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Anna Maria Colavitti

Urban Heritage Management Planning with History



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Urban Heritage Management

Planning with History



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ISSN 2365-757X ISSN 2365-7588 (electronic) The Urban Book Series ISBN 978-3-319-72337-2 ISBN 978-3-319-72338-9 (eBook) https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017960921

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Printed on acid-free paper

This Springer imprint is published by the registered company Springer International Publishing AG part of Springer Nature.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Preface

In the last few years, the interest in the concept of landscape grew substantially, as the current research aimed at defining the importance of its contextualization in the complex process of the planning of the uses of the territory. Similarly, the research about its definition led to the sharing of a descriptive language that allowed a considerable broadening of its notion and a new extension of the matters related to it. Overtime, the erudite reflection resulted in a plurality of points of view useful for the protection of the territory. More recently, administrators, environmental agencies, museums curators, and scholars agree on a concept of landscape open to the views of urban planners, architects, art critics, philosophers, historians, geographers, economists, linguists, ethnologists, and naturalists, whose intertwining competences favor the overlapping of different disciplines and reinforce the relationships between different areas of knowledge. A new descriptive approach and an opportunity for landscape preservation have then been proposed, both based on the sharing of cultural values by the local communities.

The interplay landscape-society represents a characteristic product of the Western culture, and its history is old: to be precise, it is not exactly a concept elaborated uniquely by the European culture, but it is only in our tradition that has reached an extent of contents and perspectives which exceeds every possible disciplinary boundaries and makes every univocal definition insufficient. Over the course of the last years, the importance of the topic has reached a clear supranational dimension. The scientific research and the critical debate have acquired an ethic-social flavor in order to regulate collective behaviors in a new framework which places the European Union in a vanguard position for what the landscape safeguard in its plurality of manifestations is concerned.

The definition of landscape elaborated by the European Convention introduces the idea that the *characters* of the landscape derive from the action of the natural forces integrated with the human ones. The judgment of the *perception* and the attribution of value of these characters should lie first of all with the local authorities that retain the landscape goods within their administrative competence. This principle represents an innovation that is able to overcome the hierarchic roles of competence and to determine structured forms of territorial co-planning, which are chosen through a framework of regulatory methods that take in appropriate consideration the specific geographic and historical context. In Italy, the new orientations have been acknowledged in 2001 by the State-Regions agreement for the enforcement of the European Landscape Convention. The subject has been recently tackled, at a regulatory level, in the new Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage issued in January 2004, that represents the most recent body of laws promulgated on the subject by a country of the European Union and has begun to elicit its positive effects in the government of the territory. According to the Code, the cultural heritage of a nation not only consists of monuments but also of the association of the cultural and the landscape heritage (art. 2, c. 1). As a consequence, the stratification of nature, history, and society represents the main character and the collective heritage that must be recognized and protected: "The protection and enhancement of the landscape shall safeguard the values which it expresses in terms of perceptible identifying manifestations" (art. 131, c. 2). The reference, based on the Italian Constitutional Charter according to which the State "safeguards natural landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation" (art. 9), reinforces, through the reform of the Title V, Part 2 of the Constitution, the distinction between the protection of the cultural heritage, exclusively entrusted to the State, and its enhancement, concurrently realized by State and Regions. According to the Code's corpus of legislation, both activities aim at the protection, safeguard, and enhancement of the values expressed by the landscape, considered as perceptible manifestation of the collective identity.

The new regulatory framework offers, in this sense, a wide and interdisciplinary vision, far beyond the aestheticizing idea of landscape intended as "beautiful view" or "comforting sight." In fact, some factors of bigger social relevance, such as history, natural environment, and the settled collective values, are considered as components of the landscape and as those physical-perceptive manifestations that blend the geographic component of the site with the human component, thereby representing the result of cultures and economies that have left a mark, in time, in the space adapted to human needs. In particular, the new Code, resulting from a painstaking review of specialized disciplines, protection, and conservation policies, allows a homogeneous vision of the problems and the implementation of a national cultural policy behind the innovative forms of urban planning for the cities and the territory.

The regulatory article of the legislative tool introduces new collaborative perspectives of action and solicits the ethic commitment of the scientific community, the local authorities, and the citizens. The landscape heritage at large becomes the favored field to experiment collaborative practices for the territorial government that identify in it the strategic resources for the projects of economic development. The current fragmentation of the debate, the contributions sometimes controversial between the different kinds of knowledge, the comparison between operative procedures, still under experimentation, need a patient and intelligent collaborative and interdisciplinary approach. The reference to the landscape in its historical and cultural dimension which oriented the scientific research leads, also in institutional terms, to the development of the historiographic studies, which embrace a new experimental approach and are essential to define the *original characters* (Gambi 1972) given to the anthropic space.

The contents of this book represent in this sense the track of an original methodological path that, starting from the historical interpretation of the landscape as sediment of history, revises it as the result of the anthropization and the space of the planning research where different scientific cognitions are compared. The historical approach does not claim an exclusive supremacy, and the disciplinary fields, from the archival research to the archaeology, from the history of art to the eco-history, and from the urban planning to the social sciences, are interrelated in order to study forms and processes that left a mark on the territory in the course of time. In a co-planning perspective, the collaborative approach becomes a chance of interdisciplinary comparison, with the experimentation of the active communication between different areas of knowledge, the intersection of the competences, and the integration of the analytic and descriptive techniques. The sharing of an interdisciplinary culture becomes, therefore, a field exercise which allows the interpretation of the complexity of the examined site. The project of knowledge is not just oriented to the "pure" research, but it has remarkable effects on the urban planning, on the safeguard management, and enhancement of the landscape resources and of the cultural heritage. The recurring theory of this essay can therefore be synthesized in the methodological thesis according to which the acquisition of a meticulous and up-to-date historical picture cannot be considered as a preliminary work, but as a bearing line for every territorial project. Therefore, the valorization of the landscape is not an introductory phase, a sort of preamble to the urban plan, but a permanent critical readout of the planning activity that persists in the background of all the phases of the planning development. The urban landscapes, richer of sediments as time progresses, are also more easily lost, because of the ravages of time and men on the building heritage, the trades and cultures that make them more fragile and exposed to the transformations caused by the economic-social development and changeable conditions of the ever-evolving settlement models. This process caused the stratification of the so-called obsolescence landscapes, outdated islands inside the territorial settlement systems which are currently a focus of interest for the urban planner. From the landscape-environmental point of view, such areas retain in terms of urban ecology surplus values of cultural biodiversity whose low industrial and environmental impact allows to preserve in the course of time the settlement-landscape threatened with extinction. Unfortunately, however, the processing of the urban and landscape plans frequently reserves little attention to the reading of the historical stratification of the settlement processes and to the genesis of the landscapes. It is therefore necessary, for the programs and projects of conservation to become really effective, to integrate the recovery of the monuments and the historical building heritage with the protection of the environment and the correlated traditional human activities. The safeguard of the landscape and cultural heritage is in fact carried out through the conscious attribution of sense expressed on a local level by communicative practices aimed at recognizing and sharing the values. According to such vision, the landscape should therefore represent a wealth spread out over the territory, to be promoted in the hypothesis of local development models by the local authorities and without which a territorial project will be perceived as extraneous. This essay carries out a meticulous analysis of the disciplinary theoretical system that, with reference to the knowledge of the context, allows the definition of the protection criteria and the compatible uses to which the project of the city and of the territory will have to conform.

In the twentieth century, the increased and modified urban realities that were created as an adaptative response to the new needs and were influenced by the "deviances" of modernity have been largely studied by the most important European theoreticians of urban planning. The culture of the end of the nineteenth century considered the growth of the modern city as overriding, at the expense of the existing one. The historical building heritage was considered as an obstacle or in the best case scenario as an item to protect, opportunely isolated from the context.

The interest in its conservation seems to prevail only in the few cases in which it represents a monumental event. In opposition to the ruling demolition practices of the nineteenth century, first among everyone, Camillo Sitte's (Sitte 1889) contribution is considered essential to understand the cultural turmoil of that period. In the francophone culture, it is also fundamental Charles Buls's (Buls 1893) work, which strenuously defended the conservation of the ancient buildings but also anticipated the theory of the thinning of the historical building fabric. Buls's main piece of writing, L'esthétique des villes, seems to be the draft on which Gustavo Giovannoni will build his Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova (Giovannoni 1931). The contributions of the fathers of the conservation, Victor Hugo and John Ruskin (Hugo 1982), bore witness to the cultural turmoil of that time and opened to the idea of an innovative form of urban planning focused mainly on the social sphere. Hugo and Ruskin highlighted the importance of the knowledge of the historical process and considered the form of the city as a result of the stratifications made on the settlement space by time and men which, as such, must be known and respected. The same interpretative key can be also applied to Alois Riegl's (Riegl 1985) work, dating back to 1903, which provides important information on the protection of the fabric of the historical center of the city of Spalato. These contributions, even if referred to specific settlement contexts and different urban cultures, acquire general relevance and constitute the premises, in the European scenario, for the study of the settlement historical landscape. In the beginning of the twentieth century, in Italy, Gustavo Giovannoni's work on the "theory of the building thinning" found practical application in Luigi Angelini's (Angelini 1963) proposed urban plan for the "città alta" of Bergamo (the upper city of Bergamo).

This new methodological approach seems to take root in the last years thanks to the emphasis given to the urban context from which it is possible to gather compatible behaviors and recognize its "values." The detailed analysis of the typological plans, the handbooks of recovery, and the color plans highlight the need of standing up to the simplification of the urban reality derived from the homologation of the urban planning zoning and to the typification of the building stock.

The first part of the book discusses the project for the existing city and is focused on the acknowledgment of the complexities of the urban fabric as a result of history Preface

and culture, and on the interpretation of the signs left by man and time. The cognitive tools are therefore targeted to the discovery of identity traces and community values able to develop a new ethic awareness and responsibility in the choices of reuse and requalification of the urban space and of the building heritage. The traced path aims at highlighting how the existing city is the result of the recognized but often ignored complex processes of stratification that have recently characterized the cultural debate at the epicenter of the reflections on the future of the historical centers in Italy. This new awareness of the urban landscape represents the current frontier of the urban planning practices and requires the redaction of projects of conservation that stimulate development and renovation policies that respect the heritage of the past. It is pivotal to respect what arrived to us of the city from the past, its complexity and the organization of its design, and to strongly refuse any simplistic selection and restoration of the past, but rather to elaborate a sustainable project of the territory.

In this global vision of the settlement space, it is reasonable to privilege the relationship with the archaeology. Any intervention in areas carrying important archaeological remains involves a level of increasing complexity and richness due to the proximity, the overlapping, and the integration between the preexistent elements and the contemporary city. But if the problem does exist in all its evidence, the overcoming of its critical aspects does not need immediate answers, as usually thought, but it could slowly integrate itself with the territorial development without losing sight of a fruitful use of the processes of urban transformation.

The second part of the book deals with the project and the urban plan, whenever they cannot be dissociated from the preexistent archaeological elements and represent important issues to care about. The archaeological preexistences can be associated to other "invariants," such as the environmental systems or the historical permanencies, but they are always characterized by the acknowledgment of a difference of "nature" when compared to other signs of history. Therefore, their role in the process of planning can be construed as deeply different, particularly if compared with the innovative uses and structural transformations of the city and its territory. Just like it happens for the historical-cultural goods, the hypotheses of conservation and protection are today considered fundamental to plan synergic actions of reuse of the urban fabrics. In the contemporary age, the enjoyment of the archaeological goods represents the necessary condition for their conservation, while the excess of protection and the negation of its use exclude them from any kind of enhancement in the dynamic scenario of the developing city and territory.

The consequences of this vision are universally known. The recurring connection between landscape goods, historical-cultural goods, and consolidated city is often opposed to the old view that demands the physical separation between goods to protect and urban context. The diversity of goals and the different bureaucratic modalities of intervention between institutional subjects, whose different languages lead to consider the conservation and the urban requalification as separate worlds, generated antagonistic positions that inhibit the processes of reuse. In this reductive vision, the archaeology still constitutes a disciplinary sector that, even if provided with its own scientific and administrative autonomy in the management of the goods, finds it hard to enter in the collaborative dialectics of the process of urban development plan.

The limits of this *historical structuring* are evident in the lack of coordination between the different initiatives, in the consequences on the implementation of the transformation processes in the city, in the quality of the results of the specific interventions. Moreover, the divergence of programs and goals is shown in the unfulfilled chances and in the conditions of conservation of many preexistences, often in a state of decay when separated from the collective awareness and enjoyment.

This work represents a summary of more than a decade of research in the field of the urban planning and its results can be certainly considered as an interdisciplinary effort that the urban and territorial planning will have to make to allow the successful implementation of this innovative approach for the identification and protection of the landscape and of the historical-cultural goods as described in the 2004 Code.

The conclusions herein outlined constitute an important contribution to the definition of specific methodological and operative guidelines to be followed in the analysis of the city and of the territory.

Cagliari, Italy

Anna Maria Colavitti

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Acknowledgements

I'm deeply grateful for the advice of the unknown reviewers and the support I received from the publisher's representatives.

My gratitude is extended to my family and to all those that in various ways supported the writing of this book. Among them my sister Renata and my friend Nicola, who gave me precious suggestions while reviewing the final typescript.

My husband Giovanni has generously tolerated the extravagant amount of time necessary for me to work on this and other publications.

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Methodological Introduction

In the field of urban planning, we are witnessing, in more and more specific but still scarcely codified forms, a disparity between different experiences of interdisciplinary analysis that have consequences on their application to the global project of the *new* city and territory. The subjects involved in this path recognize the need for an organic integration of methods, techniques, and results deriving from the comparison of different *knowledge*, but also and above all, from the need for the formative *itinera* converging in the city and in the territorial planning and that involve, with full rights, not only the scholars but also, subsequently, the decision-makers. The reconnaissance of the strategic dimension, in the urban and territorial planning, of disciplines considered transversal if compared to the urban planning, but that actually are not, represents a point of no return that is necessary to become aware of in order to assign priority to the general goals of theoretical and hermeneutic value.

Theories and disciplinary methodologies formulated within a cultural trend and oriented more and more to the relation between the historical-cultural heritage and its context led to the need of studies focused on a program of reinterpretation of the meaning and the influence of the city cultural heritage and territorial planning, and aimed at systematizing and, subsequently, simplifying the elements and the systems including them. Among these important elements, it is possible to include the Urban Archaeology, a discipline oriented to a systematic series of actions in multilayered historical contexts, aimed at proving the origin and the evolution of their morphological aspects to conciliate, in the European cities, the renewal demands with the safeguard of the ancient testimonies. On the other hand, recent positions of urban archaeology and city planning consider the signs of the memory (fragments of architectures of the past scattered in the urban landscape, monuments or open spaces, conceived in their structural belonging) like materials for conservations or modifications of the present states that go beyond the simple archaeological reconstruction and tend to produce new meanings, by recreating a place, making its traces emerge, by interpreting and underlining their implicit logics, with a project that in the archaeological field allows one to know the past without showing any definitive character.

Therefore, a revision of methodologies of analysis and intervention took place, in which several disciplines, aware that an interactive multiplicity can favor a reading of the city and the territory that is more complex on the one hand but more exhaustive on the other, and started to open up to the processes of comprehension and assimilation of the cultural heritage and also to the relations that it entertains with the problems of the urban and territorial planning. The historical discontinuity of the relationship between what can be defined as *territorial archaeology* and the current disciplines of the planning helps to reflect on the mechanisms, the functions, and the ways of transmitting the memory for its possible use in the practices of territorial planning and for the uses that may derive from urban plans and projects.

Recently, the issue of the project and of the role of history in the current urban planning tools has been highlighted. It is fundamental for a plan to combine its inescapable prescriptive dimension with the essence and the meaning of memory, but the criteria and the tools to identify the method coordinates and the useful exemplifications to redefine and recompose a series of behaviors, even if homogeneous disciplinarily, are not clear. In this sense and along this path, it is necessary to develop some theoretical and experimental itineraries and comparisons that lead from the meaning to the choices (Dorfles 1973)¹ and decrypt the sense, often chaotic, of the *preexistences*, showing their planning foundation, if apparently unknown or just implied. The idea that the territorial and urban planning may take charge of the promotion of a conscious involvement of the cultural heritage in the activities related to the territorial management's strategies (involvement that should totally aim at finding and estimating the criteria of transformability of the existing) (Palazzo 2003) is an emerging concept resulting from new forms of planning that agree in indicating as fundamental elements of the effectiveness of the plan itself the control of the urban quality rooted in the historical memory and, subsequently, in the local history of the settled community (Vittorini 1999).

The archaeological valuable relic of the past was defined as a monument by Victor Hugo,² while Michel Foucault (Brogiolo 1999)³ gave more importance to its

¹ Allow me to use a famous paraphrase referred to the equally famous study conducted by G. Dorfles, in which the author tries to focus on some problems concerning the why of the choices, is to say the preferences which push the man toward one direction or another, in the search for a balance always attempted and never reached.

² Victor Hugo was promoter together with Mérimée and Viollet Le Duc of a policy of monuments' conservation. His interest in the compactness of the medieval city inspired him to write the chapter *A bird's eye view of Paris* in The Hunchback of Notre Dame. It is famous the resulting description of Paris as a city of stone: "It was not only a beautiful city; it was a homogeneous city, a direct product - architectural and historical- of the Middle Ages, a chronicle in stone."

³ It seems useful to report M. Foucault's introductive words to his *Archéologie du savoir* (1°Ed. Paris, Gallimard 1969): "To be brief, then, let us say that history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorise' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments. In that area where, in the past, history deciphered the traces left by men, it now deploys a mass of

history and Jacques Derrida (Derrida 1969) focused on the concepts of place and monument, raising questions on what could be their role in a global society where the attitude of the institutions toward the management, improvement, and enjoyment of the historical and cultural heritage seems still to end up with its alienation from its cultural heritage, the isolation from its context. The management keeps the relic incomprehensible and is unable to explain the relations of the relic with the ancient world or with the present urban sites. In this scenario the memory as, deposit of permanencies, would not influence the rules of the urban and territorial planning but, if totally alienated, it would just become a sort of testimonies storage (Clementi 1990).⁴

On the wake of such conditions, the European city and territory retrace and reinterpret the cultural origins of those settlement presences that are adherent to the complex geographical system, decorated with the presence and participation to the heritage of the ancient civilizations, by tracking down the ways of the permanence that underscore the physical and social constitution of the settlement realities and are recognized in an urban vision that is often perceived as a mediation among several interpretative layers.

Some experiences of plans and projects (the majority, actually) assume the participation, the reinterpretation, and the reappropriation of the cultural heritage's testimony in a traditional interpretative proposal, that is to say, they use the inclusion of the suggestion of memory without comparing it with the cultural and social needs of the contemporary city and territory. Other experiences are more advanced and characterize themselves for their innovative reuse of the historical territory and for the new paradigms of action toward the cultural heritage they propose.

The diversity, the otherness, the comparison, the difference, the continuity, and the ideal reappropriation that, with other statements of document–monument and testimony events, become the new materials of the contemporary city and expand themselves in their urban image represent a new level of confrontation to be compared to additional models of development compatible with the multilayered resources of the city and the territory (Leonardi 2004).

The interpretation of the ancient as an explanation and justification of the identity roots of the settled communities may direct the actions of safeguard toward the rebuilding of the ways of the cultural heritage by acknowledging that the

elements that have to be grouped, made relevant, placed in relation to one another to form totalities. There was a time when archaeology, as a discipline devoted to silent monuments, inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past, aspired to the condition of history, and attained meaning only through the restitution of a historical discourse; it might be said, to play on words a little, that in our time history aspires to the condition of archaeology, to the intrinsic description of the monument," translated into Italian by G. Brogiolo. Such judgment underlies the historian's role and the way of communicating the objects of his/her studies, in the attempt to go over, after all, the dichotomy between the reality and the relativism of his/her interpretation.

⁴ The concepts of memory as deposit of permanences and alienated memory are similar to those expressed by A. Clementi.

document-monument can account for the values it generates and by identifying the sociality process that characterizes it. For instance, where the contemporary city allows it even in the degraded areas, it may create, on the one hand, museum presences relevant to the ancient site, or public spaces connected to it that function as mediators for different sequences of topological relationships, and transform them from urban dispersions into new identities and stabilities of the forma urbis, on the other hand. The overcoming of the fragmentation to which the urban and diffused cultural heritage is subjected can take place through the morphological and functional reassembling of the fields, or through the integration and qualification of the spaces for public uses considered as ideal repossessing of the ancient centers (Leonardi 2004; Fazio F. 2004). This can also happen through a regulatory articulation and technical planning guidelines that take in consideration the invariants and the multiform articulations the field of remains is subjected to, without mortifying the process of transformation allowed by the planning previsions, but taking into account the formal, functional, and symbolic complexity of the urban and territorial scheme.

The multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary contributions, with their different actors, aim to the ambitious and often ineffective task of filling the gaps or reconsidering the limit that separates the ancient from the new without altering the values of the historical stratifications, but taking charge of the values and the memories and of the current urban problems without contradictions or mutual exclusions between the identities of the past and the current meaning of heritage. Once the synchronic and diachronic complexities are interpreted with the purpose of adding new ones, the urban project creates new relationships that respect the preexistences and their meaning and compares them on the expressive level with the geometric and spatial configurations of the new and the surroundings, respectfully adapting themselves to what exists and making it live again in the collective use.

Such considerations, which can seem quite far from all the aspects connected to the territorial disciplines, are actually very practical, and they may help finding, along the path of the method or methods of the different disciplines, a unique thread that can contribute to adapt methods and tools of the urban planning to the debate on the memory recovery.

Nevertheless, no interpretation can expect to integrate all the data without gaps or contradictions, or connect and assess them with absolute objectivity.

This book utilizes the concept of historic urban landscape in the sense of the accumulation of the different layers of the city; similarly, the concept of urban heritage refers to the historic identitary heritage as conceived by F. Choay in her book "The Allegory of Heritage" which addresses the role of the memory in the identitary heritage.

The concept of cultural good is specifically derived from the Cultural Heritage and Italian Landscape Code, which in 2004 introduced it as a critical tool for the interpretation, preservation, and valorization of the whole Italian cultural heritage.

Moreover, the book outlines the evolution of the concept of cultural good from the Greek–Roman idea of Memory as a basis for the safeguard of the landscape and of the environment (first chapter), to the introduction of the stratigraphic analysis that allowed for the attribution of a scientific connotation to Memory (second chapter).

Furthermore, the book deals with the concept of "silent territory," namely, the territory where the local populations do not recognize themselves, as opposed to the "speaking territory," which is a place of acknowledged collective identity (third chapter). The fourth chapter tackles the contribution to the valorization of the territory due to the issuing of specific laws, and finally, the fifth one focuses on an Italian city, Cagliari, Sardinia, as a successful paradigmatic example of the recovery plan of the historical city center.

Here is a detailed presentation of these chapters:

Chapter 1 presents the cultural references of a peculiar research approach, starting from the concept of memory in the Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome, which shapes the concepts of environment and landscape. According to the imitation of the nature principles, *mimesis*, the canons of beauty laid down the foundations of the aesthetics of fine arts, to represent the form, the measure, and the harmony. These concepts are rediscovered in the Modern Renaissance to invent the Western landscape, namely, an elaboration of the view through which the landscape becomes exactly cultural space, and it opens itself to the outside offering a global picture where every element is important or has the leading role. It is in the nineteenth century with Camillo Sitte's work though that the city is finally seen as a complex cultural good. Furthermore, the invention of the *environment* as object of planning definitely comes from the Anglo-Saxon world. The *National Trust*, the *Council for the protection of rural England*, and *Friends of the Earth* were all created with the purpose of opening a broad debate about the relationship between man and nature.

Chapter 2 is focused on the concept of the multilayered city. According to the stratigraphic method, in archaeology, the city as complex cultural good is the result of the stratification of its uses. The study of the *context* is of the utmost importance for the urban planning and the conservation of the cultural heritage. The building process of the historic city and territory can be better investigated and understood through the use of the *topographic* method. Based on historic topography, this method helps to analyze the consequences of the juxtaposition of a monument in a territory. The urban planning should use the archaeological knowledge and the topographic method to interpret the signs of the urban transformation and to support the interpretation of the city form and the local historic human presence that define the identity of the given locations.

Chapter 3 has a multidisciplinary approach leading to a constructive comparison between the legacy of the historical-memorial processes immanent to the city and territory and the current visible forms of the landscape, which are the result of such processes. It explains the transition from the silent to the speaking territory which is the site of collective identity, plays a main role in the process of identification of a community, and is able to show its vocations and to direct its transformations. This is the scenario where the city comes alive, and evolves from the Mediterranean sacred city inside the *temenos* or sacred enclosure, which differentiated the interior (sacred) and external (heathen) from the enclosure, to the current city which is the result of historical stratification and must be open to the territory and its transformations. A multidisciplinary approach is the necessary blueprint of the new urban planning, the only one able to catch the contemporary complexity and to channel it in the urban project.

Chapter 4 focuses on history and laws as hugely influencing factors on the shaping of the values: the call to public *utilitas* of the Cultural Good has always influenced the political and juridical debate since the XVIII century when cultural heritage protection and conservation laws were first issued. A reasoned historic normative *excursus*, from 1462 Pope Pius II's Bull "Cum almam nostram Urbem" to the current Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code, reviews the historical and current Italian set of rules which represent the evolution of conservation and preservation principles in a country which is universally recognized one of the most important hosting places of the world cultural heritage.

Chapter 5 deals with a specific case study: the Framework Plan for Historical Centre Recovery of the city of Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy. Here, the abovementioned multidisciplinary approach is applied to valorize the contribution of the fields of major interest in support of the development of the urban planning discipline: environmental history, urban sociology, and historical-morphological analysis based on the archaeology of the preexistences and on historical topography. The decoding of the epistemological codes and of the technical instruments of all these disciplines have been very useful for the analysis of the city territorial and urban planning.

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Chapter 1 Building the Process of Knowledge

Abstract This chapter sets out the cultural references of a peculiar research approach, starting from the concept of memory in the Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome which shapes the concepts of environment and landscape. According to the imitation of the nature principles, mimesis, the canons of beauty have been established to lay down the foundations of the aesthetics of fine arts, to represent the form, the measure, and the harmony. These concepts are rediscovered in the Modern Renaissance to invent the Western landscape, i.e., the elaboration of the view, through which the landscape becomes exactly cultural space, and this way it opens itself to the outside offering a global picture where there is no single desire to be in the limelight, but everything is the main subject and has the leading role. It is in the nineteenth century with Camillo Sitte's work that the city is finally seen as a complex cultural good. And the invention of the *environment* as object of planning surely comes from the Anglo-Saxon world. *National Trust, Council for the protection of rural England*, and *Friends of the Earth* are all names which evoke the main interest in opening a broad debate between man and nature.

1.1 Cultural References

The main goal of the present book is to try to verify how the historical-cultural heritage in its wider meaning, but above all in its materiality of forms and functions, may represent a designing tool for the territorial planning, and is able to allow aware choices for the complex development of the settled community, the city, and the territory. Knowing how such choices originated and were built within the disciplinary paradigm of the city and territory planning can represent a useful tool if finalized to understand, when the attention to the problems of the cultural heritage becomes a central factor in the planner's thought, how the urban planner can use the work of the researches and the analysis of other fields of knowledge. This intertwining of disciplines, still incident to the wide field of cultural heritage, is capable to formulate or reformulate, and in some case adapt, methods and techniques suitable to the interpretation of the essence of the stratified urban and territorial

[©] Springer International Publishing AG 2018 A. M. Colavitti, *Urban Heritage Management*, The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9_1

memory (Yates 1993).¹ In fact, the planology has always used memories, but exclusively in a classificatory way (Rocca 2001).² Jean Baudrillard in the introduction of *Le Système des Objects* (Baudrillard 1968) noted down that despite some structure faults, the *Catalogue de la Manufacture d'armes* et cycles *de Saint Étienne* (Arms Manufacturing Catalogue of Saint-Étienne) already offered subdivisions that still defined the objects only depending on the perspective of their function: every object corresponds to an operation, often minimal and heteroclite, but there is no system of significances. The system he mentions influences the cultural heritage in relation to its context.³ Consequently, in the planning practices,

²The classification of the cultural good as object to take into account in the planning field appears in a structured and planned way for the first time in the revolutionary France and then it was systematized during the Napoleonic age. It is fundamentally linked to the need to know the entity of the confiscated heritage during the pre-post-revolutionary phases in order to reorganize the system of the propriety, then under state control: in this regard, see Wescher (1988), in which the idea of cataloguing as a system to use for the knowledge of the good is well highlighted. The idea of the cataloguing project as unitary investigation method remains one of the possible study tools only if inserted in a univocal conceptual investigation method focused, on the one hand, on the investigation on the good in its intrinsic and relational valences, and on the other hand, on the systematization of the coherent cataloguing principles among all the existing projects in the field. ³On the meaning of "context", it would be necessary a long and articulated discussion. By the way of example but not exhaustive, the case of the archaeological context may be adduced, in which the term acquired a pretty wide meaning and it has often been used to connote some specific aspects of the discipline. In general, the word context indicates the circumstance in which an object or more objects have been found. The importance of the concept of context was underscored during the Enlightenment by Quatremère de Quincy and was later developed in Germany, in the field of ancient studies. In the discipline of the history of ancient art, the adoption of the historicist perspective by E. Löwy renewed the interpretation of the ancient works, by taking into account their conceptual frame. He also influenced the work and the activity of scholars such as R. Bianchi Bandinelli. Löwy, going from Croce's positions to Marx's, thought that the objects could be historicized only in relation to the cultural environment of the social class to which they were destined. A similar position can be found in the studies concerning the urban topography. Already at the beginning of the twentieth century, C. Hulsen and R. Lanciani's writings on the imperial Fora represented a clear break in the field of the ancient topography and an introduction to the new disciplinary fields of the landscape archaeology, with the reconstruction of whole urban landscapes

¹Besides the already mentioned work published by A. Clementi on the meaning of the memories as deposit of permanences and alienated memory, it is significant to consider, according to the aim of the present book, the examination of the concept of memory proposed by J. Le Goff in a writing appeared in the website of the publishing house Einaudi and subsequently republished in the Einaudi encyclopedia. In his work, the author examines a wide array of case record memories which converge in the metaphoric effect of the extension of the memory, retracing this way the topographic places, the monumental places, and the symbolic places. The particular interest toward the idea of a metaphoric effect of the memory represents a sort of fossil guide for the formation of the collective memory, which is the most evident result of the use of permanences as plan tools. But the most interesting and complete work ever on the art and the use of the memory remains the one written by the English scholar Frances Yates; furthermore, Ernst G. Gombrich's writing, in Yates 1993, in which the author explains the role played by the memory in the European artistic-literary tradition. By defining the archetype of the concept of method in the history of the scientific culture during the modern age, Gombrich underscores the fundamental importance of the art of memory in the development of the scientific method: in particular, cfr. pp. 342–362.

an embarrassing separation emerged among the real meaning of permanence (completely absent), safeguard needs (most of all expressed by the reiterated paralysis of the bond the cultural heritage is necessarily subjected to) and plan suggestions (often identifiable with some unaware choices, immobilizing the heritage, and still not sharable). Within this scheme, the conviction that it was necessary to broadly illustrate the contributions which, inside the planning, led to define the use of the cultural heritage as a resource and explain how that use was expressed in the course of time has been as essential as the assessment mechanisms and tools that are contained inside the plan instrumentation. The cultural references that have been the setting of such structure depend on the urban planning history and theory for what it concerns the cultural element inserted in the plan project. They also refer to the history and archaeology of the settlements in order to understand how the stratified signs in the territory could have taken part in the elaboration of the most recent forms of plan; finally, they refer to the evolution of the legislative provisions to know how the historical city and territory have been assessed in the normative results that necessarily represent one of the most essential parts of the plan process. The planner can and must use all the practical and evocative potential of the cultural heritage in the plans and projects, but in order to do so, he/she must decode, with the aid of other disciplines and specializations, the system of rules that are at the basis of the complex knowledge to which the cultural heritage belongs. It becomes then necessary to organize the interpretative models to clarify the methods employed in the disciplines that are akin to the urban planning and express a core criterion useful to find specific targets and possible guidelines.

1.2 *Mnemonikè Dùnamis* in Antiquity: Building Identitary Processes

The ancient history, referring to Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome, always elaborated its forms of representation through the energy of the memory and the *mimesis* of the nature (Gualandi 2001). These values are the basis to transmit the knowledge, while the tradition of mythography and the memory represented the load-bearing structure that built the European cultural consciousness. The remembrance as memory moves to the mythic tradition and creates the conceptual thought which, with the passing of time, develops and gives birth to the scientific

in relation to the new contextual approach of the urban archaeology. The utility of the contextual approach which emerges in the field of big urban excavations at the beginning of the century, in Italy and in Europe, becomes more operative if applied to the reconstruction of the formative processes of the stratigraphic deposits in general. The complex work of investigation which leads to their reconstruction is based on the comparison between different kinds of information as well as on the correspondence between a single observation and a determined interpretation. In this scenario, even apparently insignificant elements may assume an informative value as part of a complex system.

logic (Carandini 2002). In the shift from the mythic to the historical tradition, the sources appear as processes selected by the community and used to transmit its memory.⁴ It is interesting to notice how a primitive society which is represented through myths and rituals should be interpreted through a method defined ethnological, while a society able to produce a historiography should be interpreted "through the historians" usual analysis" (Bloch 1997).⁵ The research of the method represents the key to understand how it is possible to get to the load-bearing structures of the cultural heritage interpretative categories and the method itself leads to specific models that are "means through which a problem of the real world is transferred from its own universe into another habitat where it can be analysed in a more convenient and easy way" (Tagliagambe 2005).⁶

The Greek thought bestowed great importance to the environment. The observations on the environmental influence on the populations' character and activities as well as on the state organization and on the cultural values are so much present in the sources that almost evoke the contemporaneous theories on geographical determinism. The political ecology gives today substantial importance to the relationship between the human work and the environment, and it shows a particular interest in the improvement of the capacity of the know-how, with more attention to the form of the work, its aesthetic impact, and its visual perception; these criteria are applied to works aimed at a common use (dwellings, infrastructures, or others) and works built to be simply admired or have a decorative purpose (the urban ornatus). In this scenario, the aesthetic composition of the space and the safeguard of the monuments are essential and must be protected not only from the corruptibility caused by external agents but also from their collocation in a place considered inadequate and from what ancient sources define as architectural pollution (Canellopulos 1994). It is remarkable that the ancient Greece world based on perception and its policies with the resulting behaviors were centered on the philosophy of measure and balance, with the evident and public disapproval of any action against nature and the necessity to be subjected to it and to adapt to its principles. The Greeks loathed gigantism, the immeasurable, and the giant-sized that went beyond the canons strictly contained in Polykleitos' norma and in particular they kept from the incompatibility between form and content, reason and feeling. Strabo expresses his loathing for the gargantuan works not only because they are disproportioned to the human canons but also because monumental height and majestic buildings alter or disfigure the landscape, by modifying its conscience and perception. The respect of measure allows therefore to achieve the aesthetical

⁴The diversity of the sources represents the first object of analysis for the elaboration of any project. Without the sources that, by anticipating the process of knowledge constitute the system inside which collocate the project, nothing could be planned.

⁵Interesting contribution for the formation of the historic method, this work contains the intellectual biography of M. Bloch which is an introduction to the system of the school of the Annales. ⁶A clear definition of "model", as we use it, is contained in S. Tagliagambe.

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refinement and it becomes also a rule of ethic and political behavior. The loss of measure means loss of control and sense of justice (Bowra 1969), a loss of equity according to which everyone has the right to have what is owed, as well as the respect of laws and rules.⁷ As the mythic thought transitioned to the logical one (Vernant 1979), in Greece a new and more structured vision of the environment evolved, and such vision, resulting from the attempt of a rational organization of the perceptions coming from the world of sense, was based on the rational and concrete experience of the environment itself which led the European society and the world toward the mathematical and geometrical scientific interpretation of the cosmos, as thinkers from Thales of Miletus to Ptolemy (Farinelli 2003) clearly showed. The basis of the environmental sciences is usually and unanimously dated back to the Corpus Hippocraticum containing the treatise "On Airs, Waters and Places"⁸ about the natural habitats and the collocation of the man inside them. Nevertheless, the first treatise of environmental history is considered to be the dialogue Critias⁹ where Plato theorizes about the environmental variations that spanned a long time, starting from the physical transformations of Attica as a consequence of catastrophic events such as earthquakes, floods, formation and disappearance of water sources, rivers, and springs. On the contrary, Aristotle's work describes (the physics only dealing with inanimate objects, among which the man's works) a natural history starting from direct observations or observations transmitted by man to every living or *natural* creatures, that must be separated from everything artificially produced. He mainly focused on the history of animal creatures to whom he attributed the sense of the istoria, the watching and understanding creatures $(is = id = o\rho\alpha\omega = I see)$, that he described and classified "since the reality they represented could not be substituted by artificial buildings which the reality itself tends to form" (Delort and Walter 2003). The knowledge of the object entails its integration in the general natural context, or in its spatial-temporal environment which helps its distinction from other objects and the highlighting of its peculiarities. This path leads to the discovery of a new fundamental concept implicit in the work of art, namely, its uniqueness in relation to the context that has produced it. According to Aristotle, the uniqueness is linked to the concept of imperfection, because the craftsman (artifex) although tending to perfection gives quality to his products through the imperfection of his craftsmanship. The interesting synthesis of this process leads to the association of what is natural and what is artificial, and results in the *City* that is dominated by an order of *Nature*, expression of *harmony* and *justice*.¹⁰

⁷Plato, *Repubblica*, I, 331a.

⁸Written between 450 and 350 B.C.: Ippocrate, *Arie acque luoghi* (Hippocrates, On Air, Waters and Places) Venezia, Marsilio, 1997.

⁹Plato, *Critias*, X in: *Oeuvres complètes*, par. 11; Italian translation, "Crizia" in *Opere complete*, Roma, Laterza, 1999.

¹⁰Aristotele, Organon, Torino, Einaudi, 1955.

1.3 Antiquitas, Mimesis, Memory, and the Rhetoric of the Beauty

The connection between beauty and nature represents one of the main ideas in the Greek philosophy, and as such it has been transmitted to the cultures that draw inspiration and vitality from it, like the Latin one and, consequently, the whole culture of the medieval Europe. The Greek and Roman artistic elaborations served as models, as manufactures of the natural beauty; in the mannerist Era, a scholar of antiquity wrote that the majority of the ancient statues were not painted to avoid that "the real features of the purest art were disguised (sic!) by the artifice of colours."¹¹ This observation is important because it brings us back to an essential part of our discourse, that is, the possibility to separate art and nature, a concept already pervading the philosophic speculation of the classic age that, on the contrary, was not conceivable in the archaic age. This concept will be found again on the basis of the theories on art and of idealistic imprint on the distinction between artificial and natural monument that will have as an immediate result the twentieth-century normative codifications concerning the artistic beauty safeguard (Colavitti and De Montis 2004).¹²

Beside the Europe of the real cities in the flesh, admirably reconstructed by Martino Berengo, a Europe of cities of the past started emerging cities that were alive again on the plan of memory, imagination, and thought and were critical as comparing ground to modernity.

In Pericles' praise of Athens (2, 38), there is the discovery of Pleasure, related to the work of art, as a form of social life (Del Corno 1996), a concept intended and perceived as a collective value. The *homo ludens* is a Johan Huizinga's bright idea, but the joyful city is not at all the city of entertaining. The conception of joyful city was refined during the Italian Renaissance that transmitted it to posterity. The ancient city does not know the opposition between the sacred and the profane typical of the medieval and postmedieval cities, and therefore, it simultaneously builds with walls the places designed to the show and the game. The Middle Ages lives in the tension of opposite moral judgments by often elevating the desert in which it is possible to escape the temptations of the century to the highest level of aspiration. Having reduced the city to an unavoidable evil, bound to utilitarian functions, the Middle Ages manages with great effort to thin the buildings out and obtain spaces useable as public, thanks to the willingness of a sovereign or the

¹¹Cfr Franciscus Junius, *De pictura veterum*, Amsterdam 1637, vol. III, chap. 8, par. 10, p. 91. He writes, "Statuarum tamen nullis colorum pigmentis imbutarum frequentior apud antiquos erat usus; tanquamquae non solum intra privatos parietes, sed etiam sub dio perdurarent, et veros exactis-simae artis ductus colorum fuco minime celarent".

¹²On the changed relationships between cultural heritage and landscape, about the innovative approaches to the urban planning, see A. M. Colavitti and A. De Montis.

collective effort. There are many examples that highlight this moral conflict, such as the fountains surmounted by statues representing virtues (the water always evokes the "oikistes" principle of the city). Sometimes the feast, connected to the religious element, becomes a founding element of the city constitution. In France, in the *commune*, the solidarity between patron saint and city is encouraged by the brotherhoods which organize processions and shows (Goldthwaite 1995; Panzini 1993; Insolera 1996; Restucci 1996). Such digression is useful to explain the definition given by Italo Insolera of the so-called "third time" that is the free time (Insolera 1996) dedicated to the culture of beauty and art.

But the relationship between ars and natura remains one of the pivots of the modern aesthetics, where the imitation of nature fulfilled the task of the principle of the *mimesi*. The figurative heritage acquires, in this case, a high responsibility toward the surrounding reality and in the field of the artistic theory, the request of natural imitation associates itself with the theory of the imitation of the ancient (Warnke 1996), and the imitation classically aimed to underscore the link between nature and ancient art. The *imitatio naturae* represents the foundation of all the sciences where the human nature finds its completion. Such task is assigned, as we said before, to the figurative heritage and embraces the belief that from the artist's contribution, from the creator's fantasy, it could result in the overcoming of the nature itself. In fact, during the Renaissance, the polemic debate about whether or not is convenient to imitate the ancient, moved toward other less explicit but more theoretical parameters and became a debate on the rebirth of the art and not of the antiquity.¹³ At the time of Dürer's the closeness to the antiquities became a real evaluation criterion of an artist's work, with reference only to some antiquities, those considered more *classic* by the contemporaneous Vasari. In the work *Vite*, the imitation of the classic acquires a role of parameter of perfection¹⁴: "nel quale venuti su, come io diceva, ingegni più begli, conoscendo assai bene il buono da 'l cattivo, abbandonando le maniere vecchie, ritornarono ad imitare le antiche, con tutta la industria et ingegno loro"¹⁵ (Those who came after were able to distinguish the good from the bad, and abandoning the old style, they began to copy the ancients with all ardor and industry). Before Vasari, the imitation of the nature and the imitation of the ancient are on the same level and actually linked. The idea that the imitation of the ancient may substitute the imitation of the nature is still not part of the Renaissance mentality, and it is a common belief that art and nature are components of the same superior plan from which any process of rationalization is

¹³See the argument between E. Panoksky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, New York-London 1972, and, Kauffmann, who argues that, until Vasari came along, the metaphor of Rebirth means the rebirth of the Art and not of the classic antiquity.

¹⁴See Vasari G., Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Nell'edizione per i tipi di Lorenzo Tormentino. Firenze 1550, Torino, Einaudi 1986 (by L. Bellosi and A. Rossi).

¹⁵Cfr. G. Vasari, op. cit. pp. 99-100.

excluded. The rationalization will enter such plan with full rights with the formalization of the artistic theories that regulate the principle of imitation. The classic will be imitated and, in turn, it will imitate nature. However, the imitation will only be directed to the artistic beauty that is simply one of the many manifestations of beauty (Warnke 1996).

From the aesthetics of the work of art to the aesthetics to the city, the study of the forma is always the prerequisite of every planning activity aimed at the transformation of the previous condition. The conservation of the *forma*, the measure, and the harmony is a required feature of the city; in fact in urban Western Europe, the relationship between city and citizens is characterized by two distinctive elements: the reconnaissance of the physical place through great monumental signs and the identification of the *civitas* identity which expresses itself through the collective will of enduring through time (Romano 1993). The buildings of a city are built by the citizens because they are visible and conventional physical signs of the existence and rank of the *urbs*, in which the builders show their own collective wish to last in time, and the material effort of building reflects the moral effort the *civitas* wants to show off to the other cities. The perception of the city derives in particular from its physical dimension, but the city shows its *beauty regime* in the expression of formal themes universally considered object of comparison between cities. The monumental hierarchies and the signs of the greatness of the heritage which represent the physical essence of the city itself belong to the formal themes. All these aforementioned elements represent the aesthetical choices made by the community when it codified its rules of cohabitation and were originated when the community was somehow seduced by the place (Rykwert 2000).¹⁶

The imaginary background of the European social mobility is that all the cities are perceived in a hierarchic order and their citizens show toward the other cities the will of representing their own city through specific physical objects which express the signs of their rank. By doing this, they put at stake their respective identities. The manufacture through which the *civitas* represents its own existence and its own rank is not accepted all of a sudden in the space of a generation, but it is the result of a long process which materializes a social theme in a physical theme. The physical thematization, that is, the creation of a new urban object, a new sign of the rank, consists in the assignment of a recognizable symbolic character, through a physical building, to feelings and behaviors, to social themes whose relevance is perceived by all the citizens, and by anyone in different ways. The social thematization does not produce immediately its own places: it is necessary for that the place to become part of the daily life and to assume on itself the appropriate symbols. We distinguish a collective theme from any other manufacture because we read in it the expression

¹⁶See a well-known and important work by J. Rykwert, in which the author explains the important theme of the urban genesis as a complex phenomenon in which material and immaterial, conscious and unconscious factors are mixed and together determine the dynamic organization of the city.

of a social theme deeply recognized.¹⁷ Many examples can be adduced to better explain this important concept. The most extraordinary case is with no doubt the metropolis-megalopolis of Rome as it was conveyed by the Renaissance. This is the most *classic* image we can find, the one that was never modified again and the one that was used to support the collective memory reconstruction and the social building of the past (Zerubavel 2005; Massenzio 2003; De Martino 1977).¹⁸ The tradition often reinterprets and reinvents, intentionally or not, the heritage handed down to us, and can lead to the betrayal of the content and forms. In the light of the Aristotelian definition, tradition necessarily implies the idea of movement (AA,VV, 2005). The city of Rome appears already in the late ancient *tradition* as deprived of the classic significance. The consequences of this loss are clearly identifiable at the planning and architectonical level: the ancient places of power, typical of the first phases of the principality, appear almost deprived of meaning, the forum is abandoned, the Palace (*Palatinus*) is empty, and the seat of power has changed (see the magnificent massive building of the basilica of Maxentius, seat of the praefectus *urbis*), although this fracture rarely emerges from the literature and the contemporary sources. The message meant to be transmitted is another; it is the marble Rome celebrated by the poets of the Augustan propaganda (Zanker 1989) in its official and monumental quarters, and by Ammianus Marcellinus¹⁹ in the late ancient age. These are real aspects that still influence the aesthetic-celebrative conception of the *urbs*: the classical conception of the traditional archaeology, a system of values to keep intact. The values to hand down are first of all aesthetic and then ethic. Paul Zanker described the moral implication of the classic form (Zanker 1989) by pointing out an appropriation of values that become conceptually poorer as the profane observer takes possession of them. The formal qualities of decus, auctoritas, and pondus first introduced by Phidias and Polykleitos, as we mentioned before, here acquire a systemic value, being characterized by a strong psychological and moral importance (Ciucci 2002).²⁰

¹⁷The physical and social themes represent extremely important factors in forming the memory and support the attempt to codify the reason why a long-lasting process such as that should be represented as a plan or project of urban and territorial transformation.

¹⁸The socio-mental topography of the past represents one of the pivots of a structure takes shape as a map that helps us to form the social memory. M. Massenzio's considerations are extremely important. The scholar reflects about the meaning of the historical memory that archaeology, as Focault's intended, and more in general, the sciences of the classic antiquity enshrine. To address such an issue, he refers to Ernesto De Martino's anthropology. De Martino concentrates on the "duty to remember", which is not just an escape into the past, but it has a propulsive role and constitutes an innovative boost for the building of a *new humanism* in opposition to the classicistic one. This humanism is defined *ethnographic* and comes from the comparison between the peculiar way of the Western civilization to "make" culture and the other civilizations manners.

¹⁹Ammiano Marcellino (Ammianus Marcellinus), XVI 10, 14-6.

²⁰See the evolution of such a trend along the path to the urban planning and the architecture of the fascist period.

1.4 The Modern Renaissance Reformism

Giulio Carlo Argan wrote that the feeling of monumentality is connected to the historical-ideological character of the monument and to the accumulation of values which originates in the capital city (Argan 2004; De Seta 1985). The idea of capital city itself embodies an accumulation of values resulting from a convergence of points which goes from the monument to the feelings toward the monument, in a sort of process which matures slowly in the collective conscience. In the Renaissance, the values of the historical-cultural heritage are characterized by new body of studies and an original cultural identity, where the "social kaleidoscope" that animates and expresses it is concentrated (Conforti 2005).²¹ The territorial Atlas comes to life as the unifying thread of the images which control the formation of the memory. The Atlas is a describer which initially gathers interpretations of the view. The landscape acquires, in this precise historical moment, a scientific codification, and it is described by the Atlas language as a cultural space in all its aspects. We can almost claim it rises, in its first authoritative artistic manifestation, from the subject to which it is connected but then it evolves depending on independent mechanisms in accordance with specific visual principles (Dubbini 1994).²² Again, the invention of the Western landscape coincides with the elaboration of the view, through which the landscape becomes exactly cultural space and opens itself to the outside world by offering a global picture where there is no main character, but everything is the main subject.²³ The connection between the modern renaissance vision and the use we can make today of that vision concerns specifically the extent of the cultural space. The implications on the theoretical level are not negligible. They tend to revalue the Neoplatonic separation between knowledge and artistic manner which the *mimesis* of the nature and the mediation of the beauty revealed. The planner can find useful to understand the process of building of the images of the artificial environment, the specificity of the places that often present themselves in symbolic and abstract ways. It is not always possible to decode everything and do it with the same efficiency; however, thanks to the arts and other creative domains, inside which the city and the territory should be collocated; it is possible to realize how every process of recording represents a process of organization, and the image represents the objects but it has also a crucial value in building the perceived and lived environment (Goodmann 1978).

²¹Such expression is used by C. Conforti for the Renaissance city.

 $^{^{22}}$ On the birth of the landscape in the modern age and its innovative breaking in the mentality of the modern man, see R. Dubbini.

²³In the *Encyclopedia britannica* published in Edinburgh in 1771, the English term *landskip* or *landscape* refers to the global frame in which no particular element prevails, there is no hierarchy whatsoever but all the components are intertwined.

1.5 Legitimation of the Cultural Heritage in the Urban Planning Discipline

Within the urban planning discipline, it is possible to correctly claim that the problem of the cultural heritage is dealt with from a standpoint we could define systemic, when the formulation of the urban theory is based on the space as object of aesthetic perception and as epistemological figure. The European landscape is quite significant in terms of extent and quality of the disciplinary contributions. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Vienna School, lead by Camillo Sitte, inaugurated a new season of interest toward the built space, an urban space in all its expressions, without neglecting from that moment on the analysis of the city as first and last foundation of the built space. We can reasonably affirm that The City as a complex *cultural good* was born and, as such, it required an unprecedented refinement of the analytic practices that could be used to study it. Calabi (2004) justly writes that Sitte's work can be framed inside the institutional planning, and clarified the spatial morphological importance of the ancient city by using the evolving discipline of the psychology of space and of the artistic theories (Sitte 1889). The historical context in which Sitte's work rises is emblematic: it is a revolutionary Era which looks for practical alternatives to the reorganization of the industrial city and at the same time tries to study, besides the philosophical trends of positivism, compatible solutions to the conservation of the remains. One of the main innovations of the urban analysis carried out until now concerned the view of the city not as a unit but as a plurality of fragments which, pieced together, acquire the status of urban heritage. Such fragments are the historical centers to which the recovery policies will give, shortly afterward, an umpteenth disciplinary paradigm, and the suburbia of the industrial city that are characterized by the well-known chronologically alternated phenomena of abandonment and repopulation, with problems of requalification of the productive (industrial) archaeologies, today still in the middle of the planning debate. With Sitte's work, the cultural heritage becomes synonym of urban heritage and reflects an instrumental synonymy which still suffers a classificatory vis (Ranellucci 2003). On the other hand, the cultural heritage of the city is classified according to what its invariants should be, but no clear role emerges in what Saverio Muratori will later call the operating human history.

The *operating* role, on the contrary, will be defined by Alois Riegl work as Superintendent of the Central Commission for the Preservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and by the bills for the reorganization of the monuments protection in Austria.²⁴ It is a contribution which, in many ways, anticipates and understands the fundamental roots of the preservation culture of the built historic heritage and that defines, also terminologically, the

²⁴In 1903, he publishes *Der Moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und Seine Entstehung*, Wien 1903 (Italian translation, *Il culto moderno dei monumenti. Il suo carattere e i suoi inizi*, Faenza, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985) an essay dedicated to the preservation bill.

meaning of monument: "...in its oldest and most original sense a monument is a human creation, erected for the specific purpose of keeping single human deeds or events alive in the minds of future generations [...]. When we talk about the modern cult and preservation of monuments, we are thinking not about 'intentional' monuments, but about monuments of art and history." He conceives a mature articulation with reference to the concept of historical value.²⁵ Similarly, he reflects on the aesthetic value in the distinction of the subjects as object of protection. But the most important aspect is the one linked to the concept of monument which, according to Riegl, embraces the concepts of heritage and cultural good to include not only naturalistic-geographic realities but also to give value to whole anthropological groups.

Some recent studies attribute to the Belgian Charles Buls²⁶ an important role in the formation of disciplines linked to the preservation of the urban heritage and to the safeguard of the monuments (Giambruno 2002).²⁷ The foundation of the Comité du Vieux Bruxelles aims at inventorying the urban architectonic heritage by realizing a sort of catalogue of the buildings through photographic shots equipped with synthetic monographs; but the contribution we consider the most interesting is the one concerning the notion of context, which appears, primarily, to be defined as a homogeneous field in which a monument is located (Smets 1992).

From the end of the nineteenth century, when Alois Riegl (1857–1905) started his work in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, to the period after the Second World War, when the writings of Cesare Brandi (1906–1988) appeared, more than half a century has passed. It is a period which marks the turning point of modernity both in art and in the public conscience. It is a period which includes two World Wars and which, in many ways, constituted a time of fracture. The wars obviously left their marks also in the concept of cultural heritage and its care.

When Riegl made his studies of history of art, only some materialistic cultural trends were dominant, for example, the one initiated by Gottfried Semper's. Riegl, on the contrary, tried to analyze the values belonging to each cultural period and creative expression. In his *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901), he highlights the qualities of the Late Roman period, usually considered as decadent. He studies the qualities of the so-called decorative arts and the formation of some themes in the non European cultures. Furthermore, he defines the concept of *Kunstwollen*, "artistic intention," as expression of the desire to go toward the creative evolution. This concept aims at recognizing the communicative channel between the individuals and the contemporary society. Cesare Brandi, on the contrary, strongly condemned the idea of "artistic intention," a free translation of *Kunstwollen*,²⁸ by emphasizing the role of the uniqueness of the creative process. The "artistic intention" would represent a contradictory concept for the idea of the creative

²⁵He defines as historical everything that was and now is no more.

²⁶Author of *L'estetique des villes*, Bruxelles, Bruyllant-Christophe, Van Oest, 1894.

²⁷Among the studies examined, the only one that analyzes in depths Buls' work is M. Giambruno.

²⁸Riegl never defined the meaning of such expression, but he changed it depending on the context.

process through which the work of art would emerge. We cannot accept that the idea of the work of art is conceivable before starting the creative process because in such a case, Art would simply represent a pure imitation.

However, we can still remember that many thinkers, among them also John Ruskin, conceived Art as a creative process. According to Riegl, Art itself is a function of culture (AA.VV. 1996) and the artistic-cultural feature prevails on the material and the technique. Ruskin surely contributed to contextualize the manufacture as a whole in a historical scenario, instead of focusing just on the "Beaux-arts" or to the material aspects. His work can be construed as an evolution of Brandi's thought, particularly when the latter describes the concept of totality, with reference, for example, to the architecture. Even Brandi has some reservations about the emphasis on science and technology though, highlighting only the artistic and spiritual aspect.

In his analysis of the patrimonial values, Riegl distinguishes between historical memorial values and contemporary values. The former refer to the past and are identifiable with the value of the passing time, while the latter refer to the functionality, the novelty, and, at the same time, the artistic value itself. According to Riegl, every period has its *Kunstwollen*, and it is through it that everyone, even by living in his/her historical and cultural context, appreciates the past generations doings. A clear connection with Brandi's thought is evident, even if this last one develops itself on different lines. Riegl thinks that a "monument" remains a work of the past and that this is the reason why it is appreciated. On the contrary, Brandi underlines that the work of art, in its intangible aspect, can always be brought up to date, legitimated by the reconnaissance mechanism, which moves him closer to Heidegger's thought.

The final consequence of his analysis is the definition of the restoration work in relation to the definition of the object of restoration itself that is conceived as a monument or a historical monument, namely, an element created to recall something, or a manufacture made historical by the addition of the temporal dimension. Finally, the distinction between conservative approach (which even favors a total restoration), the historical-artistic approach (which maintains the original as far as possible), and a radical approach (which favors the non intervention) sets the framework of the possible behaviors. Der moderne Rieglkultus begins in the eighties (Wolfgang Kemp, Alois Riegl, 1990) and it is based on the rediscovery and translation into Italian (two versions: 1981, 1982), English (1982), French (1984), and Spanish (1987) of Riegl's fundamental essay Der moderne Denkmalkultus (The modern cult of monuments) of 1903. This essay introduces the reorganization project of the Austrian safeguard and was fully appreciated only from 1995 (with the publication of the Italian and Austrian editions of his writings on safeguard published, respectively, by Ernst Bacher and Sandro Scarrocchia). Simona Rinaldi describes the situation this way: "Although today every single study on restoration history does quote Riegl, the ideas and the texts he wrote during the first years of the century were actually unknown in Italy up until fifteen years ago" (Rinaldi 1982).

The reception of Riegl's theory of conservation in Italy until the appearance of Brandi's theory begins with Adolfo Venturi's harsh criticism of what he considers "useless and academic distinctions" and predictable recommendations for the treatment of the mural paintings by the Austrian curator, and ends with the complete rejection by Benedetto Croce (Bianchi Bandinelli 1976).

However, even in Germany, the recent reconsideration of Riegl's activity as curator resulted new because until then his contribution to safeguard was considered, so to speak, a disciplinary and institutional niche, almost external to his work. In this sense, it is important to consider that two magnificent essays by Sedlmayr on the quintessence of his lesson in 1929 and by Pächt on his critical contribution in 1963 do not contain any hint to Riegl's work as curator.

With regard to the Italian literature and bibliography, it is necessary to consider another interesting element. A decade before Riegl's renaissance, a translation of Max Dvorák's *Katechismus für Denkmalpflege* (*Catechism of Monument Conservation*) of 1916 was published. Dvorak was a scholar of the Vienna School as Riegl, and his work was translated into Italian only in 1971. Even if little is known of the real contribution he offered to the consolidation of the discipline, Dvorák is remembered with Riegl, his master and predecessor, as the founding father of *Denkmalpflege*. Dvorák's contribution is useful to understand the formation of a theoretical investigative spirit in the study of the work of art and, therefore, of the monument, spirit which links him to the archaeological methodology. However, in Europe, Riegl and Dvorák's theories did not have great diffusion or acknowledgment.

Their analysis was intentionally simplified and their contribution was considered, all in all, quite marginal because the institutional, administrative, and technical mentality of the Italian conservation, more prone to the pragmatism than to the theoretical research, did not consider the historical development of the monumental values at the core of Riegl's thought really relevant.

The comparative analysis of the Catechism and the far more substantial Legislative proposal for the protection of historic monuments in the lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1903, containing the "Modern cult of monuments") shows the complete superiority of the rigor, orderliness, scientific, and disciplinary relevance of Riegl's contribution. Moreover, even the adoption of Riegl's assessing system by Dvorák seems far more superficial than substantial, as demonstrated by (a) the abandonment of the Riegl's founding category of the *Alterswert* (value of the ancient, which expresses the age of the work and considers the effect of its reception in the subject); (b) the condemnation of the whole artistic period of the Historismus that less forward-looking of Riegl's intuitions and opposed to the criticism of the concept of decadence successfully made by the Vienna School, ended up being ultimately, simply inadequate. However, Dvorák's work extended its influence far beyond the Catechism, and it pointed out a new didactic-pedagogic frontier and a new central position for the culture of conservation in its totality and in opposition to Riegl's postulate of judiciary institution for the care of the monuments. Therefore, Riegl's thought substantially differs from Dvorák's. Moreover, the Austrian artistic topography owes to Riegl's work the merit of creating an inventory

of monuments, which is the main contribution given by Dvorák and his talented collaborators, Hans Tietze among all, and welcomed by Paul Clemen as the best in the Europe of that time.

The lack of comparative studies (Luigi Bobbio's innovative but isolated research, did not make any reference to the German contributions), the few occasions of interchange between the two linguistic areas completed the unfortunate lack of communication and allowed but not justified the result they entailed, namely, the eclipse of Riegl's work with the First World War.

The effect of Riegl's lesson does not end at all with the mentioned heritage. Maximilian Bauer, the jurist of the Central Commission and Riegl's collaborator in the reformed bill of 1903, during a strict critical exam of an analogous Polish project of some years later, highlighted how Riegl's work permeated the Austrian conservation and its practice. In short, Bauer asserted that the concept of monument is based on the theory of the relative values; the inventory is directed to public and private goods because the conservation defines democratically but inclusively the *public interest*; the conservation is pragmatically carried out through the administrative tool and not through the regulatory one; finally, its independence from the political power is based on all the abovementioned criteria. Ernst Bacher recently focused on paragraph 2 of the Austrian conservation law and interpreted it as Riegl's legacy.

Hans Tietze did not accept Dvorák's refusal of the Historismus Art and architecture, and he restated the tolerance edict formulated by Riegl, according to which it was necessary to consider not just this period as totally belonging to the course of the modern artistic production, but also its conservation as temporarily determined, which is just temporarily and contextually valid. This concept, typical of Riegl, will be reiterated on several occasions by Cornelius Gurlitt.

With regard to the destiny of the Austrian conservation, we have to consider the interpretation proposed by Eva Frodl Kraft: after the First World War, the Austrian institutional conservation, by then without means, converges in the German institution (Frodl Kraft 1997). This process will last for more than a decade and it began with the open debate between the *Denkmalpflege* and the *Heimatschutz* movements, which played a determinant role for the conservation and enhancement of the architectonic and environmental heritage as well as for the success of the planning discipline and for the architectural developments in the German linguistic area. It is possible that this contiguity caused an obfuscation, so to speak, of the Austrian character; it also represented, on the other hand, an acknowledgment of Riegl's work and not a dispersion. The enrichment of the scale of values and the extension of the interpretation to new fields of the heritage made by Paul Clemen is based on the explicit acknowledgment of Riegl's innovative role in the field of conservation. Hans Hörrmann in his *Methods of conservation* (1938) identifies in Riegl's theory of values the leading tool in the praxis of this discipline.

To mention Riegl's disciplinary theory that is in turn derived from Brandi's restoration theory, it is necessary to point out that Bacher underlined the shared points between Riegl's thought and the principles of the Venice Charter. The development of a theory of values as methodology for the architectural restoration

project (therefore not just as an instrument of technical, historical, and critical *ex ante* or *ex post* assessment, surely relevant, but already heritage of the German conservation) represents the basis for the acknowledgement of the concept of cultural good in Europe. Therefore, the reception of Riegl's thought is no longer a simple, although complex and founding, chapter of the discipline history, but it reconnects the alive trend of restoration and conservation, but also of art and architecture, of their relative hermeneutics and operative procedures, in their unavoidable and profitable intertwining and in their connection with the urban planning discipline.

Within the field of the studies concerning the theory and operative praxis to use to evaluate the cultural good inside the territorial policies, Marcel Poëte's writings on the ancient city play a significant role, as well as John Summerson's and Nikolaus Pevsner's works, even if in a totally different way, as we will see in the following chapters.

Marcel Poëte is, as D. Calabi writes, a historian who made the study of Paris the foundation of a new disciplinary field (Calabi 1997). His intense activity is drawn along a cultural path that is linked also to the administrative life of the modern France, but in a secondary way. What is not secondary is the main idea of his work, in the middle between the prosperous social sciences of the beginning of the century and the studies of urban history, which have as cornerstone Fustel De Coulanges' work. The unifying value of his writings has to be found in the complex historical process and in the cultural systems that, through their mutual interaction, represent the driving forces of the new strategies which can modify, with their application, rules and behaviors. Between 1928 and 1929, the building process of what has been defined as urban history arose within the project of the Histoire totale (Febvre 1929)²⁹ and besides the fervent and stimulating debate between the historians of the Annales and those of the urban planning (Calabi 2004). Other important contributions were Poëte's exemplary essay on the evolution of the cities and the lesson of the antiquity, Augustin Rey's treatise on the science of the plans, Justin Pidoux, and Charles Barde's work. Their interest was directed to the need of studying the city as a place of the urban and the whole history knowing "how to use the different documents in order to give a complete and logical representation" (Calabi 2004). The historical method becomes the urban planner's method with the acknowledgment of temporal categories of the historical events and focuses on the Greek-Roman city as first recognizable identity in the study of the plan. In this way, a new historical subdivision (a classification based on the age of construction) is created, one that involves the field of the historical accumulation, intended as the pivotal element in the urban studies: this subdivision is based on the principal centers of interest of the urban organism such as the aspects concerning religion, administration, justice administration, and organization of the public space in general, which results in typo-morphological reading and in the complementary analysis of

²⁹Referring to the club, inspired by Lucien Febvre, and to the role played by Georges Espinas in the urban art and in the operative urban planning.

the urban fabric. Therefore, the reading of the landscape of the urban and territorial program is a theoretical objective and a practical commitment, and one that above all, ends up being like an enormous memorial archive of which the city is made (Fortier 1985; Aakjar et al. 1929).³⁰ Through the urban art, namely, "the rules enforceable to the conditions of existence and development of an urban center", a real interpretative category arises, and subsequently further positions will join in: the human geography (Frederick Ratzel), the ancient history (Theodor Mommsen and Karl Bücker), the archaeological sciences, the documentary researches, and the iconography. The study of the past and the graphic translation of its constituting elements become tools for the building of a sort of general theory, which survives thanks to professional knowledge. This position had a great influence on the following studies but it did not affect enough the new forms of plan especially for what it concerns the disciplinary acquisition which could have been organic to the establishment of the method of the urban and territorial planning. Justly, D. Calabi notes that if in the Anglo-Saxon countries Geddes is usually mentioned when referring to the evolutionism and organicism, and in the French-Western countries the debt toward Poëte's work is great (Calabi 2004), especially when his organicistic analysis joins some clearly professional aims, typical of the urban planner's profession. Poëte defines also other useful details, i.e., the formulation of a list of forms having their own level of permanence. He researched a general and systematized reading grid, which introduces the relationship between typology and morphology and offers, in the construction of the rules of urban composition, a reading key for the physical transformations of the urban space in the long term.

Beside Poëte's work, but very different in style and formation, we should mention John Summerson and Nikolaus Pevsner's. Their contribution to the legitimation of the cultural good within the urban planning discipline, even if it can appear quite marginal, is actually important especially in relation to the construction of the national memory through the historical research and in the assessment of the architectures of the past (Rosso 2001). Summerson is one of the creators of the National Building Record, a repertory of images, photographs, drawings, and sketches which can be considered as an attempt to represent in a systematic way the whole cultural heritage known up to that time. The premises of the *National Building Record* were laid in a delicate historical moment for Europe: the Second World War. In the 1930s, Summerson's activity was intertwined with an intense building activity in London and with the attempt to create an official and recognizable memory on the architecture of the country, also in unspecialized fields. In that moment, the English heritage was going through a Georgian revival to which Summerson himself contributed.³¹ Summerson's interest in all the different phases of the building process of the city focused on the recording of the existing building heritage exposed to the risk

³⁰Again on the use of the land registry as a tool useful to the manifestation and exercise of the memory, see S. Aakjar, H. Hall, A. H. Tawney, W. Vogel.

³¹The Georgian style is considered a clean style, almost an avant-garde one, compatible with modern architecture.

of destruction. Other organisms of heritage conservation participated in the construction of the National Building Record, the International Congress of Modern Architecture (C.I.A.M.-Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne) and the drafting of the first Athens Charter (AA.VV. 2000).³² such as the *Royal Commission* on the Historical Monuments of England and Wales, the Central Council for the Care of Churches, the County Committees, with the addition of both regional and provincial architecture and archaeology societies, the pulsing hearts of the local committees. The importance of the National Building Record went beyond Summerson's merit. It created a connection between British Bureaucracy and British institutions such as the National Gallery and the Ministry of Works and Buildings thereby clearing the way for some important measures. In fact, in 1944, the Town and Country Act established that it was the government duty to catalogue and protect the cultural heritage of historical-monumental relevance, and introduced the fundamental principle that memory is of the public interest.³³ It also favored the necessity of the public endowment for the restoration of the most significant buildings (Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act, 1953). Another important innovation concerns the distinction that today is taken for granted, between cultural good and public good (Forte and Mantovani 2004). Until it was redefined, the cultural good encompassed both the public and the not public goods, but the common public good was favored because it was assessed and appreciated by everyone as such. Subsequently, a more advanced distinction was proposed by Ernest Babelon and André Chastel (Babelon and Chastel 1994).

Summerson's work, which had the merit of including also the industrial archaeology, is intertwined with the one of the contemporaneous Pevsner on the *Buildings of England*, the other soul of the conservation movement of the European heritage. His activity is affected by the policies for the enhancement of the English landscape and by the incentive of the naturalistic and landscape tourism undertaken by the British government since the second postwar.³⁴ Pevsner's ideas were shared by the German government of the unified second Reich. After all, the historian came from the same country, Germany, where, for example, the archaeologist

³²Those are the particularly fruitful years of the Athens Charter in which the rules and the principles of organization and planning of the modern city are set. In 1998, the Charter outlined the evolution of the European urban planning theory and practice from Le Corbusier going forward. Furthermore, the Charter described the sustainability of actions, plans and projects and their chance to improve the liveableness of cities and territories. In particular, in paragraph 1.11, it clearly supported the key role of the historical heritage, the coordinated efforts for the conservation of the resources of the heritage itself and the promotion of exemplary actions aimed at its conservation and comprehension. Such actions are considered essential, by the promoters of the Charter, for the well-being of the city of tomorrow as expression of its identity and peculiar character.

³³See the relevance in Italy of the Consolidating Statute (Testo Unico 1999) and of the Urbani Code (2004).

³⁴Considered by someone as the second phase of the Grand Tour at the end of the nineteenth century.

Georg Dehio had introduced the *Denkmalkultus*, or cult of big monuments (Dehio 1906–1914) that valued the past as memorial exemplar for the future.

The visions of the two scholars are linked in particular to the experiences of the European *planning* even if they appear unusual and, according to many critics, marginal experiences. They perfectly refer though to that process of expansion of the artistic value that, by giving an aesthetic value to a growing mass of objects, has challenged at the same time the concept itself of monument, historical-artistic work, cultural good, social heritage, and also aesthetic quality.

1.6 The Idealistic Background and Its Conclusions

In Italy, the reaction to positivism appears essentially as a return to Hegel and Kant. The neo-idealism represented by Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile dominated also the urban planning theory. In such a context, Viollet Le Duc, the theorist of the restoration, became prominent. He offered a critical methodological contribution to the monuments conservation theories and indicated an operational practice which, although privileging the integrative aspect, always allowed a dialectic relationship with the underlying theoretical framework. In his work, the awareness of the centrality of history went hand in hand with the need of a system and a methodology that had to take in the right consideration the urban historical fabric (Ranellucci 2003). Viollet Le Duc's methodological rigor was paralleled by Ruskin's activity and work. His literary and artistic experience, one of the most lively in the Victorian Age, had important consequences for the context in which the monument buildings oriented themselves, and was based on the consideration of the ancient city in its entirety. Ruskin's work was based on the principle of the non intervention. He drifted away from the contact with the living city by shelving the values enclosed in the classical beauty of the ancient monument. His position, schematically rigid, anachronistic even for that time, goes against the innovative positivist ideas that idealized science, economic development, economic competition, colonialism, and all those factors that deeply modified the society of the time, and were in open collision with the Puritanism and the religious moralism. The positivist philosophy considered in fact the ancient manufacture rather as a sign of the ways of life and the habits of the ancient builders to be interpreted in evolutionary terms, whereas Ruskin's idea of recovery and restoration is about the prudency of the maintenance rather than that one of a resolute measure.

Both Viollet Le Duc and Ruskin have a vision of the cultural good still influenced by the old romantic conceptions, even if their approach seemed to better clarify the role played of the cultural heritage in the current restoration culture and, from there, in the urban planning culture. For example, they promoted the value of antiquity as a concept of heritage to be extended to the different territorial realities. On the contrary, Ruskin's work revealed the historical-environmental values rising from a concept of historical city in the new light of a complex cultural good. As we already mentioned, Sitte already recognized a superiority of form and function to the historical city and he identified it as a historical-environmental unit from which the urban planning in general but also all the social aspects Lewis Mumford focused on, drew inspiration.³⁵

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Camillo Boito resumed the concept of authenticity already defined by Ruskin and Morris. By considering conservation and restoration as operative tools of history, he further enriched the already broad role of memory for what it concerns the historical buildings. Boito's theories marked a turning point in the concept of cultural heritage conservation and positively influenced the document approved during the IV Conference of the Italian Engineers and Architects (1883), which is in fact considered the first Restoration Charter (AA.VV. 1996).

The theoretical and methodological line followed in the second half of the nineteenth century had a large diffusion all across Europe and it gave a fundamental contribution to the rising debate on the historical centers derived from Gustavo Giovannoni's work.

In 1913, he published two books³⁶ concerning the restoration and recovery of the ancient construction industry and the conservation of the historical centers; these books added up to a sort of manifesto on the criteria to apply tithe urban expansion that was then happening almost everywhere in Europe. However, his work did not reflect entirely the absolute rigor of his theory. The demolitions and modifications realized in the fascist Era did not find in him a total opposition, at least from an operative point of view, given the ambiguity between theory and practice his work showed, but the value he attributed to the context remains undoubted, as well as the introduction of a new element in the academic debate of those years: the environmental restoration, namely, the safeguard of the environment where the monuments reside and the conservation of the original historical character of the city and territory.³⁷ The ambiguity mentioned above partly appears in his theory of the building reduction, meant to solve the cities problems of hygiene and their unpreparedness in managing the rhythms of the new transformations. With absolute innocence, typical of other exponents of the urban planning culture of those years, Giovannoni defined a method which "is carried out through the demolition of small separated stretches, leaving some free areas and reconstructing little or nothing, reducing to the minimum the introduction of new elements often in harmonious with the old...it is revealed by a perspective sense of view where the major monuments or the characteristic groups of small houses will be situated...". This method had obviously a great success during the Fascist regime, as it combined the aesthetic criterion of the reevaluation of the ancient with the new and developing theories of hygiene resulting from the industrial urban crisis. All the Restoration Charters owe a great deal to Giovannoni's

³⁵Cfr. Le Corbusier and Giedion do not consider it at all.

³⁶See "Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova e Il diradamento edilizio nei vecchi centri", in *Nuova Antologia*, giugno 1913.

³⁷This topic is essential for the current debate on the environmental improvement and integration of the archaeological sites when their complete recovery and restitution are too problematic. ICOMOS has similar goals.

ideas, as they emphasize the context where the monument is located and the careful intervention on the monument itself coming from the concept of value assignable in toto to the historical manufacture. Starting from 1851, the environmental and territorial restoration acquired more relevance with Canina's works on the via Appia. The modality of recomposition of the fragments of the past carried out by Canina used the consular road as one of the major examples of environmental recovery in a modern archaeological plan that is still intact today (AA.VV. 2004).³⁸ At the end of the nineteenth century, the identification of largely shared values was scientifically codified in the restoration charters (Gabrielli 1993).³⁹ In the Charter of 1931, the overestimation of the individuality of the monument and of its aesthetic components were still predominant. The context is great appreciated only if it can give importance to the monument, and it is not considered as an inherently important aspect of the monument identity. The development of the so-called "healing plans" therefore reflects the methodological goal to combine Giovannoni's theories with the ideas risen from the management of the historical centers, which cannot be compressed by a homogeneous view devoid of any connections with the rest of the city, but rather must be seen as a lively cultural space. The conviction that the conservative recovery and the transformative trends were verifiable through the Urban General Plan (translation of the Italian Piano Regolatore Generale, P.R.G.) started appearing at the Conference of Gubbio in 1960. The outlines of the Conference affirmed that it is necessary to "...neither demolish even buildings of modest importance and those with an exclusive environmental value nor isolate the monuments;... not proceed with restorations or stylistic additions and exclude new architectures in preexisting scenarios, but we must rather proceed with interventions of recovery, consolidation, hygienic regualification as well as with the institution of boundaries of intangibility and building limitations" (Ranellucci 2003).⁴⁰ Therefore, since the 1960s, a clear faith in conservative recovery emerged, thanks to a diffused conviction that in the general urban planning laid the interpretative key of the culture of the historical center. Such trend favored the development of additional defining parameters that considered the historical center areal living organism and emphasized its sociologic aspects which were already operative part of the plan. It was a radical cultural transformation which highlighted, in the urban planning tool, the concreteness of the formal and symbolic values of the city, still softened though by a not methodologically sound modern analysis.

³⁸Luigi Canina's work is linked to the important role played by the representations of Rome realized by the ancient cartographers and designers who worked since the Middle Ages leaving marks of the *imago urbis aeterna*; these artifacts are now useful for the study of the transformations carried out in the course of time. See also the reference to the renowned Nolli map, whose iconographic transmission influenced the urban representation also in the symbolism of some key monuments.

³⁹A review of the positions in B. Gabrielli.

⁴⁰In particular, Antonio Cederna and Mario Manieri Elia consider the friction between ancient and new in the historical centers not of architectural nature, but rather of artistic nature, therefore emphasizing the role of the PRG to manage the global urban phenomenology.

The Venice Charter of 1964 reflected a more elaborated and in some ways more innovative position. The possibility that minor elements of the historical fabric of the cities can equally represent a complex cultural value was recognized, while the Italian Restoration Charter of 1972 defined a more homogeneous concept of historical center, although Brandi's idea of the historical center as a set of valuable parts more than a unitary work of art. In the Charter of 1986, the urban planning levels to which refer for the possible interventions are clearly pointed out with particular relevance given to the territorial plans of coordination for the environmental improvement, the territorial plans of urban planning coordination, the province and city strategic plans of enhancement, the detailed plans concerning the renovation of the historical center, the compact executive plans, and the plans of color.

The foundation of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in 1975 can be still found in the work of the late 1800s thinkers in which the monument becomes representative of the whole urban environment via the transfer of the idea of integrated conservation from the building to the urban planning level (Ranellucci 2003). Furthermore, the concept of economic opportunity related to the sustainability of the choices of transformation made its way, thereby connecting from that time forward the entire city and the urban planning operations of recovery and restoration. The plans of Bologna, Genoa, and Naples are quite illustrative of the global cultural context. These aspects, in particular, were discussed in the first conferences of the National Association of Historical-Artistic Centers, until the introduction of the Gubbio Charter in 1990, where the existing city is seen as a priority of the legislative field, in economic but also in operative terms. The Gubbio Charter stated that "the acknowledgement of the values of the historical heritage must be the starting point for the Project of the existing city: a project able to integrate Historical Centers with outskirts, city and territory, through homogeneous and integrated methodologies of requalification" (Gabrielli 1993).

1.7 The Twentieth-Century and the Environmental Approach

1.7.1 The Paradigm of the Environmental Planning and Its Stories

The invention of environment as a planning object definitely came from the English-speaking world. *National Trust, Council for the protection of rural England,* and *Friends of the earth* opened a broad debate between man and nature. An interesting writing by the great English historian G. M. Trevelyan recalls the erosion of rural England, declaring the importance of the natural landscape for the

man's spiritual serenity (Thomas 1994).⁴¹ It may seem odd that he could be interested in these themes, but Trevelyan became also a meritorious member of the *National Trust* and his progressive views, typical of the Enlightenment, are not surprising, if we consider how many English thinkers often revealed, before other European countries, advanced and pioneering ideas later acknowledged by the rest of Europe (see the birth of the historical novel and the historicism). The environmental culture starts from the idea of the environment considered as a system (Steiner 2004). From this premise, that we could almost define as *statutory*, originated a concept of environment as a sort of Aristotelian category that certainly shows a variety of features but keeps them in a substantial unity. This system generated different methodologies and points of view, among which the territorial planning method represented an important turning point, with fundamental consequences for the plan. The landscape-perceptive, geo-historical, radical, and moderate ecologist or territorial mentality was born as a structure and planning activity which was not just a merely technical exercise (Pierotti 1989).

Today, we witness a renewed and important theoretical debate on the environmental planning involving many scholars and professional experts, which focuses on the technical implications the historic transformations induced in the territory. We also think that this "environmentally conscious planning" has reached a turning point, and its conceptual and technical apparatus, the possible interference with the so-called ordinary planning should be carefully reviewed.

Interestingly, the 1980s in Italy were described by two English historians as years of great crisis of trust, during which big projects of urban renovation were put aside because of the economic recession, while the idea of the economic growth of the fifties was associated to the progressive destruction of the historical and natural environment (Lumley and Foot 2004).

The experiences of the past clearly show that the problem of the environmental planning needs to be reexamined, even when it accomplishes its best conceptual elaboration, the landscape point of view. It is worthwhile then to reflect on the environmental contents of the plans, as they are considered critical to implement the policies for the urban and territorial development and requalification, and are able to embody and express, at least partially, the values that are at the core of these policies (Delort and Water 2002).

1.7.2 What Scenario for What Territory. The Model of the Western City

Cities rose and developed, sometimes in a progressive way, sometimes in a homogeneous way, on the basis of objective criteria which determined their

⁴¹It is the Rickman Godlee Lecture, "The Call and Claims of Natural Beauty", quoted in K. Thomas.

physical structure, the organization of the spaces, and their transformation in time. They were expression of the cultural evolution of the people settled in their respective territory. As a place of exchanges and cultural activities, the cities became a benchmark for the political and administrative organization of the whole society. One of the main issues the scholar have to analyze concerns the balance between city and territory, the continuous interplay between their complementary functions, or the predominance of one on the other. The result of such comparison saw the city prevail, thanks to the coordination of all activities and functions connected to the cultural development, while the territory is dedicated to the productive activities that in turn depend on the use of the geographic space (Berengo 1999).⁴² In this Western theorization of the urban geography, the space of the city is limited by the space of the territory.

The knowledge of the historical events underlying the relationships between city and territory is fundamental to assess the entity of the subsequent transformations and to understand in which way the space of relationship changed and joined the space of localization that is the architectonic space that defines the ultimate phenomenology of the choices. In the relationship between social aspects and spatial entities, a great part of the future of the city is at stake in such a way that the attention is mostly focused on the comparative history (Pavani and Pegoraro 2006).⁴³

The city considered as a privileged place with only residential function is replaced with a manifold vision according to which the city reformulates its role in the territory, but most of all abandons the idea of a plurality of functions all concentrated in the *urbanitas*. The most characteristic aspect of this thinking is the subdivision of the functions and fabric of the city. The city had been the privileged site of the concentration of the *auctoritas* and the institutions, the expression of a partially utopian vision of self-sufficiency (Choay 2000),⁴⁴ able to provide for itself and its territory of pertinence. Therefore, the *auctoritas* would have been represented at best in the monumentalization of the public spaces where the citizens could share their experiences with a much wider scope and a great aestheticperceptive-visual satisfaction: the *agorai* and the squares, the circus and the theaters, the temples and the cathedrals, the fora and the markets, the porches and passages, all elements of the public city that embody the aspirations and the manifestations of the cultural and physical-functional structure of society. These aspects alone, although highly qualifying, are not sufficient to transfer the models to the *civitas*; therefore, the fundamental experiences characterizing the consolidated fabric of the city, the ones at the core of the city itself, had to be continually integrated with new ones, in a never-ending generation of cultural goods. We are

⁴²On the formation of the county and the relationship city-territory in the modern age, see M. Berengo.

⁴³Once again the comparative history is a teaching model.

⁴⁴The city of the self-sufficient utopia is one of the main examples of the nineteenth-century utopias. For an attempt of urban planning interpretation of utopias, see F. Choay.

currently witnessing though a new loss of sense of the city: the desired integration never happened or it remained incomplete and the city is going through a time of cultural distress and has become unstable; it is not arbiter of its own borders, but rather the weakest and more evanescent areas of the city became prey of a transformation process that raises new questions for the public (Donadieu 2006). The territory is not able to find a new model to replace the consolidated one that founded the ecosystem we know now, a model to replace the continuous loss of values. La Cecla called this inconclusive process the "loss of the local mind" (La Cecla 2005). The "local mind" concept describes the inextricable connection between what the places feel and what we feel about the places (La Cecla 2005). The interdisciplinary contribution of the scholars should clearly offer solutions for the loss of values and their sense, and the experts have to commit to defining those models which, as they were in the past, will be able to represent a reference and a leading framework for the cultural action, offering precise directives and terms of verification.

The industrial civilization has been, among other things, the civilization of the research of new urban models. The Anglo-Saxon environmental culture gave the major contributions in this field, especially thanks to the collaboration between different schools of thought. Scholars like Chadwick and Engels utilized a sociological outlook, but we should also mention the new utopianism of the first half of the nineteenth century, the peculiar social reformer angle present in X work and the contribution of Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities (Garden Cities of Tomorrow was the title of his major work of 1902). Other important innovations are the American Green-belt Towns and the British New Towns in the second postwar period. It is worthwhile noting that the Anglo-Saxon culture, always very sensitive tithe natural landscape and rural tradition, in the urban models has been constantly looking for a mediation between the urban environment and the rural natural one (Insolera 2008). Mediation has not been always successful (McNeil 2002). The Italian cultural tradition, on the contrary, has only recently aimed to a better integration between the world of the city and one of the countries, and it is rather meaningful that in Italy the study of the environment has become an independent discipline not very long ago. In Italy, the problems caused by the modern and contemporary urban development required a global strategic planning for the environment and its resources and the most recent studies tried to harmonize the consolidated and successful models with the new experimental environmental planning (Arnofi and Filpa 2000).⁴⁵ The new macro-urbanities typologically similar to the city-region mark the expansive process of the city in the postindustrial civilization, with high concentrations of population around the productive centers and the centralization of the whole executive apparatus in only few urban centers. Currently, the configurable landscape is composed of big conurbations characterized by a spatial and functional welding of originally separated areas. The big metropolitan districts are represented by essentially urban and extended structures, characterized by an

⁴⁵A direction, in this regard, is followed within the main urban planning tool of reference, still considered the General Urban Development Plan.

indistinct sprawl of built areas where the transportation network represents the only unifying element truly able to characterize these substantially shapeless organisms. This metropolitan typology causes many problems, even when one tries to define it. The size is an assessable parameter, and quality is even more because it means cultural value (Jones 1993). The limit to the expansion of the big metropolitan areas seems to be only the economic and social cost of the means of transportation, the intricacy of which clearly hinders the chances of cultural and material production that is indeed the *raison d'être* of the modern metropolitan areas.

The further territorial level the metropolitan areas are reaching is the so-called megalopolis, defined by J. Gottmann as a new order in the organization of the inhabited space, characterized by the fusion of different metropolitan sections situated along the traffic lines (Gottmann 1961).⁴⁶ Another critical feature of the megalopolis is the formation, between a metropolitan area and another, of low-density population districts with plenty of greenery. On the other hand, the highly populated units dominated by the tertiary and quaternary activities are still located in the centers of the traditional cities.

Such organization became even more complicated: in the megalopolis, the appearance of more indistinct and less dense urban structures with differentiated functions progressively saturated the territory, sometimes preventing a distinction of the original hierarchies. They are definable as nebulas or urban galaxies and tend to cover increasingly larger areas of the territory. Dealing with this scenario means, in terms of planning, to follow two main directions: the first one implies a local control on the collective use of the space, and the second one is based on what Jones defined as the supranational transactions and freedom of communication that almost transcend time and space (Jones 1993). In all this process of transferring, overlapping and losing competences, roles, and functions of the city, the function of the environment, as limited reservoir of resources, becomes instrumental in the setting of the planning choices. To counteract the hegemonic trend of expansion of the megalopolis, the internal mechanism of expansion of the mere city and the still existing relationship between city and territory have been chosen as an active field of academic research. This research led to a new theory: the city-region, namely, a largely spread organism where everything, although maintaining differentiated characters and functions, is interconnected by close social, cultural, and economic relationships. Through them, the system evolves toward a state of complete osmosis, thereby establishing a level of equivalence of the whole territorial field of the city-region and where the tertiary or the quaternary sector, when well organized and strategically set, can attract the attention of an even wider territorial field and has the potential to become a real new city.

The model of city-region presents some strongly negative aspects, among which for instance, the definitive loss by the citizen of the sense of belonging to the urban world, to the city as historical product and the alienation from the territory as indispensable cultural shell. The concrete realization of the city-region model needs

⁴⁶It is J. Gottmann's definition.

though new cultural tools and an operative equipment. On these premises, the research of models for the design of the territory and the elaboration of the figurative values of the organisms and the spatial complexes it contains is focused on the structures that will constitute the future territorial "continuum," and on the formulation of the functional and formal hypothesis for the development and the intervention projects finalized to accomplish such a goal.

Kevin Lynch's work highlighted the urban elements that are essential for the perception and the enjoyment of the city or any other environment and facilitate the understanding of a scenario that speaks to the senses and uses the direct reference to already acquired experiences. For what it concerns the urban areas, Lynch emphasized the need of immediate and easy to read instruments for the people who are users and protagonists of the city, to navigate the urban environment.

However, some of the urban planning methods mentioned above, even if belonging to a consolidated tradition, seem to be inadequate in the planning of the historical centers. The repetition of the same criteria used for the different levels of planning (national, regional, district, municipal, and detailed) is not applicable as such to the historical centers as they are based on a numeric quantification of the constructability of the historical areas.

1.7.3 A Case Study: The Birth of the Sardinian Environmental Planning

The environmental approach to the urban planning policies can be exemplified in a particularly significant case study of the post-World-War-Two Italy: the experience of the policies for the Sardinian Rebirth.

Operated between the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, the "rebirth" (AA.VV. 1994; Accardo 1998; Sotgiu 1995, 1996; Ginsborg 1989) policies in Sardinia led to a series of transformations with important results not just in the social but in all the fields of the community life, and involved territorial structures, urban *milieu* and, most importantly, the modernization of the people mentality necessary to update the bureaucratic apparatus and the consolidated relationships man-territory. In a scenario of clear underdevelopment, characterized by an almost feudal and autocratic management of the resources, the new ruling class tried to create a laboratory of programming activities that not only laid the premises for an economic development coherent with the fulfillment of the regional autonomy but also allowed to reread the territorial vocations in democratic forms to later proceed in the industrialization of the region. These innovative policies of incentives and environmental structuring were definitively groundbreaking for that time. The introduction of the industrialization process as a propulsive element of an economic framework still based on agriculture, accounted for one of the most innovative aspects of the public intervention model, and made the Sardinian economic planning one of the most interesting case studies among all the underdeveloped regions of Southern Italy. The urban and territorial transformations induced by the new programming model are also remarkable. First of all, the new concept of built environment and the participative processes that limit the representation of illegal or sectional interests in the planning process are certainly credited to the "rebirth" policies. The new legislation aimed at filling the gap between the internal zones and the coastal ones, although still today the thickening of the built areas along the sea shores, reflects the unbalanced and non homogeneous relationship between cities (which are mostly and traditionally coastal) and territory. We can now analyze the conditions that may explain the failure of some innovative models of territorial planning, environmental enhancement, that fed the past cultural debate and at the same time search the relationship between these models and the planning that successfully transformed the role and image of the city and the territory.

The Sardinian Rebirth Plan (AA.VV. 1959, 1962; Regional Council 1963; Resoconti Consiliari 1951–1962) has been one of the first programming experiments on a regional scale concerning a problematic region that compared to other regions richer regional economies was rather backward but, at the same time, relatively advanced for what it concerns the cultural debate on the issue of autonomy that involved the local intellectuals (the newspaper *Il Bogino* stood out as critical conscience of the rebirth), as well as the working classes. The participation of the underprivileged social groups was favored by the promotion of the awareness of the transformations the first global program of intervention in the island accomplished.

The history of the Rebirth Plan, from the beginning to the approval of the bill, can be traced from the fascist Era and unwinds along a political–cultural path in the 1950s, involving the whole Sardinian political class.

In detail, the article 13 of the Special Statute for Sardinia attempted to arrange an organic plan for the economic and social rebirth of the island. The implementation of the statutory disposition instituted an appropriate commission, chosen by the central government and by the regional council called *Economic Commission of Study for the Sardinian Rebirth* (December 1951). The main task of the Commission and of the commissions which followed was to define the study of the main themes of interest concerning the historical-economic conditions, to set some development goals to which the experimental studies and the analysis in the field would have led and elaborate innovative programs of investment for the weaker sectors to hopefully approach, as much as possible, the national trend. The work of the Commission started with the most basic but also complex programs, and with the plans that would have been indispensable for the understanding of the remaining issues: first agriculture and industry, then transports and credit, and finally the operative details necessary to implement the plan.

The research conducted by the Commission provided the basics for the elaboration of the rebirth program and allowed for the validity of some working hypothesis to be tested. The reached conclusions about the socioeconomic structure of Sardinia determined the future organizations of the island investment programs, in the short and long term. It is important to underscore how the Sardinian primary economic and agriculture-related activities have always conditioned the local economy but have also conveyed an enormous flow of public resources to the island, which were not distributed uniformly, but joined the central government extraordinary intervention. Other programs were elaborated by the Reform Authorities and the public administrations.

The idea that the Plan represented a driving factor different from the support provided by the national government stood out almost immediately, and somehow guaranteed the originality of the choices adopted by specific study groups. Similarly, the organic structure of the plan had to be adapted to a global vision of the regional reality, in order to shape the operative tools depending on the nature of each single problem. According to the Assessor to the Rebirth Francesco Deriu, the Plan represented "a true political plan, conceived and proposed with the firm will to eliminate all the old and inefficient aspects of the island economic system, uproot antiquate social structures, modify some inveterate behaviors in the population, deeply and widely innovate the life, the work relationships, and the Sardinian people culture. This Regional Plan, the first planning model realized in Italy, expressed also the political value of the regional autonomy and it solemnly consecrates the nature and function of the regional government...".

The formulation of the long-term regional economic development sprang from a national program of regionalization which utilized the study of what could be defined as urban planning approach (Clemente 1968).⁴⁷ However, the first formulation of a *territorial plan* conceived within the *Rebirth system* was interestingly already present in the Sardinian Plan as a distinct activity from the economic programming, to be realized through a comprehensive planning tool. The Rebirth Plan in the regional field went hand in hand, with that activity of the Centre of Studies and economic plans led by Francesco Archibugi on a national level, whose work highlighted the urban planning objectives within the economic planning.

The idea that the urban planning represented an aspect of the economic planning ended up being at the center of the political debate of that time. The analysis of the problems concerning the definition of district area allowed the Plans Center to direct the research toward a reorganization of the territory under specific policies sharing common criteria. The Quinquennial Rebirth Plan, presented by the Regional Council, in enforcement of the article 7 of the Statute of the Autonomous Region of Sardinia and of the National Law n.588 dated June 11th, 1962, instituted the homogeneous territorial zones that were chosen by careful consideration of the prevailing economic structures, the probability of development, and the social conditions. Among the most interesting ideas of the Plan, we should cite the territorial feature of the programming, which was oriented to clarify the influence on the environment of history, was critical for the academic research of that time and represented a propulsive factor for the so-called *environmental approach* to the territorial planning. Such approach was only partially successful in Sardinia despite the temporal extension of the Rebirth Plan (July 1, 1962–June 30, 1974) and the conducted studies although accurate were not sufficient to guarantee a

⁴⁷Sic... from Francesco Archibugi's presentation, then Director of the Centro di studi e piani economici (Centro of studies and economic plans).

homogeneous development that lasted the 12 years of the Plan. Nevertheless, some of the most sensitive objectives of the Plan significantly affected the later theoretical speculation and even now they represent fascinating research themes. Among those themes, we remember the application of the theoretical models of the city to the local field, the study and the definition of the prerogatives and tasks of the urban planning management that later became a concrete proposal for the improvement of the touristic infrastructures in the island, the definition of the marginal zones, and finally the idea of a coherent and homogeneous development for the whole Sardinia, despite the existing differences among all the Sardinian geographic areas.

Tourism appeared in the Quinquennial Plan as one of the feasible solutions to stimulate the awakening of the economy and was considered able to play a propulsive role and compete in the realization of an economic development with evident consequences for the social sphere. In this regard, the Five Year Plan used the District Plan as the research tool that allowed to determine the necessary interventions for the consolidation and the development of tourism and helped to define the modality of the new urbanistic settlements and their duration in time (Clemente 1964). The working method adopted in the Comprehensive District Plan was formulated, together with the working program, by the Regional Centre of planning, a technical body of the Regione Sardegna (Sardinian Region), instituted in a cultural atmosphere that did not have completely clear the relation between territorial layout and economic development.

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Chapter 2 The Instrumental Use of the Process of Knowledge

Abstract This chapter delves the concept of the multi-layered city. According to the stratigraphic method in archaeology, the city as complex cultural good is the result of the stratification of uses. The study of the *context* is of the utmost importance to urban planning and cultural heritage conservation. Building process of historic city and territory can be better investigated and understood through the use of *topographic* method. Based on historic topography, it helps to analyze the consequences of the juxtaposition of a monument in a territory. Urban planning should use archaeological knowledge and topographic method to interpret the marks of the urban transformation through the reading and the knowledge of city's form and historic human presence that shape historic-morphological identity of places.

2.1 The Reading of the Time in the Space

2.1.1 The Concept of Multi-layered City

We will try to define what a multi-layered city is, how to identify it, how it presents itself, what its limits and potentialities are, and above all how it is possible to use its great potential.

These issues, if tackled merely from the planner's point of view, can appear pretty hard to explain, but from the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary point of view, they become more accessible. The concept of a multi-layered city or a territory recalls somehow the Chinese game of the pickup sticks, that is, the idea of the understanding of the city by following an inverse direction compared to the stratification of its 1000-year-old layers. To apply the stratigraphic method means first of all to accept and embrace a *method* and then retrace the formative events that will lead you close to the present, remaining aware that the farthest historical period will be the one we will know as last, but not less than the others, exactly thanks to the method we were meticulous to apply. But what is the historical or archaeological knowledge the urban planning should apply. By definition, the stratigraphic method

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uses repeatable procedures (and this is the reason why it can claim to be an actual *Method*) but it would be almost impossible to extract from it a feasible and practical instrument for planning. Pierre Pinon, in a scarcely known article, highlighted the importance of the interpretation of the trails of the past for the understanding of the processes of transformation of the city (Pinon 1994). Such interpretation considers both the archaeological-stratigraphic and the urban planning vision as important, but it is the latter that must trace back the interpretation of the urban event to the model, through the reading and knowledge of the form. The form of a city is always a constructed image, almost a pure ideology and does not always correspond to the real fabric of the good city, meaning that the actualization of the form often requires a public agreement that excludes some elements to empower some others. This fact also happened in the ancient city (Musti 2008).¹

The term multi-layered is normally placed beside the term city. It also contains the territory and landscape, complex objects that register an often almost unknown variety of situations and variables. It is a modern term, as modern and up to date is its application; Braudel in 1950 introduced the concept of multi-layered city as well as the concept of context (Braudel 1969).

The context is strictly linked to the term multi-stratification and today the urban archaeology cannot separate the term context from the adjective "multi-layered". Generally speaking, the city is exclusively a multi-layered object, therefore the *planners* are asked to use their knowledge of the interpretation of the urban complexity and their ability to see the overlapping with other disciplines. The method is the only common denominator of all these disciplines (Morin 2007),² and the confrontation between the urbanistic and territorial knowledge and the criticism toward all the other views that do not allow a continuous contamination (Carandini 2008)³ is unavoidable.

Many issues are not easy to be interpreted: for example, the multiplicity of levels and altimetries of an urban landscape can be the result of centuries-old deposits settled over a long stretch of time during which the mechanisms of accumulation were predictable, in the sense that nobody ever acted to remove the rubbish, so the ground grew and grew, building new hills.⁴ The city, as artificial container of differently originated inheritances, blends them without destroying them, while the

¹On the issue concerning the form it is extremely important D. Musti.

²The concept of method is used as defined by E. Morin "the need to make the scattered knowledge communicate with each other in order to reach a knowledge of the knowledge, the need to overcome mutilating alternatives and conceptions (by separating or, on the contrary, illegally unifying). What just said helped the self-elaboration of a method directed to a thought which is as less mutilating as possible and the most aware of the mutilations which unavoidably it operates to dialogue with the real."

³A. Carandini writes that the archaeological method should be known also by the architects, discrediting a consolidated taboo of obstacles and distribution of competences within the state supervisory authorities, but still existing.

⁴The phenomenon of accumulation of the lands has lasted until the birth of the industrial cities. The importance of the deposits is often underestimated not just by the planners, but also by the archaeologists.

destruction is brought by the one who intervenes without applying the method. Recently, a book by M. Carver 2003 highlighted some issues of interest in the management of the city archaeological record, and also defined the concept of assessment and value in archaeology. A first issue concerns the method of data acquisition, a second the data interpretation with the purpose of rebuilding the contexts: the difference between the extremely common gathering of the data, and the less common coordination and interpretation of them is striking, but the lack of rigor in the method is the most worrisome issue because it does not allow to compare the results. How can we interpret the data if we select only some of the most evident data and disregard the rest, but then claim to build a *historical image* and to solidify it in time? That *historical image* is, in this case, the result of arbitrary choices that cannot be reconstructed and retraced because they simply do not avail of a method. We should then distinguish the scientific archaeology from a non-scientific one, which does not allow, in the interdisciplinary phase, to provide the planner with the adequate tools to understand the role and the consequent value of the ancient manufactures. Therefore, such value cannot be considered accurate. Mute cartographies of archaeological objects derive from it, as well as partial samplings of subjective reconstructions useless for the comprehension of the contextual relationships of city and territory, and even more useless for a coherent proposal of planning policies. At present, these not rigorous activities are still very common. One of the possible ways to try to conciliate some of the conflicts is to propose some directions for the research from which it is possible to clearly deduce behavioral modalities and constructive hypothesis.⁵

Marc Bloch, the renowned historian of the Annales, in one of his fundamental writings, while quoting a Jules Michelet's expression, noted that "The person who wishes to limit himself to the present, to the current, will not understand the present" (Bloch 1997),⁶ but will only distinguish between recent and effective. It is easy to explain what happens through the analysis of recent events, but the real explanation of the present is full and satisfying only if we go back in time, and rebuild the single memories merged into the collective memories. This broad conception of memory influenced the historical sciences in such a determining way and it is so pervasive that can be also found in unequivocally evolutionist writings, at the dawn of the so-called scientific archaeology (Trigger 1996). Memory, at a certain point of its expression in history, basically becomes focused on the material culture and the study of the material culture cannot be separated from what we call archaeology. Andrea Carandini's volume, Archeologia e Cultura materiale (Carandini 1979), marks a turning point in this sense. More recently, the tradition of the material culture enriched itself with new ideas that widened the field of study by connecting the sociology of consumption, or the anthropology of consumption, to the objects, thereby contributing to the decipherability, we could say, of the social world. Goods and objects are exchanged, maintained, preserved, and hoarded, as

⁵As the last work by Carandini, mentioned above, shows.

⁶Michelet's quote, in "Apologie pour l'histoire ou metiere d'historien."

their value lays in the creation of a relationship, which is reached at the end of an exchange. Such clarification has great importance if we consider the concept of remaining in the archaeological stratification as an interpretative key to understand the so-called reuse (Ago 2006; Tronchetti 2003),⁷ but above all the archaeology of the architectural relics. This last case, also definable as *stratigraphic* archaeology of the architecture, retraces the entire constructing history of the building, from its origin to its cessation of use and its relationships with the other buildings; it uses the archaeological method but was extended to the construction industry history and, from there, to in the urban planning (Manacorda 2008).⁸

In time, examples of substantial modification in the study concerning the complex city and the operating relationship between city and plan were implemented. Admithly, some paths had been traveled earlier by few great personalities who daily dealt with the urban cultural heritage: among them Antonio Muñoz, who became chief director of the Ripartizione Antichità e Belle Arti del Governatorato di Roma (Department for Antiquity and Arts of the Governorship of Rome), directed by Giuseppe Bottai. He handled the General Urban Development Plan of 1931 and collaborated with personalities such as G. Giovannoni and M. Piacentini within the Commission instituted for the drafting of the new urban planning tool (Bellanca 2003). Muñoz's example is crucial to understand a totally new point of view concerning the relationship with the stratified memory and the updating of the old. For the first time, the planning must be necessarily combined with the attention to the former events of the city, a series of uninterrupted stories that conserve, restore, erase, and make specific choices that become alternatively strategic and that do not always measure themselves against the *dominant* archaeology (after all, that is understandable in a city like Rome), but rather with the architecture, the urban planning, and the restoration. Muñoz's methodological orientation reveals the aptitude for a complex series of interventions, with the use of traditional and modern materials for that time. The attention to the new destinations of the use of the ancient monuments is one of the prevailing themes of this multifaceted personality, a very important and forward-looking theme for that time. For this very reason, Munoz clashed with Giovannoni, who then decided to not call him to teach in the school of Roman architecture, but succeeded in imposing a methodology of restoration compatible with the reading of the preexistent signs, given that the remains themselves represent a testimony of exclusive value which deserves to emerge without camouflages. Muñoz's interest in the ancient and recent histories of the monuments, the attention to the European trends under way of the time (worth remembering his participation to the Conference on the Athens Charter in 1931), the contacts with Riegl's Vienna school, in a period of big and definitive

⁷Important studies have been recently published on the objects which became important elements of social history: one is by R. Ago. It is possible to compare such approach to the one followed by C. Tronchetti, that refers to the concept of the functional re-adaptation in the building sector, important to understand the building phases of the building manufactures.

⁸Lastly, on the relationship between stratigraphic archaeology and architectural archaeology see D. Manacorda.

modified the perception and conservation of the urban landscape, also on a legislative level. The atmosphere was still the Giolitti's one: the big legislative interventions for the conservation of the landscape were issued exactly in these years. The law on the conservation of the pinewood of the city of Ravenna, in 1905, represents only the beginning of the general protection of the Italian landscape (Peano 1992).⁹ In 1921, Giolitti left the political scene and Muñoz in 1922 wrote a letter to Giovannoni that while trying to mend their relationships, endorsed the idea of a law on the landscape, and showed his will of preserving the hill of Monte Mario in Rome from further buildings. 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 is the definition of monument as it appears in the Venice Charter of 1964 whose drafting saw the collaboration of Roberto Pane and Piero Gazzola (AA.VV. 2008) who based their work on Muñoz's ideas. They have in common the sense of the context and the sensitiveness in understanding the formation of the urban and landscape milieu, almost in an organicistic Muratori's style (Naddeo 1998).¹⁰ We like to think that probably Muratori himself reflected upon the description of the city of Athens given by Herodotus.¹¹ Athens is described as a circular city, in the shape of a wheel that well adapts to the idea of the city as a living organism (Musti 2008). Gazzola, in particular, was contemporary of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and also in part a precursor of the overcoming of Croce's idealism, given the importance Bianchi Bandinelli assigned to the artistic craft as a connective tissue from which artistic personalities could rise. This basic concept, namely the importance of the context inside which the monuments and the cultural goods are situated, will significantly characterize his work as professor of constructive characters of the monuments (1942) and restoration (1957), as the President of the Conseil International des Monuments et des Sites (ICOMOS-International Council on Monuments and Sites), as Technical Advisor of the Council of Europe for the recovery of the historic centers, and finally as expert of the United Nations and UNESCO. Moreover, while working as Superintendent for the Architectural Goods for the provinces of Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, and then Verona, post he had for more than 30 years, he actively supported the idea that the conservation of the multi-layered historical places should be considered in a highly integrated way. In fact, he launched the integrated conservation and improvement concept that will obtain juridical legitimization in the current Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage as well as doctrinal acknowledgement in the latest specific

⁹It appears synthetic and clear on these themes A. Peano's work.

¹⁰One of Muratori's major criticisms to the urban planning of his time was the absence of a holistic-organicistic vision of man and city, which reduced the urban planning to a mere economist practice: for this and other aspects, see D. Naddeo.

¹¹Storie, Libro VII (140, 1-2).

developments concerning the conservative safeguard and landscape planning. The uniqueness of the historical center as a unitary context of goods and objects represents an original element about which Gazzola wrote and talked extensively; he was in fact painfully aware that the historical center could be subjected to questionable and distorting interventions and devastating choices, just as a consequence of a lack of reflection on its cultural value (Fontana 1973).¹²

What just said is highlighted in the heritage charters, while all the international guidelines, the importance of the process of regular maintenance, based on the principle of the minimal intervention, and the fundamental uniqueness of the contexts are underlined. Therefore, the knowledge of the contexts appears as one of the most important tool to deepen the assessment of the territorial potentialities and set up an historical critic apparatus based on a solid ground through which it accomplishes the inventory of the historical centers' heritage. Such setting allowed Gazzola to study a method of analysis which will lay the indispensable basis for the correct planning of the city, that is, the preparation of inventory cards of the cultural heritage, and subsequently an inventory of the territory. These cards represent a substantial modification of the former ones, for the contextualization of the manufactures in the territory (Ranellucci 2003). Nowadays, we tend to read the ancient city in a distorted way. It is pretty easy to consider the architectural objects in their entirety as a monument, because they belong to a plurality of stories of the building object itself, being the architectural one maybe the best known. But it is hard to find the relationship between the abovementioned objects and the network of relations they built in a synchronic and diachronic sense (Aymonino 2000).¹³ The urban, or territorial relationship, or even the landscape relationship, in its role of connector of events, cannot be perceived without dividing the field of the topography in coeval chronological levels and then regathering the form on different chronological levels. The ancient dimension, then, would find its unity inside the contemporaneous one, thereby reducing the sense of fragmentation of the parts that once were fused together. But if this proceeding can be adopted for the monumental cases, to use it for the minimal or serial building is by far harder, because it appears superfluous to state that the permanence of the ancient housing fabric is subjected to a wider reinterpretation, transformation, in some cases erasure and mutation of forms. Let us think about the phenomenon of the change of property, which gives excessive and shattering dynamism to the urban fabric, but also creates a new unity by decomposing the previous one, in a process sometimes logical and functional, and sometimes intentionally incomplete and less rational. Furthermore, the urban fabric tends to conserve the structural parameters instead of the typological ones: it results that still today many cities keep well evident, in the structure of the roads and in the disposition of the building masses, the ancient Roman volumetric structures, on which basis the many stratifications and building restorations aligned, causing

¹²Cfr. the essay written in collaboration with Loris A. Fontana, which represents somehow the manifesto of Gazzola's interest in these themes, burning issues for that time.

¹³Such difficulty was noticed by C. Aymonino.

several and substantial modifications of destination and function to the original organisms.

As Carlo Aymonino 2000 rightly observes, the urban analysis provides a framework of the relationships, namely it generates laws to regulate the dialogue between an intervention and its surroundings, a project and a place, so that the analysis becomes a necessary parameter for the planning. The role of the analysis is therefore even more important where the cultural shell of the territory seems less readable, paradoxically absent, or pretty much hidden, and the context appears pulverized, while the planning tool acquires the function of setting a frame for the knowledge of projects compatible with the city and the territory.

From the methodological point of view, the contribution of the territorialist school to the planning validly supports a reading of the multi-layered city in terms of its anthropological relation with the world (Magnaghi 2001). It does not seem inappropriate to claim that the territorial heritage is the result of the application of models that add the surplus value of the contexts. The formation of the resources descends from this dualism, and the rules regulating such mechanism represent the dialogic network that clarifies how to act in order to both conserve and modify. All the many attempts to find a consensus on the issue of how to transfer to the plan the layered knowledge of the city. Actually, there have been only a few optimal results, but it is commonly accepted that the interoperability among specialists may really introduce some structural innovations or improve the effectiveness of the planning choices.

2.2 Goods and Resources as Complex Cultural Value

The complex value of the cultural good has not been sufficiently explained. A good is defined as complex when it intuitively reminds of a plurality of contexts and situations from which it draws its own identity and its most intimate features (Fusco Girard 1986).

The concept of resource itself demonstrates that the sum of values in a given territory can be considered a good and a heritage, but also an object to use, "spend", be enhanced in order to foster the development of a given place or territory. Here is the difference between good (heritage) and resource: the delicate transition from possessed or inherited object (good) to source of wealth (resource), which means that the resource can be drawn from an owned irreproducible good (heritage). The improper use often made of such concepts has often generated a weakness and incapacity of some territorial policies to produce wealth from different heritages or simply to attribute to the good itself the value of resource and therefore caused an inappropriate management of the cultural good (AA.VV. 2001). A recent study (Bevilacqua 2001)¹⁴ effectively highlighted the importance of the diversity

¹⁴P. Bevilacqua is one of the most illustrious representatives of a new trend of studies defined "Storia ambientale-environmental-history."

heritage-resource, stressing the centrality of the reference contexts of the resources at hand (Sieferle 1990). The concept of context is represented by a series of factors of different origin and evolution, which characterize a given cultural horizon.¹⁵ In a given territory, in fact, several contexts could coexist that differentiate the territories from one another and determine "the excellence" of that place.

A good definition of cultural good is the one which defines it as "physical support of a combination of mental and material processes to which a collectivity, in a precise historical moment, decides to give value, because it recognizes it as a basis for its own identity or its specific relationship with the world" (Caldo and Guarrasi 1994; Zedda Macciò 1998). This concept emphasizes the complex relationship between the human being and the built or natural environment he/she lives in. It is clear then that a multiform category of goods can acquire the status of "cultural" (AA.VV. 2001b). Thus, the items defined as settlement and historical-environmental resources are concretely multifaceted and their materiality functions as an integral part of the territory resource, measurable in terms of level of importance and sustainable hypothesis of conservation.

The cultural heritage, from the point of view of the enhancement and, especially the conservation, must be tackled as a whole, regardless of the single valences which can be assigned during an in-depth examination and planning (Mannoni et al. 2001).

According to this view, the heritage is composed of several manufacture typologies of archaeological, architectural, and historical-environmental type. The identification of the historical structures of the territory appears as the most logical consequence, and has the goal to regain the values of the territory itself through the precise knowledge of the contexts. This dynamic relationship with the past must not be passive and uncritical, but favor the discovery of possible paths to decipher the signs of its uniqueness. Such paths of communication, information, and exchange connect the local contexts with what is beyond, namely with the global network which puts at stake, transforms, and increases the single opportunities, but only when the diversity of the context itself is clearly recognized and acknowledged, and therefore strengthened.

This analysis has many consequences. First of all, the need to examine in depth some barely touched aspects, like the one concerning the creation of models of cultural landscape belonging to different historical periods, which could help to undertake specific policies of enhancement and implementation with the creation, for example, of ecomuseums diffused in the territory.

The radical transformation of the relationship between city and territory created problems also for the concept of cultural good and its relative value, although the cultural heritage is still today an integral part of the process of urbanization and territorial planning (Choay 1995).

The evolution of the concept of value ascribable to the heritage has a very ancient tradition. The cognitive value of the work of art is used to be exclusively

¹⁵The concept rose during the pre-enlightenment age thanks to Quatremère de Quincy and it solidified with the affirmation of the classicist science in the XIX century, with E. Lowy and Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli.

identified with the built heritage, but later focused on the national value as a fundamental element which inspired the majority of the conservation measures. The national value, as F. Choay 1995 observes, communicates also its emotional power and introduces a general pedagogy of the civic sense¹⁶ which can contain thousands of valences, and importantly, the economic one. This philosophy reached its historical climax in the revolutionary and postrevolutionary period of the 1700s. At the time, there were no analytic criteria to allow a complete and systematic study of the value of the heritage, but the notion of value led to the identification of a sort of hierarchy of the values themselves, a very precise spatial-temporal attribution, and a juridical statute with its relative technical treatment. Choay's analysis, however, dated the invention of the urban heritage back to Ruskin's time, during which the need of a conservative intervention in the shape of a specific project is also introduced. Therefore, in that historical moment, the attribution of a surplus value linking the notion of historical heritage to the notion of historical city¹⁷ was generated. The complexity of the values contained in the manufacture-city requires the consideration of the urban space as connective tissue where the monuments should reside. Such awareness is also present in Ildefonso Cerdà's work that was the first to propose an idea of urban history in which the ancient contexts, at last, acquired a memorizing value as opposed to the urbanization in the whole Europe.¹⁸ The conservation not of the matter, but of the values, and more specifically of the environmental values of the heritage and of the city, that was at the heart of Riegl's theoretical speculations, will be held, in Italy, by Roberto Pane, who outlined a

¹⁶Again Choay, in *op. cit.*, p. 79: "They introduce to a general pedagogy of the civic sense: the citizens have a historical memory which will play the emotional role of living memory from the moment it will be turned on by the feeling of pride and national superiority."

¹⁷The protection of the historical city will have an incredible luck after the Athens Charter. All across Europe, we witnessed an incontestable ferment with the creation of the ICOMOS during the Congress of Venice in 1964 (International Council on Monuments and Sites) and the formulation of the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites. In France, the Malraux Law (1962) was promulgated with the operative aims of legitimating the urban planning on going enhancement and the introduction of the notion of ensemble. The ensemble concerned the work of conservation of the single monument of the contextualized urban aggregates having artistic and environmental interest. The secteurs sauvegardés were created in the medium sized cities, while in the capital were realized the plans for the quarters of Marais, Les Halles, Beaubourg. In Germany, the conservation was delegated to the Landers to create a series of initiatives on a regional and state level, to create better conditions in the urban centers of small and medium entity which were going to lose more and more value as a consequence of the postwar rebuilding interventions. Lastly, in England, in 1958, the rules of conservation on urban planning dating from the Town Planning Act of 1944 were enforced for the ancient monuments, which associated the sectors of conservation and urban planning by affirming that the conservation of monuments is totally entrusted to the field of the management of the city and territory. From the 1960s, the responsibility for the conservation of architectural monuments was entrusted to the Minister of Housing and Local Government, helped by numerous private associations among which the National Trust for Place of Historic Interest and the Civic Trust. In 1967, the law for the conservation of urban areas is enacted, the *Civic Amenities Act*, which institutes the *Conservation* Areas, promoting the pilot plans for the cities of Bath, York, Chester, Chichester.

¹⁸The Teoria general de l'urbanisación dates back to 1867.

significant cultural path in the field of the conservation and restoration of the heritage, by affirming the centrality of the value of the urban and landscape environment within the territorial planning, ratified by the IInd International Congress of Restoration held in Venice in 1964. The Venice Congress represents a fundamental step in the debate about the attribution of values to the cultural heritage, because, besides framing the problems concerning the monument restoration, with the limits of 1960s *cultural industry*,¹⁹ it reasserts the need of the rigorous respect for the environmental context leading, in an urban planning sense, to the concept of conservation (Di Stefano 1998).

The conservation of the value depends, mostly, on the appraisal of who decides the value itself once the typology of value is assigned. It is possible, in short, to talk about attribution of value in relation to a programmatic consideration of the cultural good. Many values of the cultural heritage are considered *weak* in fact because they are not treated as enhancement tools (Cicerchia 2002). On the other hand, in the modern and contemporary age, the value attributed or attributable to the cultural heritage is linked to the direct and indirect, present and future enjoyment, which allocates the goods into the category of the goals (Cicerchia 2002). Only recently framework focused on the use has been proposed as part of the cultural good, which opts for its maximization and therefore the safeguard, conservation, and management (Archibugi 1987; Valentino and Misiani 2004).²⁰ The desired result should be a project in which the mission as well as the hierarchical function objectives, or the strategic objectives in the long run, the programs of actions, actions and projects, and the indicators of result and performance are clear and evident (Cicerchia 2002).

2.3 Representation of the Historical-Morphological Identities of the Places

The representation of memory and identity is never granted. Its goal is starting and presenting a communicative process, but in fact the communicative codes and the forms of transmission of the codes themselves and of the data they propose are infinite and hardly communicable.

¹⁹Pane, as a Croce's follower, would not have looked with favor at the transformations due to the rising of the so-called cultural industry.

²⁰Some strategic projects had a limited success, others stopped at the threshold of the political decisions to be taken for a concrete feasibility. The QUADROTER project, Ministero dell'Ambiente-CNR, Quadro territoriale di riferimento per la politica ambientale was in fact successful. Nota illustrativa e progetto di ricerche, gennaio 1990. On the contrary, the Progetto Giacimenti culturali (a project concerning the cultural deposits) sprung from the enforcement of the so-called Legge De Michelis (De Michelis Law) and the P.I.S.A. project concerning the integrated planning in the archaeological sites within the Euro-Mediterranean area did not go forward. For these projects and for their assessment see especially: F. Archibugi and P. A. Valentino, A. Misiani.

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Once enunciated such premise, it is evident that there are and there have been in the large literature on the subject, methods of analysis, and research that favored the improvement of the cognitive and representative instruments. If on the one hand, it is quite simple to describe and represent the city and territory in a *traditional* way and with *traditional* means provided by the technique, on the other hand it is hard to transmit (in order to present and communicate) the sense of the totality of the historical urban space to be used for the plan's purposes. The provisional nature of the existing descriptive languages leads to new elements that increase the complexity and its related interpretative difficulty (Schiavo 2004). "The territorial heritage, not conceived as group of objects, manufactures, monuments to conserve, but as living subject whose complexity is the result of co-evolutionary relationships between natural environment, built environment and anthropic environment, requires the knowledge of the process of its historical building and of the rules that keep it alive and make it grow" (Magnaghi 2001).²¹ The beginning of the processes of

²¹It is a A. Magnaghi's expression. As integration to D. Poli's study, Rappresentazione delle identità storico-morfologiche dei luoghi, ibidem, pp. 215-285 and to better highlight how the process of historical building of the city and territory has been examined, it can be useful to schematize the frame of the most significant methods of study for the knowledge of the territory: the topographic method. The methodology of the topographic research is based on the historical topography. It can be defined as the description of a place from the cartographic point of view or as the analysis of the consequences of the juxtaposition of a monument in the territory. The latter reading, more complete and exhaustive, allows the individuation of the human presences in the territory on the basis of the ancient sources. Who did produce results on the basis of such methodology and how? In Piedmont and Liguria Piero Barocelli and Nino Lamboglia's works should be mentioned. Only the district of Libarna has known historical-scientific cartography on a 1:100.000 scale; today there are several new researches in progress in that area. In Lombardy, the reports barely indicate an activity which, however, did not lead to a method: see for example Mario Mirabella Roberti's studies that are dedicated mostly to the city of Mediolanum. Plinio Fraccaro introduces the diachronic reading of the territory: see the historical topography and the fundamental studies on the limitatio (Roman method to measure the land). Often, thanks to a methodological refining, thematic supports are created when there is no global research. In Veneto, the topographic school was encouraged by Luciano Bosio's studies, who principally dealt with problems of the road system. The Eestern area of Veneto (Istria) availed of Attilio Degrassi's studies. The region of Emilia-Romagna represents the richest example of researches connected to the name of Guido A. Mansuelli, one of the leaders in the history of the Italian ancient topography, Nereo Alfieri and Gino Vinicio Gentili. Gentili is the discoverer-pioneer of Marzabotto. Mansuelli is one of the first researchers to deal with problems of archaeological cartography. G. Tibiletti studied the phenomenon of the Romanization of Northern Italy, Mansuelli continued the topographic studies, producing the first works of urban planning in the strict sense. Alfieri produces localized thematic maps, such as the studies of the "centuria": his works are important among the publications by the Government of Emilia-Romagna. In Tuscany, a series of scholars studied the topography of an environment influenced by the Etruscans. The Siena-Pisa group, namely the Carandini's school (ager *cosanus* etc.), partly erred on the side of preconceived thematic maps, by working to answer a very limited number of issues on a territory. The region of Umbria did not show significant results even if some important scholars contributed to the research on the urban centers (U. Tarchi and C. Pietrangeli). Marche and Abruzzi have always been linked to the prehistoric researches (Northern Abruzzi: G. Annibaldi). V. Cianfarani dealt with researches in the Meso-Adriatic area, while A. La Regina in the Paelignan district until the area of Vasto. The Adriatic-Marchigian zone has not been studied yet except for the road system, done by N. Alfieri

territorialization coincides with the appropriation of the territory and its resources by the people (Turco 1988). The recent studies²² delineate substantially two modalities of appropriation: the narrative and the documental modality (Poli 2001). The first one uses the collective narration, namely the way the memory of the place has been transmitted through the generations, while the second one records the objective data and, we would say, the *material* data of the cultural heritage of the places. These modalities should have complemented each other, but that does not seem to have ever happened. Actually, the historical cartographic representation today is going

⁽Spina's Meso-Adriatic field). The Romanization never was a specific theme of research and was in fact often overlooked. The region of Campania numbers Julius Beloch's preliminary studies. Amedeo Maiuri did not establish a school of thought neither on the territorial asset, nor on the topographic asset of the region. His name is linked to the discovery of many centers but he has never made through studies of historical topography. Only scholars of the Magna Graecia as Paolo Orsi, Gino Lo Porto and Bartoccini (Puglia) performed such studies. They can be compared with the schools of Northern Italy because their commitment was, on a territorial level, wider. Along with Orsi, P. Zancani Montuoro and U. Zanotti Bianco deserve attention. The first published monographs of topographic researches which individuated some areas that Orsi did not explored enough (for example the area of Salerno). In the central Ionia and in the area of Sibari and Metaponto, noticeable progresses only came thanks to the researches by the Pennsylvania University and by the local Superintendence. Sicily has a great tradition of topographic studies: Paolo Orsi, precisely, Biagio Pace and Luigi Bernabò Brea. The topographic research, especially in the protohistoric field, is developed around these three names. The work went on with D. Adamesteanu and P. Orlandini. The Roman school of topographic research starts with the Humanism. The reading of the ancient monument is linked to the sixteenth century and it was promoted under the Popes who encouraged a series of extraordinarily important studies between the end of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth, authored by scholars such as of Cluverius and Luca Ostenio (the Adnotationes). But an outstanding boost to the topographic analysis was given by Rodolfo Lanciani. He dedicated himself to the urban recovery of some sectors of the papal Rome dismembered by the Piedmont army arrival and, as secretary of the Municipal Archaeological Commission, to the Esquiline hill. The protohistoric necropolis of Latium was published by G. Pinza, the other compounds by Lanciani. He published in 10 years the volumes of the Storia degli Scavi and contextually the Forma Urbis Romae. The Forma Urbis is the most important text of historical topography published in a systematic way, yearly; he published the volumes that had the comment in the Storia degli Scavi, reporting not just the documents directly known, but also those revealed by other sources, highlighting with different colors the medieval monuments. His works constitute the first scientific archaeological cartography. His pupil and successor in the chair of topography in Rome, instituted for Lanciani was G. Lugli. He resumed and gave new impulse to the initiative of the Archaeological Charter of Italy. His work, followed by F. Castagnoli's who published about 20 volumes of the Forma Italiae created a non-symbolic cartography as for the precise localization. The Forma Italiae contains a precise localization cartography on a 1:25.000 scale. The configuration he used was used also by P. Sommella with some substantial methodological modifications. The studies in Latium saw the contribution of the British School with B. Ward Perkins and M. Friedericksen on the ager veientanus. Only Gamurrini's Archaeological Charter had a historical repercussion, on a national level, in the territorial planning.

 $^{^{22}}$ The integral examination of the available literature on the subject (see the fundamental text published by Magnaghi and quoted in the note above) clearly shows how it is difficult for the planner to manage *in toto* the descriptive tools on the city and territory. This difficulty stems also from the lack of communication among the different disciplines, as we said several times. However, the territorialist school seems to have started to overcome this issue.



Fig. 2.1 The antique architecture on the right (Villa Torlonia) clashing against the rough modernity of nearby garages. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

through its worst time for what it concerns the documentation supplied to the plan, except for a few symptomatic examples.²³ The places of the collective memory are not always those represented by the so-called *conspicuous* places of the territory, because the representation should highlight the entire heritage and be instrumental to the project of the city and territory. Moreover, the language used by the plan does not consider enough the other languages and the already fragmentary reconstruction of the cultural programs and of the planning rules is added to the lack of clarity of what is or can be represented. We would be better using the *potential qualities* of all these undetermined elements and creating impure disciplinary fields that encompass the targets we still wish for, the whole *territorial labyrinth*, the *urbis* project, and the project of the *civitas* (Schiavo 2004) (Figs. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8).

²³I.e., the case of the General Urban Development Plan of Rome.



Fig. 2.2 A modern furnace built on top of an antique lime quarry. Published with kind permission of @ Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 2.3 The ancient mausoleum of M. Lucilius Paetus surfacing in the midst of via Salaria. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 2.4 The Temple of Portunus standing out from the rationalistic architecture of viale Petroselli. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 2.5 The Temple of Portunus in the foreground and a building designed by the architectural firm Valle in the background. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

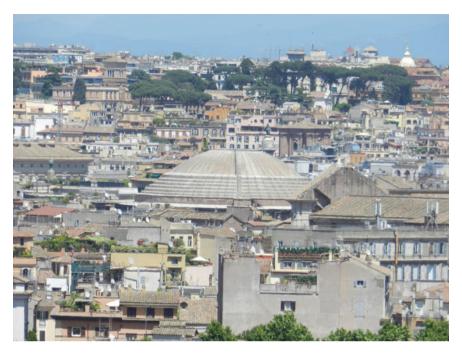


Fig. 2.6 Layers of buildings of diverse ages sprawling from the Gianicolo hill to the Pantheon. Published with kind permission of \mathbb{O} Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

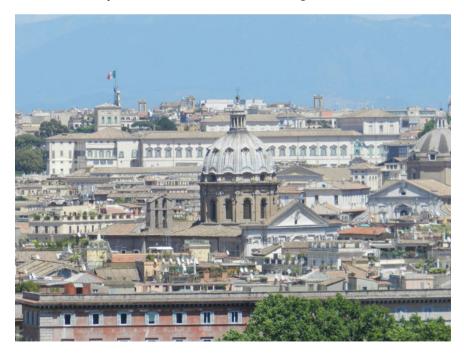


Fig. 2.7 Layers of buildings sprawling from the Gianicolo to the Quirinale hill. Published with kind permission of @ Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 2.8 Layers of buildings extending from the Gianicolo to Castel S. Angelo. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

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Chapter 3 Development of a Multidisciplinary Approach

Abstract This chapter argues that a multidisciplinary approach leads to a constructive comparison between the legacy of the historical-memorial processes immanent to the city and territory and the current visible forms of the landscape, which are the result of such processes. From silent to speaking territory which is seat of collective identity, starring role of the process of identification of a community, able to show its vocations and to direct its transformations. In such territory, there's the city. From the Mediterranean sacred city inside the temenos or sacred enclosure, which differentiated what is interior (sacre) and external (heathen) to the enclosure, to the current city which is the result of historical stratification and must be open to the territory and its transformations. A multidisciplinary approach is a must be blueprint to new urban planning, the only one able to intercept contemporary complexity and to canalize it in the urban project.

3.1 The Processes of City Building and Consolidated Urban Morphologies

There are three historical moments to which it is possible to date back the idea of the structured city as an independent and anamorphic organism¹: the ancient city, the industrial city, and the postindustrial city. Simultaneously, a series of symbiotic or non symbiotic forms rose, that was open in time to different outcomes. Even admitting that the criteria adopted for the identification of the city change from one

¹The adjective is used here not to indicate that the city never changes but can be seen as a sort of model-*idealtypus* to which always refer. This seems to have happened mostly in three great moments of human history, those mentioned in the text.

[©] Springer International Publishing AG 2018 A. M. Colavitti, *Urban Heritage Management*, The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9_3



Fig. 3.1 Antique furnace plunged in a contemporary scenery. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

society to another (AA.VV. 2001a), the historical-sociologic analysis² contributed to the structuring of models that became a common *culture*, that we cannot overlook to understand the conceptual landmarks typical of the urban planning on the urban theme. In addition, the geographic analysis focused on two aspects: the form and the function, namely the exclusively topographic aspect and the topographic aspect linked to the sociologic analysis (Farinelli 2003), that is the functional specializations of topography (Figs. 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8).

The ancient city, as defined by the fundamental studies of Fustel De Coulanges,³ is characterized by the close connection between social and religious institutions,

²In the historical-sociologic analysis it is not possible to prescind from the consideration of Weber's city, the one that S. Momigliano defined as Max Weber's masterpiece, in A. Momigliano (Momigliano 1984); according to Weber, L. Capogrossi Colognesi's work is fundamental (Capogrossi Colognesi 1997). The interest in the city as political institution is highlighted in the essay about the city, published posthumous in Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik (1920–21) and then collected in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Weber individuates in the Western city a political model of city unseen elsewhere, to which he associates the ancient *polis* and the medieval town. Weber's analysis had a great fortune: his comparative vision has been highly quoted. For a useful synthesis, see Pietro Rossi's essay "La città come impostazione politica: l'impostazione della ricerca" (AA.VV. 2001b).

³Already mentioned before for *La cité antique*.



Fig. 3.2 Newly built residential building erected in close proximity of the ancient Gasometer. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 3.3 New residential buildings in a multilayered scenario. Published with kind permission of @ Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 3.4 Modern industrial constructions beside older buildings: the Gasometer and the Water Storage Tower. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

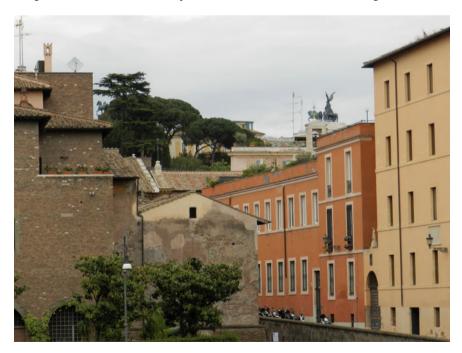


Fig. 3.5 A view of the Forum Boarium towards the Capitoline Hill. Published with kind permission of ${\ensuremath{\mathbb C}}$ Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 3.6 The Arch of Janus (later Tower of Boethius), in via S. Giovanni Decollato. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

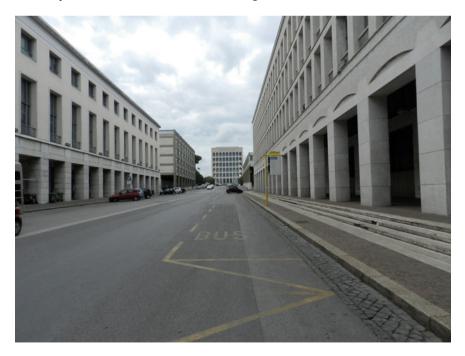


Fig. 3.7 The influence of the rationalistic approach of Ancient architecture upon more recent constructions: the optical axis aiming towards the Italian Civilization Palace in the EUR District (Rome). Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved



Fig. 3.8 The Agricultural Consortium building, an heritage of the Fascist Era, stands before a modern residential construction. Published with kind permission of © Nicola Usai 2017. All Rights Reserved

the family (the *ghene*, the *gentes*), the land property. Many scholars give more relevance to Fustel's concept of land private property rather than to the aristocratic theory, as the basis of the repartition of the allocated space to the family (Finley 1977). The land possession, which initially was only an aristocratic privilege, is pivotal for the Fustel's work, and contributed to the development of further studies of absolute centrality.⁴ The dividing line created by Fustel, was adopted, with several new nuances⁵ also by the German historiography, especially for what it concerns the theoretical conception of the relationship between State and social groups.⁶

⁴Like V. Arangio Ruiz's one on the aristocratic theory.

⁵Worth remembering G. Glotz's work (Glotz 1928), for the French school; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda (Busolt and Swoboda 1920–1926) for the German school; J. Burckhardt, Martin, Wycherley, and others on the definition of the public space as archaeological clue of the formation of the city.

⁶See. E. Meyer and V. Ehremberg's writings from 1937 to 1974, in particular "Quando è nata la polis?" (AA. VV. 1980). K. Marx's analysis on the ancient city deserves a different discourse. He individuated in the development of the job sharing and in the opposition between city and countryside one of the essential points for the development of the urban organism.

Weber's work on the ancient city represents a classic of the modern historiography. It examines four fundamental aspects of the city: the quantitative, economic, political military, and the already mentioned sociological aspect. The most important is the economic aspect, with reference to the Western urban experiences and to the famous opposition between consumption city and productive territory.

Nowadays, the ancient city is, with its forms and meaning, a fossil guide and a historical model to rely on, with the awareness that, the temporal and spatial relationships fostered by it, radically changed with the context. Despite all that, the permanence of the historical space is a constant point of reference in the topography of the urban places and their building.

The building of the modern city already represents a model adapted for particular purposes to a social structure (George 1994). It mirrors a system of social relationships finalized to a use of space which shapes itself with the purpose of the creating a public space (Belfiore 2001). The building of the public space had represented, for the ancient city, a crucial phenomenon, in a way that the city identified itself with its public space. The legacy of the ancient city (in the construction of the modern city) is also a legacy of its public space and of the transformations that was subjected to, and it reveals itself through the evolution from simple to more complex forms, or through the return to simple forms, thereby outlining a conceptual and harmonic linearity of the city as a whole (see the case of Haussmann's interventions in Paris or, differently, of the so-called cities of new *foundation* in the fascist era). On the level of the theoretic elaboration, the European capital cities facing the industrial revolution have been the leading models of the process of urbanization for all world. The material changes they presented are the macroscopic result of the industrial revolution which reconfigures the way of making the city and, with it, the way of conceiving the urban space. In the field of the aesthetic perception, the renaissance tradition, that is the perspective regularity and the accordance (Benevolo 1993) with the classic models, crashed. With the crisis of the classic models, the *venting* of utopia took over, and explained the birth of an imaginary industrial city like Tony Garnier's one, a place that expresses not only an urban planning project but also a political and social one. However, Garnier's city kept a rigorous classic imprinting. In his project, the classic reference to the antiquity does not have a regressive sense, but rather means to condemn the nineteenth century conception of the compact and unlimited growth (Calabi 2004).

One of the characteristics of the industrial city is to be the city of the *city use planning*. Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, the building regulation, the zoning, and the typological matters characterize the planning tool which becomes the real distinctive feature of the building of the industrial city and it contributes to form a new disciplinary *corpus*. The capital city acquired a sort of new morphology that will be extensively imitated in an interplay between eclecticism and conservation, extremisms and functional adaptations. The experiences of Paris, Vienna, Amsterdam, and other European cities allow the application of a scientific approach in tackling the urban problems marking the beginning of new balances and operative strategies. For the urban planning, the big cities represent a very important and challenging subject and a

precise category of analysis that more and more frequently has a repercussion in the social field.

In the years between the two Wars, the rise of the modern movement had the merit to start the search for new values after the tragedy of the First World War, although this breakthrough will last a very short time. L. Benevolo well describes the revolution caused by the modern movement: "In order to break the limitations of the postliberal theory and practice, it was necessary to pass through the *tabula rasa*, remove once and for all the huge load of the conventional forms deduced by the past" (Benevolo 1993) and bestow a new role to the city and territory. The four main roles and characteristics of the city, namely to live, work, cultivate body and spirit, circulate information, determine, according to Le Corbusier (Le Corbusier 1925), the three fundamental typologies of human settlement: the linear industrial city, the radiocentric city of exchanges and the unit of agricultural settlement.

The modern movement in fact, if on the one hand accepted and challenged the utopias of the *garden cities*, on the other caused a sharp fracture with the historical city, both in terms of building and planning methodologies, and in terms of repercussions for the *new urban planning*. The economic aspects influence the urban planning choices to such an extent that in the majority of the European cities no investments of large dimension were recorded, especially in the field of the private building but an impressive debate (to which participated, among the others, W. Gropius) began on the issue of the socialization of the building trade and the decentralization of the new living quarters, as an answer to the crisis in the postwar era.

In Italy, the problem of the postwar reconstruction acquired the innovative connotation of the conservation of the historical centers as well as the dialectic of the urban aesthetics that is to be shaped not by the land value, but by the value of the memory of the places and of the settled populations.

The affirmation of such concept had clear consequences: the global consideration of the city as it was elaborated by the modern movement was overcome by the role given to the historical environment, which became the new focus and availed itself of new and different techniques. It is quite interesting to see how the debate, incandescent for those years, acquired, in the writings of the scholars, almost a missionary value of shaping the planner and transforming, conserving, modernizing and enhancing the identity of the *global* architect.⁷ At the same time, the declaration of modification programs concerning some cities became also very important: the

⁷See for example, the case of the urban development plan for Rome and the polemics around the figure of G. Giovannoni. "La definizione del profilo dell'architetto totale è di G. Zucconi" (Giovannoni 1977).

control on phenomena of the big conurbation⁸ and the problem of the public residential building trade.⁹

At the opening of the First International Congress for Modern Architecture, the international scenario was strongly influenced by the positivist ideas, which lead to the affirmation of the centrality of the plan as a proportioning instrument and solved the need of transformation of the city and territory, while hanging in between stagnation and movement, the two prevailing building functions that characterize the urban space in its dichotomies and continuity. Thus, the break carried out by the CIAM and the Athens Charter proposed a model of functional and bright city (the *ville radieuse* pursued by Le Corbusier) through which the urban planning schools of Europe had already been confronting themselves for a long time (for example the German school). The French laws of 1919 and 1924 introduced a general urban development plan, based on the use of public art to regulate the road system plan and organize the existing blocks and the new peripheral quarters. Such laws are at the basis of many of the most important European city plans from France to England and have also the merit to highlight the need of a territorial global planning to consider the hygienic and transportation issues even in the regional field.

The urban planning tool was precisely extended also to the *regional plan*, definitely newer than the 1920s.¹⁰

It would be too long to discuss the renewal of the interpretative models concerning the postindustrial city (Jones 1993)¹¹ because this debate is still ongoing and concerns so many aspects of the urban field in general, such as the economic activities, the dynamics of power, the social conflicts, the multiculturalism, the problem of the participation in the democratic choices and even the artistic experiences (Amin and Thrift 2005). One of the factors that changed the space, city, and relationships between individuals is the acceleration of the mobility, a theme already present in the modern movement and in the utopia of the 30-year period, and is today challenged by constant modification of the distance among individuals and by the development of informatics.¹² The condition of the urban places changes the coordinates and becomes the basis of the postmodern era, particularly with reference to the model of the network. The best model we could come up with to explain the network is the metaphor of the labyrinth. The plurality of levels of this model causes further complications because the constantly changing of the nature

⁸The case of the public competition for the Land Use Plan for the "Greater Paris", in 1919, by Jaussely, Export, Sellier, focused on the internal restoration of the city, the enhancement of the area of the fortifications (this will be a topic also in the new urban development plan for Rome by Marcelloni of 2003), and the planning of peripheral residential quarters that refer to the model of the *garden city*.

⁹France established the departmental public offices for economic dwellings, thanks to the Bonnevay Law.

¹⁰We share D. Calabi's opinion published in Storia dell'urbanistica europea, op. cit., p. 219.

¹¹Also defined as transnational city by the exchanges, transactions, precisely, that continually happen between the contemporaneous metropolises.

¹²See the enlightening studies by M Castells, D. Harvey, S. Sassen, R. Sennett.

of the urban relationships, and of their starting and arrival points (Perulli 2000), turn the network in a bundle difficult to interpret Therefore, the image of the public space that was the place of the sociality *par excellence* in the ancient city, remains elusive today as a platform for the urban meeting and generates a new cultural policy. The public space is no longer a mediator of relationships but, at the most can simulate the differences of the individuals that use it and take advantage of it as a visible and temporary place of the social meeting.

3.2 The Transformation of the City and the Territory

3.2.1 From the Silent to the Speaking Territory

The constructive comparison between the legacy of the historical-memorial process inherent to the city and territory and the current visible forms of the landscape, which are the result of such processes, lead to the reconsideration of several planning paradigms, in order to activate and improve the historical and testimonial values of the territorial culture, through the proposal of the compatible use of goods and resources.

As a starting point, a new vision of the relationship between goods and resources should be promoted, in order to illustrate a new link between city and territory, built historical environment, and new territorial ecology (Macchi Cassia 1991).¹³

The adaptation of the territory to the human being has sometimes influenced the settlement choices of the social groups, in a way that did not respect the vocations of the places, despite the historical-environmental determinants which still characterize the territory and the symbols of the territory as mandated by the local authorities. The territory and the city, as manifestation of historical traditions and permanent environmental values, have been noticeably transformed depending on the forms and figures of the past. The change of scale is determined by the fast changing of the social conditions which must adequate themselves to new parameters and find new solutions for the territorial and city conservation and enhancement.

If we critically examine the evolutionary steps of the relationship city-territory, we can have the strong perception that the perfect dualism never existed, meaning that territory and city have always represented a place of production and place of consumption, sometimes perfectly balancing them and sometimes exasperating one or the other. Such vision has always fascinated the historians who dedicated to it many studies.¹⁴

¹³C. Macchi Cassia noted in a 1991 work that "the discourse about the correct use of the historical resources becomes an integral, fundamental part of the urban planning."

¹⁴Some of these theories and positions have been already highlighted synthetically in the previous chapters.

The dialectics between urban and non urban environment contributed to elaborate a unitary and continuous space which included, in part, external models (Clementi 1995) and solidified them thanks to a manifold framework, in which the historical stratification was always evident, through the reading of the original model. The most recent speculative trend upholds the historical values of the stratified and combined environmental frames¹⁵ until they produce as a result, a specific and typical landscape, where individual memory and collective memory converge in a wide field of action thereby activating a permanent communication instead of supremacy or control on one another.¹⁶ Therefore, the urban culture elaborated models that influenced the relationship between cities and especially the comprehension of their settling in the territory. These models of city and territory have in common a principle of identity, a sort of marker of identity, in other words, an element of self-reconnaissance for all the people who live in the same area (Certosino and Donzelli 2000).

B. Secchi wrote in an editorial of Asterischi Laterza of 1992 (Secchi 1992) that, from the urban planning perspective, the urban future in Europe would have been characterized at the same time by: concentration and dispersion; fragmentation of the majority of the residence and of the production of goods in the inexhaustible variety of the territory and of the scattered city; concentration of the places of exchange sometimes more frequent, some others more sparse, with the consolidated cities, the new shopping malls, the market streets, the directional cities. Secchi's analysis is a pessimistic one; in his view, the two souls of the city could no longer reunite, therefore the requalification of the old centers and the more careful planning of the new urban structures for the collective spaces became necessary. Furthermore, the sociologist G. De Rita (De Rita 1992) observed that people may assign an identity to the urban reality they live in, or be given an identity by the city, and argued that it is the concept of identity itself to be currently going through a crisis. The identity crisis, according to De Rita, dominated the last decades of the past century and caused a desperate search of territorial identity, so the territory becomes once again the source of collective identity, namely, the territory identifies again. Actually, it has been noticed that the link, on the urban planning level, the Mediterranean cities is neither the affinity of the settlement plants, nor the specific nature of the architectures, or the particular quality of the urban chromatisms, but the fact that they are the endpoint of a long process of selective accumulation that, in time, recuperated some materials to reuse in new urban structures and abandon others, they felt incompatible with their local identity values (Clementi 1995). The individuation of the attribution of identity, on an urban level, is undoubtedly given by the historical center: it is a project delivered by the past, that submits itself to the policies of territorial planning and disregards the "lumpy-city" mentioned by

¹⁵See the well-known definition by Lucio Gambi, in *Storia d'Italia* published for the editions of Einaudi.

¹⁶On the theme of the communication in the urban planning discipline see the recent G. Caudo, A. L. Palazzo (Caudo and Palazzo 2000), concerning the communication of plans and projects, in accordance with the theory by P. Healey.

Secchi. The territory represents then a very stable complex, resistant to changes, that acquires almost invariably long terms rhythms and become an almost constant parameter to be utilized by an extended variety of users. This stability is accentuated by the permanence of the urban structures surviving periods of strong crisis, that become a symbol of continuity. The territorial evolution takes place through subsequent and continuous integrations, maintaining parts of what already exists. The choices pushed by geopolitical or economic interests are actually rereadings and not new inventions. Therefore, in order to correctly understand the territory, it would be better to read what already exists without adding any infrastructure.

3.2.2 The Beginning of the Transformations

The problem of the city in the territory has been examined by the historiography on the basis of two general criteria. In the first one, the city is seen as an original creation, while the second one considers the city as a hegemonic factor in continuity with the territory, that is a direct expression of it. In terms of originality, the ancient Mediterranean city is sacred, in other words, separated from the territory, since the concept of sacred is definable only in relation to what is not sacred but external to the sacred *temenos* (AA.VV. 2001a). The non definability of the sacred makes it still suitable to be used in a variety of social or physical ways, such as places (temples and sanctuaries), temples for celebrations and community recurrences, and actions (rites and celebrations). Therefore, the sacred place transforms it into an aesthetic-perceptual experience and encompasses a plurality of meanings. The cornerstone of the center is in such meanings, that gather and concentrate the soul of the collective memory (De Candia 2004).

In Italy, the decades-old debate on the theme of the city has two faces: the face of the continuity or discontinuity with the Greek–Roman city and the face of the origin and character of the medieval city. Some arguments are known, but it is still important to cite them. According to the historian H. Pirenne, the decadence of the city is ascribable to the moment of the Arabic supremacy on the markets whereas the recovery of the city was favored by the recovery of the trade at the end of the High Middle Ages (Pirenne 1917). Pirenne's thesis was accepted, with several corrections, for the countries north of the Alps; it was not considered valid for Italy, because here the city never seemed to have a real interruption of its economic vitality. To such a persistence of the urban functions in Italian history, C. Violante attributed the vitality of trade from the seventh and eighth centuries (Violante 1953) on.

Probably, the study of the origins of the communal city described by certain historiography, obscured the analysis of the cities as it got shaped in the Humanism, the all Italian model that has been one of most exportable experiences of the complex Mediterranean urban paradigm.

It is certainly possible to claim that regarding the issue of the city, the two variables at stake in Italy and in Europe hide the problems of the balance of power between cities, even similar for origins, typologies, and evolution, but that created different territorial systems.

The Italian cities can be distinguished depending on the continuity with the ancient and on the basis of the relationships European or Central European and Mediterranean (Vivanti 1972). Given such a continuity the city is not inserted in the territory as a new thing, but it has always been linked to it. In this sense, the Italian city has been able to represent a permanent metropolitan matrix, because it has organized, structured, subordinated, and developed a series of territorial relationships with the minor centers and the surrounding areas.

This conclusion legitimizes the research of the permanent forces and of the leading sense of the city and territory in the plan, and prompt us to not invest in cognitive inertia, but to try to translate the knowledge in an operative driving force which might add value to the disciplinary contributions. W. Sombart's, in fact, considers the city as a place of collection of the land income, concentration of the crafts and consumption by unproductive social classes. The criticisms to Sombart's theory are numerous, especially by the Italian historians, first of all, S. Luzzatto.

In a more general sense, the city historically defined itself as an organism producing the activities that organize and guide the life of a community in a certain territory; such activities are made possible and improved by the chance of exchange and intellectual relationship between individuals and social groups settled in an aggregate and concentrate way.

The city became then the most characteristic and evident manifestation of the past civilizations, not only from the cultural and social point of view but also from the technological and functional one, thanks to the adaptation of human life to the environmental and geographic conditions.

3.2.3 The Role of the Urban Planning

Particular attention should be given to the role the urban planning historically had, and still has, in terms of actual changes in the society but also desire of change (Palermo 2004). The practices of planning have changed with the extension of the processes of urbanization. The model of urbanization, when differently applied in one place or another, determined a system of planning that hindered the effectiveness of the urban and territorial policies. A. Clementi underlines that the planning carried out everywhere ends up being an attempt to apply the principle of the modern functionalist urban planning, filtered by the influences of the local societies (Clementi 1995). Such urban planning is too abstract and generalizing to

win the resistance of the traditional practices of construction of the urban space, always hanging between progress and throwback (Clementi 1995).¹⁷

The knowledge of the historical conditions in which the relationships between city and territory developed, is indispensable to avoid the risk of altering the fragile balance on which the chance of survival and development of those spatial entities and relative social aggregates is based. It is a concept that largely goes beyond the ordinary definition of city as a living agglomerate with activities exclusively linked to a residential function.

The urban experience, in fact, covered additional important functions, such as the building of monumental forms able to compete with each other for size, sense, and beauty, but also for being able to symbolically represent the aspirations of that particular urban society with its cultural manifestations. All these aspects have so intertwined that, as rightly noted, the integration between public and private spaces and, more in general, between the places of the residence and those of production and trade are widespread all over Europe.

Nevertheless, since the city is the place where all the experiences at the basis of a civilization developed, the city passes on the positive and formative experiences and at the same time integrate them with the new ones, in a continuous process of cultural production. We should ask ourselves then how the uninterrupted process of cultural production of the city can fill the cultural gap between the city and its relative territory, in order to build new controlled forms and, more importantly, control their degradation by converting them for instance into a different structure having new functions (Cervellati 1990).

The North European civilization gave a major contribution to the study of the environmental planning turned critical to manage the problem of the redefinition of the industrialized urban fringes. The association of the romantic-naturalistic ideas with the humanitarian-moralistic ones generated the neo-utopianism of the first half of the nineteenth century and, in particular, the modern urban planning culture of R. Owen's Victoria, the E. Howard's *Garden Cities*, the American *Green-belt Towns* and the British *New Towns* of the second postwar period, all looking for a dialogue between the urban environment and the natural one.

On the contrary, the Italian cultural planning tradition, only in 1980s acquired an environmental flavor, attempted an integration between urban and natural environment, and even tried to make of the urban planning an independent discipline, to oppose to a "ruralist" one (Lugli 1967). On the need of a not sectorial but integrated planning of the city and the environment, studies and research of great importance have developed, which innovated the methods and strategies and had great impact for Italian culture. For example, the Statute of the territory (or of the places),¹⁸ a

¹⁷Clementi insisted on such a point for its consequences on the definition of identity, but even more for the study of the most appropriate way of governing the urban transformations.

¹⁸For example, the Legge Regionale della Toscana (Tuscany Regional Law) n. 5 of 1995 referred to that from the normative point of view and took advantage of the method and objectives of the Territorial and Coordination Plan of the Florence Province and, above all, of the preliminary studies the Law n. 142/1990 is based on.

complex innovation inclusive of an environmental and territorial sense, tried to describe in depth city and territory, and the contribution given by the local communities (Cusmano 2002).

3.2.4 The Recovery of the Consolidated City

The abandonment of the historical centers by the original inhabitants, who often leave the local traditional activities, unfortunately, led to their physical and social decay, which in turn gave way to an irreversible identity crisis.

The progressive decay of the places, activities, the loss of sense, accentuated by the loss of the function for the historical city, was felt as an obsolescence of its theoretical framework. However, this perception did not elicit an irreversible loss of the historical centers, because of the "resistance", those were still able to mount to contrast their loss of role in the geography of the territory. Anyway, the reverse of the processes of degradation has not been and most likely is not going to be always successful to bring out stability or a new balance. Nevertheless, the renewal of interest in the city historical centers is the counterbalance of the centrifugal tendency of the spread out city, which characterized itself for a confuse as much as controversial convergence of settled interests: new middle level or luxurious residential projects, property and land enhancement attempts, infrastructural modernization, new urban economic activities, competitions among cities for major investments.

Through the diffusion of an environmental culture, mindful of the historical places and of the human traces on the territory, the cognitive processes to comprehend and rebuild the relationships with the historical-environmental context, are going to foster new settlement interests. For these reasons, the urban planning field is experimenting innovative tools for the strategic intervention of recovery and urban requalification, aware of the historical, cultural, and social values of the diverse settlements.

In the postwar period, the leading personalities of the Italian urban planning discipline, worked intensely on this issue; they experimented exemplary practices in the use of techniques and procedures of intervention that were aware of the specificity of the different contexts. The plans for Assisi (G. Astengo 1955), Siena (L. Piccinato 1956) and G. De Carlo's plan for Urbino (dating back to the mid-sixties) are still today paradigmatic models to exemplify the valence of the innovative recovery policies for the historical centers. The Bologna experience, started at the end of the 1960s by Giuseppe Campos Venuti and Pier Luigi Cervellati, introduced important methodologies for the management of the urban development plan in the 1970s and 1980s. This rich tradition received also the contribution of the postwar social battles fought by authorities such as the *Associazione Nazionale Centri Storico-Artistici* (National Association of Historical and Artistic Centers). With the Gubbio Charter of 1960 and with the one of 1990, through the commitment of Giovanni Astengo and Bruno Gabrielli, the recovery of

the historical centers became the focus of the whole urban planning discipline; these scholars tried to clarify the objectives and policies necessary to the interpretation of the dynamics between the vitality of the lived historical space and the conservation and use of the historical and environmental heritage. Furthermore, given the unitary character of the territory, the intervention of recovery was linked to the urban planning policies, which were able to give it substance and adapted it to the management of the resources to be used for the requalification of the whole city (Gabrielli 1993; Gasparrini 1994). The awareness that the recovery policies and experiences have become common practice in our cities, also derives from an innovative aspect of the new building business, namely the recent measures of financial support and tax exemption. This practice is not just the result of a modification of the rules of the city government, but it is also the signal of a progressive retake of the places of memory by the settled communities, that also induces to a more complex and structured economic development on both an urban and territorial scale.

The improbable settlement expansion, after a phase of strong polarization of activities and population in the urban areas, caused an unstoppable building activity with almost exclusive interests in the new city, and the consequent exodus from the minor urban centers, and initiated a totally different phase, more reflexive and self-aware. In fact, starting from the 1970s, the big cities experienced a deep crisis that manifested itself in the abandon by the inhabitants of the city centers with their relative traditional economic activities to move into more and more peripheral areas.

Such a phenomenon was the result not only of merely economic and cultural factors (the refusal of the ancient, for its lack of competitiveness in terms of living quality and building concentration, the research of new forms of living) but also of the growing offer by the real estate market and the possible alternatives in the choice of new living locations, incentivized by the progressive creation of infrastructures and the material and immaterial communication typical of the postmodern city (De Matteis 1986; De Matteis 1991; De Matteis 1995).

To these polarizing urban areas with their progressive use and reuse of the territory, many small and medium-sized centers were eventually absorbed; in fact, the process of territorialization, and the progressive urbanization and saturation of the free spaces, wore out the character of their historical fabrics, that, depopulated and degraded, were no longer perceived as the places of the identity.

Such "easy" use of the territory with the subsequent loss of the city identity, that became more impalpable due to the reticular diffusion and welding of the urban areas, caused disorientation and uncertainties about the perspectives of the requalification and reuse or in other terms about a possible "rebirth of the city". The risk is to drift aimlessly in the rediscussions of terms and antinomies such as those of distance and closeness, local and global, in a magma of standardized forms and behaviors which in the end delete, or make unimportant, the local differences and specificities. The immaterial relations that substitute the physical spaces and the material relations of the historical city (street, square, places of communication, collective spaces) do not exhaust, with their heterogeneity, the complexity of the territorialization processes. The establishing of the diffused city, that *per sé* is unable to build a spatial-temporal relationship in the places of the community, shows relevant differences in the interaction with the local specificities in a global environmental sense. The sociocultural characteristics of the family structure, the professional environment, the entrepreneurial fabric of the different local communities confront themselves to the ecologic, historical and morphologic quality of the different places. Such differences deeply influence the settlement choices, the modalities of the uses, the localizing behavior, which leads to the birth of new links between inhabitants and producers of the social space, and highlight a constellation of localisms of strong identity.

In this scenario, the minor historical centers, belonging to a consolidated fabric of relationships and interests, allowed in time a long sedimentation of cultures, societies, and economies, that expressed in Italy and in rest of Europe a variety of resources and potentialities of extraordinary richness.¹⁹ The minor center expressed themselves in the continuous hypothesis of interventions of reuse and revitalization, conserving specific functions and roles within the territorial networks, particularly in the Central and Northern areas of the country, and promoted the knowledge and the local resources also thanks to sophisticated strategies of territorial marketing.

On the contrary, in the city, the urban and building recovery was favored by the convergence of different interests: on the one hand, the social and economic reorganization of new settled communities and the subsequent affirmation of new localisms; on the other, the difficulty of giving back a functional and symbolic meaning to the most ancient places, that are often penalized by historical difficulties and spatial marginality compared to the new ones. The recovery of the meaning of the places does not concern only the historical centers but also the whole historical territory with its cultural heritage of ancient signs with their strong identity features still important although less poignant from a symbolic and semiological point of view (Gambino 1990).²⁰

Such trend led to the loss of the characters of complexity and heterogeneity on which the relationship between *urbs* and *civitas*, the physical city and its *societas* was based. The unstoppable processes of tertiary concentration and specialization, which characterize the forms of the settlement, and the progressive loss of residential spaces are among the most evident and troubling factors of the recovery plan of the historical building heritage; the denaturalization and semantic and symbolic impoverishment of the traditional public spaces, are no longer summoned to represent values and rites of the community. Often, the reduced environmental quality, from the physical, morphological and anthropologic standpoint, goes hand in hand with a weak interest in the building, or rebuilding of the identity of the new community, in order to combine *urbs* and *civitas* in a solution respectful of history

¹⁹An updated list of the minor centers and their role in the different territorial systems is contained in L. Bellicini (Bellicini 1994); Cfr. the classic work of L. Gambi (1972).

²⁰See also the reflections developed in the same occasions by G. Macchi Cassia, G. Longhi, P. Falini, and A. Terranova.

and elicit a successful confrontation with the challenging duo of conservation and innovation.

For what the minor cities are concerned, the discourse becomes more complex.

The small communities of the internal areas cannot acquire and reinvent the methodologies of enhancement and development, because of a residential density that is insufficient to sustain the competitiveness of the services and favor the recovery and revitalization of possible new centers.

In the new communities, the effort of creating modern entrepreneurial initiatives, tourism, for instance, and the chance of synergy with the conservation and enhancement of the environment, even among difficulties and delays will hopefully be able to revitalize a new local reality featuring a credible and attractive image. In some recent measures of regional urban planning legislation, the tendency to push the interests of the community toward the reuse of the historical city gained more and more strength. Complex projects and initiatives of support, characterized by the chance to make public and private resources converge, have the goal to implement strategic interventions of urban requalification. For many Italian regions, the recovery of the historical centers, if carried out in harmony with the whole territory, represents, in fact, an important factor of cultural growth and also a chance of economic development, especially if it can be accomplished in synergy with the new models of local development.

Therefore, the new policies of intervention for the historical centers seem to favor the recovery and reuse of the historical building heritage and to combine safeguard and innovation by integrating physical recovery and social and economic requalification, with the ultimate of reversing the exodus of the population.

The new management tools of the requalification processes (Urban programs, districts contracts, programs of urban recovery, territorial pacts) represented, in fact, a promising tool to support and innovate successfully the urban planning and strengthen the self-centered economic development. This cultural exchange allowed a new solidarity within the territorial network, in the sense that the rediscovery of the local differences and specificities, led not exclusively to relationships of raw competition but also of partnership in the attempt of giving new meaning to the historical center.

Therefore, the need of combining conservation and development, through the recovery and requalification of the historical city and its territory, does not only require the experimentation of new forms of building and representation of the knowledge, but also the ability to define and manage innovative plans and sustainable hypothesis of reuse based on the knowledge of context and environment.

Only in this case the actions, programs, and recovery plans will represent for the citizens, the company, and the local communities a real possibility of social renewal and cultural growth to which the economic development will have to be coherent. In particular, the local communities will have the chance to assess the strategic alternatives and monitor the results of the processes of transformation induced by recovery and reuse. An exemplary case of conscious recovery concerns the experiment of the "Laboratori per il Recupero dei Centri Storici della Sardegna"

(*Laboratories for the recovery of the ancient centers of Sardinia*).²¹ The project contains certain operative activities, the "Laboratori per il recupero" (*Laboratories for the recovery*) that have the overriding goal to recognize and enhance, in each local context, the local historical, cultural, economic, and social resources (resources that can create synergy between safeguard, conservation and hypothesis of reuse) but also the economic potential of the recovery actions, given the connections with the real estate market, the reproposition of traditional arts and crafts and the trade industry.

Thus, the building of the knowledge to which the decisions for the planning and management of the recovery interventions will have to refer, becomes a moment of confrontation and sharing between the requests of the private citizens and of the companies and the will of the community as a whole, in a context that must protect the specific historical-cultural values of the local identity, and sustain the economic development in its capacity to feed the roots of the community within the territory.

In fact, the research applied in different contexts representative of the territorial ranking and of their particular historical-environmental regions, have been oriented to the creation of a method that should define the identity features and save the historical-cultural values of Sardinian historical settlement in the urban centers.

The reading of the morphogenesis allowed in fact to understand the places, the settlement reasons and the different building modalities the local authorities had to adapt, through the years, to the environmental specificities of the territory.

The creation of the urban space, in fact, goes hand in hand with the wise use of the materials that characterize the building manufactures, and with the typo-morphological hypothesis of the architecture which, being significantly related to the environment, determines recognizable cultural contexts. Such an approach to the comprehension of the "humanized context", allowed to recognize the environmental reasons at the foundations of the urban landscape, by adapting the space to the architecture discipline based on traditional building technologies and the use of local materials.

Therefore, the historical settlement represents the formal result of the processes of territorialization, and the choices made by the community in the course of time and history to affirm their own settlement model, mirror of their culture.

²¹La Sperimentazione dei Laboratori per il Recupero dei Centri Storici (the Experimentation of the Laboratories for the Historical Centers Recovery), with reference to art.7 "Direttive per i Centri Storici" (Directives for the Historical Centres) of the Regional Law 45/1989, has been possible thanks to the Convention between R.A.S.-Regione Autonoma della Sardegna (Assessorato Enti Locali, Finanze e Urbanistica) and the Università degli Studi di Cagliari (Dipartimento di Ingegneria del Territorio), under G. Deplano's scientific direction.

3.2.5 The Metropolitan Areas

The expansion of the city in relation to the emerging of the industrial civilization, the big concentration of population around the productive centers and the concentration of all the directive central roles in few urban centers, configures itself as a new big conurbation formed by the spatial and functional welding of originally distinct centers. The city emerges for its fundamental attracting role, but it becomes also the core of a new spatial system of which the population mobility represents a distinctive element and reduces the chances of cultural and material production that are, precisely, the raison d'être of the modern metropolitan areas.

Generally speaking, we can distinguish at least three different conceptual definitions of the metropolitan area. The first one sees it as an urbanized *continuum* of large dimensions; the second one identifies the metropolitan area as a complex and integrated system of several interrelated centers, of which, at least one, has a position of superiority; a third one defines an urban reality in which important functions and roles for the whole nation or just part of it, are concentrated together and must be kept within a specific proximity (AA.VV. 1991). These definitions are complementary and not alternative and strive for a continuous intertwining of meanings and functions. On a territorial level, the metropolitan areas tend to form an even wider structure: the so-called megalopolis, that consists of several metropolitan areas linearly arrayed along wide traffic directories linking one another. Complementary to the big metropolitan organisms is the formation, in the surrounding or intermediate areas, of less dense urban structures having the most varied and differentiated functions, although equalized in terms of dimension and importance (Lugli 1967).

Anyway, such areas tend to saturate the present environment, with the expansion of an uninterrupted built area, characterized by a principle of non quality, that gradually but surely transforms the perception of the space over time. The phenomenon of expansion of the city and the relationship between city and territory represent one of the most crucial emerging issues of the modernity.

3.2.6 Which Sense for the Territory?

The empiric approach to the city, the construction of the form and the relationship with the context, which characterized Kevin Lynch's studies, demonstrated that the essential feature of the city is the way of making easily perceivable and comprehensible to the senses the form of the environment itself, by using a direct reference to acquired experiences. The absolute disciplinary inadequacy of the urban planning in managing rules and models of the urban plan, prompted K. Lynch to search for a unitary scheme to define certain performance rules, a group of open rules, a sort of open method in which the physical forms must match some specific requisites, connected to the individual and the site (Lynch 1990). For what concerns, in

particular, the urban environments, Lynch emphasized that the delicate psychological relationships connecting people, who are at the same time users, managers, protagonists, individuals in and of the city, to the urban environment, are themselves regulated by an easy and immediate reading framework.

From these rules a lesson was drawn, that affected the theory more than the urban planning practice, because it considers the method itself as a value whereas the method seemed often confined to the background, despite the frequent references to the ethic dimension of the urban and territorial planning.

According to Lynch's studies on the form of the territory, the possibility to effectively control, as in the case of the utopian models, the development of the big city, is considered remote, so the safeguard of the perception of the form itself and a feasible urban quality within the city can be achieved through a planning activity respectful of codified requisites.

The urban planning tools should be far more forceful than those currently in place, and allow the reconstruction of the urban unity according to an integrated model of the city, resulting from its evolution through history. The land use plan should, therefore, be developed in a real city project that contains not just the functional aspects, but also the figurative ones of the spatial organisms that will constitute the future of the territorial *continuum*.

3.2.7 The Transformation of the City and Territory in Relation to the New Economies Connected to the Cultural Goods

The animated transformation of the parameters used by the city and territory to remain connected to their original foundations recalls an initial and troubling factor, the extreme weakness of the link between the city users and their living space (Guidicini 2004). The structural signs that confer to the citizens a sense of belonging are no longer recognizable, and a sense of disaffection, one of the postmodern issues so dear to the sociologists, emerges in the inability of participating to the city phenomenon, and in fact recognizes only superficially places and situations of living in a city, almost mistaking them for others. The disharmony is reflected also in the individual's choices, concerning the relation with the city and territory and the historical-cultural heritage.

In the course of history, the sense of belonging to the heritage of a community has always showed itself with great strength through the acknowledgment of the value of the heritage as a voluntary manifestation of identity.

For example, in the Age of Enlightenment, such an identity matrix has represented a crucial driving force for the idea of national unity and libertarian feelings, which generated a sense of omnipotence, and the social groups became more aware of their importance as cultural mediators. Even the media hegemony of which the historical centers benefitted in the construction of the relationship with the inhabitant or the passing traveler cannot represent anymore the sense of urbanity. According to W. Benjamin (Benjamin 1976) the city is the place where the experience ends, according to A. Giddens (Giddens 1991) it is the place where the experience is seized, the diversity is collectively removed, the place where the individuals build a common memory, that connects everyone's experience to the other's one (Dino 2004).

In order to stop such decay of meaning it is necessary to get back the knowledge that built the city in the course of time and to the redefine the economies that sustained the territory. One of the possible paths is the building of a territory of excellence.²² The concept of excellence should be understood in the context of the relevant transformations of the economic system, and is characterized on the one hand by the prevailing of the service economy compared to the industrial economy, and on the other by the global productive relations that open opportunities for the local economies, based on their quality and general efficiency.

Notably, on the basis of the service economy, there is the idea that users and customers do not buy products from the enterprises but functioning systems. The services become, therefore, an indispensable element to guarantee the availability and the use of the products destined to satisfy the needs, extend the chain of value by making use of competitive advantages and increase the global wealth (Porter 1998). In this sense, in order to optimize their collocation in the global market, acquire the value that includes the production cost and the cost of all the services to be provided to the buyer for the full use of the products, the local economic system must configure themselves as functioning systems. If this does not happen, the local system is forced to give up a consistent part of the chain of the surplus values which characterizes every good and becomes so weak that it can no longer recognize even the surplus value associated with the production of the good.

The acknowledgment of the excellence of a service economy, including in such definition the cultural good to all intents and purposes, requires a shift of attention from the products considered only on the basis of their cost-value, to the performances of the organization level that efficiently coordinate the defining features of the life cycle of a good. Such change of paradigm produces new areas of study: the risk assessment, not limited to the entrepreneurial risk, but also inclusive of the pure risk and of the environmental risk, the issue of the vulnerability of the system; the focus from the product to its life cycle; the importance given to the time of use, the value in time, and no longer to the use of a specific product, with all the uncertainty that comes from it; the full adoption of the prevention and precaution principles which require the knowledge of the environment and of the effects the transformations of the city have on the environment, and finally the possibility to rule out the potentially harmful products and technologies.

²²On the building of a territory of excellency, see the studies by the Raggruppamento CIRIEC-Consorzio Sudgest-Demos SCPA, on behalf of the Amministrazione provinciale di Sassari (Provincial Administration of Sassari).

In the economy characterized by a long waiting for the service, the excellence acquires a connotation of services quality, system quality, coordination of the complexity, optimal duration of the goods, optimization, in the long run, of the system functions, risk management, and reduction of the vulnerability. Therefore, for a compatible development, the system must interiorize the character of the duration and economize the local forces on the basis of the efficiency of the system. Sustainable local development and territorial excellence represent therefore the two faces of a unique approach to the problems of an innovative or transitional economy. In such a scenario, excellence means to coordinate the components of the identity for the development of the city and territory: the knowledge of the identity is necessary not only to highlight the particular vocations of the city and territory but also to transform such vocations in opportunities and resources, through a *savoir faire* the local actors must learn through a cumulative and creative process combining tradition and innovation.²³

The territory can be conceived as a resource only at the end of a real production process (Raffestin 1981) which sees a plurality of actors working in the so-called territory of the competences: a practice that conceives the territory as a project; a subject, that is the territory itself intended as heritage; the interests free to express their productive potentials, and the social, cultural innovation of a project.

This interpretation of territory, city, and capital of cultural goods, guarantees their permanence and reproducibility and allows the surviving of the local system at high levels of efficiency.

The territorial excellence must be centered on the citizens, their needs and their perception of well being; the idea of wellbeing feeds on material and immaterial goods. The immaterial surplus value of the goods is often what makes the difference and it is not always definable by the policies that should foster it.

The territory is excellent if can partially guarantee the wellbeing of the people that live and use it. The development of the territory can be supported by wise actions, such as the adaptation of the models of consumption and production and the use of new technologies to improve the efficiency of the results. The conventional economic theory recognizes only the contribution of the human activity to the economic results, while the minor or major availability of resources, raw materials, energy or environmental functions, exclusively defines the limits of the economic results. Such limits can be considered, in a negative way, as limits to the growth (Daaly 1996), or in a positive way, as incentives for technological innovation, and for the increase of the wealth through the industrialization (Beckermann 1995).

Thanks to the flow of information, the human actions remain a huge process of conversion of energy, natural resources, and historical-cultural heritage, that can transform such goods and ideas in wealth.

²³On the possibilities offered by the artistic creativity of projecting, around the monuments and the public space of public use, new forms of identity and the surplus value of art, see the great volume (AA.VV. 2004).

3.2.8 The "Spreadout" of the Historical-Cultural Heritage

In an urban planning culture that means to transform the whole territory, the importance of the historical-cultural heritage is no longer identifiable with the big monuments and cities only, but it must be extended to the historical and landscape fabric of the whole territory, which manifests itself in the persistence of the ancient structures in the minor centers of homogeneous historical characteristics that in turn, are absorbed by the landscape and by the culture of the territory.

In the end, the contribution of the minor centers is as important as the contribution of the major ones to define the whole process of the evolution of the land.

For this reason, the need to coordinately plan and organize the conservation and the recovery of the historical-artistic centers and the protection and enhancement of the areas of landscape and monumental interest has emerged; such organization should be taken up by those responsible of the territorial system itself. The conservation of the historical-cultural heritage represents therefore a factor of growth for the community to be carried out not only through binding instruments, but through political organizational means that can only become effective if the community will be able to "repossess" the goods spread out on the territory, in economic terms, if this process of inclusion will be accomplished within the general process of orientation and rational destination of the resources of the country.

It is in the field of the territorial planning that objectives and interventions for the assignment of a new economic–cultural function to the heritage must be necessarily individuated.

Therefore, adequate instruments, in terms of time and procedures, are needed during the implementations of the norms and after those became operative.

The municipal plan of the use of the land, as a sum of coordinated choices that openly and flexibly act, still remains the most rational and accepted initiative in managing the historical-cultural resources, even when it overall maintains the structure of the program of development and guarantees the integration and coordination of the interventions. However, it is necessary to clarify the relationships between the plan, as definitive and single instrument of actuation, and the proposals of sectorial intervention that should come first, to make the final decisions about the plan itself. Once the objectives, the limits of every sectorial research, the parameters necessary to the mutual comparison of the achieved results are unequivocally chosen, each discipline can develop autonomously through the most adequate methodology, in a way that the reached conclusions may become the programmatic and preliminary statements of orientation and guide for the definitive plan.

In summary, only the interdisciplinary work could be the answer to the problems of the development of the city and the territory, but it should be understood not as a mere collage of ideas, but rather as a fine-tuning of results achieved by several experts, and as dialogue among their diverse studies.

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Chapter 4 Influencing Factors on Cultural Good and Heritage

Abstract This chapter focuses on influencing factors which are able to shape values. History and laws are impressive influencing factors. Prior to unification of Italy, the call to public *utilitas* of Cultural Good has always influenced political and juridical debate since the XVIII century first phase of making cultural heritage protection and conservation law. A reasoned historic normative *excursus*, from 1462 Pope Pius II's Bull "Cum alman nostram Urbem" to current Cultural Heritage and Landscape Code, passes in review the historical and current Italian set of rules which represent the evolution of conservation and preservation principles in a country which is universally recognized as the hosting place of the 40% of the world cultural heritage.

4.1 The Importance of History in the Formation of Values

The reference to the public *utilitas* of the Cultural Good has always influenced the juridical and political debate since the first laws on conservation, even before the unification of Italy (1860).

Since this founding moment, the theories and rules based on public *utilitas* built the regulatory system of the cultural goods up to the present day.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the pre-unification States, the need to safeguard and conserve the cultural heritage was felt in the field of the sale, exportation, and also restoration of the cultural goods. The Papal State was the first at legislating in the matter of the cultural goods. With the enacting of the Edicts and Papal bulls, the official documents of the State of the Church, it was attempted to limit both the purloining of works of art and the vandalisms on the ancient monuments, symbol of the civilization that should not be lost but protected. The Papal State was the major holder of a huge cultural heritage which included monuments of great value and many collections, that in turn belonged mostly to the major noble Roman families. To this regard, the most important edict, which afterward will be the basis for the edicts enacted in the other Italian States, is the Pacca Edict, named after the cardinal camerlengo who wrote it in 1820. The Pacca Edict will not be

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legislatively modified until 1903, when the Nasi Law and subsequently the Rosadi Law, will be issued. These two laws introduce important modifications and innovations in the discipline of the cultural heritage management.

The analysis of the regulatory *excursus* concerning the conservation of the historical-artistic heritage during the Liberal era is preliminary to the examination of the main aspects of the discipline of the works of art, and was regulated by the Law 1089 of 1939, while the individual natural good and the natural goods as a whole were provided for, still in 1939, by the Law 1497.

The decisive turning point in the field of the legislation of the cultural goods will happen in 1939 when Luigi Bottai, that was required, as Minister for Education, to handle the cultural goods, enacted the two famous laws named after him, namely the Law 1089 of 1939 on the goods of historic and artistic interest and the Law 1497 of 1939 on the natural beauties. These laws will represent the basis for the whole later legislation with its further national and regional modifications. In 1974 the Ministry for the Cultural and Environmental Assets was founded to gather in a single Department a discipline that was once under the separated jurisdiction of the Department for Public Education and the Department for the Environment.

In the early 1980s, the Bassanini Reform emphasized more the economic potentiality, than the role of protection, conservation, and enhancement of the goods.

At the end of the 1990s and precisely in 1998, the Ministry for the Cultural and Environmental Assets took the name of Ministry for Cultural Activities and Cultural Goods as a summary of its redefinition and reformation.

The terminology used to define a cultural good changed as well. The concept of cultural good was in fact extended to the network of the economic activities it can be linked to as an economic good itself, but also to the concepts of protection, conservation and, above all, enhancement. The reform generated the Testo Unico (Consolidating Statute) of the Cultural Goods, Legislative Decree of 29 October 1999 n. 490, that is the gathering of the whole body of regulations on the Cultural Goods enacted until then. The Consolidating Statute became active on January 1st, 2000.

On January 22nd 2004, the Department for the Cultural Heritage decided to enact the Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage, thereby reforming the Title V of the Constitution on the delegation to the Regions (Legislative Decree no. 42). The Code substantially renewed the field of the conservation of the cultural goods as opposed to the Consolidating Statute.

4.2 The Legislation in the Pre-unification States

4.2.1 The Papal State

The firsts organic measures are in the Bull "Cum almam nostram urbem" (1462) by Pope Pius II and in Sistus IV's Bull "Cum provvida" (1474), that, in the sixteenth and especially in the seventeenth century will be followed by a more complex regulation in order to avoid the dispersion due to the collections of the Roman noble families. The same intention also under the papacy of Nicholas V (1447–1455) and then under the one of Pius II (1458–1464).

In 1462, Pope Pius II with the Bull "Cum almam nostram urbem" issued the excommunication, imprisonment, and confiscation of the goods for those who demolished, destroyed, or damaged the ancient public buildings or the remains of them, in Rome and in the surrounding territory, even if they were situated in private properties, without the "licence" of the Roman Pontiff.

In 1474, Pope Sixtus IV issued the bull "Cum provvida" that, on the contrary, tried to prevent the churches from being stripped of the marbles and ancient embellishments.

An important action of conservation was carried out, all around the city, by Pope Julius II Della Rovere (1503–1513) in order to bring back prestige to what has become just the shadow of Rome. The "Renovatio urbis" became with him the "Restauratio Romae".

In 1515, Pope Leo X (1513–1521) established, in Rome, the office of "Prefetto delle antichità" (Prefect of Antiquities) and charged Raphael with supervising the city as he already did in 1513.

Raphael, together with Antonio da Sangallo, was appointed in 1513 "Maestro delle strade" (Master of the roads) and as such he renovated Piazza del Popolo, via Leonina (today via di Ripetta) and via Lata (today via del Corso). Thanks to his new office, Raphael could intervene on those who wanted to "dig" in Rome and enforce the prohibition of destroying the epigraphs.

In 1545, Pope Paul III (1534–1549), inaugurated the Council of Trent, which had a crucial role also in the liturgical language of the sacred art. He also opened a strong and deep season of conservation and entrusted it, through the "Brief" of November 28, 1534, to Latino Giovenale Manetti, commissioner of antiquities, with the duty of keeping under check the conservation of the works of art and avoiding their exportation from Rome. With the Brief of 1547, he assigned the same duty to Michelangelo who accepted it without compensation.

His appointment as superintendent continued also under Pope Julius III (1550–1555), under whom the jubilee of 1550 was instituted, and the "alma Roma" was celebrated also thanks to the archeological discoveries, the development of the artistic collections, and the support given to the artistic production of the counter-reformation period.

Michelangelo's work continues under the papacy of Paul IV (1555–1559) and under Pius IV (1559–1565), this last one being the Pope who closed the Council of Trent.

Saint Pius V (1566–1572), under whose pontificate the Battle of Lepanto (1571) was won against the Turkish Fleet, and who enforced the Norme Tridentine (the new rules issued by the Council of Trent in the Catholic Liturgy), favored an important series of conservation policies.

Through the Bull "Quae publicae utilia" of 1574, the Pius V defined the duty of the conservation of the ancient monuments to protect the public usefulness and decorum.

At the end of the sixteenth century, Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585), reforms the Roman Statutes in which the competence of the conservators of the Roman people, in guarding the ancient monuments, was reiterated (1580).

The beginning of the seventeenth century saw the election, as superintendent of Rome, of another great artist, who changed, once again, the look of the city with his admirable works. Gian Lorenzo Bernini succeeded to Raphael and Michelangelo as superintendent of Rome under Pope Urban VIII (1623–1644).

Under Urbano VIII's pontificate, the saying "quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barberini" (what the barbarians did not do, Barberini did) was coined, because the Pope, in order to complete the Fabric of Saint Peter, did not disdain to strip great monuments of marbles and bronzes. However, under him, in order to contrast the vandalism and prevent the action of conservation from being a mere inactive surveillance, the need to issue written rules for the protection of the ancient monuments, fully emerged.

The cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini in fact, in 1624, enacted an edict, rightly named Aldobrandini, which banned "the extraction of marble or metal statues, antiques or similes" and the exportation of ancient and artistic items without the licence of the Pope and it also introduced the mandatory notification of the goods discovered during excavation activities. The transgressors were punished with a fine.

The Aldobrandini edict is considered as the foundation of the regulation on conservation, because, while it introduced a list of the items to conserve, it extended the juridical action to "the works both ancient and modern" and gave also the necessary attention to the private collections of antiquities which in turn, led to the museum collections.

The legislation of the eighteenth century still contained, in the field of protection, rules for the discipline of the conservation of the cultural goods, their circulation within the State and the exportation abroad of the findings of the archeological discoveries.

In 1686 was enacted the edict of CardinalAltieri: the rigor already present in the former edict is reinforced. Coffers, boats, and other items were thoroughly searched to make sure there were no thefts and robberies, given the spreading of illegal excavations, alienations, and exportations of the goods and the falsification of the paintings. Furthermore, the Pope instituted a specific training for the people responsible for arts and crafts, which, with the exercise of drawing and manual practice, could guarantee correct interventions of conservation, and even help the development of artistic skills. To this end, he restored the monumental complex of San Michele a Ripa Grande which, from hospice for old and outcast people, became a productive art factory and a professional and spiritual training workshop for young artist and expert restorers.

Under Pope Clement XI (1700–1721), the activity of conservation went on. Clemens XI created the Lapidary Gallery and enlarged the Vatican Library, the Quirinal, the Capitoline Hill, and the Vatican's museum collections. Cardinal Spinola enacted two important edicts, the "De proibizione sopra l'estrattore di statue di marmo e metallo, figure, antichità e simili" (1701) and the "Editto sopra le pitture, stucchi, mosaici ed altre antichità, che si trovano nelle cave, iscrizioni antiche, scritture e libri manoscritti" (1704) which were suggested by the Commissioner of Antiquities Francesco Bartoli.

Bartoli is particularly interesting because extended the conservation also to "libri manoscritti et altre scritture tanto pubbliche quanto private" (books, manuscripts, and other writings both public and private).

The importance of such an edict relied on the emphasis given to the bibliographic and archivist heritage which, until that time, had not been considered at all as a conservation tool, and because it recognized the public interest of documents important for both sacred and profane history.

Therefore, new regulations were enacted, such as the one which established the need to sketch the objects that could not be rescued, and copy and preserve the inscriptions; moreover, rules for the conservation of books and archives, that, until then had only benefitted of measures separated from the general laws on conservation, were added as well.

In the Spinola edict, as well as in Cardinal Valenti's edict of 1750, the theme of the conservation of the relics of the past as a document of the sacred and profane history, was interestingly highlighted in order to promote the "stima ella magnificenza e splendore (di Roma) presso le nazioni straniere" (estimation of Rome's magnificence and fame amongst foreigners) and to incite the "forestieri di portarsialla medesima città per vederle ed ammirarle" (foreigners to go to Rome in order to see and admire its beauties).

Under Pope Benedict XIII (1724–1730) the ecclesiastical archives were reorganized, the University of Camerino was created and another edict on conservation was enacted: the cardinal Albani's edict of 1726. He was a highly educated man who promoted a great collection of statues which became the core of the new Capitoline museum, and he also promoted the building of the Mansion-Museum in the via Salaria and the Library of Palazzo Mattei.

In 1726, the edict "Sopra li scarpellini, segatori di marmi, cavatori ed altri" forbid to saw, make others saw, break or spoil the columns or parts of them, if they can be reassembled in a whole column. Not less important were the edicts of 1726 and 1733 "Sull'estrazione delle statue di marmo o metallo, pitture, antichità e simili" that attempted to make the punishment of the violation of the rules of conservation effective, by intensifying the controls and promoting the reports of violations to the public authorities.

The summa of the legislation of the eighteenth century on the conservation in the Papal State was redacted under the pontificate of Benedict XIV (1740–1758), with the edict (January 5, 1750) of the Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, Secretary of State and Camerlengo since 1747. The edict stated the "Proibizione della estrazione delle statue di marmo o metallo, pitture, antichità o simili," and meant to organize and innovate the subject of the monuments safeguard, that as we have mentioned, had been the target of many interventions between the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

Its most relevant contribution was the institution of selectmen for painting, sculptures and antiques, which had to identify the goods designed for exportation in collaboration with the commissioner of antiquities and elaborate the measures for the destination of the seized objects to the Capitoline Museums. Furthermore, the edict considered the relics of the past as useful testimonies of the sacred and profane history, and a way to attract to Rome foreign scholars and art enthusiasts. It also clearly illustrated the neoclassical concept that sees in the ancient work the "norm" of study for the artists. The list of the goods to save was abandoned and the conservation was extended to all the "opere illustri di scultura e pittura specialmente quelle che si rendono più stimabili e rare per la loro antichità" (notable works of sculpture and painting, especially the most appreciable and rare for their antiquity) whereas the exportation of ancient paintings and noteworthy artists, even if recently deceased, was forbidden. The maintenance and conservation of the collections became mandatory and the punishments for violators were extended also to the clergy.

In Rome, the body in charge of the conservation of the "cultural goods" is the "Commissario sopra le antichità e le cave" (Commissioner for the antiques and quarries), who had to work under the authority of the Apostolic Camera, namely the cardinal camerlengo and which, since the Valenti edict of 1750 was assisted by three selectmen/assessors: one for painting, one for sculpture, and the last one for cameos, medals, engravings and every other kind of antiques.

The legislative frame of the Papal State was completed and extended to all the aspects of the cultural heritage: from the conservation to the circulation and trade of the goods, to the rules to apply for the management of all the findings and discoveries.

The protected properties were both immovable and movable: the preservation of the first ones included the monumental buildings and the other buildings of historical and archeological interest. The movable properties were analytically listed in the Camerlenghi Edict; such edict was a merely exemplificative one, to the extent that a further law stated that all the "opere di qualsivoglia cosa, scolpite e dipinte, intagliate, commesse e lavorate, o in altro modo fatte" (works of any kind, carved or painted, engraved, made or operated in any possible way), even in case were not included in the list, were still protected. The properties were conserved as such, with no need of notification.

In 1764 Pope Clement XIII (1758–1769) appointed Winckelmann (1717–1768) as superintendent of antiquities for Rome; he arrived in Italy in 1755 to study the monuments of the Roman antiquity; in Rome, he met Mengs (1728–1779) the renowned theoretician of the Neoclassicism. Prior to that, Mengs had held a position as superintendent of the Roman antiquities while Bartolomeo Cavaceppi worked in the field of the restoration (1716–1799). A friend of Winckelmann and Mengs', Cavaceppi performed interesting restorations that were thought not scientifically correct. Precisely in this regard, the discourses and reflections by Winckelmann and Mengs on the theory of restoration are particularly interesting: the first one highlighted the value of the restoration as to understand the ancient work, but he also maintained that it is better to enjoy "un bel frammento di mezza

testa, di un piede, di una mano così com'è" (a great fragment of half head, foot, or hand as it is) instead of the enjoy the same item completed by modern integrations.

Meanwhile, in 1796, with the armistice of Bologna, Napoleon, who had invaded Italy, forced the Papal State to send to France a 100 works of art and 500 manuscripts.

Such request was exacerbated in 1797 with the Treaty of Tolentino.

Pope Pius VI (1775–1799) ordered some casts of the sculptures that had to be inexorably stolen to France from April to June 1798 where they arrived and were carried in triumph from the Field of Mars to the Louvre, then called "Musée Napoleon". The pillage went on also during the following years, particularly between 1798 and 1803 and from 1811 to 1814.

In 1802, with the edict of Cardinal Doria Pamphili Landi, Antonio Canova (famous artist of the nineteenth century and friend of his predecessor Winckelmann) was appointed as Inspector General of the Antiquities and the Fine Arts, at the request of Pope Pius VII (1800–1823). With such an appointment, the concept of management of the conservation radically changed.

The juridical rules started to be applied to every ancient monument regardless its state of conservation and it included the prohibition of fusing together or reusing the metal goods. A sum of money was also allocated to acquire works of art which constituted the collection of the so-called Museum Chiaramonti. Moreover, the private citizens were obliged to declare the goods they owned, and the exportation of such goods was forbidden.

In 1814, in this cultural and historical context of devastating events which totally upset the European political scenario under the aegis of the triumphant Napoleon, the first Treaty of Paris was stipulated and the cardinal Consalvi dared request the restitution of the pieces purloined from Rome and other cities of the Papal State and sent to France.

In 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the cardinal delegated the new Inspector General of the Antiquities and the Fine Arts, Canova, to go to Paris and retrieve the stolen goods. However, his mission was opposed by both Louis XVIII and Talleyrand, who intended to scrupulously abide by the Treaty of Tolentino.

Nevertheless, the support of Metternich allowed Canova to succeed in his mission and the art pieces returned to Rome in January 1816, although 39 of them were kept in Paris to appease the French government. Because of these events, Pope Pius VII, who understood the vulnerability of the cultural heritage, promoted an even wider and more precise legislation.

4.2.2 The Pacca Edict

In 1820, one of the most important edicts in the history of the legislation for conservation was issued, the Pacca Edict, named after Cardinal Pacca, Camerlengo of the Holy Catholic Church; the regulations were enacted in 1821.

The new norm went far beyond the simple enumeration of the goods that until then had been prevalent in the laws on conservation, but, starting from accurately cataloging the goods located in public and private buildings, instituted an automatic governmental restriction on the fruition of these goods, and even regulated the discipline of the excavations, with the extension of the State right of preemption and conservation to what will be called minor arts. The Pacca Edict represented a turning point for the notification of the goods: in fact, with such regulation, only the "notified" goods are safeguarded.

The Pacca edict had a very wide protectionist character, that did not consist only in the prohibition of exportation and damage or removal of the items destined to the public embellishment, but it contemplated also a form of systematic cataloging of the enormous historical-artistic papal endowment. Furthermore, the Institute of the fideicommissum, through which the household properties could be frozen, was established, in other words, all the properties, included the cultural goods, were forcibly assigned to the firstborn of the family in order to avoid their dispersion.

In addition, the Pacca edict repossessed the libraries and the archive heritage, even though the Spinola edict of 1704 had opted for a global conservation of the whole historical and artistic heritage which included also these categories of goods.

Furthermore, the Papal State applied the principle according to which the archeological material was subjected to the "sovereign right of regalia" and for this reason the excavations had to be granted a "licence" or rules to follow during the rescue operations to avoid damages to the archeological remains; the archeologists had to exert the highest caution in handling the sites of excavation; part of the recovered items was entrusted to the Apostolic Chamber.

The Commissioner of Antiquities exerted the vigilance; he had to be immediately informed of possible new findings to be able to examine them right away and give directions for their conservation. Moreover, he had to draw a detailed picture of the items that could not be saved.

The remains could not be sold before the commissioner had inspected them and the experts had assessed which ones had to become State property.

It must be also noted that, for the Papal State, the conservation of the ancient or not ancient monuments and works of art was a hugely problematic issue, because of a large number of items to handle and the financial crisis the Papal State went through in the nineteenth century.

4.2.3 The Protection on a Regional Level

One of the first States that understood the importance of a legislation to safeguard the cultural heritage was the Great Duchy of Tuscany, clearly under the impulse of the laws issued by the Papal State.

In 1571, a law against the removal of the emblems and inscriptions in the ancient palaces was enacted; again, in 1602 and 1603 two additional laws on the control of the exportation of the "good paintings", once limited to the so-called old State and

then extended to Siena and to the rest of the Medici family's dominion, were issued. However, such laws were limited to the paintings, with the absolute prohibition of exportation for the pictures included in a short list of deceased Italian painters. In the eighteenth century, the "rediscovery of the ancient" that prompted such a legislation, acquired a structurally modern awareness.

In 1744, the Great Duchy of Tuscany dealt with the safeguard of the Etruscan excavations in Volterra through the creation of a special deputation having the task of "pigliare distinta memoria delle antichità ritrovate" (taking precise note of the antiques found), in the attempt to avoid frauds that could compromise the great esteem the studies of the Etruscan characters had reached in Tuscany and abroad "siano commesse delle fraudi in pregiudizio della stima ben grande che hanno acquistato in Toscana e fuori gli studi dei caratteri etruschi").

In 1754 a law, textually referring to the prescriptions of the Valenti edict, was enacted for the safeguard of the "public decorum" of Florence and of the other cities and "places" of the State through the conservation of the "opere illustri e stimabili per le loro antichità e rarità" (illustrious works valuable for their antiquity and rarity). Such a law extended the protection to several categories of movable goods which were listed in accordance with the model of the Valenti edict and to all the "altre opere e cose rare" (other works and rare items).

In 1777, when the Lorena dynasty was established as the new ruler of Tuscany, the archives were opened to the scholars and in 1778 the diplomatic archive was created: this archive was an institution founded to specifically conserve, for the first time, "the ancient documents" that could foster erudition and bring enlightenment to the understanding of history "importanti lumi che... possono apportare... all'erudizione e alla storia").

In 1780 Pietro Leopoldo of Tuscany, deferential to the free-trader ideals, liberalized the market of the cultural goods, but the export ban remained.

In Florence, the duties of the safeguard of the monuments were entrusted to the Academies of Fine Arts.

In 1784, the crisis of the Academy of the Arts of Drawing of Florence and its subsequent suppression caused the transferring of the competences, that since 1781 belonged to the director of the Uffizi, to the Grand Duchy government. The Duchy decided to enact sanctions for whoever damaged the art pieces, as the Papal State had done.

In Tuscany, with the rescripts of 1749 and 1750 and with the Law of 1762, it was established that the objects found in the excavations belonged in principle to the "regio fisco" (royal treasury). The archeological research had to be "licensed" in this case as well. The researcher or the discoverer and the owner of the land, in case of an accidental discovery, had the right to a reward of one-third of the items found, or to a sum of money if the findings could be divided or if they were so important to be exhibited in the Grand Duchy gallery.

All the described laws, inspired by the cultural sensitiveness of the Popes, were in turn imitated by the Teresian legislation, in the Lombardy-Veneto State.

In this state a measure was issued in 1754, then reiterated in 1818, in which the exportation of objects of artistic and cultural value was banned.

The duties of safeguard, especially in Parma as it had been in Florence, were entrusted to the Academies of Fine Arts. The Academies, which had been created to preserve all the works of art from the pillaging of the first half of the eighteenth century, were assigned to protect only the "great works of painting and sculpture". Starting from 1745 the export of all the artworks which contributed to the decorum and embellishment of the State was banned, but later such a prohibition was substituted by the right of preemption in favor of the kingdom.

With the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii, Naples drew a great deal of attention from all over Europe. Therefore, the need to adequate the legislation of the Kingdom of Naples to the level of the other European States became rapidly urgent.

The idea was that not just the foreigners could take advantage of these goods but also "per intelligenza dell'antichità e per rischiaramento dell'istoria e della cronologia e per perfezione di molte arti" (thanks to the knowledge of the antiquity and the enlightenment of history and chronology and to the perfection of many arts), as stated in Charles III of Spain's dispatch of July 24th, 1755, everyone had to be able to learn and benefit from it.

A list of protected goods became also necessary, as had happened with the edicts of the Papal State, therefore the "ancient paintings" and the ancient "instruments" were added to the lists.

This is the reason why Charles III of Spain, in April 1773, presented a notification to the Tribunal of the Inquisition of the State to ask for the creation of a specific legislation of conservation.

In the Kingdom of Naples, just like in the Papal State from which the legislation derives, three experts with skills similar to those of the experts operating in the Roman State, were put in charge of the conservation actions.

Even the rules on the exportation referred to the Papal state regulations.

Some specific rules about the excavations were also added in order to protect the Vesuvian cities uncovered in those years.

A particular and strict control was applied to the excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum where it was necessary to prevent the pillaging of the pieces considered particularly important.

The private excavations were required to obtain a "royal permission" but the control, entrusted to often incompetent officials, often allowed violations.

The Sicilian regulations of 1778 and 1790 are very important for the qualities of the antiquities of the Demone and di Noto Valleys, and included a public funding for their realization and the appointment, under a superintendent (the famous archeologist Prince of Biscari), of an "expert architect, with the task of visiting the antiquities and observing the needs" and of a "painter of views" with the task of painting "all the existing monuments".

Furthermore, for the first time in 1822, the activity of excavation was disciplined.

On the contrary, the Piedmont region showed a total lack of interest for the whole issue of the rescue of the antiquities. This happened because of the liberalistic spirit permeating the Albertine Statute (Statuto Albertino), which became the basis of the constitutional laws of the Kingdom of Italy, and attributed a sacred value to the Property Right, without admitting any restriction or coercion.

The Statute was based on the sacred nature of the Property Right; in this scenario, the violation of the property right as well was considered as a very serious crime. Anyway, the Statute did not contemplate any legislative prohibitions. This aspect of the Piedmont legislation created a real conflict with the laws of the other Italian States, after the unification of Italy.

4.3 The Legislation in the Modern Age

The regulations on the "cultural goods" of the ancient Italian States had to be revisited after the Italian unification in 1860; this re-elaboration work continued until 1903.

In 1861 all the legislations of the pre-unitary States, including the Papal State, were repealed.

The Kingdom of Italy, rather than a totally new State, was an institutional reality founded by the Kingdom of Savoy, and based on the Albertine Statute which became "perpetual and irrevocable fundamental law of the Monarchy."

Furthermore, after the Italian unification, the divisions and misunderstandings between State and Church deepened, especially after the adoption of the laws of suppression of the religious orders and congregations and the devolution to the State of goods, museums, and libraries (1866). Further Conflicts were caused by the abolition of the theological faculties in the State Universities, the seizure of the properties of the religious orders and the suppression of the Casa generalizia dei Gesuiti (Motherhouse of the Jesuits) in 1870.

Regarding the conservation, the first years of the unified Kingdom of Italy were characterized by a strong tendency toward privatizations, in line with the Albertine Statute which ratified, as said before, the inviolability of the private property.

The Parliament abolished the fideicommissum bonds and issued a regulation of conservation. Those same laws though, in the Papal State, by obliging the owner to keep the collections intact and by ratifying their inalienability in order to guarantee their conservation through the hereditary transfer had assured the maintenance of precious cultural heritage.

Moreover, the subsequent extension of the Rattazzi Law to the whole territory frustrated the possibility of decentralization and the chance of conservation of those antiquities that, although minor, could represent better than others the relationship between the good and the territory it came from.

4.3.1 Law n. 2359 of June 25th, 1865

The first State Law (Law n. 2359) was issued on June 25th, 1865 and concerned the "expropriation of the monuments dilapidated for the owners neglect." This law recognized the urgent need of measures for the cataloging, restoration, conservation, and vigilance on the enforcement of the laws that had been proposed to the Parliament by scholars such as Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle.

Other issues were the institution of public authorities responsible for the management of the antiquities and how to staff them. The Public Education Ministry was designated to manage the cultural goods and the "Commissions of Fine Arts" of the Regions were entrusted by the Ministry with the duties of:

- 1. Cataloging
- 2. Conservation
- 3. Archeological research
- 4. Exportation

Finally, a Central Board for the Fine Arts was also created as a subdepartment in the Public Education Ministry.

4.3.2 Law n. 286 of June 28th, 1871

This law guaranteed (art. 5) control over the antiquities until the issuing of a new organic discipline on the subject and repealed the ban of the right of the Fideicummissum, establishing that the following items could not be taken outside of the country:

- Libraries;
- Collections;
- Galleries

Only the artistic goods could be exported. This rule had a great success and the Kingdom of Italy became the owner of seven fideicommissary collections. The eighth collection was purchased by the Provincia di Roma (Province of Rome) but it became anyway a public property.

The cultural good was acquired for a cultural use only if it could be defined as public.

4.3.3 The Historical Right

The last government of the Historical Right (Destra Storica) had Ruggero Bonghi (1846–1895) as Minister for the Public Education. During his tenure, from

September 1874 to March 1876, Bonghi was able to give an important contribution to the spreading of the Italian culture at home and abroad.

Bonghi's first decision was to organize services for conservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage, especially after the suppression of the religious institutes.

With the Royal Decree n. 2440 of March 28th, 1875, he instituted the Direzione generale degli Scavi e dei Musei (Directorate General of Excavations and Museums) as part of the Education Department and the technical agencies that later became the archeological superintendence.

Another institution promoted by Bonghi was the Giunta di Archeologia e Belle Arti (Committee of Archaeology and Fine Arts), that worked as a central coordinator of five peripheral commissions, of which three were continentals and two for the islands. This centralistic structure, according to Minister Bonghi, better satisfied the scientific and administrative needs of the whole national territory.

Bonghi was also the founder of the Victor Emmanuel II Central National Library, the Pigorini Ethnographic Museum, and promoted an organic bill in which conservation and enhancement, public and private interest, the cultural good and its context, could be legally combined.

4.3.4 The Historical Left

The rise to power of the Historical Left (Sinistra Storica) was not followed by the endorsement of any parliamentary proposal on the historical-artistic heritage, but, on the contrary, a law that allowed the alienations of the already fideicommissary galleries and libraries was enacted.

However, in 1881, the Minister for Education Guido Baccelli transformed the Directorate General of Excavations and Museums into Directorate General of Antiquities and Fine Arts.

He also transformed the Committee of Archaeology and Fine Arts into the Permanent Commission of Fine Arts and reformed the role of the conservation personnel by creating a personnel for archeology and museums, cataloging and conservation. He also founded, at regional level, 12 Commissioners for the Antiquities and Fine Arts, that were assisted by additional Technical Councils.

In the same period, Giuseppe Fiorelli, director general of the antiquities and fine arts, understanding the importance of the pre-unitary regulations, discussed in a book the "Leggi, decreti, ordinanze e provvedimenti generali emanati dai cessati governi d'Italia per la conservazione dei monumenti e la esportazione delle opere d'arte" (General laws, executives orders, ordinances, provisions issued by the pre-unification states of Italy, regarding the safeguard of monuments and the export of artworks).

This collection, reprinted in 1901 in appendix to the bill of the Minister for Education Nicolò Gallo, had the singular fortune to appear twice, in 1892 and in 1978 under the name of other proponents, and it has been at the basis of many studies on the

subject until about 1980–1985. However, it had several limits: it was written with practical purposes only and did not include all the regulations issued on the subject but just an anthology of them, without detailing the sources of the cited texts.

Later on, the Minister Pasquale Villari restored the Committee of Archaeology and Fine Arts, substituted the Directorate General with a Technical Inspectorate and promoted the Law 7 February 1892 no. 31 according to which the abuses and violations of the heritage were prosecuted.

In 1894, when Guido Baccelli returned to office, restored the Directorate General of Antiquities and Fine Arts and the system of coordination and control entrusted to the central structure of the Regional Commissioners.

Therefore, the century came to an end without an organic and complete legislation.

4.4 The Legislation in the Contemporary Age

The juridical analysis concerning the discipline of the historical-artistic and archeological heritage is based on the Albertine Statute, expression of the most classical liberal (i.e., the Italian liberal thought) tradition, which in art. 29, paragraph 1 establishes: "Property of all kinds whatsoever shall be inviolable" (Greco 1980), therefore confirming the absolute disposal of the patrimony for the owners, without mentioning anything about the classification of the objects of art for their conservation. In fact, the national legislator was not very concerned about protecting the artistic heritage.

Only in 1865, the first hints of regulation on the vigilance and conservation of the things of art started appearing; in particular, the Law n. 2359 of June 25th, 1865, in art. 83 established that: "Every historical monument or national antiquity of immovable kind, the preservation of which is in danger as long as it belongs to any group or private citizen, can be acquired by the State, Provinces or Municipalities through the process of expropriation for reasons of public utility" (Mattaliano 1975).

However, only in 1870, with the Seizure of Rome, the problem of the conservation of the national artistic heritage rose with all its urgency.

The extension of the Italian Laws and, in particular, of the Civil Code of 1865, to all the former papal territories, allowed the abolition of the practice of the fideicommissum institute, that had had the purpose of entrusting the cultural goods in the hand of a family and of its heirs (Torrente, Schlesinger 1990), and was the only surviving restriction, at that time, for the conservation of the museums and galleries of Rome.

The need to assure protection to the national historical-artistic axis collided with the ideological radicalism of those which, by supporting the necessary abolition of the fideicommissum, embraced Carlo Armellini's thinking. Armellini, in fact, claimed in a speech to the Papal Parliament: "The freedom bell that rang for the people, should have rung also for the objects" (Parpagliolo 1934).

The Law no. 276 of June 28th, 1871, partially solved the problem, because it re-established the pre-unitary laws regarding the conservation of the cultural heritage, although the fideicommissum had been already abolished.

It was only with the bill "Correnti" (Cesare Correnti) of 1872, that the Chambers started a series of studies which led, in 1902, to the first organic laws on the Italian artistic patrimony.

That long and tormented parliamentary procedure led to the realization of the "Nasi" Law (June 12, 1902, no. 185), named after the then Minister for Education, which highlighted: "...the resistances had to be overcome, for the influences on the private properties which were occurring in appliance with the regulation on the items of historical and artistic interest..." (Giannini 1975). The legislator of 1902 had the duty of clarifying the relationships between private property and things of art that were also object of conservation, and therefore stated that the first organic and unitary discipline for the conservation of the things of artistic and historical interest, did not intend to modify the concept of propriety set by the common right, but to establish the necessary rules to prevent the owners of the goods from using them as they wished, causing a damage to themselves and a harm to the nation.

The "Nasi" Law established, as a condition for the individuation of the movable and immovable things susceptible of protection, the declaration of antiquity and value; the Law of 1902 referred to works of great value to indicate the conserved goods but it did not establish the same protection for the ancient excavation objects of great archeological importance, but that also lacked "value" as defined in the law.

Another incongruence was the different juridical coverage of the inside and of the outside of an antique building, when parts of it could be modified without a previous authorization of the Minister for Education when they involved the internal part of the building and were not accessible to the public sight.

The ideal overcoming and completion of the defects of the 1902 law arrived with the Law n. 364 of June 20th, 1909 (the Rosadi Law). It "represented a solid bulwark against which the traps set to the National historical and artistic heritage mostly died down" (Mattaliano 1975). The "Rosadi" Law, in art. 1 abolished the principle set by the "Nasi" Law, according to which the protected goods had to be necessarily registered in an appropriate official catalog and defined "valuable", and declared that the "…immovable and movable things of historical-artistic and archaeological interest" (Mattaliano, 1975) had to be subjected to its regulations.

The Law of 1909, in articles 12, 13, and 14, established a protective net to safeguard the buildings of great artistic value, not only directly, by prohibiting interventions of demolition or restoration devoid of the necessary authorization by the Ministry, but also indirectly, by mandating the public notification of projects of new public works, which could, even barely, affect the value of the monument. The "Rosadi" Law, enacted under the government of Giovanni Giolitti, represented a moment of undoubted legislative progress, on the conservation of the national historical-artistic heritage.

For the first time, the law gave enough relevance to the "... architectural good as a public good, a value in itself, to be lived and enjoyed, and to the protection of these goods by the Government instead of deferring them to the interests of the private

owners" (Spadolini 1976). Afterwards emerged the flaws which characterized the legislative production of Giolitti Administration, especially when the owner's rights were not so much protected against the procedure of public interest declaration of a given good to safeguard. However, this issue does not lessen the importance of the Laws of 1902 and 1909, that set the general criteria and allowed the abandon of the practice "of individual provisions for this or that good, in a time that largely favored an idea of property free from restrictions" (Cassese 1976).

The legislative revolution of Giolitti's government, in the first postwar period, resulted in the constitution of an autonomous Undersecretary Bureau of Fine Arts and Antiquities, that was later suppressed (after only 4 years of activity) by the fascist regime and separated from the Public Education Ministry, in the conviction that "... school culture and non school culture must have a separated administration, coordinated in the final goals but distinct in the operative tools" (Greco 1980).

Regarding the protection of the landscape, the first provisions of landscape conservation were strongly influenced by the study of the geographic sciences (Galasso 1964). Therefore, the prevailing of a merely descriptive notion of landscape, greatly affected the character of the safeguard discipline.

Coherently with such vision, in the period between the two world wars, the policy of conservation and restoration was re-launched and led to the enacting of several special laws, namely, the Law n. 688 of June 23rd, 1912, on the protection of the natural beauties and the Law n. 788 of June 11th, 1922, on the panoramic beauties.

The first of the two laws "added" the landscape issue to the previous legislation, in particular, to the measures of the Law 364/1909, that were extended also to villas, parks, and gardens of historical and artistic interest. This addition clearly denoted the lack of a law regulating the safeguard of the landscape heritage, in the Italian legislative body of that time.

Nevertheless, some normative texts of the 1920s should be seen as an attempt to integrally preserve the "landscape features" of the protected good, and they deserve to be mentioned, among the conservation measures of the fascist era, as a first organizational definition of what today we would call "protected natural areas" of the entire national territory.

They were: the Royal Decree n. 1584 of December 3rd, 1922, institutive of the Gran Paradiso National Park and the Law n. 1511 of July 12th, 1923, institutive of the National Park of Abruzzo, that set as its 1st and founding article the goal of conserving the natural beauties.

Such measures were followed by others equally oriented toward the establishment of protected natural areas, in particular the law institutive of the National Park of Circeo (Law n. 285, of January 25th, 1934,) and the law institutive of the Stelvio National Park (Law n. 740 of April 24th, 1935), which promoted, besides merely conservative measures for the landscape good, also hotel industry and a global touristic development in the territory of the park.

From the analysis of the "pre-constitution" legislation in the sector of the landscape, emerges the creation of provisions concerning the forms of social– economic development of the protected areas, with specific reference to the values

of the tourism and of the collective use of the landscape. Such indications were understood and absorbed by the provision of the Law n. 1497/39, on the protection of the natural beauties, with which, at least according to the intention of the law-makers, the necessity of landscape safeguarding prevailed, with a more strict aesthetic-impressionistic view of the landscape itself, namely a perception of landscape intended "...exclusively under the profile of the natural frameworks that they (the landscape values) realize..." (Sandulli 1967).

With this premise, we can appreciate the conceptually related nature of the Law of 1922 and of 1939.

Moreover, the Law n. 788 of June 11th, 1922 regulated, for the first time, the landscape and the panorama landscapes protection.

The law was elaborated in a time in which the attention to the problems concerning the landscape was not particularly developed. In fact, the conservation was conceived then as a set of rules highlighting "the peculiar characteristics of the territory in which the people live and from which, as from an ever fresh source, the human soul draws inspiration of actions and thoughts."¹ Therefore, despite the undoubted innovations introduced by the Law 778/22, the directives remained the same as the ones of the Law n. 364 of June 20th, 1909 (Martini 1979),² for the antiquities and fine arts.

Only the Law 1089/39 (the "Bottai" Law, by Giuseppe Bottai), although indirectly, managed to partially protect what it called "panoramic beauties" (Martini 1979).³ In fact, the Law of 1922 did not distinguish the relative competences of the Department of the Public Works and of the Department of the Public Education with reference to the landscape conservation. This measure was later accomplished by the Law 1497/39; the Law 788/22 would rather reinforce the mandatory distances between the natural beauties protected by the law and the new constructions (Mattaliano 1975).⁴

¹Cfr. the bill n. 204 "Per la tutela delle bellezze panoramiche e degli immobili di interesse artistico", then law n. 778 of 1922, that the law n. 1497 of 1939 is based on, presented to the Senate of the Kingdom of Italy on September 25th, 1920, during the XXV legislature, by the then Minister for Public Education, Benedetto Croce.

 $^{^{2}}$ Art. 4 of the law 788/22 repeats the same formula of art. 14 of the law of 1909, amended by art. 3 of the aforementioned law n. 688/12, with regard to the faculty of the governmental authority of imposing distances, measures and other rules necessary in case of buildings, reconstructions and actuations of land use plans, in order to avoid a damage to the state of full enjoyment of the panoramic beauties, caused by the new works".

 $^{^{3\}omega}$ The formulation of article 21 of the law 1089/39 is wider on the protection to grant to the protected buildings, as it aims at avoiding that the perspective and light are damaged and that the conditions of environment and decorum are altered."

^{4.} The natural beauty or the landscape beauty cannot be altered or damaged by values and especially by new constructions built outside the perimeter of the bound immovable properties. It has been necessary to introduce in the bill a special provision in order to avoid the impediment to the enjoyment of the natural and panoramic beauties, the obstruction of the view, the alteration of the perspective, and also to avoid that new works can elevate themselves as a curtain in front of the beautiful landscape scene or bring in it a off-key note".

Only with the Royal Decree of the Law 1497/39 an organic re-elaboration of this issue was finally developed, with the goal of keeping the look of the protected landscapes unchanged, because of their unique natural beauty; nevertheless, the owners' authority to alienate the goods was not limited, but only the use of such goods, had to be kept under control by the public authorities.

The effort made by the late fascist legislator should be considered critical for the study of the mechanisms of conservation of the artistic and landscape goods, because "... it represented an authentic global program of cultural policy" (Cassese 1976). In this complex of legislative and organizational reforms, the Law n. 1089 of June 1st, 1939, was particularly important: it considered the things of art as the principal cultural goods, but also the landscape beauties and the archives, that were respectively regulated by the Law n. 1497 of June 29th, 1939, and by the Law n. 2006 of December 22nd, 1939.

The issue of the conservation of the things of artistic and historical interest was, essentially, exemplified in the Law n. 1089/39 and its following modifications: the art. 1 of this law, mandated in fact, that "the immovable and movable things of artistic, historical, archeological and ethnographic interest" were all subjected to these regulations. The law included also paleontology items and primitive civilizations remain, objects of numismatic interest, as well as manuscripts, cartographies, important documents, rare and precious books, villas, parks, and gardens of historical interest.

The definition of the safeguarded good contained in the first part of art. 1 was intentionally left open, because "the lists must be considered as merely exemplificative of particular goods included in the general category" (Grisolia 1952).

This complex evolution of the management of the cultural goods led the Italian legislators to avoid a static definition of the goods in need of conservation, and, on the contrary, put at the center of the law the intrinsic historical-artistic value of the good examined (Law n. 1089/39).

The category of the protected goods had to be open, because of the existence, as a unique classificatory criterion, of a recognizable interest of the good itself, which is "the result of a necessarily historicized evaluation, meaning a judgment that changes according to the historical events" (Alibrandi 1988).

Therefore, the norm established by the Law n. 1089/39, did not concern only the goods recognizable for their intrinsic historical-artistic value, but, coherently with the open formula of art. 1, the art. 2, extended the protection also to buildings without artistic value, but recognized "... of important interest for their reference to the political, military, literary, artistic and cultural history" (Anzon 1975).

Moreover, not only the single goods, but also the series of goods that, singularly considered, would not have an exceptional artistic value, could be covered by the government protection.

The legislator established a protection network also for the goods that are important, not as such, but because they are linked to a momentous social–political scenario, and can be construed as the material testimony of a civilization (Cassese 1976), necessary for its enjoyment by the community.

The legislative protection of the national cultural heritage, strongly wanted by Bottai, was completed by the Law 1497/39, concerning the protection of the natural beauties that, as previously mentioned, was the natural completion of the proliferation of the special laws issued in the first decade of the fascist period.

The protection assured to the natural beauties by the Bottai Law and by the whole complex of the laws promulgated before the writing of the Italian Constitution (1947), was not exhaustive and was explicitly repealed by the art. 166 Legislative Decree n. 490 of October 25th, 1999.

The remarkable public interest became the necessary condition for the conservation of the cultural goods, as asserted by the decree of the Minister for Education, which instituted special provincial commissions having the task of writing detailed lists of the panoramic beauties.

The provision of the art. 10 of the Law 1497/39 is illuminating: the provincial commissions have decision power over panoramic beauties considered individually and globally, through the compilation of a single list, or more supplementary lists. Such list is transmitted by the Superintendent to the Ministry, and from the Ministry to the interested Municipalities, the provincial associations of professionals and artists, farmers, and industrialists.

4.4.1 The Nasi Law

The Nasi Law (June 12th, 1902) extended the safeguard for only 1 year on the part concerning the exportations.

This problem was tackled by the following Law n. 242 of June 27th, 1903 and subsequently by the Rosadi Law of 1909.

The law still had an elitist and authoritarian outlook and mandated the inclusion in the Lists of immovable and movable goods, belonging to private and not private subjects, that had to declare the transfer of property within 1 year from the promulgation of the law.

The Directorate General of Antiquities and Fine Arts started the publication of the Lists, but only completed a list of the monumental buildings of great value.

4.4.2 Regulations of the Nasi and Rosadi Laws

With the Royal Decree n. 431 of July 17th, 1904, the Nasi Law was issued as a complex of 418 articles. For Italy, it was the first organic regulation in the field of the conservation of the antiquities and works of art, although in its enforcement was still inadequate for the legally prescriptive and exclusive character of the Lists that, being incomplete, left out some important goods and did not show effective control measures that were often too ambiguous, particularly to handle safeguard and conservation issues of peculiar private interests.

The Law of 1902, although widely insufficient, represented the qualifying moment for the catalog of the art pieces.

The Law of 1909, on the contrary, by focusing on the notification as a fundamental tool of conservation, disciplined the restorations, the excavations and the exportations of the cultural goods and clearly stated the preemption right of the public authorities and the inalienability of the goods of historical and artistic interest belonging to the State.

Furthermore, the law had new administrative features that allowed the respect for the private interests which should not be trampled on by the public institutions.

Overall the Nasi and the Rosadi Laws were still imprecise and precarious, but they formed the platform for the regulations of the safeguard discipline, which ended up clarifying their effects.

On June 27th, 1903, the Law n. 242, concerning the exportation, was also enacted in order to manage the growing need for rigor in the protection of the heritage.

The Law n. 364 of June 20th, 1909, (Rosadi Law), gave a more concrete indication of the cultural value of the heritage and of the ethical–juridical need to safeguard it. The law included 188 articles, enacted by the Royal Decree on 30 January 1913 n. 363.

They instituted the mandatory notification of the historical-artistic and archeological relevance of the good, and substituted the Lists with the goal to subject the goods to the regime of conservation; moreover the articles established the inalienability of the items belonging to the State or to public bodies, considered the right of preemption to be exercised on the private goods and widened the sphere of government protective intervention, specifying ways and terms of it, especially in the field of the archeological research.

In 1911 the Directorate of Antiquities and Fine Arts published 11 volumes of Lists of the monumental buildings, clarifying that they were not exhaustive and that the action of conservation could be exercised also on the goods not included in such lists.

The same year the Public Records Office Regulations were enacted, with the Royal Decree n. 1163 of October 2nd, 1911, by the Ministry of Interior the Archives depended on.

In 1912, the Law n. 688 of June 23rd, extended the regulations of the Law n. 362 of 1909 to villas, parks, and gardens with the limitation of their historical-artistic character.

After the First World War the Italian artistic heritage was in a very bad condition.

In the postwar atmosphere, after the bill proposed by Benedetto Croce, the Law n. 778 of June 11th, 1922, was issued to introduce in the Italian system the juridical protection for the panoramic beauties and re-affirme Gentile's concept of "beauty of nature".

4.4.3 The Legislation of 1936

In 1936 a very important season for the discipline of the conservation was inaugurated.

That year, Giuseppe Bottai became Minister for Public Education, position he held until 1943.

He enacted many measures to complete and sharpen this discipline, also thanks to the collaboration of leading scholars such as Carlo Giulio Argan and Giovanni Nencioni.

When he had been Governor of Rome, in 1935, he meant to make "Rome as beautiful as during Augustus' time" and had planned the Universal Exposition of 1942, that was never inaugurated because of the war.

In 1936, he was appointed Minister and in the Department of Education he developed a wide program both for education and art with an intense propaganda activity which led to measures and official notifications.

The notification n. 11998 of July 28th, 1938, about the cataloging, was very important.

In 1938, Bottai also founded the Institute for the Pathology of the book, thereby supporting the laboratories of restoration and the public libraries.

But it is in 1939 that he started the specific program on art and conservation.

With the Law n. 2006 of December 22nd, 1939, he defined the new organization for the Public Records Office; he instituted the Special Superintendence for Modern and Contemporary Art in the homonymous National Gallery (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, GNAM); he founded the journal "Le Arti", which became the official magazine of the ministry; he inaugurated the Central Institute for the Restoration and he promoted and oversaw the approval of the Laws of 1939, the Laws that are named after him (Bottai Laws) and precisely the n. 1089 of 06//01/1939, containing 73 articles, and the Law n. 1497 of 06/29/1939, with 19 articles, which reiterated the interest in the protection of the artistic and naturalistic heritage.

Years before, the Croce Law had defined for the first time the concept of "beauty of nature".

In the Bottai Laws, the same "beauty of nature", was interpreted differently. Some of the most important scholars of the time such as Roberto Longhi collaborated with Bottai, particularly for the definition of the methods of cataloging of the heritage.

4.4.4 The Law n. 1089 of June 1st, 1939

This law concerned the protection of the items having an artistic or historical value and it was applied to a great deal of goods: moveable and immoveable properties with artistic, historical, archeological, or ethnographic value; properties related to paleontology, prehistory, and primitive civilizations; those having numismatic interest, manuscripts, autographs, correspondence, notable documents and artifacts, books, printed materials, and recordings considered rare or valuable as well as villas, parks, and gardens of artistic or historical interest. On the contrary, the works of living authors or works younger than 50-years old did not need to conform to this regulation.

The law also introduced many innovations, such as the protection of the immoveable properties of particular interest, due to their connection to the political, military, and cultural history in general; the prohibition to disperse the collections; the duty, for those who held or possessed any moveable or immoveable property, of obtaining the approval of the competent authority for any work they intended to perform on their property; the application of the rules of the so-called areas of respect; the right of expropriation for reasons of public interest; the ban of exportation and of the archeological discoveries; the need of consulting with the National Council on Education, Sciences, and Arts in cases of dubious findings, attributions of authorship, legislation interpretation etc.

A regulation of implementation was also added, but it was never signed by Mussolini because of the fall of the fascism on July 25th, 1943.

The Law 1089/39 art. 8 also introduced measures concerning "the items belonging to religious bodies", that widened the agreement of the Concordat between State and Catholic Church, the Lateran Treaty of 1929, that had mentioned the "ecclesiastical property" as a distinct patrimony.

The Article 8 of the Law 1089/39 concerned exactly the measures that regulated the ecclesiastic properties, that the Administration would apply, after an agreement with the religious authority ensured that the needs of worship were met.

The norm intended, first of all, to verify that the goods were actually directed to the worship, and it referred to the dedication or benediction of the good in compliance with the canon law and, second, to establish whether or not the "sacred item" was an asset of the Church.

The discipline of the Concordat also included the goods having a concrete liturgical and cultural interest and those used to transmit historical and religious memories that represented elements of continuity of the religious experience for the believers. These two concepts have been subsequently adopted by the article 19 of the Consolidating Statute of 2000.

The discipline of the ecclesiastic cultural heritage of religious interest or, as defined in the past, the discipline of the things belonging to the ecclesiastic bodies, showed, as main intent of the State, from the Concordat to the contemporary laws, a disregard for a model of conservation based on coercive instruments and the definition of the procedures negotiated with the Church to adapt the conservation of the ecclesiastic heritage to the worship needs.

After the Reform of the Concordat in 1984, the Italian Government instituted a fund for the buildings of worship and decreed to take charge of their conservation, restoration, safeguard, and enhancement.

4.4.5 Law n. 1497 of June 29th, 1939

This Law concerned two kinds of goods: precisely the *individual beauties*, immoveable goods of particular beauty such as villas, parks, or gardens and the *group beauties*, complexes of special aesthetic value and panoramic beauties.

More specifically, the law protected: immovable properties of great natural beauty or geological peculiarity; villas, gardens, parks standing out for their uncommon beauty; groups of real estate properties having a distinct aesthetic and traditional value; panoramic beauties considered as natural paintings; viewpoints (belvedere) from which the public can enjoy the view of those beauties.

Furthermore, the law established the rules for: the compilation of the lists of the goods to protect; the institution of the apposite provincial committee; the measure of notification and its effects; the exercise of protection by the State and the duties of the privates and of the public bodies; the sanctions and especially the elaboration of territorial plans.

The Royal Decree n. 1375 June 3rd, 1940, was enacted through a series of sub-regulations.

These sub-regulations were under the coordination of the Provincial Committee for the safeguard of the natural beauties, presided by the Superintendent.

The Committee was in charge of proposing to the Ministry the area to protect through a legal restriction or bond of use.

The simple introduction of the bond gave rise to further limitations: every modification of the territory had to obtain the proper authorization from the competent superintendence; in case of non observance of the prescriptions of the Superintendence, the law enforced administrative and criminal sanctions such as suspension of the works, demolition, prosecution for the crime of destruction or alteration of the natural beauties.

The regulations of 1939 were meant to allow a more agile postwar reconstruction and their action went through two important moments: the application of the restrictions and the declaration of great interest which highlighted a new concept: from the individual interest to the interest of the whole community.

The Government had always intervened in a limited way, because it had basically settled on the old idea of mere restriction of use of the cultural good, which did not allow at the same time the possible development of the good itself.

Therefore, the monuments safeguard was based on a clear authoritarianism, centered in the monocratic technical role of the Superintendent, to whom the verification of compatibility of the interventions on the protected goods or on the protected areas was exclusively entrusted, although not always managed in the most consistent way.

Inspired by Gentile's idealism and Croce's aesthetics, the legislator had an aesthetic notion of "things of artistic, historical and archaeological interest", expressed in the concept of "natural beauty" of the Law n. 1497/39.

Essential instrument of the safeguard was, therefore, the restriction or bond that was not exactly a ban of building but it was a severe limit which was not associated to any form compensation for the loss of the *ius aedificandi*.

The law entrusted the Superintendence, that was already in charge of the control of the territory and of the things of artistic interest, with active tasks of control on a third part which substantially reduced the role of this institution.

The Regions, in turn, were entrusted with the drafting of the Territorial Landscape Plans, instituted by the Law 1497/39, on which the Law n. 431 of 1985, (Galasso Law, by Giuseppe Galasso) was later based, and that incontrovertibly enforced its regulations on the whole national territory included the regions under special statute.

The Law 1497/39 also acted on the decentralization of the power toward the Regions and entrusted them with the management of the use of the soil of their competence, and with the planning of the landscape through the regional landscape plans. The implementation of these plans allowed the Regions, through several subdelegation laws, to entrust, in turn, the Municipalities with the duty of assessing the works to be done on the protected landscape, and their compatibility with the regional landscape planning.

The rules enacted in the Laws of 1939 were elevated to the dignity of the National Constitution with the art. 9 of the Italian Constitution in which the Republic recognized among its fundamental duties the diffusion of the culture and the safeguard of the artistic, historical, archeological, and landscape heritage of the Nation.

The article 9 of the Constitution is also linked to article 33 which states that "art and science must be free from restrictions and teaching them is equally free" and to article 117 which gives the competence of the museums and libraries to the local municipalities.

In the art. 9, the expression used is "heritage of the Nation", thereby overcoming the particularistic vision of the 1939 legislator, as the expression "heritage" seems to be far wider than the term "things". The use of the word "nation" allowed the Central Government to absolutely reserve to itself the protection of the monuments and landscape.

However, today the Regions are allowed to establish the rules of the government of their territory; therefore, the specific fields of competence of State and Regions, after the issuing of the Code of 2004, is particularly controversial.

4.4.6 The Discipline of Protection of the Laws of 1939

The discipline that regulated the Laws of protection of 1939 was, as we already mentioned, focused on the "items of artistic, historical and archaeological interest."

The 1939 discipline and subsequently the discipline of the Consolidating Statute of 2000 are centered on the term "interest" that is assessed by a technical body, the Superintendence.

The instrument through which such assessment is expressed and acquires a juridical value is the Notification, issued by the Ministry as a result of the proposal put forward by the Superintendence. Therefore, the Notification interprets the role of the Superintendence as preeminent with respect to the role of the private citizen, owner of the cultural goods.

The Law 1089 states that the Republic owns everything (in the case of Sicily, for example, which is a region under special statute, to the Region), namely, the cultural goods cannot be subtracted from the public enjoyment and belong to the so-called unavailable heritage.

The movable goods can become available only in exceptional cases.

The properties owned by Provinces, Townships, Ecclesiastical bodies, and recognized associations are still subjected to the Law 1089/39, but do not need to be notified to the public authorities, although they must be declared and published in specific lists which allow public protection.

When a good attracts interest via notification or because it belongs to a qualified subject, the following main juridical consequences ensue:

- the inalienability of the items belonging to the State or to other Territorial bodies (Regions, Provinces, Townships);
- the inalienability of the good and the preemption in favor of the State in case the good is sold by privates;
- the expropriation of the items belonging to privates, in case of negligence;
- the preventive authorization of the temporary exportation of the item and the ban of its definitive exportation;
- the preventive authorization by the Superintendence for any intervention on the item;
- the indirect restriction/bond which ensures light, perspective, and decoration of the monument;
- the administrative and legal sanctions in case of non compliance (unauthorized search, omitted notification of the accidental finding of ancient and artistic items, stealing of ancient and artistic items, demolition, removal, modification and abusive restoration, removal of frescos, and coats of arms, etc.).

However, this regulation does not include what is probably the most effective duty the private owner should be held accountable for, namely, the ordinary maintenance of the cultural good. Furthermore, the legislation on the incentives for the private owners to provide for the restorations of the goods of artistic and historical interest is not very useful: the Law 1504 of 1961, in fact, established a public contribution for the owner, of only 50% of the incurred costs.

4.4.7 The Franceschini Commission

In 1964, the debate on the Italian cultural and artistic heritage and the problem of the decay and obsolescence of the heritage itself reached a new high.

To find answers to these issues, the Commission Franceschini, (named after his President, Francesco Franceschini), was summoned.

The conclusions of the Commission were collected in three volumes titled "Per la salvezza dei beni culturali" (For the rescue of the cultural goods).

The volumes contained 84 Declarations on which the Commission, that was dissolved in 1966, intended to focus its contribution and proposals.

Some of these Declarations can be summarized in the following key points:

- condition of the archeological excavations;
- degradation of the historical centers and of the natural landscape;
- omissions in the cataloging of the artistic and historical goods;
- condition of the museums.

The Declarations introduced proposals of interventions such as:

- introduction of the duty of maintenance of the private cultural goods by their owners;
- institution of "archaeological reserves;"
- protection also for the urban planning goods with particular reference to the historical centers;
- recourse to the "negative declaration" of bond with which the proposal of protecting the good can be reserved to the private citizen and not only to the public authority;
- systematic cataloging of the cultural goods.

4.4.8 The Papaldo Commission

In 1968 and in 1971, the Franceschini Commission was taken over by the Papaldo Commission; however, while the first one asked for the cultural goods to be managed by an Autonomous Administration subjected to the vigilance of the Ministry for Public Education, the second one proposed the institution of a special Department.

This proposal became law with the Legislative Decree no. 657 of December 14th, 1974.

However, the functions and the organization of the new Department were clarified by the Legislative Decree n. 805 of the President of the Republic (December 3rd, 1975).

In the 1980s, the fierce cultural debate and the need for reorganization of the whole cultural good sector, brought the legislator to consider the cultural goods as an instrument of development of new entrepreneurships.

Hence, a series of public initiatives of strong financial impact were implemented, in the hope of generating new economic resources.

4.4.9 The Galasso Law

Among the legislative responses to these cultural demands, the most interesting is surely the already mentioned Law n. 431 of August 8th, 1985, the Galasso Law.

With this law, a new form of protection for the landscape was introduced, in order to reform the protection described in the Bill 1497/39.

The legislator, aware of the instability of the landscape of the nation and of the need of protecting the "environmental goods" (term which substitutes the obsolete "environmental beauties"), introduced the bond *ope legis*, namely, a legal restriction with no need of proceedings for its implementation, to be applied to a whole series of natural realities, that were not considered on the basis of their aesthetic value, but on their scientific and geographical characteristics such as coasts, rivers, mountains, and others.

Some of these goods were protected by the Ministry through an absolute ban on the building which therefore prevented any modification of the existing arrangement of the territory.

Such bonds can be overcome only when the Regions adopted the Territorial Landscape Plans, directly affecting the territorial planning.

This law was revolutionary also for the way it tried to stimulate, through the introduction of unchangeable bonds, the establishment of the P.T.P.—Piani Territoriali Paesaggistici (Territorial Landscape Plans) by the Regions and it was enforced, under expressed order of the legislator, also in the Regions under a special statute.

Another legislative response to the economic demand on the cultural goods came from the article 15 of the Law 41 of 1986, which allocated conspicuous amounts of money for those initiatives of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage called Cultural "Deposit, or Vein".

The law introduced, also in the terminology, a vision of the cultural good mindful of its economic potential, which can become a necessary condition for any project of conservation and enhancement.

4.4.10 The Facchiano Law

In 1990, the Law 84, (Facchiano Law, by Ferdinando Facchiano) and in 1991, the Law 145, the Ministry continued the cataloging of the cultural heritage, that was promoted as an occupational resource.

4.4.11 The Ronchey Law

In 1993, the Ronchey Law n. 4 (by Alberto Ronchey) was enacted, highlighting the crisis of the bureaucratic model of 1975 because the management of the cultural heritage referred to the new profiles of public function implemented by the Bassanini Reform with the Legislative Decree n. 29 of 1993 that later became the Law n. 127 of 1997, which were actually incompatible with the structure of the Ministry.

Furthermore, this law bestowed administrative and financial autonomy to the Museum Institutes, freeing them from the control of the relative Superintendent.

Moreover, this law represented a crucial step toward the modernization of the museum system, allowing the opening of up-to-date expositive spaces and involving the private enterprises in the management and use of goods and services.

Meanwhile some additional regulations aimed at simplifying the bureaucratic machine, were issued to carry out the decentralization of the ministerial functions concerning the conservation of the landscape (Decree of the President of the Republic n. 616 of 1977), and the delegation, on the urban planning matters, to the ordinary statute Regions and to some special statute Regions as well.

These regulations were based on the Law n. 431 of 1985 on goods of artistic, historical, and archeological interest.

4.4.12 The Reform of the Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Heritage

In 1998, the Bicameral Committee for the reform of the whole cultural goods sector was instituted. When the debate on the level of the ministerial organization was already underway, some measures were introduced on tertiary activities more linked to the cultural goods than to the problems of conservation.

The new Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, founded in October 1998 with the Legislative Decree n. 368, finally gathered the different competences of the cultural sector.

Such decree mandated that the Ministry dealt with:

- protection, management, and enhancement of the cultural and environmental goods, promotion of the cultural activities, with particular reference to the entertainment sector;
- promotion of books, reading, and editorial activities; promotion of the urban planning and architectural culture;
- vigilance on the CONI (The Italian National Olympic Committee) and on the Istituto di credito sportivo (a credit institution).

Furthermore, the Ministry was set to deal with the management of the image and usage rights of the protected goods. Its organization included the distinction between:

- political and administrative direction;
- decentralization and autonomy of the structures;
- efficiency and simplification of the procedures.

The Ministry exercised also functions of political-administrative nature supported by the work of vice ministers, while the management is entrusted to the Central Offices and the Human Resources Directorate General.

With the Regulation of organization, implementing the Legislative Decree 368/ 96 and the Legislative Decree 300/99, particular importance is given to the new role of the Secretary General, to whom the unity of the administrative action of the Ministry and the elaboration of an annual program of intervention are entrusted.

The Secretary General has also the function of authorizing the foundation of management companies by the Ministry or its participation to legal entities having a key role in the management of the cultural goods.

The organization on a general managerial level of the subdepartment of the Ministry changed: the criteria of specialization of the competences, some previously ignored cultural fields and the new tasks assigned to the Ministry by the institutive decree and to activities of programming with the regional administrations, became more prominent.

The four Central Offices and the Human Resources Directorate General are substituted by ten new general directorates:

- Directorate General for the historical-artistic heritage;
- Directorate General for the architectural goods and for the landscape: the association of these two different sectors underline the marginal role of the protection of the landscape in the new Ministry;
- Directorate General for the architecture and the contemporary art, with the Centre for the documentation and the enhancement of the contemporary arts and the new Museum of photography.
- Directorate General for the archaeological goods;
- Directorate General for the archives;
- Directorate General for the libraries, the cultural institutions and the promotion of books and the reading;

- Directorate General for cinematographic art;
- Directorate General for the live entertainment;
- Directorate General for the copyright and the literary property;
- Directorate General for the personnel and the relationships with the Unions.

On a peripheral level, the roles of the Superintendents are maintained with their control over Museums, Monuments, and Archeological Sites.

The Regional Superintendence has also the duty of coordinating the activity of the Ministry.

- The Central Institutes and other autonomous institutes such as:
- The Central Institute of restoration;
- The Laboratory for the precious stones;
- The Institute for the pathology of the book carries out an important activity of scientific and technological study and research.

Moreover, the Comando Carabinieri per la Tutela del patrimonio culturale (Italian military police for the protection of the cultural heritage) still depends upon the Ministry, with the task of retrieving the works of art illegally taken away from the territory.

The advisory body of the Ministry is the Council for the cultural and environmental goods, articulated in technical-scientific Committees with competence on:

- Archeological goods;
- Demo-ethno-anthropological goods;
- Architectural goods;
- Historical and artistic goods;
- Museums;
- Contemporary art and architecture;
- Landscape goods;
- Book goods;
- High cultural value publishing;
- Cultural institutions;
- Archive goods.

Such organizational profiles are based on the criterion of the specialty, which influences also the discipline of the interventions on the cultural goods.

The interventions on the cultural goods, because of the exceptionality and unrepeatability of a monument or an archeological site, have an exceptional and peculiar nature.

The priorities of the Public Administration in the work of restoration and archeological excavations are, above all, in the need to act with often traditional technologies, in a non destructive way, mindful of the uniqueness of the goods at issue, and not obsessively focused on the transparency of its choices or on the necessity of saving money.

For this reason, the legislator, through a regulation approved with the Decree of the President of the Republic n. 509 of 1978, decided, for the economic expenses of

the Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Goods, the possibility to have a much bigger budget compared to the ordinary one.

Recently a specific regulation of the reorganization of the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities has been added, (art. 1, par. 104, of the Law n. 296 of December 27th, 2006), with the decree n. 233 of the President of the Republic, of November 26th, 2007.

4.4.13 The Legislative Decree n. 490 of October 29th, 1999: The Law of the Consolidating Statute for the Cultural Goods (C. S.)

The Consolidating Statute, in general, is a coordinated collection of the legislative regulations of a certain discipline, issued in the course of time and therefore has the precise aim of organically reorganizing a whole matter to the addressees and legislator's benefit.

After the two fundamental laws of 1939, there had been few legislative contributions in the field of cultural goods.

In 1997, the legislator felt the need of drawing the Consolidating Statute of the regulations on the cultural and environmental goods, to reaffirm the leading role of the Nation State in that sector, fearing that the process of decentralization toward a larger local autonomy could favor irreparable decay and negligence in the management of the cultural and environmental goods.

The Consolidating Statute, enacted in 1999 and aiming essentially at systematizing the rules and principles of 1939, reflected this approach.

However, for a complete reform of the subject, we have had to wait until later interventions.

The Consolidating Statute produced, in the discipline of cultural and environmental goods, a relevant contribution in terms of technical-juridical quality of its regulations.

With the Law n. 50 of 1999, the whole subject of the Consolidating Statutes was reorganized in the following way: C. S. with a code structure, to generally reorganize the subject; Inductive C. S. to only put together the legislative discipline with the regulatory one; Statutory C. S. to give uniformity to the procedures of statutory nature.

During the working groups of the VII Commission of the Chamber of the Representatives, the Government asked and obtained a very wide delegation of power, with the idea that, beside the reform of the global administrative structure of the cultural goods, it was also necessary to emphasize the special character of the cultural sector and the supremacy of the Nation State versus any other concurring subject in the management of it. The goal was to affirm, once and for all, the public interest nature of the protection of the goods. The result was the Legislative Decree n. 352 of October 1997,

The C. S. was drawn and approved by the Council of State, the National Council for cultural goods and the Unified Conference Nation State-Regions; it clearly gave more importance to the exceptionality of the cultural goods discipline than to the general principles of the administrative reform or the specific rules of the reformed Administration of Cultural Goods.

In particular, the Legislative Decree 112/98, introduced a polycentric model of administration of the cultural goods, in which the Nation State reserved its own right to control and guide the most important measures on cultural goods, for instance:

- Restrictions or bonds;
- Expropriations;
- Permissions;
- Exportations;
- Community protection against criminal violations.

This decree contained the principle that assured the enhancement and promotion of the cultural goods and activities, which must be targeted (art. 52) to "improve the access to the goods and the diffusion of the cultural awareness through reproductions, publications, and any other communication medium;" these measures should include "the organization of studies, researches and scientific initiatives... didactic and explicative activities... exhibitions... cultural events... cultural itineraries" through collaborations with "educational institutes... public and private subjects... competent bodies for the tourism... universities and research institutions."

On the contrary, the Legislative Decree 368/98 was focused on the new reorganization of the Department, which envisioned several decentralization and externalization provisions.

Ultimately, the severe limit of the C. S. seems the lack of a coordination with the general administrative reforms underway at that time, as the National Council pointed out: the C. S. was not efficiently focused on the conservation of the cultural goods, but wanted to cover also the delicate theme of the enhancement and enjoyment of them, not to mention other decisive issues, like the relationship with the privates for what concerned the economic management of the goods.

This limit is evident since the first regulation was issued, in which the material interpretation of the cultural good was re-affirmed as the Law 1089/39 mandated, at the expense of the more ambitious Legislative Decree 112/98.

We think though, that a broader concept of cultural good, as a complex of shared values, (as in art. 148, par. 1, letter a, of the Legislative Decree 112/98), would have led also to an unclear definition of the concept of safeguard of the goods, far beyond the limits recognized by the law.

For these reasons, priority was given to the material conservation of the goods as opposed to the enhancement, promotion, and management of them.

In fact, the methodological choice of the legislator of 1999, was to not alter excessively the huge effort of the past lawmakers.

4.4.14 The Legislative Decree n. 490 of 1999

As we mentioned above, the C. S. (Legislative Decree 490/99) contained all the most important laws related to the matter of cultural goods, and was divided into two titles, respectively, dedicated the first to the cultural goods and the second to the environmental goods.

The first aim of the C. S. was the simplification of the applicable rules.

This concept was substantially reiterated, even if a certain discretionary decision room is left to other statutory organisms such as the Constitutional Court, as the art. 9 of the Constitution explicitly affirmed (art. 1 and 138 of the C. S.).

Furthermore, the C. S. accepted

- Application of different general disciplines, the participation of the public, the convergence of the service industry, as the Law 241/90 on the administrative proceeding, the Legislative Decree 29/93 on the organization of the general management, or the Legislative Decree 157/95 on the public contract of services, all stated. However, the Decree did not include three other concepts, that will become the objects of an additional reformation of the sector;
- Decentralization and sharing of functions with Regions and local bodies, (Legislative Decree n. 112 of March 31st, 1998), which deferred to future legislation the exact individuation of the goods and tasks to entrust to the local system;
- Externalization in favor of the privates and other public subjects, (art. 10 of the Legislative Decree n. 368 of October 20th, 1998, and art. 31 of the Law no. 448 of December 1998);
- Organizational structure of the Ministry as by Legislative Decree 368/98 and articles 52–54 of the Legislative Decree n. 300 of July 30th, 1999.

For what concerns the innovations introduced by the C.A., some of the most substantial interventions are:

- Extension of the protection to new goods such as archives, books, and photographic material;
- Equalization of the private non profit institutions to the public ones (art. 5, par. 1) which is critical for the enforcement of the protection acts;
- Insertion of the principle of the bilateral regulation of religious items, through agreements with the Catholic Church and other religious denominations (art. 9);
- Updating of the idea of cultural good of religious interest, that took over the concept of items destined to worship; updating the concept of restoration (art. 34) which embraced the interventions on goods such as books (art. 39);
- Establishment of benefits (state funding) and duties (art. 44) for the private owners or any other owner of cultural goods;
- Simplification of the authorization process for the public works concerning the cultural goods (art. 36);
- Creation of a databank of the cultural goods illegally taken away (art. 83);

- Inclusion of useful principles and institutes belonging to other regulations as the one on the administrative procedure: procedure start-up (art. 7), referring to the public inquiry in the procedure of individuation of the environmental goods (art. 141);
- Democratization of the composition of the Provincial Committee for the protection of the cultural goods (art. 140);
- Clarification of the relationship between territorial landscape plans and general urban development plans, with the corollary of the feasible collaborations between local bodies and Superintendences for the land use plans (art. 150).

The C. S. basically revisited all the discipline of the cultural goods by issuing two main decrees: the Legislative Decree 112/98 and the Legislative Decree 368/98, which instituted the new Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and defined its decentralized organizational system.

These two decrees led to the definition of regulatory models, especially the Regulation of art. 32 of the Law 448/98 on the methods of private management of the cultural heritage and the Regulation on the organization of the Ministry itself.

Very important was also the role played by the Merloni Law on the interventions of restoration or maintenance of the cultural goods, selection of the contractors, and of the methods of intervention.

4.4.15 The Law n. 137, of July 6th, 2002

With this Law, the Parliament intended to reorganize a system that was no longer conformed to the new national and European regulations.

This legislation limited, on the one hand, the role of the Government in some critical areas, such as the obligation to not repeal the current tools for the safeguard of the monuments and the obligation to not "cause further restrictions to the private property;" on the other hand, it also mandated the conceptual codification of the cultural good, individuating some fundamental features such as the new organization of the competences delineated by the Constitution, the harmonization with the new community regulation, the improvement of the effectiveness of the administrative action, the updating of the tools of individuation, and protection of the heritage, the opening to the private business world for management and cooperation (Giannini 1995; Torrente and Schlesinger 1990).

4.4.16 The Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage (Law n. 42 of January 22nd, 2004)

On May 1st, 2004, as for the art. 10 of the Law n. 137 of July 6th, 2002, the first Code of the Cultural heritage, composed of 184 articles, was enacted, under the

coordination of the Ministry for the Cultural Goods and Giuliano Urbani holding the position of Minister.

The complexity of the Code caused a great deal of controversy, but was also a decisive step forward in the interpretation of the general meaning of cultural good.

The criticisms were focused on specific innovations in the management and protection of the Italian cultural heritage and were based on the following points:

- The concept of protection was too "generous". The Nation State could invade the competences of the Regions on the enhancement of the goods and of the cultural heritage. The Code did not accept any of the proposals made by the Coordination of the Regions.
- The widening of the concept of "protection of cultural goods", that was assigned to the Nation State through the concepts of "promotion of the conscience" and "knowledge activities", should have been integrated in the "enhancement of cultural goods" that was under the sphere of influence of the Regions. The chronicle of the Code showed an infinite series of criticisms from 2004 to the present, also prompted by the recent additional decrees (decree 157/2006 and decree n. 62 and 63 of March 26th, 2008). The Regions complained that the new Code delegated the majority of the decisional power to the Central government. On the contrary, in the field of the landscape, the Code maintained the mandatory application of the Landscape Plan and reintroduced the binding opinion of the Superintendence, that should be given prior to the adoption of measures of protection by the Regions. The Superintendence should have been assigned a delegate function for decades, therefore enlarging its power on the territory and limiting the urban planning competences to be entrusted to the Municipalities.

Two important contradictions have been highlighted in the Code:

- the abrogation of the rule which allowed the municipalities and the provinces to grant private citizens the management of artistic-cultural heritage;
- the obligation of setting up joint-stock companies of completely public shareholding as if the code allowed the sale to privates but not the management of the acquired good; the lack of tools to make the sale desirable and effective for the revitalization of the sector.

Moreover, "for the first time the Code indicated which goods can be given to the privates and which ones can be kept public property".

The goods belonging to the Nation State were divided into three main categories:

- the goods subjected to public property and cataloged as absolutely inalienable;
- the goods that can be limitedly used by privates;
- the goods that can be bestowed to others and managed by the municipalities through the Urban Development Plan.

Another contested point was the so-called rule of the tacit approval, which gave the Superintendences 120 days to give an evaluation on the value of a building, that afterward could be sold (unspoken approval). Such rule was recently modified.

In general, the management of the public goods by the privates was viewed in a positive light, but the decriminalization of the construction violations and the possible alienation of the public goods in case of tacit approval by the Superintendences, were troubling.

Others argued that the code completely upset the rule of protection for the cultural goods.

In fact, we are inclined to choose the latter opinion because of the following points:

- The authorization to build on protected areas, given by the Regions after the verification of the landscape compatibility and within 30 days the opinion of the superintendence has been made public;
- The non binding but precautionary opinion of the superintendence could be ignored. The acquisition of the "pivot" Law 1089/39 on the protection of the cultural goods, of the law on the landscape of 1985 (Galasso Law) and of the Law 1497/39, erased their effects.
- The reduction or the abolition of the restrictions on almost the whole national territory, transformed it in a free unprotected zone, while the conditional amnesty for work done without planning permission, could have even more devastating effects.

Moreover, the new text accomplished the distinction of the competences between Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Regions: the first one has been entrusted with the safeguard of the artistic goods, while to the second ones have been assigned the enhancement of the goods.

At the moment, the debate on the subject is still strong and a general agreement appears far way.

The path of regulations that leads to the alienation of a good, which is per se already questionable, is aggravated by the principle of the tacit approval. What emerges is a dichotomy of evaluation between cultural and scientific value, between protection policy and policies linked to the economic exploitation of the goods.

However, the big innovation of the Code lies in the fact that the landscape goods are a fundamental part of the Italian cultural heritage as well and, as such, they are subjected to a particular consideration in the field of the territorial planning.

In addition, the space dedicated to the concept of protection, discussed in the articles 1 through 9, defining the basic principles of the protection discipline, is, commendably, very wide.

Part One: General Provisions

• art. 1, *Principles*, par. 2, reads as follows: "The protection and enhancement of the cultural heritage shall concur to preserve the memory of the national community and its territory and to promote the development of culture."

- art. 3, *Protection of the Cultural Heritage*, par. 1 "The safeguard consists in the exercise of the functions and in the regulation of the activities aimed at identifying, on the basis of adequate investigative procedures, the properties constituting the cultural heritage, and at ensuring the protection and conservation of the aforesaid heritage for purposes of public enjoyment;" par. 2 "Protection functions are also carried out by provisions aimed at conforming or regulating rights and behaviors inherent to the cultural heritage."
- art. 4, *Functions of the Nation State in the Protection of the Cultural Heritage*, par. 1 "In order to ensure the unified exercise of the functions of protection, under article 118 of the Constitution, the same functions are attributed to the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, herein after referred to as 'Ministry', which shall exercise the afore said functions directly. It may also confer these functions to the Regions, through forms of agreement and co-ordination pursuant to article 5, paragraphs 3 and 4. The functions already conferred to the Regions under paragraphs 2 and 6 of the same article 5, shall not be affected;" par. 2 "The Ministry shall exercise the functions of protection on cultural property belonging to the State, even when such property has been placed under the care of or granted in use to administrations or subjects other than the Ministry."
- art. 5, Co-operation of the Regions and of other territorial Government Bodies in the Protection of the Cultural Heritage, "municipalities, metropolitan areas and provinces, hereinafter referred to as 'other territorial government bodies', shall cooperate with the Ministry in the exercise of its safeguard functions pursuant to the provisions of Title I of the Second Part of this Code;" par. 2 "The protection functions provided for by this Code concerning manuscripts, autographs, papers, documents, incunabula, and book collections not belonging to the State and not subjected to State protection, as well as books, print and engravings not belonging to the Nation State, shall be exercised by the Regions;" par. 6 "The administrative functions for the protection of landscape assets shall be conferred to the Regions according to the provisions of the Third Part of this Code."
- art. 6, *Enhancement of the Cultural Heritage*, par. 1 "Enhancement consists in the exercise of the functions and in the regulation of the activities aimed at promoting knowledge of the cultural heritage and at ensuring the best utilization and public enjoyment of the same heritage. Enhancement also includes the promotion and the support of conservation work on the cultural heritage;" par. 2 "Enhancement is carried out in forms which are compatible with the safeguard of the goods, and which do not prejudice its needs;" par. 3 "The Republic shall foster and sustain the participation of private subjects, be they single individuals or associations, in the enhancement of the cultural heritage."

• art. 7, *Functions and tasks related to the Enhancement of the Cultural Heritage*, par. 1 "This Code establishes the fundamental principles concerning the enhancement of the cultural heritage. The Regions shall exercise their legislative powers in compliance with these principles;" par. 2 "The Ministry, the Regions and the other local government bodies shall pursue the co-ordination, harmonization, and integration of the activities for the enhancement of public properties."

Part Two: Cultural Property, Title I, Chap. 1, Object of Protection:

• art. 10, *Cultural Properties*. "A Cultural property consists in immovable and movable things belonging to the State, the Regions, other territorial government bodies, as well as any other public body and institution, and to private non profit associations, featuring artistic, historical, archaeological or ethno-anthropological interest." In par. 2 and in art. 11 are indicated all the typologies of properties considered as cultural. In Sect. 3, art. 45, that deals with "other forms of protection", while the prescriptions of indirect protection and its proceeding are described in art. 46; the safeguard is carried out by the Superintendent at the motivated request of the Region or other interested territorial government bodies, that, in turn, shall notify the owner, or holder of the building.

In Title II, *Enjoyment and Enhancement*, the Chap. 2, *Principles of enhancement of the cultural heritage*, clarifies in art. 111 the enhancement activities, par. 1 "The activities for the enhancement of the cultural heritage consist in the stable constitution and organization of resources, facilities or instrumental resources, designed for carrying out the functions and pursuing the aims indicated in article 6. Private subjects may concur, co-operate or participate in such activities;" par. 3 "Enhancement carried out by public initiative shall conform to the principles of freedom of participation, plurality of participants, continuity of activity, equality of treatment, economic feasibility and management transparency;" par. 4 "the enhancement carried out by private initiative is deemed as a socially useful activity and its goals of social solidarity are fully acknowledged."

- In art. 112 the rules for the enhancement of publicly owned cultural properties are exemplified, while in art. 113 the rules for the enhancement of privately owned cultural properties are shown.
- Art. 114 defines the parameter of quality of the enhancement, while the art. 155 concerns the direct or indirect management of the public properties.
- Art. 116, *Protection of cultural property conferred or granted in use*, par. 1 "Cultural properties which have been conferred or granted in use under article 115, paragraphs 9 and 10, shall remain subjected to all intents and purposes to their own legal regulations. The functions of protection are carried out by the Ministry, that can use the abovementioned properties at the request of, or with regard to the parties that have been conferred the goods, or have been granted the goods."

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Chapter 5 The New Interdisciplinary Frontiers

Abstract This chapter deals with a specific case study: the Framework Plan for Historical Centre Recovery of Cagliari. The multidisciplinary approach is applied to valorize the contribution of the fields of major interest in support of the development of the urban planning discipline: environmental history, urban sociology, historical-morphological analysis based on the archeology of the preexistences and on historical topography. All these disciplines somehow imply a decoding of their epistemological codes and of their technical instrumentation which can serve as an equipment of the cultural device useful for the analysis to carry out in the field of the territorial and urban planning.

5.1 Environment and Territory

Among the fields of major interest in the development of the urban planning discipline, the environmental history, the urban sociology, the historical-morphological analysis based on the archeology of the preexistences and on the historical topography are the most important. All these disciplines somehow need to decrypt their epistemological codes and their technical instrumentation to be used as a cultural device to carry out the analysis of the territorial and urban planning.

Despite the delay of the attribution to the environmental history of an innovative value on an epistemological level, the historical-environmental research, in Europe, contributed to the adoption of analytical criteria deriving from the definition of environmental compatibility, without limiting itself for the damages suffered or perceived by the social system (Neri Sernieri 2005). The conviction that the building process of the territorial structures was an interdisciplinary measure became rapidly evident, although the contributions of the different disciplines often limited themselves to observe from the haughtiness of their discipline, instead of trying a confrontation and a mutual contamination.

The analysis of the long-term urban and territorial transformations has, therefore, involved the interpretative paradigms of different disciplines (Hughes 2002), having, as a result, a renovated interest in the urban systems and in the policies to

[©] Springer International Publishing AG 2018 A. M. Colavitti, *Urban Heritage Management*, The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9_5

manage them, with the goal of the environmental sustainability. This peculiar aspect is exemplified in the Anglo-Saxon studies on landscape history and historical geography, and subsequently acquired new nuances in countries, such as Germany that, from a very rich historiographic tradition, consolidated in the nineteenth century became more considerably environmentalist.

The turning point caused by the industrialization, led to a major awareness of the issues of the *built environmental*, since the analysis and the studies identified themselves with the integrated vision of the industrial urban system, allowing a homogeneous reading of the environmental transformation of the contemporary age.

The integrated vision of the city and of the associated industrial system modified the relationship of powers within the territorial assets and led to a historiographic perspective oriented toward the environmental problems, that have become central in the urban history. The homogeneous character of the issues linked to the environmental history represents the filter and tool for the assessment of the policies and actions which characterized the development of the city and territory and the path they are on.

The urban condition as a place of innovation seems to be a discovery of the last years (Indovina 1999). Within such condition lays a whole body of initiatives aimed at managing, in environmental and urban planning terms, the contemporary urban structure, the planning and the broadening of the urban fabric in a continuous dialectics between the transformation of the infrastructures and controlled management of the resources in order to contrast the possible imbalances.

The project of the contemporary city has been deeply affected by this network of activities, since the disciplinary paradigms were not able to fill the gaps among disciplines and direct their knowledge toward precise policies or redefine their objectives of research (Secchi 2000).

The redefinition of the object of research of the urban planning can be stimulated also by the qualified pluralism of the many traditions of study, in which polysemy and holistic comprehension, objectivity and subjectivity, hypertext and common sense, identity and alterity are compared (Gambino 2002).¹

Sociology started dealing with the urban systems quite recently. In fact, sociology was born with the modern city, because it is the modern city with the overcoming of the *traditional* society which defined the frame of study beyond the *focus* of the classical sociology (Magnier and Russo 2002). Within this frame is collocated, for example, the experience of the Chicago school in the 1920s and 1930s (Park et al. 1999).

One of the most interesting aspects of the modern city concerns the cultural sustainability of the actions to undertake in the urban space, in terms of economic sustainability, protection and enhancement of the local environmental and cultural resources and social equity.

¹The dimensions of the landscape themselves anticipate the complexity of the landscape issue.

In terms of contributions, the *transmission of meanings* linked to the *symbols* transmitted by the places, is an interesting theme: the symbolism of the places is, in fact, independent from the typology of the place itself, and gets stronger with the prevailing of the emotional/affective aspect which is the real cause of the transformation of the place into a *symbolic landscape*.

Therefore, the project of the city and territory acquires a meaning only after the individuation of the present *invariants* that characterize that territory or city (Finocchiaro 1999) and arouse a collective interest, the interest in the situated goods (AA.VV. 2003).²

The work of the archeological-historical-topographic studies contributes to the overturn of the hierarchy of preferences given to the transformations to be carried out in the city. More attention and accuracy is needed on this subject, to avoid the loss of memory, only and exclusively readable through a preestablished reading frame.

A first step could be in a better communication among the used scientific languages: the categories of languages do not always communicate with each other and above all, they do not find a common ground of constructive action. The tools of the plan must embrace the study of the planning roots of the past, which only the historical topography can decode, and, at the same time, they must try to use the empiric instead of the theoretical practices, in the study of the form and of the recurring types of the city, with the support of the topographic historical method. Thus, the prescription will take into consideration the objective contents of the ancient morphemes, without neglecting the continuous dialogue with all the forms of the project.

If the ancient city was, first of all, a project, as it was, in all and for all, then, the changes of the form need to be considered with all their infinite discontinuities in order to obtain sure guidelines from the modifications occurred. In this sense, the historical topography can be useful in drawing *qualitative maps* of the past deposits, oriented to the formation of sense and to formalize a paradigmatic system of such approach.

5.2 Paradigmatic Topics

It can be useful to introduce what can be considered an innovative plan in the field of urban planning due to the special attention addressed to cultural good.

The case study here considered concerns the Framework Plan for the Historical Center Recovery of Cagliari, Sardinia (Deplano 1999).

²The situated goods are considered as goods in which the measure of their value would decrease if they were moved. It is J. Levy's expression "Il ya du monde ici".

The author was able to have an *in person* experience of how to define the precise and useful model for decrypting the dialogue between historical memory and urban planning to which refer, even in the specificity of the single examples.

This study proposes a planning model based on a conception of urban reality that gives great importance to the productive character of history and to its intimate and deep synergy with society; a model based on the idea that the reconstruction of the physical and cultural identity of the city and territory represents the precondition to any project of development.

The historical city, the city as such, could also be defined as a place of *synthesis* in which any built element tends to be proportional to the categories of space defined by the present communities. The historical city is an organic city³ because in it the relationship between natural and artificial space is exalted. This relationship goes through a visible or invisible process that generates a coherent or incoherent, regular or irregular, symmetric or asymmetric fabric. The richness of such air reproducible process defines, in time and space, the singularity of the historical city structure.

The references and the judgment tools for the protection and recovery of the historical centers seem to be less certain than the past (Garzillo 2002).

The discipline of recovery changed not only in the operative practice, but also in the methodological approach. Furthermore, a method of recovery that tends to ignore any debate or ideology has been developed, through a planning action that is diffused, uncontrolled, anarchic, often hidden and whose results are only sporadically known (Garzillo 2002). The crisis of the historical city often identifies itself with the inability of planning a solution that takes in consideration the safeguard of the place identity and the cultural integrity of the urban territory; it is on such bases that the conservation of the city itself should be measured.

In this sense, the Framework Plan for Historical Centre Recovery intended to regulate the contradictory relationships between the citizens, the planner and the ancient space, and provided a tool and a guide to integrate and manage even the dissonances and highlighted, by strategically reusing them, the values recognized and identified by the community that generated them.

5.2.1 A Case Study—The Framework Plan for the Recovery of the Historical Centre of Cagliari

The planning experience of the Framework Plan had precise goals based on the fundamental defense of the identity values and necessary to build the new urban structure, notwithstanding the complexity of the project, or projects. From this idea of identity preservation in a global ecosystem scenario, the criteria of building sustainability derive, and inform the selection of the following indicators:

³According to Mumford the medieval archetype of the city is that one of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's.

5.2 Paradigmatic Topics

- Equality and social inclusion (access to basic but adequate service industry for everyone);
- Participation/democracy (participation of all the sectors of the local community to the decisional process);
- Attention to the relationship between local and global needs (find a compatible path between the local needs and the needs of the rest of the environment);
- Attention to the development of the local economy (promotion of the jobs and the enterprises that pose the least threat to the natural and environmental resources);
- Environmental protection (ecosystem approach, minimization of the use of natural resources, territory, waste and polluting substances production; increase of the biodiversity);
- Cultural heritage/quality of the built environment (protection, conservation and recovery of the historical, cultural, and architectural values; development and safeguard of the beauty and functionality of spaces and buildings).

Since the post-second war world period, the Historical Centre of Cagliari has been neglected and abandoned to a progressive decay by strong interests, exclusively focused to the new city, which inexorably emptied the four most ancient quarters, in terms of population and functions.

According to the urban planning discipline, the historical center can be classified in the homogeneous zones A/A_1 Cagliari Centre (Castello, Marina, Stampace, and Villanova) and A/A_2 Pirri. The Piano Urbanistico Comunale (Municipal Urban Development Plan) in force in art. 19-bis, par. 8 of the implementation rules, established the setting of the Framework Plan for Historical Centre Recovery. The City Council expressed its assent to the programmatic objectives and converging strategic actions by introducing a technical-operative method oriented to the reuse and requalification of the historical settlement. The Framework Plan aims at giving back a functional role and a future to the historical city.

Under the regulatory profile, the Framework Plan, as established by the current law for the Historical Centre (zones A1 of the PRG—General Urban Development Plan—par. 8) constitutes, at the time, a tool "...of coordination of the Recovery Plans and in general of the possible interventions in the Historical Centre...". More specifically, it aims at "...limiting as much as possible the zones object of Recovery Plan and defining with precision the limits of the intervention with direct concession...".

Therefore, the regulation of the Framework Plan is based on the analysis and classification of the "historical-environmental units" (Gambi 1972; Argan and Fagiolo 1972) allowing to define the admissible categories of intervention for all of them (with the exception of cases of particular complexity and/or of strategic interest to submit to the Recovery Plan) and, therefore, permits the direct intervention of the interested owners.

The systematic study of the building types and of the kinds of historical fabrics which led to the formation of a specific "Abacus", also allowed to better articulate the categories of intervention, establishing that, in some cases, the interventions of building renovation and reconstruction had to be subjected to morphological restrictions. Thus, such categories of intervention result to be calibrated on the study of the historical fabric and on the analysis of the building typologies, in compliance with morphological criteria that strongly bind together the whole fabric of the city.

In this scenario, the very analysis of the city morphological characteristics gives "sense" to the urban fabric and makes it unique within the "lived" historical space, communicating identity through known physiognomies of contexts and spaces shared by the community. The typo-morphological analysis allowed then to highlight the still existing relationships between the buildings and the context, considered as a manifestation of the "local histories" and as an expression of the building techniques of the past.

The goals became then the reconstruction of the altered urban fabrics, thereby avoiding the negative consequences that unfortunately happened in other recovery experiences—and the risk that the sum of the single interventions, even if formally correct, could not restore the whole historical image, but would simply crystallize, for better or for worse, the current condition.

Therefore, some incisive interventions have been decided with the support of an adequate historical reading, offered by the already mentioned Abacus and by the Laboratorio Comunale per il Centro Storico (Municipal Laboratory for the Historical Centre), having the function of a consulting "help desk" for the interventions on the historical building heritage of the competent experts. This method favored also the role of the city planners, that, when necessary, were able to intensify the historical analysis and propose solutions compatible with the existing regulations for building and architectural projects.

Similar goals were chosen also for the control of the destinations of use, a particularly important issue for the success of the measures of protection and the enhancement of the Historical Center.

With regard to this, it is important to reflect on the cases concerning the enforcement of the Law 47/1985, which gave the Municipalities the power of changing the destination of use of the areas of the territory, with or without buildings.

In the past, being the laws of some Regions excessively restrictive, it was decided to mitigate them.

As a consequence, the debate on this subject became more reasonably balanced and, as such, inspired the regulation of the Framework Plan and in particular its art. 20: this article mandated that all the changes of destination of use of the areas within the Historical Center must be controlled or at least communicated to the Municipality.

The diversified categories of use for the induced "urban planning load" were listed and it was established that, among these categories, the changes of use had to be subordinated to the merging of the possible major standards, namely, the operators had the responsibility to assert—or at least formally declare—the changes of use, but these must keep the standards unvaried.

5.2 Paradigmatic Topics

For what concerns the *diffused control*, being the dynamics of the activities fundamental for the life of the Historical Centre, the most simple and recurring cases of change of destination subjected to simple communication have been defined, and some innovative modalities have been proposed to guarantee the effective availability of standards (recruitment to another area designed for services, temporary availability of use, etc., cfr. art. 20 of the Regulation), having in mind the widest collaboration between private operators and Municipal Administration.

These new modalities of realization and/or availability of spaces for public services have already been experimented in other Regions (i.e., Emilia-Romagna, after the Regional Law n. 6/95) and they are included in the many reforming projects of the national urban planning law. Therefore, such modalities seemed enforceable also in the specific case of the Historical Centre of Cagliari, in accordance with the Law 785/1967 and its relative enforcement decrees.

In addition, the art. 4 of the Ministerial Decree April 2nd, 1968, mandated, for the zones A, that the Municipal Administration, in case of impossibility of reaching the minimum of standards "...must precise how the needs can be otherwise satisfied...". Therefore, in the case of the Historical Centre of Cagliari, the adopted criterion for the renovation of the zones destined to the service industry, employed the consolidated uses, already registered in the single historical-environmental units.

On the contrary, where the permanence of the uses confirmed the interest in conserving the vitality of the settlement functions, it was deemed opportune to eliminate the areas for services, while dividing the historical center into delimited areas.

In some cases, the re-localization of areas designed for social services (in particular along via Lamarmora and via Martini in Castello, via Palabanda in Stampace, piazza Sant'Eulalia in Marina, piazza San Domenico and via San Giovanni in Villanova) offered the chance to create, in the densest urban fabric, some spatial elements of "pause", giving way to significant itineraries for the enjoyment of the main historical-cultural resources of the Historic Centre.

In the re-proposition of the areas designed for the service industry, which is strategic for the achievement of the goals of the Framework Plan, the ban of expropriation for public utility within 5 years from the approval of the plan was implemented; on the contrary, the leasing of buildings, in compliance with the goal of a morphological restoration of the existing, was made possible at the request of the owners and upon agreement with the Municipal Administration, in building areas belonging to the Municipality and in exchange for unrestricted use of the same areas.

All the other destinations of public interest, found in the zones of the Framework Plan, maintained the simple urban planning destination.

This organization gave the private enterprises the chance to intervene in the creation of a secondary infrastructure of the Historical Center, with the limitation of respecting the established destinations.

In this sense, the hypothesis of a zone S_2 (services of general interest) for the current Manifattura Tabacchi was directed to the organization of functional spaces

for the "piazza sul mare" (square on the sea) and to the recovery of a fragment of the city history (the cloister of the Convento di Jesus), that could be then given back to the inhabitants.

The proposal of enhancement of the "piazza sul mare" was, in fact, based on the intention of opening the historical city seafront, and strengthening it with new urban functions that were not only a mere interface but also a bearer of rank and territorial quality.

More than six hectares of "open space" represented then, not only an element of connection and junction between the functions of the historical and the new city, but also a relation space with a symbolic and environmental value, a "conspicuous pause" in the settlement fabric, to allow the establishment of important social and recreational relationships among the inhabitants of the metropolitan city.

The resident population of 1991 is considered the minimum quantitative threshold to keep, bearing in mind that, in the 5-year period 1991–1996, the loss of population was about 950 units.

Thus, the equipment of social services in the Historical Center of Cagliari, for a theoretical requirement of 18 m²/inhabitant, calculated on the resident population in 1999 equal to about 357.282 m², more than minimum standard.

However, we should remember that, while for whole Cagliari Center the standard is of 26.2 m²/inhabitant, for Pirri, a suburb of Cagliari, within the Historical Center, the reached values are dangerously high; this unbalance was, therefore, compensated by the Piano Urbanistico Comunale (Municipal Urban Development Plan), through the retrieval, in the marginal zones, of some suitable areas for social services to be destined to the inhabitants of the Historical Center (recovery of the former glassworks, etc.).

This measure will allow to locally bring back an admissible standard of about 12 m^2 /inhabitant.

The "open" system of rules introduced by the regulation of the Framework Plan and by its inspiring *philosophy*, applied to the historical-environmental units criteria of *reconversion* and *adaptability* that become plausible recovery actions (Deplano 2009).

In conclusion, the Convention of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe on the assessment of the environmental impact in a transboundary context (February 25, 2001), encouraged the contracting parties of the Convention to apply its principles also to Plans and Programs.

It was also decided to prepare a legally binding protocol on the strategic environmental assessment to be added to the rules already in force. The Attachment I, point f of the Convention document, even mentioned the possible effects on the environment, as well as themes such as biodiversity, population, health, flora and fauna, ground, water, air, climate, material goods, cultural, architectural and archeological heritage, landscape and the interrelation among all these factors.⁴

⁴Cfr. Directive 2001/42/CE of the European Parliament and of the Council on the assessment of the effects of certain plans and programs on the environment.

5.3 Conclusions

The concept of environmental and territorial sustainability that this book has discussed, implies the search of a dynamic balance between the maintenance of the urban and territorial identity deriving from the diffused historical-cultural heritage, and the frequent attempts to set policies of enhancement and management of these resources that hold on an isolated and isolating soliloquy, not open, even historically, to the dialogue.

Overcoming these problems, with all their contradictions, is not easy, considering that the historical-cultural heritage has always distinguished itself for its non reproducibility compared to other diffused resources, and the necessity to be transmitted to the future generations.

If the processes of urban and territorial planning are entrusted, first, with the use of the historical-cultural heritage as a strategic tool to initiate the recovery of identity, and second, with the re-qualifying processes of the territorial organization (urban and not), we believe these plans should be following rules and models that need to contaminate one another, in the search of a model that appears always perfectible in time.

Particularly important for the current urban planning research, is the emphasis on the uniqueness of the planning, which identifies, in the municipal urban development plans, the only plans able to directly affect the use and transformation of the territory, and establishes regulations on the protection of the territory, through forms of co-planning with the bodies legally entrusted with the protection of the cultural and environmental values.

The plans and the process of planning will then be asked to articulate the sustainability of the development by assuring the conservation of the territorial resources recognized as unique and non substitutable (also through the integration of the ecological, cultural and social indicators of the different parts of the territory). Moreover, the plans should make sure that, in every physical transformation of the city and territory, the consumption of some (substitutable) territorial resources is compensated by the increase of others, thereby producing a necessary rebalance of the ecological footprint, in terms of a more general compensation, not only environmental, but also social-cultural, to the territory consumption (Carta 1999).

Therefore, we need to establish a communication between the many disciplinary fields of the territory sciences and have a better comparability among the various sectors of investigation.

Similarly, we should try to overcome, in the urban planning discipline, *the concept of the containment* in general. Such view substantially froze the possible planning answers, in a way that did not even prevent the loss or the alteration of the cultural good.

With this premise, one of the most controversial aspects is still the codification of the information, and how such an extremely diversified information, is integrated into the regulations of the planning. If the plan is the general framework of the idea of a city or territory, it may end up including, among its executive tools, a system of rules and executive behaviors that become, alternatively, forces for transformation or immobility. Therefore, it is necessary to give clear answers in terms of rules and behaviors to be included in a plan that is so eager for details, peculiarities and discernable features.

So far, though, the regulations of the plans of latest generation have been still insufficient to draw the necessary coordinates to exhaustively frame the many problems of the city.

However, in a few urban planning or regulatory experiments, the integration between protection of the cultural and environmental heritage and the policies of enhancement and development, have been, in fact, included in some legislative regional reforms.

The Regional Law Veneto 63/1994, for example, entrusted the municipalities with the management of the environmental goods: the urban planning project acquired the protection and enhancement of the environmental and cultural goods not only as the main goal, but also as a working tool, or as basis for the development of the territory. An indicator was also specifically introduced, the so-called "cultural load", which any territory can bear without a loss of the cultural and environmental qualities, and that is helpful for reaching a balance between legacy of the past and planning of the future.

The Regional Law Toscana 5/1995, on the other hand, pinpointed the "statute of the places" as a frame of the territorial variants to protect, and as a basis for the local development.

Finally, the Regional Law Liguria 37/1997, introduced the landscapeenvironmental recovery projects as operative tools to be used in situations of decay; such tools contain the analytic, regulatory, and financial elements necessary to allow the actuation of the decided interventions, follow the guidelines of the Territorial Plan of Provincial Coordination, and guarantee the connections with the municipal urban planning instrumentation.

Besides the regional and municipal measures regarding the management of the Italian cultural goods, the central government as well made a substantial effort in generating a unitary body to deliver unambiguous results in terms of protection and enhancement.

The Consolidating Statute (C.S.) on the cultural and environmental heritage of 1999, for example, confirmed the regional role in the use and enhancement of the environmental regulation, through the drafting of territorial landscape plans or urban-planning territorial plans aiming at protecting, as a state prerogative, the landscape and environmental values.

Regarding the urban planning discipline, "the fundamental lines of the layout of the national territory, that informed the landscape planning, were oriented towards the natural and environmental values and the defense of the soil, and availed themselves of the agreements ratified in the unified Conference".

The new Urbani Code validated all the regulations of the Consolidating Statute, and established a hierarchy, by putting the landscape plan at the highest position compared to all the other tools.

It is, therefore, clear, as noticed in the comments to the Code (Amorosino 2004), that the regional legislators will have to define and articulate the priority position of the plan with the municipal urban-planning tools and with the territorial (and not urban) plans of the metropolitan cities and provinces and will also have to carry out the immediate predominance of the landscape plan on the often diverse regulations of the urban planning.

Another particularly delicate issue is the elaboration of the protection rules, established by the Code, prior to the adaptation of the urban development plans. They must reflect a form of coordination, even brief, among all the different kinds of territorial planning.

Finally, the issue of the hypothetic compensation for landscape protection that, as observed by the author, should not considerably limit the property right, even when it is linked to the memory of goods and objects important for the community, may end up bringing about a verification of legitimacy by the Constitutional Court.

The disciplinary evolution of the planning, in the sense of the environmental dimension, puts at the center of its constitutive paradigms the environmental, naturalistic and cultural systems as founding and structural contents of the new generation plans.

5.3.1 A Typical Case in the Planning: The Archeological Find

For a historical city, it is important, besides the political knots of an environmentally sustainable development and the policies for the rebalance, to conceive a new picture of the city plan correlated to the network of the past and able to understand the "neo-ancient" code the topography decrypted through the spread-out series of archeological testimonies. In this sense, the archeological preexistences provided the culture of the contemporary city with crucial parameters.

The knowledge of the morphology of the places, the understanding of the historical process of their building, the acknowledgment of their roles, is fundamental for the urban planning management of the multilayered city and for the hypothesis of new settlement forms.

The generic knowledge of the monumental heritage is no longer sufficient to support appropriate choices of planning (Valle 1992; Meogrossi 1999; Lozato Giotard 1999; Torres 2000; Conforto 2002).⁵ The planner often completely ignores some important aspects of the problem. It is necessary, then, to seize the

⁵Some important considerations can be found in the Carte per il Patrimonio: International Charter for the Conservation and the Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter) Venice 1964. La Carta UNESCO: Recommendation for the Protection of Movable Cultural Property, General Conference—20th Session, Paris 1978.

opportunity of introducing in the urban planning tool, through the regulation of the plan, the assessment of the archeological deposits and the individuation of areas at risk.

The urban planning discipline has usually introduced measures for the protection of the archeological complexes, only in case they were subjected to restrictions or if they included elevated structures. Such measures appear clearly insufficient for a correct action of protection and enhancement, since the majority of the findings occur during construction works, which only rarely take place in protected areas or qualify as public works.

The arrangement of correct indications for an adequate scientific standard of planning must be necessarily managed by technical bodies for the knowledge and protection of the historical city; it is, therefore, necessary to make the majority of the verifiable information available for the individuation of the areas at risk. Furthermore, even the chance to hypothesize the typology of the findings allows to guide the new planning. Therefore, the documentation must be used in an advisory way and the assessment of the area at risk must be carried out for every single project of intervention.

The biggest problem then becomes the choice of tools the urban development plan can use in order to protect and enhance the hidden heritage and, so far, the most appropriate tool appears to be the planning regulation.

5.3.2 The Cultural Meanings and the Approach to the Value in the Planning of the Management Policies

The changes in the field of the heritage conservation concern, therefore, also the field of planning or better, the framing of the heritage problems within the practices of territorial planning. This method allows to embrace the so-called "contamination of knowledge": a necessary step to completely access the multilayered scenarios and plan their currently conflicting relationship with the rest of the society.

The field of the heritage conservation, from the point of view of the scientific discipline, made important progresses over the last years. This is particularly true for what concerns the field of the historical architectures and archeological sites. Through the planning of the *integrated cultural resources* the interdisciplinary approaches to the built heritage conservation have changed hand in hand with the change of the contemporary society.

The still evolving concept of cultural meaning has been critical toward such tendency of the conservation method.

The Venice Charter distinguished between cultural meaning and historical aesthetic value within a certain context and within a certain set of guidelines for the professional practice, in order to operate the essential enhancement of the resources for a sustainable development. Only at the beginning of the 1980s, the concept of cultural meaning appeared within the conservation issues, in the documents of the cultural policies such as the Carta di Burra (Burra Charter) and the United States Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Rehabilitation. The Burra Charter, in particular, emphasized that the conservation represents a driven process, centered on the notion of cultural meaning, and it indicated a systematic approach to the conservation planning which actually reflected it. Both the Burra Charter and the Secretary of Interiors represent local policies, but, later documents, such as the Nara Document (1994) and the Declaration of San Antonio (1996), argued on the concept of value and on the not so predictable one of authenticity as well.

The current approach is the holistic one, namely, the method of resource planning aiming at integrating the global values with the other considerations of context, such as: the available resources, the legislative context surrounding them and, also, the technical aspects of the heritage. Only in such a way we can reach sustainable results in the long run. The implementation rules of the holistic model were, at least partially, already structured in the management plans used in the processes of conservation.

The management plans change in their purposes and contents. Some of them refer only to a specific site, being it a historical city or an archeological park, while others deal with different sites or whole regions. Some are conceived as moderate operations that must be periodically revised, while others have a wider horizon of implementation, with periodical adaptations.

The level of detail varies also from one plan to another, and a few plans deal with the aspects of the management of the sites, and others have more general goals. Lately, the importance of a management plan lies in its use as a platform to make decisions, for a given period of time. A plan should represent a global vision for a site and serve as a support for future investments, with the hope of involving since the beginning the stakeholders and involve them also in the process of planning.

The most critical aspect is clearly to allow the plan to develop within a participated and interdisciplinary debate. Therefore, the participative process in the planning could be as important as the results predicted by the plan itself.

In this integrated process towards the conservation there are many temporal events. Nowadays the problems of the conservation did not learn how to communicate their criteria, therefore, they have been misunderstood by the public.

The conservation often fails also on a second point: although it is accepted that the acknowledgment of the values and of the other attributes of context is fundamental, so far, no professional tools and methods have been developed for this analysis, unlike, for example, was done for the technical aspects.

Such principles, useful to better define the integrated planning for the Cultural Goods, will be developed only on the basis of a constant dialogue between the empiric implementation of the planning processes and the improvement of the methodological approaches.

At the present time, there is no *corpus* of knowledge to implement the central identity values and integrate them into the planning processes and it is, therefore, necessary to accumulate experience in order to build basic knowledge.

The study of the local experiences can sustain such intention while codifying the final solutions. The rapidly changing current society leads us to think that a new planning behavior (Ashworth and Howard 1999; McNamon and Hatton 2000), rising from the combination of all the changing elements, needs also to have a clear strategic plan.

5.3.3 From the Multilayered City to the Plan. the Risk Map as the Result of the Processes of Integration Between Remote Memory and Present Memory

The ambitious goal of giving the city and territory an urban planning equipment in order to protect and enhance the historical-cultural heritage is a topic highly discussed in the policies and in academia. The theme of archeology has been used to better explain the concept of the preventive risk assessment for the urban planning, to the benefit of the initiatives of public institutions that have to work in an urban and territorial context.

The elaboration and assessment of the historical data, with those directly gathered from the field, led to the innovative definition of the Risk Maps (Brighi and Biscaglia 2001).⁶ A first cartographically reproduced *screening*, concerns the consistence of the survived deposits, is performed through core drillings and is deducible from the information on the findings. Intermediate Maps have been also elaborated according to the different historical periods. The global Map of the risk values synthesizes the risk probability with reference to each individual period. The areas with the maximum risk value are those encompassing all the historical periods with archeological stratification of high but diversified consistence and highest informative potentiality. A different chart representation represented the areas characterized by high informative potentiality and stratifications of great power. The areas having variable but usually lower value of informative potentiality are limited only to some historical periods and are indicated with a different symbolism.

Finally, we find those zones by now weakened, because located in a fringe area or because having been subjected to excavations that have strongly compromised their deposits.

The map is also accompanied by a series of interpretative sections for the subsoil.

The archeological risk Map is associated to a chart illustrating the economic risk of the interventions, which connects the risk values with the costs of the scientific investigations necessary to correctly highlight the informative value of the buried deposits.

⁶In general cfr. the C.A.R.T. project for the Emilia-Romagna.

5.3.4 A Concrete Example

A variation of the Cesena General Urban Development Plan, adopted in October 2000 in the area of the landscape-environmental planning, that, in turn, applied the regional territorial landscape plan and is in harmony with the territorial plan of provincial coordination, had to come to a practical solution as to how translate into regulation and plan-cartography the risk map. In the rules of the plan, an article dedicated to the zones and the historical archeological elements in the ancient city center, was presented as an integration of the RTLP (Regional Territorial Landscape Plan) and of the PTCP (Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan). Diverse binding rules were established depending on the level of risk. For the areas of maximum risk, where the risk value is maximum for all the historical periods due to the presence of archeological stratification of high, but different consistence and the highest informative potentiality, no excavations of any kind are allowed, except for those necessary for the works of public utility, that will have to be agreed upon with the archeological Superintendence. On the existing building heritage, works of maintenance, restoration, typological restoration, demolition of the non bound buildings, were allowed. On the areas with high-risk potential, where we have a high informative potentiality for some historical periods and stratifications of high power, the excavations are subordinated to the execution of preventive archeological digging.

On the areas with lower middle risk potential, having informative potentiality of variable value, but usually medium to low, and limited only to some historical periods, the building interventions, such as excavations, were subordinated to the execution of preventive archeological digging of verification as well. Finally, on the weakened areas, having slim or non existent archeological risk, the works of excavation are not subjected to any limitation, with the exception of the obligation to communicate the beginning of the works to the competent Superintendence. It is a rather straightforward regulation which can be managed by a technical office having no specific competence on the subject.

In fact, such competence is prerogative of the Nation State, which exercises it through the Superintendences as established by the legislative decree n. 490 of 10/29/1999.

In the light of the innovative commitment showed by many municipalities, a new strategy of protection of the buried goods, and the chance of a concurrence of actions among the public powers and the private subjects (for the defense of the archeological heritage), became highly desirable.

The archeological protection, in the abovementioned case, had to deal with three main concerns:

 a concern for the creation of a basic tool for the knowledge of the deposits, with the subsequent chance of foreseeing its continuous updates due to the continuous studies, (activity referable to the representation of the analysis of the urban development plan);

- (2) a concern for the drafting of simple and enforceable rules of preventive protection;
- (3) the proposition of a level of risk, by individuating the priorities of protection or diversifying the risk probability. This last aspect has become more and more important with the introduction of the preventive archeological assessment in the organization of plans and projects.

These three levels allowed to not hold the research back to the phase of analysis and elaboration of the plan, just periodically updated. In particular, the deepening of the study and the continuous update of the knowledge can be traced back to the methodology adopted to read the environmental data, and is comprehensible only when historicized and a *trend* of the data is identified.

In this scenario, it is critical to understand what and how fast the subsoil system of the historical city will change and also how the starting and updating of a wide risk map in the rural territory will enjoy the elaboration of the periodical risk map; we believe that this map can certainly work to protect the cultural heritage of the subsoil and soil, tearing it off the isolation that tied it to a sterile conservatism.

The proposals of national urban planning reform entrust the structural plan with the task of communicating the overriding choices on the issue of the environmental sustainability.

Therefore, the planning must use a detailed method to deal with the informative heritage of cultural goods without neglecting its identity, its interpretation and the assessment of the recurring values emerging from a confrontation with the competing protection policies of other European countries (Voghera 2005). The biggest problem is to establish through which tools the General Urban Development Plan can protect and enhance the heritage which still needs to be dug out: to this end the most suitable tool has been individuated in the plan regulations. For instance, the Circular n. 3763/6 of June 24th, 1982 of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Circolare della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri), established that: "...all the projects of public works, in the same preliminary phase of the localizations, should preventively be examined by the administrative bodies of the cultural and environmental goods". The projects are examined in appropriate building commission, with the inclusion of an archeologist or expert of multilayered urban analysis, or, by sending them to the competent Superintendence, which will issue an evaluation. This evaluation was binding in the past, but it is no longer because the last decision about the possible restrictions is now entrusted to the regional Superintendence.

There are two kinds of possible interventions (AA.VV 1984):

- 1. infrastructural works pertaining to the public bodies or big works of restoration or renovations;
- 2. works on single buildings or small areas by public and private operators in compliance with the plan regulation.

5.3.5 Some Final Observations on the Charters and Conventions

In the rest of Europe, similar problems regarding the protection of the cultural heritage emerged. 7

The Malta Convention, signed in 1992 by the Member States of the Council of Europe, set the rules of protection for the archeological heritage. The most important directives were: conservation of the archeological archives and refunds for the damaged heritage to be inflicted on the perpetrators.

The Article 6, II of the Malta Convention established that: "Each Party is committed to increase the material resources for rescue archeology:

- (a) by taking suitable measures to ensure the total costs of any necessary archeological operations are covered by public or private resources;
- (b) by including in the budget the impact studies necessitated by environmental and regional planning precautions, as well as preliminary archeological studies and prospection studies, scientific summary records and the full publication and recording of the findings".

Moreover, the Article 7, I stated: "For the purpose of facilitating the study of, and dissemination of the knowledge of the archaeological discoveries, each Party is committed to realize and bring up to date surveys, inventories and maps of archaeological sites in the areas within its jurisdiction".

The case of Spain deserves a separate consideration.

In Spain, the regulations for the urban development planning and for the protection of the historical and archeological heritage have been traditionally dissociated. The law on the soil of 1956 did not consider any conservationist principle,

⁷For the United Kingdom, the fundamental documents are: The Ancient Monument and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979, overcome by the Planning Police Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning (PPG16, 1990). The main legislation is the National Heritage Act 1984, Local Government Act 1985, Town and Country Planning Act 1990, Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990. The Practices can be distinguished as follows: Planning Police Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning (PPG16) 1990, Planning Police Guidance 15: Planning and Historic Environment (PPG15) 1994. Also, English Heritage Urban Archaeological databases programs and York City Council 1992, in: www.york.gov.uk/leisure/local_history_and_heritage/ archaeology/surveys/arch_summ/. For France see B. Boissavit Camus, "Les services territoriaux, une alternative pou l'archéologie urbaine", in: Nouvelles de l'archéologie 71, 1988, pp. 52-53; AA.VV., Conserver ou détruire les vestiges archéologiques; la carte archéologique; l'archéologie dans l'aménagement du territoire, Actes des quatrième et cinquième rencontres nazionales de l'archéologie (Montpellier avril 1992 et Marseille octobre 1993), Atelier du patrimoine de la ville de Marsille, De Boccard-Diffusion, Document d'archéologie, d'histoire et d'architecture, 3; Documents d'evaluation du patrimoine archéologique urbain, Centre National d'Archeologie urbaine, DEPAU, Tours; H. Galinié, "La gestion des Archives du sol en ville", in Jornadas Internacionales de Arqueologia de Intervencion (Donostia 1991), Bilbao 1992, pp. 137-164; pp. 23-36. For Greece cfr. AA.VV., The city beneath the city. Antiquities from the Metropolitan Raiway Excavation, Athens, Kapon Ed. 2000.

and the revised text of 1976 only included a level of protection for the remains of historic artistic value, located in the proximity or inside a historical building. During Francisco Franco's rule (1939–1975), the concept of historical heritage was influenced by an idea of the monument as a value *per se*, which could be maintained even if taken out of context, as it had been introduced by the Idealistic philosophy.

In the 1980s, the importance of the historical city and its "context" was recognized, and, in 1985, the law on the Spanish Historical Heritage was issued, as part of the general urban development plan, (article 20 of the law 16/85 (Barrero Rodriguez 1990; Terán 1982; Mas Guindal La Farga 1993).

The *International Charter for historic towns* (Roman 2000), adopted in Washington in 1987, is also very important, because it considered the whole cities as monuments.

Twenty-three years later, with the Venice Charter, the field of the protection of monuments and of the theory of planning added a new chapter: the protection and safeguard of the quality of the historical cities. As a consequence, the urban planners were requested to guarantee a typology of development that respected those qualities.

5.3.6 Some Observations on Space and Society

In the 1950s, the uprooting of the population from the cities became rampant. Since the foundation of stable societies, human beings established their roots in some areas, not randomly, but rather by practices of life and work, memories, and symbols. To these elements, the most cultivated people added precise ethnic, religious, cultural, linguistic identities, that were inaccessible and maybe unintelligible to those who did not already have a strong link to the place.

Human societies and places have been connected for millennia by simple, direct and functional relationships (Salvemini 1997). The historiographic studies concerning these issues are countless. Here it can suffice to mention the example of two French men: Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel.

They analyzed the relationships between people and environment and arrived at different conclusions, that are though still comparable on the historical and philosophical level. While Febvre lingered on the progressive influence of the environment, intended also in the geographic sense, and declared the natural regions are simple "options" for human societies, that use them and are not determined by them, Braudel is a determinist. He believed the space "has a determining function in the historical narration because it is a downright actor that operates in the whole human history, ready to transform itself and history..." (Febvre 1953).

The two scholars, from different points of view, reached the same point, namely, that spaces and societies are adequate to each other. The consequences of such an idea of the territory are paradoxical: the correspondence between man and environment eventually becomes a prerequisite rather than a result of the research. Furthermore, this vision of the territory in our era of mass uprooting enriches itself

with the methods that analyze the new spatial identities, such as for instance, the psychology of deprivation, and the related change of the relationship society-space that happened in the 1850s.

The scenario, in which the historiographic discipline situated the emerging of the paradigm of the modern territoriality, is the Eighteenth century of the great European monarchies (Dockès 1969).

The resources of the cultural heritage could be used by those holding a citizenship, which was not referred to state territories but to precise portions of the sovereignty and differentiated the duties and the rights of the subjects depending on the territorial body they belonged to.

Therefore, to be in a space meant to enjoy a system of privileges, dependences, loyalty, hierarchies marked by honorary rankings of the places that the people of the time could easily identify. The top positions were occupied by the most important cities and all the rest came after. The forms of representation adapted themselves to such a space, characterized by physical and juridical asperities.

There are two opposite ways to relate to the space: the first is the planning totalitarianism, which continuously refers to the humanization of the space, by using the entire available technology; the second one is a totalitarianism of identity and considers the spaces as hermetic containers that have been gathering, for generations, events, manufactures, ideas. These elements characterize the people living in that space and distinguish them from the others, precisely from who lives in other hermetically sealed spaces. Thankfully, the study of History teaches how to counteract such visions and practices of the territory. The historically equipped scholar, in fact, is able to read the place and the space as a program, a palimpsest, and knows how to consider the territory as an ordinate, exclusive, spatially defined, accumulation of memory.

The consideration of the territory as a historical event generates the image of an invincible disconnection between the societies and the spaces temporarily entrusted to them, draws the humanization of the environment as deformed spatiality and, therefore, locates the space in the family of the social phenomena, rather than in the family of things: a completely different spatiality as compared to the generic one suggested by the recurring technological nightmares of engineering, and from the nightmares of identity loss.

5.3.7 Protection and Requalification of the Historical-Cultural Heritage in the New Forms of Plan

The historical function that the European urban planning attributed to the plan is that one of a regulative component of the market, a factor of balance and redistribution (Piroddi 1999). This perspective included also the safeguard of the environment, the protection of the areas having a commercial value and the so-called "sustainable development".

The landscape plans (Law 431), which represented the classical tool of regulation of the soils in a wide area, do not interfere, if not indirectly and only for the environmental invariants, with the strategy of the organization. The study of some current *plan-forms*, allowed to define a model of urban planning directed to strategic innovative practices compared to the acknowledged traditional model of planning: this definition also includes the plans that made the historical memory strategic and participative, with particular attention to the relationship between *plan-form* and context (Nigro 1999), considered as a wide *network* of relationships, directly connected to the local experiences.

The idea of cultural good as one of the elements around which the chosen forms of planning rotate, dates back to a recent time: for instance, to the writings of Giovanni Astengo's, who, between 1958 and 1996 drew the general urban development plan and the detailed plans of Gubbio. In the same period, the *Carta di Gubbio* and the *Codice dell'Urbanistica*, authored by Giuseppe Samonà, were also published. These works represent an unsurpassed vision of what should be considered as cultural good, given that the concept of cultural good is not easily translatable in scientific terms.⁸

For the first time, the starting point is the consideration that knowledge, conservation and programming cannot have a conflict of interests. Such affirmation is consequential to a long process that, in Europe, started with the debate on the historical centers and culminated with the codification of the ICOMOS that extended and defined the catalog of the historical and environmental goods.

The present organization of the regulatory tools for the historical settlements reveals an important discontinuity between the urban planning and the need of conservation, although the "Bottai laws", in 1939, had intended to join them within an organic cultural vision.

In the original project of 1939, the protection of the single monumental buildings should have been associated to the protection not only of the naturalistic fields of particular value, but also of those settlements that were an actual successful example of integration between environment and human activity.

This integration was obviously limited to the external look of the buildings, but was still conceptually advanced, and, in many cases, could have managed acceptably the difficult issue of the *postwar* reconstruction. This interpretation acquires more strength if we consider that, at the beginning of the 1970s, the legislation ratified a total separation of the urban planning discipline from the historical centers safeguard, with the loss, by the Nation State, of the power of intervention of the urban planning tools (land use plans, detailed plans, etc.), that were entrusted to the regional governments, whereas the former laws had allowed the central institutions to specifically verify the suitability of the conservation.

⁸A consistent disciplinary support in the debate on the requalification of the historical urban heritage takes place in parallel, leading to advanced reflections, from the historicism to Giovannoni.

The clear regression on the issue of conservation found a potentially overturning instrument in the so-called Galasso law of 1985. This law is important, not so much for delivering to the Superintendences the power of generalized control on the measures for the protection of the territory, that had been delegated, since 1977, to the Regions, but, more importantly, for rebuilding the premises for a useful debate on a field that had been prerogative of a single subject.

A lot has been written on the philosophy of the landscape protection of the Galasso law, and on its new territorial and environmental orientation, however, at present, a disconnection between protection, territorial management and urban planning (Bermejo Latre 2002) has been observed, which must lead to new theoretical and practical solutions. On the disciplinary level, the discussion about what a cultural good is and especially how the good could represent a *planning driving force*, has become productive and common (Vittorini 1999). The cultural good is heterogeneous: it diversifies its content and its meaning in relation to an *ever-present memory* which is able to pass on problematic messages, show a variety of physical and functional aspects, ways of use and symbolisms not always coherent with that message. The perception⁹ of that message changes over time. Nevertheless, some methods of scientific acquisition of the messages exist (on which I will not linger over), and concern, for example, the study of the formative processes of the territorial structures.¹⁰

These methods could represent a completed system of general requisites, on the basis of which to structure the cultural resources of the plans.

In such a way, the process of knowledge building, clearly defines itself as a quality process which confers a surplus value to those latest generation plans that transpose contents and practices of such reasoning to the expected or implemented regulations. This is the most anguished aspect of the plan, and also the one that most greatly limits the strategy of the plan, because, in the majority of the cases, it is still the enforcing of the restrictions by the legislation, the main factor regulating the management of the cultural goods.

In other cases, the attention to the historical-cultural good is limited to a declaration of intents, in others, to the urban planning previsions, or the rules and plan prescriptions that suggest the typology of the historical settlements. For instance, the renowned "abacuses of the details" represent a successful method for the control of the legitimacy of the planning choices.

We should have a very open dialogue among research, scientific skill, determination in the protection. An ancient discourse that is not based on a separation between protection and enhancement, but on a synergy between the two, directed to

⁹See the world of perception in K. Lynch.

¹⁰The methods of the *Forma Italiae*, Ancient City in Italy, *Forma Maris Antiqui, Tabula Imperii Romani*. Codified methods guaranteeing the comparison and juxtaposition of the data that today represent the best in innovation for what concerns the field of the archeological science in relation to the urban and territorial analysis for the periods of the antiquity and Middle Ages.

maximize the possible use of the cultural goods and rooted in deep knowledge. This helpfulness should be intended in scientific terms, (meaning an integrated project of research), in historical terms, (the study of a path of identity), and in usability terms, (coordinated enhancement of the cultural goods and also of other sectors).

The historical-cultural heritage has acquired a special role in the landscape discipline and the landscape has become a historical-cultural good to all intents and purposes, for its nature of irreproducible natural resource. The cultural resources become a cultural patrimony that will last in time only through a creative planning that must encompass all the goods.

Despite the importance and the variety of the Italian cultural goods, which greatly contributed and still contributes to the economy of the nation, by attracting considerable international tourism; at the same time, though, the national cultural heritage is considered a residual sector, at least according to the modesty of the public money and resources for its conservation and enhancement, which also prompted the definition of "destitute heritage".¹¹

The most recent transformations of the market economy, and, in particular, the new processes of immaterial goods production, productive reallocation, competition between local and global regional fields, a rethinking of the strategic role of the cultural goods, has been registered in many areas and also in economic terms.

The cultural heritage can, in fact, be a fundamental resource for the local development, the regeneration of degraded territories and can polarize a fresh regional and national political attention, in line with the international trends.

Under the methodological profile, the cultural heritage can be considered, with full right, among the original *inputs* of the process of social and identity aggregation of the city, which determines phenomena of territorialization. Consequently, the cultural offer in the city is characterized by elevated ethic contents, the social-economic complexity and vitality of the city are based on, in view of a total enjoyment of the cultural and environmental goods.

The complexity of the management of the cultural good in the big city of art is expressed, by two main conditions: the first one is referred to the coexistence of the sites of the layered culture, namely, the historical-artistic emergent sites, with the locations of the main activities of the city and the consequent circulation of people and material goods. The second one is referred to the need of innovative forms of financial and human resources to employ for the conservation and safeguard of the historical-artistic heritage, that is affected not only by a growing demand of fruition, but also by the endangerment or the downright damage tainting the surrounding environment.

Paradoxically, an integral conservation, whenever possible, could limit not only the total enjoyment of the cultural good, but also the development of other social and productive activities.

The complexity of the Italian scenario makes objectively hard to define a strategic plan of the interventions for the enhancement of the diffused historical and

¹¹The note is by Antonio Cederna.

cultural heritage, which is mainly characterized by the interrelations among three crucial features of the historical city: consistence, diffusion, and accessibility.

On the other hand, the retrospective assessment of the policies and actions pursued for their enhancement prompts some considerations: the first one concerns the evaluation of the public interventions, that often underscores a modest interpretative capability of understanding the complexity of the necessary actions which, for the peculiarity of the cultural goods and their spatial collocation, rarely result satisfactory.

The second aspect concerns the hypothesis of models of shared and integrated enhancement. In this case, the proposals appear to be strictly connected to the operative intent, more or less explicit, of the planning policies of protection and enjoyment supported by the local authorities. In other words, the cultural good is inserted in a local context, strongly dependent on shared identity factors and on the social-economic development pursued by the community. Consequently, the renewed attention to the historical heritage diffused in the urban centers and in the territory could allow to overcome many of the limitations that the regulation of protection and the competitiveness among the historical cities necessarily imposes.

The constitutional reform introduced by the law n. 3/2001 established the distribution and differentiation of the powers between Nation State and Regions. The Nation State deals exclusively with the legislation for the protection of the environment, the ecosystem and the cultural goods.

The Regions, conversely, carry out the management of the territory and of the cultural and environmental goods, with the related promotion and organization of the cultural activities.

Such modifications have been later acknowledged and clarified by the Legislative Decree n. 42/2004, known as Code of the Cultural and Landscape Heritage (Urbani Code),¹² which specifies the competences of the Nation State and the Regions in the field of safeguard and enhancement of the heritage, and regulates their cooperation.

The Code is, therefore, an important opportunity to reconsider the state legislation on the cultural goods for protection and enhancement, and clearly gives the new constitutional dictate the go-ahead.

It is worth clarifying what protection and enhancement mean.

Protection consists in the exercise of the functions and in the regulation of the activities aimed at identifying, on the basis of adequate investigative procedures, the

¹²The reasons which led to the decision of drafting, less than 4 years from the adoption of the Consolidating Statute, a "new" code for the cultural heritage, are formally expressed by art. 10 of the Law 137 of 2002, synthesizable as follows: to adapt the regulation on the cultural and environmental heritage to articles 117 and 118 of the Constitution, modified with the reform of its Title V, to the communitarian regulation and to the international agreements; to improve the effectiveness of the actions concerning goods and cultural activities; to simplify and abbreviate the procedures; to update the tools of individuation, conservation and protection of the cultural goods.

properties of the cultural heritage and at ensuring the protection and conservation of the heritage for purposes of public enjoyment.¹³ Enhancement consists in the exercise of the functions and in the regulation of the activities aimed at promoting the knowledge of the cultural heritage and at ensuring the best conditions for the utilization and public enjoyment of the same heritage, including the promotion and the support of conservation work.

The enhancement work is entrusted to the Regions, as well as the promotion and organization of the cultural activities. Such division of competences led to a series of problems of difficult solution. Firstly, the dichotomy between protection and enhancement seems contradictory and creates conflicts of competences still not completely settled. Secondly, the financial resources allocated to this end remained undetermined, which makes an effective long-term organization impossible.

Even more complex is the problem of the enhancement, which must be structured in terms of offering of the cultural good, that is made physically and culturally accessible, and in terms of request by the society of access to the good.

We believe that the community and the society do not represent only the recipient and users of the heritage, but the heritage itself, and their awareness and involvement are essential for any policy of active protection of the cultural good. The competition and the overlapping of the instructions State and Regions issued and issue for the enhancement of the cultural good, unchained so many discretionary interpretations on the value to assign to the local cultural systems, that the results of the territorial planning and of the policies of enhancement of the historical cities have often been disastrous (Clementi 2005).

A recent report published in the magazine "Giornale dell'Arte" on the cultural activities of the public Administrations¹⁴ highlighted a worrisome inequality among the Italian Regions of the individual strategies of the cultural policies that are, in fact, implemented with differently sized *budgets* and characterized by unequal participation of the local investors, but also, in the case of the less advanced Regions in the field of the promotion of the cultural heritage, characterized by political choices scarcely aware of the priorities concerning the cultural heritage.

Over the last few years, one of the most debated issues has been, in fact, the relationship between historical heritage and contemporary architecture, elicited, in turn, by the loss of connection between ancient context and new city. The meeting in Vienna of the *World Heritage Committee* approved a *memorandum* to define the criteria for the safeguard of the cities already enrolled in the UNESCO list, but also for the enrollment of new cities.

¹³Cfr. Legislative Decree 22 January 2004, n. 42, Part I. General Dispositions art. 3. It has been widely noticed that it is unclear where the protection entrusted to the state ends and where the enhancement, competence of the regions, begins, and how this fact generates conflicts and problems.

¹⁴Cfr. "Rapporto sistematico annuale 2005 sulle attività culturali delle Amministrazioni pubbliche" published as supplement to the *Giornale dell'Arte*, anno XXIII, n.243, maggio 2005, Torino Umberto Allemandi & C.

The Vienna Memorandum mentioned the integrated desirable approach connecting the contemporary architecture, the urban development and the integrity of the landscape.

The present situation of the city has been defined and solutions have been proposed.

Some solutions have been searched in a wider notion of historical center, that has shown how the contemporary architecture contributes, with the historical buildings and the fabric of the city, to determine its peculiar character. The need of high-quality projects, sensitive to the historical context, should be emphasized as much as a major cooperation among policy-makers, urban planners and designers, administrators in charge of the protection of the historical-artistic heritage, investors, entrepreneurs and local citizens, in order to preserve the national cultural patrimony, and, at the same time, foster the modernization and the development of the whole society, achieved through culturally and historically adequate modalities, for the ultimate goal of nourishing identity and social cohesion.

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A. M. Colavitti, *Urban Heritage Management*, The Urban Book Series, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72338-9

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