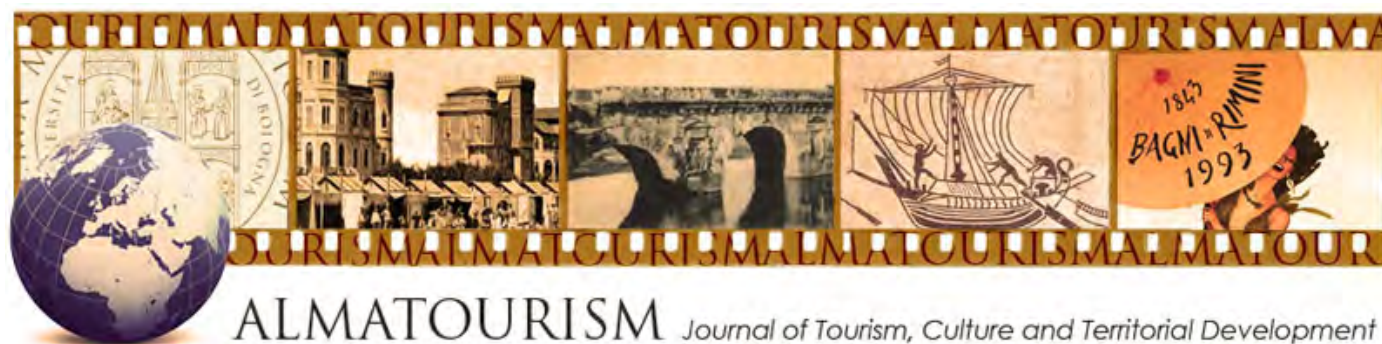



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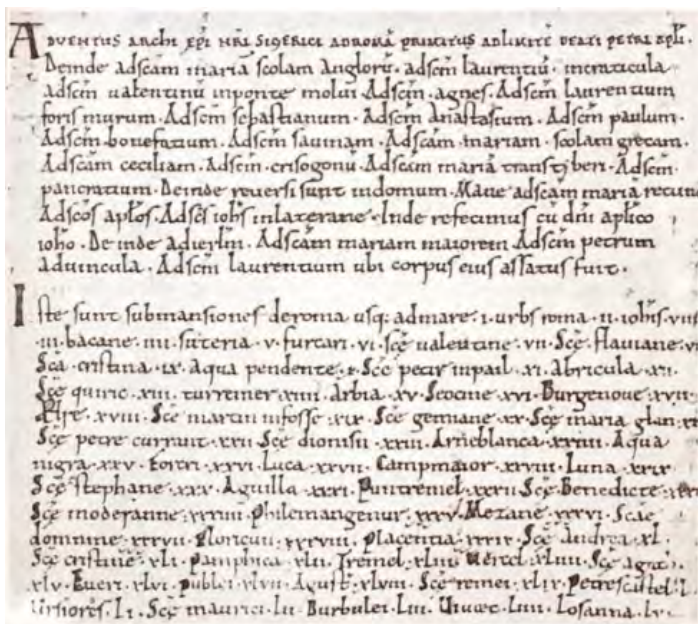
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## EDITORIAL

Ilaria Sabbatini and Fiorella Dallari

The 2017 winter issue can be considered a theme one, proposing reflections on very specific subjects and case studies. In fact, *Almatourism*, with the support of the *European Association of the Vie Francigene*, publishes seven essays and seven articles and reports devoted to the historical sources of the European Pilgrimage of Romei and Francigeni, relevant to the so called Romee Routes, to the pilgrimages and to the European and Italian shrines. This heritage of religious interest is essential for many destinations and devotional travels (and beyond), with particular reference to the Romee and Francigene, starting with the Sigeric's Itinerary; in fact, he travelled to Rome in 990-994, when he was installed as Archbishop of Canterbury, and wrote a short diary about his way back home from Rome (Figure 1). His was the first Christian diary, whilst the oldest dates back to 333 AD, then one of the IV century and after others.



**Figure 1:** Sigeric's Diary.

[www.viefrancigene.org/it/resource/blog/category/bibliografia-storica/](http://www.viefrancigene.org/it/resource/blog/category/bibliografia-storica/)

This issue provides an occasion on the international scale: a focus on the documentary sources devoted to pilgrimages and historical routes in support of the new and future touristic trends attracted by new and old cultural goods, also raising a greater awareness of the heritage. *Almatourism* supports medieval travel studies with a public history approach, introducing the complexities of intertwining this topic with local communities, pilgrims and tourists, stakeholders, public players, and others, aiming to achieve a greater social participation.

The long-standing question increasingly emerging in the international, national and local context arises from the difficult relationship among knowledge, conservation, and enhancement: a relational system underlying the “*patrimonializzazione*”, that is the process of construction and fruition of contemporary heritage, the awareness and management of cultural assets and contemporary use of the past, like a heritage of pluralizing pasts (Ashworth, Graham, & Tunbridge, 2007). This means that we must start over and again from the knowledge to choose our heritage

and its fruition, like the Unesco endless debate on tangible and intangible heritage and on the question of cognitive dichotomy demonstrates (Dallari, 2016).

The seven essays of this issue, deal with scientific rigor with a series of really important topics, like the cartography produced between the late Middle Ages and the Unification of Italy, a heritage which is among the most important categories of documentary sources for the history of the viability and the territory. The original maps (nearly all hand-drawn) support control and enhancement of the territory, as shown by L. Rombai, including the numerous pilgrim routes that cross Tuscany from north to south. The author firstly speculates about the existence of a data base, and possibly a type of map, then a historical road system “of pilgrim routes and holy places in Tuscany” in particular, on which work remains to be done with reference to the documentary sources, starting by these maps, as a model of good practice to be shared on a European scale for its pilgrimages and cultural routes. In this context, the *geometric* (like geographic) representations are endorsed for the value given to a range of other sources (written, oral and object-based) within the prospective of spatial-temporal research with a strategic and sustainable potentiality. There is a lack of studies regarding the cartography of viability and road networks, with particular reference to those on the *vie Romee* (the pilgrimages and cultural itineraries having Rome as a final destination), with structures created with the aim of supporting traffic (and sometimes pilgrim hospitality).

According to A. Benvenuti, the strategic and sustainable potentiality of an impressive religious heritage is a serious question for the future of a shared territorial knowledge; a lot of the historical documentation is unknown or not evaluated, from the different social, cultural and religious approaches that have always characterized every society in the time and the space as E. Kant would have said, categories that today we tend to interpret with the terms Heritage and Territory. The Via Francigena, the oldest and most important European pilgrimage, has often simplified the largest and most important historical-cultural theme of the medieval road network which, for example, could include the many *Romee*. *Almatourism* stresses how the Council of Europe, through the European Institute of Cultural Itineraries, requires the official recognition of a defined path, although aware of the geographical complexity and density of the heritage. The large documentary, library, artistic and architectural assets, produced thanks to the presence of ecclesiastical institutions at the local level, still remains to be known. The treasures of the Marian cult, like shrines and holy places in Tuscany, is very impressive and touching but still not valued.

Anyway, the pilgrimage routes have remarkably influenced the collective imaginary and local culture, as can it can be appreciated not only in some artistic works but also in miracles' tales. The example of Pistoia (Italy) provided by A. D'Apruzzo demonstrates how pilgrimage, «a kinetic ritual, full of real and – sacred - objects» (Turner-Turner, 1997) influences in the broad sense the culture of the places affected by this important phenomenon, and holds a very strategic cultural value for the contemporary touristic practices. P. Foschi, thus, suggests the key role of the persistent use of the road name itself (such as *Fiamenga da Flaminia* or *Cassiola da Cassia*) or the use in medieval documents of the term *strata*, meaning not only local but at least regional or trans-regional route. A coordinated series of initiatives of cultural relevance also useful for the acquaintance and tourism development of the territory must imply the study of the ancient testimonies of the path of travelers and pilgrims as a solid basis.

The case of pilgrims and pilgrimage in the sanctuary of Sainte Foy at Conques (as M. Papasidero describes) underlines the miracle stories and ritual practices, which are increasingly the focus of Icomos and Unesco attention, as a new religious property. The Croatian pilgrimages to Loreto is a contribution to the study of the links between the two sides of the Adriatic Sea in the 18th century, analyzed through the perspective of common roots with Judaism and Islam, and the

subsequent differentiation from other Christian confessions: an issue which requires further publication and analysis of documentary sources, as Z. Podhraški Čizmek says.

The essay of B. Borghi represents an interesting and innovative line of research for the heritage approaches and touristic practice: the study of ancient travel journals, like the journey to the Holy Land of Anselmo Adorno of Genoese families moved to Bruges at the end of 13th century. He was considered to be one of the most outstanding and influential men of the Middle Ages in that area of Western Europe between Flanders, the Duchy of Burgundy and Scotland and he left us an account of a journey, *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae Anselmi Adorni* (end of 16<sup>th</sup> century), written by his son Giovanni. It is an extraordinarily rich source both for its detailed descriptions of places, customs and costumes of the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean as well as for its narration which highlights the polished and sensitive curiosity of such a man of culture. Italy as described by Anselmo: splendid, superb and elegant cities and overland routes – a very appealing description for the contemporary travelers in search of memories.

The articles and reports are almost all dedicated to the Via Francigena, as a new way to read Sigeric's itinerary relying on the Geographic Information System (GIS), as A. Innocenti suggests, or the Via Francigena's cultural routes on Mount Amiata (L. Porcelloni). Two researches are devoted to the lower Lunigiana region (Tuscany, Italy) tracking pilgrims and ancient pilgrimage routes (E. Salvatori and S. Mussi), and analysing problems and traces of ancient pilgrimages from the Holy Land to the Via Francigena (F. Vanni). Then we have the Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Cathedral of San Martin in Lucca (Italy) in 1896, one of the most important stopover on the Via Francigena, thanks to research and studies on documents and news from the Archive of the Holy Face's Congregation (T.M. Rossi); I. Orsini presents a "light portrait" dedicated to Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus (530/40 – 610), the Venetian poet who, as a young man, crossed the Alps and, travelling through Central Europe, reached the territories of Gaul.

Finally, F. Galletti presents a concrete project for the dissemination of history and heritage, a series of educational projects, new challenges and perspectives that the International Centre of methodology for teaching history and heritage (DiPaSt) of the University of Bologna has undertaken over the last few years on history teaching and heritage education. The city of Bologna has become one of the most important cultural and tourist attractions regarding history, and the importance of the International Feast of the History (2017) is demonstrated by the fact that its patrons are the President of Italian Republic and the European Commission Representation in Italy. An important project which is carried out throughout the year and provides important insights for the International Feast of the History is called "The roots for flying: the protagonists of history", which combines research and history teaching carried out by teachers and students on any topic they choose to investigate. The Feast consists of meetings, conferences, exhibitions, guided tours and displays that are mainly held during the third week of October in various locations of the city of Bologna and its province: palaces, squares, streets, churches, cloisters, theatres, schools and administrative buildings.

This winter issue claims once again that tourism remains basically a social and cultural activity, and reconfirms the importance of UNESCO's policies that reflect endlessly on heritage and knowledge, between Memory and Contemporaneity. With the guest editor Ilaria Sabbatini, Almatourism wants to support a greater integration between different disciplinary fields starting from a greater social commitment in a logic of social participation and sharing of methodologies and bibliography.

In this vital debate of human society, Almatourism wants to contribute with this N. 16 of the winter solstice (2017), which has always been a symbol of waiting for the light in the life of every person and community.

With this vision in mind, Almatourism is pleased to wish all authors (more than 400 people) reviewers, the editorial team and all our collaborators a new year of peace and success.

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## **Almatourism**

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### **Knowledge for the Enhancement between Memory and Contemporaneity: Pilgrim's Old and New Routes in Historical Maps (15th-19th Centuries)**

Rombai, L.\*  
University of Florence (Italy)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

The text analyses the cartography produced between the late Middle Ages and the Unification of Italy (and the Carta d'Italia of the Military Survey Office): among the most important categories of documented sources for the history of viability and the area. The original maps (almost all hand-drawn) prevail, drawn for the ancient states or upper classes for the purpose of military or civil management, control and enhancement of the territory. Beyond the metrics and topographic contents, the utilisation of historical maps requires research in public and private land registries of Italy and other countries, which is not always easy. It furthermore requires a rational critical evaluation of the products and with this the necessary contextualisation of administrative and political-economic-social strategic practice to which they belong. The text addresses historical cartography (general maps of various scales and road types) used for the study of viability, including the numerous pilgrim routes that cross Tuscany from north to south, passing through the Appennino, through the crossings of Lunigiana and Valtiberina. The official Tuscan products, as well as those of its sub-regions and communities (whose road network is highlighted) stand out among others, and also singular street routes, particularly those drawn during the second half of the 18th century and the first decades of the 20th century when the geometric cadastre was completed. Almost all of them were needed to be able to rule the territory and often to plan and carry out important public work as well as modernisation of communication infrastructure.

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**Keywords:** Registries; Methodologies; Historical Cartography;

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\* E-mail address: [leonardo.rombai@unifi.it](mailto:leonardo.rombai@unifi.it)

Lo scritto analizza la cartografia prodotta fra tardo Medioevo e Unità (e la Carta d'Italia dell'Istituto Geografico Militare): una categoria di fonti documentarie tra le più importanti per lo storico della viabilità e del territorio. Prevalgono le mappe originali (quasi sempre manoscritte), disegnate per conto degli antichi Stati o dei ceti dominanti, con obiettivi di conoscenza a fini di gestione civile o militare, controllo e valorizzazione del territorio. Al di là delle qualità metriche e dei contenuti topografici, l'utilizzazione delle mappe storiche richiede una ricerca non sempre agevole nelle conservatorie pubbliche e private d'Italia e di altri paesi; e, ancora di più, richiede un'accorta valutazione critica dei prodotti, con loro necessaria contestualizzazione nelle pratiche amministrative e nelle strategie politico-economico-sociali cui appartengono.

Lo scritto affronta i tipi cartografici storici (carte generali a varia scala e tematiche stradali), funzionali allo studio della viabilità, comprese le numerose vie di pellegrinaggio che attraversano la Toscana da Nord a Sud, con passaggio dell'Appennino ai valichi presenti fra Lunigiana e Valtiberina. Spiccano, tra i prodotti, quelli ufficiali della Toscana e delle sue subregioni o comunità (delle quali si evidenzia il sistema viario), e anche di singoli percorsi stradali, specialmente redatti nella seconda metà del XVIII e nei primi decenni del XX secolo, quando fu ultimato il catasto geometrico: quasi tutti servirono proprio per finalità di governo del territorio e spesso per progettare ed eseguire importanti lavori pubblici e di ammodernamento delle infrastrutture di comunicazione.

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**Keywords:** Conservatorie; Metodologie; Problematiche storico-cartografiche cartografico-storiche

## **Introduction.**

### **Historical-cartographic and cartographic-historical registries, methodology and problems**

As is known, cartography produced by public and private operators, starting from late-medieval times and above all of the Renaissance and modern period, is at present dispersed in countless registries, not only public – libraries and/or institutional, domestic or business archives – and located in the care of a rising number of collectors and antique booksellers. It goes without saying that, in Italy, it is only through systematic scrutiny, *in loco* or online or in the competent Sovrintendenza Archivistica Regionale (Regional Archivist Authority) of register inventories – starting from public registers, the richest and most accessible – that it will be possible to become acquainted with maps and cartography, in a chronological arrangement of the former and professional formation of the latter: elements which represent the necessary keys for a correct interpretation and use of historical maps.

The national study *Dizionario storico dei cartografi italiani (Historic Dictionary of Italian Cartographers)*/DISCI and the work on cartographers and cartographic entities (per la Toscana, Guarducci, a cura di, 2006) demonstrate that there is still much to do in order to identify and census registers and resources present in any region of Italy and abroad. This, in spite of the documented excavation taken place in the past three to four decades by cartography historians, archivists, librarians and academic scholars and not

only those who utilise graphical sources as foundations for research in geography, history, archaeology, city planning, morphology-hydrography, ecology-forestry, etc. Even from the perspective of a study (functional in the elaboration of plans and projects) about environmental assets, landscape heritage and natural and cultural assets.

Suffice to say that – for Tuscany – cartography is not only conserved to general resources and local cities and smaller Tuscan towns but also in many other Italian and European cities. Millions of cartographies, particularly those of administrative origins (manuscripts, apart from rare hard copies), attributable to the 15th to 19th centuries and including the maps of the nineteenth-century geometric cadastre, are registered in many libraries and local archives that cannot be listed here.

I limit myself to the ten National Archives, each of which conserves maps of the geometric cadastres relative to the respective province, and the political-administrative sources of the ancient offices that had power over the area and the overseeing of viability: in regards to state archives, those of great importance for access to other sources are those of Lucca<sup>1</sup>, Firenze<sup>2</sup>, Pisa<sup>3</sup>, Siena<sup>4</sup>, Pistoia<sup>5</sup>, Massa<sup>6</sup> e Grosseto<sup>7</sup>.

Important sources of varying origin, but rich with historical maps useful for research on viability, can also be found in the libraries of the Istituto Geografico Militare (Geographical Military Institute) (*map collection*) and the Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (National Centre of Florence) (*Geographical maps and New Accessions*) and in the provincial Uffici Tecnico Erariali, known today as the Agenzie delle Entrate (Internal Revenue Service), as well as the offices of Genio Civile, all decentralised state services active since 1862: the first, for management (with the necessary revisions of nineteenth-century cadastres) and the realisation of the new Italian cadastre between the 1930s and 1940s; the second, for the execution of public works, above all for waterways and routes of communication and for the control of community actions.

Evidently, the cartography entity of the Unitary state, the IGM of Florence (operating from 1861 onwards, initially with the denomination of Servizio Tecnico del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, 1861-72, and of Istituto Topografico Militare, 1872-82), possesses the fundamental *Carta Topografica d'Italia* (Topographic Map of Italy) identified between the 1870s and 1903, with a scale of 1:100.000, 1:50.000 and 1:25.000, and progressively revised on several occasions.

Many documents concerning my region (like all others) are conserved – for reasons essentially attributable to pre-Unified history – in out-of-region public archives<sup>8</sup> and in foreign archives<sup>9</sup>, as indeed in countless Tuscan, non-Tuscan and foreign public libraries<sup>10</sup>. The same aristocratic and bourgeoisie families, public institutions and currently existing ancient laic charitable and religious institutes have archives and/or libraries consisting of spatial representations, particularly those relative to their founding heritage and real estate. An initial idea of the records present in out-of-state public registries and in notified private registries can be learned from the inventories (only in small numbers) possessed in the Archivist Authorities.

In this respect, most of the research must be conducted using cartographic resources as well as written that often conserve cartography, though in differing quantities. Moreover, more than a few recent studies, from the biographies of single cartographers (such as the Tuscan Ferdinando Morozzi, active in the second half of the 18th century) (Guarducci, 2008), to the geographic-historians focused on Tuscan

territories of differing dimensions (Rombai, Ciampi, 1979; Mazzanti, 1982; Rombai, 1995; Rombai, a cura di, 1990; Gallo, 1993; Stopani *et al.*, 1993; Bertuccelli Migliorini, Caccia, a cura di, 2006; Romiti, 2007) or on specific themes, for example the nineteenth-century Tuscan geometric cadastre (Guarducci, 2009), demonstrate the validity of the hypothesis in an exemplary method.

The problems a researcher must work through utilising the aforementioned category of recourses – for historic-territorial research (reconstructing territorial processes through time) or for geographic-actualistic (identifying the heritage of the past in the current framework of landscape and environment) and for archaeological or architectural research etc. – concerning, in essence: the knowledge of institutes that have produced or commissioned resources, which does not always mean the same current institutions that conserve documents, but those to which the identified resources are genetically tied. Recognising the objective of the production in question and of the possible correlation with other practices and writings (partially conserved or untraceable), should be analysed in an integrated way; knowledge of surveying techniques and instruments used to produce maps and – when possible – the professional route of the self-same experts.

Attempting to respond to the aforementioned questions signifies preparing the land for the correct research practices functional to the interpretation and evaluation criteria of the content and metric qualities of the maps, with the acknowledgement of the limits and omissions (sometimes even desired) in those present until at least the first half of the 19th century.

An important aspect concerns the different geometric quality of the cartography, in other words, the defective nature of pre-unitary cartography. The historiography demonstrates that, up until the 18th century and beyond, any general map of Italy and its regional states, printed or as a manuscript, invariably resulted as very defective; that is to say that any representation that attempted to be constructed before the first Renaissance with the rediscovery of Ptolemaic cartography, even for political contracting, but generally in a manner which predicted restricted budgets and development times, though with inspections on the land (occasionally with exceptional metric-topographic or astronomical original surveying) it was consistently imprecise: not exclusively and not due to the scarcity and quality of the topographic maps, but rather for the absolute lack of sufficiently exact astronomic identification and geodetic surveys which should have supplied an indispensable foundation for the construction of the self-same map.

Up until at least the second half of the 18th century, the various governments did not invest in instruments and operations able to give a modern astronomic-geodetic base to their cartography: only from then on were astronomic specula born – thanks to single scientific and academic merit – that were able to develop celestial observations (in Tuscany in Pisa, Florence and Siena; in Milanese in Brera; in Veneto in Padova; in the Pontifical State in Rome; in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in Pozzuoli-Napoli) and at times elaborate real triangulation projects and topographic surveys, to attain the construction of general representations on a state basis or town drawings.

On the other hand, the scientific underdevelopment of the rare pre-Unitarian chorographic cartography, printed or handwritten, resembles the authenticity of a lot of partial cartography which was created on a large scale, by hand, by the various

states which formed Italy, dated at least half way through the 16th century: a cartography which – contrary to chorographic cartography – was able to represent cities and territories of small dimensions with significant detail, with graphic efficacy and relative precision, with themes of greater political-environmental criticality expressed in places and areas.

This can be observed up until the geometric-particulate cadastres of the mid eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century and above all in the geodetic and Napoleonic topographic operations, or until cartography of a topographic-chorographic scale of the Savoy era, the Hapsburgs (of the Lombard-Veneto and the Ducato of Modena), the Bourbons of Parma and Lucca and the Lorrainers of the Grand Duchy of the Restoration age. These scales were produced with the necessary integration of astronomic-geodetic methods and frequently of geometric cadastration. (Cantile, 2013; e Rombai, 2013).

The aforementioned production was necessary for exclusively geopolitical objectives, particularly: the surveying of the position of territorial assets and the planning for their modification, in sectors such as the international borders and the municipal and provincial internal links (less often diocesan); the military/customs/sanitary control of islands, coasts and borders; arrangement and organisational works for river and canal water pumps and for the reclamation of marshland; the intervention of fortifications and residential areas or other locations and the communication infrastructures (including maritime, waterway and above all land); the management of territorial resources (public and private), such as agricultural-forestry and grazing, fishing, mining and manufacturing/industrial (salt mines included), also for tax purposes (geometric-particulate cadastres).

In this context, the creation of collective technical entities (institutional offices) can be explained, located in the administrative bureaucracy of the ancient Italian states: there was a plurality of entities everywhere with a lack of technical cartographic centralisation and consequently a fragmented production of thematic representations. The Republic of Venice was the first to promote numerous offices that launched the creation of maps of the territory, with various administrative and military objectives”, to provide “an group of technical entities able to decide and accomplish operations on the territory”: among them the waterway managers (particularly the *Savi ed Esecutori delle Acque* from 1501) who confronted the fragile relationship between cities and the lagoon and the correlated problems of the surface water systems, inevitably elaborating an immense cartographic production (Casti Moreschi, 1993, pp. 83, 91-92 e 94).

The Venetian model – which excluded the centralisation to a single technical authority which rationally served the requirements of all the offices – indicates the meticulous autonomy of magistrates originally organised by bodies of elected citizens or drawn by lot, thus explaining their lack of integration into a truly unitary body state. Even the small Republic of Lucca was no less than that of Venice, indeed between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries until the Napoleon and Borbonic rule of the nineteenth century, the Republic founded many offices of differing expertise (with fragmentation between various entities of domains relative to the same matter) for the rule of the territory, including roads and bridges (Guarducci, a cura di, 2006). The well-structured institutional arrangement of the Florentine state (from 1532 Duchy of Florence and

from 1569 Grand duchy of Tuscany) – an acquaintance which appears indispensable to the promotion of the production of millions of cartographies and the work of hundreds of cartographers over various decades – was well described by scholar archivists of institutions such as Toccafondi and Vivoli (soprattutto in Rombai, a cura di, 1993; e Guarducci, a cura di, 2006). The organisational structure of the Grand Duchy state was reformed in depth in the Lorraine period (1737-1859) with the establishment of many other offices which, at least in part, acquired the duties of those eliminated. In the Kingdom of Naples, before the innovative and centralised *Officio Topografico di Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni* (Topographic Office of Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni) (1781), the *Regia Dogana della Mena delle Pecore* excelled in the second half of the XVI century with its 'compassatori' authors of maps of sheep tracks and grazing areas, mainly conserved in the State Archives of Foggia (Valerio, 1993). However, in time the other Italian states provided modern structures in continually varied technical-administrative bureaucracies.

It is evident that this composite reality which articulates the development and consolidation of the modern state (16th and 17th centuries) and continues to the 18th century – together with the change in denomination and conferment of duties – requires a preliminary census of institutional operative subjects to be conducted from a political-institutional perspective: thus to bring the events of each entity to light, as well as the scope of its administrative abilities, the bureaucratic organisation and professional preparation of employed technical figures or of external figures<sup>11</sup>. In terms of historical cartography the varied categories of administrative cartographic documents of pre-Unified Italy were foregone by the specific historiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, compared to the erudite production represented by the late-medieval and Renaissance 'monuments' (nautical and Ptolemaic monuments in particular) and the much more numerous geographical, chorographical or city cartography (generally printed), drafted in the modern age for commercial purposes. The scarce attention given to administrative cartography is due to the rarity of specific inventories and catalogues at the time, both printed and hand written. It is only in recent years that librarians and archivists have committed to the drafting of many cataloguing instruments and to the construction of freely accessible databases; thus, in the joint objective to better conserve documents (impeded from consultation, once recorded and reproduced) and to facilitate awareness of the use of the aforementioned instruments for scientific, professional and didactic-educational work<sup>12</sup>.

Such initiatives are valid also for Tuscany, for the broadening of frameworks of knowledge on the production of the pre-Unitarian states – as well as the connection of the current era between cartographic bodies and cognitive, strategic and actionable requirements of governments and local administrations – or for the focus on personality and the technical work of single cartographers (Guarducci, 2003). The dispersal between more registries generally produced the division of cartographic works in those of Unitarian origins and the separation of cartography of a political-cultural context (of administrative practices), or of Teoric-practical functions to which they originally referred to. From here it is necessary to recreate an organic connection between graphical and written representations: a procedure which requires the

application of a correct exegesis, or rather a professional critical analysis of cartographic categories (administrative and scientific-cultural) that precede the few (and not always successful) experiments in creating topographic maps of pre-Unitarian states from the Risorgimento, and the experiment to realise a *Carta Topografica d'Italia* (Topographic Map of Italy) successfully conducted between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the IGM (Road Traffic Inspectorate), as well as the realisation of the category produced for private or commercial purposes, that is rather less original and important relative to the others.

The administrative objective of historical cartography is connected to the specificity of its contents. We are indeed in the presence of graphical products that are easy to collect – rather than general maps of the territory – such as distinctive figures, for which determined contents were intentionally selected which were the basis of the political or technical-scientific project for the creation of the map itself. However once the partial or subjective aspect has come to light with the proper critical attention which a scholar must reserve for every document to try, impossible as it seems, to cleanse it of mistakes, inaccuracies and misinterpretation, voluntary or otherwise, it is necessary to consider past maps as matters of value to current scholars. Their importance cannot be recognised, together with the awareness that they must not be utilised as exclusive sources: a caution which applies to all documents, included therein the contemporary scientific cartographies on a larger topographic scale, such as the *Carta Topografica d'Italia* (Topographic Map of Italy) IGM and the more detailed regional technical maps.

These products in relation to those of the past qualify for their own aseptic or incontestability: the contemporary figures are precise on a geometric level, but often miserly with matters of social conditions, landscape-environmental perceptions and destinations of spatial assets used by inhabitants that no longer animate the self-same representations, which is what occurred until the first half of the 19th century.

The scientific use of the cartography of the past is today remarkable in various disciplinary sectors.

It is the case to underline the importance of historic-cartographic research in relation to the rising scientific-cultural, didactic-educational and administrative demand to deepen knowledge of the environment, landscape and territory in historical and current organisations, such as those guaranteed by analysis contextualised by the spatial reality of each era. Regarding the content potentiality of cartography (of iconographic value), for the purposes of a territorial illustration, I will not be examining the critical literature that has gained advantage from the systematic use of said resources: with the deserved exception of the illuminating considerations made by Lucio Gambi of the administrative, cabalistic and cadastral cartography of Emilia Romagna, in his writing of the 1995 re-issue of the summary of Luciano Lago (2002, pp. 402-416).

For a long time, state topographic maps (of the recent past or current times, together with aerial photographs) – integrated with the previous similar series and the cartography of the 15th to 19th centuries, that does not possess reassuring geometric qualities – have constituted fundamental instruments and resources for the work of geographers, naturalists, architects and historians of territorial, environmental and archaeological dynamics: non only for topographical contents (and for toponomous

and functional contents), but also because the geometric representations are valid in giving value to a range of other resources (written, oral and object-based): that is to say, they are needed for precise orientation on the land and for the use of the same representations as a basis for an ordinate system of data, from a perspective of spatial-temporal research. Indeed, researchers, professional technicians and administrators today refer themselves to the *Carta Topografica d'Italia* – a tool that expresses its own importance if seen comparatively, that is, with the integration of various versions created after the first was finished in 1903 – or to technical regional or cadastre maps, in addition to aerial and satellite photographs, but also to previous cartographic representations (and territorial iconographies) to use such documents – progressively noted through monographs, archives and catalogues of exhibitions, inventories and online censuses – in studies and expository activities that are valued for their diffusion of an aware culture of the territory, and particularly of its historical and natural heritage (Guarducci, Rombai, 2016).

The correct knowledge of cartography – that assumes the dissolution of complex problems such as dating, attribution, functioning, purchasing, constructive and reproductive techniques – can even enable the recovery/identification of human dwellings that have been lost or forgotten, created in a prehistoric and protohistoric, ancient and medieval, modern and contemporary era. Indeed, usually the graphical representation of precisely aged artefacts or remains of artefacts (residential and productive settlements, roads, canals or fluvial palaeochannels, agricultural parcels, grazing and forestry formation or woodland characteristics, caves or mines etc.), often equipped by their respective toponyms or by the terms remains/ruins of which, not uncommonly, the contemporary generations had already forgotten about.

Of the critical literature that has gained advantage from the systematic use of such resources, it is enough to mention the exemplary geohistorical studies of Diego Moreno and collaborators on the mountain of Liguria, with focus on the archaeological-landscape artefacts related to the context of the social practices of activation, control and reproduction of environmental resources (Moreno, 1990). Recalling the cases of fruitful utilisation of cartography from town planning architects and historians of the city and the territory would be difficult (the noted example of monographs in “La città nella storia d'Italia” is enough); of *tout court* historians (beginning with the *princeps* example on the Italian landscape by Emilio Sereni in 1961); of archaeologists (with Riccardo Francovich who drew close to the history of cartography, studying Morozzi and the late Renaissance map of Tuscany and Piedmont to draw contents regarding the network of existent or missing medieval dwellings) (Francovich, 1976 e 1978); of geographic physicists and geomorphologists (with Renzo Mazzanti who became an esteemed specialist of cartographic history necessary for his work on the geodynamic coast and rivers) (Mazzanti, 1982; Mazzanti, Pasquinucci, 1983; Mazzanti, Pult Quaglia, 1986; Mazzanti, Sbrilli, 1991); historians of forests and of agro-sylvo-pastoral economies, as the works of Pietro Piussi on Tuscany well demonstrate, beginning from research on the forest of the Pianora nel Valdarno di Sotto farm, for which corporate map collections and plants from the 17th to 19th centuries were utilised (Piussi, Stiavelli, 1986).

Cartography was utilised extensively, with positive results for the purpose of recognising the ancient road layouts<sup>13</sup>; the location of abandoned and missing dwellings<sup>14</sup> and for the productive mining and medieval metallurgical enterprises<sup>15</sup>.

The 'canonical' resources that are able to globally represent all the Italian and Tuscan territories in synchronisation on a municipal scale reduce themselves, in practice, to the different versions of the *Carta Topografica d'Italia* (Topographic Map of Italy); the maps have a scale of 1:2500 (for mountainous areas a scale of 1:5000) of the geometric-particle cadastre of the nineteenth century, along with the municipal index maps on a smaller scale; and finally the maps of a 1:2000 scale – with an index map of 20.000 – of the Italian land cadastre (system of the late 30s or the 40s of the 20th century), the last registered in the provincial Uffici Tecnici Erariali (Technical Revenue Offices), now known as the Agenzie delle Entrate (Internal Revenue Service). Evidently, when considering IGM cartography, the two cadastres (easily comparable among themselves), result richer in their greater detail and toponymical content. The outstanding importance is then assumed by the cabrei (map collections of estate heritage of the 16th to 19th centuries) (Ginori Lisci, 1978), as demonstrated by the representations of Tuscan farms and their coordination of small farms and sharecropping.

### **1. Old and new practicability (with particular regard to pilgrim routes)**

In order to firstly compile a database and possibly a map, then a historic road system of "*pilgrim routes and holy places in Tuscany*" in particular, much work remains to be done on documented sources, starting with maps, as well as on land. Studies that consider cartography relative to viability and road networks as an ensemble do not exist, in particular those on the *vie romee* with structures created for the purpose of traffic support (and sometimes pilgrim hospitality) of the quintessential Tuscan *area-strada*: that is to say, the Apuan and Lucchese territories with the Magra and del Serchio valley, the Versilia and the plain of Lucca, and the territory which corresponds greatly to the historic Florentine *contado*, which is occupied by the *Dominante* cities that – from at least the second half of the 14th century – also includes Pistoia and Prato to the west and Arezzo to the east, as well as Mugello-Val di Sieve, Val di Greve, Val di Pesa, Val d'Elsa and inland Valdarno (above and below and not only in the middle sector which directly enchases the capital).

For this research the attainment of necessary analysis in archives and libraries and on the land (integrating historical-documented resources with the field survey) is essential, this last method has already been experimented with success by various European countries, with the participation of geographers, historians, archaeologists, and architectural and art historians, to census the *vie romee* with buildings of worship (sanctuaries and other territorial evidence connected to the support of believers, such as hospitals and houses, abbeys and convents, parishes and canonical churches etc.).

In Tuscany, the multiple research initiatives on the viability that have been present for several decades in relation to the 2002 *Giubileo* refer, primarily to the now well-known *Via Francigena* (fundamental works include that of Stopani, 1984; Vanni, Bassini, 1995), particularly in the well investigated Valdostan tract, by far the main (if not only) pilgrim

route of the Dark Ages until the 12<sup>th</sup> century included.

More recently, the other *vie romeae* have gradually been studied too: such as the eastern routes, which pass over the Appennino at the Alpe di Serra (and at the Camaldoli and Badia Prataglia crossings) between Romagna, Casentino and Valtiberina, to lastly reach Arezzo and head for the Valdichiana (routes already documented in the 10<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries) (Stopani, 1997; e Bacci, 2002). Similar to the various shorter and more direct “vie Bolognesi-Romagnole” to Florence and Siena, already existent as feudal arterial toll roads from at least the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were: the Faentina, the via Forlivese di San Godenzo-Dicomano, the Bolognese to the crossing of the Osteria Bruciata between Cornacchiaia and Sant'Agata (we need only recall the testimony of Bishop Passau and patriarch Aquileia Wolferger in circa 1200, or that of the more complete pilgrim guide from half way through the thirteenth century, the *Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto*) (Stopani, 1991) and the Bolognese crossing of Stale, named after the Cistercian hospital built before the eleventh century just west of the Futa adjacent to the abbey of San Salvatore, which derived from Pietramala as well as Bruscoli and continued to Barberino di Mugello and Sesto Fiorentino; or the other open or maintained routes from the city at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (like the Bolognese crossing of Giogo between Firenzuola and Scarperia) (Sterpos, 1961; e Ciampi, 1987).

Even further west other tras-Appennine roads were traversed by pilgrims. Testimonies – which, rather than taking the Via Francigena, preferred to opt for routes that various resources denominate *romei* – concern the routes that connected Bologna and Pistoia, the ancient routes of Lizzano and Batoni to the Lima valley, of Sasso to the Reno valley, of Sambuca to the Limentra valley, also named the *Francigena* or *Francesca*, of the abbey of Taona or the hospital of Croce Brandegliana (*La viabilità tra Bologna e Firenze nel tempo*, 1992)<sup>16</sup>; or that which connected Bologna to Prato (for the Montepiano crossing) and from there to Florence. Matthew Paris' route from London to the Holy Land of 1253 unequivocally demonstrates that Florence was already so important as to justify specific deviations from the Francigena and the via dell'Alpe di Serra, respectively, both on the outward journey and the return (Stopani, 1991, p. 19 ss.); as the King of France, Philip III did in 1271 on his return from Rome (Stopani, 1997, p. 15). In 1527, according to the ambassador of Veneto, Marco Foscari, four of these *vie* could carry armies “from the Lombard section” to Florence, despite being “all very difficult and harsh. The first is that of Pontremoli [for the passo della Cisa], which leads to the plain of Lucca, carried out by Carlo VIII, King of France, in 1494. The second *passo* is that of Garfagnana [for the Foce delle Radici and San Pellegrino in Alpe] for its mountains owned by the Honourable Signor Duke of Ferrara, the path of which also leads to the plain of Lucca carried out by the Honourable Duke of Albany in 1524, while proceeding towards Naples, when His Holiness King Francesco found himself at the siege of Pavia, the Duke of which [...] even though they came with only 60 spears and 6000 foot soldiers, nevertheless suffered greatly from provisions. The third route is that of the Sasso valley [Val di Setta for Montefredente, Bruscoli and the passo dello Stale, today Futa] that leads to Barberino and then to the plain of Prato, which leads to Florence; and along this route travelled the Medici, namely the quondam Pope Leone, cardinal at the time, and Pope Clemente in minoribus, with Giuliano de' Medici and the others in 1512 with six or seven thousand foot soldiers with only Raimondo di Cardona,

viceroy of Naples at the siege of Prato. The fourth route goes straight from Bologna to Firenzuola and Scarperia, and leads to the plain of Florence, worse than the three others aforementioned" (Ciampi, 1987, pp. 5-36).

Daniele Sterpos broadens the records, for the 16<sup>th</sup> century, of the Reno valley, they crossed the Pistoiese-Bolognese mountain in Sambuca and Porretta; to the Bolognese route which from Prato and Bisenzio aims towards Bologna to Castiglion dei Gatti, today Pepoli and to the valleys of Setta and Reno; to the various tracts that connect Faenza and the stairs of Romagna to Florence (to the Lamone valley, the Colla di Casaglia and Borgo San Lorenzo and to the Castrocara valley, the Muraglione and San Godenzo), as well as Casentino and Valtiberina, proceeding from there to Arezzo (Sterpos, 1961, pp. 67-106; Rombai, Sorelli, 1985, pp. 37-38).

Other muleteers also found themselves in the west, where they climbed or descended to the crossings of Lunigiana and Garafagnana. In the first basin a road existed which connected the region of Emilia Romagna to the Massa territory, beginning in Reggio Emilia, passing through Castelnuovo ne' Monti, the passo del Cerreto, Fivizzano, Fosdinovo and Caniparola leading to Massa through the *via postale* (Armanini, 2006, p. 70; e Pellegrinetti, 1987, pp. 136-137). In the second basin, we are reminded of the roman road *Bubulca* Lucca-San Pellegrino in Alpe Modena, which followed various routes (Santini, 1989, p. 151).

The Casentino was even traversed from north to south along a very popular trans-Alpine road which, in the 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, was considered "the best route" (*Annales Stadenses*) between Bologna and Rome: the *roman* or *romea* road of the Alpe di Serra, originating in Bagno di Romagna and descending to the upper valley of the Arno, keeping to the hydrographic left, in Biforco, Campi di Bibbiena, Rassina-Ponte in Socana, Santa Mama, Subbiano, Ponte Caliano, Marcena-Castelnuovo, Giovi, Ponte alla Chiassa and Arezzo (Bacci, 2002).

In any case, Lucca, Pistoia, Prato and Florence were almost obligatory legs for pilgrims, at least for the Giacomini routes, because conserved there were reliquaries connected to Saint James (Muzzi, Stopani, Szabo, 1978; e Stopani, 1991).

Beginning from at least half way through the 13<sup>th</sup> century and essentially for the entire modern era, particularly on the occasion of the Jubilees, Florence – having become the capital city of Tuscany and central Italy and one of the main cities of the west, economically and demographically – was an almost obligatory staging point for the numerous pilgrim routes that, from the Apennine crossings, channelled the *romei* originating from the regions of Padania and Veneto (and through them, from mid-west and northern Europe), through various roads which merged into Siena, towards the Christian capital (Stopani, 1991). With time, it gave life – through operations planned by its notable political and religious institutions and established understandings with foreign hospital and chivalric entities – to a notable system of helpful structures designed to host the masses of pilgrims<sup>17</sup>.

As far as the routes south of Florence are concerned, despite some examples of travellers who opted for the Valdarno di Sopra and the Arezzo roads (such as Bertrandon de la Broquière, lord of Vieil-Chastel, travelling to the Holy Land in 1432), there is no doubt that the real route which pilgrims from all over Europe followed in the late Middle Ages and modern era is the so-called *strada regia romana* (known as *statale* Cassia) to San Casciano and Tavarnelle Val di Pesa, Sambuca, San Donato in

Poggio and Castellina in Chianti which (thanks to its capillary-like help system for travellers) continued to be utilised through to the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and beyond: for example, in 1480 it was of service to an anonymous French pilgrim (Stopani, 1984 e 1991, p. 160).

Up until half way through the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were no marked innovations in municipal road structure, and saw a network of public roads packed but not hierarchical, and often fragmented, made up of mule tracks and pedestrian paths coactively maintained by the community and local municipalities, perpetually in need of restorations and improvements for their marked technical poverty: the rarefaction of bridges, roads with natural foundations and lacking water defences (such as withstanding walls, gutters and drainage systems). In winter, almost all the mountainous and high-altitude roads experienced conditions which rendered them impassable or risk ridden, they were thus utilised at a very slow pace and with high costs (particularly for goods transported on mules or sledges).

From the mid-eighteenth century, a real, albeit gradual, revolution began, at least partially documented by cartography and project memoirs for the opening of new viable routes that often reutilised the ancient routes. That is: the Vandelli from Modena to Massa to Sassuolo-Pavullo in Frignano-Castiglione of Garfagnana-Pieve to Fosciana-Vagli-Resceto, with the passage of San Pellegrino in Alpe, the Radici and Monte Tambura, commissioned by Duke Francesco III of Este to the mathematician and geographer Domenico Vandelli, between 1738-39 and 1752 (Pellegrini M., Pozzi FM, a cura di, 1987; *La Via Vandelli: strada ducale del Settecento da Modena a Massa*, 2001; Pellegrini, Pozzi, a cura di, 1989) and the Bolognese della Futa from Bologna to Florence, built by the new sovereigns, Francesco Stefano of Lorena and Maria Teresa of Asburgo, between 1749 and 1752; the Pistoia-Modena dell'Abetone, constructed by the Duchy of Modena and the Grand Duchy with bridges and monumental posts between 1766-67 and 1778-79; and the Romagna Florence-Forlì del Muraglione, constructed in two instances in 1782-87 (together with the Pontassieve-Consuma-Casentino or road of the three sanctuaries of Vallombrosa, Camaldoli and Verna) and in 1832-36.

During the Napoleonic era, the three new trans-Appennine routes were planned and launched, the passo della Cisa from Parma to Pontremoli and Sarzana, the passo del Cerreto from Reggio Emilia to Aulla and the passo di Bocca Trabaria from Arezzo to Urbino, but were realised at a slow pace, interruptions and resumptions occurred between the 1920s and the 1930s (Lera, Lera, 2006, p.16).

In 1819, the isolation of the Lucchesia (the plain of Lucca) in relation to commercial relations with the Po Valley<sup>18</sup> explains the construction of the Lucca-Modena route to the Val Fegana or Foce a Giovo, through the adaptation of one of the mule tracks that from Fiumalbo and Pievepelago merges into the Foce a Giovo, accessible from the Bagni di Lucca<sup>19</sup>.

The Florence-Faenza route to Borgo San Lorenzo and Colla di Casaglia was made viable – after the first works were launched in 1816 – in the '30s and '40s, together with the old Bolognese of Scarperia-Firenzuola to Giogo (Sterpos, 1981).

The Porrettana road between Pistoia and Bologna to the Passo della Collina was constructed in two phases: between 1816 and 1843, the Bolognese tract; and between 1842 and 1847, the Pistoia stretch named Leopolda. It was realised privately - as a toll

road - by a company formed by Pistoia landowners. On the papal side however, from 1812, work on the project of engineer Giovan Battista Martinetti, began between Sasso and Porretta, which interweaved the valley floor of the Rhine.

The road connecting Pescia and the Pesciatino with the Pistoiese mountain and the Modenese in the area of San Marcello, that is, the Traversa Vellano-Mammiano to Momigno, Prunetta and Piteglio, was opened in 1840-48 but was yet to be completed in the summer of 1852, when it was traversed by Leopold II.

Other trans-Appennine roads were built by the Kingdom of Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century: these are the roads of Lucciana Nardi and Lagastrello in Lunigiana between Aulla and Parma to Lucciana-Varano (built in the 1960s and declared provincial in 1867); of Val di Reno connecting the Porrettana and the Ximeniana-Modenese between Ponte alla Venturina, Pracchia and Pontepetri (built in 1878-81); of Castiglion dei Pepoli to Prato and the valleys of Setta and Bisenzio through the Montepiano crossing (built between the 60s and 80s); of the Adriatic routes of Mandrioli between Bagno di Romagna and Bibbiena in Casentino (opened in 1879-80) and of Montecoronaro or Verghereto between Bagno di Romagna and Pieve Santo Stefano in the upper Valtiberina (built between 1881 and the First World War) (Borgi, 1977 ).

## **2. Maps and roads in Tuscany**

During the second half of the fifteenth century – thanks to the rediscovery of the Ptolemaic scientific models – a regional map production was already launched, which benefitted from the invention of printing to gain the attention of the humanists and the Italian and European market in general, with further great development during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Italian cartographers are introduced (including Giacomo Gastaldi and Giovanni Antonio Magini) as well as Flemish publishers (above all Abramo Ortelio and Gerardo Mercatore), and authors of chorographic map collections that had immense editorial success. Almost all the products – even those on a larger scale and therefore in more detail, including the great pictorial cycle of Italian regions drawn by Egnazio Danti in the Vatican Palaces – introduce, however, a singular absence, which concerns the viability of routes, this evidently considered component of strategic value that the various state governments refused to authorise.

Apart from few exceptions of little interest regarding the reliability of roads, it is only around the middle of the eighteenth century that the first modern maps appear, much more precise than those of the sixteenth century (which continued, however, until at least the first half of the eighteenth century), and extended to consider not only of the settlements but the main roads, starting from postal ones<sup>20</sup>.

Since then, the regional maps were no longer drawn, exclusively at the table, for editorial-commercial purposes, but to become state products, not necessarily engraved and printed – indeed more often left as manuscripts and used only in public administration<sup>21</sup> – and the result of general astronomical and geodetic acquisitions and particularly of direct topographic surveys (usually still very partial) of the territory by engineer architects or governmental scientists, activated by the Regency in Tuscany. Indeed, starting from 1750, the objective was to realise the Geographical Map – as was done in France, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the Cassini

and Re Sole – given to the mathematician Leonardo Ximenes. To determine the most exact positions in latitude and longitude of Florence and other Tuscan cities, Ximenes focused on astronomical observations and founded the Ximenian Observatory in Florence, he restored the gnomon of Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore, but soon he realised – comforted by the opinions of other mathematicians Tommaso Perelli and Pietro Ferroni – that astronomy alone was not enough to achieve this great undertaking; thus, from the mid-seventies onwards he proposed to Pietro Leopoldo to link the construction of the Tuscan map to the realisation of the particulate geometric cadastre, a business established in 1778 but was unfortunately interrupted in 1785 (after some significant achievements in the Pistoiese mountain, in the Valdinievole and in various communities of the Sienese) due to opposition to their vast holdings of land (Guarducci, 2009).

Despite the failure of the company, the maps produced in the second half of the eighteenth century introduce considerable innovations that are justified by the fact that they are now considered – more than in the past – functional to the needs of knowledge and state planning, thanks to the new Lorraine domination.

The innovations are sure enough evident not only in large-scale cartography but now also in the maps of the whole of Tuscany, as shown by the great scale figure of 1:78.850 completed in 1784 (after more than thirty years of work, above all topographic, in addition to some astronomical and geodetic surveys) by the state technician Ferdinando Morozzi and dedicated to the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo (NAP, *RAT Map* 146): in practice, this representation with a refined design and rich in landscape embellishments constitutes the synthesis of about 45 scale maps much more relative to the group of vicarial provinces gathered in atlases and censuses and even in the rich system of viability.

Relevant chorographic products, in terms of territorial content represented – although still imperfect on a metric and topographical level -, are also: private to the geographer and cartographer Bartolomeo Borghi of 1783-99 (NAP, *RAT Map* 131 e 36/a), with the first figure a geo-historical reconstruction of antiquity and the second one which specifically focuses on the Tuscan "natural productions" (quarries, mines or thermal waters listed on the left), as well as on roads, settlements and many regional names.

The public products of scholars and civil servants of the Lorraine and Napoleonic eras appear to be substantial: starting with that of the grand-ducal engineer Andrea Dolcini, manuscript dated 1755, which shows the feuds (soon to be lost), the administrative jersey, the state borders, customs, fortresses and military distances of each jurisdiction with respect to the cities of Florence and Siena, with the identification above all of the guarded and unguarded fortresses, the cavalry surveillance booths and those of the health office, cities, of the small centres so-called "lands", of the castles, of the great ports and of the small docks, of the bishop's seats, of the provincial centres, of the post offices, of the roadways and of those for animals (NAP, *RAT Map* 151) ; of the other state technician Francesco Giachi, a manuscript of 1780 with a list of the ancient feuds of Tuscany (17 in the Florentine State, 12 in the Pisano and 26 in the Sienese), as well as the other topographical components (NAP, *RAT Map* 150) ; of the then imperial geographers Giovanni De Baillou, manuscript of 1804, a beautiful product built with a scientific method (calculation of geographical coordinates), although still far from being considered geometric (NAP, *RAT Map* 37); and above all the brothers Benedetto and

Gaudenzio Bordiga, operating in the Napoleonic Deposit of the War of Milan, print of 1806 on a scale of 1:202,000 (NAP, *RAT Map* 3-5, 9-16, 18-20, 47bis, 387 e 467) .

However, in order to have a completely geometric map of Tuscany, it is necessary to await the completion of the operations of the Ferdinand-Leopold particle cadastre and of the related geodesic measurements, produced by the Florentine scientist Giovanni Inghirami: in 1831, on behalf of the Grand Duke Leopold II, he printed his geometric map of Tuscany on a scale of 1,200,000 in 4 sheets (innumerevoli copie in NAP, *RAT Map* 349, 350, 360, 361, ecc.), after having also drawn the magnification to 100,000, remained manuscript , in 60 sections (NAP, *RAT Map* 362), product of very important documented interest for the rich content system inscribed therein, also concerning the minor road network and the isolated locations (Guarducci, 2016; e Guarducci, Rombai, 2015).

Since then, the figure at 200,000 - especially in the 400,000 reductions of Girolamo Segato in 1831, in 1832, in 1833 and in 1844 (NAP, *RAT Map* 66 e 456); to 510,000 by Gaspero Manetti in 1834 and 1846 (NAP, *RAT Map* 355, 418/a, 422-423, 425 e 427-430); to 660,000 by Attilio Zuccagni Orlandini in 1832 and 1844-45 (NAP, *RAT Map* 39), using the bases of the engravers and draftsmen Pozzi, Maina and Angeli of the late '30s; and at 525,000 Fulvio Cocchi in 1850 (NAP, *RAT Map* 120 e 431-435) – met exceptional public success and also served as a basis for drawing the most diverse maps, to be used for administrative purposes by the political state: as the 200,000 of Inghirami also demonstrates, it depicts the compartments with their articulation in vicariates and *potestrie* (NAP, *RAT Map* 349).

To easily unite states dependent on the Habsburg Family (Empire of Austria, Lombardy, Duchy of Modena and Grand Duchy), all the Lorraine grand dukes (1737-1800 and 1814-59) were great builders of modern viable roads conceived in their military value but above all as authentic engines of economic and civil progress: the aim was to connect Livorno and Florence to each other with the various provinces of the Grand Duchy and this, in its entirety, with neighbouring states, particularly beyond the Apennine barrier, gradually broken from the Bolognese della Futa, from the Modenese of Abetone, from the Romagna del Muraglione, from the Marchigian of Bocca Trabaria and others (such as the Faentina and the Bolognese del Giogo, the Cisa, the Porrettana and the Marchigiana): all arterial roads directed to the cities of the Po valley and to the Adriatic ports. These modern roads were equipped and served, in decent numbers, by hotel and customs posts, as well as by bridges, sewers and walls to support the land or shelter from the winds in the crossing zones.

Generally, the Pietro-Leopold community reform produced by the *Regulations* of the 70s of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was an opportunity to force the new local administrations to produce the census – with descriptions or atlases of maps dedicated to each street<sup>22</sup> – of all public roads. This important operation was also designed to replace a cartographic work of exception, such as the ancient and now outdated road atlas made by the Capitani di Parte in 1582-86 with considers about 500 communities of the Florentine State (ASF, *Piante dei Capitani di Parte*, T. 121 / I-II).

By now in 1747 an anonymous officer of the Lorraine General Staff had accurately recorded, but only in writing, the dense network of crossings (mule tracks and paths)

for the Padano-Adriatic region in the long Apennine arch between Boscolungo-Abetone and Casentino<sup>23</sup>. Another important operation, functional not only to the tourist use of the territory, was that performed by the grand-ducal cartographer Antonio Giachi, in around 1760: that is to say, the census and the reproduction, in the form of a small atlas, today preserved in the Biblioteca dell'Istituto Geografico Militare (Library of the Geographic Military Institute), entitled *la Guida per viaggiare la Toscana* (the Guide for traveling through Tuscany), of the 16 main roads – with mule tracks that prevailed clearly on the viable roads – that united in Florence among them the cities of the Grand Duchy (Cantile, edited by, 2002). Also worthy of note is the manuscript map of Tuscany of the mid-eighteenth century with the main roads utilised by hospitals for the poor and for pilgrims, which considers the Francigena, the Bolognese to the Porretta-Pistoia, Vaiano-Prato and Firenzuola-Florence, the Romagna to San Godenzo-Florence, in addition to the routes of Florence-Pisa-Livorno (with continuation to the Maremma), Florence-Pistoia-Lucca, Florence-Incisa-Arezzo-Perugia, Florence-Siena (ASF, *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche Granducali, Fabbriche Lorenesi*, cartone V, c.52).

The body of the figures produced to plan or execute road works is notable, beginning with two significant representations that are aimed to increase commercial traffic between Livorno and Florence, on the one hand and the Padania-Adriatic Italy on the other : concerning the anonymous map of 1746 (*A map of a part of the border of Tuscany towards Tramontana with all its viable and non-viable roadways drawn with recurrent diligence in the summer of the year MDCCXLVI*), which frames the north-west of Tuscany with the main communication routes connecting the port of Livorno with Padania and Adriatic areas (NAP, *RAT Map* 72); and of the much more precise map of 1790-91 (*Map of Part of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and of the State of the Church, especially outlined by the light and rule of projects concerning the road of communication uniting the two seas*) – designed under the direction of the mathematician Pietro Ferroni – which embraces Florence and north-eastern Tuscany, highlighting the roads of Romagna to the Adriatic ports, as part of the design of the first road between the capital and the distant but important seaports (NAP, *RAT Map* 123).

The functions of other significant maps of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century appear to be similar: that of the system of roads and waterways "which from the Province of Valdinievole reach the Regia Strada Pisana" and the Arno river (where stopovers and ferries are regularly reported), to join it in Pisa-Livorno, in Florence and in Val d'Elsa (NAP, *RAT Map* 218), topics also dealt with in the contemporary *Map of the plains of Valdarno di Sotto and Bientina with the two respective paduli of Fucecchio and Bientina* (NAP, *RAT Map* 219); and that of the countless roads and the many canals with bridges and ports of the Valdichiana, at the time made the object of important reclamation and infrastructural interventions (NAP, *RAT Map* 262).

As everybody knows, maps have always been used for touristic enjoyment of an area, guiding travellers (from pilgrims to the aristocrats of the *Grand Tour*) along the easiest, well-served or most direct routes. In this sense, an emblematic example is constituted by the *Carta del Casentino, and part of the neighbouring Provinces to serve the itinerary with the famous Sanctuaries of the Provinces* – the abbeys of Vallombrosa, Camaldoli and La Verna, accessible by way of different routes from Florence and Arezzo , with a booklet attached – from 1803 (NAP, *RAT Map* 227/a).

In the copious documentation of the long trip of the Grand Duke in Romagna, Casentino, Valtiberina, Val di Chiana and Valdarno di Sopra of 1777-78 one may find the *Map of the two roads for Pratantico and Castagnolo* of the same year, with road connections to Arezzo, Casentino, Valdichiana and Valdarno di Sopra (NAP, *RAT Petr Leopold*, ms. 14, c. 178).

Other figures concern both the sub-regional scale, or the Valtiberina Toscana, with its streets connecting it to Arezzo, and the entire territory of Arezzo including Valdarno, Casentino, Valtiberina and Valdichiana, considered as a function of the remaking of the great Florence-Rome arterial road along the path of the ancient Cassia (NAP, *RAT Petr Leopold*, ms.18, verse 302 e c.443 rispettivamente); and the level of a specific arterial road, that is, the Colle Val d'Elsa-Massa Marittima in the newly planned tract for San Galgano in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century; the two routes from Arezzo to Pratantico and Castagnolo; the via Lauretana between Siena and the Valdichiana, undergoing reconstruction (Fiorenzo Razzi's paper of 1777, with precise indication of the sections already finished, of those under construction, of those abandoned and those still to be built, with all the places that the road crosses: it also shows the complete route of the "Strada di Rapolano which then passes under Sinalunga and goes to Valdichiana", which begins at Taverne d'Arbia and connects with the Lauretana to the Fattoria dell'Amorosa) (rispettivamente in NAP, *RAT Map* 243; e NAP, *RAT Petr Leopold*, ms. 14, c. 178r e ms. 18, c. 289r); or the traffic support, such as the osteria di Fercole on the Consolare between Siena and Grosseto (NAP, *RAT Petr Leopold*, ms 7, cc 170v-171r).

We still have the map of the two Arezzian roads from Florence for the new route of Pontassieve for the years of 1770-90, as well as the old one of Bagno a Ripoli (NAP, *RAT Map* 233) and the *map of several roads of the Val d'Arno di Sopra that lead to Arezzo* in the area between Laterina and Bastardo (NAP, *RAT Map* 230).

The program of modernization of the viability that invested national and provincial roads (since 1825) also continued during the principality of Leopold II. In addition to the new large trans-Appennine viable routes open between the 20s-30s and 50s (Cisa, Porrettana, via del Muraglione and Bocca Trabaria), the main construction was undoubtedly the new Emilia-Aurelia coastal road between Pisa and the Pontifical border, designed and built between the 1920s and the 1930s (NAP, *RAT Map* 23) together with the many diverticula towards internal Tuscany. Significant improvements were invested in many other routes, such as the Strada Regia Pisana from Florence to Pisa and Livorno, described in 1830-35 in six sheets with a list of contractors and its division into cantons (NAP, *RAT Map* 148).

A map of 1847 highlights the new Pitigliano-Madonna delle Grazie road (NAP, *RAT Map* 546) and another gives an account of the urban plan of 1857 - for the expansion of the town on the land of the Alliata di Biserno farm - concerning the very small centre of San Vincenzo, in the Maremma between Cecina and Piombino, which was then reclaiming and repopulating, taking advantage of the new viable Aurelia (NAP, *RAT Map* 572, 574). We could continue analysing the various archival resources. As an example, we need only recall that the *Miscellanea di Piante* of the Florentine state archives includes about twenty 18<sup>th</sup> century maps specifically related to a road, represented in the actual state

or in a project of improvement: among these, the trans-Appennine Modena-Castelnuovo Garfagnana-Lucca-Bientina (No. 678), the Lauretana pilgrim route between Senese and Valdichiana (No. 69.a), the Senese-Roman route in Val di Pesa and Val d'Elsa (No. 230 .a, 230.b, 230.c, 230.d), the Florence-Poggio to Caiano-Pistoia (No. 547), the Florence-Pontassieve and the Pontassieve-Montevarchi (No. 12 e 13), the Romagna Rocca San Casciano-Terra del Sole (336.a), several roads between Valdarno di Sopra-Val d'Ambra and Aretino (751.iii, 751.iii, 751.mii, 751.nii) and others in Valdichiana (No. 69.b, 69.c, 69.d, 69.e, 69.f, 69.g, 69.h).

Evidently, these are the regional themed cartographies – such as the Tuscany of Gaspero Manetti of 1834 and 1846 (NAP, *RAT Map* 426, 430) – which codify the structure of the Tuscan road system in the '30s and then again in the '40s, while in 1846 the *Districts of communities collected for the expenses of provincial roads* are also available, as many as 65 colour plates on a 1:200.000 scale of the community territories constituting the district of the provincial roads and their sections, contained in a folder (NAP, *RAT Map* 122).

In Prague, there are many maps (NAP, *RAT Map* 1, 3-5, 9-16, 18-19 e 354) with the distribution of customs, bridges and roads with the headquarters of water and road engineers, trade fairs and markets. On the basis of Segato – published starting in 1832 –, the network of roads has the main markets and ferry lines between islands and the mainland (NAP, *RAT Map* 66). Manetti also favoured the system of areas surrounded by water and roads and community districts, with figures from 1832-1834 and 1846 (NAP, *RAT Map* 355, 418/a-b, 426, 429/a-b e 430), which makes analysis of the transformations in the system in those 14 years possible. Finally, in 1850, Fulvio Cocchi printed a hardcover atlas composed of 9 thematic maps updated on the administrative structure of Tuscany, shown on a double page (NAP, *RAT Map* 120), where the hierarchy of inhabitants is central as well as the distinction between second class and municipal capitals, together with royal and provincial roads and railways (Guarducci, Rombai, 2015).

## Conclusion

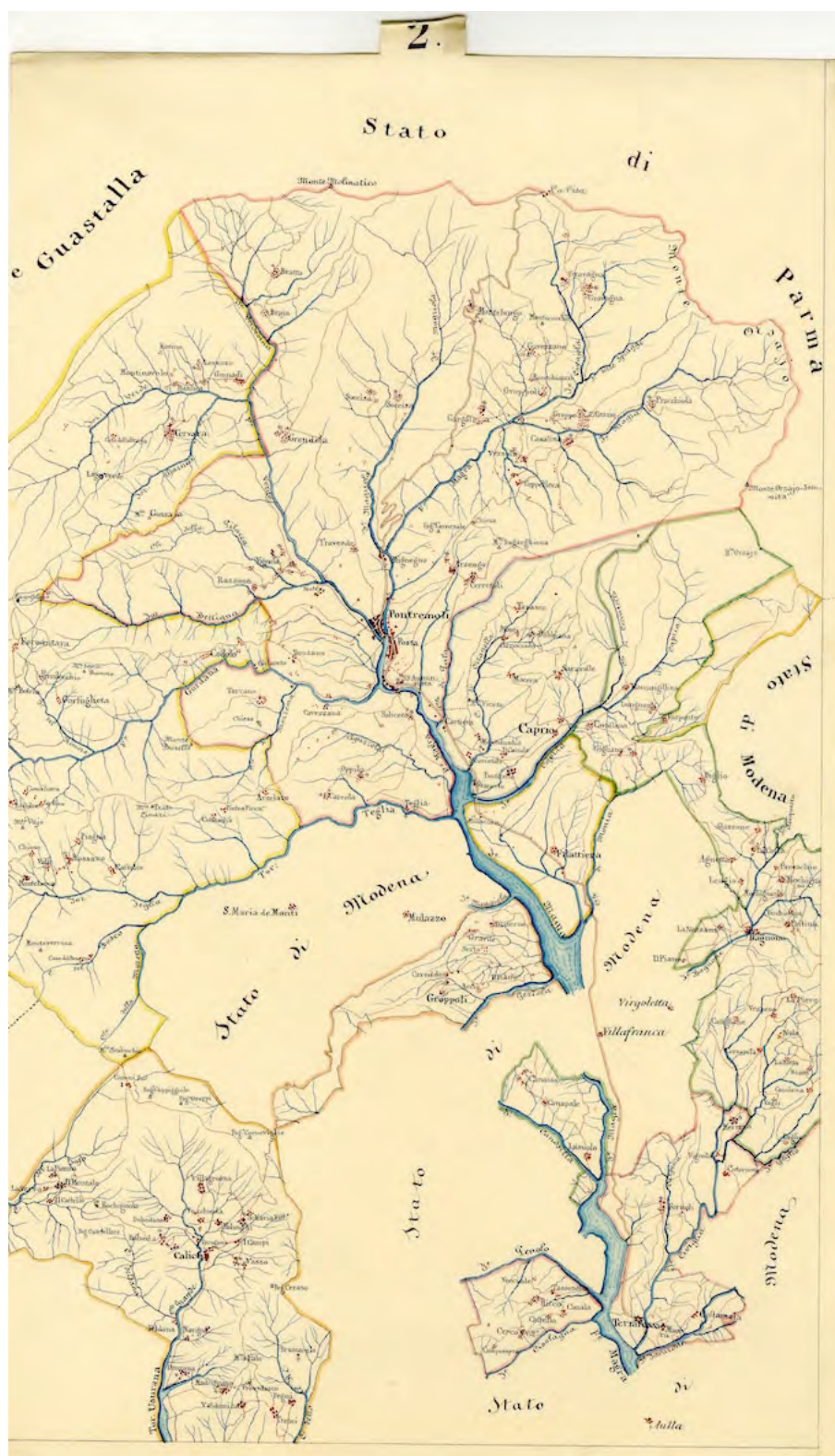
The application of historical cartography - correctly integrated with past and recent written and iconographic documentary sources, as well as with today's territorial evidence – to the history of viability, in the Appennine quadrant between Modena-Bologna and Pistoia-Florence, is a prerogative of some essays contained in a recent volume on the trans-Appennine roads in the 18th and 19th centuries (Zagnoni, Borghi, Foschi, a cura di, 2017), and especially the two writings on the construction of the two Bolognese routes of Porretta to the Reno and Leopolda valleys to the Passo della Collina, known for centuries as Via Francesca della Sambuca (Ottanelli, 2017; e Zagnoni, 2017, anche Cassigoli, Farinelli, 2015; e Foschi, a cura di, 1999). It demonstrates how the cartographic sources also have the power to signal – therefore with concrete

possibilities of their identification on the land – the ancient road tracts and service artefacts (bridges, customs, inns) cut off from the new and easiest made routes, both in the Bolognese side and the Pistoia area.

More generally, the extensive review of Carlo Vivoli, published in Zagnoni, Borghi, Foschi (2017) – on studies and online realisations related to the countless ancient routes of that same mountain area connecting Emilia Romagna and Tuscany – now rediscovered, reused and valued, not only for hiking, on the initiative of voluntary associations, pro loco and municipal administrations – demonstrates in a paradigmatic way how historical research, correctly practiced, can become a real "civil service", thanks to the political-social and cultural value of local historiography and especially of historical sources, starting from cartographic and iconographic ones (Vivoli, 2017, pp. 77-79). Instruments that, among the many initiatives surveyed by Vivoli himself even for the Emilia side, have so far allowed – the scholars of Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria and the Italian Alpine Club, as part of the Viam project produced by the Province of Pistoia – to document and then recover 16 routes that have been active since medieval times on the Tuscan side of the Pistoiese mountain (Magno, Millemaci, a cura di, 1999) and the archivists of Pistoia to recognize and equip, in collaboration with the Provincial Administration, seven other mountain routes, just "drawing inspiration from the rich documented heritage made up of historical cartography" ([aptpistoia.megamente.com](http://aptpistoia.megamente.com)). In this context, geometric representations (Figures 1-8) are worth giving value to the range of other sources (written, oral and object-based) in the perspective of spatial-temporal research with a marked strategic and sustainable potential, as in the case of the vie romee with structures created as traffic supports, and sometimes as pilgrim hospitality, still lacking in studies that have considered cartography related to viability and the road network as a whole.



Figure 1: Map of Tuscany with road network, Girolamo Segato, 1832.



**Figure 2:** Detail of the Tuscany handwritten map in scale 1:100,000, Giovanni Inghirami, 1835-40, folio 2

Source: National Archives of Praga, *Rat Map* 362



**Figure 3:** Detail of the Tuscany handwritten map in scale 1:100,000, Giovanni Inghirami, 1835-40, folio 17

Source: National Archives of Praga, *Rat Map* 362



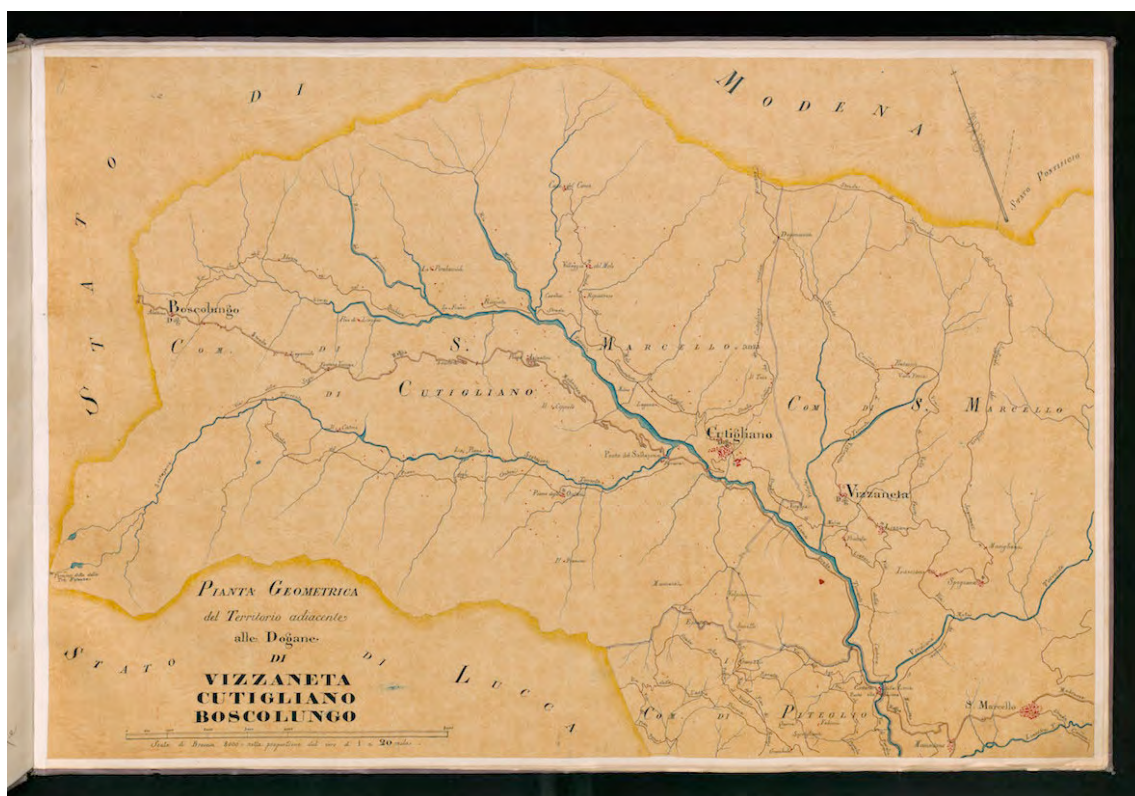
**Figure 4:** Detail of the Tuscany handwritten map in scale 1:100,000, Giovanni Inghirami, 1835-40, folio 18

Source: National Archives of Praga, *Rat Map* 362



**Figure 5:** Detail of the Tuscany handwritten map in scale 1:100,000, Giovanni Inghirami, 1835-40, folio 19

Source: National Archives of Praga, *Rat Map* 362



**Figure 6:** Map of the Pistoia Mountain with the Modena road or Ximenes-Giardini from Abetone to San Marcello, handwritten about 1830

Source: National Archives of Florence, *Miscellanea di Piante* 287f



**Figure 7:** Map of Bagni di Lucca and its surroundings, Military Topographical Office, (1855-56)



**Figure 8:** Canals and roads between Valdinievole and Valdarno di Sotto, handwritten from the second half of the 18th century

Source: National Archives of Praga, *Rat Map* 218

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<sup>1</sup> Particularly *Acque e Strade*, 1523-1847; *Offizio sopra le differenze dei Confini*, 1601-1801; *Offizio sopra i Paduli di Sesto*, 1560-1801; *Capitoli*, secolo XVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Riformagioni*, 1300 circa-1784; *Capitani di Parte Guelfa* and the relative *Piante*, 1549-1769; *Congregazione di Strade e Ponti*, 1677-1769; *Camera delle Comunità Luoghi Pii Fiumi Ponti e Strade* and the relative *Piante di Ponti e Strade*, 1769-1825; *Nove Conservatori* and the relative *Piante antiche dei Confini*, 1560-1782; *Auditore delle Riformagioni e Avvocato Regio* and the relative *Piante moderne dei Confini*, 1777-1860; *Segreteria di Finanze*, 1739-1848; *Ministero di Finanze*, 1848-60; *Acque e Strade*, 1825-1862; *Deputazioni per il Catasto*, 1807-62; *Miscellanea di Piante*, secoli XVI-XIX).

<sup>3</sup> Particularly the *Ufficio dei Fiumi e Fossi* and the relative *Piante*, 1547-1826.

<sup>4</sup> Particularly the *Quattro Conservatori dello Stato Senese* and the *Piante* preserved aside, 1561-1786; *Ufficio Generale delle Comunità*, 1786-1825; *Camera di Soprintendenza Comunitativa*, 1825-48.

<sup>5</sup> Particularly the *Ufficiali dei Fiumi e Strade* and the dependant *Congregazione sopra l'Ombrone*, 1561-1776.

<sup>6</sup> The specific *Nuovo Catasto prediale uniforme* of Maria Beatrice d'Este, 1820-26.

<sup>7</sup> Particularly the *Ufficio dei Fiumi e Fossi/Ufficio dei Fossi e Coltivazioni*, 1581-1825.

<sup>8</sup> Particularly of Rome (State archive, ministerial archives, Historical Institute and of the Arma del Genio culture), of Genoa (State archive and hydrographic institute of the marina), of Modena (particularly with the resources: *Mappario Estense*, *Mappe Campori* and *Catasto preunitario*), of Bologna (particularly of *Catasto Boncompagni* and the *Catasto Gregoriano*), of Parma (particularly with the resources of *Mappe e disegni*, *Mappe dei fiumi e strade dei Ducati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla* and *Catasti*) and of Naples, always with the respective state archive.

<sup>9</sup> Especially of Spain – State archives of Madrid and Simancas –, of Francia – National archives of Paris and Vincennes namely Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre and Service de la Marine –, of Austria – State archives of Vienna and the Ministry of War –, of Great Britain – State archive of London and Marine archive –, and the Czech Republic – National Archives of Prague/Hapsburg Lorraine Fund of Tuscany (NAP, RAT Map).

<sup>10</sup> Suffice to refer oneself to the national libraries of Paris and Vienna, followed by those of Madrid and London.

<sup>11</sup> It must be said that this seemingly obvious research requirement – and well underlined during meetings of a theoretic-conceptual basis which took place in the 1980s – is not always present in the operative practice of recent historic-cartographic studies, which, as in the past, often end with the favouring of single documents or certain graphical collections, also considered in a chronological sequence among themselves, and with reference to a determined geographic or urban space, to bring the geo-historical dynamics into focus.

<sup>12</sup> For instance [www.segnidelterritorio.comune.prato.it](http://www.segnidelterritorio.comune.prato.it), [www.toscanatirrenica.it](http://www.toscanatirrenica.it) and [www.imagotusciae.it](http://www.imagotusciae.it) which display the immense Tuscan results – the first on Prato cartography – realised by Marco Piccardi and Anna Guarducci.

<sup>13</sup> For the Aurelia/Emilia Tyrrhenian console and for other *vie* of Tuscany i reference the studies of Paolo Marcaccini and his collaborators (Marcaccini, Petrini Parrini, 2000; Marcaccini, Calzolari, 2003). For the Fiesolano, in Cantini, 2009, which – in addition to utilising the copious literature and print available – analysed the well-equipped local archives (the Storico Comunale and those of the diocese and the cathedral chapter house), drawing solid data and information from them: suffice to indicate the many lists/censuses and specific cartography of the municipal streets and repairs drawn up by the administration of Fiesole from 1868 (of which the 1939 one is fundamental, it reorganises the whole system and is connected to the new Italian cadastre); the general censuses of the population which took place each decade between 1861 and 1936 with the series of “*stati di sezione*”; the acts and approvals of the *Giunta* and the municipal council; and the original *Campione ossia descrizione delle strade comunitative che sono nella Comunità di Fiesole* drawn up in 1779 – with regards to the Regolamento Generale of the 23rd May 1774.

<sup>14</sup> Demonstrated by, for example, the *Pianta del territorio di Massa* of the first half of the 18th century, which reports various mines and ten castel ruins in the Massa Marittima territory (State archives of Florence/ASF, *Miscellanea di Piante*, n. 167).

<sup>15</sup> For example, the *Pianta corografica del Capitanato di Pietrasanta* of Carlo Maria Mazzoni of 1764 identifies many mines even cultivated in ancient times (ASF, *Miscellanea di Piante*, n. 192).

<sup>16</sup> Particularly dense was the intersection of the trans-alpine muleteers of Modena and Bologna who, across the existing passages between the Lima valley (tributary of Serchio) and other Lima valleys (tributaries of Reno), towards Boscolungo, today Abetone, Cutigliano, Lizzano, San Marcello, Maresca, Orsigna, Pracchia, Sambuca, Treppio and Torri, converged in Pistoia or emanated from this town, to Florence, from Tyrrhenian ports or other grand duchy cities. However, not all travellers were directed towards Florence from Pistoia; some cut through for passes for Montalbano, particularly if they were directed towards Pisa and its port or in any case to Valdarno di Sotto and Valdelsa (Stopani, Vanni, 1996).

<sup>17</sup> According to Giovanni Villani, thirty hospitals existed with over 1000 beds only in Florence between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, destined to become (along with their churches) among the most emblematic architectural and cultural symbols of the city: they were significantly situated mostly in the *vie San Gallo* and *Romana*, that is to say that along the Bologna-Florence-Rome route since the time of the “road revolution” it should be considered the fundamental axis of communication for the peninsula (Sterpos, 1961 e 1964).

<sup>18</sup> The people of Lucca could opt, to the west, for Vandelli and, to the east, for Ximeniana or for Bolognese della Futa: in any case, the journey was long and subject to many taxes for crossing the grand duchy territory or that of Modena.

<sup>19</sup> Mordini, 2006, pp. 55-58. Even in the Modenese, the different projects became competitors with that of the engineer Giuseppe Manzotti chosen, with work beginning February 1822 and concluding at the end of 1823, with the founding of the roadbed, of five stone bridges and others made from wood, of the customs of Salaroli and the lodging in the Terzetto plain (Lera, Lera, 2006, pp. 14 e 17-38 per il tratto lucchese, Mordini, 2006, pp. 40-47 per il tratto modenese fino alla via Giardini; e Pellegrini, Pozzi, 2006, pp. 65-79 per l'intero percorso).

<sup>20</sup> For example, the *Il Granducato di Toscana* map printed in Florence at the Pagani press in 1773.

<sup>21</sup> Few examples of sixteenth-century maps, drawn for some states of the time, like that of the Duchy of Ferrara of Marc'Antonio Pasi and Giovan Battista Aleotti and that of the Republic of Lucca of Alessandro Resta.

<sup>22</sup> As for example, the municipalities of Prato, Pontassieve, Fiesole, Bagno a Ripoli, Campi Bisenzio, San Casciano Val di Pesa, Legnaia, Casellina and Torri di Padoa; today Scandicci, San Marcello Pistoiese, Barberino di Mugello, the municipality of Pietrasantino, etc., of which the road plantar have recently been published in facsimile.

<sup>23</sup> The detailed *Topografia militare di alquante strade, vie e viottoli, che dall'interno della Toscana conducono sui suoi confini* is in the Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, *Palagi*, 251.

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## Almatourism

Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development

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### **Shrines and Holy Places in Tuscany between Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism: the Difficult Relationship between Knowledge and Valorization**

Benvenuti A.\*  
University of Florence (Italy)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

After an introduction to the correct classification of the relationship between knowledge and valorization as a strategic subject in territorial development policies, the article moves on to talk about the Via Francigena through historical and territorial Italian culture. In the accumulation of successful initiatives not everything has been estimated and minimised, but many occasions have been wasted, beginning with that of a systematic survey of historical testament. The Francigena, the most ancient and important European pilgrim route has frequently facilitated the biggest and most important historical-cultural subject of medieval viability which, for example could include the numerous *vie romee*. Selections made have eliminated the financial support to the basic research on cultural heritage from which knowledge inexorably derives a non-substitutable foundation for the divulgation and dispersal of knowledge. In the matter of the Tuscany, it would have been possible to highlight, not only the important historical moments of historiography, by to also make the large documentary, literary, artistic and architectural depositories available from the presence of ecclesiastical institutes on a local level. The article develops, deepening the theme of the cult of the Mother of God in the Italian Middle Ages and Renaissance with relation to narrative tradition, thus recomposing the framework of Marian exaltation to be brought to light and valorized spiritually as well as culturally.

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**Keywords:** Knowledge; Valorization; Via Francigena; Tuscany

Dopo una introduzione propedeutica al corretto inquadramento del rapporto tra conoscenza e valorizzazione come tema strategico nelle politiche di sviluppo

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\* E-mail address: [anna.benvenuti@unifi.it](mailto:anna.benvenuti@unifi.it)

territoriale, l'articolo passa a trattare il tema della via Francigena al territorio e alla storia culturale italiana. Nel coacervo di iniziative promosse non tutto sicuramente è stato approssimativo e banalizzato, ma molte occasioni sono state sprecate, a cominciare da quella di un sistematico rilevamento delle testimonianze storiche. La Francigena, il più antico e importante pellegrinaggio europeo ha sovente semplificato il più grande e importante tema storico-culturale della viabilità medievale che ad esempio poteva includere le numerose romee. Le selezioni che sono state compiute hanno eliminato di fatto il sostegno economico a quella ricerca di base sul patrimonio culturale da cui inesorabilmente discende la conoscenza, fondamento insostituibile della divulgazione e della disseminazione dei saperi. Per quanto riguarda il caso toscano si sarebbero potuti evidenziare non solo importanti momenti storici trascurati dalla storiografia, ma anche rendere fruibile il grande deposito documentario, librario, artistico, architettonico prodotto dalla presenza delle istituzioni ecclesiastiche a livello locale. L'articolo si sviluppa approfondendo i temi del culto della madre di Dio nel medioevo e nel rinascimento italiano con la relativa tradizione narrativa, ricomponendo così il quadro di un tripudio mariano ancora da riportare alla luce e da valorizzazione in dimensione tanto spirituale quanto culturale.

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**Keywords:** Conoscenza; Valorizzazione; Via Francigena; Toscana

## Introduction

The relationship between knowledge and valorization is at this point, a strategic and urgent theme in the developmental policies on any territorial level and cultural sphere it operates in. From the launch of the third millennium the phenomenon of cultural routes and pilgrimages in particular, has undertaken a marked survey in the geographic European landscape, where the Council of Europe has assumed a significant leading role. It involves a relationship not devoid of difficulties, particularly for the almost infinite complexity and richness of the historic resources and the heritage present, as is the case in Italy and Tuscany in particular.

This recent sensitivity towards pilgrimage and devotional journeys is a matter which has been dear to specialised historiography for many decades and in this context abundantly 'systematised' from a critical and methodological perspective. Nevertheless, the political action was declined by the public entities designated to valorizing the territory in accordance with the new economic category of religious tourism; from this perspective, beyond the inevitable grouping with other local cultural heritage – such as typical food and wine products recalled through a fortunate calembour, for example, '*saperi e sapori*' – the economic value dividing them, or at least sharing them, has been rediscovered, with the traditional ecclesiastical management which throughout the centuries created the map of religious devotion in the vast geographic reseau of a Europe characterised by the monumental nature of sacred 'catholic' areas.

While the argument brewed of whether the old continent had Christian-roman roots or not, dominated by the antipapal prejudice still present in the transalpine protestant

world, the 'decontamination' of the indisputable weight of this legacy from its confessional gene was provided for, drawing the cultural *latu sensu* nature in a sense of heritage, as a contemporary use of the past (Answord et alii, 2007) which would animate the polysemic space of a possible intra-European tourist route. Thus, they registered themselves in the "European Cultural Routes" project promoted by the Council of Europe in 1987, some 'Great Itineraries' of a 'religious' mark, such as the Cammini di Santiago, were launched that same year and promoted since June 2004, together with the Via Francigena in 1994.

Also open to 'laic' themes, the Great Routes of the Council of Europe had often favoured historical-religious figures and moments considered 'identities' in the formation of the culture of the continent, such as one dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours from September 2005, or to the influence of monastic tradition (The Cistercian route of 1990, The Cluniac site network of May 2004, promoted to Great Cultural Route of the Council of Europe as of June 2006), without neglecting, in the politically correct management of the confessional balances, the recalling of others: such as L'Eredità Al-Andalus of April 1997, admitted among the Great Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe as of June 2004) or the European Jewish Heritage Routes of May 2004, which became the Great Cultural Route of the Council of Europe as of December 2005.

Founded on very solid historiographic settlings, this historical cultural valorization of European territories has been declared in a very differentiated manner in local projects, generating forcing and approximations induced by decidedly external promotional needs – when not unfavourable – of historical correctness in the 'construction' of the routes and their communication; this reading highlighted the lack of serious scientific coordination capable of making the centrifugal energies of local entities synergistic in their different institutional afference and within a substantial 'political' indifference to the correctness of communication and historical divulgation. In the accumulation of initiatives 'implemented' in the framework of a managerial desire 'excited' by the possibility of access to funds or ad hoc contributions, not everything has certainly been approximate and trivialised, but many occasions have been wasted, starting with that of a systematic survey of historical evidence (documentary, archival, artistic, monumental, environmental) which would have allowed that collective level of knowledge that remains an indispensable preliminary tool for any form of dissemination of culture.

## **1. The Via Francigena**

Divided into themes in turn altered to a local perspective of administrative interests and partial management, the great project of historical valorization of European territories has often generated, and not only in Italy, mice who have gnawed the resources necessary to set up a system of territorial participatory awareness founded on the effective valorization of the vast existing documentation. It has remained in the shadows, an unnecessary tool, almost disadvantageous, in a short-term and low-profile project. The Via Francigena, the most ancient and important European (or global?) pilgrimage, with its fragmentations, has often overwritten, simplifying and trivialising

the largest and most important historical-cultural theme of medieval viability which, for example could include the numerous 'romea' thanks to which it was possible to reach, through the national territory and its innumerable local "memories", the combination of villages, castles and walled lands, steps, bridges, churches, convents and monasteries. Excessive and many were the spaces equipped with a camino which was not only of pilgrims towards the omphalos of the western Christian world: the Rome of the apostles and the pulpit of Peter in which the 'medieval' spirit of the Jubilee was renewed in the extraordinary amplification of contemporary media communication, but where, however, the confessional weight of the Catholic papacy still dominated in a politically compromising way. Rome was and remains the most significant and central destination compared to the peripheral finis terrae where the astute bishops of Compostela had 'built' the cult and fortune of Saint James. The same choice of the term 'Francigena' instead of Romea, as well as certain 'centrifugal' valorization options – e.g. that of recognising the 'English' route of the Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury<sup>1</sup> among the many others – seems to underlie some hindrance in recalling the central role of Rome in the history lived by the Christian ecumene, with the consequent, implicit necessity to resize the meaning of a quintessential 'meta', a characteristic that the eternal city has long shared and shares with Jerusalem. On the other hand, the Rome of today is the destination of tens of millions of tourists with a "consistent carelessness" towards the pilgrims who arrive on foot after the "Storta, la città di San Pietro" (Figure. 1)!



**Figure 1:** Via Francigena o Romea – X sec.

Source: Archivio Regione Toscana

The Francigena of the third millennium is in any case proposed as a spiritual route, sometimes an uncertain evocation of poorly digested commonplaces of medieval saints

and knights, a Francigena which evolved into a media route, thanks also to the radio success of Sergio Valzania (Rai-Via Francigena, 2014) and 'logged' with the Roman jubilee, in an attempt to share at least part of the important financial income ensured by mobility (even devotional mobility), fully enrolling itself in the traditional sanctuarial geography managed by the Church: from Monterotondo with the prodigies of Padre Pio in Monte Sant'Angelo to Santa Maria di Collemaggio, Assisi, Pompei, Loreto and so on.

A whole series of new tourist-popular themes have thus come to be defined, thanks also to the possibilities offered by the web – just consider the Vie micaeliche linked to the 'revival' of cult sites dedicated to the Archangel Michael in Italy and Europe (Bouet, P., Otranto, G., Vauchez, A., (edd.), 2007) of strong communicative impact but conditioned, as a 'cultural product', by the economic logic of their possible impact on the territories concerned. The increasingly close economic tie between culture and valorization has therefore led to choices that have excluded much of what could be non-productive; effectively eliminating economic support for the basic research on the cultural heritage from which knowledge inexorably derives from, an irreplaceable foundation of the divulgation and dissemination of knowledge.

### *1.1 Gaps in the research in Tuscany*

Many cultural topics and as many "possible routes" that constitute the great material and immaterial heritage produced through centuries of history are destined to remain buried in the dust of the archives and under the covering of an ever-increasingly widespread and nurtured basic unawareness, and not only to the general public. An example is the unknown Tuscan 'sacred mountains' that saw the birth of important regular analysis, such as in Vallombrosa or Camaldoli, not to mention La Verna, Monte Senario or Monte Uliveto, then launched for an institutional development that would interest all of Europe, in the interactive osmosis of a polycentric society whose current boundaries have little to do with the fluid political continent of the past. With the 'valorization' of routes tied to the diffusion of religious orders – or, on the basis of the Lombard and Piedmontese 'sacred mountains', thanks to the emphasis on the monumental emergences produced by certain devotional choices<sup>2</sup> – they could have highlighted not only important historical moments neglected by historiography, but also given access to the large documentary, literary, artistic and architectural deposit produced by the local ecclesiastical institutions, not excluding the many environmental repercussions due to the presence of subjects also active in property and land management. Suffice to say that most of the archival repositories in Tuscany are made up of documentation produced by ecclesiastical entities: a fundamental biography of heritage also for the knowledge of civil history which was formed starting from the season of Leopardine reforms (Benvenuti, 2011) reaching its peak with the suppressions and indemnities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ciuffoletti, 2008; Ciuffoletti, Corradi, 2014). There is still no map of the regular settlements in the region, just as there is no 'modern' graphic restitution (i.e. capable of interfacing with databases and digital archives) of the whole system of ecclesiastical distribution and its diachrony in said territory so densely populated by religious people up to the Leopardine age: a representation of that 'sacred Tuscany' without which neither the

population nor the overall historical viability of the region can be understood and therefore nor the 'particular' case of the Francigena. If any effort on a historiographical level was launched, for example with the census of the regulars or the sanctuaries (Benvenuti, 2008), it does not appear that the acquired data was the object of attention of the institutional subjects called to oversee the projects of cultural valorization of the territory.

The 'laic' reception of the idea of religious tourism, sometimes referred to the experience of the pilgrimage, has declined, on a planning level, only after the 'admission' of the existence of an important religious sediment in the territorial history; an admission that has not yet entirely overcome the qualms of a consolidated anti-clerical tradition which pushes to look at all that is known of the church and priests with suspicion. Then compromised by the specialised lesson of academic disciplinary competences, the 'valorization' of cultural heritage declared by some regions (Tuscany) was also reified in the identification of specific fields which were recorded with important initiatives of cataloguing and description in which little importance was given to the historical and institutional contexts of which they were the product. Eradicated from their humus, these 'documents' (whatever their nature) have become, like works of art, 'objects of conservation', deprived of their contextual memory with an operation not unlike that of conserving them in museums, which uproots and delivers a number of now unrecognisable works in their lost contextual identity to the warehouses of museums.

Similarly, the touristic re-formation of the pilgrimage phenomenon in the context of a deeply secularised society has forgotten its most intimate spiritual reason; for some the perception is limited to the only 'signage' of the main routes identified by the local impact of European planning, in a marginalisation of all the sacred geography that characterised the societies of the ancient regime generating a vast network of specialised religious spaces (mainly dedicated to the Virgin Mary) that offered a valid local alternative to the most difficult experience of pilgrimage to distant or dangerous destinations. Thus they became traditional points of Christian devotional voyage between the Middle Ages and the modern age in many corners of Europe together with the holy places of abroad.

## **2. The Marial exhaltation of the Italian medieval and renaissance period**

The proliferation of shrines on the turn of the Italian medieval period affected the entire peninsula, flanking and more frequently replacing new architectural structures with the previous spatial arrangement of local devotion. The transition from 'saints to shrines' (Cracco, 1981) was a true revolution in the sacred structure of the territories, drawing on the Marian cult all the devotional expectations and miraculous hopes of an exhausted population, between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, by the pandemic assaults and local spread of war. Also present in the memory of the chroniclers – such as that of Luca Landucci<sup>3</sup>, a devoted follower of Savonarola, who in his memoirs recalled with great detail the 'cases' of Bibbona (Pacciani, 2002 pp.81-95) and Prato (Guerrieri, 1977; Bardazzi, Castellani, Guerrieri, 1978; Morselli, Corti, 1982; Benvenuti, 2005) – this period of miracles and prodigious theophany of the Virgin which animated old street tabernacles scattered in the cities as in the countryside –

prelude of an imposing renaissance in sacred buildings which affected the whole region between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Benvenuti, Gagliardi 2002; Benvenuti 2002)<sup>4</sup> - was inscribed a long-term Marian cult tradition, as the novelist, Franco Sacchetti, effectively proves again in the fourteenth century (Sacchetti, 1957). The extraordinary sanctuarial turmoil of this period presided many factors, beginning with an overall adjustment of the residential morphology – for example as a result of the progress of the reclamation process of many marsh areas (Benvenuti, Romby, 2004) or the abandonment of settlements – from which derived the need for an update of ecclesiastical fabric. The renewal of pastoral care and its tools was also decisive – beginning with the period of great popular preaching and the mutation that it induced in the forms of religious communication – in order to remove those archaic sediments that still connoted much of devotional life in the cities as well as the countryside. In 1428, San Bernardino himself officiated the inauguration of an ancient source in Arezzo, in which traces of an ancient therapeutic ritual persisted (Montesano, 1995; 1994a); between 1435 and 1444 in its place the church sanctuary of *Santa Maria delle Grazie* was built from which the devout Franciscans (Montesano, 1999; 1996) administered this substitute devotion in the city. In 1480 in Boccadiviro, on the Emilia-Romagna side of the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, the Madonna appeared to two shepherds (Guidotti, 1979; 1982; 1983); in 1484 in S. Brigida, the Virgin gave a 'new' sanctuary to a place formerly marked by the memory of the Irish saints of the Fiesole diocese (from Sant'Andrea to San Donato). In Arezzo, in February 1490, a pilgrim from Loreto saw tears flowing on the face of the Annunziata that stood in a small aedicule built many years earlier, in 1439, during a plague. The miracle justified the creation of a new shrine, since then called '*Madonna delle lacrime*'<sup>5</sup>. In around the same period, a painting of Mary began to drip sweat in the church of *S. Maria Foris Portam* in Pistoia, justifying the birth of the shrine of the *Madonna dell'Umiltà*, while apparitions in Bibbiena (Verde, Zaccaria, 2000)<sup>6</sup> and Stia (Pasetto, 2000) consecrated the new shrines of some 'stones' of *Casentino* or of neglected aedicule. A few years earlier, in 1484, in Cortona, the homage given by some working oxen in front of the Virgin painted in a small rural aedicule sanctioned the birth of the sanctuary of the *Madonna del Calcinaio* (Matracci, 1991; Mancini, 1868) (Figure 2); and again, in the diocese of Arezzo a small majesty built near an oak tree had been the site of prodigious demonstrations, while new miracles brought cult areas of the remotest Marian tradition back to devotional use, such as *Santa Maria delle Vertighe*<sup>7</sup>, near San Savino (Figure 3), or images valued by civic devotion, like the Madonna painted on one of the gates of the castle of San Giovanni Valdarno (Casciù, 1993; Del Grifo, Bonci, 2004).



**Figure 2:** Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Calcinaio, Cortona (AR).

Source: ARVO Archive, Lucca.



**Figure 3:** Margarito and Ristoro di Arezzo, Madonna with Child on the throne and four stories of the Virgin, 13th century. Sanctuary of Santa Maria delle Vertighe, San Savino (AR).

Source: ARVO Archive, Lucca.

Triumphant over the archaic rituals that conveyed the memory of the water cults, which for the Virgin was overwritten on the sacred places characterised by the presence of sources which were attributed therapeutic virtues and in particular a *galattofore* quality (Dini, 1995), winning the patronage of one of the most critical in the age of man: the neonatal and infantile one. Almost everywhere the springs useful to the post-natal as well as livestock, also subject to the risks of reproduction and birth rate, would have overlapped a Marian cult that re-founded places consecrated in the Christian sense by millenary pastoral and transhumant traditions.

The association with childbirth and puerperium encouraged the diffusion of particular relics, such as the Virgin Milk, which in some cases - as in Montevarchi<sup>8</sup> (Tartaro, 2004) - gave rise to new shrines, favouring the proliferation of a number of legends related to the protection of the very first childhood. The real risks of this delicate moment of existence, decimated by mortality, produced a number of protective practices and also attributed to the Devil, responsible for every evil, a sort of envy towards human babies who, it was believed, he tended to replace with his own creatures. This superstition generated the patron of the "*Vergine del soccorso*" (Virgin of the rescue) who, armed with a cane, would protect children against the assaults of the devil: in this function Mary was associated with the cults of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen, also invoked, as well as St. Nicholas of Bari, in the protection of childhood (De Gaffier, 1967; Schmitt, 1979; Doulet, 2003).

This Marian exaltation not only touched the neglected sacred places of the rural world but also involved the urban ones, renewing ancient devotional customs, such as in Fiesole, around the miraculous Santa Maria Primerana (Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, 1988); or in the nearby town of Impruneta<sup>9</sup> (Rondinelli, 1634; Casotti, 1714); or in Pisa, where 'under the organs' (Cappelli, 1979; Baggiani, 1998) a Madonna was venerated charged with memories of the anti-Moorish epic of the Tyrrhenian coast; or in Pistoia, where an image of Mary came alive in front of the bed of a sick person, creating the shrine of the Madonna del Letto (Porrettano, 1905; Bargellini, 1961); not to mention Siena, the Marian city par excellence, which with the cult of the Madonna del Voto (Butzek, 2001-2002) the city recalled its gratitude for the danger escaped in Montaperti (1260). Even in Florence, which had lived a "dugento mariano" (a Marian 13th Century) in the name of liberation from the Ghibelline oppression, the Madonna dominated the cultic and cultural universe. In the fifteenth century the Virgin was by now the dominant 'symbol' in the Florentine republic's sanctum: her mother, Saint Anne, had defended her against attempts of tyranny by redeeming her freedoms jeopardised by the harsh lordship of the Duke of Athens (Benvenuti, 1995); patron saint of municipal abundance and security, the Madonna stood in the grain market of Orsanmichele since it had become a treasure chest of one of the first and most important miraculous images of the city's cultural history (Verdon, 2002); venerated in the archaic traits of Santa Maria Primerana, as many "archetypes" of the town of Impruneta were, devotees and subordinates would address her, in times of plague and famine, of flood or drought. While in the second half of the fifteenth century the countryside and the most remote rural areas were also Marianised in the name of a new Christian catechesis aimed at definitively eliminating the superstitions which were gathered around ancient sacred natural sites (Montesano, 1994).

The devotional 'Marianisation' which began in the 13th century thanks to the anti-Ghibelline party choices, during the fifteenth century drew to the composite path of re-emergence which, promoted by humanism, brought the 'origins' of Christian culture to the foreground. The long process of theological definition of Theotókos had profound repercussions also in the form of ecclesiological awareness: Mary, through patristic reflection and scriptural exegesis, had become the emblem and figure of the Church, mater and matrix of the Christian people (Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** Master of Monteflorescoli, Madonna enthroned with the child between the Holy Face of Lucca and the Saints Cornelius and Cyprian. About 1440 Pieve dei Ss.

Cornelio and Cipriano, Codiponte (MS). Source: ARVO Archive, Lucca.

[www.archiviovoltosanto.org/it/iconografia/madonna-trono-con-il-bambino-tra-il-volto-santo-di-lucca-e-i-ss-cornelio-e-cipriano](http://www.archiviovoltosanto.org/it/iconografia/madonna-trono-con-il-bambino-tra-il-volto-santo-di-lucca-e-i-ss-cornelio-e-cipriano)

In this key, the Virgin was persistently eponymous of the same organisational structures of the care of souls, so much so that parishes were mostly dedicated to her, in turn 'matrixes' of other churches. Beyond the adjustments produced by the arrival of devotion, the Marian title was therefore, for a long time a conceptual synonym of 'ecclesia', and therefore also of the physical place where Christian people gathered to mark the fundamental stages of earthly life: from baptism with which spiritual birth was established at the spring of the *plebs*, up to the parting rituals with which the dead were accompanied to their final resting place. In this way the entire human journey was carried out '*sub tutela Matris*', in the shadow of the symbolic '*maphorion*' of Mary: that cloak whose folds were represented by her *fideles* in the act of the request for protection and rescue.

This lingering of Mary in the daily life of the countryside or the city was also explained within the possibilities of acculturation that the composite semiological system of her

cult had guaranteed, appropriate as it was, even in its progressive cultural updates, to link with archaic cultural rituals and depositories connected to the 'mysteries' of fertility. Nor had they scratched the submerged core of the long and contrasting dogmatic routes that had seen the Virgin become the subject of some of the most burning controversies in the slow theological definition of Christian churches. The need to better define it in common thought had mixed legends and devout traditions with the most sophisticated doctrinal speculation; thus the meagre narration of the Gospels and of the canonical texts of Scripture were integrated with the many details and anecdotes of apocryphal literature, especially that of childhood, generating those human and maternal traits of the Virgin Mary, more suited to iconographic transfer and devotional plots, characterised by the popular perception of Mary. Submissive at her feet, devotees of the Compagnia dei Laudesi would have sung the laments of a grieving mother, fervent flagellants would have torn their clothes under the lashes of "discipline" and merciful bourgeois would have taxed to give life to hospitals or associations of mutual assistance and solidarity.

The mid and late Middle Ages, which faced its fears at the uncertain threshold of a modern world terrified by death and disease more than it was in earlier eras, unanimously directed themselves towards the intercession of Mary for her maternal divine grace to her Son and alleviated the torments of the inhabitants of the valley of tears. Lady of faith sent by the Church, Mary would have also ensured the ephemeral anti-Turkish victory of Lepanto to the Christian arms, while piece by piece the overseas relics around which the devout practices of the 'pilgrims of Jerusalem' had gathered took – if they had not already done so – the route of the new shrines to the west. Nor is it a coincidence that just in the aftermath of the definitive settlement of the Turkish dominion in Levant, which coincided with the abandonment of residual hope of a Christian recovery of the holy places, the growth of Marian shrines in the west would have become exponential, reaching its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

### *2.1 The sacred objects of Palestine*

In the service of the construction of a sacred Marian topography in the West they had introduced many factors, beginning with the centuries-old translation of objects from Palestine that had allowed Europe to become 'the destination' of the legendary apostolic diaspora from the Holy Land. From the time of the first pilgrimages to the Byzantine basilicas, the effort of the oriental sovereigns to summarise the heritage of the most important Christian relics within the walls of the imperial city never wavered, and began with those of the Virgin (Bacci, 2004).

This sacred treasure had rooted a number of liturgical customs in the Constantinopolitan sanctuaries of Blachernae and Chalkoprateia that, despite the persistence of important ritual differentiations between the churches of the East and those of the West, had important repercussions in the development of the Marian cult in Europe, where legends and miracles of Byzantine origin had spread. Supported by this composite biographical background – both oral and written – Mary's body relics (like milk, which was easy to obtain in Bethlehem, hair, nails or various oils produced by thaumaturgical images) began to circulate more and more frequently in

Europe between the eleventh and twelfth centuries, becoming an opportunity for the promotion of designated Marian cult places (such as Oviedo or Chartres); but it would have been only with the Constantinopolitan robbery of 1204 that more significant objects, such as the belt, the ring or various garments, would have more or less legitimate translations from the treasure of the Vergine del Faro which the Crusaders raided.

The possession of relatively authentic relics or of dubious tradition – from the footwear of the Madonna to the cloths she wove to wrap the Child – was an occasion and a pretext for an ever more composite 'repeatability' of the holy places in the West: the same which would have been at the base, on the eve of the modern age, of topographic mimesis that were being carried out in various parts of Europe. It no longer involved just 'memorial objects' of the passion and evangelical characters, but of the entire sacred space they evoked, as in the symbolic assemblages of the Sacred Mountains (Benvenuti, Piatti, 2013), in turn a prelude to the more compact unfolding of the devotional practice of the Via Crucis or, to remain in a Marian context, of the repetitions of the 'Holy Houses' of Nazareth, such as the Italian house of Loreto or the English of Walsingham. This happened while the Turkish advance in the east took the legendary translations to a new climax that brought miraculous panels of the Virgin fleeing in front of the infidel violence to the west. Through adventurous and fictional paths, many relics that had been Byzantine heritage constituted the treasure of the churches of the west: as in Prato, the Belt of Mary, or in Chiusi (and from there to Perugia) the ring of her wedding with Joseph<sup>10</sup> (Fantozzi, 1916; Spicciani, 1970; Casagrande 1987; Duranti, 1992), contributing to the rooting and popular success of a cult that would end up engulfing the whole Marian family, from Joseph to Joachim and Anne, without neglecting Elizabeth and her husband and the other 'relatives' that the apocryphal tradition attributed to the Virgin.

Inscribed in the lunettes of churches, painted on the city gates, eternal in the endless images of the tabernacles and rural 'majesty' where she presided over the rural liturgies of rogations, the Virgin Mary began to 'reconquer' the countryside during the fifteenth century where, in the hardships induced by the recurring epidemics, by the mercenary bands that spread hunger and destruction, by the recurrent wars determined by the creation of territorial states, the permanent demons of insecurity and fear returned. In this period of uncertainty and anguish many images scattered along the sides of rural roads or painted on urban crossroads became seats of Marian epiphanies and around them, often detached from their ancient plasters and inserted within a designated shrine area, popular forms of devotion gathered, sustained by the thaumaturgical and apotropaic request arising from the difficulty of the times.

## *2.2 Narrative tradition*

Generated by the reigniting of the pandemic cycle of the plague that from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century would devastate Europe, and generally supported by the biosafety crisis that upset the western social system in the early modern age, the proliferation of new or renewed Marian shrines on the path of a previous cultic custom represented the popular response to a crisis of certainties that

overwhelmed the trust in traditional ecclesiastical institutions, starting from the years of the great schism.

This development determined the consolidation of a narrative tradition that was one of the most singular spiritual events of western religious history, even repeating recurring characters, in the typological modules of the founding legends. During this period, the Virgin Mary's rediscovered by peasants during their work in fields and object of the prodigious 'recognition' by animals suddenly kneeling before the numinous; paintings or statues fell from the baggage of anonymous pilgrims, only to be miraculously found on trees then chosen for a future shrine, in a sort of 'transfer' in terms of the founding legend, the iconographic theme that represented the Madonna among the branches of the 'Verga di Jesse'. Images were found whose archaic and Byzantine features recognised the unmistakable hand of Saint Luke, author of many acheiropoieton icons already important to Orthodox tradition (Bacci, 1998; 2000); visions and apparitions would have favoured shepherds and girls, placing the image of a Virgin who defeated incredulity and dispensed graces in the sacred ancient contexts of the rural world, whether they were erratic boulders or springs.

'Innocents' and children would have been witnesses to her painful participation in the sad human events: tears, sweat, blood, would have accompanied both the misfortunes of the suffering humanity and the blasphemous gestures in which popular preaching recognised by the ancient coherence decide of the people of Judah. To profane the effigy on the one hand could cost a life – as happened to the Jew who, in 1493, was accused of having travelled with an iron with the beautiful Madonna of the Rose bar that stood in the recess of the Speziali in the Florentine Orsanmichele – on the other it lent itself to becoming the 'founding myth' of a shrine, especially in the growth of anti-Jewish propaganda which was associated with the founding of the Monti di Pietà and in general with the 'Catholic' response to the problem of usury.

The widespread growth of places in which the Virgin had performed miracles and wonders with her presence of help generated real competition between shrines, increasing a form of 'sustainable' pilgrimage even for less affluent classes who could access a penitential custom made possible from the spatial proximity and relative investment of time: many of the buildings that arose in this period attest to, in the adoption of external eaves covered on three sides of the cultic hall, the possibility of a sort of 'incubation' that allowed one to spend the night in the shrine *resedi* awaiting the festive rites and events. Thus, real penitential paths were born not only towards the shrine, but also within the space in which it was found, such as in the case of the Sacred Mountains or the Calvari, in turn articulated in the **stationes** of the **vie crucis** or, as in Montaione (Gensini, 1989), in the Jerusalemite 'maquettes' of small chapels scattered in the shrine complex.

## Conclusion

It is evident there is much material still to "bring to light" and as well as how urgent it is to proceed towards a valorization directed towards a cultural dimension and the discovery of a spirituality that fits well into an increasingly laic society that questions

the future of religious Italian heritage which reaches a higher density on a global level. In the course of its construction of a list of tangible and intangible world heritage that began in 1972, UNESCO's recognition of the pronounced sustainability of religious heritage that today represents more than 60% of the whole recognised by the organisation is presented as a great challenge. The entity must consult the institutional and academic participants involved in a truly interdisciplinary approach, starting from a historical essay that still presents itself as a field to be cultivated, shared and valued in the actions of territorial organisation, according to a vision in which the spiritual component – whether laic or religious – can finally uncover its role.

Faced with the wealth of extraordinary documentation, and in any case still to be discovered, with thanks also to the spread of the Marian cult, knowledge and valorization must be able to respond together in a progressive inclusion.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Via Francigena is a route along a medieval itinerary trodden, throughout the centuries, by millions of pilgrims. It connects Canterbury (England) to Rome, passing through France and Switzerland and in the Middle Ages represented the most popular route of Christians walking to Rome". Via Francigena-UNESCO (accesso 17.10. 2017). The Via Francigena, on the other hand, is based on the journey of Sigfric which connects three European countries (Great Britain, France, Switzerland and Italy) supporting the European vision of the European Institute of Cultural Routes.

<sup>2</sup>[http://www.sacrimonti.net/User/index.php?PAGE=Sito\\_it/sacri\\_monti\\_del\\_piemonte\\_e\\_della\\_lombardia](http://www.sacrimonti.net/User/index.php?PAGE=Sito_it/sacri_monti_del_piemonte_e_della_lombardia)

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<sup>4</sup> For the individual shrines referred to, see: <http://www.santuari cristiani.iccd.beniculturali.it/> (accessed 10/11/2017).

<sup>5</sup> *Ricordo del IV centenario del prodigio operato dalla Madonna delle lacrime in Arezzo: 1490-1890*. (1890). Arezzo, Magi. Built in 1439 near a hospital managed by the Confraternita della Santissima Annunziata, the oratory host to a statue of the Madonna which, according to legend, on the 26<sup>th</sup> February 1490, during a violent storm which damaged the structure of the building, was seen crying. Consequently, the ancient oratory was substituted in 1517 by a more elegant and majestic temple.

<sup>6</sup> This shrine was also originally a modest oratory built in the age of the great death toll of 1348 near a rock on which it was believed that the Virgin Mary appeared to a girl. In the following century (1444) new miracles expanded the fame of the place which became one of the most notable shrines of Casentino, a rest-stop of the pilgrimage to Verna, which justifies its radical architectural transformation. With the Predicatori Osservanti monks, to whom the care of the shrine was given, it was given the protection of the Medici.

<sup>7</sup> *Ragguaglio istorico del Santuario di M. SS. di Vertighe presso la nobil terra del Monte San Savino*, (1840). Siena, Presso Onorato Porri; Dalle Balze, T., (1894). *Guida storica del santuario di Vertighe*, Monte San Savino, Tipogr. di Elia Savini; Gamurrini, G. F., (1920/1996). *Storia del Santuario di Vertighe*, nuova edizione Paturzo, F., (ed.), Cortona, Grafica L'Etruria.

<sup>8</sup> *Dabo tibi ubera mea: pietà popolare e universi simbolici: la Madonna del latte di Montevarchi attraverso i secoli*, Panzano in Chianti, Città Ideale. Reliquaries of the milk of Mary are venerated across Italy: Pavia, Venice, Padova, Assisi, Roma (in the churches of Santi Cosma and Damiano and of S. Crisogono), Fabriano, and Naples and in various parts of Sicily. This type of reliquary possesses much fortune also in France: in Paris, in the church of Notre Dame, in Avignon, Toulon, Aix-en-Provence, Chartres, Besancon, Puy en Valey, Reims, Rodez, Vivier, S. Omer. In Spain in Oviedo, Toledo, S. Emiliano. In Germany in Cologne, Trier and Munich. Reliquaries of milk can also be found in Holland, in Denmark and, in England, in the Marian shrine of Walsingham.

<sup>9</sup> in the print of Giuseppe Manni all'insegna di S. Giovanni di Dio; *Impruneta una pieve, un paese: cultura, parrocchia e società nella campagna toscana*, (1983). Firenze, Salimbeni; *L'Impruneta: una pieve, un santuario, un comune rurale*, (1988). Firenze, Papafava.

<sup>10</sup> In Perugia the ring was a particularly alive cult object in the context of the devotional network connected to the Forgiveness of Porziuncola.

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### The Influence of Pilgrimage Routes on Local Culture and Imagination: the "Italian Compostela" as a Case Study

D'Apruzzo, A.\*  
University of Bologna (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

In the middle of the 12th century Pistoia achieved an important relic of Saint James the Greater from Santiago de Compostela, becoming in a short time the most important Italian landmark for the worship of the Saint. As a consequence, the Tuscan city, placed near the Francigena route, became also an important center of pilgrimage, as demonstrated by several aspects of its topography and material production. Mostly within the first half of the 16th century, both local culture and popular imagination have been deeply influenced by the worship of the Apostle, especially by his characterization as pilgrimage's patron; this influence can be recognized not only in some artistic works (above all through the representation of scallop shells – the pecten jacobus – or through the representation of biblical figures clearly related to pilgrimage), but also in miracles' tales and in the morphology of the Patron Saint's festival.

Through an iconological and anthropological analysis of some of these material and written sources, the example of Pistoia can demonstrate how pilgrimage, «a kinetic ritual, full of real and "sacred" objects» (Turner-Turner, 1997), influences in a wide sense the culture of the places interested by this important phenomenon.

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**Keywords:** Saint James the Greater; Pilgrimage; Pistoia; Religious Imagination; Cults

A metà del 12° secolo, Pistoia ottenne un'importante reliquia di San Giacomo Maggiore da Santiago de Compostela, diventando in breve tempo il più importante punto di riferimento italiano per il culto del Santo. Di conseguenza, la città toscana, situata vicino alla rotta Francigena, divenne anche un importante oggetti e vari materiali. Soprattutto nella prima metà del 16 ° secolo, si può evidenziare come la cultura locale

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\* E-mail address: [Andrea.dapruzzo@gmail.com](mailto:Andrea.dapruzzo@gmail.com)

insieme all'immaginario popolare siano state profondamente influenzate dal culto dell'Apostolo, specialmente dalla sua caratterizzazione come mecenate del pellegrinaggio; questa influenza può essere riconosciuta in alcune opere artistiche, soprattutto attraverso la rappresentazione della conchiglia - il *jacobeus pecten* - o attraverso la rappresentazione di figure bibliche chiaramente correlate al pellegrinaggio), ma anche in racconti di miracoli e nella morfologia della festa del Santo Patrono.

Attraverso un'analisi iconologica e antropologica di alcuni di questi materiali e fonti documentarie, l'esempio di Pistoia può dimostrare come il pellegrinaggio, «a kinetic ritual, full of real and "sacred" objects» (Turner-Turner, 1997), influenza da secoli e in senso lato la cultura dei luoghi interessati da questo importante fenomeno.

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**Keywords:** San Giacomo Maggiore; Pellegrinaggio; Pistoia; Immaginario Religioso; Culti

## Introduction

In the late Middle Age Pistoia was «the only Italian city in which was practiced a strong and personally cult to St. James the Greater, so it would be perfectly considered a "second Compostela", or the corresponding "Italian Compostela"» (Mascanzoni, 2000). Leardo Mascanzoni, one the most important experts of St. James cult in Italy, described in this way the situation of the Tuscan city between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The expression "Italian Compostela" can be considered very pregnant: in particular during the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century, we can found some connections between Santiago de Compostela and Pistoia, concerning relics, architecture, liturgical books and, most of all, pilgrimage. In fact, in a short time after the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (when Pistoia became the most important Italian landmark for the worship of St. James) the Tuscan city became an important stop-over along the route that connected Santiago de Compostela with Rome and, moreover, the Holy Land. Nowadays we can found some records of the multitude of pilgrims that have crossed Pistoia in particular in the Middle Age: these records can be found both in written documents (encyclicals, Cathedral's registers, last will and testaments) and in some local artworks (sculptures, frescos, paintings), that created a strong connection between local culture and imagination.

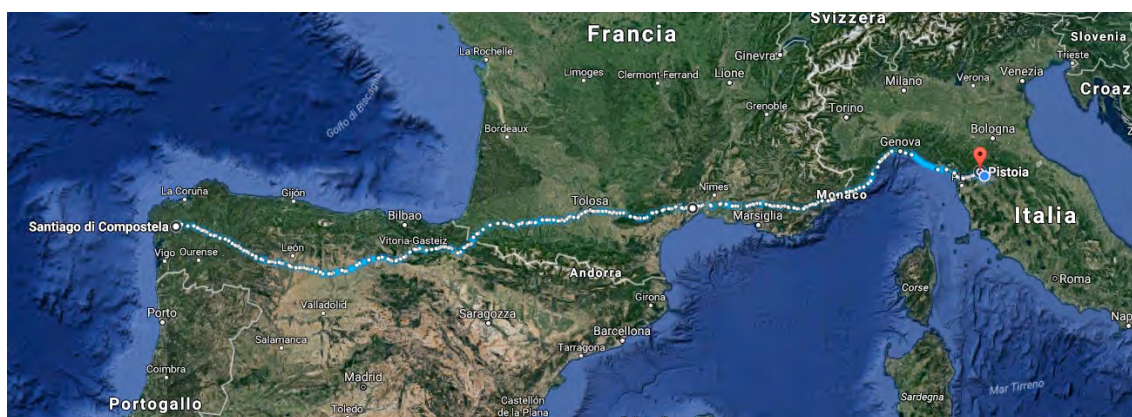
Through an iconological and anthropological analysis of some of these written and material sources, the example of Pistoia can demonstrate how pilgrimage influences in a wide sense the culture of the places interested by this important phenomenon (Gai, 1987; *Eadem*, 1993).

## 1. The Cult of St. James the Greater in Pistoia

St. James the Greater, Zebedeo's son, was one of the most important apostle: together with St. John the Evangelist, James' brother, and St. Peter he had the privilege to be present at some important events of the life of Christ, such as the raising of Jarius' daughter (Mark 5, 21-43; Matthew 9, 18-26; Luke 8, 40-56), the confession of Christ in

the Gethsemane (Mark 14, 32-42; Matthew 26, 36-46) and, most of all, his Transfiguration (Mark 9, 2-8; Matthew 17, 1-8; Luke 9, 28-36); in addition, his martyrdom is the only one described in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 12, 1-2).

During the Middle Age in his hagiography appeared for the first time a connection between his figure and Spain, the country of which he will become the patron saint. Between 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century some sources (for example the *Breviarum Apostolorum* or the *De ortu et obitu partum* by Isidore of Seville) reported about his preaching in Spain until his return in Judea, where he died (Vanoli, 2006). Instead of these, some other sources, in particular between 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century, reported about the translation of his body to Galicia after his martyrdom (Díaz y Díaz, 1987; Menestò, 2005): in his hagiography this information came after the legendary discovery of his body, happened at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century in Iria Flavia, near the present Santiago of Compostela, the most important landmark for the worship of the Saint of the entire Christianity. These two different traditions (the preaching in Spain and the translation of the body after the martyrdom) were fused together during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, in particular in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, the most important hagiographic text about St. James cult written in Santiago de Compostela between 1139 and 1173 (Berardi, 2008).



**Figure 1:** Map representing the road from Santiago de Compostela to Pistoia

Source: Google Maps

The origin of the cult of St. James the Greater in Pistoia has to be researched in the context where also the Liber was written (**Figure 1**). According to some local sources, around 1144 the Bishop Atto received from the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela Diego Gelmírez a relic of the body of St. James; this prestigious remain of his body was located on an altar dedicated to the Saint in the Cathedral of Pistoia, initiating so the most important worship of the city until today.

Modern studies, led in particular by Lucia Gai (Gai, 1984; Eadem, 1987), have demonstrated how this tradition is probably a legend, invented by the Bishop Atto to solve some problems about the relationships between the diocese and the municipality, in particular about the management of Cathedral properties. In spite of this, St. James cult became in a short time the most important one in Pistoia, exceeding the worship to St. Zeno, the historical patron of the city. However, the connection between the Tuscan city and Santiago de Compostela wasn't limited to the relic: at 1144 came, once again from Galicia, a copy of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi* (probably

fragmentary), that strongly influenced local saint hagiography (Gai, 1987) and some aspects of the new structure of the Cathedral recalled the Galician one. These changes mainly concerned the St. James chapel, built in 1145 along the first two aisles of the right nave of the Cathedral, and destroyed in 1786. Firstly, the decoration of the chapel contained some references to the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*: both frescos on the lunette above the entrance door of the chapel (**Figure 2**) and on the columns that separated the chapel from the rest of the church referred to the idea of James and his brother John as columns of the church, as explained in the *Liber*; the holy water font, that represents St. James, St. John, St. Peter and St. Paul (**Figure 3**), referred to the «teoría compostelana de las tres sedes del mundo» included in the same text (Díaz y Díaz, 1987), which tells us that the ecclesiastical sees of Santiago de Compostela (James), Ephesus (John) and Rome (Peter and Paul) were on a higher level than the other ones; finally, both St. James chapels of Santiago de Compostela and Pistoia contains an altar, in which is kept a relic of the saint, a ciborium above that and a silver antependium, as described in the fifth and last book of the *Liber* (Gai, 1987). Secondly, going out from the church, the inscription on the door that introduce to the chapel («Adveniens discas quid xpicti cvria dicat / quisquis malvm vites cona fac per secvla») recalls a sermon attributed to Pope Callistus II included in the first book of the *Liber* (Gai, 1987). Finally, both in Santiago de Compostela and in Pistoia above the St. James chapel was built the episcopal chapel, in both cases dedicated to Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of Bari, the most important harbor to reach the Holy Land (Gai, 1984): has been created so a connection between the western and the eastern limit of Christian pilgrimage, that had in the Tuscan city an important stop-over, as we will see soon.



**Figure 2:** Lapo da Firenze, *Christ between James and John the Evangelist*, Pistoia, Cathedral of St. Zeno, c. 1260

Source: <http://www.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/it/fototeca/fototeca-zeri>

In view of the above the relic, the copy of the *Liber*, the decoration and the structure of the St. James chapel represent a “pilgrimage” of cultural aspects from Santiago de Compostela to Pistoia, thus paving the way to the multitude of pilgrims who, going

from Galicia to Rome or Jerusalem, decided to stop in the Tuscan city, to pay tribute to their patron.

## 2. Jacobean pilgrimage in Pistoia

«You, traveller, learn what the church of Christ teaches: anyone you are, abstain from evil, do good and you will live forever» (Gai, 1984). As we have already seen, this was the teaching that welcomes pilgrims who was going to arrive in the St. James chapel. This late 12<sup>th</sup> century inscription shows how at that time, few years after the consecration of the altar, there was a strong presence of pilgrims in Pistoia.

First of all it's very important to explain the relationship between Tuscan city and the "Via Francigena", the most important pilgrimage route in Italy, that connected the Alps with Rome. Pistoia wasn't on the main layout of that route: nevertheless, it was connected to that by two secondary routes, one on the north (the "via francesca della sambuca", that connected Pistoia with Bologna and the *via aemilia*) and the other one on the south (that brings to Fucecchio, located on the Francigena). In the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, some lodgings and churches dedicated to St. James were built along both these two secondary routes, according to the will to «put under St. James protection the ancient early-Medieval royal route that connected Pistoia to the south and to the north: in this way it was considered a part of that big European road network that constituted the *iter compostellanum*» (Gai, 1987).



**Figure 3:** Late 13th century sculptor, Holy water font, Pistoia, Cathedral, c. 1280

Source: peronal picture

The origin and the development of the Jacobean pilgrimage in Pistoia can be reconstructed using many different sources. Two different briefs, written by Pope

Eugene III in 1145, are connected with this development. In the first one, Pope Eugene speaks about some miracles happened «ad sacrum altare [...] in pistoriensi ecclesia» and about an important flow of pilgrims «de diversis et remotis terrarum partibus»; in the same document, the Pope invites Bishops of nearest dioceses to Pistoia (Siena, Volterra, Firenze, Lucca, Luni) to support the ride of believers through their districts. The second one, related with the first, gave a seven days indulgence for every visitor that prays to the altar. With these two briefs, Pope Eugene gave at the same time Atto a strong support for his political plan and pilgrimage a strong promotion (Ferrali, 1979). To understand how pilgrimage had a strong influence on the culture of the city we can analyze also some last wills, that can be divided in two different groups. In the first one we can include testaments written before a pilgrimage: at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century a man called *Urbanus*, before going to Galicia, leaved to his notary provisions about bequest to some hospitals, in case he never came back from Spain. In the second one we can find another type of testament: in two different cases, in 1240 and in 1284, the documents show the will to give some money to another man to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela on his behalf after testator death (Gai, 1990).

Onomastics is another important field of study connected to pilgrimage. Until 1145, when the relic came to Pistoia, we can find in the documents only one demonstration of the name *Jacobus* (or similar): in particular, a document of 1126 is the only one that speaks about a man called *Jacobinus*; while, from 1145 to 1510, the same name is present 732 times in the documents. The same consideration can be done about names related to pilgrimage: during 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century we can find a lot of name such as *Peregrinus*, *Romeus*, *Palmerius* and even Marco di Gallizziano, while nothing before the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Ferrali, 1979; Gai, 1990).

Finally, through the so-called «limosine date a chi va a Santo Iacopo di Galicia» (donations given to whom decide to go to Santiago de Compostela) we can calculate that, at the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century, about 150 pilgrims annually went to Galicia, that means the 2,5% of local population after the Black Death (Cipriani, 1999).

In view of the above, we can affirm that local culture and customs were very influenced by the development of the Jacobean pilgrimage. That being said, it will be not surprising found the same role and importance of pilgrimage on local imagination.

### 3. The Influence of Jacobean Pilgrimage on Pistoia Imagination

Local artistic production, in particular between 13<sup>th</sup> and the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century, shows some elements connected with Jacobean pilgrimage. At the same time this phenomenon had an important impact, as well as on religious practices, also on political signs and local tales (Gai, 1984; *Eadem*, 1987; *Eadem*, 1993). For these reasons, to understand the influence of pilgrimage on the culture of Pistoia a strictly iconographical approach isn't enough: what we need is an anthropological approach, that might consider iconological aspects, but examining pilgrimage as «a kinetic ritual, full of real and "sacred" objects» (Turner-Turner, 1997) that involve religion and politics, artworks and tales, Saints and common people.

To explain this relationship between pilgrimage and imagination in the specific context

of Pistoia, this section will be divided in three parts: in the first one, we will look at some iconic representation of St. James as a pilgrim; in the second one, we will analyze some figurative contexts related and influenced by pilgrimage, without the "physical" presence of the Saint; finally, we will focus on a legendary tale that involve pilgrimage, St. James cult and Carolingian epic.

### 3.1 St. James as a Pilgrim

The characterization as a pilgrim is the most frequent in St. James iconography. Elements such as *bordone* (a curved walking stick), *scarsella* (a small leather bag), *schiaivina* (the typical pilgrims overcoat), *gallerio* (a hat with stretched brims) and the scallop are his most common attributes. This feature of St. James iconography is not usual: in fact our Saint represents «the only example in all Christian world of a total identification between a Saint and his worshippers, to the extent that he was represented with their attributes» (Mascanzoni, 2000).

For these reasons there are a lot of representations of the Saint as a pilgrim also in Pistoia; here will be analyzed only some of them, chosen their relevance and their iconic character.

The earliest representation of St. James as a pilgrim is stored in the courtyard of local Town Hall: it's a stone sculpture, done at the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century probably by an artist from Northern Italy (**Figure 4**). It represents a pilgrim, with some elements we have already seen (hat, overcoat, scallops), and a book in the left hand: this attribute lets us to identify him as St. James, and not as a common pilgrim. This is the first example of this representation of the Saint in the city, paving the way to some other that were realized during following centuries.



**Figure 4:** Late 13th century sculptor, *St. James*, Pistoia, Town Hall, c. 1280

Source: peronal picture

Over time, the image of St. James as a pilgrim took on an "official" role. We know two different municipal seals of the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century: in the elder one there was an armed knight («in dicto sigillo uno milite ad equum cum uno vexillo in manu, consignato et sculpito»); the image represented on the other one, adopted by the *Pars Populi* (the new born classes that represented towns people) in 1272, was instead described in this way: «ymago beati Jacobi apostoli ad mmodum pelegriini, cum duobus nicchiis, unu ex parte anteriori et alium ex parte posteriori, et cum bordone in manu et scarsella suspensa ad latum». As can be seen, the image represented St. James as a pilgrim, with all his typical attributes, such as *nicchiis* (scallop), *bordone* (walking sticks) and *scarsella* (leather bag). Over time, this last image (**Figure 5**) has become the official one: «since 14<sup>th</sup> century the official municipal seal of Pistoia would have both the heraldic emblem with a red and white checkerboard pattern (the historical emblem of the municipality, *editor's note*) and the image of St. James, standing or seated on the throne, often accompanied or even substituted, in lesser seals, by scallops» (Gai, 1985).



**Figure 5:** Recreation of the seals of the *Pars Populi* of 1272

Source: Mazzei, 1980

The passage from the seal with the armed knight to the one with St. James symbolized the transition from the older feudal world to the newest one, dominated by mercantile and artisan classes. In this way, the image of St. James as a pilgrim became a witness: it showed an important change about social and political relationship inside municipalities that concerned not only Pistoia, but some different political contexts since the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (Gai, 1985). During the 14<sup>th</sup> century was made also the most iconic image of this kind. About at the middle of the century sculptor Giglio Pisano made a silver statue of the Saint (**Figure 6**), described in an inventory of 1353 in this way: «unam ymaginem sancti iacobi que stat ad sedendum super sede de argento, magnam, cum bordone et scersella et gallerio in capite de arge[n]to, in parte deauratam» (Gai, 1984). St. James was seated on a throne wearing typical pilgrims attributess, as we can see in other examples. The specific importance of this image is connected with two different aspects. First of all, its position: initially made as an anthropomorphic reliquary, it was then positioned in the central part of the silver altar made in St. James chapel in the Cathedral from 1287 to 1456, that represent the most important artwork dedicated to the Saint in Pistoia; thanks to its position, it represents the mainly focus of this structure, that contains both images of Christ and Saints and some narrative scenes, dedicated to Christ and St. James. The iconic role of this image can be found also during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the Jacobean Holy years (or Jubilees), during which some special stamps was coined. In 1971 was coined 21 stamps, 15 of them dedicated to monuments situated along the Route of Santiago de Compostela and the other dedicated to Jacobean places in Europe: all of these last ones were connected with pilgrimage, and the image of St. James we are talking about was choose as the emblem of the entire Itaas the emblem of the entire Italian pilgrimage (Arlotta, 2010) (**Figure 7**).



**Figure 6:** Giglio Pisano, *St. James*, Pistoia, Cathedral, detail of the St. James altar, 1353  
Source: <https://www.diocesipistoia.it/san-giacomo-apostolo>



**Figure 7:** Stamp coined in 1971 for the Jacobean Holy Year  
Source: Arlotta, 2010

The last image analyzed in this paragraph is a panel painted by Bernardino di Antonio Detti in 1523. The painting represents *The Virgin and Child with the infant St. John the Baptist, St. James the Greater and St. Bartholomew*, and it was commissioned for a chapel of a hospital near Pistoia, at Ponte alla Pergola, and it's so called *Madonna della Pergola* (Mazzi, 1982) (**Figure 8**).



**Figure 8:** Bernardino di Antonio Detti, *Madonna della Pergola*, Pistoia, Civic museum, 1523

Source: <http://www.discoverpistoia.it>

The painting has a very unusual iconography: in the foreground there are the Virgin, seated, with the Child between Bartholomew and, on the other side, the infant John and James; behind the Virgin there is a young woman, probably connected with benefactor; in the background there are a child with his nanny and, behind them, a representation of *The judgment of Salomon*. The importance given to childhood in this painting (through the representation of three children, two young women, *The judgment of Salomon* and some toys) can be related with Bartholomew: in fact his figure is considered in Pistoia a childhood patron, and during his feast children are anointed in the church dedicated to him. Another important aspect of this panel, the most important for us, is St. James iconography; at least three different implications of the Saint are evoked in the panel: apostle, *matamoros* and, mainly, pilgrimage patron. The first connotation is exemplified by the book, typical attribute of Saints; however on its cover we can see the sign "Epistole", that refers to the Epistle of James of the New Testament, now attributed to St. James the Less or to St. James "brother" of Christ, but during Middle Age often related to the Greater. His characterization as *matamoros* (Moor-slayer) is maybe evoked by a Moor painted in the higher part of the right side of the panel. However, the majority of St. James attributes are related to pilgrimage. First of all, he holds a walking stick with a scallop with his right hand, he wears an overcoat and he keeps a hat with stretched brims under his left arm. This last attribute is the most interesting for us: on it there are some objects, not often represented, related to pilgrims and pilgrimage in general (**Figure 9**). First of all, in the inner part of the hat is inserted a porcupine quill: according to some scholars this object were kept by pilgrims because it could be used for some different purposes (for example for security, or for

its pointy form); according to others it was one of the "mirabilia" that pilgrims picked up during their path as a souvenir of the pilgrimage (Cipriani, 1999). But the most interesting objects attached on the hat are five pilgrim badges on the outer part of a brim: from left to right, we can see a red cross, a scallop, a skull, a metal badge and a decorated piece of cloth or paper (Mazzi, 1982). The red cross is probably a reference to the Holy Land, Eastern limit of Christian pilgrimage; the scallop is obviously related with Santiago de Compostela, the Western one; the skull is the most difficult to decode: it can be a reference to St. Thomas Becket shrine in Canterbury, the Northern limit of Christian pilgrimage, or it can be a *memento mori*, related to the difficult of pilgrimage in particular during Middle Age; the metal badge, on which is represented the Virgin with the Child over a church carried by angels, is related to the Basilica of the Holy House of Loreto (one of the most important Marian pilgrimage destination) and to its origin myth; on the piece of cloth or paper is represented St. Veronica with the Holy Face of Jesus, one of the most important pilgrimage souvenir related to Rome. In this way the representation of these pilgrimage badges refers to an idea of universal pilgrimage, that connected all the most important destinations in the entire Christian world.



**Figure 9:** Bernardino di Antonio Detti, *Madonna della Pergola* (detail), Pistoia, Civic museum, 1523

Source: personal picture

### 3.2. Pilgrimage Images

In the previous paragraph we have seen some specific examples in which St. James has been represented as a pilgrim. The following pages will be dedicated to some other images related to pilgrimage, but without the presence of the Saint. These images let us assert that the influence of pilgrimage on local figurative imagination isn't necessarily related to the "physical" presence of the Saint, but it's too strong to show itself also in some different contexts apparently not related with pilgrimage. These

images will be divided in two different groups: in the first one we will analyze some representations of pilgrims; in the second one we will see other images that can be related with the development of the Jacobean pilgrimage in the city.

One of the most interesting image represented pilgrims in Pistoia is an early 15<sup>th</sup> century fresco in the Old Episcopal Palace, near the Cathedral. The fresco (**Figure 10**), very damaged, has an important historical and documentary value: in fact it represents the moment of the departure of pilgrims, normally on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February, the Feast of the Presentation of our Lord Jesus (Cipriani, 2007). In this day, also called Candlemas, pilgrims received in St. James chapel a burning candle (symbolizing Faith), and the blessing, by the Bishop, of their walking sticks and bags. In the fresco we can see this last moment: pilgrims standing or kneeled in front of the Bishop waiting for the blessing (Gai, 1984; Cipriani, 2007).



**Figure 10:** Sano di Giorgio, *Pilgrim's departure*, Pistoia, Old episcopal palace, early 15th century

Source: Gai, 1984

In the church of St. Francis there are two different frescos that are very clear about the relationship between pilgrimage and images. First of all, during centuries it has been testified a strong and durable relationship between Jacobean pilgrimage and Franciscans (Cardini, 1995; Mascanzoni, 2000). St. Francis, the founder of the Order, made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela around 1215, and during his way he made a miracle and founded a cloister. Other than that some churches and hospitals situated along pilgrimage routes were founded by Franciscans, and another important exponent of the Order, St. Anthony of Padua, was very devoted to St. James

(Mascanzoni, 2000). After this necessary introduction, we can return to our images. Both in Pazzaglia chapel (near the main one) and in the Chapter Room we can notice the presence of Jacobean pilgrims in figurative contexts in which their presence is unusual.

Pazzaglia chapel was painted by Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani around 1370 with stories of St. Anthony of Padua and St. Louis of Tolouse (Gai, 1993). Frescos are very damaged, but we can still see a short part of the episode with *St. Louis giving alms to poors*: in front of the kneeled Saint there are some men, one of those wears a pilgrim hat with a scallop (**Figure 11**).

The Chapter Room was painted at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Antonio Vite (Gai, 1993). One of the episode represented is the *Miracle of the miser's heart*, one of the most famous occurrence of St. Anthony life: on the right part of the scene, two men wear the typical pilgrim hat, with a scallop attached on their front (**Figure 12**).

These two examples are very interesting due to their peculiarity. If we analyze other representations of these two subjects, we can notice that only in few cases pilgrims are present, and there aren't examples with Jacobean ones. Other than that, the representation of Jacobean pilgrim is generally reserved to figurative contexts related to pilgrimage: usually they are represented in groups, or in allegories of Church (for example in a 14<sup>th</sup> century fresco in the Chapter Room of the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence), or in places related to pilgrimage (for example a 15<sup>th</sup> century fresco in Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, originally a hospital dedicated also to pilgrims). For these reasons, the images in Pistoia are quite uncommon: their singularity can be justified thanks to the success that Jacobean cult and pilgrimage achieved in the city, enough to influence the entire local figurative imagination.



**Figure 11:** Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *St. Louis of Tolouse giving alms to poors*, Pistoia, church of St. Francis, Pazzaglia chapel, c. 1370

Source: gai, 1993



**Figure 12:** Antonio Vite, *Miracle of the miser's heart* (detail), Pistoia, church of St. Francis, Chapter Room, early 15th century

Source: Gai, 1993

The last image that represents pilgrims have a strong political value. During 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Pistoia increasingly felt under the influence of Florence, and a 16<sup>th</sup> century terracotta frieze shows the political relationship between the two cities at that time. The "Ospedale del Ceppo" was, at that time, the main hospital in the city and from 1501 it was taken over by Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. During the third decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was realized on its front a terracotta frieze by Santi Buglioni and his atelier: on this were represented the seven Works of Mercy, separated by the representation of Virtues (Guerrieri - Amendola, 1982). The most interesting episode for us is the one representing this verse of Gospel of Matthew: «I was a stranger and you welcomed me» (Matthew 25, 35) (**Figure 13**). The scene is divided in two parts: in the first one there is a group of pilgrims, leading by a Saint represented as one of them; in the second one Leonardo Buonafede, hospital's dean, do the "Washing of the Feet" rite to another Saint. First of all, pilgrims are represented with their typical attires, included scallops and porcupine quills we have already seen in the *Madonna della Pergola*. However the most interesting aspect of the frieze is the identification of the two Saints, already discussed by scholars. According to me the most likely theory is the one that identify the two Saints with James and John the Baptist: the first one for his role of pilgrims' patron, the other one through the camel-skin dress, one of his typical attribute. The representation of these two Saints next to each other has also a political value, because St. James was the patron of Pistoia, and St. John the one of Florence (Guerrieri - Amendola, 1982). The presence of both patrons was necessary to balance the importance of the two cities in a context as important as this one; probably we can suppose that the "Washing of the Feet" of St. John by Leonardo Buonafede can represent a sort of welcome of the Saint in the city, sealing in this way the political control of Florence on Pistoia.



**Figure 13:** Giovanni della Robbia and Santi Buglioni, *To shelter the homeless*, Pistoia, Ospedale del Ceppo, detail of the frieze, 1525-1529

Source: Guerrieri – Amendola, 1982

After seeing some relevant images representing pilgrims, we will analyze three different images implicitly connected with pilgrimage. The first one is a marble column that a late 19<sup>th</sup> century photograph shows in front of St. Peter church. The column (**Figure 14**), realized during the 12<sup>th</sup> century and actually stored in the courtyard of local Town Hall, was situated along the pilgrimage route that crossed Pistoia. For this reason, Lucia Gai suggested that it was necessary to show the presence of hospital for pilgrims nearby, so it can be considered an important sign of the history of Jacobean pilgrimage in the city (Gai, 1987).

Another important image connected with pilgrimage is on the front of the church of St. Andrew, situated on the same pilgrimage route we have already seen before. In 1166 three sculptors (Gruamonte, Adeodato and Enrico) sculpted on the lintel of the front the episode of the *Adoration of the Magi* (**Figure 15**), apparently not connected with the dedication of the church. The meaning of this choice can be found in the relationship between this church and the pilgrimage route: in fact the biblical Magi are often considered the first pilgrims of the history, because of their travel to the place of the nativity of Jesus (Gai, 1987). For this reason, this subject is often represented in churches situated along the Via Francigena, and the Magi are related more than once with Jacobean cult and pilgrimage in *the Liber Sancti Jacobi*, as we have already seen the most important hagiographic text for St. James cult. In this way, the relief of the church of St. Andrew shows how important was pilgrimage in Pistoia already a few years after relic's coming.



**Figure 14:** Column, Pistoia, Town Hall, late 12th century

Source: personal picture



**Figure 15:** Gruamonte, Adeodato, Enrico, *Adoration of the Magi*, Pistoia, church of St. Andrew, 1166

Source: <http://www.centroarte.com/>

The last image we analyze in this paragraph was connected with pilgrimage some years ago (Lamberini, 1999). In the church of St. Bartholomew is stored a pulpit realized by Guido da Como from at the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is decorated with some Christological episodes, included the one happened in Emmaus: unusually the scene doesn't concern the supper, but in the tile is represented the meeting between Christ and the two disciples and their following moving towards the village (**Figure 16**).



**Figure 16:** Guido da Como, *Christ and two disciples walking to Emmaus*, Pistoia, church of St. Bartholomew, detail of the pulpit, 1239-1250

Source: Lamberini, 1999

Other than that, Christ wears clothes that are similar to the pilgrim ones, and under the scene there is this inscription: «ISTE PEREGRINUS PERAM POST DORSA LIGATUS / MISSUS DIVINUS IESUS EST DE VIRGINE NATUS». The choice of this particular moment of the episode, the clothes worn by Christ and the inscription suggest us to suppose that this image is related with the enormous development of pilgrimage in Pistoia during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Thanks to the images we have just seen we can affirm that Jacobean pilgrimage has been a very strong influence not only on St. James iconographic, but on the entire local figurative culture, conditioning also episodes and

images usually not related with this phenomenon.

### 3.3. *Pilgrimage in Miracles and Legendary Tales*

In the previous pages we have seen how pilgrimage has influenced local figurative culture. However also local miracles and legendary tales show some connections with pilgrimage, letting us extend its influence from material works of art to the entire local imagination.

In local sources written from 12<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century are described some miracles happened thanks to St. James intercession. One of those is related with this research: a man dying of gout ruined himself to found a cure for his swollen legs; after having gone to the St. James chapel, praying to the Saint, he was cured; after this miracle he «immediately wore pilgrim's clothes and he went to Spain, toward St. James cathedral» (Gai, 1990). This episode, reported in a text written just after the consecration of St. James altar, shows how a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela was immediately felt as the best way to thank St. James for his intercession.

Another important proof of the relationship between Jacobean cult and pilgrimage and local imagination is the so called "Cappel d'Orlando" (Orlando's hat), a place situated between Pian di Novello and Pian degli Ontani, near Pistoia. According to some tales narrated by locals (Buonomini, 1987), raging Orlando (Charlemagne paladin) jumped off with his horse from one of local peaks, losing his hat, and the place on which it fell is the one now called "Cappel d'Orlando"; not long after Orlando landed, and the violent impact left the tracks of the hoofs of the horse on the field. Other than that, there are some other interesting elements: even now some inhabitants of that places know very well Orlando's legend, and some grandparents tell passages from Ariosto's poem to their grandchildren; other than that, in those places some people carry the name of the two main characters of the same poem, Angelica and Orlando. How this legendary tale can be related with pilgrimage? According to some studies, there is a strong relationship between pilgrimage routes and the spread of Carolingian epic (Cardini, 1987; *Idem*, 1995; Mascanzoni, 2000): in some places situated along those routes we can find some proofs of the influence of stories related to Charlemagne and his paladins, and the King himself has a very important role in the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, in particular in the fourth book, entirely dedicated to his conquest of Spain (Cardini, 1995; Berardi, 2008). For these reason, the presence of such a legendary tale in a small mountain place can be justify with the proximity with Pistoia, an important worship for St. James cult and an important pilgrimage site.

## Conclusion

Written documents, artworks, legendary tales. Different kind of proofs have been used to show how pilgrimage has influenced the culture and the imagination of Pistoia. In this essay pilgrimage has been considered as an anthropological phenomenon, able to have a strong and durable impact on places interested by it. For this reason so different traces such as last wills, paintings and legendary tales have contribute at the same level to show the relationship between pilgrimage and Pistoia: analyzing in a wide sense the

culture of a specific context is the only way to demonstrate this relationship, that concern the entire population, with its customs and its imagination.

The example of Pistoia can be considered an important case of study speaking about the relationship between pilgrimage and imagination: the images we have seen wouldn't have the same features without the coming of the relic and the consequent development of pilgrimage. For this reason, we can speak about a two-way relationship between pilgrimage and images: pilgrimage influenced images, images testify the past existence of such an important phenomenon. Using a contemporary terminology, the images we have seen can be considered some different "hardware" that work thanks to the same "software", in this case pilgrimage.

In this way, in spite of some cultural changes and the loss of a lot of elements, Pistoia preserves some objects and records that has been considered "eyewitnesses" (Burke, 2001) of centuries in which the city was a very important stop-over along the main route that connected the entire Christian world.

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## **Almatourism**

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### **From the Roman and then Longobard Via Cassiola to the Piccola Cassia for a Tourist Project**

Foschi, P. \*

Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna (Italy)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

A coordinated set of initiatives of cultural value also useful for the acquaintance and tourism development of the territory must have as solid basis the study of the ancient testimonies of the path of travelers and pilgrims. Cassiola road was a Roman road, continuing north of Cassia road, disused during the occupation of the Longobards of West Emilia, and reopened by the longobard king Astolfo in the middle of the eighth century. Today the different stretches of Cassiola or Piccola Cassia road are still accessible on foot, on horseback, by bicycle, and touch places of high historical, architectural, artistic and cultural value.

The study of many other medieval roads deriving from Roman ones has verified the persistence of the use of the road name itself (such as Fiamenga da Flaminia or Cassiola da Cassia) or the use in medieval documents of the term strata, which always indicates a road of importance not only local but at least regional or trans-regional. Via Cassiola can be found in medieval documents from this name, in the vulgar Latin transformed into Cassola, or in the historical cartography of Modern age with the name of Cassola or Cassoletta.

Its path to the plain between Modena and Bologna covered important Benedictine abbeys rich in relics, such as S. Silvestro di Nonantola and S. Maria in Strada, and medieval hospitals for pilgrims, such as S. Bartholomew of Spilamberto. On the hills, the road touched the abbey of St. Lucia of Roffeno and wandered the Apennine to the passage of the Arcane Cross, where a great cross was driving the passengers. On the way to the pass, pilgrims could stay at the church of S. Colombano in Fanano, while in the valley of the Ospitale torrent one could find refuge in the hospice of S. Giacomo di Val di Lamola, both still existing. In Tuscany, the road allowed to arrive in Pistoia, the end of the Roman Cassia road, where pilgrims could adore the relics of saint James in the cathedral, or reach the Garfagnana and Lucca, where the Holy Face attracts the devotion of thousands of faithful men and women from all over Europe.

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\* E-mail address: [pfoschi@hotmail.it](mailto:pfoschi@hotmail.it)

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**Keywords:** *Strata*; Cassia; Devotions; Nonantola; Apennines

Un insieme coordinato di iniziative di valore culturale ma utili per la conoscenza e lo sviluppo turistico del territorio deve avere come solida base lo studio delle testimonianze antiche del percorso delle strade di viaggiatori e pellegrini. La via Cassiola fu una strada romana, proseguimento verso nord della via Cassia, andata in disuso durante l'occupazione dei Longobardi dell'Emilia occidentale, e riaperta dal re longobardo Astolfo a metà dell'VIII secolo. Oggi i diversi tratti della via Cassiola o Piccola Cassia sono ancora percorribili a piedi, a cavallo, in bicicletta, e toccano luoghi di alto valore storico, architettonico, artistico e culturale.

Lo studio di numerose altre strade medievali derivanti da arterie romane ha verificato la costanza dell'uso del nome proprio della strada (come Fiamenga da Flaminia o Cassiola da Cassia) o l'uso del termine *strata*, che indica sempre una strada di importanza non solo locale, ma almeno regionale o trans-regionale. La via Cassiola può essere individuata nei documenti medievali da questo nome, nel latino volgare trasformato in Cassola, oppure nella cartografia storica di età Moderna con il nome di Cassola o Cassoletta.

Il suo percorso nella pianura fra Modena e Bologna toccava importanti abbazie benedettine ricche di reliquie, come S. Silvestro di Nonantola e S. Maria in Strada, e ospitali medievali per pellegrini, come S. Bartolomeo di Spilamberto; sulle colline la strada toccava l'abbazia di S. Lucia di Roffeno e valicava l'Appennino al passo della Croce Arcana, presso il quale sorgeva una grande croce che guidava i viandanti. Sulla strada verso il passo, a Fanano i pellegrini potevano sostare presso la chiesa di S. Colombano, mentre nella valle del torrente Ospitale si poteva trovare rifugio presso l'ospitale di S. Giacomo di Val di Lamola, entrambe chiese ancora esistenti. In Toscana la strada permetteva di giungere a Pistoia, capolinea della via Cassia romana, dove i pellegrini potevano venerare le reliquie di S. Giacomo Maggiore conservate nella cattedrale, o raggiungere la Garfagnana e Lucca, dove il Volto Santo attirava la devozione di migliaia di fedeli provenienti da tutta Europa.

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**Keywords:** *Strata*; Cassia; Devozioni; Nonantola; Appennino

## Introduction

A coordinated set of initiatives of cultural value, useful for the knowledge and tourism development of the territory must have as solid basis the study of the ancient testimonies of the route of travelers and pilgrims, otherwise it is likely to propose fake itineraries that have never really existed and therefore misleading. In the case of the boundary between the present provinces of Modena and Bologna, both in the plain and in the mountains and hill regions, thanks to studies of the decades old, one can say surely path from the late antique and high Middle Ages from a road which marked on

one side the boundary between two Roman municipal territories and the other from the Po to Central Tuscany (Pistoia). We can assert that what medieval documents present us with the name of Via Cassiola was a Roman road, continuing north of Via Cassia. Indeed, the three branches of the road that we delineate seem to belong to two distinct Roman streets, the way to Verona and the way towards Aquileia. Many finds of known Roman materials (Calzolari, 1988) or have recently happened to carry out public works in the Crespellano area and have not yet been published. The presence of a *Quinta* landmark in the Middle Ages (1014 and then 1315) in the area of San Giovanni in Persiceto (Foschi, 1998, p. 82, note 12) suggests that the traces of the signaling of the distance along the eastern road axis had fossilized in a landmark when the militaries had disappeared and was now buried the road itself.

The road was disused during the occupation of the Longobards of West Emilia and was reopened by King Longobard Astolfo in the middle of the eighth century. However, it remained a boundary road for centuries, following the eastern ridge of the stream Samoggia, which was controversial between Bolognesi and Modenesi.

Today, the various stretches of *Cassiola* way, renamed Piccola Cassia, are still accessible on foot, by horse, by bicycle, and by touching places of high environmental, natural, historical, architectural, artistic and cultural value. Many of these places still show traces of the Roman presence and then Lombard, and remained the fulcrum of occupation and exploitation of land for several centuries.

This road in the Middle Ages could rather be defined as a "road area", according to the fortunate definition of Giuseppe Sergi: in fact, the documentary evidence of the road in the plain and in the hills defines parallel paths rather than a unique and defined route.

The study of many medieval streets deriving from Roman arteries has verified the persistence of the use of the proper name of the road, such as Fiamenga da *Flaminia* (Foschi, 1998 and 2003) or *Cassiola* da Cassia, or the use of the term *strata*, which always indicates a road of importance not only local, but at least regional or trans-regional. Also for the course we are interested in, there are many examples in the unpublished documentation of Santa Lucia of Roffeno: an act of March 1124 presents *Aldevrandus olim filius Bandi de Rofeno* donate for his soul and to obtain the forgiveness of sins at the church of Santa Lucia virgin located *in loco qui dicitur Strada 4 sestarii of terra laboratoria in Vezano*, bordering on the common way. The act was signed under the portico of the monastery of Santa Lucia<sup>1</sup>. Even today there is the township Strada at the church of Santa Lucia.

## 1. The Emilian route

Another notion is to keep in mind about this way: since it is a reversal of a previous road, it is possible that King Astolfo has modified it according to a concept that can be called "without cities": as is known, the Longobards, of their arrival in Italy, neglected the lost Roman cities and preferred to use rural power centers such as large courts. In rethinking the road between the Po and Tuscany, it is possible that the King has preferred to shorten the route and avoid touching Modena and Bologna to the north and Pistoia to the south of the Apennine chain to reach Lucca. In fact, it is possible from Nonantola to reach via Emilia and then to walk the road to the valley of the

Samoggia without touching large centers, as well as from Lizzano Pistoiese to reach Lima Valley and to reach Lucca without touching Pistoia.

If we take the Po as one of the terminals of our road, we will find that those who came from Verona could cross the Modena territory and touch Nonantola; who came from Padua had the choice of touching Cento and San Giovanni in Persiceto or stay more east and go to meet the via Bazzanese (the medieval via Predosa) at Pragatto. The two main branches of *Via Cassiola*, which in the local tradition becomes Cassola, the Nonantola one and the Persiceto one, touch the Via Emilia in two different points, the one most used by Modenesi to the bridge of Sant'Ambrogio, the other more convenient for the Bolognesi to the east, to the Samoggia bridge, but then their route began to converge on Via Predosa (current Bazzanese or Vignolese) and Bazzano to reach the ridge between Samoggia and Panaro. Beyond Bazzano the road continued to touch the castle of Monteveglio, which could be accessed through a connecting link.

Another branch of the street passed for Castello di Serravalle. The two trails remained near and parallel along the river, but they were both important and frequent: in fact, both at Castello di Serravalle and at Monteveglio were allowed to market once a month, as specified in the Bologna statutes of 1288. On the most west was the church of San Giorgio, at the castle of Samoggia, which can be identified with one of the castles that the Byzantines built in Italy towards the end of the sixth century to stop the longobard invasion.

More upstream, present Savigno, the two trails joined to face the most mountainous part of the route: from San Prospero the road touched the very ancient church of the Holy Trinity, a very popular cult among the Franks, placed in the *Prato Barati* place, Germanic name (and precisely ancient French) that could mean Meadow of the Battle (by *baratta*). Further south, at Strada there was at least half of the XI century Santa Lucia of Roffeno, an important Benedictine monastery, which belonged in 1110 to the abbey of Nonantola, where travelers were welcomed into a guest house. The whole complex was surrounded by rugged walls that protected it from assaults of bandits and villains, while the bell tower also served as a watchtower and refuge in war time.

The route then entered the territory of Castel d'Aiano, a long contended between the Municipalities of Modena and Bologna. From this point on, the road abandoned the ridge of the Samoggia, which did not directly lead to the Apennine watershed, and its route touched Semelano, Pietracolora and Bombiana. In this harsh and disadvantaged stretch of mountain travelers could find shelter at two hospitals located near the passage called the Bocca dei Ràvari, one called Vedétola and another called "of the priest Passuto". From here travelers reached Gaggio Montano, Rocca Corneta and Fanano, entering definitively in Modena territory. In the last uphill to Tuscany, the trail continued along the valley of Lammola (today valley of the Ospitale) and remained on the left side of the creek, touching the village of Ospitale, where today there is the church of San Giacomo, where a hospital for pilgrims was established in the Middle Ages (Zagnoni, 2017), then to go down through the passage of the Arcana Cross to Cutigliano and Lizzano Pistoiese (Mucci,Trota, 1983).

## 2. The stages in archaeological remains and medieval documents

Each one of these routes shows significant roman or medievale traces: first of all the Nonantola area. Nonantola, in fact, has a Roman origin as evidenced by the numerous archaeological finds and its name, which appears to derive from the size of the centurial territory included in an incomplete *centuria* due to the course of a river or other natural obstacle (Calzolari, 1993). After the Old Age were disused the Roman structures to keep the fields dry, such as the drainage channels, then in the Middle Ages the Nonantola plain experienced a period of severe crisis of population and the cultivated territory became wild. Only with the foundation of the Benedictine monastery of St. Silvestro by the work of King Longobard Astolfo and his brother-in-law Anselmo rebuilds a nucleus of population, following the reclamation and the agrarian accommodation favored by the monks. San Silvestro was founded in 752 not only to reclaim the land and to restore the crops and the inhabitants, but also to control and promote the communications between the plain and the Modena mountains: for this purpose it acquired during the early Middle Ages along the Via Cassiola the monastery of Santa Lucia di Roffeno (1110) and the hospital San Giacomo of Val di Lamola (from the XI century) and the other hospital of St. Michael the Archangel of Bombiana (since the end of the 11th century).

The important monastery on the Tuscan slope owned the Batoni castle (Rauty, 1972) and an hospital in Lizzano Pistoiese, in addition to the monastery of San Salvatore in Fanano, founded in 749, but soon disappeared. The abbey of San Silvestro di Nonantola controlled therefore with its possessions or foundations or dependencies the whole path from the Po of Primaro to Pistoia. A crucial position on the road is Fanano: in fact King Astolfo, through his brother-in-law, who became a monk, Anselmo, first founded, in 749, a monastery dedicated to San Salvatore in Fanano together with a hospital, in order to make active, safe and always accessible this important common way which linked the Modena and Western Bolognese plains to Pistoia, then in 752, established another basis on the plain, in Nonantola. The mountain foundation soon declined, while the monastery of Nonantola became a center of population and culture in the Po Valley of the Middle Ages. However, it can not be said that the hospitality function carried out by the center of Fanano has completely disappeared with the disappearance of the Longobard monastery of San Salvatore, in fact, remained an hospital in the center of the village dedicated to San Giacomo and also the hospital for pilgrims in Val di Lamola, in the village of Ospitale, which still indicates the path followed by the road to climb the Croce Arcana passage, and a hospital also dedicated to St. James in Lizzano Pistoiese. It is also important to note that the hospital of Val di Lamola in the 14th century owned the hospital dedicated to St. Bartholomew at Spilamberto, of which I will speak, and they both depended on San Silvestro di Nonantola.

### **3. New documentary attestations**

It is necessary to recapitulate the already known attestations found in documents of the early Middle Ages that allow us to outline the paths of this road: as *strata*, that is cobbled or anyway important is remembered a stretch near Ponzano (middle valley of the Samoggia) and a little further south, at Savigno, while Crespellano is called both

Cassola and *strata*, as well as in the surroundings of Monteveglio, Oliveto and Castello di Serravalle. A *fossa Casiola* flowed in 1036 near Montirone of Sant'Agata Bolognese, at the *capella Sancti Dalmacii* (today Sant'Almaso, at Calcara)<sup>2</sup>, confirming that the name had spread to the plain between Modena and Bologna as elements of Roman agrarian limitation, a rural ditch.

The inhabitants of Monteveglio's castle, an important stronghold of Matilde of Canossa, in 1157 swore to representatives of the Municipality of Bologna to *tenere stratam* for the benefit of the people of Bologna, that is, to keep it and keep it running and practicable. In 1222 the Cassola route between San Cesario (Mo) and Bazzano (Bo) constituted the border between the territories of the municipalities of Modena and Bologna in the reconnaissance made by the bishops of the two cities to solve the secular question of the bishopric border (Foschi, 1998). Even in the privilege of Emperor Frederick II granted to the Modenesi his faithfuls in 1226 to give way to the former definition of the boundary given in 1204 by the podestà of Bologna Uberto Visconti, for long stretches the *strata* or *Cassola* is marked by terms, previous confines, and it touches the village Cassolano. This is the mountainous part of the route from Fontana Lombardese (south of Castel d'Aiano) to the hospital of "prete Passuto" to the church of Santa Lucia di Roffeno, whose main altar marked the border. Descending to the altitude and proceeding further north the boundaries "descendunt per stratam iusum usque ad crucem de Torileto et per ipsam stratam ad crucem Pipini", where the road crosses evidently marked both the path and possible crossroads of paths with the road. The border line continued northwards, following the road and crossing places that today can not be recognized (except perhaps *Gaudiano*, which has become Golzano), marked by other border checkpoints<sup>3</sup>. It is therefore a ridge road, which is supported by a strong morphological sign, the watershed between the two valleys of Samoggia and Panaro.

The pursuit of the research on the medieval known documents and on what has been published since the early twentieth century today provides new attestations of the road in various areas of the plain between Modena and Bologna and in the Apennines at the border of the territories of the two cities.

Today we can say that the area where the parish church of Santa Maria in Strada still rises, the heir to the Benedictine abbey of the same name, was particularly dense with the ancient attestations of the passage of the road: the documents concerning the 11th century monastery reported different attestations of via in the plain between Modena and Bologna near the important crossroads between the road and Via Emilia. The place named *Caxola* bordered on the church of Santa Maria, where there was a land donated on June 9, 1077 by Ildebrando del fu Lamberto to Abbot Rolando<sup>4</sup>. In the vicinity of Calcara was the place named *Cassiola* where lived Pietro del fu Martino *de Cassiola* on February 28 or March 1, 1026, who made a donation of land to the abbey<sup>5</sup>. Via *Cassiola currit* near other land in the same area donated to the Abbey in 1057, July 1<sup>6</sup> by other inhabitants of Calcara. Bordered on an abandoned branch of the Samoggia river, said *Samodia vecla*, the *Cassiola de Carpenito*, which was the road boundary with a land given to the abbey in April 1085<sup>7</sup>. The *Cassiola* still bordered a land donated to Abbot Gandolfo July 9, 1092, probably near Sant'Almaso (Calcara)<sup>8</sup>. In the area between Zola Predosa and Calcara, at the edge of the plain to the first hills, the *Cassiola* was to be

found on the boundary of two land donated to Abbot Gandolfo on November 20, 1094<sup>9</sup>.

A little further south on the hills of Montebudello (*Corneliano*), there must be the place *Casiola* where there was a piece of land given in emphyteusis by the abbot to a worker<sup>10</sup>. In the hilly area of Castello di Serravalle, that is, at Stagnano, today Sant'Apollinare di Vallata, intervened in an act of February 25, 1076, Azo di Pietro *de Cassiola*<sup>11</sup>.

The western route, through which it was possible to reach Modena, had to run at the castle of Savignano sul Panaro. In fact, the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter of Modena had possessions in the high plain on the border between the territories of Modena and Bologna, where the place called Cassola was to be found, where some fields were donated to the monastery in 1079<sup>12</sup>. Spouses from Savignano in 1158 rented fields by the abbot Placido, adjacent to the Via *Caxola*<sup>13</sup>.

### 3. Historical maps

The *Cassiola* route can also be found in the historical cartography of the modern age with the name Cassola or Cassoletta or via Maggiore (**Figure 1**).



**Figure 1:** An image of the «via Magiore» in the seventeenth century south of Nonantola

Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Mappario Estense, Serie generale, n. 99

Modern cartography is chronologically far from the time when the road was reopened by the Lombard sovereign, but it is well known that long-term territorial structures such as roads hardly disappear altogether or radically change paths or names. In addition to some of the already published reports about maps in the State Archives of Bologna (Foschi, 1998, p.100), the Modena state conservation institute also maintains some plants and maps of great utility for this research: in this plant the stretch of plain from Nonantola to via Emilia is called "via Magiore": our way as oblique straight leads to Emilia street and to Panaro's passage (Mucci, Trota, 1983). The design is in ink and watercolor and dates back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries<sup>14</sup>.

In addition to showing the plain around the castle, characterized by the vast medieval woods, this «Pianta dimostrante il territorio di Nonantola» (**Figure 2**), is crossed by various roads paths, well accessible, and reduced to high-density agricultural land. The

design depicts settlements and cultivations of the territory up to Bolognese and in its technical perfection and aesthetic pleasure shows that it was traced in the eighteenth century. The technique is in ink and watercolors. Thanks to this depiction, we see that for Nonantola passes the "Via Mavora", the Via Maggiore of the territory between Bologna and Modena, still recognizable in the eighteenth century, before the great nineteenth-century transformations of viability, methods of cultivation, subdivisions<sup>15</sup>.



**Figure 2:** The Modenese plain around the castle and the abbey of Nonantola, with its large forest of the early Middle Ages and the Via Mavora (*Maior*) leading to the Via Emilia: eighteenth-century drawing

Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Mappario Estense, Serie generale, n. 50

The route of the way between Modenese and Pistoiese on the ridge dividing the valley of the Samoggia torrent from that of Panaro is well illustrated by this bird's eye view of the Roffeno area, in the Apennines. It is a non-signed 17th-century pen and watercolor drawing, probably linked to the border controversy that opposed the community of Monte Tortore and Roffeno (now Roffeno Musiolo) community (**Figure 3**) in the first half of the century: in 1613 a phase of the dispute, with the affixing of boundary terms in the points indicated by experts Vincenzo Sassi for Bologna and

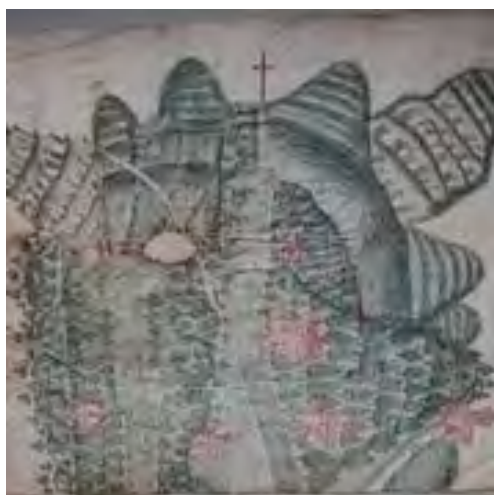


**Figure 3:** Via Cassiola in the Samoggia valley near S. Lucia di Roffeno

Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Mappario Estense, Serie generale, n. 350

Antonio Ambrosi for Modena, but contests throughout the mountain border continued mostly south, between Fanano and Rocca Corneta, until the end of the 18th-century (Foschi, 2001). In particular, in this beautiful representation of the mountainous area on the border between the Modena and Bologna areas, the road is present but is ideally depicted as a straight sign above the many hills that it actually runs. Although in its unusual representation technique, the paper is actually rich in information, because it shows us the territory with the castles (also vanished today, like Rocca di Roffeno) and the roads that reach them, churches, water and mountains in their precise shape, more or less steep. Are evident the plates created artificially on top of the mountains to build towers and fortified dwellings, are drawn the confluences of the streams; however, in the most complicated points, to respect the orography, the designer has to draw the mountains and the country upside down<sup>16</sup>.

The precise area of the passage of the Croce Arcana is instead shown by this amazing late-fifteenth-century view of the mountain area between Fanano and Ospitale: it was recently studied and interpreted by Federica Badiali (Baraldi, Badiali, 2012; Badiali, 2012), which noted the particular method of representation and the vivacity of technique (Figure 4).



**Figure 4:** Image of the valley of the Ospitale creek and of the Arcana Cross pass drawn on parchment in about 1480

Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena, Mappario Estense, Serie generale, n. 104

The perspective with which is depicted the basin of the mountains of the high val Dardagna is a unique and original elaboration that does not correspond to any shared convention: this is an elaboration of the end of the fifteenth century (circa 1480) which aims to present the local roadside inserted in the relations between the localities and the surrounding mountain environment. Sestola, Lotta, Trignano, Rocca Pelago and Fanano, the Ospitale valley and the surrounding mountains are recognized: from the Corno alle Scale to the Cimone (Monte Lunata), from Spigolino (Fulgorino) to Monte Cervarola to Monte Lancino. It is an ink pattern, color and tempera on parchment, which depicts every significant element in the most favorable way for its understanding, although this representation overrides its position and size relative to other elements of the landscape. The landscape is shown in a particular representation called "fish eye", which is not found in other Italian maps but was used briefly among German engravers by the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

In detail, it is very interesting for our purpose of recognizing the road to Tuscany indicating the two steps possible to cross the Apennine ridge, on the one hand the passage of the Tre Termini (in the ancient passage of the Calanca) another, markedly highlighted, the passage of the Croce Arcana, at the top of which is a large red cross. Another element that makes the paper unique and precious is the representation of five landslides, represented by brown "ribbons", originating from the saddles between the mountains or the slopes of the mountains themselves. The deep study of Federica Badiali also points out that the style of representation approaches this view to the coeval miniature of the precincts of Ferrara governed by Este family, both in the manner of depicting the castles, the rocky shores and the arboreal species.

This kind of representation in the global sense suggests that this beautiful and even luxurious map was commissioned for a passage from Emilia to Tuscany particularly important, as was that of Ercole I d'Este, who after a few years from the ascent to the duchy, changed the traditional alliance of his father Niccolò with Venice and turned to Milan and Florence. In 1478 he accepted a military conduct in the war that opposed Florence and his allies to Pope Sisto IV and to King Ferrante of Naples (1478-80) and moved towards Florence to meet Lorenzo il Magnifico<sup>17</sup>. The bending traces that the paper has might have been caused by a practical use of travel, in the terminal mountain area of Emilia and at the ridge separating it from Tuscany. Choosing to use the steps leading from Modena to Pistoia, though less direct, to go to Florence was certainly due to the need of the Duke to stay as far as possible in Modena territory. Hercules's venture adventure ended at the end of the three-year course, which was not renewed, while the revolutions of the covenants he promoted led to a progressive worsening of the relationship between Ferrara and Venice in the years 1480-1481, which resulted in the war of Ferrara (1482-1484), whose outcome was truly disastrous for Ercole<sup>18</sup>.

#### **4. Ways and destinations: relics for a conclusion**

The path of *Via Cassiola* in the plain between Modena and Bologna touched important Benedictine abbeys, which attracted travelers for devotion, rich in relics, like San Silvestro di Nonantola. Even today the Benedictine and Diocesan Museum contains objects of worship and devotion distributed between the 10th century and the Baroque age, like the precious Latin stauroteque in whose front face is a large portion of the Holy Cross and at the ends of the minor relic arms. The relic is contained in a blanket of silver and golden silver, in turn covered with a gold plated theca of 1679. Another Greek cross statuary, dating back to the 13th and 1331, contains fragments of St. Peter's Cross. The reliquary of the saints Senesio and Teopompo is a remarkable piece of Venetian gold art dating from the late twelfth to the beginning of the 13th century. Remember that the relics of these Eastern saints passed from the place of martyrdom, Nicomedia, to Jerusalem and to Treviso, from which they were repaired to Nonantola in 911, due to fear of the invasion of the Hungarians. The San Silvestro arm reliquary was executed by Giuliano da Bologna in 1372 by Tommaso Marzapesci of Bologna, a doctor of decree and abbot of Nonantola. Another valuable piece of the museum is the ivory reliquary cassette of the end of the XI or the beginning of the XII century, which has refined decorations both inlay and tapestry and contains fragments of the garments of the Protomartire Saint Stefano (Caselgrandi, 1998). The centuries-old veneration at the abbey of Nonantola for the relics of Pope San Silvestro I made for them a precious baroque reliquary still preserved in the Abbey Museum (Baldini, Borghi, 1991).

In addition to the abbeys, we witness the presence along its path of medieval hospitals for pilgrims and travelers, such as San Bartholomew of Spilamberto and San Colombano of Piumazzo (Foschi, 2009).

The first one, thanks to scientific excavations, returned the form and consistency of the guest hospitality and the bodies of pilgrims buried there, including a man who wore a seashell from Santiago di Compostella on his clothes (Labate, Librenti, 2013). In the same area several burials of Longobard families have returned extraordinary kits in weapons, dresses and ornaments (Breda ed., 2011).

The Church of San Colombano of Piumazzo instead leads us on the traces of that formidable evangeliser, the Irish Colombano, who in Europe between the 6th and 7th centuries led to the German people, and in Italy specifically to the Longobards, the word of Christ purified of the many heresies. But his life and his preaching were also an example of austere community life and devoted to the colonization of wild lands, but also to the revival of literary and cultural life with the foundation of famous scriptorias. The church of San Colombano in Piumazzo in 1014 belonged to the colombanian and then Benedictine abbey of Saint Peter, Lorenzo and Colombano of Brugnato, which stood between Liguria and Lunigiana along an important way of communication that united the Ligurian Levante to Pontremoli. This church of San Colombano in Piumazzo remained active for many centuries: in the modern age it was a oratory of giuspatronata of the Boccadiferro family, which rebuilt it in 1559; at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was desacrated, privatized and transformed into a stable and mill; it exists, well-recognizable, still today, intact outside, but transformed into a warehouse inside, where frescos of some value are also visible (Foschi, 1992, 2013).

Parish Church of St. James of Piumazzo maintains an eighteenth-century reliquary that for a long time had been lost, containing a fragment of San Colombano's bones. It has the form of an ostensory with silver oval teak, covered with red silk and embroidered in gold, embedded in an artwork made of silver metal, worked in relief and supported by a painted wooden top. Until 1823 it was listed in the inventory of the sacred objects of the church of San Colombano. When this was desecrated, the relic and the art container were brought to the nearby parish church of San Giacomo and preserved there. The sacred relic, authenticated on parchment in 1731 by Pietro Geronimo Arrighi, notary and auditor of the Curia of the Archbishop of Bologna, is therefore a rare testimony to that Irish monk lived between the end of the sixth and the first years of the seventh century that crossed Europe spreading Christianity among the pagans and founding monasteries.

It is then known that a church dedicated to Saint Colombano still exists today, although rarely officiated, even to Fanano; it was mentioned in the 10th century; it belonged to Fanano's church in 1233 but in 1583 was partially destroyed and stand there only a wooden cross. At that date we also have an interesting representation, in the same record as the pastoral visit of the vicar of the abbot of Nonantola, Enea Padovano, which shows us a simple tower southwest of the center of Fanano, distinguished by the name "S. Colombano" (Silvestri, 2005, p.145). Rebuilt in 1588, it did not last long with winds and weather and had to be rebuilt in 1602 by Ottonello Ottonelli as a private church. His son, Count Don Giovanni Battista, enriched the interior with paintings and furnishings; damaged in time and passed in the nineteenth century to other families in the area, was restored in the post-war period and today it is waiting for new restorations.

In Tuscany the road allowed to reach Pistoia, the Roman Via Cassia terminal, where pilgrims could venerate relics of St. James the greater in the cathedral (Rauty, 2000), or to reach Garfagnana and Lucca, where the Holy Face attracts the devotion of thousands of faithful men and women from all over Europe (Sabbatini, 2016a and 2016b).

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### Italy Seen Through the Eyes of Anselmo Adorno. A Testimony of the Middle Ages

Borghi B.\*  
University of Bologna (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

Anselmo Adorno was one of the most prominent and influential men of Western Europe in the late Middle Ages in the area between Flanders, the Duchy of Burgundy and Scotland. Negotiator, wise, magistrate, Anselmo left us the journey report *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae Anselmi Adorni*, written by his son Giovanni, a source of extraordinary wealth for the details and descriptions of places, customs and customs of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. Of particular interest is also the description of the cities, the urban and rural landscape, the routes that Adorno travelled in his journey between 1470 and 1471. The article will therefore take the moves from this precious testimony to describe the Italy visited by the pilgrim of Bruges, including Genoa, a family town of Rome, Brindisi and the Apulian cities of Naples, and the route that from the eternal city led to Venice, Cologne and finally to the West Flanders.

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**Keywords:** Pilgrimage; Anselm Adorno; Italy; Urban and Rural Landscape; Late Middle Ages

Anselmo Adorno fu uno degli uomini più in vista e influenti dell'Europa occidentale del tardo medioevo nell'area compresa tra le Fiandre, il ducato di Borgogna e la Scozia. Negoziatore, saggio, magistrato, Anselmo ci ha lasciato la relazione di viaggio *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae Anselmi Adorni*, scritta dal figlio Giovanni, fonte di straordinaria ricchezza per i dettagli e le descrizioni dei luoghi, degli usi e dei costumi delle popolazioni del Mediterraneo orientale. Di particolare interesse, inoltre, la descrizione delle città, del paesaggio urbano e rurale, delle rotte e delle vie che l'Adorno percorse nel suo viaggio tra il 1470 il 1471. L'articolo prenderà pertanto le mosse da questa preziosa testimonianza per descrivere l'Italia visitata dal pellegrino di

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\* E-mail address: [b.borghi@unibo.it](mailto:b.borghi@unibo.it)

Bruges, tra cui Genova, città di origine della famiglia, Roma, Brindisi e le città pugliesi, Napoli, e il tratto che dalla città eterna lo condusse a Venezia, Colonia e infine nelle Fiandre occidentali.

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**Keywords:** Pellegrinaggio; Anselmo Adorno; Italia; Città; Tardo Medioevo

## 1. Some information about Anselmo Adorni and his family

The Adorno family were Genoese merchants and bankers present in Bruges from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup> (Basso, 2011; Petti Balbi, 1994, 2005) who always had a special interest in and devotion for the city of Jerusalem.

Their ancestor Oppicino (*Opitium*, *Opice*) had visited the Holy Land before coming to Flanders in 1269, probably attached to the court of Robert of Bethune or that of Guy de Dampierre<sup>2</sup> (Chiavari Cattaneo Della Volta, 2002; Mitzi-Kirkland, 2008; Gaillard, 1843; Geirnaert, 1983; Borghi, 2018); his descendents, Pietro and Giovanni, the father and the uncle respectively of Anselmo visited the Holy City in the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup> (Gaillard, 1843; Viaene, 1982) while Anselmo and his eldest son, Giovanni, following tradition, left the “most noble city” (Heers, & De Groër, 1978) of Bruges on February 19, 1470.

Anselmo was not just an ordinary pilgrim en route to the Holy Land. He was considered to be one of the most outstanding and influential men of the Middle Ages in that area of Western Europe between Flanders, the Duchy of Burgundy and Scotland and he has left us with an account of a journey *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae Anselmi Adorni* written by his son Giovanni<sup>4</sup>. It is an extraordinarily rich source both for its detailed descriptions of places, customs and costumes of the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean as well as for its narration which highlights the educated and sensitive curiosity of such a man of culture.

Anselmo was born in the Belgian city on December 8, 1424. The son of Pietro Adorno, co-founder of the first public library in the southern Netherlands (Derolez, 1972; Mitzi-Kirkland, 2008, p. 1043) and of Elisabetta Braderichx who belonged to an ancient Flemish family; he had many political and diplomatic roles and was a pilgrim to the Holy Land between 1470 and 1471. As an expert in ancient history he was certainly interested in tracing his Italian origins and his connections with the humanist Filippo Buonaccorsi; Anselmo followed his father's library traditions by writing in his own hand Cicero's *Sommium Scipionis*<sup>5</sup>.

During his long career he came into contact with the most important players in the European political scene in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century kingdom, he was made superintendent of the domains of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Brave (Paravicini, 1991; MacDonald, 2001; Brown, 1982; Small, 2012) in Flanders and in Artois and, he was twice burgomaster (*hostruan*) of Bruges. It is thanks to Anselmo's grandfather and father that the *Jerusalemkapel* was built in the Belgian city in 1435 and this is seen as a personal copy of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Its spatial transposition and narrative structure of the «domestication of the Jerusalem experience» (Mitzi-Kirkland, 2008; Van Herwaarden, 2003) was compiled by Anselmo on his return from the Holy City (Geirnaert, 1987, pp. 2-30).

From an early age, Anselmo had distinguished himself by his cavalier-like upbringing: at the age of 17 in fact, he took part in the famous White Bear jousting tournament piercing 'the target's heart' and competing against Jacques de Laing, the "Good Cavalier" and against Corneille, the "bastard" of Burgundy. In 1443 he married Margherita van der Bank with whom he had twelve children. **Figure 1**

Anselmo was soon called upon to render his services to his native city as captain of one of the six areas with ties to the court of the Duke of Burgundy, first with Philip the Good whose ambassador he was and then with Charles the Brave; he was given the honour of having Mary Stuart, sister of James III, King of Scotland (Boardman & Lynch, 2000) as his guest in his own home when she and her husband Lord Boyd had to flee from the kingdom after a court revolution. Thanks to this hospitality, Anselmo was given the difficult task and responsibility for a conciliatory mission following the events in Scotland leading to the resumption of peaceful relations between the Kingdom and the Duchy of Burgundy.

On his arrival in Scotland, Anselmo was introduced into the court of the Scottish King who made him a Knight of the Order of the Court of Saint Andrews<sup>6</sup> and Lord of Corthuy, hence becoming a personal advisor to the King whilst continuing in the service of the Duke of Burgundy.

On his return from Scotland, Charles the Brave entrusted him with the delicate mission of taking care of the treaties with the main Italian courts and visiting the Muslim states in the near Middle East in order to report on the situation there. The Prince was in fact planning to weaken the power of the Ottoman Turks who were making a display of their strength against Christian Europe while continuing to maintain control over the holy places of Jerusalem. Adorno, whose mission instructions were kept a secret left Bruges therefore on February 19, 1470 and returned on August 14, 1471. **Figure 2**

Anselmo continued to cover central roles in political, diplomatic and civil life. Charles the Brave, to show his deep satisfaction over the successful outcome of the mission to the territories of the Eastern Mediterranean nominated him as his councilor and chamberlain. He was soon entrusted with a new and delicate mission. Mary Stuart, who had lived in Bruges for two years as a refugee had decided to return to Scotland with her husband, having been reconciled with her brother James III. They left Bruges on October 4, 1471 accompanied by Adorno and his wife Margherita; Adorno was given the task of organizing the first meeting between sister and brother. The visit was also the occasion for Anselmo to present the King with a luxurious copy of his *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae* written in Latin by his son Giovanni and to give the King the information and news he had collected during his stay in the Middle East.

On his return to Bruges and after the death of his wife Adorno was soon involved in a new diplomatic mission: the planning of an expedition or 'crusade' against the Muslims for which he had been sent for the first time to the Orient. In fact this was one of Philip the Good's greatest ambitions; from 1461 he had been secretly seeking the support of the King of Persia. The plan, with the support of Pope Paul II, had progressed under the bellicose Charles the Brave who established an embassy at the court of Uza Hasan (*Ossoncassaen, Assenbach, Ussum Cassau*) with the aim of renewing old negotiations. It was probably, as in the case of the visit to the Holy Land, a political mission verging on a spy mission (Adorno, Anselmo, 1960; Lacaze, 1972; Richard, 1997; Walsh, 1977).

Adorno thus left Bruges in March 1474 with a select group of companions. In the meantime, other Venetian delegates preceded him in the negotiations, which unfortunately did not produce the hoped for results. Charles the Brave on learning about the unsuccessful outcome quickly recalled Anselmo who was then in Germany back to Bruges where he was made a burgomaster on his return. However, things were changing and after the death of the Duke of Burgundy in 1477 and a rather unfavourable and negative period was about to unfold for Adorno.

Accused of having mishandled the city finances he was imprisoned and blamed for wasting public money. However, the real motivation behind his arrest was another one, that of having personally profited from the support of Charles the Brave and this had probably aroused a certain degree of jealousy among both existing and aspiring local politicians. Even although public opinion was on his side and they wanted him to be cleared of the accusations the judgment that followed pronounced him unfit for any public office in Bruges.

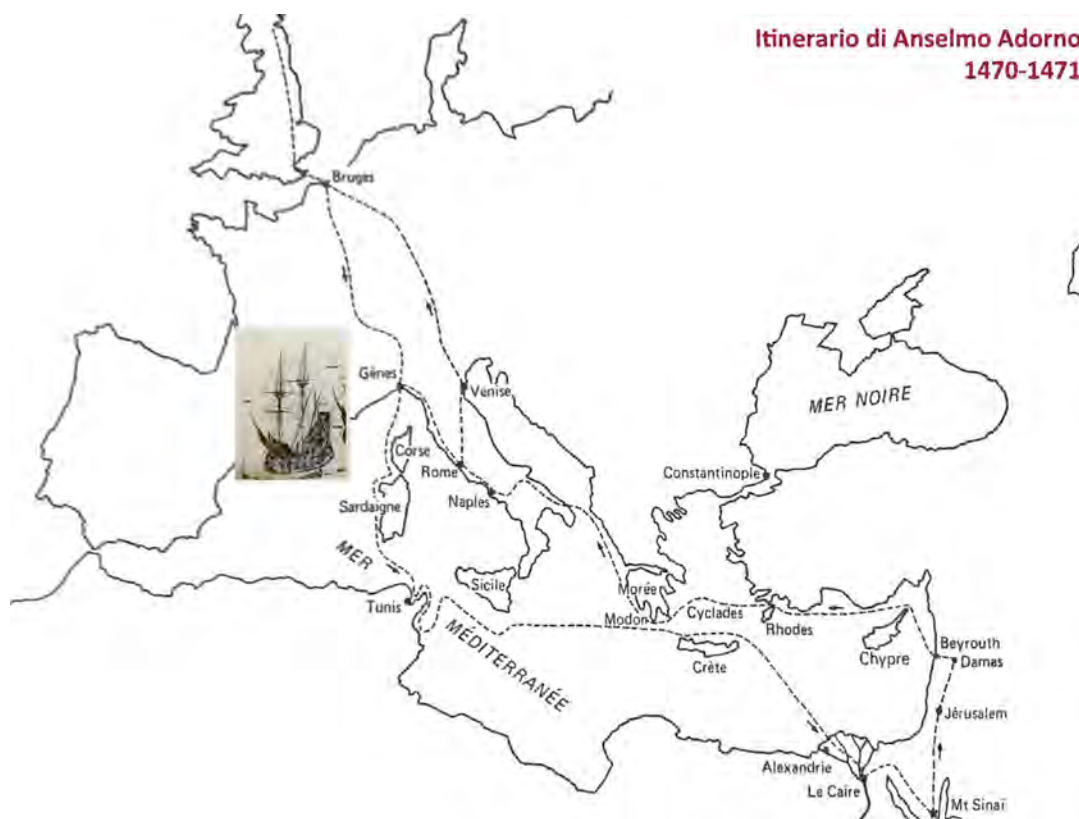
After the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482 Anselmo returned to Scotland to the Court of King James III understandably bitter about the treatment received from the Belgian administrators. His problems however did not cease, and one of the Scottish king's most bitter enemies Alexander Gordon soon targeted Anselmo, the then chief executioner in the north of Scotland. Drawn into an ambush, Anselmo Adorno was killed on January 23, 1483. He was 59.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Figure 1:** Portrait of Anselmo Adorno and his wife. Flemish drawings, XV century, belonged to the count Thierry de Limburg Stirum

Source: Gazette des Beaux Arts, Bibliothèque nationale de France, t. XXXVII, p. 78



**Figure 2: Itinerary of Anselmo Adorno, 1470-1471**

Source: Elaboration by author



**Figure 3: Globe in 1473**

Source: *Weltchronik* by Hartmann Schedel, Nuremberg, 1493, f. 13b

## 2. The reasons for such a choice: the journey to the Holy Land

As may be recalled from the beginning, the final result of the account of Anselmo Adorno's journey can be traced back to a search for a confirmation: the invasive necessity of showing a fresco of a as faithful as possible picture of the reality of a commercial area which had already been weakened in an attempt to organize it with the blessing of Pope Pious 11 and the support of the principal European princes, the last crusade. The geopolitical picture was however rather complicated (Babinger, 1992; Bayne Fisher & Jackson & Lochhart, 1986; Defilippis, 2009, 2010).

Uzan Hazan, who had conquered, at the time of Anselmo's journey Caldea, Cilica, Mesopotamia, Cappadoccia, Armenia and the lands of the Tartars, wanted to expand his territories and was counting on help from the Christian West to oppose Mehemed II. This was a difficult task considering that almost all of the area of Eastern Europe was in the hands of the Ottoman Empire: Albania (excluding some ports), Schiavonia, Dalmatia (with the single exception of Ragusa), Bosnia, apart from some cities which still recognized the sovereignty of the King of Hungary, Serbia and Bulgaria. A year later, after the return of Anselmo from the Holy Land, thanks to agreements and alliances with the Venetians the first attacks were launched against Mehemed II in 1472 culminating in the Battle of Erzingian which was won however by the "Great Turk" on August 11, 1473. The various Venetian ambassadorial delegations to the Hasan's Sultanate to convince him to attack the Ottomans again were in vain<sup>7</sup> (Contarini, 1487, 1980). Uzun desisted so that Mehemed was able to deliver the final blow and turn his attention resolutely towards Europe and in particular Italy where his fleet disembarked at Otranto in 1480.

The manuscript of Anselmo's journey to the Holy Land, published in the edition compiled by Jacques Heers and Georgette De Groër in 1978 (Heers & De Groër, 1978; De la Coste, 1855) is not the original one drawn up by his son Giovanni that had been requested by his father in the six months following their return to Bruges. Neither is it the one given as a present by Anselmo himself to the King of Scotland, James III, it is probably a luxurious copy brought to Edinburgh by Adorno when he embarked with his wife and James III's brother-in-law from Calais to Scotland on October 4, 1471. It is almost certainly a copy made in Bruges.

The copy made in 1855 for the personal use of Edmond de la Coste was discovered and purchased on January 2, 1894 by the rector Hautcoeur from the librarian Camille Vyt of Gand and then gifted to the library of the Catholic Faculty of Lille. This copy however is incomplete and contains some uncomplete parts in dots as well as some inaccuracies; the second part of the version of Anselmo's journey does not differ much from the first part and also contains recollections of the journey made by the group of pilgrims returning from Rome to Bruges.

Hautcoeur, the rector, underlines the point that the manuscript used by La Coste «had been lent to him by J. Van Praet who directed the Stamped Section of the present-day National Library from the beginning of the French revolution until his death in 1837» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, pp. 19-20). We are also in possession of the Flemish version of the account made by Romboud Doppere in 1490 and published in 1893 by the Belgian E. Feys; it is still kept in the archives of the civilian Hospices of Bruges. The Doppere version follows the latin version of Anselmo's journey quite faithfully but with

numerous clear linguistic expressive inflexions in French and Flemish which produced a text not without several grammatical and syntax errors due to the rather scant use of vocabulary.

The reflections that follow about Adorno's journey refer to the copy of the manuscript conserved in the Lille Library and we acknowledge our indebtedness to Heer's and Groer's edition and that of Edward de la Coste.

### **3. Italy as described by Anselmo: splendid, superb and elegant cities and overland routes. The outward journey: from Pavia to Rome and Genoa**

Anselmo and Giovanni Adorni shared their departure from Bruges with Lambert Van de Walle, Pierre Reyphius and Jean Gausin all members of noble Flemish families; together with them were Antoine Franqueville, Charles the Brave, Duke of Burgundy's chaplain, Father Odomaire, a monk from Furnes and Daniel Colebrant, all eager to join the group on its journey of adventure towards the Holy Land. A journey that would touch all the then known continents: Europe, Asia and Africa. The universal notoriety of Bruges and the fear of appearing to be biased prevented Anselmo from describing the beauty and elegance of his hometown.

After mentioning the lands that he crossed through both on the outward journey and on the inward one, enumerating them in a rather curious fashion – England, Picardy, Artois, France, Champagne, Burgundy, Savoy, the Alps, Lombardy, Italy, Tuscany, Liguria, Sabaudia, Bavaria, Saxony and the Rhine towns – the true and real diary of the journey begins, as it should, from Rome, seen as "the capital of the whole world", known in the past "for its power" and today "for its holiness" the place the pilgrims reached after having travelled traits of the Via Francigena on April 18.

From Edward de la Coste's version, we learn that the cities visited and the trail followed by the pilgrims towards Rome to receive the blessing of the Pope before pursuing the route to Jerusalem.

Of great interest are those pages that describe the city of Pavia – where Anselmo met his 26-year-old son with whom he continued his journey to the Holy Land. Pavia – a city of an «oblique shape, longer than it is wide, blessed with a large number of tall square towers made of bricks like those in Perugia, Lucca, Viterbo and Mantua – a city that we visited»<sup>8</sup> (De la Coste, 1855, p. 20). The pilgrims were struck by the beauty of the castle and the park built by Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti; the houses resembled those of Milan, simple and plain externally yet beautiful and comfortable internally. In the centre of the square stood a statue of a knight bearing bronze weapons called "reggisol" (*sun king*)<sup>9</sup> by its inhabitants (De la Coste, 1855, p. 22). Mention is also made of the university renowned for its learned experts, doctors in civil law, divided into 'Cismontani' and 'Ultramontani', its illustrious teachers and students who normally wore a scapula (*statulum*) on the top part of their tunics. The city excelled in its abundance of wheat and red wine.

On March 26, 1470 the adventure brigade left for Genoa accompanied for a mile by the students and 'doctors' of Pavia. Having crossed the River Po by boat they reached the town of Voghera and then Tortora famous for its textile production and finally Serravalle «where the Appenines begin as well as the dominion of the Genoese» (De la

Coste, 1855, p. 25)<sup>10</sup>. The journey then proceeded towards San Pier d'Arena a locality of tall beautiful marble built houses “which seemed to us more remarkable than those of Genoa” before reaching the ligurian city on March 28.

The account continues with the description of the stages travelled to get to Rome: Recco, Rapallo, Chiavari, Sestri, Machalana, Framula, Borghetto, and Spessa and then describes the crossing of the Magra River by boat to reach Sarzana and then on to Pisa, Casciano, Castelfiorentino, Estago and Poggibonsi «through which the road followed by our travelers on the way from Lombardy to Rome passes» (De la Coste, 1855, p. 33)<sup>11</sup>. Then the noble and ancient city of Siena, Buonconvento, San Quirico, Recoursi(Ricorsi), Paglia, Acquapendente, San Lorenzo, Borchero (Bolsena), Montefiascone, Viterbo (“which is a remarkable city”), Ronsellon (Ronciglione), Sutri, Monterosi and Tourbacha (Baccano) before arriving in Rome on Ash Wednesday, April 18. **Figure 4**

It was here, in the city known as the “mistress of the world” – that once knew how to raise “her head like cypress trees among the viburnum” and now lies almost obliterated and reduced to a field of ruined buildings destroyed “by the blows of destiny” – that Adorno twice met Pope Paul 11, he, who was able to return the city to “a glory greater than that of the past”. The Pope who received him with full honours (Campbell, 1995, p. 318; Macquarrie, 1982, pp. 20-21)<sup>12</sup> granted the forgiveness of sins to Anselmo as well as to all the members of his family and Communion on Easter Day as well as to other nobles and princes, he also granted him permission to visit the lands of the “infidels”. The benediction was sealed with the gift of a precious “agnus Dei” wax medallion which was hung from the neck and which depicted a mystical figure of a lamb on one side and one or more saints on the other side to protect the pilgrims from dangers, ward off storms and heal them from diseases.



**Figure 4:** Rome

Source: *Weltchronik* by Hartmann Schedel, Nuremberg, 1493, f. LVIII

Having received permission to leave, Anselmo moved on towards Genoa, the port of embarkation for Jerusalem. He arrived there on May 2 after stopping for a few days in the splendid city of Pisa<sup>13</sup> because of a fierce storm. They then reached the Ligurian city in a few days on a small boat captained by a certain Martino from Rapallo.

Genoa is situated in “a ring of mountains” on the edge of the Mediterranean which extends to the main parts of the world, Asia, Africa and Europe and is called “superb” and “magnanimous and strong” by the Italians.

In Anselmo’s opinion, Genoa was «the most illustrious and most beautiful Italian city» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 42)<sup>14</sup>, a city, as Gabriella Airaldi recalls «totalmente jetée à la mer», and «has little in common with other maritime cities» (Airaldi, 2006, p. 154) it is comparable to the city of Damascus for its pleasant appearance. **Figure 5**

There are several different traditions recorded in the diary regarding the origin of the name of the city. Some maintain that it derives from the fact that Jano, the great-grandson of Noah, founded the city. When he arrived in Italy from “Greater Asia and Babylon”, he named it *Janicola* because of its small size and after having expanded it he decided to call it *Jana*. Others claim that the original name was *Janua* (the port of the Roman god Janus, god of ports those double-faced figure brings to mind the two sides of a door) due to the fact that the city was a port of access for all of Italy. Others pointed to the «writings of their ancestors who wrote it not as *Jana* but as *Genua*. They claim that Genoa derives from the word “genua”- knee. Just as one’s knees start to move and go forward and not backwards in the same way Genoa kept on expanding and continued to grow with the help of good Fortune» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 44)<sup>15</sup>.

Water from a spring, channeled over the sides of the walls, flowed like a stream towards the city; every piazza, which were normally small in size and the narrow streets were blessed with fountains which collected the water and distributed it through pipes and conduits throughout the city centre.

There were many beautiful sights that aroused Anselmo’s curiosity such as houses in marble with iron doors and above all the basilicas (there were sixteen parochial churches with four religious orders and abbeys) adorned with precious ornaments and a great number of saintly relics. In the Church of San Lorenzo, according to tradition, were to be found, among other things, the ashes of John the Baptist and the «holy and venerable chalice made of the purest and finest emerald which was used by Our Lord on Mount Sinai to celebrate, on Holy Thursday, the last Supper with his disciples»<sup>16</sup>. As soon as Anselmo saw it he remained enchanted and fascinated by it. It was a huge gem («some people said that it was the plate on which Erodiate placed the head of John the Baptist which was brought to Erode’s table»); and, although Anselmo had seen a much larger quantity of precious stones among the treasures of Saint Mark in Venice none of them were worthy of such great admiration as that vase of a hexagonal shape, measuring six palms of the hand and adorned with two handles made from the same single emerald. The chalice was not the only relic that the city guarded with such devotion. In the rural church of Saint Bartholomew about a mile from Genoa the Holy Face of Jesus was revered, this being a sudarium which according to tradition showed an impression of the image of Christ (Wilson, 1991, p. 162; Wolf, 2005; Rizzoli, 2003)<sup>17</sup>.

The port of Genoa, because of its size and the depth of its waters could accommodate the largest ships in the world against the sides of the wharves; they were so big that they sat “on the water like castles”.

Of the three jetties made in marble and cut stone, one had at the end of it a tower from the top of which shone a lantern throughout the night which helped boats to enter and leave the harbour. In front of the harbour on a rocky promontory which closed off the other extremity of the harbour was another tower called Lighthouse Cape on which stood another lantern «to guide those who entered the harbour by night. These lanterns were as large as a big oil jar». From the tower<sup>18</sup> built on the road between Genoa and the West, the so-called “Via di Francia”, which was the coastal route between the harbour entrance and the Promontory, one could enjoy a splendid view of the entire city surrounded by its double wall defenses.



**Figure 5:** Genoa, xylograph, Anonymous artist

Source: *Weltchronik* by Hartmann Schedel, Nuremberg, 1493

The city was densely populated, its inhabitants were “serious, reasonable and moderate” divided into three categories: the *Capellaces*, or city leaders, the most famous families who included among their ancestors illustrious doges like the Adornis, the Campofregosis, the Guarchis and the Motaldis. The second category was that of the *Nobili* belonging to the Spinola, Doria, Fieschi and Grimaldi families. The third category, finally, was composed of the rest of the citizens, that is to say, the *Popolani*. In general, members of the same family or lineage lived on the same street or square. Sometimes

they owned a church together or a house or a “loggia” where family members met every day to make decisions or to converse.

Outside the city walls, about four miles away, perched on the mountain slopes were to be found some very gracious houses (they looked more like castles than houses due to their beauty and dimensions). Furnished with delightful gardens, full of orchards and vineyards, which, «had they been connected together contiguously they would have formed another city just as beautiful and extensive as Genoa». The soil although full of stones and rocks produced, thanks to the temperate climate, mushrooms and excellent quality fruit.

On May 7, towards dusk, Anselmo and his companions boarded a large ship<sup>19</sup> and after unfurling the sails to the sound of mortars and trumpets set sail with a favourable wind towards the island of Corsica.



**Figure 6:** Bag for relics, Rhineland, XIV century, silked and gold cloth

Source: Cologne, Schnütgen Museum

#### **4. The Return Journey. From Brindisi to Rome**

The Mediterranean sea routes led our travel companions to the Holy Land past Corsica and Sardinia: there are extraordinary suggestive descriptive pictures of the cities of Carthage and Tunis, the islands of Pantelleria, Malta, Sicily and Candia. The journey then continued overland between the cities of Alessandria and Cairo through many

holy places: Saint Catherine's monastery, Mount Sinai, Gaza and Jerusalem following an itinerary already well-defined and planned of medieval pilgrimages (the mountains of Sion and Oliveto, Bethlehem, the mountains of Judea and Quarantena, Betania, the Jordon, the Dead Sea, Nazareth, Mount Tabor and Mount Hermon and Lake Tiberiade. The journey then continued to Damascus and Beirut following the maritime routes between the Island of Rhodes and the coasts of the eastern Adriatic and as previously mentioned, the group reached land again.

Of particular interest, are the accurate descriptions of cities, churches, and buildings as well as the detailed descriptive account of the surrounding areas and of Nature all around the overland journey on the Via Appia-Traiana which the pilgrims explored right across Puglia and the lands of Campania as far as Rome and then from the Eternal City to Venice and Bruges.

Puglia (Calò Mariani, 2003, 2007; Chiavari Cattaneo della Volta & Lercari 2002; Giovitti, 2005; Federico, 2012, pp. 163-171; Izzi, 2006; Otranto, 2007; Porsia, 1984; Stopani, 1992) was a province situated for the most part by the sea, very extensive in area and «I believe it is the most fertile in the world for the production of oil and wheat» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 380)<sup>20</sup>. It produced excellent wine in abundance and was the biggest breeder of animals especially pigs. It was a flat region with a temperate climate and very pleasant due to the presence of orchards and different kinds of aromatic herbs that grew wild in the fields. The soil appeared to be sandy, which led to the roads always being kept in excellent condition because they were not subject to erosion by rain, and on the contrary, this made them more compact and thus stable and safe. Apulia boasted a large number of enjoyable cities famous for their beauty including Lecce, Taranto, Nardò and Otranto.

Brindisi, where the pilgrims next landed, escaping from a storm on November 25, 1470, is situated on the coast in a strategic position and is blessed with some of the most beautiful and fortified small bays in the whole region: «all our sailors tell us that they had never seen anything like it. In fact, the outer harbour which is for the use of large ships is very large and protects boats from the winds that come from all directions and from storms» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 380). There was a huge cliff on one of the sides on which was situated the Church of Saint Christopher which contained a column said to have been carried by the saint «on his shoulders across the Straits». The inner harbour, on the other hand, is for smaller crafts. The two harbours were overlooked and protected by imposing towers.

The city of Brindisi was scarcely populated. Its ruins showed its ancient size, they had been partly demolished by dissenting internal factions and by a powerful earthquake. The origin of its depopulation could be traced back to the shipwrecks near the Lighthouse on the Straits of Messina of thirty galleys whose crews had been made up of men of arms from Brindisi. A small well fortified castle could be seen on the sea, built by Frederick Barbarossa with seven towers it had also contained a magnificent abode which was later completely destroyed. It was from this port that the Emperor Frederick 11 embarked for the Holy Land.

Among the city churches, mention is made of the Cathedral, the Seat of the Archbishop decorated with a splendid mosaic floor where the body of Saint Theodor and numerous other relics are kept. There were two big columns behind the building which according to tradition had been erected by Virgil who died here; the Church of our Lady of Casale

is also mentioned because it contains a painting made by Luke, the evangelist and it is an object of cult and miracles.

The pages of Anselmo's dairy continue with a detailed narrative, unique in its kind, of the territories visited before reaching Rome.

There are recollections of the town of Carovigno (which had fifty families), Ostuni and Monopoli, whose inhabitants lived off their olive groves that seemed to our travelers to be more pleasing and imposing than those admired in Syria and Barberia; the village of Mola which is reached by crossing the large town of Polignano was inhabited by many more women than men «there are four women for every man» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 386)<sup>21</sup>. Bari was next, a city by the sea although it did not really have a port of its own but only a "beach". Anselmo remembers the grandiose beautiful cathedral built with «monolithic stone columns», and the Church of Saint Nicholas where Charlemagne reserved a canonical seat for him and where the body of the 'blessed' Nicholas is buried, preserved in a marble coffin under a precious altar. From his remains, according to tradition, a holy oil flows with which on the occasion of important festivities, the eyes and foreheads of the faithful are anointed; a ceremony which Anselmo was fortunate to witness.

After leaving Bari the pilgrims reached Giovinazzo, then Molfetta where there was a monastery dedicated to Saint Dominic and then on to the Church of Our Lady of Martyrs situated about a mile from the town where the bodies of numerous martyrs were buried. The priests who looked after the church and lived in nearby houses were used to welcoming the many pilgrims who went there. After having visited Bisceglie they arrived in Trani which was considered to be the most beautiful and richest city of the cities of Puglia: situated by the sea it had a port which was ideal for mooring small boats, triremes and little galleons which made it one of the most flourishing commercial cities in the peninsular. The houses were elegant and most of them were situated along the docks and made with white marble with their facades cut "in diamond pointed shapes"; the beauty of the place lay in fact in the refined houses built in stone, richly adorned with precious reliefs softened by little columns in the windows which reminded Anselmo of the castle in Damascus and the houses of Beirut (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 392)<sup>22</sup>.

Trani's population included a significant Jewish community, a part of whom had converted to Christianity. Their descendents were hence called 'new Christians' and they had built most of the beautiful houses mentioned above<sup>23</sup>.

The journey then continued to Barletta and Manfredonia, mentioned for its abundant sources of water and the presence of many varied species of birds (geese, ducks, cranes and other kinds); just like Brindisi, the city –which took its name from King Manfred who founded it – did not really have a harbour as such but was a safe haven surrounded by mountains which protected it from strong winds

The travelers then came to Mount Saint Angelo where many sweet-smelling herbs grew: rosemary and sage which grew wild. On the top of the mountain were the remains of the defensive walls of an ancient castle and a church described by Anselmo as "wonderful and stupendous" which could be reached after climbing sixty four steps. The choir area was a cavern, a natural cave of large dimensions richly adorned with several altars and chapels built and consecrated by Saint Michael.

Anselmo informs us that in truth «there is another altar on the left where Saint Michael appeared to the Beato Lorenzo, the bishop of Siponto. Behind the altar there is a font whose water cures many illnesses and had come out of the ground miraculously at the time the church was consecrated» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, pp. 396-397)<sup>24</sup>. Above the cave, Adorno mentions an enchanting woodland of huge large trees. From the charming woods one could see the «marvelous » countryside and the Adriatic Sea. In other words this place is deserves to be seen; because of its position many pilgrims visit it every year as it is considered as being a chosen and holy site for the remission of all sins» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 400)<sup>25</sup>. The Abbey of Saint Leonard is situated six miles from Manfredonia and was built in honour of the saint who made many miracles «as can be seen by the number of offerings made to the same church and all the miracles granted in particular the thanks given by the founder and his sons who were miraculously released from prison in the auditorium of Saint Lorenzo, where they founded the above mentioned church»<sup>26</sup>.

In truth, Anselmo tells us, that Frederick Barbarossa , «because of the victories that the Prussian knights won bravely fighting the Saracens, gifted them this abbey with all its lands to enjoy and possess; they still own them and they have adorned the place with splendid buildings. Consequently there are still six or seven knights resident there with other monks and churchmen, they look after it and spend seven canonical hours singing devotedly» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 400)<sup>27</sup>; it was here that Anselmo was received “notabiliter”.

The city of Foggia, on those plains could be found a great quantity of game and where the King of Naples used to stay during the summer to hunt and capture wild birds was described as “squalid”; Anselmo mentions the cathedral where Saint William who came from Antioch and his son were buried after dying in the town during a pilgrimage. In their hands could be seen the symbol of the devotional practice of Jerusalem, the date palm which was planted on their tombs, much admired and still considered a relic today.

The pilgrim from Bruges describes the city of Troia, situated in the “delightful” valleys where the war between King Ferdinand of Naples and Duke John of Calabria was fought; the wall mosaic of the cathedral reminded him of the church of Pisa. Mention is also made of Mount Creper clearly visible from all along the coastline and whose ascent is very dangerous because of the high winds.

This is followed by descriptions of Casalbore (which had sixty families), Paduli and Benevento, the seat of the archbishop’s palace whose beautiful entrance door is described, a triumphal archway, very similar to the one in Rome. Along the walls of the cathedral could be found a round shaped church very similar to that of Santa Maria Rotonda in the eternal city. The body of the apostle Bartholomew lay behind the altar in the choir area (Borghi, 2008).

The small fortified town surrounded by mountains of Pellosa is also mentioned and is reached by following a “very bad road”, and from which on the other hand an “excellent” road wound its way to the foot of the mountains covered with olive groves and where a very good Greek wine was produced. The countryside was dotted with small castles.

Finally, having passed through the towns of Montesarchio, Arpaia, Arienzo and Aversa the group reached Naples, once called “Partenopeo, after the name of a virgin buried

there”. **Figure 7** An ancient Italian city, also called “Noble” and “Free” due to the presence of numerous nobles, counts and knights who lived there. Before reaching the safe harbour, Anselmo caught sight of the islands of Capri, Ischia and Procida. Fifteen days before their arrival in Naples the city had been hit by a violent storm, which had destroyed the solidly built pier and all the boats moored there, were “broken”. Faced with so much virulence the inhabitants thought there had been a big earthquake. Anselmo describes the city because its form is like a “moon crescent”, inhabited by people who «shine because of their beauty, especially the women, who are happy, charming, well-proportioned and friendly, much more than elsewhere» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 400)<sup>28</sup>; their costumes resembled those worn by the Catalans merchants displayed their wares. The houses from an architectural point of view were similar to those of the East with flat roofs and they were built in marble. The Bruges pilgrims had the opportunity to visit the home of Count Matalon, which was described as «magnificent, worthy of a prince thanks to its decorations» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 408, 410)<sup>29</sup>.



**Figure 7:** View of Naples, tavola Strozzi, painting on wood, XV century

Source: Museo nazionale di San Martino, Naples

The town was not just bestowed with superb houses but also basilicas including the Cathedral, monasteries and convents of four mendicant orders. The church of the monastery of Saint Augustus outside the city beyond Porta Capuana contained the body of King Ladislaus and his chancellor «this truly deserved to be seen on its own». From the top of Mount Saint Erasmus one of the most beautiful sights of the city and the harbour could be seen.

The city boasted the presence of various fortresses including “Castel Nuovo” rebuilt by King Alfonso and in Anselmo’s opinion it was the perfect castle and thanks to its beauty, strength and wealth, superior to all the other castles in the cities he had visited with the exception of Milan; other fortresses included that of Ovo, a stronghold built on a rock in the middle of the sea and those of Pizzofalcone (*Pichefalcon*) and Capuano built on the top of two adjacent hills.

Adorno does not fail to point out Naples’s fame for its much-frequented university with over a thousand students at the time. Anselmo also calls the road that wound its way from Castel dell’Ovo, cut through caves and rocks, a “real miracle”. The road was half a mile long and wide enough to let a cart go by. Here too was the cave that had inspired the poet Virgil. At the entrance to the cave there was a small chapel that could only be reached after having climbed many steps: «People pass through the cave continuously

just like on a public road because it cuts the distance considerably; otherwise they would have to climb up the mountain and then go down the other side. The place really deserves a visit. The cave is quite tall because one can pass through on horseback carrying a straight lance» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 414)<sup>30</sup>.

Having gone through it, one can see the small town of Pozzuoli surrounded by high mountains from which stones are extracted and then heated in ovens in the valley and then transported to other areas to be “boiled”. Among the mountains, mention is also made about Solfatara, one of the volcanoes that make up the Campi Flegrei, situated about two miles from the centre of Pozzuoli.

The fearful inhabitants call them “mouths of hell” probably according to Anselmo because the place was considered to be suitable for the purification of sinful souls.

Returning towards Naples, Anselmo noticed the natural spring baths extending along the sides of a large lake “of unfathomable depth”<sup>31</sup>.

The journey subsequently continued towards the ancient city of Aversa, praised by Roman historians for its splendor and the virtue of its inhabitants and built by Roberto il Guiscardo to “dominate Naples and Capua”. Anselmo then passed through Sessa and Garigliano situated along the river of the same name and of ancient Roman origin then Traghetto and Mola where there was an “excellent inn” and a beautiful garden full of orange trees from where one could admire the city of Gaeta. The surrounding region produced olives, vines, wheat and an excellent wine in large quantities; next came Itri, Fiondi situated on the borders of the Kingdom of Naples and the Pontificate State. In fact as Anselmo informs us that no horses were allowed to leave the town without the authorization of the Count of Fiondi.

The road continued to pontificate city of Terracina then Sermonetta and Velletri which Anselmo remembered for the big bell that was rung each time the inhabitants felt the need for justice just like in Constantinople (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 422)<sup>32</sup>.

In front of the municipal buildings stood a quadrangular piece of white marble fixed to the ground portraying on one side a bowl and on the other side a jug. There was a double iron chain on the top. Whoever sat on the stone could carry with themselves wherever they went a wooden bowl or a jug tied to their belt with a cord and beg without any sense of shame (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 422, 424).

After passing through the little town of Marino which belonged to the ancient noble Colonna family situated ten miles from Rome on a vast fertile ploughed plain, Anselmo and his companions on the adventure reached the Eternal City “our communal homeland, after many difficulties” on January 11, 1471 “safe and sound”.

And it is from Rome, in the Lille version of the manuscript that the journey and story ends. Leaving by the Western gate the pilgrims returned through the Eastern gate: «This way we have made our journey in line with the shape of a circle following the circumference of the place of departure to that of our arrival» (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 424)<sup>33</sup>.

## 5. From Rome to Bruges

Manuscript number 330 was completed with further annotations, comments and notes and edited by Anselmo’s son Giovanni dating back to 1480 and has reached us thanks

to the 18<sup>th</sup> century transcription by Edmond de la Coste who we already mentioned at the beginning of our text which helps us learn about the pilgrims' return journey from Rome to Bruges with great interest and involvement.

The journey therefore continued from the Eternal City towards Venice going through Siena again «one of the universities where many professors who teach all kinds of subjects can be found. There is a college for students called Sapienza. If I had sons who had acquired the first rudiments of the sciences I would if I could bring them here or to Perugia to continue their studies» (De la Coste, 1855, p. 135)<sup>34</sup>; next was Florence, adorned with beautiful houses like the private ones of Cosimo de Medici or Giacomo de Pazzi; On February 9, they arrived in Bologna «which is considered to be the mother of studies and the source of all law» and where there is «a magnificent abode belonging to signore Giovanni Bentivoglio, who is like the Lord of the city: on his orders we were shown all over his house» (De la Coste, 1855, p. 136)<sup>35</sup>.

The journey also touched the city of Ferrara, welcoming and joyous where «the women were charming, kind and beautiful and made all those who feel sad happy again just by their lovely smiling glances to passers-by» (De la Coste, 1855, p. 136)<sup>36</sup>. They arrived in Venice on February 15. Anselmo underlines three aspects about the city, which deserve to be remembered: the very beautiful St Marks Square, the Doge's palace and the Arsenal.

Adorno admires the painting above the altar of Church of Saint Giuliana showing the Pope and the Turk with their hands stretched out towards a letter which is being avidly seized by the latter. The painting is seen by Anselmo as being "prophetic": «The Church of the Lord will be reformed and will obey God just like in the times of my Vicar, Peter. The door of faith will open to the gentiles and they will lead over Christians by their virtue» (De la Coste, 1855, p. 138)<sup>37</sup>.

Anselmo was received with great warmth and friendship by the noble citizens including Lorenzo Bembo, Giovanni di Brigandini and Ambrogio Contarini (De la Coste, 1855, p. 484)<sup>38</sup>.

They left Venice on March 6 stopping at the monastery of Chartreux where Anselmo's brothe, Giacomo Adorni, the monk was buried; then the cities of Trento, Salmone, Merano, Innsbruck, Bressanone and then on horseback across the mountains where they met Sigismondo, the Count of Tirol; then across the Duchy of Austria, Stiria, Corinzia, Cariola and after that to Mols, Strasbourg, Zinghelstein, Worms, Oppenheim and Mens. After navigating the Rhine for several days they arrived in Cologne continuing towards Berchen, Julich, Aiz, Maestrich, Anversa and Brabant. After a journey that lasted a year, Anselmo arrived in Bruges "the sweetest city in the world" and among the "most beautiful merchant cities that we have seen", and "the richest in wealth' after Gand, the main city and capital of Flanders" (De la Coste, 1855, p. 488). They were welcomed with great joy by their friends and citizens.

## Conclusions

As in every diary, Anselmo's account also ends with "an excellent and wise conclusion". After having visited numerous regions, and having observed from near the customs of people as "a direct experience", Adorno states that nothing is perpetual and lasts for

ever in this world , but everything is changeable and transitory. He talks about “huge poverty”, of “little faith and justice” and of an “unquenchable thirst for wealth and honour” because Man is by his very nature greedy for power and inclined to satisfy his own passions. Happiness does not exist, everything is changeable (Heers & De Groër, 1978, p. 424, 426).

For both Anselmo and Giovanni, the couple that remind us a lot of Marco Polo and Rustichiello from Pisa, the example of men from the past does not seem to count, they too, “let themselves be seduced by the lies and vain glory of the world”, as fragile as a “crystal glass”.

One thing is certain: *Itinerarium Terrae Sanctae Anselmi Adorni* is a precious testimony of a XV century pilgrim’s vision of the world, albeit under false pretences. The human and natural scenarios described in the diary in polychrome are both varied and unusual. Anselmo was initially attracted by the world around him which he approached with consolidated experience and familiarity; his spirit of observation regarding many European voices and customs and exotic traditions have been restored to us thanks to this extraordinary source of recollections.

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<sup>1</sup> The writer confirms the presence of Genoese merchants in the Middle Ages in Bologna between the middle of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI century numbering between 25-30 each year totaling around 150 overall. As well as the presence of the Genoese in the Flemish city there was also a significant immigration coming from England.

<sup>2</sup> Anselmo's grandfather, Pietro was known to have been the companion in arms in Africa and Syria in the XIII century of the Count of Flanders, Guy de Dampierre.

<sup>3</sup> Giovanni was made Knight of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Pietro visited the Holy Land twice.

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Adorni, on his return from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, stayed in Rome and Jerusalem and lived in Gand and Lille where he became rector of the collegiate church of Saint Peter's.

<sup>5</sup> From the library catalogue of the Church of Jerusalem in Bruges at the end of the XV century beginning XVI century *De sommo Cipionis scripti per Alsemum Adorunum*, cited in *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, (p. 24), n° 5, entry 24.

<sup>6</sup> Saint Andrew is the patron saint of both Scotland and Burgundy, certainly a happy coincidence.

<sup>7</sup> Ambrogio Contarini informs us that he had learnt during his journey in Persia that even though Uzun Hassan's cavalry could amount to around 50,000 men, the king refused to join the operation.

<sup>8</sup> «Civitas ipsa est oblonga, magis longa quam lata, multis altis turribus fulta que quadre sunt, ex petris coctis veluti etiam sunt Perusio et Luca, Viterbio et Mantue, civitatibus quas etiam vidimus».

<sup>9</sup> Anselmo believes that the statue represents Teodorico, king of the Goths.

<sup>10</sup> «...ubi incipiunt montes Apennini et dominia Januensium.»

<sup>11</sup> «...Pungeboni, ubi est rectum iter Romanum venientibus ex lombardia...».

<sup>12</sup> In his diary, Anselmo recalls the same kindness that he had received some days before in Milan from Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza and that received from Giacomo Doria in Genoa because of his family ties with the Adorno family and his Italian heritage. Anselmo visited many Italian cities; he admired their civic and religious architecture and nobody better than him was in a better position to bring out in or at least encourage the "Italian" transformation of James III of which Antonio di Pietro Averlino, known as the 'Filarete' was one of the maximum exponents.

<sup>13</sup> Anselmo was struck by the beauty of the city, in particular, the tower with its five hundred columns; and by the cemetery and port, which was "very protected" where the Arno river enters the sea.

<sup>14</sup> «Janua inter Ytalie urbes magna ex parte illustrior ac pulchrior michi visa est».

<sup>15</sup> Veluti genua non ad retrocedendum sed ad ambulandum ac progrediendum facta sint, ita semper apliatur ac, favente fortuna, de bono in melius Janua crevit».

<sup>16</sup> This is just one of the explanations that has been handed down over the years regarding the mysterious relics of Christ of those who see the Holy Grail as an emerald in the shape of a large chalice.

<sup>17</sup> According to tradition, the precious and venerable relic had been gifted in the XIV century by the Byzantine Emperor Giovanni V to the doge Leonardo Montaldo. Even if studies carried out in 1969 by Colette Dufeur Bozzo attributed the date of the frame to the XIV century, it is presumed that the image dates back to a previous era.

<sup>18</sup> The tower was situated along the link road between Genoa and the east, the so-called Via di Francia, the coastal route between the harbor entrance arch and the promontory on the highest level of the Sampierdarena coastline where many of the abodes of the noble families were built. At that time the road was probably on top of the cliffs overlooking the sea towards the lighthouse.

<sup>19</sup> The choice of the kind of boat and leaving from the port of Genoa had been carefully thought out. On the advice of their friends and their protectors our pilgrims had chosen a large boat for its extra comfort compared to a trireme for its ability to deal with rough seas. Anselmo was against sailing from Venice for various reasons among which «the scarcity of local inhabitants and because of the number of people of different nationalities who spread diseases from one to the other with their breath», and because he had just learned of the death of forty-nine people before his departure.

<sup>20</sup> «Maxima est et fertilissima in oleo et blado qua in orbe melior, credo...»

<sup>21</sup> «...ita quod quatuor sunt femine respectu unius viri».

<sup>22</sup> «In aspectu pulchre et sumptuose dicte domus sunt, quarum anterior ex marmoribus albis paries in forma dyamantum acutorum scissus».

<sup>23</sup> The cathedral is remembered and described by Anselmo, as always, in meticulous detail, for all its magnificence and its splendor and for containing a crypt with numerous relics.

<sup>24</sup> «Aliud vero est in sinistra parte in loco in quo sanctus Michael se ostendit beato Laurencio episcopo Sipontino. Retro altare magnum est fons quidam, cujus quidem aqua diversorum morborum est sanitiva, qui miraculose ex terra tempore quo ecclesia consecrata erat, exsaliit».

<sup>25</sup> «...tota circumcirca amenissima patria ac Adriaticum sinus circumspicitur. Locus breviter hic visu est dignus ac pro situ ejus devotissimus eumque multi singulis annis peregrini visitant quia locus preelectus atque sanctus esse censetur et remissio a pena et culpa pariter omnium peccatorum...», in Heers, J. & De Groër, G. (Eds.) (1978), p. 386.

<sup>26</sup> «Ymmo et adhuc pendent illa primo apportata per conditorem, seu fundatorem, ecclesie ac filios suos qui, adiutorio sancti Leonardi a carceribus liberati miraculose, eo in loco dictam ecclesiam condiderunt.»

<sup>27</sup> «Hanc vero abbatiam Feodericus barba rubia, propter victorias quas domini de Prusia contra Sarracenos vigore optinuerunt, illis cum omnibus possessionibus ad gaudendum et possidendum dedit, quam adhuc tenent multumque cum edificiis pulchris locum decoraverunt. Continuo sex aut septem iidem domini residentes sunt, qui una cum aliis fratribus et presbiteris quos ibi tenent, septem horas canonicas devote canendo persolvunt».

<sup>28</sup> «...precipue mulieres que speciose, venuste, forma admodum honesta et liberales sunt ut nichil supra...».

<sup>29</sup> «...quam pro quocumque principe ornatam satis ac magnificam judicavimus.»

<sup>30</sup> «Ad introitum grote parvula est capella sursum in lapidoso monte sulpta, que per gradus multos ex eode lapide scissos ascenditur. Per hanc grotam populus continuo, uti per publicam stratam, ineat tanquam per viam multo propinquiorem, alias necesse esset montem ascendere pariter et descendere. Res quidem est visu dignissima. Que etiam grota admodum alta est quod erecta lancea in equo deferri potest.»

<sup>31</sup> It probably refers to Lake Agnano

<sup>32</sup> It is said, in fact, that the 'Great Turk' owned next to his palace, a similar bell. When it rang, he summoned whoever had rung it and listened to their requests. Anselmo stresses the effectiveness of the method because it renders justice to everybody.

<sup>33</sup> «...in qua finem facio, ut ipsa veluti punctus circuli principium ac terminus notus sit, per opponentalem portam egressi per orientemque reversi sumus, unde iter nostrum factum ad figuram circuli, ducta liena pro circumferentia loco exitus et reditus, comperiretur.»

<sup>34</sup> «Est una ex Italie universitatibus in qua est doctorum copia legentium in omni facultate et est collegium unum scholarum quod Sapentia vocatur. Ego si juvenes haberem fundatos in primi scientiis vellem si possem ad proficiendum ibi collocare vel in Perusio...».

<sup>35</sup> «Est un in ea una excellens domus que domini Joannis de Bentervolge sive domini Joannis Bentivoli qui est uti dominus civitatis...eujus jussu domus sua ubique nobis ostensa fuit.»

<sup>36</sup> «Habet muliebrem gentem placabilem, urbanam, formosam que tristem letum faciunt...».

<sup>37</sup> «...ecclesia Dei reformabitur et obediens erit Deo sicut tempore Petri vicarii mei. Aperietur gentibus porta fidei et dominabuntur christianis in virtutibus.»

<sup>38</sup> In De la Costa's edition reference is made to Lorenzo Contarini. It is probably an error since Lorenzo lived in the XVI century (1515-1552). It must refer to Ambrogio Contarini (1429-1499).

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## Almatourism

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### "O Sancta Haera". Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Sanctuary of Sainte Foy at Conques

Papasidero M.\*  
University of Messina (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

The Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis, written during the 11th century, partially by Bernard of Angers, describes miracles, healings and rituals practiced in the sanctuary of Sainte Foy at Conques, martyr of the beginning of the 4th century.

The Liber allows us to analyze the anthropological and religious dimension of the pilgrims and their pilgrimage. As a matter of fact, through the descriptions of the pilgrims, their gestures, their aspects, their words, their ritual practices by the tomb, their rich or poor offerings, we can analyze the dimension of the Medieval pilgrimage as a specific case study, which can help us describe the idea of pilgrimage in Medieval West Europe and specifically in this sanctuary.

Furthermore, through the reading of the accounts of miracle stories, we can analyze the healing ritual practices, the miraculous dimension of this cult and the Sainte's ability to treat diseases. The center of the Conques cult was – and remains – the Majesty of Sainte Foy, a reliquary statue in which the power (virtus/dynamis) of the saint's relics is concentrated.

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**Keywords:** Pilgrimages, Hagiography, Sainte Foy, Conques, Pilgrimages' routes

Il Liber miraculorum Sancte Fidis, scritto nell'XI secolo, in parte da Bernardo d'Angers, descrive i miracoli, le guarigioni e i rituali che si svolgevano presso il santuario di Santa Fede a Conques, martire dell'inizio del IV secolo.

Il Liber ci permette di analizzare la dimensione antropologica e religiosa dei pellegrini e del loro pellegrinaggio. Attraverso la loro descrizione, i loro gesti, il loro aspetto, le loro parole, le loro pratiche rituali presso la tomba, le loro offerte, questo case study può

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\* E-mail address: [mpapasidero@unime.it](mailto:mpapasidero@unime.it)

aiutarci a comprendere l'idea di pellegrinaggio presente nell'Europa medievale e, in particolare, in questo santuario.

Inoltre, attraverso la lettura dei miracoli, possiamo riflettere sui rituali di guarigione, sulla dimensione miracolosa del culto e sulla capacità della santa di curare le malattie. Il centro del culto a Conques era e rimane la Maestà di Santa Fede, una statua-reliquiario in cui è concentrata la potenza guaritrice (*virtus/dynamis*) delle sue reliquie.

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**Keywords:** Pellegrinaggi; Agiografia; Santa Fede; Conques; Vie di Pellegrinaggio

## Introduction

The pilgrimage is one of the most important aspects of Medieval – and not only – piety, and is "the journey to a site considered sacred or spiritual" (Kay Davidson & Gitlitz, 2002, p. 478). Millions of people who left their houses, their communities, sometimes their families, their children, to begin their journey. In the Middle Ages, the main destinations of pilgrimages were the Holy Land, Rome and Santiago de Compostela.

One of the most important shrines along the *Camino de Santiago* was that of Sainte Foy in Conques (Gaillard, 1965; Webb, 2002, pp. 23-28). The abbey, built during the Early Middle Ages, obtained an important development due to the theft – legendary or historical? – of the relics of the young martyr Foy of Agen (Bouillet & Servièrès, 1900; Amore & Celletti, 1964; Grémont, 1969), martyred in the early fourth century, dated between 877 and 883 (Bousquet, 1954; Geary, 1990, pp. 146-149). Since that moment – and particularly from the 11<sup>th</sup> century on – the shrine became the destination of hundreds of pilgrims from France, and it grew in importance also thanks to its strategic position on one of the roads leading to Santiago.

The importance of the shrine during the Middle Ages is confirmed by the *Liber sancti Iacobi* – although its more accurate title would be *Codex Calixtinus* –, the most popular travel guide for pilgrimages, written by an anonymous author in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Bonnassie & de Gournay, 1995). In the fifth book, *Iter pro peregrinis ad Compostellam*, the author describes also the *via Podiensis* – which crosses Conques –, mainly traveled by Hungarians, Austrians, and inhabitants of the Southern German region. He didn't know about the history of the relics theft, because he didn't add any references to it (Oursel & Cardini, 1995; Geary, 1990, pp. 146-149). Conques is one of the twenty-three shrines or churches reported in the book.

The development of the *Camino* started also owing to the multiple roads which still lead pilgrims from Western Europe to the shrine nowadays – namely from Germany, France and Italy. One of these aforementioned roads, from France to Santiago, was the *via Podiensis*; it began from the city of Le-Puy-en-Velay – where an important Marian cult took place in the Early Middle Ages – progressively receiving a remarkable increase in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and particularly in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Louis IX the Saint, in 1254, returning from the so-called seventh crusade, was unquestionably a pilgrim to the shrine of Conques, to which he gave the ebony statue of the Black Virgin.

The city of Le-Puy was the first step of this *via* – representing a place of meeting and departure of groups of pilgrims as well (Oursel, 1978, p. 43). The other three roads were the *via Turonensis* that came for Tours, the *via Lemovicensis* that came for Limoges, and the *via Tolosana* that crossed Toulouse.

The importance of the shrine of Conques – related to its position on the *via Podiensis* – is confirmed also by the numerous donations it received since the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Among the benefactors of the monastery, were many important families of the South of the France, such as the viscounts of Carlat and Lodève, the viscounts of Albi and Nîmes, the counts of Rouergue and the counts of Toulouse. From the second half of the century, the monastery acquired an importance that extended beyond national borders (Remensnyder, 1990).

An important source for pilgrimage and piety in the High Middle Ages in Europe is the bio-hagiographical<sup>1</sup> *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*.<sup>2</sup> The work is divided into four books: the first and the second one were written by Bernard of Angers respectively between October 1013 and around 1016, and between 1016 and 1020 (Robertini, 1994, pp. 57-64; Bonnassie & de Gournay, 1995; Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, pp. 22-64); the third and the fourth books were written in the subsequent years by anonymous continuator-monks, who added to the *Liber* other miracles and stories (Robertini, 1994, pp. 65-68).

Although the *Liber* is an hagiographical work, with all characteristics of this literary genre (consistent presence of *topoi*, edifying purpose, ecclesiastical and political intent to promote the pilgrimage to the shrine and to glorify the Sainte, etc.), we can read this book also from a historical point of view, not with the intention of establishing the miracles authenticity, but of analyzing the aspect of the pilgrimage and that of the religious rituals which were held in the shrine.

This work is based on the reading and analysis – from a methodological perspective – of the *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, which contains several references to the pilgrimage to the shrine. Regardless of its hagiographic nature, it is still possible to use it in order to understand not only the ideas and the way of thinking – particularly of the one in the 11<sup>th</sup> century Southern France – but also the image of pilgrims that Bernard and the monks used to have. Furthermore, it is possible to analyse the miracles and the episodes of the *Liber* from the point of view of the historical anthropology, that can help us to understand the culture of the period. Moreover, it is paramount emphasizing that the *Liber* represents – as all hagiographical sources – a precious repository of information about the history, the economy, the culture and the traditions of the Middle Ages.

### **Bernard's pilgrimage**

The first feature that characterizes the *Liber* is that it is a tale of a pilgrimage. At this regard, among numerous pilgrims, Bernard of Angers is the most important one, in a specific dimension that makes the *Liber* resembling an autobiography (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, pp. 39-45). The two first books of the *Liber* revealed a specific

personal idea of Conques, pilgrimage, and faith, in which he "is always explaining himself; he is consummately reflexive of himself and his making of the collection" (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, p. 39).

Probably belonging to an aristocratic family of the region of Anjou or Touraine, Bernard was perhaps Robert's brother, attested in some sources as the abbot of the monastery of Cormery, in Touraine (Robertini, 1994, p. 382). Someone by the name of John Scotus was his master during his childhood, perhaps in Tours or in Angers; later on, he attended the School of Chartres of which Fulbert (960-1028) was bishop (Clerval, 1895; Mac Kinney, 1957; Robertini, 1994, p. 60; Behrends, 1976). In 1010, called by Ubert of Angers, he went to Angers to be the supervisor of the school in the cathedral, position that he covered least until 1020.

He begins his work with a prefatory epistle addressed to Fulbert, responsible for the great success and development of the school in the cathedral. In this epistle, Bernard describes his interest in Sainte Foy, firstly because he often went to pray in the small church dedicated to her, outside the walls of Angers.<sup>3</sup> The peculiarity of miracles and the fame of the cult of Sainte Foy pushed Bernard to visit her shrine in Conques, Rouergue, in the South of France. As a pilgrim, he took a vow, promising to go to the Sainte, and wrote it in his journal:

[...] paulatim subiit mihi in corde tacita et oblivionis impatiens cogitatio, uti ipsum sancte martyris habitaculum eadem studio discendi adirem. Postremo adeo res rediit huc, ut voti inde facti tempus diemque, ne daretur oblivioni, in manuali codicello notaverim.<sup>4</sup>

After almost three years, Bernard had the chance to begin his journey to Conques. He went on his first pilgrimage there around 1013, with a companion, Bernier. He was his friend and probably his collaborator in the Angers school direction and in 1025 he was appointed *levita et scholae magister* of it. As regards the route he took, we know that he went from Paris to Conques. We don't know all the steps of his journey, but one of these is described in the *Liber*. After arriving in Conques, Bernard and Bernier visited Aurillac, a compulsory stop for the pilgrims who came from the North of France. Here, the two pilgrims entered the monastery of Saint Peter where there was the reliquary statue of Saint Gerald. After three days, they arrived to Conques. The monks had a particular care for the important pilgrims, especially for those who could promote the cult of Sainte Foy; in fact, Bernard received a good accommodation (*decent hospitio*)<sup>5</sup> and some servants (*servitores strenuos*)<sup>6</sup> to provide for all his needs. Of course, his pilgrimage was a journey of a wealthy person, therefore, he didn't face all the difficulties a poor pilgrim would have (such as very poor hygiene at the local inns, the risk of being robbed or attacked by muggers, the huge physical strain it would have taken him to walk, etc.).

Bernard's pilgrimage is a research on the miracles of Sainte Foy: he spoke with the devotees, touched sick people, reflected on the healing miracles. For instance, when a widow's daughter regained her eyesight, the monks called for him so that he could see the miracle. When he arrived, he moved closer and gave the child a coin:

Mox ego de lecto, in quo tunc accubare coeperam, velociter resiliens, fateor, vix pre gaudio apud me non lento incessu intro monasterium, et video virginem videre candelarumque lumina

discernere, sed et manum meam, denarium sibi pauperrime erogantem, quem conspicata cum gratiarum actione sustulit.<sup>7</sup>

Bernard's role, emphasized by the hagiographic purposes of the books, was that of a cultured man, a theologian, who wanted to analyze what was happening at the tomb of Sainte Foy.

The most important episode of the first Bernard's pilgrimage is narrated in the miracle 13 of the first book. When he and his collaborator arrived to Conques, they entered the monastery to see the shrine and, especially, the Majesty of Sainte Foy (Oursel, 1978, pp. 90-92; Taralon & Taralon-Carlino, 1997). It was a reliquary statue of eighty-five centimeters, and, according to the pilgrims, "elle était le centre physique du culte, car elle hébergeait les reliques de la sainte, les rappels matériels de sa virtus" (Remensnyder, 1990, p. 357; Canetti 2017). It was kept in a small secluded place (*locus ille secretus*),<sup>8</sup> in which devotees could pray. In this occasion, Bernard saw the statue but expressed perplexity – or an open condemnation – on the reliquary statues and the idolatrous veneration among ignorant people. However, the question concerned the possibility to have a statue of the saint which would not be idolized by worshipers, the same way they did in the ancient pagan cults; only the cross could be carved. Nevertheless, Bernard later changed his mind after hearing of churchman Oldaric's dream, who had been admonished from Sainte Foy for his offenses and blasphemy against her statue.<sup>9</sup> So, in the *Liber* "Bernard portrays himself [...] as a skeptic who comes to jeer and is persuaded to belief" (Ashley & Sheingorn, 1999, p. 40). This first journey lasted twenty-five days.<sup>10</sup>

Bernard tells us about his second journey to Conques, made probably around 1015-1018, specifying he wished he had met the illuminated Gerbert, but that he had already died.<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, Bernard gave us the exact date of his third – and last – journey to Conques:

Anno igitur ab incarnatione Domini millesimo vicesimo, indictione tertia, tam sancte Fidis amore motus, quam Vuitberti illuminati gratia revisendi, tertio ad Conchas repedavi.<sup>12</sup>

He was deeply impressed by the two miracles of healing of Gerbert and Guibert – the latter taking place about thirty years before Bernard's first journey to Conques (Robertini, 1994, p. 322) –, the case of the two men who had had their eyes gouged out and who the Sainte recreated in their orbits. In his third journey, Bernard tells us that he wished he could come back immediately, however, thanks to the pressure of the monks who insisted he should write a third book of miracles, he stayed at Conques.<sup>13</sup>

During his third journey, in 1020 on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Rome, he also had a companion: his personal secretary Sigebald, man of letters and fellow-priest.<sup>14</sup>

The personal dimension of Bernard's pilgrimage emerged also from two episodes. The first being, since Bernard had a brother, affected by a serious illness consisting in the contortion of the limbs, Bernard promised that his brother would have gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine barefoot, had he been healed.<sup>15</sup> The second dealt with his secretary, Sigebald, who had promised that had he been healed from a disease by which he was affected, he would have gone on a pilgrimage to the shrine.<sup>16</sup>

## Pilgrimages to Conques

In Bernard's pilgrimage experience, the shrine of Sainte Foy appears as the center of Christianity.

Pilgrims hardly went to any other place to have their miracles granted and Conques was almost the only place where God manifested His healing powers. It appears as the center of the pilgrimage system of Medieval Europe, with people who carried out their journey to Sainte Foy, sometimes after being in Rome or in Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup> This is an unhistorical point of view, because, although the shrine of Sainte Foy became one of the most important in the South of France, at the same time there were other shrines for pilgrimages, that numerous pilgrims going to Conques wished they could reach. Therefore, the *Liber* strongly emphasizes the role of the shrine, which became, with its hagiographical narrative, the only shrine of pilgrimage, and Sainte Foy the most powerful saint. A confirmation of this – is also present in other hagiographical texts and referring to other saints – is contained in chapter 29 of the first book. The bishop of Rodez organized a synod and brought the statues and relics of numerous saints. Among these, was also the statue of Sainte Foy. A crippled and blind man had spent one night in front of Saint Mario's statue, to obtain a healing miracle, but, at sunrise, he was asleep and he thought he heard a voice who said: "Vade ad sanctam Fidem. Non enim datum est ut a tua infirmitate nisi per merita illius salvari possis".<sup>18</sup> This hagiographical *topos* serves as confirmation that Sainte Foy was the most powerful saint and also promoted her authority. A few examples of this common *topos* are included in the *De mirabilibus sancti Stephani prothomartyris*<sup>19</sup> – a Venetian hagiographical book in which a deaf, mute and blind woman was sent from Saint Leonard to Saint Stephen, Venice – and in the *Vita sancti Apiani monachi*<sup>20</sup> – in which a French woman was sent to Saint Appian, in Comacchio, by Saint Justine.

The *Liber* is an opportunity for us to reflect on the pilgrimage, not just for its historical importance on each single episode, but for the study of the Medieval mindset concerning the sacred journey. The local pilgrimage at Conques was characterized by a specific ritual: pilgrims went to the shrine particularly on the occasion of the Feast of Sainte Foy,<sup>21</sup> staying awake the night before the *dies natalis*; and, the day of the Feast, or probably some days later, they returned home. This is for example what Guibert did in his pilgrimage, who traveled back home on October, 6<sup>th</sup>, the day of her martyrdom. On the same day, the Sainte asked him to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine to regain his eyesight. In some cases, pilgrims set out at dawn so they could attend the first Mass.<sup>22</sup> In the *Liber* a Christmas pilgrimage is also attested<sup>23</sup> as well as one at Easter.<sup>24</sup> Another miracle attests the pilgrimage during the summer: pilgrims started their walk during summer, and came back to their homes in autumn (probably after the Sainte's Feast in October), spending some time in Conques.<sup>25</sup>

The *Liber* tells us about a pilgrim who went to the shrine seven days before the Feast of the Sainte took place, spending his nights in vigil at the foot of her tomb.<sup>26</sup>

There are many indications in the *Liber* on how Conques was considered being a very popular destination among the people back then.<sup>27</sup> Although there might be some

exaggeration to the story, this shrine was a very important step on the *Camino*; pilgrims would travel in order to reach Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia. But during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, according to what Bernard wrote, the shrine was not a very important place in the "international" system of pilgrimages. In fact, the author admitted that the fame of Conques miracles had not crossed the regional borders during the last years of 10<sup>th</sup> century. Proof of that is included in miracle 19 of the first book, in which he tells the story of the bracelets of Arsinde, wife of William III Taillefer, Count of Toulouse<sup>28</sup> (Robertini, 1994, p. 317).

People who went to the shrine of Conques belonged to different social orders. The *Liber* particularly reports women (widows or not) sometimes with their children, numerous soldiers, warriors, lords, priests, etc. They came from France, especially from regions of the South, near Conques, and sometimes from different countries, like Normandy.<sup>29</sup> Some pilgrims came from the North – like Bernard himself – and an example of this is given by the large presence of pilgrims coming from Limoges.<sup>30</sup>

### Perils of the journey

A pilgrimage is an experience full of dangers: the risk of being robbed or assaulted, the risk of getting sick or dying (Ohler, 2002). The *Liber* tells us of different episodes of assault. Particularly, it reports various cases of soldiers that, during the pilgrimage, were often attacked by other soldiers or lords who wanted to "settle their scores".<sup>31</sup> In the *Liber*, the presence of nobles, soldiers and knights is particularly important. The term used by Bernard and the continuator-monks is generally *miles*, but it is referred more to as a state of nobility, than a precise title or function (Caitucoli, 1995).

However, if on one hand, there were many perils, on the other hand hospitality and assistance were important as well. In one miracle, for example, the author speaks about a soldier, Gerard, who was assaulted during his pilgrimage by an enemy, Gerald, but on that same occasion, he received the hospitality of a peasant, who welcomed him in his small hut (*rustici tugurio*).<sup>32</sup>

Sometimes the pilgrimage was a wish, but there was also the risk of dying by the hand of enemies just waiting for the perfect opportunity.<sup>33</sup>

The perils of the pilgrimages were also linked to the roughness of the territory. In the third book, the continuator-monk writes about a great group of pilgrims that were walking near the city of Saban,<sup>34</sup> when there was a natural waterfall. As they were coming back from the shrine, one of them risked drowning in order to save his donkey but was saved from the Sainte. The perils of nature were particularly threatening especially in places like this, in which there were waves and bridges. The perception of danger is confirmed by the names which were given to these places by the legends. Through this miracle, the author provides us with a folk tradition which is not present in any other source, and which recounts the bishop of Albi, Saint Salvius (574-584), who would drive the devils out of the city, throwing them into a gorge. It is a popular folk theme (Seppilli 1977). Furthermore, the description of the road traveled by pilgrims

into the site of Saban is very interesting to understand the perils of the journey and particularly of this place:

Quod precipitium non solum gressibus, verum humanis fit inaccessible obtutibus. Hunc tamen fluvium, inter rupis morsum in angusto torrente coartatum, desuper vimineo iniecto ponticulo, viatores transeunt, magnaue formidine concussi, celeri pervolant gressu.<sup>35</sup>

People could go on a pilgrimage alone or in a group, a condition which was obviously more reassuring also to have a better chance at defending themselves from the dangers of the journey, such as aggression or robbery. In the *Liber*, there are numerous examples of pilgrims groups.<sup>36</sup>

During the journey and while staying at Conques, pilgrims would stay in hostels,<sup>37</sup> places in which they could sleep but also eat and feed their livestock. The hostels were placed also along the pilgrims' path<sup>38</sup> (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 37-38).

## Dressing and means

The *Liber* doesn't tell anything specific about pilgrims' clothing. In the first miracle of the first book, the pilgrim Guibert said to his half-brother, met on the way back from Conques, that he was a pilgrim and he was returning from the Feast of Sainte Foy,<sup>39</sup> therefore in October. Pilgrims' clothing was considered sacred as well as pilgrims themselves<sup>40</sup> because they were both signs of their faith and wish to walk the road to God and His saints. Their clothing was worthy of respect,<sup>41</sup> as said Guibert's evil half-brother, Gerald, despite attacking him later for score-settling and gouging his eyes out. As a matter of fact, during their pilgrimage, they were almost worthy of veneration, especially when they managed to return home from their journey. They would be greatly respected by their fellow citizens (Stopani, 1991, p. 8).

Despite this, pilgrims were not always treated with respect, particularly in case of scores settling, when a soldier assaulted other soldiers even if on their trip pilgrims were dressed as such. In the episode of the abbot Peter, pilgrim's clothes are used as a guarantee of salvation from their enemies.<sup>42</sup>

One of the pilgrim's elements was the staff (*peregrinis bacillo*),<sup>43</sup> that was very useful during the journey. It was defined "bordon" and had a hook on one of its extremities. In addition to being practically useful, it had a symbolic value referring to the sacred staffs of Moses, Aaron, Saint Joseph, Saint Peter, Saint Anthony abbot, Saint Christopher. It was kind of a third leg, a symbol of Trinity, useful for protection during the journey (Palumbo, 1999, p. 443).

In one apparition of Sainte Foy, the pilgrim's staff is also one of her attributes. She appeared to Stephen, a layman who was the guardian of the shrine wax, while he was sleeping. Her aspect was that of a woman in pain, pale and emaciated, who supported herself on the pilgrim's staff.<sup>44</sup> In this case, the Sainte wanted to point out the grave situation of the monastery, attacked by powerful locals who wanted to steal its treasure, and her dresses were those of a poor pilgrim, almost to indicate how it would become if she had lost her treasure.

On their way to the shrine, pilgrims could either walk<sup>45</sup> or ride; this is the way two soldiers traveled on their pilgrimage: Bonfils who went to the shrine,<sup>46</sup> and Gerald, who came back in France after a pilgrimage in Rome.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes, as in these two episodes, the animals used for traveling were injured or died, the pilgrims were forced to continue on foot. Generally, the animal used by poor pilgrims was the donkey – initially defined as "bordon", word that later went to identify the pilgrim's staff (Stopani, 1991, p. 9) –, while the rich used the horse, like the noblewoman who went to the shrine of Sainte Foy<sup>48</sup> or the priest Hadimar.<sup>49</sup> In one case, there is the use of a horse-drawn pallet, in which the parents carried their paralyzed daughter to the shrine.<sup>50</sup>

For a specific vow, a pilgrim could go to the shrine barefoot, as a sign of gratitude to Sainte Foy, like the soldier Gerald,<sup>51</sup> the character of the third miracle of the first book, who had lost his lord's falcon. He traveled from the village of Villaris,<sup>52</sup> to Rouergue, which was ten kilometers away from Conques.

Pilgrims wore objects symbolizing their pilgrimage, as confirmed by the warrior Bernard who started his journey fastening "signum videlicet peregrinationis"<sup>53</sup> on themselves. During the Middle Ages, different symbols for different pilgrimages were used: the shell for the pilgrimage to Santiago (often picked up at their arrival on the ocean shores, at Finisterre), the images of Veronica or of the Saints Peter and Paul for the pilgrims who went to Rome, and a small olive branch or small crosses for pilgrims who came back from Jerusalem.

### Reasons for a pilgrimage

The reasons that pushed people to embark on a pilgrimage – and specifically, in this case, a pilgrimage to Conques – were of various kinds. Occasionally – even if the *Liber* and the hagiographical sources in general would have us believe otherwise – there was a specific request from God or, more often, Sainte Foy, who appeared in visions or dreams during the night, asking to go to her shrine,<sup>54</sup> bringing her something precious if the pilgrims were rich, or humble if they were poor. In the miracle of Guibert's eyesight restoration, Sainte Foy appeared to him during the night and said precisely what he should do: go to her shrine the day following the vigil of his martyrdom.<sup>55</sup> She urged him to start his journey. In Bernard's miracle, a soldier who had lost all his hair went to the shrine after receiving three visions – hagiographic and biblical topical number – and obtained healing.<sup>56</sup> Sometimes Sainte Foy appeared in a vision to ask nobles for jewelry, particularly women, and they started their journey to deliver them to her.<sup>57</sup>

In the *Liber*, there are records of pilgrimages started almost on the pilgrim's deathbed, with the objective to obtain the comfort of their souls and remission of their sins. An example could be the decision of the soldier Raimond, at the service of Peter of Auvergne, who received a serious injury to his face that led him almost to death (his companions kept watch for about three months). After that period, he decided to go to the shrine of Sainte Foy:

Ita miser, odibilis vite mora diu protractus, coepit iam tandem intra se cogitare, ut ad sanctam Fidem se deportari crastina luce, nutu quo posset, innueret, non tamen eo voto ut de salute corporea que irreparabilis videbatur ultra cogitaret, sed ut anime vel inter vias vel ad sanctam Fidem obeuntis superna miseratio succurreret.<sup>58</sup>

After being healed, the Sainte asked him to take the road to the shrine, pilgrimage that he later embarked on several times.<sup>59</sup>

Sometimes they would take a simple vow in order to be healed, in which the sick – or their family – promised that they would go to the shrine of Sainte Foy (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 56-66). An example of this, is portrayed by the noble Roger who promised a bishop – who had a relic of the Martyr – that if his wife had been healed, he would have gone to the shrine.<sup>60</sup>

Another reason to become a pilgrim was the desire of healing (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 52-56). In Normandy, there was a man who looked after some horses, but one night he suddenly went blind. Therefore, he decided to begin a journey. His decision allows us to reflect on the importance of healing potential in pilgrimage churches:

Cui de cecitate merenti, mente succurrit, ut diversa sanctorum oracula peragrarere deberet atque fortassis, eorum meritis obtinentibus, amissum lumen reciperet. Quo facto, Romam petiit; ibi, post peracta orationum studia, remansit somnoque, longa itineris molestia fessus, indulsit. Qua in quiete responsum accipere meruit, ad oraculum redire sancte Fidis ibique optata lucis reparatione potiri.<sup>61</sup>

Although the miracle is based on the idea of the preeminence of the shrine of Conques and Sainte Foy – but, at the same time, on the possible great fame of this cult during the 11<sup>th</sup> century –, it is interesting to reflect on the decision made by this pilgrim, who began his journey in order to be healed, and then he decided to start his pilgrimage from different churches of saints. After not receiving what had wished for, he went to a place of pilgrimage of a "superior level", the *limina apostolorum*. But even Rome didn't give him what he wanted and he remained blind for two more years. The shrine of Sainte Foy was his last chance, granted by a vision he had received in Rome. Therefore, the *status* of pilgrim was also a moment of life, during which people could find something they had lost.

In one episode, the pilgrimage for healing is taken by another person: the lord who wished for his warrior to be healed. After returning, the warrior, reassured of his healing by the lord, went personally on a pilgrimage to the shrine.<sup>62</sup>

Another reason for a pilgrimage to Sainte Foy was women' sterility. In the third book, the continuator-monk tells us about a couple who had been trying to have children for a long time but couldn't. At the end, they decided to go to the shrine of the Sainte, and then the woman became pregnant.<sup>63</sup> A similar episode is narrated in the next miracle, but in that case the character is a nobleman – the husband – of the region of Perigord.<sup>64</sup> It is interesting as, according to Medieval medical knowledge, causes of infertility were usually attributed to women, whereas it was not taken into account the chance it might also be the man who was barren. One of the first insights about male infertility dates back to the physician Trotula (11<sup>th</sup> century) of the medical school of

Salerno, of which she deals in her book *De passionibus mulierum ante in et post partum* (Green, 2009).

Among the different requests for grace, there was one by a mother who asked the Sainte to help her son imprisoned.<sup>65</sup> Pilgrimages to the shrine often took place annually, with the idea that prayers could protect one person throughout the year.<sup>66</sup> The *miles* of the miracle III, 23 went to the shrine to request healing for three people unable to speak, and the author tells us about the pilgrimage custom.<sup>67</sup>

Among pilgrimage motives, there was also penitence (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 49-52). Although sometimes, more often during the Early Middle Ages, penance pilgrimages were bribed by bishops, they were considered punishments for the crimes committed. In this case, penitents went to the shrine by themselves, asking for the absolution of their sins and confessed them to the monks. The priest Hadimar was guilty of capturing an enemy warrior pilgrim, and because of this he had been struck by a disease. After arriving to the shrine and confessed his sins, he had started punishing himself and, after many prayers and vows, he returned home and decided to start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. After his return, he frequently went to visit the shrine of Sainte Foy.<sup>68</sup>

### **Economy, vows and rituals**

In the miracle of Guibert, he brought two candles to the shrine: one to be placed in front of the altar of the Savior<sup>69</sup> and one in front of his reliquary statue. The miracles allow us to understand some economical aspects of the pilgrimage, as for instance the sale of wax for the candles sold by the monks and, in case of Guibert's eyes miracle, by himself.<sup>70</sup> Wax was an important element for the abbey's economy, because of the great number of candles offered by pilgrims. This issue serves as base for another miracle, in which a "dishonest" merchant bought a big quantity of wax in the shrine at selling price – a reduced price because of the extensive use of the wax and pilgrims' flowing donations – then sold them over the region of Auvergne.<sup>71</sup> The *Liber* in general reveals that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century there were many merchants who went to Conques to do business, because of the substantial pilgrims' influx, as it is also the case for various shrines, like that of Saint Mary the Magdalen at Vézelay (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 33-34).

The gifts were an important element of the cult of Sainte Foy. In this regard, Monks received a lot of money, silver and jewelry from pilgrims who were grateful to the Sainte. After the healing of his mule, Bonfils gave the Sainte one gold coin, the animal itself and other donations.<sup>72</sup> It is one of the most important source of income which filled up the monks and the abbey's coffers (Latouche, 1956). Sometimes, when people were about to go on a pilgrimage, they made a will or donations to a shrine. It is the case narrated in the miracle I, 12, in which Raimond II, Count of Rouergue (960-1010), son of Raimond I – murdered, according to Bernard, on the path to Santiago –, before the beginning of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, gave to Sainte Foy various precious things, like twenty-one richly decorated silver vessels, a saddle worth a hundred pounds and, furthermore, a hereditary feud.<sup>73</sup> People's vow – especially the poor's – often consisted in lighting a candle for the Sainte<sup>74</sup> or in making a pilgrimage.

The monks had a central importance at Conques. Among the numerous commitments of their day, they could hear pilgrims' requests and prayers. After arriving in Conques, Guibert reports to the monks the vision he had received first, and then does what Sainte Foy had requested of him.<sup>75</sup>

Among the pilgrims' practices, there was that of the vigil. Pilgrims went in front of the reliquary statue of Sainte Foy – the center of the Sainte's *virtus*, which also contained her relics and particularly her head<sup>76</sup> (Canetti, 2017) – and prayed, stayed awake or, specifically when the Sainte wanted to show something to her devotees, slept (and often dreamed). In the *Liber* there are many episodes in which the Medieval form of the classical practice of *incubatio* is attested, the ritual sleeping beside the relics, during the day or the night, when the Sainte showed to her devotees that she would heal them or what they had to do to be healed;<sup>77</sup> we can also find several cases of healing during their night visit at the shrine, in which specific dreams or apparitions are not present.<sup>78</sup>

It was common for pilgrims to sing praise during the acts of devotion, but also to thank the Sainte<sup>79</sup> (Webb, 2002<sup>2</sup>, pp. 155-158). In the second book, Bernard tells us that it was custom for pilgrims to stay in the church during the vigils, holding candles and torches.<sup>80</sup> While the clergy and the educated people (*literati*) sang psalms and songs, the *illiterati* sang songs in vulgar or other secular music,<sup>81</sup> sometimes, from the point of view of the monks, also making "animalesque" sounds,<sup>82</sup> which, in the opinion of the clergy, contaminated the holiness of the vigil. One miracle describes the monks' attempt to prohibit to sing these songs and, particularly, closing the church doors, preventing peasants from taking part to the vigils. These prohibitions caused aggressive reactions from the peasants who wanted to enter the monastery.<sup>83</sup>

The *Liber* and their authors can describe pilgrims' attitudes in a detailed way. For example, a servant of the shrine, after coming to the Sainte to pray for his donkey, he prayed whispering,<sup>84</sup> and then, after the death of the animal, he repeated his prayer, moaning.<sup>85</sup> One of the principle practices made by pilgrims at the tomb of Sainte Foy was the vigil with lighted candles. They spent one or more vigils offered to the martyr,<sup>86</sup> often together with the other pilgrims.<sup>87</sup> It is the case, for example, of the paralyzed girl whose parents carried to the shrine. When they reached the shrine, they lit candles and spent the night in vigil and prayed.<sup>88</sup> Another element, described exactly in this miracle, is the wait for Mass celebration and particularly for receiving the Eucharist, which, in this case, is the healing *medium*.<sup>89</sup> Pilgrims sometimes walked from the hostel to the church with lighted candles.<sup>90</sup>

The way the knight asks for the healing of three dumb people can represent the manner in which the healing grace was usually asked: the continuator-monk describes how the third healing miracle had happened, writing down that the knight and the dumb person had entered the church, that the knight had grabbed a candle and passed it on to the dumb person and how after this gesture the former had started praying to Sainte Foy's altar.

In the shrine, there were several rituals, such as that of blessing and consecrating water, the same with which the reliquary statue was washed in. It is attested in just one miracle of the *Liber*, telling the story of the warrior William, of the castle of Carlat, who requested that the blessed water washed his sick eyes.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

The *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis* allows us to reflect on the pilgrimage in the Middle Ages, particularly in the shrine of Sainte Foy at Conques. The first evidence that emerges reading the book is the importance of the shrine – of course exaggerated –, described as the center of the pilgrimage dimension of Medieval Europe. At the same time, the pilgrimage of Bernard holds a central role for us to understand the general meaning and the specific goals of the book: aimed at confirming the Sainte's healing power and her authority. He is the "first" pilgrim of the story he told. By the reading of the miracles of the four books, we have collected much information about uses, practices and behaviors of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the South of France.

People made the pilgrimage to the shrine at any moment of the year, at Easter or Christmas, and during summer, but particularly on the occasion of the Feast of the Sainte's martyrdom. The journey was often full of dangers, like that of being assaulted or robbed, of getting sick or dying, because of a territory particularly dangerous and rough, like in the episode of the waterfall.

There is just little information about the pilgrims' clothing, but from this we can gather the sense of holiness that they held and the respect they received – especially after the pilgrims had returned from their journey.

We have seen numerous reasons to start a pilgrimage: from a dream, which orders to go to the shrine, to the hopes of healing, from the penitence pilgrimage to a specific vow.

The pilgrimage appears like one of the most important elements of the economy of these places: Conques, as appears from the *Liber*, became an important place of business, not only for the monks, with their candle wax, but particularly for the merchants.

One of the most interesting aspects of the cult of Sainte Foy is the ritual. Pilgrims spent one or more vigils during the night in the shrine, usually in front of the Majesty of Sainte Foy containing her relics. Here they prayed, sang, slept practicing the *incubatio*. So, in the *Liber* there is a world of gestures, words, behaviors which, despite the hagiographical dimension of the source, it may help us understand the hopes, the difficulties and the habits of pilgrims in the Middle Ages.

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<sup>1</sup> This literary work can be considered also a biographical work, because the author, Bernard of Angers, inserted personal aspects of his pilgrimage, his travels, and his life.

<sup>2</sup> All quotations are extracted from the most recent critical edition of the book (Robertini, 1994).

<sup>3</sup> "[...] accidebat crebrius ut, vel scribendi causa vel orandi, sancte Fidis martyr, que extra muros eiusdem urbis sita est, ecclesiolam adirem" (*Liber*, I, *Incipit*, 4). The small church was probably built at Fulbert's time outside the walls of Chartres.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber*, I, *incipit*, 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> *Liber*, I, 9, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>7</sup> *Liber*, I, 9, 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Liber*, I, 13, 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-26.

<sup>10</sup> "Hec itaque supra scripta tantummodo miracula, dum trium ebdomadarum spatio diebusque quatuor apud Conchacensem vicum fuerim demoratus, scripsi et scripta ibidem reliqui [...]" (*Liber*, I, 7, 4).

<sup>11</sup> "Hunc ergo secundo itinere, quia excesserat, videre non potui" (*Liber*, II, 1, 28); during his second visit, he wrote the miracles 1-6 of the second book.

<sup>12</sup> *Liber*, II, 7, 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Liber*, II, 7, 5-8.

<sup>14</sup> During his third journey, he wrote miracles 7-15 of the second book.

<sup>15</sup> *Liber*, II, 13, 11.

<sup>16</sup> *Liber*, II, 14.

<sup>17</sup> In the *Liber*, there are some pilgrims who went to Jerusalem, as for instance, Raymond (*Liber*, III, 19), and to Rome, like the two warriors who met in Lombardy (*Liber*, IV, 19). During the pilgrimage, the two warriors stood by an *hospitium* "in vico Sancti Domnini" (*Liber*, IV, 18, 6), id est Borgo San Donnino, today Fidenza, which is one of the settings Sigeric describes in his pilgrimage to Rome, along the *via Francigena*, in 990 (in the text, Sigeric wrote: "XXXVI Sce Domnine"). Also in this case, the *Liber* tells us about a great number of pilgrims: "[...] omnis peregrinorum caterva in laudum preconia erupit [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 19, 24).

<sup>18</sup> *Liber*, I, 29, 5. A similar episode is *ibid.*, III, 6.

<sup>19</sup> *De mirabilibus sancti Stephani prothomartyris* (Corner, 1749, 117).

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<sup>20</sup> AASS, Martii I, 321, 13.

<sup>21</sup> "Ad huius diei sollemnitatem ex diversis partibus multorum fit concursus populorum" (*Liber*, IV, 17, 9); "Verum quia ad tante sollemnitatis gaudia innumera populorum copia confluerat [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 17, 12).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Liber*, I, 1, 70.

<sup>23</sup> It is the case of the *miles* Regimbald, who was captured during a pilgrimage to the shrine "imminente dominici natalis die" (*Liber*, III, 24, 3).

<sup>24</sup> It is the case of the lord Adalhelm: "Sed dum dominice resurrectionis sollemnitas adpropinquaret, ipse Adalelmus, iunctis sibi sociis, oratorium sancte Fidis orationis gratia expetiit" (*Liber*, IV, 7, 6).

<sup>25</sup> *Liber*, IV, 2, 3-5.

<sup>26</sup> *Liber*, IV, 15, 14.

<sup>27</sup> When Guibert came back from the shrine to his house, there were many people: "[...] inter angustias turbarum ad ecclesiam concurrentium [...]" (*Liber*, I, 1, 87); he then worries that a donkey might hinder him and the other pilgrims: "Heus tu, homo, quisquis es, inepte, abige asinum tuum, ne fiat viatoribus offendiculum" (*Liber*, I, 1, 89). His miracle attracted a large number of pilgrims, curious to see him: "Quod cum plerique omnes, tam ex longinquis quam proximis regionibus confluentes, pro inaudito miraculo eum certatim videre festinant [...]" (*Liber*, I, 1, 92); references to this miracle are also included in the *Chanson de Sainte Foy*, written around 1065: "Giralz, uns preire mal tunduz, / los oilz traiss Guidbert q'es sos druz; / pois, pos los ag un an perduz, / Deus li redded per leis la luz" (vv. 441-444). The *Liber* tells also about pilgrims who came to the shrine from different places ("Mulier quedam vidua inter ceteros peregrinos, qui de diversis partibus eo confluerant, pro salute filie cece ibidem pernoctabat", *Liber*, I, 9, 3) or from everywhere ("Nec minus idem et peregrinis undique confluentibus instans faciebat", *Liber*, I, 17, 17), and that were healed ("[...] multis a diversis partibus sanatis [...]", *Liber*, II, 4, 30).

<sup>28</sup> "Nondum enim Conchacensium virtutum novitas, nisi raro, fines suos excesserat" (*Liber*, I, 19, 18);

William probably took Arisind, his first wife, around 975.

<sup>29</sup> *Liber*, III, 6.

<sup>30</sup> *Liber*, II, 6, 2.

<sup>31</sup> An example is that of the noble Roger, who didn't go to the shrine, after the healing of her wife, because he feared he might be captured by his enemies (*Liber*, III, 1, 13); see also: *Liber*, IV, 9, 5.

<sup>32</sup> *Liber*, I, 10, 9.

<sup>33</sup> It is the case of the abbot Peter, who wished to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine, but was afraid of his enemies (*Liber*, II, 9).

<sup>34</sup> Today Saut-du-Sabot, a town in the municipality of Saint-Juéry, five kilometers away from Albi, in which there is a high waterfall.

<sup>35</sup> *Liber*, III, 2, 7-8.

<sup>36</sup> The pilgrim William traveled with some companions, the same ones he searched when he didn't find his ring: "Tum socios districtius perscrutatus, minime repperit [...]" (*Liber*, I, 21, 7); the pilgrim Peter, who could go to the shrine with his companions: "Denique cum sociis ad Conchas attingens [...]" (*Liber*, II, 6, 28); a group of pilgrims of Auvergne: "Arvernico ex territorio quidam agricole orationis gratia ad sancte martyris Fidis concurrebant templum" (*Liber*, IV, 2, 3); the warrior Bernard went to the shrine with other pilgrims: "[...] non multo post sociis reiungitur ac sancte Fidis basilicam de collato beneficio grates redditurus aggreditur" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 12); a widow went to the shrine with some companions: "At illa somno elapso verbis monitoriis fidem adhibens, iussa capescit ac iunctis vie sociis Conchas devenit" (*Liber*, IV, 16, 5).

<sup>37</sup> A pregnant woman stayed in a hostel not far from the monastery: "Que a monasterio exiens regressaque in hospitium [...]" (*Liber*, I, 20, 4); "[...] propriis pedibus deambulans, ad hospitium reverteretur [...]" (*Liber*, I, 20, 8); a lord and his companions went from the hostel to the church: "[...] cum ab hospitio iunctis sibi comitibus quamplurimis ad ecclesiam in cereis accensis ire disponderet [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 10, 11); a widow spent the night with other companions in the hostel: "Cui in hospitio pernoctanti sancteque Fidis presidia attentius efflagitanti [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 16, 6).

<sup>38</sup> The warrior Bernard, when he was to start his pilgrimage, stayed in a hostel where there were other pilgrims with whom he could make the journey: "[...] nemine comitante, ad comperegrinorum tendebat hospitia, cum quibus crastina luce iter dispositum tenebat" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 4).

<sup>39</sup> "Ecce, Vuitberte, romeus, ut video, effectus es'; sic enim in eadem patria sanctorum peregrini appellantur. Et respondit: 'Et iam, domine, a festivitate sancte Fidis revertens'" (*Liber*, I, 1, 6-7). *Romei* was one of the name by which, pilgrims who went to this shrine – and generally in pilgrimage to saints' churches – were known in the Middle Ages.

<sup>40</sup> Guibert said to his half-brother: "Domine, indulge, queso, veniam te, si non propter innocentiam meam, saltem pro amore Dei et sancte Fidis, cuius amore in presentiarum gesto sacrum peregrini habitum" (*Liber*, I, 1, 20).

<sup>41</sup> "Nec Deus nec sancta Fides hodie – inquit – te liberabit, neque eos invocando proficies, ut a manibus meis impunitus abeas, neque eo confugies, ut ob peregrini habitus reverentiam, cum sis mihi iniquissime iniurius, te in contemptibilem inviolabilmeque habeam personam" (*Liber*, I, 1, 22).

<sup>42</sup> "Hostis vero dolosus, simulata penitudine, hunc deforis affatur, nec prorsus peregrino sancte Fidis esse metuendum pollicetur, illicet id arte tractans, ut multa securitate inductum, exeuntem a villa excipiat incautum" (*Liber*, II, 9, 22).

<sup>43</sup> *Liber*, I, 4, 8.

<sup>44</sup> *Liber*, II, 5, 25-26.

<sup>45</sup> *Liber*, I, 33, 60.

<sup>46</sup> *Liber*, I, 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Liber*, I, 4.

<sup>48</sup> The woman, after a first pilgrimage, went again to the shrine to deliver her ring to the Sainte: "Mox ergo ut precepit equum sterni, ut videlicet recidivo tramite ad sanctam Fidem remearet, nimius ardoris remittitur estus" (*Liber*, I, 18, 15).

<sup>49</sup> *Liber*, III, 24, 8.

<sup>50</sup> *Liber*, III, 22, 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Liber*, I, 23.

<sup>52</sup> Desjardins affirms that the village of Villaris is the today Vialarels, in the municipality of Firmy, when the monks of Conques had a farm (Desjardins, 1879, p. LIX).

<sup>53</sup> *Liber*, IV, 9, 4.

<sup>54</sup> An example is in *Liber*, IV, 8, 49-52.

<sup>55</sup> "Verum si crastina luce, que erit martyrii mei vigilia, Conchas perrexeris emptasque duas candelas, unam quidem ante aram sancti Salvatoris, alteram vero ante aram ubi gleba corporis mei condita est, apposueris, oculorum de integro reformatum decore mereberis gaudere" (*Liber*, I, 1, 66).

<sup>56</sup> *Liber*, III, 7.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. *Liber*, I, 19, 10-16.

<sup>58</sup> *Liber*, II, 7, 12.

<sup>59</sup> *Liber*, II, 7, 25.

<sup>60</sup> "At ille, eius sospitatem desiderans, dato pignore in manu presulis, eam sancte martyri vovit magnoque cum munere se illam ad eius oratorium dirigendam spondit" (*Liber*, III, 1, 10).

<sup>61</sup> *Liber*, III, 6, 7-10.

<sup>62</sup> *Liber*, IV, 10, 16.

<sup>63</sup> *Liber*, III, 8, 3-4.

<sup>64</sup> *Liber*, III, 9, 3-5.

<sup>65</sup> *Liber*, III, 15.

<sup>66</sup> It is the case, for example, of the impious Raymond: "[...] sancte medice Fidis basilicam quotannis revisere studebat, gratias pro impenso munere relaturus" (*Liber*, IV, 8, 7); the Warrior Bernard of the castle of Salignac in Perigord: "Petragorico in pago castrum Saliniacum multi vestrum norunt, unde miles quidam nomine Barnardus, amore virtutum sancte Fidis succensus, ipsius ad propitiatorium quotannis erat recurrere solitus" (*Liber*, IV, 9, 3); the lord of the warrior Rigaud, in the region of Albi: "Contigit namque solito more eum ad sancte virginis propitiatorium accedere [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 10, 11);

<sup>67</sup> "Cumque iam tertio idem miles ad solitas orationes gressum dirigeret [...]" (*Liber*, III, 23, 7).

<sup>68</sup> *Liber*, III, 24, 7-13.

<sup>69</sup> The original abbey dedication was to the Savior. Sainte Foy's exhortation allows us to understand that the original dedication – or the cult connected to it – was still in place at the time the *Liber* was written, although, after the Sainte's relics had been transferred from Agen to Conques, Sainte Foy herself

became the one who the dedication was primarily addressed to. It is interesting to take notice of Bernard's words: "Monasterium Conchacense in honore sancti Salvatoris dedicatum est. Sed postquam antiquitus sancte martyris corpus a duobus furtim monachis ab urbe Agenno huc allatum fuit, propter crebriores virtutes sancte Fidis nomen prevaluit" (*Liber*, I, 17, 2-3). The altar of the Savior was the central one (*Liber*, I, 31, 14).

<sup>70</sup> *Liber*, I, 1, 95.

<sup>71</sup> "Hic cum vidisset facillimum cere commercium, nam propter peregrinorum frequentiam offerentium cereos multo vilior habetur [...]" (*Liber*, I, 24, 3).

<sup>72</sup> "Miles vero Deo sancteque eius pro gratiarum actione unum aureum offerens [...]; ipsoque animali sancte Fidi remisso, plurimis post inde annis plurima ei donaria delegavit" (*Liber*, I, 3, 15).

<sup>73</sup> *Liber*, I, 12, 2-5.

<sup>74</sup> It is the case of one of the servants of the shrine, who offered a candle to Sainte Foy to obtain healing for his donkey (*Liber*, IV, 20, 5).

<sup>75</sup> "Adit locum, visionem prodit senioribus, emit cereos, apponit altaribus, excubat coram aurea sacratissime martyris imagine" (*Liber*, I, 1, 75).

<sup>76</sup> The custom of putting the relic of the head in a reliquary statue is confirmed also by Bernard: "Est namque vetus mos et antiqua consuetudo, ut in tota Arvernica patria sive Rotenica vel Tolosana, necnon et reliquis nostris his circumquaque contiguis, de auro sive argento seu quolibet alio metallo, sancto suo quisque pro posse statuam erigat, in qua caput sancti vel potior pars corporis venerabilius condatur" (*Liber*, I, 13, 4); "[...] venerabilis illa imago, in qua sanctum martyris caput venerabiliter conditum est [...]" (*Liber*, I, 14, 3). Other examples of reliquary statues are that of Saint Gerald (*Liber*, I, 13, 5), and probably the statues of Saint Mario, Saint Amanzio, Saint Saturnino and that of the Virgin Mary (*Liber*, I, 28, 6).

<sup>77</sup> Guibert slept in front of the relics (*Liber*, I, 1, 75-80); Gerbert kept vigils for three months at the sepulcher of Sainte Foy, and at the end she appeared to him in a vision (*Liber*, II, 1, 15-19); the warrior Rigaud heard the voice of the Sainte and, after sleeping, his arm was healed (*Liber*, IV, 10, 20-21); a warrior spent his night prostrated in tears to the Sainte to obtain healing and received her vision (IV, 28, 8-14).

<sup>78</sup> A woman kept vigil with her blind daughter (*Liber*, I, 9, 3-4); eleven sick people were cured during the night (*Liber*, I, 9, 10); a deformed girl who kept vigil in prayer at the monastery for some nights (I, 15, 14); a woman led to the shrine and kept vigil for two nights (*Liber*, I, 22, 7-11).

<sup>79</sup> "[...] miles ille inestimabile gaudio perfunditur [...], humi procubuit, Deoque ac sancte martyri magnificas laudes decantavit [...]" (*Liber*, III, 23, 16).

<sup>80</sup> "Est mos ab antiquis, ut peregrini semper vigiliis agant in ecclesia sancte Fidis cum cereis ac luminaribus" (*Liber*, II, 12, 2).

<sup>81</sup> "Horum vero ignari, tam cantilenis rusticis quam aliis nugis longe noctis solantur fastidium" (*Liber*, II, 12, 3).

<sup>82</sup> "feralesque rusticorum vociferationes" (*Liber*, II, 12, 7).

<sup>83</sup> "[...] accidit ut una noctium peregrinorum turba copiosior solito, post cenam, cum cereis ac luminaribus astartet pro foribus, vociferantes et efflagitantes admitti intra monasterii septa" (*Liber*, II, 12, 8).

<sup>84</sup> "tenui sussurro perlegit" (*Liber*, IV, 20, 5).

<sup>85</sup> "sanctam Fidem querulis vocibus ingeminat" (*Liber*, IV, 20, 10).

<sup>86</sup> Examples are in *Liber*, III, 15, 19; III, 23, 4; IV, 1, 48; IV, 10, 17; VI, 15, 14; IV, 21, 15-16;

<sup>87</sup> "[...] dum ante gloriose martyris propitiatorium in vigiliis cum multis aliis pernoctaret [...]" (*Liber*, IV, 14, 4).

<sup>88</sup> *Liber*, III, 22, 5.

<sup>89</sup> *Liber*, III, 22, 7.

<sup>90</sup> *Liber*, IV, 10, 11.

<sup>91</sup> *Liber*, IV, 15, 15.

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## Almatourism

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### Croatian Pilgrimages to Loreto from the 5000 Documents of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century - vol. I

Podhraški Čizmek, Z.\*  
University of Split (Croatia)

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#### ABSTRACT

This paper presents a small part of the pilgrimages undertaken by Croats during the 18<sup>th</sup> century across the Adriatic Sea to Loreto. The pilgrimages are described as a *sui generis* phenomenon of all human and religious societies. The history of the Catholic pilgrimage is analyzed through the perspective of common roots with Judaism and Islam, and the subsequent differentiation from other Christian confessions. Relations of the Croats with overseas territories since the 14<sup>th</sup> century are described, as well as their settlement in the hinterland of Ancona: Recanati and Loreto. The story of the Shrine of the Our Lady of Loreto is presented, the ties with the Croats settled there, and the foundation of a special seminary for Croats in 1580: the Illyrian College. During the review of the 4,890 documentary sources of volume I of the *Croatian Maritime Regesta*, a smaller segment of sources was found from the State Archive of Venice on the subject of pilgrimages. These sources list 44 pilgrimages from various locations on the Croatian coast. The types of ships they traveled on, the origin of the passengers, their number, organization in groups, the time of pilgrimage and the time of the year in which they occurred are analyzed. The most numerous pilgrims are from Lošinj (Lussino), followed by Cres (Cherso), Dugi Otok (Isola Lunga), Rovinj (Rovigno), Labin (Albona), Korčula (Curzola), Zadar (Zara) and Vis (Lissa).

This work is a contribution to the study of the links between the two sides of the Adriatic in the 18th century, which requires further publication and analysis of documentary sources.

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**Keywords:** Loreto; Pilgrimage; Croats; Maritime; Illyrian College

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\* E-mail address: [zripod@ffst.hr](mailto:zripod@ffst.hr)

Ovim radom prikazan je manji dio hodočašća prekomorskim putem u Loreto, kamo su Hrvati potkraj 18. stoljeća često hodočastili. Hodočašće je predstavljeno kao pojava *sui generis* u svim ljudskim društvima i u različitim religijama. Analizirana je povijest katoličkoga hodočašća kroz prizmu zajedničkih korijena sa židovstvom i islamom te naknadna diferencijacija od ostalih kršćanskih vjeroispovijedi. Izneseni su podaci o vezama Hrvata s prekomorskim zemljama još od 14. stoljeća te o njihovu naseljavanju područja u zaleđu Ancone: Recanatija i Loreta. Predstavljena je povijest svetišta Majke Božje Loretske te veze s tamošnjim Hrvatima, zatim osnivanje posebnog seminara za Hrvate 1580. godine: Ilirskoga kolegija. Pregledom 4890 izvornih vrela iz I. sveska Hrvatskih pomorskih regesta pronađen je uži segment fondova Venecijanskoga državnog arhiva gdje možemo naći hodočašća. Ondje su navedena 44 hodočašća koja su krenula s hrvatske obale. Analizirane su vrste brodova kojima su hodočasnici putovali, podrijetlo i brojnost putnika, organiziranost u grupama, vrijeme ostanka na hodočašću i doba godine u kojem su hodočastili. Najbrojnijima su se pokazali hodočasnici s Lošinja, zatim s Cresa, Dugog otoka, iz Rovinja, Labina, Korčule, Zadra i s Visa. Ovaj je rad shvaćen kao prilog proučavanju veza među dvjema jadranskim obalama u 18. stoljeću, što zahtijeva daljnje objavljivanje i analizu izvornih vrela.

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**Ključne riječi:** Loreto; Hodočašće; Hrvati, Pomorstvo; Ilirski kolegij

## 1. Pilgrimage as a Constant of Human Life

The entire history of humanity is marked by journeys of religious character. Pilgrimages and similar religious journeys are a constant in all of the major world religions, from Hinduism and Buddhism in the Far East to the three major monotheistic religions that arose and developed in the Mediterranean Basin: Judaism, Christianity and Islam (Jukić, 1987).

It is interesting that these three monotheistic religions are at the same time the “religions of Revelation”: in them, God reveals himself first to man, directly or through his messengers and prophets. Thus we see God calling Abram on an unknown journey, a journey of faith and trust in the unknown “god” and unknown land. From this trust, a Covenant will arise which, in Jewish faith and tradition, has already been in existence for 4000 years. In the Book of Genesis, in the Torah, God calls upon Abram: “Go for yourself from your land, from your relatives, and from your father’s house to the land that I will show you.” (The Chumash, 2009, Gen 12:1). Here at the very beginning arises the question of his obedience, which is to become an example for all humanity, but also denotes his solitude when embarking on such an arduous and unknown journey based on a promise. Abram, later Abraham, is in that regard the first pilgrim of the Jewish, and subsequently of the Christian tradition. Abraham marks the beginning of the epoch of the Patriarchs (19-17th cent. B.C.). The revolution with Abraham begins not because of his choice of monotheism (as opposed to the polytheistic belief of his father Terah), but

because of the Choice itself, i.e. free choice of good, that is, of God (Etz Hayim: Torah and Commentary, 2001, 69). Abram's name will change to Abraham only 24 years after he and Sarai (subsequently Sarah) had embarked on a journey towards Canaan (The Chumash, 55). His journey is emblematic because in that "horizontal" journey we can recognize the "vertical" direction towards God, which is a constant in all pilgrimages in different times and in different places. In it, we can observe man's need to come closer to God, to communicate with him, to come back to him after "wandering", and to ask him for forgiveness for one's own sins.



**Figure 1:** Abraham's journey

Source: [www.terrasanta.net](http://www.terrasanta.net)

Thus we find Jews going on a pilgrimage in the time of the Patriarchs to "Shechem [...], Bethel [...], Hebron [...], Beersheba [...] and elsewhere. In those places, there was either a well of water or a consecrated tree as a visible sign of Yahweh's manifestation, encounter." (Rebić, 1984, p. 523). After Yahweh's temple in Jerusalem was erected and the Ark of the Covenant moved to it, Jerusalem became the center of pilgrimages for all Israelites, especially for the three large festivals: Pesach (Passover), Shavuot and Sukkot (Chenis, 2003).

From the very beginning, Christians accepted many of the traditions and ceremonies of Judaism, including pilgrimages. In the subsequent historical differentiation, the pilgrimage was an element which Christianity, and then Catholicism (unlike reformed churches), retained and complemented with new elements. Luther, Zwingli, the Calvinism and the Anglican Church rejected the cult of saints, pilgrimages and special devotions (Bendiscioli, 1967). Whereas in the renovation the Catholic Church had special emphasis on promoting the veneration of saints, relics, the cult of Our Lady and pilgrimages (Bendiscioli, 1973).

For Muslims, the pilgrimage represents a very important moment of the spiritual life: the pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam, i.e. “fundamental ceremonial duties, *arkān al-dīn* or *arkān al-islām*” (Jukić, 1987, p. 118), after which the faithful is given the “honorary title ‘haji’ – from *hajj* pilgrimage” (Rebić, 1984, p. 552).

As we can see, the three major monotheistic religions, besides sharing common roots, express the need to be united with God through an earthly walk and search for God’s presence in material form, in something tangible and understandable to man in his “wanderings”. For Jews it is, among other things, the Temple in Jerusalem (of which nowadays only the Western Wall remains); for Muslims the Black Stone in Mecca; for Christians, the holy places once walked by Jesus, his mother, the Apostles, and then the saints.

Once the review is narrowed down and focus placed on Christianity, there is a direct link between pilgrimages and the mysteries of faith: just as Adam (who embodies man in all times) was expelled from the Garden of Eden and doomed to wander the earth seeking redemption, thus Jesus Christ, as the new Adam, comes to earth and redeems man from his sins, and through him man is saved. Jesus, therefore, saves and brings man (back) to the Kingdom of Heaven. Moreover, during his earthly life, Jesus cured and healed especially those who sought him out and visited him. The reward for those who were most persistent and most faithful, those of true faith, is the healing of the soul and the body. Therein lies the core of the Christian pilgrimage: to come to Jesus the Savior, to the God who forgives and takes under his wing. That is why Christians persistently seek him and go to him even after his death and resurrection, believing that in this search they will find fulfillment, meaning and salvation. That is also the reason why the places that Jesus had walked are holy places: Nazareth where he grew up and where the angel announced to Mary that she would give birth to God (hence, the greatest mystery: the Embodiment), Jerusalem, Calvary (where Jesus died), Jesus’ tomb etc., all these are places that the Christian visits to come into direct contact with the divine forces. These are places that have a special thaumaturgical power for which the pilgrim believes will be “activated” anew through his faith and hope. Also “il luogo, assieme alla reliquia, non solo traduce la memoria in realtà storico-escatologica ma media la concreta presenza dell’essenza divina”<sup>i</sup> (Sabbatini, 2011, p. 53). This is reconnecting to a whole medieval tradition about the search for the holy and thaumaturgical (Canta, 2004, p. 44; Raukar, 2007).



**Figure 2:** "Hic Verbum caro factum est"

Source: [4.share.photo.xuite.net](http://4.share.photo.xuite.net)

From the very beginning, Christians have been making pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and when in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Arabs started to conquer eastern parts of the Empire and northern Africa, despite the difficulties and additional levies, they were not persecuted and continued to go on pilgrimages (Hertling, 1988). The situation changes in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century when Christians are forced to withdraw from Palestine that has been taken over by the Mamelukes (Grimaldi, 2001). The West then launches the Crusades in the hope that, among other things, it will free the holy places for the faithful to be able to visit them again.

When the entire series of these endeavors do not yield fruit, Christianity manages to "reinvent" the places of pilgrimage in a particular way. Even though in the first centuries the Church developed relatively freely in Mediterranean countries and the great Church Fathers, who built the Church theologically and morally with their letters and treatises, came from all parts of the Roman Empire, now it is starting to withdraw to the West. See their activities: from Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch and Justin, all the way to Jerome, Augustine and Cyril of Alexandria (Beatrice, 1983). Thus the seats of the Church also change. From Rome, Alexandria and Antioch, through Shechem (the birthplace of St. Justine), Sardis, Smyrna, Carthage and Nicomedia, the centers of the Church now become or remain Rome, Milan, Lyon, Cluny and other western cities (Čoralić, 2010). As one could no longer make pilgrimages to the East, increasing importance is placed on new (and sometimes already common) places: Rome and thresholds of the Apostles (*Limina*

*Apostolorum*), Santiago de Compostela in Galicia, Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres in France, Assisi and Loreto in Italy and many others (Čoralić, 2001). Thus we see that already in the Middle Ages, depending on the direction of their journey, pilgrims were called *Palmieri* – those who went to the Holy Land, with a palm in their hand, *Romei* – going to Rome, or *Confluenti* – going to Loreto (Di Virgilio, 2003).



**Figure 3:** Traditional pilgrim routes

Source: [www.didatticare.it](http://www.didatticare.it)

## 2. Loreto and Croats

On the list of major medieval places of pilgrimage, already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century we can find the small Loreto in the hinterland of Ancona, in what was then the Papal State, the history of which is from its very beginning intertwined in an interesting and peculiar way with the history of Croats. Not just because of tradition, as Loreto is where the Holy House of Nazareth is, which on its “translation” (*translatio*) had a stop in Trsat by Rijeka, but also because of the exceptional institutional connections between Loreto, the Church and Croats.

The first to write about the transfer of the House of Nazareth was Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, “il Teramano”, in 1470, noting explicitly that the angels first moved the house to the Rijeka “castrum [...] in partibus Slavonie” and then to Italy near Recanati (Di Virgilio, 2003, p. 100).



**Figure 4:** The translation of Holy House to Trsat in 1291, according to the tradition

Source: [www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr](http://www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr), p. 24.

This already ingrained tradition was also written about by Johann Gaspar Goethe, who in 1740, on his travels through Italy, stopped in Loreto and said that the Holy House “was transported to Trsat in Istria, from across the Adriatic, 145 miles, to Loreto” (Farinelli, 1932, pp. 111-118 as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, p. 147).

As early as 1520, we also have the Croatian translation of the Italian version of this story titled *Izgovorenje od carkve od Svete Marie de Lorite* (Grimaldi, 2001, p. 269) and then in

1648 *Historia Tersattana: raccolta dalle antiche, e moderne historie, annali, e traditioni* written by Franjo Glavinić a Croatian Franciscan priest (Glavinich, 1989).



**Figure 5:** Illustration from the “Historia Tersattana”

Source: [www.formula1-dictionary.net](http://www.formula1-dictionary.net)

In Recanati, namely, there was the *Fraternitas sclavorum S. Petri martiris* active already since 1375 (Sensi, 2003); Čoralić also gives 1375 as the year of the establishment of the fraternity (2001), whereas Grimaldi writes that it had existed since 1337, quoting Monaldo Leopardi and his *Annali di Recanati con le memorie e i costumi degli antichi recanatesi inoltre memorie di Loreto* (1945, p. 306, as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, p. 258). Not even a century later, in 1469, we come across the community of the *Schiavoni* expelled from Recanati, which in the meantime moved to Loreto, where it asked the municipality of Recanati for permission to join into a fraternity in order to be able to help each other.

In 1495, already financially strengthened owing to the grants and legacies within their own Croatian community, Croats seek permission to build an inn (*ospitale*) and an oratory for monthly gatherings, and ask for the allocation of a cemetery so they could bury their fellow compatriots. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, this fraternity established the new fraternity of the Holy Sacrament that managed the inn for the pilgrims (Grimaldi, 2001; Čoralić, 2001). The presence of permanently settled Croats increased so much that from 1471 to 1476 the manager of the workshop for the construction of the church of Our Lady of Loreto was a Croat from Zadar (Grimaldi, 2001).



**Figure 6:** The miraculous icon of Our Lady of Trsat: present of Pope Urban V in 1367

Source: [www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr](http://www.trsat-svetiste.com.hr), p. 53.

In Loreto in 1580, Pope Gregory XIII established *Collegium Illyricum* – Illyrian College or seminary (Kovačić, 2003). Although the official act of foundation was never published, the College opened its door to the first students in 1580. It seems the reason for it is that Jesuits – who were entrusted with managing it – believed that Loreto was not the most suitable place for the College and tried on several occasions to find a better location on the Croatian Adriatic coast. As for the term *Illyricum* and “Illyrian provinces”, an interesting aspect is the legal battle (1651-1656) fought and won before the Tribunal of the Roman Rota, led by Jeronim Paštrić, a priest in the Split Diocese, member of the Congregation of St. Jerome, in order to prove that the Roman College (today Pontifical Croatian College of St. Jerome) is solely for Croats: that is, for those originating from Croatian lands and/or speaking the Croatian language. The case pertained to a different institution, but the information is indicative (Perić, 1985). It is an interesting fact that this seminary was of national character, especially taking into account that the Catholic Church, after a part of the Catholics drifted away to smaller and national denominations, prohibited with the Council of Trident (1545-1563) the reading of the Bible in national languages. Hence in 1622, with the establishment of the congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, it paid special attention to the education of the clergy of different nationalities in order to defend orthodoxy not only in the missions but also in the Catholic national churches (Bendisoli, 1973). To the College, then, bishops sent gifted young men from the Croatian regions so they could get an education and become priests (in order to subsequently return to their homeland and serve their own people and their own church). One such example is Bishop Ivan Skakoc, who, after his education at the Illyrian

College (1765-1773), returned to his hometown of Trogir, where he worked intensively in youth pastoral and in general on improving the school system (Trogrlić, 2003). It is also interesting that the expenses of the Illyrian College were covered by the shrine of the House of Loreto which, of course, caused a great deal of discontent and “struggles” of the administrators of the shrine itself to reduce the number of students because of the great financial burden (Kovačić, 2003). For that reason, their number, which used to vary from 12 to the envisaged 48, in certain periods of the college’s existence depended directly on the economic power of the House of Loreto itself. In theory, 48 of them were supposed to be enrolled per year. However, both because of the bishops who never sent the full number of students and because of objective space restrictions at the college itself, that number was never achieved: since the first year, the maximum number of students enrolled was 30 (Kovačić, 2003). However, regardless of all the issues of the college during its existence (1580-1798), it nevertheless educated about 1000 Croatian priests, a fact which has certainly also left a permanent mark and trace on the ties between Croatian and Italian religious communities.

Undoubtedly, this whole subject matter has not yet been sufficiently researched because the question remains of what kind and how deep the connections were between the settlement of Croats in the 14<sup>th</sup> century on the Italian coast, especially in the area around Loreto and Recanati, the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto and the *Collegium Illyricum*. The fact is that Croats, just as the majority of Catholics throughout history, made pilgrimages to Loreto, which is attested by the large number of written documents in the archives of the House of Loreto, the accompanying hospital, but also in the archives of the cities of Recanati and Macerata (Grimaldi, 2001).

### **3. Sources: *Croatian Maritime Regesta***

In this paper, special attention will be paid to the pilgrimages initiated in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the residents of the eastern Adriatic coast towards the western. A total of 4,890 sources published in the *Croatian Maritime Regesta/Regesti marittimi croati*, vol. I in 1985 by Nikola Čolak (hereinafter RMC I) were analyzed, from different Italian funds.<sup>ii</sup>

This material pertains primarily to maritime trade connections between the two coasts and is presented in the form of regesta in standardized format, providing basic information for each individual document, namely the date and the respective port, the type of vessel or boat with its name, the name of the captain and/or *paron*-owner of the merchandise or of the ship (in the case of smaller vessels it was frequently the same person), the port of origin, the merchandise being transported with any amount of customs duty or waterage, the names and origin of sailors (depending on the source), and very rarely the list of passengers, their origin and direction of journey. The documents mostly pertain to cargo ships and boats and register their bills of lading and waybills based on which the entry and exit tax were calculated at the respective port. Depending on the source, there are also descriptions of shipwrecks with the list of damages and a

great deal of other content (such as quarrels, business deals, political opportunities, interstate relationships, piracies, thefts, etc.).

In that regard, the presence of passengers is almost surprising, especially on smaller cargo ships, passengers who are nowhere mentioned as pilgrims, i.e. *pellegrini*, nor are they mentioned as going on a pilgrimage (*in pellegrinaggio*), but are rather designated solely as *passengeri* (passengers), and only from the direction of their journey can we deduce that they were indeed pilgrims.

#### 4. Source Analysis

The reviewed 4,890 documents contain 254 cases mentioning passengers, and only in 44 cases we are certain that the passengers are pilgrims going to Loreto.

Table 1 shows the above-mentioned 44 documents with the number of the regesta as it is entered in the RMC I, the port of arrival, type of vessel, name of the *paron* (owner), vessel's port of origin (and thus the passengers'), date of record (also the day when the pilgrims disembarked the ship to go to Loreto), possibly the day of return (if they were the same pilgrims and/or they had been joined by other pilgrims), number of passengers (when it was mentioned), the merchandise shipped in and out (if it was transported together with the pilgrims). See table here below elaborated by the author.

**Table 1:** Synopsis of the documents

| No. | RMC I no. | Port   | Type of vessel | Paron-owner              | Port of origin | Towards Loreto | Same passengers, return from Loreto | Number of days stayed | Number of passengers | Also transporting merchandise | Merchandise on the return trip |
|-----|-----------|--------|----------------|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1   | 3401      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Antun Nikolić            | Lošinj Mali    | 06.8.1782.     | 08.8.                               | 3                     |                      |                               |                                |
| 2   | 3447      | Ancona | pielego        | Antun Čupranić           | Lošinj Mali    | 21.7.1786.     | 03.8.                               | 14                    |                      |                               |                                |
| 3   | 3477      | Ancona | grippe         | Antun Nikolić            | Lošinj         | 08.7.1788.     |                                     |                       |                      |                               | empty                          |
| 4   | 3592      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Dominik Luković          | Lošinj         | 03.7.1788.     |                                     |                       | 16                   |                               |                                |
| 5   | 3633      | Ancona | pielego        | Franjo Vidulić           | Lošinj         | 21.7.1786.     | ? 04.8.                             | 15                    |                      |                               |                                |
| 6   | 3784      | Ancona | pielego        | Ivan Skopinić            | Lošinj Mali    | 05.8.1787.     | yes                                 |                       |                      |                               |                                |
| 7   | 3806      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Josip Nikolić di Luka    | Lošinj         | 04.7.1788.     | no                                  |                       | 27                   | a few wooden bars             | empty                          |
| 8   | 3807      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Josip Luković            | Lošinj Mali    | 02.7.1788.     | no                                  |                       | 12                   |                               | empty                          |
| 9   | 3809      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Ivan Skopinić            | Lošinj Mali    | 08.7.1788.     | no                                  |                       | 18                   |                               | empty                          |
| 10  | 3874      | Ancona | trabac/pielego | Ivan Nikolorić           | Korčula        | 04.6.1790.     | no                                  |                       | 1                    | oil and "trasmesso"           |                                |
| 11  | 3890      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Ivan Taraboča            | Lošinj Mali    | 29.7.1790.     | 31.7.                               | 3                     | 38                   |                               |                                |
| 12  | 3955      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Luka Kožulić             | Lošinj         | 15.8.1790.     | 17.8.                               | 3                     | 34                   |                               |                                |
| 13  | 4001      | Ancona | pielego        | Mattio Gerolimi          | Lošinj Mali    | 20.6.1787.     | 22.6.                               | 3                     | 13                   |                               |                                |
| 14  | 4021      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Marko Kožulić            | Lošinj         | 14.7.1788.     | no                                  |                       | 45                   |                               |                                |
| 15  | 4042      | Ancona | trabaccolletto | Matija Nikolić           | Lošinj         | 01.6.1790.     | no                                  |                       |                      |                               | empty                          |
| 16  | 4051      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Martin Nikolić           | Lošinj         | 03.7.1791.     | 04.7.                               | 2                     | 36                   |                               |                                |
| 17  | 4283      | Ancona | pieleghetto    | Vinko Premuda            | ?              | 16.7.1786.     | no                                  |                       |                      |                               | empty                          |
| 18  | 4289      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Vinko Premuda            | Lošinj Mali    | 28.7.1790.     |                                     |                       | 12                   |                               |                                |
| 19  | 4318      | Ancona | gripetto       | Antun Nikolić            | Cres           | 05.8.1792.     |                                     |                       | 7                    |                               | garlic and onions              |
| 20  | 4319      | Ancona | brazzera       | Antun Kuzmanić           | Vis            | 28.7.1792.     | 21.8.                               | 25                    |                      |                               |                                |
| 21  | 4360      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Antun Marčula di Antun   | Cres           | 20.7.1794.     | 01.8.                               | 13                    | 45                   |                               |                                |
| 22  | 4379      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Antun Katarinić di Antun | Lošinj Mali    | 24.6.1795.     | no                                  |                       | 4                    | without goods                 | empty                          |

| No. | RMC I no. | Port   | Type of vessel | Paron-owner                     | Port of origin    | Towards Loreto | Same passengers, return from Loreto | Number of days stayed | Number of passengers | Also transporting merchandise | Merchandise on the return trip |
|-----|-----------|--------|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 23  | 4431      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Dominik Luković                 | Lošinj            | 30.7.1793.     | 03.8.                               | 5                     |                      |                               |                                |
| 24  | 4439      | Ancona | brazzera       | Domenico Pazziani               | Labin             | 24.7.1794.     |                                     |                       | 9                    |                               | empty                          |
| 25  | 4440      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Domenico Botticin               | Rovinj            | 29.7.1794.     | 04.8.                               | 7                     | 32                   |                               |                                |
| 26  | 4523      | Ancona | trabac/manzera | Ivan Radošić                    | Lošinj            | 23.8.1792.     | 28.8.                               |                       |                      |                               |                                |
| 27  | 4532      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Jakov Dobrilović del fu Marko   | Lošinj Mali       | 13.6.1793.     | 15.6.                               | 3                     | 26                   |                               |                                |
| 28  | 4548      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Ivan Taraboča                   | Lošinj            | 31.7.1793.     | 08.8.                               |                       |                      |                               |                                |
| 29  | 4588      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan    | Lošinj            | 27.7.1794.     | 28.7.                               | 2                     | 76                   |                               |                                |
| 30  | 4626      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Josip Nikolić di Luka           | Lošinj Mali       | 21.7.1795.     | 21.7.                               | 1                     | 66                   |                               |                                |
| 31  | 4633      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Ivan Taraboča del fu Luka       | Lošinj            | 08.8.1795.     | yes                                 | 1                     | 21                   |                               |                                |
| 32  | 4643      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Ivan Car del fu Josip           | Lošinj Mali       | 17.6.1796.     | yes                                 |                       |                      |                               |                                |
| 33  | 4677      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Luka Mirković di Božidar        | Dugi Otok - Zadar | 21.7.1794.     | 23.7.                               | 3                     | 21                   |                               |                                |
| 34  | 4681      | Ancona | trabaccolletto | Luka Mirković di Božidar        | Dugi Otok - Zadar | 21.7.1795.     | no                                  |                       | 22                   |                               | fruit - Lošinj                 |
| 35  | 4708      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan    | Lošinj Mali       | 06.8.1793.     | 08.8.                               | 3                     | 15                   |                               |                                |
| 36  | 4726      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Matija Nikolić del fu Martin    | Lošinj Mali       | 24.7.1794.     | 26.7.                               | 3                     | 8                    |                               | empty                          |
| 37  | 4730      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Martin Letić del fu Martin      | Lošinj Veli       | 27.7.1794.     | 30.7.                               | 4                     | 20                   |                               |                                |
| 38  | 4734      | Ancona | grippetto      | Matija Letinić del fu Antun     | Dugi Otok - Zadar | 22.7.1794.     | no                                  |                       | 5                    |                               | garlic and onions              |
| 39  | 4746      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Matija Skopinić del fu Matija   | Lošinj Mali       | 01.8.1795.     | 03.8.                               | 3                     | 33                   |                               |                                |
| 40  | 4747      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan    | Lošinj Mali       | 09.8.1795.     | 11.8.                               | 3                     | 17                   |                               |                                |
| 41  | 4780      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Niccolò Soppa di Giovanni       | Lošinj Mali       | 17.7.1794.     | 18.7.                               | 2                     | 31                   |                               |                                |
| 42  | 4828      | Ancona | brazzera       | Šimun Deković                   | Zadar             | 17.7.1792.     | no                                  |                       |                      |                               | empty                          |
| 43  | 4833      | Ancona | trabaccolo     | Šimun Antončić                  | Lošinj Veli       | 04.8.1792.     | 15.8.                               | 12                    | 18                   |                               |                                |
| 44  | 4846      | Ancona | brazzera       | Stjepan Štefanić del fu Stjepan | Lošinj Mali       | 06.8.1794.     | 08.8.                               | 3                     | 4                    |                               |                                |

The first noticeable information is that those 44 cases pertain to only one segment of the above documents. In the RMC I, the numbers from 3401 to 4846 pertain to the documents from Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia busta 842, libro I-II, hence only one segment in which we come across records of information on pilgrimages.

Ancona represents the port of arrival for pilgrimages: this is the century in which the port is experiencing a special momentum and is a logical docking place due to its vicinity on the way to Loreto (Pirani, 2003). Another natural direction of travel was also Porto Recanati, much closer to Loreto than Ancona, but that information should be additionally researched in the archives of Porto Recanati and Recanati itself.

## 5. Pilgrims and traveling in groups

The analysis of passengers-pilgrims provides further valuable information: out of 44 journeys where passengers to Loreto are mentioned, there are 31 journeys explicitly mentioning the number of passengers. Thus we can count a total of 732 pilgrims, five of which are said to be priests. So we can see in the doc. 4734: "1794.22.VII, Ancona – Grippetto del paron Matija Letinić del fu Antun di Savar di Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) proveniente da Zadar con 5 sacerdoti diretti a Loreto e Assisi."<sup>3</sup> (RMC I, ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M).

In 13 documents we only have the information that there are passengers being transported to Loreto, with no additional details.

**Table 2:** Groups of pilgrims

| No. of passengers | Up to 10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | 31-45 | 66 and 76 | TOT |
|-------------------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-----|
| Groups            | 7        | 9     | 5     | 8     | 2         | 31  |

Source: author elaboration.

The second piece of information tells us of groups of pilgrims who can be assumed to be traveling together: seven groups of up to 10 people, nine groups of 11-20 people, five groups of 21-30 people, eight groups of 31-45 people, and two groups of as many as 66 and 76 people, respectively. Therefore, besides those seven journeys where pilgrims are traveling in relatively small numbers (between four and nine passengers at a time), with the exception of one journey of a single pilgrim alone, who is on top of everything traveling from Korčula on a *trabaccolo* loaded with 30 barrels of oil (which could not have been very comfortable!):

1790.4.VI, Ancona – Trabaccolo ossia pielego del paron Ivan Nikolorić da Bol di Brač proveniente da Korčula con 30 bar. di olio, di pertinenza del paron e dei marinai, oltre a due barili e 1 barilotto di trasmesso, diretto a Venezia. Approdato qui per sbarcare un passeggero diretto a Loreto. Ammonito severamente di non sbarcare l'olio. Il 5.VI licenziato per Venezia col detto carico. Tassa: 1s."<sup>4</sup>(RMC I, doc. 3874 – ASV, CSM, b. 842, Lib. I).

In 24 cases there are relatively numerous groups of pilgrims, and in two cases these were groups of 66 and 76 pilgrims, respectively, traveling from Lošinj: “1795.21.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Josip Nikolić di Luka da Lošinj Mali da colà proveniente con 66 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 21.VII licenziato con i detti passeggeri. Tassa: 2.20 s.”<sup>5</sup> (RMC I, doc. 4626 – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. G) and “1794.27.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan di Lošinj da colà proveniente con 76 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 28.VII licenziato per Lošinj Mali con i detti passeggeri”<sup>6</sup> (RMC I, doc. 4588 – idem).

We know that due to grave dangers during travel (bandits, wars, diseases etc.) it was advisable to travel in groups. In various compendiums for pilgrimages, among advice and recommendations addressed to those starting on a pilgrimage, from those about prayer to those about health, there is also the one that says never to travel alone (Grimaldi, 2001).

## 6. Time and duration of pilgrimages

The third information we can analyze, when possible, is on how long the pilgrims stay in Loreto, taking into account the journey to the shrine, performance of religious ceremonies (confession, Holy Mass, Communion), and return to the ship: i.e. from the day of the registration of the ship in Ancona until the day of departure and discharge (*licenziamento*) from the port.

Here we can reflect on the fact that there were different “ideal durations of pilgrimage” we can find in various booklets written over the centuries *ad usum peregrini*: naturally, depending on the writer and the semantics used, this could range from 40 days, counting from the day of embarking on the journey until the return (the link being the 40 days Jesus had spent in the desert or the 40 years the Israelites had wandered in search of the Promised Land, etc.), to as little as three days (which is how long Jesus’ *Descensus ad Inferos* lasted after death until resurrection). Moreover, there was also a precise definition of the “minimum” of ceremonies to be fulfilled in order for the pilgrimage to be valid (Grimaldi, 2001).

**Table 3:** Duration of pilgrimage

| Days of stay | 1 | 2 | 3  | 4-7 | 12-15 | 25 |
|--------------|---|---|----|-----|-------|----|
| Groups       | 2 | 3 | 11 | 3   | 4     | 1  |

Source: author elaboration.

In 24 cases we have information on the pilgrims returning on the same ship, so we can indirectly surmise how long they stayed. In only two cases (two large groups of pilgrims: of 66 and 21 people from Lošinj), the groups stayed only for a day because the ship started the journey back on the same day. This brevity should not be surprising because if you take into account the vicinity of Ancona to Loreto, it is obvious that it was possible to go to the shrine, celebrate the Holy Mass and return immediately afterwards. Furthermore, the itineraries from Loreto in different directions: Rome, Assisi, Venice, Milan... etc. had been very precisely outlined for several centuries, were

easy to obtain, and in addition to the information on the miles and post offices where one could change/rent horses for carriages (with relative prices and additional information on where something is more cost-efficient/cheaper), they also specified the number of hours needed to get from one post office to another (also associated, of course, with the number of Hail Marys and other prayers). The preciseness was incredible, so that the pilgrims, especially in such large groups, could safely and efficiently travel to the shrine and back (Serra, 2003).



**Figure 7:** Via Lauretana: the itinerary from Ancona to Rome.

Source: [backoffice.turismo.marche.it](http://backoffice.turismo.marche.it)

As for the confession and Mass, we know that Croats used to travel with their own priests and hear Mass in their own language. The pilgrimages of Croats to Loreto with their own priests and Masses in Croatian “in the old tradition” were attested in 1559 by the Jesuit Raffaele Riera, a confessor in Loreto in his *Historia de la Santa Casa di Loreto* and *Monumenta Historica societatis Jesus. Litterae Quadrimestres*: “almost five hundred of those Illyrians [...] together with their priests who accompany them” and also “every year the large boats of *schiaconi*, crossing in large numbers the Adriatic Gulf and coming with their priests to whom they confess and hear Mass in the vernacular, in the ancient tradition” (Riera, 1580, as cited in Grimaldi, 2001, 269). This way they could “save” time, confess on the way, and then tour the shrine without interruptions and celebrate the Holy Mass in Loreto. It is very interesting that even the Holy Congregation of Loreto provided confessors in Croatian so that Croats could go on a pilgrimage even without a priest, knowing they could still go to confession. When this, however, was not possible – because of high expenses – pilgrim groups were encouraged to come with their own priests. The Catholic Church attributed great importance to the cure of souls (*cura animae*) and took care that pilgrims of different nationalities and languages could not only confess at the shrine but also have a sufficient number of Masses for the scores of people arriving in Loreto. In that regard, the shrine was entrusted to the Jesuits, a Church order directly subjected to the Pope, with enough cosmopolitan spirit and strength for such an important task (Grimaldi, 2001; Moroni, 2003). There was, moreover, a very complex system of offering Mass at the shrine, with the number reaching up to 30 Masses a day by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Grimaldi, 2001).

Furthermore, there are three cases where the pilgrims stayed for two days. These were organized “large” pilgrimages with groups of 76, 36 and 31 passengers respectively.

They spent the night probably in one of the taverns or inns outside the walls of Loreto, because lodging in the city was intended for special guests. As Loreto was a very popular pilgrimage destination for high secular and Church officials, in the organization it was also necessary to anticipate all of the capacities for important guests, such as bishops and cardinals, noblemen, princes, kings and queens, who usually came with an entire entourage (Grimaldi, 2001). They could also spend the night in one of the shelters managed by the descendants of Croats who had moved there in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (they may not have known their language any longer, but they remembered their origin, as we see from the archive documents from Recanati). In Loreto itself, they would visit the shrine, celebrate Mass, and could go back to Ancona the next day to catch their ship.



**Figure 8:** Loreto: Square in front of the shrine

Source: [www.itineraricristiani.it](http://www.itineraricristiani.it)

As many as 11 pilgrim groups stayed for three days, which is evidently the optimum duration for a journey from Ancona to Loreto without great rush. They could perform all of the most important pilgrim ceremonies, see the surroundings and buy a few souvenirs at the stands around the shrine (a medal with the Madonna or perhaps a rosary). We know that the region around Loreto and Recanati lived on making pious and religious objects that could later be bought around the shrine. This is evident from many testimonies, such as, for instance, the experience of the English poetess Anne Riggs Miller in 1771 in the streets of Loreto (Grimaldi, 2001; Gulli Grigioni, 2003).



**Figure 9:** Our Lady of Trsat / Cross of St. Benedict. First half of the 18th c.

Source: [muzej-rijeka.hr](http://muzej-rijeka.hr)

Further on, we have three groups which stayed between four and seven days, then four groups which stayed between 12 and 15 days, and one group which stayed as long as 25 days.

We know there was a whole organization for the poorest, to enable them to go on a pilgrimage as well: as *pauperes Christi* they enjoyed special protection, were entitled to free food during their stay in Loreto, and could also, with special certificates of “performed pilgrimage” get free food on their way back (Grimaldi, 2001). However, for the Croats coming across the sea it was not advisable to count on the help provided for the poorest pilgrims, in particular because they had to pay the *paron* of the ship and carry enough food for the return across the sea. Their situation was quite different from those pilgrims who came to Loreto on foot, and on their journey could count, in the case of need, on *elemosina* (alms) they could get in different inns, fraternities or from the local population. Food and lodging, and even the price of renting a horse in the post office, were regulated in detail with special papal decrees and edicts to promote and support pilgrimages towards Loreto, and the innkeepers and other service workers (in the service of pilgrims) were exempt from paying various taxes and levies (Grimaldi, 2001). Despite the fact that over the years certain charges were reduced, precisely due to the direct authority of the legislators, one still needed to be of a certain financial standing to be able to embark on a journey to Loreto, especially a journey of several days or several weeks (Serra, 2003). This information directly suggests that such a journey was nevertheless something undertaken by more well-off people, who could afford such a distant and difficult journey.

Moreover, there are two special cases where pilgrims returning to the ship are joined by other pilgrims/passengers, who had arrived in Ancona on another ship. Thus, in document no. 4726 eight pilgrims returning from Loreto are joined by two more: “1794.24.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Matija Nikolić del fu Martin di Lošinj Mali

da colà proveniente con 8 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 26.VII congedato vuoto con soli 10 passeggeri per Lošinj Mali. Tassa: 1 s.”<sup>7</sup> (RMC I – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M). Are they the same passengers? In this case we don’t know. Whereas in document no. 4730, a group of 20 pilgrims is joined on the way back by an extra passenger:

1794.27.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Martin Letić del fu Martin di Lošinj Veli (Lossino Grande) da colà proveniente con 20 passeggeri diretti a Loreto. Il 30.VII licenziato con i detti passeggeri, più uno imbarcato in Ancona, per Lošinj Veli. Tassa: 1.40 s.<sup>8</sup> (RMC I – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. M).

However, the opposite could also happen, for the pilgrims to arrive on one ship and go back on another, as in the case of a group of 21 pilgrims from Dugi Otok, of which only three came back on the same ship after three days, whereas the others extended their stay and returned on another ship:

1794.21.VII, Ancona – Trabaccolo del paron Luka Mirković di Božidar (Natale) di Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) di Zadar da colà proveniente con 21 passeggeri diretti a Loreto e Assisi. Il 23.VII licenziato per Zadar con tre dei detti passeggeri. Tassa: 0.20 s.<sup>9</sup> (RMC I, doc. 4677 – ASV, CSM, busta 842, Lib. II, lett. L).

Upon analysis of the dates of travel, we see that the journeys took place between 1782 and 1796, over a span of 15 years. However, even more interesting is the season of the year: six journeys took place in June, as many as 26 in July, and 12 in August. We conclude that the preferred time of the year for pilgrimages are the summer months. Despite the relatively small scope of documents analyzed here, it is still quite understandable that one would travel in the season most favorable for overseas sailing.



**Figure 10:** Loreto – The Shrine

Source: [www.tatarte.it](http://www.tatarte.it)

## 7. Area of origin and numerousness of pilgrims

The next information that can be derived from this analysis is the origin of the pilgrims. At the forefront are the residents of Lošinj, with 33 journeys and the total number of 590 pilgrims.<sup>10</sup> After them, in terms of numerousness, there are two journeys organized from Cres, with 52 pilgrims. Then come the residents of the island of Dugi Otok with three journeys and 48 pilgrims. There was one pilgrimage organized from the city of Rovinj with 32 people, and one from the town of Labin with nine people. We know that from the island of Korčula one pilgrim traveled alone, whereas for the other Croatian regions (the island of Vis and the area of Zadar) we do not have the exact data. It's important to note that the area of origin of the pilgrims are not the port of origin of the vessels or of the captains: the documents are very specific about this matter.

A special review covers the ships that transport pilgrims and cargo. Thus in three cases we have pilgrims who travel together with cargo; in doc. no. 3806 on a *trabaccolo* from Lošinj 27 passengers are sailing together with "poche stecche di legno" (a few wooden bars), whereas in doc. no. 3874 (previously mentioned) one passenger from Korčula is sailing with oil barrels and the so called *trasmesso* – actually what people are sending by ship (RMC I). This fact of sending *trasmesso* demonstrates the frequency of this phenomenon and testifies to the strong daily and weekly connections between the two Adriatic coasts, where evidently such "packages" were a common thing. But they also speak of personal connections between people from both sides of the Adriatic who send each other packages by ship.

**Table 4:** Origin and numerousness of pilgrims

| Origin       | Number of journeys | Number of passengers | %      |
|--------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------|
| Lošinj       | 33                 | 590                  | 80.6%  |
| Cres         | 2                  | 52                   | 7.1%   |
| Dugi Otok    | 3                  | 48                   | 6.6%   |
| Rovinj       | 1                  | 32                   | 4.4%   |
| Labin        | 1                  | 9                    | 1.2%   |
| Korčula      | 1                  | 1                    | 0.1%   |
| Vis          | 1                  | -                    |        |
| Zadar        | 1                  | -                    |        |
| Unknown      | 1                  | -                    |        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>44</b>          | <b>732</b>           | 100.0% |

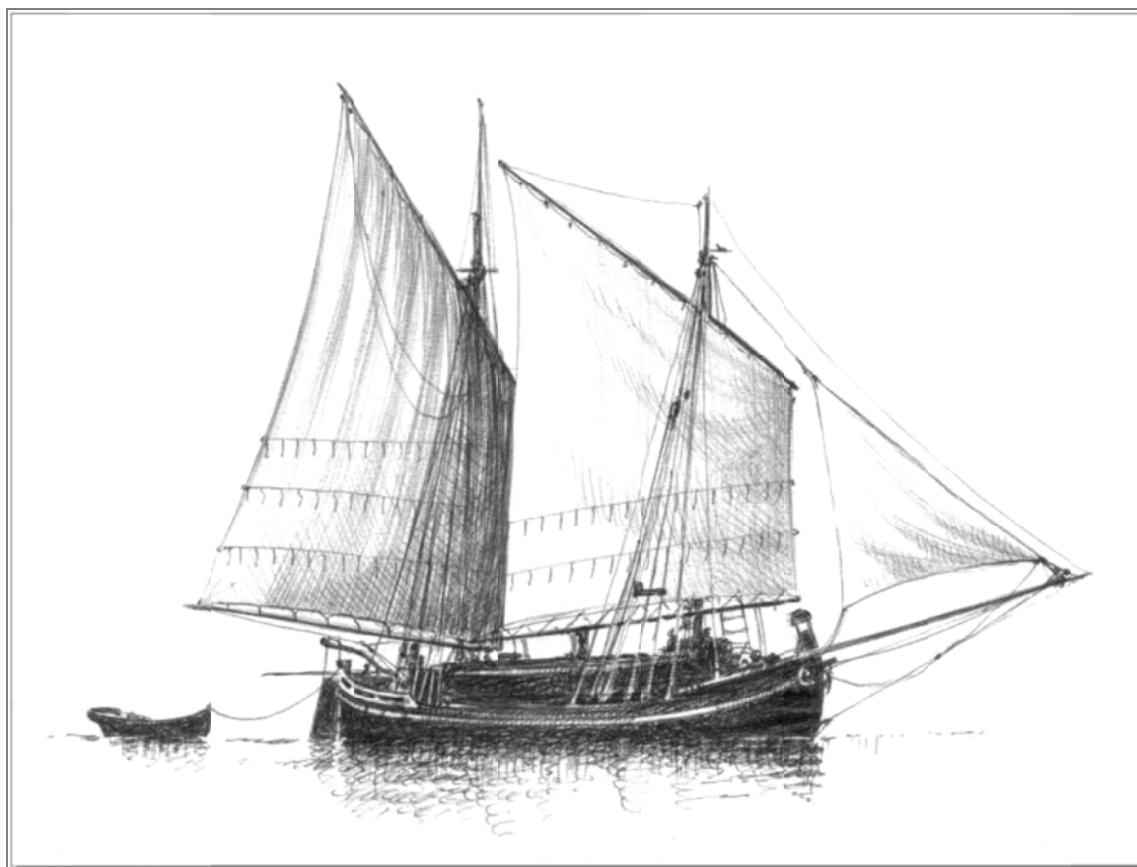
Source: author elaboration.

Further analysis pertains to the pilgrims' return home. Thus we see pilgrims who on their way back travel with various products that the captains or *paroni* managed to gather to increase their earnings. Document no. 4726 says that the *trabaccolo* of Matija Nikolić, son of late Martin, was returning to Mali Lošinj with pilgrims, but

“empty” (RMC I). In two cases the ships, after they had left the pilgrims in Ancona, went back carrying garlic and onions (RMC I, doc. 4318 and 4734). In one case, a ship from Dugi Otok returned carrying fruit to Lošinj (RMC I, doc. 4681), and in the remaining nine cases, the ships returned empty (RMC I, doc. 3477, 3806, 3807, 3809, 4042, 4283, 4379, 4439 and 4828). This information additionally tells us that those journeys were relatively modest. Besides, to this day we can attest that when sailing on smaller vessels in Kvarner or in Dalmatia from the land to various smaller islands, the passengers (locals, but also guests) sailed together with food and other supplies for the said islands.

## 8. Ships as a means of pilgrimage

Another interesting piece of information is on the type of vessels in which the pilgrims crossed the Adriatic Sea: most frequently, in as many as 32 cases, this was a *trabaccolo* (in two of which it was a *trabaccolotto*, in the diminutive, meaning of smaller dimensions). This is a larger sailing coaster that can also cross to the other side of the Adriatic Sea. It is similar to a *brazzera*, but of larger dimensions and with two masts.



**Figure 11:** Aldo Cherini, *Il Trabaccolo*

Source: [www.webalice.it](http://www.webalice.it)

The hull has rounded sides and a round bottom, with a keel of 14 to 30 meters in length, dead-weight of up to 200 tons and a crew of up to eight members, and the ship itself could have up to four oars, and serve for trade, transport of cargo and people (Vidović, 1984; Pomorska enciklopedija, 1972). Moreover, in the document under no. 4523 with the term *trabaccolo* there is also the term *manzera*, which denotes a very similar vessel but with the arrangements for the transport of livestock, cattle: in other words, pilgrims did not really choose, and if necessary, they also boarded cargo, livestock carriers.

Other types of the vessels used to cross the Adriatic Sea were *pielego* or *pieleghetto* (in the diminutive), *brazzera*, *grippo* or *grippetto*: they are all very similar smaller vessels of up to 20 meters in length and of smaller dead-weight than *trabaccolo*, as visible in the below Table 5.

**Table 5:** Vessel characteristics

| Type of vessel                  | Length (m) | Breadth (m) | Dead-weight (t) | Height (m) | Crew | Oars    | Tender | Mast | Lateen sail |
|---------------------------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------|---------|--------|------|-------------|
| <i>Trabaccolo/ trabacchetto</i> | 14-30      | Up to 6     | 14-200          | 1.5        | 3-8  | Up to 4 | Yes    | 2    | Yes         |
| <i>Pielego/ pieleghetto</i>     | 11-28      | Up to 6     | 15-100          | Up to 2.5  | 3-6  | Up to 4 | -      | 2    | Yes         |
| <i>Brazzera</i>                 | 7-17       | 3-4         | 2.5-70          | 0.5-2      | 4-8  | 2-4     | Yes    | 1-2  | Yes         |
| <i>Grippo/ grippetto</i>        | -          | -           | 15-45           | -          | 5-6  | 2       | Yes    | 1-2  | Yes         |

Source: author elaboration.

Here mentioned vessels were sometimes visually similar to the point that even the scribes would use two different names for the same ship (i.e. *trabaccolo* and *pielego*).

Hence, from the short analysis of the types of vessels used by pilgrims to cross the Adriatic, it is evident that they were smaller vessels, most often used for trade and to transport merchandise and livestock, and more rarely passengers. This information is important because it demonstrates, within the limits of available information, the comfort (or discomfort) of the pilgrims' journeys. The journey was not long if everything went well (!), however, due to unfavorable winds and to avoid potential unwanted encounters (from *corsari dulcignotti*, *barbareschi* and even *tripolini* to bandits and pirates) it could take "forever" (Grimaldi, 2001). The corsairs are also mentioned in the RMC I in a large number of documents: the ships that had to wait in ports for the danger of corsairs to pass "Stanno ancorati nel porto 'per non incontrare i disastri' da parte dei corsari" (doc. 1207 – ASV, CSM, busta 61 N.S., filza 276) or were attacked at open sea "Durante la navigazione attaccate dai corsari" (doc. 1262 – ASV, CSM, busta 661, num. 5) to mention but a few cases.

As a pilgrimage itself implies a certain sacrifice (*sacrificium*) which is dedicated to God with a certain intention and offered voluntarily, it is easier to understand traveling on cargo ships across the sea which in itself raised some major existential questions: it was known (if it was actually known, again depending on the weather conditions) when the

ship would leave, but it was not known when and how it would reach its destination. A good example of the great uncertainty of sea navigation is provided by the names of the boats: all are named after saints and/or the Madonna, denoting a sort of a continuous invocation and plea for help, and at the same time a sort of insurance against adversity. At sea, besides storms, bad weather and the above-mentioned corsairs, there were also other ships lurking, and occasionally even the coastal residents. Just see in RMC I “Indice analitico” under: *naufragi, prove di fortuna, defraudamenti, depredazioni, piraterie, corsari*.

## 9. Captains and *paroni*: small entrepreneurs

The last analysis takes us to the names of the captains and of the *paroni*, those small entrepreneurs along the entire Adriatic coast. I have listed their names because they were truly the power moving the economy of the eastern Adriatic coast. This is the century in which Venice is starting to lose its power and new economic opportunities are appearing for the residents of different Croatian littoral regions: Istria, Primorje, Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Boka.

**Table 6:** Names of the captains-*paroni* occurring repeatedly

| No | Paron-owner                         | Port of origin   | Type of vessel      |
|----|-------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1  | <b>Antun Nikolić</b>                | Cres             | <i>grippetto</i>    |
|    | Antun Nikolić                       | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Antun Nikolić                       | Lošinj           | <i>grippo</i>       |
| 2  | <b>Dominik Luković</b>              | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Dominik Luković                     | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 3  | <b>Ivan Skopinić</b>                | Lošinj Mali      | <i>pielego</i>      |
|    | Ivan Skopinić                       | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 4  | <b>Ivan Taraboća</b>                | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Ivan Taraboća                       | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Ivan Taraboća del fu Luka           | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 5  | <b>Jakov Dobrilović</b>             | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Jakov Dobrilović del fu Ivan        | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 6  | <b>Josip Nikolić di Luka</b>        | Lošinj           | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Josip Nikolić di Luka               | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 7  | <b>Luka Mirković di Božidar</b>     | Dugi Otok -Zadar | <i>trabacchetto</i> |
|    | Luka Mirković di Božidar            | Dugi Otok -Zadar | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 8  | <b>Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan</b> | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
|    | Marko Martinolić del fu Ivan        | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 9  | <b>Matija Nikolić</b>               | Lošinj           | <i>trabacchetto</i> |
|    | Matija Nikolić del fu Martin        | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |
| 10 | <b>Vinko Premuda</b>                | ?                | <i>pieleghetto</i>  |
|    | Vinko Premuda                       | Lošinj Mali      | <i>trabaccolo</i>   |

Source: author elaboration.

We see many names and surnames repeated, which is not unusual for small towns and islands. Since we do not have a significant number of documents, we cannot be certain that the documents refer to the same individuals. They could be relatives or cases of homonymy. Ten names are dominant: Antun Nikolić from Lošinj and Cres, on a *trabaccolo*, *grippo* and *grippetto*; Dominik Luković from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Ivan Skopinić from Mali Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *pielego*; Ivan Taraboća from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Jakov Dobrilović from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Josip Nikolić (son of Luka) from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Luka Mirković (son of Božidar) from Dugi Otok, on a *trabaccolo* and *trabacchetto*; Marko Martinolić (son of late Ivan) from Mali Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo*; Matija Nikolić (son of late Martin) from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *trabacchetto*; Vinko Premuda from Lošinj, on a *trabaccolo* and *pieleghetto*.

Another interesting piece of information is about the surnames of those entrepreneurs. We can see from Table 1 that in our 44 documents the majority of names and surnames are Croatian. In four cases, we have also Italian names: Mattio Gerolimi from Mali Lošinj (RMC I, doc. 4001), Domenico Pazziani from Labin (RMC I, doc. 4439), Domenico Botticin from Rovinj (RMC I, doc. 4440) and Niccolò Soppa di Giovanni from Mali Lošinj (doc. 4780). This is because Venice had ruled over the coastal territories of Istria and Dalmatia until the period of the pilgrimages in question for three and a half centuries. As for the Croatian family names, there are 22 different ones: Nikolić, Čupranić, Luković, Vidulić, Skopinić, Nikolorić, Taraboća, Kožulić, Premuda, Kuzmanić, Marčula, Katarinić, Radošić, Dobrilović, Car, Mirković, Martinolić, Letić, Letinić, Deković, Antončić and Štefanić.

Not only do they build small vessels to make a living, but seek in their inventiveness different opportunities to earn money offered by the fertile seas and denied by the ungriving land and frequently by the mountains in the hinterland. In this analysis, we find them transporting pilgrims, even entire organized groups. Even in that modern way of expressing faith, they find a possibility to earn money and make a living, adapting to the needs of the age they live in. Without them we would have had no pilgrimages across the sea: they were an important and indispensable link for Croatian pilgrimages towards the western coast of the Adriatic.

## Conclusion

In the analysis of original documentary sources on maritime connections between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, from the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* vol. I, that contains 4,890 documents from various archives of Venice and Fano, 1,466 documents were singled out from the State Archives of Venice (Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, books I-II), pertaining to the arrival and departure of ships to and from the Italian port of Ancona. There we found documents spanning 15 years at the end of the century (1782-1796) that testify to the 44 Croatian pilgrimages to Loreto.

The analysis of these materials in relation to the topic of pilgrimage in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is undoubtedly very promising. Out of 254 documents found in the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* concerning passengers moving for religious purposes, 44 refer explicitly and

specifically to the Shrine of Loreto. While dealing and made up mostly by documents of maritime-commercial nature, the *Croatian Maritime Regesta* (16.000 published so far) are in fact an as incredibly rich as largely untapped reservoir of information dealing virtually with any aspect of daily life in between the two shores of the Adriatic in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, from economy, through religion, to culture, in relation to a variety of specific cultural milieus. An absolutely new window and tool of investigation for scholars and researchers working on any aspect of 18<sup>th</sup> century history.

In those years, 732 pilgrims passed through Ancona in groups of four to 76. They came from different parts of Croatia: from Lošinj (590 pilgrims), Cres (52), Dugi Otok near Zadar (48), Rovinj (32), Labin (9), Korčula (1) and from Zadar and Vis.

They crossed the Adriatic Sea on smaller vessels, with dead-weight between 15 and 200 t, *trabacolos*, *pielegos*, *brazzeras* and *grippos*, on which the captain of the vessel was also the owner. Those vessels were most often used for trade and transport of merchandise, so there were cases where pilgrims sailed in both directions with different cargo. This information tells us of a certain discomfort on those journeys that always took place in the summer, i.e. in the season in which it was easier and safer to cross the restless Adriatic Sea.

When the pilgrims would disembark in Ancona, in more than half of the cases the captains, those small and inventive maritime entrepreneurs, would wait for them on the way back or continue on their journey empty. The most resourceful ones would load fruit or vegetables (garlic and onions) on the way back, or a few extra passengers.

The last part of the pilgrimage (from Ancona to Loreto and back) would last between one and 25 days, and the pilgrims most often stayed for three days (in 11 cases), or between four and 15 days (in 7 cases). This information indirectly tells us of the social class of the pilgrims themselves, who obviously had a certain financial standing for such an organized pilgrimage.

As the documents contain 10 names of captains-*paroni* that are repeated two or three times, it is obvious that the transport of pilgrims was lucrative enough. Although there is no certainty that these were always the same persons, it is indicative that eight of them were from Lošinj.

From those 44 pilgrimages it is visible that in late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Croats from different parts of the eastern Adriatic coast, from Rovinj all the way south to Vis, were very familiar with the shrine in Loreto, that they made pilgrimages in large and organized groups, with the people of Lošinj being dominant in terms of numbers and frequency (just from this segment of the maritime documents).

Further analysis of the published *Croatian Maritime Regesta* (vol. II with 6,891 documents printed in 1993 in Padua and vol. III with another 3,927 documents just printed in 2017 in Split) and subsequent publication of its planned sequels – 16 in total – with the original material from Croatian and Italian archives (some 80,000 already singled out and microfilmed and currently being transcribed and summarized in the form of “regesta”) will yield a more complete and integral picture of the phenomenon

of Croatian pilgrimages overseas not just to Loreto and Assisi, but also further on towards Rome and other religious centers, maybe even more distant but no less known to the Croatian believers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>i</sup> „The place, together with the relic, translates not only the memory into historical-eschatological reality but mediates the concrete presence of the Divine Essence”.

<sup>ii</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia (CSM), Levante e Ponente; ASV, CSM, Consolato Veneto d'Ancona, Registro di approdi e spedizioni, Legni sudditi; ASV, CSM, Scritture dei Capi di Piazza; ASV, CSM, Manifesti di esportazioni; ASV, CSM, Diversorum; ASV, CSM, Naufragi; ASV, CSM, Consoli dei mercanti, Prove di fortuna; ASV, Giudici al Forestier, Terminazioni d'Avaree; ASV, CSM, Manifesti rilasciati ai parcenevoli e capitani, Levante; ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Lettere ai Provveditori; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli; ASV, CSM, Navi estere; ASV, CSM, Cotoni d'Alessandria e Durazzo; ASV, CSM, Dragomani; ASV, CSM, Dogana da Mar; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli di Durazzo; ASV, CSM, Lettere dei Consoli di Scutari; ASV, CSM, Lettere da Scutari; ASV, CSM, Lettere del priore del Lazzaretto di Spalato; ASV, Provveditori alla Sanità, Lettere ai Consoli; ASV, CSM, Navi recuperate a Durazzo; Archivio di Stato di Fano (ASF), Archivio Comunale (AC), Il Giornale del Porto; ASF, AC, Giornale del Libro Maestro del Porto; ASF, AC, Naufragi.

<sup>3</sup> 1794.22.VII, Ancona - Grippetto of the owner Matija Letinić of the late Antun of Savar of Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) from Zadar with 5 priests headed to Loreto and Assisi.

<sup>4</sup> 1790.4.VI, Ancona - Trabaccolo or pielego of the owner Ivan Nikolorić from Bol of Brač coming from Korčula with 30 barrels of oil, belonging to the owner and sailors, as well as two barrels and one little barrel of goods sent (*trasmesso*), directed to Venice. He landed here to disembark a passenger bound for Loreto. Warned strictly not to land the oil. The 5.VI discharged for Venice with the said load. Tax: 1s.

<sup>5</sup> 1795.21.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Josip Nikolić of Luka from Lošinj Mali from there coming with 66 passengers to Loreto. The 21.VII discharged with the said passengers. Tax: 2.20 s.

<sup>6</sup> 1794.27.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Jakov Dobrilović of the late Ivan of Lošinj from there coming with 76 passengers to Loreto. The 28.VII discharged for Lošinj Mali with the said passengers.

<sup>7</sup> 1794.24.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the owner Matija Nikolić of the late Martin of Lošinj Mali from there coming with 8 passengers to Loreto. The 26.VII discharged empty with only 10 passengers for Lošinj Mali. Tax: 1 s.

<sup>8</sup> 1794.27.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the paron Martin Letić of the late Martin of Lošinj Veli (Lossino Grande) from there coming with 20 passengers to Loreto. The 30.VII discharged with the said passengers, plus one boarded in Ancona, for Lošinj Veli. Fee: 1.40 s.

<sup>9</sup> 1794.21.VII, Ancona - Trabaccolo of the paron Luka Mirković of Božidar (Christmas) of Dugi Otok (Isola Grossa) of Zadar from there coming with 21 passengers to Loreto and Assisi. The 23.VII discharged for Zadar with three of the said passengers. Fee: 0.20 s.

<sup>10</sup> These figures should always be considered with caution because they reflect only a smaller segment of maritime documents yet to be published and studied.

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## Almatourism

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### Database and Geographic Information System (GIS) for the Via Francigena: a New Way to Read Sigeric's Itinerary

Innocenti A.\*

Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism (MiBACT), DG-Tourism (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

In order to define the path of a medieval road, it is essential to use different kind of sources, like the written texts, the archaeological and material remains referred to the road, the study of the geomorphological context, the toponymy. Modern technologies can help us to examine and use all these sources: first of all, the creation of a *database* could permit to manage all the data we have about a road; secondly, the database could be loaded in a GIS software, in order to answer to some historical, archaeological and topographical questions. This methodology can be applied to the "Via Francigena" case: starting from Sigeric's itinerary, which is the main source about the road, it is possible to create a database containing all the data about the *submansiones* mentioned by the text. Furthermore, loading the database in a GIS software gives the possibility to study the road in its entire length, helping us to understand the relationships between the Via Francigena, the other itineraries and the ancient roads. But at the same time, this enables us to study the route in a specific region, and it could also be the opportunity to comprehend the evolution of the historical landscapes, focusing both on the track of the road and on the territory that the road has conditioned, according to the concept of "street areas".

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**Keywords:** Via Francigena; Sigeric's itinerary; Database; GIS; Topography

Per ricostruire il tracciato di una strada medievale, è necessario utilizzare fonti differenti, come i testi scritti, le testimonianze archeologiche relative alla strada, lo studio del contesto geomorfologico, la toponomastica. Le moderne tecnologie possono aiutarci a esaminare e utilizzare tutte queste informazioni: per prima cosa, la creazione

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\* E-mail address: [alessioinnocenti@fastwebnet.it](mailto:alessioinnocenti@fastwebnet.it)

di un database permetterebbe di gestire tutti i dati che possediamo su una determinata strada; in secondo luogo, il database può essere caricato in un software GIS, per rispondere ad una serie di interrogativi di carattere storico, archeologico e topografico. Questa metodologia può essere applicata al caso della "Via Francigena": partendo dall'itinerario di Sigerico, la fonte principale sulla strada, è possibile creare un database contenente tutti i dati relativi alle *submansiones* citate nel testo. Inoltre, caricare il database in un ambiente GIS permetterebbe di studiare la strada nella sua intera lunghezza, permettendo di comprendere quali relazioni ci fossero tra la Via Francigena, gli itinerari alternativi e l'antica viabilità romana. Ma allo stesso tempo, ciò permetterebbe anche di studiare il tracciato della strada in una regione specifica, e questa potrebbe essere l'opportunità di analizzare l'evoluzione dei paesaggi storici, focalizzando l'attenzione sia sul tracciato della strada che sul territorio che il tracciato ha condizionato, facendo riferimento al concetto di "aree di strada".

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**Keywords:** Via Francigena; Itinerario di Sigerico; Database; GIS; Topografia

## Introduction

In 990 Archbishop Sigeric travelled from Canterbury to Rome, to fetch his *pallium*. Making this journey could mean to risk your own life: pilgrims had to walk on unsafe roads and face the perilous crossing of the Alps. Here a Sigeric's predecessor, Aelfsige, died of cold, during his journey to Rome in 959 (Ortenberg, 1999). But in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the political situation was complex too: the Carolingian Empire did not exist anymore, so, to reach Rome, the pilgrims had to pass through several small "states", under the local authority of counts and lords. At the same time, in France there was the first Capetian king, while Rome was the theatre of a conflict between the German Ottonian emperors and the Roman aristocracy (Ortenberg, 1990).

Despite all the dangers, a medieval pilgrim could have not renounced to visit Rome. Sigeric made this journey, and maybe he would have been one of the many unnamed pilgrims, if he did not leave a trace of his travel: the text we call "Sigeric's Itinerary".

Since its first publication in 1860 (Hook, 1860) the itinerary has been studied by scholars of different academic disciplines, like history, archaeology and philology. The text became increasingly important as a primary source for the study of the Via Francigena, since the publication of Julius Jung's article about the road in 1904 (Jung, 1904; Szabò, 1996).

The aim of this paper is to suggest how modern technologies could help us to collect and organise all the information we have about Sigeric's itinerary and the Via Francigena.

In the first part, there will be a short description of Roman itineraries, in order to understand their differences if compared to the medieval ones; then, there will be a focus on Sigeric's itinerary, to comprehend why it was written, and how we could approach to it; in the last part, we will see how database and GIS software could be indispensable tools to study Sigeric's diary and, as a consequence, the Via Francigena.

In particular, GIS software can be useful not only to define the track of the road, but also to study the territory that the road has conditioned.

## 1. Itineraries in the Roman Empire

In the Roman world, itineraries were written documents, containing information about the main roads of the Empire, and the distances between cities and stages connected by them (Dilke, 1987; Uggeri, 2000). They were widely used for both military and civil purposes, and were essential tools for travellers.

There were two main type of itineraries: the written ones (*itineraria adnotata*) and the painted ones (*itineraria picta*). The written itineraries were the most common: they were list of places along routes, containing distances among them. The painted itineraries were schematic maps, with representation of roads, cities and distances.

We have several examples of written itineraries, e.g. the "Antonine Itinerary" or the "Bordeaux itinerary", while the painted ones are less numerous; the most important is the "Peutinger map". All the itineraries indicated not only cities and towns, but also the relay stages (*stationes*) of the Roman postal system (*cursus publicus*): they were divided in *mansiones* (overnight stopping places) and *mutationes* (stopping places for changing horses).

Let us see briefly some examples of written itineraries, to understand how they were elaborated.

The "Antonine Itinerary" is probably the most important written itinerary survived, even if it is a collection of itineraries, ordered by a geographical criterion and covering most of the provinces of the empire. The title mentions an emperor of the Antonine dynasty, maybe Caracalla, so the text can be dated to the 3rd century, with later additions during the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Usually, for every road it is indicated its name or its starting point, its entire length, and then a list of toponymies and distances, expressed in Roman miles (except for Gaul, for which are used the leagues).

Let us see a concrete example: the final part of the itinerary from Lucca to Rome along the Via Cassia, which will become part of the Via Francigena in the Middle Ages (Miller, 1916):

### *Itinerarium Antonini* (286, 1-5)

|                   |    |
|-------------------|----|
| <i>Vulsinis</i>   | 80 |
| <i>Foro Cassi</i> | 28 |
| <i>Sutrio</i>     | 11 |
| <i>Baccanas</i>   | 12 |
| <i>Roma</i>       | 21 |

On the left we have the list of toponyms, on the right the distances. The figures are referred to the two previous stages: for instance, from *Vulsinis* and *Foro Cassi* there are 28 miles, from *Foro Cassi* to *Sutrio* 11, and so on.

Another interesting itinerary is the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, which is the most ancient report we know about a pilgrimage in the Holy Land. It was written by a pilgrim of Bordeaux, who made his journey from his hometown to Jerusalem in 333, and came back the year after. He reached Jerusalem travelling by land through northern Italy and the Danube valley to Constantinople, then through Asia Minor and Syria. On the way back, he followed the Egnatia road to Aulona, then he sailed to Otranto, along the Appia road he reached Rome, and finally went to Milan, from where he travelled to Bordeaux following the same path of the first journey.

Let us see an example from the beginning of the route from Rome to Milan (Miller, 1916):

***Itinerarium Burdigalense* (613, 1-4)**

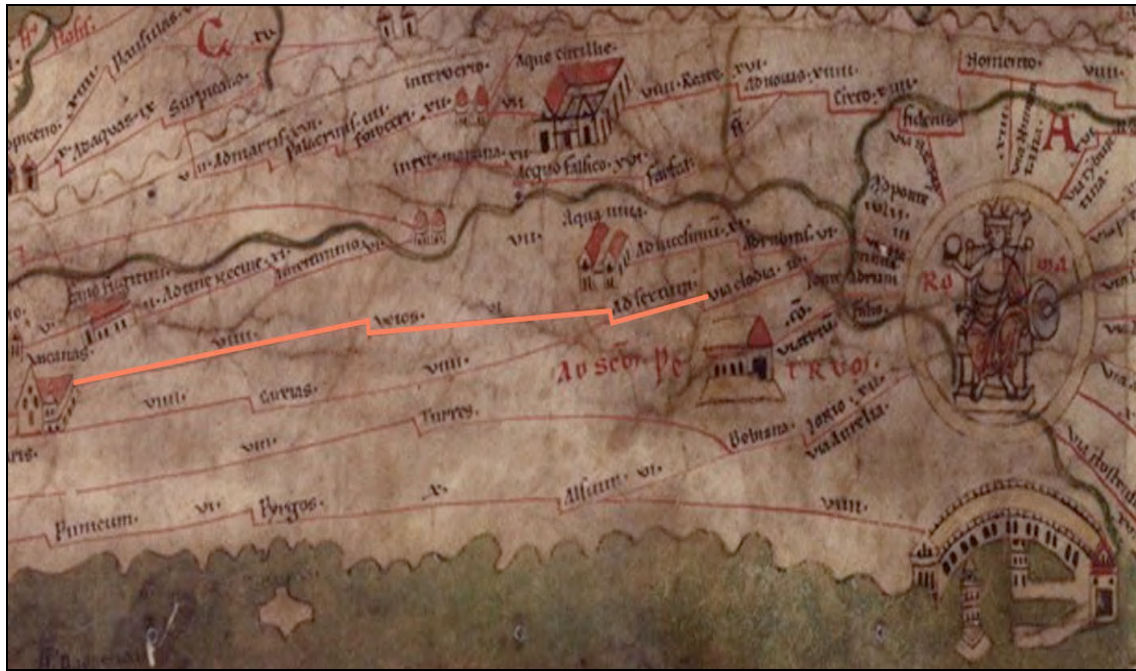
|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| <i>mutatio ad vicensimum</i> | xi  |
| <i>civitas vetriculo</i>     | xii |
| <i>civitas narniae</i>       | xii |
| <i>ciuitas interamna</i>     | xii |

As we have seen for the *Itinerarium Antonini*, we have a list of toponyms and distances (recorded in leagues in the first part of the itinerary, then in Roman miles), but the anonymous pilgrim added further information: he specifies for every stage its typology (*civitas*, *mansio*, *mutatio*). Inside the text there is also a detailed description of the Holy places visited by the pilgrim.

The most important painted itinerary conserved, the "Peutinger Map", is a medieval copy of an ancient map (probably of the 4<sup>th</sup> century), realised in the 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century (Albu, 2014; Dilke, 1987; Talbert, 2010; Uggeri, 2000). It is a parchment roll, composed by 11 sheets (the first one on the left is missing), and was primarily drawn to show main roads, staging posts, distances between stages, cities, rivers, and forests. The proportions of the map are such that distances east-west are represented at a much larger scale than distances north-south, while its orientation is north- south.

Let us see an image of the map, related to the same part of Via Cassia we have already cited, and that will become part of the medieval Via Francigena (**Figure 1**).

We can see that the roads are drawn in red, while the stopping places names are in black, followed by the distance to the next stop (distances are recorded in Roman miles, but for Gaul they are in leagues, for Persian lands in parasangs, and for India in Indian miles). Rome is represented as a female figure on a throne holding a globe, a spear, and a shield, while there are other graphical representations of cities, harbours, granaries and settlements throughout the map. Mountains are marked in pale brown and principal rivers in green.



**Figure 1.** A detail of the Peutinger Map. It is underlined the first sector of the Via Cassia, which departed from the Via Clodia at the *mutatio* called *Ad Sextum*. Source: © 2010 Christos Nussli, [www.euratlas.net](http://www.euratlas.net)

## 2. Itineraries in the Middle Ages

The fall of the Roman empire entailed the progressive decay of the Roman road system. Some roads were still used in the early Middle Ages, other were abandoned, but the most important thing to underline is the absence of a central power able to maintain such a complex network as the Roman road one (Patitucci & Uggeri, 2007).

Rome itself had changed its role: it was not the capital of an empire anymore, but it became one of the most important Christian city, reached by several pilgrims. In fact, we know that in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century, the *Schola Saxonum* was founded in Rome: it was a hospice for Anglo-Saxon pilgrims, located near St Peter's, and it was funded both by English Kings and by popes (Moore, 1937; Ortenberg, 1990). The *Schola Saxonum* was the earliest of several hospices built for pilgrims coming from northern Europe: we know that others were reserved to Lombards, Franks and Frisians (Moore, 1937).

The pilgrims who decided to travel to Rome needed information about the roads, their condition and the stages along the path. It is supposed that oral tradition was the first source of information for them (Birch, 2000; Webb, 2002), but the written itineraries were important too, because they were written by someone who had already made the journey.

Until the 10<sup>th</sup> century, we have only concise descriptions of the itineraries to Rome (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1988). They are contained in texts like hagiographies, biographies or historical sources. An example is the "*Itinerarium Sancti Willibaldi*", dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, in which it is said that the saint "*inde Romam tendentes, Lucam, Tuscie urbem devenere*" (Stopani, 1997).

The earliest detailed list of stages from Northern Europe to Rome is the one related to the journey of Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, who went to Rome in 990 to fetch his *pallium* (Birch, 2000; Ortenberg, 1990; Stopani, 1988).

It is not a coincidence that a text like this had been written in Anglo-Saxon England: we have already seen that a *Schola Saxonum* was built in Rome in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and several pilgrims (kings, members of the clergy, nobles, etc.) went by that time from England to Rome (Birch, 2000; Ortenberg, 1990; Stopani, 2015). This is because of the English veneration for St. Peter and Gregory the Great, the pope who fostered the conversion of England (Ortenberg, 1990). Sigeric had another important reason to travel to Rome: the collection of the *pallium*. He was not the only one: the journey to Rome was becoming usual for archbishops in the late Anglo-Saxon period (Ortenberg, 1990).

After the 10<sup>th</sup> century, we have several detailed sources about the itineraries followed by pilgrims to reach Jerusalem. We can mention the diary of a twelfth-century Icelandic abbot, Nikolas of Munkathvera, written in narrative form, the *Annales Stadenses*, written by Albert of Stade between 1240 and 1256 and containing a description of the roads to Rome, and the *Iter de Londinio in Terram Sanctam*, realised by Matthew Paris in 1253 as a map for the pilgrims directed to Jerusalem (Federzoni, 2015; Stopani, 1988).

### 3. Sigeric's Itinerary: structure and contents

Sigeric's diary is the most ancient itinerary of the Middle Ages. But how was it composed and which kind of information contains? Let us see the structure of the text. First of all, the document is opened by the sentence "*Adventus archiepiscopi nostri Sigerici ad Romam*", which suggests that the material author of the text was not Sigeric himself, but a member of his retinue (Magoun, 1940; Ortenberg, 1990); furthermore, the text we read today is a transcript, dated to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, of the original diary (prototext), maybe composed in the same 990 (Magoun, 1940; Ortenberg, 1990). In the first part of the diary, there is a list of the Roman churches visited by Sigeric in two days, according to the text. During the second day, he visited pope John XV and received from him the *pallium*. Then, in the second part, there is a list of stages of his journey back to Canterbury, preceded by this sentence: *Iste sunt submansiones de Roma usque ad mare* (these are the *submansiones* from Rome to the sea).

Here, we have to face our first problem of interpretation: why did the author use the word "*submansiones*" to define the stages of the journey? We have seen above that a *mansion* is an overnight stopping place of the Roman postal system along a road. So, the use of the word "*submansio*" means that the author knew maybe not the structure of the ancient *cursus publicus* itself, but the meaning of the term in the written itineraries (Corsi, 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004). The addition of the prefix *sub-* could indicate that the list contains not only the overnight stopping places (Stopani, 1988), but also other necessary stages along the road (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004). Another interpretation connects the word with the latin term *submanentes*, that indicates those who stayed on a land without owning it; so, *submansiones* should indicate places which can offer temporary hospitality (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004).

The list itself presents some interpretative problems: it is composed of 79 numbered stages (they are not 80, because the manuscript passes from number 78 to number 80) starting from Rome and arriving at Sombre (LXXX *Sumeran*). These are the first stages from Rome (Stubbs, 1874, p. 392):

**Sigeric's Itinerary (I-V)**

- I *Urbs Roma*
- II *Johannis VIII*
- III *Bacane*
- IIII *Suteria*
- V *Furcari*

We can see that the only information given is the number of the stage and its name. It is not specified the typology of the stages (cities, *burgi*, etc.) or the distances between them. So, Sigeric's itinerary gives us less information about the stages if compared to the Roman ones, or even to other medieval itineraries; it is the case of the diary of Nikolas of Munkathvera, in which the author gives information about distances of every place he visited (Magoun, 1944; Stopani, 1988). Even more detailed are the itineraries described in the *Annales Stadenses*: here we find the distances between the stopping places expressed in *miliaria teutonica*, Gallic leagues and Roman miles (Stopani, 1988).

This lack of information does not reduce the importance of Sigeric's text. It only means that it is not easy to identify correctly the stages he mentions, and the use of other sources to integrate it are often necessary. But the absence of other information could be coherent with the use of the term "*submansiones*": it could mean that the stages should be all considered of the same importance, as if they were points on a map useful to draw a route.

An interesting aspect of the itinerary is the distance between the stages: if in the sector passing through the Emilia-Romagna region the average distance is 15-20 km (Dall'Aglio, 2002), in Tuscany the average distance is 9-16 km, but for six of them the average is 5-7 km, and for five of them is 20-30 km (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004). If we consider that a pilgrim could cover 20-30 km in a day, we can see that there are stages which are under this parameter; it could mean that the itinerary presents not only the overnight stopping place, but also other stages, like the crossing points on a river (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004).

Furthermore, we do not forget that the text is composed of two parts. It has been demonstrated that the list of Roman churches recorded in the first part of the text is the result of the places that Sigeric chose to visit; so, they represent the most important churches to visit for an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim (Ortenberg, 1990). It does not mean that the list of stages in the second part of the text was influenced by the same criterion, but in some cases, it could have been possible that Sigeric decided to visit holy places particularly important for an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim. For instance, Sigeric's stage *VIII Sce Cristina* is connected with St. Christina, a popular saint in England, whose cult had been brought back by pilgrims who stopped at Bolsena, and that is mentioned several times along the Via Francigena (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004).

So, the main purpose of the text could be to indicate definitively the sequence of the stopping points of an important route, covered already by pilgrims and followed by others in the future (Szabó, 1996).

#### 4. Sigeric's itinerary and the Via Francigena

We have already seen that Sigeric's diary is the first detailed itinerary written during the Middle Ages. But its importance is also due to the route that it describes.

In fact, Sigeric's itinerary is the first written description of a road called "Francigena" or "Romea". The term "Francigena" is recorded for the first time in the southern Tuscany in 9<sup>th</sup> century, then it is cited in 11<sup>th</sup> century in Piedmont and in the Seine region, and from the 12<sup>th</sup> century is recorded in several Italian regions (Szabó, 1996). But this road was also called *strata romea* in several documents, both in France and in Northern Italy, and this denomination will be the principal from 15<sup>th</sup> century (Szabó, 1996).

The road increased its importance in the Lombard period (Dall'Aglio 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1988; Stopani, 2015). The Lombards needed to connect their northern duchies with the ones in central Italy, and they had to avoid the territories ruled by the Byzantines. It means they could not use some ancient roads like Via Aurelia, Via Flaminia or Via Cassia (this one was too close to the Byzantine territories).

So, the Lombards were obliged to pass the Apennines just after the city of Piacenza, pointing towards Lucca, which became an important Lombard duchy (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004). After 643, with the loss of Liguria by the Byzantines, the Lombards could use the Cisa pass to cross the Apennines (Dall'Aglio, 2002), and then, from Lucca, the way to south touched Siena, Bolsena and reached Roma following the ancient Via Cassia.

The Lombards built several abbeys along this road, to strengthen their control on it (Kurze, 1998; Stopani, 2010), and during the Carolingian period the Via Francigena increased its important role of way towards Rome (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 2015). It is important to notice that the path of this road was not entirely created by the Lombards; it certainly followed the path of other minor ancient roads (Szabó, 1996), as topographic studies have proved (Dall'Aglio, 2002). But the decision of the Lombards to enhance the Via Francigena was fundamental for the following development of the road and the territories crossed by it.

It does not mean that the Via Francigena was the only road from Northern Europe to Rome during the Middle Ages. For instance, Nikulas of Munkathverâ records three routes towards Rome, Albert of Stade five (Stopani, 1988; Szabó, 1996).

#### 5. A Database for Sigeric's Itinerary and the Via Francigena

Sigeric's diary is one of our main source when we talk about the Via Francigena. We have seen how it is composed, its differences if compared to the Roman itineraries, and the kind of information it contains.

Nowadays, thanks to the modern technologies, we can collect all the information we have about the itinerary in a database, which could become a unique tool of study and research. As Sigeric's itinerary is a source for the reconstruction of the Via Francigena,

we could organise a database dedicated to the medieval road, in which insert a table related to the itinerary. Let us see a proposal for the creation of the database, starting from Sigeric's diary.

We have seen that the text is divided in two parts; so, we could create two separate tables, one for the Roman churches, the other for the *submansiones*.

We will focus on the latter, but we can briefly suggest that creating a table for the Roman churches visited by Sigeric could be an interesting tool too: every church should have an ID (its unique identification number) based on their citation order in the text; then, adding the geographic coordinate in every record, we could see on a map in which order Sigeric visited the churches, which roads he followed, etc.

| ID | Name             | Tipology | Description                                 | Archaeological remains   | Archaeological remains description |
|----|------------------|----------|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  | I Urbs Roma      | City     |                                             | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                    |
| 2  | II Iohannis VIII | Burgus   | Settlement around the ninth milestone of    | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                    |
| 3  | III Bacane       | Burgus   | It was the Roman road-station Baccanae,     | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                    |
| 4  | IIII Suteria     | City     | Settlement founded by the Etruscans, dior   | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                    |
| 5  | V Furcari        | Church   | It is recorded as massa in the 9th century. | <input type="checkbox"/> |                                    |

**Figure 2.** Structure of the table dedicated to Sigeric's Itinerary. Each stage has an ID based on the number recorded in the text.

The second part of the itinerary can be insert in a table as follow: every record must contain the data related to a specific stage of the itinerary. We have seen that every *submansio* in the text is numbered, so we can use as ID number of the record the same number chosen by the medieval author (e.g., *I Urbs Roma* will be record 1, *II Iohannis VIII* will be record 2, etc., **Figure 2**).

What kind of fields do we need in our table (**Figure 3**)? The purpose is to collect information about the *submansiones*, but we also need to use them in a geographic context, which means insert them in a GIS software. So, we will have a field "Name", in which is contained the name of the stage according to the itinerary; then, a field "Description", in which are summed up briefly all the information we have about the *submansio*; a field "Typology", where are inserted the classification of the stage (we will discuss this point below); a checkbox "Archaeological remains" and a field "Archaeological remains description", in which are described the archaeological evidences of the stage (we have used a checkbox for this reason: if there are archaeological remains related to the stage, it is possible to click the checkbox and enable the text field); a field "Location", where is specified if the position of a stage is certain (we know the exact position), certain areal (we know the area where the stage was, but not its exact position), uncertain (we don't know neither the exact position nor the areal); two fields "X" and "Y", where are added the geographical coordinates of the *submansio* (we have used the WGS84 reference system); finally, a field "Bibliography", in which are inserted all the text which mention the *submansio* (in our database, we should create a table containing all the information about bibliography). These are just basic fields, useful to create the starting point of our database. During the research, if we should need other kinds of data about the stages, we could easily add other fields.

**Sigeric's Itinerary**

ID: 5 Name: Furcari

Description: It is recorded as massa in the 9th century. The church of St. Maria in Forcassi replaced the Roman stopping-point of Forum Cassii.

Typology: Church

Archaeological remains: ☒

Archaeological remains description:

Location: Certain (point)

X: 12.066131 Y: 42.329718

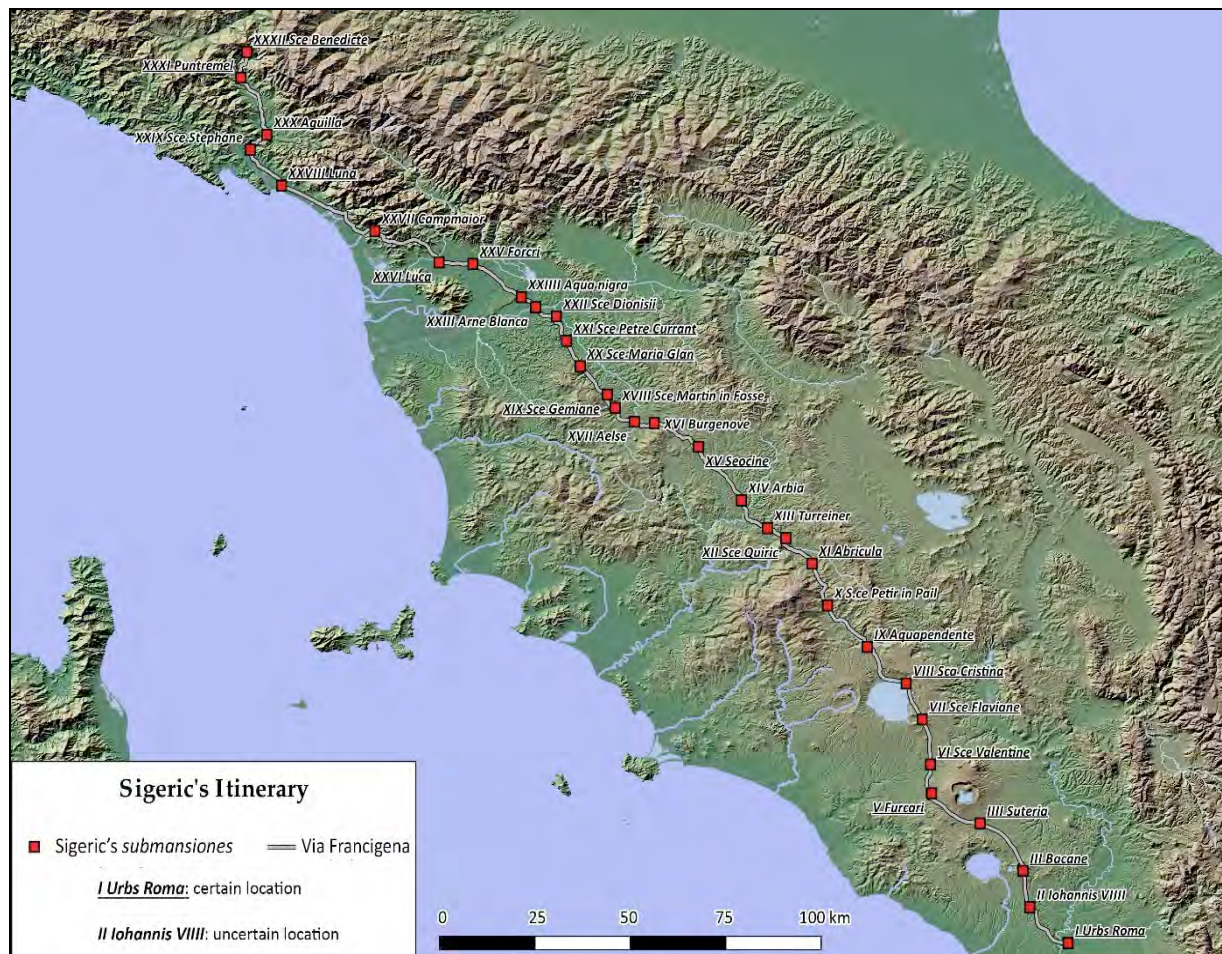
Bibliography: Corsi 2002; Patitucci Uggeri 2004; Stopani 1988; Ortenberg 1990

**Figure 3.** Form of the table dedicated to Sigeric's Itinerary

## 6. Typology of the stages: Sigeric's Itinerary in Tuscany and Lazio Region

Let us see how to use the database with a concrete example: we will focus on Sigeric's stages located in Tuscany and Lazio Region. The choice is due to the existence of several topographical studies related to this section of the Via Francigena, but also because of the number of stages involved (32 out of 79), which represents a good sample to analyse.

One of the most important element of the table we have created is the field "Typology". In fact, we know that the author of the medieval itinerary uses the term *submansiones* to define all the stages, without other specifications. So, we can insert in our table all the data about them, pass it in a GIS software and realise a map of the Sigeric's itinerary; in our map, we will see the track of the road and the *submansiones*, without distinctions between them (**Figure 4**). We could say that this is the most "philological" cartographic representation of the itinerary. But we must try to understand what else the text can tell us, always remembering that this kind of documents were written with a clear purpose, and we cannot ask them what they cannot say (Uggeri, 2000).



**Figure 4.** Sigeric's submansiones, from Rome (I Urbs Roma) to Montelungo (XXXII Sce Benedicte)

First of all, let us see the 32 stages of Sigeric's itinerary related to Tuscany and Lazio region, to understand the information we know about them (we have only indicated the name of the most important cities, like Lucca or Siena, without a description):

1. *Urbs Roma*.
2. *Iohannis VIII*. Settlement around the 9<sup>th</sup> milestone of the Via Cassia, recorded as *burgus*, while at present is called "La Storta" (Wickham, 1978; Ortenberg, 1990, Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Isola Farnese in Corsi, 2002).
3. *Bacane*. It was the Roman road-station *Baccanae*, in use until the 5<sup>th</sup> century, then *burgus* in the early Middle Ages, associated with St. Alexander from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. (Corsi, 2002; Wickham, 1978; Ortenberg, 1990, Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997).
4. *Suteria*. Settlement founded by the Etruscans, diocese from the 4<sup>th</sup> century. It is called *civitas* in 1081 (Corsi, 2002; Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997).
5. *Furcari*. It is recorded as *massa* in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The church of St. Maria in Forcassi replaced the Roman stopping-point of *Forum Cassii* (Corsi, 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Ortenberg, 1990; Stopani, 1997).

6. *Sce Valentine*. *Burgus Sancti Valentini*, recorded for the first time in 788. A church was built on the place of the martyrdom of St. Hilary and St. Valentine, who were venerated here (Corsi, 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997; Viterbo according to Ortenberg 1990).
7. *Sce Flaviane*. Montefiascone. The church of St. Flavianus, originally St. Mary, with its *burgus* is mentioned in a papal bull by Leo IV at the half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Corsi, 2002; Ortenberg, 1990, Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997).
8. *Sca Cristina*. Bolsena. The *burgus* was named after a martyr of the time of Diocletian, whose tomb was venerated here (Corsi, 2002; Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997).
9. *Aquapendente*. Settlement which is called *Burgus Arisa* in medieval documents between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century. Its urban development is due to the Via Francigena (Corsi 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Settia 1984)
10. *Sce Petir in Pail*. A disappeared monastery, part of a settlement called *Palia*. The settlement is defined *curtis* in 995 and *burgus* in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The monastery has been identified on a crossing point of the Paglia river, between the Mount Amiata and Radicofani, in a place called today Voltole (Corsi, 2002, Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
11. *Abricula*. "Le Briccole", hospice cited from medieval sources since the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Here there was also a church dedicated to St. Peregrine (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
12. *Sce Quiric*. A *pieve* dedicated to S. Quirico, at present included in the little town of S. Quirico d'Orcia (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
13. *Turreiner*. Today is the little town of Torrenieri. It was a settlement with a tower, a *pieve* and a hospice. It is recorded as a castle in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, while it is not known how the settlement was organised at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Hobart, Campana & Hodges, 2012; Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
14. *Arbia*. Ponte d'Arbia. A crossing point on the Arbia river (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
15. *Seocine*. Siena.
16. *Burgenove*. This *burgus* is difficult to identify, but according to medieval documents it should have been around Abbadia a Isola (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
17. *Aelse*. A crossing point on the Elsa river, maybe at the confluence with its tributary Botro degli Strulli (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
18. *Sce Martin in Fosse*. It is not possible to identify this settlement: *Fusci* is recorded by medieval documents in 996, and it had two churches, St. Martin and St. Stephan. Maybe St. Martin was placed near Campiglia dei Foci, around Mulino d'Aiano (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
19. *Sce Gemiane*. S. Gimignano. It is recorded as *Burgus* in 950, and at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> as a *castrum* (Augenti, 2000b; Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
20. *Sce Maria Glan*. *Pieve* of S. Maria Assunta at Chianni. (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
21. *Sce Petre Currant*. *Pieve* of St. Peter at Coiano (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997; St Peter Corazzano in Ortenberg 1990).

22. *Sce Dionisii*. The settlement was known as *Vicus Wallari* during the Lombard period (probably it was founded in the 6<sup>th</sup> century), while an *ecclesia sancti Genesi* is recorded in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (*pieve* in 763). At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, after the reconstruction of the church decided by the bishop of Lucca, the settlement was called *burgus St. Genesius*. It was destroyed in 1248 by San Miniato (Cantini, 2012; Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
23. *Arne Blanca*. A crossing point on the Arno river, difficult to identify. The medieval author uses the adjective "*blanca*", probably to identify the running water of the river, in contrast with the following stage, *Aqua nigra* (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
24. *Aqua nigra*. A crossing point on the Usciana stream. It is called "*Nigra*" because its water came from an area of marsh. This crossing point was maybe located at Cappiano (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
25. *Forcri*. Porcari. It is recorded in the sources as *castrum* in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but probably at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century it was still a *vicus* (Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani 1997; Stopani 2015,).
26. *Luca*. Lucca. (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
27. *Campmaior*. Camaione, settlement at the confluence of two streams, Nocchi and Lombricese. Probably the monastery of St. Peter in *campo maggiore* hosted Sigeric (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
28. *Luna*. The Roman Luni, a Roman city in decline since the Carolingian period (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
29. *Sce Stephane*. Borgo Santo Stefano, with a *pieve* of St. Stephan mentioned in 981 (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
30. *Aguilla*. *Castellum Aulla* is mentioned in 884, and it was a fortified settlement along the Via Francigena (Augenti, 2000a; Ortenberg, 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Settia, 1984; Stopani, 1997).
31. *Puntremel*. Pontremoli, settlement whose first reference in medieval sources is the Sigeric's itinerary. Probably it was a *vicus* at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004, Stopani, 1997).
32. *Sce Benedicte*. Abbey of St. Benedict at Montelungo (Dall'Aglio 2002; Ortenberg 1990; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; identified with Berceto in Stopani, 1997).

As we can see, Sigeric visited cities and monasteries, *burgi* and *vici*, urban and rural settlements. However, it is not always easy to choose a typology for each stage. We have made an attempt, adding the information about the different settlements in the field "Typology" of our table; after the analysis of all the stages mentioned in the itinerary, and the detailed study of the first 32 stopping point we have seen above, we can classify the settlements in these categories: city, *burgus*, *castrum*, *vicus* and minor settlement, hospice, *pieve*, monastery, church, crossing point on river.

### City

One of the most complex historical and archaeological discussion of the last decades has been the one related to the definition of the terms "city" and "town" in the Early Middle Ages (Ward Perkins, 1996; Brogiolo 1999; Brogiolo, Gauthier & Christie, 2000). In Sigeric's itinerary we find different kinds of urban settlement: we have one of the most important city of western Europe, Rome (I *Urbs Roma*), but Roman cities survived

in the Middle Ages, like Piacenza (XXXVIII *Placentia*) or Lucca (XXVI *Luca*), and others in decay, like Luni (XXVIII *Luna*) are also mentioned. Then we have the case of smaller settlement of ancient origin, which are recorded as seat of a bishopric during the Early Middle Ages, like Siena (XV *Seocine*) or Sutri (III *Suteria*), that will have an important urban development in the following centuries.

Is it possible to consider as "cities" all of them? In Roman and early medieval period, cities and towns were defined in administrative terms: the most important criterion was not their size, but the presence of the seat of a bishopric or of a secular administration (Ward Perkins, 1996). Contemporary sources tell us that most ancient *civitates* survived in Early Middle Ages, but we do not know how many people lived in them, and how they looked like. In some cases, they could have looked like churches and comital residences, rather than "towns" (Ward Perkins, 1996). If we have difficulties to classify human settlements in the early medieval period, the contemporary observers had difficulties too: they lived a moment of transition between a "city of monuments" of the Roman period to a medieval city whose landmarks were different (churches, episcopal buildings, monasteries, etc) (Brogiolo, 1999). We know that in northern Italy the 10<sup>th</sup> century was a moment of development for both the ancient cities and the new foundations (Cirelli, 2013); however, it is not easy to understand the main characters of these cities before the 11<sup>th</sup> century, as it has been demonstrated in the case of Siena (Cantini, 2011).

So, in our case, we have decided to classify as "cities" all the urban settlement that the sources recorded as seat of a bishopric, or which are called *civitas*, even if they could appear different from one another, because of their history or their size.

### *Burgus*

Another interesting kind of settlement mentioned in the itinerary is the one that other medieval sources call *burgus*; for instance, *Johannis VIII* (II), *Sce Valentine* (VI), *Sce Flaviane* (VII), *Burgenove* (XVI), *Sce Martine in Fosse* (XVIII).

The word *burgus* was used in the Roman period with the meaning of "little castle". In the early Middle Ages, the word was still used in the Germanic context to indicate a fortified settlement, while in the Romance-speaking Europe it was used with the meaning of "agglomerated settlement". In this case, it was used to indicate the suburb of a city outside the wall, or a settlement connected to a castle or a church, and sometimes an isolated rural settlement (Settia, 1984). It is something different from a *castrum* (castle) or a *vicus* (village), and its more suitable definition is: unfortified small settlement, densely populated and organised as a city (Settia, 1984).

At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, from France the word reached Italy and Spain, even if we know that in Italy it was used before. The Via Francigena had a primary role in the spread of the term: in fact, at the end of 9<sup>th</sup> century it is recorded Borgo San Donnino (Fidenza, Sigeric's XXXVI *Sce Domnine*), while in 909 it is mentioned *Burgus Arisa*, Sigeric's stage VII *Sce Flaviane* (Montefiascone) (Settia, 1984). It is possible to say that because of the Via Francigena, the road which came from France, the term was used both in Italy and France since 9<sup>th</sup> century (Settia, 1984). In the 11<sup>th</sup> century the *burgi* increased in their number, not only on the Via Francigena, but also in northern Italy, and the growth continued in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century.

### *Castrum*

A *castrum* was an intensely concentrated settlement on fortified hilltop, whose number increased in the 10<sup>th</sup> century during the so-called "incastellamento" (Augenti, 2000a; Toubert, 1973; Valenti, 2012; Wickham, 1985). This phenomenon transformed the countryside, as it has been studied also from an archaeological point of view in Tuscany (Valenti, 2012). In many cases, a *castrum* was not a new foundation, but it was the result of the development of a precedent settlement. In Sigeric's diary we have the example of S. Gimignano (XIX *Sce Gemiane*), which is recorded as *burgus* in 950, but it is called *castrum* in 998 (Augenti, 2000b). Along the Via Francigena we also have a *castrum* referred to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Aulla (XXX *Aguilla*), which was a fortified settlement with a church and a hospice (Augenti, 2000b; Settia 1984).

### *Vicus*

Since the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century the most common rural settlement was the *vicus*, which was constituted by a group of houses surrounded by farmlands (Settia, 2012). Sometimes, it was connected with a church, which was inside the *vicus* or in its surroundings. The main difference between a *vicus* and a *burgus* was the distribution of the houses: in a *burgus* they were gathered together, while in a *vicus* they were not. A *vicus* was probably Sigeric's stage Porcari (XXV *Forcri*).

### *Pieve*

Another important element of the medieval countryside were the ecclesiastic districts called *pievi*, whose centre were the baptismal churches, called themselves *pievi*. This kind of ecclesiastical organisation was typical of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Violante, 1985; Ronzani, 2009), and we have several examples of them mentioned in the Sigeric's itinerary, like S. Maria at Chianni (XX *Sce Maria Glan.*) or S. Pietro at Coiano (XXI *Sce Peter Currant.*). A *pieve* sometimes could offer accommodation to the pilgrims (Stopani, 2015).

### *Hospice*

Pilgrims needed places to stay and rest on the road, possibly not too expensive. For those who could spend money, it is recorded the existence of inns, but most of the pilgrims should rely on charity, and were hosted in *hospitalia*, whose main purpose was to offer food and bed to the pilgrims (Birch, 2000; Stopani, 1997). Sigeric's stage *Abricula* (XI) was an important hospice in the Middle Ages.

### *Monasteries and churches*

Monasteries were obliged by St. Benedict's Rule to offer shelter and food to the pilgrims (Birch, 2000). In some cases, they had separate buildings where hosting them, in order to not disturb the daily routine of the monks. In Sigeric's diary we have the monastery of St. Peter in Paglia (X *Sce Petir in Pail.*) and St. Benedict at Montelungo (XXXII *Sce Benedicte*). Even bishops and priests were obliged to host the pilgrims (Birch, 2000). The stage V *Furcari* is a church, built on the surrounding of a roman station on the Via Cassia (Corsi, 2002).

#### *Crossing point on a river*

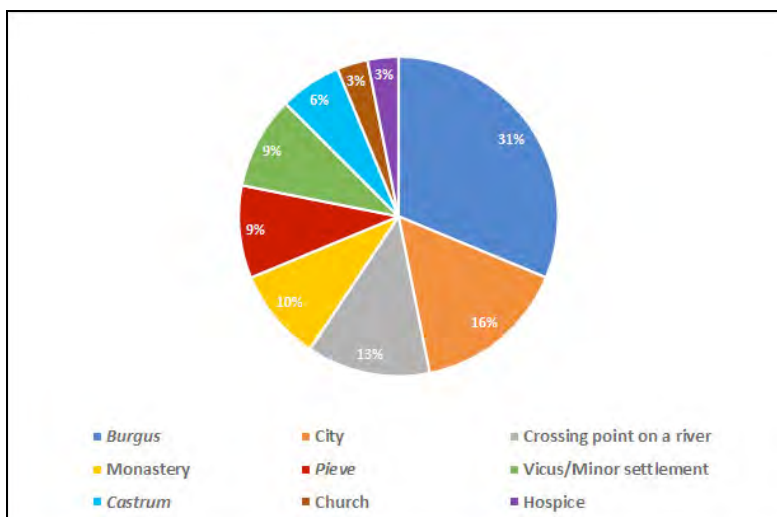
One of the main issue for a pilgrim was the crossing of a river. In Sigeric's itinerary are recorded several settlements located by a river, but sometimes, for instance the stages XXIII *Arne Blanca* and XXIV *Aqua Nigra*, the medieval author seems to refer to the crossing point itself or to a bridge, rather than to a settlement (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004). For these kind of stages, we have chosen the typology "crossing point on a river".

After the classification of the 32 stages, we can sum up the situation as follow (**Table 1**): we have 10 *burgi*, 5 cities, 4 crossing points on a river, 3 monasteries, 3 *pievi*, 3 *vici* or minor settlements, 2 *castra*, one church and one hospice.

**Table 1.** Number of stages for each typology, referred to 32 Sigeric's *submansiones*, from Rome (I *Urbs Roma*) to Montelungo (XXXII *Sce Benedicte*)

| Stage typology            | Number of stages |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Burgus                    | 10               |
| City                      | 5                |
| Crossing point on a river | 4                |
| Monastery                 | 3                |
| Pieve                     | 3                |
| Vicus/Minor settlement    | 3                |
| Castrum                   | 2                |
| Church                    | 1                |
| Hospice                   | 1                |

The most frequent settlement on this sector of the Via Francigena seems to be the *burgus*, which is represented by 10 stages (31% out of the total), followed by cities (16%) and crossing points on a river (13%) (**Figure 5**). These figures seem to confirm the role of the road for the development of the *burgi* in central and northern Italy (Settia, 1984), and the importance of the rivers in Sigeric's Itinerary (Patitucci Uggeri, 2004).



**Figure 5.** Typology of the stages: percentages related to 32 Sigeric's *submansiones*, from Rome (I *Urbs Roma*) to Montelungo (XXXII *Sce Benedicte*)

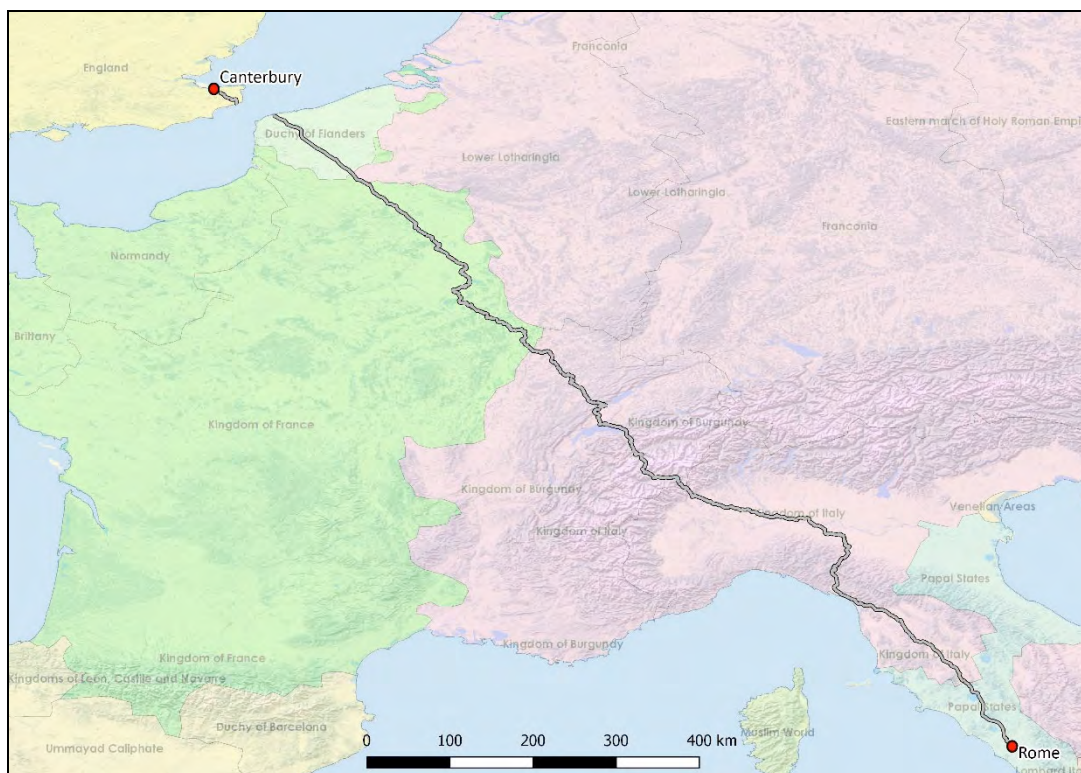
## 7. Sigeric's Itinerary and the GIS

The creation of a database related to Sigeric's itinerary would be an important starting point to collect information about the stages and the Via Francigena. The next step should be to insert our database in a GIS software, to improve our historical and archaeological knowledge of the road.

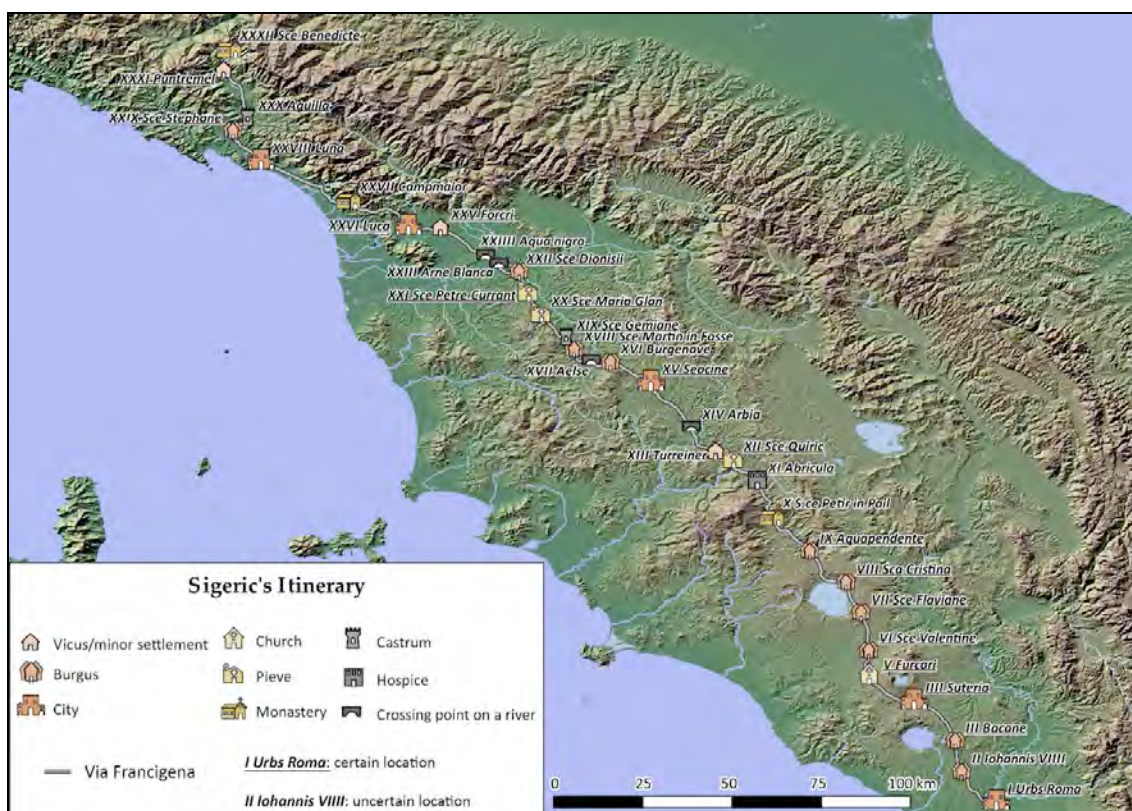
In fact, to define the path of a medieval route it is essential to use different kind of sources, like the written itineraries, the archaeological and material remains referred to the route, the geomorphological context, the toponymy. All this information can be inserted in a GIS software, to use it to answer to historical, archaeological and topographical questions (Patitucci & Uggeri, 2007).

In our case, we have inserted in our GIS project the database with Sigeric's itinerary, and the path of the Via Francigena, as defined in the most recent topographical studies (Corsi, 2002; Dall'Aglio, 2002; Patitucci Uggeri, 2004; Stopani, 1997). We can consider the Via Francigena from different point of view: on a small scale, we can see how the road crossed medieval Europe at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (**Figure 6**); on a large scale, we can understand the impact of the road on a specific territory.

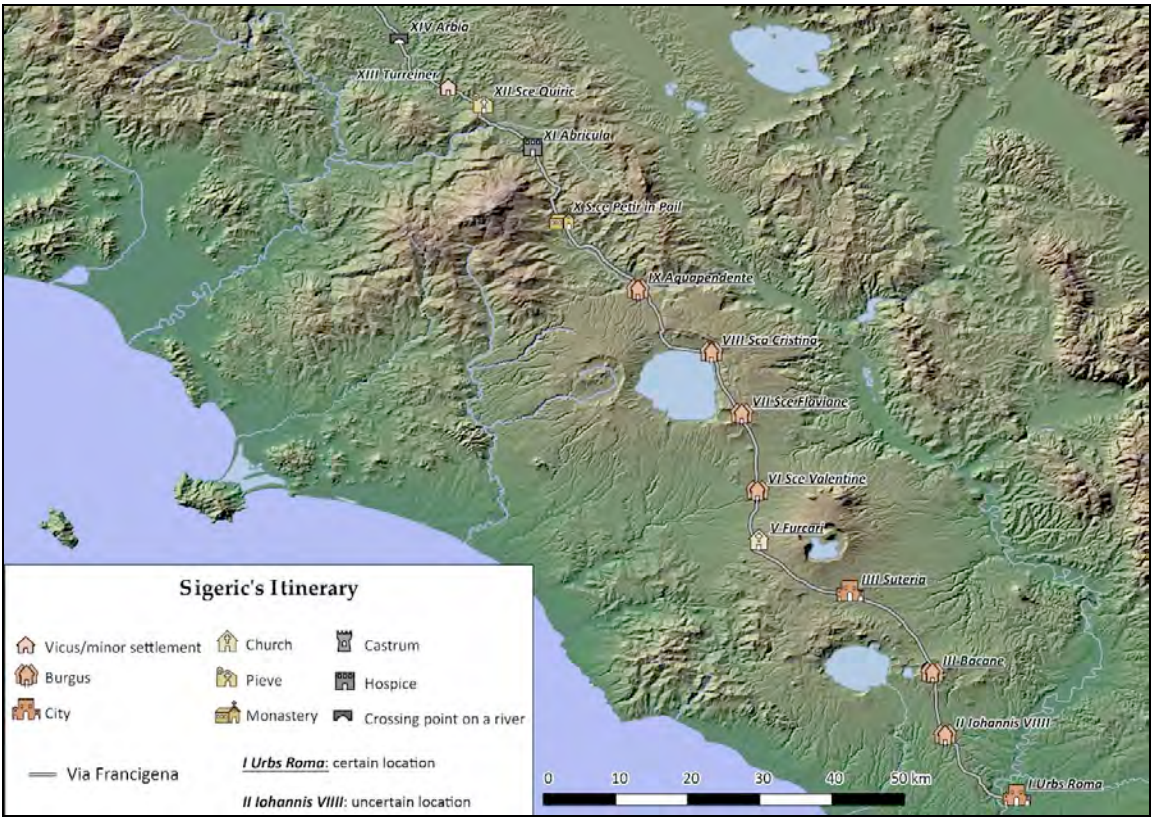
For instance, we can try to understand what kind of settlements a medieval pilgrim could have visited during his journey. So, thanks to the field "Typology" created in our database, we can see the classification of Sigeric's stages on a map (**Figures 7, 8, 9**). Furthermore, we know that Sigeric came from Anglo-Saxon England, and at present archaeological research is starting to understand the characteristics of Anglo-Saxon settlements (Hamerow, 2012); so, it would be interesting to understand the differences between what an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim was used to see in his country, and what he could have seen during his journey.



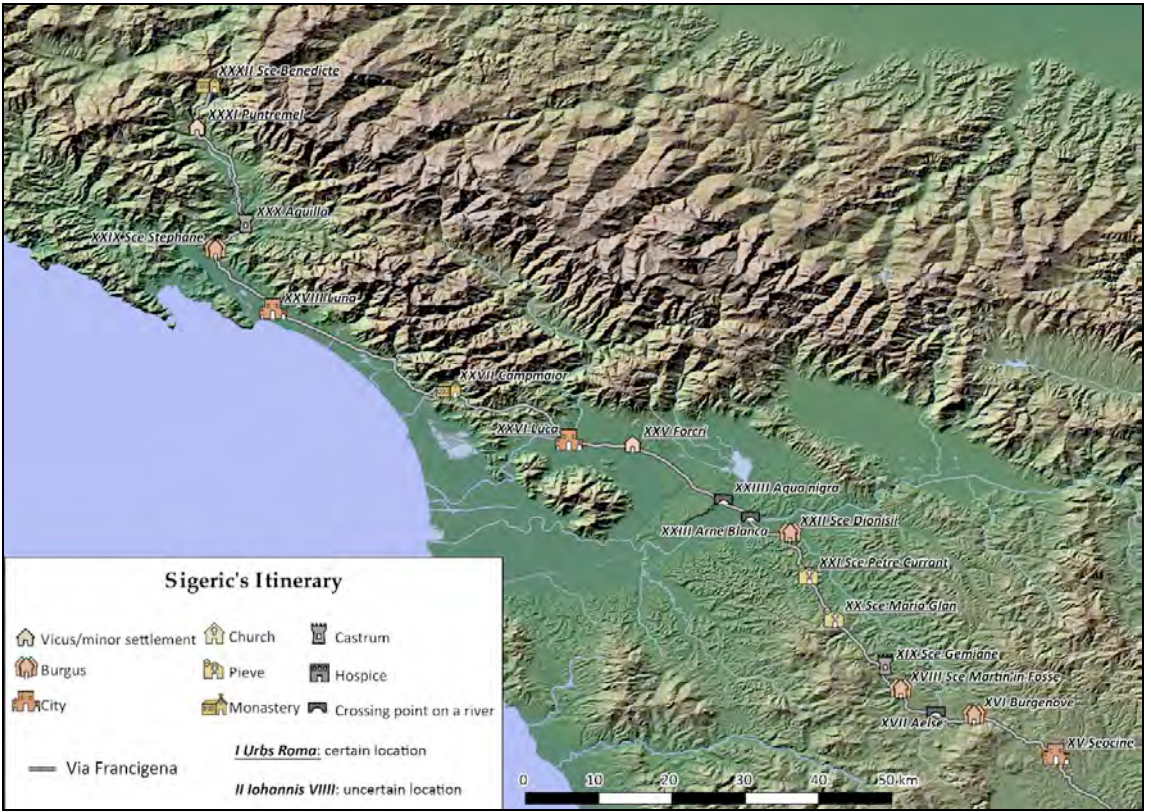
**Figure 6.** Europe and The Via Francigena at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (the layer related to the European Kingdoms is taken from The Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations (DARMC) realised by Harvard University)



**Figure 7.** Thematic map of Sigeric's *submansiones*, from Rome (I Urbis Roma) to Montelungo (XXXII Sce Benedicte)



**Figure 8.** Thematic map of Sigeric's *submansiones*, from Rome (I *Urbs Roma*) to Arbia river (XIV *Arbia*)



**Figure 9.** Thematic map of Sigeric's *submansiones*, from Siena (XV *Seocine*) to Montelungo (XXXII *Sce Benedicte*)

But every single stage we have analysed could be the starting point of a topographical and historical research on a large scale: how the medieval road changed the landscape? Why some settlements disappeared, while other became increasingly important? How was the Sigeric's stage inserted in the medieval territorial context?

However, we have to underline that while the Italian sector of the road has been studied and analysed in the recent years, while the other sectors are not so well known. In fact, it would be important to study the list of stages as a whole, in order to understand how it is structured.

A GIS software could be a fundamental tool to understand the road in its entire length: in fact, if we will add the stages of the French sector in our database, we will be able to calculate the overall length of the road and the average distance between stages, in order to have a complete vision of the places visited by Sigeric. Then, adding all the information about the medieval period (roads, cities, abbeys, etc), we will have the possibility of understanding the role of the Via Francigena in medieval Europe.

## Conclusion

Sigeric's journey ended more than one thousand years ago, but the possibility of following his steps has made his experience still interesting for the contemporary research.

The proposal of creating a database and a GIS project related to Via Francigena and Sigeric's itinerary is a starting point, useful to understand how modern technologies could help us in the field of historical and topographical research.

We have focused our attention on the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when Sigeric made his journey, but the further development of the Via Francigena, the other paths and the other stages can be inserted too in our database. At the same time, sources like the diary of Nikulas of Munkathverâ could be integrated in the project, in order to have a complete archive of the sources related to the Via Francigena.

In conclusion, we can notice that Sigeric's diary could be considered as a photograph of a changing world: from one side, we have Roman cities in decay that are still mentioned, from the other, there are minor settlements that will become important towns in the Middle Ages, thanks to the importance of the Via Francigena.

And then, there are castle and villages, monasteries and *pievi*; some of them are disappeared, others are still existing. Thanks to modern technologies, we can highlight the reasons behind these changing, and try to understand in a better way the history of our territories.

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## Almatourism

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### A Path of Research and Development along Cultural Routes on Mount Amiata

Porcelloni, L.\*

European Association of Vie Francigene (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

The contribution intends to show the approach and the methodology of historical geography used in the research and to corroborate the identification, as well as the *officialization*, of an ancient route in southern Tuscany. At the foot of Mount Amiata, the route was closely interconnected to the Via Francigena and likewise the history of the villages in the area.

The research has involved a thorough study of ancient written sources and historical cartography, a significant part of the research was undertaken in the field using a multidisciplinary approach. Archeology was particularly important, with the fundamental support of GPS survey tools and a consequent digital return and analysis by Geographical Information System (GIS).

The aim is not only to produce scientific material for the rediscovery of a historical-geographic context, but also to offer an important opportunity to make the most of the natural resources and the cultural, historical and artistic discoveries with the itinerary as the central idea. Following the concrete results obtained from the *officialization* of the itinerary, the research is an important witness to the landscape transformations and to the territorial development that the route, as in the past, continues to encourage.

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**Keywords:** Cultural Routes; Historical Cartography; GIS; Heritage; Amiata

Il contributo intende mostrare l'approccio e la metodologia propri della geografia storica, condotti nella ricerca e mossi dall'avvaloramento dell'individuazione, nonché ufficializzazione, di un antico tracciato che, nei pressi della Toscana meridionale alle pendici del Monte Amiata, fu strettamente interconnesso alla via Francigena e così la storia dei borghi e delle tracce presenti sul territorio.

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\* E-mail address: leonardo.porcelloni@gmail.com

La ricerca ha dunque seguito un approfondito studio sulle antiche fonti scritte e la cartografia storica, inoltre sono state condotte numerose ricerche sul campo mediante un approccio multidisciplinare, in particolare attingendo dall'archeologia, con il fondamentale supporto di strumenti di rilievo (GPS) ed una conseguente restituzione ed analisi digitale per mezzo degli Strumenti Informativi Geografici (GIS).

L'obiettivo non consiste solo nella produzione di materiale scientifico volto alla riscoperta di un contesto storico-geografico, ma si offre anche di costituire un importante opportunità di patrimonializzazione e valorizzazione eterogenea delle risorse naturali ed emergenze culturali, storiche ed artistiche, dove l'itinerario si propone come filo conduttore.

A seguito dei concreti risultati ottenuti dall'ufficializzazione dell'itinerario, ne risulta un'importante testimonianza delle trasformazioni paesaggistiche e dello sviluppo territoriale che la strada, come nel passato, continua a favorire.

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**Keywords:** Itinerari Culturali; Cartografia Storica; GIS; Patrimonio; Amiata

### **Introduction: Space and history of the ancient routes**

The viability constitutes one of the most important traits of the settlement process and the territorialisation of the spaces crossed, representing the result of a complex system consisting of human choices, culture, capabilities and skills of the population, which characterize the territory and the natural environment.

Amongst these considerations, the landscape becomes the theatre for the structure and the organization of a geographical area. That is why it is in a condition of constant transformation, and mainly subordinated by three major factors: environmental, political and socio-economic (Rizakis, 1992).

In the multiplicity of the meanings in which the viability is permeated, the words of geographer Aldo Sestini give a clear complete vision:

(...) a road is not just a route more or less technically equipped and not even a simple flow of goods, people and ideas; it is a living organism, inserted for close relationships in the physical, economic, social and political context of the crossed, indeed joint, regions. What is happening is a reflection of this totality, which in turn is subject to influence (Sestini, 1984, p. 1).

Each action is to create a deep articulation and stratification of elements, both material and cultural, that make up the landscape enriched with a variety of signs and meanings.

If the heterogeneous nature of the roadway gives a clear idea of how complex a study of road segment can be, the road should not be just a still object when we consider the process of transformation but a means that leads to the places crossed along the way.

Roman road traffic had relied on a high construction quality, which provided a consistent road surface, maintenance and infrastructure, allowing an effective control

of the colonial territories of the Empire. Strabone, geographer and ancient Greek historian, praised the importance that the Romans attributed to the elements of greatest necessity, without however, forgetting to embellish the city:

(...) the Ellenians are well-known for having happily founded their cities because they looked at beauty [...] But the Romans were mainly concerned with those things which the Ellen neglected, like the paved streets, the aqueducts and sewers to transmit the city's dirt into the Tevere. They also made roads in the rest of their territory by sloping holes and emptying cavities [...] (Ambrosoli, 1835, pp. 61-62).

In fact, there are a few of these great Roman works still remaining in use today. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, though some invaders had followed the pre-existing routes since the Middle Ages, no power was able to build, maintain, and secure the roads of a sovereign nature, thus recognized universally as a single path, if not as the direction. There were many *vie francigenae*. It is quite difficult to talk about variations of a main path for there were mostly equal and transit routes (Moretti, 2009). In this regard, it would be more appropriate to consider the spatiality of the road, introduced by the historian Giuseppe Sergi<sup>1</sup> with the concept of "street area", in turn inspired by the "multitude of small canals" identified by the French historian Marc Bloch<sup>2</sup> as a characteristic of medieval communications. The street area is the territory in which variable but long-lasting transits interact, that contains variants of the route and constitutes a basin of conditioning on the territory and local society (Sergi, 2000). The research here proposed the study and promotion of the itinerary, or rather of the road area, as one of the variants of the via Francigena, identified by the reconstruction of the stages described in a diary by the Archbishop of Canterbury Sigeric who in 990-994 carried out the return journey from Rome to his episcopal seat.<sup>3</sup> This may seem contradictory to what has just been said, but it should be considered as the result of a declination of ancient viability in a contemporary space-time context in which the purpose, after the historical identification of the itineraries and their related structures, consists of protecting and enhancing cultural itineraries and assets as well as promoting sustainable development.

The via Francigena, as an international route, is therefore to be integrated into a wider context where many other paths exist, on different levels and crossing the most diverse landscapes, that of the Cultural Itineraries, which "represent interactive, dynamic, and evolving processes of human intercultural links that reflect the rich diversity of the contributions of different peoples to cultural heritage" (ICOMOS, 2008, p. 1). The program of Cultural Itineraries, which was started in 1987 by the Council of Europe with Camino de Santiago de Compostela. This was the first of the itineraries and the via Francigena followed later in 1994, they represent a unique means for the rediscovery of the multiple identities of the European region and the consolidation of the European identity through the essential component of landscape (Berti, 2012).

## **1. The via Francigena on Mount Amiata: methodology, studies and research on the "street area"**

On the study of the itineraries, the type of cause / effect relationship that is established between the road traffic and the related urban habitat or infrastructures should be taken into account. It will be interesting to understand what those roads, that have become a stable element of the landscape, have produced, finding themselves in close proximity to obligatory passages because of their particular geographical location. Instead, when the transit possibilities were different on a local scale, the direction and the "life" of the itineraries were dictated by other infrastructure logic and the needs of both urban habitat and traveller, and thus shown to be short lasting.

This was especially true in medieval times, when the way of travelling did not require particular structural qualities: the width was reduced (not more than three meters), and there were cobbled rough and modest works of art, such as bridges (particularly narrow and defined by a single round arch) (Moretti, 2011, pp. 13-14). Considering the complexity of the movements of historical itineraries and stratifications over time, reconstructing a path means, rather than tracing a unique road, to identify a territory-road made up of firm points such as *submansio* (stages), inhabited centers and obligatory today.

This approach cannot clearly be based on a mono-thematic study, but requires an extremely articulated methodology and consequently of a multidisciplinary nature, where an in-depth knowledge of the historical and cultural context can never be ignored. Each of the elements that are dealt with requires a particular approach, but they must be considered complementary to each other, in order to comprehend the human and natural elements set in the landscape and in history as a whole. The method can be defined by recalling the indications of the medieval archaeologist Stella Patitucci Uggeri (2002) and at the same time demonstrating the sources and documents consulted, the field activities and the tools used.<sup>4</sup>

## **2. The historical and geomorphological context**

The development of people and their boundaries may be considered to be strongly conditioned by the environmental aspect, as claimed by one of the fathers of political geography, Friedrich Ratzel (1914). Without falling into a deterministic view, the natural context of the considered area in relation to the surroundings gives a reasonable explanation for the birth of a new road network where one of the most important road lines will converge: the via Francesca or Francigena, so called at least since the tenth century.

A route was outlined by the Longobard irruption in the second half of the 6th century and initially called Via di Monte Bardone. The Longobards, also for geomorphological reasons, identified the same Cisa pass as the entrance to Tuscan land. This was witnessed by the Longobard historian Paolo Diacono (720-799) when he describes the passage of King Longobard Grimoaldo while he was directed to destroy the Forlimpopoli city:

(...) he entered the Tuscia for the Alpe di Bardo in the time of Lent, with totally unaware of the Romans, he unexpectedly plunged into the city at the same moment of the Holy Easter Saturday baptism, and committed such a massacre that even killed the deacons baptizing children on the same sacred source (Capo, 2013, pp. 27-30).

The path, with the intent of reaching Rome, continues through southern Tuscany, along the base of Mount Amiata, an ancient volcano now no longer active but completely covered by vegetation. Here two valleys meet, they take their names from the rivers that they cross, the Orcia and the Paglia. To the east of the mountain, the Paglia Valley is again bordered by smaller reliefs creating a particularly strategic natural passage that can be controlled from any summit.

As evidenced by the *Atlas of the Archaeological Sites of Tuscany* (Torelli, 1992), the area, in addition to the medieval period, has historically been visited since prehistory and then in the pre-Roman and Roman times. However the consolidation of the road network is confirmed after the collapse of the Roman Empire and the road deterioration was due to the concatenation of natural and political-military factors. The geomorphologic context of the territory crossed by the road is essential not only in identifying passages, but also in understanding the reasons that have caused the abandonment or preference of other roads. In general, on hillsides and mountainous areas there are no major transformations, they are generally more stable, as opposed to the significant variations along the coastline or in wetlands, lagoon and river areas. Therefore, on one hand, we find the waterlogging and imperviousness of malaria in the Maremma lands, thus complicating the passage of the Via Aurelia on the Tyrrhenian coast. We also have the Chiana Valley, conditioned by a natural flood, which was witnessed by the cartography realized by Leonardo da Vinci after the reconnaissance of 1503 (Chellini, 2007), which saw a gradual abandonment and radical transformation of the Via Cassia. On the other hand, what influenced and favoured the passage was the persistent and strong position that the Byzantines exercised at the beginning, forcing the Longobards to maintain their distance from the Exarchate (Szabò, 1992). The road then made its way into Latium on the Via Cassia north of Bolsena, following the new stretch built under Traiano and not the existing Etruscan route to Orvieto.

Slowly the political fragmentation of the peninsula increased, creating new organizational needs in the area and determining the birth of a multitude of new, sometimes spontaneous, networks. The result is a complex road system which stratifies the territory with groups of streets, variants and *diverticula* (side-streets) that arise, abandon, reactivate and alternate in importance. This makes it impossible to talk about tracing the "true" route of the via Francigena, but it makes sense to find the various places touched by the travellers along the way.

### **3. The incipience through the documents and other sources**

In the first of a long series of events, the sacredness of the itinerary was gradually defined and conspicuously enriched by the many relics on the way; consequently, every expression of spirituality affects the environment, shapes it and creates a "sacred

space” (Stopani, 2004, p. 149). Other exceptional written sources of ecclesiastical origin, useful for witnessing the existence and dating of structures, villages and streets, are Diplomatic Codes, which systematically collect works and writings of the past belonging to a given territory.

With the new Longobard design of evangelization, conquest and control of the territory, the process of the foundation of abbeys began, these provide a great opportunity to identify the importance of the great links of that period. The abbeys near the Francigena were all erected within a distance of about 30 kilometers from each other, so it can be assumed that the distances were calculated on the basis of a day’s walk (Kurze, 1998).

Among these, the Abbey of San Salvatore on Mount Amiata was built in the fifth decade of the eighth century, founded by the noble Friulian Longobard Erfo under the reign of Ratchis:

(...) King Rachis confirms to the Abbot Erdo the goods he donated for the construction of the monastery and the church of S. Salvatore [on Montamiata] with the servants of the glebe that cultivate them, and takes the monastery under his protection (Kurze, 2004, p. 82).

This document is contained within the Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus, significant for its antiquity, wealth and integrity, the most important in central Italy for the late Middle Ages (with particular regard to the lack of narrative sources), for which transcribing and publishing parchments (until 1198) was accomplished by Prof. Wilhelm Kurze. The foundation was also linked to the legendary story in which the king of the Longobards Ratchis was the protagonist. According to the legend, he had been faced with the appearance of the Holy Savior on the top of a fir tree, so painted (Fig. 1) inside the abbey by Francesco Nasini (1621-1695).



**Figure 1:** 1652-1653, Francesco Nasini, detail of the painting of the appearance of the Holy Savior within the same Abbey

Source: author's picture

The legendary event is also described in the same period by the illustrious writer and ecclesiastical character Ferdinando Ughelli (1596-1670), who, in addition to the legend, records the remarkable presence of relics along with the description of the “casalia” of “Paliano, Casulane” and “sancti Philippo” (San Filippo), that of the surrounding environment through the “fluvio Palia” (Paglia River), “fossato Rigale” (Rigale ditch) and the tree quality to make it “terra umbrata” (shaded land) (Ughelli, 1647, pp. 665-672).

The side-road for the Abbey of San Salvatore touches the above-mentioned village of San Filippo, here there is a thermal bath that was already appreciated in Roman times for the therapeutic properties of its waters, and the Pietrineri site. It is then attested in 1023 that there was a public road bordering on Rondinaia (Kurze, 2004, p. 128), the name of a stream and a current cottage in the same locality. It continues on to the current Trefossata road, just below the monastery, “where the church of Santa Maria Interfossata is documented in 1079, an important reference for the inhabitants settled near the Pagliola stream” (“Albinita” and “Kasis Fabris”) (Mambrini, 2016, pp. 4-5). The area in question was intercepted by the valley along the Formone stream on the via Francigena near the staging post of the Ricorsi, whose sixteenth-century building and bridge still maintain a medieval structure (Mambrini, 2010).

The monastery therefore fell within the aforementioned area between the local abbeys. From the frontier of the Pontifical State, after a little disagreement, it was possible to reach Pontremoli. Therefore it is easy to understand why this route

represented the Longobard "highway" connecting Tuscany with northern Italy. However, this does not rule out the idea that there were also several minor passages, known only to the natives, which allowed only a few people to cross the mountain.

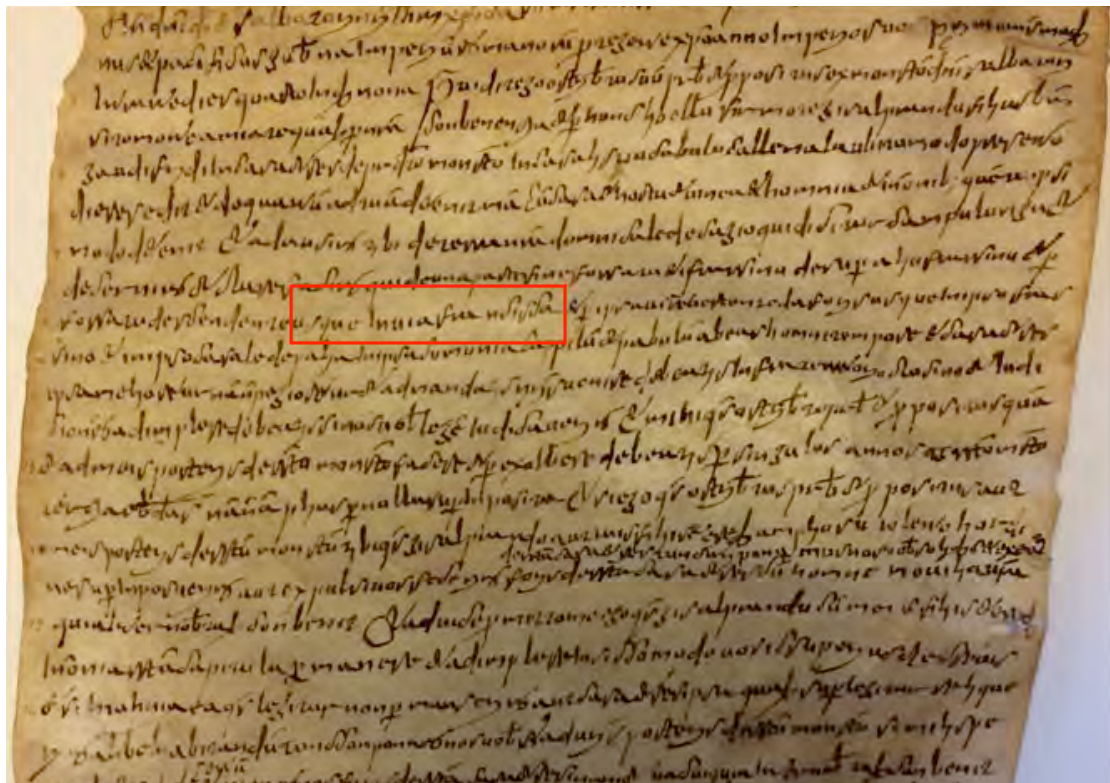
In fact, they tended to use the highways, for greater security and control over the territory, completing a new road to join the centres on the hillsides. It is therefore fundamental to go back to the way in which it had been consolidated by following the related structures. From the south to the north, following the footsteps of Sigeric, it is attested in the year 1000 in Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus that the largest village in the valley included about 400 inhabitants: Voltole (Kurze, 2004, p. 120).

Toponymy is another precious element of research, especially when there is a possible link to the elements of the territory, through which references of Roman roads may be found, such as the general terms of the road: *via*, *strata*, *publica* and *regia* (as will be seen later). Moreover, toponymy is related to the frequentations of the pilgrimage phenomenon and to the *agio*-toponyms (names of the saints), to the sacral dedications and to the *xenodochia* (hospice infrastructures). Furthermore in this study, toponymy has allowed us to reach an important conclusion. In fact together with the testimonies of the current settlement of Voltole, where there are remains of medieval construction, it was possible to identify the X *submansio* of Sigeric, called Sce Peitr in Pail, just in the borgo mentioned above thanks to St. Peter's dedication, repeatedly mentioned in the CDA (Mambrini & Stopani, 1989).

Nearby there was one of the side-roads from the Abbey of San Salvatore passing through Pietregrosse or *Cepponero*, the current road of Poggio la Billa, witnessed in the Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus where an oath of Count Ranieri is reported "not to contradict the construction of the castle designed by the monastery between S. Maria in Poio and the well Ceppeonero" (Kurze, 2004, p. 139). The castle will never be realized but it still demonstrates the importance of transit and the strategic aspect of the stretch.

Subsequently, we find that the Abbey represented a neuralgic point of connection from which it was possible to reach the via Francigena, once you crossed the Paglia river and the *Casella* area.

In this area there was the ancient village(it has since disappeared) of *Callemala*, whose toponym has a clear reference to the road structure (bad road). The plan shows old structures, or rather Roman, and is remembered as *Personiano* (Cambi, 1996). The settlement consisted of "approximately 200 inhabitants, a church dedicated to Santa Cristina attested to 962, a cemetery and a *xenodochio ad usum peregrinorum*" (for the use of pilgrims) (Kurze, 2004, p. 117). The monks of S. Salvatore also owned houses, taverns, mills, cultivated land, pastures and woods. To emphasize the importance that the Abbey had on the territory and the flow of the road, the new denomination *via Francisca* is contained for the first time within the Diplomatic Amiatine in the 9th century in a contract of 876 (Fig. 2) inside an *Actum Clusio*, in the description of soil given to rent: "Prist Ostriberto, responsible of the S. Salvatore monastery in Montamiata, rented to Gisalprando, son of dead Gaudifrido, a monastic property in Callemala, of the land of the curtis domnicalisnella forest Campulongu, bordering with the via Francigena [...]" (Kurze, 2004, p. 109).



**Figure 2:** Detail of parchment contained within the *Codex Diplomaticus Amiatinus*, year 876. Inside the red box you can read “usque in via francisca”

Source: On concession of the State Archive of Siena, Diplomatico San Salvatore MA, 876, may 4 (cas. 6). Not allowed further reproduction (author's picture)

The role that the street acquires, absorbs the most diverse circumstances, its imagination is in continual enrichment, in particular “it is a matter of relationship between communication paths and political powers which is primarily a matter of space-power relations” (Cardini, 1985, p. 23).

The Church sought new protection from the Franks, a Catholic population in political-military ascendancy. For them, the connection with Rome was of much greater importance than it was for the Longobards: hence the understandable Carolingian interest that the road would become safer and more viable. The Longobards' road became the Franks' road, from that we get the name *Francisca*, which later became the via Francigena in the 12th century, between the end of Carolingian domination and Romea domination (Szabo, 1989).

In the 11th century, on the other side of the valley, in front of Mount Amiata, the castle of Radicofani was consolidated; this fortification was a safer passage for travellers who gradually abandoned the Paglia Valley. The road came to define new socio-economic dynamics by favoring some centres at the expense of others. The process of depopulation of the villages along the valley such as *Callemala* followed.

#### 4. The ancient cartography and the travel diaries

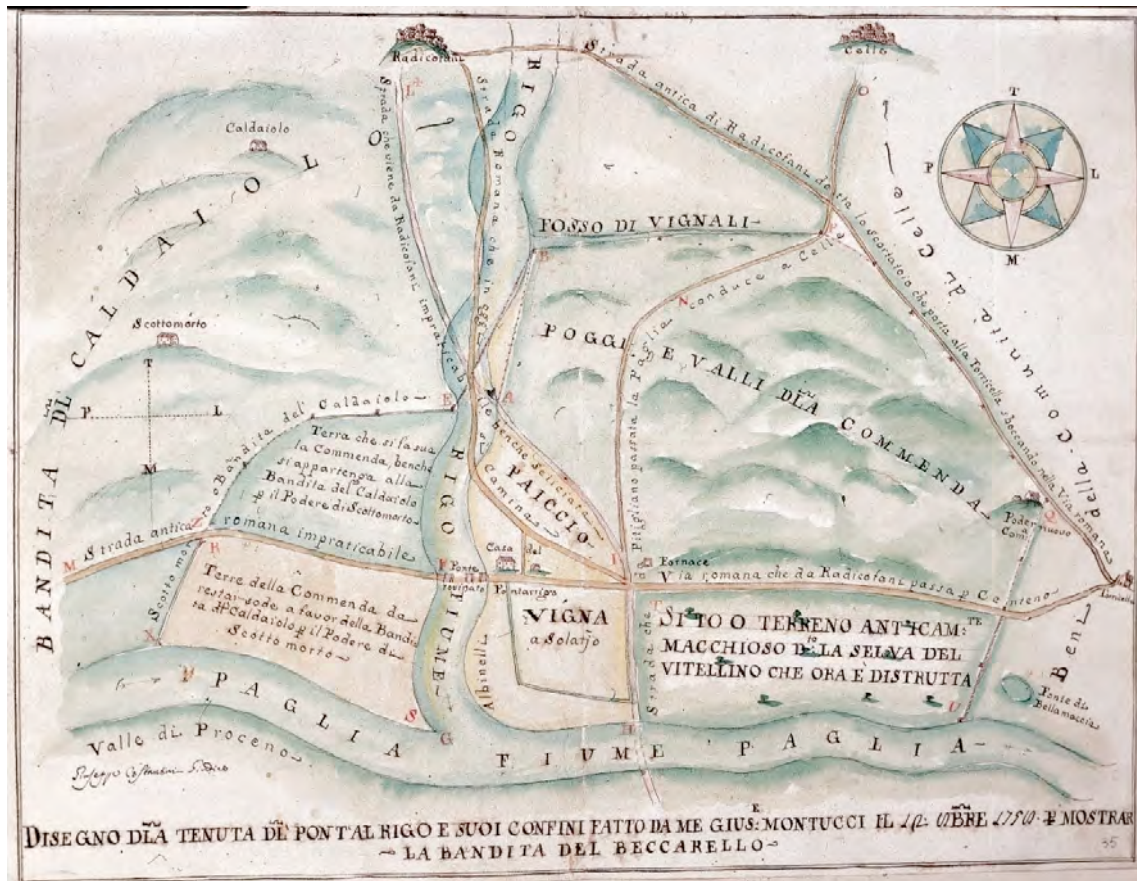
As this research will highlight, another fundamental aspect comes from written sources, which, considering the lack of interest in the efficiency of the road system in the medieval period, are mainly found indirectly in documentation, for example on the confinement and management of land ownership.

Since the medieval routes were largely concerned with pilgrimages, those written sources inherent to the sacred elements of the itinerary abound, such as hagiography and travel narratives in diary form, *itineraria scripta* or *adnotata*, and cartographic, *itineraria picta*. These are the first real listings of the achieved stages, *mansiones*, with their infrastructure and useful information for the traveller. Among them, the most complete work is the *Itinerarium Antonini*<sup>5</sup>, which includes an account of road routes between the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. with descriptions of the distances in Roman miles that allow you to reproduce a map of the itineraries of that period.

As for the graphic representations of the territory, a famous example is the *Tabula Peutingerina*<sup>6</sup>. Although it is a completely depicted cartographic representation, it is particularly useful for understanding the complexity and vastness of the network of the Roman Empire as well as for identifying the passages of the centres involved and their destinations, since it was realized with the will to reproduce the whole system of connections that Rome had with the rest of the Empire, as such it was a real atlas of the road (Quilici, 2004).

One of the first documents that testifies to the path to the Fortress of Radicofani, in front of Mount Amiata, is the diary of Abbot Nikulas of Munkathvera, on a pilgrimage from Iceland to Rome and then to the Holy Land, who, during the trip between 1151 and 1154 remembers the mountain of *Clemunt* (the hymn indicating the Mount of Radicofani) on top of which is the castle *Kona*, a mistakenly attributed name by the Abbot himself, as it is his translation of another settlement on the Formone Valley (*Muliermala*) (Stopani, 1986). However, it would be wrong to think that the passage between the two masses of Amiata and Radicofani had been completely abandoned as it represented the most direct way to reach Rome (as is currently the case). Even before the 1442 ban of the State of Siena "that the Roman road (Fig. 3) did not pass over the valley" (due to the poor safety of the route), in 1422, the notary of the community of Abbadia San Salvatore Ser Sergio of Ser Francesco, complained that Radicofani would like to burn huts along the *Strada Romana* where they received pilgrims and viatores" (Mambrini, 1998, p. 241).

In addition to the famous cartographic productions, it is possible to find important testimonies in views, small scale plans and maps (often *Cabrei*<sup>7</sup>), the purpose of which was to illustrate the confinement, transitions of goods, land ownership, architectural structures, maintenance work, but indirectly to deliver state of the art roads.



**Figure 3:** *Cabreo* painted by Giuseppe Montucci on October 12th 1758. On the bottom left of the paper, above where the Paglia River flows, you can notice the *Strada antica romana* (ancient Roman road) already defined as impractical. Nowadays, it is difficult to trace, at its side we find the one we call Via Cassia, identified as the Regional Road 2 that connects Rome with Florence

Source: On concession of the State Archive of Siena, Quattro Conservatori, Piante, 3052, n. 35. Not allowed further reproduction (author's picture)

Continuing the main route, in 1014, the hamlet Briccole (Kurze, 2004, p. 124) is mentioned, easily attributable to the XI Sigeric station called *Abricula*. There was an important hospice here where in 1079 and 1088 the Countess Matilde of Canossa resided on her return journeys from Rome and a further document of *Codex Diplomaticus* 1191 recalls *Hospitale de Briccole*. The structure remained operational until the beginning of the nineteenth century as the road continued to be a transit point even after the sixteenth century when it became the Roman border of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (Mambrini, 2010).

The road, at the time of Sigeric, mainly continued to Siena and later further north from Mount Bardone, as has already been mentioned. But along the course of history it will be subjected to successive transformations. From the 13th century, commercial traffic grew and the roads that went to Rome were manifold; as Plesner (1979) defined, in his important work already mentioned, *the road revolution*. The Francigena loses its uniqueness, its origins are numerous and the destination is renowned (Rome),

changing its name to *Romea*, the Arno valley (Florence) is developed and the Cisa Pass is relegated to a local function. The itinerary that was formed is a sort of *collage* between the old consular roads still in use, the new routes of emerging peoples driven by various expansionary needs and the reflection of the new control dynamics exercised on the territory and thus on the viability. The centers that developed along the route had a close relationship with the road; in the Paglia Valley, during the fifteenth century, it was called *Strada Maestra Sacrata Romana* (Sacred Roman Maestral Way) (Stopani, 2007). Along the *reign roads*, built and maintained by the state, the presence of replacement horses and the livelihood of the traveller were ensured. Located between the Briccole and the Ricorsi there is the staging post of the Scala, attested to 1562. It represented such a particularly important reference at that time that it was shown in the major international scale maps, including the paper of 1695 described by Giacomo Cantelli da Vignola: *Italy with its main posts and main roads*, “the only postclassical document specifically related to road mapping” (Vecchio, 2004, p. 105). Subsequently, the structure, heavily damaged by a fire in 1760, was replaced by the Poderina staging post, and in fact it was cited in 1843 by the Repetti geographer as a tavern, which also provides us with a detailed description of the infrastructure along the post road (Repetti, 1843). In the light of the in-depth studies proposed here, there is a clear necessity for an interdisciplinary approach that does not only consider the road itself, but rather the space and the area of influence that is generated around it. The proximity to the welfare facilities and the progressive extension of the villages along the valley with their economic and commercial activities, explains the copious transit that was developing (Fig. 4).



**Figure 4:** Second Demonstration Plan of the Grand Duke of Tuscany with the State of the Church from San Casciano to Piancastagnaio, Camillo Rossi, 1785. From the paper it

is possible to see the complex road system that was developing further; also in the lower right there is the village of Abbadia San Salvatore with a radiant road system and a direct connection to Radicofani (to the left), which was defined the *Strada Romana*  
Source: On concession of the State Archive of Siena, MS. C 31, plant n. 2. No further reproduction allowed (author's picture)

On the one hand, these centers provided safety and security, in some cases attracting the flow of prosperous markets, and on the other hand the increase of population and economic growth changed the way the streets were considered: they became the indispensable instrument of economic life by providing homes with a supply of food and goods. Through the study of the larger care facilities along the way, despite the continuous changes, there are clear results of the downhill passages along the via Francigena and, although smaller, the local road structure that allowed people to reach the Abbey on Mount Amiata.

## **5. Field survey and digital analysis: roads, infrastructures and settlement**

In addition to the studies illustrated, a number of field surveys were conducted along the paths and in locations already identified through the sources described above. The confrontation on the territory represents an indispensable phase of research on the ancient road, and more generally of historical geography. In this way, it is possible to support the proposed thesis and to make the research more scientific. It is possible to compare the reality of the territory concerned, the communities and local populations, to acquire more detailed information in order to gain at the same time concrete knowledge as well as an overview.

This is particularly the case as regards the road with the infrastructures connected to it and the settlement fabric. In such situations archaeological research plays a fundamental role, as there are extremely complex constructions with new road engineering criteria and techniques. It allows us to find along trails, traces of works and artifacts such as bridges, supporting walls, paved road and *miliaria* (a road marking system milestones or pillars) (Lugli, 1957). This is essentially concerned with the viability of Roman origin, while medieval fortresses are very scarce since they were essential solutions.

The layout of the settlement is vast and complex, as will be analysed in the case study, it includes the various dwellings interconnected to the viability, the fortifications born in the medieval castellation, the attractive shrines for the pilgrim, the hospitals to assist travellers, churches, monasteries and parish churches. Of these, in particular, the link was conceived by the Danish researcher Plesner (1979), according to whom the parish churches arose along the great communication paths in relation to the pre-existing road districts. In this way they were able to survive the Roman decline and continue throughout the Middle Ages with the dual ecclesiastical function and road maintenance.

Finally, a purely geographic approach to the collection and management of computerized data by the Geographic Information Systems (GIS) has been considered. These tools allow you to acquire the information directly on the ground using GPS

(Global Positioning System) and return it to the appropriate software that creates geo-referenced data from digital cartography. In addition, there are *geo-data*, the databases that enable the inclusion of a searchable and geo-localizable data bank in the immediate future. The potential is enormous, as a large amount of well-located information on paper can be consulted at the same time, overlapped and compared, depending on spatial arrangement, in chronological and thematic order.

The stretch of road on the slopes of Mount Amiata along the Paglia Valley, formerly controlled by the Abbey of San Salvatore, is full of testimonies documented both in the writings in the archives of the Monastery and in archaeological excavations carried out during the 1980s and 1990s. Many of the testimonies do not refer to the viability however, cultural and economic factors cannot ignore what a road of this magnitude implies in the area involved. Moreover, by consulting the aforementioned *Atlas of the Archaeological Sites of Tuscany*, it is immediately clear that the greatest concentration of artifacts connected with Roman and medieval buildings are distributed along the route along the Paglia Valley. And yet, by carrying out accurate research in the field, countless finds have been found relating to the road organization, including in Pietrineri and *Le Caselle*, as shown on the map below. Of the latter, part of the ancient late medieval path used to climb up to the monastery, there is now nothing left of it, only photographic evidence of the 70s which shows a medieval structure. In the *Carta Archeologica* "a tank excavated in the trachyte, probably a winemaker of the medieval period" (Cambi, 1996, p. 60) is described. Even today, in the valley of the same road, there are traces of the ruins of a Romanesque church enclosed in the Lagaccione Farm where a single-lancet window is well visible and walls in support of water management. In light of the above, the itinerary surrounding the variant has been supported by geographic research through the Geographic Information Systems. Therefore, the various paths covered by the research have been traced using GPS instruments, then returned and analysed by means of specific GIS software so that they can be superimposed and carefully studied on current cartographies as well as on Leopoldino ones dating from the nineteenth century (the first to respond to second geodetic criteria). It was thus possible to overlay the path taken from the geo-referenced maps of the Leopoldino Cadastre and observe how the traces follow the various Abbey links (Fig. 5) as well as the route called Royal Postal Roman, with the exception of the sections in which the natural elements intervened, such as rivers and landslides. It is in fact on the valley where the via Francigena was flowing that many of the street artifacts were "hidden" by the lush vegetation, and therefore hardly detectable (Porcelloni, 2017, pp. 207-208).



**Figure 5:** Detail of the Leopoldino Cadastre (1920s) with the overlaying of the GPS track along the *Via della Casella*, which descends from the same village on the Paglia Valley  
Source: author's elaboration

In a certain sense we can consider the viability as an entity that lives, and at the same time that it is lived. The human hand activates particular processes of transformation and allows the sedimentation of both material and cultural elements, on the territory and on the communities touched by the road. Many of these remain today, even when the road sections cease to occupy the structural function for which they were built. The object of research is in this sense an exemplary case, an area that shows a considerable quantity of human stratifications from different eras, whose role has shifted from marginality to centrality, and vice versa. Thus viability, is conditioned in turn by natural and socio-cultural factors.

### **Conclusion: The modern role of the Cultural Routes**

The geographical characteristics have greatly influenced the nature of the settlements of Mount Amiata, as well as the very life of the communities. At one time, it played a very important strategic role, a centre to control over the territory, and made it a stage for countless historical events. Now, instead, with the evolution of events and the same geographical condition, it is in a marginal position which is also reflected in the socio-economic system.

As with the ancient Romans, it continues to privilege the roads that allow for a direct passage, so that the main viability runs along the straight and flat Paglia Valley, a road

that was banned in the modern era, while the official route of the via Francigena deviates to the village of Radicofani, already a UNESCO heritage site along with the Orcia Valley area. The variant for the Abbey of San Salvatore, from north to south, has a junction near the old staging post of Ricorsi and the other shortly after passing the Voltole area. The route was inaugurated on July 10th 2016, a goal for the community and the territory. The European Association of the Vie Francigene played an important role in initiating the virtuous processes which a community had to meet to make the itinerary official, both from a historical-scientific point of view as well as structural. There is also a more general coordination of activities from above and on the ground among institutions, universities and associations. Indeed, the final result for the via Francigena should be considered as a uniform product, inserted into the heterogeneous context of the realities affected.

It becomes a real product for territorial marketing, where promoting a unitary image is a key objective for a suitable offer, including signposting the path and indicating complementary opportunities (Polci, 2008), or rather what other local peculiarities and endogenous resources exist. The via Francigena is an experiential dimension that needs to be planned, starting from what it really means. The route allows us to embrace and connect together segments that are seemingly separate: rediscovering the places with a religious dimension, knowing the local traditions and history, getting in touch with nature, seeking inner well-being through a physical and moral challenge, meeting and sharing (Bergonzi, 2011). In fact, many transformations related to the restoration and promotion of the itineraries have already taken place in the territory so as to contribute to development not only for tourists but also for the community. In fact, in order to comply with the European path parameters, safety improvements (pedestrian crossings, illumination and signs) have been made and the areas of degradation have been reduced. In addition, a number of activities have been promoted for the involvement of the local population, aimed at increasing awareness and sensitivity on the theme. A sense of cohesion and identity has also been reinforced by its multicultural nature, in order to guarantee the principle of sustainable development. The same infrastructures once connected to the road and now forgotten, having fallen out of use, are recognized as cultural-historical heritage and involved in heritage and promotion processes, in order for them to be preserved in the future (Fig. 6). Any cultural asset can be preserved, restored or reused without losing its meaning and its value, but no cultural asset has the same degree of complexity as the landscape, which can be retained in its trans-formation but not preserved (Belluso, 2012).



**Figure 6:** The sixteenth-century church adjacent to La Scala, along the via Francigena, from left to right, before (2013) and after (2017) the restoration work

Source: author's picture

In this case we witness an abandoned landscape<sup>8</sup>, which, although evocative of its history of loss of function, is revitalized by giving it back its original value. There is a new sacralization of the landscape linked to the transit of modern pilgrimage, a multidimensional experience that involves the perception of the values of the landscape that has been crossed.

In this sense, landscape, as a living entity constantly transformed, is again characterized by the development of the road system so that they can be defined as *landscape itineraries*. Even though the ancient route has lost some of its original characteristics overlying with modern roads, it recounts events and historical layering through a spatial and temporal dimension of signs<sup>9</sup>.

The route can be considered as a living being; it has extensions, branches, parts that have lost their function, and alternative routes (Mazora, 2017). It allows us to share the diversities of heritage, to re-inhabit places, to maintain their history and culture by continuous temporal leaps, while living in the present and maintaining its original function; the one for travelling.

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<sup>1</sup> See G., Sergi (1981). *Potere e territorio lungo la strada di Francia: da Chambery a Torino fra X e XIII secolo*. Napoli: Liguori.

<sup>2</sup> See Bloch, M. (1962). *La società feudale*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi.

<sup>3</sup> The discovering of the itinerary of ancient texts is due to Jung, J. (1904). *Das Itinerar der Erzbischofs Sigeric von Canterbury und sie Strasse von Rom über Siena nach Lucca*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXV.

<sup>4</sup> The references on the 3rd and 4th chapters by Kurze (2004), Mambrini (2010, 2016), Quilici (2004), Stopani (1986) have been already published by the same author in Porcelloni, L. (2017). *Dagli studi storico geografici alla valorizzazione del territorio: la variante sulla Via Francigena ad Abbazia San Salvatore*. In G. Onorato & P. Rizzi (Eds.). *Turismo, Cultura e Spiritualità. Pensieri e progetti lungo la Via Francigena* (pp. 201-212). Milano: EDUCatt.

<sup>5</sup> Antonius, A., & Schott, A., & Zurita, J. (1600). *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti, et Burdigalense. Quorum hoc nunc primum est editum: illud ad diuersos manusc. codices & impressos comparatum, emendatum, & Hieronymi Suritae Caesaraugustani, doctissimo commentario explicatum*, In officina Birckmannica sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij.

<sup>6</sup> See Prontera, F. (Ed.) (2003). *Tabula Peutingeriana. Le antiche vie del mondo*. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki.

<sup>7</sup> The inventories of the goods of the great ecclesiastical or noble administrations and the set of documents that formed them: maps, lists of goods, rights, servitudes, value of property, maps of individual particles.

<sup>8</sup> See Clément, G. (2005). *Manifesto del Terzo Paesaggio*. Macerata: Quodlibet.

<sup>9</sup> See Turri, E. (1998). *Il paesaggio come teatro: dal territorio vissuto al territorio rappresentato*. Venezia: Marsilio.

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### **The Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca in 1896: Documents and News from the Archive of the Congregation of the Holy Face**

Rossi, T. M.\*

Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca (Italy)

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#### **ABSTRACT**

100 records and many other documentary testimonies regarding the Congregation of the Holy Face of Lucca are stored within the funds of the Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca. The Chapters of the Society of the Holy Face are present within the same Archive; this document is dated back to 1306-1308 and it is brought up together with the minutes of the meetings in a paper register of 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, the only one remained concerning the renewed Society of the Holy Sacrament and the Holy Face. The brotherhood recovered importance during the 19<sup>th</sup> century mostly thanks to some priests of Lucca, including the Abbot Pietro Pera (the future Archbishop between 1845 and 1846). Specifically, two important moments regarding the renewed interest for the relics of Lucca can be registered after the Napoleonic Era. First, a competition for the construction of a golden lamp for the chapel of the Holy Face was carried out between 1835 and 1836, and Abbot Pera was charged to supervise the enterprise. Related documentaries as well as the various drawings presented for the competition are stored in the Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Face. Moreover, a pilgrimage to the *simulacrum* of Lucca took place during 1896. This event was very successful: the City and the entire Diocese accurately organized the arrival of about 132,000 pilgrims by controlling pilgrims' overnighing and daily meals, and developing a visiting route concerning the shrines of the City.

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**Keywords:** Lucca; Pilgrimage; Holy Face; Holy Cross; Religious Association

Cento registri e numerose altre testimonianze relative alla Congregazione del Volto Santo di Lucca sono conservati tra i fondi dell'Archivio Storico Diocesano di Lucca. Nello

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\* E-mail address: [tommasomaria.rossi@gmail.com](mailto:tommasomaria.rossi@gmail.com)

stesso archivio, infatti, è possibile leggere i Capitoli della Compagnia del Volto Santo, un documento scritto su pergamena tra il 1306 e il 1308. Quei capitoli sarebbero stati poi ripresi e aggiornati in un registro cartaceo del XVI-XVII secolo con i resoconti delle riunioni, unico superstite della rinnovata congregazione che fu ricostituita con il nome di “Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento e Volto Santo”.

Ancora, la confraternita avrebbe vissuto nuovo vigore in epoca contemporanea, soprattutto ad opera di alcuni sacerdoti lucchesi dell'Ottocento, fra cui anche il futuro vescovo e abate Pietro Pera (arcivescovo dal 1845 al 1846).

Nello specifico, due momenti più rappresentativi del rinnovato interesse verso la reliquia di Lucca possono essere registrati dopo l'era napoleonica. In primo luogo, un concorso per la realizzazione di una lampada d'oro per il tempietto del Volto Santo che si svolse tra il 1835 e il 1836 e per il quale l'abate Pera fu incaricato di supervisionare l'iniziativa. Le testimonianze documentarie nonché i vari disegni presentati al concorso si conservano proprio nell'Archivio della Congregazione del Volto Santo. Inoltre nel 1896 si svolse il pellegrinaggio al simulacro lucchese. La città e l'intera diocesi organizzarono accuratamente l'arrivo di circa 132.000 pellegrini, gestendo i pernottamenti e i pasti giornalieri e sviluppando un percorso di visita che riguardava i santuari della città.

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**Keywords:** Lucca; Pellegrinaggio; Volto Santo; Santa Croce; Congrazioni Religiose

## 1. The devotion to the Holy Face of Lucca

The devotion to the *simulacrum* of the Holy Face stems from Middle Ages (Ferrari & Meyer, 2005; Lazzarini, 1982; Pacifici, 1982). The Holy Face is a wooden crucifix that has been venerated in Lucca since 742 AD, and it is stored in its own chapel inside the Lucca Cathedral since 1484 AD. The chapel is a carved Carrara marble temple situated in the left nave, realized by the artist Matteo Civitali (D'Aniello & Filieri, 2011; Fosella, 2005). The complete legend of the *simulacrum* is described in the text “Report on creation, discovery, and translation of the Holy Face” (*Relatio de revelatione sive inventive ac translatione sacratissimi vultus*) by deacon Leboinus dates back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Ciuffarini, 1582). The aim of this paper is not to fully report the history of the Holy Face, considering that a large amount of literature has fully dealt with this theme (e.g., Martinelli, 2016; Savigni, 2005). It is here sufficient to highlight that, according to the ancient legend of Leboinus, the Holy Face was carved by Nicodemus, who deposited Christ in the Sepulcher with the assistance of Joseph of Arimathea. Nicodemus himself sculpted the bust of the Holy Face, but the evening arrived and he fell asleep without completing the face. The following morning, he woke up and discovered that the Crucifix had been completed by the angels during the night. Subsequently, Nicodemus entrusted the statue to Isacaar, who hid it in a cave. The Holy Face was here preserved for years until Bishop Gualfredo found it in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and loaded it onto an unmanned ship. Bishop Gualfredo hoped that the statue could reach a safer place, out of Judea that had been conquered by the Muslims. In the meantime, the Bishop of Lucca (i.e., Giovanni I) received during a dream the revelation about the arrival of the

sculpture at Luni (i.e., an ancient port village located in Liguria and abandoned in 1058; Angeli Bertinelli, 2012), and he travelled to receive and transport the precious wood to Lucca. So, the Holy Face has been venerated in Lucca since 742, first in the Basilica of San Frediano and then in the Lucca Cathedral (Lazzarini, 1980).

The Holy Face is nowadays the symbol of Lucca in the world. Its importance has been recognized in various Statutes of the Commune and of the City, both in the Middle Ages and throughout the Early Modern Period. For over a thousand years, the night between 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> September the event called "La Luminara" takes place in Lucca, a night candlelight procession with the participation of all the parishes of the Archdiocese (Guidi, 1920). Moreover, the image of the Holy Face has been used for the realization of coins and seals: the "Denaro grosso" coined in silver in 1209 during the empire of Otto IV presents the Holy Face on the reverse and Otto's monogram (i.e., "TT") on the obverse, and similarly for the "Grosso d'oro" or "Fiorino lucchese" realized in 15<sup>th</sup> century that had the Holy Face on the obverse and San Martino on the reverse (Vanni, 2005). During Early Modern Period the "Doppia lucchese" was coined in Lucca in 1749, along with many other silver coins (Massagli, 1870). As for seals, the use of the image of the Holy Face was used for both civil and ecclesiastic authorities. For instance, the seal of the Commune of Lucca represented the effigy of the Holy Face. Moreover, there exists a well-preserved red wax seal used by Bishop Giovanni III in an act sanctioning the union of the church of San Dalmazio with the monastery of Santa Maria of Fregionaia on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1391: the iconography of this seal presents the two emblems of the Diocese of Lucca, that is, the Holy Face and St. Martin (Rossi, 2016).

The worship of Lucca in the *simulacrum* was also manifested with the creation of an apparel of garments and jewels (Lettieri, 1958). In 1654 the offertory for the merging of a crown for the Holy Face started. The coronation ceremony took place solemnly on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1655. The relic has been continually adorned for many centuries, reaching its present state (i.e., with crown, sceptre, jewel, collar, maniple, *fascia*, footwear, stole, velvet dress, chalice, paten, and the four gold keys of the City; Casentini & Lazzareschi Cervelli, 2014). Over time, the simulacrum has inspired the work of great Saints from Lucca: St. Anselm of Lucca, St. Allucio of Campugliano, St. Leone I of Cava, St. Zita, St. Giovanni Leonardi, Blessed Angelo Orsucci, Servant of God Maria Luisa Biagini, St. Antonio Maria Pucci, Blessed Maria Domenica Brun Barbantini, St. Gemma Galgani, and many others (Lazzarini, 1980). The Holy Face has been also revered by many other illustrious foreign characters: St. Simeon of Mantua, Emperor Henry II the Saint, St. Davino Armeno, the Swedish Bishop Silao, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Bernardino of Siena, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, and many others (Lazzarini, 1980).

This little information is sufficient to highlight how much the cult of the Holy Face was in the past and is to date deeply rooted in the soul of the citizens of Lucca, who nowadays numerously take part to the celebrations concerning the Holy Cross.

## 2. The Archive of the Congregation of the Holy Face

A Number of documentary evidences concerning the devotion of Lucca to the Holy Face are preserved in the Historical Diocesan Archives of Lucca. For instance, a small membrane code containing the *Relatio* by the deacon Leboinus is in the Feliniana

Chapter Library. Code 626 (i.e., *Relatio de revelatione sive inventive ac translatione sacratissimi vultus*) dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century and consists of 24 sheets (Paoli, 1986; Pomaro, 2015)<sup>2</sup>. The *Relatio* itself is stored in a refined membrane code that has belonged to the Tucci Tognetti family and that has been produced during 14<sup>th</sup> century by the will of the Congregation of the Holy Face<sup>3</sup>. There are also present the history of the miracles of the Holy Face (i.e., *Miracula Sanctissimi Vultus*) and two versions of the Statutes of the Society of the Holy Face (i.e., *Ordinamenta Societatis Sancti Vultus*) written in 1306 and confirmed in 1308 (Mayer, 2005; Pomaro, 2015). Another example of devotion to the Holy Face is in the beautiful miniature at the opening of an *incunabula* that dates back to 1474 (i.e., *Super Primo Libro Decretalium* by Nicholaus de Tudeschis) in which the Holy Face dominates a particular view of Lucca from Porta San Donato with the representation of the medieval Walls and San Regolo and San Paolino, respectively patrons of the Lucchese Republic (with the blue coat of arms and “Libertas” inscription in gold) and of the City (Pomaro, 2015)<sup>4</sup>.

Further testimonies come from the Archives of the Chapter of the Lucca Cathedral: a parchment containing the Chapters of the Society of the Holy Face (1306-1308) decorated by the image of the *simulacrum* (a very rare decoration in a membranous document)<sup>5</sup>, along with a register containing the official reports of the meetings realized between 1545 and 1635 by the renewed Society of the Holy Sacrament and the Holy Face<sup>6</sup>. The register has two painted wood blankets: in the front blanket there is reported the crucifixion, while in the back cover the representation of the consecrated *Chalice* and *Hostia*, a clear reference to the headlines of the Company itself.

The documentary production of the Congregation of the Holy Face stored in Chapter Archive is particularly evident during the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: more than 50 registers of Mass, more than 30 administrative registers, and numerous cardboard boxes. The total consistency exceeds 100 archival units and some special objects (e.g., brooches, typographic plate, wooden panels, etc.): this is a rich and heterogeneous archive, consisting of classic administration series (i.e., existing in any lay or religious association) along with series derived from the organization and management of particular events, such as the competition for the Golden Lamp of the Holy Face.

As for the latter event, Abbot Pietro Pera (i.e., the future Archbishop of Lucca between 1845 and 1846) started in 1835 a competition for the construction of a golden lamp to be placed in the Chapel of the Holy Face (Pera, 1836). The interested artists had to send a drawing that the Deputation of the Holy Face passed to the Academy of Saint Luke of Rome to be judged. The winner would have received a relic of the Holy Face in a golden coin engraved with his name. In the meanwhile, a collecting to finance the lamp started: to feed the devotion of the faithful, it was decided to make a copper engraving the simulacrum to make circulate out of the City. The winner of the competition was the architect Giuseppe Pardini (Romiti, 1998). All the drawings realized for the competition, numbered 1 to 10, are stored today in the Archives of the Congregation of the Holy Face, with the exception of the no. 10, the one of the winner that was used to make the lamp. In this Archive there are also present the copper engraving the simulacrum commissioned by Abbot Pietro Pera and a wooden board used to collect the offers on which there is written “Oblazioni per ultimare la lampada d’oro al Volto Santo” (i.e., Oblations to complete the lamp of the Holy Face), as well as several objects realized for the Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of 1896 (which will be the focus of the next

paragraphs), along with devotional libraries with the history of the Holy Cross of Lucca published in English and German at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century (Seeböck, 1892; Vansittart, 1898).

### 3. The regional pilgrimage to the Holy Face in 1896

In the summer of 1884 an epidemic cholera was spreading throughout Italy. Some areas of the country, including the province of Lucca, were preserved (Tognotti, 2000). In 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> August, Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi invited the people to get a special blessing at the Holy Face. In agreement with the Bishopric, the City Authorities ordered that the foreigners were not allowed to enter the City Wall during the Holy Cross festivities. This ordinance was adopted for reasons of public order and to prevent any cholera propagation. On 10<sup>th</sup> September, a few days before the public celebrations, the Prefect forbade them because of two possible cases of cholera occurred in the Lucca countryside. After number of complaints by both citizens and the Chapter of the Lucca Cathedral, and by the Archbishop himself, the Prefect authorized public celebrations<sup>7</sup>. Considering that the preservation of Lucca from Cholera was attributed to the Holy Face, the Tuscan Committee for the Work of the Catholic Congresses (that was based in Lucca) promoted a subscription among the citizens to offer a tribute to the Holy Face. The list of donors reached over 30,000 names (Guerra, 1897).

At the end of February 1896, the same Committee promoted a pilgrimage from all Tuscany to the Holy Face of Lucca. On 19<sup>th</sup> March, the day of Saint Joseph, it was officially announced that the pilgrimage to the Lucchese *simulacrum* was to begin on 3<sup>rd</sup> May and it was to last all during September. On 6<sup>th</sup> April, Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi issued a notice in which he also announced that Pope Leo XIII had publicly expressed his approval for the pilgrimage by giving a special blessing to the pilgrims<sup>8</sup>.

The pilgrimage organization was formally arranged: the Steering Committee issued a special Regulation for the pilgrimages (*Regolamento pei pellegrinaggi della Campagna lucchese*), so that pilgrims could systematically move. According to the Steering Committee, people deputed by the pastor to lead the pilgrimage should wear a brooch on their chest with the Holy Cross of Lucca. A special commission was charged to carry on agreements with hotel and restaurant keepers in order to facilitate foreign pilgrims. Many operations were adopted: special discounts on the train ticket; stamped recognition cards; *vade mecum* with all the information about accommodation, cost of food, and pilgrimage program. A Welcoming Committee was set in order to directing pilgrims at the arrival of trains or cars and at the entrance in the Lucca Cathedral. A special Relief Committee was established for any needs in public welfare (Guerra, 1897).

The opening of the pilgrimage took place on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1896 at the presence of the whole Lucchese Clergy, including the Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi. A long procession started from the Basilica of San Frediano. The procession was opened by a *gonfalone* (i.e., a banner) with the effigy of the Holy Face, followed by the Capuchin Fathers, the Minor Observant, the Reformed of Saint Francis, Carmelites, Dominicans, Passionists, and Canons Regular of the Lateran. They followed the pupils of the Pia Casa dei Chierici, the priests of the Collegiata of Sant'Alessandro and of the Church of Santi Paolino and

Donato, the Seminary and Collegiata of San Michele in Foro, the Seminary of San Martino, and then the Archbishop. The citizens attended the procession suitably dressed with the cross of the pilgrimage on their chests, without the cloaks of the various religious companies and confraternities. The parishes could expose their own banners, followed by children taking in their hands a candle to be offered to the Holy Face. There were also garlands and carts of flowers, some of them in the shape of a pyramid, a fountain, or a ship. In particular there were some in the form of a small ship inspired by the ship that, according to tradition, carried the Holy Face from Palestine to the Italian peninsula (Guerra, 1897).

There was a timetable set by the Steering Committee which indicated the days when the parishes would have to go to Lucca singing hymns, including the *Hymn of the Pilgrims to the Holy Face of Lucca in 1896*, written by canonist Rodrigo Biagini to the purpose, that was printed in over 100,000 copies and distributed to all pilgrims. The refrain recited: «Evviva la Croce,/ La Croce evviva;/ Evviva la Croce/ E chi l'ésaltò» (i.e., «Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for the Cross,/ Hooray for them who celebrated it»); Guerra, 1897).

#### **4. The pilgrimages from the parishes of the Diocese of Lucca**

The documentation stored in Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca allows a correct reconstruction of the history of this pilgrimage<sup>9</sup>.

After the official opening, on 11<sup>th</sup> May, pilgrims began to arrive from the Diocese's countryside. There were 65 devotees from the far-away village of Fibbially di Medicina (counting 150 inhabitants) that moved despite the heavy rainfall striking the city. The same day 200 people who were inmates within the Pia Casa di Beneficenza in Lucca visited the Holy Face. Moreover, the pupils of the school of Santa Dorotea's nuns, the girls of the "Leo XIII" female institute, and the Daughters of Saint Camillus with the Sisters of Santa Zita, arrived, for a total of about 600 people.

On 14<sup>th</sup> May, there arrived 305 pilgrims from San Gemignano di Moriano, then those from San Pancrazio and Ciciano (about 420 people) with a gold interwoven chasuble as a gift. On 17<sup>th</sup> May, 2,000 people arrived from Pieve San Paolo, Toringo, Parezzana, Mugnano and San Filippo, and 350 more came from Pedona (Camaione) walking about 14 miles in the rain. 3200 pilgrims came from Porcari, 170 from Massa Pisana and finally 900 from San Pietro a Vico. On 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> May, walking in the rain, 100 people travelled from Deccio di Brancoli, 420 from Antraccoli, 2,000 from the district of San Concordio in Contrada and 830 from Matraia. A few days later, 400 pilgrims arrived from Carraia and 1,300 from Gragnano, as well as 1,550 men and women from Valfreddana (i.e., the villages of Monsagrati, Torcigliano, Fiano, San Martino in Freddana, Santa Maria di Albiano, Orbicciano, and Fibbiano Montanino). There were moreover 30 pilgrims from Granaiola, 360 from Cerasomma, and 260 from the villages of Tramonte and Palmata.

On 1<sup>st</sup> June, there arrived many pilgrims from Anchiano (250 people) and on 14<sup>th</sup> June arrived 330 people from Pieve di Brancoli, Gignano, and Sant'Ilario di Brancoli, 850 more pilgrims from Saltocchio, 2,200 from Marlia, and 230 from the village of Mommio. From Versilia district arrived many pilgrims: 400 men and women from Pieve a Elici, and

about 700 from Stiava. On the same day, the Lucchese Parish of San Luca (Regi Ospizi and Ospedali) visited the Holy Face (200 people) and offered a picture of the coat of arms of the parish made with silver coins. More than 3,600 pilgrims arrived from near villages Arliano, Farneta, Maggiano, Formentale, Nozzano, Santa Maria a Colle, San Macario in Piano, Ponte San Pietro, and Nave.

On Sunday 21<sup>st</sup> June there arrived the inhabitants of Monte San Quirico, about 1,500 people, and then the pilgrims from Sesto and Santo Stefano di Moriano, Aquilea, and Mastiano (1,300 people). 350 pilgrim arrived from Montigiano and 70 from Vico Pancellorum, coming on feet from one of the farthest villages of the Archdiocese. In the afternoon, there arrived pilgrims from Monteggiori, Santa Lucia in Vegghiatola, and Capezzano (1,200 people), moreover 3,000 faithful arrived from Camaione, and from Istituto dei Poveri Vecchi in Viareggio (80 elderly). They were followed by the villagers of San Donato (750 people) and Vorno, Guamo, Coselli, and Badia di Cantignano (2,450 men and women overall). The children of Vorno and Badia offered to the ancient effigy of the Holy Face over 100 silver medals (Guerra, 1897). On 24<sup>th</sup> June, 450 pilgrims arrived from the village of Carignano, 500 from Corsanico, and 500 from San Michele di Moriano. A large banner with the Holy Face depicted waved before the banners of Coreglia, Tereglio, Ghivizzano, Pian di Coreglia, Vitiana, Lucignana, Gromignana, Gioviano, San Romano, Motrone, and Cardoso (at the time it was into the Diocese of Massa) for a total of about 1,350 pilgrims which walked about 18 miles. With them arrived Arsina's parishioners (230 people). On Sunday 28<sup>th</sup> June, 800 pilgrims arrived from Bargecchia, 750 from Montuolo, 310 from Valpromaro and Migliano, and 450 from Corsagna. The following day arrived 1200 pilgrims from the village of Santa Maria del Giudice, and 650 from San Giusto di Brancoli, San Lorenzo di Brancoli, and Piaggione. 650 pilgrims came from the village of Collodi, 200 from Vetriano, and 100 from the small village of Lugliano in Val di Lima.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> July was dedicated to the children of Lucca's schools (about 360 children). On 5<sup>th</sup> July arrived the inhabitants of Vicopelago, Gattaiola, Pozzuolo, and San Michele in Escheto (overall 910 people), followed by 250 pilgrims from Massaciuccoli, 960 from San Macario in Monte, Stabbiano, Fibbialla dei Canonici, Vecoli, and Piazzano. After that, 800 pilgrims came from the Nozzano Castello. A few days later, on 9<sup>th</sup> July, 320 people arrived from Limano, Lucchio, and Casoli in Val di Lima. On 12<sup>th</sup> July 2,200 devotees arrived from Capannori, 1,150 from Fondagno, Domazzano, Partigliano, Valdottavo, and Tempagnano di Valdottavo; 700 pilgrims came from San Vito. On 19<sup>th</sup> July, the Holy Face was visited by 1,500 people from Segromigno in Monte, 200 from San Cassiano di Moriano, 220 from Gualdo and 700 from San Colombano and Sant'Andrea in Caprile, 850 from Camigliano, 1,200 from Villa Basilica, Boveglio, and Colognora di Valleriana. 500 pilgrims arrived from Verciano, 350 from San Quirico di Moriano, and 500 from San Bartolomeo in Silice (i.e., Arancio). The last day dedicated to the pilgrimage in July was the 26 with over 9,000 visiting people: 530 pilgrims from Santa Margherita, 950 from Quiesa, 1,300 from Segromigno in Piano, 1,400 from Colle di Compito, 300 from Ruota, 850 from San Gennaro, 100 from Oneta, 700 from Pieve di Compito, 850 from Sant'Alessio, and 3,000 from Lammari<sup>10</sup>.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 250 pilgrims arrived from Meati and 300 from the near Chiatari, 120 from Gugliano, 500 from Torre, and 1,400 from San Ginese di Compito; specifically, among the crowd there was a 93-year-old man taking the village's offer for the Lucchese

*simulacrum* (Guerra, 1897). From Diecimo and Dezza 450 pilgrims came, while 300 from Gello and Celle; 170 more people from Colognora Val di Roggio, 1,200 from San Cassiano a Vico, and 1,200 from Lunata. The next Sunday, August 9, there arrived 300 inhabitants of Valgiano, 160 from Ombreglio, and 200 from Piazza di Brancoli. In the afternoon there came the parishioners of Borgo a Mozzano, Cune, Rocca, and Pieve di Cerreto (about 900 people), 200 pilgrims from San Quirico di Valleriana, and 450 from Fagnano. 600 devotees came from Sorbano del Vescovo, and 2,400 people from Bozzano and Massarosa. In the middle of the month, on 15<sup>th</sup> August, there arrived 120 pilgrims from San Giusto di Compito, 700 from Sant'Andrea di Compito, 1,000 from Massa Macinaia, 450 from Castagnori, and 150 from Pieve Santo Stefano. In particular, the parish of Sant'Anna *extra moenia* (i.e., nowadays a populous neighborhood of Lucca) astonished for its devotion, since over 2,400 pilgrims participated to the pilgrimage. The following day 200 faithful were counted from San Concordio di Moriano, 350 from San Pietro a Marcigliano, 320 from Colognora di Compito, 500 from San Leonardo in Treponzio, and 600 from Pontetetto. On 23<sup>rd</sup> August there entered in Lucca the villages of Aramo and Medicina with 210 people, Nocchi with 300 pilgrims, and Castelvechio with 700 devotees; then 800 pilgrims arrived from Tassignano. On 30<sup>th</sup> August, 550 people arrived from Tofori and from Petrognano, and 1,160 pilgrims came from Montemagno, Pontemazzori, Torcigliano di Camaione, and Pieve di Camaione. 890 pilgrims arrived from Compignano, Castiglioncello, and Balbano. In the following days, Lucca hosted 420 devotees from Santissima Annunziata, 2,000 from San Marco, and 400 from Tempagnano di Lunata.

On 3<sup>rd</sup> September, there arrived 600 pilgrims from Casoli di Camaione, Metato, and Lombrici. On 6<sup>th</sup> September, there came 220 faithful from San Martino in Colle, 1,600 peoples from Viareggio, and 1,000 from Torre del Lago. Moreover there arrived 350 pilgrims from Gombitelli, 170 from Palleggio, 300 from Casabasciana, Cocciglia, and Crasciana, 400 from Sorbano del Giudice, 740 from San Martino in Vignale and Mutigliano. On 8<sup>th</sup> September, 600 people arrived from Paganico, 1,000 pilgrims from San Lorenzo a Vaccoli, 800 from Veneri and 2,030 from Pescaglia, Convalle, Loppeggia, Piegaio, Pascoso, Foce di Pascoso, Villa a Roggio, and San Rocco in Turrite. 150 devotees came from Pariana, 500 from Picciorana, and 600 from Cappella. The people from Cappella brought a small carriage full of flowers with a banner painted by the famous painter Michele Ridolfi including the Holy Face with the inscription "from Luni to Lucca". On 21<sup>st</sup> September, the village of Badia in Pozzeveri, near Altopascio, sent 700 devotees to Lucca. On Thursday 24<sup>th</sup> September the parishioners of Sant'Angelo in Campo arrived in number of 1,000; 90 pilgrims came from Pieve di Controne and 160 from San Cassiano di Controne. Moreover, on 26<sup>th</sup> September there were 130 devotees from Val di Lima, 160 from Fornoli and Chifenti, 100 from Monti di Villa and Pieve di Monti di Villa, 160 from Ponte a Serraglio, 110 from Bagno alla Villa, and 100 from Montefegatesi.

The pilgrimage of the Diocese of Lucca overall registered 105,710 pilgrims.

## 5. The pilgrimages from the dioceses of Tuscany

On 2<sup>nd</sup> June, along with the inhabitants of Anchiano, 600 pilgrims arrived from the mountains and the borderlands: Barga and the villages of Loppia, San Piero in Campo, Sommocolonia, Tiglio, Castelvechio, Albiano, Bolognana, and Perpoli (Comitato Pellegrinaggio Barga, 1896). Compared to those who enrolled cards distributed for the pilgrimage (about 1,333 units) many of the pilgrims were unable to participate. It should be noted that the veneration and worshipping of the Holy Face in the area of Barga was particularly widespread because until 1789 the same area belonged to the Archdiocese of Lucca (Rossi, 2010-2011). The following month, specifically on 12<sup>th</sup> July, there came to Lucca the first 100 pilgrims from Empoli, where the devotion to the Holy Face was largely widespread; as evidence of this, Empoli's inhabitants published a book containing poems and compositions in Greek, Latin, and Italian to celebrate the event.

On 23<sup>rd</sup> August, over 3,500 people from the neighbouring Diocese of Pescia arrived in Lucca, most of them travelling on special trains that gathered pilgrims from Valdinievole and Altopascio. On 10<sup>th</sup> September an unknown few number of people arrived from the Diocese of Pontremoli, followed three days later by 3,250 pilgrims coming from the Dioceses of Florence, Fiesole, and Leghorn. On 21<sup>st</sup> September 4,000 pilgrims arrived from Massa by one ordinary and two specials trains from Garfagnana villages. On 27<sup>th</sup> September a special train from San Miniato arrived with 6,000 pilgrims, along with 120 pilgrims from Volterra (15<sup>th</sup> September) and 200 citizens from Pistoia.

Worth to be mentioned is the pilgrimage conducted by the population of the Archdiocese of Pisa (Guerra, 1897). There were about 7,970 pilgrims who, on August 31, came from the Valdarno, Valdera, and Pisa's area by a special train of 50 carriages: they had to face many difficulties during their journey: The convoy had left at 8:00 am from the central station of Pisa. The pilgrims were to be in Lucca in front of the Basilica of San Frediano around 9:00 am, but near Rigoli (about halfway between Pisa and Lucca) the train broke and it took more than an hour to repair the damage. After the visit to the Lucca Cathedral, they had to come back at 6:00 pm, but the convoy met serious problems on the way and it was necessary to make another train arriving from Pisa, resulting in a delay of over an hour and an half. People participated with a great enthusiasm and energy to the pilgrimage: more than 500 devotees came from Buti, 300 from Bientina, 200 from Filetto, 200 from Marciana, 300 from Pietrasanta, 300 from Querceta, 200 from Ripafratta, 100 from Stazzema, Vallecchia, and Vicopisano. In this occasion a 32-page volume entitled *Remember the pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca 31<sup>st</sup> August 1896* was compiled by the Cleric Lodovico Orlandini (Orlandini, 1896).

On 28<sup>th</sup> September the pilgrimage from the Archdiocese of Siena was expected, but it never took place. Similarly, no information are recorder about the Dioceses of Montepulciano, Chiusi, Pienza, Colle Val d'Elsa, Montalcino, Massa Marittima, Grosseto, Pitigliano-Sovana, Orbetello. From the Dioceses of Arezzo, Cortona, and San Sepolcro a small deputation made up by 30 people arrived on 31<sup>th</sup> August.

The pilgrimage of the dioceses of Tuscany overall registered 25,650 pilgrims.

## 6. The organization of the pilgrimage and its conclusion

The preparation and organization of the pilgrimage to the Holy Face in 1896 was impressive: it is witnessed by an accurate documentation preserved in the Chapter Archive of Lucca by the Holy Face Congregation. Reading some of the registers, numerous documents report specific information about this pilgrimage. The work of the Steering Committee of the Tuscan Regional Pilgrimage to the Holy Face of Lucca, based in Via delle Trombe n. 3, was long and tiring. To date, there are two large registers containing the minutes of the numerous meetings (n=58) that the Committee held between 30<sup>th</sup> March 1805 and 28<sup>th</sup> June 1897<sup>11</sup>. In the first volume there is the name of the members of the Committee: Canonic Archdeacon Professor Luigi Frosini (as President), Count Martino Bernardini and Canonic Professor Narciso Baccelli (as Vice Presidents), Canonic Professor Domenico Fanucchi (as General Superintendent), Canonic Abbot Michele Del Fiorentino, Canonic Enrico Bertocchini, Canonic Lodovico Rossi, Lawyer Raffaele Pfanner, Raffaele Giusti Vincenzo Scatena, Marquis Girolamo Tucci (Supervisor), Raffaele Raffaelli (Treasurer), Priest Luigi Giammattei, Paolino Baldassini, Priest Luigi Papera, and Raffaele Papera (the latter four were all Secretaries)<sup>12</sup>.

The Steering Committee trained pastors and people to the pilgrimage in various ways, for instance by sending images of the Holy Face to the priests to be distributed to the devotees. The images were printed in three typologies: large, medium, and small. 4,547 images were distributed: 559 large, 2,168 medium, and 1,820 small<sup>13</sup>. The copper sheets used for the typographical impressions are nowadays stored in the Chapter Archive. The Printing had a decisive role. A special postcard taking two images was prepared: on one hand the prospect of the Chapel of the Holy Face in Lucca Cathedral and on the other the Chapel plant. An 8×11 inch leaflet was pressed with the Holy Face in the center and the story of the arrival of the relic from Palestine to Lucca around, along with the various miracles made by the prodigious *simulacrum*. A special 16×21 inch manifest was printed on 14<sup>th</sup> September 1896. It was entitled *Il Volto Santo omaggio del Comitato Lucchese pei pellegrinaggi nella Solennità di S. Croce del 1896* (i.e., *Homage to the Holy Face by the Pilgrimage Committee*) with the salm written by Canonic Professor Narciso Baccelli, Marques Lorenzo Bottini, Decanus of San Michele in Foro Giovanni Volpi, Professor Rodrigo Biagini, and Professor Raffaello Baralli. In the first page there is a special pray written by Archbishop Niccola Ghilardi (Comitato Lucchese Pellegrinaggi, 1896)<sup>14</sup>.

In addition to the devotional images, the Committee made arrangement for spreading special circular brooch in red cloth with a metal Lucca's Cross. Some of them were bordered by a gold ribbon to distinguish the accompany from the pilgrims. On a special register the names and the surnames of the co-operative members of the pilgrimage are reported, with the origin and the turn of each employee<sup>15</sup>. In another register all the numbers relating to the spread of these brooches are reported. It is known that over 5,000 brooches were sent to Pisa, over 3,000 to San Miniato, 2,000 to Pescia, 3,000 to Porcari, 2,000 to Tramonte, and so on for every single village of the Archdiocese of Lucca, for a total of over 110,000 brooches<sup>16</sup>.

Agreements were made with the trattorias and inns of Lucca and the neighboring areas, in order to impose an unique price for food and lodging<sup>17</sup>. More than 30 hoteliers

subscribed the proposal; some of the involved hotels are nowadays existing, such as the famous Royal Univers Hotel in Piazza del Giglio with 25 rooms ready to accommodate more than 40 people. The agreement provided a 15% discount on the following prices, that were already low for the event: 3.00 Lire for overnight staying in a room with bath including a candle for the evening; 1.00 Lira for breakfast (coffee or milk-coffee, chocolate, tea, with bread and butter); 2.50 Lire for lunch (with two dishes at choice, fruit, cheese and a glass of Chianti wine); 4.00 Lire for dinner with soup, three dishes, sweet, fruit, cheese and Chianti wine. The same prices and the same proposals were applied by the Regio Albergo and Restaurant La Croce di Malta in Via Burlamacchi (with 20 rooms), by the Hotel La Corona of the Dinucci brothers (with about 30 rooms), and by the Hotel and Restaurant La Campana by Virgilio Del Cittadino (with 20 rooms). Also trattorias adjusted their tariff for the pilgrims: bread 0.10 Lire, wine 1.20 Lire, soup 0.20 Lire, pasta 0.30 Lire, additional dish 0.30 Lire, fruit and cheese 0.25 Lire. The agreement was signed on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1896<sup>18</sup>. There were also provided rooms in private houses; they were differentiated into three classes: first, second and third, for a total of 110 rentable rooms. A special register it remains written the name of the owner of the room to rent, the address and the floor. There are also sporadic notes about the capacity of the rooms (a single or double bed) and occasional information about the pilgrims who hosted in times<sup>19</sup>.

A great medal was coined at the end of the pilgrimage for remembering the event, engraving the Holy Face on the obverse and the Chapel of the *simulacrum* with inscriptions on the reverse. Five medals were commissioned to the goldsmith Luigi Giorgi: three were in bronze and two in gold, as decided by the Commission of the Congregation of the Holy Face<sup>20</sup>. A single *specimen* was also created in gold and it was offered to Pope Leo XIII (Guerra, 1897).

The documentation allows to reconstruct part of the economic profit represented in Lucca's territory by the pilgrimage. In economic terms, the overall expenses of the pilgrimage were directly sustained by the Church of Lucca, which however benefited from numerous oblations and alms. In particular, the cost of brooches and holy pictures was sustained by pastors and parishioners of the Archdiocese, as well as by the Tuscan Dioceses, village by village. The oblations were different in nature: large candles and candles of various sizes offered by the children from every parish and also from the various youth circles entitled to Saint Louis Gonzaga, or from the various congregations of the Christian doctrine into the same Diocese. More offers were collected through the *ex-voto*, donations, and banners made by artists, often realized in silver and/or gold; there were also other ecclesiastical supplies. Money offers were collected in two ways: directly to the Cathedral (12,905.17 Lire) or put into special boxes placed near the Chapel of the Holy Face (7,435.37 Lire)<sup>21</sup>. In total, 20,340.54 Lire was collected from 10<sup>th</sup> May to 4<sup>th</sup> October; according to ISTAT Euro / Lira revaluation tables, this amount correspond to about 90,000.00 €. The cost of the whole pilgrimage can be considered fully paid adding the sale of postcards, brooches, commemorative medals, and various *pamphlets* pressed to make memory of the pilgrimage.

Similar pilgrimages were repeated in later years, especially in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but they did not achieve the numbers of the pilgrimage obtained in 1896. This movement of devotion attracted to Lucca 131,360 people for the veneration of the Holy Face.



**Figure 1:** Cod. 147: Nicholaus de Tudeschis, *Super primo libro Decretalium*, Venezia, Vindelino da Spira, 1473.

Source: A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F.,

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A.A.Lu. = Archiepiscopal Archive of Lucca

A.C.Lu. = Chapter Archive of Lucca

A.C.V.S. = Archiepiscopal Archive of Lucca

A.S.D.Lu. = Historical Diocesan Archive of Lucca

A.S.Lu. = State Archive of Lucca

B.C.F. = Feliniana Chapter Library

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1 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., *Atti capitolari*, † 1, 1391 novembre 16.

2 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. 626: LEOINUS DIACONUS, *De inventione revelatione ac translatione Sanctissimi Vultus*.

3 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. *Tucci Tognetti*: LEOINUS DIACONUS, *De inventione revelatione ac translatione Sanctissimi Vultus*.

4 A.S.D.Lu., B.C.F., cod. 147: NICHOLAUS DE TUDESCHIS, *Super primo libro Decretalium*, Venezia, Vindelino da Spira, 1473.

5 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Capitoli della Compagnia del Volto Santo*, 1306-1308.

6 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Libro dell'Alma Compagnia del Santissimo Sacramento e Volto Santo in San Martino che principia l'anno 1545 e termina l'anno 1635*.

7 A.S.Lu., *Regia Prefettura*, Decree of 12<sup>th</sup> September 1884.

8 A.S.D.Lu., A.A.Lu., *Editte e Bandi*, Notification of 6<sup>th</sup> April 1896.

9 For the reconstruction of the calendar and the number of pilgrims see, A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro dei pellegrinaggi 1896"; "Registro dei pellegrinaggi diocesani"; "Registro dei pellegrinaggi extradiocesani".

10 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Parrocchia di S. Alessio": the register reports the list of pilgrims from Sant'Alessio parish with the indication of supply (i.e., made up by money, wax and flower).

11 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (30 marzo-22 settembre 1896)"; "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (23 settembre 1896-28 giugno 1897)".

12 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo. Processi verbali del Comitato Direttivo (30 marzo-22 settembre 1896)": meeting of 30<sup>th</sup> March 1896.

13 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Congregazione del Volto Santo. Conto delle Immagini e fotografie e Medaglie date per conto del Comitato del Pellegrinaggio ai Molto Reverendi Parroci della Città e Campagne e membri dei Comitati rispettivi".

14 The prayer recited: «Rex Christe Redemptor, regna super nos, ut sancti Vultus tui lumine irradiati fidem servemus et mandata tua fideliter custodiamus, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriae tuae. † Nicolaus Archiepiscopus».

15 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Turno de' Soci cooperatori".

16 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Nota delle Crocette dispensate ai Parroci della Diocesi".

17 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro delle Trattorie e Alberi della Città e del Suburbio".

18 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Tariffa concordata fra i trattori".

19 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Registro delle camere particolari affittabili"; *"Repertorio per gli alloggi privati"*.

20 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Atti della Congregazione del Volto Santo*, pp. 123-125: meeting n=62 of 27<sup>th</sup> May 1896: «Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima Monsignor Arcivescovo [Niccola Ghilardi] sottopose all'esame della Commissione la proposta di acquistare alcune medaglie del Professore [Luigi] Giorgi commemorative del Pellegrinaggio del Volto Santo. Discussa tale proposta, e ritrovata onerosa per la Congregazione, ciò nonostante a riguardo dell'artista, e per avere un ricordo del Pellegrinaggio viene deciso di acquistarne soltanto cinque, e cioè tre di bronzo e due d'argento».

21 A.S.D.Lu., A.C.Lu., A.C.V.S., *Comitato direttivo del Pellegrinaggio Regionale Toscano al Volto Santo di Lucca*, "Nota delle oblazioni".

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### Basilicas in Venantius Fortunatus' *Miscellanea*

Orsini, I.\*

Istituto per i beni artistici, culturali e naturali  
Emilia-Romagna Region (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

The article deals with the basilicas in Venantius Fortunatus' *Miscellanea*. Indeed, the eleven books of *Carmina* by the italic poet who lived for many years in the merovingian France, describe several samples of such buildings dedicated to prayers and worship of God and saints. The attention is drawn not in particular to their architecture, but to the role and function they usually held in the frame of a society where Christianity attempted to overcome still notable opposition of unchristians. Artificer of these holy buildings was the bishop, whom Venantius gives a lot of praises to, seeking that same way of still and rich life which he could reach when probably he was no longer young.

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**Keywords:** Venantius Fortunatus; Basilicas; Merovingian

L'articolo si occupa delle basiliche presenti nei *Miscellanea* di Venanzio Fortunato. Infatti, gli undici libri dei carmi del poeta italico che visse molti anni nella Francia dei Merovingi, descrivono diversi esempi di tali creazioni architettoniche dedicate alla preghiera e all'adorazione di Dio e dei santi. L'attenzione è rivolta in particolare non alla loro architettura, bensì al ruolo e alla funzione che di solito tennero nella cornice di una società in cui la Cristianità cercò di superare le resistenze ancora notevoli dei non-cristiani. Artefice di tali sante costruzioni era il vescovo, cui Venanzio rivolge numerose preghiere, alla ricerca di quello stesso stile di vita serena e confortevole che egli poté raggiungere solo in età avanzata.

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**Keywords:** Venanzio Fortunato; Basiliche; Merovingi

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\* E-mail address: [ivan.orsini@alice.it](mailto:ivan.orsini@alice.it)

“Certes, la Gaule du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle n’est pas un désert culturel: on y compte encore quelques versificateurs d’occasion. Mais pas un qui ait, comme Fortunat, construit une oeuvre et rencontré pareil succès.” With this “light portrait” dedicated to Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus by the scholar Marc Reydellet (1990) we decided to introduce that Venetian poet who, when he was still young, got over the Alps and, travelling through the central Europe, reached the territories of Gaul.

He was born in a year not yet precisely defined between 530 and 540; probably studied grammar and rhetoric in Ravenna and then, at a certain point of his life, he left Italy -we do not know exactly what was the reason of his departure from the homeland.

Therefore, he remained all his life in Gaul, staying in some towns (mainly Metz, Paris, Poitiers), always seeking protection and money help from the most important exponents of local aristocracy. Perhaps, after the bishop Plato’s death, in 593 he was elected bishop in Poitiers, the same town whose bishop, two centuries before, Saint Martin had been. Venantius probably died in the first decade of the seventh century.

Here we are going to investigate the appearance and role of basilicas in Venantius’ eleven books of *Miscellanea*.

First of all, it is important to remark that only a few among these books contain our matter.

The first book of Venantius Fortunatus’ *Miscellanea* (or *Carmina*) opens the series of poems focused on basilicas with a text (*Carm.* I,1) dedicated to Vitalis, whose we do not know the identity, but some scholars supposed he was martyred, together with his fellow Agricola, in Bologna at the end of third century. Such a bishop is displayed like a priest, a man of faith beloved of God especially because of his will and attitude of building magnificent basilicas! As we will see, this feature of such bishop as church constructor involved, according to Venantius, many men who had been able to reach a very high position -bishop- inside the hierarchy of Church. Their desire of replacing old churches and shrines or, otherwise, building new sacred buildings in honour of God, the Virgin Mary and the saints was in many cases stimulated by the faith, but undoubtedly was also directed by a precise strategy of popular consent, by which those bishops got respect and obedience.

So, the first basilica we meet Vitalis got built; it was dedicated to Saint Andrew, but unfortunately we do not know where it was situated. Because at that time Venantius lived in Ravenna and Vitalis too, maybe this church was located at Ravenna. Besides, it has been supposed that Vitalis was the patron who, first, took care about Venantius’ poetic talents. How does Venantius describe the church? He does not describe it, except for three characteristics: the extraordinary dimensions; the ornaments made, in- and outside, by massive gold; and, last but not least, the great everlasting light, even during the night. About the characteristic 1, very often our author refers to churches as very majestic: really, we cannot think such was the greatness of all the churches situated, at his times, in the south-west of nowadays called “France”. These basilicas (Venantius uses this term referring to Christian churches) did not stand in large towns, thus their measures maybe were not so big. About the characteristic 2, it is rather rare to find references to real features with respect to the structure of such basilicas. Our author usually does not pay attention to the materials, the architecture, the plan or the sculptures and pictures that -we presume- decorated these churches; he thought it was more important to draw attention to the spiritual features.

Characteristic 3 is surely the most important among the three ones. "Sine nocte manet continuata dies" is an expression which very clearly testifies that the most important thing in the church, able to pervade it and even move the worshippers to God, is the light. Such light spreads inside and outside, all around the basilica.

Let us read the verses 15-16:

"Qui loca das populis Dominum quo semper adorent, / ut capiant veniam te facis esse viam". Here we find the theology of search for God. The basilicas are not only examples of rich architecture, rather are places where people can worship God, and implied is the idea of walking, pilgrimage towards God. The divinity we meet here looks like the severe god of Ancient Testament, if people "need" to get close to him and beg and so receive forgiveness for a fault.

The poem ends with a beautiful wish: may Vitalis go on celebrating religious parties and joyously paying homage to God consecrating new churches (vv. 27-28, "Plurima divino celebres sollemnia dono / atque Dei florens templa locando colas"). So, devoting new churches means spread of faith in God, supporting the creation of a large net of buildings that let it.

Now we are moving to the second text (*Carm.* I,2). Its beginning is enough common in the sphere of Venantius' works: the poet or, more precisely, the "speaking voice" addresses a hypothetical pilgrim who may arrive at the basilica consecrated to Saint Andrew: if you get closer and pray, you will receive the help you need. Then, Venantius tells how the bishop Vitalis was able to raise the church, starting from the foundations, and devote it. We are meeting another element, typical of the Middle Ages: in the same church could be relics belonging to many saints (here S. Peter, S. Paul, S. Andrew, S. Laurence, S. Martin, S. Vigil, S. Martirius, S. Sisinnus, S. Alexandre, S. Cecil) and people used to address "saint objects" to live a real, touchable faith.

The third text (*Carm.* I,3) is focused on the martyr Saint Stephen, who died in the Middle East, got stones thrown against him. It is interesting to see how the faith, almost like an ancient pilgrim, expressed itself in the East after S. Stephen's martyrdom and, then, travelled as far as the western Europe to establish churches in honour of this victim of paganism. Moreover, here is a lightning comparison between the fact that S. Stephen was stoned to death, and the fact that he considered Christ like the unique and most important stone for him. Christ looks to the saint the touchstone to judge everything, or even the material by which the Church-community of God stands. This basilica very probably stood in Saintes, as it is the same town whose Palladius -client of this church- was bishop.

The fourth poem (*Carm.* I,4) examines the church dedicated to S. Martin. In this case, we are informed the highness of this basilica was remarkable. Here also we are reading about a bishop, Faustus, who decided to edificate this sanctuary. As far as that place used to arrive many people to say to the Lord a prayer and ask for wealth and help. In order to do all this, a very hard trip was necessary: people usually left their birth- or usual places and travelled many days and months to find, if it was possible, remedies to their bad health-condition.

The poems 5, 6 and 7 (*Carmm.* I,5-6-7) deal with basilicas of Saint Martin, situated in various locations of the south-western Gaul.

In the fifth one, the main building is not a vast church, but a small cell, i.e. that place where he used to live, even when the authorities appointed him as new bishop of Tours, because he preferred living and praying apart from the magnificent places of the nearby cathedral, where he moved every time he had to celebrate mass. Here too, at the beginning, we are reading an invite to a wayfarer to stop and mind, praying, the places where Saint Martin had lived. As usual, seems very hard the tendency to a way of narration always based on hard oxymoron. An effort to increase the number of believers lay in presenting the scene by hard tones: small fire became a fire-sphere over the head of the priest and then vanished.

Interesting is the close: the text was dedicated to a specific and important client in the life and work of Venantius: the historian-bishop of Tours Gregorius; they were friends, and here Gregorius Turonensis required the Venantius to write poem, but why? It is reasonable thinking, that the historian wanted to celebrate such a small cell and its saint inhabitant, whose Gregorius wanted to present himself like a worthy heir.

The sixth text (*Carm.* I,6) provides further elements to reflect. Where was the S. Martin's basilica? According to the scholar Vieillard-Troiekouroff (1977, p. 55), it was in Bordeaux, and concerned the basilica devoted to Saint Martin at Mont-Judaïque; according to Lombard-Jourdan (1981, p. 146), it was in Paris, close to Montmartre. For the first time, here we find a reference to the geographical environment where the basilica was located: an enough high hill, surrounded by strong light and visible and seemingly close from far places as well as nearby places. The pilgrim could be attracted by the beauty of such a nature and great light the landscape irradiated.

A last note on the cathedral: the bishop of Bordeaux, Leontius II (516-570), built it, while his wife<sup>1</sup>, Placidina, decorated it.

A third basilica to S. Martin, in *Carm.* I,7, was approximately located in Poitiers, and was edicated ab ovo, but renewed and restored by the bishop Basilius and his wife Baudegonda. In this case, there was a church that arose on a river. A new technique was found to get the flow of that river changed.

The texts 8 and 9 were dedicated to a saint, named Vincentius, whose identity about the scholars for long debated: what was the same saint about, or not? And where was this or were these two basilicas situated? According to De Maillé (1959, p. 90), it concerned the same saint, Vincent from Zaragoza; for De Gaiffier d'Hestroy (1953, pp. 127-134), the Vincent mentioned in the second poem was Vincent from Agen. Besides, the former scholar thought it concerned the same basilica, while the latter one concluded the eighth poem refers to the basilica in Pompeiacum dedicated to Saint Vincent from Zaragoza, but the ninth poem refers to the basilica in Vernemetum built in honour of Saint Vincent from Vernemetum.

The considerations and conjectures to support the theory of two basilicas do not persuade us. It does not seem, that Venantius wrote about two different (in terms of geographical position, architecture, etc.) buildings: more exactly, we do not have any particular clue that let us choose the above mentioned theory. Rather, I completely

agree with De Maillé's stand based upon the relevance of the adverb "item": very probably, the author referred to the same saint and church.

Saint Vincent is shown as a man deeply devoted to God. Just when he was beheaded, he got the divine salvation and the real winner was not his executioner, because he was able to kill such a person beloved by God, but the saint indeed.

Leontius II from Bordeaux covered the church by tin-roof, but here the poet did not perceive as necessary to compare a new, metallic roof to the motif of light.

The following text involves the same argument: now we know the place of Saint Vincent's basilica, *Vernemetum*, that signified with regard to gaulic language "glade where is celebrated a worship". The high sanctuary stood at a quite upper hill, and the surroundings were beautiful. Besides, for the first time in *Carmina* the sanctuary becomes place hosting miracles: v. 16 "martyris adventu daemonis ira fugit" e vv. 17-18 "Redditur incolomis quidam de peste maligna, / cui vidisse pii templa medella fuit."

We do not understand, why the two poems should not fit one to another.

In the tenth poem, dedicated to Saint Nazare, Leontius II, the bishop of Bordeaux, has the main role. It is important to observe that, for the first time, to the name of bishop who used to plan the construction of churches is associated the epithet "saint", as if the leading actors on our stage were two saints, instead of the one we get accustomed to. Leontius II is defined in these terms, because of all actions and works he paid to get churches restored and built ex novo, as well. Here and in the eleventh poem we can notice a new situation: the bishop (in both cases, Leontius II) decided to remove the actual basilica; in the first case (poem X) he destroyed the former one and manage its reconstruction according a bigger plan.

But, in the second case (poem XI) it is possible to attend to the chronological account of that place. There were not sanctuaries nearby to that place, and people did not know who they could address to. So, the bishop Amelius got, like present for his community, a small chapel raised, that for a few years could welcome many believers. After his death, the successor, Leontius II wanted to offer a bigger church, but until the more charming building was not performed, he used to celebrate Christian rites inside the small chapel.

The twelfth poem tells about the basilica devoted to the bishop Bibianus. The bishop Eusebius had started building the basilica, but unfortunately he died before completing the construction. The following bishop, Emerio, decided not to take care of it, so Leontius II and his wife Placidina wanted to end the work. She got Bibianus' grave decorated with a silver cover, and the internal walls of the basilica were covered by solid gold. Venantius seems to have had a keen interest to the artistic characteristics of this church: maybe its panels offered to the sight of many people charming scenes, where even chase situations let enjoy.

The poem XIII tells about Saint Eutropius (first bishop in Saintes)' basilica, which fell down in the ancient times. Nowadays, it was completely restored, thanks to the help of our famous Leontius II. The ceiling was made by wood, and this stuff seemingly was moving as if it were pictures painted; besides, the interior walls were all painted or decorated as we said above with regard to the wood.

The last text of our sequence shows the absolute protagonist of our pages: Leontius II (516 – 570), bishop in Bordeaux, who embellished his town: especially he got the baptister and the cathedral restored, and got the basilica built in honour of the Virgin Mary. Incredibly strong is the comparison between the Virgin Mary with her womb full of light, and the basilica that holds the great treasure of the divine light!

The second book offers some other examples of how basilicas were conceived by Venantius.

*Carm.* II, 10 compares the Solomon's temple and the church in Paris: as many precious stones and gold and cedar-wood adorned that, so Christ's Cross and Blood embellished our church, full of that light which we already referred to, and which entered through the round windows. This church was a gift by the king Childebert I.

We finish this excursus focusing on to the poem X,6. The cathedral of Tours, town whose was bishop in the fourth century Martinus, while Gregorius was such in the sixth one, was built in the fourth century; then, in 558 flames destroyed it and the bishop Gregorius got it rebuilt in 590, as he himself wrote in his historic work (*Historia Francorum* X,31). The cathedral stood upon a high hill; the inside was rich of light deriving from God: this is an image very popular in Venantius' poetics, as we often said. The new cathedral shew big round windows, and beautiful images painted on the walls, and probably on the ceiling of the building, but unfortunately we cannot image what kind of images appeared there.

Concluding, we can say that the real peculiarity of Venantius' basilicas, the aspect which was able to establish and mark them, was God's light, that fully filled the building and, thus, the believers' eyes and soul.

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<sup>1</sup> During the first centuries of Christianity priests and bishops could get married, but after wedding they could not longer have sexual relations.

## Almatourism

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### **Pilgrims in Lower Lunigiana and Traces of Ancient Settlements: the Case of Trepuncio and Xago in Avenza**

Salvatori, E.\*

University of Pisa (Italy)

Mussi, S.<sup>†</sup>

Deputazione Storia Patria per le Province Parmensi (Italy)

## Introduction

The Medieval Lunigiana was, as noted, a transit area. With an area of circa 1,700kmq<sup>1</sup>, it was indeed developed in a vast network of routes: not only the tract par excellence, the Francigena, had a particularly important and fragile tract in Luigiana, but its numerous sub-routes traversed the Apennines in many points and crossed other routes from East to West; in addition, various routes led to the sea, at the fluvial port of San Maurizio, the dock of Ameglia, and the marine borgo of Portovenere (Coppedé, 1990; Ambrosi, 1992; Salvatori, 2001a; Salvatori, 2001b; Salvatori 2001c). Defining these tracts on paper, as they had been brought to light by an indeterminate number of historical research of an erudite nature, means drawing a large and intricate web, focusing on the Apennine passes above the Vara and Magra rivers (first of all the passo della Cisa), on the routes of the paths on the ridge and on the valley floor, and the crossing of the 120 castles that dominated the Lunigianese high grounds.

Despite the noting of the main tracts of this complex system, many still escape our knowledge due to gaps in the available documentation as well as rushed readings of resources in the past. Each in depth analysis that manages to shed light on the position, function and precision of each crux is therefore precious, utilised not only to significantly correct the complex framework but also, in perspective, to allow local administration and cultural and touristic entities to use the history of the territory with more awareness.

It is for this reason that we present here a study on two small towns of Lower Lunigiana – *Xago* and *Trepuncio* – near Luni and Carrara, mentioned in documentation in relation

\* E-mail address: [enrica.salvatori@unipi.it](mailto:enrica.salvatori@unipi.it)

<sup>†</sup> E-mail address: [sergiomussi51@gmail.com](mailto:sergiomussi51@gmail.com)

to the traversing of pilgrims and travellers and until today not considered by scholars of the territory.

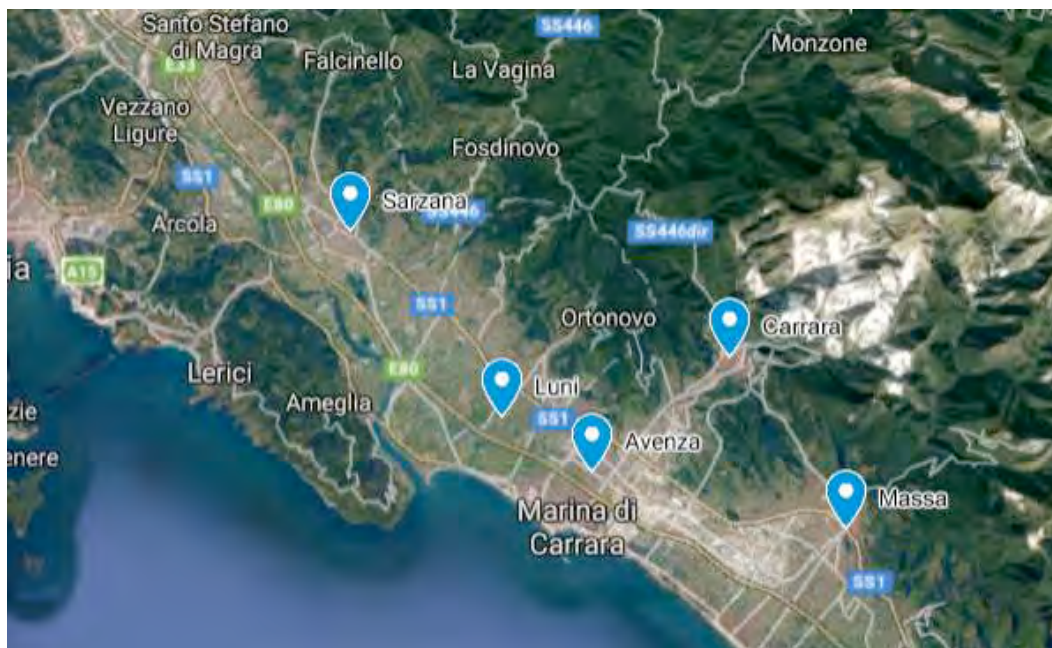
## 1. Written Documentation

The two toponyms appear together in a document of the *Codice Pelavicino* only once – the *lober iurium* of the Bishop of Luni – today a critical digital edition is in course, opera of the substantial *equipe* of the University of Pisa (Salvatori, Riccardini, Balletto, Rosselli del Turco *et alii*, 2014). It is an interesting document for more than one reason. In 1180 the Bishop of Luni made a pact with some *milites* of Carrara to found a new *borgo* near the Avenza River (today the Carrione torrent) and the sea (Salvatori, Riccardini, Balletto, Rosselli del Turco *et alii*, 2014).

Emerging figures of the local society attempted to gain the support of the Bishop to invest resources in the construction of *iuxta faucem fluminis et in litore maris* buildings to render the level area of the coast inhabited and popular: a section of the territory that could have become unpopulated during the Dark Ages, but which during the second half of the 12th century became once again desirable (Salvatori, 2007). At that time, at the mouth of the Avenza, there were only a few ravines or *grotacias* (Bernieri, Mannoni T. & Mannoni L., 1983: 62; Garzella, 1991)<sup>2</sup>, but the bishop intended to modify the landscape by constructing *casamenta et hedificia* to populate the area and gain due tributes from the new settlement. From this perspective particular attention was given to the areas at the mouth of the river where the Bishop wanted to build his structures (*secundum quod sibi placuerit*); the assets left behind by travellers, merchants, pilgrims who had died in the *borgo* were to be divided between the Bishop ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ) and those who had hosted the diseased; a third of the bishops takings would be utilised to finance the management of the local church.

*Et si viator vel peregrinus ibidem obierit, due partes earum rerum quas habuerit erunt domini episcopi et tertia hospitis. [...] postquam ecclesia ibidem facta fuerit et presbiter ibidem institutus, terciam partem concedet dominus episcopus de eo quod provenierit de advenis peregrinis sive mercatoribus et viatoribus.*

It is evident that the Bishop and the *milites* predicted that the *borgo* of Avenza would have become, after its construction, a place of intense transit. The position effectively raised hope due to the vicinity of the populated area, still a significant fraction of the municipality of Carrara today, from one side to the ‘Roman’ road which connected Massa and Carrara and Sarzana and on the other side the sea.



**Figure 1:** Current position of Avenza in relation to nearby towns.

Source: Google Maps.



**Figure 2:** Position of Avenza on a map from 1721.

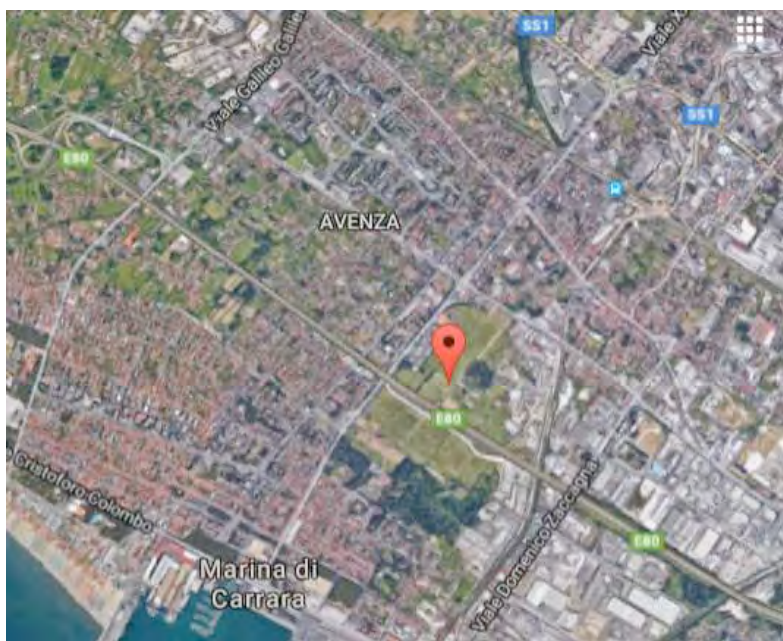
Source: Archivio di Stato di Genova: 53 Magra: *Disegno di val di Magra con sue strade aperte di novo.*

The concept is reiterated in the following phrase:

*Si quid vero de Xago a Trepuncio usque ad Aventiam advenerit, medietatem in integrum dominus episcopus sibi retinuit et aliam medietatem iamscriptis et eorum heredibus in feudum concessit.*

In this case, half of the rights were reserved for the Bishop, leaving the other half to his *milites* associates who were – we believe – related to the entry of people and goods to the *borgo*, from Xago and Trepuncio directed towards Avenza: the two towns consequently amounted to particular points or areas of access to the new settlement.

In the *Codice Pelvicino*, Xago appears, other than in 1180, in only one document in the 13th century which tells us nothing of its position<sup>3</sup>. Fortunately, the toponym is abundantly present in the fiscal resources of the modern era: we can indeed identify Xago of 1180 with the *Porto Cacho* or *Cacho*, the Avenza dock, attested in a valuation of Carrara in 1541. Here Bona Toni Ambrosini declared to own, among others things, a pasture in *Porto Cacho*, a field in *Padulo* (thus in an area characterised by ponds and marshland), an olive grove in *Murolungo*, and a field in *Traponzo* (our Trepuncio)<sup>4</sup>. Porto Cacho was hypothetically situated in the current estate of villa Ceci (Di Pierro, 2000: 128-129).



**Figure 3:** Hypothetical position of Porto Cacho in Avenza.

Source: Google Maps.

Normally in Latin palaeography the X o has the value of the corresponding letter, otherwise it is an abbreviation of 'Christ' (Cappelli, 2011). It is therefore not implausible that at that time the place was pronounced 'Xago – Csago – Ksago' (or how it was interpreted by the notary editor of the document of 1180) was rendered Cacho in the text, Caco (Del Giudice, 1982; Roberts, 2014)<sup>5</sup>, without a priori excluding the possibility that another passage existed from Xago to Sacco to then arrive at Cacco<sup>6</sup>.

If we accept this interpretation, the document of 1180 tells us that Trepuncio was an access point to the small town, then *borgo* of Avenza, equal to a small maritime dock – on a pre-existent river (*Xago – Cacho*), at this time in the lido neighbouring the new settlement<sup>7</sup>.

*Trepuncio* appears in various medieval and modern documents and in some historical maps. One document written on the 12<sup>th</sup> September 1283 on the plain of Luni (*in plano de Luna*)<sup>8</sup> is particularly interesting because it contains a survey supported by the Bishop of Luni, Enrico da Fucecchio, on the lands in the area of *Aguto* or *Circhio de Luna*, the amphitheatre of the ancient Roman city<sup>9</sup>. One century after the establishment of Avenza the area between the *borgo* and Luni, from the amphitheatre to the sea, became the subject of a dispute on the part of the men of the neighbouring communities, particularly: Castelnuovo, Serravalle, Carrara and, evidently, Avenza itself. As was customary for arguments of the era, some ‘good men’ were appointed to determine the respective jurisdiction.

The Bishop of Luni of the 12<sup>th</sup> century evidently had a long-term vision, given that in the course of 100 years not only was the settlement of Avenza effectively constructed and strengthened, but the entire coastal zone became desired and precious. The reason is demonstrated in the document describing, in the area between the mountains and the sea, an intense fragmentation and the presence of pits and ditches, utilised to reclaim the land and render it more fertile. In this context, Trepuncio (*Treponçum*) is taken as a topographic limit of the survey ordered by the Bishop and appears to be a small town very close to Avenza, which maintains the role of access point<sup>10</sup>.

The third and last document of the *Pekavicino*, which talks about Trepuncio, is somewhat below that just described and contains the statutes of Carrara of 1260: here the *podestà* (chief magistrate) of the Carrara municipality is committed to constructing the ‘bridges of Trepuncio’ in wood or other materials in order to enable travellers to pass through<sup>11</sup>. We therefore once again find the new town as an access and transit point to serve the viability in a maritime/fluvial area, intense enough to require specific operations on the part of administrators of the dominant community.

## 2. The *Tripontium* Toponymic type

The *Tripontium* Toponymic type is very ancient and can be found in a vast area between Italy, France and Great Britain where similar names of small towns have been identified. The earliest attestation of a *Tripontium* (today Tor Tre Ponti, LT) is handed down to us by Strabo in his *Gheographikà* (lib. V,3) a monumental work written between 64 BC and 19 AD, and Plinio (23 - 79 AD) in *Naturalis Historia* (Gnoli, 2009/2010). The *Itinerario di Antonino* (Cuntz & Wirth, 1990) then reveals the presence of a *Tripontium* in Great Britain - current Newton and Biggin in the north-east of Rugby - at a *vallum* (Fosse Way): it was a frontier military settlement (50 AD - 4th century AD) today brought to light by the Rugby Archaeological Society (Jack Lucas FSA, 1997). In Umbria, an epigraph engraved directly into a rock wall, at a height of two meters from the road level, dated circa 88-85 BC (Sisani, 2013), demonstrates a *Tripontium* – today

Triponzo municipality of Cerreto Spoleto (PG) – notorious for the Roman baths. We also know that the same name is engraved in the tombstone of Nerva (96-98 AD) conserved at the farmhouse of Mesa (Gnoli, 2005; Quilici 2005)<sup>12</sup> and in the tombstone of Teodorico – the sixth century. AD – found in the ancient *Forum Appii* (today's Borgo Faiti, LT), which refers to the reclamation works of the Pontine plains enforced by the same emperor where, in the group of TRIP letters many epigraphists agree with the recognition, the reference to the small town *Tripontium* is found (Rossi, 2009). Another *Tripontium*, of which the date of attestation is unknown, was located near the city of Rimini, in which the mouth of the *Rivo Tripontij* was also located (Fantuzzi, 1804). On the contrary, the attestations relative to some places named *Traponzo* or *Triponzo*, and *Trapontium*<sup>13</sup> probable vulgarisation of the more ancient *Tripontium* date back to the medieval and modern age, such as: *Tripontio*, near Arles in Provenza (Guérard, 1857); *Traponzo* on the outskirts of the town of Ostra (AN), today via *Traponzo*; *Fosso Traponzo*, *Belvedere Ostrenze* (AN); the *Traponzo* torrent in the Viterbo area; *Tripontio* of Bondeno Mantovano (ant. *Trepontium*) (Muratori, 1738); *Treponti* di Rezzato (BS); *San Leonardo* in *Treponzio*, *Capannori* (LU) among others.

From the diminutive form *Transpontino* (*trans pontio*), toponym that in the Middle Ages still mentions the homonymous ancient port on the Tiber and which we now find in Rome in the *oltretorrente* of *Transpontina*, a district located between the Vatican and Castel Sant'Angelo beyond the Vittorio Emanuele II bridge (Molinari, Spera & Santangeli Valenzani, 2015: 89)<sup>14</sup>, we extract the information useful to dissolve the etymology of the *Traponzo* type. These testimonies allow us to confirm that the toponymic type had already been established in the Republican period and may have, at most, continued up to the first Late Antiquity period (3rd century AD - 6th century AD). The condition that combines most of the places examined, which presents the *Tripontium* type, is given by their location in territories overlooking the sea, the marshes, the watercourses, the pits and the ditches. On the other hand, no sufficient evidence emerged to justify the more 'natural' etymological hypothesis, which would have derived the name from the presence of three bridges<sup>15</sup>. Considering that the term could be composed either by the Latin preposition *inter* (between) or *trans* (beyond) that carry the noun *pontes* (bridges) or the noun *pontus* (ponto) (Rosenberg & Sellier)<sup>16</sup> the toponym would initially indicate a 'small town that stands among the bridges' or 'beyond the bridges'<sup>17</sup>, or a 'place that is beyond the *ponto*' or 'in the middle of the *ponto*', here '*ponto*' in the sense of 'depth', 'sea' and 'flute', then by extension 'mirror of water', 'swamp', and 'pit'.

At this point we have several certain elements: *Trepuncio* was, in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a place of passage located in the coastal strip between the base of the Carrara hills and the sea, not far from the remains of the Roman city of Luni, on a course of water and/or in close contact with a damp area that required elevated crossing structures (bridges or piers) and which had undergone – probably between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries – an intense remediation; gave access to the village of Avenza, similar to the nearby dock of Xago – Cacho, and probably marked the western border of the jurisdiction of the *borgo* in the direction of Luni.

Given the antique or late antique origin of the different *Tripontium* traceable in Roman Europe is it possible that a trace of a Roman occupation of the coast exists? Is it possible that the bridges that the podestà had to repair in 1260 are traces of similar structures of an earlier age?

The first thing to ask is where the coast line actually passed in Roman times and if therefore the 'bridges' or 'piers' of Trepuncio, and also coincidentally the *grotacias* attested in the document of 1180, can be considered remains of a contemporary occupation of the nearby Roman colony.

The Roman connections between Pisa and Luni are still under discussion. If it is true that historical cartography draws the "Roman road" in the foothills, it is possible that this route was established in the Early Middle Ages, as a consequence of the swamping of the coastal strip, and that in Roman times the coastline was more advanced and harboured a little further at sea than the present town of Avenza a direct connecting route to Luni (Fabiani, 2006). The hypothesis was made on the basis of the archaeological photointerpretation and unfortunately, for now, has not found any definite confirmations of findings on the ground. The attendance of the Avenza site during the Roman age, near the ancient mouth of the homonymous torrent, would also be suggested by the discovery of a 'sepulchre' and some marble 'cornices', which however, is not accompanied by detailed information and would require a new and targeted archaeological investigation (Banti, 1929).



**Figure 4:** Viability and centuriation of the Roman era between Luni and the Ricortola torrent.

Source: Fabiani, rielaborato da Pappalardo - Chelli - Parodi – Capitani (2015).

The toponym Avenza, as is known, is attested in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, where however the name indicates only the watercourse (although placed in an erroneous position). A second attestation of the toponym can be found only in 998: a document from the Codice Pelavicino indeed reports between the confines of a land located in a hilly area (*in loco et fundo ubi monte Volpilione dicitur*), of Avenza<sup>18</sup>: an indication that clearly does not concern a presumed *borgo*, but the extensive area related to the Avenza as a watercourse, considered in the upstream section. A third mention is found in an act dated hypothetically to 1140, forty years before the foundation<sup>19</sup>.

Here we see that two lands were *in Laventia*: the first bordered the *strada Romea* and the lands of the *de la Padule*; the second with *via carrarecia*, with the *strada Romea* and with the land of a certain Giolitta di Sarzana. The text indicates, in our opinion, a transitory situation: in 1140 Avenza was certainly an inhabited place (not just a river), but within a strongly rural context and newly reclaimed. It was crossed by the Romea and by a minor road suitable for wagons: it was therefore the object of exploitation and economic interest that led, forty years later, to the initiative of establishing the *borgo*<sup>20</sup>.

The evolution of the coastline between Avenza and Luni from about 6000 years ago would indicate, for the area east of the Parmignola, a progressive but intermittent advancement with its formation in the early Middle Ages, between the hills and the depressed sea area hosting a modest lagoon/lake protected from the open sea by sandy shorelines; to the west, however, in Roman times the coastline was more pronounced, with a shoreline above sea level (the current Cordone della Marinella), upstream of which a closed lagoon extended; between this and the city of Luni there was instead a deep inlet open to the sea to the east (Pappalardo, Chelli, Parodi & Capitani, 2015). The analysis carried out did not reveal any 'sandstone bed', calcarenite which, according to some authors, could be the origin of the *grotacias* attested in 1140; these, in our opinion, could instead have been traces of ancient ruins (Pappalardo, Chelli, Parodi & Capitani, 2015). This is a scenario that on the one hand does not exclude the possibility that the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Trepuncio* had inherited the name from a pre-existing *Tripontium* in a Roman context and on the other that reinforces the already formed hypothesis of the existence of a port in the Middle Ages – or rather a system of small docks – between Carrione and Parmignola.

### 3. Traponcio in cartography

Thanks to historical cartography it is possible to hypothesise the topographic location of Trepuncio, and consequently propose a project of archaeological investigation to the superintendence and local administrations in order to evaluate the antiquity and the structure of these docks.

The first testimony of Trepuncio in historical cartography dates back to 1583 when the administration of the then principality of Massa had a project for the reclamation of the marshland between Avenza and Sarzana<sup>21</sup>. Here Avenza (*Venza*) is a walled *borgo*

located just east of the river of the same name (**Fig. 5**), connected to the *strada Romea* by a bridge that leads to Sarzana. In the coastal strip between Avenza and the Parmignola watercourse some ditches can be found (fossa maestra, fossa della Caviola, fossa del Beghe, fossa de *Canpo Dapio*) and *Traponzolo* (**Fig 6**). We therefore find that the toponym at that time concerned a coastal area between the Parmignola and Avenza torrents, characterised by large swampy sections as can also be seen in a beautiful map of 1621 (**Fig. 7**) that does not present our toponym, but illustrates the need for "bridges" to access the *borgo* of Avenza, including one consisting of several arches, and named St. George (**Fig. 9**).



**Figure 5:** Part of the map of Marcantonio Pasi relative to the *borgo* of Avenza in 1583. Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena: Mappe e Disegni - Mappario Estense - Acque, Topografia dei terreni e confini dello Stato, n. 27



**Figure 6:** Part of the map of Marcantonio Pasi relative to the *borgo* of Avenza in 1583. Source: Archivio di Stato di Modena: Mappe e Disegni - Mappario Estense - Acque, Topografia dei terreni e confini dello Stato, n. 27.



**Figure 7:** Sarzana.

Source: Archivio di Stato di Genova: 936 Sarzana (69), Tipo dei confini tra Sarzana e Avenza (1626).

A little later than that just described is a map by Ercole Spina of 1594<sup>22</sup>, famous because it draws the hypothesis of the alteration of the coastline from the mouth of the Magra to Avenza from the Roman era to 1592. Even if the reconstructed hypotheses before 1592 are to be considered the result of conjecture and largely erroneous (Bini, Chelli & Pappalardo, 2006; Bini, Chelli, Pappalardo, Durante & Gervasini, 2010; Bini, Chelli, Pappalardo, Gervasini, Bruckner & Mancusi, 2013), what should be reliable is the reality that the Spina saw with its eyes and that it had "the Traponcio" on the coastline in front of the sea (**Fig. 8**).



**Figure 8:** Atlante Spina.

Source: Archivio di Stato di Genova: Atlante Spina, MS ms. 423, n.27, particolare.

We lastly find our toponym in two other maps dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. On the first (*Projects to arrange the tributaries of the Magra River*)<sup>23</sup> we find that before that period, Treponcio was on the original bed of the Parmignola. So

indeed the point where the torrent is born is described:

*Perticara dista 4 a. queste due ultime [si riferisce anche al canale Castagnola] erano con Orto(novo) e le due prime con Sarzana de Carrara. La Parmignola fiume doveria andare al Traponcio suo leto antico [... ter]mini hora termine di san Giorgio*

(Perticara becomes distant 4 a. these last two [also refers to the Castagnola canal] were with Orto(novo) and the first two with Sarzana de Carrara. The Parmignola River must go to the Traponcio its ancient bed now ends with St. George)

The second map (*Plan for the boundaries between Ortonovo and Castelnuovo between the territories of Massa and Sarzana, 17th-18th centuries*)<sup>24</sup> was drafted for the border dispute between "the Serenissima Republic of Genoa and the Prince of Massa". It is said that:

*la Serenissima Repubblica ... al mare, pretende di arrivare fino al luogo descritto come l'antico Traponcio, mentre il Principe pretende di arrivare ... al monte nel cui luogo vi sono dei termini naturali che sono dati dalle cime degli stessi monti.*

(the Serenissima Repubblica ... to the sea, claims to reach the place described as the ancient Traponcio, while the Prince claims to arrive ... at the mountain where there are natural terms that are given by the peaks of the same mountains.)

Trepuncio is indicated in the map with the words "l'antiqua Traponcio" and a rectangle that probably indicates a term to be related to two others upstream, placed along the Roman road, recognisable in the previous map as term of St George (**Fig. 9**).

The difference between the claims of the two states concerns precisely the position of Trepuncion, which before probably marked a passage of the Parmignola and in the modern age was instead only a point now distant from the torrent, because it had been diverted towards the estate of Marinella. The wording 'the antique Traponcio' seems to delineate the trace of now obsolete previous settlement structures.



**Figure 9:** Plan or type of the borders between Ortonovo and Castelnuovo (XVII – XVIII). Source: Archivio di Stato di Genova: 23/Ortonovo e Castelnuovo.

From above it appears plausible that in the Middle Ages, Xago and Trepuncio were two essentially 'maritime-fluvial' access points for Avenza, one probably found more to the south-east, perhaps at the same mouth of Avenza, and the other to the north-west, towards the estate of Marinella and next to Parmignola.

The maritime-lagoon environment required the installation of transient structures, 'bridges' or 'piers', which had given rise to at least one of the two toponyms. In Avenza, as is clear from the written and cartographic documentation illustrated here, it was also possible to access it by road, from the *strada Romea*.

At this point we must go back to rereading the document from which we left, in which we recall three statements that concern the area investigated and the transit of travellers and pilgrims:

- 1) the Bishop reserved the exclusive use of the sea strip, also affected by the mouth of the Avenza;
- 2) the assets of the deceased travellers and pilgrims were an important source of income;
- 3) special attention was paid to those who arrived passing by Xago and Trepuncio, places that - as we propose here - were on the coast and had a marshy environment.

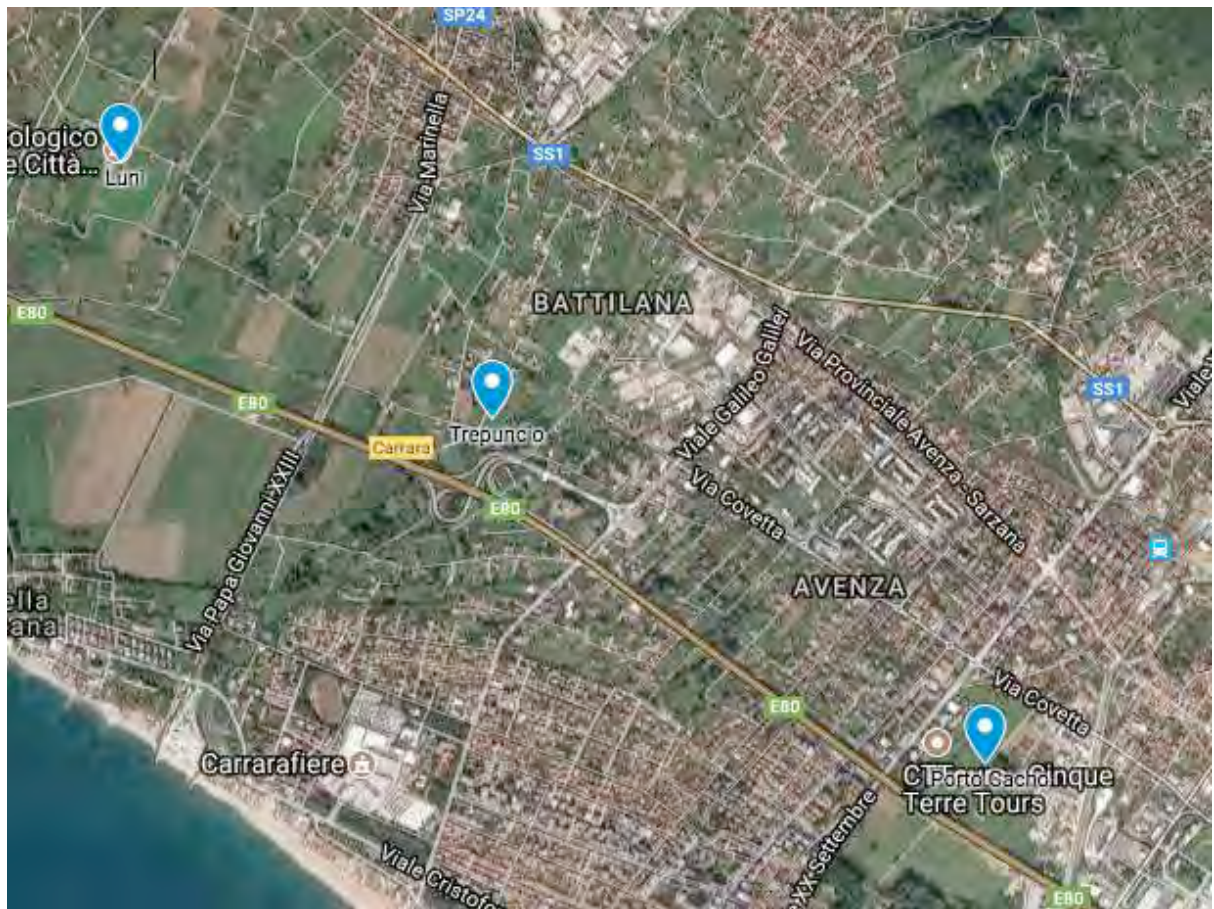
We do not know for certain – even if we consider it plausible – if in Trepuncio there could have been structures prior to those certainly functioning in the Middle Ages, nor how ancient the dock of Xago could be; what we would like to maintain is that the medieval foundation of the village of Avenza in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century was linked to the economic re-launch of the Carrara coastal strip, implemented both with land reclamation and with putting docks into service. Both the access roads to the *borgo*, the terrestrial (*strada Romea*) and maritime/fluvial (Xago-Cacho and Trepuncio) were perceived by the Bishop and the *milites* of Carrara of 1180 as potentially profitable: an undoubtable sign that important demographic and commercial growth was in progress, in which even the small docks, placed at the centre of a fertile area close to the Romea-Francigena, were considered significant investments due to the transit of goods, merchants and pilgrims.

The vitality of these Traponcio docks seems to remain maintained until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and perhaps until the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century for those of Xago.

The progress of the coast, however, must have made them increasingly less useful, since in the 16<sup>th</sup> century they are found only as simple toponyms and reference points (*l'antiqua Traponcio*). The first project for the construction of the port of Carrara dates back to the mid-eighteenth century and sees its structures now located 2 km from the centre of Avenza.

The maps and historical documents consulted make it possible to approximate the current position of both places: Porto Cacho, as mentioned above, is currently at the Villa Ceci and Trepuncio in the Battilana area, just south-east of the mouth of the Parmignola<sup>25</sup>, where worked boulders of Roman columns were found and where a coring revealed a littoral environment between the depths correspondent to the

current sea level and the -1m, that is to say the depth roughly corresponding to the late antique and medieval period.



**Figure 10:** Hypothetical position of Trepuncio and Porto Cacho in regards to Avenza and Luni.

Source: Google Maps.

In our opinion it would therefore be very useful to implement an archaeological survey campaign in these two areas, which includes excavation for sample areas, in order to establish the presence and chronology of the previous layers of use and to bring the traces of these minor port structures to light, noted thus far from written documentation.

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<sup>1</sup> The measurement corresponds to that of the lagoons of the Magra and the Vara. Currently, Lunigiana is divided between two provinces and two regions: the southern and western sectors belong to la Spezia and thus Liguria, the northern and eastern sectors to Massa-Carrara and Tuscany.

<sup>2</sup> According to Luciana and Tiziano Mannoni it regards (Bernieri, A., Mannoni, T., & Mannoni, L. (1983). Il porto di Carrara, storia e attualità. Carrara, p.62) natural ravines in bio-calcarene (sandstone bed) which, however, does not seem to have been detected; currently the coastline is indeed low and sandy. This could involve, given its vicinity to Luni, ancient ruins, given that the micro-toponym "a le grotte", near Pisa, indicated a point where the access to the Roman amphitheatre was still visible in the middle Ages.

<sup>3</sup> *Attolinus de Caço*, testimone in un atto redatto a Carrara nel 1230. *Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 278-CCCXVI <[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCXVI\\_278&page=fol\\_291r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCXVI_278&page=fol_291r)>.

<sup>4</sup> Archivio di Stato di Massa, fondo Archivio Comune di Carrara - serie I, b. 1, c. 18v.

<sup>5</sup> The etymology of the word is far from clear. Del Giudice believes it to be a predial (Del Giudice, C. A. (1982). Predial toponyms in Carrese territory. *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Antiche Province Modenesi*, s. XI, 4, 362-363). Here, the derivation from the Latin *cōāctus* is hypothetically proposed, in the meaning of reduced or marginalised, which makes the sense "smaller", "lesser", "on the side-lines" compared to a larger one (REW 2003). It involves a derivation of the verb *cogĕre* eng. to force, from *cogo*, *cōĕgi*, *cōāctum*, from \**co-ago*, which in English is "to reunite", "to gather" in one point. It is notable however, that in Spanish *cacho* corresponds to "slice", "piece"; un *cacho de tierra*, a slice of land (Roberts, E. A. (2014). *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Spanish Language with Families of Words based on Indo-European Roots: Volume I (H - Z and Appendix)*. Xlibris Corporation, p. 282. It should additionally be noted that currently, in Europe at least two Xago's have been found: the promontory, which closes the bay/pond of Biguglia in Corsica and the sandy coast of Playa de Xagó in the Asturias, although in Spain a Sagobe exists relatively far from the sea between Santiago and Pontevedra.

<sup>6</sup> Istituto Geografico de Agostini Novara, *Nomi d'Italia, Origine e significato dei nomi - Sacco (sa)*, established in 1308-10 as *sacii*, probably reflects the lat. *saccu(m)* 'sacco', in the geographical metaphorical sense of 'inlet, dead end', or the anthroponym lat. *saccus* senza suff. ab, *sachesi*; M. De Mauro - M. Mancini Garzanti *Dizionario Etimologico*, 'sacco', lat. *saccu(m)*, p. 1823; Devoto-Oli, 5 'sacco', s.m. lat. *saccu(m)*, Formation due to the production of a cavity more or less deep.

<sup>7</sup> It did not involve an important dock. It indeed assists in the reminder that the first pilot's book that cites Avenza as a dock is that of Giovanni Bertran da Maiorca del 1482 (Giacomo Bertran, *Carta nautica del mar Mediterraneo dall'Atlantico al mar d'Azov, comprese le coste atlantiche dell'Europa e dell'Africa*, in ASFi, *Carte Nautiche 1482*).

<sup>8</sup> *Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 264-CCCII <[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCII\\_264&page=fol\\_284r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCII_264&page=fol_284r)>.

<sup>9</sup> Aguto from the Latin *acutus*, in other words subtle; in specific “structure or edifice of an extended form” (v. il Circo Massimo in Roma): involves a construction which in the Roman period should have been utilised for various performances and in particular horse or chariot racing. *Circhio* from the Latin *circus*, in other words *circis*; the name, in the ancient Roman period, identified a structure of a circular form for performances, the sense is specifically that of a “place where one revolves around”.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*: [...] *versus Treponçum usque ad fossam respondentem usque ad angulum civitatis domus canonicorum* [...] *iuxta muros civitatis Lune, recta linea veniendo versus Aventiam sive Treponçum*.

<sup>11</sup> *Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 275-CCCXIII

<[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCXIII\\_275&page=fol\\_288r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCXIII_275&page=fol_288r)>: Item teneatur potestas facere fieri pontes de Trepunçio de lignamine vel alias, ita quod inde possint viatores transire.

<sup>12</sup> Old farmhouse adjacent to the archaeological site of the ancient Mausoleo di Clesippo (Tor Tre Ponti, LT).

<sup>13</sup> Archivio di Stato di Massa, fondo Archivio Comune di Carrara - serie I, b. 2, p. 492.

<sup>14</sup> Transpontino was additionally the name of the via which crossed the ancient Roman aqueduct which adapted to the bridge of viceré Juan de Vega in 1556, today one of the three bridges of the city of Catania.

<sup>15</sup> This hypothesis of Egidio Forcellino (Appendix Lexici totius latinitatis ab Aegidio Forcellino elucubrat et in tertia editione patavina ab Josepho Furlanetto aucti et emendati (1841), Padova, vol. 5, voce TRIPONTIUM, cl. 1, p. 179). Less probable seems the hypothesis which would want the name derived from the presence of a Roman bridge formed by three pillars, as in the case of the Roman bridge situated on the Appia Antica and resulted to have two arches, from which would derive the Tor Tre Ponti di Latina (Roma).

<sup>16</sup> Rosenberg & Sellier, CALONGHI, *pontus* (ponto), p.2101, 2.

<sup>17</sup> Could also be due to the union of *trans* e *ponctum*, ‘punto’ to signify “il luogo che sta oltre il punto” (the place beyond the point) here in meaning the terminal line of a determined strip of the area.

<sup>18</sup> *Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 259-CCLXXXVII

<[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCLXXXVII\\_259&page=fol\\_281r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCLXXXVII_259&page=fol_281r)>.

<sup>19</sup> *Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 312-CCCL

<[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCL\\_312&page=fol\\_307r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCCL_312&page=fol_307r)>.

<sup>20</sup> Pietro Di Pierro (*Avenza e la Via Francigena*, post in Carraraonline.com

<[http://www.carraraonline.com/avenza\\_torre\\_di\\_castruccio.php](http://www.carraraonline.com/avenza_torre_di_castruccio.php)>) indicates the first attestation of Avenza a document of the Codice Pelavicino of 950 which, however does not prove to be it. In 988 the Codice reports instead that between the borders of a terrain in a hilly area *in loco et fundo ubi monte Volpilione dicitur*, una terra Avenzese (*Codice Pelavicino. Edizione digitale*, n. 275-CCCXIII <[http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCLXXXVII\\_259&page=fol\\_281r](http://pelavicino.labcd.unipi.it/evt/#doc=CCLXXXVII_259&page=fol_281r)>): this attestation, as is evident, does not refer to an alleged *borgo*, but to a generic area relative to Avenza in its water course, here nevertheless considered in the mountainous part.

<sup>21</sup> Archivio di Stato di Modena, fondo “Mappario Estense” (1537 - 1589, Ed(ito nel) 1580 da Alberico Malaspina, Rilievi di Marcantonio Pasi, sec. XVI, Acque del Palu(do): Written at the back of the map: “1583 Disegno per asciugare i paduli di Lave(n)za verso Sarzana fatto dal Pasio ing(e)gn(ero) di Ferrara” (1583 Drawing to dry the marshes of Lavenza towards Sarzana drawn by Pasio engineer of Ferrara). Drawn by Marco Antonio architect, engineer and cartographer of Carpi (MO), brother of Pasio Pasi, also an engineer and captain for the Duke d’Este di Ferrara. (cfr. Biblioteca modenese o Notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori natii degli stati del serenissimo signor duca di Modena raccolte e ordinate dal cavaliere ab. Girolamo Tiraboschi, t. VI-2, Modena 1786, p. 508.

<sup>22</sup> Archivio di Stato di Genova, MS ms. 423, n.27.

<sup>23</sup> Archivio di Stato di Genova, 92 Parmignola (27)

<sup>24</sup> Archivio di Stato di Genova, 23 Ortonovo e Castelnuovo.

<sup>25</sup> Pappalardo - Chelli - Parodi - Capitani, *op. cit.*, nota 36.

## Almatourism

Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development

### Some Issues Related to Resources on Pilgrimage, from the Holy Land to the Via Francigena

Vanni F.\*  
Centro Studi Romei (Italy)

*"The same concept of source has enormously expanded, extending itself to the nature of the terrain and its transformations, to metallurgical techniques, to experimental researches for the study of great climatic phenomena (palynology, dendrology), to work tools and their evolution, and so on; so that even the number of auxiliary sciences has expanded considerably, even to include many natural sciences."*

Cinzio Violante 1979.<sup>1</sup>

Those who decide to devote themselves to the study of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages have at their disposal a considerable quantity of material, beginning from material concerning the main destination of pilgrimage since the Late Ancient era: Jerusalem. Because, make no mistake, pilgrimage would not exist, or at least not in the massive and universally diffused forms with which it was realised, if Jerusalem had not become the centre of interest very early on, the "immobile motor" at the centre of the then known world, for the flow of pilgrims. Jerusalem, already numinous for the Old Testament, becomes the meeting point between heaven and earth in the New Testament: here the tree of Jesse plants its roots, here the tree of life retakes its shape in the Cross of the Passion, under which peeps out the skull of Adam, the first sinful man and, for this reason, the trigger of the expulsion of the whole human race from Paradise.

It is evident that the formation of medieval religious pilgrimage goes hand in hand – it is difficult to establish cause or effect however – with the formation of Jerusalem as the centre of the world, and this before the mother of emperor Constantine, Elena, had herself accompanied to the Holy Land in 326, in that reconnaissance, which is also research, recovery, sacred theft, propaganda, rescue, and that became the ideal archetype for all pilgrimages carried out after her. Suffice to scroll through the two volumes of Tobler and Molinier,<sup>2</sup> in which data is collected chronologically on journeys

\* E-mail address: [postmaster@centrostudiromei.eu](mailto:postmaster@centrostudiromei.eu)

to Palestine in the centuries preceding the Crusades, to understand that the issue of sources on pilgrimage is extremely complex and far more articulate than one may think.

The organisation of the matter in Tobler and Molinier is emblematic of the difficulties encountered: the first volume is classic in its simplicity: it collects the main odeporic religious sources, and only those, from the Burdigalian pilgrim (333) to Bede the Venerable (circa 720), who never moved from England, and perhaps not even from his monastery, but who has accurately described the Holy Places based on the sources already available to him. These are texts collected chronologically, without an index, but which speak for themselves, for what they recount: the list of stages of approach, the mirabilia of the Holy Land and, if there is one, the return journey. Only then did Tobler and Molinier realise that the image of pilgrimage that emerged from this first volume was not entirely real: for example, the journey from Bordeaux of the anonymous pilgrim of 333 was not born from nothing, but came to integrate itself in an already organised flow; and it is for this reason I believe the second volume of their important source-collection work is born. Indeed, in the second volume the sources multiply, including indirect sources, the occasional citations of third parties that tell, even incidentally, of a pilgrimage which occurred or a trip to the Holy Land; and so it transpires that already in the first two centuries of the Christian era the signalling of people in some way attracted to those which would become the Holy Places of Christendom was constant and growing. And that the scrupulous documentation of the two scholars is anything but erudite, but substantial and meaningful.

And we have reached the first key point: is it permissible; is it licit to strictly **circumscribe** the scope of the documentary sources on pilgrimage, even following a cogent logic? Even if they were limited to the first volume of their work, Tobler and Molinier would not have been able to be accused of anything: they would have offered an anthological essay with odeporic sources on the Holy Land before the Crusades; a worthy and useful work even a century and a half since the edition was published. But it is only with the second volume that they give us a reliable picture of the "progressive" dimension of early medieval pilgrimage, of its growth, of word of mouth that spreads and multiplies throughout the Christian *ecumène*.

It is therefore not at all easy, and perhaps not even useful, to circumscribe the concept of "documentary sources" because, as I have experimented in the different versions of the "Bibliography on the Via Francigena",<sup>3</sup> it is difficult to establish when the citation of a term becomes relevant: if, for example, Ernesto Sestan cites the Via Francigena in passing, for many it becomes relevant; also because it should be considered a precursor in that branch of studies.

If we then take the ambiguous word "**francigena**", for the Britons it simply meant "foreigner" and for the Italians nothing but "transalpine".<sup>4</sup> Moreover, in medieval documentary sources we find that the term, when it does not mean "double-sided Frankish sword", when it is not the nickname of a person which then becomes a surname,<sup>5</sup> is still a generic adjective that, when it comes to a road, means "supra-local route that leads beyond the Alps" and, for subsequent extensions, "a path of great importance". So we can find it in sources from Puglia, the Marche and even in Sicily ... And it is rather gruelling to think that from Trinacria we were worried about the road

that led to France. To be truly meticulous, the odeporic sources almost never speak explicitly of "Francigena" as such, even if they describe one of its paths.<sup>6</sup> For most of the medieval quotes in which the word appears, we are rarely dealing with a road: the word almost always means "French" or sometimes even "the territory of the Franks".<sup>7</sup> Therefore the problem of **spatially** delimiting the term would arise. The Via Francigena is substantially an Italian route, even if in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* the expression also appears referring to Burgundy.<sup>8</sup> So, if in the early Middle Ages the three royal capitals of Burgunde, Lyon, Vienne and Arles cannot yet be considered "France", should we as scholars be much more ductile merrily calling all the routes that conclude in Canterbury "Via Francigena"? Ductile we could be, albeit with some obvious impatience. Those who are not at all ductile however, are the French of today, who refuse to call "Francigena" (on their road signs) the road that crosses a large part of their territory, including the Burgundians of course, which are now, if not more after the grandeur of De Gaulle, comparable to the "Franks".

The **relevance of the contents** must also be clarified: for example, Paolo Diacono in the *Historia miscella* cites the Via Flaminia only once in relation to the rock excavation of the passage of Pietra Pertusa. This involves just one paragraph. Is it to be considered a relevant documentary source? The answer for those involved in odeporic history is obvious, a little less so for everyone else. One thing is therefore to make an anthology of odeporic sources (which has already been done), another to make a taxonomy of a concept sought in the sources. Now however, it is no longer the case to challenge any competing search engine, because we will always be failures before the uncritical completeness of an algorithm, and then taxonomy can always become an alibi for an idle researcher who will lose incentive to look not only for the term, but also its synonyms, circumlocutions, and elsewhere, independently.

The sources then, taken individually, have a basic role to distinguish and identify the **reasons** for each journey. Unfortunately, there is a certain tendency – even in the scientific community – to generalise the concept of "pilgrim": in reality, only the direct reading of the sources makes us understand that Egeria is a true pilgrim, while the concept is not entirely suitable for Helena, mother of Constantine, who also had the purpose of recovering the signa and relics of the Passion of Christ and to make a politically relevant homage to the churches of Byzantium, the new Rome desired by her son. Even without concrete evidence, I suggested that an important part of Willibaldo's travels in the East (and his stay for so long) was focused on the study of the different monastic disciplines, to obtain a direct and comparative knowledge of functionality, strengths and weaknesses of each (Vanni, 2009). If the sources were not so ungenerous, sometimes decidedly reticent, we could even come to understand that pilgrimage is indeed a non-secondary component of the journey, but often it is not the only or the main motivation for the drive of a single medieval traveller.

Then there is the **temporal limit** to be given to research on pilgrimage: the writer has on several occasions tried to highlight a sort of caesura in medieval pilgrimage that – whether a decade more or less – took place roughly with the birth of the Jubilee rite (Vanni, 2016). If before pilgrimage was substantially individual in its motivations and

ascetic, afterwards it became collective, organised and naturally mystical (Vanni, 2000). One cannot avoid noticing certain differences of substance in the sources; however, this does not interest everyone: for example, our contemporary believers often tend to glide over these differences, emphasising the long duration of the pilgrimage that is relevant to this day. On the other hand, various aspects of discontinuity can be found even in the pilgrimage of Compostela, the long duration of which is scattered with interruptions and breaks even for long periods. This is very applicable to the Via Francigena, whose postmodern renaissance cannot boast of any continuity, even in scientific investigation, before the 1930s.

By additionally accepting this subdivision of the medieval pilgrimage – pre and post jubilee – where should we stop the search? With the discovery of America? Let us ask ourselves then if Martin Luther's trip to Rome, in 1510, must be taken into consideration or is it too "modern" for a medievalist? The journey to Rome by Martin Luther at the age of twenty-seven was interpreted as the triggering cause of the Reformation and, in sociological terms, as "the watershed between the mentality of the pilgrim and that of the modern traveller" (De Seta, 1982).<sup>9</sup> Now, the modern Luther only had a disproportionate ego, albeit immensely self-critical. As for the rest, he was much more medieval than many of his contemporaries. Even the hypothetical anticipation of the "thieving Rome" of the first Lega Nord party supporters, attributed to him, has never convinced in depth. Rather, it seems that the casual cause of Luther's trip to Rome, which accompanied John Nathin, his teacher, was the controversy between two ideological orientations of the German Augustinians (Iserloh, Glazik, Jedin, 1993). It also seems however, that Luther's spiritual attitude was in all respects similar to that of a late medieval pilgrim. Rome is the mystical place where, through the sacrament of confession, the pilgrim Luther aspired to a sort of metanoia: he wanted to become a pious man (Boehmer, 1914).

From the retrospective autobiographical testimonies, which could also be ascribed to rationalisations, it seems that the main reason for the discomfort towards the vertex city of Christendom was the ideal image that it had become, not so much for the corruption of the clergy, but for the doctrinal incompetence and the naivety of the many confessors available to the pilgrims of Rome. At the time, Cardinal Pietro Bembo was there to build the reading of Luther's Romfahrt as an illumination of the moral cloaca of the centre of Christianity. It is undoubted, however, that the idea of Rome as "new Babylon" is a much later ideological construction, connected and justifying the rupture and radical alterity of his preaching and his understanding of the Reformation.

As you can see, confronting with **all-round** sources does nothing but multiply issues, and there are many more questions that unfold than those that can be solved. But we must do it. Even just to give a fancy name to the umpteenth Roman diverticulum that passes under our home. It is sad to note how it is too easy to invent the name of a street today: giving it the name of an emperor (with all due respect to the scholars who have dedicated entire volumes to the countless and changeable movements of this or that medieval sovereign)<sup>10</sup> or that of an intermediate place, hoping that it is really topical, to reach the absurd conclusion to bring together two generic and universal

terms such as "romea" and "strata" to give presumed recognition to a single precise post-modern path ...

The fact is that – let us admit it as historians who analyse their role – the managers and discoverers of the post-modern Via Francigena do not care much about the sources: it is already very important that they do not give the neo-pilgrims the ending of a frog under the wheels of a truck, to ensure that they find a shower, a hot meal at a fair price and a clean bed at the end of the long walk.

Yet it would not cost much to make a phone call or write an email to some expert before making a decision that can have consequences in the medium and long term. One example, which I believe to be significant is if the name of the Via Francigena had been "**via Romea Francigena**", a considerable number of long-lasting advantages would have been obtained:

- a. We would have moved the emphasis to the destination of the journey, Rome; which would not have been unwise. The proverb states that 'All the roads lead to Rome', and the collection of roads that have this goal have their own specificity that deserves to be highlighted and safeguarded without privileging any route.
- b. We would have made the problem of the other "terminus" inconsistent, which is not only Canterbury, because not many of the pilgrims from the British Isles headed (and head today) to this city to depart for Rome.
- c. We could also have convinced the French to define the road for them too, because "Francigena" becomes a simple indication of origin in the expression "via Romea Francigena".
- d. We would have left the field open to the (non-competitive) rediscovery of all the other *vie romeae*, which existed in the Middle Ages, and which now should be re-evaluated, thus expanding the offer and the associative potential of that collection of roads that reached the *Sedes Petri* ( via Romea of Chur, via romea teutonica,<sup>11</sup> via romea ungarica (Vanni, 2012), etc.), also realising for Rome what *naturaliter et intelligenter* was made *ab ovo* for Santiago de Compostela.<sup>12</sup>

In hindsight, the pits have been filled, but it is legitimate to suspect that to experts the multifarious costs of the lacking recourse have been much greater than the savings.

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<sup>1</sup> Citation from "Gli studi di storia locale e le Società di Storia Patria" / Cinzio Violante. - In : «Bollettino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria» Anno LXXIX, N. S., vol. XXXI, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> Cfr. «Itinera et descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ» : Itinera latina bellis sacris anteriora / ediderunt Titus Tobler ; Augustus Molinier ; C. Kohler. - Genevæ : Typis F.-G. Fick, 1879-1885. - 8°: voll. 3 ; 24 cm. [Il primo volume riporta : Itinerarium a Bordigala Hierosolymam (333) - S. Hieronymus peregrinatio S. Paulo (404) - Paula et Eustochium, de Locis Sanctis (386) - S. Eucherius, de locis aliquibus sanctis (ca. 440) - Breviarius de Hierosolyma (ca. 530) - Theodosius, de Terra Sancta (ca. 530) - Antonynus martyr, perambulatio locorum sanctorum (ca. 570) - Arculfus, relatio de locis sanctis, ab Adamnano scripta (ca. 670) - Beda Venerabilis, De Locis Sanctis (ca. 720) - Sanctimonialis Heydenheimensis, Hodoeporicon S. Willibaldi (723-726) - Anonymus, Itinerarium S. Willibaldi - Bernardus Monachus Francus, Itinerarium (ca. 870)]. [Il secondo volume riporta: Itinerum bellis sacris anteriorum series chronologica occidentalibus illustrata testimoniis. 1: 30-600]. Il volume che dovrebbe elencare i viaggi in Terrasanta dal 601 al 1099 non mi risulta sia stato mai edito. Il Tobler da solo, nel 1874 a Lipsia, aveva già dato alle stampe le «Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII, et XV» che riportano il viaggio di San Willibaldo, il

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*Commemoratorium de casis Dei*, il viaggio di Bernardo monaco, di due innominati, quello di Johannes Wirzburgensis, la Citez de Iherusalem, e il viaggio di Johannes Poloner.

<sup>3</sup> After having extracted and given two successive versions of the via Francigena bibliography to print, in 1995 and 1998, now also on the internet, the work proceeded as it still does, expanded to all pilgrimage and travel in the Middle Ages, on the website [www.centrostudiromei.eu](http://www.centrostudiromei.eu), accessible to all, and downloadable with the limit of 50 titles per interrogation.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad vocem* nel *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* del Ducange.

<sup>5</sup> “...cuius regnum comes Uodo Francigena, filius sororis suae, invasit...” *Gesta Cuonradi imp.* Cap. XXIX in MGH SS rer. Germ. 511, S. 47.

<sup>6</sup> One of the few that explicitly uses this is Donizone di Canossa, which aims to identify – with an obliged summary of who writes the verses – the traced route of Emperor Enrico IV Cfr. *Vita Mathildis liber II* v. 227-228 : “...qui veluti per stratam dammula fugit / Francigenam, montes ultra rediens malus oспes” e anche *ibidem*, v. 1165: “*Francigenam stratam tenuit rex, pace peracta*”. But the same Donizone, in other passages, uses the term with its original meaning, e.g. “*Francigenamque loquelam*” e “*Francigenas partes Urbanus dum peragraret*”.

<sup>7</sup> A curious territorial distinction between Franks and Francigeni is in Goffredo da Viterbo: “*Item nota, quia inter Francos et Francigenas differentia est. Dicuntur autem Francigenae esse omnes qui habitant Parisius et Remis et circa Sequanam fluvium et circa Ligerim fluvium et quidam alii proximi eorum, qui omnes olim dicebantur Gaudini. Sed Carolo Martellus dux Francorum, avus Caroli Magni, subiugatos eos regno Francorum adiunxit et Francigenas appellavit, id est genitos a Francis.*” *Gotifredi Viterbiensis Memoria seculorum*, MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*. Band 22, Hannover, 1872.

<sup>8</sup> After all, even Cassiodoro writes to the inhabitants of the province, reconquered by the Franks by Teodorico, congratulating themselves from having returned “*Romanae consuetudini*”. Thus, the province was a significant part of romanità also for him, not yet France. Cfr. Cassiodori senatoris *Variae* / recensuit Theodorus Mommsen. – Berolini : apud Weidmannos, MDCCCXCIV. - (MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctorum Antiquissimorum* Tomus XII). - Liber III, 17. – Scil. p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Even if the context is more complex and the citation is accompanied by a “maybe” that inserts a doubtful aspect, the sylloge is too eager that a polemicist like the writer does not take advantage of it for his purposes.

<sup>10</sup> One of the most famous texts in this sphere is that of Ferdinand Opll «Das Itinerar Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossas (1152-1190)». - Wien und *alibi* : Hermann Boehlaus Nachf., 1978.

<sup>11</sup> See the *collana monografica* «De strata Teutonica = Vom Romweg» of the Centro Studi Romei Reunion Firenze.

<sup>12</sup> Cfr. *Liber Sancti Jacobi = Codex Calixtinus. Liber V. Capitulum I* : “*Quattuor vie sunt que ad Sanctum Iacobum tendentes...*”

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### The International Feast of the History. A Concrete Project for the Dissemination of History and Heritage

Galletti, F.\*  
University of Bologna (Italy)

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#### ABSTRACT

In this paper, I present a series of educational projects, new challenges and perspectives that the International Centre of methodology for teaching history and heritage (DiPaSt) of the University of Bologna has undertaken in the last years regarding the teaching of history and heritage education. I would like to start by asking a question: can historical and cultural heritage act as a tool to compensate for the gaps, shortcomings, and the sense of loss, which afflict and define the society in which we live? In addition, this in turn leads us to another question: which tools and which methodologies can we use?

Every time when a professor starts a new course of Medieval History or Methodologies of teaching history, most of the students tell him that they do not like history. Therefore, the professor usually spends half of the time of the course explaining why it is important to study and to teach history. Because history is not the merely textbook, or a sequence of dates, wars, battles. Nevertheless, history is us, we are history.

For these reasons, fifteen years ago, a group of professors of the University of Bologna got together and created the "Feast of the history". Nowadays, the Feast is widely recognized as one of the most important events in Europe.

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**Keywords:** History; Heritage; Roots; Education; Teaching

Nell'articolo sono presentate una serie di progetti didattici ed educativi, sfide e nuove prospettive che il Centro internazionale di Didattica della Storia e del Patrimonio (DiPaSt) dell'Università di Bologna ha intrapreso da diversi anni nell'ambito dell'insegnamento e apprendimento della storia e dell'educazione al patrimonio. La domanda dal quale potremmo partire è: la conoscenza del patrimonio storico culturale

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\* E-mail address: [filippo.galletti2@unibo.it](mailto:filippo.galletti2@unibo.it)

può essere considerato uno strumento per colmare le mancanze, i difetti e il senso di perdita che affligge la società nella quale viviamo? E se sì, quali strumenti e quali metodologie si possono utilizzare?

Perché la storia non è un arido manuale, o una sequenza di date, battaglie e guerre. Ma la storia siamo noi.

A partire dalla disaffezione che molti studenti nutrono nell'apprendimento di tale disciplina, quindici anni fa un gruppo di docenti dell'Università di Bologna si è riunito e ha dato vita alla Festa internazionale della Storia di Bologna. Al giorno d'oggi, la Festa è considerata come uno degli eventi culturali più rilevanti in Europa.

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**Keywords:** Storia; Patrimonio; Educazione; Insegnamento

### **Introduction. The Roots for Flying: the Protagonists of the History. Some Reflections on History**

Cities identify with their monuments and works of art of universal value because these provoke emotion, memories and pleasure. The city is the setting, the basic nucleus for human interaction: a place of participation, innovation, education and culture. A rich, pluralistic, collective heritage that belongs to us all.

The city we see - when we manage to catch sight of it, when we pay a particular attention, which goes beyond the absent-minded looks due to the frenetic rhythm of modern life - is the overall result of the interaction with a collectivity in the course of time. We therefore understand the importance of looking at that history which passes next to us every day.

Educating to the beauty means educating to this immense heritage, which belongs to us in the present, since in those traces we read the thought of the people who preceded us, and the community they were part of.

The Bolognese community, meeting point between Mediterranean and mid-European world, culture and sciences irradiation and attraction point, boasts an heritage of "stories", a gallery of figures, a number of episodes which can be referred to, in order to understand its mentality and attitudes, partly irremediably lost and partly converged to shape current conditions and behaviours.

The chronological range of the historical heritage of the centre and territory of Bologna is particularly wide, and allows to stretch back from the present to the Palaeolithic period, through an unique continuity of legacies and imprints, often held and valorized in museums which are in the lead of goods' valorization, exhibition and reference capacities.

The city of Bologna has become one of the most important cultural and tourist attractions regarding history, and the importance of the International Feast of the History is demonstrated by the fact that its Patrons are the President of Italian Republic and the European Commission Representation in Italy.

The projects are organized by International Centre of methodology for teaching history and heritage (DiPaSt)<sup>1</sup> of the Department of Education Studies "Giovanni Maria Bertin"

of Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna, together with local organizations and schools.

An important project which is carried out throughout the year and provides important underpinning for the International Feast of the History is called “The roots for flying: the protagonists of history” which combines research and history teaching carried out by teachers and students on any topic they choose to investigate.

An ancient Canadian Indian proverb says that parents must give their children both roots and wings.

Is it acceptable that the roots could be used to fly? And what does it mean: what are the connections with history and its teaching?

The metaphors we use are often excessive or they oversimplify, but in this case, the expression is appropriate.

Today globalization and migration make it necessary to redefine the idea of citizenship and recognize that we are all part of one humanity and one planet.

The “roots for flying” means to understand, to create, to be as far as possible an agent of our own future, and to learn that each person is like a stratification, a sedimentation of knowledge and active participants of collective events of history.

Each school adopts a particular monument or a topic such as canals, roads, towers or churches. Then, at the end of the school year, students convene in a prominent public building and exchange the knowledge they have acquired. They have the possibility to present the results of their research in front of a commission of experts and administrators and put forward their ideas for the care and safeguarding of the cultural asset they have studied.

Following an evaluation by the commission, the respective schools are awarded the symbolic custody of the asset. In this way, a forum is opened between students, citizens and administrators. Furthermore, this forum regarding work for safeguarding the city’s heritage can create a shared cultural resource.

Then, one of the most important library in Bologna (the “Sala Borsa”) will archive and preserve all the materials produced. Therefore, we have built an archive of educational projects.

This project aims to encourage:

- a) the creation of a permanent network which brings together cultural and human resources that are present in the city and hinterland;
- b) access to archives, museums, libraries, research centers, and cultural bodies;
- c) the possibility to consult scholars and experts;
- d) the display of results in special conferences, exhibitions, papers and multimedia publications.

In this way, opportunities are created for contact and collaboration between various centres and individuals involved in research, training and culture. It is hoped that it will encourage students and citizens to appreciate the value of having knowledge about the past in order to really understand the present and plan for the future. At the same time, it helps to reinforce the sense of civic solidarity which we can also see in the project “From hand to hand” a human chain for San Luca and forge new links between culture and the local economy, commerce and tourism.

## **1. Hand to Hand: *Passamano per San Luca***

The initiative first began in 2003 with the first “From hand to hand - Passamano per San Luca” which roughly translated means “a human chain for Saint Luke” which recreates an example of civic solidarity that occurred in 1677.

The sanctuary of the Madonna di San Luca San Luca is an important church on a hill just outside the city of Bologna. Perhaps you may not know that Bologna is known for the fact that it has 38 kilometres of arcades, which protect the pavements of the streets.

In 1677, a special arcade was built to link the city to the hill top church: a distance of nearly 3 kilometres. You can imagine this was a difficult enterprise and the help of the whole town was needed. In this way, a long human chain passed the building materials needed to construct the great arcade from hand to hand.

In our reconstruction, citizens, children, students, associations, all, pass the flags of the world from hand-to-hand, which are hoisted, in front of the Sanctuary of the Madonna di San Luca.

This modern human chain has received prizes from two Italian presidents and represents the climax of the week when students and citizens line the great arcade which leads to the church of San Luca re-evoking memories of that first human chain and reminding us of the importance of solidarity between peoples.

The celebration of the International Feast of the History of Bologna begins here.

## **2. We are History. The Future for History and History for the Future**

This might appear like a slogan, pre-packaged words to be used in any situation. Nevertheless, the International Centre of methodology for teaching history and heritage (DiPaSt) believes that helping students to perceive and understand the dimension of history in our reality is the most interesting journey it can undertake with them, especially if we want to legitimise memory and consolidate the past in the present, as part of our everyday lives.

Above all, we ourselves are historical sources, with our memories, our own past. We are the result of influences that have been inherited from the sedimentation and stratification of centuries and millennia as well as influences from the contemporary world.

In our faces, in our bodies and in our thoughts there are several traces of the past. Material culture, the process of evolution and changes in the way in which human beings interact with the natural environment, are visible in us all. In addition, we all have the right to know and cultivate our own history in the face of a society diminished by the imposition of consumer culture.

Nevertheless, why do we need to plead for a future for history? Because history risks reaching its end and not because of well known recurring apocalyptic visions. The human occupation of this beautiful planet represents only the smallest speck of the past and if we fail to resolve the pressing environmental problems that face us, then

history will disappear along with the rest of humanity, while the earth will continue to exist far into the future. We are like history because our personal affairs do not begin with our birth but much before.

To recognize and appreciate our cultural and artistic heritage that has been entrusted to us is a duty for countries like ours, which the UNESCO recognises, has an incomparable heritage. The codes are eloquent if one can read them.

The city opens itself up to us, like a flower, when we manage to pay just a little more attention in frenetic daily existence.

A good education involves creating awareness of this immense cultural heritage, which belongs to the present because in these traces of the past, we read the thoughts of those people who came before us, and we can see the products of their societies. To educate in this way is to motivate students to seek out the knowledge, which will help them to have a clearer idea about who they are which leads me to our main focus.

### **3. The Details of the International Feast of the History of Bologna**

What does this International Feast of the History of Bologna consist of?

The idea of holding a feast to celebrate history may seem rather strange; it might appear to be yet another example of the fashion for cities to pick on an exclusive theme to attract attention from the outside world. The International Feast of the history has nothing to do with this: it has been held in Bologna for the last fourteen years and is based on an ever-increasing supply of research, teaching and collaboration with universities, schools and cultural bodies, working together in a network.

The Feast consists of meetings, conferences, exhibitions, guided tours and displays that are mainly held during the third week of October in various locations of the city of Bologna and its province: palaces, squares, streets, churches, cloisters, theatres, schools and administrative buildings. It deals with many of the most highly debated topics in historiography: the roots and origins of the present, unresolved enigmas, the legacy, the mysteries, the premises and perspectives of these questions linked to the environment, the economy, human relationships, and communications. There are no boundaries, no limits. The topics and themes reflect our everyday lives and those of our ancestors here and all over the world: music, food, sport, fashion, art, religion, politics, and technology.

The wealth of history is the food made history, art made history, sport made history, the music made history, everything surrounding us made history.

Bologna becomes a type of theatre offering a series of cultural initiatives. However, the heart of the Feast is the direct involvement of students of all ages from schools and the university. They can attend meetings and conferences with experts of international fame who provide information about the results of their research. In this way, it is more than a simple collection of events, but a real feast in the true sense of the word because there are several elements of the city participating together in this meeting of local and universal history to increase respect for historical heritage and awareness of the main issues of the moment. Moreover, the International Feast of the History of Bologna represents the most recent confluence of all the initiatives that were carried out during the previous year with teachers and students.

In the last fourteen editions, almost three thousand events have been held, with more than five thousand participants and more than twenty-one thousand active subjects (such as spokesmen, lecturers, artists, actors, tourist guides, choristers and musicians): the quality of the events, the participation of thousands of protagonists and the numerous amount of presences make this occurrence the largest history event in Europe.

In effect, this Bolognese way of celebrating history through an International Feast of the History has been chosen by several European cities that have decided to organize on their own a local Feast of the History: Parma, Milan and Castel San Pietro Terme in Italy; Cahors and Périgueux in France; Seville, Jaén and Murcia in Spain.

Everything started fourteen years ago, in 2004. The first edition of the Feast was titled Bologna makes History and the most significant event was the first edition of the "Students Parliaments": about three thousand students, representing the schools of Bologna and its province, in the *aula magna* of the University of Bologna, presented the results of their studies about a cultural asset to a commission of experts and administrators and put forward their ideas for the care and safeguarding of the cultural heritage they have studied.

During the following twelve editions (titled "The roots for flying: paths, treasures and actuality of history", "History for the future", "We are history", "The future for history and history for the future", "Beyond the borders: languages and heritages of history", "On the shoulders of giants: legacy and sources of history", "Horizons and roots: what unite us and what differentiate us", "The heritages of history", "Us: history and future", "History: beacon of humanity", "The long path to rights and freedom") the Feast increased every year the number of presences and events.

This year the Feast has reached the fourteenth edition. Its title is "Contexts. Climate, environment and resources between history and future". The organizing committee of the Feast has chosen this topic because it strongly believes that every historical event is influenced by environmental evolutions, climate changes and natural phenomena. These aspects are closely related to human behaviour and they affect every moment of cultural, social and economic life. For these reasons, these dynamics require conscious, responsible and coherent responses that can be found in history. Retracing human history in the light of these connections encourages a better awareness about natural, environmental and anthropic hazards and the conducts to adopt to prevent or limit the disasters effects. As a result, the events of the fourteenth edition of the International Feast of the History of Bologna were focused on: climate changes, earthquake hazards, hydrogeological risks, vulnerability of the territory, wars and migrations, cultural heritage at risk and its protection.

#### **4. The International Award "The Golden Arcades – Jacques Le Goff"**

History is always at risk from distortion and exploitation, which undermine knowledge. Nowadays literary journalism and cinema often speculate on the fascination that history holds for the public, which often results in inaccurate, deformed and manipulated visions of history for commercial ends. Moreover, with the growing use of new technologies, it has become much easier to disseminate erroneous convictions

and knowledge. This makes every initiative that encourages correctness and dissemination much more important.

It is this reason that the Feast includes the prize “The golden arcades-Jacques Le Goff” which sets out to reward individuals and work which are dedicated to accuracy and efficient dissemination in the teaching of history.

The first year (2008), during the celebration of the fifth edition of the International Feast of the History, the organizing committee had the honour of awarding the prize to Jacques Le Goff the 9th October in Paris. The second year the award went to Giovanni Minoli, Italian tv journalist, in 2010 to Alberto Angela, historian and archaeologist, and in 2011 to Peter Denley, co-founder of History and computing, of the Queen Mary-University of London. The following two years two Italian historians were awarded: Alessandro Barbero (2012) and Franco Cardini (2013); in 2014 the prize went to Christiane Klapish-Zuber, French historian and pupil of Jacques Le Goff; in 2015 to Louis Godart, archaeologist and director for the conservation of artistic heritage of the President of Italian Republic; and in 2016 to Antonio Paolucci, art historian and former director of the Vatican Museums. This year the committee had the honour of awarding the prize “The golden arcades-Jacques Le Goff” to Jared Diamond, American geographer and anthropologist.

## **5. The “*Novi Cives*: Citizenship Builders since Childhood” Award**

Two years ago, in 2015, during the twelfth edition of the International Feast of the History of Bologna titled “The long path to rights and freedom”, the International Centre of methodology for teaching history and heritage (DiPaSt) of the Alma Mater Studiorum – University of Bologna and the Legislative Assembly of Emilia-Romagna region have set up the “*Novi cives*: citizenship builders since childhood” prize to reward individuals, organizations or communities who have distinguished themselves as paragons in civil and human rights field. In 2015, the prize was awarded to Shirin Ebadi, Iranian lawyer and pacifist, Nobel peace prize laureate in 2003; in 2016 to Maria Giuseppina Nicolini, former mayor of Lampedusa and Linosa; and this year to Silvana Arbia, former register of the International Criminal Court and Senior Trial Attorney at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

## **Conclusion**

The many projects which have been carried out over these fifteen years by teachers and students who have participated on initiatives such as “the human chain” and “the roots for flying” show that the school is a place which offers great possibilities; a place in which objective criticism of everyday reality can begin; a place in which we can learn to preserve the memory of what we have been, before this is forgotten forever.

Knowledge is created through active participation on the part of students and this participation takes place both in schools and in the mind. Interest in history is a type of interest that should be encouraged by teachers who set a challenge for their students. This challenge enables them to become key players in interpreting the past, rather than

mere passive containers of indisputable truths. In order for students to become the true authors of their learning, it is necessary to involve them in the exploration of this world in which they are immersed. The research activities and teaching projects, which have been illustrated above, are a significant testimony to this.

The International Feast of the History of Bologna is the happy result of a network of individuals who have worked to bring things together. In no way it can be described as ephemeral or extemporary rather it relaunches and confirms the role of Bologna as a centre for the elaboration and spread of culture.

In the end, these fifteen years of activity have demonstrated how it is possible to organise a broad range of original cultural events which are not limited to merely exploiting human resources and historical artistic locations but open up to a broad horizon. Because of these activities, Bologna can call itself “the city of history”.

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<sup>1</sup> The DiPaSt Centre is a meeting-place for the study and teaching of history and cultural heritage. It aims to encourage the sharing of terminology, methods, practices and tools used in various places and countries. The Centre collects and utilizes the wide range of experience, research, projects and activities that have taken place during recent years at a national and international level in the teaching of history and cultural heritage and in different sectors as archives, libraries, museums, art galleries and other relevant cultural institutions.