Cultural Heritage Counts for Parrano

Study on the use of cultural heritage for redevelopment of vacant farmhouses in Central Italy

Vol. I

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Van Deursen

I

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Prologue

Cultural Heritage Counts for Parrano is a graduation thesis divided in three consecutive volumes. Each volume contains research and conclusions from one of the three project phases: theory & history, analysis and design. This first volume describes the quest for cultural heritage values of non-listed agricultural monuments in Central Italy. These buildings represent an important historical and traditional past of the Italian countryside but are in need of redevelopment if we want to maintain them as monuments or traces of history. The graduation thesis is presented in 2018, the European Year of Cultural Heritage. All kinds of events and gatherings related to cultural heritage in the European Union take place during this year to promote research and development of European Heritage. Cultural Heritage is highly relevant for the European Union and the presentation of this thesis is timed perfectly to connect the research and findings within the European network.

The thesis starts with the definition of cultural heritage and the keywords that could help define the heritage values in a wider context of organizations as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the European Union that have different ideas and methods to work with cultural heritage. Thereafter follows a historical overview of the agricultural system that was the basis of these agricultural buildings and their surrounding landscape. The Principality of Parrano in the west of Umbria fulfils the casus of an abandoned farming estate of which one specific farm – podere Bovorosso – is described to define its cultural heritage values for further redevelopment. The second volume reports the analysis of this case from which guiding tools are given to help organize plans of redevelopment for this vacant estate. Volume three shows the process of redesign for the estate and podere Bovorosso in particular. Research and Design will be connected on many scale levels, from territorial masterplan to design detail of the farm, and will be explained with reference to the insights and conclusions from the first two volumes.

To achieve all necessary information for this report, a thorough investigation of literature and local analysis was required. This three-volume report is both self-contained and socially relevant in a wider context at the same time. The connection with the broader field of cultural heritage studies is made concrete by referencing securely to sources of information and inspiration using knowledge from the latest heritage researchers and practitioners. Analyses of the local situation in Parrano are examples of how the studies of cultural heritage could lead towards practices for maintaining abandoned buildings using heritage values. The aim of this report is firstly to advocate a multiple angle vision for the study of agricultural heritage, by means of bringing different actors together, as an enchiridion and example for future projects. Secondly, it is to raise more awareness for the cultural heritage and its potential for the future. Due to massive

emigration and disrepair in the central Italian countryside it is currently in recession. By showing and describing the cultural heritage values from definition as well as political and social level through the history of this specific agricultural heritage the goal of this report is to inspire and motivate people to start investing in and working with this highly potential type of heritage.

This thesis aims to connect the current debate about the role of cultural heritage in the daily life practice of maintenance, reuse, restoration, renovation and transformation, with the current problem of vast vacancy amongst agricultural buildings in central Italy. Buildings with no monumental status quo, but with a long and large cultural and historic heritage.

Introduction

A couple of years ago I visited with my family some friends at their house in the countryside of Montegabbione, in the central Italian province of Terni, and part of the region Umbria. To get there from the highway A1/E35 between Florence and Rome, you drive, among others, through the village of Parrano and its surrounding farmlands. Iconic for this part of Italy is the view of hills with scattered farmhouses all around (fig.1). I noticed that unfortunately a vast number of these buildings around Parrano were abandoned, vacant and in state of deterioration. I realized that the iconic panorama of Tuscany, Umbria, Marche and Lazio, is threatened in its existence because of this large scale decay of buildings and unused vacant farmlands. Tuscany is because of its preference by tourists the least in problem. More than forty million tourists visit Tuscany each year providing essential financial means to develop vacant farmlands into agritourisms, B&B's, hotels and other touristic programs. Regions like Umbria and Marche however, that are nowadays less popular amongst tourists, need to be rescued from decaying agricultural heritage. In the past decade there was one main solution to save these buildings, namely to transform them into holiday houses or second homes. This option was nevertheless not a structural solution to the problem. However, the potential of these buildings is legion and comes forward because of their cultural heritage and the long history of agriculture and sharecropping. Historical research into the cultural heritage of the Italian agricultural history of this region would give multiple tools for plans of redevelopment.

Cultural heritage is often associated with a yearning nostalgia towards the past. People try to rebuilt the physical environment of the past to live in 'those good old times'. What unfortunately happens quite often is that in projects of development many elements of cultural heritage are destroyed because too little attention is paid to the study and preservation of them. We should understand cultural heritage better in order to use it better, or like Torsello (1998) states: "*Know the past to preserve it, preserve it to know it*".[1] This statement by Torsello inspired me already several years ago to do historical research into an important tool in plans of development. Especially the built environment contains lots of information about the past; it is the embodiment of history and by studying and preserving it we can maintain the feeling of the past and connection with it.[2] The aim of this research is to develop new plans for vacant farm buildings in central Italy, valued as cultural heritage. The means is the study of the history of the former agricultural practice of the *mezzadria* they are part of.

[1] (Torsello, 1998).
[2] (Brand, 1994, p. 90): " *[…] in old buildings we glimpse the world of previous generations*".

The village of Parrano and in particular its largest agricultural estate is the case study of this graduation project. The estate, which is officially a principality, is actually for sale for an amount of fourteen million euros. Most of the buildings and lands are vacant or in minimal use. The project is twofold; it is based on historical research that together with building and location analysis form a basis for a possible new program for the estate and an actual redesign of podere Bovorosso, one of its vacant farms. Research and analysis become sources of inspiration for the new program and redevelopment plans for the principality of Parrano. What they can be will be concluded in volume I and II, after which volume III contains a possible plan and design based on these conclusions.

RESEARCH QUESTION

The main question for this research resulted from a preliminary investigation into cultural heritage studies and the current debate on the role of cultural heritage for people dealing with the reuse of existing building structures. Developers, architects, historians, building companies, heritage organizations and many others are dealing with existing architecture in projects of development. Their insights and expertise can be of use for understanding how we can best deal with this topic nowadays in architectural practice. But how should we deal with this study to discover the best solutions for redeveloping existing, non-monumental building structures, in particular the vacant agricultural buildings of Parrano? All this resulted in the main question: "*In what ways can the study of cultural heritage be of advantage for redeveloping vacant farmhouses in central Italy?*"

Three consecutive steps formed the guide for this research and became the basis of this report. It starts with the current debate of the role of cultural heritage in which the wide range of definitions for cultural heritage is explained together with the function of organizations working with heritage like UNESCO and the European Council and the practical role of architects dealing with the redevelopment of heritage. With this basic notion of the situation in which the debate on cultural heritage finds itself nowadays, the scope will be pointed towards the agricultural heritage of central Italy. Historical analysis brings all relevant information forward about the origin of one of the world's oldest agricultural practices, the Italian *mezzadria*, a sharecropping tradition that was in use until the second half of the twentieth century. Special attention in this report is paid to the role of entrepreneurs during the flourishing times of the *mezzadria* in Italy and how they adapt to the changes of legislation and practice in the twentieth century. These insights form the theoretical and historical framework to challenge the non-monumental agricultural heritage in central Italy and in particular to create new possibilities for podere Bovorosso (as described and visualized in volume III).

AIM

It is important to note that the topic concerns 'non-monumental' agricultural heritage and the aim of the study and report is not to get the farmland of Parrano on UNESCOs list of World Heritage Sites but rather to create a better understanding of Cultural Heritage and its values to make value estimations of non-listed monuments. Lots of buildings carry exceptional heritage assets that can inspire architects who know how to read and translate them. Architects are the professionals to work with heritage and to improve the object's sustainability for the future as well as to bring hidden values to the surface. Actually not only its sustainability is at stake; architects can improve and implement other qualities as well, like identity, functionality and aesthetics. Like Philippe Robert describes; the best conversed buildings give back more than just economic value.[3]

To create a thorough knowledge about the *mezzadria* the research went deep into the history of the agricultural organization in central Italy and its social and economic discourses. The sharecropping tradition has been characteristic for Italy and left its traces in the countryside. Sharecropping was the most used agricultural organization form throughout the centuries. It is basically the agreement between a landlord and a tenant that the tenant will work on a piece of land given by the landlord for which both received a share of the crops. This system was favored by both landlord and tenant because the risks where shared, the costs were lower than by renting contracts and the tenant and landlord had the same interest in cultivating the land.[4] The majority of the literature concerning sharecropping in Italy is about the historical situation in Tuscany. All kinds of documents like notarial deeds, administrations and documented agreements give insights in the organization of Italy's agriculture organization from the Early Modern era. One of the most influential researchers of the Italian *mezzadria* was Giorgio Giorgetti. His findings are used as basis for many later publications on this subject.[5] Tuscany was the most organized region of Italy during the Renaissance and it is here that the agricultural tradition of the *mezzadrìa* started to flourish. Literature on this topic, even though focussing on the Tuscan situation, shows several leads towards an understanding of the sharecropping tradition in all regions of central Italy. It is unnecessary to make clear within this essay that the regions of Tuscany, Umbria, Lazio

[3] (Robert, 1998, p. 11): "*recycling can create a 'magical effect' in towns – something they would never possessed had they been mumified like historic monuments"*. Robert uses words from Piere Schneider in his 'speaking of Rome', which cannot be traced further back to the original source caused by little referencing.
[4] (Reid Jr., 1975, pp. 426, 428-429).
[5] Giorgetti, Giorgio (1974) *Contadini e proprietari nell'Italia moderna. Rapporti di produzione e contratti agrari dal secolo XVI a oggi*, Torino, pp. 138-164. (Cherubini, 1991, p. 171); sources that supply us researchers with information from this area in the Middle Ages and Renaissance period are: "*statute rurali e protocolli notarili, deliberazioni di magistrature cittadine e patti tra città e signori o communità rurali, libri di ricordanze di proprietary e libri di amministrazione di enti religiosi o di assistenza, fonti letterarie e fonti iconografiche*".

and Marche were defined as central Italy.[6] Umbria is the region we are looking at in this research and it is the only region in Italy without any coast. The official nickname is 'the green heart of Italy' – Il Cuore Verde d'Italia – which makes sense, since this region has an enormous variation of green landscapes. One problem, however, is the volcanic soil of Umbria, which caused several severe earthquakes in the past ten years. This made the few remaining inhabitants of small villages in the countryside leave for the cities with the consequence that nowadays about 5 to 15 thousand villages in the Umbrian landscape are abandoned 'ghost towns'. Also tourism has suffered because tourists started to avoid visiting Umbria fearing earthquakes and with a shrinking tourism sector the financial basis of maintaining heritage declines as well.[7] This is, however, unnecessary. The danger of earth quakes is only present in a small area in the south of Umbria, around Norcia, but the negative news affects the whole region.[8]

Italy contains so many monuments, art treasures and heritage sites that the country cannot afford to maintain them all. Tuscany has, by far, the most monuments and prominent art pieces in Europe.[9] When the number of cultural objects is vast, the average available financial means for preservation becomes smaller.[10] Even once in a while the State Property Agency, together with the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, gives sites and buildings away for free – or for symbolic prices like one euro – what happened for example again in June 2017.[11] Private and corporate investors are necessary to save and maintain cultural assets because the government cannot take care of them all. The maintenance of heritage, and specifically monuments, is important for Italy because it is the main source of financial input that is necessary to restore and maintain it. But the first and most important question to ask is: what is actually heritage and worth saving?

[6] During history and dependent on the kind of study this definition of 'central Italy' changed. For example the anthropologist Silverman describes central Italy in 1968, according to the Italian National Institute of Agrarian Economy (INEA) in 1956, as "*the sub-Apennine hills of Emilia and the hills and plains of Tuscany, Umbria, Marche, Lazio, and the Abruzzi provinces of Teramo and Pescara*" but changes this definition for his own paper by excluding most of Lazio. (Silverman, 1968, pp. 4-5).

[7] (Lasanski, 2004, p. xxiii).

[8] (van der Ploeg, 2017, pp. 46-50).

[9] (Lasanski, 2004, p. xxi), buildings ruined by earthquakes do not attract tourists anymore. This results in a consequent decrease of income from the most crucial financial input of heritage maintenance: tourism. Without monuments no tourists, without tourists no money.

[10] (Benhamou, 2011, p. 232); according to Benhamou and others like Hutter and Netzer – on which Benhamou bases her arguments – the main problem in Italy is the huge costs of preserving cultural heritage items because the stock of cultural items is large.

[11] Some of the buildings for sale were visible on the webpage of Inhabitat (Froelich, 2017).

Part 1: Cultural Heritage - a current debate

1. Defining Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is a very broad and widespread term, as clearly shown by its many definitions - which even changes quickly over time – and its army of interested and responsible parties. Different parties define their own understanding of cultural heritage which results in a wide range of definitions nowadays. Parties that are supposed to be in the same team, like the members of the European Union, try to use the translations of the agreed definition to distinguish themselves from the other members by using particular words from their own language. To create a bit more understanding about this phenomenon, this essay begins with a disquisition on cultural heritage, comparing definitions and methods used to get grip on this ambiguous concept by questioning: 'How is cultural heritage defined?' Not with the aim of formulating my own definition of cultural heritage but to show in depth the relevance and values of cultural heritage from the keywords and existing definitions.

There are many definitions of cultural heritage. Because of its 'booming' character in the past decade, many persons including architects started to define heritage for themselves and their practices.[12] The variety of definitions is due to the freedom in defining cultural heritage and the changes in the definitions over time and by discipline. Moreover, different types of heritage can be defined - like built, architectural, cultural and physical heritage. Benhamou (2011) defines the built heritage straightforward as: "*the buildings and monuments inherited from the past, with a cultural or historical dimension justifying their preservation for future generations, but also modern monuments whose symbolic or cultural value is high: houses or buildings designed by a kind of international elite of architects*".[13] She bases her definition on the literature of André Chastel (1986), who defined the variables of cultural heritage as: time, space and dimensions. Amongst the latter are the fields of sociology and symbology.[14] Most explanations of the concept of built heritage have common elements but still vary a lot. In comparison, Kuipers (2017) writes: "*built heritage entails, in principle, all kinds of physical structures inherited from the past that are publicly recognized as irreplaceable socio-cultural resources in the present*".[15] According to her, the recognition by the public is essential in the selection of buildings as part of heritage. This social relevance seems important for defining the values, tangible and intangible, of the built heritage.

[12] For example the Dutch architect Paul Meurs defines in 2016 in his book 'Heritage-Based Design' heritage as "*[…] allembracing. It covers loose objects (movable heritage), buildings (built heritage), urban structures, landscapes, archaeology, traditions and stories (intangible heritage). Heritage is about the presence of the past in contemporary life*" (Meurs, 2016, p. 14).
[13] (Benhamou, 2011, p. 229).
[14] (Chastel, 1986).
[15] (Kuipers, 2017, p. 66).

Important to mention is the distinction between 'listed' heritage and 'non-listed' heritage. The first type is often based on institutional thinking like UNESCO, and the second type is the more informal kind of both professionals as the public. 'Listed' means that a building has received the status of 'monument' by one of the worlds' heritage institutions, for example UNESCO, even though every country has its own heritage institution(s). 'Monument' as word, concept and idea comes from Latin, where the verbs 'monere' and 'meminisse' stand for 'think, remember, reminder' and even literally the idea of 'thinking about something'. That means that monuments, and more or less directly the built heritage, is something that carries memories which are valuable to maintain or keep. In the case of the farms in central Italy we deal with specifically the 'non-listed' heritage that is valued mainly by the local citizens, foreigners and professionals from art and architectural history. Above all is cultural heritage a typical 'public good', as described by Ready & Navrud (2002) in their search for the reason why cultural heritage can be valued.[16]

We start with the distinction between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is not only the physical built environment of listed monuments but also memories, tradition, history, spirit of place, attachment of local people – sometimes even a broader public, and so on. The relevance of this intangible part of cultural heritage is maybe best visible with the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage, which was initiated in 2008. On this list we find traditions like the Beer Culture in Belgium, the Ritual Dance of Royal Drum in Burundi and traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona, Italy.[17] Amongst tangible assets we understand works of art, built heritage or architecture, traditional tools used for all kinds of activities – work, festivities, sports, and so on – and all other physical objects that can carry values. Intangible assets are aspects like identity, environment, social behavior and cultural traditions.[18] The multivalent character of cultural heritage is caused by its diversity and by the capability of interacting with its context and thereby influencing it. Cultural heritage can be related to social, historical, spatial, economic, and may other values. Figure 2 shows the shift in heritage categories in the period of more than a century.

[16] (Ready & Navrud, 2002, p. 3).
[17] (Unesco, 2017).
[18] (Koboldt, 1995, pp. 3-4).

Reigle (1902)	Lipe (1984)	Frey (1997)	English Heritage (1997)	Burra Charter (1998)	Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (2015)
Age	Economy	Monetary	Cultural	Aesthetic	Cultural
Historical	Aesthetic	Option	Educational and Academic	Historic	Economic
Commemorative	Associative-symbolic	Existence	Economic	Scientific	Environmental
Use	Informational	Bequest	Resource	Social (including spiritual, political, national, other cultural)	Social
Newness		Prestige	Recreational		
		Educational	Aesthetic		

Figure 2, summery of heritage value typology and categories, based on Mason (2002).[19]

However, there are many values related to cultural heritage and it has become more and more difficult to oversee them all. We can make a basic distinction between socio-economic values and economic values. Among the first type we understand historical, cultural/symbolic, social, spiritual/religious and aesthetic values. The second type covers all use/market and non-use/non-market of which existence, option and bequest values are collected.[20] I will explain them here briefly using the definitions of Mason (2002). The sociocultural values have always been the most important for heritage professionals because they are the "*traditional core of conservation*". All these values are directly and indirectly related to the physical presence of heritage and have meaning for the people. The values often overlap because heritage often contains several values and rarely just one. Most important is the historical value because it is related to the past which can not be brought back. The historical value can be determined as artistic and academic- or educational value. Artistic means that it is unique or the best of its kind, academic means that we can learn from it how the past functioned and we can learn lessons from it for the future. Cultural or symbolic values are together with the historical value the core of heritage. As Mason (2002) states: "*There is no heritage without cultural value*". Cultural values can be defined as historical, political, ethnical, and all other aspects of normal daily living and working. Social values are often intangible and related to social connections, affiliations, relations, and so on. Spiritual- or religious values are, as the term says, related to all religious or sacred activities and thoughts. The most important but also most ambiguous category of sociocultural values is the aesthetic value. It

[19] (Mason, 2002, p. 9).
[20] (Mason, 2002, p. 10); as Mason admits and I agree with, this is just a provisional typology of the values that we acknowledge nowadays.

corresponds with many qualities, characteristics and meanings. The economic values overlap with many of the sociocultural values which are only distinguished by the possibility to analyze them with economic methods to value them in terms of numbers. Of these economic values, the use values are the easiest to analyze and quantify. Use values are based on market trades which are easiest to monitor. The opposite non-use value is more difficult to express in numbers, when people are for example prepared to pay a price for it. It is often related to the 'willingness-to-pay'. For example, when someone is prepared to pay for a certain heritage because of its existence we call it existence value. If the motivation of investing in heritage is based on the idea of preserving it for future generations we call it bequest value. Option value is the most relative category of nonuse value because it is related to the possibility of someone to do something with heritage.[21]

One of the most important, contemporary definitions of cultural heritage was – in my opinion – made by Plácido Domingo, president of Europa Nostra, for the report of Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (CHCfE) where he stated that: "*Cultural heritage is a capital of irreplaceable cultural, social, environmental and economic value*".[22] A consortium of six heritage organization partners in Europe was brought together by the EU Culture Program of 2007-2013 to collect and report in a two-year program all benefits of cultural heritage for Europe. Most important for this project that was launched in 2013, was the assessment of all values coming from cultural heritage to discover a strategy to make Europe more sustainable. The outcome of the research was a diagram (figure 3)[23] showing all subdomains of cultural heritage that could be used as a palette for policies and strategies. These subdomains were also part of the definition made by the CHCfE and identify the values of cultural heritage: 'economy, society, culture and environment'. All aspects as visualized in the diagram can be accommodated within these four fields resulting together in sustainable developments that Europe wants to achieve. Cultural heritage can be characterized as having influence in at least one the four domains.[24] It appeared that the domains not often interrelate, but most of the time only one domain is identified as shown in 42% of the studies by CHCfE (figure 4).[25] In only 6% of the cases all four domains were present and related. The ten key findings that the CHCfE Consortium appoint are part of the definition they give to cultural heritage. It is their view on cultural heritage and how it could be of use for projects (Appendix I).[26] As pointed out in key 7: "*cultural heritage is a part of the solution to Europe's climate change challenges, for example*

[21] (Mason, 2002, pp. 10-13).
[22] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 5). Europa Nostra is Italy's main NGO dealing with the protection of landscape and was one of the heritage organizations within the CHCfE consortium.
[23] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 17).
[24] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, pp. 13-14).
[25] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 16).
[26] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, pp. 19-29); the complete overview of the ten key findings is copied in appendix I and the key-findings are highlighted by the author.

trough the protection and revitalization of the huge embedded energy in the historic building stock." That is relevant for the vacant farms in central Italy as well.

For the convention of 1972 in Paris, UNESCO defined cultural heritage in three ways: monuments, groups of buildings and sites. Because the focus of this research is towards non-listed buildings – so without official monumental status – we pay most attention to the second and third item. Italian farms are often settled in groups of adjacent buildings meaning that we are dealing most of the time with groups of buildings and not single buildings. According to UNESCO, the cultural heritage of groups of buildings is: "*groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity of their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science*".[27] The role of the landscape is already mentioned within this definition, especially the relation between the buildings and the surroundings. During the convention in Paris – that lasted a month – the participating members had to acknowledge the emergency situation of cultural heritage in the world. The deterioration and disappearance of heritage goods is a "*harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all nations of the world*". This convention took place about the same time as the last agricultural exodus in central Italy. All members adopting this convention underlined the urgent need of the international community to start protecting cultural and natural heritage assets.[28]

Important about definitions of cultural heritage is the relation between definitions of different organizations and institutions. For example, the method of UNESCO from 1972 was referred to by the Council of Europe in 1985 where the same distinction was made between monuments, groups of buildings and sites. However UNESCO applies this distinction to "cultural heritage" whereas the Council of Europe applies it to "architectural heritage". The difference in definition for the "groups of buildings" is evident within the following quotations:

UNESCO (1972): "*groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity of their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science*".[29]

Council of Europe (1985): "*homogeneous groups of urban or rural buildings conspicuous for their historical, archaeological, artistic, scientific, social or technical interest which are sufficiently coherent to form topographically definable units*".[30]

[27] (UNESCO, 2005, p. 10).
[28] (UNESCO, 2005, p. 9).
[29] (UNESCO, 2005, p. 10).
[30] (Council of Europe, 1985, p. 1).

The 'landscape' element of heritage is also relevant for this specific research because the agricultural practice of the past shaped the landscape of central Italy according to its function. New functions could change this landscape drastically, which is undesirable. Cultural heritage has many definitions, the same applies to 'cultural landscape'. The most important however is, according to González and Vázquez (2014): "*cultural landscapes are special landscapes that for some reason are set apart from landscape in general*".[31] Cultural landscapes are extraordinary landscapes that need to be studied and valued before we start to change them thoughtlessly. The Council of the European Union uses also definitions, or to be precise recognitions, of cultural heritage in their debates and conclusions to determine the role of cultural heritage within their plans. These recognitions changed over time but has been more constant since 2014 and could be defined as follows: "*Cultural heritage is a collective noun for all historical resources that could be present in any form or aspect - tangible, intangible and digital – like monuments, sites, landscapes, skills, practices, knowledge, collections and expressions of human activity. It originates from the interaction between people and places through time and it is constantly evolving. It is unique and cannot be renewed in any way without losing some of its origin*".[32] In 2005, at the Faro convention, the Council of Europe defined cultural heritage as "*a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time*".[33] The social relevance of cultural heritage is also described by the European Commission that distinguished cultural heritage in six categories: cultural, physical, digital, environmental, human and social.[34] The attention for social aspects of heritage has become more important within recent studies. Most important within this discipline are the users.[35] Social values are fundamental for continuity of life in service of monuments.

As we have seen, one of the keywords used for defining cultural heritage is 'value'. It is a certain value or a certain amount of value that is relevant for the importance of cultural heritage. De la Torre & Mason (2002) define value as: "*a set of positive characteristics or qualities perceived in cultural objects or sites by certain individuals or groups*".[36] We will now look with some more depth into the value of 'economy' within the field of heritage studies. The economic relevance is high because in cases of redevelopment, the new economic plan for the heritage assets is important for

[31] (González & Vázquez, 2014, p. 35).
[32] This definition is based on: (Council of Europe, 2014, p. 1).
[33] (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 2).
[34] (European Commission, 2014, p. 3).
[35] (Meurs, 2016, p. 35); as acknowledged by Meurs, values attributed to heritage changed over the generations, and in the latest generation social values have become more and more important.
[36] (de la Torre & Mason, 2002, p. 4).

its renewed success. It is required to make the development beneficial in any way. Williamson (2010) describes the benefits of development concerning heritage sites on two different levels: first cultural benefits and secondly social and economic benefits. His writings are focussed on listed buildings and conservation areas but are also useful guidelines for careful and thorough descriptions of heritage development plans.[37]

The economic aspect of heritage is the latest branch in culture studies. It was just after the Second World War that economists started to become interested in the field of cultural heritage but it still took about twenty-five years before they could relate their findings to other heritage assets; caused by the initial lack of analytics and tools. The economic view towards cultural heritage became more frequently researched from the 1970's. An important step in the development of researches in this field of work was the launch of the *Journal of Cultural Heritage* in 1973 by William Hendon.[38] Still it is hard to formulate the economic valuation of cultural heritage because you might, for example, like the atmosphere of a medieval town, but this feeling cannot be translated directly into economic values of the place.[39] In the past decades it was commonly assumed that cultural heritage only costed money and did barely produce any dividend on investments. This idea changed in the beginning of the 21st century caused by new insights thanks to studies into the results of heritage investments. One of the discoveries was that by improving the environment of heritage assets the additional costs are often reduced and after a short time the assets can become economically profitable.[40] Economic profit of cultural heritage is often related to tourism but this view is limited. Economic profit could also be achieved with new jobs, rental contracts, self-sufficiency and so on. This will be considered with more detail later in this thesis, while working on the case of redeveloping the Principality of Parrano. There has not been a definition for the economic aspect of cultural heritage for a long time. Economists had to use the regular definitions of cultural heritage to analyse the economic aspect. Like Christian Koboldt (1995) they used the elements from the definition of cultural heritage to understand and comprehend the variables from which they could conduct their economic research and analyses.

[37] (Williamson, 2010, pp. 53, 59); the identification of the benefits coming from developments is part of a heritage statement.

[38] (Rietveld, 2010, p. 164).For more information on the economic aspects of cultural heritage advise: Towse, R. (2003), *A Handbook of Cultural Economics*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar; Hutter, M. & Rizzo, I. (1997), *Economic Perspectives on Cultural Heritage*, MacMillan Press ltd.; Rizzo, I. & Mignosa, A. (2013), *Handbook on the Economics of Cultural Heritage*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar; Throsby, D. (2001), *Economics and Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[39] (Rietveld, 2010, pp. 166-167): "*A crucial problem with the valuation of cultural heritage is that in general there is no direct market-based economic valuation available*".

[40] (European Commission, 2015, p. 6); "*It is now generally accepted that environmental neglect can have severe economic and social impacts which outweigh the cost of protection*".

This often resulted in findings concerning the welfare given or created by the cultural heritage goods.[41]

A vast amount of studies since the change of view on economic values show that investing in cultural heritage would actually pay off and not only for the investor(s) but for the whole society attached to it. The CHCfE Consortium presented evidence that economic profit can be achieved by investing in cultural heritage because it has proved to multiply investments and so increased the economic profit.[42] Preservationists argument that the economic advantage of reusing old real estate is the often low purchase price and – most of the times – little maintenance costs over time. They admit the high costs of renewal but preserving remains profitable because the investment can be spread over a longer period and the price is still less than demolishing and building something new. Nevertheless, when the costs and disadvantages of reusing old buildings remains high there are often public and private funds available.[43]

This problem of valuating the economic effects of the re-use of cultural heritage is not a self-contained problem. To be honest, all values of heritage can be hard to define. According to Remoy (2014) this is caused by the complex concept of heritage and its variety of values which can be all covered under the categories of usage, aesthetics and indirectness.[44] Though the economic data are hard to get they are most relevant concerning the heritage decision process in which the financial aspect puts some extra weight in the discussion. Bringing this economic – or cultural capital as Remoy calls is - aspect to the table allows us to analyse its costs versus the benefits.[45] Ruijrok (2006) defined the economic value of cultural heritage as: "*the amount of welfare that heritage generates for society*".[46] This definition was enlarged by Remoy (2014) stating that it is "*compromising both material and immaterial values*".[47] According to Ruigrok there are three benefits to be achieved from this definition. In the first place a value of comfort for housing, secondly values related to recreation and thirdly the value from legacy – or as Ruijgrok calls it: 'bequest'. He admits that no matter what, the economic value will always be depending on "*people's willingness to pay*".[48] We can still ask ourselves why we should invite economists to join a cultural heritage research team but maybe the best answer is the acknowledgement that

[41] (Koboldt, 1995, pp. 3, 10-16).
[42] (Ruijgrok, 2006); Ruijgrok shows this "pay-off" for some Dutch cases, (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 16).
[43] (Brand, 1994, p. 93).
[44] (Remoy, 2014, p. 159); in chapter eight of the co-edited book, Remoy looks specifically at the values of cultural heritage.
[45] (Remoy, 2014, p. 162).
[46] (Ruijgrok, 2006, p. 206).
[47] (Remoy, 2014, p. 163).
[48] (Ruijgrok, 2006, pp. 206-207).

economists have the best tools to assess the values of cultural heritage – no matter how difficult the translation can be from the normal economic field into the cultural heritage field.[49]

The relevance however, of appreciating, involving and using the economic value is essential, according to Mourato & Massanti (2002), because without the understanding and by neglecting the economic aspect of cultural heritage, many initiatives would not be possible and our world heritage will degrade. When the economic relevance of cultural heritage is ignored the assets will lose value and become under-priced.[50]

Conclusion:

This chapter summarized the findings following the question how cultural heritage is defined. Cultural heritage appears to be a widespread concept, involving important parties like UNESCO and the European Council to define their own definition and values. We saw that the definition may change with time and in relation to organizations or individuals but that some common elements are always referred to. Specifically the values of economy, culture, society and environment came out to identify the contemporary categories of studies into cultural heritage. These values were based on decades of research and categorization.

In the next chapter we will look into the organizations dealing with the policy-making and study of cultural heritage. We have seen the importance of UNESCO and the European Council – as part of the European Union – in this chapter, which we will look at in depth in chapter two.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

Cultural heritage is hard to define in accordance to the many disciplines and parties dealing with it. All do agree that tangible and intangible assets from the past do deserve a place in our future, as does the Principality of Parrano. An aim for the redevelopment of the Principality could be to generate the heritage assets from the past into economic and social assets for the future. These appear to be crucial for any life continuity in nowadays society. To define the most important assets we should consider all values that identify the cultural heritage of the case object in the disciplines of economy, society, culture and environment. Specially objects and traditions of universal value have most chance of survival in the current debate on what is cultural heritage and worth saving.

[49] (de la Torre & Mason, 2002); It will "*lead to suboptimal allocation of resources in the sector, investment failure, and continuous degradation of the world's cultural assets*".
[50] (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002, pp. 52, 68).

2. Organizing Heritage

Within the field of heritage there is also a role for governments and policy makers, as much more can be achieved when managerial boards and governments on municipal, provincial, regional, national and even international scale start to work together. But, which relevant institutions or organizations are nowadays in business for cultural heritage in broad perspective and how are they positioned towards the topic? In the previous chapter we have seen two major institutions, UNESCO and the EU, at work in the cultural heritage debate. I'll now look into those organizations and how they look at cultural heritage. To connect governments with cultural heritage there must be good methods for defining and measuring the values of heritage.[51] Besides, it appears that the European Union is so driven to protect and work with its heritage that the EU could be of use for projects of redevelopment as a network with lots of expertise and also for funding. The European Commission calls it "*an asset for all, a responsibility for all*",[52] which is in a way their offer to help when, for example, funding from the European Union is necessary but also a possible reason for the Commission to interfere when the European interest is at risk. What are their interests and how could we help each other to improve our projects on cultural heritage?

I'll start with the best known organization worldwide UNESCO, which is the abbreviation for United Nations Educational. Scientific and Cultural Organization, founded in 1945. This organization of international collaborating countries had worked intensively to save cultural heritage worldwide ever since. The World Heritage List (WHL) contains all kinds of heritage that is now safeguarded for the future, or at least is protected to be preserved. In 1965 the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) was founded as instrument of UNESCO responsible for the conservation of cultural heritage all over the world. Though the foundation was a direct result of the Venice Charter from 1964 (Appendix II), the earliest origins date back to 1931 when the Athens Charter was presented for the first time – a concept on how to deal with cultural heritage. The Venice Charter is still the leading document with criteria on how to conserve or restore heritage buildings and sites.[53] As UNESCO has stated in 1972, all loss caused by deterioration and or disappearance of any kind of heritage is a direct loss for the worlds' heritage and for human being. It constitutes a "*harmful impoverishment*" which means it is devaluating and detrimental.[54]

[51] (Rietveld, 2010, p. 166).
[52] (European Commission, 2014, p. 2).
[53] (de Jonge, 2017, pp. 101, 107); many other documents followed this Venice Charter, like the Burra Charter and documents from the International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighbourhoods of the Modern Movement (DoCoMoMo).
[54] (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002, p. 52), (UNESCO, 2005).

Some important developments took place within the UNESCO program since its foundation in 1945. Important was the World Heritage Convention of 1972 in Paris when the definition of heritage was formulated in a treaty and signed by all member states – as stated in the previous chapter. The treaty was titled: 'Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage'.[55] During the 1990's this treaty evolved specifically in the direction of cultural heritage landscapes. This development is important for the current case of vacant agricultural estates and farmhouses in central Italy for several reasons. In the first place the criterion 'associative cultural landscape' applies to former agricultural practice. This unique use of landscape, that shaped central Italy for centuries, could be valued better as world heritage working with the UNESCO's Operational Guidelines from 2005.[56] These guidelines are not only useful for monuments and landscapes to be defined and listed as world heritage monuments but can be used as well to analyse the heritage values – also called 'cultural significance'[57] – of the objects and traditions. I emphasize and recommend the use of these guidelines for heritage valuation, even when the goal is not to get the item listed, because one of the four trending tendencies of cultural landscapes that were listed by UNESCO between 1992 and 2005 was "the importance of *agricultural landscapes*" as identified by Rössler in 2006.[58] This tendency was and is still very logical because of the many traditional agricultural landscapes that the European Union contains. This growing consciousness of valuable cultural heritage landscapes resulted in even more relevant acknowledgements for central Italy's problem on agricultural vacancies. For example, one of the conclusions of the international workshop on the topic of 'Cultural Landscapes – The Challenges of Conservation' was: "*Cultural landscape management and conservation processes bring people together in caring for their collective identity and heritage, and provide a shared local vision within a global context. Local communities need therefor to be involved in every aspect of the identification, planning and management of the areas, as they are the most effective guardians of the landscape heritage*".[59] This local, social cohesion and relation is clear in all kinds of areas where heritage and tradition are at the eve of loss and could be used positively and profitably during redevelopments.

The Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (CHCfE) Consortium, mentioned in the previous chapter, was a shortly operating research program (July 2013 – June 2015) initiated by the European

[55] (Rössler, 2006, p. 333).
[56] (Rössler, 2006, pp. 335-338), (UNESCO, 2005).
[57] (Mason, 2002, pp. 5,7); these values can be seen as moral guidelines or principles as well as quality and characteristics of the tangible and intangible assets.
[58] (Rössler, 2006, pp. 342-343).
[59] (UNESCO, 2003), (Rössler, 2006, pp. 350-351).

Commission. Four domains of cultural heritage were defined from the research: culture, economy, society and environment. The aim of the CHCfE research was to:

1. demonstrate the value and potential of cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe;
2. raise public awareness of this resource;
3. present strategic recommendations to European decision makers.[60]

It led towards a change in approach with new visions and programs of cultural heritage research and made the topic of cultural heritage even more relevant.

The European Union has funded initiatives in the Italian countryside by means of the European Community. One of the three European Communities, which were in operation between 1952 and 2009, was the European Economic Community (EEC) that was called European Community from 1993 when the Communities became part of the European Union until the complete transition of the EC into the EU in 2009 by the Treaty of Lisbon. As oversight community, the European Community has influenced the agricultural practice and rural housing of Italy for decades by funding the reforms of the old system. For example, in the 1960's the EC gave subsidies for the production of sheep milk that could be used to make the Pecorino cheese – which was a growing market at that time.[61] The funds of the European Community were essential for the recapitalization of agriculture in Tuscany, as we understand from Gaggio (2011). It was not to subsidize the sharecroppers because they had already left their farms. Even the government funds specifically for landownership on smaller scale to help landowners become self-organized, did not succeed. That is why the fund from the EC in the second half of the 1960s was used to organize larger farms with few crops each to capitalize the agricultural system. This led to the complete disappearance of the traditional mixed crop culture '*agricoltura promiscua*'.[62] A new plan, that shows some similarities with the Fasctist practice of putting public money in agriculture, was called the *Piano Verdi* and resulted in two financial injections by 1962 and 1967 to support newly made initiatives in agriculture. The EC has invested in these same projects from 1964 onwards, and by the 1970's these funds became part of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund (EAGGF) by the European Commission.[63]

[60] (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 296).
[61] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 166, 175), all references and written publications by the European Economic Community can be read nowadays as from the European Union, as stated in the new treaty from 2000 (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 1).
[62] (Gaggio, 2011, p. 327); the fund from the Italian government to help creating landownership on small scale was called *Cassa per la Piccola Proprietà Contadina*.
[63] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 129).

Especially much EU money was made available for the World Heritage Site of the Orcia valley in southern Tuscany – listed as world heritage in 2004. The funds of the EU were given to regional governments that became responsible for the right distribution of the money that had to be used to restore the old farms of the region so they would attract tourists from all over the world.[64] All this interest from the EU in Italian agriculture was part of the raising consciousness that this kind of Italian heritage was also European heritage. Like Asor Rosa (2006) declared: "*[…] cultural assets are neither Tuscan nor Roman nor Venetian, but Italian, and as such, European*".[65] This interest of the European Union in rural Italy became stronger on the 20th of October 2000 when the European Landscape Convention was held in Florence resulting in a new definition and scope as part of the restructuring steps of European Heritage. This specific convention marks the start of a 'new European discourse', as Anna Geppert (2014) claims, because of the topic's evolution reaching the European level, in which all member states declare that they are fond of their historical roots.[66] The European Commission declared heritage most powerful in its communication to the other councils within the European Union:

"*Europe's cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is our common wealth – our inheritance from previous generations of Europeans and our legacy for those to come. It is an irreplaceable repository of knowledge and a valuable resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion. It enriches the individual lives of hundreds of millions of people, is a source of inspiration for thinkers and artists, and a driver for our cultural and creative industries. Our cultural heritage and the way we preserve and valorise it is a major factor in defining Europe's place in the world and its attractiveness as a place to live, work, and visit*".[67]

It is not the case that Europe takes over all heritage but it was declared that all heritage in Europe is both local property and European property. Though it feels like the European Union wanted to annex local heritage, it should be admitted that heritage is in origin local but has become part of Europe's history.[68] The advantage of this European-level-interference is that it resulted in research programs and funds. Thanks to projects like Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (CHCfE) – initiated in 2013 - we now have a new European Index to valuate cultural heritage.

[64] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 5, 217); the Orcia valley received its UNESCO World Heritage Site status mainly because of the relations and comparisons with the historical paintings from Sienese painters of the fourteenth century.
[65] (Asor Rosa, 2006, pp. 4-5), the EU feels itself responsible for all heritage in the participating countries and so we can assume the union will maintain keeping an eye on this field of work.
[66] (Geppert, 2014, p. 9); the Leipzig Charter on Sustainable Cities (2007) strengthened the "evolution" towards urban development policies.
[67] (European Commission, 2014, p. 2).
[68] (European Commission, 2014, p. 3).

Most important and remarkable about the 2000 Convention in Florence and the resulted treaty was the difference made by Italian translators in the definition of 'landscape'. Where the original English treaty stated: "*Landscape means an area, […]*" the Italians made it into "*Paesaggio designa una determinata parte di territorio, […]*", meaning the landscape should be 'determined'. Apparently the freedom of interpretation was still allowed using the freedom of translation. In the following decade, the Italian government would change and rectify the definition several times.[69] Most important about this Convention was the official connection made with a lot of previous Heritage conventions, like the Convention for the Protection of the Agricultural Heritage of Europe held in Granada (1985) and the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in Paris (1972). By acknowledging these conventions in this new treaty of Florence (2000), all participating countries underlined the value of previous conventions and outcomes by signing. This covenant of 2000 about the European Landscape was important for Italian agriculture because it said "*to promote landscape protection, management and planning and to organise European co-operation on landscape issues*". Five policy pillars were determined to be integrated in the newly made plans: cultural, environmental, *agricultural*, social and economic policies.[70]

On January 22nd, 2004, the Italian Ministry of Cultural Assets launched a new legislation decree for the protection of cultural heritage. The Republic of Italy enhanced with this decree the attainment to preserve all heritage that stands for its national community and territory and promote the education and development of culture. All governments, on large and small scale, should "*ensure and sustain the conservation of the cultural heritage and foster its public enjoyment and enhancement*". The Ministry distinguishes two kinds of heritage: cultural property and landscape, and all heritage properties that are in governmental hands would receive public qualities. This way, the Ministry wants to achieve more awareness and a better sense of responsibility for all kinds of parties dealing with cultural heritage in Italy.[71] One year later, in 2005, the Council of Europe published her next treaty concerning the social element of cultural heritage values. For this so-called Faro Treaty the Council refers to earlier conventions of the Council to underline the sequence of their meetings.[72] In the second article of the convention's

[69] (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 2), (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 249-250); first integration of the conventions' treaty definition was made in 2004 in the Codice dei Beni Culturali e del Paesaggio and agreed by the parliament in 2006, though the new government of Berlusconi changed the text again, putting more value on the 'identity' of the territory.

[70] (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 3); however, the pillars will change over time and by discipline. We will see later on that the four main policies were cultural, social, economic and environmental.

[71] (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, 2004, pp. 13-16).

[72] The Council of Europe refers amongst others to the European Cultural Convention of 1954, the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe held in 1985, and the earlier mentioned European Landscape Convention in 2000.

report, the council gave the earlier mentioned definition of cultural heritage as "*a group of resources inherited from the past […]*" but described it a bit differently from the previous ones. This Faro convention was important because the results have been leading the debates and conferences for several years. For example the CHCfE endorsed the definition made by the European Council in Faro in 2005 in their report of 2015.[73] Again, a new definition has been made based on renewed knowledge about cultural heritage. Most important from this convention are the acknowledgements that the values of cultural heritage must be identified and recognised with studies and become economically and socially supported. One of the main reasons for this promotion of cultural heritage was the recognition that cultural heritage has positive influence on the quality of life and people's well-being. Special attention was paid to encouraging new parties and initiatives that wanted to step in one of the processes of identifying, researching, valuing and preserving cultural heritage.[74] This encouragement to start working and to stand up for cultural heritage has become more and more visible in the EU policies ever since. In May 2013 UNESCO declared at its international conference 'Culture: Key to Sustainable Development' in Hangzhou that culture should be granted an important role at the heart of sustainable development policies. The members agreed that there was an urgent need to define new approaches for developments in which culture should receive a more important role because of its values, resources and framework that could establish more sustainable methods of development. They reaffirmed the positive, sustainable features of culture within challenges and developments.[75] With this declaration UNESCO finally stated that culture should be integrated within development policies and programmes to make these more sustainable.

In the following year of 2014, the European Council published the conclusions of their May 20th debate in which she stated that cultural heritage is a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe. In the years between the convention in 2000 and this debate in 2014 a structural focus and a plan made inside the European Council aimed at 'usage' of cultural heritage because of its values. In their conclusions they start with the acknowledgement that "*cultural heritage consists of the resources inherited from the past in all forms and aspects – tangible, intangible and digital […]. It originates from the interaction between people and places through time and it is constantly evolving. These resources are of a great value from a cultural, environmental, social and economic point of view and thus their sustainable management constitutes a strategic choice for the 21st century*".[76]

[73] (Council of Europe, 2005, pp. 1-2), (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 13).
[74] (Council of Europe, 2005, p. 5).
[75] (UNESCO, 2013, p. 2): "*We reaffirm that culture should be considered to be a fundamental enabler of sustainability, being a source of meaning and energy, a wellspring of creativity and innovation, and a resource to address challenges and find appropriate solutions*".
[76] (Council of Europe, 2014, p. 2), in section 11 the European Council adds the scientific component to the list of cultural heritage components.

Cultural heritage can be an important asset for Europe which the EU wants to use as trump. The Council pleaded for more investments in heritage education and research as well as in the tangible and intangible European cultural heritage. The European Heritage Label is one of the means implemented since 2013 to create more awareness of the potentials of cultural heritage and to motivate more sustainable redevelopments.

In 2015 the HORIZON 2020 Expert Group on Cultural Heritage, working on behalf of the European Commission, published a report in which three objectives of cultural heritage are mentioned: economy, society and environment.[77] According to these experts there is a positive dividend payment possible with just little investments in cultural heritage. Investors look mainly to economic dividend of their investment but the expert group focusses on the improved sustainability of the environment and the social cohesion that can be achieved.[78] According to the Horizon 2020 experts there are four possible actions to strengthen the position and role of cultural heritage in developments:

1. heritage led regeneration;
2. sustainable cultural landscapes;
3. inclusive governance;
4. innovative business models for cultural heritage.[79]

I would recommend to combine several of these actions which can have all kinds of practices as explained in the report of HORIZON 2020. The experts presented them as four independent actions, but the development could be multi-layered by integrating them all.

The year 2018 is declared as European Year of Cultural Heritage. This was proposed by the European Council and supported by the European Commission and European Parliament. During this year, all kinds of events and gatherings will take place, focussing on cultural heritage in the European Union. Not only listed monuments will be part of this year program, also the non-listed, intangible assets of heritage will be in the spotlight. For that reason I'll present this report during this specific year and in connection with the European Year of Cultural Heritage. The EU has been of great importance for agricultural Italy in the past and can still be of value for the redevelopment of the Italian countryside, which hosts one of Europe's most ancient legacies. There are still funds available at European level that could help redeveloping the vacant agricultural estates of central Italy and specifically Parrano. Demands for funds are controlled by several committees and governments climbing up the hierarchy (municipality, territory, province, region, country – with

[77] (European Commission, 2015, pp. 8-9).
[78] (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
[79] (European Commission, 2015, pp. 10-18).

the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio of Umbria and the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – and finally the European Union. The subsidies will possibly be granted and given through the Common Agricultural Policy of the EU. In part Two of this report we will return to the European Year of Cultural Heritage as moment of importance for Parrano.

Conclusion:

In this chapter is dealt with the link between heritage and organization on European and worldwide scale, considering which relevant institutions or organizations are nowadays active in the field of cultural heritage in broad perspective and how they are positioned towards its maintenance. The importance of knowing what institutions and governments like UNESCO and the European Council do for and think about cultural heritage could not have been more obvious after this preliminary investigation. All kinds of initiatives, ideas and tools were considered, which could be used in all kinds of ways for projects on vacant agricultural landscapes in central Italy specifically, but also in other regions of Europe. Apparently not only local, regional and national funds could be used but also international organizations could help the study and financing of local projects of redeveloping cultural heritage. UNESCO and the EU have invested since the twentieth century in the agricultural countryside of Italy because of its high relevance as European heritage. Many actors in the countryside of central Italy – and mainly Tuscany – lobbied at Regional Government level and the European Commission and UNESCO level for funds and subsidies to finance their developments. While UNESCO causes a more "passive" practice of conserving heritage underlining preservation instead of re-use, the European Union and her Commissions and Counsels direct toward "active" ways of restoring and renovating heritage using innovative concepts of development (figure 5). The difference between UNESCO and the EU is important when dealing with heritage. UNESCO will help to conserve cultural heritage whereas the EU would support the adaptive re-use of cultural heritage assets.

UNESCO	EU
worldwide	**only European Union**
preventive	**research and study of potential (like CHCfE)**
protective	**reuse**
passive	**active**

Figure 5, comparison between UNESCO and the EU, concerning their approach towards cultural heritage

Concerning both ways of working it is recommended to look most at the EU approach when dealing with the large vacancy of farms in central Italy. It requires an active role of preserving and transforming without aiming at a recognized monumental status. A joint-venture would fit best in this project of development. Not only experts should be dealing with the project but so will corporations, public authorities, investors, existing and potential owners, locals and non-governmental organizations. All kinds of actors should be free to join projects of cultural heritage as promoted by the European Council.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

For the redevelopment of the Principality of Parrano it is important to answer one question first and foremost: which method is going to be best for the future? The passive, preventive and protective approach of UNESCO or the active and reuse-focussed approach of the EU? It would be recommended to initiate an active position towards the future of the principality, considering the cultural heritage assets as well as the potentials of past, present and future. The EU is an interesting and solid partner to work with both for its open-minded study and research method as well as for the available funds that could cover the financials for implementing and starting the new developments in the principality. This choice in partnership is leading for the following approach and methods that will be used for the redevelopments in Parrano. An active role would create more possibilities towards a sustainable future for the municipality and principality.

3. Heritage and Architects

Heritage is not something that is only organized by large institutions like UNESCO and the European Union. It is relevant in practice by all kinds of people, through all layers of society. The relation between architect and heritage has been a topic of renewed interest these years and did result in the broad discourse on cultural heritage with a great range of literature on this topic. Heritage is not only related to physical buildings, but also to intangible matter like stories and memories, which means that architects should have some knowledge on how to deal with cultural heritage in all its features to develop and design a sustainable future for built and non-build heritage assets. But, what is the role of architects in the current debate concerning heritage? Let us try to understand how architects should fulfil their role and behave when dealing with cultural heritage on the basis of the existing studies on this topic.

Before we look at the role of the architect within the cultural heritage discourse, it is necessary to understand the position of architecture in relation to cultural heritage first. The role of architecture within the field of cultural heritage seems very important. As Gorden Matthews (2007) states '*architecture* [is] *reflecting different social structures and cultural forms, as well as different natural environments*'.[80] He looks at cultural identity from an anthropological point of view which, in his opinion, can easily be applied to architecture. And his view can be seen as very accurate because architecture is most of the time the carrier of cultural heritage, the physical evidence of tangible and intangible heritage. It makes cultural heritage identifiable. Like Van Hees, Naldini & Roos (2014) describe: '*Heritage buildings are testimonies of our past and bear the traces of time'*.[81] In their opinion the best way to implement a respectful maintenance of our heritage in projects concerning redevelopment is to use the intervention strategy based on Design, Cultural Value and Technology. The existing 'built' environment should play a bigger role not only in the policies of government but also in the strategy of architects. The information that architects could and should read from all the layers in buildings and their surroundings can be a treasure of inspiration.[82]

Built heritage seems to be the best form of heritage to be researched and valued. It can carry or present the cultural values of the surroundings as well as its own values. Specifically vernacular architecture[83] has the connection with the surrounding landscape and the materials available, according to Van Hees (2014). He points out that vernacular architecture "*expresses the sense of place*" and by investigating it you will understand the location, its past and possible solutions to

[80] (Mathews, 2007, p. 49).
[81] (van Hees, Naldini, & Roos, 2014, p. 113).
[82] (van Hees et al., 2014, p. 13).
[83] Vernacular architecture can be characterized by a design style that is based on its local context: made according to local needs, made of materials that are available locally and based on local traditions.

problems best. Learn from it and use the gained knowledge to sustain historic buildings for the future. Wether they are listed monuments or not, all carry valuable history and "*are memorials of construction methods and materials*" from which architects should learn.[84]

As Bosma & Kolen (2010) want to point out in their book, heritage professionals should not only look at the museal or nostalgic characteristics of heritage but to the future strategies that can be set-out from heritage to be implemented in planning, decision-making and implementation practice. Most important is probably a better understanding how project developers and investors can be convinced about the values of heritage. Since heritage assets are more often part of private investments, professionals should step away from the idea that developments are threats to the heritage but start thinking with these private investors about the possible solutions for heritage including the financial plan. Historic buildings can function as iconic 'place makers' for areas of development. The past decade we have seen many examples of meaningless neighborhoods that were transformed by using the heritage assets which, renewed, gave the neighborhood an important cultural boost.[85] Many examples are the fancy and trending places of today that have cultural assets defining the character of the place. Most importantly about these 'place makers' is probably the physical appearance of any form of heritage. These built objects embody history through time. And by modifying the building through time in relation of new functions and by means of transformations, restorations and renovations, the historic function becomes extended. By looking at those 'physical heritage carriers' we look back in time and can see and understand how time has changed and how society has changed along. Historians prefer the original state, but when we would go back to the original state, we will lose all the meanings and values in the time leading to interventions. On the other side, like Meurs claims, "*the more interventions take place, the bigger the risk that less will remain of the earlier phase*".[86] Preservation of these physical carriers is important to preserve the heritage they represent. As De Jonge (2017) states: "*In order to satisfy the need for historic continuity, the cultural value of most built heritage can only be safeguarded through physical preservation*".[87]

Architecture as the physical heritage carrier has become an assemblage of historical periods and styles. So, we can look at it from both ends of a rope; going back completely to the earliest beginning or looking forward to an assemblage in which different styles become a bizarre collection with little coherence at all. Maybe we should look to possibilities in-between?

[84] (Remoy, 2014, p. 161), (van Hees et al., 2014, pp. 111-112); "*The intrinsic qualities of many examples of vernacular architecture […] show possible solutions and make clear that interventions in the existing should be based on a thorough study of buildings and land*".
[85] (van Hees et al., 2014, p. 109).
[86] (Meurs, 2016, p. 36).
[87] (de Jonge, 2017, p. 101).

Historians are orientated on the past and will generally point backwards. Their interest is in researching the pure original past instead of the "past" made in the future. Designers however, and architects included, have their starting point in the present and past and work toward a new and better future. They work with tools and knowledge from the past which will be represented in the design. This is part of the 'Research-based Design'-approach from De Jonge (2017). Two aspects of the architects' profession are very useful considering the redevelopment of heritage buildings. First, architects have the skills and imagination to place themselves in the position of the original architect and his/her concept, from which the renovation can take place in honor of the original concept.[88] Secondly, architects can add new architectonic values to the existing ones to make the building more useful and appealing for a contemporary need of architecture.

By having all professionals, historians and designers work closely together, a more sustainable and historically sensitive approach and result can be achieved. Bosma & Kolen describe the "shared sensitivity" of both historian and architect for space, image and texture, which they can both take as starting point for valuing the existing structure and defining the transformation possibilities.[89] I would stand for an integral approach of disciplines with focus on past, present and/or future. We should not forget to involve entrepreneurs and developers as well in this process. The gap between the entrepreneurs thinking about profits in the future and heritage professionals thinking about the past need to be bridged. A mutual trust, as Meurs (2016) calls it, must be created between both parties.[90] The architect, in the role of master builder, should be the person to create that trust and ensure collaboration between all parties.

Maintenance of existing buildings is often seen in two ways, or like Stewart Brand (1994) calls it: "*two flavours, […] cosmetic and real*".[91] Most attention is thereby given to the esthetic, 'cosmetic' appearance which is filled with botox to make it as original and authentic as possible. Of course this can be done in a right way, using traditional crafts and materials but often 'ugly' modern look-a-likes are taking the place of authentic elements. The aim, however, should be to maintain the core and real values of the buildings and to show honestly the change of time in architecture.

In my opinion there are two main aspects why cultural heritage representatives and architects should be seen as partners. First of all, most of the cultural heritage is physical present in the form of landscapes, buildings, tools and machines. Buildings fulfil an important role as physical anchor of cultural heritage around us. Architects are important ambassadors of architectural heritage

[88] (de Jonge, 2017, p. 110).
[89] (Bosma & Kolen, 2010a, pp. 17-18), (Bosma & Kolen, 2010b, pp. 20-21); historians look from the present to the past, designers look from the present towards the future.
[90] (Meurs, 2016, p. 23); "*trust based on the recognition of each other's interest*".
[91] (Brand, 1994, p. 130); Brand admits that according to him the cosmetic part is most fun.

because they can – or at least should be able to - read and understand the meaning of architecture and transformations in the past. Secondly, architects fathom architecture differently than historians and other heritage specialists which results in distinct visions and values. The best solution here would be for the historian and the architect to work together in discovering the truth behind the buildings' façade and to read the building together. By forming a team of experts, including architects, art & architecture historians, archeologists and people from other disciplines, the process of valuating cultural heritage will be more thorough and will result in a better understanding and better developments of cultural heritage, thanks to the 'democratization' of the heritage field, as De la Torre & Mason (2002) call it. This democratization means bringing more expertise together and giving each actor equal saying. New people will add new insights to the debate and their interest in cultural heritage will continue the relevance of cultural heritage nowadays. Involving specialists from disciplines not traditionally concerning cultural heritage can mean new challenges as well as new insights for cultural heritage.[92]

It is for architects and other actors dealing with cultural heritage crucial to have a shared vision about what to achieve with the conversion of existing buildings. The only way to make these conversion ideas work is to have everyone pointing in the same direction concerning the future of the building in its physical context and considering broader plans of social and, in our case, rural development.[93] One of the tasks for an architect is to make the new function fit in the existing building by use of a new design. It is true that a building can not host every function. That is why it is important that an architect should be part of the team looking for functions; after all, they can foresee best if a building can coop with its future function. Remoy (2014) calls this characteristic of a building to adapt other functions the 'intrinsic value'.[94] The more functions could be adopted, the higher its intrinsic value is.

A warning seems at his place right here. We have seen that an architect can fulfil many important roles in the process dealing with heritage. However, it can be problematic when an architect is dealing with all aspects of the heritage project because some research and valuation need to be done within a 'neutral framework', as Meurs (2016) states.[95] Especially the value assessments of heritage assets needs to be done by neutral specialists. Nowadays these assessments are often done by (architectural) historians who may not be completely neutral in their findings. The same problem occurs with the architect who can influence the judgement of his plan as well. However, architects can understand certain aspects better than historians. I would recommend to attract

[92] (de la Torre & Mason, 2002, p. 3); new criteria, new opinions and new values will be defined thanks to the new disciplines that work different than the regular heritage specialists; (de la Torre & Mason, 2002, p. 4).
[93] (Remoy, 2014, p. 167).
[94] (Remoy, 2014, p. 174).
[95] (Meurs, 2016, p. 49).

multiple experts to divide the different valuations. Someone with expertise is doing value assessments, another is measuring the financial solutions and the architect is dealing with the design. De Jonge (2017) targets the same issue when he describes his view on the architects' role in heritage projects. The architect does not need to know everything in detail, but should be capable of integrating all elements. You could call him a spider in a web, or a leader in a jazz combo. His skill is to integrate both existing historic structures and the future with creativity and herefore he needs, citing De Jonge (2017) himself "*highly developed professional skills and […] thorough knowledge of architectural history*".[96] The designer or architect should fulfil an important role during the research phase because he is the person to identify the cultural heritage values, of which he needs to make a translation into principles how to intervene with the existing structures. Meurs (2016) points at the remaining problem for architects, despite the long tradition of heritage studies: "*there is no standard recipe for the architecture of interventions on heritage, nor is there a blueprint for good solutions. Many directions are possible on the basis of unique value of the object, the culture of the site and the ideas of the architect*".[97] He describes three possible attempts to incorporate the qualities of cultural heritage in the new design:

1. Most basically, the architect could select a range of existing elements in the building structures to be preserved, by means of conserving or restoring them and integrate these into the new design;
2. The second possible attempt is to redefine a certain tradition in architecture which could be used in the new development process and building project;
3. Finally, and this is the most abstract or creative approach, the architect could use his creativity to come up with a new "*architectural interpretation or expression*" in which he collects the intangible values and translates them into new design possibilities.[98]

According to Meurs there are three design methods for the architect to follow these three options of incorporating heritage values in the new design. Firstly to design like the past, using the same traditions, building methods and building materials as done in the past. This will result in contemporary architecture as reconstruction of the past. Secondly, the architect could use some elements from history to develop something new. For example, the material is (partly) traditional but the method is contemporary, like 3d printed sandstone building parts as done by the Italian robotics engineer Enrico Dini. The third design option is, according to Meurs, not designed at all. As result of insufficient funds or sense for pure and authentic projects, many projects lack any

[96] (de Jonge, 2017, p. 23); this knowledge includes the skills and understanding of conceptual thinking and design together with the relations between design and traditional building technologies.
[97] (Meurs, 2016, pp. 52, 67).
[98] (Meurs, 2016, p. 67)

qualitative architectural design. This is something that has occured quite often in recent years. Meurs pleas that even these 'non-designed' projects can be based on adaptive reuse and that even minor changes in the existing can have maximum impact in the final result.[99]

Designers are the right persons to develop new plans and projects based on the heritage values generated from research. Quite often, architects minimize the opportunities of cultural heritage to flourish in new developments, based on their personal attitude towards the idea of cultural heritage as limitation for their creativity. However, through research on heritage an architect can create lots of opportunities that can strengthen the new development more than just presenting a new design. Cultural values can increase the value of contemporary assets. As Meurs says, architects that nourish their projects by involving heritage have shown that the inspiration gained from history and memories created new possibilities for heritage assets. Renewed meaning and values are derived from the interventions.[100]

Conclusion:

The debate about the role of heritage in architecture has become more relevant in the past decade. It appears that not only the role of heritage is part of the debate, but also the role of the architect who has to deal with heritage. We started this chapter with the question on what is the role of architects in the current debate concerning heritage. It appears that there are different angles from which architects look at heritage and the way to deal with it in interventions. Though different opinions and interpretations exist, as we have seen from De Jonge and Meurs, who both wrote about the different perspectives that architects start to see the value of heritage for interventions. However, the ways of working with it still differs from one designer to the other. But that does not matter; each one can have his or her own trademark in dealing with heritage values. What does matter is the consciousness about heritage values and the knowledge and creativity to use them best.

Architects and other designers dealing with heritage, should start thinking about historical buildings as heritage assets that can show us and connect us to the past. These buildings can have a leading role in new developments, not only for the buildings themselves but also for the surroundings. Like Meurs (2016) states: "S*aved monuments are no longer relics of a world that has disappeared, but the quartermasters of the renovation. The heritage becomes the placemaker*".[101]

[99] (Meurs, 2016, pp. 68, 75, 102, 110).
[100] (Meurs, 2016, pp. 115-116).
[101] (Meurs, 2016, p. 25).

Architects should be aware of the need of not doing everything on their own. Their position as 'master builder' in the design and research team is like the leader of a jazz combo, with no exclusive privilege. They should work in close collaboration with professionals in- and outside the field of heritage. Only then heritage assets will be redeveloped with the respect they deserve. Too much heritage has been lost because of architects that did not understand the values of heritage and lacked the knowledge to work with it. Let us designers learn from that and start to research heritage as a source of inspiration, an asset for the future development. Plenty of design projects have shown the additional value of heritage.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

It is recommended to apply the Research-based Design method from De Jonge (2017) for the redevelopment of the Principality of Parrano. The method secures the thorough analysis of values and rightful implementation of the valuable heritage assets into the new design. Important to aim is the fusion of expertises by bringing different professionals together in the development team in which all people fulfil an equal position in the process of decision making. By combining their researches and analyses the more values can be found and implemented. Especially for Parrano, where the agricultural history can not been renewed, as will be discussed in Part 2, it is important to distil the values from the past and to embody them in the new design. Considering the existing buildings it is important to maintain the core values and to show the change of time in architecture. The architect is the best person to deal with this task, provided that he receives all relevant information about the cultural heritage from his own analysis as well as from the studies of the

Part 2: Redeveloping Italy's agricultural heritage

4. La Mezzadrìa: Agricultural Heritage in Central Italy

The countryside of Italy has been dominated by one specific agricultural system since the Middle Ages: la *mezzadria*.[102] This Italian version of a sharecropping contract has been part of a long history. In strict historic sense, the *mezzadria* is even older than Italy as modern country because the Italian unification was in 1861. Though the *mezzadria* disappeared in the second half of the twentieth century, still many traces can be seen in particular the landscape and the farm buildings. The agricultural heritage of the *mezzadria* has influenced not only the built environment but also social and economic aspects of the Italian countryside, specifically in the regions of Tuscany, Lazio, Umbria and Marche. This chapter answers the question: 'what is the history of central Italy's agricultural practice called the *mezzadria*?' By looking into the history of this disappeared feudal practice of agriculture, we can find the values that are left in the Italian countryside and in the Italian culture. Silverman, an American anthropologist, stated already in 1968 that "*the agricultural system throws up values directly, and it shapes values indirectly through its effects on social organization*".[103] This effect on the social structures will be mentioned here because they fulfilled an important role in the agricultural organization of the *mezzadria*.

Before designing new opportunities for these vacant farmhouses we need to be properly informed about the *mezzadria* tradition that shaped them. That is why we start with the history of this almost extinct agricultural practice. Though generally assumed that sharecropping in Italy goes back to the Etruscans (768 BC – 264 BC) and later to the Romans, little is known about the practice of the system in these periods. The Etruscans were highly civilized and wealthy people in central Italy, spread over the current regions of Tuscany, Umbria and Lazio, that started to organize their agricultural activities with sharecropping (figure. 5). Traces of the practice in this period are rare but are more available from the Middle Ages onwards. Though the *mezzadria* was later commonly used all over Italy, it flourished specifically in the central regions of the country.[104] Sharecropping is one of three possible tenure contracts that was in use since the Middle Ages. The other two types were tenancies with fixed rents and tenancies based on regular wage. Sharecropping tenancy appeared to be the most enduring kind of contract, though it was not the most efficient one.[105] The reason why this type of contract was chosen above other tenancies or, for example, rental

[102] The French version is called *métayage*, from the old French word *moitoier* (Robertson, 1980, p. 416). Other terms are: *meytaderie, métaires* and *Meierhöfe* (Jones, 1968, pp. 201-202).
[103] (Silverman, 1968, pp. 3-4); "*these social structural features, in turn, have their basis in the agricultural system*".
[104] (Byres, 1983, pp. 7-8), (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 17-18).
[105] (Pudney, Galassi, & Mealli, 1998, p. 535).

contracts could be the choice for a safe compromise. The farmers had to risk less because they shared the risk with the landowner. At the same time the contract provided more certainty for a longer period of farming. Even though the contracts were from the late Middle Ages onwards normally made for one year at a time, the chance for extension of the contract later became more certain.[106] All three types of tenancy contracts were in use in Italy. Pudney, Galassi & Mealli (1998) describe the choice for certain contracts by the landowners as a result of location and income. Rental contracts were often given by less prosperous landowners, wage contracts were chosen most of the times by rural landlords and sharecropping was the ideal contract for urban landlords that were wealthier, lived more distant from their lands and who had more farms than average. The reason why the most wealthy landlords chose for a sharecropping contract was the amount of risk they were prepared to take. Within this type of contract the risk is higher, but so is the possible profit. Both risk and profit were shared with the tenants, which made the contract more interesting for both parties. According to Reid jr. (1975) there was a clear reason why the sharecropping was chosen most often by both tenants with less skills and landlords with multiple skills because their cooperation was most profitable for both.[107] Even though the other types of contracts were sometimes theoretically favorable, the sharecropping tenancy remained the most obvious and preferable contract for landowners in Italy. Three reason can be defined why sharecropping remained the most used form of tenancy. In the first place farmers were motivated to produce more because they would share in the profits. Secondly, when landowners had vineyards – which were often held within sharecropping contracts – they decided to hold also other kinds of lands within sharecropping contracts. Thirdly, when landlords lived most of the time at great distance from their lands it was far more easier to control the lands with sharecropping contracts.[108]

The system of sharecropping contracts and its direct organization of the countryside in central Italy is called *mezzadria*. Italy had a leading role in Southern Europe of using sharecropping contracts in agriculture, like France (*metayage*) fulfilled this role for Western Europe. The term itself is generic for all sharecropping varieties in Italy. In central Italy however, there were minimal differences in the practice of the *mezzadria*.[109] So we can assume the basic system organization to be the same all over the regions of Tuscany, Umbria, Lazio and Marche. We know

[106] (Reid Jr., 1975, pp. 430-431), (Pudney et al., 1998, p. 539). The contractual base was normally one year. Some forget that, however, the original contract period was five years. The one-year period is typical for the Early Modern period from the Renaissance onwards (Gill, 1983, p. 146), (Byres, 1983, p. 19).
[107] (Pudney et al., 1998, pp. 540, 547, 550); "*Urban landlords were generally wealthier and owned on average a larger number of farms than their rural counterparts*". (Reid Jr., 1975, pp. 437-438).
[108] (Pudney et al., 1998, p. 553), (Emigh, 1997, p. 436); "*Landlords' use of sharecropping was a prudent way to reduce costs associated with labor supervision and land management*".
[109] (Cohen & Galassi, 1990, p. 650); the *mezzadria* in northern Italy was different than in central Italy, even the names used for the different actors were different.

that by 1350 it was already in major use in the countryside of Tuscany and spread further during the fourteenth and fifteenth century to become the leading agricultural organization of central Italy. Tuscany was the leading region in this agricultural system. For example, the region Marche reached the top-period only in the sixteenth century. By 1731 the Florentine patricians founded the *Accademia dei Georgofili* where the classical organization of sharecropping tenancy was defined as the "*backbone of the rural economy and the visual landscape of Tuscany*".[110] Italy was the only country where sharecropping was used on quite a large scale far into the twentieth century: still 33% of agriculture was run by *mezzadria* organizations in 1947 while the sharecropping in France (*metayage*) and Spain (*aparcería*) had already declined to respectively 10% and 14% about that time.[111]

Mezzadrìa is a covenant '*ad medietatem*' between a *proprietario* (landowner) and a *mezzadro* (farmer). The arrangement of these two parties in the contract is that the landowner will provide land – *meytaderia, metayage* – housing, tools and half of the seeds, while the farmer will contribute with labor to fulfil all activities at the farm. Because the contract could only be renewed by the landlord, which was done each year, he had major control over the farmers and their families. The scattered settlement of the farms was used to discourage any try for community forming by the farmers, as described by Cardoza (1991).[112] The *mezzadro* was the head of a farming family which lived and worked on the land. The task of the family was to cultivate the land, living on the *podere*, from which they received 50% of the goods – *mezzo* means 'half'. The other 50% was the profit paid to the landowner.[113] For the farmer and his family the goods were the means to trade; they paid with chickens, eggs, hams, cheese, and all other kinds of products and goods. These were also their means of payments to the landlord.[114]

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[110] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 32-33).

[111] *Mezzadria* "*was the 'classical' form of sharecropping*" (Elazar, 1996, p. 245), (Emigh, 1997, p. 434), (Jones, 1968) and according to Oglethorpe (2014) it was already operational in ninth century Italy (Oglethorpe, 2014, p. 243). (Anselmi, 1978, p. 8); concerning the *mezzadria* in the Marche region. (Byres, 1983, pp. 21-22); concerning comparisons with France and Spain.

[112] (Jones, 1968, pp. 199, 224), (Cardoza, 1991, p. 184); "*the arrangement discouraged any cohesive peasant community and favoured the growth of scattered and isolated families of cultivators largely at the mercy of their landlords*".

[113] For a more detailed description of the *mezzadrìa* and extra historical information (a.u., 2012f): '*sf. [sec. XVIII; da mezzadro]. Istituto giuridico con il quale il concedente e il mezzadro in proprio e quale capo di una famiglia colonica si associano per la coltivazione di un podere e per l'esercizio delle attività connesse al fine di dividerne a metà gli utili e i prodotti. Il concedente conferisce al mezzadro il godimento del podere dotato di quanto occorre per l'esercizio dell'impresa e di un'adeguata casa colonica; il mezzadro è obbligato a prestare il lavoro proprio e quello della sua famiglia, a risiedere stabilmente nel podere con la famiglia, a custodire il podere e mantenerlo in normale stato di produttività, conservando altresì le altre cose affidate dal concedente con la diligenza del buon padre di famiglia.*' Other terms used for this sharecropping system were: *métaire*, *metayage* and *meytaderia*, which all stands for the same leaseholding.

[114] (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 26, 28); another form of payment to the landlord was manual labour. (Cherubini, 1979), (Cherubini, 1991, p. 189).

A *podere* is an agricultural property consisting of a house and farmland. By the time, around the transition of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century, the *podere* had become characteristic for the Italian country estate. A system, or network, of *poderi* was organized from the manor and all were leased to families. These farms were often developed one after another, they had their own specific name and were positioned as small enclaves in the landscape. New types were developed resulting in distinctions in Italian vocabulary between *podere*, *poderetti*, *poderuzzi*, *poderia*, and so on. The basic type of *podere* consisted of a main building with courtyard, stables, ovens, wells and adjacent buildings for living and farming. The average amount of land for agriculture was about 5.6 to 16.9 hectare per *podere*, even though the size could vary to even 100 hectare. In each *podere* lived the *mezzadro* with his family.[115] In Italian there is one verb '*appoderare*' which means: dividing land into *poderi*. Agricultural estates were originally organized from large manors which became divided in several pieces of land or *poderi* with the implementation of the *mezzadria*. Like Jones (1986) wrote, it was with the growing *podere* that the *mezzadria became* more and more dominant in the agricultural organization.[116] The word *appoderamento* stands for the division of cultivated territory in *podere* which took place between the thirteenth and sixteenth century.[117] Due to frequent wars and lack of protection many farms were vacant until the fourteenth century and others became smaller and drew near boroughs and castles offering shelter behind the walls in the case of war.[118] After this period of frequent wars in the fourteenth century, it became more peaceful in Italy and the *appoderamento* accelerated. One of the consequences of this *appoderamento* was the exodus of poor villagers to the countryside resulting in abandoned villages, boroughs and castles. Not only the countryside changed but also the castles. Landowners no longer lived in protective feudal fortresses but in villas, or *case da signore*, used as place of relaxation and center of the farming estate. Several *poderi* of one estate were organized together from one *fattoria*. Estates could have one or more *fattorie*. At the *fattorie* goods were stored like wheat, wine, and oil and also the accounts – books in which all activities of the farm were documented.[119] The hierarchy of the *mezzadria*-system was important and strict. At the top was the *proprietario*; the owner of the estate. His *fattore* (agente) was the estate manager and,

[115] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 33), (Widdershoven, 2007, p. 23), (Jones, 1968, pp. 222, 227), (a.u., 2012g): '*sm. [sec. XIV; allotropo di potere nel senso di possedimento, risorsa]. Possedimento agricolo; fondo rustico con casa e terreno coltivabile, a conduzione diretta o a mezzadria:* essere a *podere, di contadino che lavora a mezzadria in un podere; fig.:* trovare un *podere, un'attività stabile e redditizia.*'

[116] (a.u., 2012a): '*v. tr. (ind. pr. appodéro) [sec. XIX; a-+podere]. Dividere un terreno in poderi, in aziende agricole adatte per famiglie di coltivatori: appoderare* un latifondo incolto. *Rifl., stanziarsi su un territorio per coltivarlo.*' (Jones, 1968, p. 227); "*Family-farm leasehold, then, and particulary metayage (mezzadria poderale), becomes the typical product of postmanorial Tuscany*".

[117] For more reading about the *podere* I recommend the book *Il Podere* by Federigo Tozzi from 2015, published by FV Éditions.

[118] (Cherubini, 1979, p. 196).

[119] (Gaggio, 2011, p. 323), (Jones, 1968, p. 234).

sometimes with one or several *sotto-agente* (*sottofattore*), the responsible administrative and manager of the agricultural activities. The *sotto-agente* was mainly responsible for the paperwork, including supplies, orders, correspondence, trade ecc. Controlling activities were most of the time carried out by the *guardiacaccia* (or 'il guardia').[120] These men's duty was to protect the properties including keeping an eye on the work of the *mezzadri* and their families. The *mezzadro*, or *capoccia*[121], was the head of the family and responsible for the work on the *podere* which was divided amongst the *contadini*. The *contadino*, a male member of the family, worked most of the time on the land while the *contadina*, a female member, did the work in and around the house or in the gardens. During the periods of sowing and harvesting they also worked on the land alongside the men, as visualized in figure 6.[122] The male leader of the *contadini* was the *massaio* – this term was rarely used – and the female leader of the *contadine* was the *massaia*. Other functions were defined as well, but rarely with the same status as of the *mezzadro* and *massaia*. For example the *bifolco*, was the person responsible for the animals and the work done by these animals on the land. He slept often in or close to the stables of the animals. The *campagnuolo* was the person responsible for all work on the land.[123] Sometimes there was more work than only the *mezzadro* and his family could carry out. In that case landless wage-laborers, the *braccianti*, were hired to work temporarily on the land. These *braccianti* were hired also by the landlord to do other work on the land like building roads and irrigation canals. They came often from families that had lost their farm or were people with little means to become a *mezzadro*. Their relation with the *mezzadri* was important and when times were hard, the farmers took care of the *braccianti* and their families. Next in hierarchy were the *boari*, farmworkers that work for "regular" salaries and lived with the family on the farm where they took care of the animals.[124] Many people think that the families lived on the same farms for decades and generation after generation took over the farmland from father to son. However, families did change from farm quite often, caused by the changing household population and the freedom of the landlord to position his tenants on other farms. Children from families that could not sustain them could also

[120] For more information: Regolamento delle fattorie Budini Gattai, 1914.
[121] The name '*capoccia*' comes from the word '*capo*' which means 'head'. Other names were '*capofamiglia*' – head of a family - and '*caposquadra*' – head (overseer) of the workforce. In literature also the term '*reggitore*' is used for the male family head, together with '*reggitrice*' the female head of the family, for example in: (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 32-33).
[122] (a.u., 2015).
[123] (Kertzer, 1984, p. 32), (Gill, 1983, p. 147).
[124] (a.u., 2012e), (Robertson, 1980, p. 422), (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 30, 38, 46-47); "*Sharecroppers served both as patrons and friends to braccianti and sometimes also kinsmen*", (Gaggio, 2011, p. 324); these *braccianti* did not own land of themselves but were dependent on the work on sharecropping territory. They lived usually in small dwellings in the countryside and sometimes in the villages. (Kertzer, 1984, p. 39).

be adopted in the *mezzadro*'s family. That was one of the ways for the *mezzadro* to maintain his position on a farm.[125]

All seeds, tools and machines were bought by the landowner and rented or sold to the farmers. This way the farmers created huge debts that passed over to next generations, binding families to landlords for long periods.[126] Improvements in the way the work was done in the *mezzadria* came in the 19th century with the introduction of the *vapore*; the steam-driven machines that took over the handlabour. This was even made simpler with the *trebbiatrice*, an oil-driven threshing machine that was designed in the 20th century. Although new machines were used for the work on the land, transport of the products and materials was still done by wagons and oxen until the car and truck came into use in the 20th century. Investments in these machines were made by the *proprietario* and because they were expensive all farmers together shared one machine.

The oldest remaining *mezzadria* contract dates from 821 in Tuscany which was drafted by the Abbots of Monte Amiata.[127] Most of the contracts from the middle ages have been lost. The document that has been referred to in most literature is from more than five centuries later and can be found in the accounts of the Florentine Simone di Filippo Strozzi (1376-1424).[128] The wealthy merchants of the thirteenth century started the flow of investments in the agricultural sector. Also the Church remained using sharecropping tenants at the estates of monasteries in these times, like the monks of Certosa in Tuscany. Also the new vision of Humanism considering the countryside as place of relaxation motivated many urban entrepreneurs to invest in agriculture and become landlords. According to Emigh (1997) the most characterized feature of Tuscan countryside was that it became the object of interest and occupation by new, inexperienced landowners from the city.[129] Anselmi (1978) distinguishes the *mezzadria* in two types; one which is in his opinion the classical type from which all later ones evolved, and the second type is the medieval *mezzadria* that resulted directly into the organization of the iconic *mezzadriai* of central Italy.[130]

[125] (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 36-38).
[126] (Elazar, 1996, p. 245).
[127] (Byres, 1983, p. 19), (Jones, 1968, p. 218), (Crump, 1981, p. 471), (Robertson, 1980, p. 428); for more about the *mezzadria* before the thirteenth century I suggest Iris Origo's *The Merchant of Prato* of which several editions are available. I have read: (Origo, 1984).
[128] (Goldthwaite, 1968, p. 49).
[129] (Emigh, 1997, pp. 426, 429); "*Among these landlords were silk and linen merchants, a woodworker, a painter, other artisans, merchants, shopkeepers, and ecclesiastics*", in other words, landowners without direct knowledge how to organize an agricultural company.
[130] (Anselmi, 1978, p. 11).

A *mezzadrìa* contract was very detailed when it concerns the activities of both landlord and tenant. This detailed description is one of the characteristics of the *mezzadria* contract. To summarize, there were five main conditions described for the *mezzadri*:

I. *abitare*, they had to live on an assigned piece of land and were only allowed to work that land;
II. *bene lavorare*, they had to do their work well and maintain the calendar of the seasons for sowing and harvesting;
III. *sovescio*, they should cultivate their land intensively for the lands fruit to prosper;
IV. *propagginare*, they had to prune the crops;
V. and they were prohibited to undertake any actions like cutting trees and vines. [131]

The contract was a form of association of the landowner with his tenants by agreeing that the farmer and his family would cultivate the lands and that they would both share the profits from it. This sharing was primary done 50/50, what only changed slowly in the twentieth century. Remarkable about the five terms in the contract are some of the rules. The farmer's family had to live on the land and were not allowed to work elsewhere than on the assigned land. These restrictions show clearly the old feudal basis of the *mezzadria*. They were, however, free to have a small stack of animals and to grow some vegetables in their own kitchen garden.[132]

Important for the farmer and his family was to grow as many different crops as possible. They had, namely, to live from all the crops they could harvest. This system was called '*agricultura promiscua*'[133] which is in English described as 'polyculture' and resulted in a very inefficient agricultural practice, because all farms were having the same variety of crops while dividing and organizing the crops over the different farms could have resulted in far more profit. It seems however, that in the more distant rural communities sharecropping was often positive evaluated and there was no inefficiency at all. This has two possible reasons. During the Roman era farmers were used to grow only one crop at a time. The result was large fluctuations in labour demand. One of the options to solve these fluctuations was to grow a variety of crops. We can still read the recommendations of the Romans to spread the cultivation of crops in the writings of, for example, Publius Vergilius Maro (70 BC. – 19 BC.) and Lucius Iunius Moderatus Columella (4-70).[134]

[131] (Widdershoven, 2007, p. 12), (Jones, 1968, p. 223).
[132] (Silverman, 1968, pp. 7-8), (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, pp. 452-453); the farmer "*was prohibited to, or strongly discouraged, from going to the market to sell his part of any product and was strictly prohibited from engaging in any activity, whether farming or non-farming, outside the unit*".
[133] (Gaggio, 2011, p. 326), (Kertzer, 1984, p. 18).
[134] (Erdkamp, 1999, p. 570), (Vergilius, 2004, pp. 43-46); in here Vergilius wrote even a calender for farmers when they could plant, sow and harvest the different crops and trees best. Also the writings of Marcus Porcius Cato Censorius maior (234 BC. – 149 BC.) in *De Agricultura* are very interesting to read. I used the Dutch translation from Vincent Hunink; (Cato, 1996), a proper English version is; (Cato, 1998).

Another option was to use the climatic differences of the Italian hills but this would not change the fluctuations drastically.[135] The Italians decided to follow the Roman insights and used the first option resulting in multiple crops at each farm; which was the regular practice because of the *mezzadria*. The second reason why sharecropping seemed efficient is related to the 'social efficiency': sharecropping contracts created more sustainable and productive relations between farmers, citizens and the landlord. Some sharecroppers seemed even to like the situation and relationship with the landowners and were fine with continuing their work for them.[136] Rather than *mezzadria* contracts, wage-labour contracts did not motivate labourers to work harder because they had fixed incomes. At the same time the owner could carry out his other duties as entrepreneur while the *fattore* would organize and oversee the agricultural practice. Emigh (1997) summarizes the advantages of sharecropping as gained by the distribution of "*incentives, expenses, income, risks, and transaction costs*" for both the landowner and the tenant.[137] It was basically the risk sharing factor that made the sharecropping system popular and efficient for agriculture in central Italy. The advantage of central Italy's landscapes and soils lies in the suitability of the hills to grow different crops during the year.[138] Hereby the farmers could work the land the whole year. There was no real market competition for three reasons. In the first place the farms were too small to overgrow the own needs of the farmer's family – after sharing the products with the landowner. Secondly, transport to the cities or other markets was expensive especially for the farmers on the estates far from cities. And thirdly, the system was mainly focused on self-sufficiency and not on any form of trade.[139] The problem however, with this working method of having different crops over the land, was that it became harder to specialize the agricultural practice to make the work more efficient and the profits higher.

There has always been a strong relation between the size of the farm and the size of the family. The larger a family was, the larger the farm it got assigned. Because the farmers preferred the certainty of work they avoided their family to grow bigger than necessary. When children grew up and married they could start to work on their own farm, if one was available from the landowner. By losing workforce the family could also be transferred to a smaller farm on the estate. "*The ideal mezzadria family is the three- or four-generation patrilocal extended family, in which all sons bring their bribes into the household*", as Silverman describes. By using only family workers the *mezzadro* could maintain his position at the farm. Though *mezzadri* were restricted to their lands they often helped eachother. This relation with close neighbors or *vicini* was

[135] (Erdkamp, 1999, pp. 557-558); "*structural umderemployment resulted from the imbalance between the available labour, capital, and land in an agricultural unit*".
[136] (Robertson, 1980, p. 420), (Oglethorpe, 2014, p. 246).
[137] (Caballero, 1983, pp. 107-108, 116-117), (Emigh, 1997, p. 423).
[138] (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, p. 445).
[139] (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, p. 447).

important for the traditional sharing of work whenever needed. This traditional relation is called the *aiutarella*.[140] Because families lived on the farms for decades a strong relation between the farm and the family grew. People were born, raised, worked the land, married and died, sometimes all on the same farm. New rural communities were formed in and around the podere while almost all cultivators were *mezzadri* and *contadini*.[141] *Mezzadi* and *contadini* were often chartered for other work on the estate, like building roads and iconic dry-stone-walls named '*muro a secco*', canaling rivers, and other public works. The results of their labor are still visible in the Italian countryside.[142] The architecture of the *mezzadria*, includes castles and villa's designed by architects for the landowners and vernacular farms and houses for the *mezzadri* and their families.[143] This contrast between the classes and thereby between the architectures is visible in different senses. The rooms or spaces in the farm had all different names, depending on the function and use. Figure 7 shows the most common spaces of the mezzadria farms and their English equivalents. The stables underneath the living quarters on the first floor were specifically for the cattle, mainly cows and oxen. Warmth of the animals at the ground level was used as natural heating for the living quarters on the first floor. Kitchen and oven were often placed in separate buildings but always on the ground floor. Daily life was mainly outside the buildings and work was done on the compound, or *aia*, also all kinds of festivities took place outside (fig. 8-9).[144]

The first big problems with the old-fashioned *mezzadria* started to come up from the 1850's onwards. Till that time the agricultural practice had worked quite well but the system made it almost impossible to introduce new crops and to change the amount of land used for the most profitable crops. The *mezzadria* could not grow and develop further to sustain the agricultural practice. There were however also advantages in the nineteenth century like a new national market for trading the crops from agriculture because of the unification of Italy in 1861 and new ways of transportation.[145] When the price rate of common crops like wheat and maize dropped, the farmers kept producing these crops because of their personal needs, "*it was the basis of their diet*" as Gill (1983) writes.[146]

[140] (Silverman, 1968, pp. 8-10), families were preferebly large so the work on the farm could be done by family members only and avoid transfer to a smaller farm. The larger a farm was, the larger profit could be made.
[141] (Jones, 1968, p. 226).
[142] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 57-62).
[143] (Brand, 1994, p. 132); 'Vernacular' is a term from linguistics that became in use since the 1850s when architectural historians started to define and understand the architecture of the common public.
[144] (Comune di Cupramontana, 2018).
[145] (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, p. 449), Italy became one united Kingdom under the rule of Vittorio Emanuele II (1820-1878).
[146] (Gill, 1983, p. 149).

Space	Definition
Aia	farmyard and theshing floor
Camera	room, normaly bedroom
Cantina	cellar
Concimaia	compost storage
Cucina	kitchen
Dispensa	storeroom
Fienile	barn or shed
Forno	oven or furnace, the bakery of the farm
Granaio	granary
Magazzino	storage
Legnaio	woodshed
Lollaiolo	grain and cereal storage
Pagliaio	haystack
Piccionaia	dovecote or pigeon house
Porcile	pigsty
Pozzo	a well
Ripostiglio	closet
Soggiorno	livingroom
Stanza segato	sawing room
Stanza telaio	weaving room
Scala	stair
Stalla	stable
Tinaia	wine cellar

Fig. 7; Van Deursen (2017), the main elements of the Italian *podere*.

The maintenance of growing wheat was not a problem for the landowners in the first place; because wheat was a very safe product to grow. By the 1880's, an agricultural depression became an official problem in Italy. Landlords started to abandon their estates and sold them if possible. With their departure a new type of landlords started to take over agricultural Italy. Cardoza describes them as 'agricultural industrialists', a young generation of businessmen from the cities that influenced the old-fashioned agricultural practice drastically. They calculated the economic well-being of their agricultural businesses to maximize the profits and lower the costs at the expense of the farming families. Positively however, was their investment in new machinery. While this new generation of stakeholders wanted a change, the old landlord-class kept advocating for revitalization of the *mezzadria* by working closely together with the farmers.[147] The new land leasers however started to push their farmers into other, more profitable crops but without much result. Landlords started to change the farming units specifically in the direction of the more profitable 'cash crops' at the end of the nineteenth century.[148] The preference for the

[147] (Cardoza, 1991, pp. 187-189).
[148] (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, p. 451), (Cohen & Galassi, 1990, p. 654).

mezzadria system remained till far into the twentieth century. By then, about 70 to 80 % of all cultivated land in central Italy, from the Tyrrhenian Sea in the west to the Adriatic Sea in the east was managed and organized within the *mezzadria*.[149]

From the beginning of the twentieth century *mezzadri* and *contadini* became better organized in unions, which were used to ask for more welfare and better living conditions. The *mezzadri* started to organize their first strikes against the bad conditions in which they had to live and work; it was as if they still lived in the Middle Ages. The *mezzadri* were helped by the Socialists to organize strikes and demonstrations after WWI (1919-1920).[150] These unions grew stronger and to maintain their strong position the landlords started to work together with the Fascists, who could sustain them from a political level. The reason was that the Fascists preferred the old, nostalgic, traditional, hierarchy of sharecropping and tried to maintain it by injecting public money into agriculture. Modernization was for the fascists on equal level with nostalgia or heritage, which made them combine plans of transformation with preservation in several ways. Fascism could after all emerge from the political power that the landlords already had on local and provincial level. There was however a clear distinction between the more commercialized agriculture in the north where the Fascists and landlords worked strongly together and the traditional "*semi-feudal*" agriculture in the south where the Fascists could not get foot on ground. Central Italy was and still is a transition area between the north and the south. This was also visible during the Fascist intervention when Tuscany received much attention, money and meddling from the Fascists while the lower situated regions of Umbria and Marche were much less interfered. Though Fascism originated in the cities, its political growth took place mainly in the countryside. To connect with the peasants, the fascists made formal commitments to the *mezzadri* in 1933 (cf. '*Carta della Mezzadria*' – Sharecropping Charter). Rurality was one of the anchors for Fascism because it, as Gaggio (2017) states, "*stood for self-reliance, population growth, industriousness and staund support of Italy's imperial destiny*".[151] Because the wealthy families of Italy and landlords were also represented in the different chambers of parliament the system was too strong for the farmers and unions to stand up against. As Gaggio (2017) ironically writes: "*ordinary people do not have landscapes, elites do*", referring to the wealthy elite that had the opportunities and money to buy and control the landscapes to use it for business and pleasure. This unsettling period was the forecourt of the first "rural exodus", as it is called. Three periods in the twentieth century were characterized by farmers leaving the countryside for the cities. Firstly

[149] (Widdershoven, 2007, p. 11).
[150] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 39).
[151] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 17, 22-24, 29, 43); the Fascist movement started in Milan in 1919. "*It was under Mussolini's dictatorship that considerable financial and political resources were invested in reclaiming (bonificare) the countryside, in Tuscany and elsewhere*". (Elazar, 1996, pp. 233-235, 239).

between 1943 and 1944, when the farmers received back-up from the Communists to question the authority of the ruling landlords. Secondly in the period directly after the Second World War (1950-1960), and thirdly in the period between 1970 and 1980.[152]

After the Second World War the agricultural situation changed drastically, specifically the dividing of the shares should change. However, owners were not prepared to lose their share from 50% into 35% and when owners and laborers could not agree on the terms, even political movements as the Fascists and Communists could not achieve any change into the old system. Not even the newly organized unions of the *mezzadri* like the *Confederazione Nazionale dei Lavoratori della Terra* (founded in 1945) could establish any change in the *mezzadria*.[153] In 1947, both the union of sharecroppers and the association of the landowners agreed on new terms for the sharecropping contract, called "Sharecropping truce" or "*Tregua mezzadrile*". With this truce the landlords agreed to rise the share for the *mezzadri* and their families to 53% of the crops, and 4% of the profit would be invested in agricultural improvement.[154] However, it did not help and a new flow of farmers left the countryside and went to the cities to find work and housing there. Luckily, a solution for the newly vacant farms came from the south. Sardinian shepherds came to the north during the post-war period and from the 1950's onwards they start to settle in central Italy where they rebuilt the farms and modernized them by adding water and electricity supply.[155]

Several reasons were the cause of its demise. Because of the mechanization[156] of agriculture less work remained for the farmers. Secondly, the wars in which the peasants had fought, had made them more rebellious to the current practice of sharecropping at their own villages. Also the upcoming industry around the cities became more interesting for most workers. And while the working conditions at industries were modern, the conditions for sharecroppers had barely changed. Their complaints about their living and working conditions were threefold. In the first place they often still did not have running water and electricity at the farms until the 1950s when finally the first electricity and running water reached the farms. In the 1970's the water and electricity supply was as good as in the cities. Also the housing of animals and the farmer's family so close to each other was one of their complaints. They wanted to have their bedrooms at larger distance from the stables. All those centuries the animals had slept underneath the living quarters in the traditional two-story architecture of the farm. The third complaint was about the general

[152] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 5, 112); many (Italian) words are used for the emmigration from the countryside towards the cities, like *esodo*, *abbandono* and *emorragia*.
[153] (a.u., 2012b), (a.u., 2012c), (a.u., 2012d). The *Confederazione Italiana dei Coltivatori* changed its name in 1992 into *Confederazione Italiana degli Agricolturi*.
[154] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 69).
[155] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 181).
[156] Oglethorpe did a nice study on the effects of the introduction of the tractor and its effects on the agricultural practice and labour forces (Oglethorpe, 2014).

condition of the farms, which were in total state of disrepair. Life of the peasants is sometimes described as an ancient civilization using the Italian description of '*la civiltà contadinesca'*. All those complaints and general conditions made most laborers and farmers decide to leave the countryside 'en masse' in the 50s and 60s of the last century, starting with the farmers younger than 30 years, who found work quickly in the cities, specifically industrial work. Since then the technical rules for newly built rural dwellings included the prohibition of adding animal stables underneath the bedrooms, every room should have a window sized at least one tenth of the floor area, electricity was standard as well as a modern bathroom with toilet and shower. These rules, however, were slowly put into practice.[157] This was the beginning of the decline and disappearance of the *mezzadrìa*. Any attempt to transform the *mezzadria* and develop it into a modern organizational structure using new methods in agriculture was vain. It disappeared completely.[158] Some *fattore* started to fulfil the new role of the modernized farmer, organizing the work on the whole estate using machines. At those places where the agricultural practice had changed and modernized, we can no longer detect the former *mezzadria* with its own, small farms scattered throughout the landscape. Especially in Tuscany we see nowadays large agricultural enterprises that barely remind us of the past.[159] After the Second World War most of the rural population moved towards the cities with, as result, abandoned farms and sometimes even complete abandoned villages.

Not only the work changed, also the relations and organization within families changed. There was no need to maintain the large households of workers and younger couples started to live on their own.[160] Strangely enough not only the farmers abandoned the countryside, also the landowners did. As Crump describes in 1981, many owners of agricultural estates in Tuscany disappeared from their lands and "*vanished without trace*". Even though the new legislation of 1964 stated that existing sharecropping contracts could be extended, there was no possibility to sign new sharecropping contracts anymore. This change resulted in a slow diminution of sharecropping contracts. In 1982 a new law made the *mezzadria* illegal and all existing sharecropping contracts had to be transformed into rental contracts.[161] However, the working conditions and the contracts changed, the exodus from the countryside towards the cities

[157] (Gaggio, 2011, pp. 321, 324); most of the Italians from the countryside sympathized with Communism because it helped them to stand up against their landlords. (Gaggio, 2011, pp. 334-337), (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 77, 92-96, 136-138).
[158] (Crump, 1981, p. 469), (Oglethorpe, 2014, pp. 243-244).
[159] (Crump, 1981, pp. 469-470).
[160] (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, 2016, pp. 4-5).
[161] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 147), (Oglethorpe, 2014, pp. 254-255); the conversion of contracts became enforced to get rid of any sharecropping contracts and start new with rental contracts. The problem with the 1964 legislation was that the change of conversion barely came into being and existing sharecropping contracts remained in use.

continued nevertheless and abandoned farmhouses remained uninhabited. That is why most farms that we see in the landscape nowadays have been vacant since the 1960s and some certainly since the 1980's.

Researchers often argued about the negative aspect of the *mezzadrìa*, for example the bad living conditions for the peasants and the little profits that were made, but in theory the system was quite clever and maybe even progressive. Brunori (1961), for example, states that the *mezzadria* was continuously in a state of crisis: "*Credo di non esagerare, se comincio affermando che – in certo senso – la mezzadria è stata sempre in crisis; e che, comunque, tempi mitici al'insegna della floridezza economica e della pacifica, paritaria, collaborazine fra le parti, nella mezzadria, non ci sono – in verità – mai stati*".[162] In my opinion, this continuous state of crisis as Brunori calls it, was the strength of the system because it caused small changes in the organization whenever needed, resulting in a centuries old, effective and productive system. However, the quickly changing modern world of the 20th century made it impossible for the old system to keep evolving.

Nowadays we can lease more products than ever, from cars and boats to televisions and refrigerators. The main advantage of the *mezzadrìa* is the way how the role, actions and profits for both landowner and farmer are included in a contract. The disadvantages, however, keep getting more attention than the good things about this kind of agricultural contract. For example, the farmer and his family can barely survive with 50% of the profits, they live under bad conditions and the landowner receives his half of the crops much easier.[163] The reason why it could exist for so long is probably because it was a good choice for both landowner and farmer in the first place. As Robertson describes: "*sharecropping is a transitional form of rent, and a method of surplus appropriation intermediate between feudalism and capitalism*". Even the Communists and Marxists were positive about the *mezzadria* possibly because it still had very good terms for the peasantry. Especially the sharing of risk was both for the landlord and the farmer interesting, making the *mezzadria* desirable above other contracts where the risks were taken by one party only: the tenant or the landowner.[164] Like Kertzer (1984) states, the demise of the *mezzadria* was more the result of changes in Italy's political arena together with major changes in the economy, rather than the recalcitrant position of the farmers towards all these changes.[165]

Silverman (1968) states that the former agricultural system of the *mezzadria* was a relatively effective system, although many researchers and professionals disagree, otherwise it would not have been maintained for so many centuries. The system was flexible and could anticipate to the

[162] (Brunori, 1961, p. 5).
[163] (Stopani, 2001, p. 17).
[164] (Robertson, 1980, pp. 413-415).
[165] (Kertzer, 1984, pp. 18, 20).

economic situation. Farming families could change from farm when they could not fit or fulfil the requirements for a particular farm.[166] Besides, the *mezzadria* created an important context for a traditional society that is still part of Italy's legacy. The new and modern organization of central Italian agricultural landscape does not fulfil a continuation of the important social tradition whereas the *mezzadria* did.[167] The agricultural practice in Tuscany has been developed further and is working quite well although most of the old farms are abandoned or saved by some interested tourists. Regions like Umbria and Marche, however, still experience problems in redeveloping their agriculture and vacant agricultural building stock. The problem of decrease in agriculture is still visible and urgent in large parts of central Italy.

Conclusion:

The Italian agricultural practice of the *mezzadria* is one of the oldest in the world. First activities of this feudal system are from the Etruscans in the eighth century before Christ and it was maintained far into the twentieth century. By looking into the history of this disappeared feudal practice of agriculture in central Italy, we can find the traces and values that it left in the Italian countryside and in Italian culture. After the centuries of daily practice, it has become part of the Italian identity. The value of this agriculture is best visible in the existence of two *Mezzadria* museums. One focuses on the system around Siena – Museo della Mezzadria Senese – and is located in Buonconvento, Tuscany, the second one is focusing on the tradition around Ancona – Museo di Storia della Mezzadria – located just outside Senigallia, in the Marche region. Both represent the longstanding history of the *mezzadria* in all its facets.

'La Mezzadria' has proved to be one of the world's most durable agricultural systems. It is extraordinary that it could function for so long, over centuries, and even over a millennium when we consider the first practices by the Etruscans and Romans. It has become of great cultural value because it had been used for such a long time and had influenced evolutions in agriculture and politics, social life, agricultural practice and more. Traditional *mezzadria* sharecropping determinated the social and economic relations, shaped the landscape with its iconic scattered farms and designed the famous Italian vistas that are now one of Italy's most attractive assets. It has therefore heritage values. We have seen that the family was strongly connected to the sharecropping tradition and practice. Family life was one of the cohesive factors for the organization and important for the existance of the *mezzadria*. It is one of the three basic aspects of the *mezzadria*. In the first place there was the land separated in units, each with its own farm.

[166] (Stopani, 2001, p. 16).
[167] (Silverman, 1968, p. 18); "*Central Italy […] is today in need of agricultural reform and development*".

Every farm used the polyculture to be self-sufficient. Secondly there was the involvement of large families to fulfil the activities on the land and farm. Finally the role of both landlord and *mezzadro*, head of the farming family.[168] As Gaggio (2017) states: "*mezzadria fostered a chain of patriarchal and paternalistic social relationships*",[169] which still has influence on the current cultural background of many Italians. Not only the relation of the farmer with the landlord was important, but also that of the farmer with the farmless day laborers. Political movements had their influence on the existence and practice of sharecropping. Most interesting is probably the influence of the Fascists on sharecropping because of their interest in both maintaining the nostalgic traditions while modernizing it for the future. Extra research would give more insights in their thoughts concerning the revitalization of the vast vacancy of buildings in the Italian countryside.

The pattern of scattered farms and dwellings in the countryside is one of the characteristics of the former *mezzadria* sharecropping tradition, which is still visible in the landscape of Tuscany, Umbria and the Marche. This spread of buildings made it difficult in the past decades to find functions and dwellers. Most people preferred a place near the villages and fractions. *Poderi* were developed evenly, often one after another, reshaping the complex of farms in an estate. This gradual expansion of farms can now possibly be continued by adding new buildings and functions to the existing network of *poderi*.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

Several aspects of the Italian *mezzadria* are worthy to consider when implementing a new organizational structure at the principality of Parrano. Farming units, as individual enterprises, were organized from outside the *fattoria* and the estate of the landowner, worked very well for centuries and could still be very effective. The farms will still be spread around the countryside and work independently in their own work of business. Important would be to find and develop a theme that would cover and connect all farms and areas together under the principality. The landscape was cultivated with traditional methods and techniques as terraces and *muri a secco* that became characteristic for the central Italian landscape. These valuable agricultural heritage assets are still visible and must be maintained where possible. Society was very important in the *mezzadria* and is therefore very important to be developed, not only at the farms but in particular mutually with the other properties of the principality and the village of Parrano. The social and economic relations of the *mezzadria* are heritage values and must therefore be thoughtfully considered in the new plans for the principality of Parrano.

[168] (Kertzer, 1984, p. 18), both Silverman and Kertzer state these three elements as the 'essential elements' of the *mezzadria* sharecropping system.
[169] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 35).

5. Heritage and entrepreneurship in the Italian countryside

Italy has a history with entrepreneurs developing villages and estates in the countryside. This is already clear in sources dating from the Renaissance but this behaviour of (wealthy) entrepreneurs had new sorts of initiatives as result, from the end of the 19th century and again halfway the 20th century onwards. In this chapter we look at two different roles of entrepreneurs; first how merchants start to invest in business activities outside the cities and how they made the mezzadria flourish. Secondly we look at new kinds of investors, the entrepreneurs that save the abandoned villages in the countryside of Italy in the 20th and 21st century by redeveloping them within (partly) new programs. What can be learned from the way these businessmen started to redevelop abandoned places in Italy?

Cultural heritage cannot be maintained only by its physical anchors in landscape, as economic carriers – as Bosma calls them – are even so important because they relate the heritage to needs and desires of the consuming world.[170] Entrepreneurs know how to place a product in the market and in the past we have seen that entrepreneurs saw the opportunities for their business and pleasure in the Italian countryside. With their expertise and finance they transformed the countryside. What can we learn from these examples for the redevelopment of the principality of Parrano? The entrepreneurs and wealthy members of society that started to invest in agriculture in the past, established the flourishment of the Italian countryside. The main periods of revival were during the Renaissance and, on a smaller scale in the 20th century. Landowners were often entrepreneurs and their decisions and capitalization of agriculture has been important for the organization system. The agricultural organization has been separated by Silverman (1968) in three pillars: organization of land, organization of non-landed capital and organization of personnel. We will now look at this organization in depth.

After the Second World War still 59% of the agricultural land was cultivated under the *mezzadria* contract. Italian landowners could maintain their strong position for a very long time. As *padrone*, the landowner directed the enterprise by means of his *fattore* and the families of farmers were often contracted year after year for decades. Eventhough the contracts had to be reinstated every year, they resulted in long-term relations between the landowner and the farming families. The relation of the farmer and the landlord was like 'partners' because they both had to keep the enterprise at work. While the farmer and his family were responsible for most of the work, the landlord had the role of protecting his farmers, organize the economic well-being of the enterprise and fulfil a role of patronage over his workers' families.[171]

[170] (Bosma, 2010, p. 198).
[171] (Silverman, 1968, pp. 6-8), (Luporini & Parigi, 1996, p. 446).

Though investing in agricultural land was not as profitable as trade and banking, many wealthy Florentines in the 12th – 15th century started to secure their money in rural properties. This had several advantages like requiring less attention from the owner. The countryside architecture offered a nice place for spending free time during the week and holidays (*villeggiatura*). The land was often leased to tenants who shared their profits with the owner.[172] . This way he could earn back his investment. Landowners from these times could be categorized in four types of investors:

I. Small investors in few parcels in the neighbourhood of the city;
II. big investors in large agricultural estates at larger distance from cities;
III. rentiers that wanted to enjoy their collected wealth in peace;
IV. investors that changed their business into agriculture. [173]

This new kind of landowners had positive effects on the land, by improving the structures and the production and implementing a new organization. It was mainly the land near cities that was developed, while other estates, at greater distance, stayed often in a medieval condition. The organization of the estate remained the traditional *mezzadria* and after the first investments of purchase and start-up the financial flow often stopped. Agriculture did not result in high profits, the investments were shortened too.[174] The entrepreneurs from the city seldomly knew how to organize an agricultural estate; they were not farmers. So, they organized their estate like managers of companies and let others like their *fattore* look after the agricultural practice of their tenants. Landowners often bought some land outside the city gates but maintained their business in the city. Land investments remained a small portion of the wealthy elites' portfolio, hardly becoming a core business.[175]

One of the most well-known projects of reviving Italian countryside from the twentieth century concerned the estate around villa La Foce in the Val d'Orcia, southern Tuscany. In the 1920's marquess Antonio Origo and marchioness Iris Origo bought this estate in Chianciano near Montepulciano and completely renovated the villa and gardens. The serpentine road towards the villa, flanked by iconic cypresses was constructed between 1927 and 1939 by the landscape architect Cecil Pinsent and became one of the most iconic features in Tuscany (figure 10). Impressive was their large investments in the local community, resulting in new schools for the children of the tenants and all kinds of new buildings hosting shops, restaurants and medical practice. All these renewals made the estate and community one of Italy's 'role model

[172] (Goldthwaite, 1968, pp. 49, 248).
[173] Based on: (Goldthwaite, 1968, p. 247).
[174] (Goldthwaite, 1968, pp. 247-248).
[175] (Emigh, 1997, p. 433), (Goldthwaite, 1968).

communities' and photos of the villa and estate have become the iconic subjects for postcards of Tuscany.[176]

Since the 1920's many entrepreneurs from Italy and abroad started to invest in small villages in the Italian countryside. Often they bought complete building complexes and transformed them into something new. The latest revival of the countryside started in the 1960's when the farmers left the countryside for work at the industrial areas near the cities and a new class of investors moved towards the abandoned villages and farms in the countryside.

The case of Brunello Cucinelli and the village of Solomeo in Umbrië is one of the most successful post-war examples. He is the founder of the eponymous Italian brand of luxury goods and transformed the medieval town of Solomeo, originated in the 14th-century, into his cashmere workshop and headquarters. Solomeo, as Parrano, had suffered from the agricultural crisis in Italy during the first half of the twentieth century. The village was deserted when Cucinelli came by on one of his trips through the region. His company was founded in 1985 and already in 1987 he moved to Solomeo where he started to rebuilt the village step by step, beginning with the local tower. He runs the company on a "humanistic-capitalistic" basis, like the wealth merchants and patricians did during the Renaissance.[177] Cucinelli focussed on public relations and goodwill to attract new and especially young people. His success is thanks to them, so all employees share the profits made and the village is theirs as well.[178] The company's hierarchy is a bit vague, but that gives all the employees the feeling that they are their own boss. Important detail is that while he rebuilt the village to survive for hundreds of years, the factory buildings are already prepared to be quickly transformed into apartments; the bathrooms and kitchens are already placed. So, if the factory closes earlier, it could be all changed easily.[179] Cucinelli rebuild the village in a period of 30 years investing not only in his own company but also in a school of arts and crafts where students can learn the traditional garderning, farming, masonry, tailoring, knitting, and so on. As he declares himself: "*The great fathers of the past teach us to identify a new vision of future interpreting the world of today; I believe the ability to build a better future is within everyone's reach*

[176] If you start looking for pictures on Google, by using the terms 'tuscany','umbria', 'italian landscape' and similar, you find certain pictures of La Foce between the results; it has become iconic for the Italian landscape in general sense. (Gaggio, 2017, p. 21), (Lasanski, 2004, pp. 40-41, 283); others responsible for this staging architecture in Tuscany were the families Scott and Castellucci.

[177] Cucinelli also got his inspiration from German princes from the nineteenth century who built a school, dwellings and repaved the streets. Only difference with those princes is that Cucinelli does not like to own the people that work for him (Mead, 2010).

[178] All employees receive an extra share of the profits that the brand Brunello Cucinelli earns each year. This is rare in this kind of business but it is the way Cucinelli tries to bond everybody to the factory.

[179] (Mead, 2010); the castle became a factory hall, a nearby villa is now the dining hall for all employees, the old houses are now the homes of the employees and also the school and church are restored for everyone's benefit.

in line with that spirit of custody that allows us to feel responsible for what we've been entrusted with. I believe that each one of us is a pro tempore custodian of the beauties of the world".[180] He made the future of Solomeo indeed become better (figure 11-18).

Brunello Cucinelli was not the only designer and post-war entrepreneur that helped an abandoned village in the Italian countryside. Just a year after Cucinelli started his company in Solomeo another fashion designer, Alberta Ferretti, bought the village of Montegridolfo in the Marche region together with some other stakeholders.[181] Together they rebuilt the village into its original state and opened new shops, a restaurant and a hotel as economic basis for the village investment. Also Massimo Ferragamo – heir of the famous designer Salvatore Ferragamo – and his wife Chiara bought an estate in 2003. They chose Castiglion del Bosco in Tuscany and transformed the vacant farms and the surrounding lands into a resort. The farms became villas and the land was reorganized into olive- and vineyards (figure 19).

Not only Italians were interested in the agricultural heritage that was abandoned and for sale. One of the wealthy, foreign investors that came to Italy was Alistair Tidey, an Irish businessman who came in 2005 to Tuscany and bought villa Il Belvedere in the UNESCO listed Orcia valley.[182] This villa used to be an ordinary farmhouse but after renovation it became the most photographed villa in Italy, which it still is. Among many other foreigners he bought a house in Italy. Specifically foreigners are the people buying and transforming the vacant farmhouses nowadays. The former American ambassador in Italy, John Philip, visited Italy already before he was appointed ambassador by president Barack Obama. In 2001 Philip bought a '*borgo*' of several houses in Tuscany, called Finocchieto, and restored the buildings (figure 20). Nowadays the borough is used to accommodate small conferences and educational programs. Daniele Kihlgren is an Italian-Swedish entrepreneur and philanthropist who started to transform Italian villages into '*alberghi diffusi*' a concept in which the vacant houses become the rooms of a hotel; the village is the hotel, the dwellings are the rooms. His first project was Santo Stefano di Sessiano (figure 21) and after its success Kihlgren continued with six other Italian boroughs.[183]

Also the village of Parrano had former industrialists as landowners. In the period after the Second World War, Vittorio Valletta (1883-1967) - the CEO of FIAT-, transformed the estate into an hunting reserve and horse breeding farm. The former *mezzadria* system had disappeared and the

[180] (Zargani, 2014), (Petkanas, s.d.).
[181] (Petkanas, s.d.).
[182] (Gaggio, 2014, p. 565).
[183] (Petkanas, s.d.).

focus changed to accommodate Valletta's personal hobbies of hunting and equestrian sports. More about this transformation will be described later on.

From the 1960's onwards also a new group of entrepreneurs appeared: the former dwellers and farmers, just ordinary people. Gaggio (2011) describes their actions: "*many of the people who were left behind in the countryside became entrepreneurs in more than just economic terms: they took their landscape, began to understand it as beautiful, and turned it into a resource to be sold around the world*" and in (2014) he stated: "*Pre-modern Italy did not need exhaustive legal norms for the protection of landscape, because Italians of all classes shared codes from which harmony and beauty emerged spontaneously*".[184] Italians understand more than others the values of their land and culture. Besides, they are creative when it comes to businesses. That is why they could turn their land in one of the most attractive countries in the world. Tourists come from all over the world to see the Tuscan hills with villa's and cypresses and to visit the artisanal productions of all kinds. The Italians have valorised their landscapes as cultural assets making them into a source of income by attracting people from everywhere who want to visit, stay and live there.

In Tuscany there is a new tendency of youngsters leaving the cities to live in the houses of their grandparents in the countryside. They start to rebuild and renovate old *podere* and *casale* to begin Bed&Breakfast accommodations and *Agriturismi*. Tourists are the main target group, which is more easily attracted in Tuscany than for example Umbria or the Marche. The lands are most of the time in use by larger agricultural corporations and only the buildings are vacant. Vacancy among *podere* in Umbria and the Marche remains a problem. Tourists as source of income and potential users are not enough. New solutions need to be found to assure their maintenance. The willingness and interest of these young Italians can be a point of advantage, letting them become the new, young, small-scale entrepreneurs that redevelop and revitalize the countryside of Italy.

Conclusion:

Next to the history of *mezzadria* and its agricultural history we have seen in this chapter that the businessmen from Italy and abroad are strongly connected to the flourishment of settlements and activities in the Italian countryside of Tuscany and Umbria. We can learn several things from the knowledge of this expending old tradition. Apparently, businessmen chose the countryside for their businesses already during the Renaissance, not only for pure investment, but also to be good for others and to create something special for their own use. Entrepreneurs in modern times acted

[184] (Gaggio, 2011, p. 345), (Gaggio, 2014, p. 557).

likewise. They saw the opportunities in abandoned places, or areas of low interest, to be redeveloped in something extraordinary of all kinds.

All entrepreneurs mentioned, decided to invest it in Italian villages because they saw the values of the architecture and the lands. They wanted to use the opportunities from its potentials and did not only satisfy themselves but many others like inhabitants, employees, tourists and passers-by. Brunello Cucinelli revived the old landlord – tenant relation but in a new sense. He could be seen as a new type of feudal landlord, one who takes care of his employees and their families. His humanist approach is inspiring and could be an example for other upcoming cases of restoring Umbrian villages and estates. Important is that besides the focus on business Cucinelli paid attention to the cultural assets of the place and Italian tradition. He invested in and nurtured the arts and crafts to maintain them for future generations.

It is important to look specifically for private or corporate investors because governments cannot maintain all cultural heritage goods in the world. Governmental organizations and non-profit organizations though, are very helpful to subvene. But most important would be the social support from the community.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

Entrepreneurs in Italy, whether or not Italians or foreigners, have invested in agricultural areas for centuries. Their feeling for business and economic opportunities made the agricultural practice and countryside of Italy flourish. This instinct, as well as the attraction and feeling with the (agri-)cultural heritage of Italy, are needed for a successful redevelopment of Parrano's principality. The organization of the principality would be, by preference, made from a group of entrepreneurs who will become the investors and stakeholders. Specially businessmen like Brunello Cucinelli would be very suitable for a redevelopment project like here in Parrano. Men and women like Cucinelli would have the business instinct, the feeling and admiration for cultural heritage values, and are the inspiring landowners that make the locals and employees live and work in great environments. Entrepreneurs are essential to develop the principality into a sustainable and economic profitable success.

6. Redeveloping Italian agricultural heritage – *from heritage study to heritage redevelopment*

The Italian word for heritage is *patrimonio*, which defines directly the inherited as something that came from generation to generation. Though several explanations are present, we can assume that the Italian landscape and countryside of central Italy became cultural heritage in the 1970's and 1980's. During the different flows of rural exodus, the countryside was valued as generic, not special at all, but slowly afterwards it became interesting for more and more people and organizations. The buildings could be reused easily for tourist purposes. Because of the renewed interest in farms and rural dwellings, they became a worldwide iconic patrimony of the Italian countryside – like many of the villa's in Tuscany became the symbols of the region and even for other regions of which they are no part. After the Fascists' interest – including that of rationalist architects like Giuseppe Pagano – in rural buildings, the vernacular architecture became valorized by Italian intellectuals who started to see it as an important part of their patrimony.[185] The attendance however, of the tourists, may affect the rural patrimony with no respect for the past and no sustainable idea for the future. As Biffoli (1984) states: "*The rural houses are cynically mangled by the new tourists or sacrificed with indifference to the gods of mandatory weekend or the omnipresent second home. The spatial relationships, the measures of a distant era, vanish without being reinvented or lived according to different signs*".[186] This means that most true relics of the rural past, are being destroyed or transformed without being of any value anymore to investors and owners. Gaggio (2017) finds it inauthentic and unethical as well and defines the three stages trough which most of the rural buildings go as 'crisis – abandonment – loss of authenticity'. He refers to Carlo Cresti who wrote in 1981 about the "betrayal" of the rural legacy in Tuscany when stables were transformed into dining rooms and sheds into bedrooms or studios.[187] It is the cause for the demise of rural patrimony, according to those writers. We should look for a new idea on how to deal with this type of heritage, considering the historic and cultural values and the ways how to preserve them in proper ways, still guaranteeing the use of the built heritage.

The sharecropping history is not sufficient for declaring the landscape a World Heritage Site (WHS). Like the Orcia valley in Tuscany, the sharecropping system on its own was no argument though it has shown the important social and economic consequences for the shaping of the landscape. In that case, the applicants brought an extra argument of the relation between the fourteenth century painters in Siena and the landscape of the Orcia valley. With both arguments they have convinced the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and UNESCO

[185] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 194-199).
[186] (Biffoli, 1984, p. 45).
[187] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 202-203, 209).

that the valley is of great value and therefore it became a WHS.[188] A history of sharecropping is not enough to make an agricultural landscape become monumental heritage. We can point at its heritage values and try to preserve it through transforming it for re-use. However, new problems of use, and mainly financial difficulties arise. Some time ago I read an example written by Ready & Navrud (2002) that was a strikingly similar with the problem of Italy's agricultural heritage: "*Consider a landowner who has a beautiful example of period buildings on his farm. The landowner knows that passers-by on the road enjoy looking at these buildings, but he cannot extract any payment. The buildings are generating social benefits, but those benefits are accruing to the passers-by, not to the owner. That owner has no incentive to preserve the buildings, and indeed may not have the resources to do so*".[189] The problem described here is that eventhough the buildings create some values for people that pass-by or live near the place, the owner often does not have any financial benefits from it and will let the buildings deteriorate even if others value and appreciate them. The task is to make the cultural heritage counting, also for owners. At the same time the cultural heritage should not be only valuable for locals but for a wider range of potential public. By defining its values we should bear in mind to what level value can be increased.

The sharecropping tradition with its feudal basis is not a proper method to reintroduce for organizing the vacant estates of central Italy. Though the system had some advantages it did not extinct without reason, as described by Cohen & Galassi (1990).[190] The organization however, of the farms as unit of a larger company, was very efficient within sharecropping because the units could work more autonomous and partially independent. I do agree with Anna Geppert (2014) when she affirms that strict protection is not the solution for our heritage. We should develop it in a sustainable way because our heritage is not passive but needs to evolve within new planning and management.[191] We can not musealize all heritage, but we can search for new ways of redeveloping our heritage in a sustainable way. I emphasize the importance of management in plans of redeveloping heritage because of its widespread, multi-discipline and multi-actor relevance.

[188] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 257-258).
[189] (Ready & Navrud, 2002, p. 4); the story's second part goes: "*even where a private provider can charge some fees, those fees may not represent all of the benefits being generated by the good. Consider a castle on a hillside overlooking a town. The owner of the castle may be able to charge tourists who want to go into the castle an entry fee, and therefore may have some incentive to preserve the condition of the castle. But even though he can capture some of the value that the castle generates, he will not be able to charge people who enjoy looking at the outside of the castle. Indeed, if the castle is sufficiently important, there may be people far away that gain some enjoyment just from knowing that the castle is in good condition. The owner will not be able to capture those values, and may allow the castle to deteriorate even though the benefits, to all those who perceive them, are sufficient to justify the costs of preserving the castle*".
[190] (Cohen & Galassi, 1990, pp. 646-647).
[191] (Geppert, 2014, p. 10).

Italy has its own tradition of working with cultural heritage. As soon as something has been declared a monument, it is protected and controlled strictly, making any attempt of new development difficult. Gambino (1997) and González & Vázquez (2014) mention the different approach of protected area management by the Italians as a strong cultural tradition of complex ecological and cultural networks that characterize them.[192] The hybrid reality that González & Vázquez (2014) point out in their conclusion statement could be inspiring for our own Italian case.[193] We should use all knowledge that we can get, from all kinds of people, research centers, organizations and institutions. When all start to work together; a better result can be achieved. The UNESCO approach for heritage management is based on two principles: its strategic aspects and its forthcoming operating features. Lo Piccolo and Todari (2014) review the management plans of UNESCO's heritage as three-layered:

1. preserve over time the integrity of values;
2. combine the protection and preservation through the integrated development of local economic resources such as tourism;
3. involve numerous actors.[194]

These three aspects are really similar to the Italian approach and that is why it makes sense that the Italian government – and specifically the Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali (Ministry of Cultural Activities and Heritage) – followed UNESCO with their own heritage management plan in a conference in Paestum in 2004 followed by a law in 2006 recognizing and adopting the management strategy of UNESCO. Unfortunately several problems have occurred ever since. First, the Ministery that introduced the law is not responsible for the agricultural landscape planning of Italy and could not influence this domain. Secondly, the variety of organizational structures in all layers of organizations and governments in Italy is not compatible with the flexibility needed for UNESCO's management plans. Italian practice, however, is maybe even too much flexible for UNESCO since it is common in Italy to adapt the systems and plans to local needs and interests defined as '*varianti urbanistiche*'.[195] This freedom has led in the history of Italy in uncontrolled planning and development all over the peninsula but mainly in the countryside and in the southern regions of Sicily and Sardinia. That is why a more regulated – not necessarily more controlled – management plan should be developed for heritage assets in the Italian countryside. The management plans from the UNESCO could be used as inspiration because of the expertise

[192] (Gambino, 1997), (González & Vázquez, 2014, p. 36).
[193] (González & Vázquez, 2014, p. 44).
[194] (Lo Piccolo & Todaro, 2014, pp. 49-50).
[195] (Lo Piccolo & Todaro, 2014, pp. 51-52); Italy uses a management planning system with flexible practice depending on local interests, both private and public. This adaptation or modification trough zoning is called '*varianti urbanistiche*', as explained by Lo Piccolo & Todari.

and study that has been the basis of its World Heritage List. The three tools of this management plan for listed heritage are:

1. a plan for the protection of knowledge and preservation;
2. a plan of cultural and social promotion;
3. a plan of socio-economic and cultural valorization.[196]

These three plans are not only useful for potential listed monuments but also for redevelopment of heritage in the wide variety of its existence. According to Koboldt (1995) we can use the tangible, or physical, built heritage in two different ways. In the first place we can redevelop the former use into something new and comparable. Secondly, we could take the characteristics of the building and use those to redevelop something new.[197]

The idea of using cultural heritage landscapes as tool and inspiration for development on local scale has grown since the 1970s, when several countries in Europe started to involve their heritage in new development plans. Austria had multiple initiatives that seemed to show that by using the potential of cultural landscape heritage even economical fragile regions could develop new projects. One of the main factors resulting in this flourishing developments in weaker regions was the collaboration between local actors with all kinds of backgrounds.[198] Italy has been trying to protect its landscape heritage by legislation since the beginning of the twentieth century. On June 11th, 1922, the parliament agreed on the protection of the so-called "*bellezze panoramiche*", the panoramic beauty of the country with a law titled '*per la tutela belezze naturali e degli immobili di particolare interesse storico*'. In 1939 this law was followed by one protecting places, buildings, vistas, geological formations and objects that were worth protecting because of the public interest value. Since 1974 Italy has even a ministry for cultural and environmental assets that was appointed to protect and maintain Italy's heritage.[199]

Apparently a broad 'bottom-up' approach would create more potential for success than a governmental or UNESCO 'top-down' method. Local support is important to succeed, also in small towns across rural Italy. That is why I would recommend to use local opportunity and capacity to develop new initiatives. Combine local, regional, national and international governmental

[196] (Lo Piccolo & Todaro, 2014, p. 58).
[197] (Koboldt, 1995, pp. 4-5).
[198] (Kurz, Ruland, & Zech, 2014, p. 68).
[199] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 242-244); Law 778, issued on June 11th, 1922 – Law 1497, issued on June 29, 1939 – Law 431, issued on August 8, 1985, titled '*disposizioni urgenti per la tutela delle zone di particolare interesse ambientale*. The ministry of Cultrual and Environmental Assets (Ministero dei Beni Culturali e Ambientali) changed its direct scope and name ever since. Currently it is called Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism (Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - MiBACT). The aspect of Environment is nowadays part of the Ministry of Environment and Protection of Land and Sea (Ministero dell'Ambiente e della Tutela del Territorio e del Mare).

ownership and regulation with local actors and a variety of stakeholders to create a broad platform to support developments and opportunities. It would still be important to gain more support within governments because of the local initiatives within regional contexts. The combination of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' heritage planning and management would fit best. Like Kurz, Ruland & Zech (2014) conclude: "*the management of sensitive cultural landscapes – with their cultural and natural values, their often fragile eco- and land use systems and their special potential for sustainable and resilient development need 'top down' control by the democratically legitimate government officials as well as 'bottom up' by private industry and the general public*".[200] According to them, and I can only agree, the participation of different stakeholders from governance, private industry and the public would create a sustainable heritage control and management. Private initiatives were already encouraged by the Council of Europe in 1985 as visible in the conclusions from the Convention held in Granada on the subject of 'Protection of the Architectural Heritage in Europe'. In article 6, point 3 it is stated that all parties from the European Union will "*encourage private initiatives for maintaining and restoring the architectural heritage*".[201] Governments cannot carry all responsibility for the built heritage, that is why private initiatives are welcomed and encouraged. Part of the promotion programs by the European Union is to stimulate the "*co-operation between the State, the regional and local authorities, cultural institutions and associations, and the public*" to make sure that architectural heritage will receive more public and private initiatives for its "*identification, protection, restoration, maintenance, management and promotion*".[202] This cooperation between governments in Italy was improved by the Town Planning Act of 1942. With this Act, more developments of towns and communes were made possible under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Works and with agency of the national Soprintendeze and provincial commissions.[203]

Italy has to deal with a large rate of unemployment since the 1980s. In April 2017 was 11,1% of the working class unemployed but the most shocking is the youth unemployment rate of 34%.[204] Unemployment should be handled within new development projects in the Italian countryside. It is one of the social aspects that should be considered during interventions in the existing. Just like the social situation and values of the past matter, so does the present social situation. Like Rob van Hees et al. wrote in 2014: "*Interventions in the existing should be an answer to societal needs and aim at making both the buildings and their surroundings accessible and usable for the people:*

[200] (Kurz et al., 2014, p. 79).
[201] (Council of Europe, 1985, p. 3); this undertaking is one of the ancillary measures as defined by the Council of Europe.
[202] (Council of Europe, 1985, p. 4).
[203] (Fuselli, 1948); this article lists the most important consequences of the 1942 Town Planning Act.
[204] (Trading Economics, 2017a), (Trading Economics, 2017b).

the bond which will result will guarantee their sustainable use and will support maintenance policies".[205]

As UNESCO declared in 2013, safeguarding of rural areas with all traditions and historical and practical expertise should be promoted because it is more ecological and should be integrated in new, sustainable developments of urban, rural and architectural design. Heritage assets like traditional knowledge, values and practices would create, in combination with new scientific research and technical opportunities, a much more sustainable development.[206] Use the best of two worlds and you create something extraordinary. I cannot agree more for the case of Parrano and for cultural heritage developments in general with UNESCO's (2013) statement: "*The cultural and creative industries should be promoted, as well as heritage-based urban revitalization and sustainable tourism, as powerful economic sub-sectors that generate green employment, stimulate local development, and foster creativity*".[207] This should become one of the qualities in the development and revitalization of Parrano. The European Community acknowledges the heritage development opportunities of the countryside seeing that much of the cultural heritage is located in rural areas. Investment in new creative and innovative developments with cultural heritage in these regions is favorable for Europe because "*innovative forms of community-oriented management can greatly improve their economic and social potential*".[208] Another positive aspect of the European Union meddling is the vast amount of money available for heritage research and prices for extraordinary achievements in the field of heritage. For example, with the still ongoing project of 'Horizon 2020' the EU has initiated an international framework Program for Research and Innovation with a budget of almost €80 billion to be spent between 2014 and 2020.[209] This program is part of Europe's strategy for 2020, as defined in 2010 by the European Commission, of which one of the keys is to sustain economic, social and territorial cohesion as strategy for ongoing and new projects.[210] The Commission wants to use both European budgets and private investments to sustain growth in these projects. We have seen before that the earlier funds from the EC caused the complete disappearance of the traditional '*agricoltura promiscua*' but were necessary to keep Italy's agricultural system working. The plans, supported by the fund from 1960 onwards, succeeded specifically in Tuscany where you can drive through a vast landscape of single crop fields. In Umbria, on the other hand, the situation stagnated and never got back on track. New initiatives and funding from the EC could help stimulating these areas in Umbria where the

[205] (van Hees et al., 2014, p. 113).
[206] (UNESCO, 2013, pp. 4-5).
[207] (UNESCO, 2013, p. 5).
[208] (European Commission, 2014, p. 6); the commission encourages these modernizations within the heritage sector because of the proven positive results with proper heritage management.
[209] (European Commission, 2014, p. 7); this money is given to research and innovations in the field of heritage.
[210] (European Commission, 2010, p. 20).

villages and farm estates are waiting for someone to help its potential to be rediscovered and revitalized. Other initiatives of the European Union concerning cultural heritage are the introduction of the European Heritage Days which were held every year in September, the European Capitals for Culture (ECoC) with a series of events taking place in two of Europe's cultural capitals every year and the European Heritage Label awarding remarkable heritage sites in Europe since 2014. Also a lot of money has become available with awards and funds like the European Union Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), the European Regional Development Fund - of which almost €5.5 billion was invested in cultural heritage, infrastructure and services in the period 2007-2013 – the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development that supported initiatives with €1.2 billion in the same period between 2007 and 2013 and the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage – also known as the Europa Nostra Awards.[211] There are many other possibilities of receiving funds and awards with cultural heritage projects in Europe which shows that cultural heritage is relevant and worth investing.

The *podere* and *casale* were also defined as *casa da lavoratore* – house of the laborer. Interest in these buildings grew since the 1960's because of several reasons. In the first place it was their abundance that attracted attention. Secondly it was the building and material tradition that could be found in those farms that stood for the culture of the countryside. Losing these cultural elements by letting these farms become ruins would be a loss. Studies were made. Luckily, some of the farms were saved by transforming them for new purposes. Most of them became country houses for both Italians and foreigners. Specially the second group became more and more interested in Italian agricultural building heritage.[212] Important to mention is the difference in nostalgic interest between the local Italians and the foreigners, as described by Dario Gaggio (2017). While foreigners, mostly tourists, look at the spatial features, the locals have their nostalgic feelings based on the temporal characteristics. Tourists like the Italian countryside, but rarely understand how to deal properly with its cultural heritage, which needs to be investigated in depth and from different points of view. As Gaggio writes: "*A vineyard, a herd of sheep, or a farmhouse is not simply an object to be investigated from a distance, but a site of engagement capable of telling different and contradictory stories in its relationships with people and other sites*".[213]

[211] (European Commission, 2014, pp. 9-11); there is even a European Maritime and Fisheries Fund that invest in maritime cultural heritage.
[212] (Lazzaro, 1985, pp. 346-347); Important publications were *La casa rurale in Italia* by Barbieri & Gambi (1970) and *Per una storia dell abitazione rurale in Italia* by the same Gambi from 1964. Later publications focussed on the Tuscan situation – probably because most material is available for that region – but also earlier examples like *Smaller Italian Villas and Farmhouses* of Lowell (1916) showed the interest in this agricultural building typology.
[213] (Gaggio, 2017, p. 11).

Conclusion:

The patrimony of rural Italy can be shown in two ways: in terms of landscape and vernacular architecture. Both tell stories of the past, an both show the physical values of that past. These values, and moreover the beauty of landscape and architecture, can be maintained best by preserving their stories. Gaggio (2017) states that "*a beautiful landscape is first of all a legible landscape*" and that "*patrimonial beauty arises from the ability to tell one coherent story, easily read in space and shared across cultural boundaries*".[214] The story on the future of rural Italy must be compatible with the story of its past, which should remain visible and readable in future plans.

When starting to redevelop the Italian countryside, with all its assets and values, it is important to take all aspects of the past, present and future in mind. Nowadays people pay much attention to the ideal environment they want to create there, based on nostalgia which is sometimes not even real. Franco Guarducci, who worked and lived as sharecropper in the Chianti region, wrote: "*In our countryside, where I still live, so many changes have taken place. The rural houses, many of which were once barely standing and where the peasants had to share their living space with mice, after being abandoned for a long time, are now villas for the foreigners. They are all restored. The stink of the stables is gone and amazing halls have replaced them. But the animals have disappeared as well, as has the manure that was taken to the fields to fertilize them and retain the rain, which washes now right away. The environment has changed and many birds no longer nest here*".[215]

Farmhouses in Italy are not "listed" monuments, but in redevelopment plans they should be considered as cultural heritage. They are strong enough to evolve into the twenty-first century, but with a little help. The question remains 'how', but that is something to put in the hands of developers, heritage professionals and most of all the architect. The designer is the person that will study the heritage values and translate them to the best architectural solution he can find.

Considerations for the case of Parrano:

The farms of Parrano are not monuments but do have cultural heritage values because they remind us of the *mezzadria* and represent an agricultural history that is gone but should not be forgotten. Both the landscape and the vernacular architecture are part of the rural patrimony. Values from the past, tangible as well as intangible, must be analysed to search for possible options of preservation in the development plans. The aim should not be to musealize Parrano's cultural heritage, but to redevelop the values in a sustainable way.

[214] (Gaggio, 2017, pp. 238, 240).
[215] (Guarducci, 2002).

Conclusion

Redevelopment projects with agricultural heritage can be carried out best by activating the heritage values and assets. Specifically the values of Economy, Culture, Society and Environment (figure 22) came out to identify the contemporary categories of studies into cultural heritage and represent all the fields that should be considered to implement new development successfully. The active role of the European Union towards cultural heritage should be followed and where funding is required the EU can help as well.



Figure 22, Van Deursen (2018), the four values f Economy, Culture, Society and Environment.

From the debate about the role of architects in the current debate on cultural heritage we should consider one final aspect that is relevant. When the historian and architect are the same person, like in the case of the principality of Parrano, there is a specific and important role for the local *geometra*. He would provide and control the preconditions based on the local tradition, cultural heritage and heritage regulations (figure 23). However, a team of specialists from different fields – history, economy, sociology, architecture, environment, etc. – would result in better understanding of the values and a more successful implementations of all values in the new plan (figure 24).

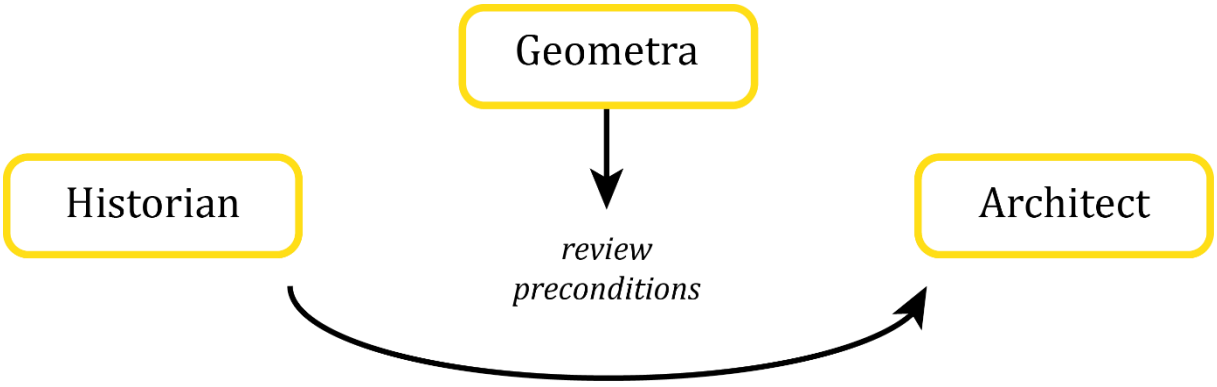


Figure 23, Van Deursen (2018), review of the preconditions in the context of tradition by the local geometra.

From all central Italian regions it were mainly Tuscany, Umbria and Marche where the *mezzadria* was common for centuries. Crops were planted and harvested during all seasons resulting in a stable economy based on the production of grain, grapes and olives. Like Crump wrote in 1981, the *mezzadria* had been "*an extremely successful economic innovation*" because it could endure all

those centuries and survived until the twentieth century.[216] Its innovation and new investments over time made it last for so many centuries and thereby, perhaps, made it become the most efficient economic system in agriculture. A partnership between landlord and farmer, like in the *mezzadria* of central Italy, was never seen elsewhere. It is characteristic for this part of Italy that a strong relation between landlord and landworkers was established. If possible, this partnership could be reinstituted in new organization structures where both tenant and landlord gain profit from the collaboration. Even though the sharecropping system of the *mezzadria* was a feudal-based organization of agriculture, sharecropping has been chosen above all other contract forms. The inefficiency that many scholars recite should be reviewed because tenants and landlords did chose also in modern times sharecropping for its efficiency. From some perspectives it was, of course, not as efficient as possible, but in many respects it was indeed efficient.

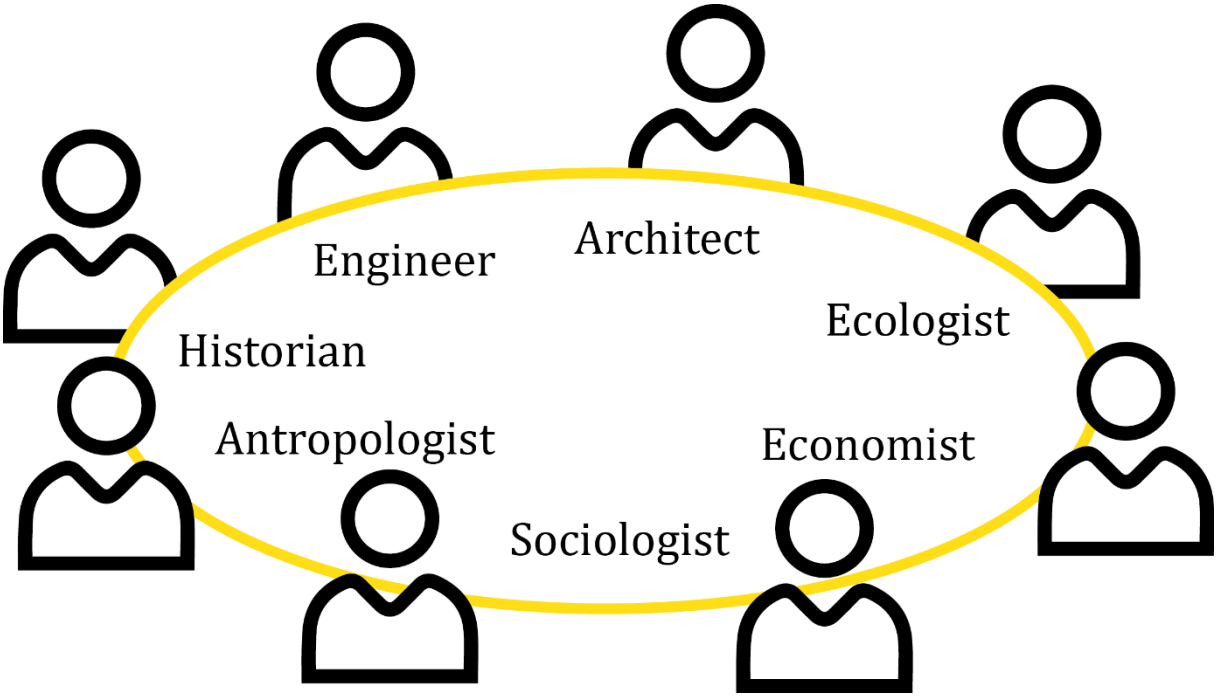


Figure 24, Van Deursen (2018), specialists from different professions working closely together in a team.

New developments in areas where the *mezzadria* was practiced should activate the cultural heritage assets as the European Union promotes. The passive conservation method of UNESCO would not help unfolding all values. By using the values and giving the cultural assets new functions they would make the new, sustainable future of Parrano. Cultural Heritage Counts for Parrano.

Considering development plans for the principality of Parrano specifically it would be wise to create a new organization of which the products are focused on diversity of economy in social

[216] (Elazar, 1996, pp. 240-241), (Crump, 1981, p. 470).

cooperation of the local community to develop a sustainable future and environment. The diversity of values and functions in the past provided both inspiration on how to develop new functions as well as how to connect the different elements with eachother; using the title or brand 'principality'. The aim for projects like the principality of Parrano should be to combine public and private partnerships to create a strong and broad platform of expertise, creativity and funds that could help to create a plan of development for Parrano that is sustainable in its management, implementation, execution, operation and maintenance. European funds for cultural heritage can be addressed when there is a shortage of financial means.

The plan development needs to be profitable, good for the community and progressive within a couple of years. It is an example for more regions in Italy where the rural situation is weakened. For a secure economy chances must be spread by inserting multiple functions that would cover the productions all over the year. For example, by planting different crops work will be generated all over the year and the crops can be harvested in all seasons. Just like the *mezzadri* spread their chances of survival by planting different crops because it was their most important livelihood. The hills of central Italy are ideal for having many different crops that can be harvested during the whole year. For example, grapes and olives can be harvested in autumn while wheat and maize can harvested during summer. By combining both kinds of products, a very constant demand of work can be generated and even so is the production. Tourism must not be the main reason of development, it is the local population and specifically the young population that has left in the past decades that need to be taken in consideration. In Parrano they would be the people to revitalize the principality. Their active role in new developments can make cultural heritage assets count again for both the local population as well as for interested tourists.

Discussion

There is a problem concerning heritage that should be mentioned discussing the role of heritage in the architectural discourse. By looking into the past we search for historical parts that we want to find, claims the historian David Lowenthal in an interview with Tracy Metz from the NRC Handelsblad (2002), which can influence the value analysis.[217] This would not occur when the planning and analysis of cultural heritage assets is done by a team of experts. It would become profitable and more durable because more insights from different disciplines are brought together.

As I mentioned earlier, it would be very interesting to investigate in more depth the thoughts and influence of the Fascist movement in the Italian countryside, concerning the vast vacancy of agricultural buildings and dwellings scattered in the landscape. How would they work with those buildings and pieces of land dealing with both thoughts of nostalgia and modernization. Transformation and preservation could be worked out at the same time, as they showed in the first half of the twentieth century when they combined both in different ways. This topic has not been researched in depth and could provide more valuable information about the Fascist approach as well as new insights on how to deal with the agricultural vacancy.

The *mezzadria* is a very broad subject to investigate of which this thesis only covers the Italian sharecropping history. In particular the French history of sharecropping could be worth to research because it could bring other insights to the debate how to deal with the European sharecropping history and in particular its relics.

If you would like to read more about daily life in a *mezzadria* organized agricultural estate, I advise to read "*Il quaderno di Dino*" by Leonardo Scelfo (2002) – edited by Gianfranco Molteni and beautifully visualized by Elisabetta Scelfo. In this diary-like written book, we learn from the child Dino about his life on the farm and in the Italian countryside. He explains the different buildings, people, hierarchy, activities and tools from the child's perspective; which gives a nice insight in the *mezzadria* daily life.[218] Also the documentary from the 1960's titled *Mezzadria* is interesting to watch.

[217] Metz, Tracy (2002), conversation with heritage historian David Lowenthal, NRC Handelsblad, interview of December 6th, 2002. Lowenthal wrote a book about this problem: Lowenthal, David (1998), *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge.

[218] (Scelfo, 2002). A documentary of interest is: *Mezzadria*, directed by Sergio Micheli, starring Furio Agnorelli, Franco Andreucci and Gian Carlo Calocchi, with script by Tomasso Chiarelli. This documentary is preserved in digital format at ASMOS in Siena and at the Mediateca Toscana in Florence. The exact year of production is not reported. (Gaggio, 2017, p. 133).

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[219] This museum was founded in the 1990's but renewed in 2002. It gives a very clear and interesting introduction into the *mezzadria*. Very special is the modelled farmer's dwelling on the first floor which shows how the living of the *mezzadro* and his family was.

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Attachments



Figure 1, Van Deursen (2017), hillside landscape of Parrano with the vacant farm Bovorosso (center) and the house of the author's friends one hill further in distance (left).



Figure 3, The different subdomains identified in the collected studies mapped in the holistic four domain approach diagram, (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p. 17).

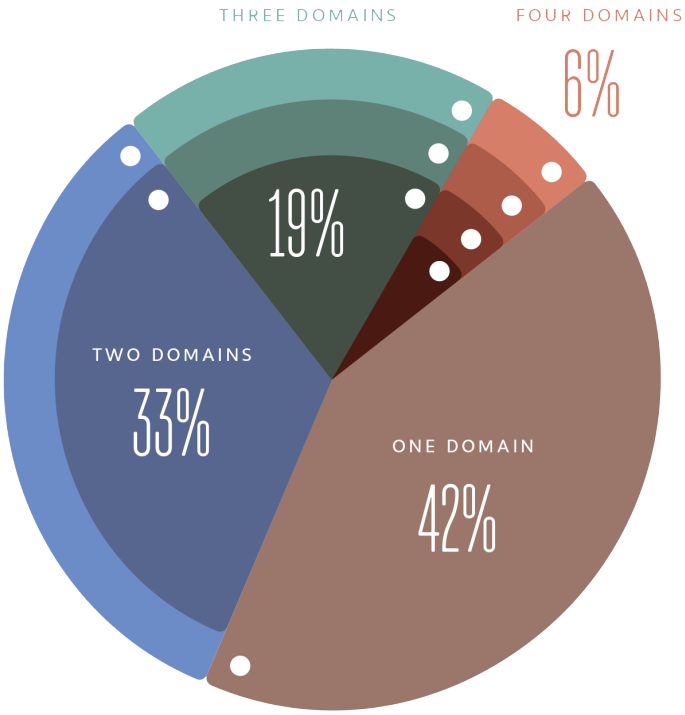


Figure 4, Interrelation of all four impact domains as identified in the collected studies, (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, p.16).



Figure 5, Norman Einstein, Wikipedia (2005), territory of the Etruscan civilization from 750 BC. Based on a map from The National Geographic Magazine Vol.173 No.6 June 1988.



Figure 6, a.u. (2015), a mezzadro and his family cultivating land. Retrieved from: http://tuttoin1.it/mezzadria-un-antico-contratto/.



Figure 8, Comune di Cupramontana (s.d.), a farmers' family in front at the 'aia'. Retrieved from: http://www.gustocupramontana.it/en/road-of-wine-and-taste/historical-background.



Figure 9, Comune di Cupramontana (s.d.), a farmers' family working together in the fields of their farm. Retrieved from: http://www.gustocupramontana.it/en/road-of-wine-and-taste/historical-background.



Figure 10, Mario Ventura (s.d.), località La Foce, Val d'Orcia.


Figure 11-14, André van Deursen (2017), Solomeo by Brunello Cucinelli.



Figure 15-18, André van Deursen (2017), the offices of crafts, reinstated by Brunello Cucinelli.


Figure 19, Mario Ventura (s.d.), Castiglion del Bosco by Massimo & Chiara Ferragamo.



Figure 20, Travel & Leisure (s.d.), courtesy of Borgo Finocchieto by John Philip.



Figure 21, Mice Hotels in Italy (s.d.), the 'albergo diffuso' by Daniel Kihlgren in Santo Stefano di Sessanio.

Appendices

I. The 10 Key Findings of CHCfE (2015)*

1. Cultural Heritage is a key **component and contributor to the attractiveness** of Europe's regions, cities, towns and rural areas in terms of private sector inward investment, developing cultural creative quarters and **attracting talents and footloose businesses** – thereby **enhancing regional competitiveness** both within Europe and globally.

2. Cultural heritage provide European countries and regions with a **unique identity** that creates compelling city narratives providing the **basis for effective marketing strategies** aimed at developing cultural tourism and **attractive investment**.

3. Cultural heritage is a **significant creator of jobs** across Europe, covering a wide range of types of jobs and skill levels: from conservation-related construction, repair and maintenance through cultural tourism, to small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and start-ups, often in the **creative industries**.

4. Cultural heritage is an **important source of creativity and innovation, generating new ideas and solutions to problems, and creating innovative services** – ranging from digitization of cultural assets to exploiting the cutting-edge virtual reality technologies – with the aim of interpreting historic environments and buildings and making them accessible to citizens and visitors.

5. Cultural heritage has a track record on **providing a good return on investment** and is a significant generator of tax revenue for public authorities both from the economic activities of heritage-related sectors and indirectly through spillover from heritage-oriented projects leading to further investment.

6. Cultural heritage is a **catalyst for sustainable heritage-led regeneration**.

7. Cultural heritage is a part of the **solution to Europe's climate change challenges**, for example through the **protection and revitalization** of the huge embedded energy in the **historic building stock**.

8. Cultural heritage **contributes to the quality of life, providing character and ambience** to neighborhoods, towns and regions across Europe and making them popular places to live, work in and visit – attractive to resident, tourists and the representatives of creative class alike.

9. Cultural heritage **provides an essential stimulus to education and lifelong learning**, including a better understanding of history as well as feelings of **civic pride** and belonging, and **fosters cooperation and personal development**.

10. Cultural heritage combines many of the above-mentioned positive impacts to **build social capital** and **helps deliver social cohesion** in communities across Europe, **providing a framework for participation and engagement** as well as **fostering integration**.

* based on: (CHCfE Consortium, 2015, pp. 19-29); highlights by author.

II. The Venice Charter (1964)

CONSEIL INTERNATIONAL DES MONUMENTS ET DES SITES ICOMOS INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON MONUMENTS AND SITES

INTERNATIONAL CHARTER FOR THE CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS AND SITES (THE VENICE CHARTER 1964)

IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, Venice, 1964.

Adopted by ICOMOS in 1965.

Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. People are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of human values and regard ancient monuments as a common heritage. The common responsibility to safeguard them for future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity.

It is essential that the principles guiding the preservation and restoration of ancient buildings should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis, with each country being responsible for applying the plan within the framework of its own culture and traditions.

By defining these basic principles for the first time, the Athens Charter of 1931 contributed towards the development of an extensive international movement which has assumed concrete form in national documents, in the work of ICOM and UNESCO and in the establishment by the latter of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property. Increasing awareness and critical study have been brought to bear on problems which have continually become more complex and varied; now the time has come to examine the Charter afresh in order to make a thorough study of the principles involved and to enlarge its scope in a new document.

Accordingly, the IInd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments, which met in Venice from May 25th to 31st 1964, approved the following text:

DEFINITIONS

Article 1.

The concept of a historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time.

Article 2.

The conservation and restoration of monuments must have recourse to all the sciences and techniques which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of the architectural heritage.

Figure 1, ICOMOS (1964), The Venice Charter, p. 1/4.

Article 3.

The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.

CONSERVATION

Article 4.

It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis.

Article 5.

The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted.

Article 6.

The conservation of a monument implies preserving a setting which is not out of scale. Wherever the traditional setting exists, it must be kept. No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed.

Article 7.

A monument is inseparable from the history to which it bears witness and from the setting in which it occurs. The moving of all or part of a monument cannot be allowed except where the safeguarding of that monument demands it or where it is justified by national or international interest of paramount importance.

Article 8.

Items of sculpture, painting or decoration which form an integral part of a monument may only be removed from it if this is the sole means of ensuring their preservation.

RESTORATION

Article 9.

The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.

Article 10.

Where traditional techniques prove inadequate, the consolidation of a monument can be achieved by the use of any modern technique for conservation and construction, the efficacy of which has been shown by scientific data and proved by experience.

Figure 2, ICOMOS (1964), The Venice Charter, p. 2/4.

Article 11.

The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration. When a building includes the superimposed work of different periods, the revealing of the underlying state can only be justified in exceptional circumstances and when what is removed is of little interest and the material which is brought to light is of great historical, archaeological or aesthetic value, and its state of preservation good enough to justify the action. Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.

Article 12.

Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.

Article 13.

Additions cannot be allowed except in so far as they do not detract from the interesting parts of the building, its traditional setting, the balance of its composition and its relation with its surroundings.

HISTORIC SITES

Article 14.

The sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner. The work of conservation and restoration carried out in such places should be inspired by the principles set forth in the foregoing articles.

EXCAVATIONS

Article 15.

Excavations should be carried out in accordance with scientific standards and the recommendation defining international principles to be applied in the case of archaeological excavation adopted by UNESCO in 1956.

Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning.

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out "*a priori*". Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.

Figure 3, ICOMOS (1964), The Venice Charter, p. 3/4.

PUBLICATION

Article 16.

In all works of preservation, restoration or excavation, there should always be precise documentation in the form of analytical and critical reports, illustrated with drawings and photographs. Every stage of the work of clearing, consolidation, rearrangement and integration, as well as technical and formal features identified during the course of the work, should be included. This record should be placed in the archives of a public institution and made available to research workers. It is recommended that the report should be published.

The following persons took part in the work of the Committee for drafting the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments:

Piero Gazzola (Italy), Chairman
Raymond Lemaire (Belgium), Reporter
José Bassegoda-Nonell (Spain)
Luis Benavente (Portugal)
Djurdje Boskovic (Yugoslavia)
Hiroshi Daifuku (UNESCO)
P.L. de Vrieze (Netherlands)
Harald Langberg (Denmark)
Mario Matteucci (Italy)
Jean Merlet (France)
Carlos Flores Marini (Mexico)
Roberto Pane (Italy)
S.C.J. Pavel (Czechoslovakia)
Paul Philippot (ICCROM)
Victor Pimentel (Peru)
Harold Plenderleith (ICCROM)
Deoclecio Redig de Campos (Vatican)
Jean Sonnier (France)
Francois Sorlin (France)
Eustathios Stikas (Greece)
Gertrud Tripp (Austria)
Jan Zachwatovicz (Poland)
Mustafa S. Zbiss (Tunisia)

Figure 4, ICOMOS (1964), The Venice Charter, p. 4/4.



Figure 25, André van Deursen, Silvia Naldini and Valter Giulietti in Parrano (mei 2017).