read the testimonies, you will be astounded.»*

It was observed from the ethnographic work that some, as in the case of the B&B Da Nonna Ornella decided to begin the activity also because they enjoy meeting people, exchanging experiences, to host. With particular reference to the pilgrims that carry with them stories and particular motivations. It thus becomes a way of bringing to oneself a reality towards which one feels a particular affinity:

C1.i.ML(Previdé): «First of all that, because I am a lazy environmentalist... secondly, I don't agree with the tourist logic, it's destructive logic towards the environment, the communities... So I made sure that instead of being me going around the world I looked for a place in which it was the world that came to me.»*

Nevertheless, the value lies in the cultural spin-offs that the transit brings between the small villages it passes through:

C2.i.VP(Castiglione d'Orcia): «The cultural consequence... so you travel around the world while you sit at your desk, you really travel around the world.»*

Small local realities become a transient part of the global system. For this very reason, the sphere of hospitality is often supported by local groups of volunteers driven by passion or religious ties with the local parish. Economic activity therefore takes a back seat.

C2.i.AG(Ponte a Rigo): «So, I'm a worshipper and so I've always had a passion for this place, but I've always believed on the Francigena project and so I wanted to take care of these things. It's the bishop that has appointed me as host [*ospitaliere*]: it's as if you are representing me, he said! Here the business is very low, there's only lot of passion!»*

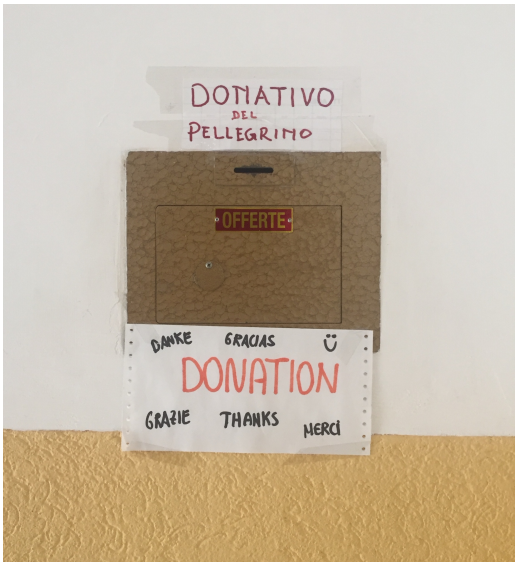


Fig.7.27. «Pilgrim's donation»: the offering box at the church hostel in Campagnano di Roma.
Author's photo, September 2020.

Even those who have an economic activity based on tourist reception tend to favour hospitality linked to the transit of the pilgrimage. Indeed, they feel more gratified and connected to a genuine reality to which they want to feel close. In itself, for a receptive activity, the costs and energies are greater for pilgrims, as they are linked to the different travel times, they stay only one night, sometimes the hosts even go to fetch them in the car if they get lost.

As a result of these motivations and the connection they create with pilgrimage transit, locals and hosts become true "sentinels" of the territory, extremely sensitive to the traveller's genuine experience. Many of them are worried about the risk of the VF becoming an "amusement park".

C1.i.FS(Cisa pass): «We want to maintain it as a pilgrimage route, as it is. Without creating any kind of frills.»*



Fig.7.28. Ostello Cisa; situated before reaching the Cisa pass, it is one of those abandoned "cantoniera" houses recovered following the 2000 Jubilee promotion.
Author's photo, February 2023.

C1.i.ML(Previdé): «In my opinion this kind of mobility it's a resource that has to be managed with great attention. It is a resource in the sense that it allows... it's like to give again the bloodstream to an organism that had got the arteries in bad conditions, and therefore it revitalise the territory. At the same time you have to be careful to provide the same blood type... do not make a Disneyland of the via Francigena.»*

However, the fieldwork demonstrated that the flow of pilgrims is tending to turn from a more spiritual experience to one closer to tourist-oriented motivations:

C2.i.FC(Radicofani): «This is difficult to say because now walking it's a fashion! We walk everywhere (he wants to say it is difficult to distinguish pilgrims or not). Until 10 years ago, 80% of pilgrims were moved by a religious (or at least spiritual) reason, while over the last years only to walk. We can reduce the soul-searching motivation to around 20%.»*



Fig.7.29. A group of ramblers on the Cisa pass, between Emilia-Romagna and Tuscany. Author's photo, April 2020.

In short, it is undeniable that pilgrimage is also promoted by commercial concerns such as tourist agencies and transport firms. In this, tourism and cultural heritage have become a central part of marketing in many contemporary pilgrimage contexts (Reader, 2015).

Hosts, when referring to the users of the route, often felt the need to distinguish the figure of the pilgrim, who travels the long distance and is moved by spiritual motivations in the broadest sense and therefore also secular (such as the search for the self), from the figure of the tourist. In doing so, to identify the pilgrim, they name them in various ways so as to emphasise their authenticity: «the spiritual pilgrim», «the real pilgrim», «the classic pilgrim», «the pilgrim pilgrim». While the others can usually be identified as hikers, sportspeople, and tourists.

C2.i.MM(Gallina): «There's the classic pilgrim and there're the pilgrims of the moment, they decide to walk 3/4 days... someone leaves the car here then walks to Bolsena and back... They all have the credentials but many are eleventh hour pilgrims. From May to the whole June we had only foreigners, then Italians have begun. In August mainly Italians, 90%.»*

C2.i.BS(Acquapendente): «They are not all pilgrims understood in the classic sense of the word, many of them did it with a pure sport aim, many cyclists, families that travelled some tracts or hikers that do that more for archaeological and historical pleasure rather than of faith.»*

C1.i.GC(Pontremoli): «I've to say that before the passage was exclusively of the pilgrim, now the pilgrim has completely changed. […] maybe the today's pilgrim is more tourist than pilgrim. […] The pilgrim that does the pilgrimage, the first thing that they ask is the Mass, if there's the Eucharist. If you say yes they thank you... and they do not have any great claims: a shower and one bed to sleep, not even a room, a bed. Today's pilgrim is a bit more demanding.»*

Since the very nature of the host is similar to that of the pilgrim, and therefore moved by a spirit of welcome that is moreover often based on volunteer work, it is clear that they feel the overlapping of these different tourist segments to be detrimental not only to their own experience but also to that of the pilgrim:

GC: «On the way we embrace each other, we put heart with heart... that is the way [*cammino*]; but when the tourists arrive it is very off-putting for me, they are also haughty and they are right... if one spends four hundred euro for three legs they also have their needs... and what needs do you want from me that I'm here as a volunteer? What do you want from me, the bathroom in the room?! [laughter] But go on, do a virtuous act, do not come to occupy the pilgrims' places who travel with a backpack, with a religious or spiritual motive or one of his own.»*



Fig.7.30. A handmade sign placed by the then-host of the Cassio pilgrim hostel:

«You've run out of cigarettes, tobacco... in the village there's Vittorio with the tobacconist's shop etc... you need vitamins to cheer you up... in the village there's Lella with the white van loaded of fruit and vegetables... tomorrow you want to leave with bread, cheese, cold cuts... (for the journey...) in the village there's Miki who's got everything. We also have the church that if it is closed Andrea has the keys. What more do you want!!!»
Author's photo, April 2019.

The more varied offer and demands placed on the Via Francigena (from a full-length pilgrimage journey, to the organisation of packages for 2-3 stages, to the development of food and wine circuits that go beyond the itinerary itself, to weekend hiking) can raise inconsistencies in the overlapping of different users on the same circuits. Categorisations within the same figure of the pilgrim have been advanced with respect to the motivations: balance pilgrim, crisis pilgrim, time-out pilgrim, transitional pilgrim and new start pilgrim (Kurrat, 2019). The possible problem of a conflict in pilgrim-to-pilgrim interaction along the path to sacred places, and in the connected tourist and hospitality services, that emerge from the diversity of pilgrimage motivations has recently been debated (Casais, Sousa, 2020). Indeed, a new term indicating the hybrid between "tourist" and "pilgrim" arose for the Camino de Santiago and is now also used on the Francigena: «*turigrino*» («tourigrims») (Gomes, 2020). It indicates, in a critical way, those people who make the Camino without fully accepting the concepts of hospitality, solidarity, company and sobriety which are, for many pilgrims and "*hospitaleros*" (pilgrimage hosts), the essence of the Camino.

In Italy, during fieldwork, the issue emerged in a particular way during the summer of 2020, the year of the Lockdown from Covid-19, when proximity tourism was a necessary condition and many flocked to Italian sections of the Via Francigena. In the most popular areas, there are also services for pilgrims such as baggage transport between stops. This is both at a formalised and local level:

C1.i.MF(Cassio): «Before this job I've been a taxi driver for 5 years and I can say that there isn't only the pilgrim that travels in poverty, there are also pilgrims that travel in wealth. We did many transportation services in the area to carry their bags.»*

C2.i.FC(Radicofani): «Improvement also from the economical point of view, this one it's a very small reality: there are 4 groceries, if there are 5 more customers you can notice the difference!»*

Slow mobility, together with pilgrimage and the resulting tourist movement, revitalise and nourish like new life-blood many of those villages located in marginal areas. In the encounter with the other, in the movement of cultures from all over the globe, a renewed interest and cultural ferment is created among the local inhabitants. They become participants in the local cultural growth which becomes an integral part of the quality tourist offer.



Fig.7.31. A mural depicting a pilgrim and a labyrinth (Berceto).
Author's photo, April 2020.

C2.i.FB(Radicofani): «It's good that there are [pilgrims], they keep you company, especially in the low seasons! They open up the closed-minded of this town. They have different attention and sensitivity than other tourists. They seek the authenticity of places.»*

In addition to this, in the testimony of insiders, the pilgrim not only brings blessings during the pilgrimage. But they also tend to return to the places visited, bringing their friends and families with them. A rather marked habit during the interviews:

C1.i.ML(Previdé): «[…] the pilgrim is an ambassador for beauty, they see beautiful things, they go home, they tell beautiful things... Many of our guests came back with the family!»*

Those among the insiders who lived in the places now on the Via Francigena tourist route even before the route gained popularity are witnesses to the profound socio-cultural change in the country and the route itself:

C1.i.IA(Berceto): «We even didn't know that it was called via Francigena. We were calling it Romea! We related the history of the road to Roma with our local history of San Moderanno, to the passage. Even at a scholastic level there was not an interest, but now yes.»*

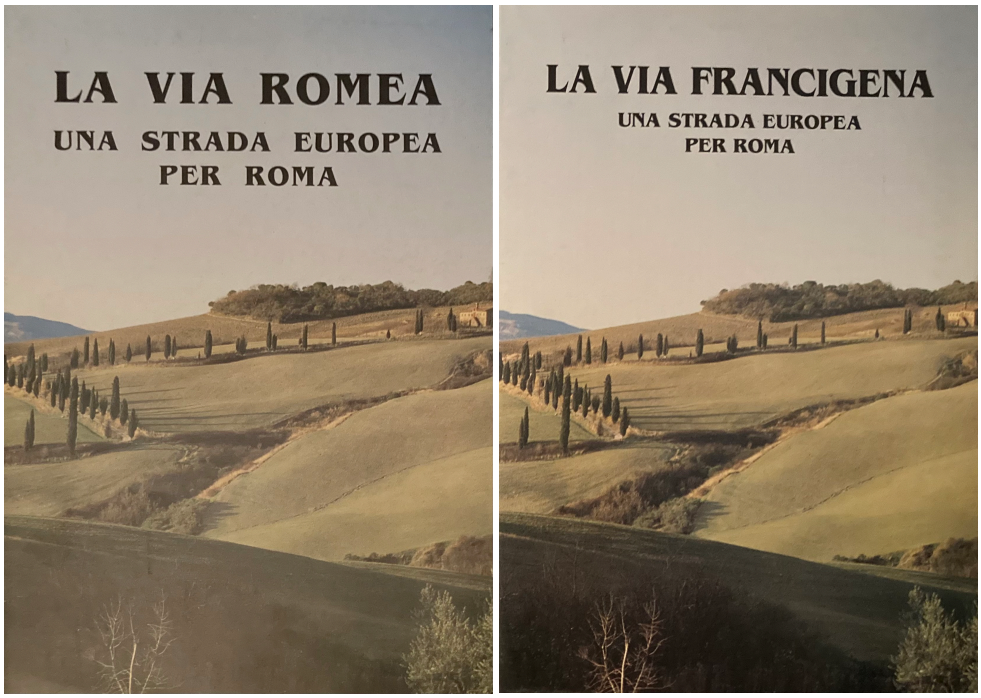


Fig.7.32. Two little illustrated publications from the 1990s (the exact date of printing is missing) to promote the Via Francigena. The first indicates that the Francigena was referred to as «Romea», the second, a later print, shows the changed intention to identify it as «Francigena». The landscape depicted is located at La Foce, in Val d'Orcia.
Both were found and purchased on Ebay by the author.

There is also local evidence of how in the beginning, before the publicising the Via Francigena, there were only pilgrims travelling and they were informally hosted at inhabitants' homes ("domestic hospitality"). Usually there was a sign near the door so that pilgrims knew that they were able to ask for the hospitality. For example, this phenomenon was common in Terenzo, Bardone. Today, this phenomenon is no longer witnessed. But in most cases, pilgrims were hardly ever noticed or discussed on the Via Francigena until fairly recently.

C2.i.MPP(Abbadia S. S.): «Until few years ago it was not that known. I remember that, when I put the signpost, a couple that work here told me: but this is not the via Francigena, this is via Cavour! [we laugh]».*

The aspect of historical coherence with respect to the product offered is also debated among locals. Some consider themselves rather satisfied with the establishment of the Via Francigena while others recognise that one cannot speak of historical truthfulness precisely because of the fluid and articulated nature of the medieval artery. In any case, a good majority agrees that the historical theme should be treated more on a local level precisely to support the pilgrim, so that they can better appreciate the history of the places. In this sense, the system of variants (that series of official routes connecting additional localities to the main itinerary) would overcome the problem of the single itinerary and thus allow for the inclusion of additional important sites linked to the medieval road system.

The historical issue becomes particularly heated where some important villages on the medieval Via Francigena have been excluded. One of the most obvious is the exclusion of Montelungo:

C1.i.RM(Montelungo): «Even though this area is not part of the official VF, pilgrims come through. People read on the various blogs other travellers and pilgrims' experiences. […] The community has improved, so much that the village's path has been kept clean, it's signposted, those that were the historical tracks, also securing them, for example on a ford of the river they put a cable to help people crossing it etc. And it's all self-financed!»*

Here, local people were so annoyed that their village was not on the approved route, that they improved paths to attract pilgrims and cyclists.



Fig.7.33. A damaged signpost indicating the alternative route as bridle path to Montelungo near the Righetto pass.
Author's photo, September 2022.

Even with regard to the question raised on the candidature route for the Via Francigena as a Unesco site, one finds opposing observations. While on the one hand there is a positive response to such a prospect, if only as a way of gaining greater visibility and appeal, on the other hand, in most cases a sort of scepticism is expressed precisely because of the aforementioned risk of distorting the route and pandering to the homogenising line of the tourist product. Such concepts are not well received by locals. In addition to this, several interviewees are aware of the unpreparedness of their municipality with respect to the infrastructural standards that a Unesco site, in their imagination, should have.

Hence, several criticisms were also raised with respect to the management of the routes and maintenance of the respective local administrations. Here, too, it is pointed out that much of the work is spent by the inhabitants themselves on a voluntary basis, through newly-established associations and existing and more relevant sports associations such as the CAI (Club Alpino Italiano).

One of the key concepts that emerged concerns this connection between pilgrims and hosts brought about by shared motivations to approach the pilgrimage environment. Thus, in addition to witnessing a revitalisation of rural communities, both socio-culturally and economically, a therapeutic mobility is established that also involves the locals. «Road cure» is about developing a desire for detachment from oneself and a rapprochement to the observation and

assimilation of things, and not biting, tasting and then abandoning them again (Demetrio, 2005, p. 123).

It sometimes happens that they, the hosts in particular, have or almost feel a curative responsibility with respect to the pilgrim in this sort of "itinerant clinic" in which, at their fixed points, they act as wellness operators; warmly welcoming and listening to their words:

C1.i.GC(Pontremoli): «Let's say that the Francigena, or the way [*cammino*], I say it's like a hospital [laughter], to the hospital you go to cure yourself, and on the Francigena you go to walk, to talk yourself, to free yourself, to... often also to find again yourself, because the real pilgrim... I see that upstream there's always a motivation to drop everything and to leave. […] if you stay there to listen at them, you make to them also a pleasure!»*

VII.II.II. OUTSIDERS

«For my part, I travel not to go anywhere, but to go. I travel for travel's sake. The great affair is to move; to feel the needs and hitches of our life more nearly; to come down off this feather-bed of civilisation, and find the globe granite underfoot and strewn with cutting flints. Alas, as we get up in life, and are more preoccupied with our affairs, even a holiday is a thing that must be worked for. To hold a pack upon a pack-saddle against a gale out of the freezing north is no high industry, but it is one that serves to occupy and compose the mind. And when the present is so exacting, who can annoy himself about the future?» (Stevenson, 2001, pp. 46-47).

The pilgrim is not simply the stranger, but expresses strangeness and estrangement. The term itself (from the Latin verb «*peragere*») is extremely rich in meanings: from "moving with restlessness", "without respite" to being a foreigner. In fact, one does not go on pilgrimage but one is a pilgrim; life itself becomes a condition of pilgrimage (Cardini, Russo, 2019). There is an almost archetypal relationship with pilgrimage as conceived in the Christian tradition: the true homeland of the Christian was heaven, to which he was called and to which he had to tirelessly strive. The extraneousness to this world was therefore a way, a journey

to the other world (Luiselli, 2005). Here it resumes the dimension of the journey on foot, whether it is linked to religious or secular elements. These itineraries are linked to a profound historical-cultural sense, where the pilgrimage was born which still represents a way to find oneself today. Travelling means getting involved. It is an inner test made up of individual goals that takes place within a shared destination. The path stimulates meditation and allows focus on personal goals. It increases self-awareness, self-esteem and the ability to focus on the present.

The concepts analysed during the interviews and field ethnography are multiple. Some of them were partly addressed while looking at the point of view of the hosts, who clearly could not refrain from providing their own experience in this regard. An experience that proved to be very useful, so much so that in some cases they themselves enable us to better understand the facets of the hosts. In particular, of the wayfarers interviewed, 44% were of the female gender and there was an average age of around 43 years old (pilgrims aged between 20 and 75 were interviewed). Of these, only 19% represent the international share since most of the interviews were conducted during 2020, the year of restrictions following the pandemic; 50% travelled alone and 84% walked rather than cycled. As many as 59% of the sample were walking more than at least 10 stages at one time.

Taking the insiders' perspective, the central key to pilgrimage lies in motivation. So, although today there is this "rail track" on which a multitude of different people and groups flow towards a sacred destination, motivation seems to be the basis of interactions and attitudes. That is, what moves the needle from the so-called «pilgrim pilgrim» to the «tourigrin» or more simply tourist.

One of the linking themes is that of therapeutic mobility and thus of the curative value of walking and the search for psycho-physical well-being. This issue already emerged in the quantitative survey and through the words of the insiders; here it is even more evident. It is a value, that of therapeutic mobility, implicit in every subject treated: from the self-imposed rhythms to the relationship with what is essential; from the experience of being with oneself to the conviviality found at the end of the stage. There are many testimonies collected from the wayfarers themselves, and essentially we can start with two insights provided by the same person, who first tackled the Camino de Santiago alone and then the Via Francigena with her friend:

C1.o.EM: «With regard to Santiago, it was a very personal journey... I took a month to have a moment, let's say a spiritual moment, to have a moment alone with myself... a bit of a break from everyday life and walking at the same time to try to find a thread, a direction for the future, to understand what one wants from life...»*

«In this case on the Francigena it is a bit more like a holiday, I did not expect to do a meditative-spiritual route but to do some trekking and visit some beautiful areas.»*

In walking, a state of estrangement is sought, so one is configured in a different logic of territorial enjoyment:

C2.o.FS: «That is, to me, I am passionate about history, art, museums, so I do a lot of holidays of that kind too, and art cities, but when I walk that is the least of my thoughts.»*

The matter of making the journey to reconsider one's life choices, and perhaps make a change, is frequent among young people (as in the case of C1.o.EM and the following, both between 25 and 30 years old):

C1.o.FC: «I was a bartender, I quit my job and left. I had reached exhaustion... afterwards with the Lockdown I had already reached the limit of the limit of the limit! Saturation! With the Lockdown I said OK, I don't want to continue my life like that anymore. [...] I wanted to be alone, to disconnect. Take time for me, free myself from everything and be with myself.»*

It is a spirituality that yes is deeply involved with the dimension of the walk sometimes perceived as "superior", but it always comes back to individual, introspective work. Thus the parish priest don Renzo of Campagnano di Roma retrieves a comment by a pilgrim: «my purpose in this journey of mine is not to arrive in Rome, but the purpose of my journey is myself and as such I hope it never ends».

Just as in the medieval Christian dimension of the pilgrimage, even today there are various experiences of pilgrims who set out to give thanks, not necessarily from a religious point of view, following events often linked to the healing of an illness, either personal or of loved ones:

C1.o.AF: «I had been ill, *le cancer*, cancer... And I got well and made Santiago». Leonardo Porcelloni: «A way of saying thank you?» C1.o.AF: «Yes, yes. And today it's to thank my parents who went abroad. Because in Sicily as in Italy there was no job, nothing. So my parents were forced to leave, to emigrate. So my parents gave me the education and social life of France.»*

But the Via Francigena, at the time of the media within everyone's reach and therefore of social networks, becomes a privileged channel for launching special campaigns and messages to the rest of society, as was the case with the group of cyclists suffering from Parkinson's disease of the «Parkinson e Sport» association:

C2.o.SCM: «We want to get the message out there that sport, physical activity, is good for Parkinson's and we meet associations in the area where we can tell people about this experience.»*

So in most cases, as the questionnaire already ascertained, there is a strong spiritual motivation, of introspection, but secular; that is, not linked to traditional religious motives. This is also asserted by those who declared that they are practising Catholics, but driven on the path by other motivations.

C2.o.PGU: «[...] I am a yoga teacher, so I am used to moments of silence, of introspection, and I must tell you that on the path I have found contact with nature. Now I'm saying a big word, but I'm not exaggerating… if I said contact with the absolute, I'm not exaggerating! But let's say that on the path I have found moments [...] of spirituality in the broad sense of course and in any case during the journey moments of reflection, of introspection...»*

The "healing" effect of the path lies precisely in the introspective work the individual does, sidelining themselves and their limits. Thus strengthening self-esteem, self-confidence, and increased awareness. This is stated by many pilgrims encountered.

In other cases, there is a specific grief underlying one's journey, often dictated by a relationship ending or mourning.

C2.o.SR: «The reason I'm walking is that I'm not doing so well lately, I'm not so hungry, so... I mean I've been eating very little for a few months now... I've lost 11 kilos. A bad period! Quite an important relationship that's over, but I was quite hurt by it. […] maybe walking around I get hungry. It's a situation where you have to do something, you get tired, you don't think.»*

So it is a state of malaise that finds relief, hopefully healing in a return to an essential relationship with the things of life, in a completely different everydayness that reduces needs.

C1.o.MM: «This way of travelling leads you to appreciate the essential: the important thing is to have a place to sleep, to find something to eat, to find something to drink [laughter], that's it, then to wash up and then you're done […] and I think that's good stuff. Because then you often complicate your existence with so many things.»*



Fig.7.34. A pilgrim, walking through the Cisa pass hostel, seeks information to book a bed for the next stage.
Author's photo, August 2020.

In some cases, pilgrimage seems to be a kind of escape from the social environment in which we live, when it seems to become overwhelming in relation to one's own. By doing so, the dilated dimension of time provided by the journey, to which no one can impose themselves but their own legs, allows them to exercise a revolutionary act and to become again masters of their own time, with respect to their own faculties and needs:

C1.o.SP: «[to] be away from the society that oppresses you... a bit of change, to be alone with yourself, with nature. [...] Finding your own rhythm helps a lot, don't be in a hurry or do too much, don't demand too much that society normally demands so much, instead it's a bit of a... you have your time and do what you can it's fine, you always do well because one way or another you find a solution.»*

C1.o.DV: «It recharges me, that is, I resumed the Camino de Santiago because it recharged me as... let's say it relaxes me; I take these walks a bit as revenge against the normal speed of work rhythms, let's put it this way.»*

Another element that imposes itself with respect to what we can define as the traditional social environment is the social mixing associated with walking. That is to say, there is a tendency to testify to the fact that social differences, age differences, are disappearing; everyone is united by the same path.

C2.o.RC: «People, me, him, them, in normal life, or guys, you would never talk to them, here instead they become your friends, understand?! There's a culture and then the fact that we toil together, at least the toil he has done today is the toil I've done too, each of us has done his toil well or badly, so we respect each other for that too.»*

GC: «I always say paths are freedom [...] some days we become more elevated than we are. We have masks, in the journey we have to take off our masks!»*

Clearly, this set of conditions would not be solely possible without the experience of hospitality provided by hosts. The shared dormitories of churches or hostels allow for congregation, sharing and conviviality. There are no economic differences. Therefore, these types of facilities are favoured precisely for this set of reasons rather than a question of saving money. Moreover, during the pandemic, only a small number of people avoided such facilities in order to reduce the risk of contagion.



Fig.7.35. Dormitory of the parish hostel in Campagnano di Roma. Author's photo, May 2021.

C2.o.PGU: «I have to tell you that the first year I chose more the B&B and stuff like that, the problem is that the B&B, it is true that it is more comfortable, you get a little bored because then you are alone, instead in the hostels you find people that you have already found the day before, that you may have found on the road, you share...»*

This implies an acknowledgement with respect to the hosts, who are often volunteers, but also with respect to other locals who in other ways support the walk materially or spiritually.

C1.o.FB: «I'm also very respectful because there is a lot of voluntary work. There are so many people that want to help. Also in France many people were stopping me and asking me if I wanted something (water, coffee…). […] When I'll be back I'll be more sensitive for that: don't wait until someone asks for help, but if you think someone might need help do the first step.»

C2.o.PD: «[...] a thousand things, we even found on the road a box made of wood on a stake with, like, disinfectant gauze in it...» C2.o.AC: «Even a cigarette with a lighter! We were so surprised.» C2.o.PD: «Yeah, I started crying by the way! [laughter] At the tape I got excited...» C2.o.AC: «These are things you don't think about, but when you see that someone is thinking about it for you, you say nice... even the dinner you were coming in the evening...»*

The conditions just seen, determine a true state of liminality, of transition from one state to another. A rite of passage in the anthropological meaning, anti-structural and liberating (Turner, Turner, 1978).

C2.o.FS: «In my opinion walking for so many days means entering another dimension [...] The walk is more a single issue, between you and the world, between you and nature. [...] Look, I got the tattoo last year for this reason, this, I did it to remind me of the walk and this whole series of values, of ways, of thinking that make you reconsider a little bit of priorities and ways of life, that's it.»*

C1.o.AF: «Every time I am a pilgrim, I always change when I go home, I am not the same man, I change. I want to help everyone, and that's nice. As Francesco says, there are many people who help you and you feel... My wife always tells me: every time you leave, you change. I feel better.»*

This perspective of change (improvement) is also configured through the lens of the hosts' attentive observers:

C1.i.ML: «I perceive the VF as a balm of the soul. It is not that who travels on the Francigena is better than the humanity average, but when they travel on Francigena they're surely better than humanity average. Because the Francigena takes you away, especially in these places where the nature expresses itself in all its power, you can be worshipper, agnostic as I am, whatever you want, but you cannot feel that there's something that transcends ourselves...»*

In all this, the landscape plays a fundamental role. It is not a space that one traverses or a frame that makes up the experience of walking, but rather a place with which one enters into a profound relationship and contemplation.

GC: «The landscape, you need the out-of-the-ordinary one, as the song says, is what keeps you away from the clamour of everyday life, there are beautiful landscapes and then you stop to admire them, there is a beautiful church you enter and admire, you pass in front of a castle you look and maybe imagine something...»*

C2.o.PGU: «But the landscape adds to it! To tell you the hills, these or Umbria, not for nothing is Umbria the land of saints, that is to say, then the saints are everywhere,

but certainly the sweetness of the landscape, the lines, the harmony of the lines, all the beauty of creation basically puts its own mark on it.»*



Fig.7.35. A cyclist, facing the landscape, takes a break on the Via Francigena near the Cisa pass (Righetto).
Author's photo, April 2020.

And likewise the historical context as the perception of retracing such an ancient route and experience enhances one's own experience. Many know that they cannot expect to retrace the steps of Sigeric in all respects, but they are keen to consider the historical trajectory of the pilgrims on their way to Rome. As one accepts this compromise with the historical context, one also accepts travelling through contrasting and conflicting landscapes, such as industrial or asphalted and therefore busy areas. However, this is only in cases where one goes on a long pilgrimage:

C1.o.MM: «But no, then it is clear that you pass through the most beautiful and ugliest places, that is, when you make such a 800-1000km journey it is obvious that you pass through the beautiful place like you pass by the factory or cement plant, however...»*

It is the pilgrim herself who identifies in this relationship with the landscape the contrast between pilgrim and tourist:

C1.o.MM: «[...] here maybe this is the main difference compared to a trek, if you decide to go on a trekking holiday then you only go to the places where it is worth it because there is a beautiful landscape, in the *camino* instead you go through all the places

where you pass... It is part of the context, then there are times that you curse that road there...»*

As we have seen from the percentages from both questionnaires and interviews, a large proportion of travellers cycle the Via Francigena. Although it is acknowledged that everyone can travel the route as they see fit, both hosts and walkers often agree that the bicycle somewhat distorts the pilgrimage and distances one from the spiritual dimension, without affecting the psycho-physical challenge with oneself, as mediated by the means of transport. This was also witnessed in particular by a former cyclist pilgrim who had made pilgrimages by bicycle several times and who, on his first experience on foot, claimed that «cycling was merely travelling, nothing more».

GC: «When they call me and ask me but how do I have to train to do the walk? I say look, you don't need to train your legs if you don't do the walk, the walk is a different thing: you do it with the heart, with the spirit, with the brain and finally there is also the legs. If you get tired you are not doing the walk, you are doing a walk because you tire the spirit, not the body in the walk [...]»*

So the question arises: do these different user segments, pilgrims and tourists, which travel the Via Francigena on different assumptions but on the same structural level, clash or do they travel in harmony? One obviously does not exclude the other, but as we noted in the section on insiders, it is the hosts themselves who experience the conflict of reception.

GC: «The train travels on two tracks that are parallel, they are two detached tracks, they must not meet. This I say! A dedicated track so that they don't collide [...]. I always say that it's like a train, the engine is the pilgrims travelling on the backpack and behind it are all the wagons full of tourists, but if you disconnect the engine, the wagons don't go either, it stops.»*

The ethnographic work revealed many significant findings. In general, it can be asserted that this segmentation of users, those closest to the pilgrimage experience, affects insiders more positively. However, I also happened to witness some emotional clashes between those who, driven by sensitive motivations,

walked and stopped alongside those who instead undertook the Via Francigena with a Goliardic spirit celebrating drinking and singing. In particular, one night, I saw some pilgrims sheltering from the storm under the eaves who wanted to continue drinking, a heated dispute arose between those who claimed to be walking a deep and troubled path versus those who wanted to have fun, and therefore how insensitively they behaved towards each other.

Nevertheless, even those who, seen from the outside, would be labelled as tourists, thus travelling for only one stage with an accompanying minivan to visit the surrounding areas, found values substantially similar to the pilgrim travelling for hundreds of kilometres. This group, claiming that [C2.o.S2] «Then I also like to see the pilgrims... in short, we do it in optimal conditions»* implicitly claimed that they did not recognise themselves in a pilgrimage condition. However, they recognised the value of self-imposed rhythm and pilgrim hospitality:

C2.o.S2: «If you go to a hotel it is not the same thing because the hotel has a certain kind of rhythm, you have to have a certain kind of attitude, you dress in a certain kind, you relate in a certain kind. This allows you to be more yourself in my opinion and also let yourself go.»*

C2.o.S3: «Going all this way and then going to a hotel doesn't make sense, you know? You lose everything you acquired in your head by walking.»*

As among the comments in the questionnaires, there was no lack of criticism during the qualitative survey. On the one hand, with respect to the institutional organisation of the pilgrimage:

MC: «What the Tuscany Region is doing is exactly the opposite. Meanwhile, they do not speak of pilgrimage but speak of slow walking, of these things here, and then they promote the most beautiful part, the best part from Siena to the Val d'Orcia. No way! The walk, however you do it, is a whole.»*

GC: «It is losing its fascination as a pilgrim route, it is becoming a homogeneous tourist product... It is no longer that product on which we had counted to make paths... I don't want to say religious, but at least spiritual. It's losing everything, people speculating on it from tour operators, Booking, Terre di Mezzo... it's all speculation!»*

And from the perspective of many of the pilgrims I met, many of whom had already walked the Pilgrim's Way to Santiago, they noted various problems with the facilities for pilgrims and therefore the work still to be done on the Via Francigena:

C2.o.PR: «There is also the unevenness in prices, when you do Santiago they are more or less standardised, 3 to 6 euros, 10 may be the maximum. Here you start from an offer or maybe 10 euros from the nuns to even 30 euros... it becomes more expensive. You can't even make a forecast, an expense budget in my opinion. [...] In Spain you can find all the hostels you want, you don't have obligatory stages because you can stop after 3-5km you always find hostels at that price or offer, but not here. They are obligatory stops...»*

It is also argued that «there is a bit too much trekking», in the sense that between some stages there are excessively long and hiking routes (as in the case between the Cisa Pass and Pontremoli). Here is the added value that variants could provide.

In addition to this, there is the fact that there are too many asphalt routes in the Italian section and therefore the danger of traffic. But, at the same time, that it is too «deserted» a walk in terms of people and facilities «because in the Camino you want to drink a coffee, but here you have to wait 15-20 km!»*

Some of these negative characteristics, for others, become strengths of the Via Francigena:

C1.o.AF: «I find that there are many people in Santiago... yes, yes, the Via Francigena is wilder... C1.o.FC: This is one of the reasons I chose the Francigena!»*

C2.o.JS: «There is not much tourism here. That is what I like, with some people is fine. It is from Lucca and Siena that there are more people… more signposts. While Santiago is too touristic… has been converted, I say it has prostituted itself... for money, it has sold itself. I don't like it.»*

C2.o.AM: « [...] instead Santiago is crowded and commercial. The Francigena is very authentic!»*

As mentioned in the methodology, part of the ethnography also took place in Rome, at St. Peter's in the Vatican to be exact; a crucial place for the pilgrim's arrival. The crowning glory of the pilgrimage. There is shouting, singing, hugging, crying.



Fig.7.36. The arrival of a pilgrim at St. Peter's, Vatican City.
Author's photo, October 2021.

Nonetheless, the (non) reception at St. Peter's left a sour experience for many pilgrims, who had quite different expectations, especially knowing Santiago. Many of the cyclists (those who had travelled at least 200 km to Rome) could not go to collect the *Testimonium* because there was no safe place for bicycles. Many of those on foot (those who had travelled at least 100 km to Rome), did not collect it as they would have had to stand in the entrance queue with the other tourists, or they just couldn't as the *Testimonium* is only issued at certain times. In addition to this, there are essentially only two pilgrim accommodation facilities in the city of Rome on arrival.

This was made even more complicated by the pandemic phase and the ensuing regulations. With respect to this topic, it was interesting to see that the Via Francigena was considered a safe "place" in terms of the risk of contagion compared to many other travel destinations. Thus, 2020 in particular was a year of Italian walkers for the Italian section, many of whom would instead plan to travel to Santiago or on other journeys abroad. Much praise was given to the

management of the hospitality facilities even though many of them remained closed. The aspects of conviviality and sharing were not lacking either.

C2.o.S2: «We always go on itinerant journeys, I've wanted to do the Francigena for a long time but never find the time. This year, however, with the Covid thing... the longer you stay in the fields, the better you get... [laughter]».*

From the survey conducted, common lines emerged on the practice of pilgrimage and among the hosts involved with the transit, which lead to the condition of therapeutic mobility that characterises the slowness of the journey on foot, the relationship with the landscape and the communities crossed and the sense of community that is created in the accommodation structures. Finally, there is evidence of a profound relationship between the pilgrim and the host; a condition that accentuates, in some cases, the distinction between pilgrim and tourist and the inconsistency between different tourist segments overlapping on the same route. However, the difference between traditional pilgrims and tourists will be fading, while numerous points of similarity will emerge (Collins-Kreiner, 2009, p. 445). If indeed pilgrims and tourists, or "tourigrims", seen from the outside have hardly measurable differences (moving slowly between two places on the same path and staying in some of the same structures), the motivation that resides within them and therefore the mentality of travel involves important breaks in the way of interacting both with places and on an inter-relational level. As a matter of fact, pilgrimage motivations are quite connected to slow tourism push factors: relaxation, self-reflection and discovery, escape, contact with nature (Özdemir, Celebi, 2018). More broadly, people, like tourists, just as the pilgrims, abandon social patterns while remaining within them. They pursue new experiences to escape everyday life, and are totally immersed in aesthetic space, characterised by emotionality and fragmentariness (Bauman, 1999). Research has shown that the challenge of distinguishing between the different users of the itinerary is of particular interest to the hosts, who are focused on the motivations of the travellers and consequently on their attitudes towards pilgrimage and the use of facilities. Moreover, the process of change in contemporary pilgrimage no longer allows for a religion/secularity perspective. Since the phenomenon is therefore so nuanced and intertwined, placing the debate on the idealisation of pilgrim and tourist profiles does not reflect the prevailing reality (Olsen, 2010).

It can also be stated that the main value conditions of the pilgrimage, secular or religious, lie in the journey on foot, or slow movement, and in the overnight stay of several days. A close relationship is established with the variety of landscapes that follow one another. The nature inherent in movement represents the interaction with our environment (Ingold, 2007). In this, mobility establishes a sequential order that resolves the space orders into an experiential order of appearances that continuously evolve according to specific laws (Leed, 1991); the form of the path imposes a progressive ordering of reality.

VIII. Conclusions

The routes associated with the via Francigena represent an era and a territory, which in fact changes depending on the exact historical moment and geographical perspective. The theme of this thesis has been mobilities and their relationship with the landscape as a "container" of cultural heritage and values. Throughout the thesis, the road, together with its cultural flows, has represented the narrative dimension enabling the investigation. The aim has been to demonstrate how, by assuming the road perspective, but more generally of mobilities, we obtain an effective key to understanding and addressing studies of a historical-geographical nature as well as socio-cultural ones. In doing so, the spatiotemporal dimension of that medieval artery we now identify with the name via Francigena was examined; although, as has been shown, its identity is made up of a hierarchical plurality of different routes, historical phases, and civilisations.

As set out in the methodological chapter (III), micro-territorial realities were tackled to approach the investigation of mobility, both medieval and contemporary. This was not only in order to confront and understand the terrain, but also to explore the identity of via Francigena as a unifying dimension of a medieval Europe.

The work of the literature review (Chapter II), combined with the historiographical analysis (Chapter IV), enabled the phenomenon to be framed in its broad evolution. First, considering the sphere of ancient mobility in general and then, more closely, those inherent to medieval networks and the «*francigene*» or «*romee*» roads. In this sense, it was possible to determine its broader and more detailed significance; how in fact its identity was determined by the type of attention paid to it. The transition to modern mobility and sociological and geo-anthropological studies allowed for the refinement of its epistemological context as well as, consequently, its methodological context. This also allowed for parallelisms between medieval and modern-day mobilities, as in the case of hospitality: a fundamental part of the identity of pilgrimage routes. One of the aspects that distinguished the via Francigena from roads of only local importance was the high density of accommodation and welfare facilities along its route. Hospitality, the welcoming of a stranger, for the purpose of granting them food, lodging for the

night and protection, is one of the oldest relational situations in the life of humankind (Peyer, 1990).

It is precisely around the understanding of the historical and geographical complexity of the route that the investigation of geo-historical documentation was structured; its descriptive production of human organisational reality, with reference to medieval mobility, laid the foundations for the research that followed. Investigating the territory of this network of medieval corridors today means studying the stratigraphy of the landscape. Hence the need for a census and spatial analysis of road elements in relation to the natural environment, geomorphology and place names. In this way, it transpires how an integral part of the via Francigena is also determined by minor, capillary, and lateral routes. The multi-composition of the via Francigena, and to some extent an abstract conceptualisation of it, makes it possible to approach metaphorically the idea of a braided river. In fact, it is composed of an original, but not exclusive, starting point, a major destination, a primary corridor and further capillary streams that intertwine and carry lifeblood to the surrounding realities, whose change of direction may result in the flourishing or disappearance of settlements. The core is composed of the matter flowing through it, water or, as in this case, travellers.

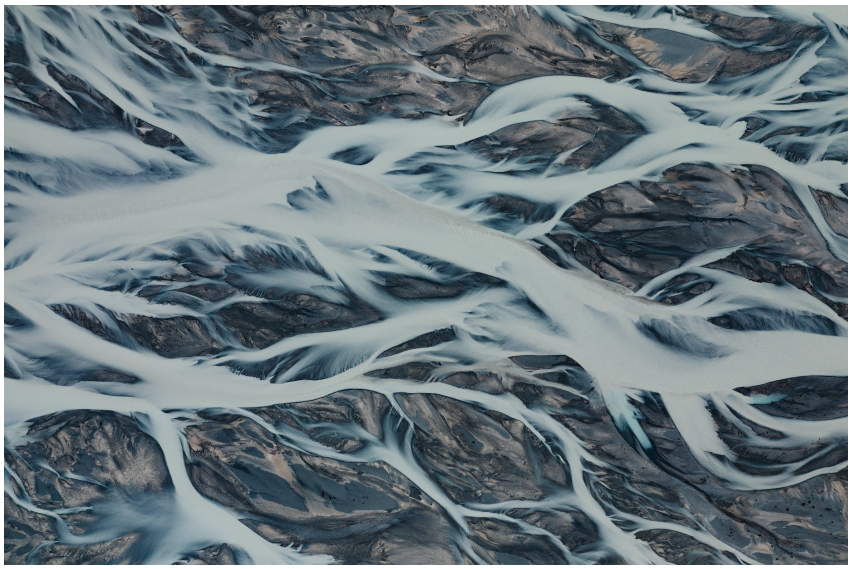


Fig.8.1. Braided river[70].

The complex of approaches and techniques adopted demonstrated the need for interdisciplinary research at the local level. Indeed, lacking the main

[70] Image regularly obtained via Shutterstock.

reference evidence, namely the surface materiality of the road, one must necessarily find references in the surrounding environment, both natural and artificial. As much as the importance of investigations on the local level is acknowledged, there are often approaches in studies that refer exclusively to the supra-regional and international panorama of the road. Thus, there is a lack of communication between the two scales, especially on the institutional and governance levels of the route. This inter-scalar gap vis-à-vis the Via Francigena is in fact one of the causes of the controversies referred to throughout this thesis. From the geo-historical documentation conducted in the two case studies (Chapters V.I. and VI.I.), a true interdependence emerges between the capillary network and the main corridors: one could not have its being without the other.

Hence the need to determine the areal or spatial conception of the road with respect to the influence it exerts on the territory traversed ("roadscape"). This phase (Chapters V.II and VI.II) of the survey revealed a twofold purpose: the determination of the road district within the case studies and the definition of an inclusive method, in the face of the exclusivity of the single route, which takes into account the heritage widely present and distributed over the territory at certain distances from the main corridor. With respect to the first of the two results, we obtain an increased knowledge of the territories associated with the road and highlighted those areas that could be considered "undiscovered" from the point of view of previous studies. In other words, regions that should be properly investigated. As for the second result, the inclusiveness of the heritage, this represents a hinge of dialogue between the sphere of the historical-geographical complexity of the medieval network and the reinvented individual itinerary as recognised by the Cultural Routes of Council of Europe programme. It is the first step of mediation between the territoriality of the route and the Sigeric's path. This means extending the enjoyment of the itinerary to the historically and geographically coherent realities of the mobility of the «*vie francigene*».

The third empirical part of the thesis (Chapters V.III and VI.III) illustrates, by means of the cartographies produced, the history and geography of the territory described by the two previous phases. In this sense, a series of static maps were presented, showing the network of identified routes together with the categories of the surveyed heritage, and, by means of the spatial analysis, another series of "dynamic" maps representing the spatial patterns as a function of the mobile

developments proper to the routes. Thus, firstly, the road network and the dispersion of the heritage were defined; secondly, the impact of the Francigena road on the territory. In doing so, it was particularly interesting to define the hierarchy of the capillary set of roads. It is a concept that demonstrates a coexistence of roads whose relevance alternates according to different historical moments, local and/or supra-local needs, environmental or even seasonal conditions, and social and politico-military conditions that, like magnets, generate approaches to or rejections from certain poles.

The maps produced are therefore a representation of the overall transit with reference to the main corridor of the via Francigena; otherwise, it would have been more correct to produce separate maps following the different chronological phases at different scales. As already introduced, this analysis also resulted in a comparison between historical and contemporary contexts. It is a comparison between the geo-historical results of this thesis and the state of the route as it has been reinvented and realised today. More specifically, the spatial analysis inherent to Near Analysis and Kernel Density served to determine the degree of historical coherence (again with respect to the survey conducted here) between the surveyed heritage, the mapped medieval network, and the tourist itinerary included in the areas of the two case studies.

Amongst the various results, it could be observed that the tourist itinerary, determined largely following Sigeric's diary, passes through the main identified road junctions – in other words where the surveyed heritage creates high concentrations – but clearly cannot consider the whole of the articulated reality conceived here. Similarly, this concerns the comparison of linear shapefiles, thus the roads exclusively. This is especially true if variant sections and the cycle route are considered. The latter, although it must adhere to the practicability of roads for those on wheels, itself has a considerable degree of consistency. This can be considered true in view of the identified continuity between the main medieval and modern road corridors.

Ultimately, much has been discussed with respect to the quantitative and qualitative investigation of the itinerary use and dimension of modern pilgrimage (Chapter VII). These paths, medieval and contemporary, have demonstrated a fragmented and highly articulated identity. Therefore, undoubtedly, it is very difficult to define its historical complexity and to manage 21st century

understandings of the route. In fact, while this heterogeneity can be seen as an asset, it means an equally complicated decoding that results in a rich tourist segmentation, but also a fragile one with respect to the sensitivity that a pilgrimage itinerary entails. Added to this is the responsibility attributed to these Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe. This is both from a geo-political point of view, walking across national borders, and of cultural identity, where the road has represented, as it still does today, a multicultural bonding agent and a means of circulation and contamination.

In this sense, the modern pilgrim, in the archetypal condition of a foreigner even in their homeland, is its lifeblood and ambassador. The Cultural Routes, in all this, imply a cross-cultural value as a whole (CIIC of Icomos, 2008). It is indeed the case that tourism, today, has become a new civilising form (Urbain, 2013) that also represents, according to the Council of Europe scheme, an opportunity for sustainable development for rural areas, for enhancing heritage, and for strengthening European identity (CoE, 2015). But more generally, to retrieve the pilgrimage phenomenon – of which let me refer to the discussion between pilgrimage and tourism in Chapter VII –, modern cultural tourism evokes a movement whose main motivation is to broaden one's horizons, seek knowledge and emotions through the discovery of heritage and its territory (de Cluzeau, 1998). Hence the importance discussed above of surveying a coherent and extended heritage around the identified road network.

People increasingly decide to put on the modern pilgrim's clothes, not necessarily religious, in order to rediscover values and archetypes that seem to belong only to past epochs. By virtue of what has been summarised here, a reflection is necessary with respect to the diverse ways in which a *cammino* imposes with respect to the offer of the different territories, the protection of the pilgrimage dimension and – as already firmly expressed by the insiders interviewed – with respect to the heterogeneity of the demand that a rich as well as fragmented territory crossed by the Via Francigena is able to provide today. Therefore, a qualitative survey on the territory which, following the different levels of mobility, transversally crosses its historical-geographical, heritage and socio-cultural context is more necessary than ever.

At the conclusion of this journey, the role of mobilities – here with respect to the «*vie francigene*» network – is to be interpreted and affirmed as the centre

around which human phenomena flow, as a common core that allows us to connect, explain, and thus make sense of seemingly disconnected realities by providing further narratives and points of observation.

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