## THE GREAT TRANSHUMANCE AND THE SETTLEMENT PROCESSES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN EUROPE DURING THE MODERN AGE. A CASE STUDY IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

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**Abstract**: The great transhumance and the settlement processes in the Mediterranean Europe during the modern age. A case study in the Kingdom of Naples In the modern age, the great transhumance is a geo-spatial phenomenon of particular importance in the Mediterranean Europe. Its peculiarity was the involvement of large geographical areas which made itinerant the economic process. The cattle track network made a connection between the different territories and the actors of the transhumance, then cattle tracks - basic infrastructures of transhumance – were a place of transit and bargaining but also modifiers of settlement processes. This theme is examined in the paper through the analysis of historical maps and documents. There are a set of variations along the routes due to this connection cattle tracks-territory: some villages extend or slide down along the route or the cattle track network is adapted to facilitate the reaching of some centres. Moreover, the economic reasons for the transhumance make the connection cattle tracks-territory vital and this hypothesis is demonstrated through analysing an area devoted to this activity in the Kingdom of Naples.

**Rezumat:** Marea transhumanță și procese ale așezărilor umane în Europa Mediteraneană în decursul perioadei moderne. Studiu de caz asupra Regatului Napolitan.. În perioada modernă marea transhumanță este un fenomen geo-spațial de o mare relevanță pentru Europa mediteraneană. Particularitatea aceasta fost implicată în numeroase spații geografice care au generat procese economice itinerante. Urmele rețelelor de caravane au asigurat legăturile între diferitele teritorii și între actorii implicați în cadrul proceselor de transhumanță. Au fost generate astfel, spații de tranzit care au modificat procesele specifice așezărilor umane din această parte a Europei. Există o mare varietate a rutelor examinate în lucrarea de față prin intermediul utilizării documentelor cartografice și a documentelor istorice vechi. mai mult decât atât lucrarea analizează motivele economice ale proceselor transhumanței care au creat legături distincte între rutele caravanelor și teritorii. Această ipoteză este aplicată regatului napolitan.

Key words: great transhumance, cattle tracks, settlement processes, historical cartography, Kingdom of Naples

Cuvinte cheie: marea transhumanță, urmele caravanelor, procese ale așezărilor umane, cartogafie istorică, Regatul Napolitan.



## 1. THE GREAT TRANSHUMANCE AND THE STARTING POINT OF THE RESEARCH

Although the sheep farming and the various forms of transhumance spread since the beginning of human civilization, the great transhumance, made of cyclic migrations over long distances, is a phenomenon which in the modern age has a particular relevance in the different European areas of the Mediterranean such as Spain, Southern France and Italy, Greece (Aragón Ruano, 2006; García Martín, 1990; Rombai, 2002). The possibility of integrating distant environments which are different, according to the seasons, allowed the sheep farming. In fact, it was stimulated by the demand for raw wool which was one of the few prime materials whose durability made it worthwhile to transport on long distances and the textile industry was one of the few industries was highly localized (Smith, 1974; Rossi, 2005). It thus formed one of the fundamental aspects of the European economy from the XIII to the XIX centuries, in particular in Spain and in Central-Southern Italy, where it was precisely regulated (García Martín, 2004; Paone, 2006). Furthermore, it must be added the commercialization of cattle and dairy products together with the wool industry. For this reason, the transhumance creates a completely and perfectly evolved distribution chain (Martin, Ibarra, 2003) owing to the fact that it required the workmanship of products, useful for the shepherds and livestocks. The wool production and the cattle commerce led to the growth of an artisan industry and trade fairs.

However, the great transhumance peculiarity was the involvement of large geographical areas which made itinerant the economic process. The basic infrastructures of this complex system was the network of cattle tracks which thousands of kilometres covered and formed a series of routes used not only by shepherds but also by merchants, soldiers and pilgrims. The cattle track network made a connection between the different territories and the actors of the transhumance and encouraged the craftmade development of that villages crossed by shepherds. Therefore, not only the cattle tracks must be considered as a place of transit and bargaining but also useful for the creation of typical transhumance landscapes (Costa, 2011; Sarno, 2014), and nowadays they must be considered as modifiers of the settlement processes.

The most established literature has always highlighted that the cattle track network has brought both to the concentration of the population in small or large villages and to the country depopulation in order to facilitate its crossing (Formica, 2002; García Martín, 1998). Furthermore it has analyzed the confluence of the cattle-tracks in proximity of some cities, as Madrid in Spain (Gómez-Pantoja, 2013) or Foggia in the Kingdom of Naples (Pellicano, 2007). However, the connection between settlements and the cattle track network has not punctually been considered. In fact, there are a set of variations along the routes due to this connection: some villages extend or slide down along the route or the cattle track network is adapted to facilitate the reaching of some centres. In brief, the economic reasons for the transhumance make the connection cattle track-territory vital and this hypothesis is demonstrated through analysing an area devoted to this activity in the Kingdom of Naples. The Southern Italian was an area particularly interested by the transhumance and a significant cartographic production allows us to verify the settlement modifications previously mentioned.

## 2. THE GREAT TRANSHUMANCE IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES

The transhumance was one of the main economic activities in Central-Southern Italy and an important source of profit for the Kingdom of Naples (fig.1). In the modern age, the Aragonese and later the Spanish, who dominated here, aimed at obtaining the maximum fiscal benefit regulating the transhumance and its main infrastructure: cattle tracks. Here it is practised horizontal transhumance exploited in alternation pasturelands situated at a considerable distance from each other.

Between the mountainous area of Central Italy and the most important Southern plain, the "Tavoliere", a particular form of interdependence developed; the mountainous chains of present-day Italian regions of Abruzzo and Molise were basins and highlands useful for summer grazing while the historical region of the Capitanata, corresponding to present-day Italian region Puglia was for winter grazing. Here the most important centre was Foggia (fig. 2). It more or less coincided the area the "Tavoliere", a vast plain, which extended from the Campanian Apennines and the Adriatic shoreline, the promontory of the Gargano and the gulf of Manfredonia. It is the biggest plan of the Italian South, with very few waterways, used through the centuries for sheep farming and cereal production. Given its vastness, it drew constant attention from the different peoples who dominated the Kingdom of Naples and in 1447, King Alfonso of Aragon produced a decree defining the juridical role of the institution which controlled grazing rights, named "Dogana della mena delle pecore in Puglia". With the establishment of the "Dogana" and its improvement in 1688, together with the choice of Foggia as its headquarters, the "Tavoliere" was reorganised so that it could become "a vast reserve area able to host up to almost two million cattle" (Melillo, 2002, p.32).

Foggia emerged as the economic capital of the Kingdom of Naples and the cattle tracks, coming together in Foggia, modified the urban plan, as above mentioned. The "Dogana" regulated the collection of proceeds deriving both from crossing the cattle track and from the right to graze, was the centre of the livestock trade, dealt with the legal questions related to the transhumance and checked the cattle tracks functionality. In fact, the interdependence between the mountains, located in Central Italy, and the "Tavoliere" was assured by nearly 3,000 kilometres of grasslands. Such a road network connected communes, villages and rural communities that today belong to five Italian regions: Campania, Abruzzo, Molise, Basilicata, Puglia.

The cattle track network was a perfectly organised territorial system. The grassy track was the backbone of the system: their average width was about 111,60m. Alongside these, we have the minor cattle tracks, named "tratturelli", that is to say those tracks which were of lesser width, from 18 to 37 metres, while the side tracks, named "bracci tratturali", were more limited tracks of 8 to 10 metres. The cattle tracks "Aquila-Foggia", "Castel di Sangro-Lucera", and "Pescasseroli-Candela" were known as Royal or Alfonsin cattle tracks (fig. 3). Along the cattle tracks, the traveller could find fountains, stone walls, stone pillars, holding pens, rest areas, taverns, fortifications and chapels. Given the necessity of the time to safeguard the routes of passage of shepherds and cattle from any encroachment due to farming activity, the authorities insisted on the creation of maps indicating the presence of cattle-tracks as well as their condition. The width of the cattle-tracks was established as 60 Neapolitan feet (equivalent to 111.60m) and stones were

placed to indicate and easily locate the boundaries of the paths. Any infringement of these boundaries was punishable by death. The authorities then regularly restored the original boundaries that had been subjected to change from illegal encroachments. This activity, which began in the early sixteenth century, continued over time and consisted of presenting periodic reports, named "reintegre", on the state of the cattle-track network and in the drafting of maps (Iazzetti, 1987; Di Cicco, 2001). "The "reintegre" consisted mainly in taking new measurements of the cattle-tracks e in representing it on the maps. The "reintegre" were performed by Surveyors, later called Royal Surveyors. Nowadays such a cartographic heritage is essential to understand the peculiarity of the cattle track landscape and its changes in course of time (Sarno, 2011).



Figure 1: General map of the Atlas of the Kingdom of Naples, by A. Bulifon, 1734 (Petrocelli, 1995).

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**Figure 2:** Map shows the territories of the great transhumance in Southern Italy: the mountainous area of present-day Italian regions Abruzzo and Molise and the city of Foggia, located at the centre of "Tavoliere", the most important plain of Southern Italy (www.entroterra.org).

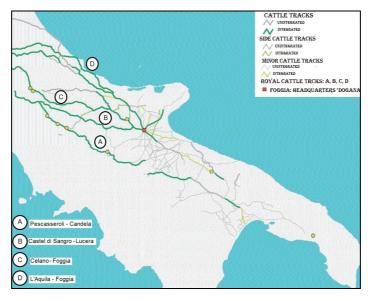


Figure 3: The cattle track road system in Central-Southern Italy and the four royal cattle tracks (Map of cattle tracks edited by "Commissariato per la reintegra dei tratturi di Foggia" in 1959 and cited by Grillotti Di Giacomo, 2000) (legends elaborated by the author)

#### 3. THE STUDY AREA AND THE METHODOLOGY

Molise, which was one of the provinces of the Kingdom of Naples, was perfectly placed in the cattle track network which connected Abruzzo with the "Tavoliere". It was involved both in the cattle-breeding practice and as a transit area. The geo-morphological characteristics of this territory made the cattle breeding fundamental to the local economy until the beginning of the twentieth century owing to the fact that the mountain chains occupy about 55.3% of the territory, while the clayey hills cover approximately 44.7% of the remaining area. The transhumance, already widely spread among the Samnites (VII century BC), became the main activity in Molise during the modern age. Furthermore, as pointed out before, its geographical position, encircled by the Abruzzo mountains in the north-east and by the "Tavoliere" in the south-east, became advantageous because the shepherds had to cross it during their transfers.

For this reason the trade exchanges and the road network were strengthened through eleven cattle tracks: "Aquila-Foggia", "Cupello-Lanciano", "Centurelle-Montesecco", "Sant'Andrea-Biferno", "Celano-Foggia", "Lucera-Castel di Sangro", "Pescasseroli-Candela", "Foggia-Campolato", "Ateleta-Biferno", "Frisa-Rocca di Roseto", "Cassano Murge-Canneto". Besides these 75 minor cattle tracks and 10 side tracks (fig. 4). The cattle track cartography of Molise, preserved in the State archives of Campobasso and Foggia, let us know precisely the their paths, the territories and the villages lapped or crossed by them. Moreover, the changes in the territorial organization as the connection cattle track-settlements, which are going to be studied in this paper, can be analysed through comparing maps of different historical periods.

They are drawn from the "reintegre" of 1778, 1811, 1826 and 1883 relating to the selected route. In addition to the cartographic comparison, the analysis has been supported by historical documents and other maps, always present in the aforementioned archives, and by evidence collected directly on soil. As route, one of the Royal cattle tracks has been selected – the "Pescasseroli-Candela" - which is the third longest cattle track in Southern Italy, performs the function of hinge between different territories and makes the transit from Central to South Italy possible. It extends from Italian region of Abruzzo to Puglia for about 230 kilometres, following an ancient route already trodden by the Samnites and later used by the Romans (Pece, 2010). It developed among two river valleys: the Alto Sangro, whose sources are in Pescasseroli territory, at the beginning, and the Tammaro, which flows in the vicinity of Candela town, at the end (Fig. 5). Its route is particularly extended in Molise and, as the figure 6 points out, it touches the territories of 14 municipalities. We are going to analyse five pertinent cases, going from north to south, about the issues here addressed.

#### 3.1 Forlì del Sannio: a complex village

The Pescasseroli-Candela cattle track, in the territory of Molise, touched many municipalities. and, going from north to south, the first two were Rionero Sannitico and Forlì del Sannio of medieval foundation. The cattle track touched the administrative boundaries of Rionero but not those of Forlì and, in fact, as the map of 1778 points out (fig. 7), the profile of the village is well away from it. The map highlights how the cattle track crossed the Vandra river in the western part of the village. As two maps of 1826 and 1883

show (figure 8 and 9), this area was gradually exploited and inhabited. The 1826 map shows the taverns - marked in red - located in the area, which became a point of reference for shepherds, merchants and wayfarers.

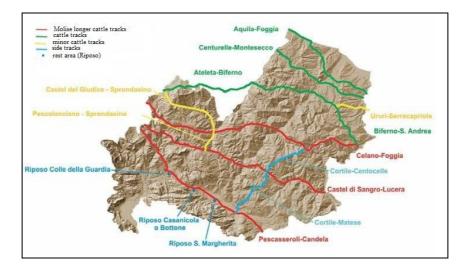


Figure 4: The complex cattle tracks network in Molise (Cialdea, 2007).

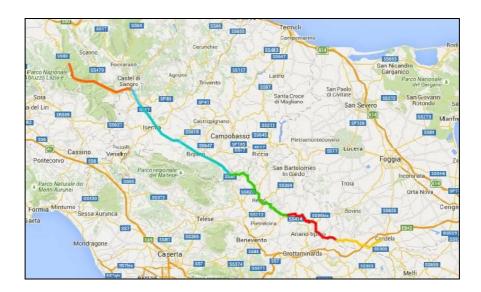
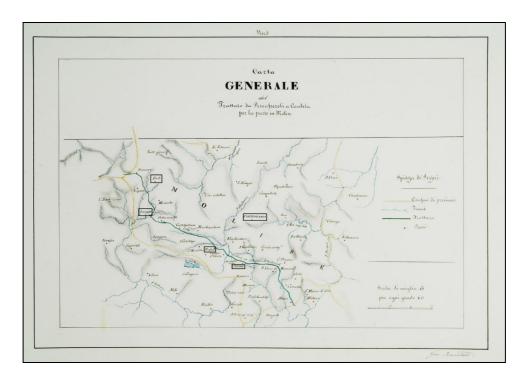
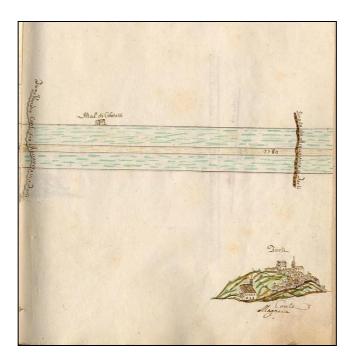


Figure 5: The whole route of the Pescasseroli-Candela cattle track; each colour pinpoints a province which are crossed by it: the blue colour pinpoints Molise territory (www.entroterra.org).

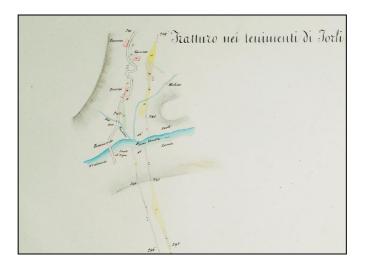


**Figure 6:** Map synthesizes the route of the Pescasseroli- Candela cattle track across the Molise territory. The five cases here examined are highlighted (Jannantuono G., Jannantuono M., 1826).

The Vandra river and its surroundings allowed the livestock to rest and, for this reason, this area became a habitual stopping place. The 1883 map provides us with very interesting information: this area, named Contrada della Vandra, was duly inhabited. Furthermore, although the road network was well outlined, it was not autonomous but depended on the territory of Forlì del Sannio. So, in this case, the cattle track has created the conditions for the development of a small centre useful for resting. The presence of a river has forced both transhumants and the local population to develop the facilities necessary for them here. The hamlet was the place of taverns and trade exchanges, while the village of Forli maintained its identity. So, here is one of the possible results of the transhumance.



**Figure 7:** The map clearly shows the distance between Forlì del Sannio- at the bottom - and the cattle track. The river Vandra is marked in the western of the path (Magnacca, Conte, 1778).



**Figure 8:** A detail of the 1826 map displays the cattle track across the territory of Forlì: the river Vandra in blue and the taverns in red (Jannantuono G., Jannantuono M., 1826).



**Figure 9:** A detail of the 1883 map shows the development of hamlet along the cattle track and its toponym is indicated laterally "Vandra contrada" The buildings are coloured (Forest Ispectorship of Foggia, 1883).

### 3.2 Isernia and the junction for the cattle track

Isernia, founded by the Samnites during the sixth century BC, has always been an important centre in Molise for its geographical position and for being a crossing point for the surrounding mountainous areas: the Apennines in the north, the Meta mountain range in the west and the Matese massif in the south. The centre of Isernia was not directly crossed by the cattle track which\_was located externally and in parallel with the town as shown by the map of year 1778 (fig. 10). The surveyors, in this case, exceed the previous schematism and do not represent the route as a straight line but they try to show its curvature; they also trace the profile of Isernia, located on a spur at 420 metres above sea level and bounded by two fluvial valleys. The map not only does implicitly display the strategic importance of the cattle track by putting it in the foreground but also it highlights how the inhabitants and transhumants were interested in filling the gap between the town and the path.

In fact, transhumants halted in the surrounding area of Isernia because there were grasslands and water resources while the town was the centre of trade exchanges. The inhabitants of Isernia took advantage of the proximity to the cattle track because they marketed their handicrafts and stocked up livestock. This need finds a first answer in a bird's eye 1703 map of Isernia: it portrays a route which brought to the outer part of the town (fig. 11). A another map drawn up for 1811 "reintegra" both provides us with

detailed information about this aspect and shows the paths which connected the town with the cattle track: a straight road in the west, the Valianese stream and a zigzag junction in the east (Fig. 12). Unlike the 1703 map, this one gives importance to the western junction which strengthens the connection between Isernia and the cattle track. In the legend, the surveyors report the expropriations carried out in the eastern part in order to facilitate the connection, demonstrating how the need to connect Isernia with the cattle track was felt more and more increasingly.

By accurately describing the processes along the eastern part of the territory the surveyors display how crucial this junction, which will play an important role in the development of the town, was. Isernia, in fact, extended around the road that connected it to the cattle track between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Sarno, 2014). In 1811 the experts, even though they could not foretell the future events, considered the junction Isernia-cattle track functional and, for this reason, they tried to represent it with accuracy.

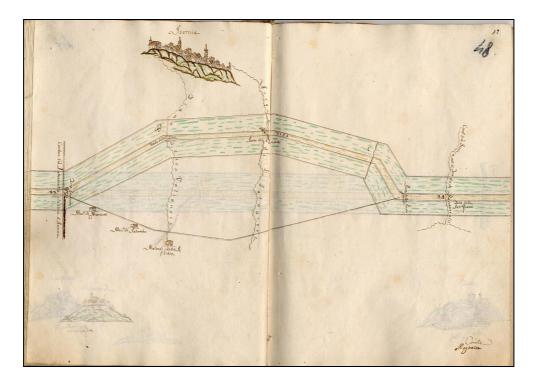
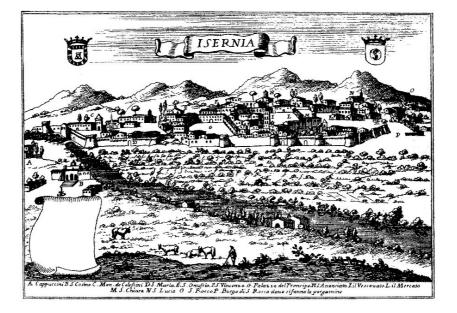


Figure 10: The cattle track in the countryside near Isernia. The surveyors draw the route in a curvilinear way, the profile of the town and the water richness of the area (Magnacca, Conte, 1778).

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**Figure 11:** A bird's eye description of Isernia enclosed to the Pacichelli's volume (1703): the route outside the walls is highlighted.

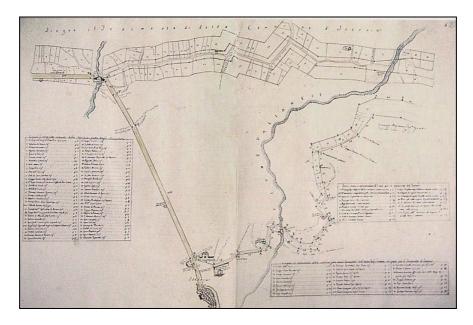


Figure 12: The surveyors trace with accuracy the connection between Isernia and the cattle track, showing the complexity of this area (Magnacca, Aratori, 1811).

#### 3.3 Bojano and "the slipping" of the village

Halfway down the track along the territory of Molise the transhumants run into the village of Bojano. It was founded by the Samnites (sixth century BC) on the slopes of Mount La Gallinola, but its inhabitants have always exploited the surrounding fertile plain. Demolished and rebuilt several times over the years, its settlement was re-founded by the Normans (X century AD), nestled in the Gallinola Massif and named "Civita Superiore". The cattle track crossed the plain and the map of 1778 (fig. 13) outlines both the upper part of Bojano and the lower one. The surveyors know how to well sketch out the profile both of the village nestled among the mountains and of the buildings in the lower part. The map also highlights the water richness, which is a proof of the fertility of the area, and another settlement: San Massimo.

However, the surveyors do not neglect drawing the Church of "Sant'Antuono" because parish churches and roads crosses accompanied the journey of the deeply religious shepherds. The elements which allow the lower part of Bojano to develop are essentially two: the more and more increasingly intensive exploitation of the plain and the possibility of marketing with transhumants. The comparison with a map of 1826 shows how the upper part of Bojano is no longer vital and the experts consider appropriate to document only the lower part, along the cattle track, whose size is circumscribed by a red closed curve (fig. 14). It is evident that the cattle track played an attractive role for this population, which does no longer find profitable climbing up mountains. "Civita" will be abandoned, while the cattle track, cutting in half the new village and crossing it, facilitated trade exchanges. When, in the early nineteenth century, the engineer Zampi made a set of maps about the Italian towns, he also drawn up Bojano with an organic and a flat urban plan (fig. 15).

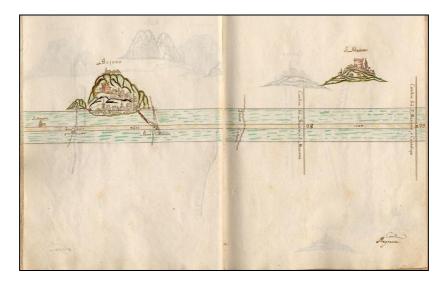
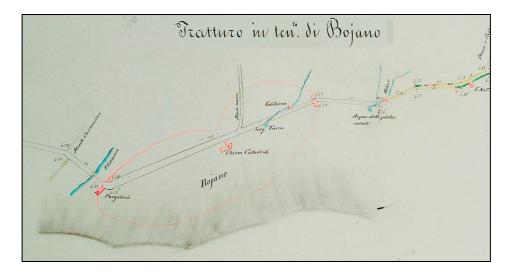


Figure 13: Section of the Pescasseroli-Candela cattle track along the countyside near Bojano; the surveyors trace the upper and lower part of the settlement. San Massimo village is farther from cattle track (Magnacca, Conte, 1778).



**Figure 14:** A detail of the 1826 map about the Pescasseroli-Candela cattle track across the countryside near Bojano: contrary to the map of 1778, the surveyors only trace the settlement in the lower part of Boiano with a red closed curve (Jannantuono G., Jannantuono M., 1826).



**Figure 15:** Bojano Map drawn up by engineer Zampi in the early nineteenth century: the lower part of Bojano is well outlined (Petrocelli, 1995).

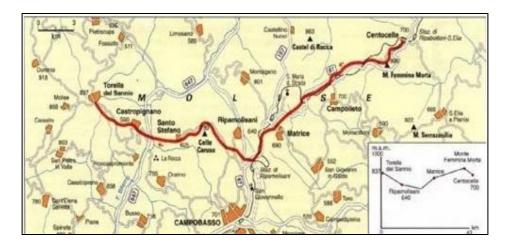
# 3.4 The socio-economic development of Campobasso as a form of attraction for the cattle track

The other important Molise centre was the town of Campobasso. It was founded for defensive purposes on the slopes of Montebello massif by the Longobards in the ninth century AD, but in the time its inhabitants started to exploit the large area around the foot of the massif and erected their homes along the slopes of it. Such a choice was favoured by the commercial functions that Campobasso achieved during the modern age, by the activeness of its craftsmen and by the fairs which periodically attracted merchants and buyers. Campobasso was not crossed by cattle tracks, furthermore the most important of them were about 30 kilometres away from the town. However, due to its commercial role, a side track - the Torella del Sannio-Cortile-Centocelle - became functional because it allowed anyone travelling over the "Pescasseroli-Candela" and the "Castel di Sangro-Lucera" cattle tracks to reach the town (fig. 16).

Therefore, Campobasso, as an intermediate stop, became part of the geographical network of transhumance in Southern Italy, facilitating the connection between the mountainous area of Central Italy and the "Tavoliere". In addition, it was possible to halt outside the town because there were enough space and grass for the livestocks. It was a rather accessible area which fostered the movement of people and goods and was not a toll road. It consequently became an area suitable for marketing and bargaining, as shown by a 1583 sketch which outlined the development of the town outside its walls and along the slopes of the massif (fig. 17). This situation is also confirmed by a 1743 map (fig. 18).

Analytically, two surveys, describing the town of 1688 (Nauclerio, 1688) and 1732 (Stendardo, 1732), attest that there was a great attendance of foreigners and that workshops and buildings were gradually built outside the walls of Campobasso (Sarno, 2012). In fact there were workshops of tailors, barbers, hairdressers, riflemen, carpenters and blacksmiths. Along the main road there were shops of goldsmiths, hatters, haberdashers, shoemakers, bakers, saddlers and tanners. Stendardo (1732) even describes the shops one by one, with the mezzanine floor used as storehouses and the broad ones even with the windows. In spite of being a formless space, the area outside the walls was gradually called the "square near the main gate" or "merchant square" (Stendardo, 1732), owing to the trade of livestocks and other products.

The expression "merchant square" shows that not only was it used as a place suitable for selling goods to consumers, but it was a place made of regular trade exchanges among merchants and with a respectable organizational structure. Therefore, Campobasso functionally became part of the urban hierarchy of the transhumance trade: the main centre was Foggia which was connected to Lucera, but Campobasso was one of the intermediate place (Sarno, 2008). In addition, thanks to the corn trade, in the eighteenth century this town imposed itself in the cereal market in the Central Eastern of Molise and established an important relation with the coastal area in order to resale the products. In the following decades the area outside of the walls was used for the urban enlargement of the town and the side track became important thoroughfare, while Campobasso was nominated chief town. This explains why the town played an attractive role in connection with the cattle tracks. In this case, the geography of the cattle track network had to adapt to the socio-economic needs and to recognise the role of trading centre to Campobasso.



**Figure 16:** In red the side track - the Torella del Sannio-Cortile-Centocelle' is evidenced which connected Campobasso with the "Pescasseroli-Candela" and the "Castel di Sangro-Lucera" cattle tracks (www. tratturi. enduromania.it).

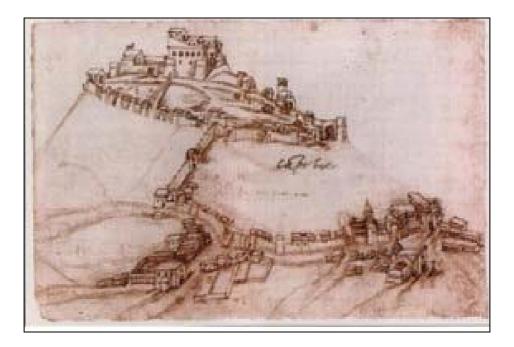


Figure 17: Sketch of Campobasso in 1583 showing homes outside of the walls (Petrocelli, 1995).

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**Figure 18:** A detail of the 1743 map of the feud "Santa Maria Di Monte Verde" showing many buildings outside of Campobasso (Petrocelli, 1995).

## 3.5 Sepino: an other typology of complex village

Sepino was the last Molise village crossed by the transhumants going southward. It was founded by the Samnites (seventh century BC) and then became an important rural centre for the Romans. Indeed the Romans built a settlement – Saepinum - in a wide flat area, after named Altilia, which nowadays is an important archaeological site. This settlement was crossed by an ancient track used by the Samnites and later by the Romans, which crossed one of the main gates of the village. It was a place of trading and halting for the Samnites and the Romans added the collection of taxes for the livestocks passing the village. Although in the Middle Ages the local population abandoned the Roman settlement and preferred rebuilding it for defensive purpose on a nearby hill, the ancient settlement became an integral part of the Pescasseroli-Candela cattle track. As Forlì del Sannio, Sepino is an complex village which proves the antiquity of the transhumance in Molise. The population settled on a nearby hill, but the ancient area continued to be used for trading.

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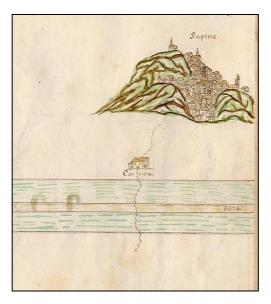


Figure 19: The 1778 map shows the distance between the medieval village Sepino and cattle track (Magnacca, Conte, 1778).

Indeed, the maps of 1778 (figg. 19-20) show that the cattle track led directly to the ancient Roman settlement of Saepinum. The surveyors also outline the gates this cattle track crossed. In addition, they trace the structure of the medieval settlement clung to the hill. Here is another type of complex village: the old and new coexist and, above all, the former is not abandoned but used for its strategic position in the cattle track network.

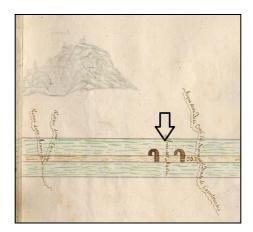


Figure 20: The arrow points out the gates of the Roman settlement of Saepinum along the cattle track in the 1778 map (Magnacca, Conte, 1778).

## 4. CONCLUSIONS: THE CONNECTION SETTLEMENTS -CATTLE TRACKS AND THE TERRITORIAL PROCESSES

The examined cases show that the great transhumance connected distant and different territories moulding them thanks to its economic peculiarities. The transit of shepherds did not happen in a neutral way but, over time, it became a modifier of settlement structures. The cattle-track network became a dynamic infrastructure that each time adjusted itself to local needs through the construction of side tracks. Isernia and Campobasso are very interesting cases: in the former the cattle track junction become functional, in the latter the cattle track network has to incorporate a far-off centre – Campobasso - due to its commercial centrality. In the same way the villages and towns, located along the routes, do not remain unchanged but adapt themselves to the ongoing process becoming complex centres, for example Forlì del Sannio and Sepino, or extended around the cattle track as Bojano. Furthermore, these alterations have been sustained for a long time, defined the settlement structure in Molise (Cialdea, 2007) and contributed to transform some villages in important centres.

Moreover, this analysis proves that the transhumance is and, above all the great transhumance, an important phenomenon both on a broad scale because it fosters the interests both of states such as Kingdom of Castile and the Kingdom of Naples and of the emergent merchant classes but also it is important on a local scale due to the dynamics that it produced. Each territory benefited by such a presence. The cattle track network is the way to cover long distances and, at the same time, it integrates to the existing roads and relates with villages, towns and cities, acquiring a predominant role or adjusting itself to the road junctions along the territory. This explains why the transhumance has become a source of identity for many European areas. Although between the end of the nineteenth and during the twentieth century the majority of the cattle track network was used for other purposes - agriculture, road building, villages widening – the marks it has left along the territory must be studied. The preservation and restoration of existing cattle track parts are a current scientific and applicative emergency (Sarno, 2013), but it is also necessary to examine the structural changes the great transhumance induced. They are often elusive on a first reading but are recognizable through a detailed analysis of historical documents and maps.

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