Doctorat de l'Université de Toulouse

délivré en co-tutelle avec Université de Gênes
préparé à l'Université Toulouse - Jean Jaurès

Construire, habiter, definir les espaces ruraux: materiaux, habitats, paysages et interactions dans la Ligurie orientale (IT) et la Cerdagne entre les XIXe et XXe siècles

Thèse présentée et soutenue, le 30 septembre 2024 par

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École doctorale
TESC - Temps, Espaces, Sociétés, Cultures

Spécialité
Archéologie

Unité de recherche
TRACES - Travaux et Recherches Archéologiques sur les Cultures, les Espaces et les Sociétés

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UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI GENOVA
SCUOLA DI SCIENZE UMANISTICHE
DIPARTIMENTO DI ANTICHITÀ, FILOSOFIA E STORIA

ÉCOLE DOCTORALE TESC - Temps, Espaces, Sociétés, Cultures;
UNIVERSITÉ TOULOUSE II JEAN JAURÉS

Tesi di Dottorato
in Studio e valorizzazione del patrimonio storico, artistico, architettonico, ambientale – curriculum
Storia (Storia Ambientale)
XXXVI Ciclo

Defining, Constructing, Inhabiting Rural Spaces:
Materials, settlements, landscapes and interactions in Eastern Liguria and
Cerdagne (French Pyrenees) between 19th and 20th centuries

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Anno Accademico/Academic Year: 2023/2024

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„Was man machen kann, macht man,
Was man nicht machen kann, macht man nicht"
Cl.T., September 2020

Contents

Figures

Acknowledgements

The following work has been part of the ongoing ERC 2019 Project ANTIGONE, under the supervision, guide and endless enthusiasm of Prof. Anna Maria Stagno. I most certainly wish to thank her, her advice, her willingness to believe in me and my ability to tackle a complex discussion, despite all difficulties coming in between, be it Covid-19 and its aftermath, bureaucratic shorts and almost inevitable disorientation of a PhD Student. And even though she might have enjoyed way more reading all this in Italian, rather than English, I can assure it is for the best, as I have always been more comfortable also expressing thankfulness and – why not – emotions in the Anglo-Saxon language.

I wish to thank Dr. Christine Rendu, for her patience, her helpfulness and availability despite the issues coming from working on a PhD across two universities with their own systems and demands. She has always strived to listen to me, help me, support me, also at a time in which we did not really know each other. The case study in the French Cerdagne has surely seen the hardest time during the making of this thesis, however, I hope I have put down a basis to build more work on. I thank her and Dr. Pierre Capmajo for allowing me to discover Cerdagne, for taking care of me while I stayed there and making me aware of their tireless work in the region. I am very happy to have met such splendid archaeologists.

For this work to see the light of day I have so many more people to thank and pay my regards to, who either participated, helped out, contributed to it, and those who supported me, pushed me and made me go forward, made me regain concentration and motivation, put me back on track.

I am incredibly grateful to all those whom I have met while carrying out this piece of research, who kindly agreed to speak to me, tell me about their experiences, their knowledge of the surroundings, their lives. In Apparizione and on the Monte Fasce: Gianluigi Croci, Franco, Marco Iulleri and his cousin Maurizio, Renzo, Roberto Somigli, Roberto Strazza, Elisabetta Zonza. At the Mas Rondole, in Saillagouse and the neighbouring villages: Philippe and Sophie Bazan, Jerome Kotarba, Francisco and Asun Salas y Salas, Mme Raymonde Planes.

When it comes to the work being carried out, I must, first of all, thank my colleagues and fellow PhD students. Our conversations, meetings, within or outside of the department have found their own space in my reflections and in the development of this thesis. Moreover, a good number of them worked on the surveys with me and directly provided data, answers, opinions on what I had been collecting over the years. Thank you, Davide Attolini, Andrés Menendez-Blanco, Caterina Piu, Agustin Sánchez, Riccardo Santeramo, Carlos Tejerizo-Garcia for being there for me professionally and personally. Thanks to all students that have been a part of the survey campaigns in Italy and France. For the University of Genoa: Alessandro Abeasis, Domenico Carratta, Francesco Colopi, Alessandro Fava, Martina Guerra, Laura Moro, Sara Piras, Jacopo Queirolo, Andrea Viola, Elena Zanicchi. For the University of Toulouse Jean Jaurés: Claire Larroque. Last but not least, Bilal Amry from the University of Pau.

If I have forgotten a few names up to this point, it is mostly because I have received so much support over the years, by very different people. I thank all lecturers and professors who have inspired me to delve deeper into research and try pursuing this path, knowing how difficult that might be at times. Teaching staff and professors in Inverness, Vienna, Salzburg and Genoa, who were not directly involved in the project, but who were part of my training as a student and as a (humble) researcher, who has tried to do her best.

And here are the big thanks for everybody else who has been by my side over the last year(s) and months. This thesis – however it has turned out to be – is also here because of you all. To Margherita, because she's a rock, as well as my best friend and my favourite English teacher. To Alessandro, for being there, which brought to him almost becoming an archaeologist *per osmosi*, he can fake it quite well. To those who were there, stood by me despite my moods and frustrations, pushed me to keep going, among them are Max, Susi, Sarah, Benedict.

And of course, I want to thank my parents, Marga and Oscar, once I wrote that I still learn from them every day, and that is still true. This time, more than anything, they taught me about patience, trust and perseverance, grazie, e scusate i miei ringraziamenti sempre in lingue che non capite.

"dedicato a tutti gli archeologi, custodi di ogni fine"
(*La Chimera*, Alice Rohrwacher, 2023)

1. Introduction

A little less than ten years ago, as I was in the last semesters of my bachelor's degree in the Scottish Highlands, I got interested into the relationship between the study of the past and the lost knowledge about sustainable practices, especially with regards to buildings and construction. The topic was gradually becoming the talk of wider public arenas, in the media, as well as in the academic debates I was aware of back then, all somehow in relation to the preservation of natural resources and the increasing damages brought about by growing pollution levels across the world. While working on a short essay that looked at how past building practices in several parts of the world showed "resilient" aspects, that brought them to accommodate challenging weather conditions and adapt to the surrounding ecosystem, I was told, at different stages, that research in the field was still very limited, and that I might struggle in finding references that would support my comparison.

Within the last decade, the perspective has changed, not out of the blue, but surely as part of an interest that was gaining more and more attention ever since the end of the 20th century. Especially over the last few years, not merely within the varied academic discourse, but also within to new development projects, and more widely in public media, sustainability has developed a centrality that nowadays can be seen across public discussions.[1] Just as well, and with the influence of broader European initiatives[2], research has looked more and more closely into the ecological question. The effects of this "new" focus [3] spreading across several disciplines at different depths, is now visible within natural sciences, hard sciences in general, as well as humanities and social sciences. Archaeological studies have also developed their

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[1] Through a quick search through websites of European or wider international institutions, the word "sustainability" is found as one of the objectives of the next years and decades. See the European Environmental Agency; https://www.eea.europa.eu/en/topics/at-a-glance/sustainability (accessed 9th August 2024); The United Nations: https://www.un.org/en/academic-impact/sustainability (accessed 9th August 2024). See also Brinkmann, R. (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Sustainability*, 2023.

[2] E.g. the European Landscape Convention (Florence, 2000) and the Faro Convention (2005) that both tackled in different ways the question concerning the nature of heritage, cultural, natural, material and immaterial, going beyond the idea of a static entity, and encompassing the broader landscape into the study on heritage sites, artefacts, specific objects and landmarks, approaching the idea of an "holistic" definition of heritage, including the

[3] The word "new" is not as appropriate, since the topic itself, with its political and social relevance, firstly emerged during the 1980s, and gradually became as central as it is today.

own concern towards sustainability and environmental resources, with questions tackling the knowledge of past practices, the use of resources and the relationship to how societies and social groups have developed or collapsed through centuries and millennia.[4] The research history has hence been widened over the last ten to fifteen years, also through the constant, despite not always conscious, influence between public attention, socio-political-economical agendas and academic questions.

That first essay written about eight years ago made me reflect onto the chances of getting to know past practices and use of resources in order to better understand what we know about practices of our present, their implications on a political, social and economic level, their sustainable or unsustainable aspects. Especially, my attention turned towards researching the knowledge about building practices, agricultural and pastoral activities, the more direct contact with environmental resources of rural and mountain areas, all of which was being or had been already erased through urbanism and industrialisation processes, happening at an accelerating pace during the 20th century. This is how my research interest moved closer and closer to European rural and mountain contexts. With a background that mixed and combined contemporary history, social sciences and archaeology, I became increasingly aware of how sweeping larger processes had overshadowed local voices, histories, knowledge – a dilemma that modern and contemporary historians had been looking at through, for instance, the theorisation of micro-historical analysis, the systematisation and a more precise critique of the use of oral accounts, or the new attention towards the material traces, the everyday objects, left behind by social actors, also for the recent past.[5] The first interest of mine might have been a little more idealistic, aiming at bringing back to light histories of those "stolen" of their voices

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[4] A broad public resonance was reached by the works of geographer and biologist Jared Diamond on past societies and collapse: in 2005 with *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed*, as well as *Guns, germs, and Steel: the fates of human societies* in 1997. Other works tackling the issue of sustainability and collapse studied through archaeological and ethnoanthropological analysis are, amongst others, Cooper and Sheets (eds.), 2012; Grattan and Torrence (eds.), 2007; McAnany and Yoffee (eds.), 2009; for a compendium on the archaeological studies of collapse of the last 10 years see Middleton, 2024.

[5] An example central to the current study and which will be once again outlined over the theoretical discussion in Chapter 2 is the development of social microhistory, which came exactly from questions concerning contexts that had been largely neglected, rural/marginal/peripheral contexts, non-monumental, non-institutional histories. Especially through the integration of micro historical approaches and the developing discussion on the history of material culture, a research topic that looked at everyday objects and practices in their specific historical context – analysing the relationship between object (material trace), practice (of which only a few material testimonies might be present) and social actor. Moreno and Quaini, 1976; Later recalled and re-contextualised after the diverse "turns" in historiographical theory – from the "spatial turn" over to the "material turn" in Raggio, 2018.

and experiences within a larger "modernisation" process. However, I also had the chance to look more closely at this issue, seeing how the (re)discovery of late-Modern to contemporary practices and social organisation in rural and mountain milieus provided a perspective – put forward by micro-historians and post-medieval archaeologists – where the ongoing process of change and the local diverse strategies met, were combined, contrasted each other – highlighting some of the contradictions that characterise human history, and which the comparison of diverse historical sources unequivocally bring about.

With the current work, the initial interest outlined above has had the time and possibility to evolve and become another question. As the debate on environmental sustainability grew, landscape, rural environments, mountains have become the focus of an increasing number of archaeological and historical studies. With regards to archaeology, the development of methodologies and theories that looked at the recent past, from the Middle Ages onto Contemporary History, have given a fundamental contribution to the study of change taking place across rural contexts over the last three centuries. Another influence should be seen in postcolonial approaches that developed from the 1980s onwards, which questioned the top-down study of non-urban, non-western societies that had largely characterised social and historical sciences during the first half of the 20th century.[6] However, the weight of the European urban-centred view on the countryside, with its decade-long influence onto research questions, is still very present. Archaeology, with its legacy drawing from early 20th century ethno-anthropological studies, as well as a longer attachment to Classical periods and monumental sites, has generally struggled in tackling the recent past through the study of rural everyday life in its historical depth. Rural heritage is still at risk of being associated with a crystallised past, a generalised pre-industrial world, where activities, everyday practices, social stratification and interactions were not set into specific historical settings or analysed in their shifting functions, considering the tight connection between practices and structures and how relationships change through time, even within those contexts now often seen as "marginal".[7]

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[6] Stagno and Bizzarri, forthcoming.

[7] The discussion on how marginalisation of places, communities and social groups has happened through history, and specifically during the 20th and 21st century with the increasing weight of industrialisation, has been a focus of social sciences and humanities alike. Several studies have focussed on how marginalisation happens socio-economically as well as culturally in the present, as well as how these processes are historically characterised to specific contexts (See Chand et al., 2017). Within archaeological analysis, post-Medieval studies have brought forward the latest advances on the investigation of "marginal" areas, social groups often isolated within the

This work is certainly only a hint at the path outlined above, through the rediscovery of a world that has been partly forgotten, voices that have been lost, overlooked or consciously ignored, and might have tackled a wider number of research questions, case studies, or analytic methods, however it does find a starting point in the questions considered over the last few paragraphs.

The work will start with a historiographical overview on postmedieval archaeology and rural archaeology, considering the most recent developments that have brought to an increasing number of publications dealing with the archaeology of more recent periods. The first sections will explicitly deal with the development of postmedieval archaeology, both in Italy and in other European contexts. After this brief overlook the chapter will focus on the question concerning the use of different sources to investigate the past, be them archaeological, written, oral, addressing some of the main questions that researchers had to face when studying the densely documented postmedieval times. In order to analyse the question of the integration of material and written resources, there will also be an excursus onto the critical application of micro-historical approaches, their role within historiographical debates and the possibilities deriving from their combination with archaeological studies, especially when looking at contexts that were long ignored or marginalised within historical archaeological research, such as the recent rural past, the history of mountainous regions and their communities. The chapter will also look at the different approaches to rural heritage over the last two to three decades, with a focus on the historiography of the rural farmhouse, the main characteristics, the typological studies developing out of the ethno-anthropological approaches of the early 20th century and the emergence of archaeological interest towards this topic. The example of the rural farmhouse will provide an overview at the convergences and discontinuities through different European experiences and research traditions, and how this influences questions and objectives that historians and archaeologists have been putting forward concerning rural contexts and material culture.

Chapter 3 will focus on the first case study, located to the East of Genoa. The Montagna di Fascia, a "historical territorial" unit[8], characterised by a stratification of agricultural activities,

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broader commercial and social networks, and how these had been largely ignored by the mainstream historiography until the later 20th century, See Svensson et al., 2020, 165-185, González-Ruibal, 2021, 369-383.

[8] Moreno, 1990.

social relationships and connections with the Genoese urban centre, that determined its complex and various landscape. A specific attention will be given to the settlement of Colanesi, located on the southern hillsides of Monte Fasce, where a few aspects of the complexity and stratification of uses that characterise the broader area are visible. the study aims here at bringing together the variety of traces found across a broad landscape with the modifications and changes taking place across the settlements that were built upon these hillsides, relating and observing the relationship of the built environment with the rest of the surroundings, and how actions defining their forms and functions might be transversal and have effects on the architectural space, the surrounding fields, wooded pastures, the use of terraces and other structures built to organise the management of environmental resources. The analysis looks at the rural archaeological survey, with the diverse areas and units identified during the campaigns to assess the diverse structures and artefacts that were scattered across the whole Montagna di Fascia. The methodology follows recent developments in rural archaeological studies, and aims at synthesising the observed landscape into units, ensembles of traces and structures that are representative of the smallest event or action being carried out onto the surveyed area. Furthermore, the study will outline the characteristics of the Colanesi settlement, by looking more closely onto the buildings that compose it, their structure, trying to assess different use and modification phases and devise a relative chronology for the use of the settlement and the viable relationships with the features identified onto the Montagna di Fascia. After the presentation of the data collected with an interpretative outlook onto the structures and finds, the chapter will focus on the archival sources that were analysed to contextualise the archaeological data, as well as provide more information regarding the management of environmental resources and the organisation of spaces used within agricultural activities on Monte Fasce. The central set of documents investigated are municipal registers of correspondence regarding the causes between two neighbouring municipalities, Apparizione and Quarto al Mare, which were debating the property of common lands shared between the two communities. These discussions on paper highlight the contested and dynamic nature of these hillsides, and even more so at a time during which changeful institutions were being established, new ways of administering rural areas, the countryside, new theoretical approaches and political questions that dealt with demanding a more efficient organisation of productive spaces were all increasingly gaining weight in the management of such contexts, or at least influencing how local inhabitants and social groups debating property and access rights

to resources. The intersection of different sources highlights the complex stratification of interests and conflicts that characterised this mountainous area, which was also a link between different the coastal and urban centre and the inland areas. The focus of the current study being on the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the case of Colanesi will be offer a locally grounded perspective onto how this period did bring about changes, new structures, and prompted more precise definitions of activities carried out onto the hillsides. But these new shifts were constantly renegotiated into the longstanding practices and uses of Colanesi and its surroundings.

Chapter 4 looks at the second case study, the Mas Rondole, a farmhouse and estate located north of the village of Saillagouse, in the French Cerdagne, a high plateau (placed at about 1300m asl at the lowest) in the Eastern Pyrenees. The farmhouse provides a further local lens through which the 19th and early 20th centuries can be observed, attempting an understanding of the interaction between local contexts and practices and wider processes towards industrialisation and a so-called "rationalisation" of the countryside.[9] The chapter will indeed consider the factors pushing towards an intensification of agricultural activity and a reorganisation of the countryside and mountain contexts alike. Especially with regards to the Mas Rondole, the work will consider the 19th century theories on the ideal "model farm" (*ferme modèle*) that should be implemented by landowners in order to promote a more organised production, with an attention towards the subdivision of activities, the widening of productive spaces, the increasing attention to hygiene and the stratification of labour within farming estates. Studies on *fermes modèles* and the influence the debate had for landowning families, striving to keep up with the times economically and socially, affected changes carried out within the structure of the Mas, specifically after the 1830s. The chapter looks at some of the material elements that allow to observe some of these major structural changes more closely but keeping in mind the presence of other types of property and resource management systems in this landscape, such as the historical common lands shared by the municipalities of Saillagouse, Estavar, Eyne, Llo. The chapter will then outline the history of Mas Rondole through the archival documentation collected and the information reported by the current landowners and tenants, which helped put together not only the history concerning the changes of ownership of the late 19th century, but specifically the ongoing modifications taking place over

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[9] Stagno et al., 2021.

the last 50 to 60 years, which also influenced the structure and its present shape. While the study on Mas Rondole presents results, data and archival information that could be deemed as preliminary, the analysis provides a basis to understand the interplay of socio-economic factors at a local level and highlight how diverse the social fabric of such a large estate was, at least for the turn of the 20th century. Changes taking place across the 19th and 20th century at Mas Rondole might be more impressive, at least structurally, than what can be observed for Colanesi, however, the dialectical relationship between existing practices, social interactions and the oncoming pressure towards intensified production and defined spatial organisation that aimed at rationalise the use of environmental resources and the related spaces provide for both cases a perspective onto the local strategies and reactions to developments that were never one-way processes, but combined past and present, different interests and voices.

The fifth chapter will look at some of the factors through which this interaction can be just spotted, or more closely analysed, considering the material record, the discussions and data presented within archival material, and the categories researchers, especially historians and archaeologists, use when trying to interpret, document and narrate rural landscapes, settlements and social structures. The topic presented here, and the connected case studies, still have plenty of elements to offer to investigate the recent past, processes of change – some of which are still currently ongoing, the weight of industrialisation and urbanisation onto the non-urban landscape and societies. Above all, however, this study aims at moving a tiny step forward into the discussion about rural heritage, heritagisation processes and the role of historical or postmedieval archaeologies within them. Archaeologies of the recent past are still being approached and understood, research methodologies in that regard are still undergoing intense testing, the contact and integration with other fellow historical sciences as well as natural sciences is still being built. Hence, this piece of work seeks out elements for an historical in-depth study of rural contexts, and precisely with a focus on the last two hundred years, in order to provide these contexts with their own voices, and no longer letting them be depicted and described through the urban-centred perspective that has led the interpretation of countryside and mountain regions during the 20th century. The current study aims at moving away from the idealistic representation of European rural landscapes, providing them with their own historical background, showing their interconnection and involvement into those processes that might sometimes appear to have merely excluded them, such as the

aforementioned urbanisation and industrialisation, not taking for granted their marginality, be it spatial, social or economic. While the public interest grows towards sustainable practices and the role of rural landscapes and contexts in devising strategies for a sustainable future, the current study aims at analysing the inevitable social, economic and political complexity of rural areas, mountainous and upland contexts and communities. The historical archaeological perspective provides an analytical basis, through which these histories come to the surface, revealing the contradicting choices, forces and tendencies that constructed these contexts. Through the historical analysis of these contexts and not their idealisation, one can find the inspiring elements that should be applied to present issues, knowing how social and economic conditions have changed, and acknowledging those processes still affecting the present world.

2. Defining and constructing rural spaces

2.1. The post-medieval rural space: archaeological approaches and methods

Research presented within this work should be understood as coming from and combining a set of historiographical approaches and questions concerning rural spaces, and specifically addressing changes and processes in rural contexts taking place over the last three centuries. This study has taken form as an historical-archaeological piece of research, whose scope is to further bridge the gap between written documentation and material traces, as well as analysing and questioning the idea(s) and definition(s) of rural heritage. Hence the research question is inevitably connected to the debates around post-Medieval archaeology, its establishment as a discipline, the methodological discussions linked to the ongoing development of new questions and objects of analysis. To better contextualise arguments and topics, a brief outline on the development of post-Medieval archaeology, the issues concerning periodisation and the terminology, discussed specifically within European research, will be tackled. The focus will especially be on how rural contexts entered the picture, and the diverse approaches found across different research traditions and the connection of this particular field of research with ongoing debates concerning the archaeological study of recent times.

2.1.1. A discipline in the making: Post-medieval archaeology in Europe, an overview

Over the second half of the twentieth century, and specifically over the last three decades, archaeological research has seen growing interest towards new contexts, while also striving to formalise and deepen the methodological development of the discipline. New strands of research have pushed archaeology beyond its origins as a subject centred on classical and monumental contexts for a few decades now, and have underlined how the study of material traces for diverse societies and artefacts, non-monumental contexts and structures, allows to investigate more recent processes of change and delve into the complexities of human history.[10] Across European research traditions, the archaeological study of post-medieval contexts

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[10] Milanese, 1997.

combines influences coming from different disciplines, diverging at times from country to country, or between different areas characterised by different main languages, in which research was conducted and disseminated.[11] A broad necessity was to document the fast-changing world of the last few centuries, working backwards from recent traces and testimonies. This has also been a driving motive for developing new terminology to address and define studies that have moved their focus increasingly nearer to our present, with the establishment of university courses and modules, the release of academic journals[12] and publications in several languages and countries, approaching not just historical or post-Medieval archaeology, but an archaeology of the "contemporary era".[13]

Post-medieval archaeology partly derives from the gradual systematisation of archaeological analyses and recording practice, taking place through the application of stratigraphic principles and methods, as well as an ever-growing institutionalisation of archaeological enquiry. This process went hand in hand with the increasing need, over the second half of the 20th century, in several European countries, to document by means of surveys and investigate how the swift urban development was modifying, erasing as well as unravelling past traces within cities, villages and their hinterland.[14] Recent materials, artefacts and traces recovered as part of these investigations are inevitably present in large amounts, given that the selection through post-depositional processes is minimal or just starting, and before a systematisation of archaeological research and analysis, most of these materials were highly ignored and largely discarded – remaining undocumented.[15] Hence, the regulation of excavation techniques, the endorsement of the stratigraphic method as fundamental in the understanding of processes and relative (or absolute) chronologies, brought new attention to those layers that had long been ignored by the preceding archaeological tradition, mostly focussed on monumental contexts, which period-wise preferred to span from Prehistory up to the Middle Ages, and more rarely into more recent times. As archaeological practice is meant to document and grasp which processes have affected human societies, it was bound, at some point, to approach recent times and changes as well, up to the rapid social, industrial and economic shifts happening over

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[11] Courtney, 2013.
[12] See for instance The Journal of Contemporary Archaeology (Equinox Pub), online at https://journal.equinoxpub.com/JCA (last accessed 13th August 2024), Archeologia Postmedievale 22, 25, 27.
[13] Courtney, 2013
[14] Mehler, 2020.
[15] Müller, 2017.

the 20th century, ad work backwards to understand how social relationships were affected through the decades. The development of research questions on the recent past is surely connected to the necessity of documenting a changing society, but also allows to explore the complex interconnection, relation and interaction between sources of different kinds. From a methodological standpoint, researchers are now underlining how the rich amount of sources and finds, the diversity of disciplines involved in analysing the last few centuries, and "Modernity" more generally, with its social, economic and political developments, can only inspire archaeologists to refine procedures and question assumptions and established interpretations.[16] However, until now, the definition of a methodology and a deeper theoretical reflection connected to the study of modern and contemporary contexts is still being debated across several European research traditions.[17]

The study of post-Medieval contexts in European countries has been diversified in its development, the methodological traditions that have informed it, as well as the theoretical stances that defined research questions. The current analysis draws specifically from debates and issues discussed within European contexts, with a more specific focus on British, German-central European and Italian historiography, to build a viable comparison between different approaches to the archaeological investigation of Modern and recent societies. A data-oriented development of the discipline(s), connected to the increasing systematic documentation of excavated sites, has been underlined since the 1990s, and has been characteristic of those countries where post-classical and post-medieval archaeology developed over the second half of the 20th Century, such as Mediterranean and Central Europe, with the first discussions, conferences and meetings taking place between the 1970s and 1980s. A more profound theoretical reflection characterised the development of post-Medieval archaeology in Great Britain, where public interest for Modern to Contemporary contexts triggered an earlier response within archaeological research already during the 1960s – with the foundation of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology in 1966, which has been active ever since, expanding its

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[16] On the topic of "Modernity", the definitions of the term as well as how archaeology can investigate the changes takingplace during the 20th century see the works of Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2016; 2019; See also the reflections, concerning especially the archaeological contribution to the study of conflicts and their aftermath by Tejerizo-Garcia and Gutierrez, 2021 for case studies in Spanish contexts, as well as Theune, 2018 for the discussion concerning central and Northern Europe.

[17] Recently methods and approaches for the archaeological study of the contemporary past in Italy have been discussed at the CIAC – Convegno Italiano di Archeologia Contemporanea, 30th Nov-1st Dec 2023.

interests into the more recent past.[18] The different pace, at which theoretical advances were debated, hails from the diverse historiographical paths that characterised the different countries and linguistic areas. As the focus of the current study is the historical study of rural contexts, this overview looks at how this grew in relevance and was introduced within the development of post-Medieval archaeology, hence using it to observe diverging and converging trends and motives across different countries and institutions.

While rural milieus are not unknown to archaeologists specialised in all possible periods, from deep Prehistory to Antiquity and, now, up to Contemporary history, the focus of archaeological studies on Medieval and Modern contexts has a tight connection to urban development, given the profound and complex stratification of cities and growing settlements and the increasing need to document past traces during the rapid urbanisation process taking place during the late 19th and for the whole 20th century. Italy saw a later development of archaeological enquiries on post-Classical periods, as Italian archaeology had been deeply shaped by the origins of the discipline, the fascination towards Classical finds and sites was still a reference for the gaze of archaeologists.[19] The possibility to draw away from monumental sites, Classical architecture, a strong art-historical influence in the interpretation and classification of finds and structures was built gradually, through the systematisation of research on prehistoric contexts, rather than following periods. The discussion, however, on the chance to tackle Medieval or even later contexts came about in the first half of the 1970s, with a number of round tables and meetings that brought to the creation of the Journal "Archeologia Medievale" in 1974, where a diversity of researchers, geographers, historian, archaeologists, anthropologists, met to define perspectives of new archaeological and multi-disciplinary approaches to understanding past social dynamics, which had largely been ignored.

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[18] Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology: https://spma.org.uk/about-the-society (last accessed 12th August 2024)
[19] Gelichi, 1997, Milanese, 1997.

2.1.2. A "densely documented time"[20]: ongoing debates, questions, and applications on the use of documentary sources

As part of the debates on definitions of post-medieval archaeology, the use of the various amount of sources available for the last three to four centuries has often been addressed. As the analysis draws nearer to present times, material finds are found in larger amounts, and so are sources, not just archival and documentary, but also pictorial, visual, audio-visual and - for the last 80 years - oral.[21] This is a specific element to studies on the recent past, and can provide a number of challenges, when it comes to combine the information collected, and compare information on places, events, memories, defining their context at the topographical scale of an investigated archaeological site, a find or a broader area of investigation. Researchers are increasingly underlying that the training and education of archaeologists as well as scholars in other historical disciplines, should address the diversity of sources that are needed to study post-medieval contexts and their material culture.[22] Particular attention should be given to avoiding the long-lasting practice of archaeologists to seek confirmation of their findings in diverse sets of sources (especially the documentary), or produce data that should simply corroborate historical archival research[23] It should rather be encouraged a dialectic relationship between different sources. They might be contrasting, contradicting each other, and hence prompt new questions and a more complex interpretation of past processes, which, given their tighter ties to the present, could be inadvertently generalised or go unquestioned.[24] For the current analysis, the focus will be on the integration of archival sources, historical cartographic and archaeological data, as well as touch on the micro-historical approach to different sources through a "topographical" scale, which builds a basic element for the development of this work.

Within post-medieval archaeology, researchers have been confronted with the question concerning the use of written sources especially because of a general tendency to value the written word above the material traces of human action, neglecting the various implications that

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[20] Andrén, 2009.
[21] Theune, 2021.
[22] Mehler, 2021.
[23] Mehler, 2012.
[24] Theune, 2021.

objects and material milieus contain and express.[25] Despite the undeniable importance of written sources for historical archaeologies, the need for closer cooperation between historians and archaeologists has been emphasised because questions and methods within the two disciplines rarely coincide and do not always produce comparable results.[26] Across Europe there have been several moments of awakening concerning the cooperation between archaeological and historical research, the relevance of post-medieval contexts studies in the understanding of historical processes and their inevitable connection to present issues. The complicated cooperation between history and archaeology is specifically evident in the complex relationship between archaeological and written data and methods of historical research.[27] While the corpus of archival documentation for the Medieval, modern and recent period inevitably increases, and amounts thereof are larger, this does not necessarily mean that the integration of material and written sources becomes easier. Precisely in contexts where several different types of sources are available, they can often provide diverging data because they represent and incorporate the interests of different groups, individuals and institutions.[28] With the development of historical and post-medieval archaeology, the dialogue between archaeologists and historians has become more consistent and has begun to tackle the issues that characterised the relationship between the disciplines.[29]

The question on the use of written sources comes with a broader bundle of issues developing around the integration of a diversity of sources available for the post-medieval (as well as, in most cases, the medieval) period. Andrén calls the Modern Age indeed a "densely documented time", where not only are sources various in form but also available in, possibly, high quantities. Hence, the issue concerning the management of increasing numbers of finds are not as dissimilar from the difficulties arising from a sheer number of written accounts, reports and information. However, when it comes to deal with different kinds of sources, the main question still regards how archaeologists approach the documentation they use to support their studies,

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[25] Scholkmann, 2003.
[26] Descoeudres 2009; Mehler 2012.
[27] Wickham, 2002.
[28] Theune, 2013.
[29] The last twenty years have seen a more systematic consideration of recent periods, partially drawing from the diversification of research approaches and topics taking place through the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., colonial and Gender studies, post-processualism, deconstructivism, post-structuralism), the re-focussing on materiality and material traces of socio-economic processes, happening at different levels and through different questions across anthropology, geography and history, and the gradual distancing from the traditional concentration on monumental sites.

how they look for information within the archives. Reflections have been brought forward with regards to the materiality of textual documentation and how these should be seen as archaeological objects and not merely written proof of bygone events. For the integration of written records and historical data, with archaeological data, studies have also argued for a textual interpretation of finds and sites, not purely in a structuralism key, but rather in the sense of identifying the various strata of meaning that should be investigated when looking at the archaeological record. Whether written sources themselves can be found in the archaeological findings (e.g. inscriptions), or whether they are selected and analysed as information, comparison and basis for a specific historical contextualisation, the question of the scale of the context, within which the researcher moves, remains. Here, scale refers to the focus of the researcher's perspective. Central to understanding the information that can be gained from written sources is not only the possible correlation of events and socio-economic processes with their presumed material traces. The consideration of the different levels of historical analysis, which can focus on the identification of macro-processes or on specific contexts around a community, group or family, captured by the historian's gaze in the corresponding interests, strategies and negotiations in a particular topographical localisation is equally important. Mehler saw in the common use of written sources in archaeology the tendency to focus on data and facts and to follow the traditional approach of "event history" (*Ereignisgeschichte*) instead of looking at processes of change that might be visible through documentation.[30] As both disciplines investigate how societies have , the observation of these processes could be the starting point for a more productive and complex correlation of archaeological and written data.[31]

Meet me halfway? Micro-historical research and archaeology.

In historical research, the notion of micro-context was not exclusively linked to an interest in the individual, individual identities or individual action, but to the search for details on ways of life of different social constellations (families, groups, institutions, communities) that had remained invisible or marginal, especially in historical research.[32] In the mid-1970s, European historiography, and more specifically Italian historical research, became increasingly interested

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[30] Mehler, 2012.
[31] Mehler, 2012.
[32] Ginzburg, 1994.

in questions concerning social classes and groups that had rarely been at the central object of historical analysis (sometimes referred to as "subaltern" classes, after Gramsci 1975). [33] In defining this question, the influence of cultural anthropological approaches, ethno-anthropological and historical-geographical studies of rural areas, debates in agrarian and social history were particularly influential, as was the political debate within Marxist historian circles, especially social historians and economic historians. [34] These years also saw the development of the *storia della cultura materiale* (lit. "historical study of material culture"): a new endeavour that sought to establish links between historical, archaeological, art-historical and ethnological questions through a focus on material traces and everyday life objects that could help understanding transformations, their social implications and to investigate often forgotten and unnoticed contexts, such as medieval and modern archaeological sites and rural spaces.[35] Researchers in this field argued for the integration of historical analysis and the study of material evidence of more recent contexts. The micro-analytical approach has been deeply connected to this part of historical-archaeological research from the very beginning, as their objects of research were specific contexts, observed through an amplified analytical scale. A characteristic element of "historical micro-analysis" was, indeed, to operate on a local level on case studies that were topographically definable.[36] It was argued that the focus on "smaller" contexts rather than exclusively on larger processes of socio-economic change provided a concrete way to analyse different strategies that families, communities, individuals implemented when dealing with changes both at a local and broader level, incorporating, rejecting, translating them into their everyday lives and social structures.

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[33] Philosophers, political scientists and historians have often taken up and discussed the term *subalterno*. The origin, meaning and current use of the term is a recurrent topic of debate in social and cultural studies. Gramsci's use of the term can be found in various of his writings, but the main discussion of the "classi subalterne" can be found in "Quaderni del carcere" (Edition: Gramsci, Quaderni del carcere, edizione critica dell'Istituto Gramsci a cura di V. Gerratana, Torino, Einaudi, 1975). For an overview of some of the discussions, see Green 2009; Liguori 2016.

[34] Ginzburg 1994. Raggio, 2013.

[35] Moreno and Quaini 1976; Archeologia Medievale 1980; Mannoni 1994; Wickham 2002; Stagno 2018.

[36] The reflections on "local history" in the 1970s and 1980s came from the revision and application of the historical analysis of topographically defined contexts developed by W. G. Hoskins in England. Hoskins' historical analysis of topographically defined contexts in England, which he called local history, and which formed an important basis for the development of microstoria and new approaches to historical geography, environmental history and landscape archaeology (see Hoskins 1954). For a critical evaluation of the application of micro-historical analysis in Italy see Grendi, 1993.

Through the integration of social anthropological studies, specific questions about the, after Appadurai, "production of locality" were raised, bringing, quite counteracting the non-historical approach of Appadurai – to an historical examination of the negotiations acted out by social groups and communities to create a sense of locality, through e.g. the identification of a place of belonging, a set of reiterated practices, a recognisable social and relational system, within which they could orient themselves.[37] Fundamental to this was also the effort to question categories of historical analysis by exploring the terms, labels and landmarks used locally by different groups to organise and identify space, social relations and resources, which brought one of the main quests of microhistory in closer contact with ways, through which spaces and practices define one another.[38] Peasant societies and rural areas, their history, forms and how these were shaped by human activities, resource organisation and exploitation, became the focus of these approaches. These contexts had long remained marginal in both historiography and archaeological research. The abandonment of rural areas and uplands during the 20th century cause a rapid loss of information about social practices and economic structures. Even the most recent traces and objects became part of a near past that could only be traced in its processes and social interactions by means of historical research. Up to the 1970s and 1980s, historical-anthropological, archaeological and geographical studies tended to place rural areas and societies in a repetitive, timeless past.[39] For this reason, new approaches to the study of these contexts were sought and demanded by an increasing, despite still limited, number of researchers at that time, these demands, however, were only slowly welcomed and integrated into public work and the academic discourse.[40]

Over the last few decades, a variety of discussions have developed regarding modern archaeology, material culture, source criticism and the convergence of historical and ethno-

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[37] Appadurai 1999; Torre 2002; 2011.

[38] In the process of questioning current categories of historical-geographical, economic and socio-historical analysis, the contribution of historical ecology was particularly important, specifically in relation to the investigation of past systems of environmental resource management. These were often defined by narratives and concepts established through the 18th century onwards, which, however, overlooked several traces of previous agro-silvo-pastoral systems and the making of forests, pasture and arable land, stocked pastures, waterways and springs. See the seminal works of Rackham 1976; Cf. Moreno 1990; Cevasco 2007; Ingold 2011.

[39] Mannoni and Mannoni, 1980.

[40] Moreno and Raggio 1992; Stagno 2018

anthropological approaches.[41] For medieval and post-medieval archaeology in particular, these suggestions could have provided a basis for developing an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the more recent past. However, many of these methodological and theoretical impulses remain to be discussed and applied, as post-medieval archaeology as a discipline is still young and more specifically, developing from a theoretical point of view. In particular, the link between microhistory and archaeology, by means of a common thread running through the historical study of material culture, local social history, and environmental history, remains partly unexplored.

The current study builds onto this type of approach as the material sources investigated provide a perspective on how the actions of the social actors involved are visible on the landscape. Through the archival and cartographic sources, as well as through the oral testimonies collected, research looks at specific narratives and different periods of change during the last two centuries. Administrative papers of local communities, municipalities, dating to the 19th century, especially the second half, may highlight the interests towards a redefinition of ownership and access rights at a time during which the centralising tendencies of regional and national institutions attempted to impose a redefinition of uses and properties in the countryside and mountainous regions. Voices that are recognisable in this kind of documentation do not depict a complete image of the communities and groups' composition. The combination of landowning families, tenants, and other members of villages who were counting on the presence of collective land to sustain their families through their eligibility for access and use of resources are not all visible. Similarly, cartographic sources, especially through the 19th century, are part of the very same process of synthesising information on land use and management and gaining broad surveys onto peripheral regions that needed to be more closely involved in the building of nation states across several European countries. The comparison of broader maps and topographic surveys, combined with examples of local cartographic depictions, are unavoidably biased towards the motives that brought to devising the maps themselves, just as it is for the written documentation.[42] The question driving the

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[41] Cf. in Italy Moreno 1990; Milanese 1997; Raggio 2018; Saggioro 2018; Stagno 2018; other discussions on the topic in German-speaking countries Stockhammer 2011; Hahn and Weiss 2013; Derrix et al. 2016; Samida 2016; internationally and within English literature cf. Andrén, 1998; Hodder, 2011.

[42] Discussions on the bias found within historic cartography see Crampton, 2001; Crampton and Krygier, 2006; Cf. the fundamental works of Harley with regards to the use of cartography as an historical source: Harley, 1988; 1989.

combination of these sources, as well as working at the "topographical" scale, concerns the visibility of social actors, participating in local day-to-day activities, actively modifying their surroundings, using and managing resources, interacting with one another and with the oncoming demands of broader economic, political and social processes. An archaeological perspective allows to see the material traces of actions and interactions that might or might not be captured within written documentation or oral testimonies, highlighting however how the management and use of resources can be spotted and investigated directly through the actual imprints left across the landscape. The conflicts, disputes, or changes of ownership (and through the specific case studies a number of these examples shall be presented across different geographical and socio-economic contexts) discussed within documentary sources can be investigated through a material litmus test, which should not verify the veracity of the information but rather to put into closer relationship the written or reported process and the spaces these discussions focussed on, be them composed of buildings, fields, pastures, hydric systems, woodland, or borders.

Archaeology, as a discipline, is tightly connected to the analytical focus on the specific context, also to assess the conditions within which finds and artefacts were made, deposited and preserved through time. This is hence perfectly combined through the micro-analytical historical study of social groups, and furthermore allows to see the materiality of actions and how they shift at different paces during processes of change.

2.1.3. Rural archaeology: applications and open questions

The archaeology of rural contexts and history has developed mainly from medieval and post-Medieval archaeological research, and in tight connection to historical-geographical studies of the 1980s and 90s. The necessity to address changes in rural contexts is directly connected to new questions that historical archaeologies were dealing with through the 1950s to 1970s, concerning not only the interest towards more recent periods and processes, but also drawing away from the somehow traditional attention towards monumental features and large imposing sites, rather than smaller and more "common"[43] humble contexts in urban and rural milieus.[44] Discussions on the need for an archaeological approach towards rural areas, uplands, and the

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[43] See the preface to Hobsbawm, 1998.
[44] Mannoni and Mannoni, 1980.

relationship between human beings and natural resources, has since the beginning by combining different methods of analysis in order to understand the systems of resource management and what practices related to them had been implemented, modifying the arrangement of resources and controlling their use. Given the increasing focus on 'landscape' and the study of it as a stratification of human activities and interactions between human beings and environmental resources, landscape archaeology has become a central field of research over the past three decades. This has led to a gradual detachment from the idea that the settlement could be the sole focus of the study of human action and interaction, bringing attention to the elements outside and around the settlement, such as pathways and infrastructure, as well as productive spaces, cultivated areas, woodland and forests. [45] However, various lines of research have struggled to avoid seeing the landscape as a container that surrounds and exists as a function of the settlement, and the integration of "on-site" and "off-site"[46] or "non-site" investigations is still an ongoing process, to which, however, the growth of post-medieval and rural archaeology have contributed, by means of addressing the multi-faceted social and economic changes taking place over the last two centuries of human history.[47]

The proposed methodology is grounded in the recent advances of rural archaeology. While the subject itself has somewhat been tackled and researched over the last three to four decades, recent studies have addressed the missing or undefined methodological approach and have set out to identify aims and objectives of this developing discipline. Rural archaeology focuses, specifically within Italian historiography, on post-medieval contexts, and embodies that "regressive" investigation that draws on present material conditions and effects of past management of environmental resources, working then backwards to follow the origin of those practices that have affected them, modified them, activated them. The basis for researching present landscapes is the field survey, which should not just include the observation and recording of more specific archaeological artefacts, but encompass an historical-ecological

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[45] Mannoni, 1997b.
[46] Foley, 1981.
[47] Stagno, 2018. For an overview of how diverse approaches towards landscapes in archaeologies have either considered landscape the background to distribution-maps of human artefacts (e.g. pottery, structures, burials), or directly addressed environmental resources, their use, management, abandonment as traces themselves of socio-economic shifts connected to changes identified in settlement structure and organisation, material culture, archival accounts, see pp. 28-36.

observation of plant species, the vegetation cover, traces of pollarding and coppicing of tree exemplars and bushes.[48]

Recently, there have been increasing studies – through an approach that intersects with the investigative methods of historical ecology and social microhistory – has been concerned with identifying material traces of environmental resources management. Research brings together disciplines that offer a micro-analytical perspective on the areas investigated, while maintaining a broad view of the relationships that arose from resource management systems. The study of archival sources and historical cartography provides an important basis and support for the identification of conflicts concerning specific environmental resources, especially when it comes to the administration of common, or collective goods and their gradual 'rationalisation' between the 18th and 19th centuries. Particularly for the Ligurian case study, municipal, state and military documentation from the 19th century provides an interesting insight into the dynamics that characterised these processes of rationalisation of environmental resources and rural spaces, also recording various conflicts between the communities affected by these changes, or between the inhabitants and the institutions that regulated them.

2.2. Rural heritage: "two or three things I know about it"[49] – approaches and debates in Europe, an overview

Archaeological studies have long been inextricably connected to discourse on heritage, as the discipline has developed hand in hand with the complexification of the concept of heritage and the increasing recognition of cultural and historical places and objects of interest across the world, largely contributing together with history, history of art, of architecture, and cultural anthropology, to a broader attention to the past and its material traces. Over the last thirty years, the debate on what heritage is, how to manage it, the definitions of its materiality or immateriality, have become more central within humanities, also in relation to institutional debates on the importance of preserving traces of past places, uses, practices, landscapes as well as languages, festivities and so-called, or so-perceived, traditions. Moreover, a number of debates on the role of heritage have also been specifically addressed in relation to post-colonial and decolonial studies, which have questioned how heritage has been constructed within a top-

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[48] Moreno, 1990. Stagno 2018.
[49] Ginzburg, 1994: "Microstoria: due o tre cose che so di lei".

down, colonial outlook that imposed Western models on how cultural, aesthetic, historic values should and the concept of heritage should be applied and understood.[50] In Europe, at an institutional level, there has been a growing interest towards improving policies that would encompass new interpretations of cultural heritage, broadening the formal institutional gaze to include material and immaterial legacies of smaller and isolated communities, as well as going beyond the natural/cultural dichotomy that has defined how heritage policies have been envisaged during the 20th century. The start of a Europe-wide approach could be seen within the Granada Convention for the Protection of Architectural Heritage of Europe in 1985, which for the first time officially tackled the preservation of rural architecture and underlined the historic value of non-urban and non-monumental structures, suggesting new possibilities to systematically record built rural heritage, and which over the next 15 years was eventually signed by 42 out of 46 member states.[51] With the European Landscape Convention signed in Florence, in 2000, member states recognised the complex nature of landscapes, both in terms of future development, as well as in relation to their historic and cultural role for local communities.[52] This became a preamble to the "Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society", in Faro, in 2005, which focused on prompting new heritage policies that would involve a broader public, local and new stakeholders, also drawing from the newly found interest in non-urban landscapes from an historic and social point of view, and hence setting out to pay more attention to rural heritage and local communities.[53] Therefore, over the last three decades, ideas, approaches and policies on heritage have seen a new paradigm, within which heritage takes on a more dynamic character, encompassing very different elements, material and immaterial, shifting and changing for different communities through time.

The development of new perspectives on heritage has hence increasingly characterised policy making and the theoretical academic discourse, bringing together reflections from social sciences and humanities alike. However, this has not necessarily meant that these developments went hand in hand, new questions within academic debates on heritagisation

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[50] Smith, 2006.

[51] Convention for the Protection of Architectural Heritage of Europe, website: https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/granada-convention (last accessed 31st July 2024)

[52] European Landscape Convention, website: https://www.coe.int/en/web/landscape (last accessed 31st July 2024)

[53] It has to be remarked that this convention was signed and accepted by member states at different times, possibly because of the difficulties in having to deal with a new approach to heritage in all its characteristics, Italy, for instance, signed only in 2019.

processes were not necessarily considered or acknowledged by policy makers, while researchers have not always reached out to institutions or the wider public to verify, communicate and openly deal with how heritage has been managed, understood, included or excluded by surrounding communities. While this is not a study on the specific policies around heritage, which, even at an European level, would be too vast a topic to tackle and have also been discussed by scholars across several countries, it is fundamental to underline how the approach presented in the current discussions has partly profited from recent viewpoints developed on heritage-making processes, as well as considered that heritage is often, despite its contested nature, an element used to crystallise past material culture, structures, landscapes, sometimes hindering new questions and interpretations of the very past that should be represented and valued through it.[54]

The interest towards what could be defined as "rural" heritage has not just been a prerogative of recent tendencies in policy making, or part of the quest of post-colonial, poststructuralist academic studies aiming at drawing away from mainstream understandings of heritage. The heritagisation of rural areas and material culture has taken place in different forms across the 19th and 20th centuries and should be understood as a product of specific historical and social contexts, a palimpsest of meanings, uses, negotiations. During the 19th century, processes of industrialisation and urbanisation and the widespread migration movements through which people increasingly abandoned European mountains in favour of urban productive centres or moved to other countries altogether, brought about preoccupation with the disappearance of rural communities and practices. Several driving forces intersect within these early approaches to research on rural history and ethnographical enquiry in the European countryside and mountain regions. During the 19th century, a number of first ethnographic studies focussed on rural ways of life. The technological and socio-economic changes brought about during the 1800s were certainly at the base of the overarching necessity of the time to document rural contexts, a disappearing world of social and economic practices, intersecting a nostalgic depiction of the countryside through a mostly urban-oriented gaze, the scientific interest in

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[54] Smith discusses how heritage has been produced, created, re-created – somehow also consumed, over the last century, and critically questions the narratives underlying heritagisation processes. Especially with the increasing influence of postcolonial approaches within humanities and social sciences, she highlights how the "Authorised Heritage Discourse", with its longstanding Eurocentric focus should be deconstructed, analysed, making space for other discourses, interpretations and values given to material and immaterial heritage (Cf. 2006, 2012).

finding interpretative models for human behaviour and organisation in non-industrial societies and a tendency to construct national identities, and seeking narratives that would empower related ideologies. Studies on rural societies in central and southern Europe were often driven by positivist outlooks on the development of technological knowledge, hence documenting a 'wild and barbaric'[55] world that could only become a viable archive to understand and acknowledge the ongoing socio-economic "progress".[56] Positivist outlooks were, as part of the top-down approach to research of the time, also characteristic of studies carried out to document practices and social organisation of colonised communities, spaces, populations, generally depicted as uncivilised, even within analyses that bear more analytic detail. A parallel between rural and colonial contexts can hence be drawn, even just through those pieces of research and scholars' accounts that were set out to study and document them.[57] In rural contexts, newly formed European nation-states were also striving to find material for identity building, seeking to identify past cultural and social elements that would legitimise nation-oriented narratives.[58] With the search for national origins, came a nostalgic and idealised – and strongly ideologically laden, especially during the two world wars – interpretation of the rural that shaped several ethnographic enquiries.[59]

While the possibilities to explore rural heritage in its historical and socio-political contexts through the years are many and multi-faceted, especially when trying to look at different European contexts, and hence diverse research traditions, the current study will consider a few cases to exemplify how the approach towards rural contexts and material culture has varied through time and how archaeology has intersected, or as not been altogether included within some of these approaches. The study will firstly present how a fundamental element of rural landscapes has been observed and analysed through time, the rural farmhouse and architectural structures in mountain areas and the countryside in general, with a specific focus on the relationship between Italian research approaches, and those born within British and German-speaking countries.

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[55] Pigorini cited in Tozzi Fontana, 1984.
[56] Tozzi Fontana, 1984, 20-21.
[57] Stagno and Bizzarri, forthcoming.
[58] Cf. Großmann, 2012.
[59] Kaschuba, 2013.

2.2.1. Constructing heritage: the post-Medieval rural farmhouse

Rural architecture represents a prominent element within the landscape, which has inevitably been a somewhat easier focus for the first inquiries and studies on rural historic heritage and material culture. While the holistic view on landscapes within humanities was still being developed and theorised, architectural heritage was most straightforwardly a visible and quantifiable remainder of the past. As mentioned above, way before rural landscapes and the cultural and social value they could possess, were specifically addressed by the Florence and Faro Conventions, the Treaty signed in Granada in 1985 already prompted the inclusion of post-medieval and non-urban architectural structures as part of the broader quest to regulate the recording and valorisation of the diversified built heritage across Europe.

Research – already during the 19th century, through a combination of historical, sociological and anthropological approaches – had looked at built rural heritage through different perspectives before this issue became a more widespread public topic. The following paragraphs will provide an overview of questions, methods and objectives that have characterised the study of rural architecture, especially in relation to post-medieval farmhouses, across the Mediterranean area (Italy, Spain, France), central (Germany, Austria) and Atlantic Europe (Great Britain). Through this element of the rural landscape – a centre for the organisation of agricultural activities and management, as well as a place where social connections and interactions inevitably concentrated – it will be outlined how perspectives and aims of these studies changed through time and would influence or were a direct consequence of heritagisation processes.

"La casa rurale" – studies on farmhouses in Italy, a recurring focus, a recurring question

Studies on farmhouses in Italy have been the recurring focus of especially geographical studies during the 20th century, which, specifically during the 1970s, have mingled with historical, archaeological and anthropological theoretical developments, in the attempt to grasp the historical depth of relationships between settlements and the "utilised" space in the broader landscapes, that is the environmental resources managed and used, the organised productive

space, the communication routes in between settlements.[60] Over the first half of the century, a wide-ranging piece of research had been commissioned by the Centro Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) to geographer Renato Biasutti (during the 1930s and 1940s) and successively to Lucio Gambi and Giuseppe Barbieri (during the 1950s and 1970s) to investigate Italian farmhouses across the different regions, recording their material characteristics, the environment encompassing them and their relationship with the surrounding resources.[61] The geographers in charge of this piece of research did not just share a personal interest towards rural socio-economic structures and their material legacy, but also set out to investigate the interconnection between physical spaces and society, the material conditions that influenced how peoples settle, organise their space, modify it, accept it and interact with it through defined practices. While the beginning of the 20th century was characterised by a wide public and academic debate on "human races", and colonial thought was characteristic of economic, social and political discourses of the time, Biasutti managed to face this study with a geo-anthropological take that considered socio-economic structures and how these were related to the physical space they developed within, quite strongly defying assumptions on behaviour, habits and "race", and rather seeking to grasp the interplay of environmental, social, cultural and historical factors in the definition of how social groups inhabited a set territory. The discipline that throughout the 20th century have, on an off, been interested in rural landscapes and societies, and their material legacy has hence been geography, especially in relation to the development of historical, human and settlement geographies, and somehow integrating some of the objectives of the first anthropologists and ethnographers dedicated to enquiries carried out in the countryside or in mountain areas, which had largely investigated the material culture of these contexts rather than the places they inhabited. One of the more prominent examples of ethnographical studies on Italian rural societies was by the Swiss linguist Scheuermeier, who carried out a thorough enquiry across Italy and Swiss cantons to investigate linguistic features of different dialects and variations, and hence researching non-urban contexts, while also relating linguistic data to practices and tools used within agricultural activities, socio-economic

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[60] Stagno, 2014, 23.

[61] Research carried out by Biasutti was only partly published by the author, such as in the monograph *La casa rurale in Toscana* (1938) and was outlined in articles and talks through the years until Biasutti's death in 1965. The bulk of case studies was, in the second half of the 20th century, taken over and integrated by the geographers Gambi and Barbieri, and a broader team of researchers that cooperated with them by focussing on specific regional characteristics released in separate publications, while Gambi and Barbieri worked on a compendium of the different case studies, published as *La casa rurale in Italia* (Florence, 1970).

interaction and everyday life, putting together a first documented survey of material culture and practices of rural Italy for the first few decades of the 20th century.[62] Research carried out by linguists on rural communities has proven to be particularly detailed in documenting the material culture in relation to practices and language, such as in the studies of the Belgian linguist Hugo Plomteux for the Ligurian Appenines focussing on variations of local dialects, and thereby recording tools and working practices recalled or still used by inhabitants of the increasingly depopulated mountain communities.[63] The connection between rural material culture and practices and the built environment, however, came only at a later stage and found its expression through the development of the *storia della cultura materiale*, which encompassed the work of social and economic historians, geographers, archaeologists, and which – in the beginning – focused on the material side of everyday life practices. This proposed discipline strived to contextualise objects and materials in their specific historical and social milieu, and move away from the preceding typological characterisation through which the countryside and mountain societies were usually studied.[64] Typological characterisation was very often applied to the study of architecture, even more than material culture in itself, such as vessels, tools, and a functionalist view on the subdivision of space had been intersected with typological studies, which tended to exclude an historical perspective from the picture. A mere typological approach, indeed, does not aim at providing a specific historical context, the social history of an observed object or a building's modifications, shifts in functions and in its social significance, but rather, records the diverse forms through which activities were organised, carried out and implemented. Moving away from, or not specifically addressing, the socio-historical conditions that were background to the analysed forms (of a settlement, an object, a building), the typological analysis of rural farmhouses and societies often provided a static view of pre-industrial practices, essentially tied to an idea of "traditional" ways, objects and shapes, quite unchangeable through time, but in their characteristics not always defined, and hence with a tendency to de-contextualise the object or the building, from its historical and social milieu.[65] The geographer Lucio Gambi, who took on the work started by Biasutti on Italian rural architecture, focussed on these elements within the landscape while underlining that the

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[62] Scheuermeier, 1980 [1956].
[63] Plomteux, 1980.
[64] Quaini and Moreno, 1976.
[65] Mannoni and Mannoni, 1980.

farmhouse, the architectonical structure, should be analysed in tight relation to the organisation of space outside and around the settlement and should be considered a material trace of the broader set of practices and socio-economic relationships, inhabiting not merely the house but also the ever-changing landscape around it.[66] This approach had an impact on the developing studies addressing rural history, research on social practices and the use of environmental resources, and went hand in hand with the beginnings of the *storia della cultura materiale* in Italy.[67] For roughly a decade the debate on rural architecture, and new approaches to the study of these spaces were discussed by a number of researchers from the different disciplines mentioned above, and "preindustrial" societies, that is rural and mountain social contexts, became a new focus for historical research interested in moving away from a repetitive narrative about tradition, a "colonial" urban gaze that had long pictured these contexts as ever static and isolated from technological advance and social structure modifications until their disappearance into the modern world.[68] One of the most important result of years of research and debates on how to document the changing rural landscape of the last two to three centuries was indeed a whole issue of *Archeologia Medievale* dedicated to the *dimore rurali* in 1980, where contributions came from that very spectrum of disciplinary approaches.[69] This was a substantial result and certainly brought to the fore the issue with the growing loss of knowledge about not just past rural practices, but also the present ever-changing landscape that had been largely affected by increasing depopulation and ongoing urbanisation especially within the Po plain and coastal urban centres, which had been a primary destination for those moving away from the surrounding hillsides. The debate, here still largely academic, but with a number of local connections and a somewhat present preoccupation with still existing rural communities, did not gain enough echo within historical, anthropological, archaeological research environments, bringing this publication to be the last of its kind for that period.[70] The interest towards an analytical study of material traces – buildings, structures, vegetation – within rural and mountain contexts, striving to document the recent past and encompass the specific socio-economic relationships that had influenced everyday practices

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[66] Gambi, 1976, cited in the overview on studies on the rural house/farmhouses in Stagno, 2018, 24. See also Stagno, 2014.
[67] Archeologia Medievale, 1975.
[68] Stagno and Bizzarri, 2023.
[69] *Per una storia delle dimore rurali* was the title of the 7th issue of Archeologia Medievale published in 1980.
[70] Stagno, 2018.

and changes, was overtaken by a more cultural approach towards rural landscapes and societies, which became the realm of architects and cultural anthropologists, which, in some cases drew way more from the very first typological approaches to the subject than from the historically-oriented debates of the preceding decade.[71] Medieval archaeology focussed at this point on urban contexts, cult sites (churches, monasteries, abbeys), and kept to a tighter Medieval chronology, with sporadic studies on those Modern and recent rural settlements an landscapes.[72]

The 1980s saw several academic and non-academic (despite still extensively researched and detailed) publications about rural architecture. The oncoming European interest towards a more inclusive architectural heritage conservation policy culminating in the 1985 Convention mentioned above, surely provided an encouraging milieu for independent and university researchers. Surveys were mostly carried out by architects, and architectural historians, which were often the authors of these publications, with the aid of technical surveyors, at times geologists, and to an extent also historians and archaeologists, when it came to expand on the environmental history of the surveyed region.[73]

The recent interest towards rural landscapes and the developing research on rural archaeology has brought the discussion back onto the historical dimension of material traces, encompassing research that has focussed on typological analysis, especially as far as documentation and recording of disappearing rural contexts, villages and structures are concerned, but aiming at a more specific analysis on the conditions that brought to their modification, abandonment, reconstruction. While research can certainly profit from a broader institutional interest towards rural heritage, which generally brings more funding and public attention, the tendency to include an analytical historical view on these contexts, rather than follow more idealised interpretative paths of tradition and cultural identity, is still limited. Studies on rural architecture are still largely tackled by architects, and a few anthropologists, while, the archaeological interest towards it has remained a niche focus of post-medieval archaeologists, especially when trained in building archaeology, a combination still

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[71] Guidoni, 1980.
[72] Stagno, 2018.
[73] For the historical and environmental overview of not merely the mountain regions of the Appennino Emiliano, but a broader compendium on the countryside across the plain and the hills of the same province see Cervi,1987; 1990; 1992. Other examples in Italy are, for instance, Spalla, 1984, 1985a, 1985b for Liguria.

underrepresented within the wider Italian academic environment. While the focus on the architectural study of structures per se provides information on technical aspects of construction, sociological-functional elements of spaces within and around the structure and how these spaces change through time[74], the in-depth historical analysis of material traces and the processes they are testimony to, can go unseen or mostly overlooked. The present effort to combine research interest and work on the diachronic aspect of material traces also in relation to rural buildings, their historical dimension and the social interactions they hosted and prompted, has brought to a more receptive cooperation between researchers, bringing to more specific studies on rural architecture, within which typological and functional research traditions are being slowly integrated by historical-archaeological and, more rarely, ecological approach to rural landscapes.[75]

Contextualising the traditional: farmhouses, landscapes, and material culture in Britain

The historical study of rural landscapes in Britain has greatly benefitted from a longer research tradition, which has focussed on changes taking place within these contexts, encompassing shifts in practices and activities, in socio-economic organisation. The very first perspectives that considered the countryside a palimpsest of human activities, a layered entity, within which several material traces of past, abandoned or continuous uses should be sought and not just be a background to human settlements, were derived from the writings of W. G. Hoskins, the founder of "English local history", in the 1950s and 1960s. [76] Hoskins argued for a more analytical historical gaze onto the landscape, detached from the tendencies, still spread out at the time, to find a cultural continuum, as part of nation and identity building processes, between present and ancient societies.[77] The historical study of the landscape, the countryside, should include all built, used and modified elements that played a role in agricultural activities, environmental resources management practices, hence comprising buildings and built structures.[78] It is possible to observe similarities and convergences between local history by Hoskins and some of the theories taken over by historical geographers, such as Lucio Gambi in

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[74] Rapoport, 1976.
[75] Cf. Vecchiattini, 2022; Stagno, 2018,
[76] Dyer, 2005, 25-26.
[77] Aston and Gerrard, 2013, 5.
[78] Dyer, 2006, 26.

Italy, seeing the landscape as a complex stratification of meanings, uses, socioeconomic and cultural practices, habits – defined and redefined through the diverse structures that were built within it. The influence between historical geography, ecology and landscape history across national borders and different languages, however, came at a later stage, during the 1970s and 1980s, and was acknowledged only in a limited number of publications, especially when the debates on landscape history became relevant to an increasing number of social sciences, and the following "spatial" turn that academia went through over the second half of the 1980s.[79] Before then, the study of rural landscapes, their historical dimension and stratification of uses, meanings, was specifically addressed in Britain, and was particularly important to the formation of research groups and agendas, which early on investigated on a broader level rural material culture and architectural structures, such as the Vernacular Architecture Group (VAG), founded in 1952, through which a number of local groups were either prompted in their investigations or brought in touch with one another in order to create a broader network of interested local community members, local historians and academics, and favour methodological discussions.[80] The term vernacular is somehow a product of the time, during which these studies were being approached, with a predominant weight placed upon the typological and formal distinction between structures planned by professionals (architects, engineers, artists) and those found in more humble contexts, planned and constructed by those who inhabited them, used them in their day-to-day practices, with locally-sourced materials and without a professional design behind it. More plainly the term encompassed non-monumental contexts and looked at "vernacular" structures, within urban and rural milieus alike. Surely, from an archaeological perspective, the use of the term, can entice a certain simplistic interpretation of non-monumental, rural, "popular" structures, as strictly different from religious, institutional structures or other types of monumental architecture, which conceptually also freezes "vernacular" buildings into a past that has no historical depth, and devoid of processes of choice and change occurring to those who interacted with these spaces.[81] The VAG expressed the main results of their studies through the foundation of the journal Vernacular Architecture in 1970, which, ever since the beginning, addressed rural buildings, farmhouses and their relationship with the immediate surroundings, the stratified historical landscape and the

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[79] Torre, 2008.
[80] De Zouche Hall, 1974.
[81] Zwerger, 2019.

socioeconomic contexts, in which they had been constructed, used, modified.[82] While in Britain there has long been a tighter connection between the study of rural architecture and landscape history, the issues of drawing historical and archaeological sources together, the possibility to speak to a broader public and academic audience, linking experiences and researchers beyond national borders and research traditions are still debated and faced into the present day.[83]

Seeking identities? Studies on rural landscape and farmhouses in German-speaking countries across the 20th century

While there are some converging tendencies in how several research traditions across European countries have tackled the rural landscape and architecture, some aspects that characterised the development of these studies are more visible within historiographies specific to one country or the other, or within different linguistic areas – which until the last few decades could rarely communicate through some kind of *lingua franca,* a role nowadays taken up by English across most academic disciplines and debates. It has been possible to observe how research carried out in the British Isles has, rather early on, encompassed rural architecture and its surroundings, landscapes and the history of the use and management of environmental resources, which however did not specifically inform neighbouring disciplines to the same extent. Italy saw a slower acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of environmental resources, landscapes and built structures to manage and inhabit them, despite a dynamic multidisciplinary de discussion taking place across the second half of the last century. When looking at German-speaking literature across the 19th and 20th century, on the other hand, a light can be shed on an element that was mentioned only sideways in previous summaries: the historic connection between research on rural history and architecture, as a means to negotiate, legitimise and define identities - often cultural, ethnic, or national.

As briefly outlined before, the early preoccupation towards rural ways of life, the documentation of rural socio-economic practices, objects and habits during the 19th and early 20th century, the very first photographic and descriptive publications encompassing 'vernacular' architecture developed – not merely but also – out of the increasing concern with the establishment of national identities across several European countries, and, partly, the understanding of socio-

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[82] Cherry and Green, 2019.
[83] *Ibid*, 2-3.

economic issues brought to light by social and political upheaval, as well as the expanding industrial activity and urbanisation processes connected to it.[84] German-speaking countries saw increasing contributions to the emerging discipline of *Volkskunde*, the study of peoples and their traditional practices.[85] The development of *Volkskunde* is parallel to the ethnographic research starting out as a means to record that was gradually disappearing within processes of drastic technological and social change. The interest in cultural practices and habits, the necessity to investigate rural objects, spaces and social organisation derived, partly, from the developing social sciences, which had seen an impulse over the half of the 19th century.[86]

Within this discipline, researchers carried out fieldwork by observing habits and cultural practices of human groups and then often classified them, mostly in terms of ethnicity or nationality. The understanding of the several implications of culture was tackled by these approaches, but was often limited by the influence of socio-political ideologies, which aimed at defining national traits in physical and cultural terms and provided a solid base for the development of the nationalist far-right movements, such as the national-socialist party.[87] From the 1960s ethnological research detached itself from the heavy history that had characterised its origins and was partly reinvented as a discipline. It drew from sociology, cultural anthropology and history to develop more inclusive approaches that could study human culture and its various implications and aspects away from nationalist views and perceptions.[88] Cultural practices in the rural world were still studied but through a more diversified approach, which gradually included archaeological investigation.

The archaeology of rural architecture in Germany, Austria and Switzerland particularly developed within Medieval and post-Medieval research. The archaeological study of medieval and modern non-monumental urban structures has been increasingly tackled over the last 30 years in conjunction with the expansion of urban archaeology and the growing interest in the archaeology of more recent periods.[89] The link between the historical-archaeological study of architecture, classical and Near Eastern archaeology, and art history has long defined the

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[84] Stein, 2001: 487-488
[85] Ibid.
[86] Stein, 2001
[87] Kaschuba, 1999; 2013.
[88] Kaschuba, 2013: 1-6.
[89] Scholkmann, 2000.

methodology and objectives of this subject area.[90] Through this gradual broadening of the objects of study, the integration of a more purely archaeological perspective – connected to the identification of phases of use, stratigraphic analysis of masonry, and the spatial, relational and functional study of material finds – has characterised the definition of "historical research on the built environment" (*Historische Bauforschung*), which has been able to move towards the study of much more varied historical, geographical and social contexts, including rural contexts.[91] At a disciplinary level, the recognition of this type of research as a fundamental element of archaeological analysis by context was not taken for granted: until the late 1990s – the archaeological disciplines in the German-speaking world[92] were finding it difficult to consider the investigation of the built environment, which was also increasingly present within preventive archaeology projects - as effective 'archaeology', leading some scholars to emphasise how the traditional definition of a "zero height" (*Höhe Null*) above which no archaeological analysis could take place, was counterproductive and limiting.[93] *Historische Bauforschung* applied to rural contexts firstly integrated perspectives of ethno-anthropological origin from the *Volkskunde* that had characterised the study of rural and urban dwellings for the modern period, later becoming *historische Hausforschung*. i.e. the "historical study of houses".[94] This type of research dealt with the identification of more general types of buildings and, only after the Second World War, began to deal more organically with the study of rural societies through a historical-analytical perspective, although it faced several difficulties in reinventing itself at a methodological and interpretative level.[95] Over the last two decades, the integration of archaeological methods and the interest towards the analytical study of the post-medieval rural world has brought the more anthropological and sociological *historische Hausforschung* in closer relationship and cooperation with the historical-archaeological methods of the *historische Bauforschung*. The archaeological study of post-medieval rural architecture has thus become a meeting point for various disciplines. Indeed, it represents a link between the study of material culture, living and productive spaces, and the socio-

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[90] Großmann, 2010.

[91] Kühtreiber, 2021.

[92] Per discipline archeologiche si intende lo studio della preistoria, l'archeologia antica e medievale in contesti europei. Per l'archeologia classica e del vicino Oriente, lo studio delle architetture era già presente e piuttosto centrale, anche se, come già specificato, legato a strutture monumentali e ad un'interpretazione prettamente storico-artistica di elementi e canoni costruttivi.

[93] Baerswyl, 2000.

[94] Bedal, 1978.

[95] Kaschuba, 2013. Großmann, 2009; 2011.

economic relations that characterised rural contexts, and pushes recent and new generations of researchers to investigate how individuals interacted with spaces both inside and outside architectural structures.[96] Despite the difficulties in developing a specific methodology initially, building archaeology was increasingly recognised as highly important for the understanding of human societies and their practices, especially for the more recent historical period, the architecture of which is either incorporated in contemporary structures or often visible.

2.3. Methods and case studies: Looking at the 19th century at a topographic scale

The current analysis draws from the developing methodological stances presented within rural archaeology and the archaeology of post-Medieval times. Here, it will be briefly outlined which methods have been taken into consideration for the current study, the potential these methods have for the investigation of rural and mountain spaces, as well as presenting some of the challenges for these approaches, which are still being discussed, developed and refined.

Figure 1: Archaeological survey carried out on Monte Fasce, April 2022, Photo: Stagno, 2022.

The current analysis focuses on two case studies from Southern Europe, hence presenting different geographical, social and historical contexts, while both are somehow part of a more or less mountainous landscape- The case study in Genoa, Colanesi, a small settlement placed on the hillsides of Monte Fasce, located immediately to the east of the city, is within a hilly and mountainous environment, which, however, is in a direct connection to the urban centre – and is, as a matter of fact, located only about 3-5km to the neighbourhood of Apparizione, once a municipality in its own right and now a part of the city of Genoa. These hillsides bear traces of past uses, through structures scattered across the valley, and were – according to a few community members – used through to the 1950s and 1960s. Only a limited number of farmers and proprietors of parcels on Monte Fasce

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[96] Schmid, 2014; Kühtreiber, 2014; Schmid, Schichta, Kühtreiber and Holzner-Tobisch, 2015.; Winkelbauer, 2013; 2018.

are now using these hillsides, either to cut wood, or allowing cattle to graze on the fields, while most of the area is often seen as "marginal", almost "wild". This case study is connected to the history of common lands and the collective management of environmental resources and how changes take place around them during the course of the 19th century, with the increasing pressure onto local institutions and communities to privatise or attest an increasing agricultural productivity for the parcels that were owned by the municipality or collectively organised. The connection to the second case study is through the 19th century as a time of change and increasing pressure towards mass productivity, as a part of which several socio-economic as well as physical structures undergo modifications. The French case study in Cerdagne, in the Eastern Pyrenees, is hence a very different context – a large farmhouse surrounded by extensive possessions, which, however, undergoes a number of structural modifications during the 19th century. The area is, moreover, an area where collective property and practices interacted and intersected with large private properties, allowing to investigate how modifications might have affected or seen the influence the relationship between private and common action, possibly questioning the dichotomy itself.

The case studies provide different perspectives onto a time of change, onto a period during which major processes should be observed at a local, "topographic", scale to devise how strategies to accommodate, reject or negotiate change, were the result of a dialogue between different scales and social actors, diverging interests, reiterated practices and new technological developments. While two is a limited number, through which these elements can be studied, it provides a first basis to address differences and similarities across European contexts, as well as the relationship of rural histories to the perceptions and construction of rural heritage.

2.3.1. Rural archaeology, building archaeology: connecting different sources

The survey: Topographic Units, Sites and Areas

Rural archaeology is quite a young discipline, as already highlighted over the current chapter, and the methodology briefly outlined here hails from recent debates and publications with their origin in Italy, and specifically at the University of Genoa, where the LASA - *Laboratorio di Archeologia e Storia Ambientale* has sought to further bridge the gap between historical and natural sciences, bringing archaeologists, historians, historical ecologists and archaeo-

botanists to cooperate in the investigation on the different environmental resources' management systems, especially for the recent past. Rural archaeology has developed out of the increasing interest for post-medieval contexts and landscape archaeology, trying to move forward from the focus on settlements, tackling how these are not the only sites to consider when investigating past practices, hence trying to bring "non-sites", or rather everything else around and in between settlements in order to widen the perspective on the use and management of environmental resources. The question about how resources were managed, shared and contested combined approaches coming from historical ecology and geography, striving to assess how people interacted with each other and onto the landscape, providing an historical depth to contexts now considered marginal, investigating processes of abandonment and continuity in use. The legacy not merely of landscape history and archaeology, but also of the English local history, as well as French studies on rural heritage and the Spanish agrarian history are all somehow to be found within the approach to rural archaeology carried out within LASA. [97] The methods for the current study refer to the more recent discussions on rural archaeological investigations, as they outlined how extensive surveys allow to gather a more comprehensive picture of how social groups inhabiting mountain and rural contexts went about their day to day practices, the social relationships and the practical knowledge implied in environmental resources' management systems.

For the investigation of a broader mountainous area or region, an extensive non-systematic survey is particularly ideal. Archaeological surveys are normally systematic, as surveyors are supposed to walk through a set distance and document inch by inch the finds retrieved, characteristics of possible sites. While this allows a precise documentation of the chosen terrain, it is rather unstable for mountainous regions, steep hillsides, areas where access routes are not as easily definable, or completely inexistent. This type of survey is field based but can always be integrated with remote surveying through the consultation of historic cartography, satellite imagery, aerial photographs, in order to integrate with other visible information where access is no longer possible.

The method allows to record, over a distance travelled during the survey, all possible artefacts as well as the "spaces in between" – a hillside, a slope, a field – as well as those artefact

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[97] Stagno, 2018: 38-39.

connecting sites and settlements (e.g. mule tracks – *mulattiere*). As it is being used for systematic surveying, the term "Topographic Unit" (Unità Topografica - UT)[98] refers to the smallest entity, into which the surrounding landscape can be subdivided – representing the result of an action, or a series of closely related actions, for instance a terraced field, a building, a chestnut grove. When UTs are assigned, there should be, for the investigated area, no void section between the Units, just as it would be done for an excavation or a systematic field walking survey. Deciding on what could or should be a UT is already a first interpretation of the traces and the main characteristics of an artefact, which sets the basis for the following step within the interpretation of the data collected. Units can hence be grouped into sites, which, nevertheless, are not just settlements or places where human traces are highly concentrated, but rather represent a series of connected actions and practices that could be identified or hypothesised through the UTs.[99] Sites in turn will be interpreted and synthesised into areas, through which specific phenomena common to several sites, some main characteristics – such as the presence of specific materials, or the recurrence of a type of artefact, building, hints at a connection between different sites and sets them apart from other areas.

Through this type of interpretation of the investigated landscape, there is the possibility to create an overview of the practices found within the landscape, and through this first synthesis, it is possible to hypothesise relative chronologies for certain modifications related to practices, artefacts, or both. It also allows to integrate the information collected over following campaigns as it provides a flexible interpretative basis, relying not just on material sources but also on the combination of analysis on archival sources and historic cartography.

Building archaeology and rural contexts

The archaeological study of buildings as an approach has been in direct connection to the development of rural archaeology in Italy, already from the 1970s and early 1980s, when the discussion on the history of material culture encompassed buildings into the picture.[100] The argument to consider farmhouses and rural buildings an historical product that should be studied in relation to shifts in the organisation of environmental resources, which had also an origin within historical geography, was part of the first attempts to tackle the investigation of

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[98] Stagno, 2009; 2018.
[99] *Ibid*.
[100] Archeologia Medievale 7, 1980.

non-urban, non-monumental contexts.[101] With the recent development on the archaeological study of post-medieval rural contexts, and not merely in Italy, the analysis of the built environment, building phases, functions and modifications has been a fundamental method.

For both case studies observations on building phases, be these for smaller buildings in upland settlements or large farmhouses within farming estates, the methodology followed focuses on the identification of the smaller units that can be identified with an action or a series of tightly connected actions (building masonry work for a wall, the creation of an entrance, its walling-up or removal, the presence of beam holes, or the construction of a roof structure, etc.) and a subsequent interpretation of the main phases these units could be grouped within. The study understands the built environment as more than just the architectural container of actions, but rather a reflection of the surrounding social relationships and activity, a direct connection between landscapes, people and material culture.[102]

While the current analysis does not present the use of absolute dating methods, it certainly lays the basis for identifying in future campaigns for both case studies, areas where samples for dendrochronological dating (such as thicker and well preserved wooden beams, larger wooden fragments) as well as dating of binding mortars – especially where lime mortar has been utilised, which through its calciferous content is an apt material to be dating through optical techniques.

Possible chronologies for the two case studies presented have relied on the data collected through historic cartography, the comparison with archival material and the presence of some specific indicators in building materials (flat roof tiles, bricks, cut stone blocks) or architectural forms. As outlined above post-medieval contexts offer an ideal meeting point where diverse sources can be compared and criss-crossed, in order to have a more specific view on social interactions within rural contexts and social groups, but also to attempt at identifying social actors and their actions in material traces left behind – which might bear different details than what is outlined in archival sources, be these of institutional character or belonging directly to families, or in accounts of local inhabitants. Hence, the application of absolute dating techniques has not been the main focus of the current analysis, as the study attempts

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[101] Mannoni, 1994.
[102] See Ingold, 1993; Also, for a more specifically sociological and architectural view on the "built environment" see Rapoport, 1976.

especially to establish a first contact and connection between material traces and different archival sources, and see how this base should be a starting point for further investigations, either through excavation, soil and sediment sampling, as well as prompting the further investigation of the areas through extensive surveys that might bring new material into the analysis and help delineate the complexity of rural societies during the 19th century.

2.3.2. Case studies
Colanesi, Montagna di Fascia, Genoa (Italy)
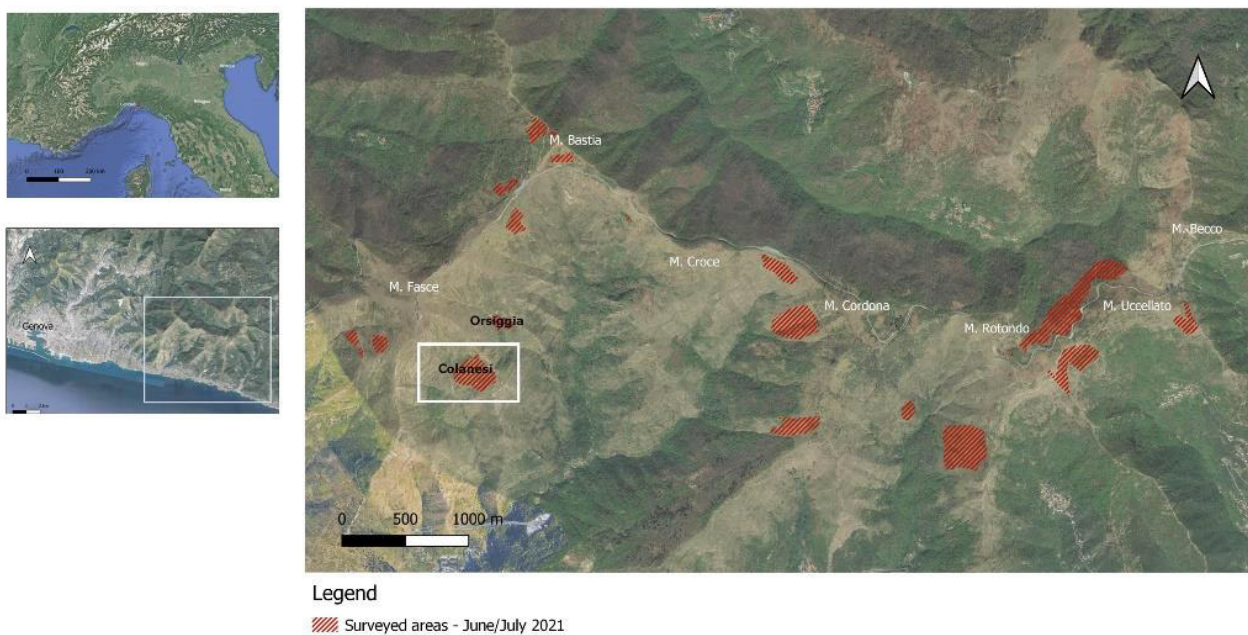
Figure 2: Location of Montagna di Fascia and the areas surveyed during the campaign carried out during June and July 2021, highlighted is the area around the settlement of Colanesi. Basemap: GoogleSatellites (QGis 3.10 Coruna). Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

The case presented in the third chapter will focus on an area located to the East of Genoa, part of an extensive hilly region stretching from the torrent Sturla valley to the west and the Recco valley to the East, the *Montagna di Fascia*. This area has been the object of studies over the last forty years, concentrating on the understanding of practices tied to the management of environmental resources. Montagna di Fascia, despite being slightly inhabited and used, is now considered "marginal" and abandoned. The several structures, terraced fields, wall enclosures, however, hint at a very different past for the area, where agro-silvo-pastoral activities left traces visible to this day.

For this case study, it will be provided an overview on sites identified though the first surveys carried out in Summer 2021. Through the collection of this first information, it was then defined that the study should focus on the settlement of Colanesi, not just because of the presence of a few buildings and terraces, but mostly because of the stratification these structures present. The study will look at the different structures that were identified across the Montagna di Fascia during rural archaeological surveys, and contextualise the information with the discussion on common lands that characterised the hillsides of Monte Fasce, placed to the West of Montagna di Fascia, by looking at archival documentation, mainly municipal archives dating the 1830s up to the 180s, and historic cartography. The discussion on the management of common lands during the second half of the 19th century will allow to observe how social groups were interacting onto the landscape, and grasp which interests and social interactions characterised this context during a time of change.

The case study will draw a first image of the hillside's characteristics, as well as observing how the buildings have been modified over the years, bringing material traces together with archival and cartographic sources. Colanesi presents three main nuclei of houses sparse across the southern hillside, placed at the margins of two large terraced fields. The analysis will be further carried out through the correlation between archival material and the data collected in order not provide a more articulated picture of the southern hillsides of Monte Fasce, especially during the 19th century. The increasing push from institutions towards the productivity and rationalised spaces was pressing local municipalities to privatise common lands and redefine sources and spaces. The conflicts around ownership and access rights characterised these hillsides and draw an image of a dynamic area, where collectively managed resources were catalysts of human action, interaction.

Mas Rondole, Saillagouse, Pyrenées Orientales (France)

The second case study presented focuses on Mas Rondole, a farmhouse and its surrounding landscape, located in the French Cerdagne, a high plateau amongst the Eastern Pyrenees, on the border to Spanish Catalunya. Cerdagne has long been studied in relation to the changes in agro-silvopastoral practices

Figure 3: Location of Mas Rondole within the Eastern French Cerdagne, basemap: GoogleSatellites (QGis 3.10 Coruna). Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

from prehistorical times until the present.[103] Studies have highlighted how over Medieval, Modern and Contemporary times lands managed collectively, especially within transhumant and seasonal pasture systems, were a crucial aspect of this landscape. Conflicts and discussions in relation to the common land presence in the region have long intersected with the broadening agricultural properties during the Modern period, which lead to the increasing accumulation of land and the reorganisation of productive spaces and connected practices.

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[103] Rendu, 2003; Conesa, 2012.

2.3.3. Investigating rural change at the topographical scale: pursuing the research question

The current study sets out to research how social, structural changes took place during the 19th century in European uplands, how these shifts are tied into the processes of urbanisation, industrialisation that were supposedly affecting the socio-economic organisation of smaller and larger communities, families and individuals alike. The study aims at focussing especially on those areas at times defined as "marginal", such as uplands, and the countryside more generally, as, whichever the underlying scope of an analysis or a project, the concentration on non-urban contexts often suffers under the generalisation of an "urban" gaze, which might not help see these contexts in their own historical complexity, not merely as an "hinterland" to the city, but as connecting elements in landscapes tied with one another through a network of resources management systems, practices, migrations and seasonal movements.

The question driving this piece of research focuses on the observation of processes that characterised the 19th century, bringing about socio-economic change, pressures, new political institutions and references, and with them changing rules and different ways to regulate agricultural activities, the use of spaces, the fiscal management of property, as well as the ideals of an intensive rather than extensive use of resources, the "rational" organisation of agricultural production, and the need to face an expanding market. These factors, as we will see in the following chapters, especially through the testimonies of archival data and oral accounts, affected how social groups modified practices to manage agricultural activities, organised property subdivision and access rights. It will be observed how the increasingly imposing presence of centralising institutions, especially the state, the pressure onto local institutions and social groups to cover costs of local infrastructure, can be seen throughout documentation, but the responses to these pressure tapped into disputes and agreements specific to the local context However, first and foremost, the question regards how the topographical scale of analysis provides a perspective that allows to look at different sources – archaeological, environmental, written, oral – and compare data they outline, in order to grasp how change happened through a dialogue between large processes and local entities, realities and practices.

From a methodological point of view, the different types of sources are observed separately and successively drawn together. The case of Colanesi and the Montagna di Fascia (Chapter 3) will be looked at through the presentation of the rural archaeological survey, where a synthesis of the broader structures and elements found within the Montagna di Fascia provide a basis to analyse the various activities that shaped the hillsides around Colanesi, and which represented a connection between the costal centres and the inland areas. The results derived from the surveys will be then integrated with the closer observation of the structures in Colanesi, the relationship of these with their surroundings and the resources management systems that could be identified in the landscape. At this point the studied area will be looked at through the analysis of archival resources, the further comparison with more descriptive information concerning land management and access rights, as well as use of toponyms that can be looked for and compared to current examples and the morphological and topographical aspects that maps still outline, as well as assisting the localisation of the facts and actions reported by the documents. The material trace and the written source will come together – mostly – within a smaller context, through a local perspective, but it is mostly at this scale, where these diverse sources can better interact with one another.

A similar outline will be followed for the case of Mas Rondole (Chapter 4), where, after a brief presentation of the major narratives that have defined the interpretation of farmhouses in the region, their role within the agricultural landscape and economy, the building archaeological survey will provide a number of material elements and traces of the stratified modifications that were carried out onto the buildings. Only successively, through a summary of the cartographic sources utilised, the archival and oral documentation collected, it will be possible to position those changes within the complex and varied property shifts that took place and observe which pieces of information emerge from the combination of different sources.

The major narratives that have to be faced when studying European rural and mountain contexts are not the "wrong" narratives, they only might reduce people inhabiting and interacting with these landscapes to passive recipients of mass industrialisation and urbanisation processes. While the post-modernist, post-structuralist influence onto the present academic discourse might have brought about the need to disrupt and question wide historical processes and their effects onto local communities, it is evident to most, researchers and non-researchers alike, that the current world, with its globalised markets, the digital interconnection of people and

places, does move at a fast pace and is the result of major pushes towards industrialisation, the mechanisation of work, the concentration of most people within urban centres. While these developments bear their weight onto the current state of affairs, it should be fundamental to consider social groups, communities and other constellations belonging to the "pre-industrial" past as active participants into the everchanging historical, political and social conditions around them. The historical depth provided by the intersection of archaeological sources, written documentation, present testimonies, historical-ecological information allows to see through the agency of local actors and communities, and devise how the oncoming shifts they were going through were integrated, rejected, accepted into their present lives, socio-political interactions and interests.

Agrarian reforms and political choices involving rural and mountain contexts during the 19th century aimed at centralising the management of resources, rationalising their use and organisation, while also allowing a more efficient understanding of their fiscal value. Local communities brought into these exogenous forces their own demands, the reiterated practices to organise social life and the use of resources – which one can nowadays merely interpret as tradition.[104] The aim of this study is to follow into the steps of those who have strived to give a voice to those who had been neglected by historiography, and long enough, by archaeological research[105], and move further into critiquing the relationship of the current academic and public discourse with how rural heritage. The ambitious aim is to put another, perhaps small, tile into the deconstruction of archaeology merely as "heritage science", by investigating its deep connections to historical and social sciences, as the materiality of human experience becomes increasingly recognised as a tell-tale source to analyse historical and present socio-economical processes.

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[104] With regards to how traditions are "invented" and evolve from practices that had their historical and socio-political significance one should keep in mind the reflections by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) highlighted in *The Invention of Tradition*. Another fundamental reflection on this topic is found in the study of practices and their historical spaces published by Torre in 2002 and 2011. Moreover, specifically with regards to rural contexts and agro-silvo-pastoral practices, Rendu (2003) brings examples of how traditional events, gatherings, celebrations in mountainous contexts, with the abandonment of several practices and spaces they were carried out within, might often be emptied of their functional and social value, they were referred to when they were carried out. Now they are maybe reiterated for different purposes, be it tourism, the revival of rural ways of life, the new attention given to local produce by European policies but should not be regarded as the direct testimony of the past, rather a reworked reminiscence, memory of a set of practices.
[105] Milanese, 1997; 2007.

3. Inhabiting rural spaces: Colanesi, *Montagna di Fascia* (Genoa, Italy)

Figure 4: South-Eastern hillside of Monte Fasce, where Colanesi is located, to the right the terraced fields are visible and to the fore are the rests of the enclosing wall. Bizzarri, 2022.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the last twenty years have seen flourishing research on past rural contexts in Europe, encompassing archaeological investigations that include the Modern and the most recent past. In Italy the trend has been rather similar, with an increasing number of studies and projects that have focussed on various regions, not just mountainous areas, but the countryside and rural landscapes more in general, across the whole peninsula. [106] Mountainous contexts are the ones that more clearly and visibly suffered a process of constant depopulation over the last century, which, to an extent, is still taking place in the present. Uplands have been the focus of some of the most recent research on rural historic landscapes because of the ongoing preoccupation towards the lost knowledge on the practices that had defined and moulded them, with the aim at understanding these practices' sustainability, their social implication, and the role they played in maintaining the now abandoned hillsides alive.[107] The current chapter will look at a case study selected on the Eastern Ligurian Appenines, within the immediate outskirts of the city of Genoa. Ligurian Appenines have been the object of studies developed across the whole second half of the 20th century, with first approaches bridging history, geography and ecology already during the 1970s, a product and a propeller of the mentioned debates on .[108] However, most research projects, encompassing historical-ecological, geographical and archaeological investigations, were developed in the late 1980s and during most of the 1990s

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[106] A compendium of several studies based on archaeological, historical, ecological and geographical data is, for instance, found in Agnoletti (ed.) 2011. It is a first catalogue of rural landscapes across the whole of Italy selected based on their historical specificity, their value for present activities, in order to draw up plans to protect, preserve or revitalise them. A nation-wide project was developed in the following years allowing further "rural historic landscapes" to be registered onto the national record - https://www.reterurale.it/registropaesaggi (last access 1st May 2024)

[107] Stagno, 2018.

[108] Quaini, 1973; Moreno, 1970.

and early 2000s.[109] The *Laboratorio di Archeologia e Storia Ambientale* – LASA, officially founded at the University of Genoa in 1995 by scholars and students coming from different disciplines, amongst which history, archaeology, geography, as well as natural and earth sciences, was specifically active in researching past rural communities, drawing from those first examples of studies on environmental resources management, the related practices and jurisdictions, as well as transhumant routes, the shared use of resources and common or collective property. Investigations carried out by the laboratory have, for instance, considered how headland and wooded pastures have been managed through the Modern Age as part of transhumant routes onto the intensification of wood and charcoal production and connected reforestation of higher hillsides taking place across the 19th century.[110] They also looked at the intersection of activities and practices that characterised collective lands, combining cultivation, pasture and seasonal animal husbandry, and the following onset of intense haymaking, with the gradual shift onto this type of production with changes in animal husbandry practices, combining the rearing of sheep, goats and cattle ever short-distance transhumant routes (within the *monticazione* system) rather than on longer paths.[111]

The chapter will present the case study of Colanesi, a site characterised by the presence of terraced fields, partly enclosed by a dry-stone wall towards the east, and several stratified architectural structures, partly concentrated at the higher end of the slope on which Colanesi is to be found, with only a few further exemplars identified towards the lower end. The chapter will firstly provide an overview of the studies that have looked at the *Montagna di Fascia*, the broader "historical-territorial" unit encompassing Mont Fasce and Colanesi. The overview will serve as a background to the study of the Colanesi, as well as the preceding survey that took place across the range of hills stretching out to the East of Genoa, through which the diverse traces of past environmental management practices were considered for several of these hillsides, a broader territorial context inextricably tied to Monte Fasce and its now uninhabited settlements. The Montagna di Fascia is indeed a difficult area to define in its geographical borders, but the overview will provide some first elements, specifically from historiographical debates, that have made and still make it into a historically stratified territory.

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[110] Stagno et al., 2018.

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After a first introduction on how the Montagna di Fascia should be considered, and the diverse research projects that have been carried out in the area, the chapter will dwell on the archival sources that were collected and studied for a better understanding of social, institutional and economic dynamics specific to the 19th century and the management of the common lands (*comunaglie*) on Monte Fasce. These hills, just as it happened for steeper hillsides and uplands in inland areas, showed a presence of common and/or collectively used land parcels, already attested in early Modern Age documents, through to most of the 19th century.[112] The nature itself of commons, "terre collettive" or *comunaglie* – as they were called in Eastern Liguria, is rather difficult to define, as the dichotomy between private and collective/common has been questioned by studies highlighting the ever-changing parameters used to determine property, rights of access and use, varying through time, and often understood and reproduced in different ways by distinct social groups (a parish congragation, a family or kinship, etc.) or istitutions (local admnistrations – *comune*, the province, the regions, the national/State Authorities, etc.). [113] While the discussion on "what is a common?" could deter from approaching such contexts, highlighting the difficulty in using categories that are always challenged by a more thorough historical analysis, the documentation on the management of the Monte Fasce *comunaglie* during the 19th century reveals intense interactions and conflicts happening around the at the time, and hence a dynamic social and economic activity within and around those very hillsides considered in this analysis.

The chapter will then follow the two archaeological survey campaigns carried out between 2021 and 2023. The rural archaeological, historical ecological survey included most of Montagna di Fascia, and through a non-systematic and extensive study on the area, allowed to define numerous sites as well as macro-areas, within which the broader territory could be subdivided and interpreted, highlighting the diversity of traces left by past resources management practices onto the slopes of these hills. Subsequently, the architectural non-intrusive survey will be presented, through which first stratigraphic sequences were formed and contextualised within historical and archaeological data collected.

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The final two sections of the third chapter are reflections derived from the first results on the analysis of Colanesi's structures and landscapes, with a specific reference to the changes taking place within the timespan is at the centre of the current work, the second half of the 19th century. The more strictly interpretative subchapter will allow to tie the first strings together in the interpretation of how this settlement has been used and was placed within a broader dynamic socio-economic context, in a tight connection to the urban milieu as well as towards inland areas and communities. The second chapter will specifically look a the role of seasonal settlements – which Colanesi could seem to be – within the changing agro-silvo-pastoral activities and practices over the course of the 19th century.

3.1. Montagna di Fascia: a prologue

The area selected for the case study is located to the east of Genoa, within the mountainous territory stretching out between the Sturla valley in the west and the Recco and Sori valleys to the east. The study the area of what has been designated as Montagna di Fascia, in particular within the studies by historical-ecologist and geographer Diego Moreno, who has researched practices and landscapes in the area in the attempt to document environmental resources management systems that were gradually disappearing, especially during the second half of the 20th century. [114] Moreno analyses changes in practices taking place between the 17th and 19th centuries, approaching the Montagna di Fascia as a 'historical territorial unit', defined by the various activities carried out throughout the modern age that affected the landscape to this day.[115] With "Montagna di Fascia", Diego Moreno refers to the term "Montagna di Fassia" used by the Genoese erudite Agostino Giustiniani in his *Castagatissimi Annali* published in 1537, referring to the valleys enclosed by the streams Sturla the west and Sori and Recco to the east, stretching out to the Portofino promontory, which he already defined through an ensemble of historical, geographical and physical characteristics.[116]

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[114] Moreno, 1990.
[115] Moreno, 1990.
[116] Moreno, 1990: 70-72; Moreno, 1970.
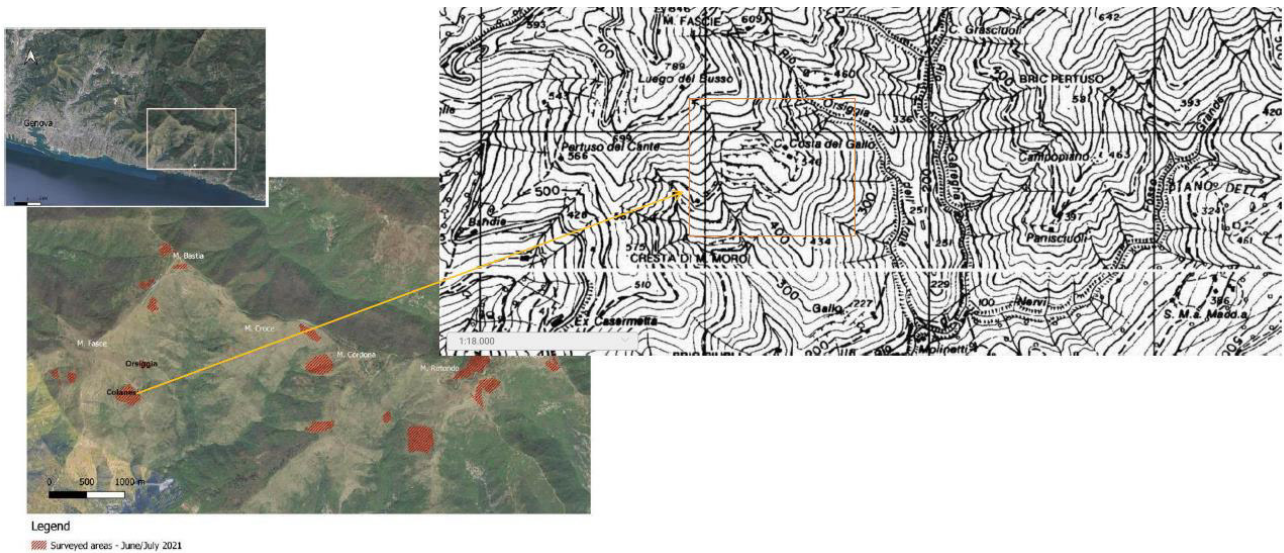
Figure 5: Areas surveyed during the campaigns in 2021, and topographic map of the area around Colanesi (Source: GeoPortale Liguria, 2023)

These hillsides were characterised by the presence of routes related to long- and short-distance transhumance throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, which extended from the Po plain until the Maritime and French Alps to the west. At the turn of the 19th century, it was argued that a shift towards the rearing of cattle rather than sheep, managed over short- rather than long-distance transhumance routes, and a consequent change in the mobility of flocks and herders, brought about a gradual change in the use of these hillsides.[117] Haymaking became a central activity in order to provide fodder to animals that were kept in stables during the winter, a practice that became increasingly common with the shift towards animal husbandry managed more locally. Over the course of the 19th century, hay was not just a subsistence resource for communities and social groups directly managing these hillsides, but also an economic resource that was being exchanged, building on broad – possibly already existing – trade networks between inland and coastal centres.[118] Most of the higher hillsides of the Montagna di Fascia were characterised by the presence of common lands and collective property.[119] Over the 16th and 17th centuries, common lands were shared and contested between different social groups, individuals and shifting territorial institutions, who negotiated property, rights of access and use of environmental resources.[120] Conflicts regarding common lands are also visible in 19th-century documentation, especially in relation to processes of rationalisation of environmental resource

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[117] Moreno et al. 1992.
[118] Plomteux,1980; Moreno et al. 1992.
[119] Moreno, 1990; Costa, 2012; Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.
[120] Moreno et al., 1992.

management and privatisation of 'uncultivated' land owned and/or managed by local institutions, parishes and social groups.[121] From the second half of the 20th century, the hillsides of Montagna di Fascia witnessed a more drastic abandonment, and a gradual disappearance of the practices that had defined agro-silvo-pastoral sources in the area.[122] Montagna di Fascia is hence a complex entity, where a number of jurisdictions, use and management systems of environmental resources, which saw the development and negotiation of conflicts, agreements, social interactions around them.[123]

At the end of the 1980s, the area became the object of archaeological investigations, especially in relation to the development of new gas pipelines meant to serve the eastern Genoese coast.[124] Research has focussed on the hillsides of Monte Fasce, Monte Bastia, Monte Cordona, considering a broad timeline of human occupation, from Prehistory to the Post medieval period.[125] Archaeological study of the area has been carried out more recently, between 2019 and 2020, also as part of preventive investigations for an ongoing infrastructural development concerning the gas pipeline network. Investigations were carried out not merely through the excavation of the areas defined by developers, but also through rural and landscape archaeological surveys, which aimed at identifying a first periodisation of the environmental resources management systems, recording material traces of historical uses and practices (terraces and terraced fields, wooded pastures, stone heaps, etc.), also in order to define viable ways to preserve and/or reconstruct some of the artefacts affected by the pipeline works.[126] The *Laboratorio di Archeologia e Storia Ambientale* (LASA), furthermore, carried out archaeo-botanical analyses on samples collected on these survey campaigns to acquire more data on the effects of past agro-silvo-pastoral activities and their subsequent dismissal.

Local associations have also showed interest in understanding processes of change, abandonment and the social implication of resources management in the area. There has indeed an increasing demand for cooperation with archaeologists and historians on behalf of local groups, specifically oriented at giving more historical depth to the Eastern Genoese hills,

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[121] Stagno et al., 2021.
[122] Moreno, 1990.
[123] Moreno, Croce e Montanari, 1992; Moreno, 1990; Costa, 2012.
[124] Maggi, 1992.
[125] Moreno et al., 1992.
[126]

while ameliorating trails and paths to allow a wider access to these areas to hikers, as well as attempting a first reconstruction of historic infrastructure and communication networks. Amongst them the Centro Studi Sotterranei di Genova – researching ancient and past wells, sewage, water storage facilities around the city and province of Genoa. While investigating natural and artificial caves on the hillsides of Monte Fasce, the CSS staff took note of the several artefacts and structures referring to a past management of the slope and submitted their observations to the local cultural heritage offices as well as historians and archaeologists at the Università di Genova, representing the basis for the development of the current historical archaeological study. This piece of research carried out locally brought to the first surveys around the settlements and structures in Colanesi, for instance, as well as to the more extensive surveys across the Montagna di Fascia.[127]

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[127] Moreover, local associations and institutions, attempting at bringing together the remaining community members as well as working towards the redefinition of a local kind of heritage, have been actively contributing to the current analysis, amongst them the Pro.Loco di Apparizione.

3.2. A perspective on the *Montagna di Fascia*: the archaeological, historical-ecological survey

Aree indagate, Estate 2021

WWII Survey 2021

Figure 6: Areas investigated during the 2021 rural archaeological survey. Basemap: GoogleSatellites (QGis 3.10 Coruna). Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

3.3.1. Rural archaeological investigations on the Montagna di Fascia: applications, methods and interpretative paths

At an interpretative level, the UTs were then related to each other and grouped within sites, i.e. units of territory defined by closely related actions. This made it possible to visualise the intersection of activities both within settlements and outside of them - in the areas of cultivation and grazing, quarrying and use of stone materials, forest management and water resources. In order to observe not only how the actions are stratified and connected, but also the relationships between the identified sites, morphological continuities and similarities, and shared historical and topographical contexts, they were grouped into areas.

The research presented thus followed the guidelines set out in the most recent works on rural archaeology.[128] The archaeological survey and observation of the main characteristics of the vegetation and tree cover made it possible to define research questions in a more specific manner, identifying some initial periodisations and allowing for a topographical localisation of some of the resource management activities implemented on the slopes of the Montagna di Fascia. In order to be able to observe and document the characteristics of artefacts and traces linked to the management of environmental resources, Topographical Units (UTs) were identified, i.e. the minimum spatial entity identifiable in the landscape[129], including an artefact, an architectural structure, as well as a portion of slope used for grazing or a forest unit with specific properties. They can be characterised either by traces left by individual actions or by a series of practices, depending on the scale of investigation. These units have been determined both through the study of the physical, topographical and morphological characteristics of artefacts and elements present in the environment, but also through a second observation from remote on a GIS platform, through the use of satellite images (GoogleSatellites) and on the geo-cartographic portal GeoPortale Liguria, in order to integrate data not recorded during the on-site survey, given some problems of visibility of the artefact or complex weather situations. At an interpretative level, the UTs were then related to each other and grouped within sites, i.e. units of territory defined by closely related actions. This made it possible to visualise the intersection of activities both within settlements and outside of them - in the areas of cultivation and grazing, quarrying and use of stone materials, forest management and water resources. In order to observe not only how the actions are stratified and connected, but also the relationships between the identified sites, morphological continuities and similarities, and shared historical and topographical contexts, they were grouped into areas. In the case of current investigations, mostly carried out extensively, the areas can be defined as macro-areas, which can be further subdivided or linked with more specific and detailed research.

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[128] Stagno, 2009; 2018.
[129] Stagno, 2009: 73.

3.3.2. Areas and sites: an overview

Montagna di Fascia - Estate 2021, Siti e Aree (I, II, III, IV, V)
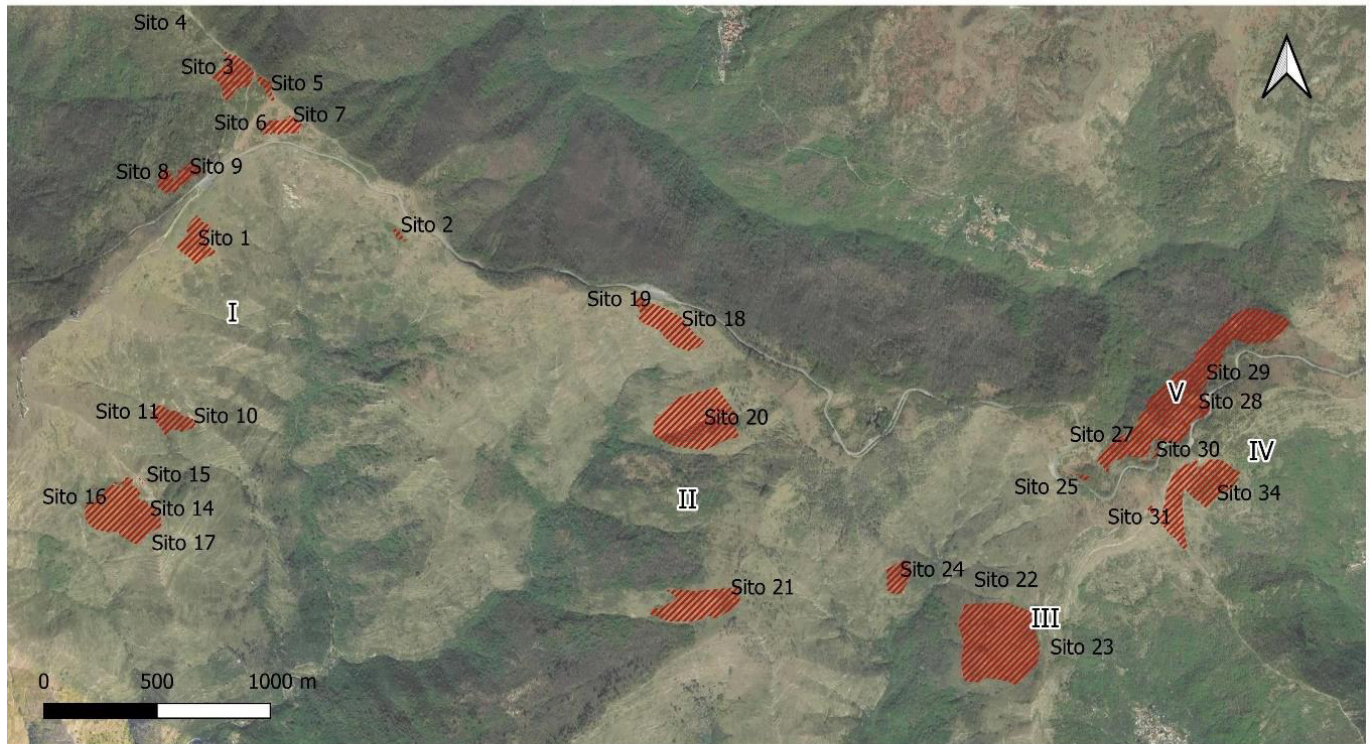
Figure 7: Map of the surveyed areas with location of Areas (I, II, III, IV, V) and Sites (in numbers). Basemap: GoogleSatellites (QGis 3.10 Coruna). Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

Area I – Monte Fasce, Monte Bastia and their hillsides

The area extends between Monti Fasce and Bastia, on the southern and eastern slopes. It is characterised by a greater presence of particularly articulated complexes of artefacts, with settlements characterised by various buildings and architectural structures, set within terraced systems, in some cases also fenced by dry-stone walls, covered by *crèste* (stone slabs arranged on the thinner, "knife-edge" side – *a coltello*). The area is also closely linked, historically, to the presence of common lands related to the parishes of Apparizione, Quarto al Mare, Bavari and Nervi. The area to the west of the ridge between M. Fasce and M.Bastia, and the southern slopes between Monti Bastia and Proi were investigated by accessing them from the Giuche Pass and following the path that connects the Pass to Monte Proi, subsequently descending towards Bavari. Several sites were identified within the area, which give an insight into the variety of slope

management activities that were carried out, in particular until the mid-20th century, and in some cases into the agricultural activities that are still carried out. Part of the slope investigated, as well as the area to the south-east of Monte Bastia is in fact still used for grazing livestock by Azienda Agricola Monte Fasce, located between Monte Bastia and Passo Giuche, west of SP 67.

Fascia/Fresan (Site 1)

The site can be traced back to the toponym indicated on the *Carta Tecnica Regionale* Fresan, although according to the study of cartographic and documentary sources, the area can be traced back to the toponym of Fascia (see the *Tavoletta Manoscritta* in preparation for the *Gran carta degli Stati Sardi di Terraferma,* 1818) or Frexan. If observed from the opposite slope, long strips of terracing can already be identified below Passo Giuche, where there is a large

Figure 8: surveyed area of Fresan, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000 Scale. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

car park beside Provincial Road 67. These strips run along a large part of the slope from north to south, and within them are buildings concentrated in architectural complexes composed of several bodies, mostly in a state of disrepair and covered by thick vegetation, particularly in the summer months. Access to the slope from the Giuche Pass is not easily identifiable, and therefore the site was investigated when one of the plateaus on which some of the buildings are located was reached.

Table 1: Topographic Units (UT), the toponym of the area considered, a brief definition of some characterising features, the short typological definition and the date of surveying/defining the UT number, for Fascia/Fresan.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
101	Fascia/Fresan	Gruppo di strutture in stato di crollo sul versante	Gruppo di edifici	09/06/2021
102	Fascia/Fresan	Porzione di versante terrazzato orientato N-S con alta concentrazione di Rovi	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	09/06/2021
103	Fascia/Fresan	Porzione di versante con copertura erbacea e arbusti	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	09/06/2021
104	Fascia/Fresan	sezione esposta in 103	Sezione esposta	09/06/2021
105	Fascia/Fresan	Pianoro su cui si impostano edifici UT 101	Pianoro	09/06/2021

106	Fascia/Fresan	Edificio a pianta quadrata	Edificio	28/02/2022
107	Fascia/Fresan	Edificio a pianta quadrata	Edificio	28/02/2022
108	Fascia/Fresan	Struttura, edificio a pianta quadrangolare	Struttura	28/02/2022

The area on which the survey was carried out is articulated on a terraced slope oriented in a north-south direction, divided into two units (UT 102, UT 103). UT 102, upstream, presents a high concentration of brambles, particularly descending towards the buildings, and the wide terraces of which the unit is composed are irregular, difficult to walk on and in a state of disruption. In contrast, UT 103, southeast of UT 102, has a more varied herbaceous cover as well as an increasing concentration of shrubs towards the south and east. The terraces remain wide, with a more regular course than the unit to the west. The drystone walls built to support the terracing are most visible in the southern area of the unit, which ends at an artificial plateau bordered by a drystone wall, ca. 2m high. Among the buildings and architectural structures identified within the site, there are two square plan buildings that were not investigated, but only located through survey on a GIS platform. UT 106 is located within UT 102, in the south-eastern sector. UT 107 is instead within UT 103 and is located in the eastern area of the unit. To the north of UT 107, a structure, a smaller, square building, was identified as UT 108. Tthe buildings investigated are those belonging to a group of architectural structures located on a plateau (UT 105) situated between UTs 102 and 103. The group of buildings (UT 101) consists of four visible structures, largely covered by brambles and with concentrations of *vitalba* and nettle both outside and inside the rooms.

Site 1 is therefore composed by architectural complexes closely linked to the surrounding terraces, given the topographical concordance between the identified units. The buildings are in a strong state of disrepair and covered by dense vegetation, a situation that pairs with is accompanied by the visible state of neglect in which the terraces are found, especially towards the north and west, where they are more intensely covered by shrubs. The group of buildings at UT 101 suggests that they were used by several social groups for activities related to the management of the terraces and, possibly, in connection with seasonal farming.

Penna Soprana (Site 2)

The toponym chosen is the one given on the Regional Technical Map. In fact, the wording Penna Soprana seems to be linked to the presence of a further area defined by the toponym Penna Sottana downstream of the site presented here, not reached by the present investigations. The toponym Penna appears in the *Gran Carta degli Stati Sardi* and in the military plans for the Monti Fasce and Bastia area for the years 1940-1945. In the latter, however, the toponym is assigned to

Figure 9: surveyed area of Penna Soprana, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regional, 1:10000 Scale. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

the area downstream, while the toponym Penna Soprana is found upstream. Looking at the *Tavoletta Manoscritta* of 1818, a number of structures are already marked in the area both to the north and to the south, near the impluvium. Looking at the road network shown here, one can see a route connecting the Fascia/Fresan slope with the hamlets further down the area. The settlement that corresponds to Penna Soprana appears to be more easily accessible from the main road on the ridge, the route of today's SP (Provincial route) 67. The summit area of the settlement, accessible from a rest area along the provincial road, just to the west of the summit of Monte Croce, was investigated, . Plains and structures were investigated; however, it was not possible to descend to the valley due to the steepness of the slope below. Through the observation of satellite images, aerial photographs and direct observation from the surrounding slopes, it was possible to note that some terraces extend to the south of the area covered by the survey: they are covered by thick vegetation and in a state of abandonment.

Table 2: Topographic Units (UT), the toponym of the area considered, a brief definition of some characterising features, the short typological definition and the date of surveying/defining the UT number, for Penna Soprana.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
201	Penna soprana	Struttura in pietra a secco	Edificio	10/06/2021
202	Penna soprana	Pianoro (artificiale) a S/SE dell'UT 201	Pianoro	10/06/2021
203	Penna soprana	Cavità/Cisterna posta su lato Sud ut 202	Cavità	10/06/2021
204	Penna soprana	Pianoro/area spianata al di sotto di UT 202	Pianoro	10/06/2021

205	Penna soprana	Pianoro/area spianata al di sotto di UT 204	Pianoro	10/06/2021
206	Penna soprana	Edificio lato Est	Edificio	10/06/2021
207	Penna soprana	Fabbricato coperto da vegetazione sud Est	Edificio	10/06/2021
208	Penna soprana	Pianoro/Passaggio	Pianoro	10/06/2021
209	Penna soprana	Est di UT 201	Pianoro	10/06/2021
210	Penna soprana	Viabilità tra UT 209 e edifici UT 206	Viabilità	10/06/2021

The site is characterised by several artefacts, including a quadrangular building (UT 201) that runs along the slope on the East-West axis for approximately 23m. The building has walls of irregular lithic blocks arranged mainly dry and three openings, one on the east side of the building and two on the south side. The structure rests on an artificial plateau (UT 202) that widens towards a wide terrace to the west (UT 204), bordered to the south by a partly uneven wall and characterised by the presence of walnut and black cherry trees. Within the plateau UT 202, there is, located south of the building, a square-shaped artificial cavity (1.20x1.20m), with a depth of ca. 1.5m. To the south of UT 202 and 204 is a further large plateau (UT 205), bordered by a partially uneven wall to the south. A few chairs and further objects, relating to recent uses of the area, are present here. Two buildings (UT 206, 207), with a square plan, were identified to the east, but were not investigated. They too rest on a levelled area (UT 209) from which the path leading to the settlement from the Provincial Road also runs.

Site 2 is thus articulated on the extensive terraces and plateaus surrounding the identified buildings. As far as their function is concerned, a connection of these with the terraced slopes to the south of the site and their management can be assumed, although specific data regarding the dating of these elements is still lacking. Building UT 201 and the plateaus, however, were certainly used in very recent periods, starting from the 1990s until possibly the present time, as is also confirmed by oral evidence. The presence of various elements, including several aluminium, plastic and vinyl chairs, other sheet metal remains, and a fire area inside the building, suggest a 'convivial' use of these spaces, not strictly related to the agricultural management of the surrounding area.

Western Monte Bastia and Suja di Fascia (Siti 3-4)

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
301	Monte Bastia	Galleria scavata nella roccia lungo il versante nord del Monte Bastia	Cavità/Galleria	11/06/2021

302	Monte Bastia	Porzione di versante in pendenza N/S	Prozione di versante	11/06/2021
303	Monte Bastia	Area aperta usata a pascolo	Porzione di versante	11/06/2021
304	Monte Bastia	Albero di castagno con circonferenza 3,80m	Castagno	11/06/2021
306	Monte Bastia	Area aperta usata a pascolo	Porzione di versante	11/06/2021
311	Suja	recinzione con filo spinato al di sotto di sentiero versante SW	Recinzione	11/06/2021
312	Suja	Cumulo di pietre di varie forme e dimensioni, fra cui calcare marnoso e pietra scistosa	Cumulo di pietre	11/06/2021
313	Suja	cavità artificiale con spiazzo all'ingresso	Cavità/Galleria	11/06/2021

Site 3

An area (UT 303) extending to the south-west of the Bastia, below the path connecting it to the Passo Giuche, is covered by several paths and narrow tracks, which suggests assiduous use for grazing, still happening to this day, given the dense traces of trampling. Within this slope, a two to three century-old chestnut tree could be identified on a plateau, presenting traces of coppicing (UT 304). A more limited open area, possibly still a pasture (UT 306) is also located further to the west of UT 303II; between them stands an electrified fence.

The area of Site 3 has therefore been identified as pastureland, bearing traces of previous use, possibly as wooded pastureland or combined use for grazing and chestnut management, for fruit and collection of branches or foliage.

Site 4

Following the southwest slope of Monte Bastia, descending towards the area called Suja, an artificial cave (UT 313) was identified, the entrance to which is covered by thick vegetation. It is accessed through an iron gate, deteriorated and rusty. The hollow maintains an average height of approx. 1.80/1.90m, which allows one to walk through it quite easily. The floor plan follows an S-shape and extends for
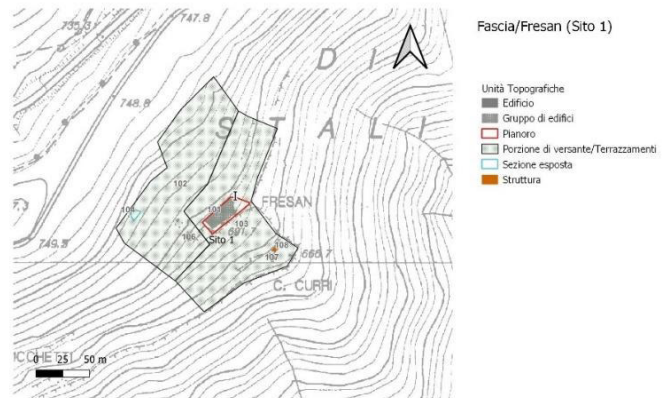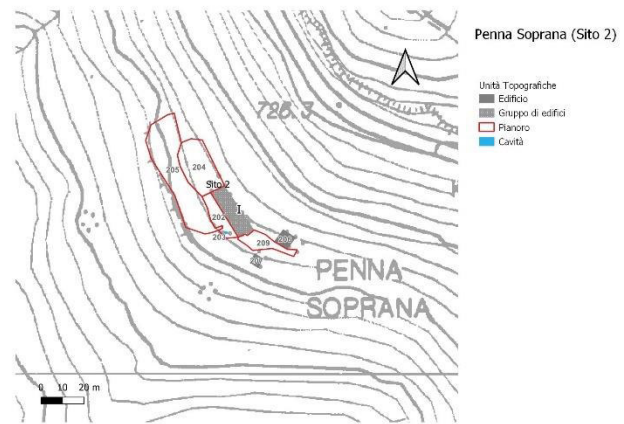

Figure 10: surveyed area of Monte Bastia, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

several metres. On the slope, below and to the south of the cave, a haphazard pile of stone blocks of various sizes was found (UT 312).

The interior of the cave bears no obvious cut marks on the rock walls, suggesting a single period of creation of this artefact, instead of more discontinuous cut marks that could indicate a quarrying of stone, or other materials, on several occasions. A similar specimen was also identified at Colanesi (UT 710), also without giving clear signs of use for quarrying. It is therefore believed that this type of cavity was created in the necessity of such an enclosed and protected location.[130]

Monte Bastia, "Stallini" /Stalin (Sites 5-7)

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
501	Monte Bastia	Muretto a secco	Struttura/Muretto a secco	15/06/2021
502	Monte Bastia	area terrazzata sul lato NW	Pianoro	15/06/2021
503	Monte Bastia	area terrazzata a Ovest di UT 502	Pianoro	15/06/2021
504	Monte Bastia	Ostrieto con due querce	Ostrieto	15/06/2021
505	Monte Bastia	Area sommitale del Monte Bastia	Porzione di versante	15/06/2021
510	Stalin	terrazzamento delimitato da muretto a secco,	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	15/06/2021
511	Stalin	Area terrazzata soprastante i fabbricati	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	15/06/2021
512	Stalin	Gruppo di fabbricati	Gruppo di edifici	15/06/2021
513	Stalin	Gruppo di fabbricati S-O	Gruppo di edifici	15/06/2021
520	Stalin	Area con tracce di pascolo e cumuli/massicciate di pietre	Area aperta	15/06/2021
521	Stalin	Cumulo di forma quadrangolare sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
522	Stalin	Cumulo di forma quadrangolare sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
523	Stalin	Cumulo di forma quadrangolare sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
524	Stalin	Cumulo di pietre, forma "a mezzaluna" posto sul alto sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
525	Stalin	Cumulo di pietre sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
526	Stalin	Cumulo di pietre sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021
527	Stalin	Cumulo di pietre, forma "a mezzaluna" posto sul alto sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/05/2021

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[130] Through comparison with studies still in progress by the Centro Studi Sotteranei, the possibility is being explored that these were artefacts linked to military activities, possibly dating back to the late 18th or early 19th century.

528	Stalin	Cumulo di pietre, forma "a mezzaluna" posto sul lato sud del versante	Massicciata di pietre	15/06/2021

Site 5

The summit of Monte Bastia was reached by the path that leads from Passo Giuche towards Punta Suja but deviates eastwards below M. Bastia. The area presents itself as an open slope (UT 505), populated by small shrubs and herbaceous cover characterised by the presence of thyme and leguminous plants. To the south-east, there are the remains of the base of a dry-stone wall (UT 501), partly ruined, perhaps in connection with the work carried out for the route of the methane pipeline, which in fact passes through the summit area of the mountain. Successively, however, the hillside to the south-east of the mountain, above the SP
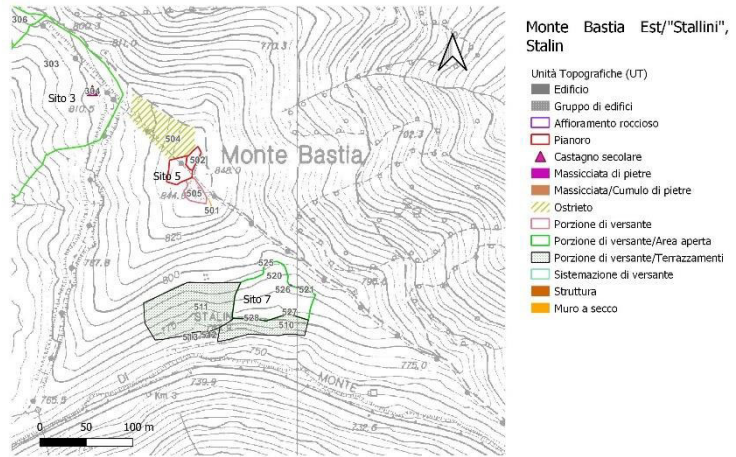
Figure 11: surveyed area of Monte Bastia, toward the East focussed on the site of "stallini/Stalin", with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000 Scale. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

67 road, was investigated. There, two sites were identified, characterised by the presence of terraces and buildings, as well as open areas and widespread stone plateaus. The owner of the Monte Fasce farm, R.S.[131], reported that the area is commonly known as "gli stallini" (lit. the small stalls) and that he occasionally lets his animals (cattle and mules, mainly) graze there. The place name given by R.S. matches the place names found on historical maps and the regional technical map, where the area is referred to as *Stalin*.

The site consists of several large plateaus, arranged in terraces (UT 502, 503), with sparse vegetation and bordered by hawthorn plants. Given the sparse vegetation, one may assume a pasture use, even a present one. To the north-west of these plateaus is a hornbeam wood (UT 504), within which the young trees show signs of coppicing. Two oaks, possibly older than 50 years, are also present. The site is therefore still currently used, both for grazing and coppicing.

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[131] Informal conversation with R. S. held on 22nd April 2022.

Site 6

The site consists of several buildings. To the south-east is UT 513, an almost square building constructed of schist limestone. To the north-west is UT 512, a building with a quadrangular plan, with an additional smaller space to the north-west and an attached square structure serving as a cistern. Both buildings are in a severe state of disrepair, with collapsed facades and collapsed roofs.

The buildings are surrounded to the north and east by terraced areas (UT 510 and 511), consisting of dry-stone walls. UT 511 develops over several metres to the north, following the slope. UT 510 remains on three levels and develops over several metres in length, possibly following the roadway that connected the Passo Giuche to the area and headed north-east, as visible in 20th-century cartography (1960-65). The terracing was functional for cultivation and forage production. The presence of a few fragments of fire-glazed pottery may be related to the practice of mixing ceramic fragments into the cultivated soil to increase its porosity.

Site 7

The site consists of an open area with sparse herbaceous cover and a unit (UT 520), within which are sparse stone boulders and stone heaps. To the south there are two larger boulders, one of semi-circular shape (UT 527) and one of quadrangular/trapezoidal shape (UT 528). At the north-eastern boundary of the open area there are three boulders (UT 521, 522, 523, 524) of trapezoidal and quadrangular shapes. Almost in East-West alignment with these UTs is a further plateau (UT 526), within the open area. In the far north another of these structures was identified (UT 525).

The area is probably still used for grazing, especially given the low and modest herbaceous cover that depends on assiduous trampling and consumption by animals.

Prati di Fascia (Site 8-9)

The area was reached from the Passo Giuche, descending westwards, leaving the ridge between Monte Fasce and Bastia behind. Marked paths were not found, given the dense vegetation and the slope populated by brambles, small shrubs and groups of young trees.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
320	Prati di fascia	Struttura in pietra a secco con intonaco	Edificio	11/06/2021
321	Prati di fascia	Staccionata con pali di legno legati da fil di ferro	Staccionata	11/06/2021
322	Prati di fascia	Pendio ricoperto da vegetazione dove sono collocate struttura e recinzione UT 320-1	Porzione di versante	11/06/2021
323	Prati di fascia	Versante terrazzato con prati a sfalcio	Porzione di versante	11/06/2021
324	Prati di fascia	Bosco giovane	Unità boschiva	11/06/2021

Site 8

The site extends on a relatively open slope (UT 322), characterised by the presence of low shrubs, brambles and mixed vegetation possibly related to mowing activities. A rectangular building (UT 320) is located to the west and is in a state of discrete disrepair. The roof has collapsed, and the interior of the building is characterised by the presence of various vegetation, including brambles and nettles. The building has a cage for birds or small animals at the western wall. Further down the slope, to the west of UT 322 and UT 320, there is a system of terraces (UT 323), partly uneven and irregularly shaped, extending over several metres to the west of the site, of which only the area below structure UT 320 was directly observed and measured. The terraces are between 9 and 14m long and between 3 and 5m wide. To the north of UT 322 there is a fence (UT 321) made of wood and barbed wire, datable to the 20th century, The fence surrounds an area characterised by bramble shrubs and some young trees, and it continues northwards up the slope of Monte Bastia.

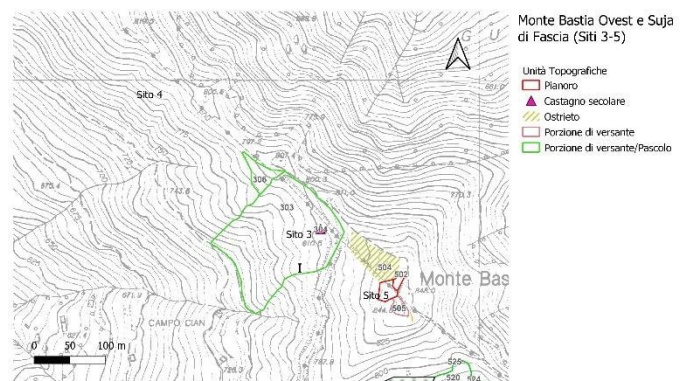*Figure 12: surveyed area of Prati di Fascia, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000 Scale. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.*

The site could be related to hay mowing and possibly terraced cultivation. The building followed a diverse regime of use, given the presence of the cage on the western side, displays a different use. It is possible, however, that hunting activities linked to the presence of these structures have replaced the initial function of this building, which must have originally been linked to the storage of hay, work tools or other

material. The fence to the north marks a division of property and possibly also a difference in uses, given the absence of terracing within the area visible beyond the fence. It is possible that it is linked to grazing activities, even recent ones, which characterise the neighbouring slopes of Suja.

Site 9

The site corresponds to a woodland unit (UT 324) characterised by the presence of moderately young trees, especially hornbeams. Some of the older trees are marked with red and yellow paint, possibly indicating the use of this area for coppicing or forage. The site is of relatively recent origin.

Orsiggia (Sites 10-11)

The Orsiggia area can be reached by following the path that continues north of Colanesi, bypassing the ridge. Nineteenth and twentieth-century historical cartography shows this route, which also seems to connect Orsiggia with the areas of Fascia/Fresan and, continuing on, Penna. However, the route has only been partially preserved.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
401	Orsiggia	Cipresso su versante	Cipresso	14/06/2021
402	Orsiggia	area ad arbusti e sporadici alberi in prossimità del corso d'acqua	Porzione di versante	14/06/2021
403	Orsiggia	Muretto a secco	Struttura/Muretto a secco	14/06/2021
404	Orsiggia	fabbricato di dimensioni maggiori con struttura a uno spiovente	Edificio	14/06/2021
405	Orsiggia	Muretto a secco	Struttura/Muretto a secco	14/06/2021
406	Orsiggia	area delimitata da UT 404	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	14/06/2021
407	Orsiggia	accumulo di pietre a valle di UT 404	Cumulo di pietre	14/06/2021
408	Orsiggia	castagneto lungo il corso d'acqua	Castagneto	14/06/2021
409	Orsiggia	Terrazzamenti a ovest di UT 406	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	28/02/2022
410	Orsiggia	Edificio a pianta quadrangolare costruito all'interno di UT 409	Edificio	28/02/2022
411	Orsiggia	Struttura, possibilmente edificio, a pianta quadrangolare	Struttura	28/02/2022

Site 10
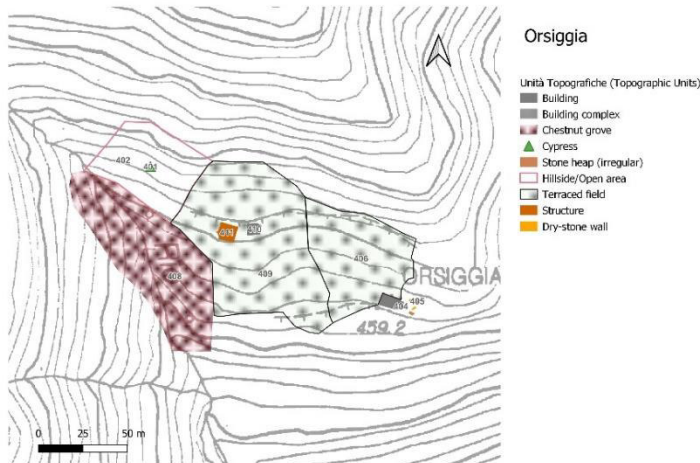
Figure 13: surveyed area of Orsiggia, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

The site consists of a building (UT 404) with a quadrangular plan (11x6.20m) to which a smaller room (2.45x3.10m) is attached. The walls are composed of irregular blocks of marly limestone, arranged in sub-horizontal courses. The building preserves a large part of the stone slab roofing (*ciappe*), and of the carpentry, although it is in a serious state of disrepair. The building shows, on its eastern side, a plugged opening with a wooden lintel. The entrance to the structure is on the southern side. Inside the structure, part of a spotted basin, broken in two, was found. To the south-east of the building is an irregularly shaped stone plateau (UT 407), where several fragments of glazed pottery were found. Moving slightly to the north-east, two drystone walls supporting the slope were also investigated: a smaller one, immediately to the east of the building (UT 403) and the other, of a more elongated shape, towards the north-east (UT 405). To the north of these units are terraces (UT 406), which extend over approximately 40-50 m to the north and are bordered to the east by a drystone wall in a serious state of disrepair.

Figure 14: Building (UT404) in Orsiggia, seen from the East. Bizzarri, 2021.

Also, the large, terraced area to the west of the UTs just described can be Interpreted as closely related to this site. However, these terraces (UT 409) have only been identified and not investigated more specifically. However, a much sharper presence of shrubs and dense vegetation is visible, suggesting a longer period of abandonment. Within this unit there is also a building (UT 410) and a quadrangular architectural structure (UT 411), which have also yet to be investigated.

The site was characterised, with different periods of use and abandonment for the two terraces and groups of buildings, by the use of the terraced slope, possibly in relation to haymaking and cultivation activities. Further investigation of the terraces is needed in order to address the dating of the different uses and chronologies related to them.

Figure 15: Chestnut tree located within the grove located to the South-West of Orsiggia. The exemplar, given the presence of several suckers and the diameter measuring more 2,5m speak for the age of the tree as well as its management through coppicing. Bizzarri, 2021.

Site 11

The site corresponds to UT 408 alone, i.e. a chestnut grove located along the Orsiggia River and southwest of Site 10. Within the chestnut grove there are several coppiced chestnut trees, some visibly centuries old with suckers reaching up to 2.8 m in circumference. On average, the trees have between 5 and 7 suckers. The use of the chestnut grove therefore followed a coppicing regime, which can be dated back 100 years or more.

Western Monte Fasce – Liberale-Colanesi path (Siti 12-13)

The area is part of the path leading to the Colanesi settlement, located on a southeastern slope of Monte Fasce. The sites identified are interpretations of the few data collected, which must be expanded and deepened in subsequent reconnaissance campaigns. The path traced remains visible and clean and is therefore easy to walk.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
750	Monte Fasce	Area caratterizzata da bosco giovane, popolazioni di pioppo tremulo versante estremo Est M. Fasce	Area boschiva	17/06/2021
751	Monte Fasce	Terrazzamenti visibili all'inizio del sentiero Liberale/Colanesi	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	17/06/2021
752	Monte Fasce	Terrazzamenti versante Ovest M. fasce al di sotto di sentiero Liberale/Colanesi	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	17/06/2021

753	Monte Fasce	Fabbricato	Edificio	17/06/2021
754	Monte Fasce	Viabilità con lastricato in pietra	viabilità	17/06/2021
755	Monte Fasce	Porzione di versante (Sud)	Porzione di versante	17/06/2021

Site 12

The site corresponds to UT 750, i.e. a forest unit characterised by young quaking aspens. The cooperation with botanists and archaeo-botanists has allowed this unit to be interpreted as a colonisation of quaking aspens (*Populus tremula*), the origin of which cannot be better identified. This type of tree would in fact not be naturally related to the environment around

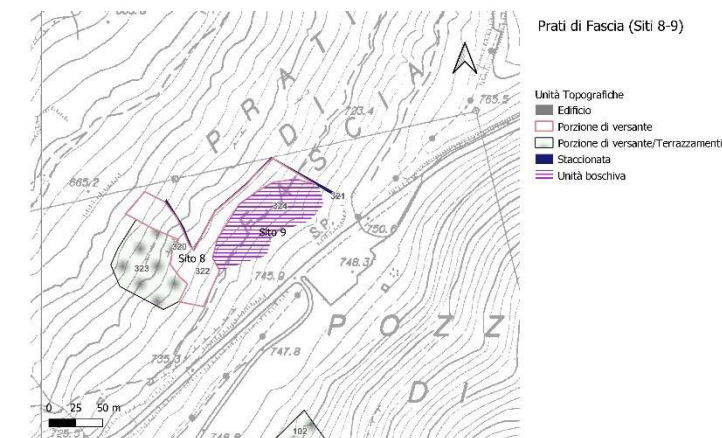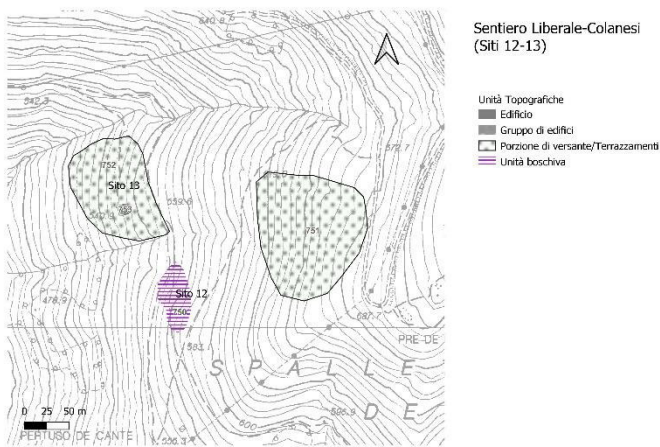*Figure 16: surveyed area of a section of the Western hillside of Monte Fasc, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.*

Monte Fasce and would depend on other populations of similar specimens in the vicinity.

Site 13

The site has been interpreted as a managed slope for agricultural use, possibly cultivation and grazing. It consists of a terraced slope (UT 752) extending over several tens of metres in the section of the slope below the track. Within the terraced area there is also a

quadrangular building (UT 753), possibly used for the management of the area. However, as it has only been identified and not investigated, we refer to future investigations for a more detailed interpretation.

Colanesi (Sites 14-17)

This area, summarised here through the toponym of Colanesi, is characterised in cartography and historical documentation by various toponyms and micro-toponyms, which do not, however, appear with continuity within the sources used. Starting from the Tavoletta Manoscritta of 1818, Colanesi is marked on the south-eastern slope of Monte Fasce, where the slope softens slightly. Six buildings, terraces and cypress trees are already marked here. The area was thus characterised by various activities that had already profoundly changed the slope

in the first half of the 19th century. In a map drawn up in 1845 in order to settle a dispute over the division of communes between the municipalities of Apparizione and Quarto al Mare, the area corresponding to Colanesi is characterised by the depiction of a quadrangular enclosure with a building, referred to as the Campi di Coranesi, between Costa di Coranesi to the north and Costa di Limarcio to the south. Cartography from the second half of the 19th century (1878, Istituto Topografico Militare) and the early 20th century (1908, Istituto Geografico Militare) shows Colannesi/Colanesi and several buildings, but no enclosures are marked. In the documents consulted in the municipal archives of the late 19th century, which report the boundaries of the 'uncultivated' municipal property belonging to Quarto al Mare, the Campi di Colanesi are mentioned as belonging to 'particulars', i.e. land under private and not municipal management (although a collective, albeit private, management of the area cannot be excluded). Therefore, various jurisdictions, private, municipal, collective and individual, therefore intersect in the area.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
706	Colanesi	complesso architettonico est	Gruppo di edifici	17/06/2021
707	Colanesi	complesso architettonico est centrale	Gruppo di edifici	17/06/2021
708	Colanesi	terrazzamenti versante Est orientato asse Nord-Sud	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	17/06/2021
709	Colanesi	Muretto a secco, "Cresta"	Struttura/Muro a secco	17/06/2021
710	Colanesi	Cavità articiale, grotta con pianta a Z	Cavità artificiale/Galleria	17/06/2021
711	Colanesi	Sistemazione/massicciata di pietre	Sistemazione di versante	17/06/2021
712	Colanesi	Cavità artificiale scavata nel terreno - "pozzetto"	Cavità	17/06/2021
713	Colanesi	Massicciata situata a fondo die terrazzamenti UT 708 (ovest)	Massicciata di pietre	17/06/2021
714	Colanesi	Massiciata situata a fondo di UT 708 - centrale	Massicciata di pietre	17/06/2021
715	Colanesi	Piccolo fabbricato, struttura a secco - "casella" versante Est colanesi	Struttura	17/06/2021
720	Colanesi	Versante terrazzato Colanesi Ovest (volto a Est)	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	15/07/2021
721	Colanesi	compl. Architettonico versante ovest (limite Est)	Gruppo di edifici	15/07/2021
722	Colanesi	compl. Architettonico versante ovest (limite Ovest)	Gruppo di edifici	15/07/2021

723	Colanesi	area terrazzata con importante presenza di ginestre - in corrispondenza, a est di 722	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	15/07/2021
724	Colanesi	Edificio	Edificio	20/12/2021
725	Colanesi	Pianoro	Pianoro	20/12/2021
726	Colanesi	Edificio	Edificio	20/12/2021
727	Colanesi	Area di estrazione materiale lapideo	Area di cava	20/12/2021
728	Colanesi	Struttura, possibilmente edificio, a pianta quadrangolare	Struttura	28/02/2022

Site 14

The site consists of a terraced slope (UT 708), the individual terraces of which have irregular shapes, varying between 5 and 14 metres in width. The presence of shrubs is particularly high and makes crossing traversing the slope even more complex. Approximately halfway up the slope, there is an isolated chestnut tree with signs of burning, possibly from a fire. A few stone boulders of different shapes were also found on the slope, including a 'crescent-shaped' one (UT 711) and, further south, two rectangular ones (UT 713, 714). Descending the slope towards south-east, it is also possible to identify a small quadrangular structure (UT 715), which has a stone slab roof. The slope is bordered to the east by a largely preserved dry stone wall (UT 709), which extends for approximately 150 metres. Some parts of the wall have stone slabs on the top, arranged 'in a knife-like manner', i.e. leaning on the short sides and leaning against each other, creating a 'ridge' at the top of the structure. A *crèsta* is in fact also the dialect term associated with this type of structure. Two buildings have been identified to the north of the terraces. To the east is an almost square building with a masonry-built underground cistern adjacent to it (UT 706). The building has seen some changes in the arrangement of the openings. The entrance was previously on the eastern side and was

Figure 17: The enclosing dry-stone wall (UT709) located to the East of Colanesi, dialect: crèsta. *Bizzarri, 2021.*

later moved to the south. To the east of the building is a wall built against the slope, inside which is a square stone niche. The building also has a concentration of ceramic sherds, including yellow earthenware with "a spugnetta" decoration, fire glazed.

The building to the west (UT 707), on the other hand, presents a more elongated and complex plan; observing the arrangement of the walls, several phases of use and remodelling are visible. There are also lower walls that seem to enclose the area immediately around UT 707. Between the two buildings, there is a artificial hole placed on the ground, seemingly excavated into the marly-limestone outcrop (UT 712) with a quadrangular shape (ca. 75x140 cm) and a depth of ca. 70-80 cm.

The site presents a complexity in terms of the organisation of space and the use of resources. The strong presence of shrubs and the state of instability of the terracing allow us to hypothesise a relatively long period of abandonment of cultivation and/or grazing activities for this hillside.

Figure 18: Ceramics and pottery fragments found scattered across the UT706 structures. To the left, one can spot the sherds presenting a "a spugnetta" decoration. Piu, 2021.

Site 15

The site is articulated on UT 727 alone, corresponding to a natural rock outcrop that shows several traces of use and excavation, possibly as a quarry for stone slabs and small to medium-sized blocks. It is possible that there is a correlation with sites 14 and 16 and the related buildings.

Site 16

The site is immediately west of Site 14 and also consists of a wide terraced slope (UT 720). The terraces remain regular in shape, between 8 and 10m wide, with visible dry-stone masonry to support them. The presence of shrubs is scarce and differs strongly from the situation for Site

Figure 19: Sherds retrieved on the surface of UT 721. A number of fragments of thin cooking ware (fire-resistant pottery) is visible on the left picture, probably dating to the 19th century. To the right is the larger fragment of a basin/large bowl, indicating the use of domestic pottery at the site. Bizzarri, 2023.

14. Several broom (*Spartium junceum*) specimens are found within a well-defined section of terracing further north (UT 723). Here, to the west of UT 723, there are also three stone-built architectural complexes (UT 722). The two complexes to the east, oriented on the north-south axis, are quadrangular structures, which underwent further modifications with the construction of several rooms, the addition of walls and rooms adjacent to the load-bearing walls. The complex to the west, oriented on the north-east/south-west axis, also differs in its masonry (roughly hewn and split blocks arranged in more regular horizontal courses) from the two complexes already mentioned. Here too, a small, square-shaped room was added to the west. All the buildings are in a state of severe disrepair, with roofs and carpentry only partially preserved.

An almost completely collapsed architectural complex (UT 721) is located a few tens of metres south-east of UT 722. Positioned in the centre of the structure, a masonry pillar is still discretely preserved. Scattered within the collapsed layer of the structure are fragments of fire-glazed pottery and earthenware.

Two buildings (UT 724, 726) are instead located to the southwest of the terraced slope. UT 724 stands on an artificial plateau (UT 725) and corresponds to an architectural complex with central rooms and additional spaces to the east and west, square in shape. The building further

to the south (UT 726) also has broader central rooms and smaller inner spaces added to the east and west.

Site 17

The site corresponds to UT 710, an artificial cavity located at the southern end of UT 709. The cavity follows a Z-shaped plan and maintains an average height of ca. 1.80/1.90m, which allows it to be walked through almost constantly while standing, as with the UT 313 specimen (4.3.2). The length of the cave is 6.50m in total. It is believed that this type of cave was created in the
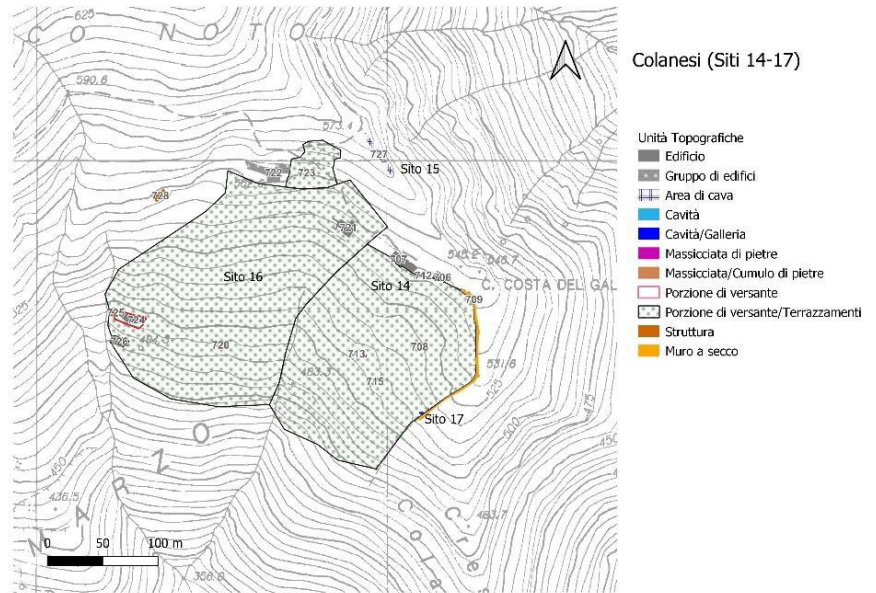
Figure 20: surveyed area of a section of the Colanesi, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

need for an enclosed and protected location, as already ascertained in the case of UT 313.[132]

Area II – Monte Cordona, ridge and western hillside

The area was identified on the western slope of Monte Cordona and on the ridge. The slopes are characterised by meadows mostly populated by broom shrubs, Erica arborea and brambles. Sporadic structures, including buildings and stone boulders, are also visible on the slopes along with some chestnut groves, which have suffered extensive damage from the passage of fire. Only in a southerly direction, moving towards the coast, are terraces and related structures also discernible. Perhaps related to the olive growing activities present on the slopes above Bogliasco and Sessarego.

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[132] Here too, through comparison with studies still in progress by the Centro Studi Sotteranei, the possibility that they were artefacts linked to military activities, possibly dating back to the late 18th or early 19th century, is being explored.

Cordazza and Cordazzetta (Sites 18-20)

The area was reached by following the path that, starting from the clearing to the west of Monte Cordona, descends diagonally to the east and stays relatively on the coast. The path corresponds to a probable mule track (UT 604) that crossed the slope and still shows well-preserved cobblestones and stone slabs and connects the sites presented here. The path was followed as far as Site 20.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
601	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Sud-Ovest Monte Cordona	Porzione di versante	16/06/2021
602	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	fabbricato di forma quadrangolaresu versante	Edificio	16/06/2021
603	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Fabbricato su versante ovest lungo sentiero	Edificio	16/06/2021
604	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Sentiero con tracciato in pietra calcarea	Porzione di viabilità	16/06/2021
605	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Massicciata/cumulo di pietre di forma quadrangolare	Massicciata di pietre	16/06/2021
606	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	cumulo di pietre di forma quadrangolare	Massicciata di pietre	16/06/2021
607	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	cumulo di pietre/sistemazione di verante forma subtriangolare	Sistemazione di versante	16/06/2021
608	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Massicciata di pietre di forma quadrangolare a monte del versante sud-sudovest del M. Cordona	Massicciata di pietre	16/06/2021
609	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	area ricoperta da rovi	Porzione di versante	16/06/2021
620	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	massicciata di pietre di forma subcircolare "a mezzaluna" lungo il versante sudovest	Massicciata di pietre	16/06/2021
621	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Diversi castagni posizionati a sudest di corso d'acqua che incorcia sentiero percorso	Castagneto	16/06/2021
622	Cordazza/Monte Cordona	Area percorsa da incendi che hanno lasciato traccia nelle specie arbustive presenti, area che circonda Castagneto UT 621	Porzione di versante	16/06/2021

Site 18

The site is located on a portion of slope (UT 601) characterised by the presence of sporadic *Erica arborea* shrubs. Two buildings with a square plan were identified on the slope. To the west, still at the beginning of the path, the building (UT 602) is covered by brambles and mixed vegetation, which made an in-depth analysis complex. The walls are built of split and hewn blocks, mainly

of marly limestone, and the roof seems to have collapsed some time ago. Following the path towards the east, one reaches a further building with a square plan (UT 603), also built of rough-hewn and split stone and with only a few stone slabs suggesting the presence of a roof. Inside this building is a square-shaped puddle, positioned immediately in front of the opening that serves as the entrance. The building is also surrounded to the north and
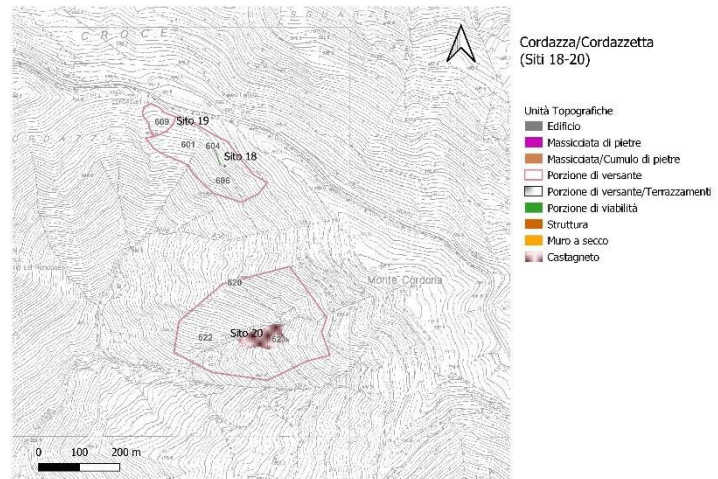
Figure 21: surveyed area of a section of Cordazza/Cordazzetta, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

northwest by a channel, partly covered by stone slabs. The structure thus suggests that it had a function in the management of the slope's water supply.

Four stone embankments were also identified upstream and downstream from building UT 603. A quadrangular-shaped ballast (UT 606) was identified downstream and a triangular-shaped one (UT 607), located approximately 25m lower to the west. Upstream, a quadrangular-shaped ballast (UT 605) was identified, located to the northwest of the slope, and further to the east a further ballast (UT 608), also quadrangular in shape. All of them present dry walls, made of split and hewn blocks. These ballast walls, also present in further sites and areas, are generally indicated as artefacts used in hay mowing activities, a fundamental activity on several slopes of the Fascia Mountain.

Site 19

The site is located on the slope immediately to the west of UT 601 and lies on the only UT 609, a portion of the slope entirely covered by brambles, with the presence of some remains of iron pipe fencing, in a state of disrepair. Aerial photographs from the 1980s show here a structure with a red-coloured covering, whose functions are not easily identifiable.

Site 20

The site is located on a predominantly open slope (UT 622), with shrubs of *Erica arborea*, not dissimilar to UT 601. In correspondence with a descending stream (on CTR 1:10000 marked as Costalunga) there is a chestnut grove, with coppiced and caparisoned specimens, possibly of 20th century formation. The trees bear considerable signs of the passage of fire, most probably related to various fire episodes that have occurred on these hillsides in the last twenty years[133].

Seggioni – between Bric Gianesi and Monte Cordona (Site 21)

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
801	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Edificio	Edificio	18/06/2021
802	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Viabilità	Viabilità	18/06/2021
803	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Muro a secco	Muro a secco	18/06/2021
804	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	18/06/2021
805	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	18/06/2021
806	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	18/06/2021
807	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	in corrispondenza di sentiero del valico monte Cordona	Viabilità	18/06/2021
808	Seggioni/Bric Gianesi	Porzione di versante	Porzione di versante	18/06/2021

The site was reached by following the ridge path (UT 807) of Monte Cordona to the Bric Gianesi area. Here, a terraced slope (UT 808) was identified, extending for several hundred metres, with *Erica arborea* and broom shrubs, and brambles. The terraced slopes appear to be bordered to the west by some structures and drystone walls. The investigation was, however, mainly focused on the eastern part of UT 808, where a mostly collapsed quadrangular building (UT 801) was identified, whose interior surface is covered by a thick layer of collapse stones. Three stone boulders, UT 804, 805, 806, were identified in the vicinity of the building. The first is in the lowest

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[133] Geoportale Liguria, Viewer Cartografico - Aree percorse dal fuoco 1996-2017.
http://srvcarto.regione.liguria.it/geoviewer2/pages/apps/geoportale/index.html (ultimo accesso 24th April 2024)

part of the slope and is triangular in shape and approximately 3m wide, while the second is further uphill, more irregular in shape and smaller in size and largely covered by brambles and mixed vegetation. The last is located in a south-westerly direction and has a quadrangular shape.

Site 21 is therefore characterised by elements for the management of agricultural production on the slope. The building was possibly related to this management, but these activities were abandoned long ago, causing its almost complete collapse. The intensity of shrubs on the slope also reveals a fairly long period of abandonment, although probably more recent than the abandonment of the building.

Area III – Monte Rotondo-Castelletti and Monte Cordona, southern hillsides

The area extends between the impluvium between Monte Cordona and Monte Rotondo and the ridge that descends from the latter to Monte Castelletti. The area remains partly characterised by shrub-covered meadows, with sporadic slope management structures. The highest part of the eastern slope of Cordona is characterised by pine trees, partly in a state of disrepair and 'dead standing', i.e. trees that are still standing but have been dead for some time. Interesting is the presence of structures supporting cable car systems (locally also called *lince*, dialect: *a strafìa*), which in this area can be found along the mule tracks that are still widely visible, and which on the hillsides and ridges already presented did not appear as often.

Monte Rotondo-Castelletti, Western hillsides

The slope is traversed by a mule track (UT 903), which has well-preserved cobblestone and stone slab sections and connects the identified sites.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
901	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Area delimitata da muro a secco	Pianoro	14/07/2021
902	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Affioramento roccioso con taglio	Affioramento roccioso con taglio	14/07/2021
903	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Viabilità	Viabilità	14/07/2021
904	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Porzione versante/Macchie di Felci	Porzione versante/Macchie di Felci	14/07/2021

905	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Gruppo di strutture in muratura	Gruppo di strutture in muratura	14/07/2021
906	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	14/07/2021
907	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	14/07/2021
908	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Struttura/muro a secco	Struttura/muro a secco	14/07/2021
909	Monte Rotondo Ovest/Le Rive	Porzione di versante	Porzione di versante	14/07/2021

Site 22

The site lies on a plateau (UT 901) surrounded and supported by a drystone wall reaching approximately 1.70m in height, elongated in shape and oriented on a north-south axis. Within this plateau, wrought iron poles and remains of wire rope are visible. To the south-east of the plateau is a marly limestone outcrop (UT 902), with traces of quarrying activity.

The site corresponds to a support point for a cable car system, identifiable by the presence of wrought iron poles and metal cable. The quarrying activity at the rock outcrop UT 902 can easily be traced back to the construction of the plateau, but further use with different periods cannot be excluded.

Sito 23

Continuing on the mule track (UT 903), we descend until we meet the ridge of Monte Castelletti. Here one encounters a site that corresponds to a complex of platforms, embankments and masonry structures. The masonry structures (UT 905) are articulated between two pillars placed to the east - both in a state of partial disruption, approximately 1-1.30m high - and a ballast of stones, square in shape, placed centrally and further uphill than the two pillars. A metal cable anchored to a hook placed on a rocky outcrop further upstream, immediately to the east of the mule track, is stretched over the ballast and continues downstream passing between the two pillars.

Just up the ridge towards Monte Castelletti, there are two artificial plateaus, one (UT 906) trapezoidal in shape and wider (ca. 10x10m), surrounded by a drystone wall on four sides. The second embankment, located further upstream, is smaller (6x4m) and triangular in shape.

Both the masonry structures and the identified embankments can be interpreted as artefacts related to a starting 'station' for a cable car. The cable running from UT 905 towards the valley to the east of the ridge suggests the direction in which the products (usually hay and bundles of wood/branches/straw) were sent, i.e. towards the village of Teriasca, located a few kilometres downstream.

Monte Cordona, South-eastern hillside (Site 24)

The site was reached by the path that connects Sessarego to Poggio Favaro, passing along the coast by the impluvium of the Poggio stream, and is composed of several artefacts. The path (UT 1107), in the vicinity of the site, is built of stone slabs arranged in steps leading to a drystone fence (UT 1101) surrounding a terraced area (UT 1108). Within the terraced slope are three buildings with a quadrangular plan, two of which (UT 1105 and UT
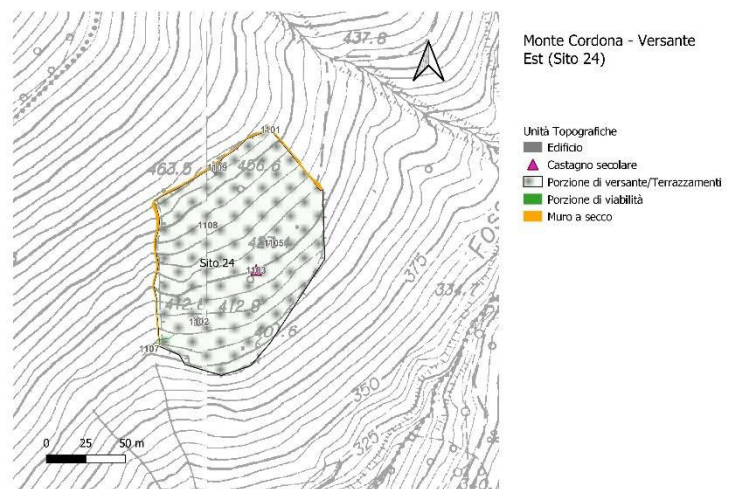
Figure 22: surveyed area of a section of the Eastern hillside of Monte Cordona, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

1109) are largely overgrown with vegetation and brambles and therefore only identified and not investigated. The building UT 1102, with a square plan and split and hewn stone facings, is located to the south-west of the slope, and has no roof, possibly following a collapse. Placed centrally on the slope, a chestnut tree (UT 1103) was identified, possibly centuries old, coppiced, with 6 suckers.

Site 24 was therefore characterised by cultivation and/or mowing activities and, given the long fence, the surrounding area can be interpreted as a possible grazing area. It can also be hypothesised as an area of appropriation or privatisation through the creation of a fenced 'field'.

Area IV – Monte Pram and Monte Uccellato, south-eastern hillsides

The area extends over the southern and eastern slopes of the Pram and Uccellato mountains. The identified sites are mainly located on meadows that are still largely open, populated by *Erica*

arborea shrubs and some recently formed wooded areas. Within these meadows, however, there is a large concentration of stone boulders and small piles of stonecrop. The boulders have quadrangular, 'half-moon' and triangular shapes. Here, too, the presence of structures, even large ones, supporting cable-car systems can be observed, as in Area III. Above all for Sites 32 and 33, this is also an area characterised by common land for the use of the inhabitants of Levà and Canepa di Sori, villages located on the lower hillsides and valleys near the coast.

Monte Pram, Fontana Fresca (Sites 30-31, 34)

The path followed during the survey descends to the west of Monte Uccellato and follows a still-preserved mule track (UT 1206) with cobblestones and stone slabs, partly arranged to create steps and stairs. The area was investigated up to the ridge of Monte Pram, where a system of masonry weirs was identified (UT 1202).

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
1201	Fontana fresca	porzione di versante (est) con popolamento di alberi giovani	Porzione di versante	21/07/2021
1202	Fontana fresca	sistema di briglie in muratura posto sul crinale del Mote Pram	Briglie in muratura	21/07/2021
1203	Fontana fresca	struttura architettonica a pianta quadrangolare	Edificio	21/07/2021
1204	Fontana fresca	massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	21/07/2021
1205	Fontana fresca	massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	21/07/2021
1206	Fontana fresca	Viabilità	Viabilità	21/07/2021
1207	Fontana fresca	Strutture/Teleferica	Strutture/Teleferica	21/07/2021
1208	Fontana fresca	porzione di versante, rivolto a nord-est	Porzione di versante	21/07/2021
1223	Fontana fresca	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	22/07/2021
1224	Fontana fresca	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	22/07/2021
1225	Fontana fresca	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	22/07/2021
1226	Fontana fresca	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	22/07/2021
1227	Fontana fresca	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	22/07/2021
1228	Fontana fresca	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	22/07/2021

Site 30

The site corresponds to two dry-stone, square-shaped pillars (UT 1207), oriented on the east-west axis. The presence of these pillars of ca. 1.30-1.50m in height. Suggests the presence of a station for cable car transport, as in the case of Site 23 near Monte Castelletti, directed towards the village of Levà, downstream.

Site 31

The site corresponds to an open slope (UT 1208), with several Erica arborea shrubs and a few young trees, and a dense concentration of small stone piles and quadrangular stone embankments (including UT 1204, 1205). On the slope, there is also a small architectural structure with a square plan (UT 1203), with an opening on the south-eastern side and whose stone slab roof is completely collapsed on the inside.

The presence of stone piles and boulders can be attributed both to the creation of pathways to ascend the slope but are perhaps more closely related to the activity of mowing and haymaking.

Site 34

This site is not particularly different from the previous one, due to the presence of a slope (UT 1201) characterised by the presence of spoil heaps and several stone boulders. Moving slightly southwards and downstream, the slope is covered, however, with young trees forming a rather extensive scrub (UT 1204). Here, however, there are quadrangular massifs (UT 1223, 1224, 1226) and slope arrangements (UT 1227), which suggest continuous use with that of the surrounding slopes.

It is therefore possible to assume a longer period of abandonment for these slopes to the east of Site 31.

South-eastern Monte Uccellato (Sites 32-33)

The area was reached by following a well-preserved paved path (UT 1301) leading from Case Becco to the village of Levà, where staircase arrangements are recognisable.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
1301	Mte Uccellato Sudest	porzione di viabilità corrispondente al sentiero case becco Levà con lastricato in pietra	Viabilità	23/07/2021
1302	Mte Uccellato Sudest	strutture organizzate per sistema di trasporto a teleferica	Struttura/ Teleferica	23/07/2021
1303	Mte Uccellato Sudest	Area *probabilmente* spianata delimitata da rosacee e biancospini	Pianoro	23/07/2021

1304	Mte Uccellato Sudest	porzione di versante caratterizzato da presenza di sistemazioni, aree terrazzate, strutture e con sparso popolamento di alberi giovani	Porzione di versante	23/07/2021
1305	Mte Uccellato Sudest	versante con presenza di sistemazioni, piante di biancospino disposti in possibili file, sottostante il sentiero UT 1301	Porzione di versante	23/07/2021
1306	Mte Uccellato Sudest	Struttura	Struttura	23/07/2021
1307	Mte Uccellato Sudest	Porzione di versante	Porzione di versante	20/12/2021

Site 32

The site lies on an open slope (UT 1307), characterised by the presence of stone boulders and architectural structures (among which UT 1306 was investigated). The slope is traversed by a number of low stone fences arranged in drystone, which were however considered part of the slope and not distinguished in different topographic units. With further research it will be possible to understand the specifics of these structures. The site presents a certain continuity with those already presented for the slope between Monte Uccellato and Monte Pram, although the greater presence of architectural structures allows us to hypothesise a different management of these hillsides.

Sito 33

The site consists of embankments, plateaus and wall structures. Embankments and wall structures were considered part of the single UT 1302. Two square-shaped pillars (ca. 1.50-1.70m in height) rise above a first embankment ca. 1.60m high. Around this embankment, a passage has been excavated that allows the mule track UT 1301 to continue towards the valley, passing through large steps built of stone slabs approx. 1-1.30m wide. A further embankment, also belonging to UT 1302, lies to the north-west of this portion of the road. A plateau (UT 1303) bordered to the north by rose bushes extends south of the complex of masonry and earthwork structures.

Figure 23: The complex at site 33, with the main dry-stone pillars to the West and the embankments and terraced surfaces to the East. Photo: Bizzarri, 2021.

These artefacts can be traced back to a further station linked to a cable-car transport system, possibly connected to the dispatch of hay and/or small wood to Levà, Canepa di Sori (to the west) or Cretti, Castagnola or Camporotondo (to the east).

Area V – Monte Possuolo and Monte Uccellato, northern hillsides

This area extends to the north of Monte Pozzuolo and Uccellato, along the "Itinerario Storico Colombiano" route that leads from Monte Pozzuolo to the slopes of Mount Becco and Case Becco. Here, chestnut woods have been identified in particular, of centuries-old formation, possibly linked to the presence of wooded pastures, later transformed - also as a consequence of less frequent use and abandonment - into denser woods with more recent formations. The chestnut groves also present an interesting concentration of stone boulders, often particularly regular in shape (usually quadrangular), suggesting a possible connection with the slopes already mentioned for area IV. Below and around the site of the 'Hospitalis' of San Giacomo di Pozzuolo, already investigated as part of the investigations for the construction of the section of the methane pipeline between Genoa and Recco at the end of the 1980s, architectural structures, terracing and stone piles have been identified.

San Giacomo di Possuolo (Sites 25-27)

The area was reached by following the path, now called the Colombian Historical Route, from the west. The route follows a mule track bordered to the north by a drystone wall with summit stones arranged in a *cresta* (UT 1018).

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
1001	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Bosco giovane	Area boschiva	16/07/2021
1002	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Struttura/Muretto a secco	Struttura/Muretto a secco	16/07/2021
1003	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	cumulo di spietramento (sud)	Massicciata/cumulo di pietre	16/07/2021
1004	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	cumulo di spietramento (nord)	Massicciata/cumulo di pietre	16/07/2021
1005	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	muro a secco in stato di dissesto	Struttura/muretto a secco	16/07/2021
1006	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	fabbricato/edificio - muratura a secco in stato di dissesto	Edificio	16/07/2021
1007	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	16/07/2021
1008	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	castagneto da ovest	Castagneto	16/07/2021
1009	*M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)*	*castagno secolare*	*castagno*	*16/07/2021*
1010	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	biancospino secolare	Biancospino (albero)	26/07/2021
1011	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	esemplare di *frax. Angustifolia* (raro nella regione)	*Fraxinus angustifolia*	26/07/2021
1012	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Area di estrazione materiale lapideo	Affioramento roccioso	26/07/2021
1013	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	area terrazzata sottostante area ospedale s. Giacomo di Pozzuolo	Porzione di versante/terrazzamenti	26/07/2021
1014	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	26/07/2021
1015	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	26/07/2021
1016	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	bosco giovane su pianoro	Pianoro	26/07/2021
1017	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	26/07/2021
1018	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Viabilità	Viabilità	16/07/2021
1019	M.te Pozzuolo Nord-Nordovest (ISC)	Gruppo di edifici	Gruppo di edifici	20/12/2021

Site 25

The site is articulated on a plateau (UT 1016) where young trees are present, and within which a number of slope arrangements (UT 1015) and stone boulders, quadrangular in shape (UT 1014, 1017), have been identified. The presence of stone embankments links this site with further sites

identified in Areas IV and V, where stone embankments populate the slopes in increasing numbers.

Site 26
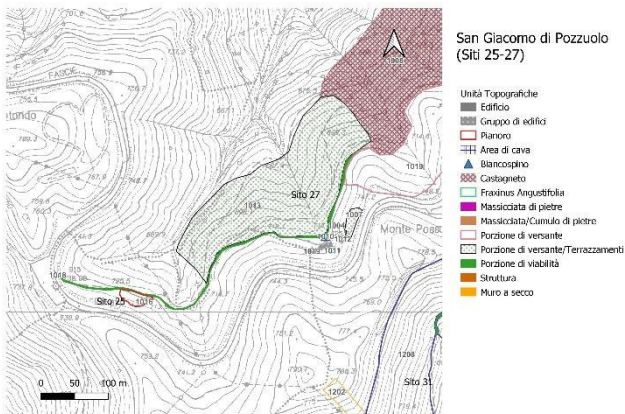
Figure 24: surveyed area of a section of the area around San Giacomo di Pozzuolo, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

The site includes the architectural structures of the already mentioned 'Hospitalis' of San Giacomo di Possuolo/Pozzuolo. In fact, there are a number of stone heaps (UT 1003, 1004) that follow a path leading to a further building (UT 1006) and a large terracing bordered by a dry-stone wall approximately 1.50m high. The structures of San Giacomo di Possuolo were therefore part of a wider management of the hillsides in the area.

Some elements are also worth noting regarding the vegetation in the area, namely the presence of a centuries-old hawthorn (UT 1010) between the *Hospitalis* buildings and the roadway, as well as the presence of a specimen of Fraxinus angustifolia (UT 1011), which is rare for the area. There is also a rocky outcrop, from which stone slabs have been visibly quarried (UT 1012).

Site 27

The site was only identified and not strictly investigated. It corresponds to UT 1013, i.e. a terraced slope below the road (UT 1018), populated by young trees, including maples and chestnut trees. The terraced slopes are therefore largely abandoned, given the advancement of the forest scrub.

Monte Uccellato Nord, path from Case Becco (Sites 28-29)

The area was reached by following the same path already mentioned but from the east, starting from the valley below Monte Becco.

N_UT	Toponimo	Def.	Tipologia	Data
1040	*Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)*	*castagno pluriscolare*	*castagno pluriscolare*	*27/07/2021*
1041	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	sistemazione di versante	sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1042	*Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)*	*Castagneto da Est*	*Castagneto*	*27/07/2021*
1043	*Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)*	*castagno secolare*	*castagno secolare*	*27/07/2021*
1044	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1045	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1046	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	castagno collassato sul sentiero in corrispondenza di massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre con castagno	27/07/2021
1047	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	castagno ceduo	Massicciata di pietre con castagno	27/07/2021
1048	*Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)*	*"da frutto" - capitozzato*	*castagno secolare*	*27/07/2021*
1049	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1050	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1051	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1052	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre con castagno	Massicciata di pietre con castagno	27/07/2021
1053	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre in dissesto	Massicciata di pietre in dissesto	27/07/2021
1054	*Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)*	*catagno secolare*	*catagno secolare*	*27/07/2021*
1055	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1056	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1057	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1058	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1059	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1060	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1061	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Sistemazione di versante	Sistemazione di versante	27/07/2021
1062	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1063	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021
1064	Case Becco/Pozzuolo (ISC)	Massicciata di pietre	Massicciata di pietre	27/07/2021

Site 28

The site was only identified and not investigated in detail. It corresponds to UT 1019, i.e. a slope immediately North-West of SP 67, mainly open with shrubs and young trees, where the presence of widespread stone embankments is visible.

Figure 25: surveyed area of a section of the northern side of Monte Uccellato, with location of the Topographic Units identified. Basemap: CTR Carta Topografica Regionale, 1:10000. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.
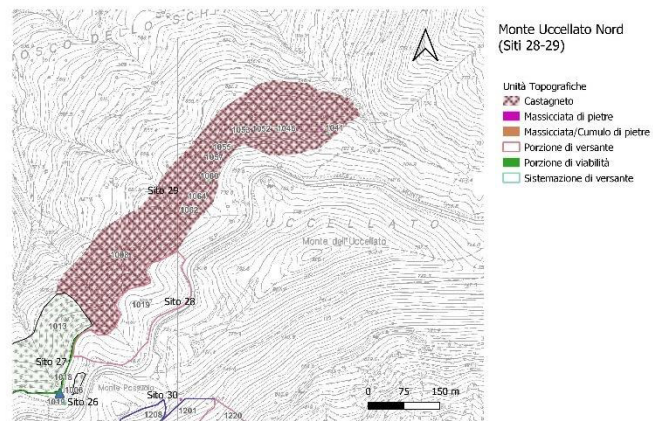
Site 29

The site consists of a chestnut grove (UT 1008) extending towards Val Lentro, and between the area of San Giacomo di Possuolo and the impluvium south of Monte Becco. The chestnut grove features centuries-old, coppiced specimens with several suckers, as well as younger specimens, suggesting a less frequent use of the forest for coppicing. Here too there is a strong presence of stone ballast (UTs 1044, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1059, 1062, 1063, 1064), as well as more elongated slope arrangements (UTs 1041, 1045), especially in correspondence with the road system.

Interesting are the specimens of chestnut trees, grown on some of these embankments (UT 1046, 1047), which suggest a different periodisation between the use of these embankments and the abandonment or less assiduous use - and consequently less continuous management - of the chestnut grove.

Figure 26: Synthesis of the main structures and characteristics identified throughout the whole area of Montagna di Fascia, with the subdivision into the areas following some leading features for every area. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2023.

3.3.3. Colanesi, the settlement and its architectural elements

The settlement has been chosen as the level of complexity of Colanesi allows to reflect on how changes during the last 150 years have affected the countryside, the mountain regions, as well as how some broader changes, processes of urbanisation, mechanisation of labour and mass industrialisation have been reinterpreted and integrated into a preindustrial productive and economic system. The comparison with cartographic sources from the early 19th to the first half of the 20th century provides an overview into how the settlement changed

UT 706: CA1

The unit is composed of a single architectural complex (CA1), located to the north-east of the terraces, showing deep signs of abandonment and instability. The complex presents a main building with a quadrangular, almost square, ground plan (ca. 7.30x6m). Another quadrangular structure is built adjacent to the latter, it is smaller in size (3x3.5m) and resting onto the hillside to the north, almost buried into the soil on that side, and shows a slightly vaulted roof. The complex is placed onto a flattened, terraced, surface, which is supported by wall structures, placed to the south of the unit.

The eastern body of the building presents itself as a quadrangular plan structure, oriented on the northeast-southwest axis, with the current entrance opening facing southwest. The structure consists of a single room (CF101-AMB1). Inside, due to the dense presence of debris from the collapse of stone slabs, which most likely made up the previous roofing, the legibility of the façades and architectural elements is rather difficult. A European hop-hornbeam (*Ostrya carpinifolia*) also grows inside the building. Five suckers depart from the base of the stump, the largest of which measures approx. 60-70 cm in circumference. The presence of the tee makes it difficult to read the inner room inside the building, which is largely covered by debris, and proves a sporadic use over the last fifty years. The façades are mainly composed of split and hewn blocks of marlstone, although the only extraction site identified during the survey is to the north of Colanesi and, from the characteristics identified, can be traced back to the extraction of slabs and thin blocks more suitable for roofing than for supporting walls. The masonry is composed by sub-horizontal semi regular courses, and presents a homogenous, albeit irregular

and highly uneven structure, which delineates an equally homogenous chronology with regard to the time of construction of the building. The homogenous texture and slightly varying thickness of the walls between 60 and 70 cm suggests a relatively short chronology for the construction of the building, although later modifications can be identified in relation to architectural elements such as openings, holes and niches.

The present entrance to the structure is defined by jambs characterised by the presence of hydraulic lime and cementitious mortar (USM 103, 104), which interrupt the texture of the facing to the south (USM 101) and south-east (USM 102), from which a later phase for the creation of the opening can be deduced. A further clue to the chronology of the artefact is the presence of a walled-up opening on the east side of the building (USM -128). The entrance is defined on the jambs by marly-limestone blocks of medium-large size (ca. 50x30x20cm) arranged vertically to define the portal, the construction of which may be assumed contemporary with the walling, and the use of which should precede the relocation of the entrance on the south side. A partial collapse and remains of wooden material above the masonry filling of EA2 suggests the presence of a wooden lintel. The masonry us composed by small to medium sized blocks arranged in sub-horizontal but relatively untidy courses. Stone blocks are kept together by hydraulic lime mortar visible especially on the south jamb. Along the north wall are also 12 square-shaped holes of constant size ca. 15x15cm with a depth of 20cm visible, placed approximately 2m above the present walking level. Above these, a horizontal line within the masonry structure is visible, although partly compromised by the state of decay of the building. Above the row of 15x15cm holes a further masonry structure is identifiable, which differs in the presence of smaller blocks (ca. 5-10cm thick), slabs and stone fragments, and can therefore be distinguished as USM 130.

CF102 located to the west of CF101 presents a few visible elements that can be described within these observations, given the almost complete burial of the walls of the structure. The side walls consist mainly of split and hewn blocks arranged in sub-horizontal courses, with a more regular texture than CF1 (USM 101, 130), and can be attributed to a homogenous construction activity. Above is the vaulted roof, built of stone blocks arranged showing their shorter side and sharper edges, forming the arch (USM 127).
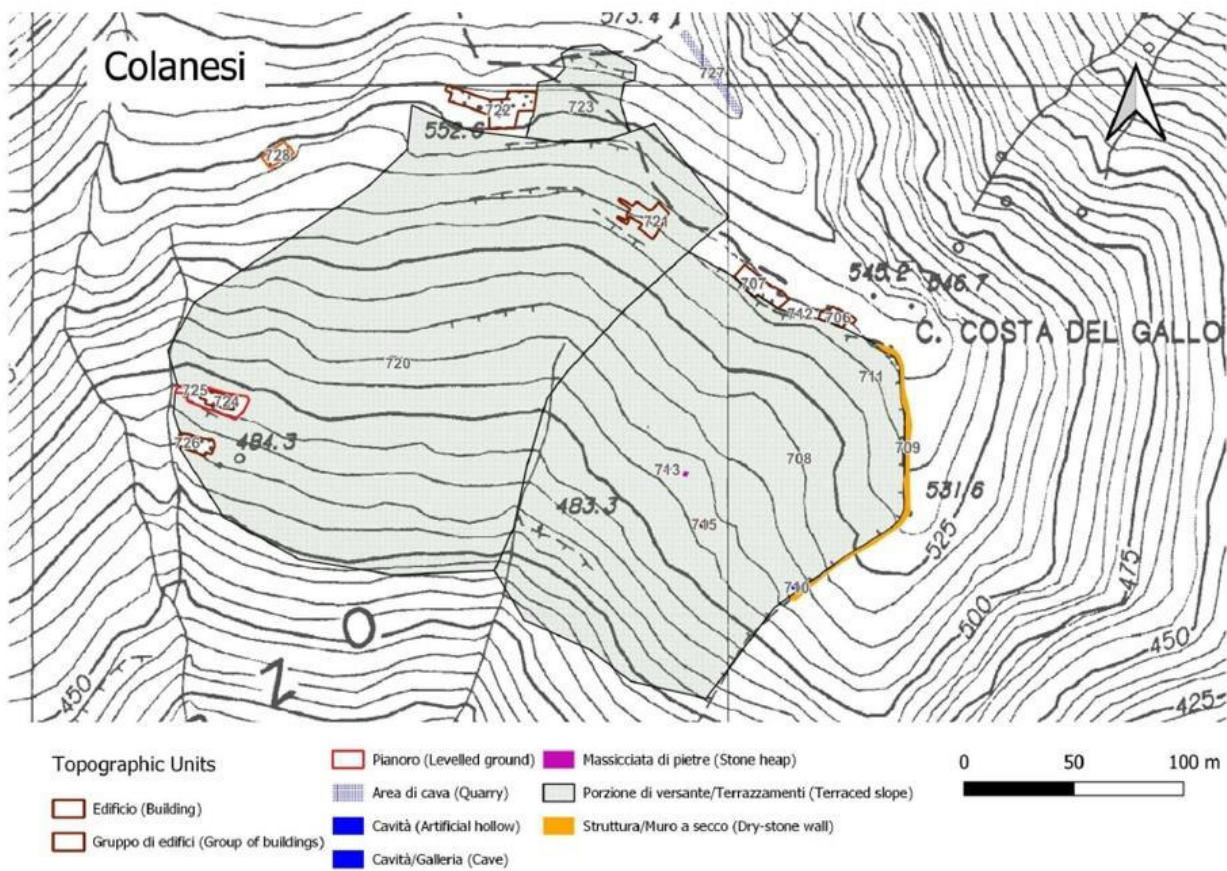
Figure 27: Scheme of the Topographic Units in Colanesi, Basemap: CTR Carta Tecnica regionale 1:10000, Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

UT 707: CA2
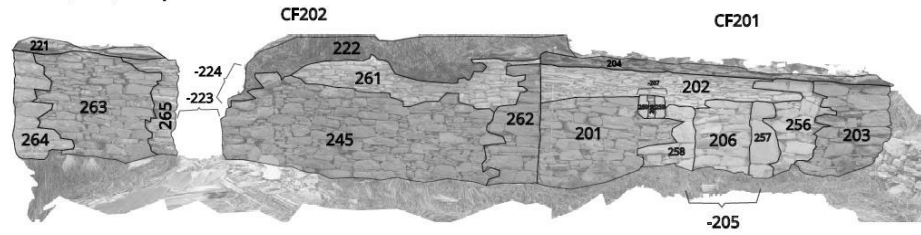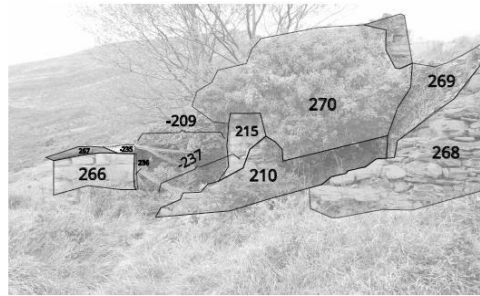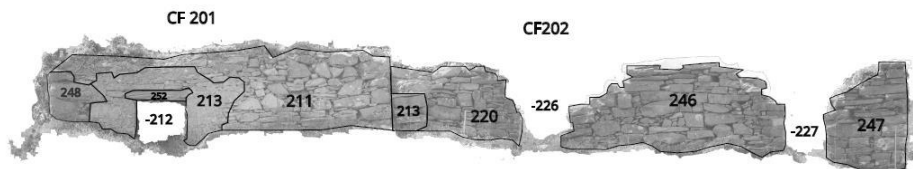
Figure 28: Building complex at UT707, highlighted are the stratigraphic masonry units identified (positive and negative) for each façade. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022. Photogrammetric elaboration: Bizzarri, 2023.

The structure is composed of a single architectural complex (CA2), subdivided in turn into three structures (CF201-203 - numbered from East to West). In particular, the complex seems to develop around CF202, which is articulated around two internal rooms, given the continuity and homogeneity between the masonry that compose it, and to which CF201 to the east, also composed of two internal rooms, and CF203 to the west, composed of a single internal room, with a square plan, are leaning.
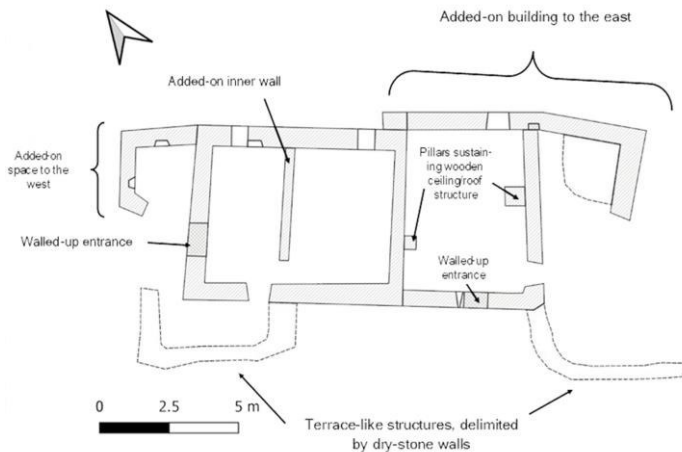
Figure 29: Plan of the building complex at UT707, with main architectural features and modifications. Bizzarri, 2022.

CF201 is bounded by three walls, to the north, northeast and south, while to the east it rests on the wall structure of CF202 (USM 220). The structure also remains more open in the southeast corner, at AMB201-1, which is then bounded by the north and east walls. Inside CF201 there are in fact two rooms divided by a dividing wall (USM 210) that abuts the north face of CF201 (USM 211), and, given the discontinuity on the line of junction between the two walls as well as the partial covering of a niche inserted on the north face, one may suppose a subsequent construction of USM 210 and thus a subdivision of these spaces made later than the construction of CF201. The north-eastern corner also has a wall structure supporting an embankment, the shape of which is slightly squared, which abuts USM 211. The embankment in its structure and hypothetical function remains difficult to read given the preponderant presence of vegetation that largely covers it. Along the entire north face of CF201, inside both rooms, there is a row of 4/5 square holes (ca. 15x15cm) per room, placed approximately 1.5-1.8m high from the present floor level (largely covered by debris and vegetation) and 40-50cm apart. The holes suggest the presence of carpentry elements that supported a possible roof, a sloping roof, for the structure.

AMB201-2 is bordered by four facing walls and has an opening on the eastern wall that serves as an entrance, with the south jamb still preserved and consisting of large limestone-marl blocks on which hydraulic lime binder was subsequently applied, smoothed, which partially covers the jamb (USM 236), while at the north jamb there is a split and possibly shaving that affects the stability of the wall (USM 210) and the pillar that rests against it (USM 215). The south face has dry-laid masonry at its base, characterised by medium-sized, split and slightly hewn ashlars (USM 201). Above it, in the westernmost sector of the facing, there is a further wall unit (USM 202) composed of small stone blocks (5x10cmx2-3cm) and slates, which supports the largely weathered stone slab roof (USM 204). The remains of the stone roof also rests on wall unit 203, characterised by medium-sized split and hewn ashlars with a homogenous and constant texture, which makes up the south-eastern corner and the eastern wall of the CF. On the south face, there is an opening (USM -205), ca. 120cm high and 90cm wide, defined by a portal composed of vertically arranged limestone-marly blocks, now plugged (USM 206) with medium-sized blocks arranged two by two. Both the facing and the infill are characterised by dry laying.

To the west, the boundary between the wall structure of the infill and USM 202 remains blurred, leading one to suppose a raising or rebuilding of the wall ridge, and possibly of the roofing that rests on it, at the same time as the closure of the opening on the south wall. Immediately to the west of USM -205, there is a small opening (USM -207, ca. 45x20cm) also plugged with flakes and small stone slabs (USM 208). AMB202 has two further rectangular openings, located at the upper level of the structure, one on the east wall, in the northern corner of the room, and one on the north wall.

UT 721: CA3

The unit consists of a single architectural complex, which is in a state of severe instability. The legibility of the structural features, in particular, for the westernmost sector of the complex, is in fact limited by the state of disruption of the walls, while the eastern sector is characterised by the presence of dense tree and shrub vegetation. The complex consists of a building body, the structure of which remains partly difficult to read, but is presented as a square building (ca. 10x11m).

The structure develops eastwards through lower dry-stone walls, which delimit a squared plot of land immediately next to the building. The masonry remains, as at the structures mentioned so far, in limestone ashlars, split and hewn, arranged in sub-horizontal courses. The south wall is also characterised by the presence of a square niche defined by the wall
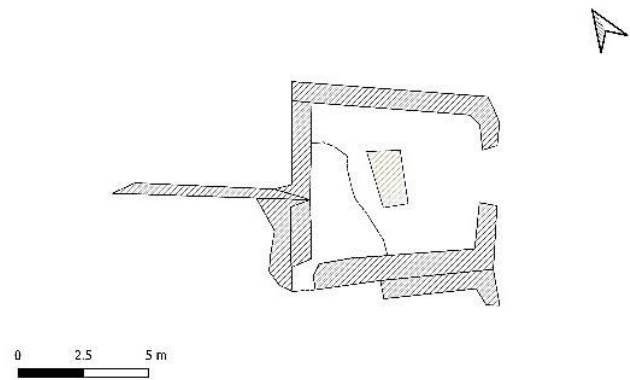
Figure 30: Plan for structure identified at UT721.

structure of the facing and presently covered by a limestone slab. Distinguishing different construction or modification phases of the structure remains complex, given the severe state of disruption. Three holes with a square cross-section are visible near the northwest corner of the building, located on the north and west faces, at a height that is difficult to define with respect to the floor level of the structure, given the depth of the debris layer present particularly in the northern area of the building. The presence of shrubs and the dense vegetation made the reconnaissance of the building and adjacent spaces particularly difficult, especially the understanding of the relationships between the walls of the structure and the walls visible to the East, which enclose a further room, possibly enclosed only on the West, North and East sides.

UT 722: CA4

The unit is divided into a group of separate and independent architectural complexes (CA4, 5, 6 - numbered from East to West), characterised by semi-square main buildings, to which various annexes were added in later phases. CA 6 is slightly isolated to the west of the other two complexes and is oriented along the Northeast-Southwest axis, while CA 4 and 5 are oriented along the North-South axis.

The CA4 architectural complex consists of a main building with a semi-square plan (6.25xca.7m) (CF402) to which two smaller buildings are attached, to the East (CF401) and to the South (CF403). CF402 presents a masonry of local marl, split and slightly hewn. The ashlars are arranged in sub-horizontal and slightly irregular courses. The interior space of CF402 is divided into two rooms (AMB402-1 to the east and AMB402-2 to the west) separated by two central walls, oriented along the north-south axis, leaning against a stone pillar placed in the centre of the building structure. Access to the two rooms is possible through two separate openings, located
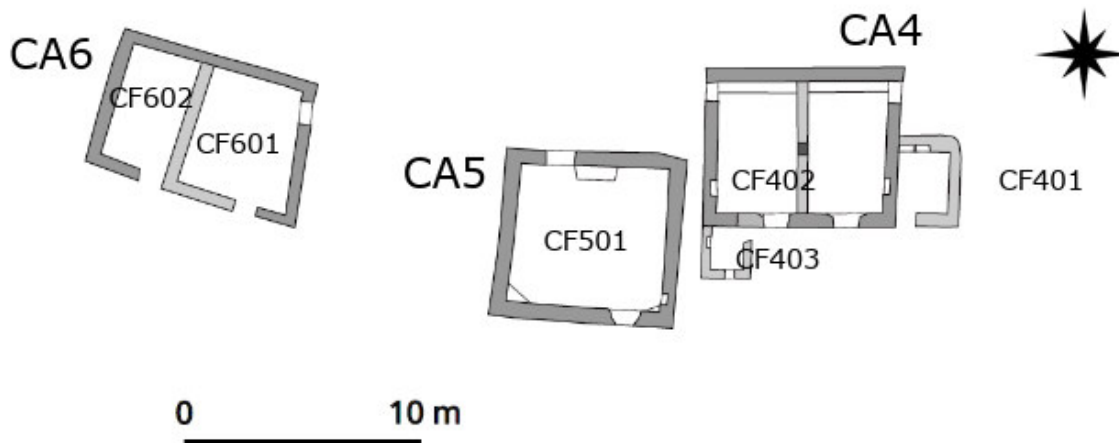
Figure 31: Plan of the building complexes identified at UT722. Bizzarri, 2023.

on the southern façade. The masonry remains difficult to read due to the presence of dense vegetation both outside and inside the building. The masonry USM401 runs along the west, north and east walls and is homogenous in its structure of rough-hewn and split blocks, arranged on a single face. At the east face, an opening (EA52) is visible at the top, first floor level, the presence of which can be assumed through a series of carpentry holes located on the north face

at approximately 170-180cm from the present floor level. Similarly, within AMB402-2, a further opening (EA55, ca. 85x100cm) is visible at first floor level.

CF 403, while completely covered in vegetation, presents low surrounding walls, reaching a height of about 120-130cm. The building is resting onto the southern wall of CF 402 and presents an opening towards the east. On the southern jamb, a ca. 2cm thick layer of lime mortar was

Figure 32: Inscription on the southern jamb of the entrance by CF403. Photo: Bizzarri, 2022.

lain, on which the inscription "1926" was identified (Fig. 31), providing the only direct reference to a date, a year, recognised at the site.

UT722: CA5

The architectural complex CA5 consists of a quadrangular building (ca. 6.90x7.5cm). The facings present themselves as relatively homogenous, consisting of split and hewn limestone ashlars of average size (ø15-30cm), albeit irregular. The architectural complex consists of a single building body, within which a single room has been identified (AMB 501_1). Access to the interior room is possible through the opening in the south face of the building. A further, smaller opening is present in the upper and western part of the north face. Both are characterised by the presence of hydraulic lime at the jambs. Inside, the room is almost entirely covered by stone slab debris, possibly related to the roof structure, still discernible at the southwest and northwest corners of the structure (USM 502, 503). Stone slabs were identified at the south corners of the structure, inserted at the meeting point of the two faces. In contrast, a stone base, approximately 100 cm wide, is located centrally at the northern face. A squared niche is instead visible on the east face at the south corner. The structure thus presents only one interior room and slight identifiable structural changes. The severe disruption and the presence of vegetation has made it difficult to understand further structural features; the windows on the upper floor suggest a single-pitched structure, with a first floor supported by carpentry that is no longer present, as has already been identified for several Colanesi structures.

UT722: CA 6

The architectural complex consists of two non-communicating bodies (CF601, 602), both accessible through an opening located to the south. Compared to the other two architectural complexes at UT 722, this structure is oriented on the southwest-northeast axis and remains isolated from the other two architectural complexes. The main body of the building is located to the east, with higher, albeit uneven, faces, while the body
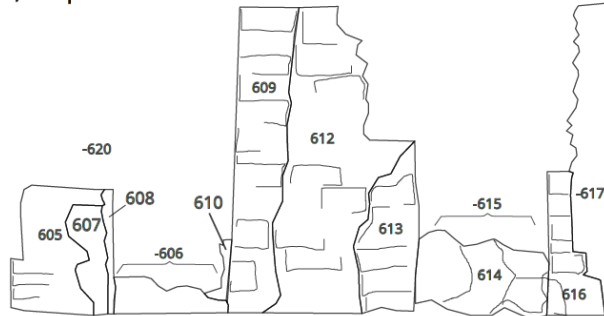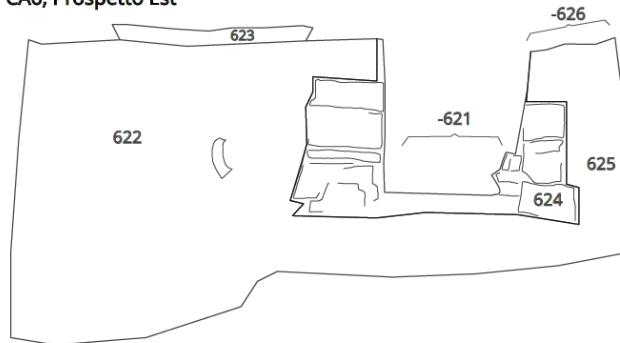
Figure 33: Stratigraphic masonry units identified on the southern and eastern façades at the complex CA6. Bizzarri, Stagno 2022.

of the building that abuts it to the west has lower faces. The masonry of the facing consists of limestone ashlars, split and squared. Especially at the east face and the southeast corner of CF601, these ashlars present a rather regular squaring (USM 617 and 622), from this element one may assume a cut rather than a simple split extraction. This element distinguishes the structure from not only the architectural complexes related to Topographical Unit 722 but also the other buildings identified at Colanesi. Fragments and whole specimens of Marseille flat roofing tiles were found at CF602 that can be traced back to various productions datable to the mid-20th century. In particular, tiles were found bearing 'Serravalle Scrivia', 'Maccio'. At some modifications and repairs to the masonry that defines the opening located south of CF602, a more tenacious binder composed of lime mortar was used, which differs from the binders identified in the rest of the structure, usually sandier in consistency.

The use of the spaces at this complex can therefore be hypothesised for periods such as the second half of the 20th century, particularly in relation to the appearance and presence of

Figure 34: Fragments of marsigliesi *found at the entrance of building in UT724 (left) and used as fillers for masonry at UT722. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022.*

marsigliesi (flat roof tiles). These were in fact patented in the late 19th century but became more widespread in the first half of the 20th century. [134] It is important to emphasise that in Colanesi, only at the CAs located within UTs 724 and 726 have other tiles of this type been identified, suggesting that there were uses over different periods and in specific spaces, especially in more recent decades.

UT 724: CA 7

The complex consists of four buildings (east to west CF 701-704) and is oriented along the east-west axis. The entire complex always developed around an initial core composed of CF702 and 703. The two CFs are in fact composed of a common north face, albeit characterised by some modifications after construction. At CF703 there are still several traces of the wooden support that supported the stone slab roof, now partly collapsed and above all overgrown by a covering of climbing plants. Access to all the interior rooms is possible through openings in the south walls of the buildings, which remain almost constant in size (85-90×160cm), although some openings are particularly disrupted, such as at CF 703. The opening to the north of CF703 (ca. 70×80cm) has been partially repaired and reconstructed with brick supports (4x14x24cm) placed at the east jamb, possibly dating to the first half of the 20th century, although possibly a local production given the absence of specific production signs or marks. The bricks are also bound by medium-grained lime mortar mixed with gravel. The structure, hypothetically in use during the 20th century, consisted of two storeys for the central buildings, with the ground floor being accessed from the south and the first floor from the north. At CF703, the carpentry supporting the wooden ceiling that divided the ground floor with the first floor under the sloping roof is still partly preserved. In contrast, the two buildings at the ends of the complex have no

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[134] Vecchiattini, 2022.

first floor. CF 702 has a strongly disused structure and, from the line of union identified between the south faces of CF 702 and CF 703, it can be assumed that the structure of CF 703 was leaned against, in the features now visible, a pre-existing structure partly preserved as CF 702. The western face of CF 703 is also composed of roughly hewn limestone ashlars, which are squarer in shape than the faces joining the latter with CF 703, whose stone blocks are irregular in shape and arranged in sub-horizontal courses, with several lithic fragments used as wedges and support in between other blocks.

UT 726: CA 9

The complex consists of three buildings (CF 901-903), the central body remains the core of the structure with walls measuring up to 3 metres in height. This complex is also badly preserved, with some alterations especially on the western façade, where an elevation of the building is visible as well as an opening providing access to CF 902 from the west. The infill also serves as masonry and framing for a square niche that is inserted approximately 100cm above the present floor level. The structure of CF 902 thus appears to be larger than other buildings at Colanesi, and was possibly characterised at the time of reconstruction by a pitched roof, unlike other buildings at the UTs already described. At CF 903, on the other hand, in correspondence with the plateau in front of the access opening, there are fragments and whole specimens of Marseille tiles, which can be dated to the second half of the 20th century, although it remains difficult to distinguish whether they were used for roofing. In fact, inside all the buildings, there are debris and slabs of marly-limestone stone that suggest an earlier stone roofing.

Area (toponym)	Colanesi					
Identified units	UT 706	UT 707	UT 721	UT 722	UT 724	UT 726
Architectural complexes (Complessi architettonici) and building elements	1 comprising • 1 building • 1 cistern	1 comprising • 2 broad, partly roofed buildings, 2 smaller enclosed spaces on both sides	1 comprising • 1 building	4 comprising: • 2 contiguous partly roofed structures • 1 building with 1 adjacent smaller enclosed space (unroofed) to the West	4 (adjacent): • 2 broad central buildings, built attached to one another • 2 spaces added to the East and to the West, the latter w/ wooden carpentry and most roof in place	3 (adjacent): • 1 braod central building • 2 enclosed spaces added to the East and to the West
State of preservation	Fair	Fair	Poor	Good	Fair/good	Fair/good
Elements for chronological classification (scattered finds, architectural elements, door and window typologies)	• Wooden door lintel (mid-19th century), • Cementitious mortar (first half of 20th c.)	• Squared door – event though lintel no longer present (18th-19th c.)		• Tegole marsigliesi (flat rooftiles, 1st half 20th c.) Western building w/ adjacent space • Roughhewn regular masonry • Inscription ("1926") on lime mortar	• Tegole marsigliesi (flat rooftiles, 1st half 20 c.) • Sporadic use of cementitious mortar • Bricks (4x12x20cm) and cementitious mortar	• Tegole marsigliesi (flat rooftiles, 1st half 20th century), • Sporadic use of cementitious mortar
Main use/modification phases (provisional interpretation)	2-3	3-4	2-3	4-5	3-4	3
Function (provisional interpretation)	Building for the temporary housing of smaller animals, collecting of wood and hay	Buildings for the collecting of hay, wood, enclosures for the housing of small cattle, inhabited spaces?		Eastern building unit as a haybarn	Housing of animals (cattle, sheep), inhabited spaces?	Housing of animals (cattle, sheep), inhabited spaces?
Related/adjacent UT's	UT 708 (terraced field)	UT 708 (terraced field)	UT 720 (terraced field)	UT 720 (terraced field)	UT 720 (terraced field), 725 (flattened area)	UT 720 (terraced field)

Table 3: Synthesis of characteristics identified at the architectural complexes of Colanesi, relating basic data collected through the archaeological surveys in 2021 and 2022, Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2023.

3.3. "A municipality can hardly be a good administrator [...]": discussing the Monte Fasce common lands in late-19th century municipal Archives

For the study of the Montagna di Fascia as a complex entity, shaped by productive and trade networks developing over the Modern Age and profoundly affecting the environmental and morphological characteristics of its slopes, it is necessary to analyse historical cartography and archival sources, in order to open up new questions regarding the management of environmental resources and the social actors involved in it. Given the work carried out starting from the observation of the most recent data - i.e. material remains of abandoned artefacts, as well as present vegetation cover - moving regressively to understand the context within which the traces were produced, and given the research interest in the post-medieval, late-modern and contemporary period, the archives studied refer specifically to the 19th and early 20th century.

The timespan considered represents a moment of intense change, on both a jurisdictional and an institutional level, as well as with regards to materials, technology, and economic relations within and around communities across rural and urban contexts. Moreover, for a regressive analysis on the practices and uses of resources in the area, the late-19th century represents a near past with a direct connection to more-recent phases of use that needs to be investigated more closely to reconstruct – at a later stage – practices and processes dating further back.

3.2.1. The archives

Documents being analysed belong to local municipal archives that are now held in the central historical municipal archive for the city of Genoa (Archivio Storico del Comune di Genova – ASCG). Several villages located around Monte Fasce were distinct municipalities until 1926, when most surroundings were included within La Grande Genova (The Greater Genoa), as part of the redefinition of institutional boundaries and urban development during the fascist regime.[135] The municipalities took shape as institutions after the Napoleonic conquest and

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[135] Fondo Comuni Annessi, inventory compiled by Chiara Bennati and Nicoletta Durante. Available online at: https://www.museidigenova.it/node/8212 (Access: 26th February 2023).

French rule and were subsequently integrated within the political-administrative system of the Kingdom of Sardinia and, from 1861, the Kingdom of Italy.

These archives were selected in order to continue and integrate studies that had already considered administrative municipal documentation focussed on the management of common and 'uncultivated' lands on the hillsides of Monte Fasce, as well as the discussion on the influence of forestry commission policies implemented during the late 19th century. These policies also affected how environmental resources were newly organised within communities and between local actors and institutions.[136] Common lands (*comunaglie*) located on Monte Fasce were the subject of conflicts and debates throughout the modern age, and, during the 16th century, were mostly under the jurisdiction of the *plebania* (also *pieve* – an institutional entity comparable to later parishes) of Nervi, stretching out to the east of Genoa and encompassing smaller parishes along the coastal ridge, amongst which are the areas of the present-day hamlets of Apparizione, Quarto al Mare, Quinto al Mare, Bavari and Nervi. In later centuries these parishes saw changes in the administrative boundaries they referred to, especially during the French rule in the first half of the 19th century and the establishment of *communes* (municipalities), which included several parishes, while also partly separating, at least on an administrative level, social groups and territorial entities that had previously shared lands and practices. Under both the Kingdom of Sardinia, in the mid-19th century, and the Kingdom of Italy, from 1861 onwards, the pressure to privatise common lands grew. Studies have shown that collective property and common lands were often connected to combined uses of resources, such as in wooded pastures or alternating temporary cultivation (*colture promiscue*) to haymaking activities and the use of hillside fields as pastures.[137] Hence, uses and exploitation of resources were for these areas not easily defined, or not fully understood by the institutions carrying out surveys and categorising land use during the 19th century. Collectively managed lands were indeed often defined as *incolti* (uncultivated/fallow) and deemed as unproductive within the concept of 'rational' intensive agriculture and woodland management implemented by the state.[138]

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[136] Pampararo, 1978; Croce,1987; Moreno, 1990; Costa, 2012.
[137] Raggio, 2001; Stagno, 2016; Stagno, 2018.
[138] Cevasco, 2007.

The current research focused on the administrative correspondence of the municipalities of Apparizione and Quarto, specifically on the category Administration for the former and Finances for the latter. Within the administrative papers for the municipality of Apparizione are in fact *Scatole* 12, 12bis and 13, which respectively collect the papers relating to " Liti contro il Comune di Bavari e Quarto al mare" (File 1, Sc. 12) and " Liti contro il Comune di Bavari" (File 2, Sc. 12), " Cause e liti varie" (File 1, Sc. 12bis) and " Liti contro il Comune di Quarto al mare" (File 2, Sc. 12bis) and "Cause e liti contro gli uomini dell'università di Quarto" (File 2, Sc. 13). These correspondences focus especially on the conflict between Apparizione and Bavari concerning the 'Suja di Fascia' plot of land and, in dealing with this issue, provide an opportunity to observe decades of confrontations and open quarrels over the rights of access to and use of resources for the *comunaglie* of Monte Fasce between the 1830s and the 1890s. For the commune of Quarto al Mare, *Scatole* 16 and 17 were consulted. In No. 16, folder 1 on "Beni comunali - acquisti, alienazioni, affitti"[139] was consulted. *Scatola* 17 contains only one folder concerning "Comunaglie – Monte Fascia" and focuses on the last three years of the 19th century. Consultation of the fund is still in progress, but among the first documents viewed inside the archives relating to Monte Fasce are lists "of the uncultivated assets of the Commune of Quarto" drawn up in the 1880s by the "Forestry Committee", following the law of 4 July 1874, and the regulations of which were approved on 20 December of the same year, obliging the municipalities to 'afforest or alienate uncultivated property belonging to them' and to provide, through the intervention of the prefecture, lists "of assets", to be divided into three categories "given to agrarian cultivation, woods, uncultivated property including in the third category natural and perennial mountain meadows". Here, among those indicated on the lists, are some place names reported on various historical cartographic sources. Looking at Monte Fasce, for example, Colanesi is indicated on the 1:9540 scale manuscript tablet of 1818, drawn up in preparation for the drafting of the Gran Carta degli Stati Sardi di Terraferma.

139

Figure 35: Part of the list of "Beni Patrimoniali Incolti" belonging to Quarto al Mare, made for the 1886 – Comitato Forestale, Beni patrimoniali incolti (ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Comune di Quarto al Mare, Sc. 17).

Within these archives, documents hint at topographic features and their locations in space, which helps the reconstruction of 19th-century uses of the hillsides, through the identification of the location of common lands and how uses were related to structures and other material traces left in the landscape. The archives include inventories of the Quarto al Mare's *comunaglie* on Monte Fasce compiled by the Comitato Forestale during the 1880s and 1890s, as part of a broader national initiative to identify 'uncultivated' lands that should be converted into woodland. The same toponyms are also listed in registers for the assignation through auction (*incanto*) of rental contracts to individuals – either belonging to the hamlet's community or not – who would use the parcels owned by the municipality. These documents, contained within the Quarto al Mare folder concerning the management of Monte Fasce's *comunaglie* in the second half of the 19th century, allow for the observation of the variety of toponyms, and how common lands were described and organised at a time where institutional pressure to redefine uses and jurisdiction over them was growing. Inventories by the Comitato Forestale [140] provide brief

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[140] This was a type of committee established at the regional and provincial levels after the unification of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861, specifically designed to provide details on the status of woodland and uses of wooded areas across

descriptions of the parcels, and the neighbouring areas, which allows for the partial reconstruction of boundaries and used spaces. Several parcels mention Colanesi as a reference toponym (e.g. Sull'Aja di Colanesi, Costa di Colanesi), in particular located across the south-eastern ridge while in the description of confining properties often mention *campi di particolari*, which refer to lands that should be understood as not belonging to the municipality and hence private – though this designation does not exclude the possibility that these *campi* might have been managed and used collectively.[141] This information on the presence of these possibly private parcels was then cross-referenced with a historic topographic plan retrieved from within the Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG), drawn up in 1845 to clarify the conflict on common lands shared between Apparizione and Quarto al Mare[142].

The document not only specifies the contested parcels and the related toponyms, but also shows the presence of enclosed parcels located on the hillsides of Monte Fasce that are not listed within the common lands of the two municipalities. One of these is indeed recognisably placed south of the south-eastern ridge of the hill – hence where the investigated site is – and identified by the toponym Campi di Coranesi. Despite the map's having being drawn four decades before the inventories mentioned above were taken, the variations in toponyms are minimal, allowing for the building of a rough correspondence between written document and topography, and hence how parcels and toponyms should be located, at least the ones related to the conflict between Apparizione and Quarto al Mare. Moreover, through both types of documentation, Colanesi seems to
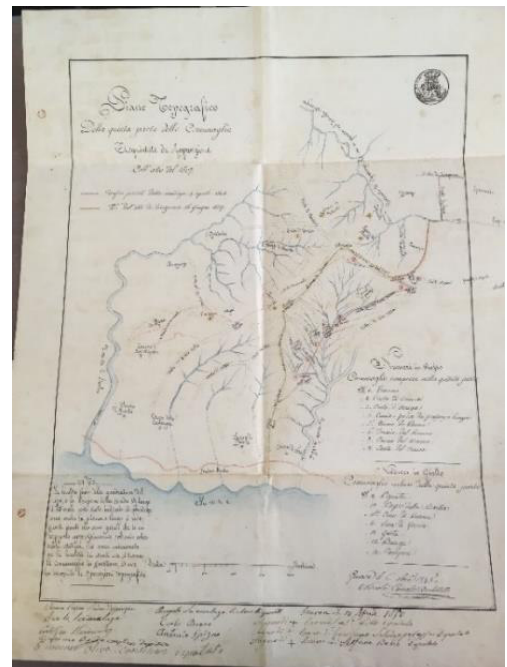
Figure 36: Map drawn by technician Canale to resolve the dispoute between Apparizione and Quarto al Mare concerning the mOnte Fasce shared comunaglie*, 1845, ASG, Prefettura Sarda.*

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the new kingdom, as well as supervise the implementation of the 1877 Forestry Law, which centralised regulations on the use of wood and connected agro-silvicultural practices. See the paragraph (Articolo) 5 in *Legge Forestale (20 Giugno 1877, n 3917) e relativo Regolamento 10 febbraio 1878*, edition with comments by the lawyer Cav. Aronne RABBENO, Torino, 1883.

[141] For a recent contribution on the difficult and sometimes misleading dichotomy between common and private, see Beltrametti et al., 2021.

[142] Cited in Moreno, 1990. The document was retrieved thanks to Anna Stagno within the Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Prefettura Sarda 1816-1850*.

have corresponded to enclosed private parcels, which however were mostly surrounded by common lands owned by different municipalities and contested between groups belonging to different social and/or territorial entities.[143] The only direct mention of Colanesi as a parcel or part of a property is, however, only within the earliest cadastral material antecedent to the Napoleonic register. The archive dates to 1798 and presents follow-up added data that integrate it for the following decades before the thorough implementation of the Napoleonic system. Here Colanesi is mentioned as a "terra campiva" (a field parcel) enclosed by a wall, belonging to Apparizione parish's minister, and confining to the immediate west with the *comune*'s properties. This allows to hypothesise a possibly private ownership of the enclosed area from the early 19th century. However, given that several common lands discussed by the local inhabitants were attributed to parishes, and only during the 19th century were mostly defined as municipal properties, the connection to the minister, might have different levels of interpretation connecting Colanesi to the wider area of *comunaglie* on Monte Fasce.

The topographic scale of analysis is a key perspective that brings together the material traces in the landscape and archival sources. It demands a more detailed view rather than an interpretation of data as merely part of broader processes of change; in addition, it allows for the focusing on local strategies and responses to socioeconomic and political shifts and reflecting on how practices are maintained, modified, or disappear altogether and the social implications of these developments. [144] In 1886 inventories of common lands belonging to Quarto al Mare recorded as part of a state inquiry into the 'uncultivated' commons, undertaken in accordance with national reforestation policies implemented from 1874 onwards, most of the place names of the contested common lands can be found.[145] These documents together

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[143] Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.
[144] Stagno, 2018.
[145] ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Quarto al Mare, Scatola 17.

*Figure 37: List of the common parcels belonging to Quarto al Mare leased through auction (*incanti*) to individuals, listed on the right in 1894. ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Quarto al Mare, Scatola 17, Comunaglie Monte Fasce.*

with the aforementioned inventories concerning the *incanti* of the very same parcels are testimonies to the privatisation and de-collectivisation process that accelerated at the end of the 19th century, with an ever-increasing influence of the Kingdom of Italy on the management of common lands. On the other hand, the inventories listing the *incanti* of the Quarto al Mare commons allow for the identification of who within the communities was granted use of these parcels, providing a basis to compare names and residences of those individuals, which is useful for reconstructing the network of families and ties within and between communities in the late 19th century. From a primary investigation of these documents, it can be observed that several of those participating in these auctions were reported as residing in Apparizione, rather than Quarto, which speaks to the interconnection of these two municipalities in regards to common lands, especially through the historical link between San Giovanni Battista di Quarto and Apparizione. Conflicts and contestations are indeed to be considered an important element of the social interactions that sharing practices would entail, and, which, in turn, point to an active presence of local social groups on these hillsides.[146]

Further documentary sources were collected to compare and criss-cross information retrieved within the municipal archives, especially within the Archivio di Stato di Genova (ASG – State Archives in Genoa). A first choice was to look through cadastre data from the early 19th up to the early 20th century, spanning from the Napoleonic cadastre to the Kingdom of Italy's registers.[147] The focus has been on the descriptive data, recording transactions, inheritance procedures, sale and acquisition of parcels for the municipality of Apparizione. While cartographic cadastre data is rather fragmented across different archives, not just ASG but also within *Agenzia delle Entrate* (revenue and tax administrative institution, within which the former *Agenzia del*

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[146] Raggio, 2001; Stagno, 2018.
[147] ASG, Catasto Storico

Territorio has been incorporated) and because of the absence of the Napoeonic cadastre map for the municipality of Apparizione, the choice was to focus on the descriptive texts and registers, in order to gather more data concerning the privatisation of municipal common lands and the local actors involved in the process. Cadastre registers provide a broad range of information, but the difficulty in confronting it with cartographic data has made it particularly challenging to be able to localise the areas or the parcels discussed in these documents. The Napoleonic cadastre description, which was then on by the Kingdom of Sardinia, allows to observe how the process of privatisation of common lands and collective property developed over several decades, and was somehow gradual but constant. The comparison with cadastre registers for transactions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries provides another insight into how the division of common lands and – possibly – the resolution, at an institutional level, of the disputes on the use and ownership of collective property was recorded.

Within the State Archives, it was also possible to gather data on the hillsides around Apparizione and the disputes regarding access rights and use of spaces and resources in the late 18th century through the *Caratate*, where esteems of land and their fiscal value were noted, as well as correspondence on disputes and confrontations related to use and access rights. Given the different organisation of space, territories and local institutions, the documentation regarding the area around Apparizione was found within the *Caratata* of Nervi, in the folder regarding the territory of Apparizione and Nasche (placed to the north-west of the latter towards Bavari). The information that could be gathered concerning the hillsides of Monte Fasce and land ownership, access rights and uses were rather indirect as only a limited quantity of documentation referred specifically to the area of Apparizione. The few elements collected are however an important addition to the discussion concerning the second half of the 19th century and the gradual privatisation of common lands, the conversion of several of these into woodland, the abandonment of agro-pastoral practices carried out onto these hillsides.

Historic cartography: Monte Fasce and the settlement of Colanesi between the 19th and early 20th century

The broader maps considered for the current analysis mostly refer to the 19th century. The focus has been on observing diverse depictions of the area especially of Monte Fasce and the settlement of Colanesi, in order to locate the settlement and analyse more structurally how its

outline might have changed in relationship to the surroundings, the presence of paths and a broader network of trails, the presence of terraced fields and/or types of vegetation. For the following analysis, a brief summary is presented concerning the characteristics of the settlement of Colanesi and the hillside within which the buildings are placed.

Figure 38: Sections of historic maps depicting the area of Monte Fasce, the settlement of Colanesi and its surroundings. Above, left: Tavoletta Manoscritta (1818) drawn as a preparation for the Gran Carta degli Stati Sardi di Terraferma – the mid-19th century cartographic survey planned for the whole Kingdom of Sardinia, LASA. Above, right: Gran Carta degli Stati Sardi di Terraferma (1878), 1:25000, Istituto Geografico Militare. Below, left: Piano della zona di difesa territoriale Primo Martini, 1940-45, ASG. Below, right: Carta Topografica de La Grande Genova, 1960s, Centro di Documentazione Logos.

Table 4: Synthesis of the characteristics identified within historic cartography and cartographic representations, from the early 19th century to present times, with variations of toponyms and outline of the settlement of Colanesi over the years.

Map/Data	Year(s)	Toponym(s) (location of placename on the map)	Buildings/Structures (location in relation to the site)	Other features surrounding the site
Minute di Campagna, drawn in preparation for the Gran Carta degli Stati Sardi di Terraferma (Istituto Geografico Militare)	1818-1820	Colanesi (by the buildings located south of the ridge)	2 (North-West), 1 (North, central), 2 (North-East), 2 (mid-field, West)	Cypresses and terrace fields located around and south of the buildings, trail/road networks crossing the site to the northwest
Piano Topografico della quinta parte delle Comunaglie Acquistate da Apparizione Coll'Atto del 1507 (Archivio di Stato di Genova, Prefettura Sarda, 1816-1850, Pandetta 23)	1845	Campi di Coranesi (by the buildings and enclosure located south of the ridge); Costa di Coranesi (along the ridge)	Structure of a square enclosure in correspondance to the Campi di Coranesi toponym, 2/3 (?) buildings (hardly visible) within the enclosure	Trail network crossing the site to the west/north-west, representing a connection to the areas defined by the toponyms Limarcio/Limarzio (south) and Urziga (north)
Carta d'Italia, 1: 25000 (Istituto Topografico Militare)	1878	Calannesi	Hardly distinguishable: 1 building - northwest; 2 to the southwest - possibily others.	Trail network crossing the site to the west/north-west, representing a connection to the areas defined by the toponyms Lumarso (south) and Nosiggia (north)
Piano della zona di difesa territoriale Primo Martini, 1940-1945 (Archivio di Stato di Genova)	1940	Colanesi; Costa di Colanesi (along the ridge)	2 adjacent, located to the north-east; 1 located on the same level to the north-west of the site; 2 located south-west towards the watershed	Trail network crossing the site to the west/northwest, representing a connection to the areas of Osiglia (north) and Lumarso (south)
Carta Topografica de La Grande Genova	1960s	Costa del Gallo (located to the East, south of the ridge)	3 buildings (north-west); 2 (north-east); 1 located to the West mid-hillside; 1 located towards the South-West	Trail/road network crossing the site to the west/northwest
Carta Tecnica Regionale, 1:10000	2007-2008	Ronco Noto (vast area to the West of the site), Costa del Gallo (located to the East, south of the ridge); Cresta di Colanesi (Southern section of the ridge);	Indication of the presence of 5-7 ruins, in the locations of the settlements analysed, north and south-west, and to the east, south of the ridge.	The presence of relict terraces is indicated within the site, as well as a trail network crossing the ridge towards the north

3.2.2. Dynamic hillsides: Disputes, agreements and jurisdictions at the end of the 19th century

The hillsides of Monte Fasce, and the related communities have seen a long history of conflict and negotiation around land access and use rights. Over the Modern period, the presence of common lands and collective property characterised the management of environmental resources on higher mountain and hilly regions for most of Liguria. The strong characterisation of Liguria as a mountainous region, has meant that most agricultural and pastoral practices had to develop over a complex challenging landscape, where, over centuries, technologies and practices were developed that enabled how resources could be used and managed. Liguria's
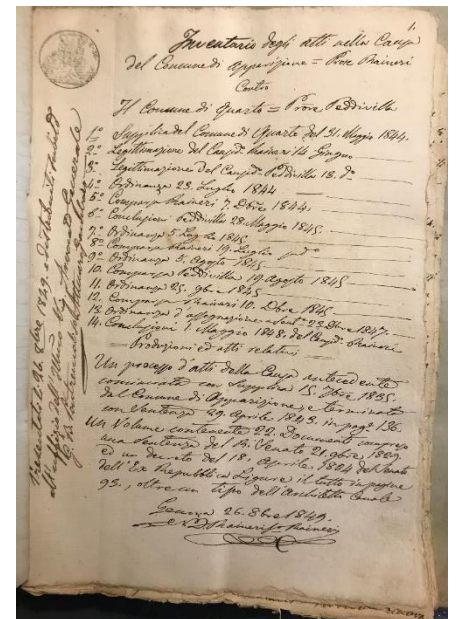
Figure 39: Inventory of the correspondence and comments concerning the judiciary cause between the municipalities of Apparizione and Quarto al Mare between 1845 and 1849, Fondo Comuni Annessi, ASCG, Apparizione, Scatole 12/12Bis.

mountainous areas were, during the Middle Ages and the Modern period, characterised pastoral and long-distance Transhumance routes, which connected the Po plain and the Maritime Alps up to the current French border. Infrastructure and trail networks were also, for the late Modern Age, elements that characterised the development of mountain and upland economies, trade and social relationships that moved way beyond the limit of the local community, the village.

Administrative documentation from the archives of both Apparizione and Quarto al Mare provides details on the long dispute between the two municipalities concerning access and use rights, as well as property of the *comunaglie* located on the southern hillsides and the northern ridge of Monte Fasce. These documents contain elements that allow to grasp how diverse social actors inhabiting and managing these hillsides interacted, although inevitably through the bias present within the information collected. In this case the documents are specifically connected to local and regional institutions, with their own administrative, economic, and political agendas, and might not allow for a thorough understanding of local and familial dynamics. Nevertheless, the investigated documents enable the observing of how the shift towards an administrative system based on 19th-century *comuni*, representing an intermediate connection between local entities and regional and national institutions, and the increasing attention given to the redefinition of common lands and the identification of *incolti*, brought to light conflicts that might have had their origins in previous decades, if not centuries. The necessity for municipalities to privatise, or further capitalise on the sale and rent of their common lands, highlights how the legal classification of several of these parcels was far from definable.

The oldest piece of documentation within these archives regarding the dispute on Monte Fasce common lands dates to the 1830s, with accounts of trial sessions and sentences, as well as several pleas to the Genoese Corte d'Appello on behalf of both municipalities that continue over the course of 30 years.[148] Communities belonging to the parish of San Giovanni Battista di Quarto al Mare and the municipality of Apparizione had shared the management, access and use of Monte Fasce common lands during the 17th and 18th centuries. These documents mention that the division of the common lands between San Giovanni Battista and Apparizione had taken place in the first half of the 17th century. The "men"[149] of San Giovanni Battista

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[148] ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Apparizione, Scatola 12.

[149] The parish of San Giovanni Battista di Quarto in the 19th century documentation is referred to as *Uomini* (men) *di San Giovanni Battista di Quarto* or *Università degli Uomini di San Giovanni Battista di Quarto*.

demanded the division of the shared *comunaglie* into equal parts between their parish and Apparizione. The latter however stated over the course of several pleas to the *Corte d'Appello* of Genoa that the northern section of these common lands (to the north of Monte Fasce) had been used exclusively by the 'men' of Apparizione since the 16th century. Apparizione did not agree to an equal division of these *comunaglie* for, at least, another three decades. Through a comparison with cadastral data preserved within ASG, the property of parcels eventually acquired by San Giovanni Battista was still being transferred (*immissione in possesso*) to them during the 1880s.[150] In order to claim possession of the contested lands located across the ridge between Monte Fasce and Monte Bastia, communities had strived to prove, as reported in pleas, their continuous use and long-lasting activities carried out on these parcels. Given the presence of open and wooded pastures, the main activities reported are haymaking, grazing of sheep and cattle and pollarding and coppicing of trees.[151]

The site of Colanesi, on which the current study will more specifically focus, despite most likely not being part of municipal common lands, was hence within a contested landscape, with ongoing activity and conflict throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. *Comunaglie* are, indeed, still listed in Apparizione cadastral registers, which record the annual income they provided between 1902 and 1916.[152] The stratification of structures found at Colanesi and the diverse time frames hypothesised for the use of terraces and architectural complexes should be further viewed within the interaction of diverse local groups (the 'men' of Apparizione and of San Giovanni Battista, the municipality of Apparizione, Quarto al Mare, Bavari and the state through the *Comitato Forestale* as well as local families and landowners) and the pursuit of different interests, ranging from privatisation to the redefinition of practices and uses, and continuity in social and commercial relationships. The integration of information retrieved from written accounts and archaeological surveys and investigations is therefore a complex task, as it demands researchers delve deeper into the dynamics that documents might only partially illustrate to see which could be the link to the stratified material record. However difficult, it offers the possibility to observe processes with a refined view. Historians and archaeologists profit from the broader scope they can provide to one another, as they gather elements to

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[150] ASG, Archivio Napoleonico, Volume App. (Apparizione) 32, Vecchio Catasto.
[151] ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Quarto al Mare, Scatola 17.
[152] ASG, Archivio Napoleonico, Volume App. 29, Vecchio Catasto – Varianti.

understand historical processes, rather than focussing merely on results of those developments. Particularly with reference to rural and mountain contexts and the ongoing abandonment of these areas across Europe, the understanding of economic, political and social processes, as directly connected and locally catalysed through the material, be it environmental resources, the built environment or specific topographic features and spaces, is fundamental to grasping how abandonment (or its opposite, in some cases) is enabled and prompted.

3.4. Seasonality and permanence, private and collective: contradictions and perspectives from Colanesi[153]

The survey results and 19th-century documentation have drawn a vivid image of the variety of practices that took place on the hillsides of M. Fasce, especially in relation to the management of common lands. Certainly, the focus on late modern documentation can only provide a glimpse into a specific time frame of actions. Conflicts, lively confrontations and acts of possession have been already reconstructed for previous periods, given the intersection of different and shared jurisdictions in the area. [154] Analogously, conflicts emerged from the investigated documentation in relation to the changes in the jurisdiction and actors due to the disappearing of parishes and *villae* as jurisdictional institutions with their incorporation in different and changing municipalities during the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century. The archaeological and historical-ecological record speaks of extensive and diversified practices of environmental resources management, with settlements being only one element within a broader ensemble of material traces. The architectural structures show signs of modification and multi-stratification, while a concentration of pottery within and around the structures was documented. These elements suggest a continuous use of these spaces in a clearer way than in other similar contexts.[155] The complex outline of buildings and structures at Colanesi suggests longer periods of use, an aspect which can be hypothesised for other smaller settlements on *Montagna di Fascia*.

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153 Cf. Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.
154 Moreno 1990; Moreno et al. 1992
155 Milanese and Biagini, 1998

When the paths and connections within and between these various settlements and groups of structures are considered, the concentration of traces is further understood as a proof of the intense use of these sites throughout the year and not just during summer and as temporary structures. The construction of the water cistern in Colanesi (possibly dating to the beginning of the 20th century), the fact that the surrounding pastures could be used during the winter as well as the summer months and the possibility offered by these fields' location of planting different crops suggest that the structures in Colanesi could be used over the whole year, with diverse functions and connected to a series of activities carried out around them. Similar uses could be found in other parts of the Montagna di Fascia until the 1980s, such as in the parish of Levà, where the continuity of use during the winter months has been documented through oral sources.[156] Testimonies collected in Apparizione also highlight how still into the first half of the 20th century, inhabitants of the village would bring their cattle on Monte Fasce over the summer months, with men remaining on the hillsides on and off for periods of 3 or 4 months.[157] The continuity that characterised the use of these areas can be linked to other research carried out in Eastern Liguria, where hay was stored in *casoni* structures during the winter and periodically collected and used by different people and groups. How places, products and time were shared made these contexts into social spaces where people would meet, constantly building and negotiating social relationships throughout the year (e.g. at Casoni Lagorara).[158] In mountain areas, these elements represent further evidence for the role of such spaces in the organisation of social life and connections within and through the community who owned and used them. While these aspects do not exclude a temporary or periodic use of these sites, the activities carried out in the area, the social interactions needed to manage environmental resources and assert access rights and property and the use and reuse phases of these settlements, does not fit with the idea of marginality and precariousness with which seasonal rural settlements are associated.[159]

Most settlements are located on the top of enclosed terraced areas. On the one hand, this confirms the various purposes of these structures, supporting both local husbandry and agriculture, while on the other it urges consideration of the relationship between the enclosed

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[156] Levá, Oral source E.Z., interviewed February 2021. Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.
[157] As reported by R. interviewed on 20th June 2023, See Appendix.
[158] Milanese and Biagini, 1998.
[159] Costello, 2018.

fields (*campi*), settlements and common lands. In the western Ligurian Apennines, *casoni* inside common lands, documented since at least the 16th century, show a shift in their locations from common lands to the boundaries between private terraced spaces (mostly used as meadows and permanent fields) and common lands (mostly used as pastures), as well as how they (*casoni*) were constructed, between the 18th and 19th centuries. These shifts were connected to changes from long- to short-distance transhumance practices, as well as how intensive monoculture substituted a mixed use of land through a combination of temporary cultivation, grazing and woodland management.[160]

Until the late 19th century, common lands surrounded the settlement of Colanesi, while the ownership of the enclosed terraces remains mixed, highly fragmented and not easily retrievable. The enclosures might have had various functions. They might have been barriers preventing transhumant flocks to enter cultivated fields [161], but they could also represent private appropriation of common lands.[162] While late 19th-century documentation states these *campi* are private, the situation for previous periods is currently still unknown and can only be hypothesised. Shifts in the character and use of these sites should be considered as part of 19th-century processes of privatisation, in relation to both the division of land and shifts in agricultural practices. These settlements might have seen shifts in how they were used, going from seasonal to permanent or semi-permanent dwellings. [163] It is also possible that the changes in function of these structures corresponded to changes in their surroundings.

The characteristics of Colanesi, as an ensemble of structures connected to terraced fields and other artefacts to manage and organise the surrounding resources, and the contextualisation within the archival documentation, speak for an area where several of the
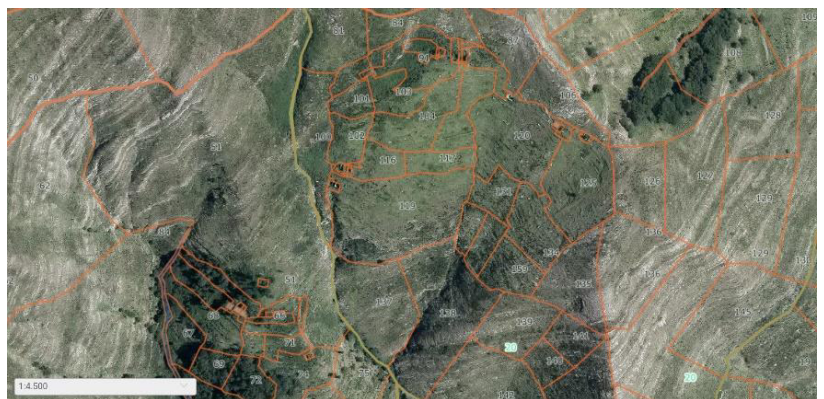
Figure 40: Satellite imagery of Monte Fasce, with a specific focus on the area of Colanesi, with the outline of parcel subdivision on the area. Geoportale Liguria (last accessed 27th July 2024).

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[160] See the study by Stagno, 2016.
[161] Moreno 1990; Stagno and Tigrino 2020
[162] Stagno, 2018.
[163] Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.

categories that are usually applied to study rural milieus should be constantly questioned: permanent/seasonal, private/collective, marginal/central. The current parcel subdivision of Colanesi highlights how the privatisation process in the area, and the following passages of property (through inheritance procedures, as well as sale transactions) up to the present day, was far from straightforward.[164] This is a tiny but fundamental element that hints at the complex transition of rural ownership and access right constellations into the more rigid post-Napoleonic cadastral regime, and successively onto the organisation of productive spaces that could fit within tendencies towards industrialised, mechanised and intensified agricultural production. However, looking at 19th century documentation, it cannot be surely stated that the enclosed fields of Colanesi, and the surrounding groups of buildings, were part of the *comunaglie* on Monte Fasce, rather these are mentioned when borders of the common – owned by the municipalities – lands need to be defined through the confining properties. As mentioned in the previous paragraphs, Colanesi was hence in between categories, as well as physically in between types of management and ownership that unavoidably met and interacted onto these slopes.

The study of present cadastral data, and the succession of owners of the last 80 to 90 years, cannot account for the late 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, however the traces identified in Colanesi and the surrounding landscape hint at a continuity in use over this period and into the 20th century, with the effects of abandonment gradually showing past 1950s. The buildings at Colanesi present entrances characterised by a simple wooden horizontal lintel, at times only present in fragments. This architectural element aspect is often tied to the 19th century, during which, in diverse contexts – wealthier and poorer – the door frames and portals see a general transition toward a more sober decoration, or its total absence, especially in rural settlements and structures to manage agriculture and animal husbandry.[165] The doorframe becomes rectangular in several contexts studied for the northwestern Apennines[166], in non-urban contexts this version of the entrances presents a wooden lintel, while side jambs are often built as the masonry structure, hence substituting completely the presence of stone ashlars

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[164] Agenzia delle Entrate, Visure catastali
https://www.agenziaentrate.gov.it/portale/web/guest/schede/fabbricatiterreni/visura-catastale/visura-catastale-online (last accessed 18th August 2024)
[165] Stagno, 2018.
[166] Cf. Brogiolo and Cagnana, 2012; Boato and Pagella, 2015

used to define the frame. This is also the case of Colanesi, where most of the still usable entrances follow this example, while two walled-up doors present very similar characteristics that set them apart from the others across the settlement. In UT706 and 707, the side jambs are built of 50-60cm broad ashlars disposed vertically, however presenting the remnants of wooden lintels on the top. The different types of construction of entrances suggests different periods of use, together also with the fact that both these ashlar openings were walled up, and new entrances facing south were built to grant access to the buildings.

Historic cartographic representations of Colanesi and its surroundings allow to observe the existence of the site throughout the 19th century, while the number of buildings increases over

Figure 41: Right, satellite imagery of the site of Colanesi (GoogleSatellites), with detail on the location of the marsigliesi fragments found by UT722, 724, 726. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022, 2023.

the course of the century (See Table). The settlement and the fields connected to them are hence witnesses to those disputes and discussions taking place around them, and maybe within them. The material evidence from the Monte Fasce hillsides, while still lacking more precise dating of features and finds, can underline the continuity of use of these structures, combining different functions and roles that the identified infrastructure might have had. An example of this is the finding of flat rooftiles (*tegole marsigliesi*), not merely taking the place of stone slates for the roofing structure, but also as fillers for repairing and modifying walls and features. These tiles, coming from different places of production, were identified only within the western buildings of Colanesi (UT722, 724, 726), which might hence be connected to use

phases dating to the first half of the 20th century, and possibly the following decades. Traces of 20th century-specific materials are present also within the eastern complexes, such as cementitious mortar, but not any more features. It is, thus, possible to state that a longer continuity, and probably a tighter connection to the downstream villages well into the 20th century can be seen for only a part of Colanesi. This element can be connected to the different characteristics of the two terraced fields, with the western terraces being more defined and better preserved in their structure, as well as more regular in width and length, suggesting a more recent use or, at least, a number of upkeep practices carried out more recently than for the eastern fields. Oral accounts have also underlined how paths connecting the coastal centres and areas going through Monte Fasce, were intensely used during the 20th century, especially for the exchange and sale of produce specific to the valleys, such as olive oil for the coastal hillside villages – amongst which was Apparizione – and chestnuts and potatoes for the immediate inland, such as the Val Lentro, located to the north, just beyond the ridge delimiting the *Montagna di Fascia*.[167] Moreover they reported that hunting, during the 20th century, affected the maintenance of structures and infrastructures, such as paths and trails, as those taking part into it were often using the network of trails and some of the structures, keeping them rather clean and not allowing vegetation to take over.[168]

How do these elements help the understanding of the shifts in practices and social relationships during the 19th and 20th century? With the archival and archaeological data collected, the timespan considered for the current study is partly revealed as what it is known to be. A period of change, during which the institutions inherited from the Napoleonic system, the municipalities in their role as intermediaries between the central law-making and organising institutions, implement numerous demands onto those areas that are not directly touched by the increasing development of urbanisation and mass industrialisation, rural mountainous regions more specifically. Perhaps in this sense, while urban institutions attempt at regulating non-urban contexts, one sees the beginning of these places' marginalisation, visible in the difficulties and frictions the "external" demand creates within communities and local institutions. A marginalisation process progressively visible in the conflicts concerning the management of common lands not merely through redefinition of ownership but also through

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[167] As reported by R. interviewed on 20th June 2023, See Appendix
[168] *Ibid.*

the occasional, but increasingly present in the documentation of the second half of the 19th century, mention of people emigrating and withdrawing from their position of responsibility within the community.[169] The picture drawn by the municipal documentation reports of the confrontations, which however can only hint at how much of the community was hit by the redefinition of ownership, or the pressure towards privatisation of municipal *comunaglie*. Reports of conflictual interactions, on paper and on the field, show, however, how these areas were contested and far from abandoned or marginalised. The process of change, while present as it creates friction, is constantly re-negotiated into the more rooted practices and knowledge concerning the management of collective land and resources. It is indeed the need to redefine property subdivision of *comunaglie* between municipalities that provides a further urgency onto the long-standing dispute between Quarto al Mare, Apparizione, and for slightly different reasons Bavari. The external institutional demand becomes deeply intertwined with conflicts that precede the work of Kingdom of Italy's Forestal Committee and the related listing of common land. The stratified modifications present at Colanesi, as well as through the presence of a number of buildings that see sections more modified and somehow kept up and showing still some structural stability, suggest two main periods of use over the last two centuries, that might have brought to a further stratification of the built environment through the period considered.

A perspective gained through the study of Colanesi is the further questioning of dual categories through which present research views and analyses rural contexts. Processes of change bring to the surface conflicts and disputes, which are however also the product of the renegotiations of access rights and shifting organisation and management of collective and private lands. The current analysis has touched on various issues and provided a broad view on the data that can be considered to investigate social interactions and practices of the last two centuries, but the further analytical study of a definite context, such as Colanesi and its surroundings, can provide an even more detailed and precise understanding of how new 19th century institutions interacted with a different context, that moved at a different pace, and for which some of the demands, such as the privatisation of common lands deemed unproductive because defined as "uncultivated", had to be reworked into the socio-economic structure of the communities and the diverse conditions of its members and family groups. The dialectical connection

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[169] ASCG, Fondo Comuni Annessi, Quarto al Mare, Scatola 17, Comunaglie – Monte Fascia.

between exogenous forces, pushing towards change and the spatially defined practices to manage local resources can be observed through the decade-long renting out (through *incanto*) of the *comunaglie* parcels, documented for Quarto al Mare, within which inhabitants of both Apparizione and Quarto al Mare are listed as "leaseholders". The collective property is year after year subdivided in its use between different local social actors, which could be a reflection of collective management as well as a step towards the eventual privatisation of these lands. As the broader social structures are modified during the 19th century, it is possible to observe how these shifts are incorporated into local decision-making processes. On a material level, continuity of use does not present drastic fractures during the period, accounting for a tight connection of these areas, peripheral to the expanding urban centres, as long as practices and social fabric of the related communities was present.

4. Inhabiting rural spaces: Mas Rondole (Saillagouse, France)

As seen for the Ligurian case study presented in the previous chapter, the 19th century provides a useful background for the analysis of the changing social interactions and practices taking place in rural contexts, especially when looking at hillsides and mountainous areas, which, in Europe, were already witnessing gradual depopulation and outmigration processes over the course of the century. The case of Colanesi triggers a more profound analysis on the definition of collective and private property and highlights how marginality of rural areas is not always reflected in their past, sometimes not at all, but rather tends to be an interpretation tied to current views on rural and mountainous regions. The more the site is studied, the more complex its history, as well as the social relationships that defined it become.

The second case study, presented in the following paragraphs, focuses on a different, not merely geographical, but also socio-economic context, characterised, nevertheless, by a number of converging questions and themes. The Mas Rondole is a farm, used and active to this day, specialised in meat and milk production, the rearing and sale of cattle, while also serving as a guesthouse, given the strong relevance of winter and summer tourism in the area. The present tenant, P. Bazan, has been in charge of the farm since the late 1980s, while the current owners, the Barcelona resident Salas y Salas family, are descendants of the de Salas who acquired the Mas Rondole in the second half of the 19th century, who were also actively living (or partially residing) at the Mas until the 1960s/1970s.[170]

The Mas Rondole was chosen as part of this analysis as it offered not just a different Southern-European context to look into, but also to further explore the relationship with structural modification of built and inhabited space in relation to modifications taking place with regards to agricultural practices and environmental resource management systems, considering the social interactions these implied or were a result of. The structure of Mas Rondole in its complexity and stratification provides a material basis to approach changes taking place in the region, bringing together, as enounced in the second chapter, a "topographical" level of

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[170] See later notes on the interview with present owner F. Salas y Salas

observation and the increasing pressure to enhance agricultural production and rationalise the use and management of environmental resources, a wide-ranging process affecting most of the French (and, as already mentioned, European) countryside and uplands. Studies on agricultural and social history of Cerdagne underlined the complex relationships between large farming estates, local settlements, smaller farmhouses and resources management systems that intersected these elements, brought them together.[171] Historians had identified the Treaty of Pyrenees (1659) as watershed in how land use and property was organised, prompting the accumulation of properties and lands that became larger estates, owned by local nobility as well as families hailing from the south and the region now known as Spanish Catalunya, especially since port cities such as Barcelona were become important trade centres, where new patrimonies were established the developing merchant bourgeoisie during the 17th and 18th centuries. [172] However, over the last couple of decades the centrality of the border in the definition of spaces and uses of resources has been questioned, in order to look local communities, settlements and social groups as not merely defined by the political and later geographical imposition of this demarcation.[173] The discussion on the influence of the Pyrenean border is central to the current study but it has to be considered when tackling how French Cerdagne and the history of agricultural practices and properties have been studied and analysed over the last three decades.[174] Over the second half of the 20th century approaches bringing together historical, archaeological, and ethnographical data have allowed to move forward from the initial concentration on the mere "border question" and analyse local contexts, allowing to delve deeper into how communities, social groups and structures dealt with pressures and processes, as well as how different sources and traces should be combined to understand the stratified relationship between social actors, the resources they used, the landscape they inhabited and shaped.

This case study partly draws from these perspectives as it concentrates on a single, topographically defined context – the Mas Rondole, while addressing a wider phenomenon

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[171] Conesa, 2012.
[172] A specific study on the historical significance of the border between France and Spain, and the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1959 is Sahlin, 1989, which focuses on the different aspects, political, social and economic, that the definition of this border brought about – but not overnight, rather over a longer time during which the physical border was developed and then defined.
[173] Conesa, 2012.
[174] Conesa, 2012 ; Sahlins, 2014.

connected to the rationalisation of agricultural production. The emergence of ideal "model farmhouses" (*fermes modèles*) increasingly characterised studies in agronomic sciences and economics, where scientists, architects and other scholars theorised farm typologies and forms that should increase agricultural production, by making resources management systems more efficient, concentrating on working intensively rather than extensively, as well as comply to developing hygiene standards, separating functional spaces within and around farmhouses.[175] Various theoretical developments in this direction, expressed in a number of *Traités* on agriculture and related structures came to the fore during the 19th century and affected how the countryside was reorganised spatially, bearing effects onto the planning of farmhouses into the early 20th century.[176] However, as recent studies have outlined, even when pushes towards "modernisation"[177] are constant and influential, local strategies are often negotiations of new elements, technological knowledge with practices that resulted from reiterated actions and relationships around the management of resources.[178] The Mas Rondole provides a local backdrop where changes can be observed more analytically, bringing out fragments of the dialogue between "rationalisation" processes and the specific historical, social and economic contexts they encountered. It will be, hence, fundamental to look at the Mas Rondole, and the surrounding landscape, as a context that did not just undergo – passively – a period of change, but that rather provides an insight into how external, institutional, seemingly top-down processes always mingle with how local communities, in their stratified complexity, composed by social groups with diverging interests, interact with the surrounding landscape and with one another.

The chapter looking at this case study will firstly give an overview of how Cerdagne has been the focus of archaeological, historical and ethno-anthropological studies and how especially the

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[175] Brunet, 2005; Huitorel, 2014.

[176] Huitorel, 2014; An example of publications of the time, which dealt with the new organisation of agricultural spaces are Perthuis de Laillevault, 1810, *Traité d'architecture rurale contenant les principes généraux de cet art, leur application aux différentes espèces d'établissements ruraux, les détails de construction et la distribution intérieure de chacun des bâtiments dont ils doivent être composés, divers travaux d'art, etc.*, Paris, Déterville; See also André, 1821-2, *Nouveau cours complet d'agriculture théorique et pratique contenant la grande et la petite culture, l'économie rurale et domestique, la médecine vétérinaire, etc. ou Dictionnaire raisonné et universel d'agriculture*. Volume I.

[177] Using this term is, obviously, controversial if that is done without contextualising it within the diverse discussion, specifically within historical and post-medieval archaeology, as well as sociological and anthropological approaches that investigate the effects and discourses around modernity. See the articles collected within Archeologia Postmedievale 27, 2024.

[178] Huitorel, 2014?

longue-durée perspective has been applied in the investigation of how agro-silvo-pastoral practices have changed over the centuries. This will allow to see how some of the current discussions on the management of environmental resources have highlighted the specific historical depth of practices, the centrality of the practice itself in the definition and redefinition of social relationships and ties, the implications of changes in practices and the contexts within which they originated. Successively, the chapter will delve deeper into the case study of the Mas Rondole initially presenting the studies that have tackled its history, and the questions related to changes in property and agricultural practice.

4.1. Cerdagne: a historical-archaeological overview

The Cerdagne is a high plateau extending over 40km on the Eastern section of the Pyrenees, with the political border between Spain and France passing right through it. French Cerdagne encompasses the Spanish enclave of Llivia and is composed of several smaller centres along the main road (Route Nationale 67), such as Mont Louis, Saillagouse, Estavar, as well as other centres located on the higher sides of the plateau, just below or at the foothills of the staggering mountains rising above the 2000m, such as Eyne, Llo, Font-Romeu-Odeillo-Via. The area has been the object of several studies since the 1980s and 1990s, which have involved historians, archaeologists, ethnologists and anthropologists focussing on the understanding the history of Cerdagne over the *longue-durée*. The aim of these studies was indeed to devise a chronology for the agropastoral practices that have shaped the hillsides and the plains, working backwards from the recent past and the Modern Age, which had been the main focus of historians, due to the socio-economic weight attributed to the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659.[179] The various disciplines involved in these studies allowed to move as far back as the Bronze Age and the Neolithic, through the surveying of a series of traces that accounted for a rather continuous pastoral use of the hillsides of French Cerdagne, from Prehistory to the recent decades.[180] The *longue durée* perspective, representing a fundamental focus of the French historiographical tradition, has been adopted in Cerdagne through a combination of studies which have encompassed the contribution of different disciplines, but have integrated the debate onto the different scales of analysis, in tight correlation to the questions that historians had put forward

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[179] Conesa, 2012.
[180] Rendu, 2003 with her focus on an area of the Cerdagne: the mountains of Enveig, located to the west.

through the theorisation about a micro-analytical historical study of practices and social relationships. Hence, research projects have looked at specific areas of the Cerdagne, the mountains of Enveig, the valley below the Capcir, the fields surrounding the municipality of Llo and Eyne, putting forward an increasing number of questions concerning the use of environmental resources and the changes detectable through archaeological analysis.[181] These studies have allowed to have a wider perspectives on the interconnection between practices and the use of resources in the region and the broader and local changes taking place at a socio-political level. Researchers have indeed stressed the importance of combining several field and material sources with the analytical investigation of archival documentation, in order to observe the complex relationships that defined how the use of resources, the management of common lands and private properties reveal an interplay of local interests and sedimented practices with the changing institutions during the Ancien Regime and in later centuries.[182]

Figure 42: Dried irrigation canal located on the hillsides to the west of the Mas Rondole properties. Photo: Bizzarri, 2022.

[181] Capmajo et al., 2017.
[182] Conesa, 2012.

4.2. Le Mas Rondole
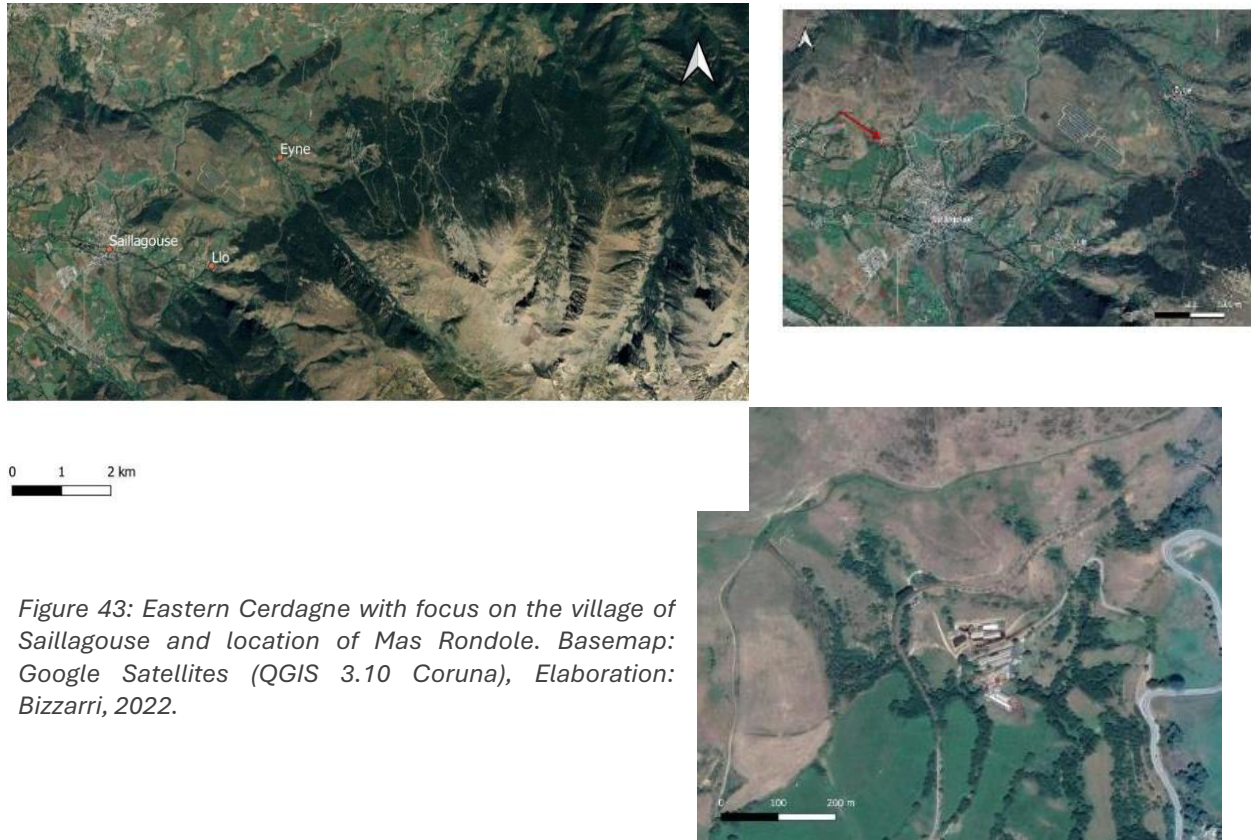
Figure 43: Eastern Cerdagne with focus on the village of Saillagouse and location of Mas Rondole. Basemap: Google Satellites (QGIS 3.10 Coruna), Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

4.2.1. A brief historiography

With the first studies carried out at Mas Rondole, a few chronological elements could be identified, through the comparison of present cadastre data with the 1820 Napoleonic Cadastre, which provided a basis to define the *terminus post quem* for most of the structural features seen in the present, which should be approximately around the mid-1800s.[183] However for a further understanding of the historical chronologies around the buildings of Mas Rondole, the study of historical cartographic data, as well as the comparison between archival material and oral sources had to be brought forward. While the current study does not present a comprehensive summary of all written and cartographic sources, research has brought together a sample of the types of historical data mentioned above, in order to draw up a more

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[183] Bousquet et al., 2022.

precise picture of the developments taking place around Mas Rondole over the last couple of centuries.

Mas Rondole is located to the north of the commune of Saillagouse, in the French Cerdagne region. The farmhouse, made up of several architectural structures, is still in use today. The communes of Llo, Eyne and Saillagouse, and the Cerdagne region in general, have been the subject of archaeological, historical, environmental, ecological and ethno-anthropological research, focusing on the relationships between agricultural production, livestock farming and the organisation of space and social interactions, from a long-term perspective, in prehistoric, medieval and modern times.[184] During the modern period, most of the land on the mountain slopes of the region was common land, shared by various hamlets and communes, and subject to changing jurisdictions and shifting rights of access, which led to renegotiations of the space and its use. However, the farmhouse has been in private ownership for several centuries. A specific study of its history, its architectural structure, its relationship with the environment and the social interactions and players that have defined these spaces has not yet been attempted.
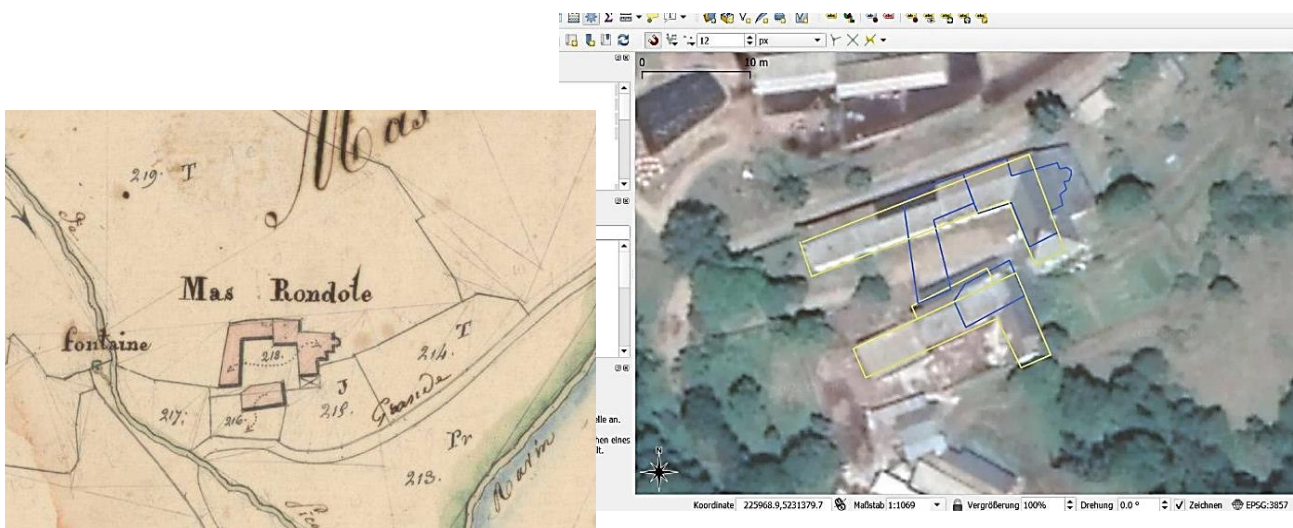
Figure 44: Left: Mas Rondole depticted on the Napoleonic Cadastre (1821-7), Archives Departementales des Pyrenees Orientales, Perpignan. Right: Mas Rondole today as visible on GoogleSatellites imagery available through QGis 3.10 Coruna. Detail of the cadastral outline today and that of the first half of the 19th century, remarking on the intense structural change that has taken place over the last two centuries. Elaboration: Bizzarri, 2023.

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[184] Rendu, 2003; Conesa, 2012.

As part of the LINA research project[185], which focused on past beekeeping practices, the Mas Rondole was the subject of initial archaeological investigations, led by D. Bousquet within the Framespa laboratory (Toulouse 2 University). The research focused specifically on the north-west wall of the garden, a bee wall with a number of rectangular niches linked to the installation of an apiary.[186] The project has made it possible to gather the first information on the last two centuries of Mas Rondole's existence, a period during which a series of changes could be identified thanks to a study of 19th-century cadastral documentation. These observations, combined with the information provided by the archives on changes in ownership of the farmhouse during the 19th century, have highlighted the way in which the farmhouse was built and rebuilt over the course of a century, in the space of just a few generations.[187] This has been, up until now, the study that has looked more closely at the Mas Rondole, suggesting a first chronology of the main modifications that the structure has seen over the 19th century, in connection to the introduction of new practices and types of agricultural production, in this case beekeeping. Specifically because of the intense structural modifications that were identified through the comparison between present and Napoleonic cadastre data, the current analysis draws from the first observations made within the LINA project, but strives to encompass most of the main structures, and consider the interconnection of these shifts with one another, the link with resources management practices in the surroundings and how these were altered through time. While this work focuses mostly on the architectural structure of the Mas Rondole, broader surveys in the area have looked at the area of Saillagouse, Eyne, Llo and the immediate surroundings of the farmhouse to investigate primarily the network of water channels and irrigation systems, as hydric sources are still the elements that more directly tackle the issue of collective management, also to the present day. Furthermore, water networks are those that topographically and geographically, connect the surroundings of Mas Rondole to the wider area of fields, hillsides and pastures that have been shared by confining municipalities over the last three centuries, within which are still a number of collective pastures and fields today.

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[185] Projet Région Occitanie *LINA - Lire la nature, oser l'apiculture* (2019-2023), directed by Marie-Agnès Courty, UPR 8521 PROMES. Within the framework of this research project, the specific investigations on the "bee wall" (*mur à abeilles*) were carried out.

[186] Bousquet et al., 2022; Capmajo and Carraretto, 2005.

[187] Research on the 'bee wall' has combined archaeological, historical and ethnographic studies of beekeeping practices with physico-chemical studies of the residues of bee activity. The team was composed by the archaeologists D. Bousquet and C. Rendu, the historian M. Conesa, and ethnologists M. Carraretto and L. Normand. See Bousquet et al, 2022.

Specifically the latest surveys have addressed uses and changes of water channels leading onto the main irrigation supply system for Mas Rondole (*Rec Rondola*, *Rec de la Ribeira d'Eina*), the course of which has been constructed and modified over the last century, drawing from a system of streams and channels tied to the river Segre further uphill, and passing through territories connected to high-altitude common pastures within the municipalities of Llo and Eyne.[188]

The question leading research on the Mas Rondole is hence not merely about the structure itself but seeks to encompass a broader landscape into the picture, which, even just for the last century, has witnessed change in how sharing practices around environmental resources have changed. While the main process seems to be the increasing relevance of intensive farming, and the predominance of large agricultural estates, which saw a more radical development over the 19th century, sharing practices and few remainders of collective management hint at a dialogue between past and oncoming productive strategies, economic, social and political relationships characterising the studied context.

4.2.2. The building archaeological survey and observations

Survey campaigns

The specific work on the Mas Rondole started in the late Spring 2022 and has focussed on the archaeological observation of built structures and the identification of relative chronologies for most of the main complexes, drawing from the methodologies outlined across several European research traditions with regards to building archaeology.[189] The farming estate has been chosen given a plurality of aspects: the relationship of the area with the surroundings and the historic presence of common lands shared by the municipalities of Llo, Saillagouse and Odeillo and Estavar; the location at a historic crossroads where a number of trails connecting the Tet valley to the Haute Cerdagne would meet (previous to the construction of the *Route Imperiale* in the early 19h century, the nowadays *Route Nationale 116*, belonging to the French roadway network), the changeful nature of Mas Rondole in its structural features, agricultural production

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[188] Work carried out within the team composed of A. M. Stagno and C. Rendu with N. Brenu, A. Menendez-Blanco , B. Montez , R. Santeramo, M. Tacca and G. Bizzarri, 2022-2024.
[189] Brogiolo and Cagnana, 2012;

and the composition of social groups interacting within and around it (owners, tenants, waged workers and labourers, the population of nearby municipalities). While the starting points for the analysis could be many, the study has firstly been concentrated onto the observation of how structural modifications are still visible in the outer walls and the building plans, in order to derive a number of limited interpretations that form a basis for future and continuous investigations of this complex site.

The Mas Rondole refers to the broader estate around it, as well as being composed by two main complexes, within which is the landlords' residence, the house of the tenant family, most of the stalls for cattle, comprised of hay barns, as well as larger sheds for agricultural machines and related equipment. Another six buildings are mainly used as stalls and hay barns and are found across the fields nearer to the main farmhouses. The articulation of the site made it necessary to select areas and features to focus on for the current study. Over the course of the survey, identification codes were attributed to the complexes, to have a specific reference for the analysis of the structures and the stratigraphic sequence of inner or outer walls.

The focus of the current building archaeological survey has been specifically on the two main complexes, attempting a first understanding of building chronologies and the relationships with changes related to property, activities and the use of environmental resources within and around the Mas Rondole estate. The main complex housing current tenants most of the cattle reared at the farm, as well as partly serving as a bed and breakfast, stretches out along the axe South-West by North East for a length of about 75m. The ground plan follows an L-form, with the longer shorter arm of the building disposed over the axe North-West by South-East for a total length of about 35m.

Coded identifiers (See groundplan for localisation)

MRO_CPS (*Complesso Principale Sud*): MRO_CPS_CF1 (*Corpo di Fabbrica*), MRO_CPS_CF2, MRO_CPS_CF3, MRO_CPS_CF4

MRO_CPN (*Complesso Principale Nord*): MRO_CPN_CF1, MRO_CPN_CF2, MRO_CPN_CF3, RO_CPN_CF4, MRO_CPN_CF5

The complex is disposed over an L-form with the stall structures to the east and the north, a three-storey building, composed of up to 7 inner rooms/spaces in the north, and a roofed shelter

on the western end of the complex. The sections under scrutiny in the following paragraphs will be those that present a more stratified structure, and a more visible complexity.
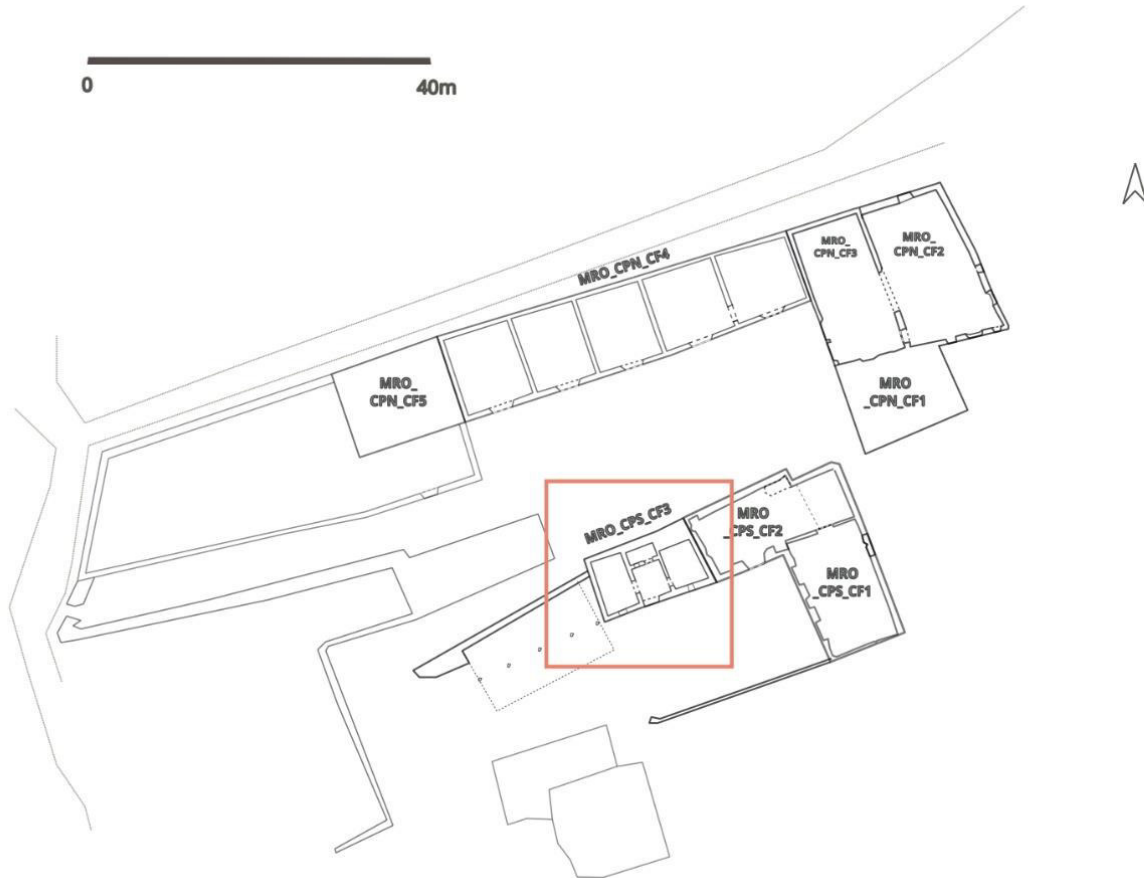
Figure 45: Plan of Mas Rondole with coded references to the sections of the buildings used for the building archaeological study. Elaboration through QGis: Bizzarri, 2024.

Building CPS_CF3: Southern external façade (MRO_CPS_CF3_Sud)

The façade does not present a mortar and/or plaster layer to cover the outer walls, which allows a more straightforward observation of the diverse masonry styles and structural modification of the building. Historic photographs from the first half of the twentieth century, retrieved through the landlords' private family archives, show that the southern complex building has not seen only limited structural rearrangements over the last century, and has not been covered in plaster or mortar layers as well (see section).

Masonry work and stratigraphic sequence

The façade presents itself as mainly composed by two main types of masonry work, within which however, despite a certain homogeneity in their appearance, differences depending on

techniques, possible functions, the presence of different materials – hence tied to structural modifications, are visible.

Figure 46: Southern complex of Mas Rondole, seen from the South-West. Photo: Bizzarri, 2022.

A type of masonry work is in vast majority composed by schist and schist-like broken stone slates, of medium size (ca. 15-20cm width or length) and irregular shape, disposed horizontally, characteristic of the low section of the southern wall. The schist like plates are then alternated by the presence of more squared stone blocks, often also in lime derived variations. This type of structure can be observed for the lower eastern section (USM01) reaching a height of about 2m, halting just about the level of the eastern window, some hints of this masonry can be seen also within the lower western section, reaching however only about 30-50cm of height. Only below USM01, at the ground floor level, an arch-formed unit (USM 11), composed of a row of 5-10cm broad quartzes is present, here building materials are partly mixed.

The two windows seem to draw a separating line in the masonry structure, specifically on the eastern side of the building. Around above them the materials used are more mixed and disposed through different techniques. The masonry structure presents increasing quantities of more rounded blocks, with a mixture of white and reddish quartz-based stone blocks, characterised by varying sizes, with a diameter range of 15 to 25cm. The disposition of these blocks becomes increasingly structured and regular the higher the constructive units (USM). Moving from the lower western section, the masonry found above the hints of the schist and schist-like unit, is characterised by a rather irregular structure, presenting a few broader, wider stone blocks (ca. 30-35 cm width), broken and slightly reworked into a squared form (USM). The

unit is characterised by a sandy, partly deteriorated mortar layer binding the blocks together. To the western edge the unit is delimited to the western edge by corner blocks, measuring up to 40-50cm in height and 60cm in width, cut and reworked into square and rectangular forms (USM), which are disposed along the whole western corner of the building.

The entry to access the ground floor inner spaces is in the lower central section of the façade, at a 3,5m distance from the western edge and a 5m from the eastern edge of the building. The current entry is rectangular and delimited by a wooden frame composed by three 20cm wide and ca. 2m high wooden beams to the side and a 1,3m long lintel, while the threshold is composed by a singular granite slate of ca. 1,2m length, and a 20cm thickness. The current access into the building is surrounded by a wider segmental arch, highly visible onto the façade, 2m wide, defined by 3-5cm thick medium stone slates disposed onto their edges, and covered by a layer of light-yellow sandy mortar. The spaces between the two inner jambs of the arch (also visible onto the façade) and the current rectangular opening for the entrance are filled with a mixture of medium sized stone blocks (up to 20-25 cm wide) disposed onto semi-regular courses.

Moving forward on the western section of the façade, a window is placed ca. 1,3m eastern of the western edge and at about 1m height from the base of the wall. The window presents itself as a 40 by 50cm wide opening, delimited by a wooden frame, and a iron transom, cut into curved spikes (a form known in the region as *esquinxe-roba* [190]), which is directly inserted into the wooden frame. The window is surrounded by a masonry

Figure 47: Left is the equinxe-roba *transom by the western window placed on the southern façade of the Building CF3. Right is an example of a similar decoration found in Ur, Cerdagne, a village located following the main route towards the Spanish border, about 10km from Saillagouse. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022.*

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[190] Morin, 2014, 55.

structure presenting quartz, sandstone and schist stone blocks, disposed into uneven horizontal rows, resting onto the layer of dark-grey schist mentioned above.

At the same height, on the opposite section of the façade, placed about 2,5m to the east of the main entry into the building, a window presenting a similar transom, which is, however, inserted into a granite portal, composed by four rectangular blocks (ca. 25-30cm width), slightly rounded on the edges, coming up to similar measurements as the western window. A masonry layer of mixed schist-like stones slates, blocks of quartzes and sandstones (10-20cm wide), is set apart from the layer below it mainly characterised by the presence of schist slates and blocks. This unit is only about 40-50cm in height and encompasses the whole construction of the window. Towards the western end of the façade, the unit halts at the presence of a squared masonry section, defined by three rectangular granite blocks, disposed in alternation with smaller stone fragments (mostly up to 2cm thick and schist like) piled in between the intervals. This unit stands out as it finds itself where the CPS_CF3 and CPS_CF2 buildings are connected and is set apart from the surrounding masonry structures that can be identified.

The section of the façade departing from the lower windows is characterised by masonry units, where stone types are more mixed, and, partly, disposed rather irregularly onto horizontal rows. The western section in particular presents a more chaotic masonry, as for some of the constructive units no regular courses are identifiable. A unit encompasses the lower western side of the facade, resting above the schist layer, and is delimited to the west by the granite corner stones, disposed along the whole height of the building just like on the eastern side. The masonry layers visible from about 2,5m height up to the very top of the building are all characterised by the presence of rounded (possibly hailing from fluvial contexts) stone blocks and pebbles, which are mostly quartz-based, either white or reddish, mixed with sporadic granite blocks and fragments (at times rather brittle in their consistence, also known as "old granite" in the region[191]), and remnants of schist blocks and smaller slates, often used to even out the irregular courses. On the western section, the mid-height window is positioned exactly within this type of masonry structure and is secured into its position through a support pile of smaller stone fragments placed next to the window wooden frame. The window is composed of a wooden frame, where 10-12cm thick joists are possibly attached by means a face-bridled

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[191] As reported directly by Marzluff, July 2022.

scarf joint, despite this level of detail not being completely visible given the difficult access to higher levels of the building. The window is around 80 cm broad and 1m in height.

A 1,2x2,2m window is placed at about 2,4m distance from the western mid-height window, and is composed of a wooden parapet in the lower section, two shutters, in which glass panels are inserted. Just as for the other windows the wooden frame is secured through a layer of 5-10cm wide flatter stone fragments, specifically to the lower western edge and the higher eastern corner of the opening. Another window is placed at a 2m distance from the latter, measuring 80x100cm, similarly to the one on the western section of the wall. It is once again composed of a wooden frame and two shutters, one of which is now partly destroyed and not totally visible when observing the façade. A similar schematic disposition can be observed for the highest row of 3 windows, which are found at the same distances of the middle row. These are placed at a 8m height on the façade, measure all around 80x100cm, and are composed – as for the preceding examples – of four 10-12cm thick joists joined into a wooden frame, onto which two panels are attached, with the exception of the central window, where only a small remnant of one of the panels is visible.

Across the whole façade a series of square 15x20cm holes can be identified, often next to the windows, or in between them, especially towards the eastern end of the structure, where they are placed at a 3m, 5m and around 8m height, almost one above the other. For the whole façade,

Figure 48: Southern façade of the Building CF3 within the southern complex. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022. Photogrammetric elaboration: Bizzarri, 2022.

Figure 49: Stratigraphic masonry units identified on the façade. Bizzarri, 2023-24.

masonry becomes more and more homogenous, with rows of rounded white and reddish quartzes, brought to even courses through rows of flatter schist and sandstone blocks. The western and central section of the façade, however, are characterised by the recognisable presence of sandy, red-orange mortar binding the blocks together, while towards the east, the reddish colour of this type of mortar is not as clearly visible.

Interpretation

The visible complexity of the façade allows to draw up a first picture of how Building 3 has been modified, and how it might be tied to a drastic structural modification of the southern complex of Mas Rondole, which, as already mentioned, has taken its current form over the last 150-200 years.

The southern outer wall of Building CF3 can be analysed and subdivided into four main phases of restructuring. At the base of the facade, and towards the east, up to 2,5-3m height, the layer of schist masonry, characterised by a dark grey-reddish colour and a tight walling structure defines the first construction phase, and within it are a few hints of preceding structures now unrecognisable, at last when observing the façade. One of them is an arched masonry layer, delimited by rounded quartzes, positioned at the very base of the eastern section of the wall, which stands out from the layers of stonework disposed on top of it. It could be interpreted a remnant of preceding foundations or of masonry altogether, on which the schist structure is

151

resting. The other element is the rather "concentrated" (50x30cm) rectangular masonry layer resting within and slightly above the schist, which is visibly characterised by the presence of rectangular granite blocks defining a corner. The position of this unit hints at a continuation of its structure onto the façade of Building CF2, where however most plaster is covering the outer wall. The schist layer, which is only about 1-1,3m in height on the western section of the wall, seems to be incorporating the arch surrounding the current access door to the building, suggesting the contemporaneous construction of the broader arch entrance to the building – with however a different or various function, given its resizing – and the schist façade. The arch itself, however, with a thicker layer of sandy mortar spread over it and in between stone blocks, was either a later addition or reworked during later modifications.

The second phase that can be identified for the façade is directly connected to a cut that can be seen within the schist layer, corresponding to the masonry work that surrounds the granite window. Here the schist layer is cut to 1m height. Above it, a more mixed masonry, with smaller quartz pieces, disposed rather irregularly, encloses the granite window. On the eastern section of the wall, the lower schist layer is cut roughly at the same level, and incorporates a more mixed masonry, where also the size of stone blocks diminishes to 5-10cm width. This stonework surrounds the western window. The rather irregular masonry structure, at the level of the three windows could be interpreted as one phase of construction of the middle section of the façade. The higher section of the façade presents a more regular masonry structure, and the materials remain constant, accounting for a general continuity despite the slight changes taking place with regards to laying techniques.

Only a few adjustments visible around the higher western window, carried out with grey lime mortar, are ascribable to later phases, possibly to secure wooden beams that carried an extended roof now removed (present in the western side of the building until the early months of 2022, and hence known to the author). The outer corners of the façade, moreover, hint at a fourth phase of reworking, and – possibly – rebuilding of the structure. On both sides of the façade, the masonry encompassing the cornerstones and ashlars defining both edges is characterised by the presence of lighter mortar, which provides a lighter beige to grey colour, making it stand out from the surrounding masonry layers, where the orange-red mortar is predominant. This speaks for a reinforcement of the outer eastern and western walls, possibly

in wake of modifications, additions or removals of structures to the east (CF2) and the west (CF4) of Building CF3.

The critical point for the interpretation of construction and modification phases is the variation in the presence and visibility of the mortar between the eastern side, and the western and central section of the façade. While the presence of the extended roof on the western to central part of the building has likely had an effect on the façade, preventing a deeper erosion of the mortar on the wall surface, the eastern side, at least for the last 60 years, has possibly witnessed a different level of weathering. The different appearance of these two sections of the façade, in combination with the regular but asymmetrical disposition of the architectural elements (windows, entrance doors) suggests a possible construction of the higher floors of the building over different phases.

Building CPS_CF3: Groundfloor and Amb-N4

Structural outline and characteristics

A necessary preface to the summary of the investigation of the ground floor of CPS_CF3 is to underline the precarious state of the building, which makes it quite difficult to investigate and take exact measurements, given the instability of the whole structure. Here, the measurements were noted down using a laser distance metre, and re-oriented within cartographic information stored in the GIS database, in order to directly contextualise the measurements taken.

Figure 50: Eastern inside wall within the AMB-N4. Photo: Bizzarri, 2022.

The ground floor is composed of 4 inner rooms (*Ambienti*, Amb.: from the East, clockwise: Amb-E1; Amb-S2; Amb-O3; Amb-N4). The entrance hall (Amb-S2) into the building and the ground floor is characterised by the presence of two spaces, one directly accessed through the entrance, where most of the effects of the gradual collapse of the building are visible. From the upper floor a wooden staircase is hanging onto the hall on the eastern side, but it does not allow to reach the higher levels of the building as it completely missing a base anchored onto the ground floor and the eastern wall. As this is where most of the collapsed debris has landed onto this space, the staircase has been also affected and partly destroyed by it. The entrance hall measures about 2,8m (EW) x 3,50m (NS)

and is delimited by dividing walls built to define the eastern, western and northern spaces. To access all other rooms on the floor, rectangular openings, provided with a wooden architrave, were built. The access to the eastern room presents a higher threshold, while the access to the other spaces remains at ground level and they present merely a levelled surface rather than a paved one. The room is 4,1m (EW)x 3,8m (NS) wide. The space within is now mostly covered in debris and remains of unutilised material, such as barrels, wooden and cardboard boxes, beams, while pieces of clothing are hanging on the wooden shaft attached to the ceiling. Differently from the other rooms located at the ground floor, the Amb-E1 presents three out of four walls covered by a layer of thick and coarsely grained plaster, which is partly deteriorating only up to 15-20cm at the lower level of the walls.

The room to the west (AMB-O3) is of rectangular form, presenting a width of 3m over the East-West axis, and about 6m across the north-western by south-eastern axis. The floor is composed directly by the soil beneath, while the surrounding walls are mostly mixed stonework disposed over fairly irregular courses, partly covered by a thick orange-beige sandy mortar. The wall structure shows a continuity in construction techniques as far as the northern, western and eastern sides are concerned. The most visible irregularity is on the southern side where about 2m in height and 1m from the western corner of the room, a 10x5cm hole is visible, partly covered by larger stone blocks, which however do not cover it completely. It is more easily visible from the inner room, than from the outer façade, where the irregularity is recognisable by the presence of a larger, slightly triangular block, around which masonry is rather chaotic and shows a 5x5cm void within its structure.

The space located onto the north of the ground floor, past the entrance hall. It is delimited by a northern wall placed against the slope, just as for the rest of the northern structures of the southern complex. This is a smaller space, measuring 3,30m (EW) x 2,40m (SN), and presents, on the wall that sets it apart from the entrance hall, not merely a rectangular opening to access it but also a 50x30cm window, where another *exinque-roba* transom was inserted into window's wooden frame. The room provides a number of interesting elements that allow to delve deeper into the structural modifications that brought to the current form of the southern complex.

Especially the eastern wall of the room shows a stratification of building and rebuilding phases. The wall presents indeed a compact masonry onto the southern side, about 60-65cm broad and 2,3m high, composed of small and medium sized (10-20cm diameter) schist and quartzes lain onto uneven courses, and held together by medium grain mortar, still largely present. The

northern side shows a different texture, the masonry is mostly irregular and halts at a first seam, which runs about 60cm in height and at about 1m distance from the northern wall. above this layer, the masonry seems to become more compact, despite still being rather irregular, and it halts at about 1,3m from the floor. In the higher section of the wall, centrally, a brick pillar sustains the ceiling, providing support for a wooden beam. Bricks are about 24x6x12cm. The pillar rests onto the preceding layer, through the presence of a couple of 2cm thick and about 20cm long slates. To the north the irregular wall structure comes to resemble the structure of a pit of rubble stones rather than a set masonry.

The structural seams between masonry works of the different walls are contiguous for the northern and western wall, while between the northern and the eastern wall the seam is clearly visible, around 2cm wide, just like for the dividing wall that was erected between the entrance hall and the back room.

Interpretation

The ground floor, and especially the irregularities seen on the eastern side of the northern room (AMB-N4) in combination with the differences identified between the eastern room (e.g. the presence of plaster on all four walls, the higher threshold) and other inner spaces, allows to draw up a first hypothesis on how the structure has changed and how these changes could be connected to the structural modification that took place during the second half of the 19th century.

The diverse masonry structure defining the walls of the eastern room, which is more compact and organised over semi-regular horizontal courses, sets this space apart from the rest of the ground floor rooms. Especially when looking at the eastern inner façade of the northern space, the modifications which are now visible hint at a successive construction of the adjacent rooms to the west (the masonry seams are noticeably resting on one another, rather than being built contemporaneously). Moreover, when looking at the eastern side of the northern room, the outer wall of the adjacent eastern room seems to halt at about 50-60cm from the northern wall. This void was then filled up with smaller stone blocks, partly disposed over irregular courses, and partly with an irregular structure, suggesting that most material has been indeed thrown onto the masonry base. In between these actions, the base for the brick pillar was created, as the rubble masonry supports and encloses it. The pillar, made of bricks dating to the late Modern

period (likely between the 19th and early 20th century), given their standardised measurements and structure, provides a basis for the beam going from East to West to sustain the first floor of the building. The ceiling section to the north of the beam is distinctly different from the southern side, which extends over the length of the northern room into the entrance hall. The 1m wide slightly arched vault is only present in the northern section of the backroom, it is made out of rectangular bricks measuring ca.14x25cm disposed over seven rows, characterised by the presence of three parallel lines. While this vault is resting on a 60m pillar on the eastern side, on the western side only three bricks have been inserted into the stone masonry to support the beam. These elements speak for an addition of this vault, and hence of the upper floor as it known to this day, as well as suggesting diverse times of construction for the different spaces present on the ground floor. Another aspect to underline is the different extension of the eastern room in comparison to the other inner spaces, which further corroborates the hypothesis that the eastern section of – at least – the ground floor of the building dates to an earlier modification of the structure, to which, at a following stage the central and western inner rooms were added.

Adding up these considerations to the observations made for the southern façade, the possibility that a first structure, deeply modified, was present between what are now CPS_CF2 and CPS_CF3 is increasingly viable.

Building CPS_CF2: Western inner façade

Masonry work and chronology

The masonry at the base of the façade is composed mainly of flatter blocks and short slabs of dark grey schist like stone, disposed onto irregular horizontal courses, only at about 1,2m from the southern edge of the façade a ca. 5cm seam runs vertically for about 1m from the base of the wall splitting the masonry work. While the lowest layer of masonry presents a quite irregular structure and is characterised by the presence of three sparse holes, and a related collapse of a number of stone blocks, at about 1-1,4m in height a more regular masonry work was lain on top of it, still composed of max 10-15cm wide stone slates and blocks, bound together by a sandy grey-yellow mortar. This layer shows a higher level of compactness and extends for about 1,4m in height and from the northern edge of the façade for about 2,5m. Moving horizontally south of this layer, an arched structure is recognisable onto the wall, composed by stone blocks and slabs disposed onto their edges. The arch is about 1,8-2m long, 1m in height, and is about

30-45cm thick, as the stone blocks that build them have various sizes and lengths. Underneath the arch structure, a unit composed of mostly bright yellow-beige mortar, smaller stone fragments and slates, with some occasional ca. 10x10cm blocks, extends over an area of about 40x120cm, the unit does not present any regular masonry work, but within the filling material a rounded and polished stone block (diameter 23cm) could be identified. Above the arch, another masonry unit could be identified, which is however only 30cm in height and runs along the whole width of the façade. The masonry is composed of a mixture of stone blocks and smaller slates disposed over irregular horizontal courses. A visible variation is however between the slight reddish shade of the stones strict above the arch, towards the northern section of the façade the tone surfaces are mostly grey-yellow, mostly defined by the bright yellow mortar binding the masonry together. Similarly, the masonry work placed above the latter, composed by more regular horizontal courses, presents a more intense reddish shade, extending for about 4m along the width of the façade, while towards the north, while the masonry material remains constant, the blocks show a grey-yellow colour. This masonry section is composed by three units, which fluctuate between 1,7 and 2,3m in height, to the south the unit is characterised by the more intense red shade and reaches a peak in height. The following unit, paced immediately to the north of the latter, about 1,5m wide, is characterised by a yellow colour and a more compact structure, defined by the recognisable presence of a thick layer of mortar also spread

Figure 51: Overview of the inner western façade by the Building CF2 of the Southern Complex. The lower section can be seen as belonging to a first phase of construction (1- blue), possibly tied to the preceding structure in the area or the connection with Building CF3. The presence of a number of broken and slightly collapsing sections hint at the previous presence of structures attached to the wall that are no longer visible – possibly a manger. Phase 2 (red-yellow) involves the construction of the arched structure in the southern section of the façade, and the masonry units above. The holes present on the higher end of this part of the façade hint at the presence of a roofing structure that used to be placed below the current one. Also, the roofing structure seems to have followed a two-slopes rather than being the one-slope roof visible today. Phase 3 (yellow-green) is connected to the modification of the masonry structure right above the second phase and possibly the dismantling of the structure connected to the arch placed below, with its filling through rubble and other fragments and materials. Phase 4 is the highest section of the wall, tied to CF3. Photo: Bizzarri, 2022. Photogrammetric elaboration and notes: Bizzarri, 2023.

over the stone blocks. The northern edge of this section, only about 30cm wide, presents a few stone blocks characterised by a red shade once again. The masonry section is, moving further up, delimited by an abrupt variation of the wall's thickness on the southern side of the façade, as well as the presence of two holes onto the masonry structure – measuring about 20x30cm – one is placed 1m from the northern edge of the wall at a ca.3,8m height on the facade, while the other is placed rather centrally and at about 4-4,2m height. From the central hole a further masonry unit departs on top of the previous section, appears to have a triangular form and extends just until the northern edge of the façade.

Northern complex: Northern wing (CPN_CF4)

Main characteristics

Figure 52: The northern complex, right: view from West of the inner court. Bizzarri, 2022. Centre: one of the main granite portals for the stalls, see also the granite frames for the windows. Bizzarri, 2022. Left: Giulia Bizzarri and Claire Larroque by the photographic/photogrammetric recording of the building. Rendu, 2022.

The northern wing, the most extensive section of stalls and large hay barns, presents a façade, within which windows and entrance portals are placed at a regular distance. These portals are rather constant in their measurements, ca. 2,15m wide and 2,40m in height, all five are composed by straight lintel of ca. 50cm thickness and 2,40cm in length. The sides are built of four regular, squared and polished granite ashlars, lain one on top of the other. For doors and window portals, there is a regularity in repetition that allows to estimate a planned, one-phase construction of the whole wind, at least when looking at the southern side. A similar regularity can be identified when looking at the inner measurements for the five ground floor stalls, which are quite constantly ca. 64m² wide. While not all of these are now used as stalls, the presence of mangers, partly or completely preserved, hints at the utilisation of these as stalls at ground

floor level, at least with regards to the planning of these spaces. The higher floor is characterised by two larger halls, one 8,20x24,9m wide, while the other just about 8,2x16,8, which are now used to store hay.

The northern wing, and specifically CPN_CF4, is connected to the owner's building to the west and another stall and hay ban structure, placed over the north-south axis. While the former follows in a straight line the orientation of CF4, while presenting a different, more diversified façade.

4.2.2. Who's who? The Mas Rondole through archival and oral sources

Historic cartography

Before drawing a timeline of the Mas Rondole for the last two centuries, it is fundamental to grasp how the farming estate has been represented and can be found across historic maps, an element which can also guide some of the later reflections on structural changes and the shifting relationships between the different social actors that had to do in various forms with the Mas. The chosen historic cartography for the region spans from the early 18th up to the late 19th century, and is mostly regional or national, with the exception of the Napoleonic Cadastre, which, given the necessity to accurately depict the subdivision of parcels and buildings, allows a closer, more detailed look onto the farm and the surroundings.

Figure 53: Section of the map by Nicolas de Fer, focus on the area on the South West of Mont Louis. By Sallagos (Saillagouse) see the toponym Casa Cruele.

Nicolas de Fer, 1706, *Le Roussillon, subdivisé en Cerdagne, Capsir, Conflans, Vals de Carol et de Spir ou se trouve encore le Lampourdan, faisant partie de la Catalogn*e.

De Fer, between the late 17th and the early 18th century drew several plans and maps encompassing most of the French territory, as well as colonial possessions of the period. His map on the region of Roussillon provide a cartographic account on the region, which includes the French Cerdagne as it had been divided with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659, a border that on

paper was rather set, while being still rather ambiguous on the field.[192] Within this map, drawn at a broad scale that brought together the northern valleys of Roussillon and the higher Cerdagne plateaus and mountains, it is however possible to identify the area around the settlements of Saillagouse and Estavar. The map does not make any reference to the Mas Rondole, or any variants of this toponym, but shows, just north of Saillagouse and on the path that connects Mont Louis and the north-eastern valleys, the place-name *Casa Cruele*. This could be a variation of what is elsewhere in the documentation, as well as oral accounts, referred to as Mas Cruells, a place-name – or a Mas in its own right – thought to have preceded the Mas Rondole, and which has been identified as far back as in Medieval and early Modern archives.[193] The level of detail for the current map is not that specific, but allows to observe the various roads and trails that went through the villages, and see how the *Casa Cruele* was given a relevance in the landscape not any different from the village of Saillagouse, Llo or Estavar, which are all indicated through places that only slightly diverge from the current ones.

Figure 54: Section of the map by Roussel. West of Saillagosa (Saillagouse) see the toponym Cruel.

Roussel, 1718-19, *Carte de la Cerdagne françoise de la Cerdagne espagnole, la vallée de Carol, le Capcir, le Donézan, et partie de la Catalogne, du Valespir, du Conflent, du Languedoc et de la comté de Foix*.

The cartographic representation of the French Cerdagne and the confining territories of Spanish Catalunya by Roussel offers a view on the major paths and roads that connected villages across the plateau. The perspective of the map, which from the French side overlooks the southern valleys that descend beyond the border to the Spanish kingdom, allows to see how the network of paths connected the Mont Louis fort

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[192] Sahlin,1989.

[193] Research on archives, also partly available online, carried out by M. Conesa, his research team in cooperation with C. Rendu, also in relation to the LINA Project. Mediatheque de Perpignan: NUM Ms 107 V2 Ms 107-23 (II), Reserve Fonds local, available online at: https://perpinianum.fr/Perpinianum/doc/SYRACUSE/1215531/cartulaire-roussillonnais-vol-2-vol-ii-bernard-alart (last accessed 23rd July 2024).

located north-east of Cerdagne and linking the plateau to the lower Rousillon plains and the eastern French coast, with most of the settlements represented within the map. One of these, possibly composed of only a couple of buildings, as depicted on the map, placed to north of Saillagouse and closely to the east of Callastre, bears the name of Cruel. Once again, the toponym refers only to this place-name rather to Mas Rondole, and is placed within the route connecting Eyne to Estavar, and close – despite not linked through a direct path – to Callastre, a settlement represented by the presence of four to five buildings. Up until this point in time, the Mas Rondole is hence represented and mentioned but the presence of Cruell/Cruells.

Figure 55: Section of the map by Cassini. See North-West of Sallagousa (Saillagouse) the toponym Carondol.

Cassini, 1781, *Carte générale de la France. 020 bis, [Puigcerda - Prats-de-Mollo - Fort des Bains]. N°177. Flle 149 / Aldring sculp.[sit]; [établie sous la direction de César-François Cassini de Thury].*

The Cassini map was the first cartographic representation of the whole French Kingdom and was carried out during the second half of the 18th century, under the supervision of Cassini de Thury through an organic use of triangulation techniques to record relief and have basic references to draw the whole territory with increasing precision, method and detail. Within this map, villages and settlements are represented through a hierarchy of larger villages and smaller settlements, also represented through a set legenda to distinguish villages (*Hameau*), parishes (*Parois*), castles (*Chateaux*), as well as religious landmarks (*Prieuré, Chapelle, Abeie*) and farmhouses (*Maison..., ou Ferme*) and combinations of these with one another (see figure, cited in Dainville, 1955). Here the map shows, two toponyms, namely Crueills and Carondol, a first reference to the later presence of Mas Rondole, which are represented through the presence of a farmhouse and a chapel – specifically in relation to the Carondol, while Crueills seems to be represented only through the presence of a farmhouse. Through this general map, it is already possible to see a

Figure 56: Legend of the Cassini map as cited in de Dainville, 1955.

different development taking place in the area investigated, where possibly two farms present contemporaneously. While through this representation it remain impossible to estimate the extension of the area managed and connected to the two, it allows to see that first change into how that specific landscape might have changed over the half of the 18th century. Moreover, it provides a further element to the history of the later called Mas Rondole, as the presence of a chapel hints at a relevance of this settlement within the network of villages and settlements, or the necessity of such a landmark related to a larger concentration of people working on or passing through the area of Carondol. less evident are the passage trails and roads, which are not specifically addressed by the map, with the main route, following a similar development of the present Route Nationale,

Figure 57: Section of the Napoleonic Cadastre, focus on Mas Rondole.

Cadastre Napolonien, 1807-1821, Archive Departementales des Pyrenées Orientales

The Cadastre was ordered by Napoleonic law in 1806-1807, and over the following 15 years, also past Napoleon's time, the survey delivered a number of general plans for municipalities, and specific sheets for sections within every municipality, displaying the subdivision of parcels and their function, main cultivation or use. Within the Napoleonic cadastre, the amount of detail enables a direct comparison with the present cadastral data. Here the place name is only Mas Rondole, while Cruels and its variations are no longer visible within the map. Here, the structure of the Mas in its form preceding 1820 is recognisable and measurable, because of the amount of detail within the representation. The Mas Rondole is characterised by the presence of two main complexes, one of which is organised over an inner court enclose on three sides, and a stand-alone building towards the south. To the east of the main complex shows an apsidal structure, which, at a first glance, hints at the possibility that it might be the remainder, now physically erased, of the chapel marked on the Cassini map. Another interesting element marked on the cadastral plan is the presence of a "fountain" to the west of the Mas Rondole, located to the north of the path enclosing the Mas and called *La Grande Route d'Estavar*. The path connecting Mont Louis to Estavar encircles the Mas Rondole,

which is hence tightly connected to the existence of this of this network of trails and road in the region. The position within the network of pathways of Mas Rondole should be hence also considered when attempting at interpreting the role of this site as an interconnecting reference in a landscape characterised by dynamic movement and passage as well. The coming of the railways in Cerdagne, present to this day, and cutting through the preceding route of the Mont Louis-Estavar path, finalised in 1910 has further modified the surroundings of the Mas Rondole, representing another element that might affect the reorganisation of space in the area.

A timeline of owners, tenants and workers – the Mas Rondole during the 19th and 20th centuries

Research on the history of the Mas through meticulous analysis of the available archival material has not been yet possible within the current study, but through a combination of preceding research works, the collection of a few archival sources, specifically the *parcellaire* of the Napoleonic cadastre, with a brief description of the properties and parcels, declaring the owner and major activities carried out within it. Moreover, the meetings and informal interviews with the owner's family and the tenants have not just revealed bits of more recent history for the Mas, but also have brought to light some family archives, mainly photographic, which have further helped in outlining some of the most recent modifications and change taking place within and around the farm.

Research carried out on documentation put together by Bernard Alart, the first archivist for the Eastern Pyrenees, who collected and studied archival material about Roussillon, Cerdagne and their surroundings. For the *Cartulaire roussillonais,* Alart collected information on placenames also through the analysis of Medieval archives on the taxation and property duties. Within the information he collected, documents attested the presence of "Croells" within the Parish of St. Eugenie de Sallagosa as far back as the 13th and 14th centuries. This speaks for an area of agricultural activity, possessions which were taxed also through the tithe system (*la dîme*) that characterised the management of land, and relationships between different landowners within the feudal hierarchies over the course of the Middle Ages.[194] While the current study does not

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[194] Research on archives, also partly available online, carried out by M. Conesa, his research team in cooperation with C. Rendu, also in relation to the LINA Project. Mediatheque de Perpignan: NUM Ms 107 V2 Ms 107-23 (II), Reserve Fonds local, available online at: https://perpinianum.fr/Perpinianum/doc/SYRACUSE/1215531/cartulaire-roussillonnais-vol-2-vol-ii-bernard-alart (last accessed 23rd July 2024)

focus on medieval times, this piece of information allows to draw a first picture of the long history of the area around the Mas Rondole and the preceding structures – be these actual buildings and other elements in the landscape, as well as types of socio-economic organisation to manage and use environmental resources. Secondly, it feeds into the knowledge that has been brought forward by the local social actors consulted and interviewed over the survey campaign, who have mentioned the presence of Mas Cruells, the Mas that preceded Mas Rondole or the second Mas that was integrated into Rondole over the course of the 19th century.[195]

Archival research on the history of Mas Rondole should be considered still at the earliest stages, hence the information provided here will give an outline of how proprietors have changed over the last two centuries, connecting a few more dots concerning how the structural modifications of the farmhouse, the production and the agricultural exploitation of the surrounding resources have been prompted by the actions and intentions of the changing landowners or the shifting social constellations of tenants, workers and other members of the local community.

The interview with the present owners and access to some family archival material of Salas i Salas has provided an overview of how proprietors have changed during the 19th century, leading up to the acquisition of Mas Rondole by the great-grandfather of the owner, Don Benigno de Salas, in 1869, but also supplying evidence to investigate preceding and obviously, following processes of change in property.
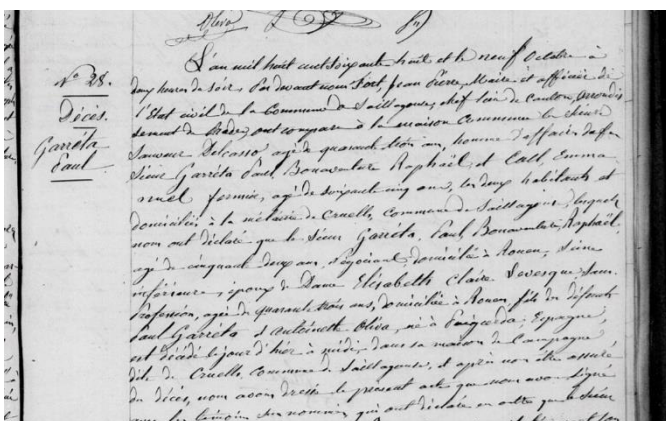
Figure 58: Document reporting the death of Paul Garreta at Mas Rondole in 1868, registers of deaths Saillagouse 1811-1964. Copyright Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales.

Don Benigno de Salas, hailing from a landowning Catalan family based in Barcelona, bought the Mas Rondole through a public auction in 1869, just a year after the former owner´s death, Paul Garreta, in 1868. The act of death of Mr. Garreta found within the Etat Civil for the municipality of Saillagouse (Fig) attests that he died at 62 years old at the Mas Rondole, despite being a

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[195] As reported by F. and A. Salas y Salas the present owners of Mas Rondole during the interview of 28th July 2022, See Appendix.

merchant and owning a textile business in Rouen, where most of his family moved afterwards. Through these first few documents, it becomes already visible how, during the 19h century, landlords owning and managing the Mas were part of the merging merchant bourgeoisie, who had connections that were, however, very specific to Cerdagne. The region is indeed characterised by the presence of a border, which is far more fluid and changeful and that did not put any halt to

Figure 59: Local paper detailing the transaction concerning Mas Rondole between L. Mitjavilla and P. Garreta in 1853. Copyright Private Archives of family Salas y Salas.

economic enterprises. The region was rather a link between Spanish Catalunya and the rest of France, rather than a dividing line – an area where the physical border did not represent an obstacle in itself, or where historical and familial ties went further and deeper than the subdivision created by the border itself. The presence of powerful Catalan families in the region, establishing large properties and farming estates is, moreover, a phenomenon, which carries on throughout the late Modern Age and into contemporary times.[196] Garreta could be further identified within other pieces of documentation, such as within the 1868 volume celebrating the 35th year of the *Societé Agricole, Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrenées Orientales*, where a

Figure 60: The Napoleonic Cadastre for the area of Saillagouse (Section A), where Mas Rondole is depticted (left). Centre and right: Etats de Section for Saillagouse where L. Mitjavilla is listed as owner of Mas Rondole, Mas Viader and a number of parcels between and around the two farmhouses. Copyright Archives Departementales Pyrenees Orientales, Perpignan.

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[196] Conesa,2012.

number of initiatives, recognitions and prizes to valued members, farmers and landowners are listed. A Garrette Paul, "owner in Saillagouse" is on the list tracking the value of the bulls owned by different farm owners.[197] Paul Garretta had acquired Mas Rondole in 1853, as announced in the local paper – collected within the Salas y Salas family archive, extinguishing the debt that had been weighing onto the offspring of the then owner of Mas Rondole, Laurent Mitjavilla – a Saillagouse resident, which had been the proprietor of Mas Rondole (also referred to here as "the whole domain of Cruels or Mas Rondole"[198]) over the first half of the 19th century. Once again, it is possible to observe how the Mas Rondole was owned, and possibly inhabited, by families connected to merchant families, traders and trade employees, and involved within trade networks spanning from the French cities to the Spanish Catalan coastal centres. A relative (not specified if son or other) of Laurent, namely Paul Mitjavilla is listed as a "commis marchand" (trade employee), the husband of Marie Mitjavilla, daughter (?) of Laurent is here described as "frabicant de papier à cigarettes".

Laurent Mitjavilla is attested as the owner of Mas Rondole, and the surrounding areas also within the *Etats de Sections* of the Napoleonic Cadastre for the municipality of Saillagouse, compiled over the first two decades of the 19th century. Here Mitjavilla is listed as owning territories stretching to the fields of Picoubeill to the west and the area of Mas Viader to the south-east. Within the *Etats de Section*, the presence of communal resources and parcels, owned either by the municipalities of Llo, Eyne or Saillagouse, allow to see hints at shared uses of resources – despite only referring to communal properties, which cannot be considered automatically managed collectively, or the only ones being shared.

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[197]*Société agricole, scientifique et littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales*, Vol 17 (1868), Perpignan, Availablee online at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k441233t/f3.vertical (last accessed 23rd July 2024)
[198]

The meeting with current owners, as current tenants at Mas Rondole has hence provided the largest amount of information to delineate some of the social actors that inhabited, interacted
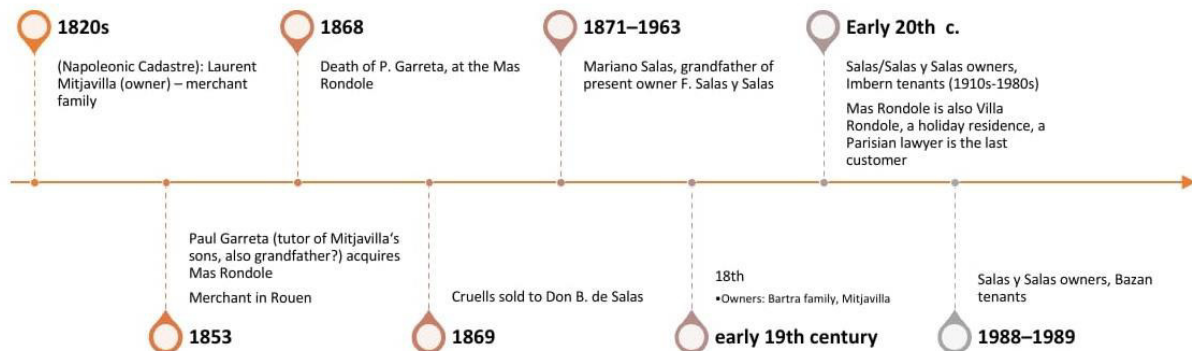
Figure 61: Timeline of the changes in owners and main events affecting the history of Mas Rondole, put together through the sources outlined in these paragraphs. Bizzarri, 2023.

and peopled Mas Rondole over the last couple of centuries. From the Salas y Salas account, it is known that the proprietors preceding Mitjavilla's were the Bartra family, and plenty of archival material with regards to the late 18th century – partly owned by Salas y Salas – still needs to be explored. However, this overview is a valuable perspective on the changeful character of the Mas when considering ownership and the broader relationships the estate had with trade centres both in Spain and France. This also supports the idea that some of the main modifications visible within the structure, the deep restructuring of the farmhouse, stalls and surrounding infrastructure, were supported by the differentiated types of income that the landowning families could rely on, an aspect which has been underlined as central to 19th century rebuilding and re-planning of farmhouses across the French countryside.[199]

4.2.3. Rationalising and renegotiating space? Looking at changes at Mas Rondole in the late 19th century

The previous section has focussed on a few critical areas of the two main complexes of Mas Rondole, where the changes identified through the different documentary sources, the cartographic data, can be contextualised and tackled through the materiality of the modifications it has undergone. The main focus of the current study is to better understand which modifications have taken place and through which chronologies, to draw a more complex

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[199] Brunet, 2005.

picture of how the present structure of Mas Rondole has come about, and how this can be contextualised within changes affecting the management of environmental resources, as well as with regards to perspectives on agricultural productivity and efficiency. Recent studies on the history of rural societies have underlined how over the course of the 19th century, a widespread tendency across most European countries was a push toward a "rationalisation" of the use and management of environmental resources, the redefinition of agricultural productive spaces and practices, which were acted out also as part of a broader process of centralisation of administrative powers and fiscal systems by the emerging nation states.[200] In the wake of the Enlightenment, with a new conceptualisation of rationality, as well as through the following expansion of industrialised production in Northern Europe, the preoccupation towards agricultural productivity and ways of production prompted studies by theorists, technicians, architects, which strived to define how agro-pastoral activities should go from extensive and locally organised, to intensive and standardised.[201] The field of agricultural sciences, and the figure of specific technicians saw the light in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, exactly in relation to the growing scientific and institutional interest towards the "productivisation" of the countryside.[202]

The comparison between the Mas Rondole as it is today, the extension of its architectural structures as well as the properties and the managed lands around it with the outline pictured in the Napoleonic cadastre, reveals quite unequivocally that building complexes were expanded and intensely modified over the course of the 19th century (specifically after 1827[203] – the date of the Cadastre). Specifically, the northern complex saw a broad expansion towards North-West, which brought away the western wing that made the Mas into an almost enclosed structure. Furthermore, an apsidal structure positioned to the East was also erased – at least in the ground plan of the building – by the following modifications.

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[200] Stagno et al., 2021.
[201] Cf. Jones, 2016.
[202] Stagno, 2018; Stagno et al., 2021.
[203] Bousquet et al., 2022.

The northern wing presents a southern facade where five portals and eight alternating rectangular windows placed in a row along the wall, following a regular structure. Within this façade the presence of broad granite portals is one of the main architectural elements that allow to reflect on the restructuring of the Mas. The portals of the northern complex are easily

Figure 62: Examples of uses of granite portals in different farms and Mas's across the French Cerdagne. Left: Mas St. Joseph (between LLivia and Estavar), Mas within the village of Ur. Portal in the village of Dorres. Photos: Bizzarri, 2022.

compared to a number of granite portal framings that can be found across the whole French Cerdagne, specifically around the territories descending on to the plateau from the East, comprising the municipalities of Saillagouse, Llo, Eyne as well as Estavar, Saint-Léocadie, and further on until the border to Spanish Catalunya. The exploration and surveying of surrounding villages, hamlets and towns, allows to see several comparable exemplars, which were documented photographically. The granite gate or the use of such portals within broader and more regular stall complexes and stables as entrance were hence spread out, with sporadic and stylistic modifications. Specifically the type of portals composed by a similar amount of granite blocks, and showing a slight decoration – a semi-circular form for the lintel's angles – on higher end of both side pillars, just where the horizontal granite is resting on them, often bear dates around 1870 (e.g. see figures), a time of change for the Mas as well, which was passing from Garretta into the hands of the Salas family. It must be underlined that these portals are, on the inner side toward the room, inserted into a more chaotic, non-structured masonry, and are attached to an inner brick flat arch, which supports the higher floor. This element hints at the possibility that these portals were – if not straight away but surely in the long run – not necessarily planned to sustain the structure, but rather to be visible and recognisable from the outer façade. The use of granite in the area of Saillagouse hints at ties to regional production and circulation of the material, becoming increasingly systemised and standardised over the

second half of the 19thcentury, with the main places of extraction being around the villages of Targassonne, Angoustrine and Dorres, located about 15km from Saillagouse.[204]

When comparing the present farmhouse with the plan outlined in the Napoleonic Cadastre, the visible modification is the extension of the northern wing for the northern complex and the structural additions made to the southern complex. From the present situation of the Mas, most of these spaces are now stalls, either to keep cattle inside – partially also to isolate those exemplars who are raised towards a contest in the region, or who present temperamental issues.[205] Especially for the northern complex, the restructuring of the northern wing, combined with the repetitive scheme that the window and entrance portals follow, the continuity of use of these spaces as stalls is highly probable. Since animal husbandry for the 19th and 20th century, as gathered especially through oral testimonies, has been a central activity for the Mas Rondole, ranging from cattle to sheep and horses, it can be assumed that these spaces have retained their function as stalls ever since their construction taking place around mid-19th century or slightly later, while going through different generations of owners. However, a shift in animal husbandry took place in Cerdagne at the end of the Ancien Regime, with an increasing centrality of cattle in comparison to the widespread presence of sheep tied to the transhumance routes and connections that had been a major activity identifiable up to the 18th century.[206]

The current stage of research on Mas Rondole does not allow to define a specific date for these structural changes. It could be hypothesised that a change of landowners might have brought to new plans for the farmhouse, hence possibly after 1853 with the passage from Mitjavilla to Garreta, or 1869 with the coming of the Salas family into the picture. As observed through the documentation, there is a viable continuity within the passage from Mitjavilla to Garreta as the families seem to be connected through familial and legal ties – a Garreta (Jean) was indeed tutor of the youngest sons and daughters of Laurent Mitjavilla. The same ties are not as present, or were not retrieved, for the following passage between Garreta and B. de Salas who acquired the Mas in 1869. While this could be a marginal element to how changes were implemented at Mas

[204] As reported by Martzluff, July 2022. See also research by Marzluff on the extraction of local stone blocks from the Medieval and into the Modern period: Marzluff and Nadal, 2009; Marzluff et al., 2009:

[205] As reported by P. Bazan, tenant of Mas Rondole until 2022-23, July 2022.

[206] Rendu, 2003; Conesa 2012.

Rondole, it can bear a significance for a more radical shift in practices, investment and planning within the farming estate with the onset of the de Salas management.

The important factor to consider is how, during the 19th century, landowners were increasingly influenced by the practice of turning farms into *fèrmes-modèles*, or to follow the examples of other farmer-entrepreneurs who had rebuilt and redefined architectural structures and agricultural spaces, following the studies and indications of agronomists and technicians, as well as institutional pushes towards a more productive use of resources.[207] The weight of shifting animal husbandry practices, shifting from sheep to cattle across the region, might bear consequences for the reorganisation of spaces and sizes of Mas Rondole as well, despite a history during which animals kept at the farmhouse were very diversified, with a focus on cattle during the 19th century, but with the on and off presence of sheep and horses.

The changes that can be observed at the Mas Rondole might place it within one of those extensive farming estates, where the strive to improve the structure and compare it to other similar efforts being carried out across the whole of France was a propeller for new architectural developments.[208] However, as proven by the information gathered through archival research, which still has plenty of potential material to deliver, agricultural societies, where several members and participants were especially landowners, and where amongst other activities, entertainment, and initiatives, they would implement the statistical analysis on agricultural productivity in between the different owners, as well as passing on the message of the importance of agricultural sciences, as they could be part of the broader plethora of scientific research and discussion.[209] Within this context, it has to be considered that structural redefinition of the Mas might have happened over a longer period of time, as the ideas about a rational, hygienic, and more orderly agricultural production were being diffused from the early 19th century onwards, not just through theoretical debates but also through the introduction of new laws, especially under Napoleonic rule. The oncoming of broader modifications of the landscape, as the briefly mentioned construction of the railways around 1910, also represents

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[207] Joly et al., 2017.
[208] Joly et al., 2017.
[209] Cf. Stagno, 2018

the broader change and the beginning of new types of communication networks, modifying and reorganising the use of spaces, both urban and non-urban.

Another question to be tackled should be the change of place name and characterisation of Mas Rondole, as, in 19th century documentation, it still can be referred to as Crueills and Rondole, the latter of which becomes increasingly present in general cartography and institutional documents. The course of the 19th century can represent a turning point for the redefinition of spaces also through toponymy. However, the fact that Crueills is still referred to by the owners and the tenants, who indicate it as being the previous name for the southern complex, highlights once again how the vision one can have through one type of source is rather limited as it does not allow to observe more closely the layers of changing practices, social relationships and definition of spaces.

The study carried out on the building and the modification phases identified especially for sections of the southern complex, bearing the most visible signs of restructuring, has highlighted a profound modification, over different phases, of the original structure placed to the south of the Mas Rondole ensemble. Bringing together these first reflections does support the idea that from about mid-19th century, the preceding architectural structures were altered throughout, leaving only some hints from earlier buildings and their outline. However, the Mas Rondole does not easily comply to the forms that have been listed within analysis of farmhouses for the Cerdagne. Studies that have looked at the various forms of farmhouses in the region (often including Roussillon, as well as other confining areas of Occitanie or Catalunya) identify some standard aspects of farmhouses in Cerdagne.[210] The reliance onto typologies blocks out most of the historical depth of structural modifications and choices with regards to how spaces were organised and built, hence they should be taken rather as a guide to identify recurring structural aspects within specific geographic contexts. Several Mas's in Cerdagne, some of which are still in use to this day, are often found within what has developed into a settlement, which surrounds the main buildings who are often enclosed by high walls and gates.[211] This aspect is seen as a consequence of the emergence of larger estates during the 17th century, the tensions characterising the area placed on the newly defined border between Spain and France

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[210] Lhuisset, 2013; Morin, 2014.
[211] Morin, 2014.

in 1659, which brought to a need by landowners to protect their properties.[212] While these triggering factors should not be underestimated, an element that should be considered just as important is the development of settlements and villages around several of these enclosed farming estates, which accounts for the centrality that most Mas were bearing in the landscape, where not just the landowners and the tenants were partaking social actors, but also waged workers, day labourers, who, during the 19th century, became fundamental to manage the large estates and intensive agricultural activities.

The presence of waged workers and labourers characterised the Mas Rondole and is attested by the photographic documentation and the oral testimonies of the present landowners. Photos dating around the 1930s-40s show a group of workers – Portuguese, who were accommodated in the southern building – with the then owner M. De Salas, just behind the backwall of the building they lived in. Hence, these families, individuals, composed the social spectrum of relationships forming within Mas Rondole, amongst the owners, as well as the tenants' family.

By bringing these elements together, a lively image of Mas Rondole during the late 19th and early 20th century can be depicted, where changes were taking place structurally, and social composition is diversified. However, it can also be observed that the specific context of the Mas allows to see shifts that could be part of broader socio-economic phenomena as a lot more diversified in their character. One last observation should be on the voices and testimonies that were collected to draw a history of the Mas Rondole. While the social structure at the Mas was complex and stratified at the turn of the 20th century, the accounts collected, through archival and oral sources, provide a limited perspective onto the different experiences at the Mas. By trying to understand local strategies to tackle change across the contexts that were long "marginalised" in historical and archaeological research, the capturing of those voices that are less represented in the documents, less retrievable when it comes to oral testimonies, and more challenging to detect through

Figure 63: Workers at Mas Rondole, 1930/40s. right at the centre of the group is the owner Benigno Salas y Salas. On the background is the main building of the Southern complex. Private archive of the Salas y Salas family.

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[212] *Ibid*.

the study of material traces, ends up excluding perspectives and representations on social practices and relations. At the Mas Rondole, the main example is that of waged workers, inhabiting the southern complex (the former Mas Crueills?) during the first half of the 20th century. The only account reporting of their story and experience comes from the side of the tenant families, and the landowners, who have also provided historical photographs. And still, they might be indeed the last real inhabitants of the most complex building at the site. As often argued within archaeology, the amount of information collected and available, is always a fraction of human experience, and the effort to define histories and research experiences of the silent social actors is a constant and challenging pursuit, even for the "densely documented" times postmediaeval archaeologists might deal with.

5. Deconstructing rural spaces: seeing the 19th century through the local perspective

The case studies considered are different in various ways but allow to gain a different perspective, through a smaller scale of historical investigation, processes that were taking place across not just Italian or French uplands and countryside but that can be observed across most European rural areas. As stated above, the aim here was not to identify a general rule for processes taking place at an economic, political, social level but rather to further deconstruct how locally the oncoming industrialisation, mechanisation, urbanisation affected communities and social relationships, as well as how social actors interacted with these seemingly exogenous forces and integrated them into their present practices.

The assumption about rural societies and settlements as being rather marginal, at least at a geospatial level, to a fast-changing world has been questioned and discussed through various historical studies looking at Medieval and Modern periods alike, as well as within human and historical geography.[213] Through the development of post-medieval and rural archaeology, it has been possible to approach the materiality of practices and social relationships, which inevitably are investigated at a more analytical and context-specific level. The tendency to generalise interpretations has surely not exempted archaeology [214], however, the focus on material traces, and the need for archaeologists to interpret traces as results of specific actions and interactions within the analysed context, provides a basis to investigate local histories rather than overarching narratives.

By looking at these two case studies, it has been possible to see through a local perspective how the shifts taking place during the 19th and 20th centuries were reworked into practices, materials, actions and decisions. The dialectical relationship between local and wider processes can be observed through different specific aspects, which encompass change and continuity. The following paragraphs will outline how this relationship can be observed, as well

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[213] For a recent approach to the complex nature of urban and rural contexts, as well as a discussion on the interplay between them and the questioning of set parameters to define marginality from a historical geographical point of view see Lorenzetti and Leggero, 2022. See also the discussion on Medieval rural spaces by Pinto, 2020. A compendium on consideratins regarding the definitions of marginality and the term's use in geographical studies is by Amato, 2014.

[214] Grendi cited in Stagno, 2018.

as underline elements that remained invisible or should be the object of further study and attention.

5.1. Building materials: hints of change?

A first aspect, more closely related to the archaeological traces investigated, is the the choice of materials and their functions, integrating shifts and preceding practices. In Colanesi, structures partly show this shift through the appearance, despite quite limited, of building materials tied to new ways of production emerging at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, such as cementitious mortar and flat roof tiles (*tegole marsigliesi*). These materials are sporadically present at the site and might highlight the feeble integration of serial production, specifically that of this type of roof tiles, into the local markets and exchange networks, or rather the absorption of peri-urban and non-urban contexts into the circulation of mass-produced materials, becoming more available and easily applicable than locally sourced stone slates and blocks. Flat rooftiles spread across Southern France and the north-western Italian regions, more specifically Liguria and Western Piedmont. The specific characteristics of these materials brought to its rapid diffusion, as they could easily substitute in their form the stone (often schistose clay stone, such as *ardesia* – slate) slabs used for roofing, being flatter than other roof tiles produced industrially, such as curved shingles (*coppi*). Furthermore, the chance to use ceramics instead of stone slabs might have a connection towards the time and assiduousness of the buildings' maintenance and repair, ceramics are lighter to transport and present a good resistance to fires and changing temperatures, which makes them well weather resistant, perhaps more versatile than stone. Only about three points of concentration of *marsigliesi* have been identified in Colanesi, and at within specific buildings (the Western complexes) the use of these is various, as they are also broken in fragments and act as fillers for repair works. The presence of this material might be seen as a sign of change that has already happened, a connection that has already shifted but also a starting point to investigate how industrialised and more standardised production was included in mountainous areas. Colanesi and Monte fasce are located about 4km from Apparizione and are therefore quite close to the growing urban centre of Genoa, making this proximity another element that played a role into the direct contact with the increasing circulation of industrially produced materials. The questions that can develop from these observations concern the shifts into the socio-economic ties that

characterised these areas and the extent to which they had been modified during the second half of the 19th century. Another factor, which was not part of the current analysis, but should not be overlooked when recording the most recent material remains at these structures is the influence of agrarian reforms implemented after the end of the Second World War, which might have had an effect into new interactions with rural contexts. Local testimonies, however, stated that the use of the hillsides of Monte Fasce as pastures and for haymaking activities did continue into the 20th century, with a more prominent de-intensification of use after the 1950s. For later decades the activity still recorded[215] and remembered locally is the presence of Sardinian sheep herders, who kept flocks between as near the coast as on Monte Moro, and moved across the whole Western Montagna di Fascia, together with the presence of hunters already mentioned above. All of these activities can be related to the presence of the latest modifications that can be observed at the site, which, however, reflect a different use and organisation of space in comparison to the mixed activities that have been outlined by the 19th century sources. Through the observation of material remains and the diversified range of activities that defined the use of these hillsides, the marginality of Monte Fasce is no longer so drastically visible, apart, possibly, from the last few decades. While the area is certainly non-urban, the activities and the interest toward these hillsides are much more diversified and shift through the decades and centuries. The issue might partially resonate with the "deconstructive" tendency of historical and social science debates of the last three to four decades. However, it is increasingly evident that abandonment and marginalisation (in this case of spaces and structures, rather than social groups) can be regarded as processes, never "complete", rather than end results of finite developments.[216]

Mas Rondole is a different type of structure where, also through the present use of the farmhouse, the combination of different materials is much more stratified, and specifically tied to broader modifications of the complexes and a redefinition of their functions, with the latest ones happening over the last thirty years, carried out by the current tenant family. However, at the Mas Rondole, the use of granite blocks to define major portals, for entrances and windows,

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[215] Moreno, 1990.
[216] The debate on "Abandonment as a process" was also tackled during the 4th Antigone Workshop, on the 17th-19th April 2024 at the round table involving Anna Maria Stagno, Alessandro Panetta and Sabina Ghislandi, with contributions by Gabriele Gattiglia, Ylenia Paciotti and Laura Gago-Choren, Discussants: Margarita Fernandez-Mier, Caterina Piu and Alessandro Panetta.

provides an element that places the Mas within the broader regional context as the presence of these portals for the large Mas's of Eastern Cerdagne is indeed a recurring architectural element to several exemplars built, rebuilt or modified over the 1860s and 1870s. The choice of materials is hence inextricably intertwined with a broader question of socio-economic status and representation, as well broader production and commercial networks that become more standardised and widespread at the end of the 19th century. The presence of granite blocks cut rather finely does not exclude the use or rougher blocks, of the so-called "old granite", elsewhere in the building, both mixed in masonry work for walls and facades across the two main complexes, as well as arches and entrances, such as the ones located on the eastern building of the Northern complex. The picture is hence, as always, less straightforward and encompasses a great deal of reuse, which would go hand in hand with the large modifications the Mas went through during the second half of the 19th century.

The case of Colanesi, as part of the "historical territorial" unit of *Montagna di Fascia*, has allowed to observe an area now often defined as "marginal", and see a very articulate picture. First of all, the rural archaeological survey has allowed to observe the variety of artefacts that are visible across the landscape of *Montagna di Fascia*. Structures, terraces, signs of management of resources such as water, wood, grasslands, do not refer to a timeless past before these hillsides' abandonment, but show how different activities and practices characterised the slopes descending onto the Eastern Genoese coast. The historical depth that these traces are testimonies of further corroborates the studies carried out during the second half of the 20th century in the area, which highlighted how the mountains located to the east of the city of Genoa had been described and depicted over the course of the Modern Age, as those productive spaces that supplied the city, but which also represented a link to the Apennines and the confining regions, allowing to see how agricultural and commercial, as well as manufacturing activities, were intertwined and shaped urban and mountain societies alike.[217] However, the undertone of some of these studies was that they were dealing with a forgotten countryside, abandoned hillsides, a disappearing world that was becoming more and more irretrievable, and to whose eventual end current scholars and society might have already been

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[217] Moreno, 1970; 1990.

witness. These analyses, nevertheless, laid the basis to argue about the centrality of mountainous landscapes up to the early 20th century.

5.2. The late 19th century: "rationalisations" and a continuity of practices

The second aspect, through which considerations on the interplay of change and continuity is observed at a local level, and how the dialectical relationship between changing conditions, knowledge, social relationships investigated through the continuity or discontinuity in practices to manage and organise spaces and resources, which can be outlined through a combination of historical resources.

The observation concerning the composition of materials used to build and modify the architectural structures can underline how the circulation of goods of different kind is a first level of interpretation of change. These are some of the processes we observe through the discussions that take place within municipal documentation, at a time of pressure coming from centralising institutions. When looking at the case of Colanesi, 18th-century documentation for the area surrounding Apparizione and Monte Fasce from the *Caratata* shows that conflicts concerning property and access were present way before the 19th century, and most likely during the 16th and 17th centuries just as much, as studied specifically by historians and especially micro-historians, focussing on the Ligurian inland areas, as well as lower Piedmont.[218] The 19th-century processes visible through the documents analysed concern the increasing pressure onto municipalities to define the property of common lands attributed to them. In the first half of the 19th century, with the emergence of municipalities (*comuni*) as they are known today, hence as local institutions that are reference to the local communities and come to encompass preceding local socio-political entities such as parishes, and represent a connecting element between local social groups and regional or national political institutions, several of the collective lands belonging to parishes or managed collectively by families inhabiting the same or neighbouring villages were became part of the municipal properties. The shifting jurisdictions of the first half of the 19th century, and the re-organisation of political institutions, brought to the overlapping of forms of property, access rights, as well as changing

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[218] See studies by Raggio, 1990; 2001; Torre, 2011.

social and political structures also at a local level. [219] This difficult coming together of management forms and interests onto the definition of land uses did not necessarily cause the conflicts, but brought antecedent disputes to the surface of the archival record. While looking at the archival material collected, especially with the dispute between Apparizione and Quarto al Mare with regards to the once shared common lands, the need to define the diverse activities carried out onto these hillsides certainly brings these conflicts to the surface, and provides them with a different jurisdictional space, as they emerge as responses to the queries of new institutions. We have however, as part of the negotiation and dispute on property and access rights, testimonies of uses in the mid to late 19th century are brought up by the *Uomini* of Apparizione and/or Quarto al Mare, as well as Bavari. The activities that are referred to are often connected to haymaking, as this was indeed a staple and accounted for activity that defined the economy of hillside areas during the 19th century. The increasing establishment of cattle farming also within smaller households was connected to a gradual preponderance of short distance transhumance (*monticazione*/use of seasonal pastures) and the increasing need to collect as much fodder for the winter months or the periods, during which cattle was kept in stables in the lower villages and valleys. There was a rising dominance of haymaking onto the other various activities that had defined mountainous and hillside regions, but other activities, which, in areas characterised by common lands, as well as in mountainous contexts, were often mixed and combined, may not have altogether disappeared. The combination of contemporary cultivations, use of hillsides for pastures, management of chestnut groves – or individual trees spread across landscapes – were deeply intertwined with the organisation of the agricultural space on Monte Fasce. A number of these activities are still reported for the mid-20th century, and go in some cases, such as for the Sardinian herders, into the 1970s and 1980s. [220]

Montagna di Fascia sees the presence of numerous artefacts and a deeply modified landscape where one observes the intersection of numerous activities that were part of a network that certainly included a substance economy as well as exchange of goods connecting inland Liguria to the coastal centres developing between the 19th and 20th century. Local inhabitants of Apparizione still recall the paths walked by the inhabitants of the neighbouring valley, such as Val Lentro located to the northeast, to exchange potatoes and chestnut products with olive oil

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[219] Bizzarri and Stagno, 2023.
[220] Moreno, 1990.

produced on the southern hillsides. [221] A network certainly traceable back to the early 20th century, that might reflect earlier contacts between valleys and coasts. The differences between the macro-areas identified through the survey highlight how activities had their own specific space, and possibly, role within these networks. However, trough the cartographic representations of the area, it can also be underlined that the role of this communication network across the years did not disappear or did not account for being irrelevant despite the oncoming urbanisation process. The information presented onto the topographic map of the 1960s shows how these are characterised as "strade vicinali", hence not for motorised vehicles, but rather used and well-kept at the time.

The period of change Colanesi and Montagna di Fascia went through during the second half of the 19th century stumbles across a plurality of practices that were needed in the area to reaffirm rights of access and property of the commons in a moment of conflict between members of different parishes. Hence change is here more a propeller to local discussions, or rather, as mentioned above, their visibility in the written documentation. Conflict reflects the ongoing social interaction characterising the management of Monte Fasce hillsides, where only a fraction of the social actors involved are identifiable, specifically the representatives of the parishes, the mayors of involved municipalities, the authorities' referees. However, the observation of the relationship between broader processes and local perspectives and strategies highlights a few elements concerning practices to manage environmental resources and how these were in constant movement and redefinition across the late 19th century. Practical actions on these hillsides are still very present. Documentation speaks specifically for haymaking activities, and reference to preceding activities is mostly to pastoral uses of the fields. The continuing occupation of the area, when looking at Colanesi more specifically, can be discerned through the material evidence as well. Numerous architectural characteristics visible to this day attest periods of modifications between the late 19th and the early 20th century, such as the portals and entrances mentioned above, the re-subdivisions of spaces, the presence of different building materials and the few written hints at the years of occupation ("1926" as seen for UT722).

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[221] As reported by R. in the interview carried out on the 20th June 2023.

Mas Rondole, through a different history also shows continuity in practices throughout the 19th century. The archival sources considered are specifically tied to the experience of the landowning families, and partially touch on the life of tenant families. The view is hence onto how through the shifts in ownership, changes were taking place within Mas Rondole, through the application of new, different materials as well as through the reorganisation of spaces within and around the farmhouse. The management of large farming estates and the connected buildings was shifting towards the needs highlighted through theoretical studies on the efficiency of agricultural activities, hence the separation of inhabited spaces from stalls and stables, to improve hygienic conditions, or the subdivision of productive spaces, as the functioning farmhouse should increasingly present a partition of labour, just as it happened in factories. These characteristics can be identified within Mas Rondole, accounting for the interest of landowners, and possibly of tenants, to adapt the structure and organisation of the farmhouse to new tendencies across the French countryside. The buildings are broadened and partly constructed anew, with larger stalls, set apart from the spaces meant to be lived in by the owner or tenant families (despite the exact establishment of the tenants' and the owners' residences are yet to be defined). Through practices one sees the continuity in occupation of the site, which goes almost without saying when looking at such a short period of time. Nevertheless, the evident structural changes highlight the possibility of a swift shift in how resources were managed, in fields, wooded pastures, or the organisation of the irrigation network composed of natural channels and artificial canals built through the decades, possibly centuries, which were inextricably connected to the use and access to common lands and resources. The current analysis has only provided a first overview onto the modifications and the processes at play within a context such as Mas Rondole, within which is also the weight of the surrounding pastures and fields used collectively by inhabitants of the municipalities of Estavar, Saillagouse, also in close contact to those relying onto commons within the *communes* of Llo and Eyne further uphill. Conesa stresses how in Cerdagne, during the 18th and over the first half of the 19th century, the increasing importance and presence of large landowning properties is connected to the consolidation of land patrimonies, which stood in connection with the "opening" of the uncultivated areas to a collective management, which had allowed plenty of families to establish a subsistence economy through temporary cultivation but especially animal husbandry, with the related seasonal activities. The 19th century marks the period during which the social aspect of resources management and the importance of family

ties in the reorganisation of especially shared spaces is not merely questioned, but rather eroded with the growing predominance of the figure of the landowner, not merely accumulating property but with new ties to the post-Revolution urban centres. This took place through a number of newly developed regulations with regards to land property building on the increasing urban-centred perspective, through which the relationship between cities and the rural surroundings as their suppliers of livelihoods was progressively dominating, particularly as a consequence of the preoccupation towards fiscal values and the needed definition of spaces' functions and practices.[222] What becomes visible through the Mas Rondole is the effect of major processes aimed at "rationalising", making agricultural production more efficient, following the theoretical developments of the time. This perspective, however, should consider the interplay of different jurisdictions in Cerdagne, a region within which the presence of collective pastures and "uncultivated" commons had their own weight in the socio-economic and political interactions between villages and hamlets and amongst communities. The element briefly mentioned in the current work, representing a fundamental link to understand the relationship with collective land, jurisdictions and access rights with their origins possibly prior to the end of the Ancien Regime, or anyhow reworked into the present land tenure, is the management of hydric sources and irrigation systems, which still to this day present a combination of shared agreements, written and unwritten, between different landowners, tenant farmers and local institutions for their organisation and use, as well as visibly stratified modifications even just for the last 50 to 70 years. The local perspective applied to Mas Rondole has highlighted how 19th century broader processes are differently visible depending on the sources available and the perspectives these sources allow to delve into. The continuity in practices through a period of intense social and jurisdictional change integrates changing elements into the organisation of resources and land uses, but different initial contexts allow to weigh how diverse social groups faced the oncoming intensification of production and the redefinition of agricultural and architectural structures.

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[222] Conesa, 2012, 507-513.

5.3. Defining rural spaces, defying categories: the challenge for postmedieval archaeology

One last aspect that the current work has tackled through the local perspective is the use of categories in the reading of these contexts and, more broadly, in the understanding of the rural past, as well as the meanings, interpretation and definitions of rural heritage. The study of Montagna di Fascia, and more specifically Colanesi, has highlighted how only through the 19th century documentation on local disputes and conflicts concerning the use of common lands and their eventual privatisation, the definition of areas characterised by land managed collectively or privately becomes increasingly complex. The discussions around common lands on Monte Fasce are specifically tied to the need of municipalities to define ownership at a time of institutional pressure, with increasing demands to support maintenance and construction of new infrastructure, and, after 1874 with the first Forest Legislation of the Kingdom of Italy, the compulsory conversion of common parcels deemed as unproductive or "uncultivated" (*incolti*) into woodland or finally selling them out. These pushes towards a redefinition of the collective space were also combined with the development of jurisdictions and institutions, regional, national or local, which dealt with a world of practices through which land property was established and passed onto the next generations, ownership and access rights that were tied to different socio-territorial entities. The role of Modern Age parishes was indeed not merely religious: they were political and social entities, through which social groups were organised and interacted with other supralocal institutions. With the gradual decadence of parishes' and other entities' socio-political importance, the presence of new *comuni*, municipalities defined by the reorganisation brought about by Napoleon and the French rule during the early 19th century, were increasingly in charge of organising local communities and social groups, but incorporated, divided, modified the competence areas of the former parishes and their connected communities. This redefinition of spaces brought to the surface conflicts, new ways of debating issues of land property and management, which were reflections of the complex nature, not merely of common lands, but also of private property, despite being the focus of large institutional initiatives and demands. Colanesi is exactly one of the areas where the world of collective land and private property encounter and remain rather undefined. While the enclosed area of Colanesi seems to have been defined as *campi di particolari* ever since the 1840s at least, through the documentation, and hence privately owned, the area immediately

around it, encompassing the ridge, the lower and eastern hillsides, as well as other areas further into the North side of Monte Fasce, is characterised by the presence of *comunaglie*, common lands partly disputed between the municipalities of Apparizione and Quarto al Mare until the late 1880s. Documentation has underlined, through the use of toponyms, the intense presence of *comunaglie* around Colanesi, especially those that ended up eventually as being recognised as belonging to the municipality of Quarto al Mare, while the area was within the Apparizione municipality anyway. The documentary information, their geographical proximity and the activities testified by the materials found scattered across the hillsides, not merely on Monte Fasce but in areas nearby, account for an actively used and discusses mountainous area, where the opposition between private and common is increasingly difficult to apply. The observation at this scale accounts for a changeful time with changing institutions, which are however brought into a world of previous jurisdictional understandings. The interpretative categories used to approach rural contexts during the 19th century should not be indiscriminately applied, as though the recent past were eventually part of the present. Micro-historians, most often in relation to Modern Age contexts, have underlined how the local perspective allows to question present historical, social and political categories used to understand past societies and actions, permitting the closer look onto how locally reactions and strategies can be diverse and specific, and may combine different push and pull factors, when it comes to observe changing practices and jurisdictions, allowing to tackle issues that did not comply to more general rules of historical processes.[223]

This study brings together these reflections, as it draws also from a study on the different types of rural heritage and how research, especially in historical disciplines, has approached the rural landscape and the post-medieval or very recent past in these environs. The two case studies outlined have seen an interconnection of broader processes and local strategies and reflections coming as reactions to broader processes or eventually integrating some of the material consequences of industrialisation, mass production or urbanisation into a network of practices and social interactions that had previous origins and roots. Rural heritage has long suffered under the depiction of non-urban worlds as static and quite immutable during the Modern period, and eventually swiftly eliminated by the current industrialised society, developing around urban centres and a related perspective. Postcolonial approaches, a newly found

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[223] See Grendi, 1993; Ginzburg, 1994. Levi, 1990.

interest towards rural contexts and their past have brought up the need for a new historical investigation into processes that happened fast, eliminating a good deal of knowledge about practices to manage, activate[224] and share environmental resources within areas that the 20th century has left rather abandoned or gradually "marginalised". The current analysis builds onto these reflections as the characteristics of both sites, both through the study of material sources as well as through the investigation of archival documentation, the interviews with local social actors of the present (and the recent past), have revealed that the 19th century represents a time of changes, which are however constantly reworked into the existing system of practices, materials and spatial organisation. To underline dialectical relationship between change and continuity is perhaps a general consideration to make. Nevertheless, the longstanding assumption around rural contexts as well as mountainous areas as being frozen into a timeless past, and their historical depth being rather unconsidered, by some historical scientists just as well, such as archaeologists, has called for a more direct recognition of the social interactions that have modified, created, deconstructed the countryside, the mountainous areas, their villages, hamlets, landscapes, settlements.

Within both Colanesi and Mas Rondole, the 19th and early 20th centuries are moments during which a number of preceding forms, structures and practices are questioned, but not necessarily all modified straight away. While one sees the continuity in materials, in some of the structural forms utilised, the archival documentation, as well as the oral testimonies referring to the last 50-70 years, bring up the discussions and contradictory factors that were being faced at a time of change. Questioning categories through which the rural landscape has been studied by historians and archaeologists, as well as within other social sciences, should open new perspectives onto how socio-economic and political shifts were dealt with at a local level, interacted with them, applied them in diverse ways. Common and private property, as well as temporary and seasonal settlements, can be seen through a dialectical perspective, where these terms that seem so distant almost merge with one another. The aim here has not been to question the vocabulary used, but rather to observe the complex structure of rural contexts and how the recent past should not be taken for granted in its forms and understandings. The reflection on historical categories and a critical approach towards their application is one of the challenges that postmedieval archaeology and microhistory bring together, allowing to

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[224] Moreno, 1990.

deconstruct general processes into their local effects, but also devise the specificity of every context, of the very lens one has chosen for its study, asking how contradictions and counteracting forces can further explain general processes in all their facets.

6. Concluding thoughts

The amount of research focussing on rural history has increased and become more and more diversified, especially in connection to the interest towards sustainable practices, the study and conservation of landscapes, considering not merely their environmental but also their cultural and historical value. Especially in Europe, the influence of broader institutional initiatives concerning landscape and heritage, have provided a basis for the development of public and academic endeavours to better understand rural contexts, practices that have defined them through history, processes taking place currently, also as a reaction to the increasing abandonment of mountainous regions and upland villages and larger centres. However, the debates around the historical studies on rural contexts, has developed across different European countries at different paces and through diverse priorities defining research agendas. The involvement of archaeology within the historical study of the countryside, recent processes of urbanisation and industrialisation and their social and environmental impact, has been a rather recent development, which, in Italy, had been preceded by a number of studies and questions brought forward by geographers, modern and contemporary historians, who had strived to write about different histories of "subaltern" and marginal contexts, long forgotten by historical and archaeological narratives. With the coming-of-age of historical and especially postmedieval archaeology, the interest towards different contexts has grown across several research traditions, in Italy since the 1990s, in Germany/Austria over the last twenty years, in Great Britain on and off over the second half of the 20th century. The increasing interest towards the recent past and the material traces left behind by the modern industrialised world, interest has also grown for those contexts that were gradually effaced, or at least so they seemed, by the fast-moving 20th century. Within these recent research developments, the current work has set out to bring together archaeological analysis, archival sources and oral testimonies for the study of two different contexts, the settlement of Colanesi, within the Montagna di Fascia, located to the East of Genoa, and the Mas Rondole, a farmhouse located north of Saillagouse within the French Cerdagne, a high plateau on the Eastern Pyrenees. These two contexts were chosen to observe through a local perspective, both from the point of view of archaeological materials and the historical archives chosen, changes taking place in upland rural areas between the 19th and 20th century, a period of change and increasing pressure coming from centralising institutions

(be it the French Kingdom and then State in the second case, or the Kingdom of Sardina and later, Italy for the first) to intensify and rationalise agricultural activities and production.

The micro-analytical study of archival data combined with the recording of archaeological material, inevitably focusing analytically on the selected context, as it cannot really profit from too broad generalisations when it comes to interpretation, have highlighted the different interests, forces and practices interacting within the two contexts during the 19th and 20th centuries. Local practices are still visible into the material traces identified on the landscape and within the studied structures, while broader changes in the organisation of agricultural activities and spaces can be discerned within the material record, as well as bringing up more intense discussions and conflicts reported onto the studied documentation.

The current work has underlined the dialectical relationship that can be observed between local practices, strategies, relationships and materials and the exogenous pushes towards "rationalised" countryside or, as in this case, upland areas. Colanesi, the settlement located on the Southern hillsides of Monte Fasce, is located within an area that was characterised by the presence of common lands (*comunaglie*) shared by several nearby municipalities, amongst which Apparizione, Quarto al Mare and Bavari were the nearest. Through the study of documentation concerning the disputes between Apparizione and Quarto al Mare on the subdivision of the common lands on Monte Fasce, Colanesi is not directly mentioned, but criss-crossing information it has been possible to observe how a number of the contested parcels were located to the North of the Colanesi ridge, while other registers demanded by the Forest Committee listing the uncultivated common lands, several of the parcels acknowledged by Quarto al Mare seem to be confining to the *campi di particolari* in Colanesi, a term referring to enclosed fields privately owned as opposed to collectively managed *comunaglie*. Colanesi is hence placed within a disputed landscape, where the contending communities, and more specifically parishes, prove their access and use rights through to one another reporting of longstanding haymaking, woodland management practices, as well as using these hillsides as pastures. The material traces outlined through the results of the rural archaeological and building archaeological surveys, the terraced fields scattered across the western hillsides, the structures to manage water sources or cable transport systems, hint at a varied series of activities carried out in the landscape, even over the most recent past. The modifications seen in Colanesi account for an intense use of the site, with elements dating to the 19th and the early

20th centuries. Oral testimonies from Apparizione also refer to the area as being used well into the second half of the 20th century to bring cattle during the summer months to the uphill pastures. Hence the continuities in practices to manage resources are visible through the different types of historical sources, but they have been in direct contact with the surrounding shifts in institutions and jurisdictions. The pressures onto local communities, mediated by municipalities, brought to light conflicts that had earlier origins, which might possibly have defined and affected the social interactions onto the Monte Fasce hillsides way before the second half of the 19th century and have partly continued through the decades coming up to the beginning of the following century. This could be proven through the comparison of municipal sources with the cadastre registers of the early 19th century and the decades going from 1885 until 1916, in which most of these *comunaglie*, and especially the ones contested between Apparizione and Quarto until the 1860s, are mentioned within the Apparizione registers. This case is an example of how the perception of Monte Fasce and its surroundings as a space somehow marginal to the Genoese urban centre, while it is not necessarily accurate for its present at all times, it certainly cannot be used to observe and analyse its past. Noone denies the profound modifications that have transformed rural (and urban) landscapes, as well as socioeconomic and political realms, over the last century, however the perspective gathered from this case study is of the interaction and the confrontation that social groups had with these processes of change, the ways they were contributing to these shifts as well as reiterating consolidated practices in the landscapes they managed, used and inhabited. The main aspect highlighted by Colanesi and the fragments of its history that were retrieved through the combination of sources and resources, is the difficult categorisation of this area's status and use. The site was surrounded by common lands, but possibly was written off as private in mid-19th century documentation. the assiduous activities, leaving numerous traces, the changing but constant activity the hillside saw until the second half of the 20th century highlight how the investigation of the recent rural past presents researchers with the fundamental issue of questioning and critically applying interpretative categories. Was the settlement in Colanesi used only seasonally? How are the seasonal and the permanent use of a site clearly distinguished when the site is placed within a complex network of trails and paths and is used rather continuously over periods of the year? How is the intense modification of these spaces related to changes in the activities being carried out into the most recent decades, and what does this say about the nature of the settlement? The answers concerning Colanesi are not as

many as the questions, but the case underlines how the interplay of different sources, the possibility to analyse the convergences and/or contradictions they present, brings research towards a more critical approach to the definitions applied, considering the complexity of rural contexts, even at a time, during which these were supposedly being marginalised as the attention of institutions turned once more and more drastically towards urban centres.

The case of Mas Rondole has provided a different take onto the changing structures in rural milieus during the late 19th and the early 20th century. The context is different geographically, as well as from a socio-economic point of view. However, the area surrounding the Mas Rondole, the land belonging to the farming estate, are placed within areas where communities could use and organise resources management collectively. The Mas is placed within a landscape that over the 19th century was witnessing changes in how ownership and access rights were being renegotiated, and where different jurisdictions met and interacted, which can recall the ambiguous situation of Colanesi. The farmhouse, however, went through a series of intense modifications during the second half of the 19th century. Indeed, the comparison between the 1820s Napoleonic cadastre and the current architectural structure, see the presence of more than double the space occupied by the farm buildings, especially with a higher number of broad and regular spaces used as stables and haybarns. This large property can be seen as following the wider process of "rationalisation" of agricultural production, as the impulse towards a reorganization of large farmhouses and their estates spread quickly across the French countryside and within the landowning class, which in Cerdagne was composed of mixed French and Spanish Catalan families, deeply intertwined in commercial networks and activities in other cities, especially harbour centres such as Perpignan, Rouen, and Barcelona. We see a complexification of architectural structures, a subdivision within used spaces, which complied to the idealised *fermes modèles*, where animals were kept detached from the living quarters, be these for the tenant families or the landowners. These characteristics seem to be going hand in hand with the 19th century intensification of agricultural production, and the materials used, the architectural modifications support this perspective. However some of the staple characteristics of the large farming estate developing over the course of the 18th and 19th century are not present or have been long erased in Mas Rondole, such as high protective external walls, or the development of a proper village around the Mas itself, as it happened for a number of smaller hamlets in the surrounding area, most of which are inhabited to this day. The continuity

in practices, the location of the Mas within a main trail network, that was possibly affected by the coming of the *Route Imperiale*, now *Nationale*, connecting French and Spanish Catalunya, the presence of common lands, pastures, possibly convened into giving Mas Rondole specific characteristics that challenge typological schemes of large estates and how these were managed. The history of the Mas was told through the succession of owners and how these implemented modifications to the farmhouse and the activities carried out within it, however, at the turn of the 20th century, the social composition of the farm was much more complex, involving the landowning family, the tenants, and waged workers. A number of voices and testimonies are still missing in order to fully comprehend how social interaction took place at Mas Rondole and how they intersected with the surrounding communities, villages and hamlets. The study of this context has, however, underlined, through the combination of different historical sources and accounts, the recording of materials used and structural changes, how the 19th century can be identified as a period of deep reorganisation of agricultural spaces, that, nevertheless was once again negotiated into the legacy of earlier jurisdictions and interactions on the landscape.

The study presented here dealt with very diverse contexts, which presented a few common threads and connections, such as common lands and the relationship between private and collective, the weight of 19th century developments demanding more intensified and "rational" production, also in rural contexts. The interplay of different historical sources is the key to tackle and interpret these decades, as this allows to see beyond the mere broader process, and delve into local strategies at play. With the ongoing research looking at European rural landscapes and their history, researchers are more than aware that these contexts can be no longer tied to timeless pasts. Local social actors, those who are more visible through sources, and those who still remain silent, but for which further research a voice needs to be sought out, were active participants into the changing landscapes and social structures of the time, just as it happened for urban centres and the swift development of industrial production. Challenges for postmedieval archaeologists studying rural contexts are many, but several are the new perspectives and details that can be understood about areas that have the potential to reveal how human societies grapple with change, how practices in how resources are managed have deep social implications. This piece of research has provided a few of these details for the contexts analysed but has strived to underline the potential of multidisciplinary historical

research. As public discourses on sustainability and climate change come and go, fluctuate, are nowadays almost fashionable rather than tackled in depth, archaeologists can go beyond these fluctuations and provide new reflections onto how processes of the last centuries have shaped our present, but also how social groups actively interact with change. Knowledge about the past, through archival material and archaeological traces, might hence help to understand the complexity of human experience, as well as value how social interaction is the basis through which most processes should be looked at. Idealised perceptions of the past might exist through memories and personal experiences, but historical knowledge and analysis, within which archaeologists can play an active and refreshing role, allows to counter any idealisation and empirically learn from what has preceded the known world.

Abstracts

English: Studies on rural landscapes, as well as the historic-archaeological interest towards how rural societies have changed and developed over the Modern period and the recent past have increased over the last two to three decades for most European contexts. Moreover, research on the management of resources is growing within the archaeological disciplines, particularly for the medieval and post-medieval period. This analysis compares different contexts, through a (building/rural) archaeological and a social micro-historical approach, to grasp the dynamics around the negotiations, redefinition of spaces and access rights from a local point of view, while relating it to broader processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and rationalisation of agricultural productivity. This work looks at a settlement, Colanesi, located on the hillsides of Monte Fasce (Genoa, IT), an area often considered marginal, where most of the present structures are now abandoned. The settlement has been studied through a combination of different sources - archival, archaeological, - oral interviews. The study considers the Montagna di Fascia area - encompassing the settlement - a historical territorial unit characterised by the presence of common lands and a combination of agro-silvo-pastoral activities throughout the Modern Age, to contextualise its role and the function of its structure. While Colanesi is remembered as a seasonal settlement for cattle by the local community, the material modifications suggest an intense use, drawing a different picture about the settlement itself, as well as questioning how the terms seasonal and permanent are applied within the study of such contexts. The second case study concerns the farmhouse of Mas Rondole, Saillagouse, in Cerdagne (FR). Here, changes that formed the present farmhouse structure took place over the course of the 19th century. The study observes the material evidence of these profound changes and how they should be considered within the Europe-wide push towards rationalisation of agricultural productivity, largely endorsed by the landowning elite across the French countryside and upland regions. The specificity of Mas Rondole, however, is its location within an area characterised by the presence of common lands and collective property, which played a role in how – also within private estates – environmental resources were managed. This work discusses the late 19th century, widely considered a time of industrial growth imposing itself on most rural contexts across European countries and prompting their increasing abandonment, by combining different sources and observing some of the processes mentioned above through a local lens. While the effects of broader changes onto smaller contexts and societies are undeniable, technological modifications, shifting practices are rarely following a one-way process, but incorporate and draw together past and current actions, social interactions and technological knowledge, which remain in a dialectical relationship throughout. The study aims at providing a new historical depth to practices and interactions taking place over the course of the 19th century, considering how material traces, and the built environment, with its functions, arrangements, its role within social interactions, can enhance the understanding of that very relationship. Such elements allow to delve into questions about rural heritage and the study of areas, which have been considered marginal, perhaps because "non-urban". The discussion hence aims at prompting a critical debate around heritagisation processes within post-medieval and recent rural contexts in Europe. Indeed, it studies the historical specificity of changes affecting mountain and rural societies, social groups, settlements and material culture, which may have been far more interconnected with diverse and farther contexts than how they are considered to be, through commercial, familial, social and political ties and interests.

Italiano: Negli ultimi trent'anni, lo studio dei paesaggi rurali e l'interesse storico-archeologico per il modo in cui le società rurali sono cambiate e si sono sviluppate nel periodo moderno e nel passato piú recente sono cresciuti esponenzialmente nella maggior parte dei contesti europei. La ricerca riguardante la gestione delle risorse sta prendendo piede all'interno delle discipline archeologiche, in particolare per il periodo medievale e post-medievale. La presente analisi mette a confronto diversi contesti, attraverso un approccio derivato dall'archeologia rurale e dallo studio archeologico dell'edilizia storica, e dalla microanalisi storico-sociale, per cogliere le dinamiche di negoziazione, ridefinizione degli spazi e dei diritti di accesso da un punto di vista locale, mettendole in relazione con i più ampi processi di urbanizzazione, industrializzazione e "razionalizzazione" della

produttività agricola tra Otto e Novecento. Il lavoro si focalizza su due casi di studio. Colanesi, insediamento situato sulle pendici del Monte Fasce (Genova, IT) fa parte di un'area ora considerata marginale, dove la maggior parte delle strutture presenti sono ormai abbandonate. L'insediamento è stato studiato attraverso una combinazione di fonti diverse - archivistiche, archeologiche e interviste orali. Lo studio considera l'area della Montagna di Fascia - che comprende l'insediamento, un'unità "storico-territoriale" caratterizzata dalla presenza di terre comuni e da una combinazione di attività agro-silvo-pastorali per tutta l'età Moderna, contestualizzando ulteriormente gli insediamenti studiati. Mentre Colanesi è ricordato come un insediamento stagionale per il bestiame dei villaggi vicini, e che storicamente utilizzavano le terre comuni presenti sul Monte Fasce. le modifiche materiali suggeriscono un utilizzo intenso, tracciando un quadro diverso dell'insediamento stesso, oltre a mettere in discussione il modo in cui le categorie interpretative applicate nello studio dei paesaggi rurali, come stagionale e permanente. Il secondo caso di studio riguarda la fattoria di Mas Rondole, a Saillagouse, nella Cerdagne (FR). Qui, nel corso del XIX secolo sono avvenuti i cambiamenti che hanno dato vita all'attuale struttura, ancora in utilizzo. L'analisi guarda ad alcune tracce materiali di questi profondi cambiamenti, specialmente le modifiche nelle strutture architettoniche, e come esse possano essere studiate nell'ambito del processo di "razionalizzazione" della produttività agricola, ampiamente sostenuta dall'élite dei proprietari terrieri nelle campagne e nelle regioni montane francesi, così come in numerosi contesti europei. La specificità del Mas Rondole, tuttavia, è la sua collocazione all'interno di un'area caratterizzata dalla presenza di terre comuni e proprietà collettive, che hanno giocato un ruolo nella gestione delle risorse ambientali anche all'interno di proprietà private. Lo studio si concentra sulla seconda metà del XIX secolo, un periodo spesso associato ad una rapida crescita industriale, che influenzò l'assetto socioeconomico anche contesti rurali europei e e da cui derivò un crescente abbandono delle aree montane. L'intreccio di diverse fonti e l'osservazione di questi processi attraverso una lente locale saranno fondamentali nel comprendere le dinamiche locali in risposta alle tendenze verso un'intensificazione della produzione agricola su larga scala. Sebbene gli effetti di cambiamenti più ampi su contesti e società locali, di dimensione più ridotta, siano innegabili, le modifiche tecnologiche e le pratiche raramente seguono un processo unidirezionale, ma incorporano e uniscono azioni passate e presenti, interazioni sociali e conoscenze tecnologiche, che rimangono in un rapporto dialettico. Lo studio si propone di fornire una nuova profondità storica alle pratiche e alle interazioni che hanno avuto luogo nel corso del XIX secolo, considerando come le tracce materiali, tra cui l'edificato, con le sue funzioni e il suo ruolo all'interno delle interazioni sociali, possano migliorare la comprensione di questo intreccio di processi e relazioni. Questi elementi permettono di approfondire le questioni relative al patrimonio rurale e allo studio di aree che sono state considerate marginali, forse perché "non urbane". La discussione mira quindi a stimolare un dibattito critico sui processi di patrimonializzazione nei contesti rurali europei post-medievali e recenti. Si studia infatti la specificità storica dei cambiamenti che hanno interessato le società montane e rurali, i gruppi sociali, gli insediamenti e la cultura materiale, vedendoli come interconnessi con contesti diversi – e anche più lontani di quanto ci si aspetti, attraverso legami e interessi commerciali, familiari, sociali e politici.

Français: Les études sur les paysages ruraux, tout comme l'intérêt historico-archéologique pour la manière dont les sociétés rurales se sont transformées et développées au cours de la période moderne et du passé récent, se sont accrus au cours des trois dernières décennies en Europe. En outre, la recherche sur la gestion des ressources se développe au sein des disciplines archéologiques, en particulier pour la période médiévale et postmédiévale. Cette analyse compare différents contextes, à travers une approche archéologique (bâti/rural) et une approche de micro-histoire sociale, afin de saisir les dynamiques de négociation et de redéfinition des espaces et des droits d'accès d'un point de vue local, tout en les reliant à des processus plus larges d'urbanisation, d'industrialisation et de rationalisation de la productivité agricole. Le premier cas de figure est un village, Colanesi, situé sur les collines de Monte Fasce (Gênes, IT), une zone considérée comme marginale où la plupart des structures actuelles sont désormais abandonnées. Le village a été étudié en combinant différentes sources - archives, archéologie, entretiens oraux. L'étude prend en compte, au-delà du village, l'aire plus large de la Montagna di Fascia, une unité territoriale historique caractérisée durant l'époque moderne par la présence de terres communes et par une combinaison d'activités agro-sylvo-pastorales, pour contextualiser son rôle, sa fonction et sa structure. Alors que

la communauté locale définit Colanesi comme un établissement saisonnier pour le bétail, les modifications matérielles suggèrent une utilisation intense, qui donne une image différente de l'établissement et remet en question la façon dont les termes saisonnier et permanent sont appliqués dans l'étude de tels contextes. Le deuxième cas de figure concerne la ferme du Mas Rondole, à Saillagouse, en Cerdagne (FR). Ici, les changements dont résulte la structure actuelle de la ferme ont lieu au cours du XIXe siècle. L'étude replace les traces matérielles de ces changements dans le cadre d'une tendance européenne à la rationalisation de la productivité agricole qui fut largement soutenue par l'élite foncière des campagnes françaises et des régions de montagne. La spécificité du Mas Rondole est sa localisation dans une région caractérisée par la présence de terres communes, qui ont influé sur la gestion des ressources environnementales, y compris au sein des propriétés privées. Ce travail traite ainsi de la fin du XIXe siècle, généralement considérée, à l'échelle de l'Europe, comme un temps de croissance industrielle qui s'impose aux contextes ruraux et accélère leur abandon, en combinant différentes sources et en observant les processus d'un point de vue local. Si les effets de ces macro-changements sur les sociétés locales sont indéniables, les mutations techniques et pratiques suivent rarement une trajectoire unique dans la mesure où elles intègrent des actions passées et présentes, des interactions sociales et des savoirs technologiques qui entretiennent une relation dialectique tout au long du processus. L'étude vise ainsi à donner une nouvelle profondeur historique à ces pratiques et ces interactions, en s'attachant à la façon dont les traces matérielles et l'environnement bâti - ses fonctions, son organisation, ses relations -, peuvent améliorer la compréhension de cette dialectique. Ces éléments permettent d'approfondir les questions relatives au patrimoine rural et à l'étude des zones considérées comme "marginales", parce que "non-urbaines". En montrant la spécificité historique des changements qui affectent les sociétés montagnardes et rurales, en éclairant les connexions étroites qui, par le biais de liens commerciaux, familiaux, sociaux et politiques relient ces changements à des contextes plus lointains que ce que l'on pense, la discussion vise enfin à susciter un débat sur les processus de patrimonialisation dans les contextes ruraux postmédiévaux et récents en Europe.

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Appendix