

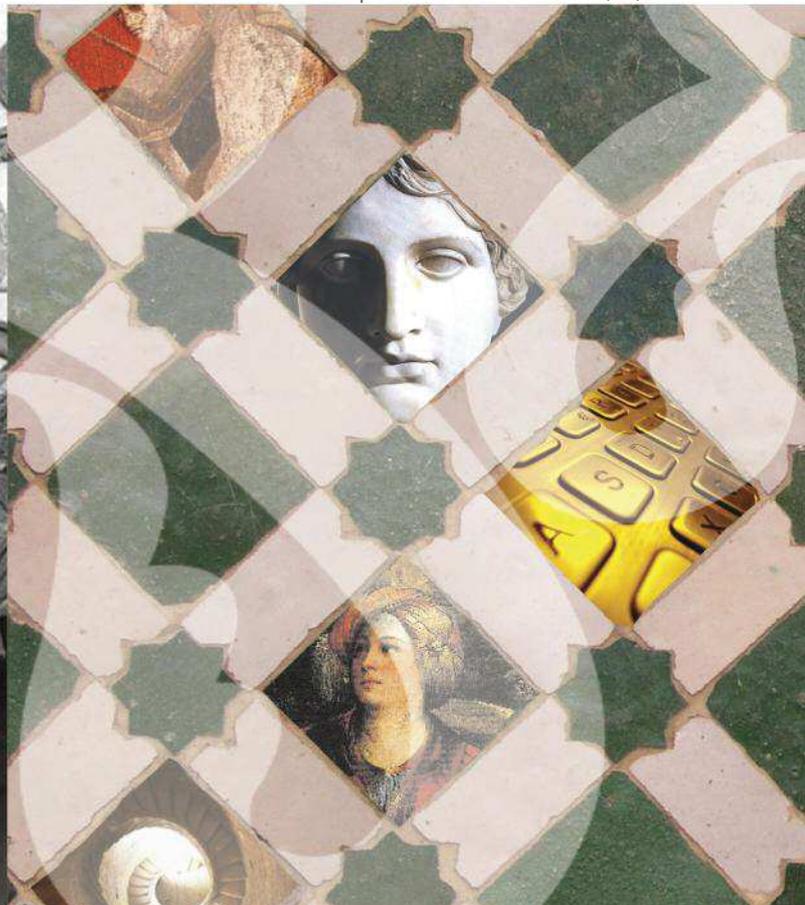
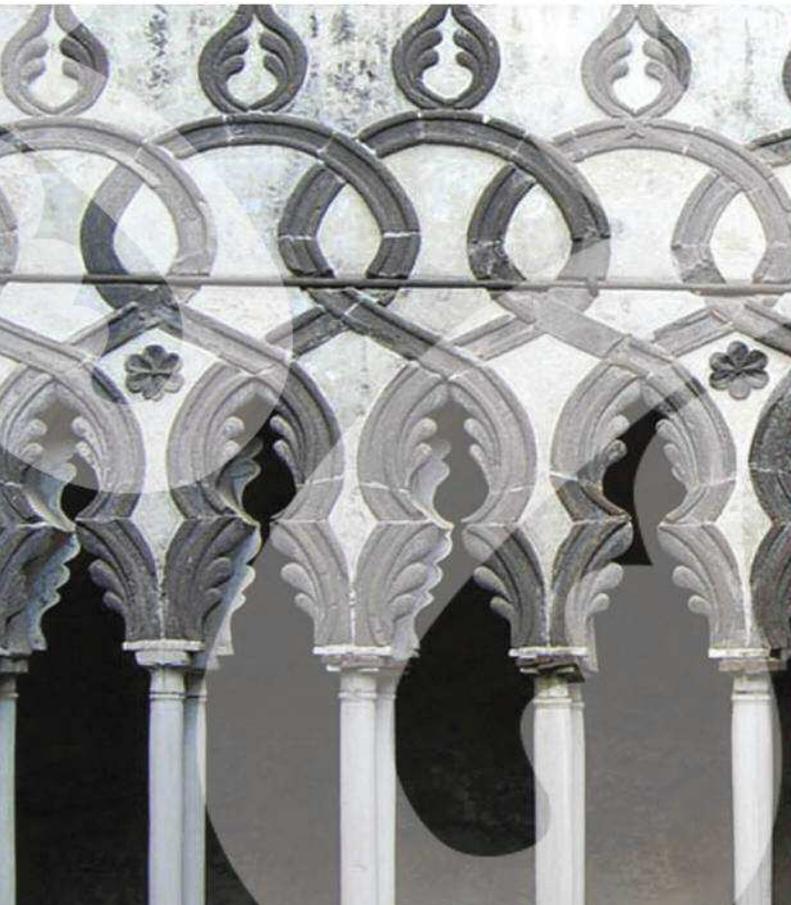


Centro Universitario Europeo  
per i Beni Culturali  
Ravello

# Territori della Cultura

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Jukka Jokilehto

Jukka Jokilehto, ICCROM

## Culture as a factor of development

*Questa Sezione della Rivista non poteva ospitare contributo più centrato, rispetto ai suoi scopi, di questo articolo di Yukka Yokiletho, predisposto proprio per illustrare la stretta coerenza e conseguenza fra cultura e sviluppo.*

*La sua analisi è rigorosa, come il pensiero di questo "finlandese d' Italia" che ha fatto del nostro Patrimonio una delle fonti principali delle sue ricerche, dei suoi studi, della sua attività internazionalmente apprezzata e sollecitata, ma saldamente basata a Roma dove, come noto, opera da anni nel "board" dell'ICCROM, da ultimo come Consigliere Speciale del Direttore Generale.*

*Yokiletho parte addirittura dall'etimo delle parole cultura, economia e sviluppo per evidenziarne la interdipendenza e ne traccia l'ideale collocazione ed incrocio in tutti i "testi sacri" sul Patrimonio: dalla Carta di Venezia del 1964 alle "Raccomandazioni" dell' Unesco del 1972, dalla "Convenzione sul patrimonio" dello stesso anno alla "Carta europea del patrimonio Architetonico" del Consiglio d'Europa del 1975. E ancora, dalla Convenzione Unesco sul "Patrimonio Immateriale" del 2003 a quella sulla Protezione delle "Diversità culturali" del 2005. Ed infine dalla "Convenzione quadro per i Valori del Patrimonio" di Faro del Consiglio d'Europa alle recenti "Raccomandazioni" dell' Unesco sull' HUL (Historic Urban landscape).*

*Illustrata la coerenza anche scientifica del suo tema, Yokiletho conclude che solo un enorme sforzo corale di insegnamento e di formazione che parta dal sistema scolastico primario, su su fino agli organi amministrativi preposti alla gestione, uno sforzo continuo di insegnamento e di comunicazione può consentire la necessaria "capacity building" suscettibile di tutelare il Patrimonio, garantire il rispetto dell'HUL, coniugare Patrimonio e sviluppo sostenibile.*

Francesco Caruso



The definition of the concept of culture has been subject to a variety of approaches, ranging from the perception of a linear evolution from primitive society to sophisticated civilisation, as well as the more recent recognition of a multicultural approach. For an economist, culture and cultural heritage tend to remain rather marginal if not seen in the context of economic development. In this context, cultural heritage has started gaining some visibility principally in relation to cultural tourism and cultural industry, one importing people to visit major monuments and sites; the other exporting marketable products that represent the identity of a particular cultural region or ethnicity<sup>1</sup>.



Fig. 1 Naples.

### Heritage and Economics

We can ask if there are other ways of defining culture in relation to the economy and community development. In the past couple of centuries, culture has become some sort of elitist notion, discussed by anthropologists etc. Instead, we can think that culture is intrinsic feature of all human life. It means cultivating and improving. In the communal economy, culture is the aspect that characterises the striving towards something better. Over time, it can produce issues that we call "art" or "heritage". But, in reality, it is always present. It is the underlying feature of humanity, and therefore a fundamental factor of economy. And, it is gradually becoming recognized in the context of integrated urban conservation planning, and the identification of the intangible cultural heritage.

Conventionally, heritage used to be considered as a non-reproducible resource, and something that would be destroyed without preventive measures. Indeed, the philosophy and theory of restoration of monuments and historic buildings has fundamentally been based on the concept of non-reproducibility, as in the well-known words of John Ruskin: *'Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of the word "restoration" understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer ... it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture ... there was yet in the old some life, some mysterious suggestion of what it had been, and of what it had lost: some sweetness in the gentle lines which rain and sun had*

<sup>1</sup> Jesper Asp Sorensen, 'The Concept of Culture', *Theories of Culture*, Centre for European Cultural Studies, 1995; [http://www.jesperasp.dk/tekster/kulturt\\_eoriopgave.pdf](http://www.jesperasp.dk/tekster/kulturt_eoriopgave.pdf) (accessed, 22 May 2012); George W. Stocking, Jr., 'Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective', in: *American Anthropologist*, 68, 1966: 867-882.



Fig. 2 London.

wrought. There can be none in the brute hardness of the new carving<sup>2</sup>. This approach is reflected for example in the sort of allergy by conservationists against 'reconstruction'. The only accepted condition is when there is full documentation, as indicated in the Venice Charter. Reconstruction is more easily justifiable when destruction has taken place relatively recently, e.g. due to natural disaster such as earthquake.

This rigid approach seems to have started changing, and the references for heritage values are slowly broadening, being also associated with the economics of a region. The professor of economics at Sorbonne University, Xavier Greffe writes that the conventional approach could be seen as a rent economy animated with rent seeking behaviours. *'The owners of the heritage resources, public or private, benefit from some rents paid by the visitors but this income appears as the consequence of a monopoly power and not as the counterpart of a productive service: we are in a rent seeking economy which is not organised to create new services and new productive income'*. Greffe observes that now heritage can be considered a stock of assets, which may *'generate new types of services for the residents of its local territory as for people from outside'*<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, heritage can become a lever for economic and social development. In this context, Greffe considers the different values, such as artistic, aesthetic and educational, information, archive and research services, as well as housing and real estate services. Heritage can be a source of skills and competencies; it can be a factor of integration, and give a positive label to one's territory. Greffe notes that there are

<sup>2</sup> J. Ruskin, 'The Lamp of Memory', in: *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1949 (reprint London, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> X. Greffe, 'The Economic Value of Heritage'; <http://www.planningstudies.org/pdf/Raphael%20Greffe-%20E%20%28formatted%29.pdf> (accessed, 22 May 2012).



however limits to the economics in relation to heritage, and he stresses that the assessment of cultural heritage is a cornerstone in this regard.

### **Economy and Culture**

How should we define economy in the context of community development? In its etymology, the word derives from: *οικος* (house) and *νέμω* (manage; distribute). Therefore: *οικονομία*: 'household management'. It is the system established by a community to provide the desired quality of life. It consists of labour, production, trade distribution and consumption, based on existing and/or newly generated resources. The notion of economics is generally associated with the group of social sciences. Indeed, we can see the economy of a community as a cultural process, involving the inculcation of what is practised and learnt in the minds of the members of the community. In the process, the members of the community make selections aiming at the improvement of quality, identifying issues to be retained and others to be innovated. **Economy refers to a system within which a community arranges its resource management over time.**

While evaluation certainly does take place in the selection processes, one can propose to define culture without such reference. The etymology of the word 'culture' can be referred to the Latin word: '*colere*' ('*colo*'), which means: cultivate, take care, pay respect to. Therefore, culture has a variety of meanings, which range from cultivation, such as agriculture, to maintenance, study and learning, as well as to worship and cult. Indeed, culture is the intrinsic driving force for establishing and improving the quality of life of a community. Culture generates the economic framework in a community, and then becomes the necessary reference for further cultural development over time. There is a close interaction between culture and economy. **Culture is the generator and a product of development within the evolving framework of the economy of a community.**

### **Development and Community**

What is **development**? It can be defined as: to unfold itself, to grow into a fuller, higher, or more mature condition. In a traditional society, development has been necessarily associated with a balance between change and continuity. Cultural processes



produce the basis for traditions. The English word **'tradition'** comes from the Latin *traditio* from the verb *traderere* or *tradere* (to transmit, to hand over, to give for safekeeping). It was originally used in Roman law to refer to the concept of legal transfers and inheritance. The act of passing reserved information can be associated with betrayal, and therefore tradition is closely related to *'trahitor'*, traitor. In terms of tradition, normally, living traditions will necessarily change over time. There is thus often a certain 'betrayal' involved in the process of traditional continuity. Even though, like in the Japanese carpenter tradition, the 'lessons' of a traditional craft will ideally be transferred to the younger generation intact, the implementation may involve change. Consequently, over time, tradition will either become richer and 'improve', or it may become poorer and risk being lost. Indeed, there are two forces in society, one aiming at continuity, the other aiming at diversification and innovation. A **gradual change** will allow a necessary inculcation of meanings, and thus a traditional continuity - even though the contexts and needs may vary over time. This is not always the case in the **fast globalising world**, where fashions travel globally with an often destructive impact on the potential of traditional continuity.

When the Venice Charter was drafted in the aftermath of the Second World War, the principal question was safeguarding monuments and sites. From the 1970s, there has been an increasing concern about the survival and sustainable development of historic urban centres, and traditional neighbourhoods, including also cultural landscapes. In 1972, the UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage*, states that such heritage should be *'considered in its entirety as a homogeneous whole'*. In October 1975, the Council of Europe, in the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*, defined the concept of **'integrated conservation'**, and in the following year the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas*, broadening this concept: *'Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend*

Fig. 3 Ahmadabad.





Fig. 4 Ahmadabad, Sabarmati Ashram.

*on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings.'*

In 2003, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, which offers the following definition: *The “**intangible cultural heritage**” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity* (par. 1). This convention stresses the dynamic character of heritage, and therefore of conservation. We are no more looking only for static elements to keep as a memorial, but rather we are concerned about the living and developing built and natural environment that may be recognized as heritage by a group of people, the community.

The year 2005 has marked a further development in the perceptions related to heritage. In that year, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, which declares that it is fundamental for the protection of **cultural diversity** to promote **human rights**: *‘Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of expression, information and communication, as well as the ability of individuals to choose cultural expressions, are guaranteed’* (par. 1). Indeed, cultural diversity is considered as the real target of conservation. Still in the same year, the Council of Europe adopted the *Framework*



*Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro, 2005). This convention again gives a broad definition of cultural heritage, and continues identifying the people who care for it: '**a heritage community** consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations' (art. 2). Consequently, cultural heritage in its diversity and specificity is the heritage of the people, who use it and who continue to care for it.

### **Culture as a factor of development**

As noted above, the international community has adopted a number of definitions, which broaden the concept of heritage, and stress the relationship with the community who cares or should care. The definition of something as heritage depends on the recognition, which results from a learning process and consequent value judgement. Indeed, value judgement normally is the result of comparison. Therefore, we tend to associate higher or lower values in comparison to other similar issues or things. It is on this basis we also decide about the necessary measures to be taken in view of their safeguarding. It normally takes a fairly long process to pass the necessary legal instruments aiming at safeguarding. The World Heritage Convention (1972) has become an important lever in the promotion of heritage concepts, even though, in principle, it is only really interested in something recognized for its excellence and its outstanding universal value. So, what about the rest?

We can take the example of Ahmadabad in the State of Gujarat of India. This city was founded by Ahmad Shah in 1415, and has since grown to a metropolis. In modern times, it has been renowned for the presence of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian independence movement. The historic walled city and its surroundings have preserved numerous religious sites, including royal palaces and step wells, as well as Islamic mosques from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and later Jain/Hindu temples. All have richly carved stone elements by highly skilled craftsmen. A number of residential timber buildings also reflect the same qualities. In the 1970s, Ahmadabad was chosen by UNESCO as a pilot project for the exploration of urban conservation methodology in this particular social-economic context. Unfortunately, these efforts remained without sequel.

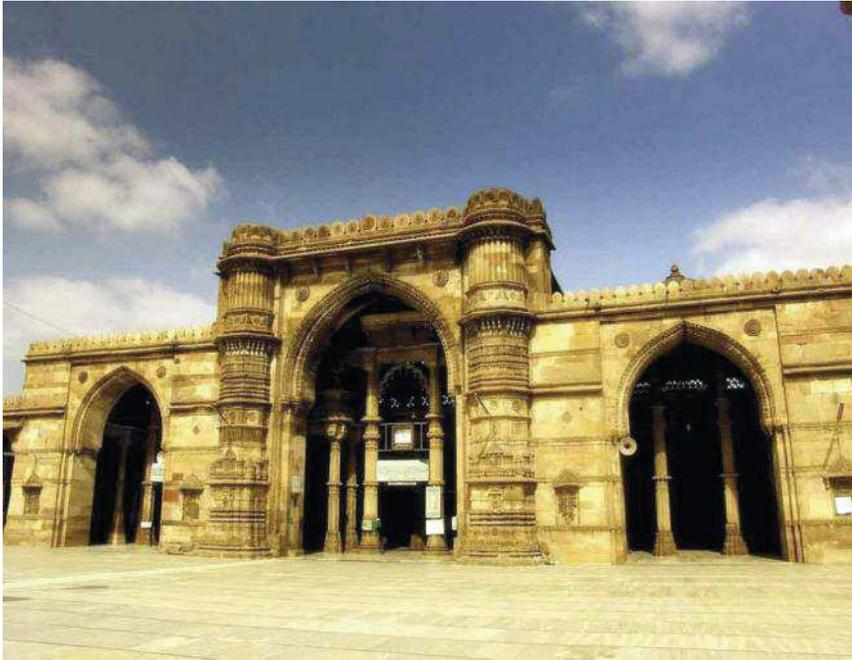


Fig. 5 Ahmadabad, Teen Darwaza.

In 2011, the Norwegian ICOMOS Committee organized a workshop on the theme: 'Our common dignity: Towards Rights-Based World Heritage Management' held in Oslo, on 9-11 March. The conclusions of the workshop recognised *'the positive contributions World Heritage makes to Human Rights but note, however, that cases exist where the rights and interests of people associated with World Heritage sites have been negatively impacted, and that such impacts contradict national and international commitments on human rights, poverty reduction, equity and sustainable development.'* This may be particularly relevant in cases such as Ahmadabad, which is currently being considered for possible nomination to the UNESCO List. The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, INTACH, has recognized the problems faced in many Indian historic urban areas. Indeed, like in Ahmadabad, legal protection is normally limited to ancient monuments, such as the palaces, temples and mosques. Consequently, INTACH has adopted, in 2004, the *Charter for the Conservation of Unprotected Architectural Heritage and Sites in India*. It is noted here that the majority of India's architectural heritage is unprotected. This refers particularly to the 'living' architectural heritage, which depends on the continuity of traditional building skills, but which lacks proper recognition. The object of safeguarding this heritage is to maintain its significance, which is constituted in both the tangible and intangible forms. In this process the role of the community becomes critical.

In a case like Ahmadabad, it is obvious that safeguarding the historic town requires more than just listing and protecting individual buildings and monuments. It requires a holistic



approach that should involve the entire community as well as the local authorities. Ahmadabad has actually preserved its social structure, which is reflected in the articulation of the urban fabric into neighbourhoods, *pur*, the residential main streets, *pol*, as well as *khadki*, referring to the inner entrances to the *pol*. Parts of this fabric are in good state of conservation, but much is not. Some parts have also been subject to alteration and change. While the municipal authority has recognized the need to identify heritage trails, these are lacking maintenance and care. Nevertheless, the community of Ahmadabad is alive, and the historic town represents a fantastic heritage asset that could even obtain international recognition. The question however is: how should the protection and management be arranged in order to obtain results in view of sustainable development.

Establishing a framework of norms and guidelines may well be one step towards protection. However, it will not be sufficient. In a place like Ahmadabad, it is the culture that must be recognized as the generator of the economy. Indeed, the community has well maintained its traditions, even though there are already signs of failure. The historic town continues being a hub of trade and social activities. However, sadly, the built heritage does not seem to be fully recognized by the community. The necessary skills do exist, but these are not put into use. The INTACH Charter is known, but its impact remains marginal if at all. The question is about capacity building. Such initiative should work towards a conscious involvement of the community to be able to manage its resources within the evolving economic system, without losing the qualities of the heritage resource.

We can take note of the recent UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (2011), which is well applicable to the case of Ahmadabad. HUL is here defined: '*The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of "historic centre" or "ensemble" to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.*' We can thus consider that the historic city of Ahmadabad even with the more recent additions together form a historic urban landscape, which can be taken as an asset for human, social and economic development. The Recommendation identifies various instruments such as the civic engagement tools that aim at sensitizing and involving the diverse stakeholders. Other proposals aim at improving knowledge and planning tools, the regulatory systems, and generating finan-



cial support. These tools should be systematically utilised so as to generate capacity building of the community as a whole, the individual neighbourhoods, as well as the administration, the professionals and technicians to be involved.

Safeguarding Ahmadabad should not aim at the conventional tourism approach or cultural industry, but rather making the local community aware of the qualities of their own surroundings. This should be the aim of the process of capacity building, and the fuller recognition of culture as a factor of development. It means the involvement of all levels of learning institutions, starting from the basic school system to learn about the qualities of one's own neighbourhood and street, as well as the administrative organs to learn to respect such environment. A supporting activity needs to be undertaken by professionals and higher education institutions to work in research and improving knowledge as a basis for the sustainable development and management of the built heritage in harmony with the economic development. The question is about learning and dialogue, and it means research and communication. Capacity building is not only about education and training, it is also about institutional capacity, providing the appropriate legal and administrative frameworks, as well generating the necessary resources to make this all a reality.