A stroll down memory lane

A biography of the first eleven miles of the Via Appia Antica in suburban Rome, Italy

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Figure on cover: Vincenzo Giovanni 1884 - Via Appia all'altezza del IV Miglio. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vincenzo_Giovannini_Via_Appia_all'altezza_del_IV_Miglio.jpg, accessed on 20 June 2016.

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'Archaeological Heritage in a Globalising World'

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The line of aqueducts, which runs parallel to the road for a long way on the left, offer an ever-changing aspect; it is especially beautiful in the golden light of the sunset, or in the hottest hours, when the cattle take shelter fromthe sun under the arches, forming those groups so often seen in pictures.

(Leoni e Staderni 1907, 13)

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Preface

A walk down memory lane is an English expression for remembering the past, for recollecting memories and perhaps even a nostalgic sentiment. The title fits well to the content of this thesis: there is a literal walk down the historical road and it tells the story of the past, in which different important time periods are remembered. As to nostalgia, during Romanticism, one did not prefer anything over contemplating nostalgically about the past and the future, pondering over eternity amongst the ancient ruins of the Via Appia.

The research for and writing of this thesis has also been a personal walk down memory lane. During my education at Leiden Universtiy, I realised my ambitions laid in two different fields: Roman archaeology and heritage, and international development studies. In my bachelor programme, I have studied and practicised the first with greatest pleasure, by taking courses, writing papers and doing fieldwork on the Palatine twice. A fascination for ancient Rome had settled. During an Erasmus exchange to UCL, I was tought about heritage in development countries: a discipline I did not know existed. Excited and determined to follow this path, I entered the research master 'Archaeological heritage in a globalising world', again at Leiden University. It was a surprise to land upon this research master topic: writing a biography on the Via Appia Antica. What I first thought to be an old fascination that got replaced by something new, turned out to never have been fully gone. I have worked on this thesis with much pleasure and was very happy to rediscover my profound interest in Roman archaeology: a walk down memory lane.

I would like to thank my supervisors for their feedback and encouragements: prof. dr. Jan Kolen and prof. dr. Gert-Jan Burgers. I would also like to thank Maurice de Kleijn for his enthousiasm and support in the finding and structuring of the topic. For critically reviewing the text, I wish to thank Mariska van der Boon. Finally, I am grateful for having had the opportunity to study at the 'Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut te Rome' (KNIR) for a month. It was a phenomenal experience to be able to visit the Via Appia whenever desired, and to find all the books I needed altogether on the shelves of the beautiful library.

Chapter 1 Introduction

The Via Appia was the first consular road ever to be built. It was the 'queen of roads' (Statius Silvae II.II.12): never before had a road this long, straight, standardized and paved been constructed. It was able to supply goods from and to Rome, send messagers to conquered areas and it made military missions easier. Throughout the whole duration of the Roman Empire, it remained one of the most important means of transportation and communication of the entire road network. A stretch of hundreds of kilometres crossed through the countryside, over a lava hill, passed swamps and cut through rock: it is was a unique and true masterpiece of Roman engineering. At its peak, the Via Appia ran from the heart of the city throughout the entire Italian peninsula to Brindisi in the southeast of the country. It was a gigantic investment of time, labour, financial means and political strategy.

Between its origin in 312 BC and today, the Via Appia has suffered extensively and most parts have largely disappeared, except for the very first stretch in suburban Rome. From a complex road system that had many roads leading out of the city into the countryside and beyond Italy, this is the only example that has been this well-preserved and is now a place of public interest. Ten Roman miles are part of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica, a park that was opened in 1988. From the fourth to the ninth mile, the road is a green, romantic space with cypresses and pine, ruins are half overgrown with grass and plants and lie romantically abandoned in the landscape. Hundreds of monuments, foundations and building fragments lie on opposite sides of the road.

Families, friends and cyclists enjoy their sunny Sunday afternoon in this beautiful green lung of Rome. After more than two thousand years, how did this street survive? What obstacles has it overcome? What developments and destructions has it known since its construction? With other words: How has today's physical landscape of the first eleven Roman miles of the Via Appia Antica been created? This is the most important question this written work tries to answer. This thesis is a biography, telling the story of the first sixteen kilometres of the Via Appia Antica, from Porta Capena near the Circus Maximus up to Frattochie, a small town and crossroad in the countryside. The tumultuous past of the Roman road has resulted in an archaeological record that still shows the changes and developments of the Via Appia Antica up to the twentieth century, making it perfect for a biography. The thesis is subdivided in three parts: a description of the surviving monuments, the historical biography itself and a chapter on the current use of the road.

Chapter 2 Theoretical framework: a biography on Rome's Via Appia

2.1 Writing a biography

The Oxford definition of a biography is the following:

The story of a person's life written by somebody else; this type of writing (www.oxforddictionaries.com)

The 'biography' is a much discussed genre. We can indeed think of a personal biography, but also of an object biography, a cultural biography or a landscape biography: terms used within archaeology and landscape studies. The concepts are all useful, yet explained as different tools to write the, or a story on the history of a person, an object, a landscape, a culture, and so on. In order to describe a deeply rooted historical process, a common form has long been the writing a long-term history, which has as an advantage that it is factual, detailed and almost always chronological. It is often put in contrast to the cultural biography, in which the perception and experience of an object in a certain time period, or over a longer period of time are prioritised over thoroughness and chronological facts. In archaeology, this has become a popular research method.

To this study of the Via Appia, both these strategies could be theoretically applicable. This thesis could be called a long-term history as it provides a chronological oversight of certain main events of the Via Appia, but it also carries elements of the cultural biography as it makes an effort of studying the perception of the road by occasionally providing a personal experience, an explanation of specific use of the road, a quote or a painting. It however does not fit fully into one category. More than a series of aligned physical monuments, the Via Appia is a landscape with spatial and historical cohesion, consisting of "*places and their properties and paths or routes of movement between these places and their properties*" (Tilley 2008, 272). The road is not a means of transportation alone: the many, many monuments and residences on both sides of the roads between today and over 2000 years ago prove this. Therefore, it might rather be called a biography of landscape. In the so-called landscape biography, one aims to grasp the changes within a landscape over centuries or millennia: the longue durée (Kolen, Ronnes and Hermans 2015, 7). It is herein assumed that people leave or express

something into the landscape, but also that the landscape has influenced them and that it has an own life history that survives us (Bender 1992; Kolen, Ronnes and Hermans 2015, 8). Hereby, it is not the goal to explore every detail of the history of a landscape, but to grasp a sense of the experiences people have had by living or moving in this landscape. It does not aim to be all-encompassing: this is impossible as everyone experiences a landscape differently according to gender, age, class, religion, time, place, and so on (Bender 1992). The landscape biography is interdisciplinary in nature, as it covers a broad space over a long period of time (Kolen, Ronnes and Hermans 2015).

An advantage of this method is that it allows a researcher to look beyond the (sub)discipline in which she or he is trained. A problem shown in archaeological studies, is that researchers like to focus on a certain period, region, site or even a technique or object category (Kolen and Renes 2015, 22-23). Although this allows specific and important in-depth studies, it also suffers from the consequence that only detailed pieces of information on very specific places in space and time are created. This is not harmful as long as someone else blends these pieces together, seeing the similarities and differences between subjects, disciplines or research methodologies. Unfortunately, this is often performed unsatisfactory or not at all. This might be caused by a lack of time, funding, interest or even (political) disagreements within research institutes. The result is that archaeologists, historical geographers, architectural historians, cultural historians and historical ecologists (which are often all further subdivided) focus on their own part in the historic environment, but work little together (Kolen and Renes 2015, 23). This is where the landscape biography intervenes: it allows the connection of space and time. (Invisible) boundaries such as nature versus culture, tangible versus intangible, or historical conservation versus development, can be broken.

The landscape biography therefore is an approach to overcome certain problems of separation. Of course it has its own limitations, and needs to be careful in the selecting process. A larger time span comes with decisionmaking as to what elements are chosen for research. It is nevertheless the methodology chosen for this thesis, in which the ongoing story is chosen over fragmented details, as these can more easily be looked up elsewhere if necessary. A further challenge is that where an object or a piece of land can be owned and sold, landscape cannot as it belongs to everyone. This makes a biography of landscape complicated. Also, when covering such a large area of time, it is hard to not cut up the line of history into different periods, which should preferably be prohibited as time is a continuum. While writing the story of the Via Appia, it has been attempted to not cut up the line of history too much into different

periods. Where chapters or paragraphs do make a division, it is to indicate the major changes in time, not to say that time periods can be fully differentiated as history is an integrated whole (Bender 1992).

The 'landscape biography' is derived from humanistic geography and anthropology and reacts on the separation of (scientific) disciplines (Kolen and Renes 2015). A landscape could be seen as a life world: "*A dwelt-in world of people and other animals and actors who co-create this world while living together"* (Kolen and Renes 2015, 30). This shows a social rather than only a physical nature of landscape. This thesis is largely in line with this method of the landscape biography, yet it is still preferred not to follow a specific approach as it is written with the perspective that the a long-term history, life history, biography, or any other 'labeled' method does, or should, not have a standardised framework or methodology. As mentioned, not following the set-out lines of a discipline overcomes (unseen) separations and allows a certain freedom and a personal touch. It is however a strength and a weakness: it is also harder to frame the research in advance. In fact the different terms are in essence alike: they help overcome the long-standing partition of disciplines, creating space for new associations and (spatial and historical) relationships.

2.2 Research question

The main research question of this thesis is the following:

'*How has today's landscape of the first eleven Roman miles of the Via Appia Antica been created?*'

The greatest challenge of this work has been to create a red thread in the story and not to get lost in details. Choices have therefore been made to select those events and developments that have been significant to the structuring of today's landscape. This relates to the physical shape of the road, the presence of the buildings and ruins, but also to the layout of the landscape, its use and atmosphere – and the way it has been perceived through time, which has (indirectly) influenced today's perception. The landscape has been shaped because of its construction, use and abuse, but also because of certain thoughts and ideologies of the nineteenth century and before.

The story of the Via Appia did not finish with the end of its active use during the Roman Empire, nor did it end with the decay and the looting of materials, with the creation of later forts, the era of Romanticism, the battle for its preservation or the making of the modern park. Nor does it end today. The road is a living and vital "thing". In the larger story of the road, this written work itself will be part in its story, as every other work on it is as well. It can, and hopefully will, be a source of inspiration to others who study or use the road, even in other fields, perhaps in the designing world or the gaming industry. In the long history of a road that was constructed to last eternally, this thesis is only a brief and maybe even insignificant chapter in the book of its life history. The story of the road will not be over until nothing is left of it, and no one remembers it. Hopefully this will be a very long time from now.

2.3 Rationale

In order to limit the research topic, the choice has been made to study only a small section of the Via Appia to still be able to provide some depth. Therefore, the first eleven miles have been chosen. This section is particularly interesting because, one, it is best preserved, but also because of its meaning through time and the public interest that have led to the creation of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica. The very first mile, which is actually not included in the park, is included in this research as it would be incomplete to study the (sub)urban segment of a road without its official start.

For several reasons, the Via Appia is an interesting topic for a biographical study. Although the road in its present form is largely a reconstruction or romantisation of its origin, it is perhaps the largest monumental ruin of the Roman Empire that has survived to this day. It is also the only ancient road leaving Rome that has not been destroyed by urbanisation. Moreover, it a unique combination between a natural area, a cultural site and a recreational space: it is a city park for the local inhabitants. Finally, the Via Appia has played many different roles throughout time and has always known multiple (conflicting) interests. Even from a political perspective, it is interesting to see how certain leaders have used the road functionally and ideologically through time.

With the Via Appia Antica being so well-known, a fair question to ask is to what extent the long-term history or biography of the road is already known, and whether we could still add add novel insights to existing knowledge. The first note to answer this, is that a

study that covers the long time span of the road from Roman times to today has never been published. Surviving monuments have been described, sometimes in great detail, but the history of the road has not. Short oversights of a few pages, accentuating a few main events are quite common. Many books from the early twentieth century explain the journey of walking the road and present a short historical oversight as an introduction (Leoni and staderini 1907; Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908). Then there are books that do provide a larger time span, for example up to or including the Middle Ages, but then describe the whole road down to Brindisi (very useful was Portella 2004) or only the first mile (Manacorda and Santangeli Valenzani 2010), therefore having a different focus. An important source was '*Via Appia: Sulle ruine della magnificenza antica*' by Fondazione Memmo (1997), which provided multiple useful articles on particular periods, excavations and management issues, from different perspectives. Some concerned the first section of the Via Appia, others addressed different segments or the road as a whole. Also, a beautiful oversight of the last five centuries of the road in photographs has been provided by Zocchi (2009). Subsequently, many short articles elaborate on a specific time period, or the construction of the Via Appia, its monuments, specific buildings or excavations (including Berechman 2003; Lay 2009; Spera 2003). After this, sources get scarcer or more general and less specified on the Appian Way. Useful books speak of Roman roads in general (Staccioli 2003) or in Britain (Bishop 2014), or of a certain practice or phenomenon in antiquity such as columbarium tombs (Borbonus 2014), travel (Casson 1994) and death rituals (Hope 2009).

Overall, most time periods the road has survived are very well researched, but few are applied to the road itself. Also, what has not been done systematically is take the perception of the road into account. Although this is not the focus of the thesis, it does aim to introduce it. It could be a good starting point for a next study on, for example, the perception of the road during a certain time period, or over a different stretch of the road, depending on the interests of the author. Very little, for example, has been written on the impact of Romanticism on the way people perceived, remembered or represented the road. Again, the goal is not to be complete, but to adress certain understudied themes and processes that could add something or give direction to new, or general studying of the road.

2.4 Metholodogy

As explained in paragraph 2.1, this thesis distinguishes itself from many archaeological and heritage studies as it elaborates on the longue durée of a landscape. To do so, not only (archaeological) scientific articles have been studied, but also travel accounts, memoirs, photographs and paintings that have the road or its monuments as a subject. In addition, a four-week period of fieldwork enabled a personal view on historical documents and the region itself. Chapter 4 and 9, 'a walk down memory lane' and 'the Via Appia today' have been largely formed out of own observations. This is in line with Christopher Tilley's description of a phenomenology of landscape, where he argues that landscapes can only be understood and studied by '*the art of walking in and through them, to touch and be touched by them'* (Tilley 2008, 272). Any other form of experiencing a landscape, for example on maps, in texts, or by trains or cars, is always either partial or distanciated (Tilley 2008, 272).

This biography could be seen as 'bricolage': taking the best of everything and creating something new. During Roman expansion, Romans 'colonised' territories but hardly imposed their cultures or values, rather did they themselves absorb elements of the 'new' territories, which was then again distributed throughout the Empire. It is believed that that was the key to the empire's longstanding success: constantly adapting and absorbing new, favourable elements into their 'culture'. This biography does something similar: it takes the existing history and creates it into a new document, readable and a source of inspiration for future research.

This paper is meant for a broad public, including fellow archaeologists and historians, but also any intellectual mind interested in the subject. The chronological structure of the thesis means to provide a readable, clear and interesting overview of the changes in the the use and materiality of the Via Appia that have led to its appearance of today. It is subdivided in three parts. The first is a walk down the road from its original start at Porta Capena, to the end of the current park at Frattochie, which used to be very close to ancient Bovillae. Here is described what ancient and modern elements can be seen. This has been done by many other (historical) authors, some of which have been referenced to in this thesis (including Pratilli (1745), Leoni and Staderni (1907), Ripostelli and Marucchi (1908), Goethe (1970), and Pisani Sartorio (2004)). The second part is the historical biography, in which the effects of later time periods and their traces are researched, largely answering the main research question. The third part is an addition

to this, which goes the extra mile by not only studying how the road has become what it is now, but also studies how the road is being used today and what developments the road is going through. This thesis is largely descriptive, therefore a discussion chapter is added in which unsolved issues and ideas are presented.

Part 1 – Providing a context:

Taking a stroll down memory lane

Figure on previous page: The Via Appia at the tenth mile. Source: own photo.

Chapter 3 The Via Appia: taking a stroll down memory lane

The Roman Empire had a highly functioning system of infrastructure and transport. At its peak, Rome was the start of twenty-nine roads spreading out into different parts of the empire. The Via Appia, the 'queen of roads', was the first and most famous. It is an example of Roman systematic planning, civil engineering, creative design and high-quality construction with maintenance capabilities (Berechman 2003, 453). The road was built to last for centuries, and required gigantic investments.

In order to understand and experience a landscape, it is key to enter it and observe through the body (Tilley 2008, 271). This way, a landscape is looked at from the 'inside' (based on experiences), and not the 'outside' (through photos, texts, paintings, and so on) (Tilley 2008, 271). Adding this chapter is an effort to come closer to the bodily experience of the landscape. It is a stroll down the first eleven miles of the Via Appia, walking away from the city centre into the countryside. The most important structures and elements on both sides of the road will be pointed at, sometimes with a brief explanation of their origin. By shortly passing by the tombs, villas, catacombs, lands and pastures, an introduction is given to the historical biography in the next part of this thesis. The walk will start inside the city gates of Rome and end at Frattochie, a small town at the end of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica. Many scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth century have made this journey and further, and described what they saw along the way. One of them was Thomas Ashby, a former director of the British School in Rome and archaeologist, topographer and art historian who wrote and photographed the Via Appia in 1970 (Ashby 1970). This chapter is constructed by combining a few of his findings with those of an own survey, and the information provided by the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica. Especially towards an audience who has not visited the road in person, this chapter is meant to provide a sense of context and orientation. In an effort of creating paragraphs, the description is subdivided by the original Roman milestones. One Roman mile equals about 1481 metres.

I-First mile

Today, those who wish to walk down the Via Appia Antica will experience that its first section starts at Porta San Sebastiano, one of the gates in the Aurelian city wall of Rome. Only from here, the road is indeed called 'Via Appia Antica' (fig. 1). Originally, the road started a little less than a mile earlier, at Porta Capena inside the city walls. This gate no

longer exists, but used to be part of the Servian (republican) walls from the sixth century BC. The map of fig. 2 shows this area: 1. is Porta San Sebastiano and 2. is the former location of Porta Capena. Originally, the Via Appia started strategically at the foot of the Palatine hill, next to the Circus Maximus, which must have immensely impressed any visitor

Figure 1: Street sign of Via Appia Antica (own photo)

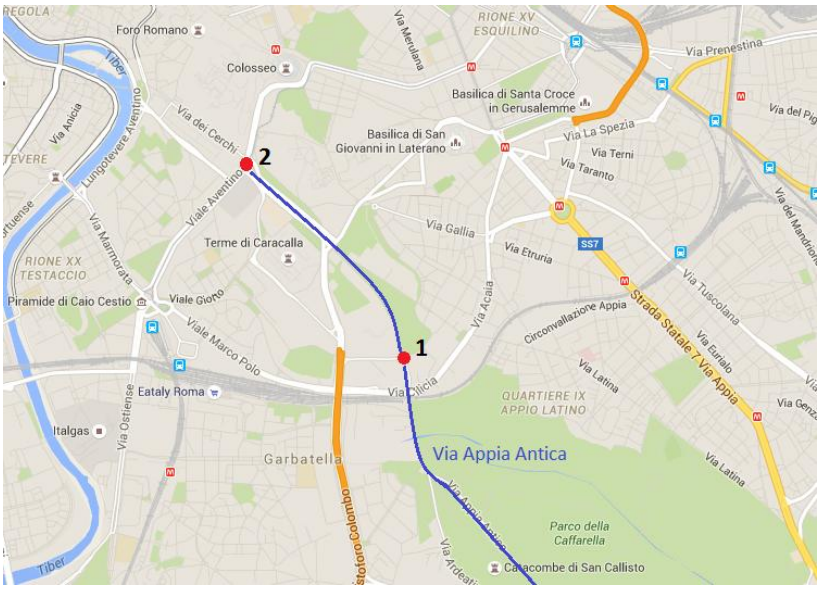


Figure 2: Map of southern Rome. 1- Porta San Sebastiano. 2- Porta Capena. (after www.google.nl/maps/place)

entering Rome. The location corresponds approximately to where today is the 'Piazza di Porta Capena', a busy intersection of roads (Fig. 3). Septimus Severus had a thirty-metres high monument built here, as a theatrical show-off piece, called the Septidozium (Fig. 4). It got destroyed in the sixteenth century.

Figure 3: Piazza di Porta Capena (own photo)

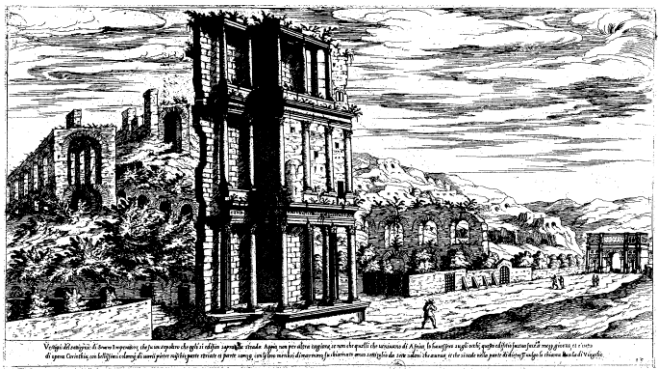


Figure 4: Reconstruction Septidozium, Du Pérac 1575 (www.roger-pearse.com)

We start our walk down the Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, a modern avenue with multiple lanes built in the 1930s by Mussolini. Imagining the Via Appia here, we must think of a road of four metres wide, with a constant stream of advertisements on both sides, engraved in marble monuments. In AD 211, Caracalla built the extravagant thermal baths alongside the Via Appia for the crowded living areas on the Aventine and Caelian hills (Claridge 2010, 356). As the space directly next to the road was occupied by monuments and tombs, the baths were built a little further along a parallel street, called 'New Street' (Claridge 2010, 357). The baths were the second largest thermae of Rome after those of Trajan and could host 10.000 people.

Walking on, the Via Appia went further down today's Via di Porta San Sebastiano, which ends in the Porta San Sebastiano, or 'Porta Appia' as it was originally named. This section is enclosed between high walls, fencing of private villa estates (Fig. 5). These properties often contain tombs and columbaria, however adapted by the centuries which have changed them (and often ignored or destroyed them) (Insolera 1997, 29). The Via di Porta San Sebastiano was similarly enclosed by villas and vineyards between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Insolera 1997, 29). The street was clamped between the high walls, with portals leading to the properties behind it. Today, this 'Baroque Appia' looks the same: enclosed all the way to the Basilica of San Sebastiano at the third mile.

Figure 5: The enclosed Via Appia Antica (own photo)

In our stretch we encounter the tomb of the Scipios on the left, in which important people from the Republican age were buried. The first was Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298BC. Then, just before getting to the Porta San Sebastiano we see another ancient gate, known as the arch of Drusus (Fig. 6, with the Porta San Sebastiano in the background). It is a vaulted arch that used to be part of the Antonine aqueduct, a branch of the Aqua Marcia which provided water to the baths of Caracalla. The 'arch of Drusus' is in fact

Figure 6: The arch of Drusus in front of Porta San Sebastiano (own photo)

an incorrect name: it is that of a gate that had stood there before (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 53). The currently visible arch was included in the Porta Appia in the fourth century (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 53). Passing under it, and then under the porta San Sebastiano, we cross the Viale delle Mura Latine, a busy road, and here the Via Appia as part of the 'Parco Regionale' begins. We can therefore be guided by a new map, that of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica, visible in fig. 7. It nicely shows the most important ancient elements in the next stretch of road. From the Porta Appia onwards, the street carries the name of 'Via Appia Antica' and this segment is car-free on Sundays. For two more miles, the road is built in between the walls of private estates, aligned with a few houses. Built into these walls, at the very beginning on the right stands a copy of the first milestone with the inscriptions of Vespasian in 76 AD and Nerva in 97 AD (fig. 8 and 9). The original was found in 1584, and has been placed on top of the Campidoglio staircase, just like the seventh milestone (which stands there since 1848).

Figure 7: Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica (www.parcoappiaantica.it)

1. Arco di Druso	11. Tomba di Romolo	20. Quinta scenografica del Canina
2. Porta San Sebastiano	12. Cecilia Metella	21. Dio Redicolo
3. Prima Colonna miliare	13. Circo di Massenzio	22. Berretta del prete
4. Chiesa del Domine Quo Vadis	14. Chiesa di San Nicola	23. Valle della Caffarella
5. Sepolcro di Priscilla	15. Torre Capo di Bove	24. Casale della Vaccareccia
6. Tomba di Geta	16. Sepolcri del IV e V miglio	25. Acquedotti
7. Edicola del Cardinal Pole	17. Tumuli degli Orazi e dei Curiazi	26. Il duplice ambiente di Tor Marancia
8. Catacombe di San Callisto	18. Villa dei Quintili	
9. Catacombe Prestato	19. Mausoleo di Casal Rotondo	27. Torre selce
10. Basilica e catacomb di San Sebastiano		

Figure 8 and 9: A copy of the first milestone on the Via Appia Antica (own photos)

II-Second mile

Walking on, we cross a fly-over bridge with some ruins left deserted under it from between the first and second century BC (fig. 10). Continuing between the walls we pass a few houses and several modern buildings in the landscape: a Ford garage, a garden centre, and after crossing the ancient small Almone river, a restaurant and a small Hyundai centre. It is said that at the Almone (an affluent of the Tiber), the priests of Cybele (Magna Mater) washed the Figure of the goddess on the 27th of march. Enclosed in the wall on the left, we see the tomb of Geta, attributed to the son of Septimius Severus whose death was ordered by Caracalla. It is now only a concrete core with a small house built on top of it, but it used to consist of multiple storeys. Then, on the right, a small visitor centre and bike rental appears (fig. 11). Here, one can rent a bike, buy a map or a booklet for a few euros. Further on, behind the wall, is the tomb of Priscilla. It used to be a cylindrical tomb, now been surmounted by a medieval tower. Priscilla was the wife of Flavio Abascanto, a powerful freedman of emperor Domitian. A little further would have been the *Campus Rediculi.* According to Pliny the Elder, the pet crow of Tiberius was buried here, and it is likely that it used to be connected to the *fanum Rediculi*, the sanctuary of the divinity (Ashby 1970, 178). According to legend, this made Hannibal turn back from advancing into Rome (Ashby 1970, 178). It was either close to or integrated in the church of 'Domine quo Vadis', which stood at the crossroad of the Via Appia Antica (fig. 12). The chapel that stands there today was reconstructed in the seventeenth century as in this location, Saint Peter would

Figure 10: Fly-over bridge with fenced-off ruins (own photo)

Figure 11: modern area with visitor centre on the right (own photo)

Figure 12: The Via Appia Antica (left) and Via Ardeatina (right): on the left: Chiesa del Domine Quo Vadis (own photo)

have had a vision of Jesus Christ, reprimanding him to go back to Rome after having fled from the persecutions of emperor Nero. Two footprints in a marble slab in the church would be of Jesus (it is a copy: the 'original' is in the basilica of San Sebastiano). It is said that in reality, it was a pagan ex voto for the successful undertaking of a journey (Staccioli leaflet).

On this crossroad we go left to continue. Another sideroad on the left is called the Via della Caffarella and leads to the broad valley of the Caffarella, an important part of the larger regional park. Only a little further, at the Cappella di Reginald Pole, the famous very straight stretch of the Via Appia up to the Alban Hills begins. We find more houses on the left, and bushes at the right.

III-Third mile

Still continuing between the high walls on both sides (fig. 13), we enter the third mile.

Figure 13: Via Appia at the early third mile (own photo)

We pass a café and a few unidentifyable ruins, before reaching the entrance to the catacombs of San Callisto on the right. Since the third century AD, this was the most important Christian burial place of Rome. It housed many tombs in which popes and martyrs were buried. There are four levels of tunnels, altogether covering 12.000 square metres. The whole territory between the Via Appia and the via Ardeatina is assigned to the Trappist monks of Tre Fontane: the guardians of the catacombs of San Calisto (Ashby 1970, 179). Several remaining tomb groups can be found here, the most important being the crypt of the popes, the Santa Cecilia and the crypts of Lucina.

A little further, the Via Appia Antica diverges to the left into the Via Appia Pignatelli. This road was constructed by and called after pope Innocent XII, who belonged to the Pignatelli family. It nowadays connects the Via Appia Antica with the Via Appia Nuova, which run parallel (fig. 14). It is not unlikely that the Via Appia Pignatellli lies on the foundations of a medieval road, built after the foundation of the castle at Capo di Bove (Ashby 1970, 180). Between the Via Appia Antica and - Pignatelli are two groups of Jewish catacombs: one in the Cimarra

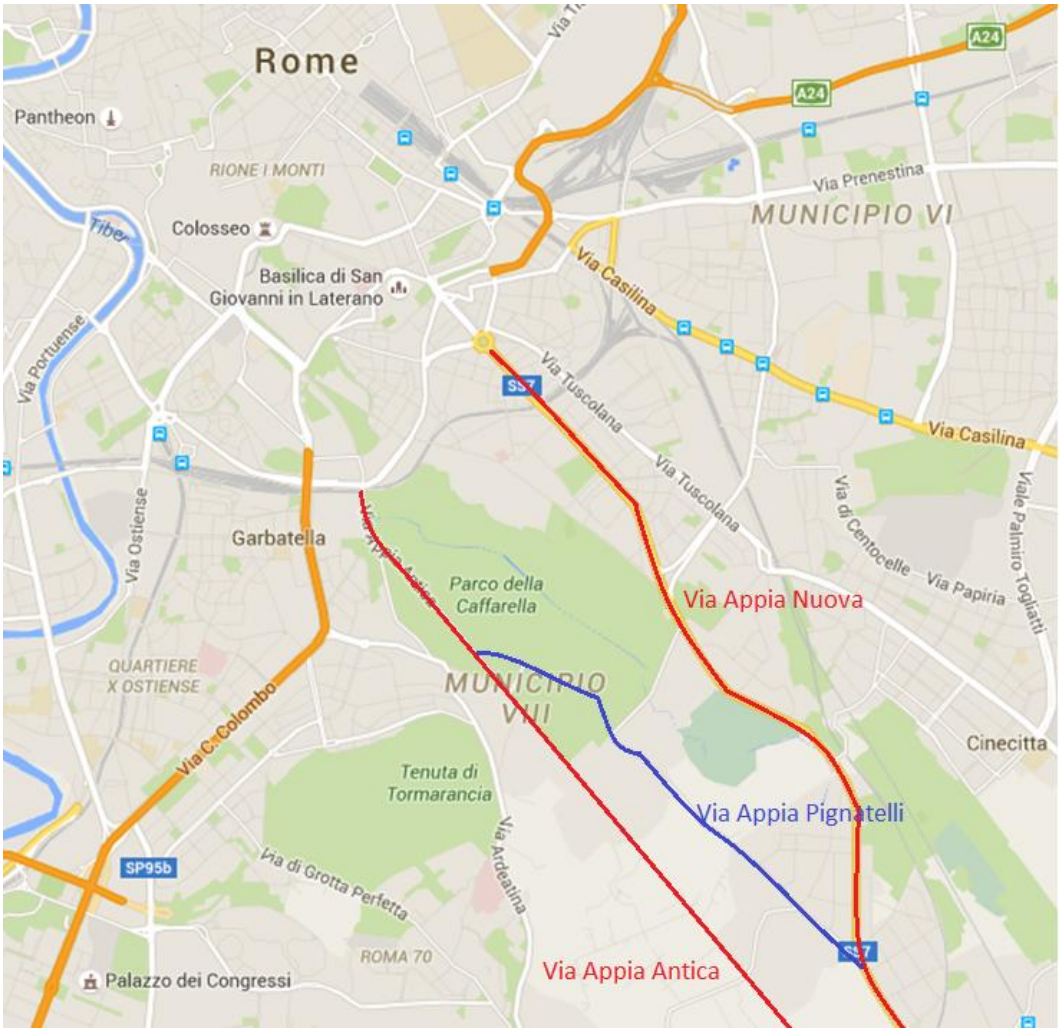


Figure 14: The relation between the Via Appia Antica, -Nuova and – Pignatelli (after www.google.nl/maps/place)

vineyard (which cannot be visited and is damaged by a pozzolana quarry) and one in the Randanini vineyard. They would have functioned for the Jewish society that lived near Porta Capena (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 60).

At the end of the Via Appia Pignatelli, remains of the Triopion estate can be observed. It was the property of Annia Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus. He was the richest man of his time, a Greek philosopher and the teacher of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. The remaining relics of the estate are the church of San Urbano, the temple of Ceres and Faustina (in which stood a statue of Annia Regilla), a brick building with a portico of four columns, a prominent water reservoir, a nymphaeum (the Grotto of the nymph Egeria), the catacombs of Praetextatus and a picturesque brick tomb that might have been that of Annia Regilla, known as the temple of Deus Rediculus (Ashby 1970, 181). The catacombs of Praextatus have at the centre a gallery which was called

the Spelunca Magna in medieval times (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 58). Amongst others, here stands the tomb of emperor Balbinus who was murdered in 238 AD.

Back to the Via Appia, still, the road is enclosed between walls and a few houses. On the right comes another entrance to the area of the catacombs of San Callisto, parallel to the Via delle Sette Chiese also on the right. We then arrive at the Catacombs of San Sebastiano. The complex of San Sebastiano consisted of a church, catacombs, mausoleums, roman villas and tombs both above and under ground. Altogether, it is called *Memoria Apostolorum*. The catacombs of San Sebastiano, consisting of four levels, originate from the beginning of the fourth century during the rule of Constantine and were rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The church (fig. 15) was called after St. Peter and St. Paul until it got dedicated to St. Sebastian. He was a martyr who was buried in the catacombs next to the basilica in the fourth century.

Figure 15: Basilica San Sebastiano (own photo)

Across the church, on the left side of the road, is a parking space next to a little square with a column in the middle, which was erected in 1852 in memory of the efforts of Luigi Canina. He had reinstated the Via Appia by doing excavations and renovations, and turned it inot a park on the orders of Pope Pius IX (fig. 16).

On the left, the Vicolo della Basilica makes a connection to the Via Appia Pignatelli. Finally, the landscape starts to open up a little more and on the right side we can look into some of the gardens of the houses with some Roman foundations amongst them, before reaching the beautiful ruins of a circus, belonging to the imperial residence of Maxentius (fig. 17).

Figure 16 (up): Column for Luigi Canina (own photo)

figure 17 (below): The Circus of Maxentius (own photo)

In the period it was built in, the early fourth century AD, it was common within the imperial ideology to build a combination of a villa, a mausoleum and a circus, to emphasize the imperial dynasty. This was also done by emperor Maxentius. He built the mausoleum for his son Romulus, who had died as a child and was buried in 309 AD (Ashby 1970, 182). Today, a farmhouse stands on top of the mausoleum's ruins, but originally it stood prominently in a square courtyard, where the processions must have gathered before entering the circus lying behind it (Ashby 1970, 182). The circus was 250 metres long and 29 metres wide, with two semi-circular towers on each side, and was able to seat 10.000 people. According to an inscription, it was built for funeral games in Romulus' honour (Ashby 1970, 182). The villa, finally, was built over an existing one from the second century, which again was built over a villa from the late republic (Staccioli leaflet). Free of charge, one is today permitted to stroll through the high grass and wonder around the ruins of the complex.

Further down the road the landscape remains more open and we pass a garden bar. Then, on the left, rises the famous Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella: a cylindrical tomb on a square base from the Augustean period (fig. 18, viewed from behind). It was built between 30 and 20 BC for the daughter of Marcus Grassus: a noble matron and wife, related to many noteworthy members of Roman public life. As can be seen on the image, the tomb was transformed into a tower in the fourteenth century. It was part of the Castello di Caetani, a fortified quadrilateral. The tomb of Cecilia Metella became the keep of the castle. Especially during the Renaissance, it was a popular subject of study, drawings and reconstructions in the

Figure 18: The tomb of Cecilia Metella (own photo)

Figure 19: Archaeological site of Capo di Bove (own photo)

landscape of the Roman Campagna. The complex first belonged to the Counts of Tusculum, and only later to the Caetani during the reign of Boniface VIII (Ashby1970, 183). In this period it was restored.

Against the castle a baronial palace was built, called Capo di Bove due to the decorations of ox skulls on the frieze of the tomb (Ashby 1970, 183). It can be visited for free: it is a fenced archaeological area with foundations that still show the house plan of the building (fig. 19). Across the mausoleum stands the beautiful Gothic church of San Nicola, which is now roofless (fig. 20).

Figure 20: The roofless church of San Nicola (own photo)

The complex lays on top of an upland plain. The Via Appia was built on a lava stream: the Capo di Bove lava flow. It was discharged 260.000 years ago by the eruption of the Latian Volcano, better known as the Colli Abani mountain range. The lava flow was six to twelve metres thick, and spreads for about ten kilometres between Frattochie di Marino to the tomb of Cecilia Metella. The Via Appia and its adjacent monuments rise above the countryside, because of the limited erosion of the harder lava layer compared to other geological formations. The long hill can be very well seen on Figure 21, which is a photo taken from behind the Villa dei Quintilli.

Figure 21: The lavastream on which the Via Appia is partly built (own photo)

From the tomb of Cecilia Metella onwards, both on the right and the left tomb remains are everywhere. During the papacy of Pius IX, they were excavated by Canina. Discoveries were put on or near the tombs or distributed elsewhere along the road. About 80 metres further we reach the end of the third mile, at the height of the first

section of ‘original’ road paving. Still, we find private estates and houses on both sides of the road.

IV-Fourth mile

A while further, we have passed a few cafés, many more estates, the Carabinieri (the national gendarmerie), the sideroad ‘Via di Cecilia Metella’ on the left and the ‘Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma’ (the archeological service) on the right. The buildings, cafés, villas, farmhouses and rustic buildings on this section of the Via Appia are almost all built on the ruins of ancient sepulchres (graves) (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 59-60). Amongst larger and smaller ruins, which have not all have been identified, is Torre di Capo di Bove (fig. 22). Only a cement nucleus remains. A plaque remembers us of the astronomer Angelo Sacchi, who, in 1855, did trigonometric measurements of the Via Appia to Frattochie (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70). About three hundred metres further is Case Torlona. On its facade a commemorative stone explains the experiments done here with the telegraph between here and Terracina (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 71).

Figure 22: Torre di Capo di Bove (own photo)

From here southwards, we finally enter the more romantic stretch of the road (fig. 23): the road is fused with nature. Ruins are partly overgrown by grass and vegetation and surrounded by pine trees and cypresses. Numerous tombs in different states of decay can be explored freely. Monument after monument rises; it is not hard to imagine

Figure 23: The romantic stretch of the Via Appia begins (own photo)

how in antiquity tombs stood here, row after row, in different sizes and styles. We must imagine that in antiquity, the landscape of the Via Appia (between Porta Capena to Casal Rotondo) knew many tree and plant species (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 40). Along the Appian Way were sacred woods, such as the sacred wood of the Camenae (nymphs and Aegeria inspired king Numa Pompilius), and the sacred wood of the god Rediculus and the holm-oak grove of Pagus Triopius (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 40). Next to the tombs would also have been rose and violet gardens (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 40).

Figure 24: A section of original roadpaving (own photo)

Little walls on the right and left side create the boundaries of the archaeological area, placed by Canina (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70). He worked from here to the ninth mile, which is today the most monumental part of the road as a whole. Parts are excavated, parts are still buried, parts are overgrown and parts are looted. Nevertheless, the landscape looks natural and peaceful. Modern paving is alternated with original roadpaving (fig. 24): ancient paving stones have been recovered and restored little by little (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70). In some, the deep grooves of the carriage wheels that have driven there for centuries are still visible. Standing at the right spot, one can look as far as the Alban Hills: on top of the Monte Cavo (Albanus Mons), in ancient times, stood the provincial sanctuary of Jupiter Latiaris and the seat of the latin Leage (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70).

Within this fourth mile, we pass many monuments and a relief of a man in 'heroic' nakedness (Staccioli leaflet). A few examples can be seen in figure 25 (the photos are in order). An overview of the important ruins from second to the eight mile, in drawings, is available at the earlier mentioned visitor centre (it is referred to in paragraph 10.4, as figure 78).

We also pass the Forte Appia on the right hand side. Together with fourteen other forts and three batteries, it was built along the main entrance roads to Rome after the unification forces had captured Rome in 1870 (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 71).

Figure 25: Several monuments along the road on the fourth mile (own photos)

V-Fifth mile

The fifth mile starts with an unidentified round mausoleum with a square base (fig. 26), followed by the nucleus of a chamber sepulchre and a tomb where the children of freedman Sextus Pompeus Justus were buried (fig. 27). Originally, it had an epigraph in verse on a nineteenth century pillar with several architectural pieces built into them. This has disappeared, but it does still have a slab of marble placed there by Canova (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 71). In between the monuments, again, we find restored road paving. A little further away from the road is believed to have been the temple of Jupiter from the early third century AD. On the right is the sepulchre of Saint Urban, but unfortunately inside a private property and therefore not easily accessible. It is said that Pope Urban was buried here: he was the successor of St Callixtus as bishop of Rome at the beginning of the third century (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 71). He had suffered martyrdom under Marcus Aurelius (Ashby 1970, 184). The sepulchre was part of a larger complex that held several houses on both sides of the Via Appia.

Figure 26: Round mausoleum (own photo),

Figure 27: sepulchre for the children of Sextus Pompeus Justus (own photo)

Most of the current layouts of the tombs are the result of the 'reconstructions' performed by Canina. Over time, the original statues and reliefs have been removed and replaced in later times by copies and casts. Amongst many other tombs, a few of the better-known are that of the Linici, the tomb of Hilarius Fuscus, which shows the portraits of five deceased people put there by Canina (fig. 28) (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 72), the tomb of

Figure 28: Tomb of Hilarius Fiscus (own photo)

Tiberius Claudius Secondinus and the tomb of Quintus Apuleius. Further on is the altar tomb of the Rabirii, which was already reconstructed as early as the first century AD (fig. 29).

Figure 29: Tomb of the Rabirii (own photo)

After the crossing with the Via Erode Attico on the left and Via Tor Carbone on the right, is a popular water fountain where cyclists and hikers line up to fill their water bottles (fig. 30). From this crossing onwards, more spectacular monuments appear and the landscape keeps its beautiful, famous layout. On the right, a concrete tower with an epigraph carries the names of three Jewish freedmen, of which the date is unknown. Across the street stand two temple sepulchres from the second century AD. On the right, two cores of towers and a round mausoleum on a quadrangular base with the remains of a medieval tower on top appear (fig. 31).

Figure 30 (left): Crossing, one of the few water fountains (own photo)

Figure 31 (right): Figure 31: Ruin of a medieval tower on a Roman ruin (own photo)

A little after this, the fifth mile finishes. Here used to be the ancient border between Rome and Alba Longa, and the road suddenly makes a strange bend before continuing its straight course. This might have been done out of respect for monuments predating the construction of the road in 312 BC (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 74). A second possibility could be that it was to indicate the early boundary between the Roman state (ager romanus antiques) and the city of Alba Longa, close to Fossae Cluiliae. There, the king of Alba Longa would have set up camp for his march on Rome, when it was ruled by King Tullus Hostilius (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 74). According to legend, the famous duel between the Horatii and the Curiatii brothers would have been held here (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 74, 78).

VI-Sixth mile

At the beginning of the sixth mile, a large mound rises where during the Imperial period must have stood a large mausoleum (Ashby 1970, 186). Because the tomb is located close to the Fossae Cluiliae, legend tells that it was here that the three Curiati brothers were buried. (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 78). After their duel, the Curatii brothers from Alba Longa got defeated, and the supremacy of Rome over Latium was proven. Further onwards on the right would be the tumuli of the Oratii, which has been dated around the end of the Republic or the early Imperial period (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 78). In between the tombs, on opposite sides of the road, are the medieval habitations of Santa Maria Nova, followed by the ruins of a pyramid-shaped tomb. Then, further on, we reach the large ruins of the Villa dei Quintilli (fig. 32). The villa consists of different parts, constructed in different time periods around the second half of the second century, and was restored in the third and fourth centuries. The complex housed baths,

Figure 32: Villa dei Quintilli, viewed from a distance (The Via Appia runs behind it) (own photo)

gardens, pavilions, cisterns, a hippodrome and an aqueduct (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 78). The villa was the largest of the villas in suburban Rome and was owned by two brothers. Their deaths were ordered by Commodus around 182 AD. The most impressive buildings that have largely survived belonged to the bath complex of the villa. The Nympheum,

which happened to be the entrance to the complex, was reused in the Middle Ages as a fortress.

About three hundred metres further away from the Nymphaeum along the road are the remains of the circular sepulchre of Septimia Galla with an epigraph on top of it. On the left is a sepulchre with an arched doorway, and then again many other smaller ruins lie shattered alongside the road. On the right side are ruins of a bath complex that could still have been part of the villa dei Quintilli. We then reach the largest mausoleum of the Via Appia Antica: Casal Rotondo (fig. 33). It dates from the Augustean period, was 35 metres in diameter and used to be coated in travertine (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80). During the middle ages, it became the base for a medieval tower (Ashby 1970, 187). Later, a medieval farmhouse was built on top of it, which was again later transformed into a small villa.

Figure 33: Casal Rotondo (own photo)

Just after Casal Rotondo the railway from Rome to Naples passes under the road. Here used to stand the column that indicated the end of mile VI.

VII-Seventh mile

After Casal Rotondo, the Via Appia is crossed again, by the Via di Casal Rotondo on the left, and the Via di Torricola on the right. Beyond this, ruins keep coming. Concrete cores of tombs rise in different types, heights and shapes. On the right we find a brick tomb with marble slabs of figures of griffins. On the other side is Torre Selce, or Torre Appia, a monument from the seventh century, built over the round core of a mauseuleum similar to that of Cecilia Metella (fig. 34). It was a medieval tower built from grey peperino with a white marble band. It is an unusual

Figure 34: Torre Selce (Torre Appia) (own photo)

monument for the Via Appia (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80). In 1985, it largely collapsed during a storm. We pass a funerary inscription on brickwork, and then the road bends slightly to the right, where another tower appears. We see the ruins of the sanctuary of Silvanus, close to a temple of Hercules reconstructed by Domitian. Here once stood the estate of the satirist Persisus. Just before that is a statue of a headless man in a toga, put against a concrete core. In the distance, the arches of an aqueduct start to be visible on the left hand side (fig. 35). This aqueduct supplied the Villa dei Quintili.

Figure 35 (right): The Roman aqueduct (own photo)

A while further we reach the end of the seventh mile. Here used to be an underpass of a great ring road, but for the 2000 Jubilee of Rome project it was changed into two underground tunnels (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80). From the Via Appia, also Ciampino Airport can be seen.

VIII-Eight mile

Tombs now start to become less abundant (fig. 36). Also, from here the monuments are no longer public property, but belong to the owners of the lands along the road (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70). Several concrete cores are visible on the left and the right. In this mile, it is known that there has been a *mutation ad nonum,* where people could change horses after having travelled nine miles (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80).

Figure 36: The landscape changes (own photo)

Remarkable remains are a group of peperino columns (fig. 37), which could have belonged to a building dedicated to the god Silvanus (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80), and the so-called 'Beretta del Prete' (priests cap): a large rotunda with a hemispheric dome on top from the late imperial period (fig. 38). It was transformed into a church in the early middle ages, and later into a tower (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 80). Walking on, on the right appears another large, round mausoleum: that of emperor Gallienus. It had been known to be at this distance from the city (milestone 9) (Ashby 1970, 187). In this region, in

1792, Gavin Hamilton found the Discoboulos (a copy of a work of Naucydes). Fifty metres further stood the column with mile VIII engraved in it.

Figure 37: Peperino columns along the road (own photo)

Figure 38: 'Beretta del Prete' (own photo)

IX, X, XI-Ninth, tenth and eleventh mile

The ninth, but mainly the tenth and eleventh mile are clearly being less visited than the previous miles. Around the ninth mile the restorations of Canina end. From here on, the road, which is still part of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica, gets more overgrown, slimmer, the surroundings are somewhat more industrial and it is perhaps just too far away from Rome (fig. 39). Still there are monuments to see: there is a tabernacle tomb, a large overgrown mausoleum and other tombs. The road crosses the Via Capanna di Marino in the tenth mile, then crosses the Fosso delle Cornacchiole (a watercourse flowing from the Alban hills), and the Via delle Repubblica just before the beginning of the eleventh mile. This last mile lies in the neighbourhood of Santa Maria delle Mole, a small town. To reach it we walk through a very open area for a while with beautiful paving (fig. 40), before passing under a narrow tunnel. Here is a crossroad through which you could enter Santa Maria delle Mole, a small town with a train station. When we cross the road, a sign shows where along the road we are and what more is to come.

Figure 39: the Via Appia at the tenth mile (own photo)

The last part of the Via Appia as part of the Parco Regionale exists of a largely overgrown section, where little is left of the original road paving (fig. 41), and a more broad easy accessible road. Without even noticing it, the road climbs a little, providing a spectacular view when looking back (fig. 42). Until the very end of the park, several impressive monuments can still be seen. Shortly after the eleventh milestone the Via Appia Antica is joined by the modern highway, which leads straight to Albano. The hamlet where they meet is known as Le Fratocchie. Figure 43 shows the exit, or the entrance, of the park at the eleventh mile.

Figure 40: the road in an open landscape (own photo)

Figure 41 (left, up): Via Appia overgrown (own photo)

Figure 42 (right): Difference in altitude (own photo)

Figure 43 (left, below): Exit of Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica (own photo)

Part 2 – Historical biography

Figure on previous page: section of Via Appia, with the Villa dei Quintilli in the background.
Source: own photo.

Chapter 4 The Via Appia during the Republic and the Roman Empire

At its peak, the roman road system within Italy was an extensive network, connecting cities, regions and remote corners of the empire. This, naturally, was not built in a day. Where eventually large, systematic roads with heavy basalt paving came to be built, were at many places already existing dirt roads where people travelled and transported materials. In order to explain how the Via Appia came to its current shape, we must start at its origin. This chapter focuses on the road during the Roman Republic and during the empire. First a paragraph will introduce the Roman road network in order to provide a context, then, two paragraphs are dedicated to the construction and the use of the Via Appia over the centuries, and finaly, in an effort of studying the perception of the road, two paragraphs focus on travelling on the road and the funerary culture along it.

4.1 Introduction to the Roman road network

4.1.1 Roman roads

During most of its overall existence, it could be said that war was one of the empire's first priorities and that the economy was created around it. An important element in keeping the empire under control, was adequate roadbuilding. 'Highways' connected Rome with the countryside, other Italian towns and even outside of the Italian peninsula, particularly during the age of the emperors. In Britain, North Africa and the Middle East, the progress of Roman expansion could be traced by charting the development of the Roman road network (Berechman 2003, 455). It expanded from Scotland to Iraq, West of the Rhine, south of the Danube and north of the Sahara. By the second century AD, the empire counted 85,000 km (53,000 miles) of road, of which 13,600 km was in (current-day) Italy (Berechman 2003, 455-456). Many of these roads were still in use during the Middle Ages. An impressive comparison has been presented by Berechman (2003, 456), stating that in 2003 the EU counted 50.000 km of motorways. Although size and service is incomparable, if we can indeed regard the roman network system as the 'highways' of the empire, it could be said that during the Roman Empire there were more 'motorways' than today. The Romans knew four types of roads, listed from highest to lowest importance (Berechman 2003, 459):

Viae publicae	Public roads
Viae militares	Strategic roads that later also became public
Actus	Local roads
Viae privatae	Private roads built by landlords within their estates

According to law, a 'via' needed to be as wide for a vehicle to drive along it (Laurence 1999, 58). If it was only wide enough for a pack animal, it was an *actus*. If it was narrower, it was a path: a *semita*, or *iter*. The higher speeds were possible on the public highroads (Laurence 1999, 81). These roads were created by magistrates (although the final decision laid with the Senate), who were allowed to exercise the *ius publicandi*: the power to expropriate private lands that were necessary for the course of the road (Pina Polo 2011, 137). These lands therefore needed to be *publicus*: state property. Therefore the roads were called *viae publicae,* roads of the state, *viae consulares* or *viae praetoriae*.

The Romans had learned their basic road building techniques from the Etruscans, who had inhabited current-day Tuscany since the ninth century BC and were experts in (hydraulic) engineering (Casson 1994, 163). The Romans copied their techniques of building sewers, aqueducts, bridges and dirt roads. However, they took a next step by developing street paving. Paving had been used for a long time in the Near East for short distances, but using it for hundreds of miles on the same road was a new development. The Via Appia was the very first road to be built in this fashion, but by the end of the 2nd century BC, the whole Italian peninsula was covered in highways. Figure 44 (on the next page) shows the network of the most important ancient Roman roads in the region of what is now Italy. Next to the Via Appia, two other major public roads were the Via Latina (340 BC), which connected Rome to Capua in the South after the first Samnite war, and the Via Flaminia (220 BC), which was the main road to the northern regions and was also known as the 'Great northern highway of Rome' (Berechman 2003, 454). The long-distance public roads were characterised by their directness, but also by being permanent, by their ability to resist all weather types, and support heavy military transport over a long course of time (Berechman 2003, 454). Soldiers, traders, travellers and messengers travelled fast over them.

Figure 44: The Roman road network during the empire (Staccioli 2003)

The Via Appia standardized the sizes of roads (although perhaps not applied across the full length of the road). In at least the first stretch studied in this thesis, the road was fourteen Roman feet wide (4.15 m). Two carts were able to pass one another (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). It also had walkaways on both sides, each eleven Roman feet wide (3.24 m), making the road 36 feet (almost eleven metres) wide altogether. The minimum

width for two carts to pass each other on a road was eight feet (2.44 m), although most of the roads leading into Rome were up to thirty feet wide (Casson 1994, 171).

For roads with little traffic, it sufficed to have a gravel surface. However, roads with heavy traffic, like the Via Appia, needed a 'via silice strada': a road paved with silex-like stone material (Casson 1994,168). Paving was made out of polygonal stones of massive, igneous rock such as granite, porphory, or in case of the Via Appia, basalt (called *basoli)*. The stones were at least a foot and a half wide (ca. 46 cm), and eight inches deep (ca. 20 cm) (Casson 1994, 169). Apart from a sustainable surface for heavy traffic, roads needed a proper foundation and drainage. Therefore, a layer of gravel for stability and drainage existed under the pavement of large, smooth stones that fitted perfectly to a smooth surface. A reconstruction of this has been drawn by Piranesi, shown in Figure 45.

Igneous rock could be quarried to break off in polygonal pieces, and it is likely that they were put together on the road just as they had been removed from the quarry (Casson 1994, 169). To do this, they must have been marked and shipped in batches (Casson 1994, 169). These construction projects were gigantic and very time-consuming, carried out mainly by soldiers who could barely be spared from the army (Casson 1994, 166). They worked with meagre equipment to pick away rock obstructions, spade away earth obstructions and carry off the dirt in baskets (Casson 1994, 167).

Figure 45: Paving of the Via Appia (Piranesi) (http://a1reproductions.com)

4.1.2 Reasons for investment

Besides the investment of time and labour, the financial, political and ideological investment in this road system is beyond belief. There are different theories behind the initiatives of road building. The most prominent theory amongst historians, is that such a high-quality road system was necessary for **military purpose**: to conquer, control and

administer conquered territories and to protect the borders of the empire (Berechman 2003, 456; Casson 1994, 164). The amount of investment in these road indicates the size of the army and its transportational needs. During the Second Punic War, for example, in sixteen years, about 700.000 men were transported to combat in the Roman regions (Berechman 2003, 456). Aside from this there were also many secondary roads in rural areas, so that most distant locations could be reached (Berechman 2003, 456).

Amongst other, Laurence (1999, 39) also states how it was a **political act**. The cohesion of Italy depended on the road system that was established in the Republican era. For the emperors, investing in the road system was a political move as it created continuity with the Republican past. It had a purpose in the future and simultaneously legitimised their position (Laurence 1999, 39). The massive public works projects empowered the empire against its rivals. Also, magistrates and emperors who were responsible for the road were well aware of its sustainability and long-lasting fame, and therefore put their names on its monumental structures (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). This can be seen at several (urban) places along the Via Appia. Inside the walls of Rome, this was visible in the arches of Drusus, Trajan and Lucius Verus (the last two are no longer standing) (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). Road building depended on the emperor as benefactor. Augustus and Trajan are the two emperors most associated with politics that emphasised a geographical unit (Laurence 1999, 39). A very important feature in this aspect was the milestones along the road: miliaria. They started off as cylindrical pillars, and only became actual milestones from the third century BC, indicating the distance in miles (1,478 m) from the Porta Capena in Rome (Pisani Sartorio 2004,25). Milestones were very important to the traveller, and many settlements were named after the milestone they were close to (Casson 1994, 173). They also showed the name of the creator or restorer of the road or the specific milestone. After the period of the Tetrarchs (AD 293-305), the maintenance of the roads was no longer subjected to a central power. The milestones started to become imperial propaganda tools rather than indications of maintenance or restoration (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 25). They often no longer showed distances or directions but only the name, title and importance of the reigning censor or emperor (Berechman 2003, 461). Succeeding rulers either changed inscriptions, or placed a second milestone (Berechman 2003, 461). An interesting note to the counting, is that the romans counted from the republican gates, but from the middle ages onwards, the counting of the miles started at the Aurelian walls. The many sources on the Via Appia often do not choose either one on purpose, which can be confusing.

Berechman (2003, 457) argues that complementary to the political factors, there must have been **transportation-economical reasons** for the investments in the road system, spurred by economic growth and human mobility needs. It was to avoid resource limitations such as construction materials, labour, domesticated load-carrying animals (horses, mules or oxen) and monetary capital. He also writes of the need to increase interregional trade, a rise in commercial and personal mobility, and high costs of land transport. A conquered, underdeveloped region of the empire was of little economic value unless it was connected to a good system of roads, harbours and other infrastructure (Berechman 2003, 457).

The Via Appia is a perfect example of military, political and economic factors interacting (Berechman 2003, 458). From a military perspective, it linked Rome to her Campanian allies (Laurence 1999 in Berechman 2003, 458) and enabled her to keep the Latin and later Samnite enemies under control. From a political perspective (Laurence 1999 in Berechman 2003, 458), Appius Claudius, the builder of the Via Appia, used the road project as a device to overcome the Senate's opposition to large-scale construction projects in general. To build the road, he involved freed slaves and Roman citizens (but no members of the political elite). Finally, from an economic perspective, the busy traffic on the Via Appia existed mainly of travellers who used the road for commercial, communication and private purposes (Berechman 2003, 458).

4.1.3 Maintenance

In road building, the Romans used three important concepts: *firmitas*, the solidity of the plan, *utilitas,* the rationality of the route, and *vetustas,* the solidity and durability of the architectural forms (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). This last category indicated the aim for sustainability and therefore maintenance. A magistrature was created solely for this purpose: *cura viarium* (care of the roads). In the Republican era, it was the Senate who ordered road building, which was then executed by the censors, aediles and consuls. According to the Lex Iulia Municipales, after its construction, the road was administered by the aediles, who had jurisdiction within a ten-mile radius of Rome (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 23). This was later restructured by Augustus in 20 BC, who took the maintenance of the roads upon himself. He appointed superintendants directly subordinate to him for the great military roads, which belonged to the senatorial class: *curators Viae Appiae* (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 19). In 16 BC, a monument was built to commemorate Augustus' *cura viarium* and to mark 'mile zero': *Miliarium Aureum* (golden mile). It was

the point where many important roads started and it indicated the distances from Rome to the important cities within the empire. Little is known about the monument, but archaeological research suggests it was a milestone, a marble column coated in gilded bronze. it carried the names and distances from Rome to the most important cities or of the consular roads (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 23). After Augustus, every large road in Italy was taken care of by a curator, chosen from the ex-praetors (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 23). Several emperors after Augustus (Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Septimius Severus) however had a special interest in the Via Appia, and had it restored especially along the stretch through the Pontine Marshes, which was very dependant of restorations and hard to keep maintaining (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 19).

4.2 The construction of the Via Appia

In 312 BC, the construction of the Via Appia was ordered by censor Appius Claudius Caecus. It was the first military road built by the Romans and simultaneously the first censorial road (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 26). A war against the Samnites was raging and the army had to be transported quickly to the other end of the empire (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 3). The Via Appia was the first road to enable this, unprecedented and never exceeded in perfection and straightness. It linked Alba Longa with the Tiber Valley. Excavations during the first half of the nineteenth century (on the fifth mile) indicate that the Via Appia was built over an already existing road which was the Via Albana, which went to the Alban hills (Pera Buranelli and Turchetti 2003, 56). The new road started at the Porta Capena in the heart of Rome at the foot of the Palatine Hill, just behind the Circus Maximus (which was built later). At the beginning the road led to Capua, covering a distance of 185 miles (185 km) (Laurence 1999, 13). With the declaration of the Second Samnite War (326-304 BC), Appius Claudius wanted a direct link between Rome and Capua to be able to dominate the areas between the two cities. The road passed Latium, Campania and Samnium. The first stretch up to Terracina, at the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea, was almost perfectly straight, showing a true masterpiece in engineering. Never before had a road like this been built: straightness and directness to the final destination was preferred over the connection of important cities. It went along the shore and through coastal swams to provide a more direct route to the south than the older mountain road of the Via Latina (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). The road was connected to cities, villages, villas, farms, cemeteries and the surrounding countryside through a web of minor and secondary roads (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 59). Around 268 BC, after the defeat of Samnium in 272 BC, the road was prolonged to Beneventum. This was a newly founded strategic centre and a victory mark over Pyrrhus. In 191 BC, the road led all the way to Brundisium (now Brindisi), the main port for Greece and the East. The paving of the street was laid gradually between the third and the second century BC. Even in its own time it was admired for its perfection. The well-fitting stones allowed the transport of heavy goods from and to Rome for centuries. Today, in the original (reconstructed) paving, we can still see the resulting deep grooves in the stones. For the pavement, basalt stones were cut out of a quarry at the height of the eighth mile. This is today a popular place for climbing. During the empire, restorations were done using stones from the lava flow of the Alban Hills Volcano.

Several innovative techniques were used to construct the Via Appia (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). The most important were land reclamation, bridge-building, terracing, the creation of viaducts and cutting into mountains. These innovations were subsequently applied to other public roads and as such laid the foundation for the complex road network as a whole (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22).

The following scheme presents a chronological oversight of the technical changes to the road:

312 BC: Appius Claudius ordered the stretch of road between Rome and Capua: 132 miles.

Around 268 BC: The Via Appia was prolonged to Benevento.

258BC: the Ogulni brothers had the first mile paved with basalt paving stones

255 BC: the Ogulni brothers prolonged the basalt paving to Boville (Frattochie)

191BC: the road is paved until Capua.

190 BC: the road first arrives in Venosa, followed by Taranto and then Brindisi.

70 AD: Restoration work during the emperorship of Vespasian (69-79 AD)

97 AD: Restoration work during the emperorship of Nerva (96-98 AD)

Second sentury: emperor Trajan (98-117 AD) built the Appia Traiana: a new ruite from Benevento to the Adriatic sea.

Halfway through the second century: building of the arch of Drusus, most probably by Lucius Verus.

Around 217 AD: Emperor Caracalla (211-217 AD) lets an aqueduct pass over the arch of Drusus to feed the Terme di Caracalla (baths).

272-274: Just beyond the arch of Drusus, the Aurelian walls built by emperor Aurelius interrupt the thoroughfare.

Aside from the innovative buiding methodology, the construction of the Via Appia also caused a change of institution: it was the first time such a prestigious roadwork project was ordered by a censor (Humm 1996, 731). It was very unusual for a censor to be able to convey this type of authority. It is a controversial subject, as certain historians argue that the Roman law system did not allow for a censor to have this kind of power at that time (Humm 1996, 732). In the Republican era it was the Senate ordering (public) road building, subsequently performed by the censors, aediles and consuls, depending on the case (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 22). It is argued that this change was possible because the Roman authorities were preoccupied with the Samnite war, and therefore did not bother with smaller legal issues such as the construction of roads (Mommsen 1889 in Humm 1996, 732). Later in time, censors got indeed charged with the management of revenue and expenditure of public works, including the construction and management of roads (though always controlled by the senate) (Mommsen 1889 in Humm 1996, 732). It is clear that the reforms Appius Claudius brought into censorship gave it a new authority and prestige (Mommsen 1889 in Humm 1996, 732). He was also the first censor to prolong the length of his censorhip, in order to finish the projects he started, including the Via Appia. Appius Claudius Cauecus had a charismatic personality, and was controversial in his political activities at the time (Humm 1996, 695). The building of the Via Appia was his personal creation, and served as a power instrument (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 25). He was censor for eighteen months, consul in 307 and 296 (during the Samnite wars), and dictator from 292 to 285 BC. However, his mark on republican Rome lasted much longer. He was an important general in the army, a famous speaker and a poet (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 3). He was nicknamed *Il Cieco* (the blind). He came from the noble Claudii family and was therefore part of the noblest Roman *gentes*, the aristocrats of Rome. As a group they had a fascination with the Hellenistic world, and Appius Claudius was no exception (Humm 1996, 734). It is possible that this was the reason he named the road after himself: usually street names were called after their function or the region they directed towards (Humm 1996, 734-735). The Via Appia however was the first road to be called after its constructor, and the only one called after someone's first name (Humm 1996, 735).

4.3 The Via Appia as an entrance to Rome

Up to the eighth or ninth milestone, the landscape around the Via Appia during the Imperial period was mainly inhabited by residential districts, which were linked to the Via Appia and to other roads through a complex network of secondary roads (Spera 2003, 24). These residences included the *Triopium* of Herodes Atticus between the second and the third mile, and the villa of the Quintilii at the fifth mile. Furthermore, as described by Spera (2003, 24), there were production buildings and craft structures, commercial areas, sanctuaries such as the temple of Mars (1st milestone), the temple of Rediculus (second milestone) and and the sanctuary of Hercules (eighth milestone). Next to this, countless tombs from the Republic and the early empire stood on both sides of the road, managed by families or *Collegia funeraticia*. It is in this landscape that we much imagine walking when entering Rome during the imperial period. Today, we notice that the Via Appia is crossed by two ancient city walls: the Republican walls, which have largely disappeared, and the Aurelian walls. The roads that connected Rome to other parts of Italy always began at the gates of the ancient city walls. The Via Appia started at Porta Capena which used to be part of the Republican walls. They were built in the fourth century BC, but were soon overtaken by the expansion of the city (Insolera 1997, 29). The city however did not need any fortification for about five centuries, during the Republic and the Empire, thanks to the vastness of the empire, the remoteness of the borders and of the enemies, and the efficiency of the legions (Insolera 1997, 29). The streets therefore went directly from the city into the countryside and were uninterrupted: the city of the living continued in the city of the dead (Insolera 1997, 29). Alignment of housing continued in the alignment of tombs (Insolera 1997, 29). Only at the end of the third century, Rome is surrounded by walls, ordered by Emperor Aurelian (271-275) (Insolera 1997, 29). The walls, built between 270 and 277 AD, isolated the first stretch of the road between Porta Capena and the Porta Appia, which therefore got an urban character (Insolera 1997, 29). Today, it is only at this gate that the Via Appia 'really' begins. Originally, the Porta Appia was a double-arched gate, but got reduced to only having one arch in the early fifth century (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 28). It was also renamed as Porta San Sebastiano, after the catacombs to which it led (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 28).

The urban part between Porta Capena and porta San Sebastiano has been part of Rome since antiquity. In Roman times, mostly public buildings stood on both sides, often

connected to road-related services (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43): the *area carruces* (a parking zone for private carriages), the *mutatorium Caesaris* (here the carriages of the emperor were charged) and the *area radicaria* (a toll zone near the city gate). Other public buildings close to the road were the baths of Caracalla from the early third century, commemorative arches as the arch of Drusus (he was the father of emperor Claudius) and there might have been an arch for Trajan and one for Lucius Verus (Palombi 1993 in Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43). More than only a functional road, the Via Appia was a billboard. In AD 203, another extravagant monument was placed to catch the eye of the traveller. The three storey septizodium, as if an enormous billboard was placed near the palatine palaces, where it entered the city gate (Claridge 2010, 158, 356). It was built by Septimius Severus, who, as many other emperors, had many repairs done on the road, and added this monument to mark the entrance to Rome for anyone coming from the East or from Africa (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 28). In the beginning of the third century, he also ordered two monumental columns at the end of the Via Appia in the port of Brindisi, as 'terminal milestones': the counterpoint of the Septidozium in Rome (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 28). Not without reason did emperors sign their names on the milestones and did aristocratic Roman families build tombs and villas that were so extravagant. Country houses in the neighbourhood of Rome became popular from the second century BC and contributed largely to the well-being of the Campagna, which was naturally benefited by the great revival of prosperity under the Empire, especially during the rule of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines (Ashby 1927, 17). The location of villas was very important for the development of Roman agriculture. Therefore, they were often close to a major road of the transport system (Laurence 1999, 103). Imperial villas were mainly built for power display.

Then there were religious buildings such as the altar of *Fortuna Redux* and temples, for example that of *Honos* and *Virtus* (honour and virtue) (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43). Outside of the republican walls was also the *Senaculum*, where the Senate met with consuls and magistrates returning from the provinces (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43). Other places again existed for public ceremonies of departure and return (*Profectio* and *reditus)*. This first short part of the road must have followed that of the old Via Latina. They split up near the church of S. Cesareo, and met again at Capua. From this split, the area of funerary monuments began. The monuments existed of temples, altars, arches and, mainly, tombs in all shapes and sizes (Claridge 2010, 356). Unfortunately, none of the temples ancient writers have described have been found on the road, such as the temple to Honos and Virtus outside the Capena Gate, the temple to the Tempestates

(perhaps near the tomb of Scipio) and a temple to Mars beyond the Aurelianic walls (Claridge 2010, 356). Only very few tombs at the start of the road have been found. As time passed by, multiple rows of tombs lined up behind each other and tombs became more andmore extravagant (Claridge 2010, 356). Although only a small percentage of the buildings are left, the surviving ones are all the more important, because they are mainly the tombs of important families, from between the Republic to the middle Empire (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43). After the building of the Aurelian wall, the burial zone was moved to outside the *pomoerium* (the ceremonial boundary of a Roman city) (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 43,44). The dead were not to be buried inside the city.

4.4 Experiences along the Via Appia

The Via Appia was a Via Publica, meant for public use and built on public land. It was a key road, crossing the Italian peninsula from west to east through the richest fertile regions of ancient Italy. Being the first great road in Italy, it demonstrated the power of Rome (Laurence 1999, 13). We must imagine it having been aligned with an abundance of tombs, commemorative arches, gates, inns, houses, mansions, mutationes and villas, from small and modest to rich and monumental. It was used by everyone. In its time the road was already celebrated to be an essential vain throughout the country, a masterpiece of engineering and the connector of regions as never before. Already in its time, the Appian way was validated for its magnitude and glory.

Having shortly discussed the historical evolution of the road, it is essential within the cultural biography to also give an insight in how the road was used and experienced. The two following paragraphs will therefore zoom in on the perception of the two main functions of the road: travelling and funerary activities.

4.4.1 Travelling

Who

For a very long time, the Via Appia was one of the most convenient ways to travel to Rome. Already in its time it was appreciated for its impressiveness and grandeur. The Poet Statius, in a poem called 'des Selves', he described her as the 'queen of roads', and Martial (Speculata) glorified her too:

Flectere iam cupidum gressus qua limite noto
Appia longarum teritur regina viarum.

(www.thelatinlibrary.com)

'*O Via Appia, consecrated by Caesar (Domitian) venerated under Hercules' effigy, you surpass all of Italy's roads in fame...*

(Martial Spectacual 9.101 in Portella 2004)

The road carries the footsteps (or wheeltraces) of countless famous historical figures. Cleopatra entered Rome through the road to visit Julius Caesar, Petrus reached his final destination through this road. When Octavian was in Albania to fight the Dacians and the Parthians for Julius Caesar, he learned that the latter was assassinated in Rome. He

immediately travelled back to Italy and travelled all the Appian Way to come back (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 20). The poet Horace travelled together with one of Augustus' great ministers of state, Maecenas, from Rome to Brindisi along the Appian Way, just before Augustus had brought the government post into existence (Casson 1994, 190). On his way back he wrote down his experiences in verses. It is likely that he travelled in a carriage (Casson 1994, 194).

But the road was used by everyone: commoners, soldiers, priests, traders and aristocrats. Walking along the Via Appia, one could pass a variety Romans, Germanics, pilgrims, and patricians and emperors accompanied by slaves and freedmen. There were journeys for business, for pleasure, and tourists travelling to Brindisi or even to the shores of Asia or the pyramids in Egypt (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 53). People also travelled this way for a cultivating visit of Greece: an already existing fashion since the Republic (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 53). Everyday goods such as olive oil, wine and wheat were transported on the Via Appia on large scale, but also fine and rare merchandise like perfumes, spices, silks, jewels, rare stones and marbles were transported to and from southern Italy (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 20). Transport came from side roads to the Via Appia to be transported directly to the capital.

Methods of travel

There were different ways to travel, described by Casson (1994, 179-181). Those who were alone, or poor, would often go by foot on the elevated sidewalks. If lucky, they could catch a ride on a *plaustrum*: a slow, heavy farm or work wagon pulled by oxen. Others rode on mule back or on a slow-gaited cob, sometimes with servants walking with them. Only a few rode fast saddle horses, as they were meant for cavalrymen, hunters or dispatch-riders. Those who could pay for a carriage had a variety of choices at the stables located at the city gates. Couples or people with little luggage could also take a *birota*: a two-wheeled passenger cart. Large parties or people travelling slow along secondary roads preferred a *reda*, a robust, open, four-wheeled wagon drawn by one or two mules. Furthermore, there was the *covinnus*, a very light and manageable cart that could be driven by the passengers themselves. Most other carts had a driver (*mulio)* and a man at the bridle (*cursor*) to lead the animals. Family travel was done in the *carruca*: a covered two-wheeled wagon. People of wealth, mainly ladies of the court, used a similar carriage: the *carpentum*. The differences lay in their decorations: these were luxurious carriages with a roof supported by ornamental columns and silk curtains. Emperors and very wealthy elite members chose the *essedum*, a large and elaborate cart. They could

also choose a *covinnus* or a *cisium*, which were lighter and more simple, and more often seen on the roads. All carriages could carry two or three people and were pulled by two horses or fast mules. The emperors and other elites travelled in style and grandeur (Casson 1994, 180). They packed a whole household to not be discomforted at a local inn. They would bring tents and commodes, cooking utensils, bedding and tableware. Many attendants came along: the more one would bring, the more wealthy one showed off to be (Casson 1994, 180). Travelling outside of Rome with thirty slave attendants was normal for a person of status in the late first century BC (Laurence 1999, 140). Finally, the litter was used for the sick and for those who disliked travel. Augustus was known for travelling slowly in a litter (Laurence 1999, 138). During his reign, Claudius stated that travellers were not to pass through Italian towns other than by foot, in a litter or sedan chair (Laurence 1999, 139). Here, also, the status of the person carried in the litter was dependent on the number of bearers (Laurence 1999, 139). It was also used to carry the dead to the burials.

Travelling by water was faster and more comfortable than over land. However, the road enabled travellers to travel in all seasons and storms were no longer as problematic. Travelling was accompanied by specific superstitions. Each journey was subjected to the omens that had appeared in the traveller's dreams (Casson 1994, 178): for a journey by land, dreaming of quail presaged that one was going to be tricked or meet bandits along the way. Owls meant that one was to face a storm or again bandits, and wild boars meant facing storms. Depending on its physical condition, a gazelle stood for either an easy or a hard trip. Donkeys indicated a safe but slow trip. Garlands of narcissi or marshes were bad omens but clear bright air or stars good ones. Dreaming of Hermes or Aphrodite also indicated a good journey, but Dioscuri and Dionysos indicated bad ones. Dreams in which statues of gods moved, was a good omen.

Overnight stays

The more common traveller who had to stop for the night stayed at inns. They could changed animals and equipment here. Different types developed over time: most inns and hostels along the road belonged to the *cursus publicus*: the courier and transportation service, regulated by the government. This service was created by Augustus. The cursus publicus was usually used to transport important messages and goods and luggage of high officials. It was used by the emperor, high officials, government couriers and other lucky people who had a diploma (Leoni and Staderini

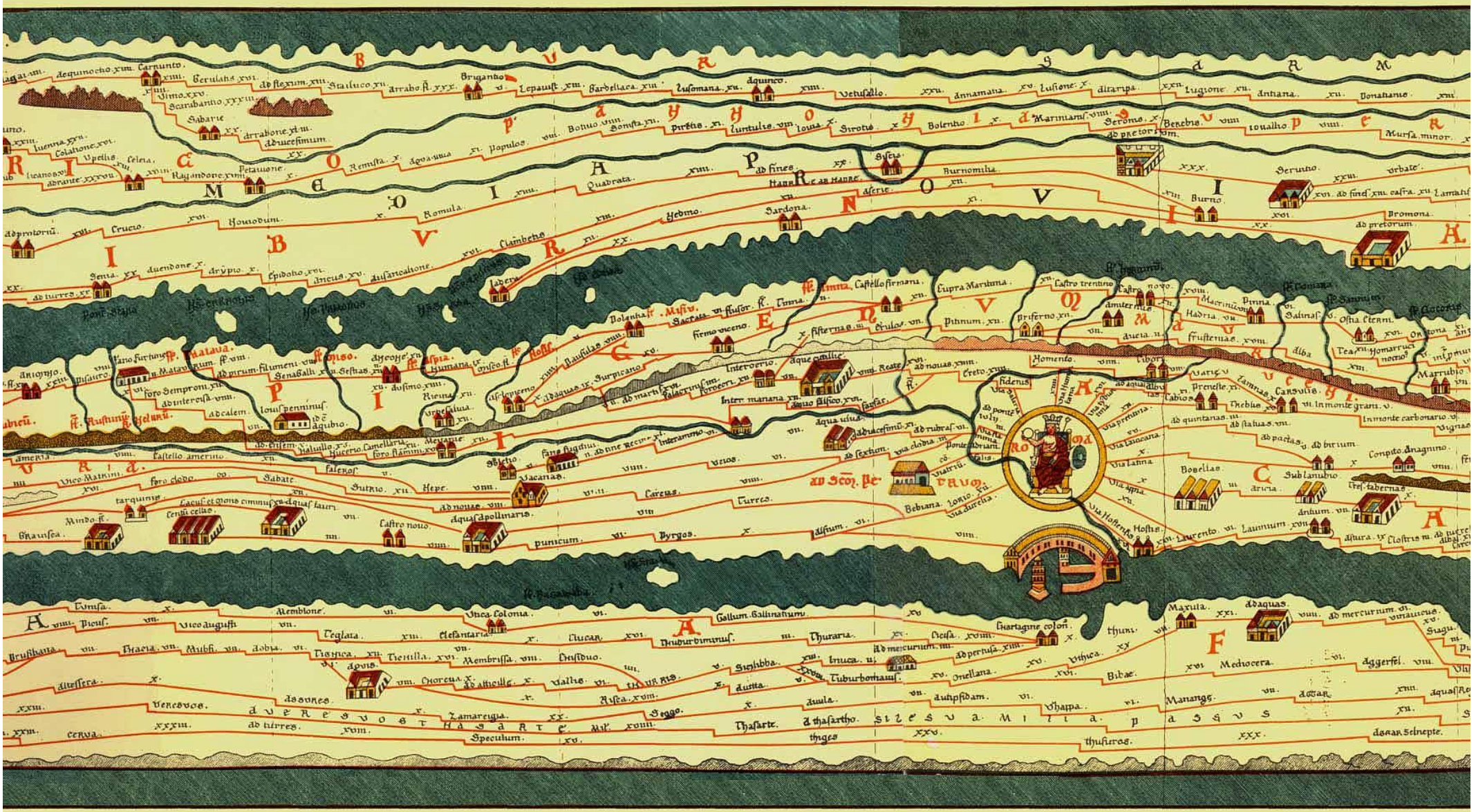
1907, 72). A government courier was the fastest traveller along the roads. He travelled five miles an hour and fifty miles in an average day (Casson 1994, 188). In emergencies, they would travel night and day, reaching up to 150 miles per day. A normal traveller did about fifteen to twenty miles a day on foot, and twenty-five to thirty in a carriage (Casson 1994, 189).

Travellers using the *cursus publicus* needed to know the locations of the inns and hostels. The stops on the Via Appia up to Capua were Bobelia, Aritia, Velanubus, Tres tabernas, Appii Forum, Feronia, Suessa Irunca, Pons Campanus, Urbanis, Cassinum, Casulinum and Capu caput Campaniae (Pinder and Parthey 1860, 481). To find the inns, *initeraria* were available. They were handlists that showed the stopping places and the distances between them. There also existed maps that showed a schematic picture of the Roman road system, with stopping locations and what they offered. All itineraries and maps in antiquity showed the different inns and hostels along the Via Appia. A few examples have survived from different places in the Roman Empire. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augtusti*, for example, was a road guide from the time of Caracalla. It catalogues 256 itineraries along the main roads of the Empire (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 33). Also, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* or *Hierosolymitanum* was a guide from the fourth century AD guiding pilgrims from Bordeaux to Jerusalem. The *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* was a highly detailed geographical survey from the late seventh century, a text that includes the Appian Way with all its way stations. The oldest and most famous is the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a Medieval copy of a map of the Roman Empire (Casson 1994, 186) (fig. 46). It dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century and depicts the Roman road network of the third century AD (probably), but includes updates and corrections from the fourth and fifth centuries (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 34). It consists of parchment scrolls, with the east at the top. Just like modern maps, it depicts symbols for cities, small population centres and mansions (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 34).

Private voyagers were not allowed to use the cursus publicus, only in exceptional cases (Casson 1994, 188). They would stay at simple hostels: *mutationes* (changing places). They were rest stations or post houses where people could change horse every ten miles (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 21). They provided the minimum of services: food, a bed and a change of animals or carriage. The inns were about twenty-five to thirty-five miles away from each other: one day's travel. Around the capital however, they were a lot closer (Casson 1994, 185).

In the early third century BC, Septimius Severus changed the system of the *cursus publicus* and added the *cursus clabularis*. This was a transport service that was charged with provisioning the army (Casson 1994, 184). It was meant for the transport of provisions and heavy luggage mainly used by soldiers (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 72). From one day to the next, the organisation had to grow and elaborate. Administration got more complicated and facilities were overcrowded. More post stations had to be built, and wagons and heavy duty draught animals were added to the couriers' light carriages and fast-stepping teams. By the second half of the fourth century AD, this system was fully developed and was in use as a transport and a dispatch service for a long time. There were well-equipped inns at strategic locations along the roads, known as *mansiones* or *stationes*. They were on a distance from one day's journey and would offer meals, sleeping quarters, a change of clothing for the drivers and postilions (who sat on one of the coach-drawing horses), a change of animals, carriages, grooms, escorts to bring back vehicles and teams to the previous stations, porters, veterinarians and cartswrigths (Casson 1994, 185). Along the Appian Way, some of these centres were Bovillae, Aricia, Forum Appii and Tres Tabernas (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 21). These later became new cities.

Figure 46 (next page): Tabula Peutingeria (http://orbisterrarumgeografiaromana.blogspot)



4.4.2 Roman funerary culture

Deorum Manium jura sancta sunto *The rights of the dead shall be sacred*

(In Leoni and Staderini 1907, 27)

As mentioned, another function of the roman roads, especially outside of cities, was to bury the deceased. At its peak, the road must have been carrying funerary processes daily, ranging from poor to extremely wealthy people. Tribune Clodius was killed near Bovillae by Milo's servants, who had caused riots in Rome (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 59). The body of Augustus, who had died at Nola in Campania, was carried from Bovillae to Rome over the Via Appia (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 59). The body of Tiberius was carried over the road as well (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 59).

The Roman laws of the Twelve Tables of ca. 450 BC (Hope 2009, 154) required that all cemeteries were to be built outside the boundaries of the city (Bishop 2014, 34). This was both for religious scruples about the polluting presence of the dead, but also because of the risk of fire associated with cremation (Hope 2009, 154). Therefore, the dead were separated from the living and burial areas were always a feature of the suburban areas. They could stand between suburban buildings, businesses, villas, gardens, inns and shops (Hope 2009, 155). Therefore the word 'cemetery' as we know it today as an enclosed or closed-off space might not be very appropriate for Roman burials (Hope 2009, 155). The areas were not publically owned, organised, or managed by religious authorities, nor were they formalized (Hope 2009, 155). Tombs were mainly placed along the roads, as they had the main visibility there and they became landmarks or even meeting places (Hope 2009, 155). Usually, they were first built at the side of the roads outside of the cities or settlements, and then spread from there as more were needed (Bishop 2014, 34).

The road was a memory to the deceased and the great families in the history of Rome, such as the Cornelius Scipio family, the Metelli, Servilii, Messala and the Claudio (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 14). Funerary inscriptions could be read by travellers, which might indicate the importance of remembering the dead (Bishop 2014, 34). Inscriptions on tombs always gave the name of the deceased, but also sometimes the size of the sepulchre (in frontage and depth), and very often the career, avocations and wills were inscribed (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 42-43).

Tombs and columbaria

The Via Appia is, still today, lined with tombs and columbaria of many different types, all viewed towards the streetside. In All roman roads had this phenonmenon, but the Via Appia even more so (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 44). The main social role of Roman tombs was to underline the social status of their owners, an argument agreed upon by art historians and archaeologists (Borbonus 2014, 7). Especially during the late republican period, but more generally between 100 BC and AD 100, funerary culture celebrated aristocratic ideals like military and political glory and emphasized the position of elite families and clans (Borbonus 2014, 2, 7). During the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14), the columbaria changed the traditional course with their underground location and withdrawal from the public sphere: it rejected the competitiveness of republican funerary culture (Borbonus 2014, 3). They were the first tombs in Rome to hold collective burials, beyond biological families and households (Borbonus 2014, 4). They first appear during the reign of Augustus and were designed for about two generations (Borbonus 2014, 1). According to their inscriptions, they were used for the burial of non-elite Romans and were often for slaves and freed slaves the great aristocratic houses (Borbonus 2014, 1). During the imperial period, house tombs evolve.

During the republic and the Roman Empire, both cremation and inhumation were performed, according to the fashion of the time. The laws of the Twelve Tables stated that both rites were allowed (Hope 2009, 81). In the early and mid republic, inhumation was more common, but between the first century BC and the middle of the third century AD, cremation clearly dominated (Hope 2009, 81; Naumann-Streckner 1997, 149). Rich patricians spended great amounts of money for certain types of wood, as resin would promote combustion, and for expensive perfumes which would lessen the smell of the burning (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 38). Inhumation returns halfway through the second century, and in the middle of the third century AD they are even found next to each other in the same cemetery (Naumann-Streckner 1997, 150). In the fifth century, cremation was fully abandoned (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 38).

Over time, an extensive variety of tombs had evolved (after Pisani Sartorio 2003, 44-45):

Quadrangular tombs	Altar-style tombs with pulvins on the sides
Temple-style tombs	Tombs with a podium, a starcase,

	rectangular chambers with (sometimes) niches in the walls, and a porch (pronaos) with pediment
Circular-plan temple tombs	Tombs with a columned and pedimented pronaos, a staircase for access (in the Pantheon-style), and an annular sepulchral chamber in the lower part
Tower tombs	Tombs built on a high podium with volumes of decreasing size on top of one another, and a sepulchral chamber in the lower part. Sometimes it had a pyramidal roof.
Aedicula tombs	Tombs on a high quadrangular base
Circular tumulus tombs	Tombs that stood on a low podium with a cone of earth on top.
Tombs on quadrangular foundations	Tombs with a tall cylindrical base and a conical covering.
Quadrangular-plan tombs with chamber	Sometimes these tombs had a hypogeum (cellar) and two stories on top. In the second century AD, they were buit with carefully made brick walls, decorative pilaster strips and trabeation in polychrome brickwork.
Circular mausoleums	Tombs with a domed vault, usually from the third and fourth centuries.

Columbaria	They were chamber tombs, partially or completely underground, with numerous niches for cinerary urns or pots. The vaults were often supported by circular or square pilasters which were also covered by niches.

The richer tombs had rooms dedicated to ritual family gatherings, visible on the Via Appia in multiple monuments: where remains of a starcase leads to the upper floor (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 44). Wealthier Romans decorated their tombs with flowers, blossoming plants, fruit trees, real gardens and orchards, laps could be lighted on occasion (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 44-45). In February, large crowds carrying lamps, flowers and garlands visited the dead, mournful and dutiful, and celebrated the ritual banquet on their tombs during the *Parentalia* or *Ferraria* (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 45). The 13th to the twenty-first of February were sacred days of the cult of the dead, they were days of general mourning (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 45). The crowds on the road must have been enormous: even the temples and courts of justice were closed, and magistrates took the day off, fires were extinguished in altars (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 45).

Cultural experiences

While the postmen hurried to the nearest station, the business man journeyed to his estates or nearby towns, and the young, according to Tibullus and Propertius, used the Via Appia for amorous trysts, there were those going for a quiet walk to admire the extravagance of tombs, read their inscriptions and realise their fame:

> *How often an aged patrician, stretched in his luxurious litter, having ordered his slaves to stop that he might contemplate the tomb of his forefathers, will have felt the pride of wealth and renown embittered by the shudder of death. And the young girl nearing her wedding day will have considered with satisfaction the nobility of the family into which, by the solemn nuptial procession, she was soon to be received as a daughter. From the moment body or ashes*

are laid in it. A tomb becomes allowed ground for all, but for the gens *to which the deceased belonged it is a special place of worship, where, on the ninth day after burial, on anniversaries or on other occasions..., the relatieves gather to offer sacrifices on an altar raised for the purpose, and to partake of funeral banquets at which it was commonly believed thespirit of the deceased was present, satisfying itself with the odours, and comforted by the affectionaete attention of the faithful survivors.*

(Leoni and Staderini 1907, 43)

The supervision of tombs was entrusted to the college of Pontiffs, which was during the empire assumed by the Empire as the Pontifex Maxiums (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 28). In commentaries or sacred books was described how burial rites were to be performed, how funeral banquets had to be held nine days after the funeral or on an anniversary, the rites for exhumation, and the way to restore or repare tombs (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 28). Tombs were kept and protected as long as it was protected by the family, for family pride, but also religious reasons. Roman religion told that the dead, once gone to the lower realms and having become good spirits (*Manes),* continued existing and sometimes returned to their tomb as it was part of their home (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 27).

During the Republic, all funeraries were held at night. From the end of the republic and during the empire however, nocturnal funerals were for children and slaves, and for exhumations (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 30). Patricians and members of the elite wanted to show off their wealth and family greatness and preferred to have the processions at day-time for the assembled people (nevertheless the custom to carry torches stayed) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 30-31).

A Roman funeral

A private Roman funeral (for patricians) was a loud, large and important event that was celebrated along the road, at least daily at consular roads such as the Via Appia. The funeral ceremony had specific and set stages. The undertaker, the *libitinarius*, was in charge of the whole process. He would have multiple subordinates, who took care of embalming the deceased with myrrh and spices for preservation during the exposure, attended during the funeral procession and the cremation. His job was not done until the ashes, or the body, was put in the tomb (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 31).

With the death of a patrician, he or she was given a last kiss, the eyes were closed and the name of the deceased was called out three times to be certain of death, called C*onclamatio* (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 31; Hope 2009, 71). The body was prepared and put in his or her finest clothes in the atrium of the house, with the feet towards the door (Hope 2009, 72; Leoni and Staderini 1907, 31). Flowers surrounded the body, incense was burnt and a branch of cypress, the symbol of death, was placed at the entrance (Hope 2009, 72; Leoni and Staderini 1907, 31). The body laid here for seven days and could be visited. After that the procession to the grave or the cremation site took place. The procession (*pompa*) was opened by musicians, and further consisted of family, friends and mourners. During the Republic, the mourners were often *praeficae*: women who were paid to weep for the dead, feigning deep grief, tearing their hair, beating their breast and crying praises for the deceased (Hope 2009, 75 and Leoni; Staderini 1907, 32). During the republic and the early imperial period, an elite burial was often accompanied by a parade of *imagines*. These were masks that represented the facial features of the ancestors of the deceased and were often worn by actors (Hope 2009, 74). Sometimes the deceased himself would be re-enacted by an actor wearing his mask (Hope 2009, 74). He would sit on a high chariot, dignified in attitude, adding to the solemnity of the procession. The family, friends, colleages, freedmen, slaves and heirs, all carrying torches, surrounded the bier in mourning, while the mourners were still crying and screaming. Then, a group of mimic actors and dancers came to perform jokes and games as clowns (often it was one of these actors that re-enacted the deceased during the procession) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 34). Having of a lengthy procession and a well-attended funeral was once again a symbol of success and public respect: the ceremony could be a mix of sadness and modesty and a carnaval parade (Hope 2009, 75-76).

When the procession reached the burial location, the funeral eulogy was spoken by a son or relative, commemorating the main noble events in the person's life, his services to the country as a general or legislator, naming the high deeds of his ancestors and proving that he was their worthy successor (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 35). Actors, playing the ancestors, surrounded the deceased (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 35). After the many other long preparations and tokens of love, once more the dead person's name was called (*ultima acclamatio)* and then the pyre was set on fire or the body put in a grave (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 38). This happened simultaneously with more tokens of love and grief, amid incense and perfumes. With burials, the body was returned to mother earth, and with cremation, the body was a burnt-offering to the gods, with the

soul rising high as an eagle flying towards the stars and bringing the soul to heaven (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 37). The process of cremation was violent, provoking and not appreciated by everyone (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 37). Statius wrote about a loving husband who had a monument built for his wife Priscilla on the Via Appia and could not bear to have her cremated *(Sylvae, V. v. 227-228 in* Leoni and Staderini 1907, 37*)*. Virgil described the funeral process as follows (Virgil, Aeneid, lib. VI. V. 214-231 in Leoni and Staderini 1907, 38-39):

Principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos
constituunt decorantque super fulgentibus armis
expediunt corpusque lavant frigentis et ungunt.
Fit gemitus. Tum membra toro defleta reponunt
purpureasque super vestes velamina nota,
coniciunt. Pars ingenti subiere feretro
(triste ministerium) et subiectam more
parentum
aversi tenuere facem. Congesta cermantur
turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
Postquam conlapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
ossaque lecto cado texit Corynaeus aëno.
Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda
spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae
lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba.

Firstly they erect
Unctuous with pines and oak a pyre immense,
Whose sides they interweave with mourning boughs,
And in front lay funereal cypresses,
And decorate with glittering arms above.
Hot water some prepare and bubbling pans
O'er flames; and his cold limbs wash and anoint.
Wailing they lay the mourne'd corse on its beir,
And his known purple cloak throw over it.
Others, sad task, advance to the huge pile
And eyes averting, like their ancestors
A blazin torch's flame hold underneath.
The heap'd-up incense and the victims' flesh,
Moistened with cups of olive oil are burnt.
After the embers sank, and flame had ceased
The relics and the thirsty ash they wash'd
With wine, and Corynaeus, in an urn
Of brass, the bones collected, fast enclosed.
He likewise thrice went round the company
With lustral water of sprinkling it as drops
Of dew from off a fruitful olive-branch
And, expiating, spoke a last farewell.

Translation by T. Seymour Burt
(Leoni and Staderini 1907, 39)

After the burning, the relatives and friends stayed for the *ossilegium*: the gathering of the bones for the urn, moistened with tears and perfumes (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 39).

The long, loving and tragic processions in the burial ceremony of the wealthy (wo)man was rather different from that of the (extremely) poor. There was no procession, speech or incense, which would have been too expensive. They were put on an old bier (*sandilapa),* which was organised by *sandapilarii* (undertakers) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 40). In the evening or the beginning of the night, with a few torches, they were carried towards the Esquiline and thrown into narrow wells (*puticuli*) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 40). Those who did not want this fate but had no family tomb or the means to have one built, could turn to associations, a sort of 'funeral-clubs' (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 40). To join, the member paid an entrance fee and a monthly subscription. Burial places and columbaria spots were assigned according to the drawing of lots and the amount of subscription paid (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 40). The tombs were protected in the same way as patrician tombs and were legal by law (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 40). Freedmen often kept working for families where they had been slaves, and were often well treated by their masters, also after their deaths (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 41). Sometimes they were welcomed into the family tomb. Families with large numbers of servants (and emperors who had hundreds) had large cremation tombs built where all their freedmen were buried (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 41). Along the Via Appia, there were four of these columbaria: one for the freedmen of Livia, and three in the Vigna Codini which are large, square or rectangular with rows of small niches along the walls in the vaulted rooms (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 41). These columbaria are mainly dated to the first half of the first century AD, from Augustus to Claudius (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 41).

Chapter 5 Christianisation of space

Leaving Rome over the Via Appia, we pass the largest system of underground Roman catacombs that has so far been discovered. Altogether, it consists of about sixteen kilometres of multistory galleries. The spread of catacombs along the Via Appia was due to the successful spread of Christianity. Its development was made possible by the Edict of Milan by Constantine in AD 313, allowing freedom of religion. From that moment on, Christian devotees could be buried near the early martyr's tombs along the Via Appia (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 58). Little has been written about the specific developments of the first segment of the Via Appia during the Christianisation of Italy. However, Lucrezia Spera (2003) wrote an article on it, covering the third to the seventh century. She describes how during the mid-imperial period, the countryside of the Via Appia was crossed by a complex road system and knew residential districts, farms and funerary monuments (Spera 2003, 23). From the late second century however, it started to integrate more Christian spaces. This happened first with the building of surface and subterranean funerary complexes, and later on with churches and monuments dedicated to the tombs of the martyrs (Spera 2003, 23). Then, in the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, Christian cemeteries developed between the Aurelian Wall and the third milestone, accessible by secondary roads.

5.1 Early Christianity at the Via Appia

In a similar way as the Romans wanted to be buried together in family tombs and as freedmen were buried together, the Christians, united in life by common faith, also wanted to be buried in the same sepulchre, not distinguishing between race, family or fortune (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 46). Most were buried in collective, large subterranean cemeteries, although some Christians were buried in re-used pagan family tombs (Spera 2003, 26). third century examples of this have been found in a second century columbarium near the Circus of Maxentius and in the necropolis under the Basilica di San Sebastiano (Spera 2003, 26). Christian paintings, or symbols as a fish or an anchor were painted into the already existing decorations (Spera 2003, 26). Christian funerals were allowed according to Roman law exept during several periods of persecution: phases of violent reactions on Christianity. In these periods rose the martyrs: those with true faith, meeting death for their beliefs during persecutions and

more quiet intervals (when they were condemned by regular trial) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 46). As the Romans travelled the Appian Way, held funerals, strolled for pleasure or hurried for business, Christians fastly and quietly visited their Catacombs to together attend the celebration of divine mysteries.

The early Christianisation of the Via Appia started in the late second or the early third century AD (Spera 2003, 24). In this period, between the second and third mile of the Via Appia, the pre-eminent cemetery of the Church of Rome rose (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 28). Before this, Christians were buried in the same areas as pagans (Spera 2003, 24). There must have been a demand for a separate burial ground where Christians could be buried collectively, awaiting resurrection in their temporary dormitories, waiting for the final judgement (Bisconti 1997, 74). Multiple such cemeteries were excavated near the Via Appia. One has been dated to the early third century and was discovered in the Praetextatus complex, located more or less under the current Via Appia Pignatelli, and included an enclosed area above ground of 36x30m (Spera 2003, 24-25). Two others, perhaps more famous, can be visited today. The first is now known as the catacombs of **San Callisto**. It was part of a larger complex, managed by deacon and pope Callixtus around 215 AD. It covered an area of 30x75 metres above ground, and an important network of underground tunnels. The oldest part houses the Crypts of Lucina from the late second century. During the third century, many popes were buried here in the Crypt of the Popes. In total, at least fourteen popes have been buried here and it was the official burial ground for the bishops of Rome (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 58). The area was discovered by archaeologist Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1849.

The other cemetery is known as that of **San Sebastiano.** This complex consisted of a church, catacombs, mausoleums, roman villas and tombs both above and underground, alltogether called *Memoria Apostolorum*. This is where the bodies of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were reburied for safety reasons during the persecution of Valerian in AD 258. Initially, Saint Peter and Saint Paul were buried at the Vatican cemetery and along the Via Ostiensis but these locations were unsafe and not accessible and so were moved to the cemetery along the Via Appia. During the peace of Constantine, pope Sylvester brought them back to their own basilicas. The space along the Via Appia was called *ad catacumbas* (within the quarries), from the Greek *κατά* and the Latin *cubare*, which later became the name of all Christian underground cemeteries (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 47). However, at the time, it was not just a Christian space: graves were accompanied by three marble altars, one dedicated to Jupiter and two to the God Attis (Spera 2003, 26).

In the fourth century, pope Damascus had a basilica built over the catacombs and called it the *basilica Apostolorum*, until it was renamed in the end of the eight century as the catacombs of St. Sebastian, after the martyr (fig. 47) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 47).

Both cemeteries were located a little away from the Via Appia, presumably to have sufficient space (Spera 2003, 25). The creation of underground tunnels (the origin of catacombs) may have been coased by a growing demand for a collective and egalitarian funerary space (Spera 2003, 25), or may have economic reasons; it was a more efficient way of using space, as already in the second century AD, the prices of land were very high (Bisconti 1997, 74). This problem of space got stronger with the spread of different new religions coming from the near east, including Christianity but also Judaism (Bisconti 1997, 74). With each religion having its own moral and social obligations, a lack of space and a conflict of interests could have lead to more efficient (funerary) planning (Bisconti 1997, 74).

Figure 47: The miracle of S. Sebastiano (sixteenth century) (Calzolari and Olivieri 1984, 90)

5.2 The transition to the third and fourth centuries AD

As explained in the previous chapter, before the third century, the Romans preferred remembering the deceased in public, with tombs that were visible to everyone. Their placement was unregulated and unsystematic. However, during the third and fourth century, the building of such tombs decreased and the people of Rome came to terms with the building of a strong network of suburban necropoleis around the city (up to the third milestone on the Via Appia) (Spera 2003, 35). Senators and elite members generally also stopped building mausolea on their own properties and built them inside collective cemeteries instead (Spera 2003, 35). This way, they were closer to the tombs of the martyrs (Spera 2003, 35).

Before the reign of emperor Constantine and the creation of the 'Peace of the Church', the graves of martyrs were not abundantly visited (Spera 2003, 28). Their graves did not stand out, but looked silimilar to the regular burials in the cemetery. Pope Sixtus II for example, who was persecuted and executed by Valerian, had a simple *mensa tomb* in the Callixtan complex together with nine other popes from the third century and a few African bishops (Spera 2003, 28). However, in the 4th century, the Christian community of Rome was upcoming and the collective cemeteries of the third century (as that of Callixtus and Praetextatus) developed as never before (Spera 2003, 28). It was an important shift for all Christian social classes (Spera 2003, 32). The former rural areas used for farming were now replaced by large funerary complexes, above and under ground (Spera 2003, 30). They were often linked to the tombs of the martyrs (Spera 2003, 28). One was linked with Pope Marcus and one with the martyrs Marcus and Marcellianus (Spera 2003, 30). The large funerary basilica devoted to Pope Marcus (336 AD) and the Basilica Apostolorum were later dedicated to St Sebastian (Spera 2003, 30). Both basilicas were a significant change to the physical landscape and they became central points for the mausolea built around them (Spera 2003, 30-32). For a frame of reference, the villa of emperor Maxentius (together with the mausoleum of Romulus and the circus), originated in the same time period.

During the late fourth and early fifth century, Christian cemeteries were an important landschape characteristic between the Aurelian wall and the third milestone of the Via Appia (Spera 2003, 32). (New) secondary roads were built to connect the complexes to the Via Appia.With both cemeteries, the areas *sub divo* (in the open air) were elaborated with mausolea of wealthy families (such as the mausolea of the *Cercenniii* and the

Calventii in the Praetextatus cemetery) (Spera 2003, 28). The underground complexes were also enlarged, and new nuclei rose that were connected to the existing tunnels, wich expanded the network (Spera 2003, 28). The new parts were very different from the old. Where the original tunnels were uniform and more simple, the new spaces had more grand architectural volumes to show off social status (Spera 2003, 29). The same happened with the open-air mausolea, such as at that of Callixtus (Spera 2003, 30). Similar developments occur in the new necropoleis of the fourth century. At the Via Appia, we see this in the necropolis of the Holy Cross and in the burial area linked to the Basilica Apostolorum (Spera 2003, 30). These new complexes were located within the third milestone and had both an open air cemetery and a catacomb (Spera 2003, 30).

The expantion of cemeteries and the cult of the martyrs had an enormous effect on the arrangement of the suburban landscape since the fourth century (Spera 2003, 36). Within decades, new basilicas and oratories were built, many of them on top of earlier funerary complexes. The cult of the martyrs was directly connected to the development of collective open air cemeteries between the fifth and seventh centuries (Spera 2003, 37). During this period, the suburban necropoleis also were kept in use, although to what extent is unclear because of a lack in evidence (Spera 2003, 37). This could be because slowly burials also started to occur within the city walls and there was a decrease in population of Rome after the Sack of Alaric (Spera 2003, 37). The complexes were changed into large areas *retrosanctos* and privileged spaces near the martyrs tombs were created in which earlier sites and structures were re-used (Spera 2003, 37). However, the cult of the martyrs did not end here. Their tombs became refurbished, decorated and visited by many: they became sanctuaries for the living (Spera 2003, 37). They attracted pilgrims at the time, after stopping to be funerary sites (Spera 2003, 37) and even today. The areas were expanded even more to receive visitors. In the fifth century, Sixtus III created the very furst suburban monastery alongside the Via Appia, which was linked to the Basilica Apostolorum (Spera 2003, 38).

5.3 Other religions

Although Christianity left the most prominent traces in the material culture we see today at the Via Appia, it was not the only new religion during the Roman Empire. Although outnumbered by Christians, during the Republic and also the early imperial period, a vast network of cult spaces was located further away from the city (Spera

2003, 38-39). An example are the sanctuaries at the sixth mile. They were meeting places for local people from the rural areas to to celebrate religious festivals, for example the purification of the land and the collection of the harvest (Spera 2003, 39). There was also a catacomb devoted to Mithras and Sabatius. Also, just behind the Basilica of Saint Sebastian, is the entrance to the Jewish catacombs. They are the only ones directly on the road, but there are more in neighbouring vineyards (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 49). In the neighbourhood of Porta Capena, and probably elsewhere, was a flourishing Jewish community during the third and fourth centuries (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 60). The poorer Jewish community would have lived in Trastevere outside the Porta Portese (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 49). In 1602, the first Jewish cemetery was discovered here (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 49). The Jews were already numerous in the city of Rome during the political activity of Pompey the Great (starting in the late 80s BC) in the Roman republic and increased in number and influence during the empirial period (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 49). Although they became overruled by Christians, the Jews continued to be an important part of society in the late Roman Empire and the Middle Ages (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 49).

Chapter 6 The decline of the Via Appia

Most of the buildings that we can see (and visit) today are remains from the Roman Republic, the empire and Christian or Jewish religion, of which we have now discussed how they came into existence. Although buildings and tombs were sometimes demolished, re-used or adapted in the early days of the road's existence, we can speak of a more or less ongoing use and development up to about the fifth century. From then on, changes kept being made, but the road also started to decline subtly.

6.1 The fall of the Roman Empire and barbarian invasions

The decline of the Via Appia went slowly. It began around the fifth century with the collapse of the organised Roman state. Rome was no longer the 'spider in the web of the globalised road system' (Esch 2002, 17). The city got surrounded by enemies, and the empire was soon and progressively split up into compartments that were more or less self-sufficient (Esch 2002, 17). This subdivision of the empire had as a result that the Via Appia no longer ran smoothly to the south, but met the Lombards in Capua. The consular roads that were created to leave the capital and dominate other areas, now became roads leading into Rome, inviting others to conquer the city (Esch 2002, 18). Although appreciated in the past, the connection and accessibility that the roads provided now also became feared (Esch 2002, 18). Barbaric invasions were part of the gradual transition of the Roman Empire into the Middle ages.

As to the physical condition of the Via Appia, maintenance reduced, marshes crept in from the vast areas of plain and barbarian invasions chased away many inhabitants of the plains who were forced to search for safer housing in higher grounds: the rural centres moved. After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the barbarian emperor Theodoric the Great invested in the preservation and restoration of the Via Appia, so that in the sixth century AD, the road was abandoned but in a good state (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 19). It is difficult to give the exact date of the destruction of the Via Appia, as it is hard to date the fall of the empire as well, but some elements are known. Leading to the final fall of the empire, two barbaric invasions took place: of Alaric (in AD 410) and of Genseric (in AD 455). During these two invasions, monuments along the road were robbed of precious metals and ornaments. An even more

destructive invasion occurred in AD 546, with the sack by Totila's Goths. At this moment the real abandonment and decay starts (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 21).

From that moment onwards restorations and road management were no longer performed, or if it was, it was not done in a systematic and efficient manner (Esch 2002, 18). Roman buildings were robbed, reused, abandoned or adapted. After the barbarian invasions, most of the tombs were no longer worshipped and got abandoned by their families, who had been their natural protectors (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 28). Their family tombs were therefore an easy prey for seekers of treasures, mosaics and marbles: the tombs were stripped. The dead, buried or cremated, were brutally uncovered: bodies were carried away and urns were shattered (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 28-29).

Despite the degradation of the road network, streets were still needed for travel and transport, so improvised repairs occurred occasionally. Where the good pavement was interrupted, small detour roads were created: where the Roman road went straight through natural obstacles, medieval roads went around them (Esch 2002, 18). As to the Via Appia, with the occupation of Capua by the Lombards in 593-594, the functioning of the road (as a whole) stopped definitely. The segment of the Via Appia between Rome and Cisterna remained in use until the ninth century, and on and off until the thirteenth century (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29).

6.2 Large-scale destructions and Christian alteration of monuments

The monuments that have been preserved along the first stretch of the Via Appia are largely to thank to Christian memorials. Ancient pagan monuments gained a new purpose by functioning as Christian buildings. Also, new churches were built on top of the foundations of ancient ruins. It could be seen as a break with paganism, but also as a continuity of the use of the Roman road. In the ninth and tenth century great church properties rose, such as the Santa Maria Nova and the Memoria Apostolorum. They were visited enthusiastically, transforming the Via Appia into a street of processions. Only within the first few miles of the road, we already pass many churches: that of Ss Nereus and Achilleus, San Cesareo, Domine Quo Vadis, San Sebastiano and San Urbano.

Although this Christian re-use led to an unintended way of preserving ancient monuments, Christianisation also led to their fast decay. Large-scale destructions were partly performed by the barbarians, but also by the building of new churches elsewhere. During the ninth and tenth centuries the ancient city of Rome became a quarry of reusable materials and limestone (which was re-melted into lime). Constance II (the Roman emperor of Constantinople 641-655) for example, robbed the Pantheon and the Capitol of their bronze coverings (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 21). Pope Urban VIII (Barberini) reused bronze for the canopy over the high altar in St. Peter and for the cannons of the castle of St. Angelo (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 21). On the Via Appia, this was no different. New churches were built with material from abandoned pagan structures, other buildings along the road were transformed into churches, and later on some pagan temples were dedicated to Christianity (the Pantheon was the first) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 21).

From the eleventh century, the patrimony of St Peter started to give old Roman properties to the nobility and influential families (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 290). This led to a rise of strongholds as medieval lords and barons placed their fortifications on large Roman monuments (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 21). Although this altered the original structures significantly, it also led to their preservation. The ancient monuments were turned into towers, citadels or castra, often built on ancient round foundations for practical reasons. Examples are the Frangipani family, who occupied the Septizodium of Septimius Severus (and also the Colosseum and the arch of Titus), the Astalli who transformed Torre Selce, the Savelli who got Tor Carbone (and the Theatre of Marcellus

in Rome) and the Atalli who fortified the Villa dei Quintilli (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29; Leoni and Staderni 1907, 21). Best known is Capo di Bove with the tomb of Cecilia Metella, which was made part of a fortified village by the Caetani: *Castrum Caetani* (fig. 48). Next to the fortified monuments (Cecilia Metella), it contained fifty houses and two churches (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29). In 1300, Bonifacio VIII Caetani gave this fortress to his influential family, who raised a high toll for travelling or transporting goods along the Via Appia. It led to the construction of alternative roads as people wanted to avoid the high taxes. Important was the Via Appia Nuova, which started at Porta San Giovanni and was paved in 1574 on orders of Pope Gregory XIII (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29).

Figure 48: Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella as part of the Castrum Caetani (Anonimo 1627 in Zocchi 2009, 70).

6.3 The Renaissance and its consequences

In the fourteenth century, during the period of Avignon, Rome got abandoned by the popes for more than seventy years and became a prey for the principal families who were fighting to dominate (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 22). At one point, there was a short effort to do great restorations to Rome's greatest monuments by Cola di Rienzo (the first student of Epigraphy and a close friend of Petrarch). The great Roman ruins, the ever-sustainable monuments of antiquity, would have largely survived despite the previous periods of disaster and even a heavy earthquake in 1349 (described by Petrarch), were it not for the Renaissance (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 22).

The Renaissance started in the fifteenth century. It was a period in which sophisticated men greatly admired the period of Roman civilisation, and regarded themselves as the revivers of noble intellectual pursuits and artistic glory. They enormously appreciated the aesthetic and artistic values of the monumental remains, such as capitals, columns and friezes. Unfortunately, although great admirers and idealisers of the Roman past, their vision on preservation of archaeological Roman remains did not match our current-day conservation ethics. Instead of preserving the past, they reused the materials to build something new. Ancient monuments were systematically stripped of their marble plates to be reused elsewhere, more efficient and intensively than ever before (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29). Roman architectural features were broken off and taken away to build new palaces, churches, edifices and other buildings, without being bothered by the remaining ruins, robbed of their decorations, disfigured, deprived of support and now fast degrading (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 22). Smaller fragments became building materials, metal was fused and marble was turned into lime (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 22). The new palaces that arose and adorned Rome, derived from these materials, were the Cancelleria, the Palazzo Venezia, the Palazzo Farnese and the Palazzo Barberini. Pope Pius II left a note on the destructions done along the Via Appia:

Cum rediret Appia via Pontifex invenit diligentia Romanorum locum, qui fuerat ascensu difficilis, factum facilem; hinc praeciso mone, inde muro ex quadratis amplissimisque lapidibus erecto, qui viam retineret. Hic homo lapides effodiebat viamque destruebat ex ingentius saxis parva frusta conficiens, quibus apud Cynthianum domum extrueret. Hunc Pontifex acriter increpavit, mandavitque prinicpi Columnensi Cynthiani domino ne deeinceps viam publicam tangi sineret, quae ad Pontificis curam pertineret.

As the Pope was returning by the Appian Way, he reflected how easy that spot, formerly of difficult access, had been made by the industry of the Romans; on one side the hill had been cut away, on the other a wall made of large stones to support the road. At this spot a man was digging and destroying the road, breaking large stones into smaller ones with which to build himself a house near Genzano. The Pope reproved him harshly, and sent word to Prince Colonna, lord of Genzano, forbidding him ever again to permit the public road, the care of which belonged to the Pope, to be damaged.

Commentaries of Pius II, lib. XI, p. 567, edit. 1584. In: Leoni and Staderini 1907, 23.

Around 1500, restorations did take place at many of the churches along the road such as SS Nereus and Achilleus, San Sisto Vecchio, San Cesareo, Domine Quo Vadis, San Sebastiano and the sanctuary of the Madonna del Divino Amore (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 30). These restorations were mainly performed by Cesare Baronio and Antonio Bosio, who were scholars of early Christianity. Their efforts have attributed greatly to what the buildings look like today. Lafrèry made an etching of seven of the churches along the road, which can be studied in appendix 1.4.

The sixteenth century knew a continuation of the massive destruction of Roman architecture. This is expressed in an etching by Maarten Van Heemskerck (fig. 49), a Dutch painter who had lived in Rome

Figure 49: degradation of the monuments of the Via Appia, Van Heemskerck c. 1535 (in Quilici 1990, 25)

from 1532 until 1536. Fortunately, there was also some protective artistic interest in the monuments of the Via Appia from artists as Raffaello, Giuliano da Sangallo and Pirro Ligorio (Quilici Gigli 2002, 9). Several requests for preservation of monuments along the Appian Way were exerted by Pirro Ligorio and Raphael to Pope Leo between 1516 and 1517 (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29). In 1534, Pope Paul III founded the Commissariat of Antiquities. It was installed to protect the monuments and control excavations for antiquities (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 29). It however did not stop the large scale plunder. In 1589, during Sixtus V, Paolo Lancellotti succeeded in convincing the Senate of Rome not to destroy the mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, of which the material was destined for the villa d'Este in Tivoli (Quilici Gigli 2002, 10). The following letter from Raphael of Urbino to Pope Leo X indicates the scale of the plundering and reuse of materials:

"*What a quantity of lime was made from statues and other ancient ornaments! I should even go so far as to say that all this new Rome which we now see, large and beautiful as it is, adorned with palaces, churches, and other edifices, is all built with lime made from ancient marbles".*

(Visconti 1836 in Leoni and Staderini 1907, 23-24).

When possible, traffic still used the roads of ancient Rome (Casson 1994, 163). However, by now the horse collar was invented and the modern vehicles carried much heavier weights than their Roman predecessors. The roads were not built to bear this and the surfaces gradually worn out. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Via Appia Nuova was paved on orders of Pope Gregory XIII. This resulted in the Via Appia Antica being only a simple suburban street (www.parcoappiaantica.it). Some restorations had been done along the road past Terracina in 1568, but most of the road was abandoned, decayed and covered by swamps (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 30-31). The destruction continued in the seventeenth century, even encouraged by the highest of positions, seen with Urban VIII (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 24).

Pope Innocent XII, ruling from 1691 to 1700, ordered the construction of the Via Appia Pignatelli. This road linked the Via Appia Antica to the Via Appia Nuova. During this period, a transformation in landownership took place. The Torlonia family became the new main owner of the farmland in the area, although large areas were also owned by the Boncompagni family (www.parcoappiaantica.it). Around 1700, the first stretch of the Via Appia from Porta Capena was surrounded by numerous private vineyards (fig. 50). They were often owned by religious orders but also by individuals. They were

regularly in conflict with each other about the land (Bruni 1997, 23). During this period, there was even further dismantling of the surviving monuments.

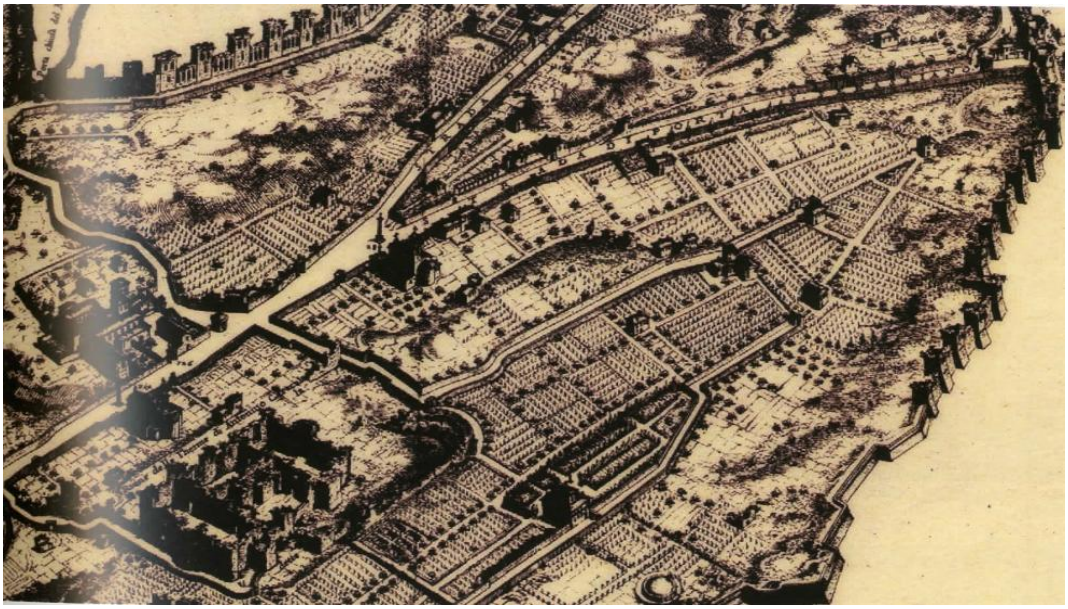


Figure 50: Giovan Battista Falda, Pianta di Roma 1676. Viale di Porta San Sebastiano with vineyards on both sids of the road (Manacorda and Santangeli Valenzani 2010, 77).

More historical maps of the Via Appia from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be studied in Appendix 1.1 to 1.8.

Chapter 7 Romanticism and the tourist's Grand Tour

The previous two chapters, Christianisation of space *and* decline of the Via Appia*, provided an oversight of events and developments of the road from the fifth to the eighteenth century. During this time, still, the Via Appia was used for travelling (to the extent this was still possible), for the collection of building materials and decorative elements and a means to get to the churches. However, since the eighteenth century, the road was regarded with renewed interest and appreciation, that was no longer solely practical. Excavations continued, yet not only for the purpose of gathering treasures. A fascination with archaeology was blended with the start of the Romanticism.*

7.1 Eighteenth century excavations and research

After 1700, a different, strong interest in archaeology rose and a hunt for ancient 'treasures' started to cause the first excavations, also along the Via Appia. These practices supplied museums and private collections (large and small) in Italy and Europe (Bruni 1997, 23) and lasted into the nineteenth century. The main goal was to uncover aesthetic materials: interest in the structures was minimal (Bruni 1997, 23). Not rarely did the recovery of 'treasures' completely destroy the structures without leaving any documentation. This is the reason that today, we are not capable to trace back the precise provenance of many materials (Bruni 1997, 23). An example is the vineyard of San Cesareo, that used to be the vineyards of Moroni and Casali. The Casali vineyard was 'excavated' by Giovanni Francesco Bevilacqua in 1726. Multiple columbaria were unearthed but destroyed in the process (Bruni 1997, 23). Many tombs, vineyards and colombarii underwent the same fate. At the end of the eighteenth century, the sepulchre of the Scipios was uncovered, and with involvement of pope Pius VI, Hamilton and Jenkins performed excavations near the Villa dei Quintili (Bruni 1997, 23). Its priceless collection of gardens, marbles, artwork and statues are now gone: scattered all over European museums and collections (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 78).

Despite these destructive works, the eighteenth century also enabled historical curiosity, reconstructions and early excavations. Pratilli (1745) wrote the monumental work '*della Via Appia da Roma a Brindisi'*, which was the first large study on the ancient road and became the stronghold for the knowledge about the road. A map of the road

in 1745 from this book is shown in figure 51. As to reconstructions, Ferdinand IV ordered the preservation and restoration of some important monuments between Rome and Capua (Quilici Gigli 2002, 10-11). Furthermore, an illustrious school of archaeologists was founded that continued to exist in the nineteenth century, with members such as Winkelmann, Fea, Ennio Quirino Visconti, Canova, Nibby, Canina and Bartolomeo Borghesi (the master of Mommsen) (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 24). For one, Canina devoted his life to the excavations on the via Appia. Still, despite their efforts, many more elements have been stolen or destroyed since then, such as inscriptions and fragments, and even elements from restorations made by Canova and Canina (Leoni and Staderini 1907, 24-25). Their endless battle for the preservation of the monuments along the Via Appia will be further discussed in chapter 9.

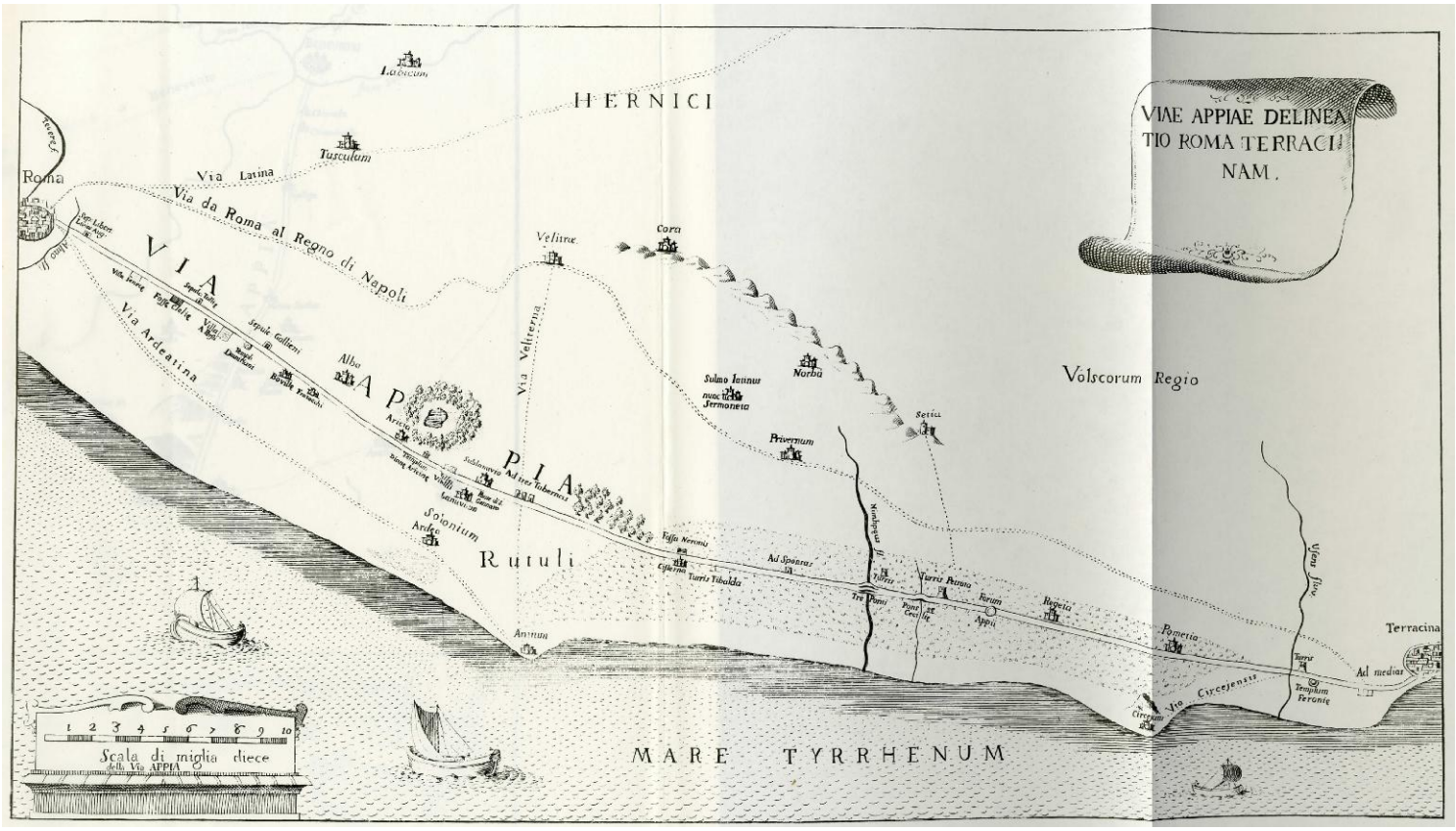


Figure 51: Map of the Via Appia by Pratilli (1745)

7.2 Early Romanticism

In the eighteenth century, the surrounding landscape of the Via Appia had been transformed more and more into swamps, causing the impoverished farmers and shepherds to move away (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 31). Being deserted, abandoned and having its monuments left to ruins, the Via Appia became a popular feature in a movement that was on its peak in the eighteenth century: Romanticism. Although the Via Appia was appreciated during its use and glorified in writings, the perception of the road was never so strong as during the romantic period. The road changed in purpose: it was no longer used practically, but rather became a tool of reflection and an object of beauty: the decay was romantic. The romanticist was looking for drama: he (or she) enjoyed the decay and the tragic fate of the road..

During this period the Via Appia became a source of inspiration for artists in romantic paintings, etchings and watercolours. This trend can be retraced to the 1500s in Italy, but also in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, where landscape painting became a popular genre. Dutch and Flamish paintings were widely sold on the English art market from then onwards (Kolen and Renes 2015, 29). Examples of these artworks are the drawings of Giovannantonio Dosio and Etienne Du Pérac, the etchings of Giovanni and Francesco Piranesi (fig. 52), the aquatints of Carlo Labruzzi, and the paintings of Claude Lorraine, Hackert (fig. 53), Coleman, Caffi, and many, many more. The monuments of the Via Appia have also been drawn and studied intensively by architects as Baldassare Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo, Andrea Palladio and Raphael as they inspired new architecture: neoclassicism.

These upper-class gentlemen usually brought a painter on their trip. An excellent example for the Via Appia is Carlo Labruzzi. Being a famous painter at the time, he was commissioned to travel down the Via Appia in 1789 together with sir Richard Colt Hoare, a cultured Latin scholar and archaeologist. Together, they followed the footprints of the poet Horace, who had made a journey from Rome to Brindisi in 38 BC, together with Maecenas and Cocceo. Labruzzi painted many idealised aquarelles of the road and its monuments, typically with peasants, sheep or cattle, or people strolling or sitting alongside the decaying ruins. One of his paintings is shown in fig. 54, and in appendix 2 other aquerelles he made within the first eleven miles of the road can be found.

There are no (published) written studies on the romantic perception of the Via Appia Antica, although it is clearly visible in the many paintings that have been made of the road. The romantic painters wanted to represent the contrast between the 'ruins of ancient magnificence' and the desolation of the Roman countryside, which was at that time abandoned and prey to malaria (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 18). The images spread all over Europe and intrigued others. Many intellectuals became attracted to Rome.

Figure 52: Reconstruction of the Via Appia by Piranesi (1756) (https://en.wikipedia.org)

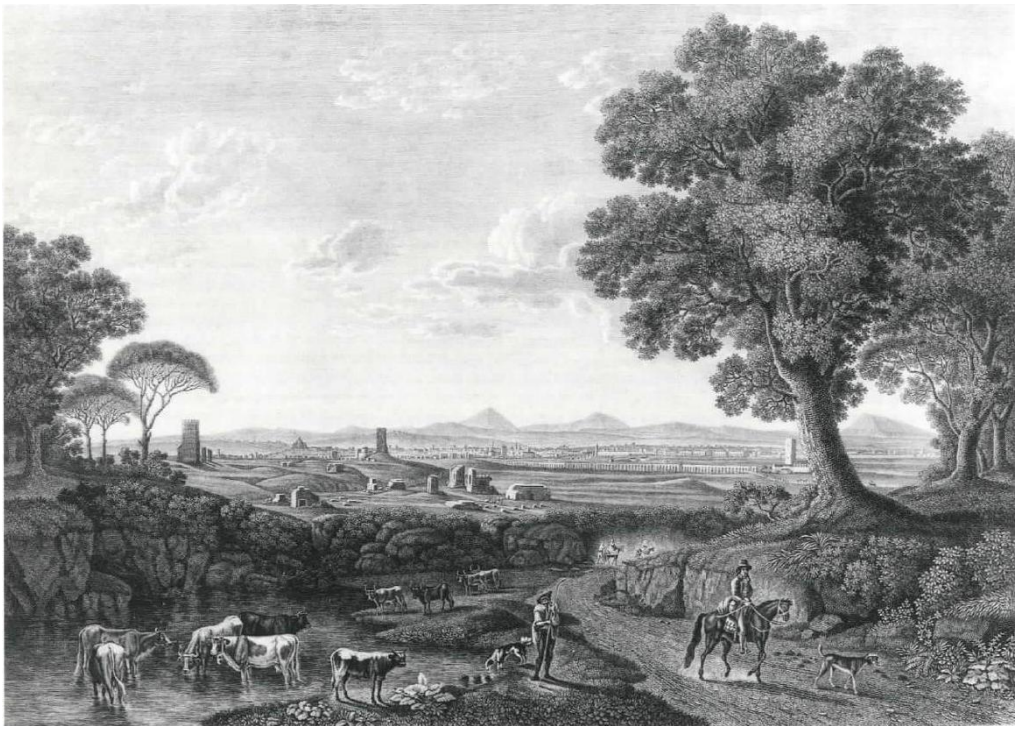


Figure 53: View on Rome and a part of the Via Appia by J.P. Hackert 1798 (Fondazione Memmo 1997)

Figure 54, Villa dei Quintilli by Carlo Labruzzi, 1789 *(Fondazione Memmo 1997)*

7.3 The Grand Tour in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century: from objectiveness to Romanticism

Introduction

In the late seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century it became a fashionable part of the education of the upper class to make a so-called *Grand Tour* around the continent (Sturgis 2011, 172). It was most popular during the so-called 'long' eighteenth century from around 1690 to around 1820 (Sweet 2012, 5). The travellers, mainly men but occasionally women, came from a range of countries, but the majority was English. Therefore amongst Romans, this group of foreign upper-class tourists were referred to as *milord Inglesi* ('young English gentlemen') (Sturgis 2011, 172). The tour generally included a visit to France, the Low Countries, Germany and Italy, focusing on the principal cities (Sweet 2012, 2). In Italy, the young aristocrats would visit Venice, Florence, Bologna and Naples, and most importantly Rome (Sturgis 2011, 172). A fascination with Rome had existed long before, but never on this scale. The travelling young scholars visited ruins, sites and museums and brought home many souvenirs in art and antiquities. Often, they would make notes in which they described their journey, some of which have been published (one of the most famous being the 'Italienische Reise' by J.W. Goethe (1970)). The influence and fame of Italy's cities however went far beyond the eye of the traveller only. Prints and books of Italy were more and more widespread, travellers to Italy brought art and antiquities and integrated Italian fashion in their own culture of music, poetry, and even architecture for the wealthiest of the elite (Sweet 2012, 1). They would redesign their houses and gardens to both fulfill their Italian classical ideal and simultaneously show their art and antiquities in style (Sweet 2012, 1). Literate classes studied Italian poetry, and learning Italian was popular under fashionable young women (Sweet 2012, 1).

Developments within the Grand Tour

In the early eighteenth century, the studies to the ancient past done by scholars on their Grand Tour were thorough: research was about completeness and objectiveness. One came to Rome to objectively study art and ancient architecture, and criticized it according to existing rules. All writings shared a sort of common 'nostalgia', despite their differences in approach or coverage (Sweet 2012, 6). There was a strong classical idealisation with the social elite (which were most of the travellers) (Sweet 2012, 5). The

notes and texts they wrote were literary and textual, with references to classical literary and historical references (Sweet 2012, 5). Reading these works today, they seem dry and descriptive catalogues of objects or lists of buildings. However, the convention of topographical and antiquarian writing at the time meant that writers provided an individual opinion and response to guarantee the objectivity of the descriptions (Sweet 2012, 6).

It is said that the heyday of the aristocratic Grand Tour was over around 1760, and that since then the model of classical nostalgia and objective observation started to fragment because the social constituency of travellers to Italy widened and there rose multiple types of travel (Sweet 2012, 7). Around 1760, young wealthy men were still sent to Italy to finish their education, but more and more writers questioned the value of this (Sweet 2012, 7). Interestingly, they were increasingly joined by older men, professional writers, wealthier members of the middle Class, wives and families (Sweet 2012, 7). Merchants could send their sons abroad to do business, but to combine it with education and pleasure, a bookseller could also combine business (buying a library) with a tour around the continent (Sweet 2012, 7). Artists and architects would combine their travel with supplementing income by acting as drawing masters or guides or fellow Britons (Sweet 2012, 8). Also, female travellers started to publish works from the 1770s.

The Via Appia was one of the many highlights of the Grand Tour: one was to see the beauty of the landscape with the overload of ruins and monuments (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 34). Except for visitors of the road and travellers on their way to Naples (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 34), the landscape was largely abandoned. To the Grand Tourist, in an upcoming romantic spirit, the Via Appia was timeless and a perfect example of beautiful decay. Although the romantic period was on its peak in the early nineteenth century, it originated in the late eighteenth century. Such Romantic visitors on the Via Appia were sir R. Coald Hare accompanied by Carlo Labruzzi, Stendhal and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Goethe is perhaps the most prominent example of a Romanticist on a Grand Tour. Having escaped Germany, he came to Rome incognito and experienced it in a rather sentimental manner. A painting of him on the Via Appia has been made by his friend Tischbein in 1787, visible in fig. 55. As we know from later photographs, the landscape on this portrait has been strongly romanticized. Goethe is wearing a travel robe while relaxing amidst ancient ruins: he seems to ponder over infinity.

Figure 55: Goethe in der Campagna, J.H.W. Tischbein 1787 (Goethe 1970, cover)

There was a break in travel to Italy between 1790 and 1815, because of the French Revolutionary wars (Sweet 2012, 10). This period was important in the large transition from the classical vision of Italy of the eighteenth century, into the *Italia romantica* of the early nineteenth century (Sweet 2012, 10). Except for a few periods in the 1790s and in the year after the Peace of Amiens in 1802, little travel occurred (Sweet 2012, 10-11). Around 1800, travel guides were published by routine presenting Italy as a 'cheap place to live', indicating that now there was a different interest in travelling and a limit to the spending of Grand Tourists, which used to be limitless. Travellers from this period did no longer describe the nostalgia for classical antiquity as their predecessors did, but asked different questions and saw different landscape features in cities and started to more describe contextual history, studying manners and customs of the legal, moral and economic state of a society (Sweet 2012, 8). The further development of the more romantic Grand Tour will continue in paragraph 8.4.

7.4 The Napoleonic influence on Rome's antiquities

Simultaneous with the upcoming romantic experiences of the 'eternal city', Rome went through a period of industrialisation during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth century (Sturgis 2011, 212). The city was also strongly influenced by political turmoil that was heating up Europe due to the French Revolution in 1789 (Sturgis 2011, 212). In its wake, Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) created an alliance with Austria and other powers against the French republicans, expecting a victory over the disorganized revolutionary forces (Sturgis 2011, 212). This however did not occur and Italy was invaded by French troops. Rome itself was invaded twice, in 1798 and in 1809. After the first occupation by Louis Alexandre Berthier (a general of Napoleon), the pope was exiled and a short-lasting republic was installed. After the second occupation, Rome, 'città liberale e imperiale', became part of Napoleon's empire from 1809 to 1814 (Insolera 1997, 29). Napoleon declared it to be the second city of the empire. Rome was important to him: his son got the title of 'Re di Roma' (Insolera 1997, 29).

Regarding themselves as 'the new Romans', Napoleon and his officials adapted the city to their liking and standard (Sturgis 2011, 214). This had multiple consequences for the city's antique heritage. During the seven years of French occupation, many Roman treasures and antiquities were removed and brought to France (of which only a part was returned after Napoleon's defeat). But Napoleon also stimulated projects of restoration, construction and excavation (of which a part was initiated by Pius VII and Cardinal Ercole Consalvi (the secretary of state)). For the first time since the fifth century, the antiquities of Rome were subjected to systematic care and investigation. Large-scale excavations continued, yet with a new course in which antiquities were studied more scientifically. There was more interest in historical information and topography, rather than only in recovering art pieces (Bruni 1997, 23-24). The projects were directed by the newly created Commission for the Embellishment of Rome, which was directed by the city prefect. The commission excavated the Forum, Trajan's market, restored the Colosseum and investigated the Forum of Trajan, the Domus Aurea and the Baths of Diocletian. Along the Via Appia, many tombs were restored. Napeoleon's greatest art counsellor was Antonio Canova, a neoclassical sculptor from Rome (Insolera 1997, 29). He was in charge of the Napoleonic policy for Rome: the whole classical area of the city was dedicated to excavations, to study and the discovery of ancient remains (Insolera 1997, 29). A conversation between them in Paris, as told by Canova, can be read below:

Mi portai da Sua Maestà l'Imperatrice e due [camerieri] che servivano a tavola e null'altri. La prima parola che mi disse fu: "Vi siete smagrito?" "Perché lavoro assai, Maestà", io dissi. Lo ringraziai dell'onore che mi aveva fato di volermi presso di sé, [dirgli] annoverando quante cose stavo facendo per Lui, per la famiglia ed altri e che gli chiedevo la grazia di presto ritornare a casa. Mi disse che la capitale è questa e che qui sarei stato bene; io gli aggiunsi ch'egli era il mio sovrano, padrone della vita mia ma che se voleva che questa mia vita s'impiegasse per Lui non vi era altro che farmi ritornare a Roma; rise a questo e mi [dimando] disse "qui abbiamo i capi d'opera dell'arte"; io dissi di sì. "Non ci manca che l'Ercole", disse. Abbiamo parlato dei scavi che si potrebbero fare a Roma.

I have gone to His Majesty the Emperor and two [waiters] who served at the table, there were no others. The first thing he said to me was: "Have you become thinner"? "Because of the hard work, Majesty", I said. I thanked him for the honor of inviting me, enumerating the many things I was doing for him, his family and others and I asked him the favor to soon return home. He told me that this is the capital, and that I could live well here; I added that he was my sovereign, the patriarch of my life, but that if he wanted me to employ my life for him, there was no other solution but to make me return to Rome; He laughed at this and said, "here we have the very best works of art", on which I agreed. "Nothing is missing except for Hercules", he said. I said yes. ". We talked about the excavations that could be done in Rome.

Al proposito de' monumenti sepolcrali gli descrissi la via Appia da Roma a Brindisi tutta ripiena de' monumenti sepolrali di ogni genere, così tutte le altre vie di Roma. Mi disse che i romani erano padroni del mondo ed io a questo gli raccontai cosa aveano fatto i Fiorentini che avevano un così piccolissimo stato, così i Veneziani etcetera... Che i Fiorentini aveva[no] fatto il loro Duomo col crescere un soldo per libra l'arte della lana e che ora non vi sarebbe potenza che potesse far tall'opera, che del 1200 aveano fatto le porte di San Giovanni di bronzo, che la pagarono 40.000 zecchini, somma che ora montarebbe a più milioni di franc[hi], che la religione era quella che facea fiorire le belle arti e su di ciò incominciai dagli Egizi, poi i Greci raccontandogli il danaro impiegato nel Partenone, nel Giove, nella Minerva, le statue che i vincitori davano alla divinità persino quelle delle cortigiane e Romani, facendogli vedere che tutte le opere loro erano tutte fate per religione: tutti i monummenti, tutte le statue, i teatri, etcetera...

Regarding the sepulchral monuments I described the Via Appia from Rome to Brindisi, stuffed with sepulchral monuments of all kinds, like all the other Roads of Rome. He told me that the Romans were masters of the world and I told him about what the Florentines had done, who had such a small state, just as the Venetians etcetera... That the Florentines had made their cathedral by increasing the price of wool to a penny per pound and that now that there would be no power to perform this type of work, that in 1200 had made the doors of the San Giovanni of bronze, for which they had paid 40.000 gold pieces, a sum that today is even more than a million francs, that the religion was making fine arts flourish and that this began with the Egyptians, then the Greek were speaking of the the denari that were invested in the Parthenon, in Jupiter, in Minerva, the statues that the winners gave to divinity, even of courtesans and Romans, while demonstrating that all their work was done in name of religion: all the monuments, all the statues, the theatres, etcetera...

Conversation between Antonio Canova and Napoleon, Paris 1810 (in Fondazione Memmo 1997, 27)

In 1808 Napoleon proposed to create an enormous archaeological park from the Campidoglio to the Castelli Romani at the foot of the Alban hills. It would include the ruins of the Forum Romanum, the imperial palaces on the Palatine hill, the Colosseum, the baths of Caracalla, and the Via Appia (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 31; Insolera 1997, 29). The park was an opportunity for Napoleon to underscore his wealth and power by showing off Rome's imperial past, which played a large role in his ideology. The project was designed by architects, generals, prefects and artists as Antonio Canova and Valadier. It would have been redesigned according to strict neoclassical style and had an idea of 'classic' that we do not share today (Insolera 1997, 29). Although the plan was never executed, the idea of creating an archaeological park is still on the table today.

Napoleon also initiated schemes of urban renewal, a very difficult challenge for city planners (Sturgis 2011, 215). A map of the city of Rome from 1819 can be seen below (fig. 56). The population had grown to more than one hundred thousand inhabitants and the problem of lack of space emerged for the first time, not helped by the constant stream of archaeological discoveries (Sturgis 2011, 215-216). Two parallel cities seemed to emerge simultaneously: one stimulating modernity, allowing the removal of classical monuments and superfluous churches, and a historical one, in which the monuments of the past were uncovered, restored and preserved (Sturgis 2011, 216). This tension, originated in the early nineteenth century, still exists today in many archaeological sites, of which the Via Appia is a very clear example, as will be discussed in the final part.

Figure 56: A map of 'Ancient and modern Rome' from the 1819 edition of Vasi's guidebook (Sturgis 2011, 215)

7.5 The Romantic Movement of the early nineteenth century

The period of the *Grand Tour* had ended with the French revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars, which naturally interrupted all travel. So after Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, with the return of tourism to Rome, this was the city people found: building projects, neoclassical architecture and large-scale excavations (Sturgis 2011, 216). For the Romantic travellers, Rome had become a city of death, disappointed hopes and slow decay, with ruins and departed spirits(Sturgis 2011, 217), and that is why they loved coming there.

Generally, the travel writing of the early nineteenth century distinguishes itself by strongly grown sence of Romanticism: it had heightened sensitivities and strong emotions. Romanticists had discussions about morality and national differences (Sweet 2012, 9). They rather described the customs and manners of people than elaborated descriptions of buildings and objects (Sweet 2012, 9). There was more space for moods and feelings, personal encounters and anecdotes (Sweet 2012, 9). Certainties made space for the intense, reflective and personal feelings that were part of Romanticism (Sturgis 2011, 210-211). Travellers now no longer came to criticise artistic and ancient masterpieces objectively, but chose 'to wonder as the spirit chose' (Sturgis 2011, 211). The travellers wanted to proclaim their feelings and display their temperaments in the city of Rome (Sturgis 2011, 211). A travel to Rome was now no longer a finishing touch on the education: it was a transformative experience. Simultaneously, there was an emergence of the picturesque: an expression deriving from the nineteenth century romanting paintings. In this context, Kenneth Olwig described the phenomenon of the 'semiotic shift', indicating the different values and feelings between the reality of the physical landscape, and the reality of representation (Olwig 1993; Kolen and Renes 2015, 19). After all, the landscape was deserted and in a state of decay, but it was painted as beautiful, peaceful and romantic sceneries. The romantic landscape of today has only later been constructed, as a response to the romantic ideal.

Rome again drew the attention of great figures of the Romantic Age in the nineteenth century, such as Chateaubriand, Madame de Staël, Lord Byron, Shelley and Keats (Sturgis 2011, 211). They eternalised their experiences in poems, plays, novels, letters andliterary works and thereby inspired future travellers to review the antiquities in a similar way (Sturgis 2011, 211). Shelley wrote:

The impression of [Rome] exceeds anything I have ever experienced in my travels. [It] is a city, as it were, of the dead, or rather of those who cannot die, and who survive the puny generations which inhabit and pass over the spot which they have made sacred to eternity. ... Go to Rome, at once to the Paradise, the grave, the city and the wilderness.

(Shelley 1818 in Sturgis 2011, 217)

Searching for melancholy, many of these travellers would be spending some time strolling over the Via Appia and wondering over the many ruins on opposite sides of the ancient road. All of them would stop at the mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, to contemplate. It was a very impressive monument to many, and very many drawings, poems and references to it have been made. As described by Sturgis (2011, 217): Madame de Staël spent a few afternoon hours there with Lord Nelvil, appreciating a 'gentle and soothing' atmosphere in the mix of natural beauty and remembered grief at the location. Chateaubriand also experienced the 'charm' of contemplating the place of the departed Cecilia in the face of his mistress' recent death (Sturgis 2011, 217). Lord Byron wrote about the tomb of Cecilia Metella, where he had an emotional experience:

But whither would Conjecture stray?
Thus much alone we know – Metella died,
The wealthiest Roman's wife: Behold his love or pride!
I know not why – but standing thus by thee
It seems as if I had thine inmate known,
Thou Tomb! And other days come back on me
With recollected music, though the tone
Is changed and solemn, like the cloudy groan
Of dying thunder on the distant wind.

(Lord Byron in Sturgis 2011, 217)

Most of the destinations that attracted mid-nineteenth century travellers where Romantic places such as the Colosseum, the Baths of Caracalla and the tomb of Cecilia Metella (Sturgis 2011, 218, 229). At the baths, visitors wanted to recall the idea of Shelley sitting on top of the ruins, pondering over the future. At the tomb of Cecilia Metella, they wanted to read and feel Byron's famous text about the monument (Sturgis 2011, 230). People were led to the monuments with guidebooks, to spots where famous poets once came by chance, and tried to experience a similar 'burst of feeling' from

about 25 years earlier (Sturgis 2011, 230). Although this is somewhat more directed and less sponteneous, the Romantic feeling could still be experienced along the Via Appia and the overgrown monuments of the baths of Caracalla. Within Rome itself, this was not impossible, but got harder to do.

The hounting writing by Shelley has inspired many future authors. Now, modern visitors rarely experience this romantic Rome. Although the monuments are still there, and often in better condition than two hundred years ago, they do no longer have the same charm or resonate poetic associations of Byron, Shelly or Madame de Staël (Sturgis 2011, 232). Also, the focus of attraction has changed. The mausoleum of Cecilia Metella is visited less often and 'far away' from the centre. At the baths of Caracalla, the vegetation was removed and the ruins cleaned in the 1870s. Although they are now easier to visit and still its greatness can be gazed upon, it is no longer similarly poetic. The same happened with the Colosseum in 1871. Nevertheless, the memories of the romantic period still live at the edges of popular interest and attract people to sites and museums.

Chapter 8 The protection of the Via Appia Antica and the formation of a park

After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the power of the middle part of Italy returned into papal hands. The power of the church rose significantly. The church also became responsible for the management and preservation of Rome's archaeological heritage, including the Via Appia. Intellectuals from Europe also pointed out to public organisations that history needed to be preserved. In 1830, the edict of Cardinal Pacca, ensured the legal protection of all monumental heritage of Rome in no less than 62 articles.

8.1 Luigi Canina

Pope Pius VI (1775-1799) and pope Pius VII (1800-1823) had both undertaken projects for the study and care of the Via Appia through the Pontifical Government. On these projects worked a variety of scholars, artists, architects and archaeologists such as Ennio Quirino Visconti, Antonio Canova, Giuseppe Valadier, Carlo Fea and Antonio Nibby (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). They wanted to re-open the road, make it usable again and highlight the beautiful, numerous tombs. This gave a new impulse to art and history, and gave Rome an economical as well as a moral boost (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 10). The great diginity and historical relevance of the road was to be restored. During the archaeological work, the scholars combined research and restoration with urban development. (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). The fight for the preservation of the road was tiresome but successful. One of the important initiators of the preservation efforts was Nicola Maria Nicolai. The realisation of the projects was organised by commissioner Camille Jacobini (minister du Commerce) and the prince Don Jean Torlonia (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 10). The prince became owner of a very large area along the Via Appia and paid a large sum of money to continue the excavations (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 10). His son, Don Alexandre Torlonia, shared his love for art and science and his generosity was comparable to that of the ancient Roman nobles (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 10). Because of these generous acts and the love of the prince for the advancement of art and history, Pius IX, just after being elected into the papacy, was determined to continue this and launched a plan for the road's restoration (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 11). He hired architect and archaeologist Luigi Canina for this purpose.

Figure 57: Column for the efforts of Luigi Canina (own photo)

Therefore, in December 1851, Canina started excavating the road and aligning monuments from the fourth to the sixth mile, then the tomb of Cecilia Metella at the fourth mile, then, the *Acquataccio* at the Basilic of Saint Sebastian (Ripostelli and Marucchi 1908, 11). By 1853, the road was reworked until Frattocchie. After the examples of Valadier and Canova, Canina wanted to turn the road into an open-air museum to preserve and protect the monuments from thieving. We are reminded of his efforts by the column across the Basilica San Bastiano, erected by Pius VII (fig. 57). The monument, with a cross on top, has an inscription that commemorates the project that raised attention to the monuments of the Via Appia in 1851 (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 60). Canina's projects were the first (proper) systematic excavations, documentations and restorations that had been done along the Via Appia. He was named 'Commissioner of the Antiquities of Rome' in 1839 and became commissioner of the 'Antichità di Roma del Governo Pontificio' between 1850 and 1853. He also left us with important drawings of the road as he found it, and the reconstruction to his interpretation. Those he made of the first eleven miles can be looked up in appendix 3.1 to 3.9. He furthermore created useful maps, a few of which can be found in appendix 1.8, amongst the historical maps.

When Canina started excavating, little was left of the original road. The majority of land was private property, and the burial monuments had largely disappeared. With legal authority from the '*Pontificio Ministero dei Lavori Pubblici, del Commercio e delle Belle Arte*' (Ministry of public works, commerce and fine arts), the road was freed and separated from the surrounding private grounds. At both sides of the road a low wall of dry stones was placed to separate public from private land (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). Canina then freed large parts of the ancient pavement of the Via Appia, including the nearby tombs. In able to restore the road and its directly surrounding monuments, a strip of land on both sides, each about 10 metres wide, was purchased by the state and has remained its property up until today.

In 1853, the road from Rome to the foot of the Alban Hills was cleared from earth. Monuments were excavated, studied and restored, and artifacts collected (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). One of the oldest photographs of the systematic and intense excavations is from 1854 (fig. 58), showing the fifth mile with the Villa dei Quintilli in the background (Quilici Gigli 2002, 13). The excavations of Canina revealed over four hundred monuments. In line with his ideology to restore the road (and shared by his predecessors), he reassembled the architectural elements of which the original position

Figure 58: photograph of Canina's systematic excavations (Quilici Gigli 2002, 13)

was known, and added elements where needed (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). This is still in place today. He hereby used materials found in the surrounding area, often not from the same context as the monuments (Bruni 1997, 24). Canina's way of working was innovative, as statues and decorative elements did not end up in museums or private collections, but were repositioned in situ. It was a testimony to the history of the place (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). The placement of marble decorations and inscriptions to the surviving ruins gave visitors a better idea of the ancient city. It was not limited to the major buildings, but also to the smallest fragments, which formed part of the scenery (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). Part of the open-air museum was also an appealing landscape, which Canina reconstructed to his own ideal. He planted grass, placed long rows of

cypresses and had sheep and goats graze in the heathland. The ancient road was supposed to evoke the 'admiration of the world'.

Although Canina's choices have left us with problems in determining authenticity and were not based on historical accuracy, he was able to provided people with a sense of what the past might have been like and gives us a unique view into nineteenth century restoration and decision making, which is an interesting historical subject in itself. It is thanks to Canina that the Via Appia has been excavated, and is as aesthetic and visual as it is today. Although his methods are not always understood and appreciated now, it was visionary at the time. For the first time, the stretch of road had a status of protection, preventing further decay of the ruins. However, this is also where the century old debate between public use of the road and preservation of heritage originated. With the area protected, the inhabitants were restricted in their movement, and the transport of sand and pebbles over the road to the city of Rome was impeded. Licences were however provided easily and on a large scale, so that the road was used anyway.

While Canina was excavating and reconstructing the road, Giovan Battista De Rossi systematically explored the underground catacombs of San Callisto, starting in 1849. This was one of the first studies into Christian Rome (Bruni 1997, 24). Also, in 1859, the Randanini vineyard in front of the Basilica of San Sebastiano revealed the important nucleus of Jewish catacombs (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 31; Bruni 1997, 24).

8.2 End of the nineteenth century into the twentieth century: the unification of Italy

With the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the unification of Italy (*Risorgimento*) had slowly started. It was completed with the declaration of Rome as the capital city of the Italian Kingdom in 1871: the troops of the new Italian King, Victor Emmanuel II, entered Rome on September twentieth. Rome became the political centre, the capital of the nation state and the centre of public life. The pope restricted himself to the Vatican out of protest and safety.

It was a period of urbanisation and industrialisation. Whole new districts were created to accommodate the inflow of civil servants, administrators, lawyers, professionals and workers, which were there to operate the machinery of the new state (Sturgis 2011, 237). Boulevards were built and modernity grew fast. The 'go-ahead' municipal government wanted to destroy the Aurelian walls so the city could grow further, but was discouraged by a group of far-sighted conservationists (Sturgis 2011, 237). They camped in and upon the antique walls and defied the workmen, as long as it took until the plans were cancelled (Sturgis 2011, 237). It was a however a hard battle to win. Modernisation has destroyed much of the ancient city centre. From 1896 onwards, the system of destruction of the antiquities of Rome due to urbanisation was effective and systematic. Under the destructions were temples, basilicas and necropoleis, which had to make place for modernisation projects (Sturgis 2011, 237). For the maintenance and management of Rome's known antiquities, and those that were uncovered due to building work, the 'Ufficio Technico agli Scavi di Antichità di Roma' was implemented. After the unification forces had captured Rome in 1870, fifteen forts and three batteries were built to protect the main entrance roads into Rome (today, the forte Appia is still in use as a military base at the Via Appia). However, the defence system was already outdated at the time it was built, and it was never used (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 70). By the change of the century, the city had grown into a metropolis of about 3.5 million people with modern suburbs, trafficked streets and even a small metro system.

The projects along the Via Appia by Canina and his colleagues provided the ancient road with an amount of interest and awareness that had long disappeared. Rudolfo Lanciani, an engineer turned into an archaeologist, oversaw the archaeological operations and became the Director of excavations at Rome in 1872 (Sturgis 2011, 237). In the 1880s, he restored the pavement of the Via Appia and many of its surrounding monuments, which were damaged by heavy use (especially by the heavy peddle karts). Lanciani

wanted to protect the monuments and keep the traffic away. In 1893, Lanciani, Guido Baccelli and Ruggero Bonghi (both ministers) started creating an 'archaeological promenade' (*passeggiata archeologica*) that led from the old Porta Capena next to the Circus Maximus, past the baths of Caracalla up to the church of San Cesareo. The promenade already designed by Napoleon was now finally carried out. Excavations and restorations were done and trees were planted. For the peddle merchants an extra road got placed. The promenade was to be part of a major archaeological park. In 1887, the Italian Government (including Guido Baccelli and Ruggiero Bonghi) had proposed the creation of a grandiose monumental park along the full length of the Via Appia Antica, from Rome to Brindisi, culturally impacting the whole peninsula (Quilici Gigli 2002, 12). In Rome, it would include the area from the Campidoglio to the Via Appia Antica. It included the Palatine hill, the Forum Romanum, the Colosseum, the baths of Titus, part of the Celian hill, the baths of Caracalla, the Via Appia, the Via Latina up to the walls, half of the Aventine hill and the Circus Maximus (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 44). Eventually, it never came into being and only the 'archaeological promenade' by Lanciani and his colleagues succeeded and opened in 1917 due to postponements, delays and reductions. Some scholars argue that the promenade did not follow the original course of the Via Appia, but that it was today's Via Valle delle Camene, which used to lie closer to the Celian Hill (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 44). The story of the promenade is long and tragic, and can be read in more detail in a chronological oversight with historical maps provided in appendix 4.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a renewed interest int the Via Appia amongst especially British scholars, archaeologists and photographers in the Via Appia, such as John Henry Parker (1806 - 1884), Esther Boise van Deman (1862-1937), James Anderson and his son Domenico (ca 1813-1877), the sisters Dora and Agnese Bulwer (ca 1890-1930) and Thomas Ashby (1891-1925) (www.archiviocederna.it). They were inspired by artists from the late eighteenth century, especially Carlo Labruzzi. Ashby travelled the Via Appia all the way to Brindisi and made hundreds of photographs, fascinated as he was by the landscape. A selection of photographs by Anderson can be found in appendix 5. In the early twentieth century, the Via Appia Antica was abandoned aside from the archaeological promenade. In Leoni and Staderni (1907, 29) it is described how in wintertime, 'shepherds of the Campagna' lit up fires in in some of the best preserved sepulchral vaults for shelter, took fragments to repair their fences and let their cattle graze between the stones and

inscriptions. This was all the activity that was there. The park that was created in the nineteenth century simply disappeared only to be rediscovered much later. In the photographs from between 1860 and 1890, we can see that nothing was happening there.

8.3 Fascism and the Second World War

The industrialisation lasted for many decades and became exponential in the 1930s, when Italy was under the strong rule of fascism. New important roads and monuments were built. Another important development was that the archaeological monuments inside the city walls got protected: Rome was declared a museum city. However, everything outside of the walls was unprotected and got largely destroyed by developing projects. Benito Mussolini was an advocate of modernity and had no affiliation with the promenade that had been created after decades of efforts. It was destroyed: covered by a wide road with multiple lanes as a celebration to the Ventennale (twentieth anniversary) of Fascism.

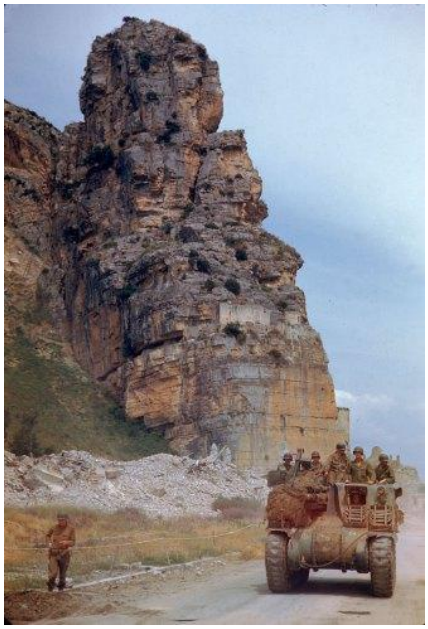
Modernisation also lead to the placement of asphalt on streets, the Via Appia included. On photographs can be seen that the basalt paving of the road was not there in the second half of the nineteenth century nor in the early twentieth century: there was asphalt for the many cars that drove there.

Mussolini had imperial ambitions: he used the ancient heritage strategically, partly by excavating it, partly by destroying it. For example, he reconstructed the grave of Scipio Africanus, as he was now the new 'Scipio': lord of North Africa. The Via Appia however was of no interest to him. Arguments between the archaeological service and users, peddle owners and ground owners continued: people drove down the road even if they were not meant too, and many illegal buildings are being built. Especially during the 1930s, the amount of licences again expanded.

Urbanisation caused the large-scale destruction of most ancient roads leading out of Rome, except for the Via Appia. This was to thank to a small group of architects, urban planners, journalists and intellectuals who had decided to stand up and fight for the preservation of the Regina Viarum. They were guided by the tireless work of declarations and complaints by Antonio Cederna and the association Italia Nostra. Cederna was a journalist, who had made it his life's work to stop the modernisation

projects from destroying the Via Appia Antica (appendix 6 is a newspaper article written by him). The battle of him and his colleagues lasted for decades.

During the Second World War, either little happened at the Via Appia (except for the first mile) or little about it is known. It is however known that in 1944, the Americans entered Rome through the Via Appia Antica. A few photographs of this have survived and can be seen in Figure 59, 60 and 61.



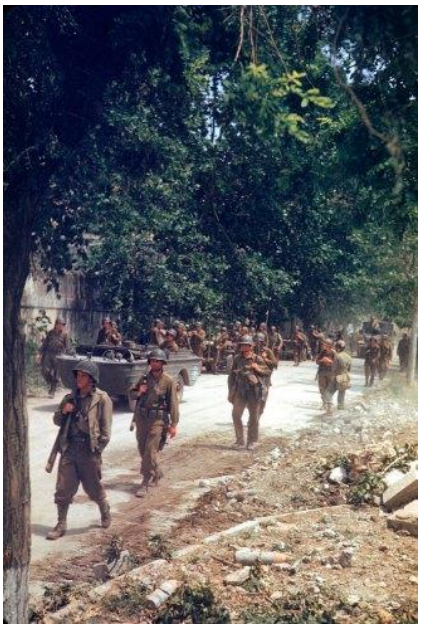


Figure 59: The American ary moves up the Appian Way towards Rome during WWII (www.vintag.es)
Figure 60: American soldiers march up the Appian Way towards Rome during WWII (www.vintag.es)
Figure 61: Italians watch American armour pass on their way to Rome along the Appian Way, WWII (www.vintag.es)

Also, photographs exist of Benito Mussolini, driving a horse along the Via Appia (fig. 62, 63, 64 and 65).

Figure 62: Mussolini driving a horse down the Via Appia (in the background: Villa dei Quintilli) (acs.beniculturali.it)

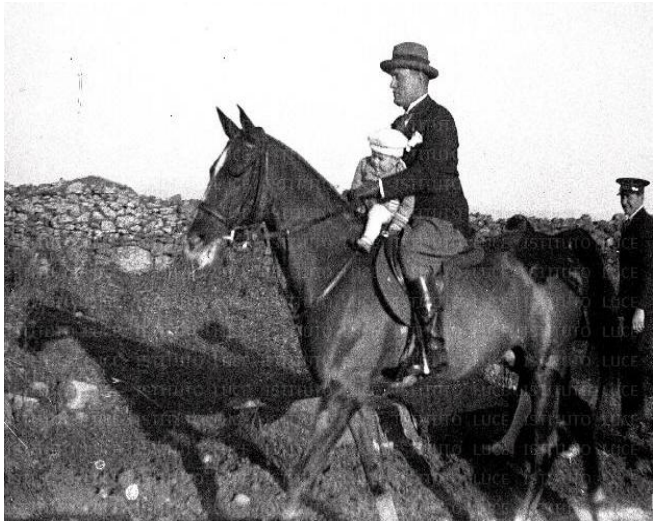


Figure 63 (up): Mussolini driving a horse down the Via Appia (http://senato.archivioluce.it[...]IL0000034032)

Figure 64 (middle): Mussolini driving a horse down the Via Appia, holding a baby (http://senato.archivioluce.it[...]IL0000018042)

Figure 65 (below): Mussolini driving a horse down the Via Appia and is greeted by civilians (http://fondoluce.archivioluce.com)

8.4 A battle for preservation and the making of a park

After the second world war, the countryside surrounding the Via Appia turned into an area with many construction sites, causing irreparable damage to the preservation of the historical countryside (Paris 1997, 21). Despite strong restrictions, many houses were been built from the centre of Rome to the outer belt of the highway: the Grande Raccordo Anulare (great ring road) (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 35,39). From the 1950s, the Via Appia was stormed by cinema stars such as Sophia Loren (fig. 66) and other famous elites and the road got strewn with luxurious and exclusive villas, which were either built new or built into or over earier historical buildings (Paris 1997, 21). The charming landscape, with ruins and nature lying in harmony, had inspired writers and artists of all ages but had now become a fashionable place. The charm of antiquity and the fascination for the ruins was changed into use and consumption of a few wealthy people (Paris 1997, 21). Pisani Sartorio (In Portella 2004, 35) nicely describes how in a way the construction of villas has restored the old relationship between burial sites and residential areas, although in a very different way. However, as she also mentions, putting up high walls and enclosures seems to reject this relationship.

Figure 66: Sophia Loren and her companions picknicking on the side of the ancient road (www.gettyimages.nl)

In the twentieth century, many proposals had been made to link the park of the Via Appia with its monuments to the historical centre of Rome (Paris 1997, 21). This never happened but these plans are still alive today. Still, in 1960, the landscape of the Via Appia only allowed a public green strip of a few meters on each side of the road (www.parcoappiaantica.it). In the 1960s plans were even made to build the Olympic stadium here, which would have destroyed the archaeological area. Luckily this was prevented by this group of opponents, led by Cederna. Their fight was Romantic: they wanted to create a landscape in a furthermore urbanised world.

In 1965, the 'Ministro dei Lavori Pubblici' (minister of public works) proposed to assign 2500 hectares to the public park, but the Council of the State (Consiglio di Stato) turned it down. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, more associations and larger parts of the population joined the battle of safeguarding the park (www.parcoappiaantica.it), and the request of a public park becomes more pressing. Finally, in 1988, theLazio Regional Government approved the institutionalisation of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica as a suburban park. This protected a vast area around the Via Appia. Constraints on building and alterating existing places were now institutionalised (Paris 1997, 20-21). In 1993, Cederna was appointed president of the consortium for the Parco, and he worked hard to get the project for the making of a park off the ground (www.parcoappiaantica.it).

After the creation of the park, between miles three and seven, restorations have been carried out in celebration of the Papal Jubilee in 2000. They concerned the Villa of the Quintili, the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella, several tombs at both sides of the road and certain parts of the pavement (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 33). One of the major changes was the removal of a major highway bypass, returning some of the former glory to the ancient ruins.

With the creation of the Parco Regionale, the road once again fulfills the dreams of the romantic spirit (fig. 67). In this sense, the Romanticists on their Grand Tour have designed the layout of the park. Their idealised paintings became the blueprints for the road in the park. Every ten or fifteen metres now lays a comfortable piece of ruin on which you, like Goethe, can sit down and 'reflect' on eternity...

Figure 67: The renewed romantic landscape of the Via Appia Antica (own photo)

Part 3 – Today and tomorrow: the Via Appia as cultural heritage

Figures on the previous page: Examples of current-day use of the Via Appia Antica. Upper left: tourist leaflets. Upper right: military practice. Lower left: office of Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica. Lower right: conservation and reconstruction at the Villa dei Quintilli by the Soprintendenza archeologica di Roma. Source: own photographs.

Chapter 9 The Via Appia Antica today

9.1 Introduction

The meaning of this street with its monuments has been significant to the modern culture ever since the end of the Renaissance

(La Regina 1997, 14)

In previous chapters the history of the Via Appia has been discussed, to understand how the road has become what it is today. More or less chronologically, the major historic episodes that impacted the first sixteen kilometres of the ancient road have been explained. However, the road's story is not finished. This final chapter will complete the story by discussing what the road looks like today, who the stakeholders are and how the road is now managed. It seems that in our current era, the road's functionality is over, the romantic spirit has largely departed and the abandonment is over as well. However, the road has again gained a different function, and this will probably keep changing in the far future..

9.2 What the road looks like today

As described in chapter three with the 'stroll down memory lane', within the first sixteen kilometres from Rome's city centre there are many different sections: traffic areas, recreational areas, abandoned areas etcetera. In the section that has been excavated by Canina, between the fourth and the ninth mile, the ruins lie between wild vegetation. This section was largely restored to its romantic self. There are some rare thicket species that are native to the area that still grow here, such as the holm oak, cork oak, common oak, maple, myrtle, pine and laurel (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 40). Other species, that got introduced over time, include willows, poplars, walnuts, mulberries, English oak and hazelnut (Pisani Sartorio 2003, 40). People come here only for recreational purposes, except for the few wealthy aristocrats who own houses, villas or estates along the road.

With the opening of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica in 1988, the road from Porta San Sebastiano to Frattochie, together with wurrounding areas with other archaeological monuments, became sustainably protected. Since its institution, the park has been managed and protected by an independent body and has its own board of

directors (Hermans 2009, 10). The purpose of the park changed from an archaeological area to a (city) park in which archaeology, nature and recreation were equally valued (Hermans 2009, 11).

Next to the Via Appia, the park includes a important section of the *Agro Romano*, the geographical rural area that surrounds Rome. In this lie the Caffarella Valley (200 hectares), the archaeological area of the Via Latina, the archaeological area of the aqueducts (240 hectares), the Tenuta (estate) di Tormanciara (220 hectares), the Tenuta di Farnesiana (180 hectares) and the area near the Tuscolana way which holds the remains of important republican and imperial aqueducts. Altogether, the surface of the park is around 3500 hectares. The park has clear boundaries: the Aurelian wall in the north, the Via Ardeatina and the railroad from Rome to Naples on the west, the Via Tuscolana and Via Appia Nuova on the east, and the village of Santa Maria delle Mole on the south sidee (fig. 63). The park connects three municipalities: Rome, Ciampino and Marino.

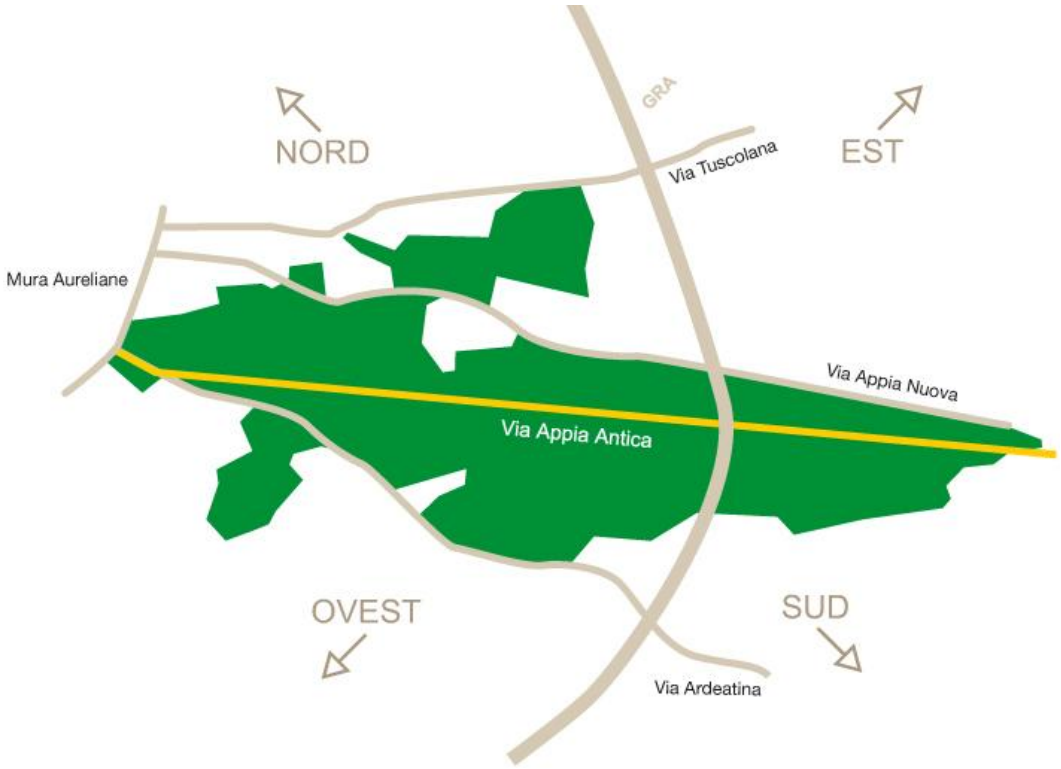


Figure 68: the boundaries of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica (www.parcoappiaantica.it)

Although on fig. 68 the park looks like a continuous green space, this is not the case. More than 82% of the park is privatele property, owned by old aristocratic families (38%), small private properties (30%) and religious organisations (14%) (www.parcoappiaantica.it). The remaining public property is more or less equally divided

between state property, such as l'Appia monumentale, the the ville dei Quintili and Capo di Bove, and property of *Roma Capitale*, such as the Caffarella Valley, Tor Fiscale and the aqueducts and the Circo di Massenzio (www.parcoappiaantica.it). About two percent is military property (fig. 69). As described in chapter two, we pass all these different zones when walking the road up to Frattochie. From the Via Appia, one can reach the different parts of the park only with certain side roads, which need to be studied on a map in advance. The road is not connected to the Caffarella Valley, the aqueducts and the other (public) archaeological areas. This range of land owners makes the management of the park as a whole an uneasy task. The challenges and different stakeholders will be discussed below.

Figure 69: military zone with an ancient ruin inside (own photo)

9.3 Stakeholders of the Via Appia Antica

Although still visited by many, strolling down the Via Appia is no longer a transformative experience. It is still a pleasant and romantic space, but in a twenty-first century adaptation. People do not come to ponder about eternity, but come for a relaxing walk or cycling exercise, alone, with family, colleagues or friends. Another change to the perception of the road, is that within the second and third mile, we pass a few factory buildings, shops, garages and restaurants that provide to the many local recreants and the few tourists.

The values of protecting the ancient road are cultural, urbanistic, environmental, archaeological, artistical and historical. Moreover, the role of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica as a city park is becoming more and more important as efforts are madeto build new houses outside the city walls rather than in the city centre. to spare the city centre and build more housing opportunities outside of the city walls.

Considering the size of the park, it is not strange that different areas of the park raise different interests. In the Valley of the Caffarella, for example, we find an open, general space with large walking lanes, grass fields, picknick benches and sport facilities. It is a free space where people gladly come on Sundays or on warm evenings to relax, sport, share a meal or go for a walk (fig. 70 and 71).

Figure 70 and 71: Parco della Caffarella (own photos)

On the Via Appia itself, it is noticeable that the visitors have a more specific goal in mind. When one starts walking the road, it takes a while before one can get off again, and this takes some study into the public transport system. It is either this, or walking the same stretch up and down. It is therefore more limited. The stakeholders of the Via Appia can be categorised in different categories, visualised in fig. 72. This graph does not claim to capture each and every interest group, but is meant to indicate which ones are most apparent and influential. Below, the different stakeholders will each be briefly discussed.

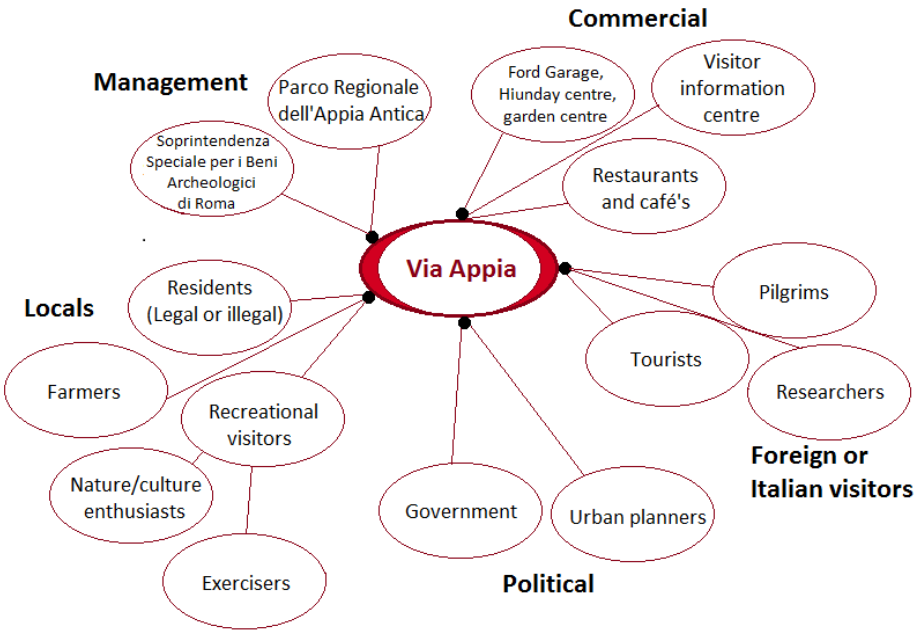


Figure 72: Main stakeholders of the Via Appia Antica (after Van der Boon 2016, 2)

The local population

Figure 73: Cyclists on the Via Appia (own photo)

The main visitors of the road are people from the surrounding neighbourhoods. They come to have a walk, go for a run, walk their dog, or enjoy a quiet Sunday picnic on the ruins. Couples can come for romantic quite time, families for a sportive and fun afternoon. The Via Appia cuts through neighbourhoods with little cultural and natural space, and is therefore a pleasant addition to the urban environment. There are also many cyclists, who live nearby or somewhere in Rome, and cycle alone or in groups over the mountainbike trail along the road (fig. 73). The Via Appia is most busy on Sundays, when the road is car-free. Although between the third and the eleventh mile only little traffic appears, the first two miles are very busy.

Amongst the local population are also the landlords and villa inhabitants, whose main issues are related to privacy and property rights. The Via Appia is very popular amongst villa owners, and when studying Google Maps the amount of private swimming pools in the private estates is significant (fig. 74). Sometimes these estates have archaeological ruins on their properties, which can be open to the public, open on demand or kept private: left abandoned or transformed to personal taste. The landlords live under very strict regulations and conditions: expanding, digging or removing trees is out of order. The interests of the inhabitants cross with those of

Figure 74: Swimming pools (after www.google.nl/maps/@41)

many other stakeholders as tourists, recreationists and nature conservationist.
The third local group is farmers. They only form a small group because the main properties are owned by wealthy aristocrats who do little with the land because of unearthed ancient ruins. For farmers, deep plowing is not allowed in order to protect these ruins. However, even superficial plowing can be destructive to the archaeology in situ.

Paradoxally, the pleasant quiet lung of Rome becomes an area for criminal activities and prostitution at night. There are also many illegal inhabitants along the Via Appia. There is a large problem maintaining this. It is unfortunately a consequence of having a park this size, and the problems of this park are not different from that of other parks in the city. During the day however, nothing is noticeable of this (except for the disposal of garbage in certain areas along the road), and the area is dedicated to sports and leisure. It nevertheless makes them an important stakeholder in the process of what happens to the park area.

The Catholic Church and pilgrims

The Catacombs of San Callisto and of San Sebastiano are visited by many Christians from all over the world. They come to see the tombs of the early martyrs and attend services held to commemorate them. On the Via Appia, it is not unlikely that there are more pilgrims than tourists.

Tourists and the problem of access

Only a fraction of the tourists visiting Rome make a day trip to the Via Appia. Reasons for this are the relatively far distance to the city centre and the limited amount of public transport options. Also, the first stretch of the road, which is the most accessible, is not the most attractive as it is the section between high walls and has busy traffic and little pavement. It is therefore interesting to rent a bike, or to join one of the cycling tours that are organised for tourists. This however still requires a certain extent of dedication and sportivity that not all tourists are looking for. As to public transportation, there are different spots along the road where one can take a bus to a nearby metro station (Colli Albani or Arco di Travertino). These buses however are regional and do not take you back to the city centre directly. Also, at Santa Maria delle Mole is a train station, from which one can walk back into the city. This is a wonderful hike, but trains go only once an hour and the walk back takes up to three or four hours.

Although access to the road can be challenging, once on the road there are many facilities for visitors. Especially in the first few miles are cafés, information signs, garbage bins, there are monuments which you can visit such as the Circus of Maxentius, the tomb of Cecilia Metella , Capo di Bove and the Villa dei Quintilli (see chapter 2). Furthermore, there are a few drinking fountains and there are multiple information centres that provide maps and information leaflets.

The Via Appia is currently relatively unknown by the mass of tourists visiting Rome. However, this may change if the plans to make the Via Appia a world heritage site go ahead.

Restaurants and café's

There are a few local restaurants and café's located between the second and fourth mile of the road that make a profit from the many visitors the road attracts. These are Ristorante Ar Montarozzo, Trattoria da Priscilla, Cecilia Metella, Garden Ristrò, 'Quì nun se more mai', Caffè dell'Appia Antica, villa degli orazi and Casale T&A.

The (local) government

As with all major archaeological sites in Rome, the preservation and popularity of the Via Appia is important to government institutions, because it adds to the economic benefits the yearly blast of tourists are providing Rome. By becoming more and more of a city park, the road is changing in function again. Urban planners therefore have the difficult task of cooperating with the management parties and enable the residents of visiting the park without damaging the archaeology.

Managing parties

The Via Appia is managed by two different parties: the archaeological service (the *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma)*, controlled by the Italian state, and the *Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica* controlled, by the region of Lazio. The Soprintendenza takes care of certain larger archaeological features along the road, such as the Villa dei Quintilli and Capo di Bove: they are publically accessible, yet surrounded by fences and clear boundaries indicate where one can and cannot come. The monuments are cleaned and well-maintained. The Parco Regionale is in charge of most of the smaller ruins and tombs along the road and of the road itself. They encourage public interaction with the archaeological heritage, therefore let the monuments slowly

decay and rarely place fences around them. To certain extent, their mentality has kept what is left of the romantic spirit. Although the two institutions use the same heritage to reinforce their arguments, their goals are rather different. The goals of the **Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica** are the following (www.parcoappiaantica.it):

- To protect the monuments and archaeological, artistic and historical sites and to increase knowledge about them.
- To preserve and reconstruct the natural environment and to enhance the fauna and hydrological and botanical resources for cultural, educational and scientific purposes.
- Create and manage facilities for cultural and recreational purposes, compatible with the character of the park.

The regional organisation has strong recreational, educational and aesthetic values. They therefore encourage and organise many different types of activities, such as guided tours, hiking and cycling activities, bird watching, sport and educational activities, training courses, theatre performances, concerts, and much more. Their agenda can be seen on the website; within one week they can have up to twenty activities, most of which in the weekend (www.parcoappiaantica.it). They have a beautiful website, only in Italian, which indicates that their focus lies on the local population.

The Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma stands for the excavation, preservation, and conservation of Roman remains (www.viaappiaantica.com). Their aim is to preserve the archaeology for the future rather than to engage with it. The ruins they protect are cleared from vegetation, fenced off and provided with nformation. One cannot access all areas of the site as one can elsewhere on the Via Appia. However, efforts have been made to keep a certain romance to the area (fig. 75).

Figure 75: the Villa dei Quintilli in a romantic environment (own photo)

As might now be clear, the ideas and aims of the 'Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica' and the 'Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma' clash. It can be seen in the manner they manage the monuments, but also in the mountainbike trail that leads alongside the road. Although it stimulates people to visit the road and it is a popular weekend activity, it crosses straight through burial mounds and cuts into unearthed archaeological ruins (fig. 76 and 77).

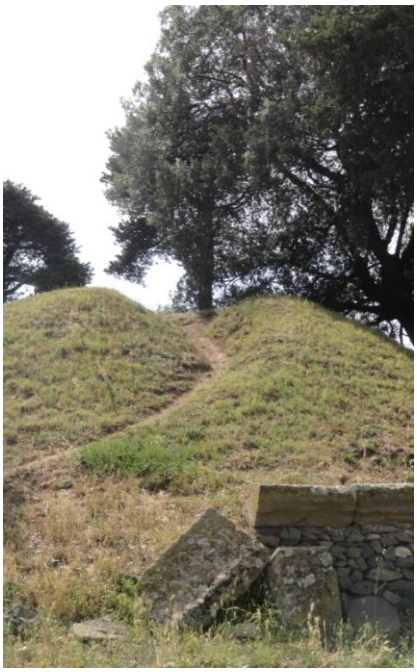


Figure 76 and 77: mountainbike trails cutting through archaeological mounds (own photos)

Both management approaches are valuable, but there is a strong need for a compromise, as the situation of the Via Appia today is ambiguous. Where the Soprintendenza are the guardians of science, the Parco Regionale wants to open up the park to the community. The great amount of surviving monuments and their natural environment should be preserved in its entirety. However, because of a lack of initiatives, activities and private interests, insufficient control and protection is exercised (Paris 1997, 21).

Chapter 10 Discussions

The rich history of the Via Appia has encountered countless challenges, including those of today. The story of the Via Appia is ongoing and keeps changing. Therefore the road is a living thing. This biography can now be added to its story, and hopefully will be a useful oversight of its developments. One eternal battle have been largely won in 1988: that of opposing urbanisation and fighting for the green, cultural space. Where this thesis has been descriptive in nature, this final chapter creates space for unsolved discussions about the future.

10.1 Everlasting challenges and threats to the Via Appia

The debate of public participation versus archaeological preservation is everlasting. Should the monuments of the Via Appia decay in the romantic tradition or be cleaned and preserved? If the latter, is it worth the investment? To understand, conserve and manage the Via Appia Antica is a heavy task. This is partly because there are so many known and unknown (underground) objects and monuments that need to be studied, partly because of the large geographical area, and partly because of the administrative complexity. Scoppola (1997, 19) says this about the Via Appia as a whole, where municipalities, provinces and regions need to work together. However, this is already true for the small segment this thesis focuses on.

Historically grown, the protection and preservation of the road has been a tireless battle and it could simply be said that it has not yet been won, despite the creation of the park in 1988. A zoning plan (*piano di assetto*) of the Appian Way was published in 2002 and approved by the regional council of ministers three years later. However, the regional parliament still has not given consent for it to this day. This makes any decision making very problematic. Altogether, there is no management plan, a lack of initiatives and lack of cooperations between the Soprintendenza and the Parco Regionale. Simultaneously, social and cultural activities for the public are actively being organised by the Parco Regionale. This has led, according to Paris, to a state of '*confusion and malaise, feeding into all kinds of abuse'* (Paris 1997, 22). The problems on which this situation feeds (and leads to) are discussed below.

The first problem is that not all parties agree with the zoning plan. Especially the Soprintendenza disagrees with its intentions (Hermans 2009, 22). The organisation has always disagreed with the development of the park into a natural area instead of an

archaeological one: the zoning plan was created for heritage purposes, but was based on a law for nature preservation, without advising the Soprintendenza (Hermans 2009, 22). They are concerned that the zoning plan could be harmful for the (yet undiscovered) archaeological remains in the ground (Hermans 2009, 23). However, it is very hard to make a determined plan for an area when it is not yet known what lies underneath (Hermans 2009, 23).

A second problem is that the Soprintendenza does not have a general protection plan. Due to a vacuum in the Piano Regolatore between 1985 and 1990, it had to focus on the areas that were most exposed to risks of building rights, thus accepting a policy of emergency rather than a plan of general preservation (Paris 1997, 22). This was strengthened by the bureaucratic difficulties and the time it took to process a constraint (Paris 1997, 22). In 1987, a changing event occurred when the Italian government succeeded in buying the Villa dei Quintili (Paris 1997, 22). Restorations and excavations were performed in service of the public (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 78). Unfortunately, next to this great achievement, Paris (1997, 22) notes how many other opportunities were lost.

Another problem, again, is that the needs of the people who live on the Via Appia or have commercial or production activities there, increase (Paris 1997, 22). There are many security and privacy issues, having caused the placing of large fences and gates, which damages the landscape: many monuments are 'imprisoned' behind walls in private properties (Paris 1997, 22). Many privately owned monuments are transformed or adapted to personal preferences and often hardly visible nor accessible to the public (Paris 1997, 22). This is in contrast with the initiatives that stimulate the investigation and restauration of historical monuments (Paris 1997, 22).

Although no large human-made modifications have been done since the excavations and restorations of Canina, still the landscape has changed in a short time period due to external factors. Looting is less of a problem than it was in the Middle Ages but still occurs. Erosion, superficial ploughing, exploitation of subsoil resources (especially on the Tenuta di S. Cesareo) and building projects are other problems (Hamel 2014, 64). Finally, also because of a lack of a proper management, problems exist with traffic, criminality, (illegal) residential building and vandalism. A third of the buildings in the area of the Via Appia is illegal (Hermans 2009, 23). Although these issues have significantly improved with the institution of the park, they still leave space for discussion (Hermans 2009, 11).

That the road knows many challenges, does not mean that there are no ambitions. There are still visionary projects that imagine the preservation and protection of the Via Appia as a whole, bridging regional, provincial and municipal administrations from Rome to Brindisi (Pisani Sartorio 2004, 35; La Regina 1997, 14). Although this is somewhat unlikely, the intentions for the renewed glorification of the road are clear. Unfortunately, continuing environmental decay of the Via Appia, the failure to implement the Piano Regolatore of the city of Rome for the public park, and the approval of a regional restricting law, proved inefficient and are likely to dismiss the hope for these ambitious plans (La Regina 1997, 14). An improvement that did happen was the disablement of direct access to the Great Ring Road and the creation of a tunnel, so that the first section of the road once again became a unity.

10.2 Protection or romantic decay?

An important discussion that has returned multiple times in the course of history, is whether we should prioritise the protection of the monuments alongside the Via Appia and preserve them for future generations, or whether we let people engage with archaeology and leave the road decay slowly, from a more Romantic spirit. Naturally, there are arguments for both. Preserving the past is important and it would be a shame if we leave the ruins slowly disappear. Then again, enormous investments have been put into the restoration of the Villa dei Quintili, and it is hardly visited. Was it worth it? Is this affordable for other monuments? And if so, who are we preserving it for? When we are talking about preserving the Roman archaeology along the Via Appia, we are talking about preserving excavations and restorations of more than a hundred and fifty years ago. It is a fascinating look into nineteenth century restoration work and decision making processes, but the ruins are no longer originally 'Roman'. Should this be taken into account?

Finally, it should not be forgotten that the park is (formally) a natural area, rather than an archaeological area. Whether this is right can be discussed, but it is a fact that it is a valuable green space close to the city centre, where people can spend time outdoors. It is a recreational park. Different disciplines will approach the park with a different vision, but what is most important is to look at the demand: it is an important space for the local community. Do they want the monuments to be cleaned, fenced off and separated from the road, or would they prefer to keep them the way they are? When we approach

the Via Appia, it is not so much the individual tombs, villas and road paving that catch our attention. It is the layout as a whole: it is the landscape. Interfereing in this landscape with fences and admissions would be changing this picture drastically.

10.3 Who decides?

Of course, the contrast between participation and preservation is not black and white, and one can cooperate with the other. As written earlier, the current management of the Via Appia is not functioning well and is in need of legislation that can implement programmes for monument protection (Paris 1997, 22). Without it, it is hard to pursue action, while the degradation of monuments is happening fast. Initiatives are needed to limit the traffic on the first section of the road (which is now only prohibited on Sundays), counteract the illegal activities and stronger penalties are needed against illegal building and monument abuse (Paris 1997, 22). In order to reach proper management, cooperation should be attempted with the council of Rome, the police, the fire brigade and the Soprintendenza di Roma (the archaeological service of Rome) (Hermans 2009, 21).

The problems of acquiring this piece of legislations are severe, and cannot be easily solved. What is the role of the heritage manager in this? Could he or she be a decision maker, advisor, or mediator between the archaeologists, urban planners, architects, the local population and the regional government? The survival of the Via Appia is a prominent example of how a small group of dedicated people can have a great influence. Continuing in this trend, the first step would be to inform the local population of the plans that are being developed, and let them have a say in the decision making process. They are the ones that enjoy the park, and care about the landscape. What would happen if the community were given a voice? The Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica organises many public activities, adapted to many types of interest. Should the Soprintendenza do a similar thing and provide more than information panels only, or should they keep their more traditional approach? Awareness is a strong tool: it can make people more affiliated with their local heritage.

10.4 Accessibility

As mentioned, the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica is not easily accessible to a large public. Also, those who live around the park generally visit its borders for a picknick or an evening walk. Those who go out and explore the park in its entirety are (Italian) tourists, who hardly go there. The problem of access was solved by the Passeggiata Archaeologica that led to the city centre, and plans do exist to reconstruct this. Until then, different solutions must be found to attract more visitors to the ancient road. The visitor centre of the Parco Regionale provides a very detailed map of the park, which is very insightful (fig. 78). It indicates bus stops, water fountains, information centres and access roads. This map could be more widely distributed instead of only sold at the information centres. Also, the park could be more clearly indicated on the general tourist maps of the city centre. The situation might also improve when buses would go directly from somewhere in the city centre to the Via Appia, instead of having to transfer at a metro station. Finally, the visitor centre itself is very informative, but easy to miss. People only come when they know it is there.

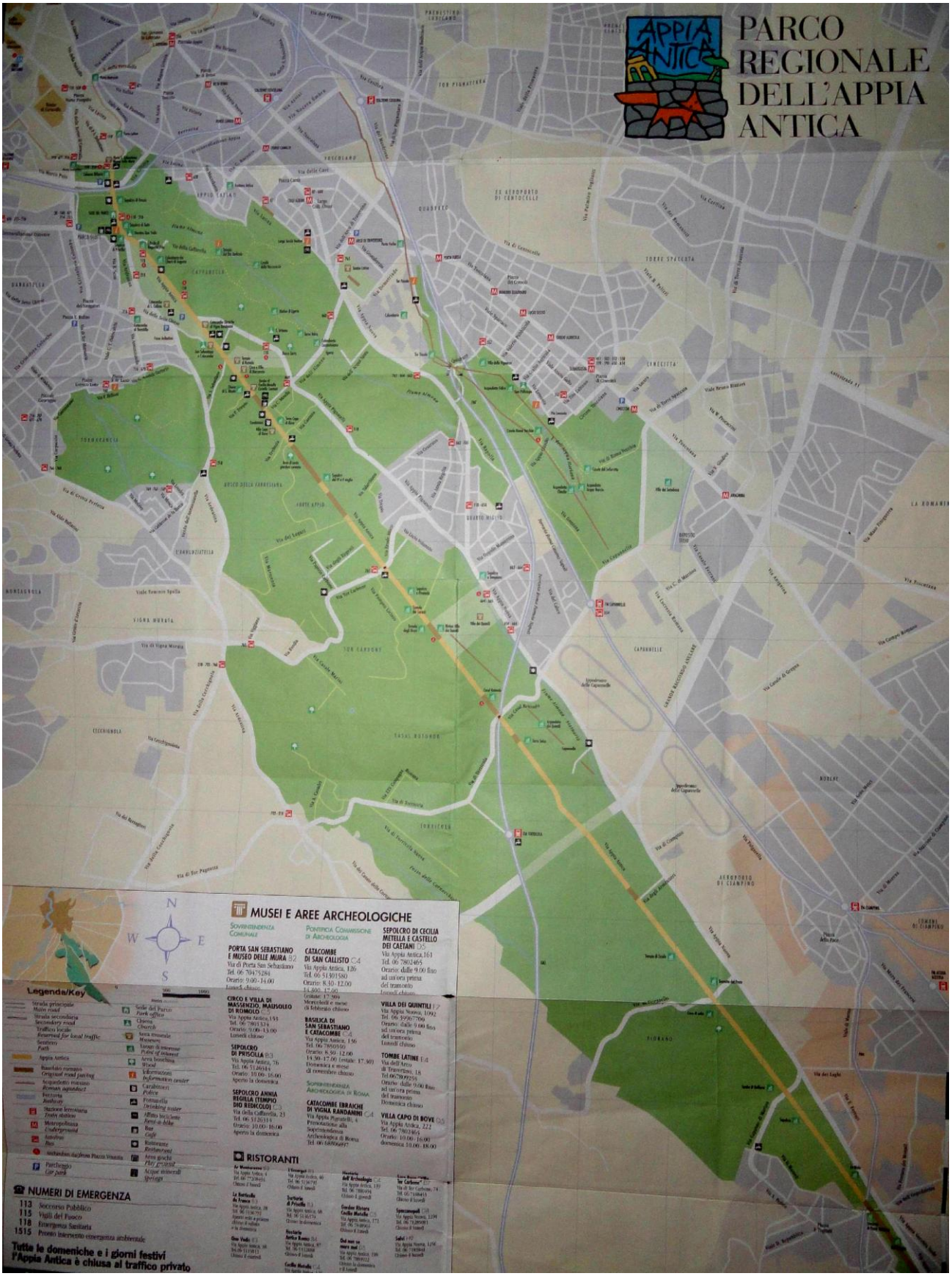


Figure 78: A detailed map of the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica (Parco Regionale dell''Appia Antica)

10.5 Making the road more well-known

The via appia is known as an ancient Roman road. However, as we now know, it has a much longer and more interesting story to tell. What we visit, is an idealised nineteenth century reconstruction of an eighteenth century ideal based on a fifteenth century fascination with the Roman empire. It is an often returning discussion within archaeological subjects: what information is being given to the public, and is it representative? It would be an interesting idea to present the longer history of the Via Appia to a broad public, not only on site, but also for the 'armchair tourist'. In the eighteenth century, books and prints of Italy were created and spreaded over England and the rest of Europe. Today, we could do the same, yet in a more modern form: with digital technology. There are many means to exchange knowledge between tourism and education.

One of the possibilities is creating an app. There is already an existing app for the Caffarella Valley, but none for the Via Appia. The application could have different layers of time, which you can 'peel off' while walking down the road. Even more interesting would be to connect it to GPS, so that one can visualise walking in a different period of. For the neighbourhood of Testaccio, an app has been developed in order to share and exchange information between archaeologists and the local population (https://itunes.apple.com). This could be used as a source of inspiration.

In this line of thinking, a game could be developed. A boardgame exists (fig. 79), although it is not very well-known. It would be interesting to create a computer game: one could walk physically on the road, having elements appearing on the screen of your phone or tablet (think of *Pokémon GO*), or on a computer screen in which different time periods are displayed. There could even be a simulation with a virtual reality helmet or hololens, where an augmented reality could add to the real environment even more than just on your phone. The 'Mapping the Via Appia' project (http://mappingtheviaappia.nl) has taken measurements with LIDAR of the Via Appia. This data infrastructure could be used to build the tools on (apps, games, visualisations).

Figure 79: The Via Appia as a board game (http://boardgaming.com)

Furthermore, there is a website called *Omnes Viae* (www.omnesviae.org), which is a the Roman travel map, placed over google maps. The Via Appia is included in it, and

the most important ancient inns are indicated on it. The concept is simple but interesting: this could be easily expanded.

The main goal of these inventions would be to reach a wider audience than students and scientists only. Except for the digital options, it would be very interesting to re-write this paper into more ‘popular’ scientific literature and present it in a book, magazine or online article. There could even be a section in schoolbooks, in which the Via Appia and its meaning throughout time could be briefly explained.

Chapter 11 Conclusion

The Via Appia Antica is a monumental street with a fascinating history. Today, we can visit ruins from the Roman Republic, the Roman Empire, we see Christian and jewish catacombs, churches and medieval fortifications. Most impressive is the landscape as a whole: it is the pleasant combination of beautiful ruins, occasional original street paving, a quiet atmosphere and the natural environment that makes it a unique space for recreation and study. The question asked at the very beginning of this thesis has been answered by providing a biography of the Via Appia Antica from its origin to today, highlighting certain periods more than others and giving a general sense of the different phases in time the road has survived. ***How has today's landscape of the first eleven Roman miles of the Via Appia Antica been created?*** The approach to answer this question is by first describing what one encounters when visiting the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica: hundreds of tombs, catacombs, palaces and monumental ruins are lying amongst romantic green hills and pine trees, but also amongst modern areas with functional buildings. From here, a chronological story tells us how this landscape got here.

The building of the Via Appia Antica was ordered in 312 BC by Appius Claudius Caecus, as the war against the Samnites urged for faster transportation of the Roman army. Therein, faster roadbuilding was essential. The road was made for public use: a standardised width allowed vehicles to drive smoothly over well-fitting paving stones, and rows of grave monuments were aligned alongside the *via* over time. As it was a main entrance to Rome, extravagant monuments and palaces functioned as billboards to passengers. From the fourth century, Christian cemetaries influenced the landscape. The road was in ongoing use and well-maintained up until the fifth century. However, with the collapse of the organised Roman state, and the compartmentalisation of the Italian peninsula, its decline started. Although the first eleven miles kept their use relatively long, their aligned monuments suffered increasingly. Monuments were re-used for Christian memorials, both destroying and preserving Roman architecture. In the ninth and tenth centuries, great church properties rose. This coincided with futher large-scale destructions, also by the hand of Barbarians: Rome had become a quarry of reusable materials and limestone. Then, from the eleventh century onwards, ancient Roman properties were offered to noble and influential families. Fortifications, towers and strongholds were built on top of large Roman monuments by medieval lords and

barons. This, again, led to both their further destruction and partial preservation. A battle over domination by principal families lasted until into the fourteenth century, when Rome was abandoned by the popes for over seventy years.

The fifteenth century gave birth to the Renaissance, in which sophisticated men adored ancient roman civilisation. Marble plates were taken from ancient monuments to be reused in reconstructions abroad. Although there were restorations done to many churches around 1500, massive destruction of Roman architecture continued far into the sixteenth century. Sporadic efforts of protection were unsuccessful. After 1700, a particular interest in archaeology started to take shape and a hunt for ancient 'treasures' took off, allowing the first excavations along the Via Appia.

In the landscape of the Via Appia, farmers and shepherds had moved away because of the increase of swamps in the area. The area was abandoned, becoming a perfect setting for a new feature that peaked in the eighteenth century: Romanticism. Features of the Via Appia got portrayed in numerous paintings and etchings. The road got included in the Grand Tour: a travel journey that was made by the (young) upper class as part of their education. Travel tourism temporarily stagnated with the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars. During the reign of Napoleon, again many Roman treasures and antiquities were taken from the city and transported to France. However, he also stimulated restoration, construction and excavations. Never before was there such systematic (scientific) care and investigation given to Roman antiquities. After Napoleon was defeated, tourists returned, finding a mix of building projects, neoclassical architecture and excavations: a city of ruins and slow decay. This attracted a new set of Romanticists.

The layout of the road today can be traced back to the excavations by Canina from 1851 to 1853. It has now become the open air museum he wanted it to be. It however did not safeguard the ancient architecture: further treats reached the road when construction plans were made. A life-long battle by Antonio Cederna and his colleagues, later assisted by associations and the public has protected the road. In 1988, the Parco Regionale dell'Appia Antica answered the dreams of a Romantic generation.

Many of the writings studied for this thesis consider the historical decay and looting of the road as a shame, but this study has hopefully shown that these periods of transformation have also enriched the landscape. It remains an item of heated debate up to this very day: where lies the border between protection and use? Should we allow recreation or fence off the heritage? And: when is a monument or practice heritage, and

when is it destruction? Should we keep the archaeological ruins as a monument to the past, or keep creating a new past with new usage, accepting further decay?

The full story of the Via Appia Antica, from its origin to today, is more interesting then its conception and use of 2000 years ago only. Roads are built to be used. And this is what happened through time; even if not in the way orginially intended. It is a road for everyone, at all times.

Abstract

The building of the Via Appia was ordered in 312 BC by Censor Appius Claudius Caecus. It was a remarkable project for several reasons: first, it was uncommon for a censor to have this type of power, but more importantly: never before had such a durable and great road been built. It first led to Terracina, a stretch with unparalleled straightness, then to Capua and to Brindisi. It was built with innovative techniques. The poet Statius called it '*Regina Viarum*' (Statius Silvae II.II.12): the Queen of Roads. Today, it is the only surviving ancient road leaving Rome that is a place of public interest.

This thesis is a biography of the sometimes turbulent past of the Via Appia Antica. It researches how the road has become what it is today by writing about the most important time periods that have influenced the layout of the road, but also its Romantic atmosphere. The road has been in use continuously up to the present day, although for different purposes. During the Roman Republic and the Empire, it was used for travel, funerals, transport and military missions. In the Middle Ages, it became both a destination for Christian pilgrimage and a gold mine for reusable materials. The destruction and robbing of the ancient structures was at its peak during the Renaissance: Europeans came to Rome and brought home enormous amounts of art and antiquities to refurnish their palaces. In the sixteenth century the Via Appia was abandoned when high taxes discouraged its travellers and the Via Appia Nuova was built. Nevertheless, the road endured and received renewed attention during Romanticism with the 'Grand Tour' of wealthy Europeans. In its state of decay, the Via Appia was popularly painted and it has left us with a great record of eighteenth and nineteenth century paintings. Today, the road looks the way it does in these paintings: it has responded to the Romantic ideal.

Now the Via Appia is a place of residency and recreation. It is used for hiking, cycling and picknicking. At night, it is also a place for prostitution, criminal activities and vandalism. The stakeholders of the road today vary and have conflicting interests. Although a usual biography tells the history of a person, an object or a landscape, this thesis goes the extra mile by also dedicating a chapter to the current state of the road, which is just as much part of the ancient '*regina viarum*' as any other period of time.

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Zocchi 2009, 126).

Appendix 3.8: Reconstruction of Torre Selce (Canina 1853 in Zocchi 2009, 166).

Appendix 3.9: Reconstruction of the mausoleum of emperor Gallienus (Canina 1853 in Zocchi 2009, 167).

Appendix 4 The history of the archaeological promenade

Figure 1: Zona monumentale 1887 (Manacorda and Santangeli 2010, 12)

Figure 2: Zona monumentale 1914 (Manacorda and Santangeli 2010, 19)

Figure 3: The Passegiata Archeologica in 1936, with transformations at the via di San Gregorio and via del Circo Massimo in the upper left corner (Manacorda and Santangeli 2010, 19)

Figure 4: The area before the Passeggiata Archeologica was initiate (Fondazione Memmo 1997, 30-31)

Figure 5: Shortly before 1911, when space was made for the archaeological promenade and its construction was in progres (Fondazione Memmo 1997, 30-31)

Figure 6: After 1939, when the promenade has been destroyed and has become a motorway (Fondazione Memmo 1997, 30-31)

Appendix 5 Photographs by Anderson (Fleres 1910)

Appendix 6 An article by Antonio Cederna (www.federiconovaro.eu)