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LA CAMPAGNA ROMANA ANTICA, MEDIOEVALE E MODERNA.

PROFESSOR GIUSEPPE TOMASSETTI.

La Campagna Romana antica, medioevale e moderna. Vol. I.—*La Campagna Romana in genere.* 8vo. Pp. 354; 8 plates and 101 figures in the text. Rome: Loescher and Co., 1910. 24 lire (or 60 lire for the three volumes, which will form the complete work). Vol. II.—*Le Vie Appia, Ardeatina ed Aurelia.* Plates and figures in the text. 1911. 30 lire separately.

THE late Professor Tomassetti (for his death occurred early in the present year) had long, and rightly, been regarded as the best authority on the Roman Campagna during the Middle Ages; and his claim rested upon a previous work on this subject, begun in 1879, of which the last instalment appeared in 1907.¹ In this work the text dealt with the medieval period, information relating to classical times being relegated to the footnotes: but although both contained much valuable and hitherto unpublished information, the fruit of the author's long and patient researches, both in the archives of Rome and in the Campagna itself, the information was difficult of access; the division of the subject-matter was made according to roads, but there were no introductions, no indices, no clear divisions into chapters, no illustrations, no maps. The author himself was fully conscious of these defects in his first work, and, immediately upon its conclusion set himself to prepare a second, of a more general character, and not limited to the classical period. Of this, the first volume dealt with the Campagna as a whole, from the historical standpoint, forming the introduction to the other two, in which the Campagna was to be treated topographically, each road being taken separately. Of these two, the second volume, containing the description of the Via Appia, Via Ardeatina, and Via

Aurelia, appeared before the author's death; while the third, containing the description of the other roads, was in preparation, and will be completed by his son, Signor Francesco Tomassetti.

In the first volume, the section dealing with the classical period is certainly the weakest, and not so good as we might have expected. To justify this criticism, a few points of detail may be mentioned. The name Campagna itself is wrongly derived from *campus* (p. 5), whereas the truth is as follows: In A.D. 292, when the land tax was introduced into Italy, the first region of Augustus, which included both Latium and Campania, acquired the name of *provincia Campania*, with the result that the name Latium eventually disappeared, and the name Campania, even in the time of Diocletian, extended as far as Veii and the Via Aurelia.

Into the difficult questions as to the origins of the various tribes which appear in the earliest legendary history of Rome and the Campagna, Professor Tomassetti does not enter deeply: and this is not the place to attempt to deal with them. But a more serious omission is the failure to take due account of the lists of the Alban confederacy and of the Latin league which we find in classical writers (Plin. *N.H.* iii. 5. 69; Dion. Hal. v. 61). In both cases we find thirty towns mentioned, and our author, who only mentions the latter, treats it, and perhaps rightly, as a ritual number, just as the cities of Etruria were twelve (p. 38). The towns of the former body are, it is true, mostly unknown to us: but the latter list is considered by Mommsen to date from 370 B.C. or thereabouts, and to mark the closing of the confederacy, and the consequent fixing of the boundaries of Latium. In the Augustan division of Italy, *Latium novum* or *adiectum* was added, including the territory of the Volscians and Hernicans. To this our author does not even allude.

Nor is it historically correct to attribute all the various *fora*, or market-places on the high roads, to the individual communities (p. 39), inasmuch as most of those which are actually called

¹ *La Campagna Romana del medio evo*, in the *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, vols. ii.-xxx. As the monographs on each road or group of roads were completed, they were also published separately.

Forum bear the name of their constructors—*Forum Clodii, Cornelii, etc.*—and were built on the roads, either at the time of their construction or later, as post-stations serving towns which lay high up, away from the road. Taking the individual instances, we have no evidence for three Aricia's and three Labici's, but only for two of each, the old town on the hill-top and the post-station by the road, as is the case with Lanuvium and Alba, with which the post-stations of Sublanubio and Bovillae correspond.

Again, it is most probably the case that a plan of the environs of Rome existed in a public place in Roman times (*ibid.*), but the *forma agrorum* to which our author refers is not to be regarded, as would seem from his text, as the earliest plan of the Campagna of which we have any record, inasmuch as it was a map of certain lands in Campania which were resumed by the State from the hands of private owners, about 165 B.C. (Jordan, *Forma Urbis*, p. 10, § 5a).

The locality called *φῆστοι* mentioned by Strabo (v. 3. 3, p. 230), as one of the primitive boundaries of the territory of Rome, is more generally identified with the Lucus Deae Diae, and the sanctuary of the Arvales on the Via Portuensis, than with the Massa Festi or Fistis on the Via Labicana (p. 48).

There are really hardly any of the main roads in the neighbourhood of Rome which are less than 14 feet wide; so that the excess over the 8 feet mentioned in the Digest as the width of military roads, prescribed by the Twelve Tables, need not have been attributed especially to the Via Appia (p. 53).

That the *statio peregrinorum et fragmentariorum* at the third mile of the Via Appia was a post of gendarmerie for guarding the road is impossible (p. 57). This was not at all the function of these troops, which were employed for the conveyance of dispatches, etc.; the phraseology itself, too, shows that the author is not aware that the two terms are identical.

Nor does our author allude in his account of the itineraries (p. 59) to Rubitschek's very plausible theory, that

the Antonine Itinerary is merely an unskilful excerpt from a map actually existing not later than the reign of Caracalla, and that the Ravenna itinerary and the Tabula Peutingerana are indirectly derived from the same original (*Jahreshefte des oesterr. arch. Inst.* v. (1902), 33 sqq.).

Many of the illustrations, too, while interesting in themselves, need to be brought into a somewhat more definite relation with the text.

In the section dealing with the Middle Ages, on the other hand, Professor Tomassetti enters upon a period of which far less is known, and where, indeed, he himself has been our chief guide and authority. He reminds us of the interesting fact that the temporal power of the Papacy originated from the donation by Constantine to various churches which he built in Rome, of many estates in the Roman Campagna which had belonged to the Imperial patrimony; though the formation of the suburban episcopal sees, which began not much later, was another important factor in the rise of the power of the Church. This was further increased by the immunity which from the seventh century onwards the Church received from the taxes which weighed down the rest of the Empire; so that we find centres of population (*domuscultae*) of some importance established in the Campagna, which were succeeded by smaller nuclei. We cannot follow our author further; but certainly this portion of the book is of very great value, inasmuch as it is by far the best attempt which has hitherto been made to give a connected account of the history of the Campagna in general from the classical period onwards.

We may notice, in passing, that absenteeism has been as great an evil up to recent times as it was at the close of the Republic.

In the valuable 'chronologico-bibliographical' section, we may notice that the description of the works of Piranesi is not clear and accurate (p. 226). He left, not drawings, but engravings, the plates of which are still preserved, to the total number of 1,180. The work, bearing the date 1756, in 4 vols., referred to in the text, is the

the *Antichità Romane*, a small section of the whole.

Nor is the account of the drawings of Labruzzi in my possession correct (p. 229). As I clearly stated in my account of them in the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, (1903), the total number is 226, and 48 of these have been engraved, but another set of 188 identical drawings now belongs to the Biblioteca Sarti, the property of the Commune of Rome. The 47 drawings referred to are those made by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, on the Via Latina, between Rome and Capua.

The second volume deals with the Via Appia, the Via Ardeatina, and the Via Aurelia. The first of these, the most famous of Roman roads, has not even yet been worthily described; and the task of dealing with the enormous mass of discoveries which have been made in the cemeteries and groups of tombs of its first few miles¹ is indeed a difficult one—almost impossible to attempt with any hope of success, until the indices to volume vi. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* shall have appeared. Professor Tomassetti, in whose original work the section dealing with this road was one of the weakest on the archaeological side, does not aim at absolute completeness, but deals with the more interesting and important objects that meet us along this portion of the road: so that it will be better to examine his work in points of detail. Thus it seems a correct deduction that the Via Appia must have existed, as a track at any rate, before it was converted by Appius Claudius into a military highway, and that it was probably known in this early period as Via Albana, just as the Via Praenestina was originally the Via Gabina, the Via Nomentana, the Via Ficulensis, etc. (p. 8). On the other hand, his dating (*ibid.*) of the inscription C.I.L. vi. 1270 with regard to the regulation of the Clivus Martis as 'only shortly after' the time of Appius is impossible: it can hardly be earlier than the period of Sulla.

It is interesting to note that the Via Appia, while important throughout the Middle Ages for its religious memories, had entirely ceased to be a through route to Naples, owing to the disrepair into which the section through the Pomptine Marshes had fallen; and travellers, if they did not prefer the inland route by the Via Labicana, had to follow the old Volscian road at the foot of the hills (p. 12). The great castle of the Caetani at the tomb of Caecilia Metella, built right across the road, enabled them to levy toll on passers-by, and led no doubt to the abandonment of the road (p. 66), and to the comparatively good preservation of the tombs and other buildings along its course—which, however, extend considerably beyond the limits of the land expropriated on each side of the road by Pius IX (p. 77).

Our author justly remarks that the formation of the so-called *Passeggiata Archeologica*, already much discussed in the Press, led to not unreasonable hopes of extensive and important excavations along the first portion of the road, immediately outside the Porta Capena—hopes which do not seem destined to present realisation (pp. 13 *sqq.*). On the other hand, the excavations made by the Lugari family at the fourth mile of the road (p. 85) have not so far been adequately described. We may note in this connexion, that the illustration on p. 82 (Fig. 21) does not represent the so-called tomb of S. Urbano, but a smaller brick tomb a little further along the road.

Space will not permit of a detailed analysis of the rest of the description of the Via Appia, nor of the accounts given of the other two roads, but enough has been said to show that, while the present work cannot be regarded as final—and indeed finality, in dealing with so complex a subject as the topography and archaeology of the Roman Campagna, is not to be hoped for—it is a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of it from the pen of one of those who knew it best, and whose death will be sincerely regretted by all who knew him.

THOMAS ASHBY.

¹ In the Vigna Moroni alone, on the right within the walls, not less than 100 *columbaria* have, at one time and another, been discovered (p. 32).